

# **YOWAO'S STORIES**

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## Introduction

Yowao Jarawara was born probably in about 1924, in a village near the Igarapé Preto stream,<sup>1</sup> in what is now the Jamamadi-Jarawara reservation.<sup>2</sup>

The name Yowao is Portuguese – João. He also had a name in Jarawara, i.e. Kana Abono, but people normally called him Yowao.

Between 1987, when my wife Lucilia and I were assigned to the Jarawara project by SIL, and Yowao's death in 2002, I recorded many stories told by Yowao, most of which are published here. He was one of the two main story tellers of Casa Nova village, along with his first cousin Siko, whose stories I also published recently. Yowao's story about Saba was one of the very first stories I recorded.

When I published the collection of Siko's stories (Vogel 2022), almost all the stories had been previously published, in volumes 1 and 2 of the Jarawara texts that I had made available online (Vogel 2012, 2019). Some of Yowao's stories in the present collection were likewise previously published in these two volumes, but most of the stories are previously unpublished.

Yowao's name in Jarawara, Kana Abono, means 'spirit of sugar cane'. Yowao was a powerful shaman, and this is reflected in his stories, a good number of which have to do with spirits. Besides being a shaman, Yowao was also a village chief. He and his wife Aobina had thirteen children, and so just about everyone in Casa Nova village is a descendant or married to a descendant.

The texts were originally recorded on cassette tape, and transcribed with the help of a number of literate Jarawaras. Many remaining questions were resolved in sessions with Okomobi and Bibiri, Yowao's son and grandson, respectively, both of whom have a true gift for language. The recordings were made in Casa Nova village. The texts were interlinearized using Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX).<sup>3</sup> The reader will note that there are two or more versions of some stories in this collection, recorded on different occasions.

I make a practice of getting written permission from Jarawara authors of texts to use the texts for non-commercial purposes, but I did not start doing this until after Yowao was already dead; so for these texts the permissions were signed by relatives of his.

These texts should not be seen as polished written texts. All of the texts are originally oral texts, none are originally written. The recordings are unedited, and the transcriptions reflect the recordings as exactly as possible. This means, for example, that false starts, repetitions of words, and occasional grammatical mistakes are retained in the transcription. Some of these are discussed in footnotes, but most are not.

The texts are divided into two groups, personal experience narratives and traditional stories. The personal experience stories include both accounts of Yowao's own experiences, and those of others who he knew personally, or at least people he knew his connection to. The traditional stories, in contrast, involve characters in the more distant past. Whereas Siko's stories were mostly traditional stories, Yowao's stories are more balanced between personal experience narratives and traditional stories.

The following format is used for each text. First a free translation is given of the text, and this is followed by the text in interlinear format. The first line of the interlinear format is orthographic. The second line represents underlying forms<sup>4</sup> and morphemic divisions, the third line morpheme-by-

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1 For a map of present and former Jarawara villages, see Maizza (2009:192).

2 Almost all the approximately 230 speakers of Jarawara live on this reservation, which is in the municipality of Lábrea in the state of Amazonas, Brazil.

3 FLEX is available for free download from the SIL International site ([sil.org](http://sil.org)).

4 The second line is intended to represent underlying phonological forms, including long vowels, which are not represented in the Jarawara orthography. However, in some cases the underlying form is more morphological than it

morpheme glosses, the fourth line word classes, and the last line a sentence by sentence translation. The sentence by sentence translation is as literal as possible, in contrast to the free translation at the beginning of each text, which seeks to express the meaning of the text in more natural English. In the free translation, some implied information is added, participant reference (e.g. choice of a pronoun or an NP) follows the conventions of English, and some repetition is omitted.

Note that some Jarawara sentences are very long, because of the way many "dependent clauses" are sometimes strung together. For more information on dependent clauses, see Dixon (2004) and Vogel (2009).

The Jarawara orthography is pretty much phonemic and transparent, except that long vowels are not distinguished. For an explanation of the orthography, see my *Jarawara-English Dictionary* (Vogel 2016), which is online. In the line for underlying forms, the symbol *I* is used to represent a morphophoneme that is realized as *i* or *e*, depending on the number of moras preceding in the word, *i* if the preceding number of moras is even and *e* if the preceding number of moras is odd (cf. Dixon (2004:40ff)).

In the orthographic line I have used punctuation in the normal ways, with one significant exception. Whereas the normal use of commas is to indicate grammatical pauses, I have used commas to indicate phonetic pauses. Some readers may find this awkward, since the pauses are often in the middle of a phrase and are not for any grammatical reason – speakers often pause just to think of what to say next – but I wanted to register this information, and could not think of any other way to do it.

The following abbreviations are used: **1** - first person, **1EX** - first person plural exclusive, **1IN** - first person plural inclusive, **2** - second person, **3** - third person, **adj** - adjective, **ADJU** - adjunct, **adv** - adverb, **antip** - antipassive, **AUX** - auxiliary, **BKG** - backgrounding, **CAUS** - causative, **CH** - change of state, **COMPL** - complement, **COMIT** - comitative, **conj** - conjunction, **CONT** - continuative, **CNTRFACT** - contrafactual, **CQ** - content question, **DECL** - declarative, **DEM** - demonstrative, **DIST** - distal, **DISTR** - distributive, **DUP** - reduplication, **E** - eyewitness evidentiality, **+F** - feminine agreement, **FP** - far past, **F.PL** - plural and feminine, **fpropn** - feminine proper noun, **FUT** - future, **HAB** - habitual, **HYPOTH** - hypothetical, **IMMED** - immediate, **IMP** - imperative, **INT** - intentive, **interj** - interjection, **interrog** - interrogative pro-form, **IP** - immediate past, **IRR** - irrealis, **LIST** - list construction, **LOC** - locative, **+M** - masculine agreement, **mpropn** - masculine proper noun, **N** - non-eyewitness evidentiality, **NEG** - negative, **NEG.LIST** - negative list item, **nf** - feminine noun, **NFIN** - non-finite, **nm** - masculine noun, **NOM** - nominalized clause, **NPQ**

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is phonological. There are vowel alternations of Jarawara verbs that are reflexes of grammatical processes, namely gender agreement and the derivation of non-finite forms. Where an underlying morphological form can be determined, I use it instead of all the forms that result from grammatical processes. For example, the suffix *-ma* 'back' typically has only this one form in contexts where there is no gender agreement, and typically has a *-ma/-me* alternation in other contexts to show feminine and masculine agreement, respectively. I use *-ma* as the underlying form in all contexts, but show gender agreement on the second line ('-back+F' or '-back+M') in all contexts where the form indicates the normal gender agreement found in finite clauses.

Similarly, a non-finite form is derived by changing a final *a* to *i*, but I use the form with *a* as the underlying form even when it is a non-finite form, and I indicate that the form is non-finite by adding **NFIN**. For example, I give the underlying form of *fawa* 'to drink', which is *fawi*, as **fawa.NFIN**. One of the advantages of doing things this way is that a search for all the tokens of a particular morpheme is made much easier. Also, this way it is possible to indicate that a form is non-finite even if there is no *a* to *i* change, which is the case for verbs ending with *o*, *i*, or *e*.

In Jarawara there is a construction called a "list construction", and one of the exponents of this construction is the obligatory absence of gender agreement in the verb stem. Whenever this is the case, I indicate this on the second line. For example, when *fawa* is in a list construction, this is indicated on the second line as **fawa.LIST**. This way, the reader knows the reason that *a* at the end of the verb does not indicate feminine agreement. (Since the items in a list construction can sometimes be NPs, the same notation is used to mark these.)

There is one more construction that is marked on the second line, i.e. nominalized clauses. These verb forms are marked with **NOM**, along with the gender when this is indicated in the form, i.e. **NOM+F** or **NOM+M**. This gender agreement is thus distinguished from the normal gender agreement of finite clauses.

- noun phrase question, **O** - direct object, **OC** - O-construction, **PFUT** - past in future, **PL** - plural (i.e. two or more), **pn** - inalienably possessed noun, **POSS** - possessor/possessive, **post** - postposition, **pron** - pronominal, **prt** - particle, **RECIP** - reciprocal, **REFL** - reflexive, **REP** - reported, **result** - resultative, **RP** - recent past, **S** - subject, **SEC** - secondary verb, **SG** - singular, **sp** - species, **sound** - sound word, **SUPER** - superlative, **vc** - copular verb, **vd** - ditransitive verb, **vi** - intransitive verb, **voc** - vocative, **vt** - transitive verb. Those wishing more information on the syntax, morphology, and phonology of Jarawara may consult R.M.W. Dixon's (2004) grammar, *The Jarawara Language of Southern Amazonia*, and the introduction to my *Jarawara-English Dictionary*.

I welcome any comments or questions, and I can be reached at [alan\\_vogel@sil.org](mailto:alan_vogel@sil.org).

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## *Part I - Personal Experience Narratives:*

### **KAMABIRA**

#### *Free Translation*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They got the others, and buried him. They dug the hole for him and buried him. Then they came back this way. They came and arrived at Siro Wari. Now it is Maka Wari.<sup>5</sup> My grandfather came before the others to Siro Wari. They came and lived over here. They came upstream in the dry season.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Me tokomemetemoneke* , *bato ya* .  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke , bato ya  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F downstream ADJU  
 pron vi nf prt  
 'They went downstream.'

2 *Yobe me hiri na* , *yobe me hiri na* , *yama me*  
 yobe me hiri na+F , yobe me hiri na+F , yama me  
 house 3PL.S make AUX house 3PL.S make AUX thing 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt aux nf pron

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

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

3 *Yama me yete na wafa me me kobo*  
 yama me yete na+F wafa me me kobo  
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 nf pron vt aux nm pron pron vt  
*nemetemoneke* , *wafa mera fora*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke , wafa mera fora  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun  
 aux nm pron vt

*nebanoho*  
 na -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'As they were hunting, they saw some woolly monkeys, and shot at them with blowguns.'

4 *Wafa me abaremetemoneke* .  
 wafa me ahaba -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 woolly monkey 3PL.S die NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

'No monkeys died.'

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

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





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11 **Bani amakara**

bani ama -ka -ra+M  
 animal be bloody DECL+M NEG  
 nm vi

"The meat doesn't have blood in it."

12 **Bani siba kara**

bani siba na ka -ra  
 animal be all right AUX go/come NEG+M  
 nm vi prt

"The meat isn't bloody."

13 **Ofimimakoni**

o- fimi -makoni	<b>ama oke</b>	<b>ati</b>
1SG.S be hungry for this reason+F	SEC 1SG.S DECL+F	say
vi	sec prt	vt

**nematamonaka**

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

"I'm really hungry," he said.'

14 **Ofimimakoni**

o- fimi -makoni  
 1SG.S be hungry for this reason+F  
 vi

**wafa**

wafa  
 woolly monkey  
 nm

**okobine**

o- kaba -ne  
 1SG.S eat CONT+F  
 vt

**o**

o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt

"I'm really hungry, that's why I'm eating the monkey."

15 **Faya yana nematamonaka**

faya yana na -himata -mona -ka  
 so get up AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi aux

'He got up.'

16 **Fa fawematamonane**

faha fawa -himata -mona -ne  
 water drink FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt

'He drank some water.'

17 **Sina sina hisi nematamonaka**

sina , sina hisi na -himata -mona -ka  
 snuff snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf nf vt aux

'He took some snuff.'

18 **Sina hisi ne tokawematamonaha**

sina hisi na+M to- ka -waha -himata -mona -ha	<b>mi</b>
snuff sniff AUX away go/come change FP.N+M REP+M DUP	mii
nf vt aux vi	defecate
	vi

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### *nebonaha*

na -hibona -ha  
AUX INT+M DUP  
aux

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

### 19 *Toke kamematamonaha*

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

'He went out, and then came back.'

### 20 *Me winakosemetemoneke*

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

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

### 21 *Tabora tabora nafimetemoneni*

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

'The village plaza was very big.'

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

### *kanematamonaka*

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

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

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

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

24 *Otati kome nafini , ati nematamonane*  
o- tati kome nafi -ni , ati na -himata -mona -ne  
1SG.POSS head pain+F be big BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
pn pn vi vt aux

*no tonenoho , Oto Wari ya*  
noho to- na -hino -ho , Oto Wari ya  
be hurt CH AUX IP.N+M DUP (village name) ADJU  
vi aux npropm prt

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

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

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**sokimetemone**                      **amake**  
 soki.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke  
 be dark FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 vi vc  
 'He had gotten hurt in Oto Wari. It was dark.'

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

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

tafi -himata -mona -ne  
 wake up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi  
 'As they slept, he woke up talking because of his fever.'

28 **Yasi , yasi tebere bono ati nematamonaka**  
 yasi , yasi tebere bono ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 beak+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vt aux  
 "'Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling, like a bird.'

29 **Yasi , yasi tebere bono ati nematamonane**  
 yasi , yasi tebere bono ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 beak+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pn vt aux  
 "'Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling, like a bird.'

30 **Kamabira no toneno bono ati saika**  
 Kamabira noho to- na -hino bono ati sai -ka  
 (man's name) be hurt CH AUX IP.N+M beak+M voice be heard DECL+M  
 npropm vi aux pn vi

**hari , ee , batise ati nematamonaha**  
 haari , ee , batise ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 that one+M (pause) 3SG.POSS.uncle say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 dem interj nm vt aux

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

31 **Noho okare**  
 noho o- to- na -ka -re  
 be hurt 1SG.S away AUX DECL+M NEG+F  
 vi prt  
 "'I wasn't hurt by a monster.'"

32 **Otamina oke ati nematamonaha**  
 o- tamina o- ke ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 1SG.S be good 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi prt vt aux

"'I'm fine," he said.'

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33 *Faya me hikawine* , *kiya ni*  
 faya me hi- ka- wina+M , kiya na.NFIN  
 so 3PL.S OC COMIT lie in hammock have a fever AUX  
 conj pron vt vi aux

*nafiwematamonaka fahi*  
 nafi -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 be big change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'They stayed with him. His fever got worse.'

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

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

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

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

'Then they moved to another place.'

36 *Ee* , *Nami Abono* , *Nami Abono* , *Te tai*  
 ee , Nami Abono , Nami Abono , tee tai  
 (pause) (woman's name) (woman's name) 2PL.S be ahead  
 interj npropf npropf pron vi

*toama*  
 to- ha -ma  
 CH AUX back  
 aux

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

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

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

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

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

*ta*  
 taa  
 contrast  
 prt

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

## KAMABIRA

39 **Owa te noki karima nahi Nami Abono**  
 owa tee noki ka- na -rima na -hi Nami Abono  
 1SG.O 2PL.S wait for COMIT AUX NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F (woman's name)  
 pron pron vt aux aux npropf

**fana ati nemetemoneke**  
 fana ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 female say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vt aux

"Don't wait for me," Nami Abono said.'

40 **Haa , ee , te yotoya**  
 haa ee tee yoto -yahi  
 all right yes 2PL.S follow DIST.IMP+F  
 interj interj pron vi

"All right," he said in anger. "You come on later."

41 **Okomibone , okiti ati**  
 o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone , o- ka iti ati  
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather say  
 vi nm vt

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

"I'm leaving," my grandfather said.'

42 **Faya okiti yifo katise**  
 faya o- ka iti yifo ka- tisa+M  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather hammock COMIT undo  
 conj nm nm vt

**banematamonaka**  
 bana -himata -mona -ka  
 move away FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'So my grandfather took down his hammock, and moved out.'

43 **Me tokomemetemonehe**  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron vi

'They left.'

44 **Faya Ye Yome , rabike , Ye Yome rabike Bato Wene**  
 faya Yee Yome , rabika+M , Yee Yome rabika+M Bato Wene  
 so (man's name) be sick (man's name) be sick (man's name)  
 conj npropm vi npropm vi npropm

**me hikayotomatamonaka**  
 me hi- ka- yoto -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S OC COMIT follow FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'Ye Yome was sick, and Bato Wene and his companion went with him after the others.'

45 **Me hikayoto , me hekamaki , hawi**  
 me hi- ka- yoto+M , me hi- ka- ka -makI+M , hawi  
 3PL.S OC COMIT follow 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come following trail  
 pron vt pron vt nf

## KAMABIRA

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

46 **Otara nonoki timata**  
 otara no- noki ti- na -mata  
 1EX.O DUP eye+F 2SG.S AUX short time  
 pron vt aux  
 "'Wait a little for us.'"

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

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

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

48 **Faya me towaka , me mi kanani**  
 faya me to- ka- ka+F , me mii ka- na -hani  
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S defecate COMIT AUX IP.N+F  
 conj pron vi pron vi aux

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

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





## KAMABIRA

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

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

'The spirit was hitting on his back.'

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

'He fell off his back to the ground.'

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

'''Ye Yome has died.'''

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'The monster took away his soul.'

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

'The monster killed him.'

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

## KAMABIRA

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

'They got the others, and buried him.'

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

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

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

'Then they came back this way.'

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

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

'They came and arrived at Siro Wari.'

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

'Now it is Maka Wari.'

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

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

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

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

'They came and lived over here.'

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

'They came upstream in the dry season.'

# THE APURINÃ KILLED THE ENEMIES

## Free Translation

The enemy Indians came to an Apurinã woman as she was sitting on the ground forming a clay pot. Her son was ready to leave.

"Mother, the enemy Indians are going to come. I dreamed about enemies. You yell if they come and attack. I'm going to make arrow poison," the Apurinã said, and went.

He went and made arrow poison. As he was sitting there, the enemies shot his mother with arrows as she sat forming the pot.

"Aya, aya," the Apurinã woman yelled.

Her son heard. He came running back.

"Is that my mother the enemies are shooting?" he said. He came running.

They were yelling "Hii hii." "Hii hii," the enemies said.

He came running and shot the enemies. The enemies shot arrows at him, but they didn't hit him. He held a bunch of arrows. He protected himself with a bunch of arrows as they shot arrows at him. They shot arrows at him. He pulled out the arrows that had hit his mother and shot them back with those arrows. They were hit with their own weapons that he pulled out. They died because of the Apurinã.

He had killed people, so he didn't live there anymore. He went to live with their relatives somewhere else. When my grandfather and his group went out, they met up with him. My grandfather and the others saw him.

"Bono Wiyo, the enemies shot me, look at me," he said.

He had wounds from arrows all over him. He shot them by himself.

That was a long time ago, it's an old-time story.

## Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Yawa</i>	<i>kakemetemoneke</i>				,	<i>yati</i>	<i>fana</i>	<i>yiwa</i>
	yawa	ka	-kI	-hemete	-mone	-ke	yati	fana	yiwa
	enemies	go/come	coming	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	Apurinã	female	pot
	nf	vi					npropm	nf	nf

<i>kero</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ya</i>	.
kero		na+F	ita+F	ni	ya	
make with circular motion		AUX	sit	to	ADJU	
vt		aux	vi	prt	prt	

'The enemy Indians came to an Apurinã woman as she was sitting on the ground forming a clay pot.'

2	<i>Biti</i>	,	<i>biti</i>	<i>yana</i>	<i>tonematamonaha</i>	.
	biti		biti	yana	to- na -himata -mona -ha	
	3SG.POSS.son		3SG.POSS.son	start	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP	
	nm		nm	vi	aux	

'Her son was ready to leave.'

## THE APURINĀ KILLED THE ENEMIES

3 *Ami* , *ami* *yawa* *kakiba* *ama* .  
ami , ami yawa ka -kI.NOM -ba ama  
mother mother enemies go/come coming FUT be  
nf nf nf vi vc

"Mother, the enemy Indians are going to come."

4 *Yawa* *watari* *owaha* .  
yawa wata -ri o- awa+F  
enemies dream PN 1SG.S see  
nf pn vt

"I dreamed about enemies."

5 *Kiya* *tikiya*  
kiya ti- ka- na -yahi  
yell 2SG.S COMIT AUX DIST.IMP+F  
vi vi

"You yell."

6 *Iha* *to* *okomatibe* , *yati* *ati*  
iha too o- ka- na -mata -be , yati ati  
plant sp pulverize 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F Apurinā say  
nm vt aux npropm vt

*ne tokematamonaka*  
na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka  
AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux vi

"I'm going to make arrow poison," the Apurinā said, and went.'

7 *Toke* *ia* *to* *kane* *ite* *ni* *ya*  
to- ka+M iha too ka- na+M ita+M ni ya  
away go/come plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX sit to ADJU  
vi nm vt aux vi prt prt

*mati* , *yawa* *tisa* *hinemetemoneke*  
mati , yawa tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke  
3SG.POSS.mother enemies shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nf nf vt aux

, *yiwa* *kero* *na* *itaharo* .  
yiwa kero na+M ita -haaro  
pot make with circular motion AUX sit IP.E+F  
nf vt aux vi

'He went and made arrow poison. As he was sitting there, the enemies shot his mother with arrows as she sat forming the pot.'

8 *Aya* , *aya* , *aya* ,  
aya , aya , aya  
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)  
interj interj interj

*aya* , *aya* , *aya* ,  
aya , aya , aya  
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)  
interj interj interj

*aya* *yati* *fana* *kiya* *kanemetemone*  
aya yati fana kiya ka- na -hemete -mone  
(expression of pain) Apurinā female yell COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
interj npropm nf vi aux

## THE APURINĀ KILLED THE ENEMIES

*amani*

ama -ni  
SEC BKG+F  
sec

"Aya, aya," the Apurinā woman yelled.'

9 *Biti*                    *warabo*    *hawimatamonaka*  
biti                    warabo    hawi -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.POSS.son    ear+M    work FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M  
nm                    pn            vi

'Her son heard.'

10 *Kana ni*                    *kamematamona*  
kana    na.NFIN    ka            -ma -himata -mona  
run    AUX            go/come back FP.N+M    REP+M  
vi    aux            vi

'He came running back.'

11 *Okomi*                                    *amara*                    *yawa*                    *tisa*  
o-                    ka    ami                    ama -ra+F    yawa                    tisa  
1SG.POSS    POSS    mother    be NEG    enemies    shoot with arrow  
nf                                    vc                    nf                    vt

*nineni*                                    ?    *ati*                    *nematamonane*  
na -ne            -ni                    ati    na -himata -mona -ne  
AUX CONT+F BKG+F            say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M BKG+M  
aux                                    vt    aux

"Is that my mother the enemies are shooting?" he said.'

12 *Faya kana ni*                    *kame*                    ,    *me*                    *hihi*                    *kana*  
faya    kana    na.NFIN    ka            -ma+M                    me                    hihii                    ka-    na+F  
so    run    AUX            go/come back                    3PL.S    yell "hihii"                    COMIT AUX  
conj    vi    aux            vi                                    pron    vi                    vi

*Hihi hihi hihi yawa ati nemetemoneheni*  
hihii    hihii    hihii    yawa    ati    na -hemete -mone -he -ni  
hihii    hihii    hihii    enemies    say    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F DUP BKG+F  
interj    interj    interj    nf                    vt    aux

'He came running. They were yelling "Hihii." "Hihii," the enemies said.'

13 *Kana ni*                    *kame*                    *yawa*                    *tisa*  
kana    na.NFIN    ka            -ma+M    yawa                    tisa  
run    AUX            go/come back    enemies    shoot with arrow  
vi    aux            vi                    nf                    vt

*hinebanoho*  
hi- na -hiba -no            -ho  
OC    AUX    FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP  
aux

'He came running and the enemies shot arrows at him.'

14 *Yawa tisa*                                    *hinematamonaka*                                    ,    *yawa*  
yawa                    tisa                                    hi- na -himata -mona -ka                                    yawa  
enemies    shoot with arrow    OC    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M                                    enemies  
nf                    vt                                    aux                                    nf

*tisa*                                    *hikarebanoho*  
tisa                                    hi- ka-    na -ra -hiba -no            -ho  
shoot with arrow    OC    COMIT    AUX    NEG    FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP  
vt                                    aux

'The enemies shot arrows at him, but they didn't hit him.'

## THE APURINĀ KILLED THE ENEMIES

15 **Wati tabo tama nematamonaka**  
 wati tabo tama na -himata -mona -ka  
 arrow bunch+M hold onto AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pn vt aux

'He held a bunch of arrows.'

16 **Wati ya hiwa bari kane me tisa**  
 wati ya hiwa bari ka- na+M me tisa  
 arrow ADJU 3SG.REFL.M impede COMIT AUX 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 nm prt pron vt aux pron vt

**hinematamonane**

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

'He protected himself with a bunch of arrows as they shot arrows at him.'

17 **Faya me tisa hine , mati**  
 faya me tisa hi- na+M , mati  
 so 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3SG.POSS.mother  
 conj pron vt aux nf

**tahi sobaba ne mati tahi ya**  
 tahi soba -ba na+M mati tahi ya  
 weapon against pull out DUP AUX 3SG.POSS.mother weapon against ADJU  
 pn vt aux nf pn prt

**mera tisa nawematamonaka waha**  
 mera tisa na -waha -himata -mona -ka waha  
 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now  
 pron vt aux prt

'They shot arrows at him. He pulled out the arrows that had hit his mother and shot them back with those arrows.'

18 **Fara me ye hone hiyaba me ye hone**  
 fara me yehe hone hi- yaba+F me yehe hone  
 same+F 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F OC take out 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F  
 dem pron pn pn vt pron pn pn

**me karima nemetemoneke ehene**  
 me karima.LIST na -hemete -mone -ke ehene  
 3PL.S suffer from AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F because of+M  
 pron vt aux post

'They were hit with their own weapons that he pulled out.'

19 **Me abemetemoneke , ehene , yati**  
 me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke , ehene , yati  
 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F because of+M Apurinā  
 pron vi post npropm

'They died because of the Apurinā.'

20 **Ehene iti winarematamonaka**  
 ehene iti+M wina -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 victim of+M exist live NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vi vi

'He had killed people, so he didn't live there anymore.'

## THE APURINÁ KILLED THE ENEMIES

21 **Tokematamonaka** , **me one ni ya** ,  
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka , me one ni ya ,  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL other+F to ADJU  
 vi pron adj prt prt

**tosawiwitibanoho**  
 to- sawi -witI -hiba -no -ho  
 away be present out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi  
 'He went to live with their relatives somewhere else.'

22 **Faya okiti me toka me kobo**  
 faya o- ka iti me to- ka+F me kobo  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S meet  
 conj nm pron vi pron vt

**hinematamonaka fahi**  
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem  
 'When my grandfather and his group went out, they met up with him.'

23 **Okiti me hiwematamonaka**  
 o- ka iti me hi- awa -himata -mona -ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.S OC see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pron vt

'My grandfather and the others saw him.'

24 **Bono Wiyo Bono Wiyo yawa owa tisa na**  
 Bono Wiyo Bono Wiyo yawa owa tisa na+F  
 (man's name) (man's name) enemies 1SG.O shoot with arrow AUX  
 npropm npropm nf pron vt aux

**owa tiwa ati nematamonane**  
 owa ti- awa ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 1SG.O 2SG.S see say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt vt aux

'"Bono Wiyo, the enemies shot me, look at me," he said.'

25 **Wati ene kihematamonaka nafi nafi**  
 wati ehene kiha -himata -mona -ka nafi nafi  
 arrow result of+M have FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M all all  
 nm pn vt pn pn

'He had wounds from arrows all over him.'

26 **Oharimatamonaka mera tisa nari**  
 ohari -himata -mona -ka , mera tisa na -haari  
 be one FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX IP.E+M  
 vi pron vt aux

'He shot them by himself.'

27 **Hibati ya hibati ka hiyara amake**  
 hibati ya hibati ka hiyara ama -ke  
 long time ago ADJU long time ago of story be DECL+F  
 nf prt nf prt nf vc

'That was a long time ago, it's an old-time story.'

## THE APURINÃ KILLED THE ENEMIES

28 *Faya*      *ama*    ?  
faya        ama  
enough    be  
adj        vc  
'Is that enough?'



# MANESI

## Free Translation

He died because he drank the juice of *kona* root. I never saw him. They told about him when I lived at Boto. "Manesi died when he drank *kona*, Noko Yawawa's son," they said. He was Noko Yawawa's son. Wabao's son was Bititi. Each of the two of them had just one son, but many daughters. Awa Ira was one of Noko Yawawa's daughters.

## Interlinear Presentation

1 *Ahabematamonaka* , *kona* *fawahari* .  
 ahaba -himata -mona -ka , kona fawa -haari  
 die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M plant sp drink IP.E+M  
 vi nm vt

'He died because he drank the juice of *kona* root.'

2 *Owaremarika* .  
 o- awa -ra -himari -ka  
 1SG.S see NEG FP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt

'I never saw him.'

3 *Me hikaminamakehimarika* *aya owini* *ya*  
 me hi- kamina -makI -himari -ka aya o- wina.NOM+F ya  
 3PL.S OC tell following FP.E+M DECL+M when 1SG.S live ADJU  
 pron vt dem vi prt

*ahi* .  
 ahi  
 there  
 dem

'They told about him when I lived there.'

4 *Boto* *ya owini* *ya me*  
 Boto ya o- wina.NOM+F ya me  
 (village name) ADJU 1SG.S live ADJU 3PL.S  
 npropf prt vi prt pron

*hikaminamakemarika* .  
 hi- kamina -makI -himari -ka  
 OC tell following FP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt

'When I lived at Boto, they told about him.'

5 *Manesi* *abe* *yama* *kona* *fawahi* *me* *ati* *namaro*  
 Manesi ahaba+M yama kona fawa+M me ati na -hamaro  
 (man's name) die thing plant sp drink 3PL.S say AUX FP.E+F  
 npropm vi nf nm vt pron vt aux

## MANESI

**me**      **amani**                      ,      **Noko Yawawa**      **biti**  
 me      ama -ni                      ,      Noko Yawawa      biti  
 3PL.S    SEC BKG+F                      (man's name)      3SG.POSS.son  
 pron    sec                                      npropm                      nm  
 "Manesi died when he drank *kona*, Noko Yawawa's son." they said.'

6 **Noko Yawawa**      **bitimarika**  
 Noko Yawawa      biti                      -mari      -ka  
 (man's name)      3SG.POSS.son      FP.E+M      DECL+M  
 npropm                      nm  
 'He was Noko Yawawa's son.'

7 **Wabao**                      **kabisa**                      **ino**                      **Bititi**                      **toha**                      **naka**  
 Wabao                      ka      -bisa      ino      Bititi                      to- ha.LIST      na      -ka  
 (man's name)      POSS also      name+M      (man's name)      CH      be                      AUX      DECL+M  
 npropm                      prt                      pn                      npropm                      vc                      aux

**hari**  
 haari  
 that one+M  
 dem  
 'Wabao's son was Bititi.'

8 **Me**      **ooharikima**                      **tohamaroke**                      ,      **me**                      **fanawiri**  
 me      o- ohari      -kima      to- ha      -hamaro      -ke                      ,      me                      fanawi -ri  
 3PL.S      DUP be one two      CH      AUX      FP.E+F      DECL+F                      3PL.POSS      woman      PN  
 pron      vi                                      aux                                      pron                      pn

**ta**  
 taa  
 contrast  
 prt  
 'Each of the two of them had just one son, but many daughters.'

9 **Afa**      **me**                      **fanawiri**                      **amake**                      **haro**                      ,      **Awa Ira**  
 afa      me                      fanawi -ri      ama -ke      haaro                      ,      Awa Ira  
 this+F      3PL.POSS      woman      PN      be      DECL+F      that one+F                      (woman's name)  
 dem      pron                      pn                      vc                      dem                      npropf

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL  
 pron  
 'Awa Ira was one of the daughters.'

10 **Abake**  
 ahaba -ke  
 die      DECL+F  
 vi  
 'That's all.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

### *Free Translation*

They moved to another place. They went to the Purus River. The Purus didn't exist. The river was small, but now it's big, the Purus. My aunt went there when her breasts began to grow. They crossed, and lived over there.

They built a house to live in there, but they didn't live there, because they heard a report. They went hunting, and they came upon some jaguars. The jaguars were in a hole. They were scared of the jaguars. The jaguars were snarling at each other in the hole, as they were eating their kill. They were in their hole, on the other side [of the Purus].

They hunted. They came back and slept in the village. Two of them went out, and they told the report when they came back. It was Ete Bote who went out hunting. He went with his brother-in-law. They heard the talk of the ones who moved, the Indians of another tribe. They were shooting howler monkeys with blowguns when the talk of the others came to them. They were walking and talking. They listened to them talking. One of them was keeping a dog. He was going along behind the others. His dog chased an animal. The dog went away barking. They began to hear it barking.

"Faya," he said. "Don't let it get away! We are famished," he said. Then the dog couldn't be heard anymore. As they walked along, their voices couldn't be heard anymore. They scared them.

"Let's look at their trail. They stopped talking. I think they live here."

They found signs of them. There was a path coming across. Palm fibers from their women's "tails" were left on a log that lay across the trail. They looked at their trail. They went after them, but they didn't find them. The two of them turned back, because they were afraid. They told a report back at the village, and because of them they moved away.

"It seems to be the speech of the Yimas," they said.

They moved away, because they were afraid. We would have lived on the other side. They moved away. Because they were afraid, they came back, and that's why we are living back here. They were living there and they moved away. They came back, crossing back.

They went to the Curiá River, because they were afraid. They didn't stop at the Faha Biri stream. They went to the Curiá River. They turned back at Amara Wari, and came back this way. They lived back this way. They cut brush, and they cut down trees back this way, at Siro Wari.

Another group of them came back and lived at Yome Kabe. They had a festa, and they ate jaguars. That's why it's called Yome Kabe. Then they feasted on fish. Then they found some Apurinã Indians who had come downstream. They never went back to see them, because they had heard them talking. They said it was the Yimas talking. "Is that some of our people talking?" we said, because they hadn't seen them quickly. He didn't have the courage. He had heard them talking, we always used to say. Why didn't they go after them, they had arrows.

They didn't go far. It's far. It was far. They hunted again, the ones who became our fathers, our grandfathers. Our grandfathers hunted again. They went to the Curiá River. They didn't stop here. They passed on by. Amara Wari is the name of the place where they turned back, on the Curiá River. They turned back at the Curiá. As they came along the trail, did they carry their food? They arrived at their garden, and lived there. It was Fare Wari, on the Faha Biri stream. They ate jaguars,

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

that's why it's called Yome Kabe. They were living there.

They came back along the trail. They cleared brush again. They were living at Sawa Mete, and then they came back. The place they went to was Wara Lake. They lived at the Aba Wini stream. They lived at the Aba Wini stream. They buried people there. That was their village. They lived in two longhouses, my aunt used to say. "We are few now," my aunt used to say. That was our village when there were many of us.

They had a festa, and the others hosted them back. There were two villages that hosted each other back and forth. They didn't feast on *aba* fish, they were redbtail catfish, my aunt used to say. They were the inhabitants of Wara Lake, the people of Wara of long ago. There are two sandy clearings where their village stood.

They buried Mate Sako, and they mourned for her. Her head stuck up. Noko Maiyi was also buried. They buried people.<sup>6</sup>

My aunt said the clearing used to be big. She said it was the village of many people. There are two clearings at Aba Wini. What they grated was not manioc mash. They grated *fowe*, not manioc. They used *fowe* as starch, when they feasted on redbtail catfish. It was the village of the people who killed fish and carried fish. Some of them had gotten fish.

"You get firewood. Get their food ready. Your husbands have gotten fish. The ones who are carrying fish are coming." One of them had come back ahead of the others. They had told him to tell the women [to prepare food].

It was the village of our ancestors' women, who used to speak softly. They were our ancestors. We came after them. Our fathers came after them. The speech of those people was nasal. Where were they, the women whose voices could be heard as they toasted *fowe*? They cooked fish in many ceramic pots. What did they make fire with, since there were no matches? They turned a stick.

There weren't any Brazilians, either. The river was small. There was no river. It is now the Purus, they used to say. The Brazilians didn't live here. There were only Paumaris. It was the Paumaris' village. He wasn't a Paumari. Who was the Paumari? Who were the Paumaris?

It was here in the area that floods that they fought the jaguar. Two of them went out hunting. It killed some giant otters. They had killed some giant otters, and they were covered over with dead leaves, their kill. There were two jaguars. One of them fought the men first. There were two men, too. They didn't have any weapons, we used to say. There were two of them.

They looked at the jaguars' kill. "It's a jaguar's kill," they said, as they stood looking at the animals. The jaguar, which had buried its kill, was hunting them. He looked back at the jaguar. The two of them were carrying blowguns, I guess. Weren't there any arrows? The jaguar charged them. He held the jaguar, lifting it. He kept himself from falling. When the other man saw that the jaguar had been lifted up, he tried to break off a small tree to kill the jaguar, but the tree was too strong for him. All the trees were too hard to break. All the trees were tough. There was nothing to kill the jaguar with, and it attacked them. He lifted it up and heaved it away, but it came rushing back. He lifted it up again. Then the other man came. Their hole was close to where they were lying. As the jaguar was fighting them, he lifted the jaguar again. Then he got injured, because he was tired. He lifted up the jaguar.

"Hold onto my waist. Brace me. We are going to die because of the jaguar," he said.

The jaguar came at him again. He lifted up the jaguar again. Then he had an idea. He picked up the jaguar. He went carrying the jaguar. He went carrying the jaguar. When he was about to stuff the jaguar between two trees, the jaguar jumped away. The jaguar fought him. He brought the jaguar back.

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6 This refers to a game that young people played, burying each other except for the head.



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

- 4 **Foroteba**                      **wataremetemone**                      **amake**  
 Foro -tee -ba    wata -ra -hemete -mone    ama -ke  
 Purus HAB FUT    exist NEG FP.N+F    REP+F    SEC DECL+F  
 npropf                      vi                      sec  
 'The Purus didn't exist.'
- 5 **Fa**                      **kanafiremetemone**                      **kanafineke**  
 faha    ka-    nafi    -ra -hemete -mone    ka-    nafi    -ne    -ke  
 stream    COMMIT be big    NEG    FP.N+F    REP+F    COMMIT be big    CONT+F    DECL+F  
 nf                      vi                      vi  
 'The river was small, but now it's big.'
- 6 **Fa**                      **kanafiremetemone**                      **nafineke**                      **Foro**  
 faha    ka-    nafi    -ra -hemete -mone    nafi    -ne    -ke                      Foro  
 stream    COMMIT be big    NEG    FP.N+F    REP+F    be big    CONT+F    DECL+F                      Purus  
 nf                      vi                      vi                      npropf  
**toaharo**  
 to- ha -haaro  
 CH be IP.E+F  
 vc  
 'The river was small, but now it's big, the Purus.'
- 7 **Okomise**                      **yoari**                      **wataha**                      **tokimetemone**  
 o-                      ka    amise    yoaha    -ri    wata+F    to-    ka.NOM+F    -mete    -mone  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    aunt    breast    PN    grow    away go/come    FP.N+F    REP+F  
 nf                      pn                      vi                      vi  
**amake**                      **ahi**  
 ama -ke                      ahi  
 SEC DECL+F                      there  
 sec                      dem  
 'My aunt went there when her breasts began to grow.'
- 8 **Me**                      **kariwa**                      **me**                      **towinawitia**                      **me**                      **yobe**                      **me**  
 me                      ka                      -riwaha+F    me                      to-    wina    -witI+F    me                      yobe                      me  
 3PL.S                      go/come across                      3PL.S                      away live out                      3PL.S                      house                      3PL.S  
 pron                      vi                      pron                      vi                      pron                      nm                      pron  
**ai**                      **nemetemoneke**                      **me**                      **winabone**                      **mati**  
 ahi                      na    -hemete -mone -ke                      me                      wina -habone                      mati  
 work on    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F                      3PL.S                      live INT+F                      3PL.S  
 vt                      aux                      pron                      vi                      pron  
 'They crossed, and lived over there. They built a house to live in there.'
- 9 **Me**                      **winabone**                      **yobe**                      **me**                      **ai**                      **nemetemoneke**  
 me                      wina -habone                      yobe                      me                      ahi                      na    -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S                      live INT+F                      house                      3PL.S                      work on                      AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 pron                      vi                      nm                      pron                      vt                      aux  
**me**                      **winarabani**                      **mati**                      **hiyara**                      **me**                      **mita**                      **mati**  
 me                      wina -ra -haba -ni                      mati                      hiyara                      me                      mita+F                      mati  
 3PL.S                      live NEG    FUT+F    IP.N+F                      3PL.S                      story                      3PL.S                      hear                      3PL.S  
 pron                      vi                      pron                      nf                      pron                      vt                      pron  
 'They built a house to live in there, but they didn't live there, because they heard a report.'
- 10 **Yama**                      **me**                      **yete**                      **na**                      **me**                      **tokaha**                      **yome**                      **me**                      **me**  
 yama                      me                      yete                      na+F                      me                      to-    ka+F                      yomee                      me                      me  
 thing                      3PL.S                      hunt                      AUX                      3PL.S                      away go/come                      jaguar                      3PL.O                      3PL.S  
 nf                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron                      vi                      nm                      pron                      pron

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**wasibemetemoneke**  
 wasi -baha -hemete -mone -ke , **yome** , **yome** **yama** **ka** **mati**  
 find before FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F jaguar jaguar forest of 3PL  
 vt nm nm nf prt pron  
 'They went hunting, and they came upon some jaguars.'

11 **Yome** **me** **kahometemoneke** , **hoti** **ya**  
 yomee me ka- homa -hemete -mone -ke , hoti ya  
 jaguar 3PL.S COMIT lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F hole ADJU  
 nm pron vi nf prt  
 'The jaguars were in a hole.'

12 **Yome** **me** **me** **hikanakomehe**  
 yomee me me hi- ka- na- komeha  
 jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be fearsome  
 nm pron pron vt

**hinemetemoneni**  
 hi- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux  
 'They were scared of the jaguars.'

13 **Yome** **me** **ihi** **me** **kaba** **ihi** **me**  
 yomee me ihi me kaba+F ihi me  
 jaguar 3PL.POSS victim of+F 3PL.S eat because of+F 3PL.POSS  
 nm pron pn pron vt post pron

**abe** **kakohemetemoneke** , **hoti** **ya**  
 abe kaako -hemete -mone -ke , hoti ya  
 RECIP be angry with FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F hole ADJU  
 pn vt nf prt  
 'The jaguars were snarling at each other in the hole, as they were eating their kill.'

14 **Me** , **me** , **me** **hoti** **ya** **me**  
 me me me hoti ya me  
 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS hole+F ADJU 3PL.S  
 pron pron pron pn prt pron

**kahometemone** , **kowani** **ya**  
 ka- homa -hemete -mone , kowani ya  
 COMIT lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F other side ADJU  
 vi nf prt  
 'They were in their hole, on the other side [of the Purus].'

15 **Yama** **me** **yete** **na** **me** **kamatasa** **me** **amo**  
 yama me yete na+F me ka -ma -tasa+F me amo  
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX 3PL.S go/come back again 3PL.S sleep  
 nf pron vt aux pron vi pron vi

**nama** **me** , **me** , **me** **towakemetemoneke**  
 na -ma+F me , me , me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke  
 AUX back 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux pron pron pron vi

, **hiyara** **me** **kaminamabani** **mati**  
 hiyara me kamina -ma -haba -ni mati  
 story 3PL.S tell back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt pron

'They hunted. They came back and slept in the village. Two of them went out, and they told the report when they came back.'

7 The second token of *ihi* is a false start.

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

16 *Ete Botematamonaka* , *tokahari* , *yama* *yete*  
 Ete Bote -mata -mona -ka , to- ka -haari , yama yete  
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M away go/come IP.E+M thing hunt  
 npropm vi nf vt

*nebonaha*  
 na -hibona -ha  
 AUX INT+M DUP  
 aux

'It was Ete Bote who went out hunting.'

17 *Wabori* *ya fameimatamonaka* , *me*  
 wabori ya fama -himata -mona -ka , me  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law ADJU be with FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S  
 nm prt vi pron

*banani* *me* *ati* *me* *mitabani* *mati* ,  
 bana -hani me ati me mita -haba -ni mati ,  
 move away IP.N+F 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S hear FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron pn pron vt pron

*bara* *mati* , *bara* *me* *ati* *me* *mitabani* *mati*  
 bara mati , bara me ati me mita -haba -ni mati  
 other+F 3PL other+F 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S hear FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 adj pron adj pron pn pron vt pron

'He went with his brother-in-law. They heard the talk of the ones who moved, the Indians of another tribe.'

18 *Yiko* *me* *me* *fora* *na* *me* *ni* *ya*  
 yiko me me fora na+F me ni ya  
 howler monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL to ADJU  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron prt prt

*me* *ati* *kakemetemoneni*  
 me ati ka -kI -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.POSS voice go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pn vi

'They were shooting howler monkeys with blowguns when the talk of the others came to them.'

19 *Me* *ati* *yaka* *na* *me* *ati* *me*  
 me ati yaka na+F me ati me  
 3PL.POSS voice walk AUX 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S  
 pron pn vi aux pron pn pron

*hikamitememoneke* , *me* *ka* *owa* , *me* *ka* *owa*  
 hi- ka- mita -hemete -mone -ke , me ka owa , me ka owa  
 OC COMIT hear FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL POSS man 3PL POSS man  
 vt pron prt nm pron prt nm

*yome* *nawatateinoho*  
 yomee na- wata -tee -hino -ho  
 dog CAUS exist HAB IP.N+M DUP  
 nm vt

'They were walking and talking. They listened to them talking. One of them was keeping a dog.'

20 *Yotoino* *hinaka* *yome* *yama* *kiyoimatamonaka*  
 yoto -hino hinaka yomee yama kiyo -himata -mona -ka  
 follow IP.N+M 3SG.POSS dog thing chase FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi pron nm nf vt

'He was going along behind the others. His dog chased an animal.'



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

21 *Yome habo ni tokomematamona , ati yana*  
 yomee habo na.NFIN to- ka -ma -himata -mona , ati yana  
 dog bark AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M voice start  
 nm vi aux vi pn vi

*nebanoho me ni ya*  
 na -hiba -no -ho , me ni ya  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL to ADJU  
 aux pron prt prt  
 'The dog went away barking. They began to hear it barking.'

22 *Faya ati nematamonaka*  
 faya ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 so say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vt aux  
 "'Faya," he said.'

23 *Sasawi ba tina*  
 sa- sawi na -ba ti- na  
 DUP be present AUX without stopping 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux  
 "'Don't let it get away!'"

24 *E nako haro ati nematamonane*  
 ee nako.NOM haaro ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 1IN.S be famished that one+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi dem vt aux  
 "'We are famished," he said.'

25 *Faya yome ati fawa nematamonaka fahi*  
 faya yomee ati fawa na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so dog voice stop AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj nm pn vi aux dem  
 'Then the dog couldn't be heard anymore.'

26 *Me yaka na me , me ati fawa*  
 me yaka na+F me me ati fawa  
 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS voice stop  
 pron vi aux pron pron pn vi

*tosemetemone*  
 to- na -kosa -hemete -mone  
 CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux  
 'As they walked along, their voices couldn't be heard anymore.'

27 *Me me hikanakome me Me hawi e*  
 me me hi- ka- na- komeha me me hawi ee  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMMIT CAUS be fearsome 3PL.O 3PL.POSS trail+F 1IN.S  
 pron pron vt pron pron pn pron

*awabanake*  
 awa -habana -ke  
 see FUT+F DECL+F  
 vt  
 'They scared them. "Let's look at their trail."'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

28 *Me hawi e awabanake*  
 me hawi ee awa -habana -ke  
 3PL.POSS trail+F 1IN.S see FUT+F DECL+F  
 pron pn pron vt

"Let's look at their trail."

29 *Me ati fawa ni*  
 me ati fawa na.NOM+F  
 3PL.POSS voice stop AUX  
 pron pn vi aux

"They stopped talking."

30 *Me winate me awineke*  
 me wina -tee me awine -ke  
 3PL.S live HAB 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"I think they live here."

31 *Me i me hiwasimetemone*  
 me ihi me hi- wasi -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS result of+F 3PL.S OC find FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn pron vt

'They found signs of them.'

32 *Hawi bere nikumemetemone ahi*  
 hawi bere na -kima -hemete -mone ahi  
 trail be across AUX two FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf vi vi dem

'There was a path coming across.'

33 *Me ka me fanawiri ka yifo be me*  
 me ka me fanawi -ri ka yifo behe me  
 3PL POSS 3PL.POSS woman PN POSS miriti base 3PL.S  
 pron prt pron pn prt nm pn pron  
*hehekariwaino*  
 he- hi- ka- ka -riwaha.NOM -no ka awa ka yifo behe  
 DUP OC COMIT go/come across IP.N+M which tree POSS miriti base  
 vt prt nf prt nm pn  
*koto kariwematamona amane*  
 koto ka- na -riwaha -himata -mona ama -ne  
 lie across COMIT AUX across FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 vi aux sec

'Palm fibers from their women's "tails" were left on a log that lay across the trail.'

34 *Me hawi me me hiwawite me me*  
 me hawi me me hi- to- awa -witI me me  
 3PL.POSS trail+F 3PL 3PL.S OC away see out 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pn pron pron vt pron pron

*hinakamakia me me*  
 hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me me  
 OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt pron pron

*hiwasimakiremetemoneni*  
 hi- to- wasi -makI -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 OC away find following NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt

'They looked at their trail. They went after them, but they didn't find them.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

35 *Me wete kanamemetemoneke , me*  
 me wete ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke me  
 3PL.S return COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

*kakome mati*  
 ka- komeha mati  
 COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'The two of them turned back, because they were afraid.'

36 *Me kakome me wete kanamemetemone ,*  
 me ka- komeha me wete ka- na -ma -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S return COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi pron vi aux

*hiyara me kawinawabani mati , me*  
 hiyara me ka- wina -waha -haba -ni mati me  
 story 3PL.S COMIT live change FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS  
 nf pron vt pron pron

*ihi banabani mati*  
 ihi bana -haba -ni mati  
 result of+F move away FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.POSS  
 pn vi pron

'They turned back because they were afraid. They told a report back at the village, and because of them they moved away.'

37 *Yima me , yima me ati awine me ati na me*  
 yima me yima me ati awine me ati na+F me  
 Yima 3PL Yima 3PL.POSS voice seem+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S  
 npropm pron npropm pron pn sec pron vt aux pron

*banemetemoneke , me kakome mati*  
 bana -hemete -mone -ke me ka- komeha mati  
 move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi pron

'"It seems to be the speech of the Yimas," they said. They moved away, because they were afraid.'

38 *Kowani ya ota winehenemete ota amake*  
 kowani ya otaa wina -hene -mete otaa ama -ke  
 other side ADJU 1EX.S live IRR+F FP.N+F 1EX.S SEC DECL+F  
 nf prt pron vi pron sec

'We would have lived on the other side.'

39 *Me bana me me kakome me me*  
 me bana+F me me ka- komeha me me  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron pron

*kamemetemone ota winamineke ahi*  
 ka -ma -hemete -mone otaa wina -ma -ne -ke ahi  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 1EX.S live back CONT+F DECL+F here  
 vi pron vi dem

'They moved away. Because they were afraid, they came back, and that's why we are living back here.'

40 *Me wina me bana me kama me me*  
 me wina+F me bana+F me ka -ma+F me me  
 3PL.S live 3PL.S move away 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi pron vi pron pron



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**awa me ka namemetemone amake , Siro ,**  
 awa me kaa na -ma -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 tree 3PL.S chop AUX back FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf pron vt aux sec

**Siro Wari ya .**  
 Siro Wari ya  
 (village name) ADJU  
 npropm prt

'They cut brush, and they cut down trees back this way, at Siro Wari.'

47 **Me one , me one ma namakia**  
 me one me one maa na -makI+F  
 3PL other+F 3PL other+F stop AUX following  
 pron adj pron adj vi aux

**winimetemone amake , Yome Kabe ya .**  
 wina.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke Yome Kabe ya  
 live FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F (name of village) ADJU  
 vi vc npropm prt

'Another group of them came back and lived at Yome Kabe.'

48 **Faya hine me , me , me ibe mari na**  
 faya hine me me me ibe mari na+F  
 so 3.REFL 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP offer a feast to AUX  
 conj pron pron pron pron pn vt aux

**me , yome me me kabimetemone amake ahi**  
 me yomee me me kaba.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.POSS jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 pron nm pron pron vt vc dem

'They had a festa, and they ate jaguars.'

49 **Yome Kabe yama ini tohineke , aba me**  
 Yome Kabe yama ini to- ha -ne -ke aba me  
 (name of village) thing name+F CH be CONT+F DECL+F fish 3PL.O  
 npropm nf pn vc nm pron

**me mari nabani mati .**  
 me mari na -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.S feast on AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

'That's why it's called Yome Kabe. Then they feasted on fish.'

50 **Faya yati me me wasimetemone amake fahi ,**  
 faya yati me me wasi.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke fahi  
 so Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S find FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 conj npropm pron pron vt vc dem

**yati me wina , kiskiani mati .**  
 yati me wina+F ka -risa -kI -hani mati  
 Apurinã 3PL.S live go/come down coming IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vi vi pron

'Then they found some Apurinã Indians who had come downstream.'

51 **Me me totowama na**  
 me me to- to- awa -ma.LIST na  
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP away see back AUX  
 pron pron vt aux

9 The verb *wina* is a false start.

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**hiaremetemoneheni**

hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -he -ni	,	<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>me</b>
OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F		me	ati	me
aux		3PL.POSS	voice	3PL.S
		pron	pn	pron

**himita**

**mati**

hi- mita+F	mati
OC hear	3PL.POSS
vt	pron

'They never went back to see them, because they had heard them talking.'

52 **Yima**

**me**

**atimetemone**

**me**

**me**

**na**

yima	me	ati	-mete	-mone	me	me	ati	na
Yima	3PL.POSS	voice	FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	say	AUX
npropm	pron	pn			pron	pron	vt	

**hiemetemoneke**

hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ke	
OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	
aux	

'They said it was the Yimas talking.'

53 **E**

**one**

**me**

**ati**

**toemete**

**me**

**awine**

**?**

**ota**

ee	one	me	ati	to-	ha	-hemete	me	awine	?	otaa
1IN	relative	3PL.POSS	voice	CH	be	FP.N+F	3PL.POSS	seem+F		1EX.S
pron	nf	pron	pn	vc			pron	sec		pron

**aati**

**toamaro**

**otake**

**me**

**me**

**hiwibote**

a- ati to- ha -hamaro	otaa -ke	,	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hi-</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>-bote</b>
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F	1EX.S DECL+F		3PL.O	3PL.S	OC	see	quickly
vt	aux		pron	pron	vt		

**hirimete**

hi- na -ra.NOM+F -mete	
OC AUX NEG	FP.N+F
aux	

'"Is that some of our people talking?" we said, because they hadn't seen them quickly.'

54 **Habo**

**bayireno**

**awaka**

**me**

**ati**

habo	bayi	-ra	-hino	awa	-ka	me	ati
courage+M	be deep	NEG	IP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M	3PL.POSS	voice
pn	vi			sec		pron	pn

**mitehino**

**me**

**ati**

**miteimata**

**ota**

**aati**

**toamaro**

mita -hino	me	ati	mita -himata	otaa	a-	ati	to-	ha	-hamaro
hear IP.N+M	3PL.POSS	voice	hear FP.N+M	1EX.S	DUP	say	CH	AUX	FP.E+F
vt	pron	pn	vt	pron	vt		aux		

**otake**

otaa -ke	
1EX.S DECL+F	
pron	

'He didn't have the courage. He had heard them talking, we always used to say.'

55 **Me**

**ye**

**hona**

**hine**

**me**

me	yehe	hona+F	hine	me
3PL.POSS	hand	have something	3.REFL	3PL.S
pron	pn	vi	pron	pron

**awabisaremetemoneke**

**wati**

**me**

**kia**

**mati**

awa -bisa -ra -hemete -mone -ke	wati	,	<b>me</b>	<b>kia</b>	<b>mati</b>
see also NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	arrow		3PL.S	have	3PL.S
vt	nm		pron	vt	pron

'Why didn't they go after them, they had arrows.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

56 *Me totokoma na toaremetemoneni*  
 me to- to- ka -ma.LIST na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ni ,  
 3PL.S DUP away go/come back AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi aux aux

*yama yabo ya*  
 yama yabo.NOM ya  
 thing be far ADJU  
 nf vi prt

'They didn't go far.'

57 *Yama yaboke*  
 yama yabo -ke  
 thing be far DECL+F  
 nf vi

'It's far.'

58 *Yama toyabowahini*  
 yama to- yabo -waha -ni  
 thing CH be far change BKG+F  
 nf vi

'It was far.'

59 *Faya yama me yete nama toimetemone amake*  
 faya yama me yete na -ma to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 so thing 3PL.S hunt AUX back CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 conj nf pron vt aux aux vc

*waha , ota ka abi metebani mati , ota ka*  
 waha , otaa ka abi me -tee -ba -ni mati , otaa ka  
 now 1EX POSS father 3PL HAB FUT IP.N+F 3PL 1EX POSS  
 prt pron prt nm pron pron pron prt

*iti mati*  
 iti mati  
 grandfather 3PL  
 nm pron

'They hunted again, the ones who became our fathers, our grandfathers.'

60 *Ota ka iti yama me yete nama*  
 otaa ka iti yama me yete na -ma  
 1EX POSS grandfather thing 3PL.S hunt AUX back  
 pron prt nm nf pron vt aux

*toimetemone amake ahi*  
 to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 aux vc dem

'Our grandfathers hunted again.'

61 *Me tokimetemone amake ahi , Koriwa ya*  
 me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi , Koriwa ya  
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then Curiá ADJU  
 pron vi vc dem npropf prt

'They went to the Curiá River.'

62 *Me ma namamatarimetemone amake*  
 me maa na -ma -mata -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 3PL.S stop AUX back short time NEG FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vc

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

'They didn't stop here.'

63 *Me fiya tonemetemoneke ahi* .  
 me fiya to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.S pass CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They passed on by.'

64 *Me wete namimetemone ya Amara Wari yama*  
 me wete na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ya Amara Wari yama  
 3PL.S return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F ADJU (name of place) place  
 pron vi aux prt npropm nf

*ini tohineke Koriwa ya* .  
 ini to- ha -ne -ke Koriwa ya  
 name+F CH be CONT+F DECL+F Curiá ADJU  
 pn vc npropf prt

'Amara Wari is the name of the place where they turned back, on the Curiá River.'

65 *Koriwa ya me wete namemetemoneke fahi* .  
 Koriwa ya me wete na -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 Curiá ADJU 3PL.S return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 npropf prt pron vi aux dem

'They turned back at the Curiá.'

66 *Faya me kama namahite me tafe*  
 faya me ka -ma na -ma -hitI me tafe  
 so 3PL.S go/come back AUX back along the way 3PL.POSS food+F  
 conj pron vi aux pron pn

*me weweye toemete me awine ?*  
 me we- weye to- ha -hemete me awine  
 3PL.S DUP carry CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F  
 pron vt aux pron sec

'As they came along the trail, did they carry their food?'

67 *Me tafe ya me kobo nama me me*  
 me tafe ya me kobo na -ma+F me me  
 3PL.POSS crops+F ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron pn prt pron vi aux pron pron

*wiwinama tohimetemone amake* .  
 wi- wina -ma to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 DUP live back CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 vi aux vc

'They arrived at their garden, and lived there.'

68 *Fa Biri amake Fare Wari ya* .  
 Faha Biri ama -ke Fare Wari ya  
 (name of stream) SEC DECL+F (name of place) ADJU  
 npropf sec npropf prt

'It was Fare Wari, on the Faha Biri stream.'

69 *Yome Kabe ka yama ini amake yome me*  
 Yome Kabe ka yama ini ama -ke yomee me  
 (name of village) POSS thing name+F be DECL+F jaguar 3PL.O  
 npropm prt nf pn vc nm pron



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**me hikabemetemone mati**  
 me hi- kaba -hemete -mone mati  
 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O  
 pron vt pron  
 'They ate jaguars, that's why it's called Yome Kabe.'

70 **Faya me wiwina toa me kama**  
 faya me wi- wina to- ha+F me ka -ma  
 so 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX 3PL.S go/come back  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

**namahite me , awa me ti tasa**  
 na -ma -hitI me , awa me tii na -tasa+F  
 AUX back along the way 3PL.S tree 3PL.S cut through AUX again  
 aux pron nf pron vt aux

**me , Sawa Mete ya me winama me**  
 me , Sawa Mete ya me wina -ma+F me  
 3PL.S (name of stream) ADJU 3PL.S live back 3PL.S  
 pron npropm prt pron vi pron

**kamawaimetemone amake ahi**  
 ka -ma -waha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 vi vc dem

'They were living there. They came back along the trail. They cleared brush again. They were living at Sawa Mete, and then they came back.'

71 **Wara itineni , me**  
 Wara ita -ne -ni , me  
 (name of lake) be located CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.S  
 npropf vi pron

**tokomawaimetemone karo**  
 to- ka -ma -waha.NOM+F -mete -mone karo  
 away go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F LOC  
 vi prt

'The place they went to was Wara Lake.'

72 **Me wiwina toimetemone amake ahi ,**  
 me wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi ,  
 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there  
 pron vi aux vc dem

**Aba Wini ya**  
 Aba Wini ya  
 (name of stream) ADJU  
 npropf prt  
 'They lived at the Aba Wini stream.'

73 **Aba Wini ya me wiwina toimetemone fahi**  
 Aba Wini ya me wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone fahi  
 (name of stream) ADJU 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 npropf prt pron vi aux dem

'They lived at the Aba Wini stream.'

74 **Me ibe kakamo na toimetemone**  
 me ibe ka- kamo.LIST na to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone  
 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT bury AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vt aux aux



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**mari**      **na**      **mati**      ,      **mowe ete**      **mati**      ,      **okomise**  
 mari      na+F      mati      ,      mowe ete      mati      ,      o-      ka      amise  
 feast on      AUX      3PL.S      redbtail catfish      3PL      1SG.POSS      POSS      aunt  
 vt      aux      pron      nm      pron      nf

**hiyari**      **aati**      **toamaroke**  
 hiyara.NFIN      a-      ati      to-      ha      -hamaro      -ke  
 speak      DUP      say      CH      AUX      FP.E+F      DECL+F  
 vi      vt      aux

'They had a festa, and the others hosted them back. There were two villages that hosted each other back and forth. They didn't feast on *aba* fish, they were redbtail catfish, my aunt used to say.'

80 **Wara**      **abe**      ,      **Wara**      **hibati**  
 Wara      abe      ,      Wara      hibati  
 (name of lake)      inhabitant+F      (name of lake)      long time ago  
 npropf      pn      npropf      nf

**kametemone**      **amake**  
 ka -mete -mone      ama -ke  
 of FP.N+F      REP+F      be      DECL+F  
 prt      vc

'They were the inhabitants of Wara Lake, the people of Wara of long ago.'

81 **Me**      **taborimetemone**      **yokana**      **boto**      **goro**  
 me      tabori -mete -mone      yokana      boto      yoro  
 3PL.POSS      place+F      FP.N+F      REP+F      true      sandy clearing      stay  
 pron      pn      adj      nf      vi

**nikimineke**  
 na -kima -ne      -ke  
 AUX two      CONT+F      DECL+F  
 aux

'There are two sandy clearings where their village stood.'

82 **Me**      **kakamo**      **hiemetemone**      **ini**      ,      **ee**      ,  
 me      ka-      kamo      hi-      to-      ha      -hemete -mone      ini      ,      ee      ,  
 3PL.S      COMIT      bury      OC      CH      AUX      FP.N+F      REP+F      name+F      (pause)  
 pron      vt      aux      pn      interj

**Mate Sako**      ,      **Mate Sako**      **abamone**      **me**      **hikamoa**      **tabiyo**  
 Mate Sako      Mate Sako      ahaba -hamone      me      hi-      kamo+F      tabiyo  
 (woman's name)      (woman's name)      die      REP+F      3PL.S      OC      bury      absence  
 npropf      npropf      vi      pron      vt      pn

**me**      **ooi**      **na**      **hiemetemone**      ,      **tati**      **ta**  
 me      o-      ohi.LIST      na      hi-      to-      ha      -hemete -mone      ,      tati      taa  
 3PL.S      DUP      cry      AUX      OC      CH      AUX      FP.N+F      REP+F      head      protrude  
 pron      vi      aux      aux      pn      vi

**tonaharo**  
 to-      na      -haaro  
 CH      AUX      IP.E+F  
 aux

'They buried Mate Sako, and they mourned for her. Her head stuck up.'

83 **Noko Maiyi**      **kamo**      ,      **me**      **me**      **hikamoa**      **mati**  
 Noko Maiyi      kamo.LIST      ,      me      me      hi-      kamo+F      mati  
 (woman's name)      bury      3PL.O      3PL.S      OC      bury      3PL.O  
 npropf      result      pron      pron      vt      pron

'Noko Maiyi was also buried. They buried people.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

84 *Boto*                      *nanafi*                      *toemetemone*                      *okomise*  
 boto                      na- nafi                      to- ha -hemete -mone                      o-                      ka                      amise  
 sandy clearing                      DUP be big                      CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F                      1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 nf                      vi                      aux                      nf

*na*                      *hiamaro*                      *amani*  
 ati na                      hi- to- ha -hamaro                      ama -ni  
 say AUX                      OC CH AUX FP.E+F                      SEC BKG+F  
 vt                      aux                      sec

'My aunt said the clearing used to be big.'

85 *Me*                      *tama*                      *me*                      *taborimetemone*                      *okomise*  
 me                      tama+F                      me                      tabori -mete -mone                      o-                      ka                      amise  
 3PL.S                      be many                      3PL.POSS                      place+F FP.N+F REP+F                      1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 pron                      vi                      pron                      pn                      nf

*na*                      *hiamaro*  
 ati na                      hi- to- ha -hamaro  
 say AUX                      OC CH AUX FP.E+F  
 vt                      aux

'My aunt said it was the village of many people.'

86 *Aba Wini*                      *ka*                      *boto*                      *goro*                      *nikimineke*  
 Aba Wini                      ka                      boto                      yoro                      na -kima -ne -ke  
 (name of stream)                      LOC                      sandy clearing                      stay                      AUX two                      CONT+F DECL+F  
 npropf                      prt                      nf                      vi                      aux

*iyawa*                      *amara*                      *me*                      *iyawa*                      *amara*                      *me*                      *hiti*                      *na*  
 iyawa                      ama -ra+F                      me                      iyawa                      ama -ra+F                      me                      hiti                      na+F  
 manioc mash                      be NEG                      3PL                      manioc mash                      be NEG                      3PL.S                      grate                      AUX  
 nf                      vc                      pron                      nf                      vc                      pron                      vt                      aux

*mati*                      *fowe*                      *fowa*                      *amarari*                      *fowa*                      *amare*                      *me*  
 mati                      fowe                      fowa                      ama -ra -haari                      fowa                      ama -ra+M                      me  
 3PL.S                      plant sp                      manioc                      be NEG IP.E+M                      manioc                      be NEG                      3PL.S  
 pron                      nf                      nm                      vc                      nm                      vc                      pron

*hiti*                      *na*                      *mati*  
 hiti                      na+F                      mati  
 grate                      AUX                      3PL.S  
 vt                      aux                      pron

'There are two clearings at Aba Wini. What they grated was not manioc mash. They grated *fowe*, not manioc.'

87 *Fowe*                      *me*                      *kakawia*                      *na*                      *toemetemonehe*  
 fowe                      me                      ka- kawia.LIST                      na                      to- ha -hemete -mone -he  
 plant sp                      3PL.S                      DUP eat with something                      AUX                      CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nf                      pron                      vt                      aux                      aux

*mowe ete*                      *me*                      *me*                      *mari*                      *na*                      *mati*  
 mowe ete                      me                      me                      mari                      na+F                      mati  
 redtail catfish                      3PL.O                      3PL.S                      feast on                      AUX                      3PL.S  
 nm                      pron                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron

'They used *fowe* as starch, when they feasted on redtail catfish.'

88 *Aba*                      *me*                      *me*                      *nahabia*                      *aba*                      *me*                      *me*                      *weweye*  
 aba                      me                      me                      na- ahaba+F                      aba                      me                      me                      we- weye  
 fish                      3PL.O                      3PL.S                      CAUS end                      fish                      3PL.O                      3PL.S                      DUP carry  
 nm                      pron                      pron                      vt                      nm                      pron                      pron                      vt

*toemetemone*                      *me*                      *tabori*                      *amani*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone                      me                      tabori                      ama -ni  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F                      3PL.POSS                      place+F                      be BKG+F  
 aux                      pron                      pn                      vc

'It was the village of the people who killed fish and carried fish.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

89 *Me one ihi itiamone me Yifo te awa*  
 me one ihi iti -hamone me yifo tee awa  
 3PL some+F victim of+F exist REP+F 3PL.POSS firewood 2PL.S see  
 pron adj pn vi pron nf pron vi

'Some of them had gotten fish. "You get firewood."

90 *Me tafeba te hawa toniha*  
 me tafe -ba tee hawa to- niha- ha  
 3PL.POSS food+F FUT 2PL.S be finished CH CAUS AUX  
 pron pn pron vi aux

"Get their food ready."

91 *Te ka yibote me ihi itihara*  
 tee ka yibote me ihi iti -hara  
 2PL POSS husband 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist IP.E+F  
 pron prt nm pron pn vi

"Your husbands have gotten fish."

92 *Aba me me weye na me kamakiara me*  
 aba me me weye na+F me ka -makI -hara me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S go/come following IP.E+F 3PL  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi pron

*ka owa tai toamari me fanawiri warabi*  
 ka owa tai to- ha -ma -haari me fanawi -ri warabi  
 POSS man be ahead CH AUX back IP.E+M 3PL.POSS woman PN ear+F  
 prt nm vi aux pron pn pn

*nima nebona me hinahari*  
 nima na -hibona me ati hi- na -haari  
 communicate to AUX INT+M 3PL.S say OC AUX IP.E+M  
 vt aux pron vt

"The ones who are carrying fish are coming." One of them had come back ahead of the others. They had told him to tell the women [to prepare food].'

93 *Ati hiyaya na toharawemetemone me*  
 ati hiya -ya.LIST na to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone me  
 voice be different DUP AUX CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS  
 pn vi aux aux pron

*tabori amake e one me taiti mati*  
 tabori ama -ke ee one me tai -tee.NOM mati  
 place+F be DECL+F 1IN one relative 3PL.S be ahead HAB 3PL.S  
 pn vc pron nf pron vi pron

'It was the village of our ancestors' women, who used to speak softly.'

94 *Taiti memetemoneke*  
 tai -tee.NOM me -mete -mone -ke  
 be ahead HAB 3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi pron

'They were our ancestors.'

95 *Haha e yotoemete e amake ha ari*  
 haaha ee yoto -hemete ee ama -ke haa ari  
 this+F 1IN.S follow FP.N+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F DEM 1IN  
 dem pron vi pron sec dem pron

'We came after them.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

96 *E ka abi meteba me yotoemetemoneke*  
 ee ka abi me -tee -ba me yoto -hemete -mone -ke  
 1IN POSS father 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.S follow FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron prt nm pron vi

'Our fathers came after them.'

97 *Me ati hanono na toemetemone , fa*  
 me ati hano -no.LIST na to- ha -hemete -mone , faa  
 3PL.POSS voice be nasal DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F that  
 pron pn vi aux aux dem

*mati*

mati

3PL

pron

'The speech of those people was nasal.'

98 *Hibaka me tohateriya , fowe sirarawa ati*  
 hibaka me to- ha -tee -ra+F -ya , fowe sira -rawa+F ati  
 where 3PL.S CH be HAB NEG now plant sp toast F.PL voice  
 interrog pron vc nf vt pn

*sairawaha*

sai -rawa -ha

be heard F.PL DUP

vi

'Where were they, the women whose voices could be heard as they toasted *fowe*?'

99 *Aba me me kakamakewa rama aba me*  
 aba me me ka- ka -makI -waha+F rama aba me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come following change unusual fish 3PL.O  
 nm pron pron vt prt nm pron

*me warekanikimani*

me waa -rI -kanikima -kani

3PL.S cook raised surface scattered ?+F

pron vt

*ahi*

ahi

then

dem

*yiwa boni*

yiwaha boni

ceramic pot

nf prt

*ya*

ya

ADJU

prt

*yiwa boni*

yiwaha boni

ceramic pot

nf prt

*ya*

ya

ADJU

prt

'They cooked fish in many ceramic pots.'

100 *Himata me tatari kana toemete , fofi*  
 himata me ta- tari ka- na to- ha -hemete , fofi  
 what? 3PL.S DUP peel COMIT AUX CH AUX FP.N+F match  
 interrog pron vt aux aux nf

*watarihi*

wata -rihi

exist NEG.LIST

vi

*ni*

na.NOM+F

AUX

aux

*karo*

karo

because

prt

?

'What did they make fire with, since there were no matches?'

101 *Awa me wawari toemetemoneke*  
 awa me wa- wari to- ha -hemete -mone -ke  
 wood 3PL.S DUP turn CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf pron vt aux

'They turned a stick.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

102 *Yara me watarihi*  
 yara me wata -rihi  
 Brazilian 3PL.S exist NEG.LIST  
 npropm pron vi

'There weren't any Brazilians, either.'

103 *Fa nafi remetemone*  
 faha nafi -ra -hemete -mone  
 stream be big NEG FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vi

'The river was small.'

104 *Fa wataremetemone amake haro*  
 faha wata -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke haaro  
 stream exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F that one+F  
 nf vi sec dem

'There was no river.'

105 *Foro toineke me hiyari aati*  
 Foro to- ha -ne -ke , me hiyara.NFIN a- ati  
 Purus CH be CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.S speak DUP say  
 npropf vc pron vi vt

*toimaro amake*  
 to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 aux vc

'It is now the Purus, they used to say.'

106 *Yara me wiwina toaremetemone me amani*  
 yara me wi- wina to- ha -ra -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 Brazilian 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 npropm pron vi aux pron sec

'The Brazilians didn't live here.'

107 *Ha ta memetemone me amake wakari mati*  
 haa taa me -mete -mone me ama -ke wakari mati  
 DEM contrast 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be DECL+F Paumari 3PL  
 dem prt pron pron nm pron

'There were only Paumaris.'

108 *Wakari me taborimete amake*  
 wakari me tabori -mete ama -ke  
 Paumari 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F be DECL+F  
 nm pron nf vc

'It was the Paumaris' village.'

109 *Wakari ha ta amarematamona amaka*  
 wakari haa taa ama -ra -himata -mona ama -ka  
 Paumari DEM contrast be NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm dem prt vc sec

'He wasn't a Paumari.'

110 *Hibakemata amaraya wakari ?*  
 hibake -mata ama -ra -ya wakari  
 who+M FP.N+M be CQ+M now Paumari  
 interrog vc nm

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

'Who was the Paumari?'

111 *Wakari ha ta me , hibaka me tohari , fa*  
 wakari haa taa me , hibaka me to- ha -ri , faa  
 Paumari DEM contrast 3PL who+F 3PL.S CH be CQ+F that  
 nm dem prt pron interrog pron vc dem

*mati* ?

mati  
 3PL  
 pron

'Who were the Paumaris?'

112 *Faimetemone amake ahi , waha ya , yome*  
 fai -mete -mone ama -ke ahi , waha ya , yomee  
 there FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there flooded forest ADJU jaguar  
 dem vc dem nf prt nm

*me mono hinemetemone mati*  
 me mono hi- na -hemete -mone mati  
 3PL.O struggle with OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O  
 pron vt aux pron

'It was here in the area that floods that they fought the jaguar.'

113 *Yome , yama me yete nabone me towaka ,*  
 yomee , yama me yete na -habone me to- ka- ka+F ,  
 jaguar thing 3PL.S hunt AUX INT+F 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come  
 nm nf pron vt aux pron vi

*sabo mera waka ne sabo me me waka*  
 sabo mera waka na+M sabo me me waka  
 giant otter 3PL.O kill AUX giant otter 3PL.O 3PL.S kill  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron pron vt

*hinani me yoto kanemetemoneke , hasabote*  
 hi- na -hani me yoto ka- na -hemete -mone -ke , hasabote  
 OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S cover COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F junk  
 aux pron result aux nf

*ya , yome me ihi*  
 ya yomee me ihi  
 ADJU jaguar 3PL.POSS because of+F  
 prt nm pron post

'Two of them went out hunting. It killed some giant otters. They had killed some giant otters, and they were covered over with dead leaves, their kill.'

114 *Yome me famemetemoneni*  
 yomee me fama -hemete -mone -ni  
 jaguar 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vi

'There were two jaguars.'

115 *Ohari mera mono nibeimatamonaka*  
 ohari+M mera mono na -baha -himata -mona -ka  
 be one 3PL.O struggle with AUX before FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi pron vt aux

'One of them fought the men first.'

116 *Me famabisemetemoneke , fa mati*  
 me fama -bisa -hemete -mone -ke , faa mati  
 3PL.S be two also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that 3PL  
 pron vi dem pron



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

'There were two men, too.'

117 *Me*            *ye*        *wawata*        *remete*                            *ota*        *aati*  
 me            yehe    wa- wata    na -ra -hemete    otaa    a-    ati  
 3PL.POSS    hand    DUP exist    AUX NEG FP.N+F    1EX.S    DUP say  
 pron        pn        vi            aux                            pron    vt

*toimaro*                            *ama*        ,    *e*                            *famaro*  
 to- ha.NOM+F -maro    ama        ,    ee                            fama    -haaro  
 CH    AUX            FP.E+F    SEC            Indian    be two IP.E+F  
 aux                            sec        nf            vi

'They didn't have any weapons, we used to say, the two Indians.'

118 *Yome*        ,    *yome*        *me*            *ihi*                            *me*        *ki*            *na*        *Yome*  
 yomee        ,    yomee        me            ihi                            me        kii            na+F    yomee  
 jaguar        jaguar        3PL.POSS    victim of+F    3PL.S    look at    AUX    jaguar  
 nm            nm            pron        pn                            pron    vt            aux    nm

*eheneno*                            *amaka*        *me*        *ati*        *nemetemoneni*  
 ehene        -no            ama -ka        me        ati        na -hemete -mone -ni  
 victim of+M IP.N+M    SEC DECL+M    3PL.S    say    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F BKG+F  
 pn                            sec        pron    vt        aux

*bani*        *me*        *me*        *kakatoma*                            *me*        *goro*        *na*        *mati*        ,    *yome*  
 bani        me        me        ka-    katoma+F    me        yoro        na+F    mati        ,    yomee  
 animal    3PL.O    3PL.S    COMIT look at    3PL.S    stand    AUX    3PL.S    jaguar  
 nm        pron    pron    vt                            pron    vi        aux    pron    nm

*me*        *yete*        *hikanamani*                            *mati*        ,    *ene*                            *yoto*  
 me        yete        hi- ka-    na -ma -hani    mati        ,    ehene                            yoto  
 3PL.O    hunt    OC    COMIT AUX back IP.N+F    3PL.O    victim of+M    cover  
 pron    vt        aux                            pron        pn                            vt

*kanari*  
 ka-    na    -haari  
 COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'They looked at the jaguars' kill. "It's a jaguar's kill," they said, as they stood looking at the animals. The jaguar, which had buried its kill, was hunting them.'

119 *Yome*        *ki*                            *kawame*                            *ahi*  
 yomee        kii                            ka-    na    -waha -ma+M    ahi  
 jaguar        look at    COMIT AUX change back    then  
 nm        vt                            aux

'He looked back at the jaguar.'

120 *Karaboa*        *me*        *tiwa*        *kanikimete*                            *me*        *awineke*  
 karaboha    me        tiwa        ka-    na    -kima -hemete    me        awine -ke  
 blowgun    3PL.S    carry    COMIT AUX two    FP.N+F    3PL.S    seem+F DECL+F  
 nf            pron    vt            aux                            pron    sec

'The two of them were carrying blowguns, I guess.'

121 *Wati*        *wataramata*                            *awineni*                            ?  
 wati        wata -ra.NOM+M -mata    awine -ni  
 arrow    exist NEG                            FP.N+M    seem+F BKG+F  
 nm        vi                            sec

'Weren't there any arrows?'

122 *Faya*        *yome*        *me*        *fito*        *hikana*                            *me*        *yome*        *wara*  
 faya        yomee        me        fito        hi- ka-    na+F    me        yomee        wara  
 so        jaguar        3PL.O    rush    OC    COMIT AUX    3PL.O    jaguar        grab  
 conj    nm            pron    vi        aux                            pron    nm        vt

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**tomisematamonaka**

to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka  
 CH AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'The jaguar charged them. He held the jaguar, lifting it.'

123 **Fareba** , **fareba** **hiwa** **itimatamonane**  
 fare -ba , fare -ba hiwa iti -himata -mona -ne  
 same+M FUT same+M FUT 3SG.REFL.M pick up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 dem dem pron vt

'He kept himself from falling.'

124 **Yome** , **owa** , **owa** **yome** **wara** **tomisi**  
 yomee owa owa yomee wara to- na -misa.NFIN  
 jaguar other+M other+M jaguar grab CH AUX up  
 nm adj adj nm result aux

**awati** , **awa** , **yome** **naboweibonaha** **awa** **baka** **ne**  
 awa -tee.NOM , awa yomee na- aboha -hibona -ha awa baka na+M  
 see HAB tree jaguar CAUS die INT+M DUP tree break AUX  
 vt nf nm vt nf vt aux

**awa** **hikasawarimatamonaha**  
 awa hi- ka- sawari -himata -mona -ha  
 tree OC COMIT frustrate FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vt

'When the other man saw that the jaguar had been lifted up, he tried to break off a small tree to kill the jaguar, but the tree was too strong for him.'

125 **Awa** **kita** **hinama** **awa** **wania** **hinama** **toemetemone**  
 awa kita+F hinama awa wani+F hinama to- ha -hemete -mone  
 tree be strong all tree be tough all CH be FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vi adj nf vi adj vc

**amani**

ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'All the trees were too hard to break. All the trees were tough.'

126 **Yome** **nanabowa** **watare** , **mera** **mono**  
 yomee na- na- aboha wata -ra+M , mera mono  
 jaguar DUP CAUS die exist NEG 3PL.O struggle with  
 nm pn vi pron vt

**nawahebanoho**

na -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'There was nothing to kill the jaguar with, and it attacked them.'

127 **Mera** **mono** **ne** **wara** **himise** **yoko**  
 mera mono na+M wara hi- to- na -misa+M yoko  
 3PL.O struggle with AUX grab OC CH AUX up push  
 pron vt aux vt aux vt

**hiwiti** **fito** **namatasematamona**  
 hi- to- na -witI+M fito na -ma -tasa -himata -mona  
 OC away AUX out rush AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux vi aux

'It attacked them. He lifted it up and heaved it away, but it came rushing back.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

128 **Wara tomisarima hinematamona ahi , owa**  
 wara to- na -misa -rima hi- na -himata -mona ahi , owa  
 grab CH AUX up intermittent OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then 1SG.O  
 vt aux aux dem pron

**kamakiwahebanoho**

ka -maki -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 go/come following change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'He lifted it up again. Then the other man came.'

129 **Me kahomi yaborini ya , me**  
 me ka- homa.NFIN yabo -ra.NOM+F -ni ya , me  
 3PL.S COMIT lie on ground be far NEG IP.N+F ADJU 3PL.POSS  
 pron vi vi prt pron

**hoti homemetemoneke**

hoti homa -hemete -mone -ke  
 hole+F lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pn vi

'Their hole was close to where they were lying.'

130 **Yome me mono hina yome wara**  
 yomee me mono hi- na+F yomee wara  
 jaguar 3PL.O struggle with OC AUX jaguar grab  
 nm pron vt aux nm vt

**tomisarima nematamona ahi , nohoho**  
 to- na -misa -rima na -himata -mona ahi , noho -ho  
 CH AUX up intermittent AUX FP.N+M REP+M then be hurt DUP  
 aux aux dem vi

**nawebanoho , ma toari**  
 na -waha -hiba -no -ho , maa to- ha -haari  
 AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP be tired CH AUX IP.E+M  
 aux vi aux

'As the jaguar was fighting them, he lifted the jaguar again. Then he got injured, because he was tired.'

131 **Yome wara tomise Owenoki tama tina**  
 yomee wara to- na -misa+M o- eenoki tama ti- na  
 jaguar grab CH AUX up 1SG.POSS middle hold onto 2SG.S AUX  
 nm vt aux pn vt aux

'He lifted up the jaguar. "Hold onto my waist."'

132 **Owa ma tikana**  
 owa maa ti- ka- na  
 1SG.O stop 2SG.S COMIT AUX  
 pron vi aux

""Brace me.""

133 **Owa ma tikanahi**  
 owa maa ti- ka- na -hi  
 1SG.O stop 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

""Brace me.""

134 **E fawa tokenaba e amani , yama**  
 ee fawa to- ka- na -haba ee ama -ni , yama  
 1IN.S disappear CH COMIT AUX FUT+F 1IN.S SEC BKG+F thing  
 pron vi aux pron sec nf



## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

140 *Owa ma tikanahi ati nematamonane*  
 owa maa ti- ka- na -hi ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 1SG.O stop 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi aux vt aux

'"Brace me," he said.'

141 *Owa wanematamonaka owa iyori*  
 owa wana -himata -mona -ka owa iyori  
 other+M be attached FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M other+M shoulder  
 adj vi adj pn

'He held onto the other man by the armpits.'

142 *Mano batori bofe ya mano kawitematamona*  
 mano batori bofe ya mano ka- ita -himata -mona  
 arm+M junction below ADJU arm+M COMIT sit FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn pn pn prt pn vi

'He held onto his armpits.'

143 *Me hiyaya kawemetemone yome*  
 me hiya -ya ka- na -waha -hemete -mone yomee  
 3PL.S be hurt DUP COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F jaguar  
 pron vi aux nm

*ehene*

ehene

because of+M

post

'They were all cut up because of the jaguar.'

144 *Me namiti hawiremetemoneke me hora*  
 me namiti hawi -ra -hemete -mone -ke me hora  
 3PL.POSS throat work NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S exclaim  
 pron pn vi pron vi

*nikima na mati yome ehene*  
 na -kima.LIST na+F mati yomee ehene  
 AUX two AUX 3PL.S jaguar because of+M  
 aux aux pron nm post

'They were hoarse from yelling to each other because of the jaguar.'

145 *Faya me kakamemetemoneke fahi waha yome*  
 faya me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi waha yomee  
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then now jaguar  
 conj pron vi dem prt nm

*toke nowati ya*  
 to- ka+M nowati ya  
 away go/come after ADJU  
 vi pn prt

'They finally came home, after the jaguar went away.'

146 *Fa fawebona tokifiwahe nowati ya me*  
 faha fawa -hibona to- ka -fI -waha+M nowati ya me  
 water drink INT+M away go/come water change behind ADJU 3PL.S  
 nf vt vi pn prt pron

*kakamemetemoneke*

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'When it went to the water to drink, they came back.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

147 **Me hekanakosematamonaka**  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'They left it behind.'

148 **Abarematamonaka**  
 ahaba -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 die NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'It didn't die.'

149 **Towisawa wata nematamona Towisawa Rowi biyo**  
 towisawa wata.LIST na -himata -mona Towisawa Rowi biyo  
 chief catch AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) spider monkey  
 nm vt aux npropm nf

**fora narawari**  
 fora na -rawa -haari  
 shoot with blowgun AUX F.PL IP.E+M  
 vt aux

'One also grabbed Towisawa Rowi when he was hunting spider monkeys with his blowgun.'

150 **Biyo fora narawe karaboa ya**  
 biyo fora na -rawa+M karaboha ya  
 spider monkey shoot with blowgun AUX F.PL blowgun ADJU  
 nf vt aux nf prt

**biyo fora narawe biyo**  
 biyo fora na -rawa+M biyo  
 spider monkey shoot with blowgun AUX F.PL spider monkey  
 nf vt aux nf

**sonikimarawa tonakamakirawe biyo**  
 sona -kima -rawa+F to- na- ka -makI -rawa+M biyo  
 fall two F.PL away CAUS go/come following F.PL spider monkey  
 vi vt nf

**tiwa karawe kame yome**  
 tiwa ka- na -rawa+M ka -ma+M yomee  
 carry COMIT AUX F.PL go/come back jaguar  
 vt aux vi nm

**hiwatematamonaka**  
 hi- wata -himata -mona -ka  
 OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He went to get two spider monkeys that fell. He was coming back, carrying the spider monkeys on his shoulder, when a jaguar attacked him.'

151 **Yome hiwate inamati ama nikani ati**  
 yomee hi- wata+M inamati ama na+F -kani ati  
 jaguar OC catch spirit be AUX CNTRFACT say  
 nm vt nm vc aux vt

**nematamonaka kose mati**  
 na -himata -mona -ka kose mati  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (name of monster)  
 aux nm

'When the jaguar attacked him, he thought it was a spirit, a *kose mati* monster.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

152 *Kose mati*                    *ama*    *nikani*                    *ati*    *nematamonane*  
 kose mati                    ama    na+F -kani                    ati    na -himata -mona -ne  
 (name of monster)    be    AUX    CNTRFACT                    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 nm                    vc    aux                    vt    aux

'He thought it was a *kose mati* monster.'

153 *Kose mati*                    *tamine*                    *mimita*                    *oamaro*                    *owa*  
 kose mati                    tamine                    mi- mita                    o-    to- ha -hamaro                    owa  
 (name of monster)    news about                    DUP hear                    1SG.S CH    AUX    FP.E+F                    1SG.O  
 nm                    pn                    vt                    aux                    pron

*watine*                    *nikani*                    *ati*    *nematamona*                    *aati*  
 wata -ne                    na+F -kani                    ati    na -himata -mona                    a-    ati  
 catch CONT+F                    AUX    CNTRFACT                    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP say  
 vt                    aux                    vt    aux                    vt

*toemarine*

to- ha -himari -ne  
 CH    AUX    FP.E+M    BKG+M  
 aux

"A *kose mati* monster, which I heard about long ago, is grabbing me," he thought, he used to say.'

154 *Bete*    *hikawematamona*                    *yama*    *noki*                    *yome*    *noko*  
 bete    hi- ka-    na    -waha    -himata -mona                    yama    noki                    yomee    noko  
 run    OC    COMIT    AUX    change    FP.N+M    REP+M                    thing    face+F                    jaguar    face+M  
 vi    aux                    nf                    pn                    nm                    pn

*tohamako*

to- ha -mako  
 CH    be for this reason+M  
 vc

'He ran with it, because he realized it was the face of a jaguar.'

155 *Towisawa*                    *ma*    *kanematamona*                    *na*                    *hiemari*  
 Towisawa                    maa    ka-    na -himata -mona                    ati    na                    hi- to- ha -himari  
 (man's name)    stop    COMIT    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M                    say    AUX    OC    CH    AUX    FP.E+M  
 npropm                    vi    aux                    vt                    aux

*amaka*                    *yomahi*  
 ama -ka                    yomahi  
 SEC DECL+M                    jaguar  
 sec                    nm

'The jaguar was trying to stop Towisawa, he used to say.'

156 *Faya*    *awa*    *kaya*    *na*                    *bofe*    *ya*                    *habi*  
 faya    awa    kaya    na+F                    bofe    ya                    habi  
 so    tree    lie    AUX                    below    ADJU    pass    under  
 conj    nf    vi    aux                    pn                    prt    vi

*hikasawiti*                    *waha*  
 hi- to- ka-    na -kosa -witI+M                    waha  
 OC    away    COMIT    AUX    middle out                    fall off  
 aux                    vi

*tonakosematamonane*

to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 CH    AUX    middle    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 aux

'Then he went under a log, and it let go.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

157 *Faya fito tonamake fe watatase kamata wara*  
 faya fito to- na -makI fee wata -tasa+M , kamata wara  
 so rush away AUX following 3SG.0 catch again belt grab  
 conj vi aux pron vt nm vt

*nawahematamonaka kamata Towisawa hiwatari*  
 na -waha -himata -mona -ka , kamata Towisawa hi- wata -haari  
 AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M belt (man's name) OC put IP.E+M  
 aux nm npropm vt

'It charged him and grabbed him again. It latched onto the belt that Towisawa was wearing.'

158 *Towisawa hekeamatamona na*  
 Towisawa hi- to- ka- ka -himata -mona ati na  
 (man's name) OC away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M say AUX  
 npropm vt vt

*hiemari kamata tama nari*  
 hi- to- ha -himari kamata tama na -haari  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M belt hold onto AUX IP.E+M  
 aux nm vt aux

'Towisawa always said he carried it along, as it held onto the belt.'

159 *Kamata hisiri tonamakematamona ama ahi*  
 kamata hisiri to- na -makI -himata -mona ama ahi  
 belt cut lines in away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M SEC then  
 nm vt aux sec dem

'It cut into the belt.'

160 *Behe nawa tohitimatamona hiyari*  
 behe na -waha to- na -hitI -himata -mona hiyara.NFIN  
 turn over AUX change CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M speak  
 vi aux aux vi

*aati toemari ahi*  
 a- ati to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 vt aux dem

'He went along twisting and turning, he used to say.'

161 *Tati hihiya na toemari amaka Towisawa tati*  
 tati hi- hiya.LIST na to- ha -himari ama -ka Towisawa tati  
 head DUP be bad AUX CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M (man's name) head  
 pn vi aux aux sec npropm pn

*haro haro iyori , mano batori bofe haro ,*  
 haaro haaro iyori , mano batori bofe haaro ,  
 that one+F that one+F shoulder arm+M junction below that one+F  
 dem dem pn pn pn pn dem

*yome ye ataro enematomonaha*  
 yomee yehe ataro ehene -mata -mona -ha  
 jaguar hand claw+M result of+M FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm pn pn pn

'His head had a scar, Towisawa's head, also his shoulder, and the side of his chest, scars of the jaguar's claws.'<sup>10</sup>

162 *Kamaki sa hikawematamona*  
 ka -makI+M , saa hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona  
 go/come following shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi vt aux

10 Yowao speaks in Portuguese at the beginning.





## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

, *ma*            *toahari*  
 maa            to- ha -haari  
 be tired CH AUX IP.E+M  
 vi            aux

'He came running back, because he was tired, he used to say.'

169 *Ma*            *toe*            *kana*    *ni*            *kamawe*            ,    *biyo*  
 maa            to- ha+M    kana    na.NFIN    ka            -ma -waha+M    ,    biyo  
 be tired CH AUX run AUX go/come back change spider monkey  
 vi            aux            vi            aux            vi            nf

*wete*    *narawe*            *wame*            *kamawematamona*            *aati*  
 wete na -rawa+M    waa -ma+M    ka            -ma -waha -himata -mona a- ati  
 tie AUX F.PL            stand back go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M DUP say  
 vt            aux            vi            vi            vt

*toemarine*

to- ha -himari -ne  
 CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

'He was tired, and he came back and tied up the spider monkeys. He stood there, and then came home, he used to say.'

170 *Towisawa*            *oolari*            *toemata*            *awaka*  
 Towisawa            o- ohari            to- ha -himata            awa -ka  
 (man's name) DUP be alone CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 npropm            vi            aux            sec

'Towisawa was alone.'

171 *Towisawa*            *aayo*            *toaremata*  
 Towisawa            a- ayo            to- ha -ra -himata  
 (man's name) DUP call someone older brother CH AUX NEG FP.N+M  
 npropm            vi            aux

*awaka*            *nisori*            *nari*  
 awa -ka            nisori            na -haari  
 seem+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.younger brother AUX IP.E+M  
 sec            nm            aux

'Towisawa didn't call anyone older brother or younger brother.'

172 *Oolari*            *toemarine*  
 o- ohari            to- ha -himari -ne  
 DUP be alone CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vi            aux

'He was alone.'

173 *Okobi*            *me*    *ta*            *me*    *fafama*            *toamaro*  
 o- ka            abi            me    taa            me    fa- fama            to- ha -hamaro  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL contrast 3PL.S DUP be two CH AUX FP.E+F  
 nm            pron prt            pron    vi            aux

*me*            *amake*            *haro*  
 me            ama -ke            haaro  
 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that one+F  
 pron    sec            dem

'My father, however, had a brother.'

174 *Sawa Bofe*            *me*            *fama*            ,    *ee*            ,    *Amane*            *me*  
 Sawa Bofe            me            fama.LIST            ,    ee            ,    Amane            me  
 (man's name) 3PL.S be two            (pause)            (man's name) 3PL.S  
 npropm            pron    vi            interj            npropm            pron

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (1)

**tatama**                    **toamaro**                    **me**                    **amake**                    **faro**  
 ta- tama                    to- ha -hamaro                    me                    ama -ke                    faaro  
 DUP be many                    CH AUX FP.E+F                    3PL.S                    SEC DECL+F                    that+F  
 vi                    aux                    pron                    sec                    dem

'Sawa Bofe had a brother, and Amane had many brothers.'

175 **Tafa**                    ,                    **Amane**                    ,                    **Sakobi**                    ,                    **me**                    **na**  
 Tafa.LIST                    ,                    Amane.LIST                    ,                    Sakobi.LIST                    ,                    me                    na  
 (man's name)                    (man's name)                    (man's name)                    3PL.S                    AUX  
 npropm                    npropm                    npropm                    pron                    aux

**toamaro**  
 to- ha -hamaro  
 CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux

'They were Tafa, Amane, and Sakobi.'

176 **Me**                    **ka**                    **wabo**                    **me**                    **fama**                    **Kowarafo**                    **ya**  
 me                    ka                    wabo                    me                    fama.LIST                    Kowarafo                    ya  
 3PL                    POSS                    brother-in-law                    3PL.S                    be two                    (man's name)                    ADJU  
 pron prt                    nm                    pron                    vi                    npropm                    prt

**Kanawa**                    **me**                    **fama**                    **mati**  
 Kanawa                    me                    fama+F                    mati  
 (man's name)                    3PL.S                    be two                    3PL.S  
 npropm                    pron                    vi                    pron

'They had two brothers-in-law, too, Kowarafo and Kanawa.'

177 **Kowarafo**                    **me**                    **ka**                    **ati**                    **ohari**                    **Kakiti**  
 Kowarafo                    me                    ka                    ati                    ohari.LIST                    Kakiti  
 (man's name)                    3PL                    POSS                    older sister                    be one                    (woman's name)  
 npropm                    pron prt                    nf                    vi                    npropf

'Kowarafo and his brother had one older sister, too, Kakiti.'

178 **Okomise**                    **oharibisa**                    ,                    **Maiyi**  
 o-                    ka                    amise                    ohari                    -bisa.LIST                    ,                    Maiyi  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt                    be alone also                    (woman's name)  
 nf                    vi                    npropf

'My aunt was alone, too, Maiyi.'

179 **Maiyi**                    **ohari**                    **na**                    **toamaro**                    **amake**  
 Maiyi                    ohari.LIST                    na                    to- ha -hamaro                    ama -ke  
 (woman's name)                    be alone                    AUX                    CH AUX FP.E+F                    SEC DECL+F  
 npropf                    vi                    aux                    aux                    sec

'Maiyi was alone, too.'

180 **Okobise**                    ,                    **Ha Kanaki**                    **toahi**                    ,                    **okomise**  
 o-                    ka                    abise                    ,                    Haa Kanaki                    to- ha+M                    ,                    o-                    ka                    amise  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle                    (man's name)                    CH be                    1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 nm                    npropm                    vc                    nf

**okomise**                    **hine**                    **ka**                    **itihari**  
 o-                    ka                    amise                    hine                    ka                    iti -haari  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt                    only                    pertaining to                    marry IP.E+M  
 nf                    pron prt                    vt

**okomi**                    **one**                    **amararo**                    ,                    **abise**  
 o-                    ka                    ami                    one                    ama -ra -haaro                    ,                    abise  
 1SG.POSS POSS mother                    other+F                    be NEG IP.E+F                    call uncle  
 nf                    adj                    vc                    vt



## AIROWA (1)

### *Free Translation*

*Note: Okomobi, Yowao's son, asked his father several questions, which are in italics.*

They were chasing white-lipped peccaries. As one of them was running after them, a jaguar caught him. Should people run when they are chasing animals?

"Someone grabbed me," he thought, when the jaguar grabbed him. He thought it was one of their people.

When the jaguar grabbed him, he ran as it held on. Then he shot it with an arrow. He didn't go after the peccaries anymore, because the jaguar had gone after him.

He came back carrying it. It was a big jaguar. The jaguar almost ate him, but he shot it with an arrow.

Airowa also fell in a hole, Airowa the Indian of old, when they were going after white-lipped peccaries. He was running after some peccaries. He shot some peccaries first, and was running with two arrows. He was running after them, and he jumped at a place where there was white sand, and disappeared.

Pieces of the arrows that he had been running with floated to the surface of the water. But the bow was not there.

They wanted to see him. His brother-in-law stopped going after the peccaries and came back. He went and they looked for the peccaries. They found the peccaries, and carried the peccaries, the ones that Airowa had killed.

They discovered that he was missing. "Where is your in-law who killed peccaries?"

*Father, was Airowa a Jarawara?*

It is the name of a Jarawara.

"My brother-in-law Airowa went running that way. I went running over on the other side."

They followed his trail, the signs of him, where he had run after the peccaries. They followed the signs of him. They found the hole where he had jumped, where he had disappeared. The pieces of the arrows that he had fallen on top of came to the surface. He had fallen on them.

Then they went and got his father and brought him, and he poked for his son, after they had cut some poles.

*Didn't they ever hear the name of his father?*

I guess they never heard the name of his father. I never heard the name of his father. They only said Airowa's name.

Then they tied up the peccaries. His father was always remembering him. His father was always going there after him. He wanted him to come back. His father was always going there after him, but he never met up with him.

His mother was crying because of him all the time, as they ate what he had killed. They ate what he had killed for a couple days, the kill of the one who had fallen in a hole.

They poked for him again the next day. "Grab the pole, Airowa. I will push the pole down to you."

He never grabbed the pole. He must have died.

## AIROWA (1)

He turned into a Brazilian, the one who told about himself. The Brazilian came back up. He spread his arms in the hole. He fell in a hole. When he went back, they were crying.

*Didn't Airowa come back?*

It was not him who come back. It was him [the Brazilian], I am telling you. He always said he had his head down, and he was full of mud. He turned into a Brazilian. As they were cutting brush for a latex tapping trail, he was looking up, and he fell into a hole because he didn't see it, he used to say.

He came upon them crying. "Father, why are you crying?" he said.

When he was already there, his father suddenly saw him, and his father was happy, he used to say. He was happy when he saw that his son had come back.

"Don't cry. I have come back," he said.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Hiyama* , *bani* *me* *me* *mowa* *na* , *bani*  
 hiyama , bani me me mowa na+F , bani  
 white-lipped peccary animal 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX animal  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm

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

*nemetemone*  
 na -hemete -mone  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They chased after white-lipped peccaries.'

2 *Hiyama* *me* *me* *mowa* *na* *me* , *kana* *ni*  
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me , kana ni  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S run AUX  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi aux

*tokomake* , *yome* *hiwatematamonaka* *fari*  
 to- ka -makI , yomee hi- wata -himata -mona -ka faari  
 away go/come following jaguar OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
 vi nm vt dem

'They were chasing the peccaries. As one of them was running after them, a jaguar caught him.'

3 *E* *kana* *te* *e* *ama* *bani* *me* *e* *kiyohari* ?  
 ee kana na -tee ee ama bani me ee kiyohari -haari ?  
 1IN.S run AUX HAB 1IN.S SEC animal 3PL.O 1IN.S chase IP.E+M  
 pron vi aux pron sec nm pron pron vt

'Should people run when they are chasing animals?'

4 *Inamati* *owa* *wata* *nakani* *ati* *nematamona* , *yome*  
 inamati owa wata na+M -kani ati na -himata -mona , yomee  
 someone 1SG.O catch AUX CNTRFACT say AUX FP.N+M REP+M jaguar  
 nm pron vt aux vt aux nm

*hiwatakihari* , *efe* *efe* *me* *ka* *owa* .  
 hi- wata -makI -haari , efe efe me ka owa  
 OC catch following IP.E+M this+M this+M 3PL of man  
 vt dem dem pron prt nm

AIROWA (1)

"Someone grabbed me," he thought, when the jaguar grabbed him. He thought it was one of their people.'

5 *Yome hiwate yome bete kawahematamona*  
 yomee hi- wata+M yomee bete ka- na -waha -himata -mona  
 jaguar OC catch jaguar run COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vt nm vi aux

'When the jaguar grabbed him, he ran as it held on.'

6 *Sa hikanematamonaka fahi*  
 saa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt aux dem

'Then he shot it with an arrow.'

7 *Hiyama me ihamarematamonaka yome*  
 hiyama me iha -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka yomee  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O have back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M jaguar  
 nm pron vt nm

*hihawai karo*  
 hi- iha -waha.NOM+F karo  
 OC have change because  
 vt prt

'He didn't go after the peccaries anymore, because the jaguar had gone after him.'

8 *Tiwa ni hikamematamona*  
 tiwa na.NFIN hi- ka -ma -himata -mona  
 carry AUX OC go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux vi

'He came back carrying it.'

9 *Yome webotematamonahane*  
 yomee webote -mata -mona -ha -ne  
 jaguar big FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nm adj

'It was a big jaguar.'

10 *Yome hikabena yome sa*  
 yomee hi- kaba -hina yomee saa  
 jaguar OC eat IRR+M jaguar shoot with arrow  
 nm vt nm vt

*kawematamonaka*  
 ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'The jaguar almost ate him, but he shot it with an arrow.'

11 *Airowa sona nematamonaka hoti ya ahi*  
 Airowa sona.LIST na -himata -mona -ka hoti ya ahi  
 (man's name) fall AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M hole ADJU then  
 npropm vi aux nf prt dem

*Airowa kaboko bote hiyama me me mowa*  
 Airowa kaboko bote hiyama me me mowa  
 (man's name) Indian old white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight  
 npropm nm adj nm pron pron vt

AIROWA (1)

*na mati*  
na+F mati  
AUX 3PL.S  
aux pron

'Airowa also fell in a hole, Airowa the Indian of old, when they were going after white-lipped peccaries.'

12 *Hiyama* *me me mowa na me*  
hiyama me me mowa na+F me  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S  
nm pron pron vt aux pron

*hiyama me kiyo , hiyama me*  
hiyama me kiyo.LIST , hiyama me  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O chase white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
nm pron vt nm pron

*sa nibe wati fame bete kawahe ,*  
saa na -baha+M wati fama+M bete ka- na -waha+M ,  
shoot with arrow AUX before arrow be two run COMMIT AUX change  
vt aux nm vi vi aux

*kana ni tokomake , yama siki kanaha yora*  
kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI , yama siki ka- na+F yora  
run AUX away go/come following thing be sandy COMMIT AUX jump  
vi aux vi nf vi aux vi

*tonamakematamonaka fawa*  
to- na -makI -himata -mona -ka fawa  
away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M disappear  
aux vi

*towitibanoho*  
to- na -witI -hiba -no -ho  
away AUX out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
aux

'They were going after the peccaries. He was running after some peccaries. He shot some peccaries first, and was running with two arrows. He was running after them, and he jumped at a place where there was white sand, and disappeared.'

13 *Wati , wati bete hikawe kote tafo*  
wati , wati bete hi- ka- na -waha+M kote tafo  
arrow arrow run OC COMMIT AUX change piece float  
nm nm vi aux pn vi

*kamisamematamonaka furi*  
ka- na -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka faari  
COMIT AUX up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
aux dem

'Pieces of the arrows that he had been running with floated to the surface of the water.'

14 *Titisa ta wataremetemonehe , tabiyo*  
ti- tisa taa wata -ra -hemete -mone -he , tabiyo  
DUP shoot with arrow contrast exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DUP wanting  
nf prt vi pn

*me hiwebanoho*  
me hi- awa -hiba -no -ho  
3PL.S OC see FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
pron vt

'But the bow was not there. They wanted to see him.'



AIROWA (1)

15 *Faya* , *hiyama* *me* *sa* *tosamake*  
 faya , hiyama me saa to- na -kosa -makI  
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O leave off CH AUX middle following  
 conj nm pron vt aux  
 , *kame* , *wabori* *hiyama* *me*  
 ka -ma+M , wabori hiyama me  
 go/come back 3SG.POSS brother-in-law white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
 vi nm pron

*sa* *tosamake* *kame* , *tokome*  
 saa to- na -kosa -makI ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M  
 leave off CH AUX middle following go/come back away go/come back  
 vt aux vi vi

*hiyama* *me* *me* *siba* *na* *hiyama*  
 hiyama me me siba na+F hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S look for AUX white-lipped peccary  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm

*me* *me* *wasia* , *hiyama* *me* *me* *iso*  
 me me wasia+F , hiyama me me iso  
 3PL.O 3PL.S find white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off  
 pron pron vt nm pron vt

*nemetemoneke* *ehene* , *Airowa* *ehene* ,  
 na -hemete -mone -ke ehene , Airowa ehene ,  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F victim of+M (man's name) victim of+M  
 aux pn npropm pn

*fawa* *ni* *me* *hiwasibanoho*  
 fawa na.NFIN me hi- wasi -hiba -no -ho  
 disappear AUX 3PL.S OC find FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi aux pron vt

'He stopped going after the peccaries, and came back. His brother-in-law stopped going after the peccaries and came back. He went and they looked for the peccaries. They found the peccaries, and carried the peccaries, the ones that Airowa had killed. They discovered that he was missing.'

16 *Hibaka* *te* *owa* *toeno* *ehene* *amaraya* ?  
 hibaka tee owa to- ha -hino ehene ama -ra -ya  
 where 2PL.POSS in-law CH be IP.N+M victim of+M be CQ+M now  
 interrog pron nm vc pn vc

'''Where is your in-law who killed peccaries?'''

17 *Abi* *Airowa* , *e* *ka* *owa* *ama* ?  
 abi Airowa , ee ka owa ama  
 father (man's name) 1IN POSS man be  
 nm npropm pron prt nm vc

'Father, was Airowa a Jarawara?'

18 *E* *ka* *owamata* *ino* , *ino* *amaka*  
 ee ka owa -mata ino , ino ama -ka  
 1IN POSS man FP.N+M name+M name+M be DECL+M  
 pron prt nm pn pn vc

'It is the name of a Jarawara.'

19 *Airowa* *oko* *wabo* *kana* *ni*  
 Airowa o- ka wabo kana na.NFIN  
 (man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law run AUX  
 npropm prt nm nm vi aux

## AIROWA (1)

**tokomaki**                      **ama ahi** .  
to- ka              -makI+M    ama ahi  
away go/come following SEC there  
vi                      sec dem  
" My brother-in-law Airowa went running that way."

20 **Oko**                      **kana ni tokabisara**                      **ha ya ati**  
o- ka              kana na.NFIN to- ka              -bisa -hara    haa ya ati  
1SG.POSS POSS run AUX              away go/come also IP.E+F DEM ADJU say  
prt                      vi aux              vi                      dem prt vt

**nematamonane**  
na -himata -mona -ne  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
aux  
" I went running over on the other side."

21 **Teme**                      **me hikiyomatamonaka**                      , **ehene** ,  
teme                      me              hi- kiyomata -himata -mona -ka                      ,              ehene                      ,  
footprint+M 3PL.S OC chase FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M              result of+M  
pn                      pron vt                      pn

**kana ni tokomaki**                      **karo** .  
kana na.NFIN to- ka              -makI.NOM karo  
run AUX              away go/come following LOC  
vi aux              vi                      prt  
" They followed his trail, the signs of him, where he had run after the peccaries."

22 **Ene**                      **me hikiyo**                      , **hoti me**  
ehene                      me              hi- kiyomata                      ,              hoti me  
result of+M 3PL.S OC chase                      hole 3PL.S  
pn                      pron vt                      nf pron

**towasimakietemoneke**                      , **yora towitino**  
to- wasi -makI              -hemete -mone -ke                      ,              yora to- na -witI.NOM -no  
away find following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F              jump away AUX out              IP.N+M  
vt                      vi aux

**ka** , **fawa towitino**                      **ka** .  
ka                      fawa              to- na -witI.NOM -no                      ka  
LOC disappear away AUX out              IP.N+M              which  
prt vi                      aux                      prt

" They followed the signs of him. They found the hole where he had jumped, where he had disappeared."

23 **Wati kote tafo kamsamematamona**                      **amane**  
wati kote tafo ka- na -misa -ma -himata -mona ama -ne  
arrow piece float COMIT AUX up back FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
nm pn vi aux                      sec

**hekinenoho**  
hi- ka- kina -hino -ho  
OC COMIT hit IP.N+M DUP  
vt

" The pieces of the arrows that he had fallen on top of came to the surface."

24 **Hekineno**                      **faya bati**                      **me**  
hi- ka- kina -hino faya bati                      me  
OC COMIT hit IP.N+M so 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.S  
vt                      conj nm                      pron



AIROWA (1)

30 **Bati**                      **ati**            **fafawa**                      **toarematamonaka**  
 bati                      ati            fa- fawa                      to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.father      voice      DUP disappear      CH AUX NEG FP.N+M      REP+M DECL+M  
 nm                      pn            vi                      aux

'His father was always remembering him.'

31 **Bati**                      **yobi**                      **hikanahikana**  
 bati                      yobi                      hi- ka- na -hikana  
 3SG.POSS.father      go back and forth      OC COMIT AUX DUP  
 nm                      vi                      aux

**kami**                      **tabiyo**  
 ka                      -ma.NFIN      tabiyo  
 go/come back                      wanting  
 vi                      pn

'His father was always going there after him. He wanted him to come back.'

32 **Bati**                      **yobi**                      **hikane**                      **kokobo**                      **na**  
 bati                      yobi                      hi- ka- na+M      ko- kobo.LIST      na  
 3SG.POSS.father      go back and forth      OC COMIT AUX      DUP meet                      AUX  
 nm                      vi                      aux                      vt                      aux

**hiarematamonahane**  
 hi- to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+M      REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 aux

'His father was always going there after him, but he never met up with him.'

33 **Ene**                      **mati**                      ,      **mati**                      **ohi**      **ni**                      **fara**  
 ehene                      mati                      ,      mati                      ohi      na.NFIN      fara  
 because of+M      3SG.POSS.mother                      3SG.POSS.mother      cry      AUX                      same+F  
 pn                      nf                      nf                      vi      aux                      dem

**totoa**                      **na**      **toemetemone**                      ,      **ehene**                      **me**  
 to- to- ha.LIST      na      to- ha -hemete -mone                      ,      ehene                      me  
 DUP CH AUX                      AUX CH AUX FP.N+F      REP+F                      victim of+M      3PL.S  
 vc                      aux      aux                      pn                      pron

**hikabari**  
 hi- kaba -haari  
 OC eat IP.E+M  
 vt

'His mother was crying because of him all the time, as they ate what he had killed.'

34 **Ene**                      **me**                      **hikabakosematamonaka**                      **hoti**      **ya**  
 ehene                      me                      hi- to- kaba -kosa -himata -mona -ka      hoti      ya  
 victim of+M      3PL.S      OC away eat middle FP.N+M      REP+M DECL+M      hole      ADJU  
 pn                      pron      vt                      nf                      prt

**foyahari**  
 foya                      -haari  
 be inside look+M  
 vi

'They ate what he had killed for a couple days, the kill of the one who had fallen in a hole.'

35 **Faya**      **me**                      **bori**      **hinaminatase**                      ,      **Awa**      **wara**      **tina**  
 faya      me                      bori      hi- na -mina -tasa+M                      ,      awa      wara      ti-      to- na  
 so      3PL.S      poke      OC AUX morning again                      wood      grab      2SG.S CH AUX  
 conj      pron      vt      aux                      nf      vt      aux

## AIROWA (1)

### *Airowa*

Airowa  
(man's name)  
npropm

"They poked for him again the next day. "Grab the pole, Airowa."

36 *Awa yoko onisamakibonehe*  
awa yoko o- to- na -risa -makI.NOM -bone -he  
wood push 1SG.S away AUX down following INT+F DUP  
nf vt aux

"I will push the pole down to you."

37 *Awa wawara tona toematamonaha*  
awa wa- wara to- na to- ha -himata -mona -ha  
wood DUP grab CH AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
nf vt aux aux

'He never grabbed the pole.'

38 *Abemata awaka*  
ahaba -himata awa -ka  
die FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
vi sec

'He must have died.'

39 *Efematamona yara totoa toemarika*  
efe -mata -mona yara to- to- ha to- ha -himari -ka  
this+M FP.N+M REP+M Brazilian DUP CH be CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
dem nm vc aux

*hiwa kaminematamonaha*  
hiwa kamina -himata -mona -ha  
3SG.REFL.M tell FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
pron vt

'He turned into a Brazilian, the one who told about himself.'

40 *Kimisamematamona*  
ka -misa -ma -himata -mona  
go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M  
vi

'He came back up.'

41 *Mano e na toemarika ahi mano yama*  
mano ee.LIST na to- ha -himari -ka ahi , mano yama  
arm+M motion AUX CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M this , arm+M climb  
pn vi aux aux dem pn vt

*tonikima nari , hoti ya , ee*  
to- na -kima na -haari , hoti ya , ee  
CH AUX two AUX IP.E+M hole ADJU yes  
aux aux nf prt interj

'He spread his arms in the hole.'

42 *Hoti ya sonematamonaka*  
hoti ya sona -himata -mona -ka  
hole ADJU fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nf prt vi

'He fell in a hole.'

AIROWA (1)

43 *Me me oi nani mera*  
 me me ohi na -hani mera  
 3PL 3PL.S cry AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 pron pron vi aux pron

*towasimakimatamonane*

to- wasi -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 away find following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'When he went back, they were crying.'

44 *Me oi nani mera towasimaki*  
 me ohi na -hani mera to- wasi -makI+M  
 3PL.S cry AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O away find following  
 pron vi aux pron vt

'When he went back, they were crying.'

45 *Airowa kamaramatamonaha* ?  
 Airowa ka -ma -ra.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha  
 (man's name) go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 npropm vi

'Didn't Airowa come back?'

46 *Kamarematamonaka fari*  
 ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka faari  
 go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
 vi dem

'It was not him who come back.'

47 *Efemata amaka one oke*  
 efe -mata ama -ka ati o- na -ne o- ke  
 this+M FP.N+M be DECL+M say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 dem vc vt prt

'It was him, I am telling you.'

48 *Nokorisematamona aati toematamona ataatabo*  
 noko -risa -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himata -mona ata- atabo  
 point down FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP be muddy  
 vi vt aux vi

'He always said he had his head down, and he was full of mud.'

49 *Efemata yara totoawa toemarika*  
 efe -mata yara to- to- ha -waha to- ha -himari -ka  
 this+M FP.N+M Brazilian DUP CH be change CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 dem nm vc aux

'He turned into a Brazilian.'

50 *Sirika hawine me ti na neme ya noko*  
 sirika hawine me tii na+ F neme ya noko  
 rubber tree sp trail+M 3PL.S cut through AUX up ADJU eye+M  
 nm pn pron vt aux nf prt pn

*tohe hoti hiwarani ya sonematamona aati*  
 to- ha+M hoti hi- awa -ra -hani ya sona -himata -mona a- ati  
 CH be hole OC see NEG IP.N+F ADJU fall FP.N+M REP+M DUP say  
 vc nf vt prt vi vt

AIROWA (1)

*toemarine*

to- ha -himari -ne  
CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
aux

'As they were cutting brush for a latex tapping trail, he was looking up, and he fell into a hole because he didn't see it, he used to say.'

51 *Me oi nani mera towasimaki Babai himata*  
me ohi na -hani mera to- wasi -makI+M babai himata  
3PL.S cry AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O away find following daddy what?  
pron vi aux pron vt nm interrog

*tabiyo oi tine tiri ? ati nematamonane*  
tabiyo ohi ti- na -ne ti- ri ? ati na -himata -mona -ne  
absence cry 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
pn vi aux prt vt aux

'He came upon them crying. "Father, why are you crying?" he said.'

52 *Ayata bati hiwamisematamonaka*  
ayata bati hi- awa -misa -himata -mona -ka  
near 3SG.POSS.father OC see up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nf nm vt

*bati alegre nebanoho aati*  
bati alegre na -hiba -no -ho a- ati  
3SG.POSS.father vi AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP DUP say  
nm aux vt

*toemarine*

to- ha -himari -ne  
CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
aux

'When he was already there his father suddenly saw him, and his father was happy, he used to say.'

53 *Yayai nematamona ahi biti kamaki*  
ya- yai na -himata -mona ahi biti ka -makI+M  
DUP be happy AUX FP.N+M REP+M then 3SG.POSS.son go/come following  
vi aux dem nm vi

*awahari*

awa -haari  
see IP.E+M  
vt

'He was happy when he saw that his son had come back.'

54 *Te oi rima na*  
tee ohi na -rima na  
2PL.S cry AUX NEG.IMP+F AUX  
pron vi aux aux

""Don't cry.""

55 *Okomake oke ati nematamonaka*  
o- ka -makI o- ke ati na -himata -mona -ka  
1SG.S go/come following 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi prt vt aux

'"I have come back," he said.'

## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

### *Free Translation*

The spirits ate each other. They aren't people. The spirits caught a spirit and ate him. They caught him. They caught him and ate him in their own place, a yima. He was a yima. He spoke the language of the yimas. I will tell about him.

He was holding just one spear, threatening them, with his face painted red. They grabbed his weapon [that he threw at them], so that his weapon didn't harm them. He took away his weapon and pushed him to where the other one was standing. He caught him and lifted him up. He lifted him up and carried him, because he knew he was strong. He was strong, and he didn't attack him by himself. They were able to kill him because they attacked him together. When they killed him, they brought misfortune on themselves.

He was another yima. The yima spoke a different language. They ate him. They roasted him on a grill at their place. The stick on the top of their breechcloth is big. They are scary. They were afraid of the ones who killed others. The women are beautiful. They ate him. They didn't raise him from the dead. They left them there.

*Okomobi: Father, where did they find them?*

They found them in the flooded forest. They are inhabitants of the flooded forest. Why did they find them? They killed. That's why they went after them. Because they were fearsome, they went after them. They wanted to get food for the festa, so they went hunting. The spirits hurt one of them. The spirit was hunting alone. That's why he got hurt. His stuff was on the ground, and they came upon his stuff. Right where they killed him. At the place where they killed him, it was all messed up, because they had fought with him. That's why the friends of the one who died were able to follow his trail. They had killed him back at their own place. They went after him, and followed his trail.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Ara me inamati ibe kabamoneke*  
 Ara me inamati ibe kaba -hamone -ke  
 Alan spirits RECIPI eat REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm nf pn vt

'Alan, the spirits ate each other.'

2 *Me inamati ibe kabamoneni*  
 me inamati ibe kaba -hamone -ni  
 spirits RECIPI eat REP+F BKG+F  
 nf pn vt

'The spirits ate each other.'

3 *E amakere*  
 ee ama -ke -re  
 human being be DECL+F NEG+F  
 nf vc

'They aren't people.'



## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

4 **Inamati me hikabemona , me , me hiwatari**  
 inamati me hi- kaba -himona , me , me hi- wata -haari  
 spirit 3PL.S OC eat REP+M 3PL 3PL.S OC catch IP.E+M  
 nm pron vt pron pron vt

'The spirits caught a spirit and ate him.'

5 **Me hiwatemonane**  
 me hi- wata -himona -ne  
 3PL.S OC catch REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt

'They caught him.'

6 **Me hiwate me hikabemonaha , fara me**  
 me hi- wata+M me hi- kaba -himona -ha , fara me  
 3PL.S OC catch 3PL.S OC eat REP+M DUP same+F 3PL.POSS  
 pron vt pron vt dem pron

**tabori ya , yima**  
 tabori ya yima  
 place+F ADJU (name of monster)  
 pn prt nm

'They caught him and ate him in their own place, a yima.'

7 **Yimamonaka**  
 yima -mona -ka  
 (name of monster) REP+M DECL+M  
 nm

'He was a yima.'

8 **Yima ati toemonaka**  
 yima ati to- ha -himona -ka  
 (name of monster) voice CH be REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pn vc

'He spoke the language of the yimas.'

9 **Okominamataba**  
 o- kamina -mata -ba  
 1SG.S tell short time IMMED+M  
 vt

'I will tell about him.'

10 **Wabise tama ni oharimonahane mera mama**  
 wabise tama na.NFIN ohari -himona -ha -ne mera ma- maa  
 spear hold onto AUX be one REP+M DUP BKG+M 3PL.O DUP stop  
 nf vt aux vi pron vt

**kawa nari , noko mawarine**  
 ka- na -waha na -haari , noko mawa -rine  
 COMMIT AUX change AUX IP.E+M face+M be red PN  
 aux aux pn pn

'He was holding just one spear, threatening them, with his face painted red.'

11 **Ye honene ye honene me wara hine , ye**  
 yehe honene yehe honene me wara hi- to- na+M , yehe  
 hand weapon+M hand weapon+M 3PL.S grab OC CH AUX hand  
 pn pn pn pn pron vt aux pn

## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

**honene me hinawemonane**  
 honene me hi- na- waa -himona -ne  
 weapon+M 3PL.S OC CAUS stand REP+M BKG+M  
 pn pron vt

'They grabbed his weapon [that he threw at them], so that his weapon didn't harm them.'

12 **Ye honene hitikose yoko**  
 yehe honene hi- to- iti -kosa+M yoko  
 hand weapon+M OC CH take out middle push  
 pn pn vt vt

**hiwitimonaka fare owa wai ka ya**  
 hi- to- na -witI -himona -ka fare owa waa.NOM ka ya  
 OC away AUX out REP+M DECL+M same+M other+M stand LOC ADJU  
 aux dem adj vi prt prt

'He took away his weapon and pushed him to where the other one was standing.'

13 **Hiwatemonaka ahi**  
 hi- wata -himona -ka ahi  
 OC catch REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt dem

'He caught him.'

14 **Hiwate hinawemonaha**  
 hi- wata+M hi- na- waa -himona -ha  
 OC catch OC CAUS stand REP+M DUP  
 vt vt

'He caught him and lifted him up.'

15 **Tiwa namisihiti hiemonaka hiwe**  
 tiwa na -misa -hitI hi- to- ha -himona -ka hi- awa.NOM+M  
 carry AUX up along the way OC CH AUX REP+M DECL+M OC see  
 vt aux aux vt

**karo**  
 karo  
 because  
 prt

'He lifted him up and carried him, because he knew he was strong.'

16 **Kitemonane**  
 kita -himona -ne  
 be strong REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He was strong.'

17 **Kite hinariremonaka**  
 kita+M hi- na- ohari -ra -himona -ka  
 be strong OC CAUS be one NEG REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vt

'He was strong, and he didn't attack him by himself.'

18 **Me me hikanatamamako me**  
 me me hi- ka- na- tama -mako me  
 3PL 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be many for this reason+M 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron

## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

**hinahabimonaka**

hi- na- ahaba -himona -ka  
 OC CAUS die REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'They were able to kill him because they attacked him together.'

19	<b>Me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>itia</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>
	me	ihi	iti+F	me	hine	me
	3PL.POSS	victim of+F	exist	3PL.POSS	3.REFL	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vi	pron	pron	pron

**yokoamoneke**

yoko -hamone -ke  
 bring misfortune on REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'When they killed him, they brought misfortune on themselves.'

20	<b>Yima</b>	<b>owamonaka</b>
	yima	owa -mona -ka
	(name of monster)	other+M REP+M DECL+M
	nm	adj

'He was another yima.'

21	<b>Yima</b>	<b>yima</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>hihiya</b>
	yima	yima	ati	hi- hiya
	(name of monster)	(name of monster)	voice	DUP be different
	nm	nm	pn	vi

**nemonane**

na -himona -ne  
 AUX REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'The yima spoke a different language.'

22	<b>Me</b>	<b>hikabemonaka</b>
	me	hi- kaba -himona -ka
	3PL.S	OC eat REP+M DECL+M
	pron	vt

'They ate him.'

23	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabasi</b>	<b>hinemona</b>	<b>fara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabori</b>
	me	me	tabasi	hi- na -himona	fara	me	tabori
	3PL	3PL.S	roast on grill	OC AUX REP+M	same+F	3PL.POSS	place+F
	pron	pron	vt	aux	dem	pron	pn

**ya**

ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'They roasted him on a grill at their place.'

24	<b>Hinaka</b>	<b>kanatafo</b>	<b>awe</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>tamine</b>	<b>yofinarawa</b>
	hinaka	kanatafo	awe	yama	tamine	yofina -rawa+F
	3SG.POSS	breechcloth	wood+F	thing	news about	cause fear F.PL
	pron	nf	pn	nf	pn	vi

**amake**

ama -ke  
 SEC DECL+F  
 sec

'The stick on the top of their breechcloth is big. They are scary.'

## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

25 *Yama komehehe narawamonehe me me*  
 yama komeha+M -he na -rawa -hamone -he me me  
 thing be fearsome DUP AUX F.PL REP+F DUP 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf vi aux pron pron

**hinahabihamonehe**

hi- na- ahaba -hamone -he  
 OC CAUS die REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They were afraid of the ones who killed others.'

26 *Me fanawiri ta taminamone me amani*  
 me fanawi -ri taa tamina -hamone me ama -ni  
 3PL.POSS woman PN contrast be good REP+F 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F  
 pron pn prt vi pron sec

'The women are beautiful.'

27 *Me hikabemonaka*  
 me hi- kaba -himona -ka  
 3PL.S OC eat REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'They ate him.'

28 *Me yama hinamaremonaka*  
 me yama hi- na -ma -ra -himona -ka  
 3PL.S make OC AUX back NEG REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt aux

'They didn't raise him from the dead.'

29 *Me me hekanakosamone fahi*  
 me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hamone fahi  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle REP+F then  
 pron pron vt dem

'They left them there.'

30 *Abi hibaka ya me me hiwasirimoneheya* ?  
 abi hibaka ya me me hi- wasi -ri -mone -he -ya  
 father where ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S OC find CQ+F REP+F DUP now  
 nm interrog prt pron pron vt

'Father, where did they find them?'

31 *Me me hiwasiamoneke waha ya*  
 me me hi- wasi -hamone -ke waha ya  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC find REP+F DECL+F flooded forest ADJU  
 pron pron vt nf prt

'They found them in the flooded forest.'

32 *Wa abemoneke*  
 waha abe -mone -ke  
 flooded forest inhabitant+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf pn

'They are inhabitants of the flooded forest.'

33 *Himata me ebe nani me me*  
 himata me ebe na -hani me me  
 what? 3PL.S purpose AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 interrog pron vt aux pron pron

## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

**hiwasirimoneheya** ?  
 hi- wasi -ri -mone -he -ya  
 OC find CQ+F REP+F DUP now  
 vt  
 'Why did they find them?'

34 **Me**            **ihi**                    **itiani**                    **me**                    **awineni**  
 me            ihi                    iti    -hani            me                    awine    -ni  
 3PL.POSS    victim of+F    exist IP.N+F    3PL.POSS    seem+F BKG+F  
 pron            pn                    vi                    pron            sec  
 'They killed.'

35 **Makoni**                    **me**                    **me**  
 makoni                    me                    me  
 for this reason    3PL.O    3PL.S  
 conj                    pron            pron

**hinakamakiamoneni**  
 hi- to- na- ka                    -makI                    -hamone -ni  
 OC away CAUS go/come following REP+F BKG+F  
 vt  
 'That's why they went after them.'

36 **Me**            **yofina**                    **me**                    **me**  
 me            yofina+F                    me                    me  
 3PL.S    cause fear                    3PL.O    3PL.S  
 pron    vi                    pron            pron

**hinakamakiamoneke**  
 hi- to- na- ka                    -makI                    -hamone -ke  
 OC away CAUS go/come following REP+F DECL+F  
 vt  
 'Because they were fearsome, they went after them.'

37 **Yowata**                    ,    **yowata**                    **me**                    **tokahabone**                    **me**  
 yowata                    yowata                    me                    to- ka                    -habone                    me  
 food for festa                    food for festa                    3PL.S    away go/come                    INT+F                    3PL.S  
 nf                    nf                    pron    vi                    pron                    pron  
**toka**                    **me**                    **yama**                    **me**                    **yete**                    **na**                    **me**                    ,    **me**                    **ka**                    **owa**                    **ra**  
 to- ka+F                    me                    yama                    me                    yete                    na+F                    me                    ,    me                    ka                    owa                    ra  
 away go/come                    3PL.S                    thing                    3PL.S                    hunt                    AUX                    3PL.S                    3PL    of                    man                    O  
 vi                    pron                    nf                    pron                    vt                    aux                    pron                    pron prt                    nm                    prt  
**me inamati**                    ,    **no**                    **toniamoneke**  
 me inamati                    ,    noho                    to- niha- na                    -hamone -ke  
 spirits                    be hurt                    CH CAUS                    AUX REP+F                    DECL+F  
 nf                    vi                    aux

'They wanted to get food for the festa, so they went hunting. The spirits hurt one of them.'

38 **Inamati**                    **yama**                    **yete**                    **ne**                    **oarino**                    **awaka**  
 inamati                    yama                    yete                    na+M                    ohari                    -hino                    awa                    -ka  
 spirit                    thing                    hunt                    AUX                    be alone                    IP.N+M                    seem+M                    DECL+M  
 nm                    nf                    vt                    aux                    vi                    sec

'The spirit was hunting alone.'

39 **Makoni**                    **noho**                    **tonemonaka**  
 makoni                    noho                    to- na                    -himona -ka  
 for this reason                    be hurt                    CH AUX REP+M                    DECL+M  
 conj                    vi                    aux

'That's why he got hurt.'

## A FIGHT AMONG SPIRITS

40 *Hinaka yama boti homani hinaka yama me*  
 hinaka yama boti homa -hani hinaka yama me  
 3SG.POSS thing bunch+F lie on ground IP.N+F 3SG.POSS thing 3PL.S  
 pron nf pn vi pron nf pron

**hiwasimakiamonehe**

hi- to- wasi -makI -hamone -he  
 OC away find following REP+F DUP  
 vt

'His stuff was on the ground, and they came upon his stuff.'

41 *Fare me hinahabihano ya*  
 fare me hi- na- ahaba.NOM+M -no ya  
 same+M 3PL.S OC CAUS die IP.N+M ADJU  
 dem pron vt prt

'Right where they killed him.'

42 *Fare me hinahabiano ya ene*  
 fare me hi- na- ahaba.NOM+M -no ya ene  
 same+M 3PL.S OC CAUS die IP.N+M ADJU result of+M  
 dem pron vt prt pn

*komehemonane me mono hino karo*  
 komeha -himona -ne me mono hi- na.NOM -no karo  
 be fearsome REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S struggle with OC AUX IP.N+M because  
 vi pron vt aux prt

'At the place where they killed him, it was all messed up, because they had fought with him.'

43 *Makoni , ehene me hikiyomonaka*  
 makoni , ehene me hi- kiyo -himona -ka  
 for this reason result of+M 3PL.S OC follow REP+M DECL+M  
 conj pn pron vt

'That's why they were able to follow his trail.'

44 *Me hinabihameno awaka fara me*  
 me hi- to- na- ahaba -ma -hino awa -ka fara me  
 3PL.S OC away CAUS die back IP.N+M seem+M DECL+M same+F 3PL.POSS  
 pron vt sec dem pron

*tabori ya*  
 tabori ya  
 place+F ADJU  
 pn prt

'They killed him back at their own place.'

45 *Me hekame ehene me kiyone*  
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M ehene me kiyo -ne  
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back result of+M 3PL.S follow CONT+F  
 pron vt pn pron vt

**ninihi**

na.NOM+F -ni -hi  
 AUX IP.N+F DUP  
 aux

'They went after him, and followed his trail.'

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

### *Free Translation*

*Note: Yowao uses eyewitness tense in the second part of the story, where he talks about the Brazilian that Airowa turned into, and that is why I have listed the story as a personal experience narrative rather than a traditional story.*

Some other people were hunting white-lipped peccaries. One of them, Airowa, fell into a hole. His mother mourned for him. Airowa fell into the water. He was running with his brother-in-law. They called him, but he didn't answer their calling. They carried off the animals he killed. His father tied up the animals he killed. They called him.

"Where did my son go running and disappear?"

"We were running over there."

"Show where it was where my son was going," his father said.

"We went there."

"Let's go see him."

Some of them went after him. The others went home. They went after him. They followed his trail. There were stretched vines, and they followed his trail.

"I went running that way. He went running that way. I went running a different direction. The peccaries came running this way."

They went. He went, and found signs of him. There was a big hole.

"I think my son fell in the hole. It's my son's hole. Bring a pole," he said right away.

He was concerned about the day ending. They broke off a tree, and poked for him.

"Grab onto the pole, Airowa."

They didn't reach the bottom of where Airowa fell. The hole was deep. They didn't find his bow. Only pieces of arrow came to the surface. They poked and poked for him, but they didn't reach him. They left him behind. They carried the peccaries he had killed. They went home.

What was Airowa's mother's name? I don't know his father's name or his mother's name. They went home. Because of the news they told, his mother cried. He was a good hunter. His mother cried.

His father went after him the next morning. He poked for him out there. They poked for him, but didn't reach him.

Later he came to the surface. He was the one who was Sitero. Sitero talked a lot. As they were cutting the brush for a trail for tapping latex, he was with other Brazilians. As they cut the brush, he was looking up to see *sirika* tree leaves, and he fell in a hole, he used to say.

"It was what Airowa said, yikes," Monimisa used to say, when he heard him. He couldn't open his hand.

"Then I came to the surface. Maneo, Maneo, I came to the surface. I was upside down."

He was full of mud. He didn't come up quickly. He used to say he was full of mud. He came back up, and found the opening. Then he washed off.

In the late afternoon he left and went back. He came upon the others crying, he used to say.

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

He went there, and came upon them.

"Our boss has come back."

They stopped crying because of him, because they saw him. Then he went home. They greeted him. They were the first Brazilians. They greeted him, he used to say.

The Brazilian tapped out some snuff in order to sniff it. He tapped out the snuff, but didn't sniff it right away, he used to say. He looked up at the sky. He was looking up. His snuff tube was pointed into the snuff. Isiro was really something. He took snuff.

He was always hungry, he didn't eat much. He swallowed a little bit of meat.

"I'm satisfied, you eat. I'm satisfied. I'm full," but he was not full. He used to say he was not full. He was not satisfied, because he hadn't eaten much. He was Sisio, there at Mucuum.

Then they went out to the trail for tapping latex again, after he went there. He went there.

"Let's cut the brush for a trail for tapping latex. I didn't die," he said.

The Brazilians didn't want to let him go. "Our boss who is good to us, who disappeared, has come back. You take care with the boss," the Brazilians said.

He didn't wear shoes on his feet. They went out again, and cut the brush for a trail for tapping latex. They cut the brush for the trail, and then went downstream. Kasawara lives where his trail crosses, it is a big trail. He went cutting the brush for a trail, Sisiro. It was his trail for getting Brazil nuts. Sisiro lived in the village. He stayed there a long time.

### Interlinear Presentation

1	<b>Me</b>	<b>one</b>	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>nabisa</b>	
	me	one	hiyama		me	me	mowa	na	-bisa+F
	3PL	other+F	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	AUX	also
	pron	adj	nm		pron	pron	vt	aux	
	<b>me</b>	,	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>Airowa</b>	<b>bokematamona</b>		<b>amake</b>	
	me	,	me	ka	Airowa	boka.NOM+M	-mata	-mona	ama -ke
	3PL.S		3PL	POSS	(man's name)	enter water	short time	REP+M	be DECL+F
	pron		pron	prt	npropm	vi			vc
	<b>ahi</b>	,	<b>hoti</b>	<b>ya</b>	,	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>mati</b>		<b>ohi</b>
	ahi	,	hoti	ya	,	tabiyo	mati		ohi
	then		hole	ADJU		absence	3SG.POSS.mother		cry
	dem		nf	prt		pn	nf		vi

#### **hitebanoho**

hi- na -tee -hiba -no -ho  
 OC AUX HAB FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'Some other people were hunting white-lipped peccaries. One of them, Airowa, fell into a hole. His mother mourned for him.'

2	<b>Airowa</b>		<b>boke</b>		<b>wabori</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	
	Airowa		boka+M	,	wabori		ya	kana	na.NFIN	
	(man's name)		enter water		3SG.POSS brother-in-law		ADJU	run	AUX	
	npropm		vi		nm		prt	vi	aux	
	<b>tofamamaki</b>			,	<b>me</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>ni</b>
	to- fama		-makI+M	,	me	haa	hi- na+M	me	haa	na.NFIN
	away be with following				3PL.S	call	OC AUX	3PL.S	call	AUX
	vi				pron	vt	aux	pron	vi	aux
	<b>wara</b>		<b>tore</b>		<b>ehene</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>iso</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	
	wara		to- na -ra+M		ehene	me	iso	hi- na+M	me	
	respond to		CH AUX NEG		victim of+M	3PL.S	carry off	OC AUX	3PL.S	
	vt		aux		pn	pron	vt	aux	pron	



## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

<b>iso</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>ehene</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>wete</b>
iso	hi- na+M	ehene	bati	wete
carry off	OC AUX	victim of+M	3SG.POSS.father	tie
vt	aux	pn	nm	vt

**hinematamonane**

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

'Airowa fell into the water. He was running with his brother-in-law. They called him, but he didn't answer their calling. They carried off the animals he killed. His father tied up the animals he killed.'

<b>3 Ehene</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>wete</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>hine</b>
ehene	bati	wete	hi- na+M	me	haa	hi- na+M
victim of+M	3SG.POSS.father	tie	OC AUX	3PL.S	call	OC AUX
pn	nm	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux

<b>Hibaka</b>	<b>hibaka</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>okatao</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>
hibaka	hibaka	ya	okatao	kana	na.NFIN
where	where	ADJU	my son	run	AUX
interrog	interrog	prt	nm	vi	aux

<b>tokomakehino</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>naraya</b>			
to- ka -makI -hino -ho	fawa	na.CONT+M	-ra -ya		?
away go/come following IP.N+M DUP	disappear	AUX	CQ+M now		
vi	vi	aux			

'His father tied up the animals he killed. They called him. "Where did my son go running and disappear?'"

<b>4 Ota</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>towakamakia</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>ahi</b>
otaa	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka- ka -makI+F	otaa	ahi
1EX.S	run	AUX	away COMIT go/come following	1EX.S	there
pron	vi	aux	vi	pron	dem

""We were running over there.""

<b>5 Okatao</b>	<b>tokomakino</b>		<b>ka</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>yofi</b>
okatao	to- ka -makI.NOM	-no	ka	yama	yofi
my son	away go/come following IP.N+M	which	place	show	
nm	vi	prt	nf	vt	

<b>tikamata</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>ati</b>
ti- ka- na.NOM -mata	bati	ati
2SG.S COMIT AUX short time	3SG.POSS.father	say
aux	nm	vt

**nematamonaka**

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

""Show where it was where my son was going," his father said.'

<b>6 Ota</b>	<b>towakamaki</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>ahi</b>
otaa	to- ka- ka -makI.NOM	ama	ahi
1EX.S	away COMIT go/come following	be	there
pron	vi	vc	dem

""We went there.""

<b>7 E</b>	<b>towamakemata</b>
ee	to- awa -makI -mata
1IN.S	away see following short time
pron	vt

""Let's go see him.""

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

8 *Me tokomake me tokometemone*  
 me to- ka -makI me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi pron vi

*ahi ya*  
 ahi ya  
 then ADJU  
 dem prt

'Some of them went after him. The others went home.'

9 *Me hinakamematamona*  
 me hi- to- na- ka -ma -himata -mona  
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt

'They went after him.'

10 *Teme me hikiyomatamonahane*  
 teme me hi- kiyo -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 footprint+M 3PL.S OC chase FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 pn pron vt

'They followed his trail.'

11 *Teme me hikiyo mato hisiri*  
 teme me hi- kiyo+M mato hisiri  
 footprint+M 3PL.S OC chase vine slide  
 pn pron vt nf vt

*tokanamakiani bati teme me*  
 to- ka- na -makI -hani bati teme me  
 away COMIT AUX following IP.N+F 3SG.POSS.father footprint+M 3PL  
 aux nm pn pron

*teme me hikiyomatamona*  
 teme me hi- kiyo -himata -mona  
 footprint+M 3PL.S OC chase FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn pron vt

'They followed his trail. There were stretched vines, and they followed his trail.'

12 *Oko kana ni tokomaki ama ahi*  
 o- ka kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI.NOM ama ahi  
 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX away go/come following be there  
 prt vi aux vi vc dem

'"I went running that way."'

13 *Kana ni toke ama ahi*  
 kana na.NFIN to- ka.NOM+M ama ahi  
 run AUX away go/come be there  
 vi aux vi vc dem

'"He went running that way."'

14 *Oko kana ni tokomakebisi*  
 o- ka kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI -bisa.NOM+F  
 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX away go/come following also  
 prt vi aux vi

*amake ahi*  
 ama -ke ahi  
 be DECL+F there  
 vc dem

'"I went running a different direction."'

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

15 *Hiyama*                                    *me*                                    ,                                    *kana*    *ni*                                    *kami*                                    *ama*  
 hiyama                                    me                                    ,                                    kana    na.NFIN    ka                                    -ma.NOM+F    ama  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.S                                    run    AUX                                    go/come back    be  
 nm                                    pron                                    vi                                    aux                                    vi                                    vt

*aya*  
 aya  
 here  
 dem

"The peccaries came running this way."

16 *Me*                                    *tokomake*                                    ,                                    *tokomake*                                    *ehene*  
 me                                    to- ka                                    -makI                                    ,                                    to- ka                                    -makI                                    ehene  
 3PL.S    away go/come following                                    away go/come following                                    result of+M  
 pron    vi                                    vi                                    pn

*ene*                                    *ehene*                                    *hiwasimakimatamonahane*  
 ehene                                    ehene                                    hi- to- wasi -makI                                    -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 result of+M    result of+M    OC    away find following    FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP    BKG+M  
 pn                                    pn                                    vt

'They went. He went, and found signs of him.'

17 *Hoti*                                    *awa*                                    *namisemetemone*                                    *ama*    *ahi*  
 hoti                                    awa                                    na -misa -hemete -mone                                    ama    ahi  
 hole    be open    AUX up                                    FP.N+F    REP+F                                    SEC    there  
 nf                                    vi                                    aux                                    sec                                    dem

'There was a big hole.'

18 *Okatao*                                    *sona*                                    *awane*                                    *hoti*    *ya*  
 okatao    sona+M                                    awa                                    -ne                                    hoti    ya  
 my son    fall                                    seem+M    BKG+M                                    hole    ADJU  
 nm                                    vi                                    sec                                    nf                                    prt

"I think my son fell in the hole."

19 *Okatao*                                    *hotone*                                    *wari*                                    *hari*  
 okatao    hotone                                    waa                                    -haari                                    hari  
 my son    hole+M                                    stand look+M                                    that one+M  
 nm                                    pn                                    vi                                    dem

"It's my son's hole."

20 *Okatao*                                    *hotone*                                    ,                                    *okatao*                                    *hotone*                                    *wari*                                    *hari*  
 okatao    hotone                                    ,                                    okatao    hotone                                    waa                                    -haari                                    hari  
 my son    hole+M                                    my son    hole+M                                    stand look+M                                    that one+M  
 nm                                    pn                                    nm                                    pn                                    vi                                    dem

"It's my son's hole."

21 *Okatao*                                    *hotone*                                    ,                                    *awa*    *te*                                    *kakamakehi*                                    *ati*  
 okatao    hotone                                    ,                                    awa    tee                                    ka- ka                                    -makI                                    -hi    ati  
 my son    hole+M                                    wood    2PL.S                                    COMMIT go/come following                                    IMP+F    say  
 nm                                    pn                                    nf                                    pron    vt                                    vt

*nibote*                                    *nematamona*                                    *ahi*  
 na -bote                                    na -himata -mona                                    ahi  
 AUX quickly    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M                                    then  
 aux                                    aux                                    dem

"Bring a pole," he said right away.'

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

22 *Bai toke aawawa nematamonakana*  
 bahi to- ka+M a- awa -wa na -himata -mona -ka -na  
 sun away go/come DUP see DUP AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi vt aux

'He was concerned about the day ending.'

23 *Awa me baka na me bori*  
 awa me baka na+F me bori  
 tree 3PL.S break AUX 3PL.S poke  
 nf pron vt aux pron vt

*hiwahematamonahane*

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

'They broke off a tree, and poked for him.'

24 *Me bori hinematamona ahi*  
 me bori hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL.S poke OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron vt aux dem

'They poked for him.'

25 *Awa wara tina Airowa*  
 awa wara ti- to- na Airowa  
 wood grab 2SG.S CH AUX (man's name)  
 nf vt aux npropm

'"Grab onto the pole, Airowa."'

26 *Awa , yama me bori karemetemone Airowa*  
 awa , yama me bori ka- na -ra -hemete -mone Airowa  
 wood thing 3PL.S poke COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)  
 nf nf pron vt aux npropm

*sonematamona karo*  
 sona.NOM+M -mata -mona karo  
 fall FP.N+M REP+M LOC  
 vi prt

'They didn't reach the bottom of where Airowa fell.'

27 *Hoti kowihemetemoneni*  
 hoti kowi -hemete -mone -ni  
 hole be deep FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf vi

'The hole was deep.'

28 *Titisa me wasirihi wati kote ta*  
 ti- tisa me wasi -rihi wati kote taa  
 DUP shoot with arrow 3PL.S find NEG.LIST arrow piece contrast  
 nf pron vt nm pn prt

*tafo tokanematamona ama*  
 tafo to- ka- -na -himata -mona ama  
 float CH COMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M SEC  
 vi aux sec

'They didn't find his bow. Only pieces of arrow came to the surface.'

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

29 *Faya me , me bori hine , me bori hine me bori*  
 faya me , me bori hi- na+M , me bori hi- na+M me bori  
 so 3PL 3PL.S poke OC AUX 3PL.S poke OC AUX 3PL.S poke  
 conj pron pron vt aux pron vt aux pron vt

*hikaramako me*  
 hi- ka- na -ra -mako me  
 OC COMIT AUX NEG for this reason+M 3PL.S  
 aux pron

*hekanakosawematamonaha*  
 hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -himata -mona -ha  
 OC COMIT leave middle change FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt

'They poked and poked for him, but they didn't reach him. They left him behind.'

30 *Ene me weyeri hikawematamona ahi*  
 ehene me weye -ri hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona ahi  
 victim of+M 3PL.S carry DISTR OC COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn pron vt aux dem

'They carried the peccaries he had killed.'

31 *Me tokometemone ahi*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They went home.'

32 *Me hekanakosematamonaka*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'They left him behind.'

33 *Me hekanakose , Airowa mati ini*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa+M , Airowa mati ini  
 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle (man's name) 3SG.POSS.mother name+F  
 pron vt npropm nf pn

*e na toemete ?*  
 ee na to- ha -hemete  
 (question) AUX CH AUX FP.N+F  
 vi aux aux

'They left him behind. What was Airowa's mother's name?'

34 *Bati ino owatorihi , mati ini*  
 bati ino o- wato -rihi , mati ini  
 3SG.POSS.father name+M 1SG.S know NEG.LIST 3SG.POSS.mother name+F  
 nm pn vt nf pn

*owatorihi oke*  
 o- wato -rihi o- na -ke  
 1SG.S know NEG.LIST 1SG.S AUX DECL+F  
 vt aux

'I don't know his father's name or his mother's name.'

35 *Faya , me tokoma me hiyara me hikamina*  
 faya , me to- ka -ma+F me hiyara me hi- kamina+F  
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S story 3PL.S OC tell  
 conj pron vi pron nf pron vt

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

<b>ihi</b>	<b>mati</b>	<b>ohi</b>	<b>nawahemetemone</b>
ihi	mati	ohi	na -waha -hemete -mone
because of+F	3SG.POSS.mother	cry	AUX change FP.N+F REP+F
post	nf	vi	aux

'They went home. Because of the news they told, his mother cried.'

36	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>tohatoha</b>	<b>raba</b>	<b>na</b>
	bani	me	tahi	toha- to- ha	na -raba	na
	animal	3PL.POSS	killer	DUP CH be	AUX a bit	AUX
	nm	pron	pn	vc	aux	aux

<b>toaremata</b>	<b>awaka</b>
to- ha -ra -himata	awa -ka
CH AUX NEG FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M
aux	sec

'He was a good hunter.'

37	<b>Mati</b>	<b>ohi</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>faya</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>ya</b>
	mati	ohi	na+F	faya	bati	ya
	3SG.POSS.mother	cry	AUX	so	3SG.POSS.father	ADJU
	nf	vi	aux	conj	nm	prt

<b>bati</b>	<b>hinakamine</b>	<b>bori</b>	<b>hiwiti</b>
bati	hi- to- na- ka	-mina+M bori	hi- to- na -witI+M
3SG.POSS.father	OC away CAUS go/come	morning poke	OC away AUX out
nm	vt	vt	aux

<b>me</b>	<b>bori</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bori</b>	<b>hikarematamonaka</b>
me	bori	hi- na+M	me	bori	hi- ka- na -ra -himata -mona -ka
3PL.S	poke	OC AUX	3PL.S	poke	OC COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux

'His mother cried. His father went after him the next morning. He poked for him out there. They poked for him, but didn't reach him.'

38	<b>Faya</b>	<b>kimisamematamona</b>
	faya	ka -misa -ma -himata -mona
	so	go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M
	conj	vi

'Later he came to the surface.'

39	<b>Efemata</b>	<b>Sitero</b>	<b>totoha</b>	<b>toemari</b>	<b>amaka</b>
	e	-mata Sitero	to- to- ha	to- ha -himari	ama -ka
	this+M	FP.N+M (man's name)	DUP CH be	CH AUX FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M
	dem	npropm	vc	aux	sec

**hari**  
haari  
that one+M  
dem

'He was the one who was Sitero.'

40	<b>Sitero</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>kakasiro</b>	<b>toemari</b>	<b>amane</b>
	Sitero	ati	ka- kasiro	to- ha -himari	ama -ne
	(man's name)	voice	DUP persist	CH AUX FP.E+M	SEC BKG+M
	npropm	pn	vi	aux	sec

'Sitero talked a lot.'

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

41	<b>Sirika</b>	<b>hawine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>yara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ya</b>
	sirika	hawine	me	tii	na+F	yara	me	ya
	rubber tree sp	trail+M	3PL.S	cut through	AUX	Brazilian	3PL	ADJU
	nm	pn	pron	vt	aux	npropm	pron	prt
	<b>tabe</b>	<b>sirika</b>	<b>hawine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	,
	taba+M	sirika	hawine	me	tii	na+F	me	
	be together	rubber tree sp	trail+M	3PL.S	cut through	AUX	3PL.S	
	vi	nm	pn	pron	vt	aux	pron	
	<b>sirika</b>	<b>efe</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>hoti</b>	<b>wahani</b>
	sirika	efe	tabiyo	yama	kii	na+M	hoti	waa -hani
	rubber tree sp	leaf+M	wanting	thing	look at	AUX	hole	stand IP.N+F
	nm	pn	pn	nf	vt	aux	nf	vi
	<b>ya</b>	<b>sonematamona</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>	<b>aati</b>			
	ya	sona -himata -mona	ati	na -himari	a- ati			
	ADJU	fall FP.N+M REP+M	say	AUX FP.E+M	DUP say			
	prt vi		vt	aux	vt			
	<b>toemarika</b>							
	to-	ha -himari -ka						
	CH	AUX FP.E+M DECL+M						
	aux							

'As they were cutting the brush for a trail for tapping latex, he was with [other] Brazilians. As they cut the brush, he was looking [up] to see *sirika* tree leaves, and he fell in a hole, he used to say.'

42	<b>Airowamata</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>amaka</b>	<b>ami</b>	<b>Monimisa</b>	<b>aati</b>
	Airowa	-mata	ati	ama -ka	ami	Monimisa
	(man's name)	FP.N+M	voice	be DECL+M	yikes	(man's name)
	npropm		pn	vc	interj	npropm
	<b>tohemari</b>	<b>amaka</b>	<b>hari</b>	<b>ehene</b>		
	to-	ha -himari	ama -ka	haari	ehene	
	CH	AUX FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M	that one+M	because of+M	
	aux	sec	dem	post		

'''It was what Airowa said, yikes," Monimisa used to say, when he heard him.'

43	<b>Yehe</b>	<b>kakamo</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>tohemarine</b>
	yehe	ka- kamo	ka- na	na	to- ha -himari -ne
	hand	COMIT be curled up	COMIT AUX	AUX	CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
	pn	vi	aux	aux	aux

'He couldn't open his hand.'

44	<b>Faya</b>	<b>okomisamamaro</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>oke</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	faya	o- ka	-misa -ma -hamaro	ama o- ke	ahi
	so	1SG.S go/come up	back FP.E+F	SEC 1SG.S DECL+F	then
	conj	vi		sec prt	dem

'''Then I came to the surface.'''

45	<b>Maneo</b>	<b>Maneo</b>	<b>okomisamamaro</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>oke</b>
	Maneo	Maneo	o- ka	-misa -ma -hamaro	ama o- ke
	Manoel	Manoel	1SG.S go/come up	back FP.E+F	SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
	npropm	npropm	vi	sec	prt

'''Maneo, Maneo, I came to the surface.'''

46	<b>Onokorisawamamaro</b>	<b>oni</b>
	o- to- noko -risa -waha -ma -hamaro	o- ni
	1SG.S away point down change back FP.E+F	1SG.S BKG+F
	vi	prt

'''I was upside down.'''

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

47 **Ataatabo**

ata- atabo  
DUP be muddy  
vi

'He was full of mud.'

48 **Hiba**

**kimisamare**

hiba ka -misa -ma -ra+M  
soon after go/come up back NEG  
conj vi

'He didn't come up quickly.'

49 **Atabo**

**weye**

**nematamona**

**aati**

**toemarika**

**ahi**

atabo weye na -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
mud carry AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
nf vt aux vt aux

'He used to say he was full of mud.'

50 **Kimisame**

**yama**

**wasimisamematamona**

**ati**

ka -misa -ma+M yama wasi -misa -ma -himata -mona ati  
go/come up back thing find up back FP.N+M REP+M say  
vi nf vt vt

**nemari**

**ahi**

na -himari ahi  
AUX FP.E+M then  
aux dem

'He came back up, and found the opening.'

51 **Faya**

**hiwa**

**soko**

**nematamonaka**

**fahi**

faya hiwa soko na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
so 3SG.REFL.M wash AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
conj pron vt aux dem

'Then he washed off.'

52 **Hiwa**

**soko**

**ne**

**, bai**

**toke**

**ya**

**yana**

**tone**

hiwa soko na+M bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya yana to- na+M  
3SG.REFL.M wash AUX sun away go/come ADJU start CH AUX  
pron vt aux nm vi prt vi aux

**tokomake**

**, me**

**ohi**

**nani**

**mera**

to- ka -makI me ohi na -hani mera  
away go/come following 3PL.S cry AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O  
vi pron vi aux pron

**towasimakimatamona**

**aati**

**toemarine**

to- wasi -makI -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ne  
away find following FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
vt vt aux

'He washed off. In the late afternoon he left and went back. He came upon the others crying, he used to say.'

53 **Tokomake**

**mera**

**towasimaki**

**E**

**ka**

**bataro**

to- ka -makI mera to- wasi -makI+M ee ka bataro  
away go/come following 3PL.O away find following 1IN POSS boss  
vi pron vt pron prt nm

**kamakikeno**

ka -makI -ke -no  
go/come following DECL IP.N+M  
vi

'He went there, and came upon them. "Our boss has come back."'



AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

54 *E ka bataro kamakika hari*  
 ee ka bataro ka -makI -ka haari  
 1IN POSS boss go/come following DECL+M that one+M  
 pron prt nm vi dem

"Our boss has come back."

55 *Faya me oi ni fawa kanemetemone*  
 faya me ohi na.NFIN fawa ka- na -hemete -mone  
 so 3PL.S cry AUX disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron vi aux vi aux

*ehene me awati mati*  
 ehene me awa -tee.NOM mati  
 because of+M 3PL see HAB 3PL.S  
 post pron vt pron

'They stopped crying because of him, because they saw him.'

56 *Faya me oi ni fawa kanemetemone me*  
 faya me ohi na.NFIN fawa ka- na -hemete -mone me  
 so 3PL.S cry AUX disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi aux vi aux pron

*amani*

ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'They stopped crying.'

57 *Tokomakewematamona ahi*  
 to- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

'Then he went home.'

58 *Me komofai hinematamona ahi*  
 me komofai hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL.S greet OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron vt aux dem

'They greeted him.'

59 *Yara meteba me ama nimete fa mati*  
 yara me -tee -ba me ama na.NOM+F -mete faa mati  
 Brazilian 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.S be AUX FP.N+F that 3PL  
 npropm pron pron vc aux dem pron

'They were the first Brazilians.'

60 *Me komofai hinematamona aati toemarika*  
 me komofai hi- na -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ka  
 3PL.S greet OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 pron vt aux vt aux

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'They greeted him, he used to say.'

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

61 *Yara*            *sina*    *hisi*    *nebona*            *sina*    *kara*    *nise*            ,    *sina*  
 yara            sina    hisi    na -hibona    sina    kara    na -risa+M    ,    sina  
 Brazilian    snuff    sniff    AUX INT+M    snuff    tap    AUX down            snuff  
 npropm    nf    vt    aux            nf    vt    aux            nf

*kara*    *nise*            ,    *sina*    *hisi*    *kabote*            *na*    *toemari*  
 kara    na -risa+M    ,    sina    hisi    na -kabote    na    to- ha -himari  
 tap    AUX down            snuff    sniff    AUX quickly    AUX    CH AUX FP.E+M  
 vt    aux            nf    vt    aux            aux    aux

*ino*            *ama*            .  
 ino            ama  
 name+M    be  
 pn            vc

'The Brazilian tapped out some snuff in order to sniff it. He tapped out the snuff, but didn't sniff it right away, he used to say.'

62 *Neme*    *kakatamakane*                            *ahi*            .  
 neme    ka-    katoma    -kane    ahi  
 sky    COMMIT look at ?+M            then  
 nf    vt                                    dem

'He looked up at the sky.'

63 *Totonokomisa*                            *kane*            .  
 to- to-    noko    -misa    na    -kane  
 DUP away point up            AUX ?+M  
 vi                                    aux

'He was looking up.'

64 *Hinaka*            *firi*                            *ware*                            *sina*    *ya*            .  
 hinaka    firi                            waa    -rI                            sina    ya  
 3SG.POSS    snuff tube    stand raised surface    snuff    ADJU  
 pron            nm                            vi                            nf            prt

'His snuff tube was pointed into the snuff.'

65 *Yama*    *kakasiro*                            *tohamaro*                            *Isiro*                            *tohineke*                            .  
 yama    ka-    kasiro    to- ha    -hamaro    Isiro                            to- ha -ne    -ke  
 thing    DUP persist    CH AUX FP.E+F    (man's name)    CH be CONT+F DECL+F  
 nf    vi                            aux                            npropm                            vc

'Isiro was really something.'

66 *Sina*    *hisi*    *nawahakane*                            *ahi*            ,    *fimifimi*                            ,    *tefe*  
 sina    hisi    na -waha    -kane    ahi            ,    fimi- fimi                            ,    tefe  
 snuff    sniff    AUX change ?+M    then            DUP    be hungry            food+M  
 nf    vt    aux                            dem            vi                            pn

*nafirebanoho*                            .  
 nafi    -ra -hiba -no    -ho  
 be big NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'He took snuff. He was always hungry, he didn't eat much.'

67 *Bani*    *ime*    *biti*    *yome*    *tonise*                            *ya*    *Arima*  
 bani    ime    biti    yome    to- na    -risa.NOM+M    ya    arima  
 animal    flesh    small+M    swallow    CH AUX down            ADJU    I'm satisfied  
 nm            pn    adj    vt    aux                            prt    interj

,    *te*    *tafa*            .  
 tee    tafa  
 2PL.S eat  
 pron    vi

AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

'He swallowed a little bit of meat. "I'm satisfied, you eat."

68 *Faya ama o*  
 faya ama o-  
 enough be 1SG.S  
 adj vc prt

"I'm satisfied."

69 *Owakari* , *akaakara* *rari*  
 o- akara.NOM+F , aka- akara na -ra -haari  
 1SG.S be satiated DUP be satiated AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 vi vi aux

"I'm full," but he was not full.'

70 *Akaremona* *aati* *toemarika* *akaakara*  
 akara -himona a- ati to- ha -himari -ka aka- akara  
 be satiated REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M DUP be satiated  
 vi vt aux vi

*rari* *tafatafa* *rahi*  
 na -ra -haari tafa- tafa na -ra+M  
 AUX NEG IP.E+M DUP eat AUX NEG  
 aux vi aux

'He used to say he was not full. He was not satisfied, because he hadn't eaten much.'

71 *Sisio* , *Sisio* *totoa* *toemarika* *ahi*  
 Sisio , Sisio to- to- ha to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 (man's name) (man's name) DUP CH be CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M there  
 npropm npropm vc aux dem

*Mokowi ya*  
 Mokowi ya  
 Mucuum ADJU  
 npropf prt

'He was Sisio, there at Mucuum.'

72 *Faya me faya sirika* *hawine* *me*  
 faya me faya sirika hawine me  
 so 3PL so rubber tree sp trail+M 3PL.S  
 conj pron conj nm pn pron

*tonakatasemetemoneke* *fahi* *tokomaki*  
 to- na- ka -tasa -hemete -mone -ke fahi to- ka -makI.NOM  
 away CAUS go/come again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then away go/come following  
 vt dem vi

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'Then they went out to the trail for tapping latex again, after he went there.'

73 *Tokomake* , *Sirika* *hawine* *e* *ti*  
 to- ka -makI , sirika hawine ee tii  
 away go/come following rubber tree sp trail+M 1IN.S cut through  
 vi nm pn pron vt

*tasamata*  
 na -tasa -mata  
 AUX again short time  
 aux

'He went there. "Let's cut the brush for a trail for tapping latex."

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

74 *Ohaba okere ati nematamonahane*  
 o- ahaba o- ke -re ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 1SG.S die 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vi prt vt aux

"I didn't die," he said.'

75 *Yara me hikayawematamonane*  
 yara me hi- ka- yawa -himata -mona -ne  
 Brazilian 3PL.S OC COMIT be upset FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm pron vt

'The Brazilians didn't want to let him go.'

76 *E ka bataro tamini nofe fawa ne*  
 ee ka bataro tamina nofa+M fawa na+M  
 1IN POSS boss be good recently disappear AUX  
 pron prt nm vi prt vi aux

*kamakika*

ka -makI -ka  
 go/come following DECL+M  
 vi

"Our boss who is good to us, who disappeared, has come back."

77 *Bataro te kowitato na yara me ati*  
 bataro tee kowitato na yara me ati  
 boss 2PL.S take care of AUX Brazilian 3PL.S say  
 nm pron vt aux npropm pron vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

"You take care with the boss," the Brazilians said.'

78 *Faya , sabato kiharematamonaka ahi teme*  
 faya , sabato kiha -ra -himata -mona -ka ahi teme  
 so shoe have NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then foot+M  
 conj nf vt dem pn

'He didn't wear shoes on his feet.'

79 *Faya me tokatasa sirika hawine me*  
 faya me to- ka -tasa+F sirika hawine me  
 so 3PL.S away go/come again rubber tree sp trail+M 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi nm pn pron

*ti nemetemoneke fahi*  
 tii na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 cut through AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vt aux dem

'They went out again, and cut the brush for a trail for tapping latex.'

80 *Sirika hawine me ti na faya me*  
 sirika hawine me tii na+F faya me  
 rubber tree sp trail+M 3PL.S cut through AUX so 3PL.S  
 nm pn pron vt aux conj pron

*tokisawitia*

to- ka -risa -witI+F ahi  
 away go/come down out then  
 vi dem

## AIROWA TURNED INTO A BRAZILIAN

'They cut the brush for the trail, and then went downstream.'

81	<b>Hawinemari</b>		<b>kariwai</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>Kasawara</b>	<b>winaka</b>
	hawine -mari		ka -riwaha.NOM		ya	Kasawara	wina -ka
	trail+M FP.E+M		go/come across		ADJU	(man's name)	live DECL+M
	pn		vi		prt	npropm	vi
	<b>hari</b>	<b>hawi</b>	<b>webote</b>				
	haari	hawi	webote				
	that one+M	trail	big				
	dem	nf	adj				

'Kasawara lives where his trail crosses, it is a big trail.'

82	<b>Yama</b>	<b>towakemete</b>		<b>ini</b>	<b>amani</b>	<b>Sisiro</b>	
	yama to- ka- ka -hemete		ini ama -ni		Sisiro		
	thing away COMIT go/come FP.N+F		name+F be BKG+F		(man's name)		
	nf vt		pn vc		npropm		
	<b>mowe</b>	<b>hawinebonaha</b>					
	mowe hawine -bona -ha						
	Brazil nut trail+M INT+M DUP						
	nm pn						

'He went cutting the brush for a trail, Sisiro. It was his trail for getting Brazil nuts.'

83	<b>Sisiro</b>	<b>sasawi</b>	<b>tohemari</b>	<b>amaka</b>	<b>tabora</b>	<b>ya</b>
	Sisiro sa- sawi to- ha -himari ama -ka tabora ya					
	(man's name) DUP be present CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M village ADJU					
	npropm vi aux sec nf prt					

'Sisiro lived in the village.'

84	<b>Sawi</b>	<b>totoyabo</b>	<b>tohemari</b>	<b>ino</b>	<b>amane</b>
	sawi.NFIN to- to- yabo to- ha -himari ino ama -ne				
	be present DUP CH be long CH AUX FP.E+M name+M be BKG+M				
	vi vi aux pn vc				

'He stayed there a long time.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

### *Free Translation*

The boss sent Brazilians here. The boss wanted the Jarawaras to die. "You go there right away. I'm going downstream," the boss said.

"All right."

So they came. They came carrying stout rope to tie the women up with.

The women didn't stay. The women saw them coming.

One of the Brazilians came and took out some arrows. The others were behind. He took the arrows out, and carried the arrows away. He called the others. "José," he said. "José, you come here quickly. The Indians are going to go," he said.

They grabbed Hiwawi, who was sitting on the ground. They attacked, and shot off their guns.

The Jarawaras went running off. A bullet hit Kawi Tife in his lower back. He lived for a long time. Then he died.

The women didn't stay. The Brazilians didn't stay, because of the ones who had escaped. The Brazilians went running away, because they had killed people.

Komasa chased them, but then he left off chasing them. He yelled at them. The log broke as they were crossing.

The boss Melo was living there. It was at Mabideri. They worked for the boss, but he ordered people against them. The Brazilians came and killed people, and went back. They didn't do anything to them. That is the path that they came on. They came on the Kerebe lake. They must have come by here. They must have gone that way.

They started with the children who were standing around. They put the children on their shoulders. They took them away, so that their mothers would go along. They called them to go along, deceiving them, so they could kill them. They took the children. The adults went, carrying their rolled up hammocks. They went to the Kerebe Lake. They did not sleep in the houses of the Brazilians. They slept outside of where the Brazilians were living. They heard the Brazilians saying they were going to kill them. They came back. They crossed over. It was the Kerebe lake. They came back. That is the trail there.

Noko Wene's grandfather was left behind sleeping, and he woke up at their place. He got out of his hammock and stood on the ground. When he was going to go after the others, the Brazilians grabbed him and stabbed him repeatedly in the arms with knives. They let him go.

He looked around for a stick. He picked up a stick from the ground. The Brazilians ran in two directions. He went after one of them, and killed him. The other one wanted to avenge him, but when he attacked, he killed him, too. He killed them.

He came back. He went. He waited for the Brazilians. When it got dark he came back. At the place where the Brazilians lived, he stole their canoe at night, and came across.

"Where did they go?" he said. He looked for their trail.

He came in the canoe. He came across in the canoe. He came onto the shore. He looked for their trail. Then he found their trail.

"They went there. They didn't wake me up."

The Brazilians wanted to kill him, but he didn't die. He came. He escaped. The Brazilians

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

didn't kill him. He came.

His wife came the next day, and met him. She was missing him. His wife got up early and came after him, because she missed him. She met him. The others came after him.

They didn't hate the Brazilians, but they always came after them. They didn't go after the Brazilians. They were always fighting with them. They were living there.

Yaro came, and came upon the one that they had killed. He came upon his older female cousin who had died. He buried his cousin. He went home angry. He arrived back at the village.

"Older brother, what about them? Are they living there?"

"They are not living there. The Brazilians shot them," he said. "The Brazilians will die. We will fight against the Brazilians, to get revenge."

They took bows and arrows. The Brazilians had been getting latex, and they met up with them when they were pouring the latex into buckets.

"There are two Brazilians coming there," they said.

"What are you doing?"

"What are we doing? We are going after white-lipped peccaries. Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said, deceiving the Brazilians. There were many Brazilians that the Jarawaras killed, too. "Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said. "Come on, let's go to your place."

They took them. The Brazilian took a cup of latex. The other one was standing there, Joaquim. Joaquim was standing there. The other one went up and got the cup of latex. He came down. He poured the latex into the bucket. As he was cleaning out the cup with his fingers, they cut off his head. His headless body got up and fell over. The other one jumped away, and they chased him.

"Leave me alone. Koyo, Koyo, you leave me alone. We have always been together," Joaquim said.

So as to protect himself he shielded himself, and they cut off his arm. They chased him. He went into the branches of a fallen tree. They cleared out the branches, and killed him. They cut his head open with a machete.

Then they went on, planning to kill the Brazilians. There was a Brazilian whose head they bashed who survived. He got well.

They encountered the Brazilians. Tene Irabo's wife called out when she saw them coming. "What do you want? Are you going to kill me?" she said.

"We don't want to do you any harm. We are going there after white-lipped peccaries," they said, deceiving the Brazilians.

The Brazilians had come across. They lived on the other side. They came across and came onto land.

They went up the steps. One of them stopped and stood there. My grandfather was sitting on the ground, holding his shotgun. He killed the Brazilians. My grandfather shot at him.

The Brazilian heard their voices, and looked up, and shot at him without any effect. Bataa, the gun noise went, and he heard the noise. "Oh," he said.

He extended his arms. The lead hit him in the armpit. He fell while holding onto the railing. He was hung up. Then he fell to the ground.

They were yelling, and the noise of them could be heard as they fought with the Brazilians. They killed many Brazilians. Then they killed Apurinãs. They killed Brazilians, and brought back clothes, manioc meal, salt, knives, axes, with other things.

They came back. Then they went into the forest. They went to another village. They slept, and got up early. They went into the forest again. They lived at the mouth of the Awi stream.

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

Tene Irabo got some others, and they shot their guns in the night. They heard the sound of the Brazilians, and they went into the forest during the night. My uncle said he slept next to the hole of a jaguar, and they always laughed at this.

They went into the forest another time. They went to the Banawás, and stayed with them. The Apurinãs caused a bad thing to happen to the Brazilians.<sup>11</sup> The Banawás also killed them with guns. They were all together with the Banawás, my father used to say.

"My older brother was always there. The Apurinãs killed him and have been telling about it. I will get revenge," Rowiso Banawá said, planning against the Apurinãs. "If you meet up with any Apurinãs, come and tell the news. I will wait for you. I will stay here. We will stay here. We will wait for you."

Then the women got up early. They went. They encountered them.

"You stay behind. You stay far behind. I will go ahead," she said, Awa Wai Ya.

Awa Wai Ya went ahead, to meet up with the Apurinãs. "If you hear the dog that is with me barking, you go back. Go running away," she said.

They heard the dog barking, and they went running back, taking the news to the others, who were gathered together. Rowiso was there.

"Rowiso, the Apurinãs are there. The Apurinãs almost shot us. They are there," she said.

"They will shoot me [i.e., I will attack them]. They killed someone, and they still were coming around here." He picked up his gun. "Come. Let's go look at the Apurinãs."

They all went to see the Apurinãs. It was all of them. They went. They went fast. The Apurinãs had brought baskets, and their baskets were on the ground. They just sat there [i.e., no one ever picked them up, since the Apurinãs died]. They planned to kill them, so they didn't just look at them.

The other Rowiso [an Apurinã] gave the stock of the gun to them to greet them. They grasped the stock of the gun in greeting, because of him.

Rowiso was planning against them, but he didn't let on. "You go on to the other side. Go on over there. You go and stay over there," he said to the other Banawás and the Jarawaras.

"What are you up to?" Rowiso said.

"We are going after some white-lipped peccaries that came here. We are going there," Rowiso said.

Rowiso went. He was planning against them. He started shooting them right away. He was planning to kill one of them.

"Act fast," he said.

They were planning to kill him. He shot his gun quickly.

"Rowiso, Rowiso is going to shoot at you," the Apurinã woman said, his wife. He wanted to run away, but he shot him.

They yelled, surrounding the Apurinãs. They also shot one of them with an arrow. They killed them. The Apurinã women ran, and they ran after them. They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They were wearing beads. They killed many pretty Apurinã women, Towisawa always said.

After killing people, they came back. They came back, and moved away. They went. They cut down a tree. The tree fell into the water, and they went across. They cut the tree in two. The tree sunk.

Then they lived far away for a time. They came back this way. The Curiá River is there. They brought *kona* plants. The fish that the roots killed rotted. It was not many roots, just two. The

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<sup>11</sup> That is, some Apurinãs killed Jarawaras, and the Jarawaras killed Brazilians because they thought it had been them who had killed the Jarawaras.



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*kona* killed the fish for days. I guess it grows on the other side of the Curiá.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Faya* , *yara* *ee* *batoro* *me*  
 faya yara ee batoro me  
 so Brazilian (pause) boss 3PL.O  
 conj npropm interj nm pron

*hiyosemakiemetemoneke*

hi- yose -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC send following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'The boss sent Brazilians here.'

2 *Me* *ababone* *me* , *me* *ababone* *batoro* *ati*  
 me ahaba -habone me me ahaba -habone batoro ati  
 3PL.S die INT+F 3PL 3PL.S die INT+F boss say  
 pron vi pron pron vi nm vt

*nematamonaka*

na -himata -mona -ka , *yarawara* *mati*  
 na -himata -mona -ka yarawara mati  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M Jarawara 3PL  
 aux npropm pron

'The boss wanted the Jarawaras to die.'

3 *Te* *tokomakekabote* *na*  
 tee to- ka -makI -kabote na  
 2PL.S away go/come following quickly AUX  
 pron vi aux

""You go there right away.""

4 *Okisabone* *ama* *o* , *bataro* *ati*  
 o- to- ka -risa -habone ama o- bataro ati  
 1SG.S away go/come down INT+F SEC 1SG.S boss say  
 vi sec prt nm vt

*nematamonaka*

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

""I'm going downstream," the boss said.'

5 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

""All right.""

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

'So they came.'

7 *Me* *kamakietemetonehe* , *anabowira* *me*  
 me ka -makI -hemete -mone -he anabowira me  
 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DUP stout rope 3PL.S  
 pron vi nf pron

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**sanari**  
 sana -ri kana na+F mati , me fanawi  
 carry strapped on shoulder DISTR COMIT AUX 3PL.S women  
 vt aux pron nf

**matibonehe**  
 mati -bone -he  
 line+F INT+F DUP  
 pn

'They came carrying stout rope to tie the women up with.'

8 **Ee** , **me fanawi** **naoremtemone** **amake**  
 ee me fanawi naho -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 (pause) women stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 interj nf vi sec

'The women didn't stay.'

9 **Me fanawi** **noki** **awemetemoneke** **hibati** **ya**  
 me fanawi noki awa -hemete -mone -ke hibati ya  
 women eye+F see FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F already ADJU  
 nf pn vi nf prt

'The women saw them coming.'

10 **Yara** **kamaki** **yara** **kamaki** , **wati**  
 yara ka -makI+M yara ka -makI+M wati  
 Brazilian go/come following Brazilian go/come following arrow  
 npropm vi npropm vi nm

**kayabematamonaka**  
 ka- yaba -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'One of the Brazilians came and took out some arrows.'

11 **Me** **one** **tonokosemetemonehe**  
 me one to- naho -kosa -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL other+F CH stand middle FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron adj vi

'The others were behind.'

12 **Wati** **kayabe** , **wati** **toseme** **me** **one**  
 wati ka- yaba+M wati to- isI -ma+M me one  
 arrow COMIT take out arrow away drop off back 3PL other+F  
 nm vt nm vt pron adj

**haha** **nematamonaka**  
 ha- haa na -himata -mona -ka  
 DUP call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

'He took the arrows out, and carried the arrows away. He called the others.'

13 **Yose** **ati** **nematamonane**  
 Yose ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 José say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt aux

'"José," he said.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

14 *Yose te kamakikabote na*  
 Yose tee ka -makI -kabote na  
 José 2PL.S go/come following quickly AUX  
 npropm pron vi aux

"José, you come here quickly."

15 *Koromi me tokibonehe , ati*  
 koromi me to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he , ati  
 Indian 3PL.S away go/come INT+F DUP say  
 npropm pron vi vt

*nematamonahane*

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

aux

"The Indians are going to go," he said.'

16 *Hiwawi Hiwawi ite me watemetemoneke fahi*  
 Hiwawi Hiwawi ita+M me wata -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 (man's name) (man's name) sit 3PL.S catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 npropm npropm vi pron vt dem

'They grabbed Hiwawi, who was sitting on the ground.'

17 *Me fitori namakia yama me tao nemetemone*  
 me fito -ri na -makI+F yama me tao na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S rush DISTR AUX following thing 3PL.S shoot AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux nf pron vt aux

'They attacked, and shot off their guns.'

18 *Me kana ni tokemetemone me amake*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vi pron sec

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'They went running off.'

19 *Me toka , Kawi Tife tosi bari ya kobo*  
 me to- ka+F , Kawi Tife tosi bari ya kobo  
 3PL.S away go/come (man's name) waist back ADJU arrive  
 pron vi npropm pn pn prt vi

*nemetemoneke*

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

'They went off. A bullet hit Kawi Tife in his lower back.'

20 *Kakasawi toematamona*  
 ka- ka- sawi to- ha -himata -mona  
 DUP COMIT be present CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

'He lived for a long time.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

- 21 *Abawaematamona* *amaka*  
 ahaba -waha -himata -mona ama -ka  
 die change FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 vi sec  
 'Then he died.'
- 22 *Me fanawi naorememetemone amani*  
 me fanawi naho -ra -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 women stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 nf vi sec  
 'The women didn't stay.'
- 23 *Haha me hasi na me ihi yara me*  
 haaha me hasi na+F me ihi yara me  
 this+F 3PL.S escape AUX 3PL.POSS because of+F Brazilian 3PL.S  
 dem pron vi aux pron post npropm pron  
*naorememetemoneke*  
 naho -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi  
 'The Brazilians didn't stay, because of the ones who had escaped.'
- 24 *Yara me kana ni tokomemetemoneke*  
 yara me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 Brazilian 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm pron vi aux vi  
*me ihi itiha mati*  
 me ihi iti+F mati  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vi pron  
 'The Brazilians went running away, because they had killed people.'
- 25 *Komasa me hikiyoemetemone*  
 Komasa me hi- kiyo -hemete -mone -ni  
 (man's name) 3PL.O OC chase FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 npropm pron vt  
 'Komasa chased them.'
- 26 *Komasa me hikiyoha me sa*  
 Komasa me hi- kiyo+F me saa  
 (man's name) 3PL.O OC chase 3PL.O release  
 npropm pron vt pron vt  
*hisamake me ye*  
 hi- to- na -kosa -makI me yee  
 OC CH AUX middle following 3PL.O yell  
 aux pron vi  
*hikanamakietemone ahi*  
 hi- to- ka- na -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
 OC away COMMIT AUX following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem  
 'Komasa chased them, but then he left off chasing them. He yelled at them.'
- 27 *Me baka tokimetemone amake ahi*  
 me baka to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.S break CH go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 pron vt aux vc dem  
 'The log broke as they were crossing.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

28 *Batoro Mero winematamona amake ahi*  
 batoro Mero wina.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi  
 boss Melo live FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F then  
 nm npropm vi vc dem

'The boss Melo was living there.'

29 *Ee Mabitiri , Mabitiri amake*  
 ee Mabitiri Mabitiri ama -ke  
 (pause) Mabideri Mabideri be DECL+F  
 interj npropf npropf vc

'It was at Mabideri.'

30 *Batoro me hinarife , mera*  
 batoro me hi- narifa+M mera  
 boss 3PL.S OC help 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt pron

*kabanawematamonaka fare*  
 ka- habana -waha -himata -mona -ka fare  
 COMIT order someone against change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+M  
 vt dem

'They worked for the boss, but he ordered people against them.'

31 *Mera kahabane , yara me*  
 mera ka- habana+M yara me  
 3PL.O COMIT order someone against Brazilian 3PL.S  
 pron vt npropm pron

*kamakiani me ihi itimake , me*  
 ka -makI -hani me ihi iti -makI me  
 go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist following 3PL.S  
 vi pron pn vi pron

*tokometemoneke*  
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'He ordered people against them. The Brazilians came and killed people, and went back.'

32 *Me me hinohoremetemoneke*  
 me me hi- naho -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC touch NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt

'They didn't do anything to them.'

33 *Ha me kamakibisemetemone me , me*  
 haa me ka -makI -bisa -hemete -mone me me  
 DEM 3PL.S go/come following also FP.N+F REP+F 3PL 3PL.POSS  
 dem pron vi pron pron

*hawi amake haro*  
 hawi ama -ke haaro  
 trail+F be DECL+F that one+F  
 pn vc dem

'That is the path that they came on.'

34 *Me kakimetemone amake ahi Kerebe*  
 me ka- ka -kI.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke ahi Kerebe  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there (lake name)  
 pron vi vc dem npropm

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*ya*  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'They came on the Kerebe lake.'

35 *Me kamakiemete me awineke ahi*  
me ka -makI -hemete me awine -ke ahi  
3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F here  
pron vi pron sec dem

'They must have come by here.'

36 *Me tokamakemete me awine ahi*  
me to- ka -makI -hemete me awine ahi  
3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F there  
pron vi pron sec dem

'They must have gone that way.'

37 *Matehe naoha ni ya me ye wanamake*  
matehe naho+F ni ya me yehe wana -makI  
children stand to ADJU 3PL.POSS hand be attached following  
nf vi prt prt pron pn vi

*matehe me tiwari namisemetemoneni*  
matehe me tiwa -ri na -misa -hemete -mone -ni  
children 3PL.S carry DISTR AUX up FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
nf pron vt aux

'They started with the children who were standing around. They put the children on their shoulders.'

38 *Mate me tiwari namisa me , mate me ka*  
matehe me tiwa -ri na -misa+F me , matehe me ka  
children 3PL.S carry DISTR AUX up 3PL.S children 3PL POSS  
nf pron vt aux pron nf pron prt

*ami me sawihabone me me*  
ami me sawi -habone me me  
mother 3PL.S be present INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
nf pron vi pron pron

*towakamemetemone me me hima na*  
to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone , me me hima na+F  
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S call to go AUX  
vi pron pron vt aux

*mati me me hinahabihabone me me hikeyeha*  
mati , me me hi- na- ahaba -habone me me hi- keyeha+F  
3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC deceive  
pron pron pron vt pron pron vt

*mati*  
mati  
3PL.O  
pron

'They put the children on their shoulders. They took them away, so that their mothers would go along. They called them to go along, deceiving them, so they could kill them.'

39 *Matehe me towakama me , me*  
matehe me to- ka- ka -ma+F me , me  
children 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
nf pron vi pron pron



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

44 *Kerebe*            *amaka*            *ahi*  
 Kerebe            ama -ka            ahi  
 (lake name)    be DECL+M        there  
 npropm            vc                    dem

'It was the Kerebe lake.'

45 *Me*            *kamemete*                            *me*            *awine*            *ahi*  
 me            ka            -ma -hemete    me            awine            ahi  
 3PL.S        go/come back FP.N+F    3PL.S        seem+F        then  
 pron        vi    pron        sec            dem

'They came back.'

46 *Hawi*            *amake*            *ahi*  
 hawi            ama -ke            ahi  
 trail        be DECL+F        there  
 nf            vc                    dem

'That is the trail there.'

47 *Faya*            ,            *ee*            ,            *Noko Wene*            *hinakiti*    *amo*            *ni*  
 faya            ee    Noko Wene            hinaka    iti    amo            na.NFIN  
 so    (pause)    (man's name)    3SG.POSS grandfather    sleep        AUX  
 conj            interj    npropm            nm    vi            aux

*towinakose*    ,            *me*            *tabori*            *katafi*    ,            *wa*  
 to- wina    -kosa+M            me            tabori            ka-    tafi+M    waa.LIST  
 CH    lie in hammock middle            3PL.POSS    place+F    COMMIT wake up    stand  
 vi    pron            pn            vt    vi

*kise*    *tokomakebona*    *ra*            *yara*    *me*  
 ka            -risa+M    to- ka            -makI            -hibona    ra    yara    me  
 go/come down    away go/come following INT+M    O    Brazilian    3PL.S  
 vi    vi    prt    npropm            pron

*watemetemoneke*    ,            *mano*            *me*            *saka*  
 wata -hemete -mone -ke    mano    me            saka  
 catch FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    arm+M    3PL.S    pierce repeatedly  
 vt    pn            pron            vt

*hinebanoho*    *mano*            *haro*    *yimawa*            *ya*  
 hi- na -hiba -no            -ho    mano    haaro    yimawa    ya  
 OC    AUX    FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP    arm+M    that one+F    knife    ADJU  
 aux    pn            dem    nf            prt

'Noko Wene's grandfather was left behind sleeping, and he woke up at their place. He got out of his hammock and stood on the ground. When he was going to go after the others, the Brazilians grabbed him and stabbed him repeatedly in the arms with knives.'

48 *Yimawa*            *ya*            *mano*            *me*            *saka*    *hinematamonane*  
 yimawa            ya            mano            me            saka    hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 knife            ADJU    arm+M            3PL.S    pierce repeatedly    OC    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 nf            prt            pn            pron            vt    aux

'They stabbed him repeatedly on the arms with knives.'

49 *Faya*            *me*            *sa*    *hinakose*    ,            *awa*            *tabiyo*            *noko*  
 faya            me            saa    hi- to- na -kosa+M    ,            awa            tabiyo            noko  
 so            3PL.S    release    OC    CH    AUX    middle    wood    wanting    eye+M  
 conj            pron            vt    aux    nf            pn            pn

*tokikimematamonaka*    *ahi*  
 to- ka            -kima    -himata -mona -ka    ahi  
 away go/come spread out FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    then  
 vi    dem



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

'They let him go. He looked around for a stick.'

50 *Awa homahani iti , awa*  
 awa homa -hani iti+M , awa  
 wood lie on ground IP.N+F pick up wood  
 nf vi vt nf

*totikosematamonane*

to- iti -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 CH pick up middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He picked up a stick from the ground.'

51 *Yara me ha ya me fito*  
 yara me haa ya me fito  
 Brazilian 3PL DEM ADJU 3PL.S rush  
 npropm pron dem prt pron vi

*tosikimemetemone*

to- na -kosa -kima -hemete -mone  
 CH AUX middle two FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'The Brazilians ran in two directions.'

52 *Hikatabamake*

hi- to- ka- taba -makI  
 OC away COMIT be together following  
 vt

*hinabowematamonaka*

hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ka  
 OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

*fari*

faari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'He went after one of them, and killed him.'

53 *Owa manakone awebona fito name*  
 owa manakone awa -hibona fito na -ma+M  
 other+M price avenge INT+M rush AUX back  
 adj pn vt vi aux

*hinabowatasematamona*

hi- na- aboha -tasa -himata -mona faari  
 OC CAUS die again FP.N+M REP+M that one+M  
 vt dem

'The other one wanted to avenge him, but when he attacked, he killed him, too.'

54 *Me fawa hikanimetemoneke*  
 me fawa hi- to- ka- niha- na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O disappear OC CH COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'He killed them.'

55 *Faya , kame kamaki , toke , toke*  
 faya , ka -ma+M ka -makI+M , to- ka+M , to- ka+M  
 so go/come back go/come following away go/come away go/come  
 conj vi vi vi  
*yara me , noki kane mano komene awe yara*  
 yara me , noki kane na+M mano komene awa+M yara  
 Brazilian 3PL.O wait for COMIT AUX arm+M pain+M feel Brazilian  
 npropm pron vt aux pn pn vt npropm

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*me noki kane , yama kayomi ya kame*  
 me noki ka- na+M , yama kayoma+F ya ka -ma+M ,  
 3PL.O wait for COMIT AUX thing darken ADJU go/come back  
 pron vt aux nf vi prt vi

*yara me wina me ka kanawa boti nabe*  
 yara me wina+F me ka kanawa boti nahaba+M  
 Brazilian 3PL.S live 3PL POSS canoe steal at night  
 npropm pron vi pron prt nf vt prt

**kakariwamakimatamonaka**

ka- ka -riwaha -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT go/come across following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came back. He went. He waited for the Brazilians. When it got dark he came back. At the place where the Brazilians lived, he stole their canoe at night, and came across.'

56 *Kakariwamaki Hibaka me*  
 ka- ka -riwaha -makI+M , hibaka me  
 COMIT go/come across following where 3PL.S  
 vi interrog pron

*tokomanihi ? ati nematamona*  
 to- ka -ma -hani -hi ? ati na -himata -mona  
 away go/come back IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi vt aux

'He came across. "Where did they go?" he said.'

57 *Me hawi siba ne kanawa kakamake*  
 me hawi siba na+M kanawa ka- ka -makI ,  
 3PL.POSS trail+F look for AUX canoe COMIT go/come following  
 pron pn vt aux nf vi

*kanawa kakariwahamaki kimisake , me*  
 kanawa ka- ka -riwaha -makI+M ka -misa -kI , me  
 canoe COMIT go/come across following go/come up coming 3PL.POSS  
 nf vi vi pron

*hawi siba nematamona*  
 hawi siba na -himata -mona  
 trail+F look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vt aux

'He looked for their trail. He came in the canoe. He came across in the canoe. He came onto the shore. He looked for their trail.'

58 *Boroko me tokomake*  
 boroko me to- ka -ma -ke  
 pig 3PL.S away go/come back DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

'The pigs are going.'

59 *Hika ?*  
 hika  
 where  
 interrog

'Where?'

60 *Boroko me tokomineke haro*  
 boroko me to- ka -ma -ne -ke haro  
 pig 3PL.S away go/come back CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 nm pron vi dem

'The pigs are going there.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

61 **Faya me hawi wasiwematamona**  
 faya me hawi wasi -waha -himata -mona  
 so 3PL.POSS trail+F find change FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj pron pn vt

'Then he found their trail.'

62 **Me tokomakeni haro**  
 me to- ka -ma -ke -ni haaro  
 3PL.S away go/come back DECL+F IP.N+F that one+F  
 pron vi dem

""They went there.""

63 **Owa me mowa nani me ama**  
 owa me mowa na -hani me ama  
 1SG.O 3PL.S shake AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S SEC  
 pron pron vt aux pron sec

""They didn't wake me up.""

64 **Yara me hinahabihibona abarematamonaka**  
 yara me hi- na- ahaba -hibona ahaba -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 Brazilian 3PL.S OC CAUS die INT+M die NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm pron vt vi

'The Brazilians wanted to kill him, but he didn't die.'

65 **Kamakimatamonaka**  
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came.'

66 **Hasi nematamonahane**  
 hasi na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vi aux

'He escaped.'

67 **Yara me hinahabihare kamaki**  
 yara me hi- na- ahaba -ra+M ka -makI+M  
 Brazilian 3PL.S OC CAUS die NEG go/come following  
 npropm pron vt vi

**fati kamamina kobo hinematamonane**  
 fati ka -ma -mina+F kobo hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 3SG.POSS.wife go/come back morning meet OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vi vt aux

**tabiyo**  
 tabiyo  
 wanting  
 pn

'The Brazilians didn't kill him. He came. His wife came the next day, and met him. She was missing him.'

68 **Tabiyo fati bosa namamina kobo**  
 tabiyo fati bosa na -ma -mina+F kobo  
 absence 3SG.POSS.wife get up early AUX back morning meet  
 pn nf vi aux vt

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**hine faya me hekameamatamonaka fahi**  
 hi- na+M faya me hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 OC AUX so 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux conj pron vt dem  
 'His wife got up early and came after him, because she missed him. She met him. The others came after him.'

69 **Yara me ka , yara me me kakako**  
 yara me ka , yara me me ka- kaako  
 Brazilian 3PL POSS Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP be angry with  
 npropm pron prt npropm pron pron vt

**hira fara me me nanakamake na**  
 hi- na -ra+F fara me me na- na- ka -makI na  
 OC AUX NEG same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP CAUS go/come following AUX  
 aux dem pron pron vt aux

**toemetemone me amake**  
 to- ha -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 aux pron sec

'They didn't hate the Brazilians, but they always came after them.'

70 **Yara me me hinakamakira me ,**  
 yara me me hi- to- na- ka -makI -ra+F me  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following NEG 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt pron

**fara me me momowa na toha me , me**  
 fara me me mo- mowa na to- ha+F me , me  
 same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP fight AUX CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 dem pron pron vt aux aux pron pron

**winabisa , me winabisa Yaro kake ,**  
 wina -bisa+F , me wina -bisa+F Yaro ka -kI  
 live also 3PL.S live also (man's name) go/come coming  
 vi pron vi npropm vi

**me i wasiki , hinakati ahabani**  
 me ihi wasi -kI+M , hinaka ati ahaba -hani  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F find coming 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F  
 pron pn vt nf vi

**wasiki hinakati kamo yawa towakame**  
 wasi -kI+M hinaka ati kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M  
 find coming 3SG.POSS older sister bury anger away COMIT go/come back  
 vt nf vt nf vt

**yawa towakame , kobo**  
 yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M , kobo  
 anger away COMIT go/come back arrive  
 nf vt vi

**tonamematamonaka tabora ya**  
 to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka tabora ya  
 away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M village ADJU  
 aux nf prt

'They didn't go after the Brazilians. They were always fighting with them. They were living there. Yaro came, and came upon the one that they had killed. He came upon his older female cousin who had died. He buried his cousin. He went home angry. He arrived back at the village.'

71 **Yara fa mera ?**  
 Yaro faa me -ra  
 (man's name) that 3PL.S NPQ  
 npropm nf pron

'"Older brother, what about them?"'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

72 *Me winini* ?  
 me wina -ni  
 3PL.S live BKG+F  
 pron vi

"Are they living there?"

73 *Me winahara*  
 me wina -hara  
 3PL.S live IP.E+F  
 pron vi

"They are not living there."

74 *Yara me me tao hinahanihi ati*  
 yara me me tao hi- na -hani -hi ati  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX IP.N+F DUP say  
 nm pron pron vt aux vt

*nematamona*

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

"The Brazilians shot them," he said.'

75 *Yara me ababanani*  
 yara me ahaba -habana -ni  
 Brazilian 3PL.S die FUT+F BKG+F  
 npropm pron vi

"The Brazilians will die."

76 *Yara me e mowa nabanani manako*  
 yara me ee mowa na -habana -ni manako  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 1IN.S fight AUX FUT+F BKG+F revenge  
 npropm pron pron vt aux nf

"We will fight against the Brazilians, to get revenge."

77 *Wati me towakamakietemoneke*  
 wati me to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 arrow 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

'They took bows and arrows.'

78 *Wati me towakamakia me yara*  
 wati me to- ka- ka -makI+F me yara  
 arrow 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S Brazilian  
 nm pron vi pron npropm

*sirika me siri nani me me kobo*  
 sirika me siri na -hani me me kobo  
 rubber tree sp 3PL.S scrape AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 nm pron vt aux pron pron vt

*nemetemonehe sirika fehene me sika nani*  
 na -hemete -mone -he sirika fehene me sika na -hani  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP rubber tree sp latex+M 3PL.S pour AUX IP.N+F  
 aux nm pn pron vt aux

*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

'They took bows and arrows. The Brazilians had been getting latex, and they met up with them when they were pouring the latex into buckets.'

79 *Faya sirika me siri nani me me kobo*  
 faya sirika me siri na -hani me me kobo  
 so rubber tree sp 3PL.S scrape AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 conj nm pron vt aux pron pron vt

*hina me Yara me kakamaro fa me*  
 hi- na+F me yara me ka- ka -ma -haaro faa me  
 OC AUX 3PL.O Brazilian 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back look+F that 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron vi nf pron

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

'They had been getting latex, and they met up with them. "There are two Brazilians coming there," they said.'

80 *Himata te ebe naba te amari ?*  
 himata tee ebe na -haba tee ama -ri  
 what? 2PL.S purpose AUX FUT+F 2PL.S SEC CQ+F  
 interrog pron vt aux pron sec

"What are you doing?"

81 *Yama himata ota ebe riba ?*  
 yama himata otaa ebe na -ri -ba  
 thing what? 1EX.S purpose AUX CQ+F FUT  
 nf interrog pron vt aux

"What are we doing?"

82 *Hiyama me ota mowa nabone ota*  
 hiyama me otaa mowa na -habone otaa  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S fight AUX INT+F 1EX.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

"We are going after white-lipped peccaries."

83 *Hiyama me kaki ama ahi me ati*  
 hiyama me ka -kI.NOM ama ahi me ati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come coming SEC here 3PL.S say  
 nm pron vi sec dem pron vt

*nemetemonehe yara me me keyeha mati*  
 na -hemete -mone -he yara me me keyeha+F mati  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S deceive 3PL.S  
 aux npropm pron pron vt pron

"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said, deceiving the Brazilians.'

84 *Yara me tamemetemoneke me me*  
 yara me tama -hemete -mone -ke me me  
 Brazilian 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vi pron pron

*hinahabihabisa mati*  
 hi- na- ahaba -bisa+F mati  
 OC CAUS die also 3PL.O  
 vt pron

'There were many Brazilians that the Jarawaras killed, too.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

85 *Faya me , Hiyama me , kisata me kaki*  
 faya me , hiyama me , kisata me ka -kI.NOM  
 so 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL nm 3PL.S go/come coming  
 conj pron nm pron pron vi

*ama ahi me ati nemetemonehe*  
 ama ahi me ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 SEC here 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 sec dem pron vt aux

"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said.'

86 *Hima e tokoma te taboro ka ya*  
 hima ee to- ka -ma tee taboro ka ya  
 let's go 1IN.S away go/come back 2PL.POSS place LOC ADJU  
 interj pron vi pron pn prt prt

"Come on, let's go to your place."

87 *Me me hekama me sirika fehene*  
 me me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me sirika fehene  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O rubber tree sp latex+M  
 pron pron vt pron nm pn

*yara , kakitibase , owa wematamonane*  
 yara , ka- iti -basa+M , owa waa -himata -mona -ne  
 Brazilian COMIT take out edge other+M stand FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt adj vi

*Yowaki*

Yowaki  
 Joaquim  
 npropm

'They took them. The Brazilian took a cup of latex. The other one was standing there, Joaquim.'

88 *Yowaki wematamonaha*  
 Yowaki waa -himata -mona -ha  
 Joaquim stand FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 npropm vi

'Joaquim was standing there.'

89 *Owa tokomisame sirika fehene*  
 owa to- ka -misa -ma+M sirika fehene  
 other+M away go/come up back rubber tree sp latex+M  
 adj vi nm pn

*kakitibase kisame*  
 ka- iti -basa+M ka -risa -ma+M  
 COMIT take out edge go/come down back  
 vt vi

*kisamematamonaka*

ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'The other one went up and got the cup of latex. He came down.'

90 *Sirika fehene so tonihe hinaka tisera tori*  
 sirika fehene soo to- niha- na+M hinaka tisera tori  
 rubber tree sp latex+M lie CH CAUS AUX 3SG.POSS cup inside+F  
 nm pn vi aux pron nf pn

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**howehowe**    **ne**    ,    **tati**    **me**    **ti**  
 howe- howe    na+M    ,    tati    me    tii  
 DUP    wipe    AUX    head    3PL.S    cut through  
 vt    aux    pn    pron    vt

**hisematamonaka**    **fari**  
 hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka    faari  
 OC    AUX middle FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    that one+M  
 aux    dem

'He poured the latex into the bucket. As he was cleaning out the cup with his fingers, they cut off his head.'

91 **Kote**    **wamisame**    **bao**    **towitimatamona**    **ahi**  
 kote    waa -misa -ma+M    bao    to- na -witI -himata -mona    ahi  
 piece    stand up    back    come down    away AUX out    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 pn    vi    vi    aux    dem

'His headless body got up and fell over.'

92 **Owa**    **yora**    **nariwematamona**    **me**  
 owa    yora    na -riwaha -himata -mona    me  
 other+M    jump    AUX across    FP.N+M    REP+M    3PL.S  
 adj    vi    aux    pron

**hikiyobanoho**  
 hi- kiyo -hiba -no -ho  
 OC    chase    FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP  
 vt

'The other one jumped away, and they chased him.'

93 **Owa**    **te**    **awaraba**    **nahi**  
 owa    tee    awaraba    na -hi  
 1SG.O    2PL.S    leave alone    AUX IMP+F  
 pron    pron    vt    aux

""Leave me alone.""

94 **Koyo**    **Koyo**    **owa**    **te**    **awaraba**    **nahi**  
 Koyo    Koyo    owa    tee    awaraba    na -hi  
 (man's name)    (man's name)    1SG.O    2PL.S    leave alone    AUX IMP+F  
 npropm    npropm    pron    pron    vt    aux

""Koyo, Koyo, you leave me alone.""

95 **E**    **tabate**    **amani**    **Yowaki**    **ati**    **nematamona**    **ama**  
 ee    taba    -tee    ama -ni    Yowaki    ati    na -himata -mona    ama  
 1IN.S    be together    HAB    SEC BKG+F    Joaquim    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    SEC  
 pron    vi    sec    npropm    vt    aux    sec

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

""We have always been together," Joaquim said.'

96 **Hiwa**    **kakatome**    **ka**    **hiwa**    **bari**  
 hiwa    ka- katoma.NOM+M    ka    hiwa    bari  
 3SG.REFL.M    COMMIT look at    because    3SG.REFL.M    impede  
 pron    vt    prt    pron    vt

**kane**    **ka**    **mano**    **me**    **ti**  
 ka- na.NOM+M    ka    mano    me    tii  
 COMMIT AUX    because    arm+M    3PL.S    cut through  
 aux    prt    pn    pron    vt



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**hisibematamonane**

hi- na -kosa -baha -himata -mona -ne  
 OC AUX middle before FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'So as to protect himself he shielded himself, and they cut off his arm.'

97 **Me hikiyo** , **me hikiyo** **awa ini** **boti**  
 me hi- kiyom , me hi- kiyom awa ini boti  
 3PL.S OC chase 3PL.S OC chase tree branch+F inside  
 pron vt pron vt nf pn pn

**tokiyomawite** , **tokiyomawite** **me ti**  
 to- ka -yoma -witI , to- ka -yoma -witI me tii  
 away go/come through out away go/come through out 3PL.S cut through  
 vi vi pron vt

**hikane me hinahimatamonaka fahi**  
 hi- ka- na+M me hi- na- ahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux pron vt dem

'They chased him. He went into the branches of a fallen tree. They cleared out the branches, and killed him.'

98 **Tati me ka hirematamona yimawa ya**  
 tati me kaa hi- na -rI -himata -mona yimawa ya  
 head 3PL.S chop OC AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M knife ADJU  
 pn pron vt aux nf prt

'They cut his head open with a machete.'

99 **Faya me tokawemetemone ahi yara me**  
 faya me to- ka -waha -hemete -mone ahi yara me  
 so 3PL.S away go/come change FP.N+F REP+F then Brazilian 3PL.O  
 conj pron vi dem npropm pron

**me wati kana mati**  
 me wati ka- na+F mati  
 3PL.S plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

'Then they went on, planning to kill the Brazilians.'

100 **Faya yara tati me ba hirematamona**  
 faya yara tati me baa hi- na -rI -himata -mona  
 so Brazilian head 3PL.S hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj npropm pn pron vt aux

**winemari amake ahi kitamemata**  
 wina.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi , kita -ma -himata  
 live FP.E+M be DECL+F then be strong back FP.N+M  
 vi vc dem vi

'There was a Brazilian whose head they bashed who survived. He got well.'

101 **Faya yara me me towasiwitia me** ,  
 faya yara me me to- wasi -witI+F me ,  
 so Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S away find out 3PL.S  
 conj npropm pron pron vt pron

**Tene Irabo fati ha nemetemone amake me**  
 Tene Irabo fati , haa na -hemete -mone ama -ke me  
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.wife call AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.S  
 npropm nf vi aux sec pron



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**kakimisakiemetemonehe**

ka- ka -misa -kI -hemete -mone -he  
COMIT go/come up coming FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
vi

'They lived on the other side. They came across and came onto land.'

107 **Me towakimisa owa ma tomisamaki**  
me to- ka- ka -misa+F owa maa to- na -misa -makI+M  
3PL.S away COMIT go/come up one+M stop away AUX up following  
pron vi adj vi aux

**warematamonane**

waa -ra -himata -mona -ne  
stand NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
vi

'They went up the steps. One of them stopped and stood there.'

108 **Okiti taokana tama ne itematamona**  
o- ka iti taokana tama na+M ita -himata -mona  
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather shotgun hold onto AUX sit FP.N+M REP+M  
nm nf vt aux vi

**amaka , yara me me katomabani mati**  
ama -ka yara me me katoma -haba -ni mati  
SEC DECL+M Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S attack FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
sec npropm pron pron vt pron

'My grandfather was sitting on the ground, holding his shotgun. He killed the Brazilians.'

109 **Okiti tao hikanematamonaka**  
o- ka iti tao hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather shoot OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm vt aux

**ahi**

ahi  
then  
dem

'My grandfather shot at him.'

110 **Me ati kamite tonokomisamaki bata**  
me ati ka- mita+M to- noko -misa -makI+M bata  
3PL.POSS voice COMIT hear away point up following explode  
pron pn vt vi vi

**hikematamonaka taokana ya**  
hi- ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka taokana ya  
OC COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M shotgun ADJU  
aux nf prt

'He heard their voices, and looked up, and shot at him without any effect.'

111 **Bataa taokana moni tonakosa ati moni**  
bataa taokana moni to- na -kosa+F ati moni  
sound shotgun make sound CH AUX middle voice sound  
nf vt aux pn pn

**mitematamona**

mita -himata -mona  
hear FP.N+M REP+M  
vt

'Bataa, the gun noise went, and he heard the noise.'<sup>12</sup>

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12 The word *ati* is a false start.



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**tabaharo**                      **yimawa** ,    **bari** .  
 taba                      -haaro    yimawa    ,    bari .  
 be together IP.E+F    knife                      ax  
 vi                                      nf                      nf

'Then they killed Apurinãs. They killed Brazilians, and brought back clothes, manioc meal, salt, knives, axes, with other things.'

119 **Me**            **kamimetemone**                                      **amake**            **ahi** .  
 me    ka            -ma.NOM+F    -mete    -mone    ama    -ke            ahi  
 3PL.S    go/come back                      FP.N+F    REP+F    be    DECL+F    then  
 pron    vi    vc                      dem

'They came back.'

120 **Me**            **tokemetemoneke**                                      **ahi** .  
 me    to-    ka            -hemete    -mone    -ke            ahi  
 3PL.S    away go/come    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    then  
 pron    vi    dem

'Then they went into the forest.'

121 **Me**            **tokoma**                                      **me** ,    **me**    **amo**    **na**    **me** ,  
 me    to-    ka            -ma+F    me                      ,    me    amo    na+F    me  
 3PL.S    away go/come back    3PL.S                      3PL.S    sleep    AUX    3PL.S  
 pron    vi    pron                      pron    vi                      aux                      pron

**bosa**                      **nemetemone**                                      **ahi** .  
 bosa                      na    -hemete    -mone    ahi  
 get up early    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    then  
 vi                                      aux    dem

'They went to another village. They slept, and got up early.'

122 **Tokimetemone**                                      **amake**            **ahi** .  
 to-    ka.NOM+F    -mete    -mone    ama    -ke            ahi  
 away go/come    FP.N+F    REP+F    be    DECL+F    then  
 vi    vc                      dem

'They went into the forest again.'

123 **Awi**                                      **batori**            **ka** ,    **faya**    **me**            **towinawitia**                                      **me**  
 Awi                                      batori            ka                      ,    faya    me            to-    wina    -witI+F    me  
 (name of stream)    junction    LOC                      so    3PL.S    away live out    3PL.S  
 nm                                      pn                      prt                      conj    pron    vi    pron

,    **Tene Irabo**            **yama**    **me**    **one**            **totimeno**                                      **yama**    **me**  
 Tene Irabo            yama    me    one            to-    iti                      -ma    -hino    yama    me  
 (man's name)    thing    3PL    other+F    away take out back IP.N+M    thing    3PL.S  
 npropm                      nf                      pron    adj                      vt    nf                      pron

**tao**            **namaki**                                      **nabimetemone**                                      **ama** .  
 tao    na    -makI                      nahaba.NOM+F    -mete    -mone    ama  
 shoot    AUX following    at night                      FP.N+F    REP+F    be  
 vt                      aux                                      prt    vc

'They lived at the mouth of the Awi stream. Tene Irabo got some others, and they shot their guns in the night.'

124 **Yara**            **me**            **moni**    **me**            **mita**    **me**            **toka**            **naba**  
 yara                      me                      moni    me                      mita+F    me            to-    ka                      nahaba+F  
 Brazilian    3PL.POSS    sound    3PL.S    hear                      3PL.S    away go/come    at night  
 npropm                      pron                      pn                      pron    vt                      pron    vi                                      aux

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*me* , *okobise* , *yome* *hotone* *beri* *ya* *amo*  
 me o- ka abise , yomee hotone beheri ya amo  
 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS uncle jaguar hole+M side ADJU sleep  
 pron nm nm pn pn prt vi

*nemona* *ati* *me* *haha* *kana* *toimaro*  
 na -himona ati me haahaa ka- na to- ha.NOM+F -maro  
 AUX REP+M voice 3PL.S laugh COMMIT AUX CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux pn pron vi aux aux

'They heard the sound of the Brazilians, and they went into the forest during the night. My uncle said he slept next to the hole of a jaguar, and they always laughed at this.'

125 *Me* *tokawaimetemone* *amake* *ahi*  
 me to- ka -waha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come change FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 pron vi vc dem

'They went into the forest another time.'

126 *Bato yafi* *me* *ni* *me* *me* *me* *me* , *bato yafi* *me* *ni* *ya*  
 bato yafi me ni me me me me , bato yafi me ni ya  
 Banawá 3PL to 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL Banawá 3PL to ADJU  
 npropm pron prt pron pron pron pron npropm pron prt prt

*me* *tokomake* , *me* *tosawimakia* *me* ,  
 me to- ka -makI , me to- sawi -makI+F me ,  
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S away be present following 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi pron

*yati* *me* *me* *hiyokoemetemoneke*  
 yati me me hi- yoko -hemete -mone -ke  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bring misfortune on FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm pron pron vt

*yara* *mati*  
 yara mati  
 Brazilian 3PL  
 npropm pron

'They went to the Banawás, and stayed with them. The Apurinãs caused a bad thing to happen to the Brazilians.'

127 *Yati* *me* *me* *hiyokoa* *me* , *yati* *me*  
 yati me me hi- yoko+F me , yati me  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bring misfortune on 3PL.O Apurinã 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt pron npropm pron

*me* *tao* , *bato yafi* *me* *me* *tao*  
 me tao , bato yafi me me tao  
 3PL.S shoot Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot  
 pron vt npropm pron pron vt

*hibisemetemoneke* *faro*  
 hi- na -bisa -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 OC AUX also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 aux dem

'The Apurinãs caused a bad thing to happen to them. The Banawás also killed them with guns.'

128 *Me* *yoro* *tokana* *me* *ohariemetemone*  
 me yoro to- ka- na+F me ohari -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S be together CH COMMIT AUX 3PL.S be one FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

134 *Ota nahobana*  
 otaa naho.NOM -bana  
 1EX.S stay FUT  
 pron vi

"We will stay here."

135 *Te ota noki niba*  
 tee otaa noki na.NOM+F -ba  
 2PL.O 1EX.S wait for AUX FUT  
 pron pron vt aux

"We will wait for you."

136 *Faya me me fanawi bosa nemetemone me amani*  
 faya me me fanawi bosa na -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 so 3PL women get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 conj pron nf vi aux pron sec

'Then the women got up early.'

137 *Me fanawi me bosa na me , me tokoma*  
 me fanawi me bosa na+F me , me to- ka -ma+F  
 women 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back  
 nf pron vi aux pron pron vi

*me , me me kobo hinemetemone*  
 me , me me kobo hi- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S meet OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron pron vt aux

'The women got up early. They went. They encountered them.'

138 *Te yotohi*  
 tee yoto+M  
 2PL.S follow  
 pron vi

"You stay behind."

139 *Te te yotoba nahi*  
 tee tee yoto -baa na -hi  
 2PL.S 2PL.S follow at a distance AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vi aux

"You stay far behind."

140 *Tai oamibeya ati nemetemoneke*  
 tai o- to- ha -ma -be -ya ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 be ahead 1SG.S CH AUX back IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi aux vt aux

*Awa Wai Ya*

Awa Wai Ya  
 (woman's name)  
 npropf

"I will go ahead," she said, Awa Wai Ya.'

141 *Awa Wai Ya tai toamemetemoneni , yati*  
 Awa Wai Ya tai to- ha -ma -hemete -mone -ni , yati  
 (woman's name) be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F Apurinã  
 npropf vi aux npropm



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**mera kobo nabonehe**  
 mera kobo na -habone -he  
 3PL.O meet AUX INT+F DUP  
 pron vt aux

'Awa Wai Ya went ahead, to meet up with the Apurinãs.'

142 **Yome yome ota fami ke habo ni te miti**  
 yomee yomee otaa fama.NFIN ke habo na.NFIN tee mita.NOM+F  
 dog dog 1EX.S be two which+M bark AUX 2PL.S hear  
 nm nm pron vi prt vi aux pron vi

**ya te te wete tonamiya**  
 ya tee tee wete to- na -ma -yahi  
 ADJU 2PL.S 2PL.S return away AUX back DIST.IMP+F  
 prt pron pron vi aux

'If you hear the dog that is with me barking, you go back.'

143 **Te kana ni tokomiyahi ati**  
 tee kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -yahi ati  
 2PL.S run AUX away go/come back DIST.IMP+F say  
 pron vi aux vi vt

**nemetemone**  
 na -hemete -mone  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'Go running away,' she said.'

144 **Faya me kana ni yome habo ni me mita me**  
 faya me kana na.NFIN yomee habo na.NFIN me mita+F me  
 so 3PL.S run AUX dog bark AUX 3PL.S hear 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi aux nm vi aux pron vt pron

**kana ni tokomemetemoneke fahi hiyara me**  
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi hiyara me  
 run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then story 3PL.S  
 vi aux vi dem nf pron

**towakama mati me yoro tokana me**  
 to- ka- ka -ma+F mati me yoro to- ka- na+F me  
 away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S be together CH COMMIT AUX 3PL  
 vi pron pron vi aux pron

**ni ya Rowiso ite rama**  
 ni ya Rowiso ita+M rama  
 to ADJU (man's name) stay unusual  
 prt prt npropm vi prt

'They heard the dog barking, and they went running back, taking the news to the others, who were gathered together. Rowiso was there.'

145 **Rowiso yati me nao aya**  
 Rowiso yati me naho.NOM aya  
 (man's name) Apurinã 3PL.S stand there  
 npropm npropm pron vi dem

'Rowiso, the Apurinãs are there.'

146 **Yati otara me tao nene me nao aya ati**  
 yati otara me tao na -hene me naho.NOM aya ati  
 Apurinã 1EX.O 3PL.S shoot AUX IRR+F 3PL.S stand there say  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vi dem vt

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**nemetemone**

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

"The Apurinãs almost shot us. They are there," she said.'

147 **Owa me tao kibe**  
owa me tao ka- na -be  
1SG.O 3PL.S shoot COMMIT AUX IMMED+F  
pron pron vt vi

"They will shoot me."

148 **Me ihi itihani me yobi**  
me ihi iti -hani me yobi  
3PL.POSS victim of+F exist IP.N+F 3PL.S go back and forth  
pron pn vi pron vi

**nofa me ama**  
na nofa+F me ama  
AUX recently 3PL.S SEC  
prt pron sec

"They killed someone, and they still were coming around here."

149 **Taokana kakitikabote nematamona ahi**  
taokana ka- iti -kabote na -himata -mona ahi  
shotgun COMMIT pick up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
nf vt aux dem

'He picked up his gun.'

150 **Te kamaki**  
tee ka -maki  
2PL.S go/come following  
pron vi

"Come."

151 **Yati me e towamibe**  
yati me ee to- awa -ma -be  
Apurinã 3PL.O 1IN.S away see back IMMED+F  
npropm pron pron vt

"Let's go look at the Apurinãs."

152 **Yati me me towamabone me ohari**  
yati me me to- awa -ma -habone me ohari.NFIN  
Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S away see back INT+F 3PL.S be one  
npropm pron pron vt pron vi

**tohehemetemonehe**

to- ha -hemete -mone -he  
CH be FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
vc

'They all went to see the Apurinãs.'

153 **Me nafi toemetemoneke ahi**  
me nafi to- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
3PL.POSS all CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
pron pn vc dem

'It was all of them.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

- 154 *Me tokomemetemone ahi*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem  
 'They went.'
- 155 *Me tokomemetemone kita ya*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone kita ya  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F strength ADJU  
 pron vi vi prt  
 'They went fast.'
- 156 *Yati isiri me weyeri kawaha me ka isiri*  
 yati isiri me weye -ri ka- na -waha+F me ka isiri  
 Apurinã basket 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX change 3PL POSS basket  
 npropm nf pron vt aux pron prt nf  
*si tonemetemoneni*  
 sii to- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 stand CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi aux  
 'The Apurinãs had brought baskets, and their baskets were on the ground.'
- 157 *Itawaine nimete isiri*  
 ita -waha -ne na.NOM+F -mete isiri  
 sit change CONT+F AUX FP.N+F basket  
 vi aux nf  
 'They just sat there.'
- 158 *Yati me me me wati hikana rama*  
 yati me me me wati hi- ka- na+F rama  
 Apurinã 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against OC COMIT AUX unusual  
 npropm pron pron pron vt aux prt  
*me me ki hinemetemone*  
 me me kii hi- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S look at OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron vt aux  
 'They planned to kill them, so they didn't just look at them.'
- 159 *Rowiso fare owa mera komofai nebona taokana*  
 Rowiso fare owa , mera komofai na -hibona , taokana  
 (man's name) same+M other+M 3PL.O greet AUX INT+M shotgun  
 npropm dem adj pron vt aux nf  
*mate ya mera ta nematamonaka ahi*  
 mate ya mera taa na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 base+F ADJU 3PL.O give AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pn prt pron vt aux dem  
 'The other Rowiso gave the stock of the gun to them to greet them.'
- 160 *Taokana mate me komofai nemetemone ehene*  
 taokana mate me komofai na -hemete -mone ehene  
 shotgun base+F 3PL.S greet AUX FP.N+F REP+F because of+M  
 nf pn pron vt aux post  
 'They grasped the stock of the gun in greeting, because of him.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

161 *Mitarama*                    *nematamonaka*                    *fari*                    *Rowiso*                    *mera*  
 mita -rama            na -himata -mona -ka            faari                    Rowiso                    mera  
 hear unusual        AUX FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M    that one+M            (man's name)        3PL.O  
 anticip                    aux                    dem                    npropm                    pron

*wati*                    *kanahari*  
 wati                    ka-    na    -haari  
 plan against        COMMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 vt                    aux

'Rowiso was planning against them, but he didn't let on.'

162 *Te*            *fiya*            *tonama*  
 tee            fiya    to-    na    -ma+F  
 2PL.S    pass    away    AUX    back  
 pron    vi            aux

"You go on to the other side."

163 *Te*            *fiya*            *towiti*  
 tee            fiya    to-    na    -witI+M  
 2PL.S    pass    away    AUX    out  
 pron    vi            aux

"Go on over there."

164 *Te*            *tonohowawitibe*                    *ha*  
 tee            to-    naho    -waha    -witI    -be            haa  
 2PL.S    away    stand    change    out        IMMED+F    DEM  
 pron    vi                                    dem

"You go and stay over there."

165 *Himata*            *te*            *ebe*            *naba*            *te*            *amariya*            ?    *Rowiso*  
 himata            tee            ebe            na -haba    tee            ama -ri    -ya            Rowiso  
 what?            2PL.S    purpose    AUX FUT+F    2PL.S    be    CQ+F    now            (man's name)  
 interrog pron    vt            aux            pron    vc                    npropm

*ati*            *nematamona*  
 ati    na    -himata -mona  
 say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vt            aux

"What are you up to?" Rowiso said.'

166 *Hiyama*                    *me*            *ota*            *tonakabone*                    *ota*  
 hiyama                    me            otaa            to-    na-    ka            -habone    otaa  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S    away CAUS go/come INT+F    1EX.S  
 nm                    pron    pron    vt                    pron

*hiyama*                    *me*            *kake*                    *mati*  
 hiyama                    me            ka            -kI            mati  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.S    go/come    coming    3PL.S  
 nm                    pron    vi                    pron

"We are going after some white-lipped peccaries that came here."

167 *Ota*            *tokiba*                    *ahi*            ,    *me*            *ati*            *ati*  
 otaa            to-    ka.NOM+F    -ba    ahi            ,    me            ati    ati  
 1EX.S    away go/come    FUT    there            3PL.S    say    say  
 pron    vi                    dem            pron    vt    vt

*nematamonaka*                    *Rowiso*  
 na -himata -mona -ka            Rowiso  
 AUX FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M    (man's name)  
 aux                    npropm

"We are going there," Rowiso said.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

168 *Rowiso*                    *toke*                                    ,                    *me*                    *wati*                                    *hikana*  
 Rowiso                    to- ka+M                                    ,                    me                    wati                                    hi- ka- na+F  
 (man's name)                    away go/come                                    3PL.O                    plan against                                    OC                    COMMIT AUX  
 npropm                    vi                                    pron                    vt                                    aux

*rama*                    *me*                    *ki*                                    *hinemetemonehe*  
 rama                    me                    kii                    hi- na -hemete -mone -he  
 unusual                    3PL.O                    look at                    OC                    AUX                    FP.N+F                    REP+F                    DUP  
 prt                    pron                    vt                                    aux

'Rowiso went. He was planning against them. He started shooting them right away.'

169 *Wati*                                    *hikane*                                    *rama*                    *ahi*  
 wati                                    hi- ka- na+M                    rama                    ahi  
 plan against                    OC                    COMMIT AUX                    unusual                    then  
 vt                                    aux                                    prt                    dem

'He was planning to kill one of them.'

170 *Te*                    *te*                    *kerewe*                    *rima*                                    *na*                    *ati*                    *nematamona*                                    *ahi*  
 tee                    tee                    kerewe                    na -rima                    na                    ati                    na -himata -mona                    ahi  
 2PL.S                    2PL.S                    be slow                    AUX NEG.IMP+F                    AUX                    say                    AUX FP.N+M                    REP+M                    then  
 pron                    pron                    vi                                    aux                                    aux                    vt                    aux                                    dem

'"Act fast," he said.'

171 *Me*                    ,                    *wati*                                    *hikane*                                    *taokana*                                    ,                    *kerekerewe*  
 me                    ,                    wati                                    hi- ka- na+M                    taokana                                    ,                    kere- kerewe  
 3PL.S                    plan against                    OC                    COMMIT AUX                    shotgun                                    DUP                    be slow  
 pron                    vt                                    aux                                    nf                                    vi

*kana*                    *re*                                    *rama*                    *ahi*  
 ka- na                    na -ra+M                    rama                    ahi  
 COMMIT AUX                    AUX NEG                    unusual                    then  
 aux                    aux                                    prt                    dem

'They were planning to kill him. He shot his gun quickly.'

172 *Rowiso*                                    *Rowiso*                                    *tiwa*                    *wati*                                    *kane*                                    *ati*  
 Rowiso                                    Rowiso                                    tiwa                    wati                                    ka- na+M                    ati  
 (man's name)                    (man's name)                    2SG.O                    plan against                    COMMIT AUX                    say  
 npropm                    npropm                    pron                    vt                                    aux                                    vt

*nemetemone*                                    *fati*  
 na -hemete -mone                    fati  
 AUX FP.N+F                    REP+F                    3SG.POSS.wife  
 aux                                    nf

'"Rowiso, Rowiso is going to shoot at you," she said, his wife.'

173 *Fito*                    *tonakosebona*                                    *tao*                    *hikanematamonaka*  
 fito                    to- na -kosa -hibona                    tao                    hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 rush                    away AUX middle INT+M                    shoot                    OC                    COMMIT AUX                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DECL+M  
 vi                    aux                                    vt                    aux

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'He wanted to run away, but he shot him.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

174 **Tao hikane** , **me ye kawemetemone**  
 tao hi- ka- na+M , me ye ka- na -waha -hemete -mone  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt aux pron vi aux

**yati me me kina mati**  
 yati me me kina+F mati  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S hit 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt pron

'He shot him. They yelled, surrounding the Apurinãs.'

175 **Owa me sa hikana**  
 owa me saa hi- ka- na.LIST  
 other+M 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX  
 adj pron vt aux

**hinematamona ahi**  
 hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'They also shot one of them with an arrow.'

176 **Me me waka hinemetemoneni**  
 me me waka hi- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S kill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They killed them.'

177 **Yati fana kana narawa me kiyorawemetemone**  
 yati fana kana na -rawa+F me kiyo -rawa -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã female run AUX F.PL 3PL.S chase F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm nf vi aux pron vt

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'The Apurinã women ran, and they ran after them.'

178 **Fa kakeraba ama ?**  
 faha ka -kI -ra -haba ama  
 water go/come coming NEG FUT+F SEC  
 nf vi sec

'Is it going to rain?'

179 **Owato okare**  
 o- wato o- ka -re  
 1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL NEG+F  
 vt prt

'I don't know.'

180 **Yati fana me tisa narawemetemone kana**  
 yati fana me tisa na -rawa -hemete -mone kana  
 Apurinã female 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F run  
 npropm nf pron vt aux vi

**narawaro kasaro akarawanihi**  
 na -rawa -haaro , kasaro aka -rawa -hani -hi  
 AUX F.PL IP.E+F beads wear F.PL IP.N+F DUP  
 aux nf vt

'They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They were wearing beads.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

181 *Yati fana taminarawa me katomarawemetemone*  
 yati fana tamina -rawa+F me katoma -rawa -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã female be good F.PL 3PL.S kill many F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm nf vi pron vt

*Towisawa aati toemari amake*  
 Towisawa a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke  
 (man's name) DUP say away AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F  
 npropm vt aux vc

'They killed many pretty Apurinã women, Towisawa always said.'

182 *Me ihi itiha me kamemetemone ahi*  
 me ihi iti+F me ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron pn vi pron vi dem

'After killing people, they came back.'

183 *Me kama me me banehemetemone ahi*  
 me ka -ma+F me me bana -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi pron pron vi dem

'They came back, and moved away.'

184 *Me bana me tokemetemone*  
 me bana+F me to- ka -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi pron vi

'They moved away. They went.'

185 *Awa me ka hina tobokawitiha me me*  
 awa me kaa hi- na+F to- boka -witI+F me me  
 tree 3PL.S chop OC AUX away enter water out 3PL 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux vi pron pron

*kariwehemetemone ahi*  
 ka -riwaha -hemete -mone ahi  
 go/come across FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'They cut down a tree. The tree fell into the water, and they went across.'

186 *Me kariwa me awa me ti*  
 me ka -riwaha+F me awa me tii  
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S tree 3PL.S cut through  
 pron vi pron nf pron vt

*nakosemetemone fahi*  
 na -kosa -hemete -mone fahi  
 AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'They crossed. They cut the tree in two.'

187 *Awa bokarisemetemone amani*  
 awa boka -risa -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 tree enter water down FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 nf vi sec

'The tree sunk.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

188 *Faya me totowinawiti toimetemone amake*  
 faya me to- to- wina -witI to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 so 3PL.S DUP away live out CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 conj pron vi aux vc

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'Then they lived far away for a time.'

189 *Me kamine nimete ahi*  
 me ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -mete ahi  
 3PL.S go/come back CONT+F AUX FP.N+F here  
 pron vi aux dem

'They came back this way.'

190 *Koriwa kaya nineni*  
 Koriwa kaya na -ne -ni  
 Curiá lie AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 npropf vi aux

'The Curiá River is there.'

191 *Faya kona me hitikosamematamona*  
 faya kona me hi- iti -kosa -ma -himata -mona  
 so plant sp 3PL.S OC take out middle back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj nm pron vt

'They brought *kona* plants.'

192 *Ene babata toematamona amake*  
 ehene ba- bata to- ha.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke  
 victim of+M DUP be rotten CH AUX short time REP+M be DECL+F  
 pn vi aux vc

*fahi kona habo tatama re habo famahari*  
 fahi kona habo ta- tama na -ra+M habo fama -haari  
 then plant sp root+M DUP be many AUX NEG root+M be two IP.E+M  
 dem nm pn vi aux pn vi

'The fish that the roots killed rotted. It was not many roots, just two.'

193 *Kona aba mera nanahabi toematamonaha*  
 kona aba mera na- na- ahaba to- ha -himata -mona -ha  
 plant sp fish 3PL.O DUP CAUS die CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm nm pron vt aux

'The *kona* killed the fish for days.'

194 *Koriwa bari ya , watate awaka*  
 Koriwa bari ya , wata -tee awa -ka  
 Curiá other side ADJU grow HAB seem+M DECL+M  
 npropf pn prt vi sec

'I guess it grows on the other side of the Curiá.'



## BOTEHEFO

### *Free Translation*

The Brazilians also came, and my uncle fought with them. It was in Boto. It was Joaquim, whose arm they cut off.

"Domingos, Botehefo, Botehefo, the Brazilians are planning against us," they said, calling out.

The Brazilians imitated them calling. They imitated the women calling out.

Then Botehefo heard. Botehefo came running back. There were many people cutting down a *wakoya* tree, so we could eat the *wakoya* fruits. We must have been out there in the forest. They came back. There is a noise in a sandy clearing. Make many people run on the sandy clearing. The sound of them running on the sand could be heard.

"What is it?"

"The Brazilians are in the village, they came to kill us. The Brazilians want to kill us."

My uncle got the packet of arrows that was in the rafters, and Joaquim was hiding there. My uncle took the packet of arrows out of the rafters, and quickly pulled out an arrow out, but Joaquim grabbed him.

"Oo," Joaquim said, my uncle used to say.

My uncle didn't see Joaquim when he grabbed his back. Joaquim carried him.

"Domingos, Domingos, we don't want to kill you. We want to kill the Yimas," he said.

"We are the Yimas. You have decided to kill us," he said.

Joaquim didn't stop talking, and Botehefo didn't stop talking, either.

"Domingos, you won't be able to hit me with an arrow. I will shoot you in the head."

"He says I will not be able to hit him with an arrow. I will hit Joaquim in the head with an arrow."

"I will duck. I will make you run out of arrows, Domingos."

"Yes, you will make me run out of arrows. He will fall on the ground with a arrow through him."

My uncle argued with the Brazilians, and brought the Brazilians back. We were small. Like Rosiano standing there. I guess I was like that. I was like Rosiano, as I was with the others. Children that size can see people. My uncle brought the Brazilians back. Many people went behind, with arrows.

"We don't plan to kill you. We are going after the Yimas, to kill the Yimas."

"We are the Yimas." My uncle didn't stop talking.

"Where is the boss?"

"The boss is living there."

"The boss sent you here. You intended to kill us," my uncle said, complaining.

He took the Brazilians back. They went back.

"Domingos, you talk a lot. Domingos, hit the tree with an arrow."

"He thinks I will miss him."

My uncle pulled out an arrow. He used to say he wasn't afraid of ruining the arrow. My uncle hit the tree with the arrow. When the arrow hit the tree, it broke off and the piece flew off.

## BOTEHEFO

"Now us."

The Brazilians shot off rifles. There were branches falling from the trees because of them.

My uncle took them back. The boss Melo was looking at their path, and he saw them. "They have come back," he said.

"Whew." I don't know the name of the Brazilian.

"Well, what about them? Did the Indians die?"

"The Indians did not die. The Indians are coming there. Domingos fought with us."

"Where is he?"

"Domingos is coming there."

"You should have shot Domingos in the head," the boss Melo said.

Domingos heard in the distance. He came.

"Domingos was supposed to die, but instead they are bringin him here," the boss Melo said.

"Why did you say I should die, boss Melo?"

The boss Melo trembled with fear.

My uncle demanded an answer. He wouldn't stop talking. "You intended to kill us. You sent your clients to kill us. Boss Melo, you are going to die."

The other Jarawaras watched over my uncle, as he went up in the house by himself. The others stood outside, as he stood scolding the Brazilians.

"We will come and see you tomorrow. We will get up early, to come and see you. We are going home for now. Go ahead and come after us again. We will hide from you and shoot you with arrows."

My uncle spoke boldly. He listened as my uncle spoke boldly.

"Domingos was supposed to die, but instead he is speaking boldly."

"Go ahead and kill me. Come after us, all of you. You come along this time, boss. Go ahead and kill me," my uncle said.

His voice could be heard as he argued with the Brazilians, he used to say. His brother-in-law was waiting for him.

"You live here. We are going home, to wait for you."

So they came back. When Botehefo was small, when they fought against the group of Tene Irabo, they scared him, and when he went running away, he hit his forehead, he used to say.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Yara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamakibisani</b>		<b>okobise</b>
	yara	me	ka -makI -bisa -hani		o- ka abise
	Brazilian	3PL.S	go/come following also IP.N+F		1SG.POSS POSS uncle
	npropm	pron	vi		nm

<b>mera</b>	<b>mono</b>	<b>namari</b>	
mera	mono	na.NOM+M -mari	.
3PL.O	struggle with	AUX FP.E+M	
pron	vt	aux	

'The Brazilians also came, and my uncle fought with them.'

2	<b>Boto</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	boto	ama -ke	ahi
	sandy clearing	be DECL+F	there
	nf	vc	dem

'It was in Boto.'



## BOTEHEFO

'We must have been out there in the forest.'

10 *Faya me kamemetemone ahi*  
 faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
 so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'They came back.'

11 *Boto moni komehake*  
 boto moni komeha -ke  
 sandy clearing sound be extreme DECL+F  
 nf pn vi

'There is a noise in a sandy clearing.'

12 *E tamabote kana tinihawaha boto ya*  
 ee tama -bote kana ti- niha- na -waha boto ya  
 1IN be many very run 2SG.S CAUS AUX change sandy clearing ADJU  
 pron adj vi aux nf prt

'Make many people run on the sandy clearing.'

13 *Me moni tiriri kanemete amake ahi*  
 me moni tiriri ka- na -hemete ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.POSS sound many fall COMIT AUX FP.N+F SEC DECL+F then  
 pron pn vi aux sec dem

'The sound of them running on the sand could be heard.'

14 *Me moni tiriri kanemetemone*  
 me moni tiriri ka- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S sound many fall COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vi aux

'The sound of them could be heard.'

15 *Himata amariya ?*  
 himata ama -ri -ya  
 what? be CQ+F now  
 interrog vc

""What is it?""

16 *Yara era me nahabiabone me*  
 yara era me na- ahaba -habone me  
 Brazilian 1IN.O 3PL.S CAUS die INT+F 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt pron  
*kamakiani me naone fero*  
 ka -makI -hani me naho -ne faaro  
 go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S stand CONT+F that+F  
 vi pron vi dem

""The Brazilians are in the village, they came to kill us.""

17 *Yara otara me wati kana me awine*  
 yara otara me wati ka- na+F me awine  
 Brazilian 1EX.O 3PL.S plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S seem+F  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron sec

""The Brazilians want to kill us.""



## BOTEHEFO

23 *Yima me ota wati kana ota amani ati*  
 yima me otaa wati ka- na+F otaa ama -ni ati  
 Yima 3PL.O 1EX.S plan against COMIT AUX 1EX.S SEC BKG+F say  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron sec vt

**nematamonane**

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

"We want to kill the Yimas," he said.'

24 *Yima meni me ota amani*  
 yima me -ni me otaa ama -ni  
 Yima 3PL IP.N+F 3PL.COMPL 1EX.S be BKG+F  
 npropm pron pron pron vc

"We are the Yimas."

25 *Otara te tao nabone te ati nani te ama ati*  
 otara tee tao na -habone tee ati na -hani tee ama ati  
 1EX.O 2PL.S shoot AUX INT+F 2PL.S say AUX IP.N+F 2PL.S SEC say  
 pron pron vt aux pron vt aux pron sec vt

**nematamonaka**

na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

"You have decided to kill us," he said.'

26 *Yowaki ati fawa hina re Botehefo ati*  
 Yowaki ati fawa na -hina na -ra+M Botehefo ati  
 Joaquim voice disappear AUX can AUX NEG (man's name) voice  
 npropm pn vi aux aux npropm pn

**fawa nabisarematamona**

fawa na -bisa -ra -himata -mona amane ahi  
 disappear AUX also NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M then  
 vi aux sec dem

'Joaquim didn't stop talking, and Botehefo didn't stop talking, either.'

27 *Tomiko owa sa tikaraba ama*  
 Tomiko owa saa ti- ka- na -ra -haba ama  
 Domingos 1SG.O shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX NEG FUT+F SEC  
 npropm pron vt aux aux npropm sec

**tike**

ti- ke  
 2SG.S DECL+F  
 prt

"Domingos, you won't be able to hit me with an arrow."

28 *Titati tao okanaba ama oke*  
 ti- tati tao o- ka- na -haba ama o- ke  
 2SG.POSS head shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pn vt aux sec prt

"I will shoot you in the head."

29 *Sa okarebona ati ama hari*  
 saa o- ka- na -ra -hibona ati ama hari  
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG INT+M voice be that one+M  
 vt aux pn vc dem

"He says I will not be able to hit him with an arrow."

## BOTEHEFO

30 **Yowaki tati sa okaneba ati amaka**  
 Yowaki tati saa o- ka- na -hiba ati ama -ka  
 Joaquim head shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+M voice be DECL+M  
 npropm pn vt aux pn vc

"I will hit Joaquim in the head with an arrow."

31 **Itakabote onaba ama oke ahi**  
 ita -kabote o- na -haba ama o- ke ahi  
 sit quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F then  
 vi aux sec prt dem

"I will duck."

32 **Tika wati onafiyohaba ama oke**  
 ti- ka wati o- to- na- fiyo -haba ama o- ke  
 2SG.POSS POSS arrow 1SG.S CH CAUS be all gone FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt nm vt sec prt

**Tomiko**

Tomiko  
 Domingos  
 npropm

"I will make you run out of arrows, Domingos."

33 **Ee oko wati tinafiyohabana**  
 ee o- ka wati ti- to- na- fiyo -habana  
 yes 1SG.POSS POSS arrow 2SG.S CH CAUS be all gone FUT+F  
 interj prt nm vt

**tini**

ti- ni  
 2SG.S BKG+F  
 prt

"Yes, you will make me run out of arrows."

34 **Bere kasi homi tabiyo ati ama**  
 bere ka- na -kosa.NFIN homa.NFIN tabiyo ati ama  
 be across COMIT AUX middle lie on ground wanting voice be  
 vi aux vi pn pn vc

"He will fall on the ground with a arrow through him."

35 **Okobise yara me mono ne yara**  
 o- ka abise yara me mono na+M yara  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle Brazilian 3PL.O struggle with AUX Brazilian  
 nm npropm pron vt aux npropm

**me kakamamatamona**

me ka- ka -ma.NOM+M -mata -mona  
 3PL.O COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt

'My uncle argued with the Brazilians, and brought the Brazilians back.'

36 **Yara me kakamamata**  
 yara me ka- ka -ma.NOM+M -mata  
 Brazilian 3PL.O COMIT go/come back FP.N+M  
 npropm pron vt

'He brought the Brazilians back.'

## BOTEHEFO

37 *Ota fotara efe , Rosiano wara*  
 otaa fota -ra+F efe , Rosiano waa -rI.CONT+M  
 1EX.S be big NEG this+M (man's name) stand raised surface  
 pron vi dem npropm vi

*hari*  
 haari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'We were small. Like Rosiano standing there.'

38 *E onemete owa awine oke*  
 ee o- na -hemete owa awine o- ke  
 be similar 1SG.S AUX FP.N+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi aux pron sec prt

'I guess I was like that.'

39 *E ona me ya otabine*  
 ee o- na+F me ya o- taba -ne  
 be similar 1SG.S AUX 3PL ADJU 1SG.S be together CONT+F  
 vi aux pron prt vi

*omete*  
 o- na.NOM -mete  
 1SG.S AUX FP.N+F  
 aux

'I was like Rosiano, as I was with the others.'

40 *Afa me noki wati nofara me ama*  
 afa me noki wata nofa -ra+F me ama  
 this+F 3PL.POSS eye+F exist recently NEG 3PL.POSS SEC  
 dem pron pn vi prt pron sec

'They can see people.'

41 *Yara okobise me kakame , me*  
 yara o- ka abise me ka- ka -ma+M me  
 Brazilian 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3PL.O COMIT go/come back 3PL.S  
 npropm nm pron vt pron  
*tama me yotohamaro me ama ahi wati me wati me*  
 tama+F me yoto -hamaro me ama ahi wati me wati me  
 be many 3PL.S follow FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC then arrow 3PL arrow 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi pron sec dem nm pron nm pron

*kiha mati*  
 kiha+F mati  
 have 3PL.S  
 vt pron

'My uncle brought the Brazilians back. Many people went behind, with arrows.'

42 *Te ota wati kari*  
 tee otaa wati ka- na -ra.NOM+F  
 2PL.O 1EX.S plan against COMIT AUX NEG  
 pron pron vt aux

'''We don't plan to kill you.'''

43 *Yima me ota nakamake , yima me , ota*  
 yima me otaa na- ka -makI yima me otaa  
 Yima 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS go/come following Yima 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 npropm pron pron vt npropm pron pron



## BOTEHEFO

**nabihabone**                      **ota**  
na-    ahaba -habone    otaa  
CAUS die    INT+F    1EX.S  
vt                                  pron

"We are going after the Yimas, to kill the Yimas."

44 **Yima**    **me**    ,    **yima**    **meni**                      **me**                      **ota**                      **amani**  
yima    me                      ,    yima    me -ni                      me                      otaa    ama -ni  
Yima    3PL                      Yima    3PL IP.N+F                      3PL.COMPL    1EX.S    be    BKG+F  
npropm pron                      npropm pron                      pron                      pron    vc

"We are the Yimas."

45 **Okobise**                                  **fare**                      **ati**                      **totoha**                      **nemari**  
o-                      ka    abise    fare    ati    to- to- ha    na -himari  
1SG.POSS POSS uncle    same+M    voice    DUP CH    be    AUX FP.E+M  
nm                                  dem                      pn                      vc                                  aux

'My uncle didn't stop talking.'

46 **Ee**                      ,    **iteni**                                  **ya**                      ,    **Himata**    **batoro**                      **e**  
ee                                  ,    itehani                                  ya                      ,    himata    batoro    ee  
(pause)                      whatchamacallit    ADJU                      what?    boss    (question)  
interj                      nm                                  prt                      interrog nm                      vi

**ranohoya**                                  ?  
na -ra -no    -ho -ya  
AUX CQ+M IP.N+M DUP now  
aux

"Where is the boss?"<sup>14</sup>

47 **Batoro**    **winahareka**  
batoro    wina -hare    -ka  
boss    live IP.E+M DECL+M  
nm                      vi

"The boss is living there."

48 **Batoro**    **batoro**    **tera**    **yosemakeno**                                  **te**                      **amani**  
batoro    batoro    tera    yose    -makI                      -hino    tee    ama -ni  
boss    boss    2PL.O    command following IP.N+M    2PL.O    SEC BKG+F  
nm                      nm                      pron    vt                                  pron    sec

"The boss sent you here."

49 **Otara**    **te**                      **nabihabone**                                  **te**                      **ati**    **nani**                                  **te**                      **awine**  
otara    tee    na-    ahaba -habone    tee    ati    na -hani    tee    awine  
1EX.O    2PL.S    CAUS die    INT+F    2PL.S    say    AUX IP.N+F    2PL.S    seem+F  
pron    pron    vt                                  pron    vt    aux                                  pron    sec

**okobise**                                  **hora**                      **ni**                      **ati**                      **nemari**  
o-                      ka    abise    hora    na.NFIN    ati    na -himari  
1SG.POSS POSS uncle    exclaim    AUX    say    AUX FP.E+M  
nm                                  vi                      aux                      vt    aux

"You intended to kill us," my uncle said, complaining.'

50 **Yara**                      **me**                      **towakame**                                  ,    **yara**                      **me**  
yara                      me                      to- ka- ka    -ma+M                      yara                      me  
Brazilian    3PL.O    away COMIT go/come back    Brazilian    3PL.O  
npropm    pron    vt                                  npropm    pron

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14 *Himata* is a false start.



## BOTEHEFO

58 **Ha otara**  
 haa otaa -ra  
 DEM 1EX.S NPQ  
 dem pron

"Now us."

59 **Rifi me tao nemetemone ahi**  
 rifi me tao na -hemete -mone ahi  
 rifle 3PL.S shoot AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They shot off rifles.'

60 **Awa ini fororo kanemetemone me ihi**  
 awa ini foro -ro ka- na -hemete -mone me ihi  
 tree branch+F fall DUP COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS because of+F  
 nf pn vi aux pron post

'There were branches falling from the trees because of them.'

61 **Okobise me hekamemetemone**  
 o- ka abise me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron vt

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'My uncle took them back.'

62 **Me hekama me batoro Mero batoro Mero**  
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me batoro Mero batoro Mero  
 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O boss Melo boss Melo  
 pron vt pron nm npropm nm npropm

**nokomakematamona me hawi ya , mera**  
 noko -maki -himata -mona me hawi ya , mera  
 point following FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.POSS trail+F ADJU 3PL.O  
 vi pron pn prt pron

**awebanoho**  
 awa -hiba -no -ho  
 see FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'He took them back. The boss Melo was looking at their path, and he saw them.'

63 **Me kami ati nematamonane**  
 me ka -ma.NOM+F ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S go/come back say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi vt aux

"'They have come back," he said.'

64 **Hoo**  
 hoo  
 whew  
 interj

"Whew."

## BOTEHEFO

65 *Yara ino owatoramako amaka*  
 yara ino o- wato -ra -mako ama -ka  
 Brazilian name+M 1SG.S know NEG for this reason+M SEC DECL+M  
 npropm pn vt sec

'I don't know the name of the Brazilian.'

66 *Fa mera ?*  
 faa me -ra  
 that 3PL NPQ  
 dem pron

""Well, what about them?""

67 *Koromi me ahabini ?*  
 koromi me ahaba -ni  
 Indian 3PL.S die BKG+F  
 npropm pron vi

""Did the Indians die?""

68 *Koromi me abakere*  
 koromi me ahaba -ke -re  
 Indian 3PL.S die DECL+F NEG+F  
 npropm pron vi

""The Indians did not die.""

69 *Koromi me kamakike ahi*  
 koromi me ka -makI -ke ahi  
 Indian 3PL.S go/come following DECL+F there  
 npropm pron vi dem

""The Indians are coming there.""

70 *Tomiko otara katome*  
 Tomiko otara katoma+M  
 Domingos 1EX.O attack  
 npropm pron vt

""Domingos fought with us.""

71 *E ra ?*  
 ee na -ra  
 (question) AUX CQ+M  
 vi aux

""Where is he?""

72 *Tomiko kamaki ahi*  
 Tomiko ka -makI+M ahi  
 Domingos go/come following there  
 npropm vi dem

""Domingos is coming there.""

73 *Tomiko tati te tao karanomako*  
 Tomiko tati tee tao ka- na -ra -no -mako  
 Domingos head 2PL.S shoot COMIT AUX NEG IP.N+M for this reason+M  
 npropm pn pron vt aux

*amane batoro Mero ati nematamona amane*  
 ama -ne batoro Mero ati na -himata -mona ama -ne  
 SEC BKG+M boss Melo say AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 sec nm npropm vt aux sec

""You should have shot Domingos in the head," the boss Melo said.'

## BOTEHEFO

74	<b>Tomiko</b>	<b>warabo</b>	<b>hawiba</b>		<b>nematamona</b>		<b>amaka</b>	<b>hike</b>
	Tomiko	warabo	hawi -baa		na -himata -mona		ama -ka	hike
	Domingos	ear+M	work at a distance		AUX FP.N+M REP+M		SEC DECL+M	far
	npropm	pn	vi		aux		sec	nf

**ya**

ya

ADJU

prt

'Domingos heard in the distance.'

75	<b>Kamaki</b>		<b>kamakimatamona</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	ka	-makI+M	ka	-makI -himata -mona	ahi
	go/come	following	go/come following	FP.N+M REP+M	then
	vi		vi		dem

'He came.'

76	<b>Tomiko</b>	<b>abebona</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakamine</b>
	Tomiko	ahaba -hibona	me	ka- ka -ma -ne
	Domingos	die INT+M	3PL.S	COMIT go/come back CONT+F
	npropm	vi	pron	vt

<b>ninihi</b>		<b>batoro</b>	<b>Mero</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>amane</b>
na.NOM+F	-ni -hi	batoro	Mero	ati	na -himata -mona	ama -ne
AUX	IP.N+F DUP	boss	Melo	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	SEC BKG+M
aux		nm	npropm	vt	aux	sec

'"Domingos was supposed to die, but instead they are bringin him here," the boss Melo said.'

77	<b>Himatabiyo</b>	<b>oababone</b>		<b>tiriniya</b>		<b>batoro</b>
	himatabiyo	o- ahaba -habone		ati ti- na -ri -ni -ya		batoro
	why	1SG.S die INT+F		say 2SG.S AUX CQ+F IP.N+F		now boss
	interrog	vi		aux		nm

**Mero** ?

Mero

Melo

npropm

'"Why did you say I should die, boss Melo?"'

78	<b>Batoro</b>	<b>Mero</b>	<b>batoro</b>	<b>Mero</b>	<b>hoyahoya</b>	<b>kana</b>
	batoro	Mero	batoro	Mero	hoya- hoyo	ka- na
	boss	Melo	boss	Melo	DUP tremble	COMIT AUX
	nm	npropm	nm	npropm	vi	aux

**nematamona**

na -himata -mona

AUX FP.N+M REP+M

aux

'The boss Melo trembled with fear.'

79	<b>Fe</b>	<b>yokana</b>	<b>hihawe</b>		<b>rama</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	fee	yokana	hi- iha -waha+M		rama	ahi
	that+M	true	OC have change		unusual	then
	dem	adj	vt		prt	dem

'He demanded an answer.'

80	<b>Okobise</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>rematamona</b>	<b>amane</b>
	o-	ka abise	ati	fawa	na -ra -himata -mona	ama -ne
	1SG.POSS	POSS uncle	voice	disappear	AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M	SEC BKG+M
	nm		pn	vi	aux	sec

BOTEHEFO

*ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

'My uncle wouldn't stop talking.'

81 *Otara te nabihabone te ati nani teke*  
otara tee na- ahaba -habone tee ati na -hani tee -ke  
1EX.O 2PL.S CAUS die INT+F 2PL.S say AUX IP.N+F 2PL.S DECL+F  
pron pron vt pron vt aux pron

""You intended to kill us.""

82 *Tika firikesi otara me nabihabone me*  
ti- ka ferekesi otara me na- ahaba -habone me  
2SG.POSS POSS client 1EX.O 3PL.S CAUS die INT+F 3PL.O  
prt nm pron vt pron

*tiyosemakiyani tiwati ama*  
ti- yose -makI -hani ti- ati ama  
2SG.S send following IP.N+F 2SG.POSS voice be  
vt pn vc

""You sent your clients to kill us.""

83 *Batoro Mero tihababana tike*  
batoro Mero ti- ahaba -habana ti- ke  
boss Melo 2SG.S die FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F  
nm npropm vi prt

""Boss Melo, you are going to die.""

84 *Okobise fare ohari me*  
o- ka abise fare ohari+M me  
1SG.POSS POSS uncle same+M be alone 3PL.S  
nm dem vi pron

*hekatomematamona amane*  
hi- ka- katoma -himata -mona ama -ne  
OC COMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
vt sec

*tofoyamisakiari*  
to- foya -misa -makI -haari  
away be inside up following IP.E+M  
vi

'They watched over my uncle, as he went up in the house by himself.'

85 *Me one nahometemone bofe ya ahi yara mera*  
me one naho -hemete -mone bofe ya ahi yara mera  
3PL other+F stand FP.N+F REP+F ground ADJU then Brazilian 3PL.O  
pron adj vi nf prt dem npropm pron

*hora nari*  
hora na -haari  
scold AUX IP.E+M  
vt aux

'The others stood outside, as he stood scolding the Brazilians.'

86 *Tera ota tera ota awamaminaba ota*  
tera otaa tera otaa awa -ma -mina -haba otaa  
2PL.O 1EX.S 2PL.O 1EX.S see back morning FUT+F 1EX.S  
pron pron pron pron vt pron

""We will come and see you tomorrow.""



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93 *Tomiko* , *abebona* *ati* *komekomeha* *re*  
 Tomiko , ahaba -hibona ati kome- komeha na -ra+M  
 Domingos die INT+M voice DUP be fearsome AUX NEG  
 npropm vi pn vi aux

"Domigos was supposed to die, but instead he is speaking boldly."

94 *Ee* *owa* *te* *nabibe*  
 ee owa tee na- ahaba -be  
 yes 1SG.O 2PL.S CAUS die IMMED+F  
 interj pron pron vt

"Go ahead and kill me."

95 *Te* *kamakiyahi* , *te* *nafi*  
 tee ka -makI -yahi , tee nafi  
 2PL.S go/come following DIST.IMP+F 2PL.POSS all  
 pron vi pron pn

"Come after us, all of you."

96 *Tisawiwahiyahi* *batoro*  
 ti- sawi -waha -yahi batoro  
 2SG.S be present change DIST.IMP+F boss  
 vi nm

"You come along this time, boss."

97 *Owa* *tinahabibeya* , *okobise* *ati* *ne*  
 owa ti- na- ahaba -be -ya , o- ka abise ati na+M  
 1SG.O 2SG.S CAUS die IMMED+F now 1SG.POSS POSS uncle say AUX  
 pron vt nm vt aux  
*ati* *saimatamona* *aati* *toemarika* *ahi*  
 ati sai -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 voice be heard FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 pn vi vt aux dem

*yara* *mera* *mono* *nari*  
 yara mera mono na -haari  
 Brazilian 3PL.O struggle with AUX IP.E+M  
 npropm pron vt aux

"Go ahead and kill me," my uncle said. His voice could be heard as he argued with the Brazilians, he used to say.'

98 *Wabori* *hikarawatamatamonane*  
 wabori hi- karawato -himata -mona -ne  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law OC wait for FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vt

'His brother-in-law was waiting for him.'

99 *Te* *winiya*  
 tee wina -yahi  
 2PL.S live DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vi

"You live here."

100 *Ota* *tokomibone* , *te* *ota* *noki* *naba*  
 otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone , tee otaa noki naba -haba  
 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F 2PL.O 1EX.S wait for AUX FUT+F  
 pron vi pron pron vt aux



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*ota*

otaa  
1EX.S  
pron

"We are going home, to wait for you."

101 *Faya me kamemetemoneke fahi*  
faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
conj pron vi dem

'So they came back.'

102 *Botehefo nafire Tene Irabo me mowa ni ya*  
Botehefo nafi -ra+M Tene Irabo me mowa na.NOM+F ya  
(man's name) be big NEG (man's name) 3PL.S fight AUX ADJU  
npropm vi npropm pron result aux prt

*yara me e hinihe me me e mera e*  
yara me ee hi- niha- na+M me me ee mera ee  
Brazilian 3PL.S yell OC CAUS AUX 3PL 3PL yell 3PL.O yell  
npropm pron vi aux pron pron vi pron vi

*nihe kana ni toke noko karimematamona*  
niha- na+M kana na.NFIN to- ka+M noko karima -himata -mona  
CAUS AUX run AUX away go/come face+M hit FP.N+M REP+M  
aux vi aux vi pn vi

*aati toemarika fahi*  
a- ati to- ha -himari -ka fahi  
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
vt aux dem

'When Botehefo was small, when they fought against the group of Tene Irabo, they scared him, and when he went running away, he hit his forehead, he used to say.'

# 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

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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	<b>Yati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>nabisa</b>		<b>yati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>
	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

<b>nimetemone</b>			<b>amake</b>		<b>bisa</b>	<b>ahi</b>
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	<b>Afa</b>	<b>memetemone</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	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	<b>Kerebe</b>	<b>amaka</b>	<b>hari</b>
	Kerebe	ama -ka	haari
	(lake name)	be DECL+M	that one+M
	npropm	vc	dem

'It was the Kerebe lake.'

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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."<sup>15</sup>

- 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 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

<b>awa</b>	<b>tafe</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakosa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kama</b>	<b>me</b>
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
<b>kobo</b>	<b>namatasa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>mati</b>		
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	<b>Me</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>aaba</b>	<b>toemetemone</b>	<b>me</b>
	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

<b>tabori</b>	<b>bote</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>nanao</b>	<b>toineke</b>		
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	<b>Hima</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>awineke</b>
	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	<b>Yamata</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>towamamata</b>		
	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	<b>Me</b>	<b>tokoma</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tokoma</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>me</b>
	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

<b>towasimemetemoneke</b>
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	<b>E</b>	<b>winamaraba</b>	<b>ereke</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>tefe</b>	<b>e</b>
	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

<b>nabi</b>	<b>ya</b>
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      hiyara      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.'

## THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (2)

### *Free Translation*

*Note: In this text there are actually several stories included together. The title refers to the first story, which is followed by a story about a Jarawara discovering aba fish in the Curiá River. This is followed by a story about a Jamamadi chief who fell into a stream while carrying a heavy bottle of copaiba oil. The first story mentions Maiyi, a known ancestor of the Jarawaras, but I would classify the second and third stories as traditional stories.*

The white-lipped peccaries had disappeared. A spirit started them up.

A man was sick in his hammock for a long time, and he died. They took him into the forest and buried him. He started up the white-lipped peccaries, the peccaries that had disappeared. The peccaries, that had not been coming around, were always coming around, my aunt used to say, loudly. The arrows ran out, because of the peccaries. Then they shot *wairaba isi* reeds with their bows. The peccaries were always coming around, and they were shooting them.

Then they had an idea. They moved away and came this way. "Let's go there. We will live there," they said.

They went to the other side of the Purus. The Purus was not big. Maiyi's breasts were not big when they took her across. They lived over there. They made houses. They lived there for a while.

Two of them went out into the forest. They heard something.

An old man also went out into the forest. He saw a jaguar carrying a man. The jaguar came carrying a man. The jaguar crossed with him. The jaguar crossed with him up high. The jaguar crossed with him above the water. It went to the place where they stayed. The jaguar went with him. It took the man. The two jaguars started making noise. They have a hole in the ground. The jaguars growled at each other. The jaguar took its kill. It didn't want to share its kill, and it growled. Their voices were fearsome. They live there on the other side of the Purus. What used to be a small stream became the Purus.

They had seen something, and they told the story when they came back. Because of this they came back, because they had seen a trail of some other people. They came back. There is a sandy clearing where they went and lived. The sandy clearing is from long ago. They took themselves there.

They planned against each other. They planned to whip the girls with switches. They planned festas. They planned a festa, and they went into the forest. While living at the Faha Biri stream, they went and lived out in the forest and hunted.

One of them found the *aba* fish, that we eat, that lived in the Curiá River. Ataro found them, my aunt used to say. He went into the forest to hunt. He shot animals with his blowgun. He saw the *aba* fish.

When he came back, he didn't say anything. When they were going to sleep and they were taking snuff, he spoke to them. "Older brother, older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, there are people living there," he said.

"Where?"

"There are people living there." He was lying about the *aba* fish. "There are people living

## THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

there, and I found them," he said.

He had carried howler monkeys. He cut up the howler monkeys the next day, and they roasted the animals. They went into the forest again.

"You will see them."

"Let's go and see them."

"You will see the *aba* fish that I found living there."

They went. They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They had washed the points of the arrows, to take off the *iha* poison.

"We should live here. There are many *aba* fish here."

"That is our home. Let's go home."

They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They came back to their camp and roasted the *aba* fish. The one who had found the *aba* fish went out into the forest again. They killed animals with their blowguns. They killed woolly monkeys with their blowguns.

"That's enough. There are many animals."

There was also a tapir that died, and a deer. A deer died, too. They killed animals with their blowguns, and they roasted the animals. They left with the animals.

They beat her. They beat Wakati, my aunt used to say.

*Okomobi: Father, when you weren't living yet?*

Yes, when we weren't living yet. We weren't there. I guess our fathers were teenagers then. It's a story of long ago. It was a long time ago, before we were born. They also used to tell about the Yimas killing people, before we were born. They used to tell a scary story.

They were always living in different places, leaving behind their crops. We aren't running anymore, we are stopped. They came back and arrived back. They beat girls. They let them heal. They painted them with genip. They painted each other with genip. They caught each other. You won't be able to escape being panted black with genip.

Towisawa used to say that they used to catch each other. He used to say he was hung up like a spider monkey. They were playing with each other, pushing a log against each other. It was a game they had discovered. We used to do the game with the log that they used to do before. It hurt to push the log. We push against each other with the log all day long. They also discovered the game with the vine. We used to pull each other. It's heavy. People are heavy. You wouldn't be able to pull one another. We do it the way he taught long ago.

There were many people playing, because they had had children. The sandy clearing of Anitoni Ayake is where their village was, because they had children. They lived there. There were too many people, so they moved away. Then they went again. There is a clearing with *wakoya* trees where Mao Bote burned the forest.

The Jamamadis also made the Jarawaras afraid. Baribasa told about the many Jamamadis who gathered copaiba oil. "Grandson, speak to me. It was scary to see so many people gathering copaiba oil and going around," he said.

After that their chief fell in the water. Before the chief would fall in the water they came back carrying bottles of copaiba oil, he used to say.

"We can't go, the stream is flooded. Cut down a tree for the stream. Let's go," they said. "Come on."

They cut down the tree. They made the tree fall on the water. They cut the brush around the tree. Their chief did a bad thing. They crossed to this side. "Come on, let's go home," they said.

"Let's go."

They stood up. They lifted the bottles up on their backs. Etona was going to fall in the water. Etona spoke. As he was going on top of the log in the middle, he said, "Ee. I'm falling in the

## THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

water," he said.

Korii, he went.

"The chief fell in the water," they said. "Chief, swim. Chief, grab onto a branch," they said.

He didn't grab onto a branch. The bottle of copaiba oil must have pulled him down backwards. They were upset as they stood on the bank, because the chief had fallen in the water. They cut a pole and poked around for the chief.

"Chief, grab onto the pole," they said.

They poked around for the chief so that he would grab onto the pole, but he didn't grab onto the pole. They cried because of the chief as they stood on the bank.

Then they set off again. They left him behind. They went home, Baribasa used to say. "The trail is there."

Where did the Brazilian live who they worked for? They went home. They lived back at their village.

"The chief fell in the water."

"Did the chief fall in the water?"

"The chief fell in the water. The chief fell in the water and did not come back. The chief seems to have died."

They thought of going back to see the chief who was said to have died, but they did not go back to see him. They went somewhere else and left him behind. Then they went back and had a feast.

They went back again and were beside the water, and one of them did a bad thing again.

"Since there is no log, you are saying we should go back."

They looked for a tree. One of them fell in the water again. He didn't come back to the surface. The old log broke with him. They poked with a pole for him. They did not poke for him again. He died, too. They looked for him. They looked for him but couldn't find him. They left him behind, too. It's an old story, a story of long ago.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>fafawa</b> fa- fawa DUP disappear vi	<b>toha</b> to- ha+F CH AUX aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>inamati</b> , inamati spirit nm
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<b>yaro</b>	<b>kanematamona</b> yaro ka- na -himata -mona start COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M vt aux
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'The white-lipped peccaries had disappeared. A spirit started them up.'

2	<b>Kakawina</b> ka- ka- wina DUP COMMIT lie in hammock vi	<b>toe</b> to- ha+M CH AUX aux	<b>ahabe</b> ahaba+M die vi	<b>me</b> me 3PL pron	<b>me</b> , me 3PL.S pron	<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm
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<b>heke</b>	hi- to- ka- ka+M OC away COMMIT go/come vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>hikamowiti</b> hi- to- kamo -witI+M OC away bury out vt	<b>me</b> , me 3PL.S pron	<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm
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THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

<b>me</b>	<b>yaro</b>	<b>kanebanoho</b>		<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>
me	yaro	ka- na -hiba -no -ho	,	hiyama	me
3PL.O	start	COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP		white-lipped peccary	3PL.S
pron	vt	aux		nm	pron
<b>fafawa</b>		<b>toa</b>		<b>mati</b>	
fa- fawa		to- ha+F		mati	
DUP disappear		CH AUX		3PL.S	
vi		aux		pron	

'He was sick in his hammock for a long time, and he died. They took him into the forest and buried him. He started up the white-lipped peccaries, the peccaries that had disappeared.'

<b>3 Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>yobi</b>		<b>kene</b>
hiyama		me	yobi		na -ke -ne
white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	go back and forth		AUX DECL+F IRR+F
nm		pron	vi		aux
<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>yobi</b>		<b>na toemetemone</b>
hiyama		me	yobi		na to- ha -hemete -mone
white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	go back and forth		AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm		pron	vi		aux aux
<b>okomise</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>kokome</b>		<b>toimaro</b>
o- ka amise		ati	ko- komeha		to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni
1SG.POSS POSS aunt		voice	DUP be fearsome		CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F
nf		pn	vi		aux
					vc

'The peccaries, that had not been coming around, were always coming around, my aunt used to say, loudly.'

<b>4 Wati</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>abawematamona</b>		<b>amaka</b>	<b>hari</b>
wati	wati	ahaba -waha -himata -mona		ama -ka	haari
arrow	arrow	die change FP.N+M REP+M		SEC DECL+M	that one+M
nm	nm	vi		sec	dem
<b>bani</b>	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	
bani	hiyama		me	ihi	
animal	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	because of+F	
nm	nm		pron	post	

'The arrows ran out, because of the peccaries.'

<b>5 Wairaba isi</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>titisa</b>		<b>nawa</b>
wairaba isi	me	ti- tisa		na -waha
reed sp	3PL.S	DUP shoot with bow		AUX change
nf	pron	vt		aux
<b>toimetemone</b>		<b>wairaba isi</b>		
to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone		wairaba isi		
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F		reed sp		
aux		nf		

'Then they shot wairaba isi reeds with their bows.'

<b>6 Wairaba isi</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tisa</b>		<b>nawa</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>
wairaba isi	me	tisa		na -waha	na+F	me
reed sp	3PL.S	shoot with bow		AUX change	AUX	3PL.S
nf	pron	vt		aux	aux	pron
<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>yobi</b>		<b>ni</b>	<b>kasiroa</b>
hiyama		me	yobi		na.NFIN	kasiro+F
white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	go back and forth		AUX	persist
nm		pron	vi		aux	vi
						me
						3PL.O
						pron





## THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

*wina me , me wiwina kawahemete me*  
wina+F me , me wi- wina ka- na -waha -hemete me  
live 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live COMIT AUX change FP.N+F 3PL.S  
vi pron pron vi vi pron

*awineke*  
awine -ke  
seem+F DECL+F  
sec

'They lived over there. They made houses. They lived there for a while.'

13 *Faya me towaka me warabi hawine*  
faya me to- ka- ka+F me warabi hawi -ne  
so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.POSS ear+F work CONT+F  
conj pron vi pron pn vi

*nimete*  
na.NOM+F -mete  
AUX FP.N+F  
aux

'Two of them went out into the forest. They heard something.'

14 *Faya iti bote tokabise , yome*  
faya iti bote to- ka -bisa+M , yomee  
so grandfather old away go/come also jaguar  
conj nm adj vi nm

*awabise matamonaka fari , yome inamati*  
awa -bisa -himata -mona -ka faari , yomee inamati  
see also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M dog someone  
vt dem nm nm

*kakamari*  
ka- ka -ma -haari  
COMIT go/come back IP.E+M  
vt

'An old man also went out into the forest. He saw a jaguar carrying a man.'

15 *Yome inamati weye ne kamematamona*  
yomee inamati weye na+M ka -ma -himata -mona  
jaguar someone carry AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
nm nm vt aux vi

'The jaguar came carrying a man.'

16 *Yome bere kariwamematamonane*  
yomee bere ka- na -riwaha -ma -himata -mona -ne  
jaguar be across COMIT AUX across back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
nm vi aux

'The jaguar crossed with him.'

17 *Yome bere kariwamematamona neme ya*  
yomee bere ka- na -riwaha -ma -himata -mona neme ya  
jaguar be across COMIT AUX across back FP.N+M REP+M up ADJU  
nm vi aux nf prt

'The jaguar crossed with him up high.'

18 *Fa neme ya yome bere kariwame , me*  
faha neme ya yomee bere ka- na -riwaha -ma+M , me  
water over ADJU jaguar be across COMIT AUX across back 3PL.S  
nf pn prt nm vi aux pron



THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

*ya*  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'They live there on the other side of the Purus.'

25 *Fa nafi remetemone Foro tohineke , fa*  
faha nafi -ra -hemete -mone Foro to- ha -ne -ke , faha  
water be big NEG FP.N+F REP+F Purus CH be CONT+F DECL+F stream  
nf vi npropf vc nf

*bitemetemonehe*  
bite -mete -mone -he  
small+F FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
adj

'What used to be a small stream became the Purus.'

26 *Me noki awahani me , hiyara me hikaminama*  
me noki awa -hani me , hiyara me hi- kamina -ma+F  
3PL.POSS eye+F see IP.N+F 3PL.POSS story 3PL.S OC tell back  
pron pn vt pron nf pron vt

*ihi me kamimetemone amake ahi ,*  
ihi me ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi ,  
because of+F 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
post pron vi vc dem

*me inamati hawi me awani mati*  
me inamati hawi me awa -hani mati  
people trail+F 3PL.S see IP.N+F 3PL.S  
nf pn pron vt pron

'They had seen something, and they told the story when they came back. Because of this they came back, because they had seen a trail of some other people.'

27 *Me kama me towinamimetemone ,*  
me ka -ma+F me to- wina -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ,  
3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S away live back FP.N+F REP+F  
pron vi pron vi

*boto itineke haro boto ha*  
boto ita -ne -ke haro boto haa  
sandy clearing be located CONT+F DECL+F that one+F sandy clearing DEM  
nf vi dem nf nf dem

*ta amararo , hine me towakama mati*  
taa ama -ra -haaro , hine me to- ka- ka -ma+F mati  
contrast be NEG IP.E+F 3.REFL 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S  
prt vc pron pron vt pron

'They came back. There is a sandy clearing where they went and lived. The sandy clearing is from long ago. They took themselves there.'

28 *Me ibe wati kana me ibe kosi*  
me ibe wati ka- na+F me ibe kosi  
3PL.POSS RECIP plan against COMMIT AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP flail  
pron pn vt aux pron pn vt

*nabone me ibe wati kana me , marina*  
na -habone me ibe wati ka- na+F me , marina  
AUX INT+F 3PL.POSS RECIP plan against COMMIT AUX 3PL.POSS feast  
aux pron pn vt aux pron nf

## THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

*me*      *itiwemetemoneke*      *fahi*  
 me      iti    -waha    -hemete    -mone    -ke      fahi  
 3PL.S    begin    change    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    then  
 pron    vt      dem  
 'They planned against each other. They planned to whip the girls with switches. They planned festas.'

29 *Marina*    *me*      *itiha*      *me*      ,      *me*      *toka*      *Fa Biri*  
 marina    me      iti+F    me      ,      me      to-    ka+F      Faha Biri  
 feast    3PL.S    begin    3PL.S      3PL.S    away    go/come    (name of stream)  
 nf      pron    vt      pron      pron    vi      npropf  
*ya*      ,      *me*      *wina*      *me*      *toka*      ,      *me*      *towinawitia*  
 ya      ,      me      wina+F    me      to-    ka+F      ,      me      to-    wina    -witI+F  
 ADJU    3PL.S    live    3PL.S    away    go/come    3PL.S    away    live    out  
 prt      pron    vi      pron    vi      pron    vi  
*yama*    *me*      *yete*      *na*      ,      *yama*    *me*      *yete*      *na*      ,      *aba*      *me*  
 yama    me      yete    na+F      ,      yama    me      yete    na+F      ,      aba      me  
 thing    3PL.S    hunt    AUX      ,      thing    3PL.S    hunt    AUX      fish    sp    3PL.O  
 nf      pron    vt      aux      nf      pron    vt      aux      nm      pron  
*hiwasietemone*      *me*      *e*      *kabinetini*      *Koriwa*  
 hi-    wasi    -hemete    -mone      *me*      *e*      kaba    -ne      -tee.NOM    -ni      *Koriwa*  
 OC    find    FP.N+F    REP+F    3PL.O    1IN.S    eat    CONT+F    HAB      IP.N+F    Curiá  
 vt      pron    pron    vt      vt      pron    pron    vt      pron    npropf

*abe*      ,      *Ataro*      *me*      *hiwasietemone*      *mati*  
 abe      ,      Ataro      me      hi-    wasi    -hemete    -mone      mati  
 creature+F      (man's name)    3PL.O    OC    find    FP.N+F    REP+F    3PL.O  
 pn      npropm      pron    vt      pron

*okomise*      *hiyari*      *aati*      *tohamaroke*  
 o-      ka    amise    hiyara.NFIN      a-    ati    to-    ha    -hamaro    -ke  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    aunt    speak      DUP    say    CH    AUX    FP.E+F    DECL+F  
 nf      vi      vt      aux

'They planned a festa, and they went into the forest. While living at the Faha Biri stream, they went and lived out in the forest and hunted. One of them found the *aba* fish, that we eat, that lived in the Curiá River. Ataro found them, my aunt used to say.'

30 *Yama*    *yete*      *nebona*      *toke*      *bani*      *me*      *fora*  
 yama    yete    na    -hibona    to-    ka+M      bani      me      fora  
 thing    hunt    AUX    INT+M    away    go/come    animal    3PL.O    shoot    with    blowgun  
 nf      vt      aux      vi      nm      pron    vt

*ne*      ,      *aba*      *me*      *awe*      *kame*      ,      *ati*      *watare*  
 na+M      ,      aba      me      awa+M    ka      -ma+M      ,      ati      wata    -ra+M      ,  
 AUX      fish    sp    3PL.O    see      go/come    back      voice    exist    NEG  
 aux      nm      pron    vt      vi      pn      vi

*me*      *amo*      *nabone*      *me*      *sina*      *me*      *hisi*      *na*      *me*      *ni*      *ya*      ,  
 me      amo    na    -habone    me      sina    me      hisi    na+F    me      ni    ya      ,  
 3PL.S    sleep    AUX    INT+F    3PL    snuff    3PL.S    sniff    AUX    3PL    to    ADJU  
 pron    vi      aux      pron    nf      pron    vt      aux    pron    prt    prt

*ati*      *yana*      *nematamonaha*  
 ati      yana    na    -himata    -mona    -ha  
 voice    start    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP  
 pn      vi      aux

'He went into the forest to hunt. He shot animals with his blowgun. He saw the *aba* fish. When he came back, he didn't say anything. When they were going to sleep and they were taking snuff, he spoke to them.'

31 *Ayo*      ,      *ayo*  
 ayo      ayo  
 older    brother      older    brother  
 nm      nm



THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

"You will see them."

40 *Me e towawite mata*  
 me ee to- awa -witI mata  
 3PL.O 1IN.S away see out for now  
 pron pron vt prt

"Let's go and see them."

41 *Me e towawitematahi*  
 me ee to- awa -witI -mata -hi  
 3PL.O 1IN.S away see out short time IMP+F  
 pron pron vt

"Let's go and see them."

42 *Aba me winatani me owasia me te*  
 aba me wina -tee -hani me o- wasi+F me tee  
 fish sp 3PL.S live HAB IP.N+F 3PL.O 1SG.S find 3PL.O 2PL.S  
 nm pron vi pron vt pron pron

*awibeya*  
 awa -be -ya  
 see IMMED+F now  
 vt

"You will see the *aba* fish that I found living there."

43 *Faya me tokemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'They went.'

44 *Me tokaha , aba me me tisa*  
 me to- ka+F aba me me tisa  
 3PL.S away go/come fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 pron vi nm pron pron vt  
*nemetemoneke wati ino me soko na mati me*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke wati ino me soko na+F mati me  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F arrow point+M 3PL.S wash AUX 3PL.S 3PL  
 aux nm pn pron vt aux pron pron

*ka iha*  
 ka iha  
 POSS plant sp  
 prt nm

'They went. They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They had washed the points of the arrows, to take off the *iha* poison.'

45 *E winene e ama ahi*  
 ee wina -hene ee ama ahi  
 1IN.S live IRR+F 1IN.S SEC here  
 pron vi pron sec dem

"We should live here."

46 *E winene e amake ahi*  
 ee wina -hene ee ama -ke ahi  
 1IN.S live IRR+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F here  
 pron vi pron sec dem

"We should live here."

## THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

47 *Aba me tamake haro*  
 aba me tama -ke haaro  
 fish sp 3PL.S be many DECL+F that one+F  
 nm pron vi dem

"There are many *aba* fish here."

48 *Fara e taborobisa ama*  
 fara ee taboro -bisa ama  
 same+F 1IN.POSS place also be  
 dem pron pn vc

"That is our home."

49 *E tokomaba ere*  
 ee to- ka -ma -haba ere  
 1IN.S away go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S  
 pron vi pron

"Let's go home."

50 *Faya me aba me me tisa na me*  
 faya me aba me me tisa na+F me  
 so 3PL fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S  
 conj pron nm pron pron vt aux pron

*kama aba me me tabasi*  
 ka -ma+F aba me me tabasi  
 go/come back fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill  
 vi nm pron pron vt

*namimetemone amani*  
 na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ni  
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F be BKG+F  
 aux vc

'They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They came back to their camp and roasted the *aba* fish.'

51 *Aba me me tabasi nama me aba mera*  
 aba me me tabasi na -ma+F me aba mera  
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX back 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.O  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron

*wasi tokatase bani me me fora*  
 wasi+M to- ka -tasa+M bani me me fora  
 find away go/come again animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun  
 vt vi nm pron pron vt

*na me wafa me me fora na me*  
 na+F me wafa me me fora na+F me  
 AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron pron vt aux pron

*Faya bani me amake*  
 faya bani me ama -ke  
 enough animal 3PL.S be DECL+F  
 adj nm pron vc

'They came back and roasted the *aba* fish. The one who had found the *aba* fish went out into the forest again. They killed animals with their blowguns. They killed woolly monkeys with their blowguns. "That's enough."

52 *Bani me tamake*  
 bani me tama -ke  
 animal 3PL.S be many DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

"There are many animals."

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

53 *Awi ahaba bato*  
 awi ahaba.LIST bato  
 tapir die deer  
 nm vi nm

'There was also a tapir that died, and a deer.'

54 *Bato ahaba , bani me me fora na*  
 bato ahaba.LIST , bani me me fora na+F  
 deer die animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX  
 nm vi nm pron pron vt aux

*bani me me tabasi na me , bani me me*  
 bani me me tabasi na+F me , bani me me  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

*yana tokometemone amani*  
 yana to- ka- na.NOM -mete -mone ama -ni  
 start away COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F be BKG+F  
 vi aux vc

'A deer died, too. They killed animals with their blowguns, and they roasted the animals. They left with the animals.'

55 *Me kosi hinemetemone*  
 me kosi hi- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S flail OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vt aux

'They beat her.'

56 *Wakati me kosi nemetemoneke*  
 Wakati me kosi na -hemete -mone -ke  
 (woman's name) 3PL.S flail AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropf pron vt aux

*okomise hiyari aati tohamaroni*  
 o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 nf vi vt aux

'They beat Wakati, my aunt used to say.'

57 *Abi te watamatari ya ?*  
 abi tee wata -mata -ra.NOM+F ya  
 father 2PL.S exist short time NEG ADJU  
 nm pron vi prt

'Father, when you weren't living yet?'

58 *Ee ota watamatari ya , ota watari*  
 ee otaa wata -mata -ra.NOM+F ya , otaa wata -ra.NOM+F  
 yes 1EX.S exist short time NEG ADJU 1EX.S exist NEG  
 interj pron vi prt pron vi

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'Yes, when we weren't living yet. We weren't there.'

59 *Ota ka abi me , yetene me totoha*  
 otaa ka abi me yetene me to- to- ha  
 1EX POSS father 3PL yetene teenage boy 3PL.S DUP CH be  
 pron prt nm pron adj pron vc



THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

**tohehemete**                    **me**                    **awineke**  
to- ha -hemete me awine -ke  
CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
aux pron sec  
'I guess our fathers were teenagers then.'

60 **Hibati**                    **ka**                    **hiyara**                    **amani**  
hibati ka hiyara ama -ni  
long time ago pertaining to story be BKG+F  
nf prt nf vc  
'It's a story of long ago.'

61 **Hibatimetemone**                    **amake**                    **yama**                    **ota**                    **watari**  
hibati -mete -mone ama -ke yama otaa wata -ra.NOM+F  
long time ago FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F thing 1EX.S exist NEG  
nf vc nf pron vi

**ya**  
ya  
ADJU  
prt  
'It was a long time ago, before we were born.'

62 **Ota**                    **watari**                    **ya**                    **yima**                    **me**                    **ihi**                    **iti**  
otaa wata -ra.NOM+F ya yima me ihi iti.NFIN  
1EX.S exist NEG ADJU Yima 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist  
pron vi prt npropm pron pn vi

**me**                    **kamina**                    **na**                    **tohimaro**                    **amake**  
me kamina.LIST na to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
3PL.S tell AUX CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F  
pron vt aux aux vc

'They also used to tell about the Yimas killing people, before we were born.'

63 **Hiyara**                    **yoyofina**                    **tohamamaro**                    **me**                    **hihiri**  
hiyara yo- yofina to- ha -hamaro me hi- hiri  
story DUP cause fear CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S DUP say  
nf vi aux pron vt

**hihamamaro**                    **amake**  
hi- to- ha -hamaro ama -ke  
OC CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F  
aux sec

'They used to tell a scary story.'

64 **Me**                    **wiwini**                    **toira**                    **me**                    **wiwina**  
me wi- wina.NOM to- ha.NOM -ra+F me wi- wina  
3PL.S DUP live CH AUX NEG 3PL.S DUP live  
pron vi aux pron vi

**toimetemone**                    **me**                    **tafe**                    **me**                    **kakakosa**  
to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone me tafe me ka- ka- kana -kosa+F  
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S DUP COMIT leave middle  
aux pron pn pron vt

**mati**  
mati  
3PL.S  
pron

'They were always living in different places, leaving behind their crops.'

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

65 *Haha e kana ra e wiwina toineke*  
 haaha ee kana na -ra+F ee wi- wina to- ha -ne -ke  
 this+F 1IN.S run AUX NEG 1IN.S DUP live CH be CONT+F DECL+F  
 dem pron vi aux pron vi vc

*haro*  
 haaro  
 that one+F  
 dem

'We aren't running anymore, we are stopped.'

66 *Me kama me kobo nama me ibe kosi*  
 me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me ibe kosi  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.POSS RECIP flail  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron pn vt

*na me itehani me nasahoa me me*  
 na+F me itehani me na- saho+M me me  
 AUX 3PL.POSS whatchamacallit 3PL.S CAUS cool off 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron vt pron pron

*rawi himatemetemone ora ya*  
 rawi hi- na -mata -hemete -mone ora ya  
 paint OC AUX short time FP.N+F REP+F genip ADJU  
 vt aux nm prt

'They came back and arrived back. They beat girls. They let them heal. They painted them with genip.'

67 *Ora ya me ibe rawi na me ibe*  
 ora ya me ibe rawi na+F me ibe  
 genip ADJU 3PL.POSS RECIP paint AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 nm prt pron pn vt aux pron pn

*watawemetemonehe*  
 wata -waha -hemete -mone -he  
 catch change FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They painted each other with genip. They caught each other.'

68 *Ora rawi tina ora tiwa hasi niba*  
 ora rawi ti- na+F ora tiwa hasi niha- na -hiba  
 genip paint 2SG.S AUX genip 2SG.O escape CAUS AUX FUT+M  
 nm vt aux nm pron vi aux

*sokisoki tini ya tiwa ahi tina tiwa*  
 soki- soki ti- na.NOM+F ya tiwa ahi ti- na+F tiwa  
 DUP be dark 2SG.S AUX ADJU 2SG.O mess with 2SG.S AUX 2SG.O  
 vi aux prt pron vt aux pron

'You won't be able to escape being panted black with genip.'

69 *Towisawa me ibe watimetemone Towisawa*  
 Towisawa me ibe wata.NOM+F -mete -mone Towisawa  
 (man's name) 3PL.POSS RECIP catch FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)  
 npropm pron pn vt npropm

*aati toemari ama ahi*  
 a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama ahi  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be then  
 vt aux vc dem

'Towisawa used to say that they used to catch each other.'

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

70	<b>Biyo</b>		<b>yota</b>		<b>naro</b>		<b>nematamona</b>		<b>aati</b>						
	biyo		yota		na -ro		na -himata -mona		a- ati						
	spider monkey		be hung up		AUX like+F		AUX FP.N+M REP+M		DUP say						
	nf		vi		aux		aux		vt						
	<b>toemarika</b>				<b>ahi</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>abe</b>		<b>ai</b>		<b>na</b>		<b>mati</b>
	to- ha	-himari	-ka		ahi		me		abe		ahi		na+F		mati
	CH	AUX	FP.E+M	DECL+M	then		3PL.POSS		RECIP		mess with		AUX		3PL.POSS
	aux				dem		pron		pn		vt		aux		pron
	<b>me</b>		<b>ibe</b>		<b>yoko</b>		<b>nawaha</b>		<b>awa</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>wasiwani</b>		<b>mati</b>
	me		ibe		yoko		na -waha+F		awa		me		wasi -waha		-hani mati
	3PL.POSS		RECIP		push		AUX change		wood		3PL.S		find change		IP.N+F 3PL.S
	pron		pn		vt		aux		nf		pron		vt		pron

'He used to say he was hung up like a spider monkey. They were playing with each other, pushing a log against each other. It was a game they had discovered.'

71	<b>Awa</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>hihiri</b>		<b>hiemete</b>		<b>ota</b>		<b>hihiri</b>
	awa		me		me		hi- hiri		hi- to- ha -hemete		otaa		hi- hiri
	wood		3PL		3PL.S		DUP do		OC CH AUX FP.N+F		1EX.S		DUP do
	nf		pron		pron		vt		aux		pron		vt
	<b>toamaro</b>				<b>amake</b>								
	to- ha		-hamaro		ama -ke								
	CH		AUX FP.E+F		SEC DECL+F								
	aux				sec								

'We used to do the game with the log that they used to do before.'

72	<b>Awa</b>		<b>yoko</b>		<b>ni</b>		<b>komamaro</b>		<b>amani</b>
	awa		yoko		na.NFIN		koma -hamaro		ama -ni
	wood		push		AUX		hurt FP.E+F		SEC BKG+F
	nf		result		aux		vi		sec

'It hurt to push the log.'

73	<b>Awa</b>		<b>ya</b>		<b>ota</b>		<b>abe</b>		<b>yoko</b>		<b>natimaro</b>		<b>amake</b>
	awa		ya		otaa		abe		yoko		na nahatI.NOM -maro		ama -ke
	wood		ADJU		1EX.POSS		RECIP		push		AUX daytime FP.E+F		be DECL+F
	nf		prt		pron		pn		vt		aux		vc

'We push against each other with the log all day long.'

74	<b>Mato</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>wasiwaha</b>		<b>nani</b>		<b>ota</b>		<b>abe</b>		<b>horo</b>
	mato		me		wasi -waha.LIST		na -hani		otaa		abe		horo
	vine		3PL.S		find change		AUX IP.N+F		1EX.POSS		RECIP		drag
	nf		pron		vt		aux		pron		pn		vt

<b>kawaha</b>					
ka-	na		-waha.LIST		
COMIT	AUX		change		
aux					

'They also discovered the game with the vine. We used to pull each other.'

75	<b>Kanahake</b>		
	kanaha		-ke
	be heavy		DECL+F
	vi		

'It's heavy.'

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

76 *E kanahini*  
 ee kanaha -ni  
 1IN.S be heavy BKG+F  
 pron vi

'People are heavy.'

77 *Me te ibe horo kanakikere*  
 me tee ibe horo ka- na -kI -ke -re  
 3PL 2PL.POSS RECIP drag COMMIT AUX coming DECL+F NEG+F  
 pron pron pn vt aux

'You wouldn't be able to pull one another.'

78 *Nana toemata mera kanawanemata ka yama bote*  
 na- na to- ha -himata mera kanawana -himata ka yama bote  
 DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+M 3PL.O teach FP.N+M POSS thing old  
 aux aux pron vt prt nf adj

*e kayotoneti*  
 ee ka- yoto -ne -tee.NOM  
 1IN.S COMMIT follow CONT+F HAB  
 pron vt

'We do it the way he taught long ago.'

79 *Me oohari toharemetemone okomise*  
 me o- ohari to- ha -ra -hemete -mone o- ka amise  
 3PL.S DUP be one CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 pron vi aux nf

*hiyari aati tohamaroke ahi me ibe*  
 hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke ahi me ibe  
 speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F then 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 vi vt aux dem pron pn

*me ibe katoma mati me*  
 me ibe katoma+F mati me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP attack 3PL.POSS 3PL.S  
 pron pn vt pron pron

*kahiwawahi karo*  
 ka- hiwa -waha.NOM+F karo  
 COMMIT have children change because  
 vi prt

'There were many people playing, because they had had children.'

80 *Me kahiwawahi ka me*  
 me ka- hiwa -waha.NOM+F ka me  
 3PL.S COMMIT have children change because 3PL.S  
 pron vi prt pron

*winimetemone ya Anitoni Ayake ka boto*  
 wina.NOM+F -mete -mone ya Anitoni Ayake ka boto  
 live FP.N+F REP+F ADJU (village name) of sandy clearing  
 vi prt npropm prt nf

*itineke*  
 ita -ne -ke  
 be located CONT+F DECL+F  
 vi

'The sandy clearing of Anitoni Ayake is where their village was, because they had children.'

## THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

81 *Me winimetemone amake faro*  
 me wina.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke faaro  
 3PL.S live FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F that+F  
 pron vi vc dem

'They lived there.'

82 *Ha me towinakosa me ihi me bana*  
 haa me to- wina -kosa+F me ihi me bana+F  
 DEM 3PL.S CH live middle 3PL.POSS because of+F 3PL.S move away  
 dem pron vi pron post pron vi

*me tokomatasa me Mao Bote yama sari*  
 me to- ka -ma -tasa+F me Mao Bote yama sari  
 3PL.S away go/come back again 3PL.S (man's name) thing burn  
 pron vi pron npropm nf vt

*hikanemetemone amosi tohineke haro*  
 hi- ka- na -hemete -mone amosa.NFIN to- ha -ne -ke haaro  
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F be good CH be CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 aux vi vc dem

*wakoya boti*  
 wakoya boti  
 tree sp bunch+F  
 nf pn

'There were too many people, so they moved away. Then they went again. There is a clearing with wakoya trees where Mao Bote burned the forest.'

83 *Wahati me ati komehe namaro me ama*  
 wahati me ati komeha.LIST na -hamaro me ama  
 Jamamadi 3PL.POSS voice be fearsome AUX FP.E+F 3PL.POSS be  
 npropm pron pn vi aux pron vc

*haro*  
 haaro  
 that one+F  
 dem

'The Jamamadis also made the jarawaras afraid.'

84 *Wahati tamabote koba me kaka*  
 wahati tama -bote koba me ka- kaa  
 Jamamadi be many very copaiba 3PL.S DUP chop  
 npropm adj nf pron vt

*toemetemone me Baribasa me kakamina*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone me Baribasa me ka- kamina  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S (man's name) 3PL.O DUP tell  
 aux pron npropm pron vt

*hihamaro mati*  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro mati  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O  
 aux pron

'Baribasa told about the many Jamamadis who gathered copaiba oil.'

85 *Okanoti okanoti owa tihyarahi*  
 o- ka noti o- ka noti owa ti- hiyara -hi  
 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 1SG.O 2SG.S speak to DUP  
 nm nm pron vt

'"Grandson, speak to me."'

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

86 *E tamabote koba ka na yaka na yofinamaro*  
 ee tama -bote koba kaa na+F yaka na+F yofina -hamaro  
 1IN be many very copaiba chop AUX walk AUX cause fear FP.E+F  
 pron adj nf vt aux vi aux vi

*amani ati nemarika ahi me ka towisawa*  
 ama -ni ati na -himari -ka ahi , me ka towisawa  
 SEC BKG+F say AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then 3PL POSS chief  
 sec vt aux dem pron prt nm

*bokebanoho mati*  
 boka -hiba -no -ho mati  
 enter water FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL.S  
 vi pron

"It was scary to see so many people gathering copaiba oil and going around," he said. After that their chief fell in the water.'

87 *Towisawa bokebano me kama*  
 towisawa boka -hiba -no me ka -ma+F  
 chief enter water FUT+M IP.N+M 3PL.S go/come back  
 nm vi pron vi

*farasikira me weyeri kanemetemone aati*  
 farasikira me weye -ri ka- na -hemete -mone a- ati  
 large glass bottle 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP say  
 nf pron vt aux vt

*tohemarine*  
 to- ha -himari -ne  
 CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

'Before the chief would fall in the water they came back carrying bottles of copaiba oil, he used to say.'

88 *Yama e tokomaba fa , fa*  
 yama ee to- ka -ma -haba faha , faha  
 thing 1IN.S away go/come back FUT+F water water  
 nf pron vi nf nf

*fowinihi*  
 fowa.NOM+F -ni -hi  
 swell IP.N+F DUP  
 vi

"We can't go, the stream is flooded."

89 *Fa aweba te ka namatahi*  
 faha awe -ba tee kaa na -mata -hi  
 water wood+F FUT 2PL.S chop AUX short time IMP+F  
 nf pn pron vt aux

"Cut down a tree for the stream."

90 *E tokomibana me ati nemetemone*  
 ee to- ka -ma+F -bana me ati na -hemete -mone  
 1IN.S away go/come back FUT 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi pron vt aux

"Let's go," they said.'

91 *E tokomibeya*  
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya  
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

"Let's go."

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

92 *Awa me ka na awa me tonabokawite* , *awa*  
 awa me kaa na+F awa me to- na- boka -witI , awa  
 tree 3PL.S chop AUX tree 3PL.S away CAUS enter water out tree  
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt nf

*me ti kanemetemoneni* , *me ka towisawa*  
 me tii ka- na -hemete -mone -ni , me ka towisawa  
 3PL.S cut through COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL POSS chief  
 pron vt aux pron prt nm

*ene hiyarebano mati* .  
 ehene hiya -ra -hiba -no mati  
 deed+M be bad NEG FUT+M IP.N+M 3PL.POSS  
 pn vi pron

'They cut down the tree. They made the tree fall on the water. They cut the brush around the tree. Their chief did a bad thing.'

93 *Me kariwama me me* , *me*  
 me ka -riwaha -ma+F me me  
 3PL.S go/come across back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron

*kariwamemetemone waha* .  
 ka -riwaha -ma -hemete -mone waha  
 go/come across back FP.N+F REP+F now  
 vi prt

'They crossed to this side.'

94 *Hima* , *hima e tokomahi me ati*  
 hima hima ee to- ka -ma -hi me ati  
 let's go let's go 1IN.S away go/come back IMP+F 3PL.S say  
 interj interj pron vi pron vt

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

'"Come on, let's go home," they said.'

95 *Hima* .  
 hima  
 let's go  
 interj

'"Let's go."

96 *Me yana nemetemone ahi* .  
 me yana na -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S start AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They stood up.'

97 *Farasikira me weyeri kamisamemetemone*  
 farasikira me weye -ri ka- na -misa -ma -hemete -mone  
 large glass bottle 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX up back FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf pron vt aux

, *Etona bokabano ya* .  
 Etona boka.NOM+M -ba -no ya  
 (man's name) enter water FUT IP.N+M ADJU  
 npropm vi prt

'They lifted the bottles up on their backs. Etona was going to fall in the water.'





THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

106 *Farasikira*                    *hose*                    *hinisemata*                    *awaka*                    *bari*  
 farasikira                    hose                    hi- na -risa -himata                    awa                    -ka                    bari  
 large glass bottle                    pull out                    OC AUX down FP.N+M                    seem+M DECL+M                    back  
 nf                    vt                    aux                    sec                    pn

*ka ya*  
 ka ya  
 LOC ADJU  
 prt prt

'The bottle of copaiba oil must have pulled him down backwards.'

107 *Faya me* , *me towisawa*                    *boke*                    *ehene*                    *me yawa*  
 faya me , me towisawa                    boka+M                    ehene                    me yawa+F  
 so 3PL 3PL chief                    enter water                    because of+M                    3PL.S be upset  
 conj pron pron nm                    vi                    post                    pron vi  
*me naobasa*                    *awa me ti*                    *na towisawa me bori*  
 me naho -basa+F                    awa me tii                    na+F towisawa me bori  
 3PL.S stand edge                    tree 3PL.S cut through                    AUX chief 3PL.S poke  
 pron vi                    nf pron vt                    aux nm                    pron vt

*nemetemone ahi*  
 na -hemete -mone ahi  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'They were upset as they stood on the bank, because the chief had fallen in the water. They cut a pole and poked around for the chief.'

108 *Towisawa*                    *awa wara tinahi*                    *me ati*  
 towisawa                    awa wara ti- to- na -hi                    me ati  
 chief tree grab 2SG.S CH AUX DUP                    3PL.S say  
 nm nf vt aux                    pron vt

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

'"Chief, grab onto the pole," they said.'

109 *Awa* , *towisawa*                    *awa wara tonebona*                    *me bori hine*  
 awa , towisawa                    awa wara to- na -hibona                    me bori hi- na+M  
 tree chief tree grab CH AUX INT+M                    3PL.S poke OC AUX  
 nf nm nf vt aux                    pron vt aux

*awa wara tonematamonaha*  
 awa wara to- na -himata -mona -ha  
 tree grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vt aux

'They poked around for the chief so that he would grab onto the pole, but he didn't grab onto the pole.'

110 *Faya towisawa tabiyo me ohi na me naobasa me* ,  
 faya towisawa tabiyo me ohi na+F me naho -basa+F me ,  
 so chief absence 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S stand edge 3PL.S  
 conj nm pn pron vi aux pron vi pron

*me yana namemetemoneke fahi*  
 me yana na -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 3PL.S start AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They cried because of the chief as they stood on the bank. Then they set off again.'

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

111 *Me hekanakosematamonaka waha*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka waha  
 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now  
 pron vt prt

'They left him behind.'

112 *Me tokomimetemone , Baribasa aati*  
 me to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone , Baribasa a- ati  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F (man's name) DUP say  
 pron vi npropm vt

*tohemarika*

to- ha -himari -ka  
 CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M

aux

'They went home, Baribasa used to say.'

113 *Yama toa awine hawi ya ahi*  
 yama toa ha+F awine hawi ya ahi  
 thing CH be seem+F trail ADJU there  
 nf vc sec nf prt dem

""The trail is there.""

114 *Hibaka ya yara winehi ra me nanarifa toemete*  
 hibaka ya yara wina+M ra me na- narifa to- ha -hemete  
 where ADJU Brazilian live O 3PL.S DUP help CH AUX FP.N+F  
 interrog prt npropm vi prt pron pn aux

?

'Where did the Brazilian live who they worked for?'

115 *Me tokoma me towinama me , Towisawa*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me to- wina -ma+F me , towisawa  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S away live back 3PL.S chief  
 pron vi pron vi pron nm

*bokarene*

boka -hare -ne  
 enter water IP.E+M BKG+M

vi

'They went home. They lived back at their village. "The chief fell in the water."'

116 *Towisawa boke yamani*  
 towisawa boka.NOM+M yamani  
 chief enter water telling  
 nm vi

""The chief fell in the water.""

117 *Towisawa boka ?*  
 Towisawa boka.CONT+M  
 (man's name) enter water  
 npropm vi

""Did the chief fall in the water?""

118 *Towisawa bokera*  
 towisawa boka+M -ra  
 chief enter water mood  
 nm vi

""The chief fell in the water.""

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

119 *Towisawa* *boke* *kamera*  
 Towisawa boka+M ka -ma+M -hira  
 (man's name) enter water go/come back NEG+M  
 npropm vi vi

"The chief fell in the water and did not come back."

120 *Towisawa* *abe* *awane*  
 towisawa ahaba+M awa -ne  
 chief die seem+M BKG+M  
 nm vi sec

"The chief seems to have died."

121 *Towisawa* *abemona* *me* , *towisawa* *me*  
 towisawa ahaba -himona me , towisawa me  
 chief die REP+M 3PL chief 3PL.S  
 nm vi pron nm pron

*hiwamebona* *me* *hiwamematamona*  
 hi- to- awa -ma -hibona me hi- to- awa -ma -himata -mona  
 OC away see back INT+M 3PL.S OC away see back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt pron vt

'They thought of going back to see the chief who was said to have died, but they did not go back to see him.'

122 *Me* *hekanakosawematamonaka*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S OC COMMIT leave middle change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'They went somewhere else and left him behind.'

123 *Faya* *me* *tokoma* *me* *mari* *tonama* *me* ,  
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me mari to- na -ma+F me ,  
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S feast away AUX back 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron  
*me* *tokoma* *me* *naobasa* *me* *me* *ka* *owa* *ene*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me naho -basa+F me me ka owa ehene  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S stand edge 3PL.S 3PL of man deed+M  
 pron vi pron vi pron pron prt nm pn

*hiyatasematamonaha*  
 hiya -tasa -himata -mona -ha  
 be bad again FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi

'Then they went back and had a feast. They went back again and were beside the water, and one of them did a bad thing again.'

124 *Awa* *awa* *watari* , *awa* *watari* *ya* , *e*  
 awa awa wata -ra.NOM+F , awa wata -ra.NOM+F ya , ee  
 tree tree exist NEG tree exist NEG ADJU 1IN.S  
 nf nf vi nf vi prt pron

*tokomabone* *te* *ati* *nineni*  
 to- ka -ma -habone tee ati na -ne -ni  
 away go/come back INT+F 2PL.S say AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 vi pron vt aux

"Since there is no log, you are saying we should go back."

125 *Awa* *tabiyo* *yama* *me* *siba* *na* *me* , *awa* *tabiyo*  
 awa tabiyo yama me siba na+F me , awa tabiyo  
 tree absence thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S tree absence  
 nf pn nf pron vt aux pron nf pn

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

*yama me siba na me , awa tabiyo yama me*  
yama me siba na+F me , awa tabiyo yama me  
thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S tree absence thing 3PL.S  
nf pron vt aux pron nf pn nf pron

*siba nemetemone ahi , me ka owa*  
siba na -hemete -mone ahi , me ka owa  
look for AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL of man  
vt aux dem pron prt nm

*bokatasebano mati*  
boka -tasa -hiba -no mati  
enter water again FUT+M IP.N+M 3PL.POSS  
vi pron

'They looked for a tree. One of them fell in the water again.'

126 *Kimisamematamona tasa fari*  
ka -misa -ma -himata -mona tasa faari  
go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M again that one+M  
vi prt dem

'He didn't come back to the surface.'

127 *Awa awa bote baka hikanemata awaka*  
awa awa bote baka hi- to- ka- na -himata awa -ka  
wood wood old break OC CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
nf nf adj vt aux sec

'The old log broke with him.'

128 *Me bori hine me bori hikataseamatamona*  
me bori hi- na+M me bori hi- ka- na -tasa -himata -mona  
3PL.S poke OC AUX 3PL.S poke OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vt aux pron vt aux

*fa*  
faa  
that  
dem

'They poked with a pole for him. They did not poke for him again.'

129 *Abemata awaka tasa*  
ahaba -himata awa -ka tasa  
die FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M again  
vi sec prt

'He died, too.'

130 *Me siba hinematamona*  
me siba hi- na -himata -mona  
3PL.S look for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vt aux

'They looked for him.'

131 *Me siba hine , me siba hinematamona*  
me siba hi- na+M , me siba hi- na -himata -mona  
3PL.S look for OC AUX 3PL.S look for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vt aux pron vt aux

*ahi*  
ahi  
then  
dem

'They looked for him.'

THEY MOVED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PURUS

132 *Me siba hine me hiwasire me*  
 me siba hi- na+M me hi- wasi -ra+M me  
 3PL.S look for OC AUX 3PL.S OC find NEG 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron vt pron

*hekanakosawataseamatamonaha*

hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -tasa -himata -mona -ha  
 OC COMIT leave middle change again FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt

'They looked for him but couldn't find him. They left him behind, too.'

133 *Hibati ya hibati ka hiyara* .  
 hibati ya hibati ka hiyara  
 long time ago ADJU long time ago of story  
 nf prt nf prt nf

'It's an old story, a story of long ago.'

## JAMAMADIS JOINED JARAWARAS TO POISON FISH

### *Free Translation*

Who is it that first discovered the *kona* plant? It was Aifa who discovered *kona*. It was Aifa who first put *kona* in the water. He is the one who started putting it in the water. He put it in the water to catch fish. He dug up *kona* roots, because he was after the fish in the dry season, after the water level went down. He put *kona* in the water to catch fish. Before putting *kona* in the water, he sang the *kona* song, singing E Onira. He sang E Onira.

"E Onira, E Onira," he sang, Aifa, the one who started *kona*. "E Onira, E Onira. The sting-ray drags its stinger over the log," he sang. "The *yifoma* lizard goes kabobo on the surface of the water. My younger sister doesn't know how to take out the gall bladder of a fish. E Onira, E Onira."

The E Onira song was pretty. There were many people. Before they put the *kona* in the water, they came back and threw mud at the women, that they brought back. Kakisira hurt them [by burning them with a brand]. They ran in all directions. They put out the brands. They came back from where they had gone. They came back after the brands, acting like the fish.<sup>16</sup>

Before they put the *kona* in the water to catch the fish, they sang the *kona* song. The women burned the men. They were going back and forth, putting out the brands.

They slept, and put the *kona* in the water the next day. They shot fish with arrows all day long, the fish of the Faha Biri stream. They roasted many fish on racks all day long. Then they sang the song about them. They had a dance, and their voices could be heard through the night. So that the women would be muddy, they made them muddy. They did not bathe. They were dirty, when we were little. They sang the song about the fish during the night, as they had the dance. They carried firewood during the night. They carried firewood all day, to be firewood for the fish. Leaves [for wrapping the fish], *hamise* aerial roots [for tying the leaves], racks. Their voices could be heard as they made the racks. The traps killed fish, too, their traps. They carried many fish, and they roasted the fish on racks all day long.

We shot more fish when the others dug up *kona* roots again, when we were together with the Jamamadis. When we were with the Jamamadis we put *kona* in the water. The Jamamadis didn't shoot the fish with arrows when the *kona* was in the water. We shot the fish when the *kona* was in the water. We left them behind.<sup>17</sup> We also weaved traps for fish. They killed fish, too. The fish traps were full up to the very tops with fish from the Curiá River.

They went to get *kona* at Santana village. They gave Atiha [*kona*] to eat, and his father blew snuff into us. Atiha was sick. Atiha got sick because of the *kona*. He got better when he drank ginger. They put him in a hammock so he could die. Atiha's father blew snuff into us. It was crowded. I felt the effect of the snuff. There was a fire there, too.

We shot the fish. We came back. When we got back, we wrapped the fish, with the Jamamadis. The Jamamadis asked for some fish. They went home to their village. We roasted fish on racks as we stayed in the camp. We roasted fish all day long. Then we finally came home. We left the camp the next day. Some Jamamadis came. They came to see us leaving. They were with us. There were many Jamamadi women who came. They went back and lived back there. The Jamamadi women died.

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16 That is, they came back and got burned some more, like the fish who come back and get speared.

17 That is, the Jamamadis did not come to the festa that followed the fishing trip.

## JAMAMADIS JOINED JARAWARAS TO POISON FISH

There is an old village on the other side of the Curiá River where many Jamamadis used to live. Some of the Jamamadis came to the Banawá River. They went there, and their own relatives killed some of them. Then they came back. They came and lived over this way, after they found the fish of the Curiá River. They cleared the forest at the Curiá, and lived there. There were many Jamamadis. There aren't many of us. Ohi always visited. Ohi died. Tene Kasi and the others always visited. Namiti blew snuff in his nose as he was sleeping in his hammock.

As the Jamamadis were coming, they shot a tapir. Awihire brought the news about them shooting the tapir. "They are there on the trail, and they are going to cut up the tapir," he said. "You should go and get some of the tapir. They are on the trail about to cut up the tapir," he said. "Where the *hawa* palms are," he said. That's the tapir that Yatowa and the others went to get some of. The Jamamadis shot a fat tapir. They ate some of their tapir. When Awihire went home, he died. He also carried a ceramic pot. He came to get a pot that my mother had made, and he went home carrying the pot. He was singing a song, Yakowa said. I guess the song killed him.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Hibake* , *hibake* *hiwasimata* *amara* *kona* ?  
 hibake , hibake hi- wasi -himata ama -ra kona  
 who+M who+M OC find FP.N+M SEC CQ+M plant sp  
 interrog interrog vt sec nm

'Who is it that first discovered the *kona* plant?'

2 *Kona* *kona* *Aifa* *hiwasimatamona* *amaka* .  
 kona kona Aifa hi- wasi -himata -mona ama -ka  
 plant sp plant sp (man's name) OC find FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm nm npropm vt sec

'It was Aifa who discovered *kona*.'

3 *Aifa* *ka* *konamatamona* *amane* , *sa* *ni*  
 Aifa ka kona -mata -mona ama -ne , saa na.NFIN  
 (man's name) POSS plant sp FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M release AUX  
 npropm prt nm sec result aux

'It was Aifa who first put *kona* in the water.'

4 *Sa* *ni* *hikanawanematamonaha* , *aba* *me* *aba*  
 saa na.NFIN hi- kanawana -himata -mona -ha , aba me aba  
 release AUX OC start FP.N+M REP+M DUP fish 3PL fish  
 vt aux vt nm pron nm

*me* *sa* *kanahari*  
 me saa ka- na -haari  
 3PL.O release COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 pron vt aux

'He is the one who started putting it in the water. He put it in the water to catch fish.'

5 *Kona* *wiwi* *tohematamona* , *aba* *me* *aba* *me*  
 kona wi- wii to- ha -himata -mona , aba me aba me  
 plant sp DUP dig CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M fish 3PL fish 3PL.O  
 nm vt aux nm pron nm pron

*wati* *kanahari* , *fa* *sai* *ya* *yama hiwe* *ya*  
 wati ka- na -haari , faha sai.NOM ya yama hiwe ya  
 plan against COMIT AUX IP.E+M water be empty ADJU dry season ADJU  
 vt aux nf vi prt nf prt

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**aba me sa kanahari**  
 aba me saa ka- na -haari  
 fish 3PL.O release COMMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 nm pron vt aux

'He dug up *kona* roots, because he was after the fish in the dry season, after the water level went down. He put *kona* in the water to catch fish.'

6 **Kona aba me kona sa nebona kona tai**  
 kona aba me kona saa na -hibona kona tahi  
 plant sp fish 3PL plant sp release AUX INT+M plant sp song about  
 nm nm pron nm vt aux nm pn

**hiri nawa na toematamonaka E Onira hiri**  
 hiri na -waha na to- ha -himata -mona -ka Ee Onira hiri  
 sing AUX change AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (name of song) sing  
 vt aux aux aux npropf vt

**nari**  
 na -haari  
 AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'Before putting *kona* in the water, he sang the *kona* song, singing E Onira.'

7 **E Onira hiri nematamona**  
 Ee Onira hiri na -himata -mona  
 (name of song) sing AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropf vt aux

'He sang E Onira.'

8 **E E Onira E Onira ati nematamonaka**  
 ee Ee Onira Ee Onira ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 (name of song) (name of song) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropf npropf vt aux

**Aifa kona kanawanahari**  
 Aifa kona kanawana -haari  
 (man's name) plant sp start IP.E+M  
 npropm nm vt

'"E Onira, E Onira," he sang, Aifa, the one who started *kona*.'

9 **E Onira E Onira**  
 Ee Onira Ee Onira  
 (name of song) (name of song)  
 npropf npropf

'"E Onira, E Onira."

10 **Aba katakana horo kanimonehe kanimonehe**  
 aba katakana horo ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he  
 fish stinger drag COMMIT AUX REP+F DUP COMMIT AUX REP+F DUP  
 nm nf vt aux aux

**ati nematamonane**  
 ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'"The sting-ray drags its stinger over the log," he sang.'

11 **Yifoma nabati kabobomone**  
 yifoma nabati kabobo -mone  
 lizard sp stomach (sound of kabobo lizard on water) REP+F  
 nm pn sound



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***kabobomonehe***

kabobo -mone -he ,  
 (sound of kabobo lizard on water) REP+F DUP  
 sound

***kabobomonehe***

kabobo -mone -he  
 (sound of kabobo lizard on water) REP+F DUP  
 sound

***kabobomonehe***

kabobo -mone -he .  
 (sound of kabobo lizard on water) REP+F DUP  
 sound

"The *yifoma* lizard goes kabobo on the surface of the water."

12 ***Aba sitakari iti okasima***  
 aba sitakari iti.NFIN o- ka asima  
 fish gall bladder take out 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister  
 nm pn vt nf

***watorimonehe watorimonehe watorimonehe***  
 wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he  
 know NEG REP+F DUP know NEG REP+F DUP know NEG REP+F DUP  
 vt vt vt

***watorimonehe***  
 wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he  
 know NEG REP+F DUP  
 vt

"My younger sister doesn't know how to take out the gall bladder of a fish."

13 ***E Onira E Onira*** .  
 Ee Onira Ee Onira  
 (name of song) (name of song)  
 npropf npropf

"E Onira, E Onira."

14 ***E Onira taminamaro amake*** .  
 Ee Onira tamina -maro ama -ke  
 (name of song) be good FP.E+F SEC DECL+F  
 npropf vi sec

"The E Onira song was pretty."<sup>18</sup>

15 ***Me tamamaroke*** .  
 me tama -hamaro -ke  
 3PL.S be many FP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

"There were many people."

16 ***Kona me sa nabone me kama me*** ,  
 kona me saa na -habone me ka -ma+F me  
 plant sp 3PL.S release AUX INT+F 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt aux pron vi pron

***me fanawi me katomamaroni atabo me***  
 me fanawi me katoma -ma -hamaro -ni atabo me  
 women 3PL.S attack back FP.E+F BKG+F mud 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt nf pron

18 Following this sentence there is a stretch of almost entirely Portuguese, in which Yowao talks about the people's armbands.



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*totoka*                      *ya*  
to- toka                      ya  
DUP partially burn      ADJU  
nf                              prt

'Before they put the *kona* in the water to catch the fish, they sang the *kona* song. They burned them.'

22 *Yifo*            *me*            *nawia*            *me*            *yobi*                      *namaro*            *ahi*  
yifo            me            na- owi+F      me            yobi                      na -hamaro      ahi  
firewood      3PL.S      CAUS go out      3PL.S      go back and forth      AUX FP.E+F      then  
nf              pron      vt                      pron      vi                      aux                      dem

'They were going back and forth, putting out the brands.'

23 *Yifo*            *noki*            ,      *owihamaro*            *amake*            *me*            *ihi*  
yifo            noki            ,      owi -hamaro      ama -ke            me            ihi  
firewood      end+F            go out FP.E+F      SEC DECL+F      3PL.POSS      because of+F  
nf              pn              vi                      sec                      pron              post

'They put out the brands.'

24 *Faya*      *me*            *amo*            *na*            *kona*            *me*            *sa*  
faya      me            amo            na+F      kona            me            saa  
so            3PL.S      sleep      AUX      plant sp      3PL.S      release  
conj      pron      vi            aux            nm            vt

*naminamaroke*                      *fahi*  
na -mina      -hamaro -ke      fahi  
AUX morning      FP.E+F      DECL+F      then  
aux                                      dem

'They slept, and put the *kona* in the water the next day.'

25 *Kona*            *me*            *sa*            *na*            *me*            ,      *kona*            *me*            *sa*            *na*  
kona            me            saa            na+F      me            ,      kona            me            saa            na+F  
plant sp      3PL.S      release      AUX      3PL.S                      plant sp      3PL.S      release      AUX  
nm              pron      vt                      aux              pron                      nm              pron      vt                      aux

*me*            *kona*            *me*            ,      *aba*            *me*            *me*            *tisa*  
me            kona            me            ,      aba            me            me            tisa  
3PL.S      plant sp      3PL            fish      3PL.O      3PL.S      shoot with arrow  
pron      nm                      pron      nm              pron      pron      vt

*natiamaro*                      *amani*            ,      *Fa Biri*                      *abe*  
na nahatI -hamaro      ama -ni            ,      Faha Biri                      abe  
AUX daytime      FP.E+F      SEC BKG+F                      (name of stream)      creature+F  
aux                      sec                      npropf                      pn

'They put the *kona* in the water. They shot fish with arrows all day long, the fish of the Faha Biri stream.'

26 *Aba*            *tamabote*            *me*            *me*            *tabasi*                      *natimaro*  
aba            tama            -bote      me            me            tabasi                      na nahatI.NOM -maro  
fish            be many very      3PL.O      3PL.S      roast on grill      AUX daytime            FP.E+F  
nm              adj                      pron      pron      vt                      aux

*amake*            ,      *me*            *tai*            *me*            *hiri*            *hiwabani*  
ama -ke            ,      me            tai            me            hiri            hi- na -waha -haba -ni  
be DECL+F            3PL.POSS      song about      3PL.S      sing      OC      AUX change      FUT+F      IP.N+F  
vc                      pron              pn                      pron      vt                      aux

*mati*  
mati  
3PL.POSS  
pron

'They roasted many fish on racks all day long. Then they sang the song about them.'

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27 *Ayaka me hiri na me ati sai nabimaro*  
 ayaka me hiri na+F me ati sai nahaba.NOM+F -maro  
 dance 3PL.S do AUX 3PL.POSS voice be heard at night FP.E+F  
 nf pron vt aux pron pn vi prt

*amani*

ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'They had a dance, and their voices could be heard through the night.'

28 *Me fanawi atabo tohabone me , atabo me me*  
 me fanawi atabo to- ha -habone me , atabo me me  
 women mud CH be INT+F 3PL mud 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf nf vc pron nf pron pron

*hiniha*  
 hi- to- niha- ha+F me *afi* *namaro* me *ama*  
 OC CH CAUS be 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC  
 vd pron vi aux pron sec

'So that the women would be muddy, they made them muddy. They did not bathe.'

29 *Me tohiyabisamaroke faro , ota fotari*  
 me to- hiya -bisa -hamaro -ke faaro , otaa fota -ra.NOM+F  
 3PL.S CH be bad also FP.E+F DECL+F that+F 1EX.S be big NEG  
 pron vi dem pron vi

*ya*

ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'They were dirty, when we were little.'

30 *Aba me tai me me hiri nabimaro*  
 aba me tahi me me hiri na nahaba.NOM+F -maro  
 fish 3PL.POSS song about 3PL 3PL.S sing AUX at night FP.E+F  
 nm pron pn pron pron vt aux

*amani* *ayaka me hiri na mati*  
 ama -ni ayaka me hiri na+F mati  
 be BKG+F dance 3PL.S do AUX 3PL.S  
 vc nf pron vt aux pron

'They sang the song about the fish during the night, as they had the dance.'

31 *Yifo me iso natimaro amani*  
 yifo me iso na nahatI.NOM -maro ama -ni  
 firewood 3PL.S carry off AUX daytime FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 nf pron vt aux vc

'They carried firewood during the night.'

32 *Yifo me iso natimaro amake ahi me*  
 yifo me iso na nahatI.NOM -maro ama -ke ahi me  
 firewood 3PL.S carry off AUX daytime FP.E+F be DECL+F then 3PL  
 nf pron vt aux vc dem pron

*aba me yifibonehe waso hamise tana*  
 aba me yifi -bone -he waso hamise tana  
 fish 3PL.POSS firewood+F INT+F DUP leaf epiphyte sp grill  
 nm pron pn nf nf nf

'They carried firewood all day, to be firewood for the fish. Leaves, *hamise* roots, racks.'

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33 *Tana me hiri na me ati saimaro ahi*  
 tana me hiri na+F me ati sai.NOM -maro ahi  
 grill 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.E+F then  
 nf pron vt aux pron pn vi dem

'Their voices could be heard as they made the racks.'

34 *Wawasi ihi iti wawasi ihi*  
 wa- wasi ihi iti.LIST wa- wasi ihi  
 DUP get caught victim of+F exist DUP get caught victim of+F  
 nf pn vi nf pn

*iti me ka wawasi*  
 iti.LIST me ka wa- wasi  
 exist 3PL POSS DUP get caught  
 vi pron prt nf

'The traps killed fish, too, their traps.'

35 *Aba tamabote me me weye na aba me me*  
 aba tama -bote me me weye na+F aba me me  
 fish be many very 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm adj pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

*tabasi natimaro amani*  
 tabasi na nahatI.NOM -maro ama -ni  
 roast on grill AUX daytime FP.E+F SEC BKG+F  
 vt aux sec

'They carried many fish, and they roasted the fish on racks all day long.'

36 *Faya kona me wi hitase ene ota*  
 faya kona me wii hi- na -tasa+M ehene otaa  
 so plant sp 3PL.S dig OC AUX again victim of+M 1EX.S  
 conj nm pron vt aux pn pron

*sa nawahimaro amake fahi ota*  
 saa na -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke fahi otaa  
 shoot with arrow AUX change FP.E+F be DECL+F then 1EX.S  
 vt aux vc dem pron

*yoro tokana ota wati me ya*  
 yoro to- ka- na+F otaa wahati me ya  
 be together CH COMIT AUX 1EX.S Jamamadi 3PL ADJU  
 vi aux pron npropm pron prt

'We shot more fish when the others dug up *kona* roots again, when we were together with the Jamamadis.'

37 *Wati me ya ota taba kona ota sa*  
 wahati me ya otaa taba+F kona otaa saa  
 Jamamadi 3PL ADJU 1EX.S be together plant sp 1EX.S release  
 npropm pron prt pron vi nm pron vt

*nawahimaro amake*  
 na -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 AUX change FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 aux vc

'When we were with the Jamamadis we put *kona* in the water.'

38 *Wati kona me kona ene me*  
 wahati kona me kona ehene me  
 Jamamadi plant sp 3PL plant sp victim of+M 3PL.S  
 npropm nm pron nm pn pron









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55 *Tokomarawamaro* , *towinamarawineti*  
to- ka -ma -rawa -hamaro , to- wina -ma -rawa -ne -tee.NOM  
away go/come back F.PL FP.E+F away live back F.PL CONT+F HAB  
vi vi

'They went back and lived back there.'

56 *Wati fana abarawemeteke fano*  
wahati fana ahaba -rawa -hemete -ke fano  
Jamamadi female die F.PL FP.N+F DECL+F that+F  
npropm nf vi dem

'The Jamamadi women died.'

57 *Wati tamabote me wiwina toamaro me*  
wahati tama -bote me wi- wina to- ha -hamaro me  
Jamamadi be many very 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.POSS  
npropm adj pron vi aux pron

*tabori itineke Koriwa kowani karo*  
tabori ita -ne -ke Koriwa kowani karo  
place+F be located CONT+F DECL+F Curiá other side LOC  
pn vi npropf nf prt

'There is an old village on the other side of the Curiá River where many Jamamadis used to live.'

58 *Wati me kamimetemone amake ahi Banawa*  
wahati me ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi Banawa  
Jamamadi 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then Banawá  
npropm pron vi vc dem npropf

*ya*  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'Some of the Jamamadis came to the Banawá River.'

59 *Me tokariwamakia me yama fara me*  
me to- ka -ri -waha -makI+F me yama fara me  
3PL.S away go/come DISTR change following 3PL.S thing same+F 3PL  
pron vi pron nf dem pron

*one me hinahabiha me wete namemetemone*  
one me hi- na- ahaba+F me wete na -ma -hemete -mone  
other+F 3PL.O OC CAUS die 3PL.S return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
adj pron vt pron vi aux

'They went there, and their own relatives killed some of them. Then they came back.'

60 *Me wiwinamatasa tohamaroke waha Koriwa*  
me wi- wina -ma -tasa to- ha -hamaro -ke waha , Koriwa  
3PL.S DUP live back again CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F now Curiá  
pron vi aux prt npropf

*abe me wasimani mati*  
abe me wasi -ma -hani mati  
creature+F 3PL.S find back IP.N+F 3PL.S  
pn pron vt pron

'They came and lived over this way, after they found the fish of the Curiá River.'

61 *Koriwa awa me bore na me towinamemeteke*  
Koriwa awa me bore na+F me to- wina -ma -hemete -ke  
Curiá tree 3PL.S clear AUX 3PL.S away live back FP.N+F DECL+F  
npropf nf pron vt aux pron vi

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*fahi*

fahi  
then  
dem

'They cleared the forest at the Curiá, and lived there.'

62 *Yamamati me tamamaro me amani*  
Yamamati me tama -hamaro me ama -ni  
Jamamadi 3PL.S be many FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
npropm pron vi pron sec

'There were many Jamamadis.'

63 *E tamakere*  
ee tama -ke -re  
1IN.S be many DECL+F NEG+F  
pron vi

'There aren't many of us.'

64 *Ohi yakayaka nofaraba na toaremari*  
Ohi yaka- yaka na nofa -raba na to- ha -ra -himari  
(man's name) DUP visit AUX recently a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M  
npropm vi aux aux aux

'Ohi always visited.'

65 *Abawaha namata Ohi*  
ahaba -waha.LIST na.NOM+M -mata Ohi  
die change AUX FP.N+M (man's name)  
vi aux npropm

'Ohi died.'

66 *Tene Kasi Tene Kasi me yayaka toa me*  
Tene Kasi Tene Kasi me ya- yaka to- ha+F me  
(man's name) (man's name) 3PL.S DUP visit CH AUX 3PL.S  
npropm npropm pron vi aux pron

*Namiti afo hiwahemarika amo*  
Namiti afo hi- na -waha -himari -ka amo  
(man's name) blow snuff into OC AUX change FP.E+M DECL+M sleep  
npropm vt aux vi

*ni winahari*  
na.NFIN wina -haari  
AUX live IP.E+M  
aux vi

'Tene Kasi and the others always visited. Namiti blew snuff in his nose as he was sleeping in his hammock.'

67 *Me kamakiani me me kamakiani*  
me ka -makI -hani me me ka -makI -hani  
3PL.S go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come following IP.N+F  
pron vi pron pron vi

*me awi me tao kasamakimete amake*  
me awi me tao ka- na -kosa -makI -hemete ama -ke  
3PL.S tapir 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX middle following FP.N+F SEC DECL+F  
pron nm pron vt aux sec

'As they were coming, they shot a tapir.'

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68 *Awi me tao hikaneno , namoni Awire*  
 awi me tao hi- ka- na -hino , namoni Awihire  
 tapir 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M report (man's name)  
 nm pron vt aux pn npropm

*hike , Awi me bobi nabone me nao*  
 hi- ka -kI , awi me bobi na -habone me naho.NOM  
 OC go/come coming tapir 3PL.S slit AUX INT+F 3PL.S stand  
 vi nm pron vt aux pron vi

*yamani ati namari*  
 yamani ati na.NOM+M -mari  
 telling say AUX FP.E+M  
 vt aux

'Awihire brought the news about them shooting the tapir. "They are there on the trail, and they are going to cut up the tapir," he said.'

69 *Awi awi isi ni te tonakamahi*  
 awi awi isi ni tee to- na- ka -ma -hi  
 tapir tapir little bit 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back IMP+F  
 nm nm pn pron vt

"You should go and get some of the tapir."

70 *Awi me bobi nabone me naoara hawi ya ati*  
 awi me bobi na -habone me naho -hara hawi ya ati  
 tapir 3PL.S slit AUX INT+F 3PL.S stand IP.E+F trail ADJU say  
 nm pron vt aux pron vi nf prt vt

*ne , hawa wati ya ati nemari*  
 na+M , hawa wata.NOM+F ya ati na -himari  
 AUX palm sp grow ADJU say AUX FP.E+M  
 aux nf vi prt vt aux

"They are on the trail about to cut up the tapir," he said. "Where the *hawa* palms are," he said.'

71 *Efe awi isi ni Yatowa me*  
 efe awi isi ni Yatowa me  
 this+M tapir little bit (man's name) 3PL.S  
 dem nm pn npropm pron

*tonakamamaro me amake*  
 to- na- ka -ma -hamaro me ama -ke  
 away CAUS go/come back FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 vt pron sec

'That's the tapir that Yatowa and the others went to get some of.'

72 *Awi watake wati me tao kanemete me*  
 awi wataka+M wahati me tao ka- na -hemete me  
 tapir be fatty Jamamadi 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nm vi npropm pron vt aux pron

*amani*  
 ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'The Jamamadis shot a fat tapir.'

73 *Me ka awi isi ni me hikabemari*  
 me ka awi isi ni me hi- kaba -himari -ka  
 3PL POSS tapir little bit 3PL.S OC eat FP.E+M DECL+M  
 pron prt nm pn pron vt

'They ate some of their tapir.'

JAMAMADIS JOINED JARAWARAS TO POISON FISH

74 *Faya Awire tokome tohabamemataka*  
 faya Awihire to- ka -ma+M to- ahaba -ma -himata -ka  
 so (man's name) away go/come back away die back FP.N+M DECL+M  
 conj npropm vi vi

*fahi*  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'When Awihire went home, he died.'

75 *Yiwa boni weye nemarine*  
 yiwaha boni weye.LIST na -himari -ne  
 ceramic pot carry AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

'He also carried a ceramic pot.'

76 *Yiwa boni okomi kero hinaha*  
 yiwaha boni o- ka ami kero hi- na+F  
 ceramic pot 1SG.POSS POSS mother make with circular motion OC AUX  
 nf nf vt aux

*nakamakeno yiwa boni weye ni*  
 na- ka -makI -hino yiwaha boni weye na.NFIN  
 CAUS go/come following IP.N+M ceramic pot carry AUX  
 vt nf vt aux

*tokomemarine*  
 to- ka -ma -himari -ne  
 away go/come back FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came to get a pot that my mother had made, and he went home carrying the pot.'

77 *Yiwa boni weye ni tokome ayaka ayaka hiri*  
 yiwaha boni weye na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M ayaka ayaka hiri  
 ceramic pot carry AUX away go/come back song song sing  
 nf vt aux vi nf nf vt

*nematamona Yakowa hinemarine*  
 na -himata -mona Yakowa ati hi- na -himari -ne  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux npropm vt

'He went home carrying the pot. He was singing a song, Yakowa said.'

78 *Ayaka ihi toemata awaka*  
 ayaka ihi to- ha -himata awa -ka  
 song victim of+F CH be FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 nf pn vc sec

'I guess the song killed him.'

## MANO BAKA

### *Free Translation*

My cousin worked for a Brazilian. He didn't have any children. My cousin worked for Jacó. He gathered Brazil nuts. He went around a lot. It gets dark on that trail downstream. My cousin found the Banawás. The Banawá brought them, he was Moni Misa.

They came back. They went to the Jamamadis. There were many of them. It was Kowarafo, Ete Komowi, Saraka, Howakasa, and Yakowa. Along with Moni Misa, they went to the Jamamadis' village. They went there. When they came back, they told about Mano Baka being shot.

"Someone shot Mano Baka." Kowarafo came back with the news of them having shot Mano Baka.

"Kowarafo has come back," they said. "Look, Kowarafo has come back."

"Yes."

"Yes," they said.

"Look at me. I am bringing news."

"Kowarafo, what is it?"

"I will tell you. They shot each other. Someone shot Mano Baka, Abono," he said. "They shot Abono with a rifle."

"Did he die?"

"He didn't die. They held him to cure him," he said. "He is in his hammock, sick."

"Who shot him?"

"Firi shot him. Moni Misa was going to shoot Firi, but I grabbed Moni Misa's gun. Firi jumped away and went to the others. Mano Baka was hurt badly. He was hurt badly, and they held onto him to cure him."

"I am going to go see them," he said.

"Go see them. Did he die?"

"Moni Misa is upset. I don't want Moni Misa to leave me behind. I want to go with him to Jacó, so we can gather Brazil nuts."

So Kowarafo went. After Kowarafo went, Sakobi went and saw Mano Baka. They sucked on Mano Baka to cure him. Sakobi only saw him, he said.<sup>19</sup>

"Where did the bullet hit him?"

"The bullet hit him in the cheek. He was hurt badly, and they held him to cure him," Kowarafo said.

Then his aunt cried, Mano Baka's aunt [a Jarawara woman].

Then Kowarafo and the others went to Jacó. They went and gathered Brazil nuts. My cousin came back. He came by the downstream trail. On another day, when he finished gathering Brazil nuts, he came back. He bought a pan for toasting manioc meal, and a shotgun, a new shotgun. The pan that Moni Nisa bought never wore out, and eventually they gave it back. They toasted manioc meal with it. But Tafa kept the shotgun. It wore out.

They went there. Raimundo Machado came because Jacó sent him, and he got Towisawa and took him back. Towisawa disappeared. Wabao went with his father. Yatiti and Efe went, too.

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<sup>19</sup> That is, he did not suck on him to cure him.

## MANO BAKA

They went, and disappeared. They went downstream in the floodwaters, the high floodwaters. They went downstream. Raimundo Machado had gotten Towisawa so he would die. Jacó bought cachaça for Towisawa, and clothes, and many other things, for Towisawa to bring back. But Towisawa disappeared.

Towisawa lay in his hammock and slept at night. When morning came, the Brazilian got out of his hammock, and grabbed Towisawa's empty hammock.

"Towisawa, Towisawa. Towisawa has disappeared."

Towisawa had left, and he didn't come back. Wabao and the others, who were there, came back then. Domingos Rosário took Efe and Yaiti away. Babao stayed by himself with Sita [a Brazilian]. Efe and his companion came back. They looked for Towisawa.

"The bottles of cachaça that I bought are there on the ground. Towisawa has disappeared. I will hear the news about Towisawa," said Jacó.

Jacó went downstream, and spoke to a Brazilian woman, a Brazilian woman who knew about people. "Comadre, Towisawa has disappeared."

"The Indian Towisawa has disappeared. I don't think Towisawa has died. Towisawa must be in the forest," she said.

They looked for Towisawa. The sound of them could be heard as they shot off guns and played a noisemaker. As they played the noisemaker, he heard their sound, he used to say.

A Brazilian went fishing in a canoe, and he came upon him without recognizing him. He went away.

"I saw Towisawa but didn't recognize him. The Indian went there in a canoe. He went there."

Towisawa came. He came along in the canoe. He left the canoe behind, he used to say. He went on some people's trail. He found the trail and went on the trail. He didn't find anyone, so he came back, he used to say.

He came. He crossed over a stream. The flooding was in his way. He waded across the water. He swam. He came along. He didn't have any manioc meal, but he took care of himself. The manioc meal was all gone. He had a rifle, too. He came. He came along. He came along the edge of the water. He knew of a trail, and he was looking for it. "I will look for an old trail." He came. Towisawa suffered through the way, which was long.

It got dark on him. He broke off some small trees. He lashed the poles together [up in a tree]. He sat on them. He lay and slept, he used to say.

When morning came, he started out again. He waded many times, and it was hard. He came along. Finally he recognized the place, he used to say. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept, he used to say. He came on. It dawned on him, and he came on.

When he came near Raimundo Machado's place he heard the sounds of the people. Wabao's father [i.e. Towisawa] almost shot him as he was splitting firewood. He thought he was a Brazilian.

"It's not a Brazilian. I won't shoot the Brazilian. My son and the others escaped," he thought, he used to say. "I guess they will come back. I guess they didn't die."

He came on. He picked a lemon, and ate the lemon. He wrapped up some other lemons. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept in the middle of the trail. He slept on the way. Dawn came on him. He started out again, he used to say. Then he finally arrived.

We weren't there. We were fishing. Manoel Quirino had also gone to the other village. As Towisawa was coming, Manoel Quirino met up with him. We didn't see them. We were fishing. We were spearing fish.

We came back, and we met up with Manoel Quirino as he was coming. I was with Noko Mora. Noko Mora and I were coming onto the shore when Raimundo asked us right away.

## MANO BAKA

"Makaoba, Towisawa said that the others died."

"Who?"

"Yose and the others are said to have died. People had thought that Towisawa had died, but Towisawa had come back. He is back here."

Then Manoel Quirino came. "Makaoba, Towisawa is back here. Towisawa said that his son and the others died, that the Brazilians shot them," Manoel Quirino said.

Then Noko Mora was upset. The sun set. Then we were ready. We gave fish to Manoel.

"Makaoba, don't go home yet. I'm going to buy some shotgun shells for you. Go see the Brazilians," he said. "I don't think they have died. I think they are alive. Towisawa came back crying. The Indians are alive. I went there [to the village], and I have come back," he said.

We came back, and arrived back. They had been crying, and we came upon them crying. Noko Mora was upset. It was scary, because of the ones who had disappeared.

We didn't stay in the village, we went fishing every day. We got up early. We went out to fish again. On the way back, we came upon them coming back, bringing cachaça. Wabao had stolen Raimundo Machado's old shotgun. Wabao had stolen, he had stolen from Raimundo Machado. They were bringing the things. We came back, and we came upon them. Their voices could be heard. We heard their voices as we came back, and we stood there.

"They are coming. It's the voices of people who have drunk cachaça," Kara Maka said.

"They have been drinking cachaça. Let's see them."

We were ready. We came back. They were living in longhouses. They had come and had given cachaça to the others, and we heard their voices as we came back. Noko Mora had drunk cachaça. I didn't drink any cachaça. The others drank cachaça.

My mother gutted the fish that I had speared. They gutted the fish, and they cooked the fish. They were laughing at Noko Yawawa, who was drunk. They were holding him up as he was drunk.

"I will bite you," he said.

It got dark on them, and they ate. They ate fish. They ate fish while drunk. My father also ate fish. My father also drank some of their cachaça. They didn't give any cachaça to Sakobi, and he blew snuff into their nostrils.

Sakobi was ready. Sakobi spoke. "Boniwa, Boniwa."

"Huh?"

"I'm going to blow snuff in you. Come here."

"Yaiti, you come here. I am going to blow snuff in you, because your mothers cried because of you," he said.

It was Wabao. Sakobi sucked on his shaman's stone, and blew snuff in them. Sakobi blew snuff in them again the next day.

The day dawned. "Father, we are going fishing. We are going into the forest."

"You two are not drunk."

"Noko Mora come on, let's fish."

We went to Manoel Quirino. We went, and Manoel Quirino was home. Manoel Quirino had bought shotgun shells.

"Manoel, the Indians didn't die. The Indians came and are there," Noko Mora said.

"You didn't believe me. 'I don't think the Indians have died,' I always said. Is it all of them?"

"It is all of them. They all came back."

"All right."

Manoel Quirino was afraid of them.<sup>20</sup>

The two of us came back. We went and fished. We speared fish that were coming back

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20 That is, he was afraid of reprisals from the Jarawaras if other Brazilians killed Jarawaras.

## MANO BAKA

upstream. We carried the fish on lines on our shoulders. Sakobi was there. They started to call him Wao. He used to blow snuff in us.

We brought fish, and they gutted them. It was a big flood. The fish were eating crabwood seeds, and we were spearing them all over. We were standing wherever there were crabwood seeds falling in the water. We speared fish, and came back. We gave fish to Manoel Quirino on the way back. We bought salt, and came back.

Kara Maka found some white-lipped peccaries as he came back. Tatiwi came running back.

"Tatiwi has come back. Tatiwi, what is it?"

"Don't say anything. There are white-lipped peccaries coming there," Tatiwi said.

The peccaries came and did not stop. We all came back.

"The peccaries can be heard as they are coming this way. Where should we go?" We threw our fish on the ground, and went up into trees. Many peccaries came. They live here. We were all in trees. Sakobi went up a tree, and the branch he was standing on broke. He was hanging on with his legs free, and the others were laughing at him. Bato sat on top of a vine, too.

The peccaries went as we watched them. They went to the water and went away. We came down from the trees. The peccaries had gone away, and we left them behind.

We came running home. We wanted to get up early because of the peccaries.

They joked about the peccaries, Noko Wene and the others. "Mother, let's eat *aba* fish for the time being. We won't eat *aba* fish anymore. The Brazilians want to kill us, and they went that way," Noko Wene said.<sup>21</sup>

We took snuff, and slept. They had decided to get up early because of the peccaries, and they did. They got up early. We got up early because of the peccaries, and we went after them. It had gotten dark on the peccaries, but they slept far away from that place. When Kowarafo was looking for the trail of the peccaries, he stepped on the head of an acouchy [dead, decomposed]. Kowarafo stepped on the head of an acouchy, and the others laughed at him. They wanted to go after the peccaries, and they heard their voices in the distance. The voices of the peccaries could be heard.

"Go after the peccaries right away. Let's go back soon."<sup>22</sup>

They took their shotguns. But I took bow and arrows. My father took his shotgun. They went after the peccaries. The sound of gunfire started. They were yelling. The peccaries came running, and they shot them. They had gone running, and Tome had circled around behind them. They came running toward us, and then went away again. We went around in front of them. Noko Mora and I came running back on the trail. We came, and we heard the noise of the peccaries. Noko Mora went after the peccaries. We rushed at the peccaries from behind, and I killed one peccary. Noko Mora killed two. They came running toward us. They crossed at the mouth of the Awi stream. They went away. I guess they live at the Curiá River again.

They roasted the peccaries on racks after they brought them home.

"I will get firewood." We both took axes, and we went for firewood. We cut off two pieces of firewood, and we brought back the firewood.

Amane was a good hunter of white-lipped peccaries. They roasted Amane's peccaries.

"Let's eat the peccaries. Let's have a festa." They planned to have a festa. They cut up the peccaries so they could cook the peccaries. They cooked the peccaries. Finally they ate them.

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21 Noko Wene was joking, calling the peccaries Brazilians.

22 That is, they would go home early if they killed peccaries right away.



## MANO BAKA

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 **Okoyo** **okoyo**  
 o- ka ayo o- ka ayo  
 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin  
 nm nm

**okoyo** **yara** **nanarifa**  
 o- ka ayo yara na- narifa  
 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin Brazilian DUP help  
 nm npropm pn

**hiemari**  
 hi- to- ha -himari  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M  
 aux  
 'My cousin worked for a Brazilian.'

2 **Biti** **winakara**  
 biti wina -ka -ra  
 3SG.POSS.son live DECL+M NEG+M  
 nm vi

'He didn't have any children.'

3 **Yako** , **Yako** **okoyo** **nanarifa**  
 Yako Yako o- ka ayo na- narifa  
 Jacó Jacó 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin DUP help  
 npropm npropm nm pn

**hiemari**  
 hi- to- ha -himari  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M  
 aux  
 'My cousin worked for Jacó.'

4 **Yako** **okoyo** **nanarifa**  
 Yako o- ka ayo na- narifa  
 Jacó 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin DUP help  
 npropm nm pn

**hiemari** **okoyo** **mowe** **ka**  
 hi- to- ha -himari o- ka ayo mowe kaa  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin Brazil nut chop  
 aux nm nm vt

**nari**  
 na -haari  
 AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'My cousin worked for Jacó. My cousin gathered Brazil nuts.'

5 **Okoyo** **yoyobi**  
 o- ka ayo yo- yobi  
 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin DUP go back and forth  
 nm vi

**tohemari** **amake**  
 to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke  
 CH AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F  
 aux vc

'My cousin went around a lot.'

MANO BAKA

6 **Bato** **hawi** **kakayoma** **kawahatasine**  
 bato hawi ka- kayoma+F ka- waha -tasa -ne  
 downstream trail+F COMIT darken COMIT dawn again CONT+F  
 nf pn vi vi

'It gets dark on that trail downstream.'

7 **Bato yafi** **mera** **wasiwaha** **bato yafi** **mati**  
 bato yafi mera wasi -waha.LIST bato yafi mati  
 Banawá 3PL.O find change Banawá 3PL  
 npropm pron vt npropm pron

'He found the Banawás.'

8 **Bato yafi** **mera** **kakamawaha** **na** **toemari**  
 bato yafi mera ka- ka -ma -waha na to- ha -himari  
 Banawá 3PL.O COMIT go/come back change AUX CH AUX FP.E+M  
 npropm pron vt aux aux

**Moni Misa** **toane**  
 Moni Misa to- ha -ne  
 (man's name) CH be BKG+M  
 npropm vc

'The Banawá brought them, he was Moni Misa.'

9 **Faya** **me** **kama** **wati** **me** **ni** **ya** **me**  
 faya me ka -ma+F wahati me ni ya me  
 so 3PL.S go/come back Jamamadi 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi npropm pron prt prt pron  
**tokomakeni** **me** **tokomakehani**  
 to- ka -makI -hani me to- ka -makI -hani  
 away go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S away go/come following IP.N+F  
 vi pron vi

**me** **tamaroke**  
 me tama -hamaro -ke  
 3PL.S be many FP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They came back. They went to the Jamamadis. There were many of them.'

10 **Kowarafo** , **Ete Komowi** , **Saraka** , **Howakasa** ,  
 Kowarafo.LIST Ete Komowi.LIST Saraka.LIST Howakasa.LIST  
 (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm npropm npropm npropm

**Yakowa** **me** **namaroni**  
 Yakowa.LIST me na -hamaro -ni  
 (man's name) 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 npropm pron aux

'It was Kowarafo, Ete Komowi, Saraka, Howakasa, and Yakowa.'

11 **Moni Misa** , **me** **na** **me** **tokomake** **wati**  
 Moni Misa.LIST me na+F me to- ka -makI wahati  
 (man's name) 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S away go/come following Jamamadi  
 npropm pron aux pron vi npropm

**me** **tabori** **ya**  
 me tabori ya  
 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU  
 pron pn prt

'Along with Moni Misa, they went to the Jamamadis' village.'

## MANO BAKA

12 *Me tokomake* , *Mano Mano Baka* *tao kani*  
 me to- ka -makI , Mano Baka tao ka- na.NFIN  
 3PL.S away go/come following (man's name) shoot COMMIT AUX  
 pron vi npropm result aux

*me kaminamabani* *mati*  
 me kamina -ma -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.S tell back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron

'They went there. When they came back, they told about Mano Baka being shot.'

13 *Mano Baka me tao hikanenoho*  
 Mano Baka me tao hi- ka- na -hino -ho  
 (man's name) 3PL.S shoot OC COMMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 npropm pron vt aux

'"Someone shot Mano Baka."'

14 *Mano Baka me tao hikaneno* *namoni Kowarafo*  
 Mano Baka me tao hi- ka- na -hino namoni Kowarafo  
 (man's name) 3PL.S shoot OC COMMIT AUX IP.N+M report (man's name)  
 npropm pron vt aux pn npropm

*kamamata amani*  
 ka -ma.NOM+M -mata ama -ni  
 go/come back FP.N+M be BKG+F  
 vi vc

'Kowarafo came back with the news of them having shot Mano Baka.'

15 *Kowarafo kame me ati nemetemone*  
 Kowarafo ka -ma+M me ati na -hemete -mone  
 (man's name) go/come back 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm vi pron vt aux

'"Kowarafo has come back," they said.'

16 *Kowarafo kamari ha*  
 Kowarafo ka -ma -haari haa  
 (man's name) go/come back look+M DEM  
 npropm vi dem

'"Look, Kowarafo has come back."'

17 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

'"Yes."'

18 *Ee me ati nemetemoneke*  
 ee , me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 yes 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 interj pron vt aux

'"Yes," they said.'

19 *Owa te awa fahi*  
 owa tee awa fahi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S see then  
 pron pron vt dem

'"Look at me."'

MANO BAKA

20 *Hiyara owakamine oni*  
 hiyara o- ka- ka -ma -ne o- ni  
 story 1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nf vt prt

"I am bringing news."

21 *Kowarafo himata amarinihi ?*  
 Kowarafo himata ama -ri -ni -hi  
 (man's name) what? be CQ+F IP.N+F DUP  
 npropm interrog vc

"Kowarafo, what is it?"

22 *Himata ama*  
 himata ama  
 what? be  
 interrog vc

"I will tell you."

23 *Me ebe tao kanahara*  
 me ebe tao ka- na -hara  
 3PL.POSS RECIP shoot COMIT AUX IP.E+F  
 pron pn vt aux

"They shot each other."

24 *Mano Baka me tao ki yamani Abono*  
 Mano Baka me tao ka- na.NOM+F yamani Abono  
 (man's name) 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX telling (man's name)  
 npropm pron vt aux npropm

"They shot Mano Baka, Abono."

25 *Abono me tao ki yamani ati nemari*  
 Abono me tao ka- na.NOM+F yamani ati na -himari  
 (man's name) 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX telling say AUX FP.E+M  
 npropm pron vt aux vt aux

"They shot Abono," he said.'

26 *Abono me tao hikanare rifi ya*  
 Abono me tao hi- ka- na -hare rifi ya  
 (man's name) 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M rifle ADJU  
 npropm pron vt aux nf prt

"They shot Abono with a rifle."

27 *Rifi ya me tao hikanareka*  
 rifi ya me tao hi- ka- na -hare -ka  
 rifle ADJU 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M  
 nf prt pron vt aux

"They shot him with a rifle."

28 *Abare awa ?*  
 ahaba -ra+M awa  
 die NEG seem+M  
 vi sec

"Did he die?"

MANO BAKA

29 *Abararene*

ahaba -ra -hare -ne  
die NEG IP.E+M BKG+M  
vi

"He didn't die."

30 *Me tama hikanarene ati nemari*

me tama hi- ka- na -hare -ne ati na -himari  
3PL.S hold onto OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M BKG+M say AUX FP.E+M  
pron vt aux vt aux

"They held him to cure him," he said.'

31 *Kawinarene*

ka- wina -hare -ne  
COMIT lie in hammock IP.E+M BKG+M  
vi

"He is in his hammock, sick."

32 *Hibake tao hikaranoho* ?

hibake tao hi- ka- na -ra -no -ho  
who+M shoot OC COMIT AUX CQ+M IP.N+M DUP  
interrog vt aux

"Who shot him?"

33 *Firi Firi tao hikanareka*

Firi Firi tao hi- ka- na -hare -ka  
(man's name) (man's name) shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M  
npropm npropm vt aux

"Firi shot him."

34 *Firi , Moni Misa tao hikanena Moni Misa*

Firi , Moni Misa tao hi- ka- na -hina Moni Misa  
(man's name) (man's name) shoot OC COMIT AUX IRR+M (man's name)  
npropm npropm vt aux npropm

*ka taokana wara okana , yora towiti*  
ka taokana wara o- to- ka- na+F , yora to- na -witI+M  
POSS shotgun grab 1SG.S away COMIT AUX jump away AUX out  
prt nf vt aux vi aux

*tokomakehare , fara me one ni ya*  
to- ka -makI -hare , fara me one ni ya  
away go/come following IP.E+M same+F 3PL other+F to ADJU  
vi dem pron adj prt prt

"Moni Misa was going to shoot Firi, but I grabbed Moni Misa's gun. He jumped away and went to the others."

35 *Mano Baka abareka*

Mano Baka ahaba -hare -ka  
(man's name) die IP.E+M DECL+M  
npropm vi

"Mano Baka was hurt badly."

36 *Abe me tama hikanareka*

ahaba+M me tama hi- ka- na -hare -ka  
die 3PL.S hold onto OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M  
vi pron vt aux

"He was hurt badly, and they held onto him to cure him."



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44 *Mano Baka*      *me*      *toma*      *hine*      *Sakobi*      ,      *hine*      *ya*  
 Mano Baka      me      toma      hi- na+M      Sakobi      ,      hine      ya  
 (man's name)      3PL.S      suck      OC      AUX      (man's name)      only      ADJU  
 npropm      pron      vt      aux      npropm      pron      prt

*hiwematamona*      *hinemarika*  
 hi- awa -himata -mona      ati hi- na -himari -ka  
 OC      see      FP.N+M      REP+M      say      OC      AUX      FP.E+M      DECL+M  
 vt      vt

'They sucked on Mano Baka to cure him. Sakobi only saw him, he said.'

45 *Hibaka*      *ya*      *bara*      *kobo*      *riniya*      ?  
 hibaka      ya      bara      kobo      na -ri -ni      -ya  
 where      ADJU      bullet      arrive      AUX      CQ+F      IP.N+F      now  
 interrog      prt      nf      vi      aux

'"Where did the bullet hit him?"'

46 *Bara*      *kobo*      *narake*      *Mano Baka*      *noko*      *bako*  
 bara      kobo      na -hara -ke      Mano Baka      noko      bako  
 bullet      arrive      AUX      IP.E+F      DECL+F      (man's name)      face+M      inner surface+M  
 nf      vi      aux      npropm      pn      pn

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'"The bullet hit him in the cheek."'

47 *Ahabe*      *me*      *tama*      *hikanareka*      ,      *Kowarafo*  
 ahaba+M      me      tama      hi- ka- na -hare -ka      ,      Kowarafo  
 die      3PL.S      hold onto      OC      COMIT      AUX      IP.E+M      DECL+M      (man's name)  
 vi      pron      vt      aux      npropm

*ati nemari ama*  
 ati na -himari      ama  
 say      AUX      FP.E+M      SEC  
 vt      aux      sec

'"He was hurt badly, and they held him to cure him," Kowarafo said.'

48 *Faya*      *matise*      *ohi*      *namaroni*      ,      *Mano Baka*  
 faya      matise      ohi      na -hamaro -ni      ,      Mano Baka  
 so      3SG.POSS.aunt      cry      AUX      FP.E+F      BKG+F      (man's name)  
 conj      nf      vi      aux      npropm

*matise*  
 matise  
 3SG.POSS.aunt  
 nf

'Then his aunt cried, Mano Baka's aunt.'

49 *Faya*      *Kowarafo*      *tokome*      *me*  
 faya      Kowarafo      to- ka      -ma+M      me  
 so      (man's name)      away go/come back      3PL.S  
 conj      npropm      vi      pron

*tokometeke*      *Yako*      *ni*      *ya*  
 to- ka      -ma -hemete -ke      Yako      ni      ya  
 away go/come back      FP.N+F      DECL+F      Jacó      to      ADJU  
 vi      npropm      prt      prt

'Then Kowarafo and the others went to Jacó.'

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50 *Me tokomani me mowe me ka*  
 me to- ka -ma -hani me mowe me kaa  
 3PL.S away go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S Brazil nut 3PL.S chop  
 pron vi pron nm pron vt

*tonamani okoyo*  
 to- na -ma -hani o- ka ayo  
 away AUX back IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin  
 aux nm

*kamatasemata amake ha ya*  
 ka -ma -tasa.NOM+M -mata ama -ke haa ya  
 go/come back again FP.N+M be DECL+F DEM ADJU  
 vi vc dem prt

'They went and gathered Brazil nuts. My cousin came back.'

51 *Bato hawi ka ya kamawemataka*  
 bato hawi ka ya ka -ma -waha -himata -ka  
 downstream trail+F LOC ADJU go/come back change FP.N+M DECL+M  
 nf pn prt prt vi

'He came by the downstream trail.'

52 *Kamaweno mowe ka ni abe*  
 ka -ma -waha -hino mowe kaa na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M  
 go/come back change IP.N+M Brazil nut chop AUX end  
 vi nm vt aux vi

*ya kamematane*  
 ya ka -ma -himata -ne  
 ADJU go/come back FP.N+M BKG+M  
 prt vi

'On another day, when he finished gathering Brazil nuts, he came back.'

53 *Fono kanika taokana kanika nematamona*  
 fono ka- nika.LIST taokana ka- nika.LIST na -himata -mona  
 pan COMMIT buy shotgun COMMIT buy AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt nf vt aux

*taokana yati*  
 taokana yati  
 shotgun new  
 nf adj

'He bought a pan for toasting manioc meal, and a shotgun, a new shotgun.'

54 *Fono Moni Misa hikanikani aaba na*  
 fono Moni Misa hi- ka- nika -hani a- ahaba na  
 pan (man's name) OC COMMIT buy IP.N+F DUP end AUX  
 nf npropm vt vi aux

*toharamaro me ta hinamemete amake*  
 to- ha -ra -hamaro me taa hi- to- na -ma -hemete ama -ke  
 CH AUX NEG FP.E+F 3PL.S give OC away AUX back FP.N+F SEC DECL+F  
 aux pron vt aux sec

'The pan that Moni Nisa bought never wore out, and they gave it back.'

55 *Me kakarawa hiamaro*  
 me ka- ka- rawa hi- to- ha -hamaro  
 3PL.S DUP COMMIT toast OC CH AUX FP.E+F  
 pron vt aux

'They toasted manioc meal with it.'



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56 *Taokana* *ta* *Tafa* *tatama* *hiamaro*  
 taokana taa Tafa ta- tama hi- to- ha -hamaro  
 shotgun contrast (man's name) DUP hold onto OC CH AUX FP.E+F  
 nf prt npropm vt aux

'But Tafa kept the shotgun.'

57 *Abawahemete* *awine* *faro*  
 ahaba -waha -hemete awine faaro  
 end change FP.N+F seem+F that+F  
 vi sec dem

'It wore out.'

58 *Faya* , *me* *tokomakebisa* *me* , *Haimoto Masato*  
 faya me to- ka -makI -bisa+F me Haimoto Masato  
 so 3PL.S away go/come following also 3PL.S Raimundo Machado  
 conj pron vi pron npropm

*kakehino* *Haimoto Masato* *kakehino* *Yako*  
 ka -kI -hino Haimoto Masato ka -kI -hino Yako  
 go/come coming IP.N+M Raimundo Machado go/come coming IP.N+M Jacó  
 vi npropm vi npropm

*ati* *enemona* , *Towisawa* *itiki* *Towisawa*  
 ati ehene -mona Towisawa iti -kI+M Towisawa  
 voice because of+M REP+M (man's name) take out coming (man's name)  
 pn pn npropm vt npropm

*towakamemari* *amake* *ahi* *Towisawa*  
 to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+M -himari ama -ke ahi Towisawa  
 away COMIT go/come back FP.E+M be DECL+F then (man's name)  
 vt vc dem npropm

*fawa* *tebana*  
 fawa na -tee -hibana  
 disappear AUX HAB FUT+M  
 vi aux

'They went there. Raimundo Machado came because Jacó sent him, and he got Towisawa and took him back. Towisawa disappeared.'

59 *Wabao* *bati* *famemari* *ama*  
 Wabao bati fama -himari ama  
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.father be with FP.E+M SEC  
 npropm nm vi sec

'Wabao went with his father.'

60 *Yatiti* *Efe* *me* *namaroke*  
 Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST me na -hamaro -ke  
 (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 npropm npropm pron aux

'Yatiti and Efe went, too.'

61 *Me* *tokoma* *me* *fawafawa* *toa* *me*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me fawa- fawa to- ha+F me  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S DUP disappear CH AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

*tokisamemete* *amake* *fa fowe* *ya* , *fa fowe*  
 to- ka -risa -ma -hemete ama -ke faha fowe ya faha fowe  
 away go/come down back FP.N+F SEC DECL+F flood ADJU flood  
 vi sec nf prt nf

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*webote ya*  
webote ya  
big ADJU  
adj prt

'They went, and disappeared. They went downstream in the floodwaters, the high floodwaters.'

62 *Me tokisama me , Towisawa , abebona*  
me to- ka -risa -ma+F me , Towisawa , ahaba -hibona  
3PL.S away go/come down back 3PL.S (man's name) die INT+M  
pron vi pron npropm vi

*me , Haimoto Masato itikimataka*  
me , Haimoto Masato iti -kI -himata -ka  
3PL Raimundo Machado pick up coming FP.N+M DECL+M  
pron npropm vt

'They went downstream. Raimundo Machado had gotten Towisawa so he would die.'

63 *Faya Towisawa ka , Towisawa ka kasabone , Yako*  
faya Towisawa ka , Towisawa ka kasasa -bone , Yako  
so (man's name) POSS (man's name) POSS cachaça INT+F Jacó  
conj npropm prt npropm prt nf npropm

*hikanika makari yama tamemetemoneni*  
hi- ka- nika.LIST makari.LIST yama tama -hemete -mone -ni  
OC COMIT buy clothes thing be many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
vt nf nf vi

*Towisawa ka yama hekamabonehe*  
Towisawa ka yama hi- ka- ka -ma -habone -he ,  
(man's name) POSS thing OC COMIT go/come back INT+F DUP  
npropm prt nf vt

*Towisawa fawa nebanoho*  
Towisawa fawa na -hiba -no -ho  
(man's name) disappear AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
npropm vi aux

'Jacó bought cachaça for Towisawa, and clothes, and many other things, for Towisawa to bring back. But Towisawa disappeared.'

64 *Towisawa wine amo ne yama soki ya yama*  
Towisawa wina+M amo na+M yama soki.NOM ya yama  
(man's name) lie in hammock sleep AUX thing be dark ADJU thing  
npropm vi vi aux nf vi prt nf

*we kamaki ya yara kise , Towisawa*  
wehe ka -makI.NOM ya yara ka -risa+M , Towisawa  
light+F go/come following ADJU Brazilian go/come down (man's name)  
pn vi prt npropm vi npropm

*borone wara tokanematamonaka*  
borone wara to- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
container+M grab CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pn vt aux

'Towisawa lay in his hammock and slept at night. When morning came, the Brazilian got out of his hammock, and grabbed Towisawa's empty hammock.'

65 *Towisawa , Towisawa*  
Towisawa , Towisawa  
(man's name) (man's name)  
npropm npropm

""Towisawa, Towisawa.""

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66 *Towisawa borone* , *Towisawa fawa ka* ,  
 Towisawa borone , Towisawa fawa na -ka ,  
 (man's name) container+M (man's name) disappear AUX DECL+M  
 npropm pn npropm vi aux  
*Towisawa tokehinoho* , *kamaterebana*  
 Towisawa to- ka -hino -ho , ka -ma -tee -ra -hibana  
 (man's name) away go/come IP.N+M DUP go/come back HAB NEG FUT+M  
 npropm vi vi

'"Towisawa has disappeared." Towisawa had left, and he didn't come back.'

67 *Faya Wabao me sasawi toemete me*  
 faya Wabao me sa- sawi to- ha -hemete me  
 so (man's name) 3PL.S DUP be present CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S  
 conj npropm pron vi aux pron

*kamakiwamaro me amake fahi*  
 ka -maki -waha -hamaro me ama -ke fahi  
 go/come following change FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then  
 vi pron sec dem

'Wabao and the others, who were there, came back then.'

68 *Efe Yaiti* , *Efe ya* , *Efe me*  
 Efe Yaiti , Efe ya Efe me  
 (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) ADJU (man's name) 3PL.S  
 npropm npropm npropm prt npropm pron

*fama mera Tomiko Nasara me*  
 fama+F mera Tomiko Nasara me  
 be two 3PL.O Domingos Rosário 3PL.O  
 vi pron npropm pron

*hekamabisemetemone me ama fa*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -bisa -hemete -mone me ama faa  
 OC away COMIT go/come back also FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O SEC that  
 vt pron sec dem

'Domingos Rosário took Efe and Yaiti away.'

69 *Wabao ohari sasawi toabisamatamona*  
 Wabao ohari+M sa- sawi to- ha -bisa.NOM+M -mata -mona  
 (man's name) be alone DUP be present CH AUX also FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropm vi vi aux

*amake ahi Sita famahi*  
 ama -ke ahi Sita fama+M  
 be DECL+F then (man's name) be with  
 vc dem npropm vi

'Wabao stayed by himself with Sita.'

70 *Faya Efe me kakama* , *Towisawa me*  
 faya Efe me ka- ka -ma+F , Towisawa me  
 so (man's name) 3PL.S COMIT go/come back (man's name) 3PL.S  
 conj npropm pron vi npropm pron

*siba na me* , *Towisawa ka kasasabone*  
 siba na+F me , Towisawa ka kasasa -bone  
 look for AUX 3PL.S (man's name) POSS cachaça INT+F  
 vt aux pron npropm prt nf

*okanika kawabasara fahi*  
 o- ka- nika+F ka- waa -basa -hara fahi  
 1SG.S COMIT buy COMIT stand edge IP.E+F there  
 vt vi dem

'Efe and his companion came back. They looked for Towisawa. "The bottles of cachaça that I bought are there

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on the ground."

71 *Towisawa fawa nahare*  
 Towisawa fawa na -hare  
 (man's name) disappear AUX IP.E+M  
 npropm vi aux

"Towisawa has disappeared."

72 *Towisawa tamine omitamatibe*  
 Towisawa tamine o- mita -mata -be  
 (man's name) news about 1SG.S hear short time IMMED+F  
 npropm pn vt

"I will hear the news about Towisawa."

73 *Yako tokisawiti yara fana*  
 Yako to- ka -risa -witI+M yara fana  
 Jacó away go/come down out Brazilian female  
 npropm vi npropm nf

*hiyarematamona yara fana era wawato*  
 hiyara -himata -mona yara fana era wa- wato  
 speak to FP.N+M REP+M Brazilian female 1IN.O DUP know  
 vt npropm nf pron pn

'Jacó went downstream, and spoke to a Brazilian woman, a Brazilian woman who knew about people.'

74 *Komati Towisawa fawa ne yama*  
 komati Towisawa fawa na.NOM+M yama  
 comadre (man's name) disappear AUX thing  
 nf npropm vi aux nf

"Comadre, Towisawa has disappeared."

75 *Towisawa kaboko fawa nahare*  
 Towisawa kaboko fawa na -hare  
 (man's name) Indian disappear AUX IP.E+M  
 npropm npropm vi aux

"The Indian Towisawa has disappeared."

76 *Towisawa abare awane*  
 Towisawa ahaba -ra+M awa -ne  
 (man's name) die NEG seem+M BKG+M  
 npropm vi sec

"I don't think Towisawa has died."

77 *Towisawa toe awa yama ya ati nemetemonehe*  
 Towisawa to- ha+M awa yama ya ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 (man's name) CH be seem+M forest ADJU say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 npropm vc sec nf prt vt aux

"Towisawa must be in the forest," she said.'

78 *Towisawa tabiyo yama me siba na me yama*  
 Towisawa tabiyo yama me siba na+F me yama  
 (man's name) absence thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S thing  
 npropm pn nf pron vt aux pron nf

*me tao na me moni saiemetemone yama me*  
 me tao na+F me moni sai -hemete -mone yama me  
 3PL.S shoot AUX 3PL.POSS sound be heard FP.N+F REP+F thing 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron pn vi nf pron

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**hori**                      **naware**                      **mati**  
 hori                      na -wahaŋI                      mati  
 play by blowing                      AUX all over                      3PL.S  
 vt                      aux                      pron

'They looked for Towisawa. The sound of them could be heard as they shot off guns and played a noisemaker.'

79 **Yama**    **me**                      **hori**                      **na**                      **me**                      **ka**                      **yama**                      **ati**  
 yama    me                      hori                      na+F    me                      ka                      yama                      ati  
 thing    3PL.S                      play by blowing                      AUX                      3PL                      POSS                      thing                      voice  
 nf                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron prt                      nf                      pn

**kamitematamona**                      **aati**                      **toemarine**  
 ka-    mita -himata -mona    a-    ati    to- ha -himari -ne  
 COMIT hear FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP say    CH    AUX FP.E+M    BKG+M  
 vt                      vt                      aux

'As they played the noisemaker, he heard their sound, he used to say.'

80 **Faya**    **yara**                      **fa**                      **ki**                      **nebona**                      **towakamaki**  
 faya    yara                      faha    kii                      na -hibona                      to- ka-    ka                      -makI+M  
 so                      Brazilian                      water    look at                      AUX INT+M                      away COMIT go/come following  
 conj                      npropm                      nf                      vt                      aux                      vi

, **hiwasimakino**                      , **towakamematamona**  
 hi- to- wasi -makI                      -hino                      to- ka-    ka                      -ma -himata -mona  
 OC away find following IP.N+M                      away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vt                      vt

'A Brazilian went fishing in a canoe, and he came upon him without recognizing him. He went away.'

81 **Towisawano**                      **oware**                      **ahi**  
 Towisawa                      -no                      o-    awa -hare                      ahi  
 (man's name) IP.N+M                      1SG.S see IP.E+M                      there  
 npropm                      vt                      dem

'I saw Towisawa but didn't recognize him.'

82 **Kaboko**    **towakare**                      **ahi**  
 kaboko    to- ka-    ka                      -hare                      ahi  
 Indian away COMIT go/come IP.E+M                      there  
 npropm    vi                      dem

'The Indian went there in a canoe.'

83 **Towakamare**                      **ahi**  
 to- ka-    ka                      -ma -hare                      ahi  
 away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M                      there  
 vi                      dem

'He went there.'

84 **Faya**    **Towisawa**                      **kame**                      , **kamahi**                      , **kamahi**  
 faya    Towisawa                      ka                      -ma+M                      ,    ka                      -ma+M                      ,    ka                      -ma+M  
 so                      (man's name)                      go/come back                      go/come back                      go/come back  
 conj                      npropm                      vi                      vi                      vi

**kama**                      **namahite**                      , **kanawa**    **ya**  
 ka                      -ma    na -ma -hitI                      ,    kanawa    ya  
 go/come back                      AUX back along the way                      canoe    ADJU  
 vi                      aux                      nf                      prt

**kakamamate**                      **kanawa**    **koro**                      **tosematamona**  
 ka-    ka                      -ma -mata+M                      kanawa    koro    to- na -kosa -himata -mona  
 COMIT go/come back short time                      canoe    throw    CH    AUX middle FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vi                      nf                      vt                      aux

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**aati toemarine**  
a- ati to- ha -himari -ne  
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
vt aux

'Towisawa came. He came along in the canoe. He left the canoe behind, he used to say.'

85 **Kanawa koro tose , me hawi ya**  
kanawa koro to- na -kosa+M , me hawi ya  
canoe throw CH AUX middle 3PL.POSS trail+F ADJU  
nf vt aux pron pn prt

**tokomake hawi wasi hawi ya tokomake**  
to- ka -makI hawi wasi+M hawi ya to- ka -makI  
away go/come following trail find trail ADJU away go/come following  
vi nf vt nf prt vi

**mera towasimakiramako wete**  
mera to- wasi -makI -ra -mako wete  
3PL.O away find following NEG for this reason+M return  
pron vt vi

**namatasematamona , hiyari aati toemarine**  
na -ma -tasa -himata -mona , hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha -himari -ne  
AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
aux vi vt aux

'He left the canoe behind. He went on some people's trail. He found the trail and went on the trail. He didn't find anyone, so he came back, he used to say.'

86 **Faya kame , kame kariwame fa fowe**  
faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M ka- na -riwaha -ma+M faha fowe  
so go/come back go/come back COMIT AUX across back flood  
conj vi vi aux nf

**bari hikane , yo kariwame kakame**  
bari hi- ka- na+M , yoo ka- na -riwaha -ma+M ka- ka -ma+M  
impede OC COMIT AUX wade COMIT AUX across back COMIT go/come back  
vt aux vi aux vi

**faya kama , namahite , farina tatama**  
faya ka -ma na -ma -hitI , farina ta- tama  
so go/come back AUX back along the way manioc meal DUP hold onto  
conj vi aux aux nf vt

**re hiwa kakatoma toemata ino amaka**  
na -ra+M hiwa ka- katoma to- ha -himata ino ama -ka  
AUX NEG 3SG.REFL.M COMIT look at CH AUX FP.N+M name+M be DECL+M  
aux pron vt aux pn vc

'He came. He crossed over a stream. The flooding was in his way. He waded across the water. He swam. He came along. He didn't have any manioc meal, but he took care of himself.'

87 **Farina , farina farina abemetemoneke fahi**  
farina , farina farina ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
manioc meal manioc meal manioc meal end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
nf nf nf vi dem

'The manioc meal was all gone.'

88 **Rifi tama na toemarine**  
rifi tama na to- ha -himari -ne  
rifle hold onto AUX CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
nf vt aux aux

'He had a rifle, too.'

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89 *Faya kame* , *kama* *namahite*  
 faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma na -ma -hitI  
 so go/come back go/come back AUX back along the way  
 conj vi vi aux

*kabasawamahi* , *kabasawame* , *hawi*  
 ka -basa -waha -ma+M , ka -basa -waha -ma+M , hawi  
 go/come edge change back go/come edge change back trail  
 vi vi nf

*sisiba* *toaramaro* *amakene*  
 si- siba to- ha -ra -hamaro ama -ke -ne  
 DUP look for CH AUX NEG FP.E+F SEC DECL+F IRR+F  
 vt aux sec

'He came. He came along. He came along the edge of the water. He knew of a trail, and he was looking for it.'

90 *Hawi bote owaba* *awine*  
 hawi bote o- awa -haba awine  
 trail old 1SG.S see FUT+F seem+F  
 nf adj vt sec

"I will look for an old trail."

91 *Kamahi* *yama* *torotoro* *ra* *Towisawa*  
 ka -ma+M yama toro- toro na -ra+F Towisawa  
 go/come back thing DUP be short AUX NEG (man's name)  
 vi nf vi aux npropm

*kakarima* *toemata*  
 ka- karima to- ha -himata  
 DUP suffer from CH AUX FP.N+M  
 vt aux

'He came. Towisawa suffered through the way, which was long.'

92 *Faya kakayome* *awa baka ne awa karabe*  
 faya ka- kayoma+M awa baka na+M awa ka- raba+M  
 so COMMIT darken tree break AUX tree COMMIT lash together  
 conj vi nf vt aux nf vt

*itari* , *amo* *ni* *forematamona* *aati*  
 ita -rI+M amo na.NFIN forI -himata -mona a- ati  
 sit raised surface sleep AUX lie on top FP.N+M REP+M DUP say  
 vi vi aux vi vt

*toemari*  
 to- ha -himari  
 CH AUX FP.E+M  
 aux

'It got dark on him. He broke off some small trees. He lashed the poles together. He sat on them. He lay and slept, he used to say.'

93 *Amo* *ni* *fore* , *yama* *we* *kamaki* *ya*  
 amo na.NFIN forI yama wehe ka -makI.NOM ya  
 sleep AUX lie on top thing light+F go/come following ADJU  
 vi aux vi nf pn vi prt

*yana* *tase* , *yama* *yo* *ni* *nanawaraba*  
 yana na -tasa+M yama yoo na.NFIN na- nawaha -raba  
 start AUX again thing wade AUX DUP take a long time a bit  
 vi aux nf vi aux vi

MANO BAKA

*ra*                    *yoyo*                    *toemata*                    *ino*                    *amane*  
na -ra+F    yo- yoo    to- ha -himata    ino    ama -ne  
AUX NEG    DUP wade    CH AUX FP.N+M    name+M    be BKG+M  
aux            vi                    aux                    pn                    vc

'He lay and slept. When morning came, he started out again. He waded many times, and it was hard.'

94 *Faya kama*                    *namahite*                    , *yama*  
faya ka            -ma    na -ma -hitI                    ,    yama  
so    go/come back    AUX back along the way                    thing  
conj vi                    aux                    nf

*wasimematamona*                    *aati*                    *toemarika*                    *fahi*  
wasi -ma -himata -mona    a-    ati    to- ha -himari -ka    fahi  
find back FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP say    CH AUX FP.E+M    DECL+M    then  
vt                    vt                    aux                    dem

'He came along. Finally he recognized the place, he used to say.'

95 *Yama wasime*                    , *kamawahi*                    , *kame*  
yama wasi -ma+M                    ,    ka            -ma -waha+M                    ,    kame            -ma+M                    ,  
thing find back                    go/come back change                    go/come back  
nf                    vt                    vi                    vi

*kakayomame*                    , *amo*                    *nematamona*                    *aati*  
ka-    kayoma -ma+M                    ,    amo            na -himata -mona    a-    ati  
COMIT darken back                    sleep    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP say  
vi                    vi                    aux                    vt

*toemarine*  
to- ha -himari -ne  
CH AUX FP.E+M    BKG+M  
aux

'He recognized the place. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept, he used to say.'

96 *Amo ne*                    , *kamawe*                    *kawahe*  
amo    na+M                    ,    ka            -ma -waha+M                    ka-    na -waha+M  
sleep    AUX                    go/come back change                    COMIT AUX change  
vi                    aux                    vi                    aux

*kamawe*                    *Haimoto Masato*                    *wini*                    *yaborano*  
ka            -ma -waha+M                    Haimoto Masato                    wina.NFIN                    yabo -ra.NOM+M -no  
go/come back change                    Raimundo Machado                    live                    be far NEG                    IP.N+M  
vi                    npropm                    vi                    vi

*ya*                    , *faya kame*                    , *me*                    *moni*  
ya                    ,    faya ka            -ma+M                    ,    me                    moni  
ADJU                    so    go/come back                    3PL.POSS                    sound  
prt                    conj vi                    pron                    pn

*wasimematamonaka*                    *fahi*  
wasi -ma -himata -mona -ka    fahi  
find back FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M    then  
vt                    dem

'He slept. He came on. It dawned on him, and he came on. When he came near Raimundo Machado's place he heard the sounds of the people.'

97 *Wabao*                    *bati*                    *tao*                    *hikanenamatomona*  
Wabao                    bati                    tao                    hi- ka-    na -hina -mata -mona  
(man's name)    3SG.POSS.father                    shoot    OC COMIT AUX IRR+M FP.N+M REP+M  
npropm                    nm                    vt                    aux

*amaka*                    *yaramona*                    , *yifo*                    *tafa*                    *nari*  
ama -ka                    yara                    -mona                    ,    yifo                    tafa                    na -haari  
SEC DECL+M    Brazilian REP+M                    firewood                    split                    AUX IP.E+M  
sec                    nm                    nf                    vt                    aux



MANO BAKA

'Wabao's father almost shot him as he was splitting firewood. He thought he was a Brazilian.'

98 *Yara amarahare*  
 yara ama -ra -hare  
 Brazilian be NEG IP.E+M  
 npropm vc  
 "'It's not a Brazilian.'"

99 *Yara tao okana*  
 yara tao o- ka- na+F  
 Brazilian shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
 npropm vt aux  
 "'I won't shoot the Brazilian.'"

100 *Okatao me hasi na me awineke ati nematamona*  
 okatao me hasi na+F me awine -ke ati na -himata -mona  
 my son 3PL.S escape AUX 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vi aux pron sec vt aux  
*aati toemarine*  
 a- ati to- ha -himari -ne  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt aux  
 "'My son and the others escaped," he thought, he used to say.'

101 *Me kamakiaba me awineni*  
 me ka -makI -haba me awine -ni  
 3PL.S go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron sec  
 "'I guess they will come back.'"

102 *Me abara me awineke*  
 me ahaba -hara me awine -ke  
 3PL.S die IP.E+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron sec  
 "'I guess they didn't die.'"

103 *Faya kamawa irimao bata ne irimao yome*  
 faya ka -ma -waha.LIST , irimao bata na+M irimao yome  
 so go/come back change lemon pick AUX lemon swallow  
 conj vi nf vt aux nf vt  
*ne irimao one karafa faya kame*  
 na+M irimao one ka- rafa.LIST , faya ka -ma+M ,  
 AUX lemon other+F COMIT wrap so go/come back  
 aux nf adj vt conj vi  
*kakayomame hawi enoki ya amo*  
 ka- kayoma -ma+M hawi eenoki ya amo  
 COMIT darken back trail middle ADJU sleep  
 vi nf pn prt vi  
*nakosamematamonaka fahi*  
 na -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 AUX middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem  
 'He came on. He picked a lemon, and ate the lemon. He wrapped up some other lemons. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept in the middle of the trail.'

MANO BAKA

104 *Amo nakosame* , *kawahe* , *yana*  
 amo na -kosa -ma+M , ka- waha+M , yana  
 sleep AUX middle back COMMIT dawn start  
 vi aux vi vi

*totasematamona aati toemari*  
 to- na -tasa -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari  
 CH AUX again FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M  
 aux vt aux

'He slept on the way. Dawn came on him. He started out again, he used to say.'

105 *Faya kobo namemataka fahi*  
 faya kobo na -ma -himata -ka fahi  
 so arrive AUX back FP.N+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux dem

'Then he finally arrived.'

106 *Ota nahoramaro otake*  
 otaa naho -ra -hamaro otaa -ke  
 1EX.S stay NEG FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 pron vi pron

'We weren't there.'

107 *Fa ota koro namaro otani*  
 faha otaa koro na -hamaro otaa -ni  
 water 1EX.S throw something on AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 nf pron vt aux pron

*Mane Kirino tokomakebisenoho me tabori*  
 Mane Kirino to- ka -makI -bisa -hino -ho , me tabori  
 Manoel Quirino away go/come following also IP.N+M DUP 3PL.POSS place+F  
 npropm vi pron pn

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'We were fishing. Manoel Quirino had also gone to the other village.'

108 *Towisawa kameno Mane Kirino kobo*  
 Towisawa ka -ma -hino Mane Kirino kobo  
 (man's name) go/come back IP.N+M Manoel Quirino meet  
 npropm vi npropm vt

*hinematamona*  
 hi- na -himata -mona  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux

'As Towisawa was coming, Manoel Quirino met up with him.'

109 *Me ota awaramaro me amani*  
 me otaa awa -ra -hamaro me ama -ni  
 3PL.O 1EX.S see NEG FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC BKG+F  
 pron pron vt pron sec

'We didn't see them.'

110 *Fa ota koro na aba me ota*  
 faha otaa koro na+F aba me otaa  
 water 1EX.S throw something on AUX fish 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 nf pron vt aux nm pron pron



MANO BAKA

116 *Sawimare* *ahi*  
 sawi -ma -hare ahi  
 be present back IP.E+M here  
 vi dem

"He is back here."

117 *Faya Mane Kirino kamakimari amaka*  
 faya Mane Kirino ka -makI -himari ama -ka  
 so Manoel Quirino go/come following FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 conj npropm vi sec

'Then Manoel Quirino came.'

118 *Makaoba Towisawa sawime yama ahi*  
 Makaoba Towisawa sawi -ma.NOM+M yama ahi  
 (man's name) (man's name) be present back thing here  
 npropm npropm vi nf dem

"Makaoba, Towisawa is back here."

119 *Towisawa biti me abamonehe yara*  
 Towisawa biti me ahaba -hamone -he yara  
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S die REP+F DUP Brazilian  
 npropm nm pron vi npropm

*me me tao hinamonehe ati nahare*  
 me me tao hi- na -hamone -he ati na -hare  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX REP+F DUP say AUX IP.E+M  
 pron pron vt aux vt aux

*Mane Kirino ati nemari amake*  
 Mane Kirino ati na.NOM+M -mari ama -ke  
 Manoel Quirino say AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F  
 npropm vt aux vc

"Towisawa said that his son and the others died, that the Brazilians shot them," Manoel Quirino said.'

120 *Faya Noko Mora yawemari amane*  
 faya Noko Mora yawa -himari ama -ne  
 so (man's name) be upset FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 conj npropm vi sec

'Then Noko Mora was upset.'

121 *Bai tokemari amaka*  
 bahi to- ka -himari ama -ka  
 sun away go/come FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm vi sec

'The sun set.'

122 *Faya ota yana tonamaro otani*  
 faya otaa yana to- na -hamaro otaa -ni  
 so 1EX.S start CH AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 conj pron vi aux pron

'Then we were ready.'

123 *Mane ka aba mebone me ota ta na Makaoba*  
 Mane ka aba me -bone me otaa taa na+F Makaoba  
 Manoel POSS fish 3PL INT+F 3PL.O 1EX.S give AUX (man's name)  
 npropm prt nm pron pron pron vt aux npropm

MANO BAKA

**te tokomariya mata**  
 tee to- ka -ma -ra -yahi mata  
 2PL.S away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F for now  
 pron vi prt  
 'We gave fish to Manoel. "Makaoba, don't go home yet."

124 **Te tokomariya**  
 tee to- ka -ma -ra -yahi  
 2PL.S away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vi  
 "'Don't go."

125 **Te ka , katosoba okanikamatabana**  
 tee ka , katoso -ba o- ka- nika -mata -habana  
 2PL POSS shotgun shell FUT 1SG.S COMIT buy short time FUT+F  
 pron prt nf vt

**o**  
 o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt  
 "'I'm going to buy some shotgun shells for you."

126 **Kariyo me te towamibe ati nemari**  
 kario me tee to- awa -ma -be ati na -himari  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 2PL.S away see back IMMED+F say AUX FP.E+M  
 npropm pron pron vt vt aux  
 "'Go see the Brazilians," he said.'

127 **Me abara me awineke**  
 me ahaba -ra+F me awine -ke  
 3PL.S die NEG 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron sec  
 "'I don't think they have died."

128 **Me sawiha me awineke , Towisawa oi ni**  
 me sawi+F me awine -ke Towisawa ohi na.NFIN  
 3PL.S be present 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F (man's name) cry AUX  
 pron vi pron sec npropm vi aux

**kamenoho**  
 ka -ma -hino -ho  
 go/come back IP.N+M DUP  
 vi  
 "'I think they are alive. Towisawa came back crying."

129 **Koromi me winara fahi**  
 koromi me wina -hara fahi  
 Indian 3PL.S live IP.E+F there  
 npropm pron vi dem  
 "'The Indians are alive."

130 **Okomake okomara oke**  
 o- to- ka -makI o- ka -ma -hara o- ke  
 1SG.S away go/come following 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi vi prt

MANO BAKA

**ati nemari amaka**  
 ati na -himari ama -ka  
 say AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 vt aux sec

'I went there, and I have come back,' he said.'

131 **Faya ota kama ota kobo nama me ohi**  
 faya otaa ka -ma+F otaa kobo na -ma+F , me ohi  
 so 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S cry  
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron vi  
**nani me ohi ni ota wasima faya Noko Mora**  
 na -hani me ohi na.NFIN otaa wasi -ma+F , faya Noko Mora  
 AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S cry AUX 1EX.S find back so (man's name)  
 aux pron vi aux pron vt conj npropm  
**yawemata awaka fahi**  
 yawa -himata awa -ka fahi  
 be upset FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then  
 vi sec dem

'We came back, and arrived back. They had been crying, and we came upon them crying. Noko Mora was upset.'

132 **Yama yoyofina toamaro amake me fawa**  
 yama yo- yofina to- ha -hamaro ama -ke me fawa  
 thing DUP cause fear CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.S disappear  
 nf vi aux sec pron vi  
**namakia me ihi**  
 na -makI+F me ihi  
 AUX following 3PL.POSS because of+F  
 aux pron post

'It was scary, because of the ones who had disappeared.'

133 **Ota nanaho toharamaro ota amake fa ota**  
 otaa na- naho to- ha -ra -hamaro otaa ama -ke faha otaa  
 1EX.S DUP stay CH AUX NEG FP.E+F 1EX.S SEC DECL+F water 1EX.S  
 pron vi aux pron sec nf pron  
**koro na ota**  
 koro na+F otaa  
 throw something on AUX 1EX.S  
 vt aux pron

'We didn't stay in the village, we went fishing every day.'

134 **Faya ota bosa katasa ota bosa**  
 faya otaa bosa ka- na -tasa+F , otaa bosa  
 so 1EX.S get up early COMIT AUX again 1EX.S get up early  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi  
**tasa fa ota koro nabone ota**  
 na -tasa+F faha otaa , koro na -habone otaa  
 AUX again water 1EX.S throw something on AUX INT+F 1EX.S  
 aux nf pron vt aux pron  
**tokatasimaro me kamakiani me**  
 to- ka -tasa.NOM+F -maro , me ka -makI -hani me  
 away go/come again FP.E+F 3PL.S go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 vi pron vi pron  
**ota wasimabani ota kasasa me**  
 otaa wasi -ma -haba -ni otaa kasasa me  
 1EX.S find back FUT+F IP.N+F 1EX.S cachaça 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron nf pron

MANO BAKA

**kakamakeni**

ka- ka -makI -hani mati  
COMIT go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S  
vt pron

'We got up early. We went out to fish again. On the way back, we came upon them coming back, bringing cachaça.'

135 **Haimoto Masato** **ka** **taokana** **bote** **Wabao** **boti**  
Haimoto Masato ka taokana bote Wabao boti.LIST  
Raimundo Machado POSS shotgun old (man's name) steal  
npropm prt nf adj npropm vt

**nemata** **amaka**  
na -himata ama -ka  
AUX FP.N+M SEC DECL+M  
aux sec

'Wabao had stolen Raimundo Machado's old shotgun.'

136 **Wabao** **yama** **botimata** **amane** **Haimoto Masato** **ka**  
Wabao yama boti -himata ama -ne Haimoto Masato ka  
(man's name) thing steal FP.N+M SEC BKG+M Raimundo Machado POSS  
npropm nf vt sec npropm prt

**yama**  
yama  
thing  
nf

'Wabao had stolen, he had stolen from Raimundo Machado.'

137 **Yama** **me** **kakamakemete** **me** **amani**  
yama me ka- ka -makI -mete me ama -ni  
thing 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
nf pron vt pron sec

'They were bringing the things.'

138 **Faya** , **ota** **kama** , **ota** **kama** **me** **ota**  
faya , otaa ka -ma+F , otaa ka -ma+F me otaa  
so 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S go/come back 3PL.O 1EX.S  
conj pron vi pron vi pron pron

**wasimamaro** **me** **amake**  
wasi -ma -hamaro me ama -ke  
find back FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F  
vt pron sec

'We came back, and we came upon them.'

139 **Me** **ati** **saihamaro** **ahi**  
me ati sai -hamaro ahi  
3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.E+F then  
pron pn vi dem

'Their voices could be heard.'

140 **Me** **ati** **ota** **kamitama** **ota** **naomamaro**  
me ati otaa ka- mita -ma+F otaa naho -ma -hamaro  
3PL.POSS voice 1EX.S COMIT hear back 1EX.S stand back FP.E+F  
pron pn pron vt pron vi

**otani**  
otaa -ni  
1EX.S BKG+F  
pron

MANO BAKA

'We heard their voices as we came back, and we stood there.'

141 *Me kamakia me awineke*  
 me ka -makI+F me awine -ke  
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"They are coming."

142 *Kasasa me fawani me ati ama Kara Maka ati*  
 kasasa me fawa -hani me ati ama Kara Maka ati  
 cachaça 3PL.S drink IP.N+F 3PL.POSS voice be (man's name) say  
 nf pron vt pron pn vc npropm vt

*nemari amane*  
 na -himari ama -ne  
 AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 aux sec

"It's the voices of people who have drunk cachaça," Kara Maka said.'

143 *Kasasa me fawa me awineke*  
 kasasa me fawa+F me awine -ke  
 cachaça 3PL.S drink 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 nf pron vi pron sec

"They have been drinking cachaça."

144 *Me e awibeya*  
 me ee awa -be -ya  
 3PL.O 1IN.S see IMMED+F now  
 pron pron vt

"Let's see them."

145 *Ota yana tonamaro ota ahi*  
 otaa yana to- na -hamaro otaa ahi  
 1EX.S start CH AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S then  
 pron vi aux pron dem

'We were ready.'

146 *Ota kamamaro otake ahi*  
 otaa ka -ma -hamaro otaa -ke ahi  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F then  
 pron vi pron dem

'We came back.'

147 *Yobe wahi toro ya me wiwina tohamaroke*  
 yobe wahi toro ya me wi- wina to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 longhouse inside+M ADJU 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 nm pn prt pron vi aux

'They were living in longhouses.'

148 *Me kamakiani me me hinafawani*  
 me ka -makI -hani me me hi- na- fawa -hani  
 3PL.S go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS drink IP.N+F  
 pron vi pron pron vt  
*me ati saihani me ati ota kamitama*  
 me ati sai -hani me ati otaa ka- mita -ma+F  
 3PL.POSS voice be heard IP.N+F 3PL.POSS voice 1EX.S COMMIT hear back  
 pron pn vi pron pn pron vt



MANO BAKA

<b>Noko Mora</b>	<b>Noko Mora</b>	<b>kasasa</b>	<b>fawemata</b>	<b>amaka</b>
Noko Mora	Noko Mora	kasasa	fawa -himata	ama -ka
(man's name)	(man's name)	cachaça	drink FP.N+M	SEC DECL+M
npropm	npropm	nf	vt	sec

'They had come and had given cachaça to the others, and we heard their voices as we came back. Noko Mora had drunk cachaça.'

149	<b>Kasasa</b>	<b>ofaramaro</b>		<b>oke</b>		<b>ha</b>	<b>owa</b>
	kasasa	o- fawa -ra -hamaro		o- ke		haa	owa
	cachaça	1SG.S drink NEG FP.E+F		1SG.S DECL+F		DEM	1SG
	nf	vt		prt		dem	pron

'I didn't drink any cachaça.'

150	<b>Kasasa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>fawamaro</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>
	kasasa	me	fawa -hamaro	me	ama -ke
	cachaça	3PL.S	drink FP.E+F	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F
	nf	pron	vt	pron	sec

'The others drank cachaça.'

151	<b>Aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>sa</b>		<b>ona</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>okomi</b>
	aba	me	saa		o- na+F	me	o-	ka ami
	fish	3PL.O	shoot with arrow		1SG.S AUX	3PL.O	1SG.POSS	POSS mother
	nm	pron	vt		aux	pron	nf	

<b>bobi</b>	<b>namaro</b>	<b>amani</b>
bobi	na -hamaro	ama -ni
slit	AUX FP.E+F	SEC BKG+F
vt	aux	sec

'My mother gutted the fish that I had speared.'

152	<b>Aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bobi</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	aba	me	me	bobi	na+F	me	aba	me	me
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	slit	AUX	3PL.S	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	nm	pron	pron

<b>ware</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>Noko Yawawa</b>	<b>hano</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>haha</b>
waa -rI		me	Noko Yawawa	hano+M	me	haahaa
stand raised surface		3PL.S	(man's name)	be drunk	3PL.S	laugh
vi		pron	npropm	vi	pron	vi

<b>kimaro</b>		<b>amake</b>	<b>fahi</b>
ka- na.NOM+F	-maro	ama -ke	fahi
COMIT AUX	FP.E+F	be DECL+F	then
aux		vc	dem

'They gutted the fish, and they cooked the fish. They were laughing at Noko Yawawa, who was drunk.'

153	<b>Noko Yawawa</b>	<b>hano</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>haha</b>	<b>hikane</b>		<b>hano</b>	<b>me</b>
	Noko Yawawa	hano+M	me	haahaa	hi- ka- na+M		hano+M	me
	(man's name)	be drunk	3PL.S	laugh	OC COMIT AUX		be drunk	3PL.S
	npropm	vi	pron	vi	aux		vi	pron

<b>tama</b>	<b>hikane</b>		<b>Te</b>	<b>kose</b>
tama	hi- ka- na+M		tee	kose
hold onto	OC COMIT AUX		2PL.O	bite many times
vt	aux		pron	vt

<b>oriyahi</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>
o- na -ra -yahi		ati	na -himari
1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F		say	AUX FP.E+M
aux		vt	aux

'They were laughing at Noko Yawawa, who was drunk. They were holding him up as he was drunk. "I will bite you," he said.'

MANO BAKA

154 *Faya me kakayoma me , me tafamaroke fahi*  
 faya me ka- kayoma+F me , me tafa -hamaro -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S COMIT darken 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FP.E+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi pron pron vi dem

'It got dark on them, and they ate.'

155 *Aba me me kabamaro*  
 aba me me kaba -hamaro  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.E+F  
 nm pron pron vt

'They ate fish.'

156 *Aba me me kabamaro kasasa kome*  
 aba me me kaba -hamaro kasasa kome  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.E+F cachaça pain+F  
 nm pron pron vt nf pn

'They ate fish while drunk.'

157 *Aba me kaba me , aba me okobi*  
 aba me kaba+F me , aba me o- ka abi  
 fish 3PL.S eat 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm pron vt pron nm pron nm

*kababisehari amane*  
 kaba -bisa -himari ama -ne  
 eat also FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 vt sec

'They ate fish. My father also ate fish.'

158 *Okobi kasasa fawabisehari amaka me ka*  
 o- ka abi kasasa fawa -bisa -himata ama -ka me ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS father cachaça drink also FP.N+M SEC DECL+M 3PL POSS  
 nm nf vt sec pron prt

*kasasa isi ni*  
 kasasa isi ni  
 cachaça little bit  
 nf pn

'My father also drank some of their cachaça.'

159 *Sakobi me hinafawareno mera afo*  
 Sakobi me hi- na- fawa -ra -hino mera afo  
 (man's name) 3PL.S OC CAUS drink NEG IP.N+M 3PL.O blow snuff into  
 npropm pron vt pron vt

*nemari amaka hari*  
 na -himari ama -ka haari  
 AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M that one+M  
 aux sec dem

'They didn't give any cachaça to Sakobi, and he blew snuff into their nostrils.'

160 *Sakobi ati kamitaremata amane*  
 Sakobi ati ka- mita -ra -himata ama -ne  
 (man's name) say COMIT hear NEG FP.N+M SEC BKG+M  
 npropm vt vt sec

'Sakobi was ready.'

MANO BAKA

- 161 *Sakobi*                      *Sakobi*                      *ati*                      *yana*                      *tonemari*  
 Sakobi                      Sakobi                      ati                      yana                      to- na -himari  
 (man's name)              (man's name)              voice              start              CH AUX FP.E+M  
 npropm                      npropm                      pn                      vi                      aux  
 'Sakobi spoke.'
- 162 *Boniwa*                      ,                      *Boniwa*  
 Boniwa                      ,                      Boniwa  
 (man's name)              (man's name)  
 npropm                      npropm  
 "'Boniwa, Boniwa.'"
- 163 *Haa*                      ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 "'Huh?'"
- 164 *Te*                      *afo*    *obe*  
 tee                      afo    o-                      na                      -be  
 2PL.O                      blow snuff into              1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron                      vt    aux  
 "'I'm going to blow snuff in you.'"
- 165 *Te*                      *kama*  
 tee                      ka                      -ma  
 2PL.S                      go/come back  
 pron                      vi  
 "'Come here.'"
- 166 *Yaiti*                                      *te*                      *kamahi*  
 Yaiti                                      tee                      ka                      -ma                      -hi  
 (man's name)              2PL.S                      go/come back              IMP+F  
 npropm                      pron                      vi  
 "'Yaiti, you come here.'"
- 167 *Te*                      *afo*    *obe*    ,                      *te*                                      *ene*                                      *oi*  
 tee                      afo    o-                      na                      -be                      ,                      tee                      ehene                      ohi  
 2PL.O                      blow snuff into              1SG.S AUX IMMED+F                      2PL.POSS                      result of                      cry  
 pron                      vt    aux    pron                      pn                                      vi  
*nofa*                                      *te*                                      *ati*                      *nemari*  
 na                      nofa+F                      tee                                      ati                      na                      -himari  
 AUX recently              2PL.POSS                      say                      AUX FP.E+M  
 aux                                      pron                      vt                      aux  
 "'I am going to blow snuff in you, because your mothers cried because of you," he said.'
- 168 *Wabaomari*                                      *amane*                                      *Wabao*  
 Wabao                                      -mari                      ama -ne                      Wabao  
 (man's name)              FP.E+M                      be                      BKG+M                      (man's name)  
 npropm                                      vc                                      npropm  
 'It was Wabao.'
- 169 *Himata*                      *me*                      *baro*                      *nineri*                                      *ahi*                      ?  
 himata                      me                      baro                      na -ne                      -ri                      ahi  
 what?                      3PL.S                      beat                      AUX CONT+F                      CQ+F                      there  
 interrog pron                      vt                      aux                                      dem  
 'What are they beating over there?'



MANO BAKA

'We went to Manoel Quirino.'

177 *Ota toka* , *Mane Kirino itemata ama* .  
 otaa to- ka+F , Mane Kirino ita -himata ama  
 1EX.S away go/come Manoel Quirino stay FP.N+M SEC  
 pron vi npropm vi sec

'We went, and Manoel Quirino was home.'

178 *Katoso Mane Kirino kanikeno* , *Mane koromi*  
 katoso Mane Kirino ka- nika -hino , Mane koromi  
 shotgun shell Manoel Quirino COMMIT buy IP.N+M Manoel Indian  
 nf npropm vt npropm npropm

*me abi nofaranike*  
 me ahaba nofa -ra -hani -ke  
 3PL.S die recently NEG IP.N+F DECL+F  
 pron vi prt

'Manoel Quirino had bought shotgun shells. "Manoel, the Indians didn't die."'

179 *Koromi me sawimakehara Noko Mora ati*  
 koromi me sawi -makI -hara Noko Mora ati  
 Indian 3PL.S be present following IP.E+F (man's name) say  
 npropm pron vi npropm vt

*nemari*  
 na -himari  
 AUX FP.E+M  
 aux

""The Indians came and are there," Noko Mora said.'

180 *Owati te kasawariha teke*  
 o- ati tee ka- sawari+F tee -ke  
 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMMIT frustrate 2PL.S DECL+F  
 pn pron vt pron

""You didn't believe me.""

181 *Koromi me abara me awine onofara*  
 koromi me ahaba -ra+F me awine ati o- na nofa -hara  
 Indian 3PL.S die NEG 3PL.S seem+F say 1SG.S AUX recently IP.E+F  
 npropm pron vi pron sec vt

*o*  
 o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt

""I don't think the Indians have died,' I always said.'"

182 *Koromi me abara me awineke*  
 koromi me ahaba -ra+F me awine -ke  
 Indian 3PL.S die NEG 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 npropm pron vi pron sec

*onofara oke*  
 ati o- na nofa -hara o- ke  
 say 1SG.S AUX recently IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vt prt

""I don't think the Indians have died,' I always said.'"

MANO BAKA

183 *Me nafi toha me awine ?*  
 me nafi to- ha+F me awine  
 3PL.POSS all CH be 3PL.POSS seem+F  
 pron pn vc pron sec

"Is it all of them?"

184 *Me nafi toharake*  
 me nafi to- ha -hara -ke  
 3PL.POSS all CH be IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron pn vc

"It is all of them."

185 *Me nafi kamakianihi*  
 me nafi ka -makI -hani -hi  
 3PL.POSS all go/come following IP.N+F DUP  
 pron pn vi

"They all came back."

186 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

"All right."

187 *Yama yofina Mane Kirino kakarima tohabisemata*  
 yama yofina+F Mane Kirino ka- karima to- ha -bisa -himata  
 thing cause fear Manoel Quirino DUP suffer from CH AUX also FP.N+M  
 nf vi npropm vt aux

*amaka me yofinari*  
 ama -ka me yofina -ri  
 SEC DECL+M 3PL.POSS cause fear PN  
 sec pron pn

'Manoel Quirino was afraid of them.'

188 *Faya ota kakama faya fa ota*  
 faya otaa ka- ka -ma+F faya faha otaa  
 so 1EX.S COMIT go/come back so water 1EX.S  
 conj pron vi conj nf pron

*koro nabone ota towaka fa ota*  
 koro na -habone otaa to- ka- ka+F faha otaa  
 throw something on AUX INT+F 1EX.S away COMIT go/come water 1EX.S  
 vt aux pron vi nf pron

*koro towitia aba me ota sa*  
 koro to- na -witI+F aba me otaa saa  
 throw something on away AUX out fish 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow  
 vt aux nm pron pron vt

*na aba me kama mati*  
 na+F aba me ka -ma+F mati  
 AUX fish 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S  
 aux nm pron vi pron

'The two of us came back. We went and fished. We speared fish that were coming back upstream.'

189 *Aba me ota tisa na aba me kama*  
 aba me otaa tisa na+F aba me ka -ma+F  
 fish 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.S go/come back  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron vi

MANO BAKA

<i>me</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>tisa</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>titiwa</i>
me	otaa	tisa		na+F	aba	me	otaa	ti- tiwa
3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot with arrow		AUX	fish	3PL.O	1EX.S	DUP carry
pron	pron	vt		aux	nm	pron	pron	vt

<i>kanikimimaro</i>		<i>ama</i>	<i>ake</i>	<i>ahi</i>
ka- na -kima.NOM+F -maro		ama -ke		ahi
COMIT AUX two		FP.E+F be DECL+F		then
aux		vc		dem

'We speared fish. We speared fish that were coming back upstream. We carried the fish on lines on our shoulders.'

190 <i>Sakobi</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>tohemari</i>
Sakobi	na- na	to- ha -himari
(man's name)	DUP exist	CH AUX FP.E+M
npropm	vi	aux

'Sakobi was there.'

191 <i>Wao</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>totonihawa</i>		<i>hiemari</i>	<i>ama</i>
Waho	me	to- to- niha- ha -waha		hi- to- ha -himari	ama
(man's name)	3PL.S	DUP CH CAUS be change		OC CH AUX FP.E+M	SEC
npropm	pron	vt		aux	sec

<i>otara afo</i>	<i>nari</i>
otara afo	na -haari
1EX.O blow snuff into	AUX IP.E+M
pron vt	aux

'They started to call him Wao. He used to blow snuff in us.'

192 <i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>kakama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>bobi</i>
aba	me	otaa	ka- ka -ma+F		me	me	bobi
fish	3PL.O	1EX.S	COMIT go/come back		3PL.O	3PL.S	slit
nm	pron	pron	vt		pron	pron	vt

<i>tasimaro</i>		<i>ama</i>	<i>ake</i>	<i>fa fowe</i>	<i>webote</i>	<i>ya</i>
na -tasa.NOM+F -maro		ama -ke		faha fowe	webote	ya
AUX again		FP.E+F be DECL+F		flood	big	ADJU
aux		vc		nf	adj	prt

'We brought fish, and they gutted them. It was a big flood.'

193 <i>Wakana</i>	<i>noki</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>katoma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>tisa</i>
wakana	noki	aba	me	katoma+F	me	otaa	tisa
crabwood	seed+F	fish	3PL.S	attack	3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot with arrow
nf	pn	nm	pron	vt	pron	pron	vt

<i>nikima</i>	<i>nimaro</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>ake</i>	<i>ahi</i>
na -kima.LIST	na.NOM+F -maro	ama -ke		ahi
AUX spread out	AUX FP.E+F	be DECL+F		then
aux	aux	vc		dem

'The fish were eating crabwood seeds, and we were spearing them all over.'

194 <i>Ota</i>	<i>yoro</i>	<i>narikima</i>		<i>rama</i>	<i>fara</i>	<i>wakana</i>	<i>noki</i>
otaa	yoro	na -ri -kima+F		rama	fara	wakana	noki
1EX.S	stand	AUX DISTR two		unusual	same+F	crabwood	seed+F
pron	vi	aux		prt	dem	nf	pn

<i>kakaboki</i>	<i>ya</i>
ka- ka- boka.NOM+F	ya
DUP COMIT enter water	ADJU
vi	prt

'The two of us were standing wherever there were crabwood seeds falling in the water.'

MANO BAKA

195	<i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>kama</i>		
	aba	me	otaa	saa	na+F	otaa	ka	-ma+F	
	fish	3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot with arrow	AUX	1EX.S	go/come back		
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi		
	<i>ota</i>	<i>kamawa</i>			<i>Mane Kirino</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>mebone</i>	<i>me</i>
	otaa	ka	-ma	-waha+F	Mane Kirino	ka	aba	me	-bone
	1EX.S	go/come back	change		Manoel Quirino	POSS	fish	3PL	INT+F
	pron	vi			npropm	prt	nm	pron	3PL.O
	<i>ota</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>nakosama</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>ota</i>	<i>nika</i>	<i>ota</i>	
	otaa	taa	na	-kosa	-ma+F	saha	otaa	nika+F	otaa
	1EX.S	give	AUX	middle	back	salt	1EX.S	buy	1EX.S
	pron	vt	vi			nf	pron	vt	pron
	<i>kamimaro</i>			<i>amake</i>					
	ka	-ma.NOM+F	-maro	ama	-ke				
	go/come back		FP.E+F	be	DECL+F				
	vi			vc					

'We speared fish, and came back. We gave fish to Manoel Quirino on the way back. We bought salt, and came back.'

196	<i>Ota</i>	<i>kama</i>		<i>hiyama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>Kara Maka</i>	
	otaa	ka	-ma+F	hiyama	me	Kara Maka	
	1EX.S	go/come back		white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	(man's name)	
	pron	vi		nm	pron	npropm	
	<i>wasimabano</i>	<i>wasimeno</i>		<i>kamabano</i>		<i>ya</i>	
	wasi	-ma	-hino	ka	-ma.NOM+M	-ba	-no
	find	back	IP.N+M	go/come back	FUT	IP.N+M	ADJU
	vt			vi			prt

'We came back. Kara Maka found some white-lipped peccaries as he came back. He came back.'

197	<i>Tatiwi</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kamemari</i>	<i>amaka</i>			
	Tatiwi	kana	na.NFIN	ka	-ma	-himari	ama	-ka
	(man's name)	run	AUX	go/come back	FP.E+M	SEC	DECL+M	
	npropm	vi	aux	vi		sec		

'Tatiwi came running back.'

198	<i>Tatiwi</i>	<i>kamari</i>		<i>fa</i>	
	Tatiwi	ka	-ma	-haari	faa
	(man's name)	go/come back	look+M	that	
	npropm	vi		dem	

""Tatiwi has come back.""

199	<i>Tatiwi</i>	<i>himata</i>	<i>amari</i>	?
	Tatiwi	himata	ama	-ri
	(man's name)	what?	be	CQ+F
	npropm	interrog	vc	

""Tatiwi, what is it?""

200	<i>Te</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>watarima</i>	<i>na</i>	
	tee	ati	wata	-rima	na
	2PL.POSS	voice	exist	NEG.IMP+F	AUX
	pron	pn	vi		aux

""Don't say anything.""

201	<i>Hiyama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kamaki</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>Tatiwi</i>	<i>ati</i>
	hiyama	me	ka	-makI.NOM	ahi	Tatiwi
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	go/come	following	there	(man's name)
	nm	pron	vi		dem	npropm
						vt



MANO BAKA

**nemari**                      **amake**  
na.NOM+M -mari      ama -ke  
AUX              FP.E+M    be    DECL+F  
aux                              vc

'"There are white-lipped peccaries coming there," Tatiwi said.'

202 **Hiyama**                      **me**              **kamakia**                      **me**              **ma**  
hiyama                      me              ka              -makI+F              me              maa  
white-lipped peccary    3PL.S    go/come    following              3PL.S    stop  
nm                              pron    vi                              pron    vi

**namakiramaro**                      **me**              **ama**  
na -makI              -ra -hamaro    me              ama  
AUX following NEG FP.E+F    3PL.S    SEC  
aux                              pron    sec

'The peccaries came and did not stop.'

203 **Ota**              **nafi**              **kama**                      **rama**              **ahi**  
otaa              nafi              ka              -ma+F              rama              ahi  
1EX.POSS    all              go/come    back              unusual              then  
pron              pn              vi                              prt              dem

'We all came back.'

204 **Hiyama**                      **me**              **hiyama**                      **me**              **ati**  
hiyama                      me              hiyama                      me              ati  
white-lipped peccary    3PL    white-lipped peccary    3PL.POSS    voice  
nm                              pron nm                              pron              pn

**kamakini**  
ka              -makI              -ni  
go/come following BKG+F  
vi

'"The peccaries can be heard as they are coming this way."

205 **Hiyama**                      **Hibaka**              **e**              **tohaba**                      ?  
hiyama                      hibaka              ee              to- ha.NOM+M -ba  
white-lipped peccary    where    1IN.S    CH    be              FUT  
nm                              interrog pron    vc

'"Where should we go?"'

206 **Ota**              **ka**              **aba**              **me**              **ota**              **were**              **tosi**                      ,              **ota**  
otaa              ka              aba              me              otaa              were              to- na              -kosa.NFIN              ,              otaa  
1EX              POSS              fish              3PL.O    1EX.S    throw              CH              AUX              middle                      ,              1EX.S  
pron              prt              nm              pron              pron              vt              aux                              ,              pron

**tokomisimaro**                      **amake**              **ahi**  
to- ka              -misa.NOM+F    -maro              ama -ke              ahi  
away go/come up                      FP.E+F    be    DECL+F              then  
vi    vc    dem

'We threw our fish on the ground, and went up into trees.'

207 **Hiyama**                      **me**              **kamaki**                      ,              **hiyama**  
hiyama                      me              ka              -makI                      ,              hiyama  
white-lipped peccary    3PL.S    go/come    following                      ,              white-lipped peccary  
nm                              pron    vi    nm

**tamabote**                      **me**              **kamakiamaro**                      **me**                      ,              **ati**  
tama              -bote              me              ka              -makI              -hamaro              me                      ,              ati  
be many very              3PL.S    go/come    following              FP.E+F              3PL.POSS              ,              voice  
adj                              pron    vi    pron                      ,              pn

MANO BAKA

*saineti*

sai -ne -tee.NOM  
 be heard CONT+F HAB  
 vi

'Many peccaries came. They live here.'

208 *Ota kawa kanikima namaro ama ahi*  
 otaa ka- waa na -kanikima na -hamaro ama ahi  
 1EX.S COMIT stand AUX scattered AUX FP.E+F SEC then  
 pron vi aux aux sec dem

'We were all in trees.'

209 *Baro bite Sakobi tokomiseno bakaka*  
 baro bite Sakobi to- ka -misa -hino baka -ka  
 tree sp small+F (man's name) away go/come up IP.N+M break DUP  
 nf adj npropm vi vi  
*wahaha kane iso sohi kanisi wine*  
 waha -ha ka- na+M , iso sohi ka- na -risa.NFIN wina+M  
 fall off DUP COMIT AUX leg+M hang down COMIT AUX down hang  
 vi aux pn vi aux vi

*me haha kimaro ama*  
 me haahaa ka- na.NOM+F -maro ama  
 3PL.S laugh COMIT AUX FP.E+F be  
 pron vi aux vc

'Sakobi went up a tree, and the branch he was standing on broke. He was hanging on with his legs free, and the others were laughing at him.'

210 *Bato kawina nemarihine mato ya*  
 Bato ka- wina.LIST na -himari -hi -ne mato ya  
 (man's name) COMIT hang AUX FP.E+M DUP BKG+M vine ADJU  
 npropm vi aux nf prt

'Bato sat on top of a vine, too.'

211 *Faya , hiyama me tokamaro me*  
 faya , hiyama me to- ka -hamaro me  
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.S away go/come FP.E+F 3PL.S  
 conj nm pron vi pron  
*amani me ota katomati mati*  
 ama -ni me otaa ka- katoma+F mati  
 SEC BKG+F 3PL.O 1EX.S COMIT look at 3PL.O  
 sec pron pron vt pron

'The peccaries went as we watched them.'

212 *Me tokifiwawitia me*  
 me to- ka -fI -waha -witI+F me  
 3PL.S away go/come water change out 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

*tokamaroke ahi*  
 to- ka -hamaro -ke ahi  
 away go/come FP.E+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem

'They went to the water and went away.'

213 *Faya ota kisama , hiyama me*  
 faya otaa ka -risa -ma+F , hiyama me  
 so 1EX.S go/come down back white-lipped peccary 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi nm pron

MANO BAKA

**toka**                      **me**                      ,                      **ota**                      **kakosa**                      **ota**                      **kana**                      **ni**  
to- ka+F                      me                      ,                      otaa                      ka-                      kana                      -kosa+F                      otaa                      kana                      na.NFIN  
away go/come                      3PL.O                      1EX.S                      COMIT                      leave                      middle                      1EX.S                      run                      AUX  
vi                      pron                      pron                      vt                      pron                      vi                      aux

**kamimaro**                      **amake**  
ka                      -ma.NOM+F                      -maro                      ama                      -ke  
go/come back                      FP.E+F                      be                      DECL+F  
vi                      vc

'We came down from the trees. The peccaries had gone away, and we left them behind. We came running home.'

214 **Ota**                      **kana**                      **ni**                      **kama**                      ,                      **hiyama**                      **me**  
otaa                      kana                      na.NFIN                      ka                      -ma+F                      ,                      hiyama                      me  
1EX.S                      run                      AUX                      go/come back                      white-lipped peccary                      3PL.O  
pron                      vi                      aux                      vi                      nm                      pron

**ota**                      **bosa**                      **kanabone**                      ,                      **hiyama**                      **me**                      **me**  
otaa                      bosa                      ka-                      na                      -habone                      ,                      hiyama                      me                      me  
1EX.S                      get up early                      COMIT                      AUX                      INT+F                      white-lipped peccary                      3PL.O                      3PL.S  
pron                      vi                      aux                      nm                      pron                      pron

**keyeha**                      **me**                      **hiyama**                      **me**                      **me**                      **keyehamaro**                      **me**  
keyeha+F                      me                      hiyama                      me                      me                      keyeha                      -hamaro                      me  
deceive                      3PL.S                      white-lipped peccary                      3PL.O                      3PL.S                      deceive                      FP.E+F                      3PL.S  
vt                      pron                      nm                      pron                      pron                      vt                      pron

**amake**                      **faro**                      **Noko Wene**                      **mati**  
ama                      -ke                      faaro                      Noko Wene                      mati  
SEC DECL+F                      that+F                      (man's name)                      3PL.S  
sec                      dem                      npropm                      pron

'We came running home. We wanted to get up early because of the peccaries. They joked about the peccaries, Noko Wene and the others.'

215 **Ami**                      ,                      **ami**                      **aba**                      **me**                      **e**                      **kabakaba**                      **kawa**  
ami                      ,                      ami                      aba                      me                      ee                      kaba-                      kaba                      ka-                      na                      -waha  
mother                      mother                      fish                      3PL.O                      1IN.S                      DUP                      eat                      COMIT                      AUX                      change  
nf                      nf                      nm                      pron                      pron                      vt                      aux

**mata**  
mata  
for now  
prt

'''Mother, let's eat *aba* fish for the time being.'''

216 **Aba**                      **me**                      **e**                      **kabamaraba**                      **e**                      **ama**  
aba                      me                      ee                      kaba                      -ma                      -ra                      -haba                      ee                      ama  
fish sp                      3PL.O                      1IN.S                      eat                      back                      NEG                      FUT+F                      1IN.S                      SEC  
nm                      pron                      pron                      result                      pron                      sec

'''We won't eat *aba* fish anymore.'''

217 **Yara**                      **era**                      **me**                      **wati**                      **kana**                      **me**  
yara                      era                      me                      wati                      ka-                      na+F                      me  
Brazilian                      1IN.O                      3PL.S                      plan against                      COMIT                      AUX                      3PL.S  
npropm                      pron                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron

**tokomi**                      **yama**                      **ahi**                      ,                      **Noko Wene**                      **ati**                      **nemari**  
to- ka                      -ma.NOM+F                      yama                      ahi                      ,                      Noko Wene                      ati                      na                      -himari  
away go/come back                      thing                      there                      (man's name)                      say                      AUX                      FP.E+M  
vi                      nf                      dem                      npropm                      vt                      aux

MANO BAKA

*amaka*

ama -ka  
SEC DECL+M  
sec

'"The Brazilians want to kill us, and they went that way," Noko Wene said.'

218 *Faya ota kana , sina ota hisi na ota amo*  
faya otaa kana , sina otaa hisi na+F otaa amo  
so 1EX.S run snuff 1EX.S sniff AUX 1EX.S sleep  
conj pron vi nf pron vt aux pron vi

*nawahimaro amake fahi*  
na -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke fahi  
AUX change FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
aux vc dem

'We took snuff, and slept.'

219 *Ota amo na hiyama me hiyama*  
otaa amo na+F hiyama me hiyama  
1EX.S sleep AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary  
pron vi aux nm pron nm

*me me , bosa kanabone rama*  
me me , bosa ka- na -habone rama  
3PL.O 3PL.S get up early COMIT AUX INT+F unusual  
pron pron vi aux prt

'We slept. They had decided to get up early because of the peccaries, and they did.'

220 *Me bosa nimaro ama ahi*  
me bosa na.NOM+F -maro ama ahi  
3PL.S get up early AUX FP.E+F be then  
pron vi aux vc dem

'They got up early.'

221 *Me ota bosa kana me ota kiyomaro*  
me otaa bosa ka- na+F me otaa kiyo.NOM -maro  
3PL.O 1EX.S get up early COMIT AUX 3PL.O 1EX.S chase FP.E+F  
pron pron vi aux pron pron vt

*ama ahi*  
ama ahi  
be then  
vc dem

'We got up early because of them, and we went after them.'

222 *Hiyama me kakakayoma raba ra*  
hiyama me ka- ka- kayoma na -raba na -ra+F  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S DUP COMIT darken AUX a bit AUX NEG  
nm pron vi aux aux aux

*hiyama me amo naba nemete me*  
hiyama me amo na nahaba.LIST na -hemete me  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S sleep AUX at night AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S  
nm pron vi aux aux aux pron

*amake hike ya*  
ama -ke hike ya  
SEC DECL+F far ADJU  
sec nf prt

'It had gotten dark on the peccaries, but they slept far away from that place.'

MANO BAKA

223 *Faya Kowarafo hiyama me nowati siba*  
 faya Kowarafo hiyama me nowati siba  
 so (man's name) white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS behind look for  
 conj npropm nm pron pn vt  
*ne sinamako tati tai nisehari amaka fahi*  
 na+M sinamako tati tai na -risa -himari ama -ka fahi  
 AUX acouchy head step on AUX down FP.E+M SEC DECL+M then  
 aux nm pn vt aux sec dem  
 'When Kowarafo was looking for the trail of the peccaries, he stepped on the head of an acouchy.'

224 *Kowarafo sinamako tati tai nise me haha*  
 Kowarafo sinamako tati tai na -risa+M me haahaa  
 (man's name) acouchy head step on AUX down 3PL.S laugh  
 npropm nm pn vt aux pron vi  
*hikane me tokomakeabone*  
 hi- ka- na+M me to- ka -makI -habone  
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S away go/come following INT+F  
 aux pron vi  
*hiyama me ati me tomitamakimaro*  
 hiyama me ati me to- mita -makI.NOM -maro  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S away hear following FP.E+F  
 nm pron pn pron vt  
*amani*  
 ama -ni  
 be BKG+F  
 vc  
 'Kowarafo stepped on the head of an acouchy, and the others laughed at him. They wanted to go after them, and they heard the voices of the peccaries in the distance.'

225 *Hiyama me ati saimaro amake ahi*  
 hiyama me ati sai.NOM -maro ama -ke ahi  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
 nm pron pn vi vt vc dem  
 'The voices of the peccaries could be heard.'

226 *Hiyama me te kerewe karima*  
 hiyama me tee kerewe ka- na -rima  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 2PL.S be slow COMIT AUX NEG.IMP+F  
 nm pron pron vi aux  
*nahi*  
 na -hi  
 AUX IMP+F  
 aux  
 "'Go after the peccaries right away.'"

227 *E tokomibeya*  
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya  
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now  
 pron vi  
 "'Let's go back soon.'"

228 *Taokana me taokana me bokori kanamaro me ama*  
 taokana me taokana me bokori ka- na -hamaro me ama  
 shotgun 3PL shotgun 3PL.S hold COMIT AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC  
 nf pron nf pron vt aux pron sec  
 'They took their shotguns.'

MANO BAKA

229	<b>Wati</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>okana</b>			<b>onamaro</b>		<b>oke</b>	
	wati	tama	o-	ka-	na.LIST	o-	na -hamaro	o-	ke
	arrow	hold onto	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	1SG.S	AUX FP.E+F	1SG.S	DECL+F
	nm	vt	aux			aux		prt	

'But I took bow and arrows.'

230	<b>Okobi</b>		<b>taokana</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>kana</b>		<b>nemari</b>	<b>ama</b>
	o-	ka abi	taokana	tama	ka-	na.LIST	na -himari	ama
	1SG.POSS	POSS father	shotgun	hold onto	COMIT	AUX	AUX FP.E+M	SEC
	nm		nf	vt	aux		aux	sec

**fari**

faari

that one+M

dem

'My father took his shotgun.'

231	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	,	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	hiyama		me		hiyama		me	me
	white-lipped peccary		3PL		white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm		pron		nm		pron	pron

<b>hinakani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>na</b>	
hi- to- na- ka	-hani	me	tahi	moni	yana	na+F
OC away CAUS go/come	IP.N+F	3PL.POSS	weapon against	sound	start	AUX
vt		pron	pn	pn	vi	aux

<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ye</b>	<b>kimaro</b>		<b>amani</b>	
me	me	yee	ka-	na.NOM+F	-maro	ama -ni
3PL.O	3PL.S	yell	COMIT	AUX	FP.E+F	be BKG+F
pron	pron	vi	aux			vc

'They went after the peccaries. The sound of gunfire started. They were yelling.'

232	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>kama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	hiyama		me	kana	na.NFIN	ka	-ma+F	me	me
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	run	AUX	go/come back		3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm		pron	vi	aux	vi		pron	pron

<b>tao</b>	<b>namaro</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>faro</b>
tao	na -hamaro	me	ama -ke	faaro
shoot	AUX FP.E+F	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F	that+F
vt	aux	pron	sec	dem

'The peccaries came running, and they shot them.'

233	<b>Me</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>tokomani</b>		<b>Tome</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>moto</b>
	me	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka	-ma -hani	Tome		me	moto
	3PL.S	run	AUX	away go/come back	IP.N+F	(man's name)		3PL.O	loop
	pron	vi	aux	vi		npropm		pron	vi

<b>hikawamemeteke</b>	<b>fara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>nowati</b>	<b>ya</b>
hi- ka- na -waha -ma -hemete -ke	fara	me	nowati	ya
OC COMIT AUX change back	FP.N+F	DECL+F	same+F	3PL.POSS
aux	dem	pron	pn	prt

'They had gone running, and Tome had circled around behind them.'

234	<b>Me</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>kama</b>	<b>me</b>	
	me	kana	na.NFIN	ka	-ma+F	me
	3PL.S	run	AUX	go/come back	3PL.S	
	pron	vi	aux	vi	pron	







MANO BAKA

'They roasted the peccaries on racks. "I will get firewood."'

246	<b>Bari</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>nikima</b>	<b>yifo</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>tonakama</b>		
	bari	otaa	tiwa	na -kima+F	yifo	otaa	to- na- ka	-ma+F	
	ax	1EX.S	carry	AUX two	firewood	1EX.S	away CAUS	go/come back	
	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	pron	vt		
	<b>yifo</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>nakosikima</b>	<b>yifo</b>	<b>ota</b>			
	yifo	otaa	tii	na -kosa -kima+F	yifo	otaa			
	firewood	1EX.S	cut through	AUX middle two	firewood	1EX.S			
	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	pron			
	<b>kakama</b>		<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>Amane</b>		
	ka- ka	-ma+F	hiyama		me	tahi	Amane		
	COMIT	go/come back	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	killer	(man's name)		
	vt		nm		pron	pn	npropm		
	<b>towetowe</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>toare mari</b>						
	towe- towe	na	to- ha -ra -himari						
	DUP	bad	AUX CH be NEG FP.E+M						
	adj	aux	vc						

'We both took axes, and we went for firewood. We cut off two pieces of firewood, and we brought back the firewood. Amane is a good hunter of white-lipped peccaries.'

247	<b>Amane</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabasi</b>	
	Amane	ka	hiyama	me	me	tabasi	
	(man's name)	POSS	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	
	npropm	prt	nm	pron	pron	vt	
	<b>nimaro</b>	<b>amani</b>					
	na.NOM+F	-maro	ama -ni				
	AUX	FP.E+F	be BKG+F				
	aux		vc				

'They roasted Amane's peccaries.'

248	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabasi</b>	<b>hina</b>	
	hiyama	me	me	me	tabasi	hi- na+F	
	white-lipped peccary	3PL	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	OC	AUX
	nm	pron	pron	pron	vt	aux	
	<b>me</b>	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>kababanake</b>		
	me	hiyama	me	ee	kaba -habana -ke		
	3PL.O	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	1IN.S	eat FUT+F DECL+F		
	pron	nm	pron	pron	vt		

'They roasted the peccaries. "Let's eat the peccaries."'

249	<b>Ayaka</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>hiri</b>	<b>nibe</b>	
	ayaka	ee	hiri	na -be	
	festa	1IN.S	make	AUX IMMED+F	
	nf	pron	vt	aux	

'Let's have a festa.'

250	<b>Faya</b>	<b>ayaka</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>
	faya	ayaka	me	wati	ka- na+F	hiyama	me
	so	festa	3PL.S	think about	COMIT AUX	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O
	conj	nf	pron	vt	vi	nm	pron
	<b>me</b>	<b>kawariabone</b>			<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	me	ka- waa -rI		-habone	hiyama	me	me
	3PL.S	COMIT cook raised surface		INT+F	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pron	vt			nm	pron	pron

MANO BAKA

*bobi na me hiyama me me*  
 bobi na+F me hiyama me me  
 slit AUX 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron nm pron pron

*kawarimaro amani*  
 ka- waa -rI.NOM -maro ama -ni  
 COMIT cook raised surface FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 vt vc

'They planned to have a festa. They cut up the peccaries so they could cook the peccaries. They cooked the peccaries.'

251 *Hiyama me me hikaware me*  
 hiyama me me hi- ka- waa -rI me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT cook raised surface 3PL.O  
 nm pron pron vt pron

*me kabawaimaro amake*  
 me kaba -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 3PL.S eat change FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 pron vt vc

'They cooked the peccaries. Finally they ate them.'

252 *Hiyama me me ...*  
 hiyama me me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

### *Free Translation*

My cousin and his companions were ready. They met up with some Paumaris when they were about to come. They met up with some Paumaris, and they brought the Paumaris. The Jarawara Aosi had the same name as that Paumari Aosi. He carried pirarucu meat in a big makeshift basket. They were carrying pirarucu fat. They met up with the Paumaris. As they were going in the forest at the place where Joaquim's grave is, they came upon the Paumaris.

"Where do you live?"

"We are coming from our village. Are you going there?"

"We will wait for you. We will go there together."

So the Paumaris stayed there all day long. They brought them. They brought the Paumaris, many Paumaris. They brought pirarucu fish for the Jarawaras to eat. They had brought pirarucus. They bought bananas, plantains. They caused my uncle to get up.

"There are ripe bananas on top of a log. Tafofo, I'm going to get bananas. The Paumari is asking for bananas," he said.

The Paumaris were ready. They gave things. They went all around. We were small. They were ready. They bought arrows, and bows. They gave fish that they had salted, pirarucu fat.

Then Simanawi went and disappeared. He appeared again carrying bananas, ripe bananas. They were *yifari biri* plantains. He carried the plantains on his back with no covering. There was no covering between the plantains and his back. He killed the Paumaris.

He came back. "Where are they?" he said.

"They are ready to go, they are in the plaza."

"I will take the plantains to give to them," he said.

"Go ahead and take the plantains."

The son of one of the Paumaris was left behind. My cousin chased him but he disappeared. He caught him in the stand of sugar cane.

Simanawi went and left the plantains with them. The Paumaris ate his plantains, and they died. Simanawi killed them all by himself, when they ate the plantains.

He came back. "I was going to eat the plantains, but now the Paumari women are going to eat my plantains," he said. "Let them eat them. I will eat pirarucu," he said. He was going to eat pirarucu, and he ate pirarucu. The Paumari Aosi, who was fat, died. Simanawi killed him.

They went with them, and then came back.

My father shot a tambaqui fish with a shotgun. My father shot a tambaqui fish, and carried it on his back. My father shot a tambaqui fish, and carried it, and my mother gutted it. It was a fatty tambaqui. It was a true tambaqui [i.e. not a pirapitinga].

The Paumaris didn't come back for a long time. They always told about the Paumaris who had appeared. They appeared when the others brought them.

They were fishing. We were fishing. Kabi killed a deer, without a proper weapon. Kabi had an arrow for fishing, and the deer was swimming in the flooded forest. He hit it in the face with the bow. It was wounded, and he beat it some more. The sound of the deer could be heard as Kabi was killing it. The sound of Kabi could be heard. We thought it was the sound of him spearing fish, but

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

it was him struggling with the deer. He only had one fish, because he was struggling with the deer. He was there carrying the deer on his back, with the others who were carrying fish. Kabi killed a big deer. It had gotten tired out. He tied it by its neck with a vine.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Faya okoyo* *me yana tona me*  
 faya o- ka ayo me yana to- na+F me  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S  
 conj nm pron vi aux pron

*kake* , *wakari me me kobo nimete amake*  
 ka -kI wakari me me kobo na.NOM+F -mete ama -ke  
 go/come coming Paumari 3PL.O 3PL.S meet AUX FP.N+F be DECL+F  
 vi npropm pron pron vt aux vc

*ahi* , *me kakeabone mati*  
 ahi me ka -kI -habone mati  
 then 3PL.S go/come coming INT+F 3PL.S  
 dem pron vi pron

'My cousin and his companions were ready. They met up with some Paumaris when they were about to come.'

2 *Wakari me me kobo nani* , *wakari me me*  
 wakari me me kobo na -hani wakari me me  
 Paumari 3PL.O 3PL.S meet AUX IP.N+F Paumari 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt aux npropm pron pron

*kakamimete* *amake*  
 ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete ama -ke  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F be DECL+F  
 vt vc

'They met up with some Paumaris, and they brought the Paumaris.'

3 *Efe wakari inomari Aosi weye hite*  
 efe wakari ino -mari Aosi weye hi- na -tee ,  
 this+M Paumari name+M FP.E+M (man's name) carry OC AUX HAB  
 dem npropm pn npropm vt aux

*Aosi toemari*  
 Aosi to- ha -himari  
 (man's name) CH be FP.E+M  
 npropm vc

'The Jarawara Aosi had the same name as that Paumari Aosi.'

4 *Boroko weye kanematane tabasi webote ya*  
 boroko weye ka- na -himata -ne tabasi webote ya  
 pirarucu carry COMIT AUX FP.N+M BKG+M makeshift basket big ADJU  
 nm vt aux nf adj prt

'He carried pirarucu meat in a big makeshift basket.'

5 *Boroko me ye me bokori kana* , *wakari me*  
 boroko me yehe me bokori ka- na+F wakari me  
 pirarucu 3PL.S fat+F 3PL.S hold COMIT AUX Paumari 3PL.O  
 nm pron pn pron vt aux npropm pron

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

*me kobo nimete amake ahi*  
 me kobo na.NOM+F -mete ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.S meet AUX FP.N+F be DECL+F there  
 pron vt aux vc dem

'They were carrying pirarucu fat. They met up with the Paumaris.'

6 *Yowaki temene ite ka hawi bote me*  
 Yowaki temene ita.NOM+M ka hawi bote me  
 Joaquim grave+M be located which trail old 3PL.S  
 npropm pn vi prt nf adj pron

*toka me wakari me me towasiwitimete*  
 to- ka+F me wakari me me to- wasi -witI.NOM -mete  
 away go/come 3PL.S Paumari 3PL.O 3PL.S away find out FP.N+F  
 vi pron npropm pron pron vt

*amake*

ama -ke  
 be DECL+F  
 vc

'As they were going in the forest at the place where Joaquim's grave is, they came upon the Paumaris.'

7 *Hibaka te winari ?*  
 hibaka tee wina -ri  
 where 2PL.S live CQ+F  
 interrog pron vi

'''Where do you live?'''

8 *Ota wini ya ota kakine*  
 otaa wina.NOM+F ya otaa ka -kI -ne  
 1EX.S live ADJU 1EX.S go/come coming CONT+F  
 pron vi prt pron vi

'''We are coming from our village.'''

9 *Te tokomibana ?*  
 tee to- ka -ma+F -bana  
 2PL.S away go/come back FUT  
 pron vi

'''Are you going there?'''

10 *Te ota noki namataba ota*  
 tee otaa noki na -mata -haba otaa  
 2PL.O 1EX.S wait for AUX short time FUT+F 1EX.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron

'''We will wait for you.'''

11 *E totabamibe*  
 ee to- taba -ma -be  
 1IN.S away be together back IMMED+F  
 pron vi

'''We will go there together.'''

12 *Faya wakari me nao natiani me me me*  
 faya wakari me naho nahatI -hani me me me  
 so Paumari 3PL.S stand daytime IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 conj npropm pron vi prt pron pron pron

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

**hekamemete**  
 hi- ka- ka -ma -hemete me , me me  
 OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt pron pron pron

**hekamemetemoneke** **fahi**  
 hi- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vt dem

'So the Paumaris stayed there all day long. They brought them.'

13 **Wakari** **me** **me** **hekamani** **wakari**  
 wakari me me hi- ka- ka -ma -hani wakari  
 Paumari 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back IP.N+F Paumari  
 npropm pron pron vt npropm

**tamabote** **mati**  
 tama -bote mati  
 be many very 3PL  
 adj pron

'They brought the Paumaris, many Paumaris.'

14 **Boroko** **me** **me** **kakietemeteni** **me**  
 boroko me me ka- ka -kI -hemete -ni me  
 pirarucu 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming FP.N+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS  
 nm pron pron vt pron

**tafebonehe**  
 tafe -bone -he  
 food+F INT+F DUP  
 pn

'They brought pirarucu fish for them to eat.'

15 **Boroko** **me** **me** **kakiani** , **yifari** **me** ,  
 boroko me me ka- ka -kI -hani , yifari me ,  
 pirarucu 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming IP.N+F banana 3PL  
 nm pron pron vt nf pron

**yifari** **me** **nikamaro** **yifari** , **yifari howe** , **oko**  
 yifari me nika -hamaro yifari yifari howe o- ka  
 banana 3PL.S buy FP.E+F banana plantain variety 1SG.POSS POSS  
 nf pron vt nf nf prt

**koko** **me** **yana** **niabani** **mati**  
 koko me yana niha- na -haba -ni mati  
 mother's brother 3PL.S get up CAUS AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron vi aux pron

'They had brought pirarucus. They bought bananas, plantains. They caused my uncle to get up.'

16 **Yifari** **hata** **kaforiara** **ahi**  
 yifari hata+F ka- forI -hara ahi  
 banana be ripe COMIT lie on top IP.E+F there  
 nf vi vi dem

""There are ripe bananas on top of a log.""

17 **Tafofo** , **yifari**  
 Tafofo yifari  
 (man's name) banana  
 npropm nf

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

### *onakamakimatibeya*

o- to- na- ka -makI -mata -be -ya  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come following short time IMMED+F now  
 vt

"Tafoko, I'm going to get bananas."

18 *Yifari wakari kanike ati nemari ama*  
 yifari wakari ka- nika+M ati na -himari ama  
 banana Paumari COMIT ask for say AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 nf npropm vt vt aux sec

"The Paumari is asking for bananas," he said.'

19 *Wakari me yana tonemetemone*  
 wakari me yana to- na -hemete -mone  
 Paumari 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm pron vi aux

'The Paumaris were ready.'

20 *Wakari me yana tona me yama me ta na me*  
 wakari me yana to- na+F me yama me taa na+F me  
 Paumari 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S give AUX 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vi aux pron nf pron vt aux pron

*yobi namaro me amani*  
 yobi na -hamaro me ama -ni  
 go back and forth AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 vi aux pron sec

'The Paumaris were ready. They gave things. They went all around.'

21 *Ota fotaramaro otake*  
 otaa fota -ra -hamaro otaa -ke  
 1EX.S be big NEG FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 pron vi pron

'We were small.'

22 *Me yana tona me yama me nikamaroni wati*  
 me yana to- na+F me yama me nika -hamaro -ni wati  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S buy FP.E+F BKG+F arrow  
 pron vi aux pron nf pron vt nm

'They were ready. They bought arrows.'

23 *Wati me nika titisa*  
 wati me nika.LIST ti- tisa  
 arrow 3PL.S buy DUP shoot with arrow  
 nm pron vt nf

'They bought arrows, and bows.'

24 *Aba me me kakiani aba me me ta*  
 aba me me ka- ka -kI -hani aba me me taa  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming IP.N+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S give  
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron vt

*namaroni boroko yehene*  
 na -hamaro -ni boroko yehene  
 AUX FP.E+F BKG+F pirarucu fat+M  
 aux nm pn

'They gave fish that they had salted, pirarucu fat.'

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

25	<b>Faya</b>	<b>faya</b>	<b>Simanawi</b>	<b>tokomake</b>		<b>fawa</b>	<b>ne</b>	
	faya	faya	Simanawi	to- ka	-makI	fawa	na+M	,
	so	so	(man's name)	away go/come	following	disappear	AUX	
	conj	conj	npropm	vi		vi	aux	
	<b>yifari</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>kani</b>	<b>fotomamari</b>		<b>amake</b>	<b>yifari</b>	
	yifari	weye	ka- na.NFIN	foto -ma.NOM+M	-mari	ama -ke	yifari	
	banana	carry	COMIT AUX	appear back	FP.E+M	be DECL+F	banana	
	nf	vt	aux	vi		vc	nf	

**hati**

hati

ripe

pn

'Then Simanawi went and disappeared. He appeared again carrying bananas, ripe bananas.'

26	<b>Yifari birimaro</b>		<b>yifari biri</b>
	yifari biri	-maro	yifari biri
	plantain variety	FP.E+F	plantain variety
	nf		nf

'They were yifari biri plantains.'

27	<b>Yifari biri</b>	<b>hinita</b>	<b>ra</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>kanematane</b>	
	yifari biri	hinita	ra	weye	ka- na -himata -ne	
	plantain variety	alone	O	carry	COMIT AUX FP.N+M BKG+M	
	nf	pn	pvt	vt	aux	

'He carried the plantains on his back with no covering.'

28	<b>Yifari</b>	<b>wasi</b>	<b>tokowanaramaroke</b>		<b>wakari</b>
	yifari	wasi	to- ka- wana	-ra -hamaro -ke	wakari
	banana	shell+F	CH COMIT be attached	NEG FP.E+F DECL+F	Paumari
	nf	pn	vi		npropm

**mera nahabibanoho**

mera na- ahaba -hiba -no -ho

3PL.O CAUS die FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

pron vt

'There was no covering between the plantains and his back. He killed the Paumaris.'

29	<b>Kame</b>	<b>Fa</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>
	ka	-ma+M	faa	me	-ra	ati na -himari
	go/come	back	that	3PL.S NPQ	say	AUX FP.E+M
	vi		dem	pron	vt	aux

'He came back. "Where are they?" he said.'

30	<b>Me</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>tona</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>naone</b>	<b>ha</b>
	me	yana	to- na+F	me	naho -ne	haa
	3PL.S	start	CH AUX	3PL.S	stand CONT+F	DEM
	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi	dem

""They are ready to go, they are in the plaza.""

31	<b>Yifari</b>	<b>owakamakimatibeya</b>		<b>me</b>
	yifari	o- to- ka- ka	-makI	-mata -be -ya
	banana	1SG.S away COMIT go/come	following	short time IMMED+F now
	nf	vt		3PL pron

**ka yifaribonehe**

ka yifari -bone -he ati na -himari

POSS banana INT+F DUP say AUX FP.E+M

pvt nf vt aux

'I will take the plantains to give to them,' he said.'



## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

32 *Yifari tekamaki*  
 yifari ti- to- ka- ka -makI  
 banana 2SG.S away COMIT go/come following  
 nf vt

"Go ahead and take the plantains."

33 *Faya wakari biti toakoseno*  
 faya wakari biti to- ha -kosa -hino  
 so Paumari 3SG.POSS.son CH be middle IP.N+M  
 conj npropm nm vc

*okoyo hikiyo fawa*  
 o- ka ayo hi- kiyo+M fawa  
 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin OC chase disappear  
 nm vt vi

*namatamona amake ahi kana boti ya*  
 na.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi kana boti ya  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F then sugar cane inside ADJU  
 aux vc dem nf pn prt

*hiwatebonaha*  
 hi- wata -hibona -ha  
 OC catch INT+M DUP  
 vt

'The son of one of the Paumaris was left behind. My cousin chased him but he disappeared. He caught him in the stand of sugar cane.'

34 *Faya Simanawi tokomake yifari*  
 faya Simanawi to- ka -makI yifari  
 so (man's name) away go/come following banana  
 conj npropm vi nf

*tosemake ka yifari wakari me yome na*  
 to- isI -makI ka yifari wakari me yome na+F  
 away drop off following POSS banana Paumari 3PL.S swallow AUX  
 vt prt nf npropm pron vt aux

*me abimetemone amake*  
 me ahaba.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 pron vi vc

'Simanawi went and left the plantains with them. The Paumaris ate his plantains, and they died.'

35 *Wakari me abemetemone Simanawi me*  
 wakari me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke Simanawi me  
 Paumari 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (man's name) 3PL.O  
 npropm pron vi npropm pron

*hitibasa mati yifari me yome na rama ahi*  
 hi- iti -basa+F mati yifari me yome na+F rama ahi  
 OC take out edge 3PL.O banana 3PL.S swallow AUX unusual then  
 vt pron nf pron vt aux prt dem

'The Paumaris died. Simanawi killed them all by himself, when they ate the plantains.'

36 *Kamehimarika*  
 ka -ma -himari -ka  
 go/come back FP.E+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came back.'

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

37 *Yifari*     *yome*     *onabone*         *ona*         *oko*         *yifari*  
 yifari     yome     o-     na     -habone     ati     o-     na+F     o-     ka     yifari  
 banana     swallow     1SG.S     AUX     INT+F     say     1SG.S     AUX     1SG.POSS     POSS     banana  
 nf     vt     aux         vt         prt         nf

*wakara*         *fana*     *yome*     *nawahibanani*         *ati*     *nemari*  
 wakara         fana     yome     na     -waha+F     -bana     -ni     ati     na     -himari  
 Paumari woman     female     swallow     AUX     change     FUT     BKG+F     say     AUX     FP.E+M  
 npropf         nf     vt     aux         vt     aux

"I was going to eat the plantains, but now the Paumari women are going to eat my plantains," he said.'

38 *Yome*     *hinahi*  
 yome     hi-     na     -hi  
 swallow     OC     AUX     IMP+F  
 vt     aux

"Let them eat them."

39 *Hine*     *yome*     *hina*  
 hine     yome     hi-     na  
 only     swallow     OC     AUX  
 pron     vt     aux

"Let them eat them."

40 *Boroko*     *okobabisibonehe*         *ati*     *nemari*  
 boroko     o-     kaba     -bisa.NOM+F     -bone     -he     ati     na     -himari  
 pirarucu     1SG.S     eat     also     INT+F     DUP     say     AUX     FP.E+M  
 nm     vt             vt     aux

"I will eat pirarucu," he said.'

41 *Boroko*     *kabebona*     *boroko*     *kabe*     ,     *wakari*     *Aosi*  
 boroko     kaba     -hibona     boroko     kaba+M     wakari     Aosi  
 pirarucu     eat     INT+M     pirarucu     eat     Paumari     (man's name)  
 nm     vt     nm     vt     npropm     npropm

*toe*     *amoamosa*     *nemari*     *ahaba*     *namata*  
 to-     ha+M     amo-     amosa     na     -himari     ahaba.CONT+M     na.NOM+M     -mata  
 CH     be     DUP     be good     AUX     FP.E+M     die     AUX     FP.N+M  
 vc     vi     aux     vi     aux

'He was going to eat pirarucu, and he ate pirarucu. The Paumari Aosi, who was fat, died.'

42 *Simanawi*     *hikaraboeba*         *ama*     *namata*  
 Simanawi     hi-     karaboha         -hiba     ama     na.NOM+M     -mata  
 (man's name)     OC     shoot with blowgun     FUT+M     be     AUX     FP.N+M  
 npropm     vt             vc     aux

'Simanawi killed him.'

43 *Afa*     *me*     *ya*     *me*     *totabama*         *me*  
 afa     me     ya     me     to-     taba         -ma+F     me  
 this+F     3PL     ADJU     3PL.S     away     be     together     back     3PL.S  
 dem     pron     prt     pron     vi                 pron

*kamakimaro*         *amake*  
 ka     -makI.NOM     -maro     ama     -ke  
 go/come following     FP.E+F     be     DECL+F  
 vi         vc

'They went with them, and then came back.'

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

44 *Me kamimaro amani*  
 me ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 3PL.S go/come back FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 pron vi vc

'They came back.'

45 *Faya tabaki okobi tao kamata*  
 faya tabaki o- ka abi tao ka- na.NOM+M -mata  
 so tambaqui 1SG.POSS POSS father shoot COMIT AUX FP.N+M  
 conj nf nm vt aux

*amake fahi*  
 ama -ke fahi  
 be DECL+F then  
 vc dem

'My father shot a tambaqui fish with a shotgun.'

46 *Tabaki okobi tao hikanani weye*  
 tabaki o- ka abi tao hi- ka- na -hani weye  
 tambaqui 1SG.POSS POSS father shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.N+F carry  
 nf nm vt aux vt

*hibisemeteni*  
 hi- na -bisa -hemete -ni  
 OC AUX also FP.N+F BKG+F  
 aux

'My father shot a tambaqui fish, and carried it on his back.'

47 *Tabaki okobi tao hikanani weye*  
 tabaki o- ka abi tao hi- ka- na -hani weye  
 tambaqui 1SG.POSS POSS father shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.N+F carry  
 nf nm vt aux vt

*hinani okomi bobi hinamaroni*  
 hi- na -hani o- ka ami bobi hi- na -hamaro -ni  
 OC AUX IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS mother slit OC AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 aux nf vt aux

*tabaki yebote*  
 tabaki yehebote  
 tambaqui fatty  
 nf adj

'My father shot a tambaqui fish, and carried it, and my mother gutted it. It was a fatty tambaqui.'

48 *Tabaki yokanamaroke*  
 tabaki yokana -maro -ke  
 tambaqui true FP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf adj

'It was a true tambaqui.'

49 *Wakari me kakama kere fahi haha yama*  
 wakari me ka- ka -ma na -ke -re fahi haaha yama  
 Paumari 3PL.S DUP go/come back AUX DECL+F NEG+F then this+F time  
 npropm pron vi prt dem dem nf

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'The Paumaris didn't come back for a long time.'

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

50 *Wakari me me kakamina na hiara me*  
 wakari me me ka- kamina na hi- to- ha -ra+F me  
 Paumari 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP tell AUX OC CH AUX NEG 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt aux aux pron

**fotomakimaro**

foto -makI.NOM -maro  
 appear following FP.E+F  
 vi

'They always told about the Paumaris who had appeared.'

51 *Me fotomakimaro amani , me me*  
 me foto -makI.NOM -maro ama -ni me me  
 3PL.S appear following FP.E+F be BKG+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi vc pron pron

**hekamani**

hi- ka- ka -ma -hani mati  
 OC COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 vt pron

'They appeared when the others brought them.'

52 *Faha me ki na fa me ki na me , fa*  
 faha me kii na+F faha me kii na+F me , faha  
 water 3PL.S look at AUX water 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S water  
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron nf

*ota ki na Kabi , Kabi bato*  
 otaa kii na+F Kabi , Kabi bato  
 1EX.S look at AUX (man's name) (man's name) deer  
 pron vt aux npropm npropm nm

**nabowemata**

na- aboha.NOM+M -mata ama -ke yehe hona -ra -haari  
 CAUS die FP.N+M be DECL+F hand have something NEG IP.E+M  
 vt vc pn vi

*Kabi kanatare tama kanahari , fa fowe*  
 Kabi kanatare tama kanahari , fa fowe  
 (man's name) arrow for fishing hold onto COMIT AUX IP.E+M flood  
 npropm nm vt aux nf

**ya kakiari**

ya ka- ka -kI -haari  
 ADJU COMIT go/come coming IP.E+M  
 prt vi

'They were fishing. We were fishing. Kabi killed a deer, without a proper weapon. Kabi had an arrow for fishing, and it was swimming in the flooded forest.'

53 *Noko ba hirematane titisa*  
 noko baa hi- na -rI -himata -ne ti- tisa  
 face+M hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+M BKG+M DUP shoot with arrow  
 pn vt aux nf

**ya**

ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'He hit it in the face with the bow.'

54 *Karabike , baro hinamematane*  
 ka- rabika+M , baro hi- na -ma -himata -ne  
 COMIT be sick beat OC AUX back FP.N+M BKG+M  
 vi vt aux

## A SPELL ON THE PAUMARIS

'It was wounded, and he beat it some more.'

<b>55</b>	<b>Kabi</b>	<b>ene</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>saihino</b>		<b>Kabi</b>	<b>moni</b>		
	Kabi	ehene	moni	sai	-hino	Kabi	moni		
	(man's name)	victim of+M	sound	be heard	IP.N+M	(man's name)	sound		
	npropm	pn	pn	vi		npropm	pn		
	<b>sai</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tisa</b>		<b>ne</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>nikani</b>
	sai+M	aba	me	tisa		na+M	moni	ama	na+F -kani
	be heard	fish	3PL.O	shoot with arrow	AUX	sound	be	AUX	CNTRFACT
	vi	nm	pron	vt	aux	pn	vc	aux	
	<b>ota</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>bato</b>	<b>mono</b>	<b>nenoho</b>			
	otaa	ati	na+M	bato	mono	na -hino -ho			
	1EX.S	say	AUX	deer	struggle with	AUX IP.N+M DUP			
	pron	vt	aux	nm	vt	aux			

'The sound of the deer could be heard as Kabi was killing it. The sound of Kabi could be heard. We thought it was the sound of him spearing fish, but it was him struggling with the deer.'

<b>56</b>	<b>Hinaka</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>oharimarine</b>		<b>bato</b>	<b>mono</b>	<b>nenoho</b>
	hinaka	aba	ohari -himari -ne		bato	mono	na -hino -ho
	3SG.POSS	fish	be one FP.E+M BKG+M		deer	struggle with	AUX IP.N+M DUP
	pron	nm	vi		nm	vt	aux

'He only had one fish, because he was struggling with the deer.'

<b>57</b>	<b>Bato</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>sawihimari</b>		<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	bato	weye	na.NFIN	sawi	-himari -ka	aba	me	me
	deer	carry	AUX	be present	FP.E+M DECL+M	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm	vt	aux	vi		nm	pron	pron
	<b>tiwari</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ya</b>			
	tiwa -ri	ka- na+F	me	ni	ya			
	carry	DISTR	COMIT	AUX	3PL to	ADJU		
	vt	aux	pron	prt	prt			

'He was there carrying the deer on his back, with the others who were carrying fish.'

<b>58</b>	<b>Bato</b>	<b>webote</b>	<b>Kabi</b>	<b>nabowemata</b>		<b>amane</b>	<b>mama</b>
	bato	webote	Kabi	na- aboha -himata		ama -ne	ma- maa
	deer	big	(man's name)	CAUS die	FP.N+M	SEC BKG+M	DUP be tired
	nm	adj	npropm	vt		sec	nf
	<b>i</b>	<b>toari</b>					
	ihi	to- ha -haari					
	result of+F	CH	be	IP.E+M			
	pn	vc					

'Kabi killed a big deer. It had gotten tired out.'

<b>59</b>	<b>Namiti</b>	<b>himatomataka</b>		<b>mato</b>	<b>ya</b>
	namiti	hi- mato -himata -ka		mato	ya
	neck	OC tie	FP.N+M DECL+M	vine	ADJU
	pn	vt		nf	prt

'He tied it by its neck with a vine.'

## ABA TOSI (1)

### *Free Translation*

*Note: While the possible connection of Aba Tosi and Mano Boni to currently living Jarawaras is not known, I have classified this story as a personal experience narrative because one of the minor characters, Bonikana, was an ancestor of living Jarawaras.*

Mano Boni put a spell on a woman, Mano Boni who was a shaman. Mano Boni wanted to marry her, but she didn't want Mano Boni, because he mistreated women. She didn't want him because he mistreated women, and he cast a spell on her.

They went back to the village a different way because of him. He appeared at a different place. They went back. She went ahead of them, leading them to Mano Boni's shaman's stone without knowing it. She got sick because of the shaman's stone. She fell down when she hit against the line.<sup>23</sup>

"What happened to her?" they said about her. It was her older sister. Her older sister grabbed her arm and picked her up and sat her up.

"Mano Boni did this," they said. They knew about him. They knew that he had attacked her by putting a spell on her.

They came back. They held onto her arms. She was always almost falling, but she came back, keeping walking. As she came back, she fell and they stood her up. They picked her up, and took her on some more. They took her back. They appeared with her. She almost died.

Aba Tosi was there.

"What happened to my daughter?" her father said.

"I guess someone put a spell on your daughter. Who knows? She fell. We have brought her back," they said, the other women.

"Someone must be angry with her. Someone is angry with her," he said.

He called Aba Tosi. "Aba Tosi," he said. "Aba Tosi."

"Huh?"

"Aba Tosi, look at my daughter. Someone is angry with my daughter," he said.

Aba Tosi took snuff. They put her in a hammock. She was in the hammock.

"Don't leave my daughter. Suck on my daughter to cure her, and don't leave her. Sit by my daughter," he said.

So he sucked on her. He cured her. She took a long time to walk again. She was never the same as before, my grandmother used to say. He sucked on her. He waited for her. He rested, sitting. He sucked on her again.

Mano Boni didn't come back right away. When it was getting dark he appeared, after casting a spell on her. He came and lay in his hammock.

She didn't have an older brother. It would have been good if she had an older brother [to take revenge on Mano Boni].

The one who had cast a spell on her came and lay in his hammock. Aba Tosi had sucked on his victim. He sucked on her, and waited for her. He sucked on her some more, and then went to

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<sup>23</sup> This was a string that Mano Boni had put a spell on with his shaman's stone, and had extended across the trail so that the woman would walk into it.

## ABA TOSI

bathe.

The voices of his familiar spirits could be heard. The voice of a spirit could be heard. He came back. He came right on into the house. He started working again right away, sucking on her again.

"Marry my daughter. Someone is angry with my daughter." So she married him.

Then he sent a spirit against him, too, because he had messed with his older brother.<sup>24</sup>

His older brother was cutting fish. He was cutting *siraba* fish. Two spirits that Mano Boni had sent against him went to him as he stood there. If a spirit had not hit him with its elbow, he would not have gotten sick. He was killing the *siraba* fish. As he stood there, he threw the *siraba* fish as the spirits were coming. They came. He was ready to go, and he was cutting the stingers of the *siraba* fish off.

They came to him as he stood there. "Are they fish?"

"They are fish. I am standing here killing *siraba* fish."

"He says he is killing *siraba* fish. Hoo, he says he is killing *siraba* fish, so he can eat."

"I am killing fatty *siraba* fish," he said.

"All right. Are you leaving?"

"Yes, I'm going home."

"Go ahead."

He caught him. The spirit caught Komane. The spirit caught him. The other spirit pulled down some vines to tie him up with. They tied him up. They tied him to a tree that was in the middle of a clear place in the area that floods in the high water season. He was there on the tree. Mano Boni had sent spirits against him.

His younger brother grieved. People take revenge. Mano Boni was always casting spells on people, and he got revenge on him.

They untied him. "Go home. Go and eat."

So he brought the *siraba* fish back. He carried the *siraba* fish on his back. He came back. He brought the *siraba* fish back.

His wife gutted the *siraba* fish, but he didn't eat the *siraba* fish. "Gut the *siraba* fish. You eat."

She gutted the *siraba* fish. She wrapped the fish. Her husband didn't work. The spirits had tied him up, because Mano Boni had sent them against him. She served the food. He slept. He fell asleep in his hammock. He fell asleep, and his wife shook him. He got sick. Aba Tosi got revenge against Mano Boni.

It was a scary thing when the spirits killed people. He was talking. She shook him so he would eat, but he said no. "You eat. I'm not feeling good. Someone sent spirits against me. The spirits messed with me, and I am feeling the effects of it. You eat."

Then Komane died, because the spirits had messed with him.

"He is strong, my older brother died because of him. I will get revenge." Then he sent spirits against him, too. "Go out in the forest, go out in the forest," he said about him.

Mano Boni went out in the forest with his wife. He went into the forest ahead of Aba Tosi. He went.

Aba Tosi got to work right away. He took snuff. He went after him. "He is strong, he sent spirits against my brother." He went there. He ordered spirits against him, in revenge.

The spirits scared Mano Boni. "Eee, leave me alone. Spirits, leave me alone," he said.

He went after *hawa* palm leaves, to make a basket for carrying food. He went after something to carry food in. He was fine when he came back to his wife.

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<sup>24</sup> Yowao actually says younger brother, but later in the story it is clear that this was Aba Tosi's older brother.

## ABA TOSI

"Why did you speak?" she said.

"I didn't speak," he said. "I didn't speak. Come on, you carry the bananas."

They went to get the bananas. They put the bananas in the basket. His wife carried the bananas. He didn't carry anything.

They came back, and they arrived. He was ready to bathe. "Let's go bathe. I want to bathe. I'm hot," he said.

He fell down at the port. His wife lifted him up, and he got back up laughing. "I fell down," he said. He had been fine before.

His wife brought him back, and he got sick. His wife boiled the food. She toasted manioc mash to eat with the bananas. Mano Boni lay in his hammock back at the house, after bathing. His wife was toasting manioc mash. She called him. "Aren't you going to eat bananas?" she said.

"I'm not going to eat bananas. I don't want to eat," he said. "You eat bananas," he said. "I will eat later," he said.

He lay back down, and slept. His wife didn't wake him up, because he didn't want to be bothered. His wife ate manioc mash with bananas.

"Mano Boni," she said. "Mano Boni, why are you sleeping, and not eating?" she said.

"I don't want to sleep, but I'm so sleepy I can't keep my eyes open," he said.

"The bananas are all gone," she said.

"Give the bananas to someone else. I don't want to eat bananas," he said. He lay back down again.

The others brought back monkeys. His wife brought back half of one of them. She put the meat on the fire. She went and shook him, so he would eat meat. "Mano Boni, wake up," she said.

"Hoo, I'm so sleepy, why doesn't she leave me alone?" he said.

"You can go back to sleep after you eat," she said. She went and shook him again. He started being crazy. It attacked him. The other shamans didn't want to come to him. They didn't want to suck on him, either. They didn't suck on him, because every time people told him to not kill people, he didn't listen.

"I don't know why Mano Boni went crazy. His wife is complaining," Aba Tosi said. "I'm going fishing. You listen to them talking about how Mano Boni went crazy."

He went into the forest. He went, and he speared fish. Mano Boni went crazy, and the others held onto him. He tried to step on his wife, but he missed his wife. After he missed her, she wouldn't help him anymore. So he lay back down, and went to sleep. She thought he was sleeping. They didn't take him into the forest to bury him, Mano Boni. We live at Kore, the place where Mano Boni's grave is.<sup>25</sup>

When Mano Boni died they buried him, and then they moved away. They moved away, running away from his smell. They came back this way, moving away. The one who had sent spirits against Mano Boni also came, and ate fish. He came and ate.

His father-in-law called him to go. "Father-in-law, go on ahead. We will go on behind."

"We are ready," he said.

"Father-in-law, go on ahead. We will go behind."

"Take the hammock down."

She took down the hammock, and put the hammock in the basket, their hammock.

"You carry the hammock," he said.

She carried the hammock. He carried the blowgun and the other things. They came. He had his father-in-law go ahead.

They arrived. They came upon the others building a house. He went on by and built a house.

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<sup>25</sup> Kore seems to be the name of an old village, but Jarawaras today do not recognize the name.



## ABA TOSI

He and his father-in-law put on the thatch together, *baye* leaves. They made the house. It was getting late in the day. When it was late in the day, he covered the top of the roof.

"What should I do?" he said. "I would go hunting, but the day is already ending. We will sleep hungry. We will eat manioc mash for now."

Aba Tosi liked his father-in-law, he never let him be far away. His father-in-law said he was hungry, and because of him he got up early. He went fishing, and he speared fish. He brought the fish back.

"Cook the fish. Your father is hungry."

His wife cooked the fish, because he told her to. Two of the fish were on sticks. "Two of the fish will be on sticks, to be for you, so we can eat them tomorrow."

His father-in-law was not well. So he worked alone.

He lived with his older brother, his other older brother. Ataro stayed with his younger brother. He worked with Ataro. He was his younger brother. He always found good meat. They were always eating.

He got wounded. A snake bit him. A snake bit him, and he lay in his hammock, sick. His older brother sucked on him to cure him. He got better.

As he lay in his hammock, Bonikana burned the hair off a titi monkey near him, and he smelled the titi. He smelled the smell of the titi, and it jolted him. You shouldn't smell a bad smell when a snake has bitten you. Then his older brother was upset. The snake jolted his younger brother.

His older brother sucked on him, and he held him. He was upset. His older brother sucked on him, but he died.

Then they grieved. Ataro grieved. He went into the forest grieving. He disappeared.

His voice could be heard before dawn as he approached the village again. "I burned the familiar spirits. I burned your familiar spirits, and they are there on the ground, burned up," he said, crying. He was carrying manioc stalks. He brought back manioc stalks, Boniwa.<sup>26</sup>

He grieved because his younger brother was gone. He brought back a giant anteater. He came grieving. "My younger brother, who I was always with, was killed. It was not familiar spirits that killed him. It was a snake that killed him. When you hunt, you should burn the hair off the animals far away," he said.

He was mad at them. "You hate my brother," he said. "I was curing my brother, but then my brother smelled an animal."

He grieved for a long time. He moved away, and came this way. He came this way, and lived over here. Then he went and lived over there. After living there for a long time, he forgot.

They wanted to have a festa. Then he discovered the *aba* fish. He came back. They wanted to have a festa, and they went into the forest. He went with them. He went into the forest. They stayed out in the forest. They stayed out there. They went into the forest to get game for the festa. They stayed out there.

"I'm going this way. You go the other way," he said.

He discovered the *aba* fish, the ones who live in the Curiá River. He went, and disappeared. He saw the *aba* fish. He shot animals with his blowgun. He came back carrying the animals, woolly monkeys. He arrived back.

"Burn the hair off the animals," he said. He went to the water to bathe. They burned the hair off the animals, and cut the animals up. They made a rack, and roasted the animals on the rack.

They talked back at the village. They were talking at night, and he spoke. "Uncle, uncle."

"Yes?"

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26 Boniwa was the name of the manioc spirit.

## ABA TOSI

"Uncle, there are people living there." He was deceiving them about the *aba* fish.

"Where?"

"There are people living there. You will see the people."

"Are they fierce?"

"They aren't fierce. They are not angry. They are living there."

He listened to them. He told them the news, telling them about the *aba* fish. He remembered the *aba* fish. "The creatures in the water scared me when I found them, and I have come back," he said. "There are many fish in the water there." "We should live in a place where there is a good stream," he said. "You will see the stream that has a lot of fish."

"We will go there and see it."

They slept, and got up early to see the *aba* fish. Noki Maiyi, who would not be left behind, used to tell about it. They went with the women to see the fish. The fish of the Curiá were all along the edge, my aunt used to say. It was an untouched stream. They came back. They went after them. They went after them, and speared them. They washed the points of their arrows off, because the points of their arrows had *iha* poison. They washed the *iha* off of the arrow points and they speared the *aba* fish. They also shot animals with their blowguns. They discovered the Curiá, our ancestors.

Then they left them behind. "Come on, let's go home. Let the *aba* fish be in the water. We will come and see them again," they said. "We will come and live here."

Then they came back, and prepared the animals. They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, Noki Maiyi used to say. It was Noki Maiyi who used to say it. They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, and they came back. They got firewood, and the sound of them could be heard during the night. They roasted the animals on racks. They also wrapped the *aba* fish, and their voices could be heard during the night. They had discovered the fish of the Curiá. The *aba* fish of the Curiá didn't swim deep, because they had just been discovered, my aunt used to say.

They didn't go back to see them for a long time. Then they did see them when they were hunting. They had seen them, and had come back. They came back, and arrived back. They had a festa back at the village, my aunt used to say, telling about them.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>ebe</b> ebe RECIP pn	<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>ibe</b> ibe RECIP pn	<b>fanawiri</b> fanawiri -ri woman PN pn	,	<b>me fanawi</b> me fanawiri women nf	,
<b>Mano Boni</b>	<b>hikanawasi</b> hi- ka- OC COMIT vt			na- wasi CAUS get caught	<b>na</b> na AUX aux	<b>hiemetemone</b> hi- to- ha -hemete -mone OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux			
<b>amani</b> ama -ni SEC BKG+F sec	<b>Mano Boni</b> (man's name) npropm		<b>inawa</b> inawa shaman nm		.				
'Mano Boni put a spell on a woman, Mano Boni who was a shaman.'									

2	<b>Mano Boni</b> Mano Boni (man's name) npropm	<b>hitiabone</b> hi- iti -habone OC marry INT+F vt	<b>Mano Boni</b> Mano Boni (man's name) npropm	<b>nonofa</b> no- nofa DUP like vt
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## ABA TOSI

**toharemetemone** , **me fanawi** **kako** **kasiromonaha**  
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone , me fanawi kaako.NFIN kasiro -himona -ha  
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F women be angry with persist REP+M DUP  
 aux nf vt vi

'Mano Boni wanted to marry her, but she didn't want Mano Boni, because he mistreated women.'

3 **Me fanawi** **kako** **kasiromona** **nonofa**  
 me fanawi kaako.NFIN kasiro -himona no- nofa  
 women be angry with be perverse REP+M DUP like  
 nf vt vi vt

**hiarematamona** **fe**  
 hi- to- ha -ra -himata -mona fee  
 OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.O  
 aux pron

**kanawasiwematamonaka**  
 ka- na- wasi -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT CAUS find change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'She didn't want him because he mistreated women, and he cast a spell on her.'

4 **Ha ya ha ya hiwa tonamowawiti ehene**  
 haa ya haa ya hiwa to- namo -waha -witI+M ehene  
 DEM ADJU DEM ADJU 3SG.REFL.M away show change out because of+M  
 dem prt dem prt pron vt post

**ha ya me tokometemone ehene**  
 haa ya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ehene  
 DEM ADJU 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F because of+M  
 dem prt pron vi post

'They went back to the village a different way because of him. He appeared at a different place.'

5 **Tokoma** **me** , **tai** **toamemetemone** **mera**  
 to- ka -ma+F me , tai to- ha -ma -hemete -mone mera  
 away go/come back 3PL.S be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O  
 vi pron vi aux pron

**towakamaro** , **Mano Boni** **ka** , **arabani**  
 to- ka- ka -ma -haaro , Mano Boni ka , arabani  
 away COMIT go/come back IP.E+F (man's name) POSS nf  
 vt npropm prt

**kahoni** **ya**  
 kaho -hani ya  
 tie IP.N+F ADJU  
 result prt

'They went back. She went ahead of them, leading them to Mano Boni's shaman's stone without knowing it.'

6 **Arabani** **i** **siwa** **nemetemone** **amani**  
 arabani ihi siwa na -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 nf because of+F die AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 post vi aux sec

'She got sick because of the shaman's stone.'

7 **Bao** **nisemetemoneke** **yama**  
 bao na -risa -hemete -mone -ke yama  
 come down AUX down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing  
 vi aux nf



## ABA TOSI

- 14 **Me kamemetemone**  
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi  
 'They came back.'
- 15 **Mani me tama hikanemetemone ahi**  
 mani me tama hi- ka- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 arm+F 3PL.S hold onto OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pn pron vt aux dem  
 'They held onto her arms.'
- 16 **Soninima biti ra kamemetemoneni**  
 sona -nima na -biti na -ra+F ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 fall about to AUX a little AUX NEG go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi aux aux vi  
**hine yaka kanaharo**  
 hine yaka ka- na -haaro  
 3.REFL walk COMIT AUX IP.E+F  
 pron vi aux  
 'She was always almost falling, but she came back, keeping walking.'
- 17 **Kama sonarisa me hikawa me**  
 ka -ma+F , sona -risa+F me , hi- ka- waa+F me  
 go/come back fall down 3PL.S OC COMIT stand 3PL.S  
 vi vi pron vt pron  
**hitimisamatasa me**  
 hi- iti -misa -ma -tasa+F me  
 OC pick up up back again 3PL.S  
 vt pron  
**hekatasesemetemone**  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -tasa -hemete -mone  
 OC away COMIT go/come back again FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt  
 'As she came back, she fell and they stood her up. They picked her up, and took her on some more.'
- 18 **Hekamawemetemone tabora ya**  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone tabora ya  
 OC away COMIT go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F village ADJU  
 vt nf prt  
 'They took her back.'
- 19 **Me hikafotometemoneni**  
 me hi- ka- foto -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S OC COMIT appear back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vt  
 'They appeared with her.'
- 20 **Siwa nemetemoneheni , Aba Tosi itenari**  
 siwa na -hemete -mone -he -ni , Aba Tosi ita+M -naari  
 die AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F (man's name) stay ?  
 vi aux npropm vi  
 'She almost died. Aba Tosi was there.'

ABA TOSI

21 **Bati** , **Himata okoto ebe nani**  
 bati , himata okoto ebe na -hani  
 3SG.POSS.father what? my daughter happen to AUX IP.N+F  
 nm interrog nf vt aux

**amariya** ? **ati nematamona**  
 ama -ri -ya ati na -himata -mona  
 SEC CQ+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 sec vt aux

"What happened to my daughter?" he said.'

22 **Tikoto me hikanawasia awineni**  
 tikoto me hi- ka- na- wasi+F awine -ni  
 2SG.POSS.daughter 3PL.S OC COMMIT CAUS get caught seem+F BKG+F  
 nf pron vt sec

"I guess someone put a spell on your daughter."

23 **Tikoto awara**  
 tikoto awa -ra+F  
 2SG.POSS.daughter see NEG  
 nf result

"Who knows?"

24 **Sona amani**  
 sona+F ama -ni  
 fall SEC BKG+F  
 vi sec

"She fell."

25 **Ota kakamineni me ati nemetemone**  
 otaa ka- ka -ma -ne -ni me ati na -hemete -mone  
 1EX.S COMMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vt pron vt aux

**me fanawi one**  
 me fanawi one  
 women other+F  
 nf adj

"We have brought her back," they said, the other women.'

26 **Me hikakono awane**  
 me hi- kaako -hino awa -ne  
 3PL.S OC be angry with IP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
 pron vt sec

"Someone must be angry with her."

27 **Me hikako hinofe amane ati nematamona**  
 me hi- kaako hi- nofa+M ama -ne ati na -himata -mona  
 3PL.S OC be angry with OC recently SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt nm sec vt aux

, **bati** , **Aba Tosi haha nebanoho**  
 bati , Aba Tosi ha- haa na -hiba -no -ho  
 3SG.POSS.father (man's name) DUP call AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm npropm vt aux

"Someone is angry with her," he said. He called Aba Tosi.'







ABA TOSI

42 *Yama yomarisi ya fotomakematamonane*  
 yama yoma -risa.NOM+F ya foto -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 thing be dark down ADJU appear following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vi prt vi

*fe kanawasihari*  
 fee ka- na- wasi -haari  
 3SG.O COMIT CAUS get caught IP.E+M  
 pron vt

'When it was getting dark he appeared, after casting a spell on her.'

43 *Faya winamakematamonaka fahi*  
 faya wina -makI -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so lie in hammock following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'He came and lay in his hammock.'

44 *Ayo remete awineke*  
 ayo na -ra -hemete awine -ke  
 call someone older brother AUX NEG FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F  
 vi aux sec

*ayo nemenehe*  
 ayo na -hemenehe  
 call someone older brother AUX HYPOTH+F  
 vi aux

'She didn't have an older brother. It would have been good if she had an older brother.'

45 *Fe kanawasi winamakematamona*  
 fee ka- na- wasi+M wina -makI -himata -mona  
 3SG.O COMIT CAUS get caught lie in hammock following FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt vi

*ehene Aba Tosi toma hinahari*  
 ehene Aba Tosi toma hi- na -haari  
 victim of+M (man's name) suck OC AUX IP.E+M  
 pn npropm vt aux

'The one who had cast a spell on her came and lay in his hammock. Aba Tosi had sucked on his victim.'

46 *Toma hina noki hikana toma hinamatasa*  
 toma hi- na+F noki hi- ka- na+F toma hi- na -ma -tasa+F  
 suck OC AUX wait for OC COMIT AUX suck OC AUX back again  
 vt aux vt aux vt aux

*faya afi nebona tokomematamonaka fahi*  
 faya afi na -hibona to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so bathe AUX INT+M away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux vi dem

'He sucked on her, and waited for her. He sucked on her some more, and then went to bathe.'

47 *Afi nebona tokome hinaka me inamati ati*  
 afi na -hibona to- ka -ma+M hinaka me inamati ati  
 bathe AUX INT+M away go/come back 3SG.POSS spirits voice  
 vi aux vi pron nf pn

*saimetemone*  
 sai.NOM -mete -mone  
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi

'He went to bathe. The voices of his familiar spirits could be heard.'

ABA TOSI

48 *Inamati* *ati* *sai* , *kamematamonaha*  
 inamati ati sai+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ha  
 spirit voice be heard go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm pn vi vi

'The voice of a spirit could be heard. He came back.'

49 *Kame* *fiya* *nakosamematamonaka*  
 ka -ma+M fiya na -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come back pass AUX middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi aux

'He came back. He came right on into the house.'

50 *Fiya* *nakosame* , *fiya* *nakosame* , *ye*  
 fiya na -kosa -ma+M , fiya na -kosa -ma+M , yehe  
 pass AUX middle back pass AUX middle back hand  
 vi aux vi aux pn

*wanamatase* *toma* *hitasemetemoneni*  
 wana -ma -tasa+M toma hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ni  
 be attached back again suck OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi vt aux

'He came right on in. He started working again right away, sucking on her again.'

51 *Ito* *ama* ?  
 ito ama  
 cold be  
 nf vc

'Is it a cold?'

52 *Owa* *okoto* *te* *famahi*  
 owa okoto tee fama -hi  
 1SG.O my daughter 2PL.S be two IMP+F  
 pron nf pron vi

'''Marry my daughter.'''

53 *Okoto* *te* *okoto* *me* *hikako* *hinofa*  
 okoto tee okoto me hi- kaako hi- nofa+F  
 my daughter 2PL.S my daughter 3PL.S OC be angry with OC recently  
 nf pron nf pron vt prt  
*amani* *ati* *nematamona*  
 ama -ni ati na -himata -mona  
 SEC BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 sec vt aux

'''Someone is angry with my daughter.'''

54 *Okoto* *te* *famahi*  
 okoto tee fama -hi  
 my daughter 2PL.S be two IMP+F  
 nf pron vi

'''Marry my daughter.'''

55 *Me* *hikakoani* *amani*  
 me hi- kaako -hani ama -ni  
 3PL.S OC be angry with IP.N+F SEC BKG+F  
 pron vt sec

'''Someone is angry with my daughter.'''

ABA TOSI

56 *Faya fe ya fafamawa toemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya fee ya fa- fama -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3SG ADJU DUP be two change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron prt vi aux dem  
 'So she married him.'

57 *Faya hikabanawematamonaka*  
 faya hi- ka- habana -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 so OC COMIT order someone against change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vt

*nisori* , *nisori* *awaraba*  
 nisori nisori awaraba  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother leave alone  
 nm nm vt

*hiramako*  
 hi- na -ra -mako  
 OC AUX NEG for this reason+M  
 aux

'Then he sent a spirit against him, too, because he had messed with his younger brother.'

58 *Aba me ti ne ee sirabarawaha sirabarawa*  
 aba me tii na+M ee siraba -rawa -ha siraba -rawa  
 fish 3PL.S cut through AUX (pause) fish sp F.PL DUP fish sp F.PL  
 nm pron vt aux interj nf nf

*ti karawe we ni ya me inamati*  
 tii ka- na -rawa+M waa+M ni ya me inamati  
 cut through COMIT AUX F.PL stand to ADJU spirits  
 vt aux vi prt prt nf

*kahabaneno* , *ka me inamati tokomake*  
 ka- habana -hino ka me inamati to- ka -makI  
 COMIT order IP.N+M which spirits away go/come following  
 vt prt nf vi

*towakamakihani* , *inamati*  
 to- ka- ka -makI -hani inamati  
 away COMIT go/come following IP.N+F spirit  
 vi nm

*hikahowiribisaramata* *ko*  
 hi- ka- howiri -bisa -ra.NOM+M -mata koo  
 OC COMIT hit with elbow also NEG FP.N+M become sick  
 vt vi

*tobisena*  
 to- na -bisa -hina  
 CH AUX also IRR+M  
 aux

'He was cutting fish. He was cutting *siraba* fish. Two spirits that he had sent against him went to him as he stood there. If a spirit had not hit him with its elbow, he would not have gotten sick.'

59 *Siraba waka narawe wahi siraba were narawematamona*  
 siraba waka na -rawa+M waa+M siraba were na -rawa -himata -mona  
 fish sp kill AUX F.PL stand fish sp throw AUX F.PL FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt aux vi nf vt aux

, *me inamati kakamakibeni ya*  
 me inamati ka- ka -makI -be -ni ya  
 spirits COMIT go/come following FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU  
 nf vi prt

'He was killing the *siraba* fish. As he stood there, he threw the *siraba* fish as the spirits were coming.'

## ABA TOSI

60 *Me kakamakemetemoneni*

me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi

'They came.'

61 *Yana tonebona , siraba yokohori , ti narawe*  
 yana to- na -hibona , siraba yokohori , tii na -rawa+M  
 start CH AUX INT+M fish sp stinger cut through AUX F.PL  
 vi aux nf pn vt aux

*wahi ni ya me kakamakemetemoneni*  
 waa+M ni ya me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni  
 stand to ADJU 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi prt prt pron vi

'He was ready to go, and he was cutting the stingers of the *siraba* fish off. They came to him as he stood there.'

62 *Aba me ama ?*

aba me ama  
 fish 3PL.S be  
 nm pron vc

""Are they fish?""

63 *Aba me amani*

aba me ama -ni  
 fish 3PL.S be BKG+F  
 nm pron vc

""They are fish.""

64 *Siraba waka orawa owine o*  
 siraba waka o- na -rawa+F o- waa -ne o-  
 fish sp kill 1SG.S AUX F.PL 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S  
 nf vt aux vi prt

""I am standing here killing *siraba* fish.""

65 *Siraba waka naraweno ati amane*  
 siraba waka na -rawa -hino ati ama -ne  
 fish sp kill AUX F.PL IP.N+M voice be BKG+M  
 nf vt aux pn vc

""He says he is killing *siraba* fish.""

66 *Oof tafehiba siraba waka naraweno ati amane*  
 oof tafa -hiba siraba waka na -rawa -hino ati ama -ne  
 hoo eat FUT+M fish sp kill AUX F.PL IP.N+M voice be BKG+M  
 interj vi nf vt aux pn vc

""Hoo, he says he is killing *siraba* fish, so he can eat.""

67 *Siraba wataki nofarawa waka orawine*  
 siraba wataka nofa -rawa+F waka o- na -rawa -ne  
 fish sp be fatty recently F.PL kill 1SG.S AUX F.PL CONT+F  
 nf vi prt vt aux

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

""I am killing fatty *siraba* fish," he said.'

ABA TOSI

68 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 "All right."

69 *Tikamibana* ?  
 ti- to- ka -ma+F -bana  
 2SG.S away go/come back FUT  
 vi  
 "Are you leaving?"

70 *Ee okomabana oke*  
 ee o- to- ka -ma -habana o- ke  
 yes 1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 interj vi prt  
 "Yes, I'm going home."

71 *Tikamiya fe me fe*  
 ti- to- ka -ma -yahi fee me fee  
 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F 3SG.O 3PL 3SG.O  
 vi pron pron pron

*watebanoho*  
 wata -hiba -no -ho  
 catch FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt  
 "Go ahead." He caught him.'

72 *Komane ra watehimatamonane inamati*  
 Komane ra wata -himata -mona -ne inamati  
 (man's name) O catch FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M spirit  
 npropm prt vt nm  
 'The spirit caught Komane.'

73 *Inamati hiwatematamonane*  
 inamati hi- wata -himata -mona -ne  
 spirit OC catch FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vt  
 'The spirit caught him.'

74 *Inamati hiwate matonebona inamati owa tore*  
 inamati hi- wata+M matone -bona inamati owa tore  
 spirit OC catch line+M INT+M spirit other+M pull  
 nm vt pn nm adj vt

*hinisematamona*  
 hi- na -risa -himata -mona  
 OC AUX down FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux  
 'The spirit caught him. The other spirit pulled down some vines to tie him up with.'

75 *Faya fe me wete nemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya fee me wete na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3SG.O 3PL.S tie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron pron vt aux dem  
 'They tied him up.'

ABA TOSI

76 *Fe me wete na me awa wa awa wakosa ya*  
 fee me wete na+F me awa waa+F awa waa -kosa+F ya  
 3SG.O 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S tree stand tree stand middle ADJU  
 pron pron vt aux pron nf vi nf vi prt

*sara taminakosa ya me wete*  
 sara tamina -kosa+F ya , me wete  
 seasonally flooded area be good middle ADJU 3PL.S tie  
 nf vi prt pron vt

**hinematamonane**

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

'They tied him up. They tied him to a tree that was in the middle of a clear place in the area that floods in the high water season.'

77 *Faya wanematamona fahi , Mano Boni*  
 faya wana -himata -mona fahi Mano Boni  
 so be attached FP.N+M REP+M then (man's name)  
 conj vi dem npropm

*hikahabanari nisori*  
 hi- ka- habana -haari , nisori  
 OC COMIT order someone against IP.E+M 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 vt nm

**yawehibanoho**

yawa -hiba -no -ho  
 be upset FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'He was there on the tree. Mano Boni had sent spirits against him. His younger brother grieved.'

78 *Manako e ibe tohaterimakoni*  
 manako ee ibe to- ha -tee -ra -makoni  
 revenge 1IN.POSS RECIP CH pay back HAB NEG for this reason+F  
 nf pron pn vt

'People take revenge.'

79 *Fare totoa na toe manako*  
 fare to- to- ha na to- ha+M manako  
 same+M DUP CH pay back AUX CH AUX revenge  
 dem vt aux aux nf

**hiawematamonaka**

hi- to- ha -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 OC CH pay back change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He was always casting spells on people, and he got revenge on him.'

80 *Faya fe me tisa me , faya fe me*  
 faya fee me tisa+F me , faya fee me  
 so 3SG.O 3PL.S undo 3PL.S so 3SG.O 3PL.S  
 conj pron pron vt pron conj pron pron

**tisemetemoneke**

tisa -hemete -mone -ke  
 undo FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They untied him.'

## ABA TOSI

81 **Tikamiya**

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

"Go home."

82 **Tikamiyahi**

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

"Go home."

83 **Titafamibe**

ti- to- tafa -ma -be  
 2SG.S away eat back IMMED+F  
 vi

"Go and eat."

84 **Faya** , **faya** **siraba** **kakamarawe** **ya** **siraba**  
 faya , faya siraba ka- ka -ma -rawa.NOM+M ya siraba  
 so so fish sp COMMIT go/come back F.PL ADJU fish sp  
 conj conj nf vt prt nf

**weye** **narawe** **kame**  
 weye na -rawa+M ka -ma+M  
 carry AUX F.PL go/come back  
 vt aux vi

'So he brought the *siraba* fish back. He carried the *siraba* fish on his back. He came back.'

85 **Faya** **me** **kakame** **siraba** **kakamarawe**  
 faya me ka- ka -ma+M siraba ka- ka -ma -rawa+M  
 so 3PL.O COMMIT go/come back fish sp COMMIT go/come back F.PL  
 conj pron vt nf vt

**kame** **fati** , **fati** **fati** **siraba**  
 ka -ma+M fati , fati fati fati siraba  
 go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife fish sp  
 vi nf nf nf nf nf

**tori** **itirawa** **siraba** **kabarawarematamonahane**  
 tori iti -rawa+F siraba kaba -rawa -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 guts+F take out F.PL fish sp eat F.PL NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 pn vt nf vt

'He brought them back. He brought the *siraba* fish back. He came back. His wife gutted the *siraba* fish, but he didn't eat the *siraba* fish.'

86 **Siraba** , **aba** **me** **tori** **titi**  
 siraba , aba me tori ti- iti  
 fish sp fish 3PL.POSS guts+F 2SG.S take out  
 nf nm pron pn vt

"Gut the *siraba* fish."

87 **Titafibe**

ti- tafa -be  
 2SG.S eat IMMED+F  
 vi

"You eat."

ABA TOSI

88 *Titafibe*

ti- tafa -be  
2SG.S eat IMMED+F  
vi

"You eat."

89 *Aba me tori titi*

aba me tori ti- iti  
fish 3PL.POSS guts+F 2SG.S take out  
nm pron pn vt

"Gut the fish."

90 *Faya siraba tori itirawa aba me aba me*  
faya siraba tori iti -rawa+F aba me aba me  
so fish sp guts+F take out F.PL fish 3PL fish 3PL.S  
conj nf pn vt nm pron nm pron

*rafa nemetemoneni*  
rafa.LIST na -hemete -mone -ni  
wrap AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
vt aux

'She gutted the *siraba* fish. She wrapped the fish.'

91 *Maki yama ai rematamonaka fari*  
maki yama ahi na -ra -himata -mona -ka faari  
3SG.POSS.husband thing work on AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
nm nf vt aux dem

'Her husband didn't work.'

92 *Maki yama ahi rematamonane me inamati*  
maki yama ahi na -ra -himata -mona -ne me inamati  
3SG.POSS.husband thing work on AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M spirits  
nm nf vt aux nf

*wete hinahari Mano Boni hikahabanari*  
wete hi- na -haari Mano Boni hi- ka- habana -haari  
tie OC AUX IP.E+M (man's name) OC COMMIT order someone against IP.E+M  
vt aux npropm vt

'Her husband didn't work. The spirits had tied him up, because Mano Boni had sent them against him.'

93 *Faya me ebe na faya yama sawa na amo ne*  
faya me ebe na+F faya yama sawa na+F amo na+M  
so 3PL.O divide up AUX so thing serve AUX sleep AUX  
conj pron vt aux conj nf vt aux vi aux

*amo nisehino wine amo nisehino*  
amo na -risa -hino wina+M amo na -risa -hino  
sleep AUX down IP.N+M lie in hammock sleep AUX down IP.N+M  
vi aux vi aux

*fati mowa hine hiwa yana*  
fati mowa hi- na+M hiwa yana  
3SG.POSS.wife shake OC AUX 3SG.REFL.M start  
nf vt aux pron vi

*kanematamonaka fahi manako Aba Tosi*  
ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi manako Aba Tosi  
COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then revenge (man's name)  
aux dem nf npropm



## ABA TOSI

### *hihawebanoho*

hi- to- ha -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 OC CH pay back change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'She served the food. He slept. He fell asleep in his hammock. He fell asleep, and his wife shook him. He got sick. Aba Tosi got revenge against him.'

94 *Yama yoyofina toemetemone amake , me inamati*  
 yama yo- yofina to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ke me inamati  
 thing DUP cause fear CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F spirits  
 nf vi aux sec nf

*ihi wati karo*  
 ihi wata.NOM+F karo  
 victim of+F exist which  
 pn nm prt

'It was a scary thing when the spirits killed people.'

95 *Faya me ati sai , me , mowa hine tafehibona*  
 faya me ati sai+M , me , mowa hi- na+M tafa -hibona  
 so 3PL voice be heard 3PL shake OC AUX eat INT+M  
 conj pron pn vi pron vt aux vi

*mowa hine ati hiyarematamona*  
 mowa hi- na+M ati hiya -ra -himata -mona  
 shake OC AUX voice be bad NEG FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux pn vi

'He was talking. She shook him so he would eat, but he said no.'

96 *Titafa*  
 ti- tafa  
 2SG.S eat  
 vi

""You eat.""

97 *Siwa orini*  
 siwa o- na -ra -ni  
 die 1SG.S AUX NEG BKG+F  
 vi aux

""I'm not feeling good.""

98 *Siwa okere*  
 siwa o- na -ke -re  
 die 1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F  
 vi aux

""I'm not feeling good.""

99 *Owa me kahabanani oni*  
 owa me ka- habana -hani o- ni  
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F 1SG.O BKG+F  
 pron pron vt prt

""Someone sent spirits against me.""

100 *Owa me kahabanahani , me inamati owa*  
 owa me ka- habana -hani me inamati owa  
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F spirits 1SG.O  
 pron pron vt nf pron





ABA TOSI

113 *Me inamati e hikanimatamonaka fahi*  
 me inamati ee hi- ka- niha- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 spirits yell OC DUP CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf vi aux dem

'The spirits scared him.'

114 *Eee owa te awaraba nahi*  
 eee owa tee awaraba na -hi  
 (scream when attacked) 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F  
 interj pron pron vt aux

""Eee, leave me alone.""

115 *Yama me inamati owa te awaraba nahi ati*  
 yama me inamati owa tee awaraba na -hi ati  
 thing spirits 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F say  
 nf nf pron pron vt aux vt

*nematamonane*

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

""Spirits, leave me alone," he said.'

116 *Hawa afe tonakematamonaka yamata*  
 hawa afe to- na- ka -himata -mona -ka yamata  
 palm sp leaf+F away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M food  
 nf pn vt nf

*wiyebonehe*

wiye -bone -he  
 container+F INT+F DUP  
 pn

'He went after *hawa* palm leaves, to make a basket for carrying food.'

117 *Yamata wiyebone tonakematamonaha*  
 yamata wiye -bone to- na- ka -himata -mona -ha  
 food container+F INT+F away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf pn vt

'He went after something to carry food in.'

118 *Tatamina nematamonaka kamahari*  
 ta- tamina na -himata -mona -ka ka -ma -haari  
 DUP be good AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M go/come back IP.E+M  
 vi aux vi

*fati ni ya*  
 fati ni ya  
 3SG.POSS.wife to ADJU  
 nf prt prt

'He was fine when he came back to his wife.'

119 *Himata ebe tina tiwati amariya ; ati*  
 himata ebe ti- na ti- ati ama -ri -ya ati  
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX 2SG.POSS voice be CQ+F now say  
 interrog vt aux pn vc vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

""Why did you speak?" she said.'

ABA TOSI

120 *Owati* *watakerene*  
 o- ati wata -ke -re -ne  
 1SG.POSS voice exist DECL+F NEG+F IRR+F  
 pn vi

"I didn't speak."

121 *Owati* *watarini* *ati* *nematamona*  
 o- ati wata -ra -ni ati na -himata -mona  
 1SG.POSS voice exist NEG BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vi vt aux

"I didn't speak," he said.'

122 *Owati* *watarini*  
 o- ati wata -ra -ni  
 1SG.POSS voice exist NEG BKG+F  
 pn vi

"I didn't speak."

123 *Hima* *yifari* *weye* *tibeya*  
 hima yifari weye ti- na -be -ya  
 let's go banana carry 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now  
 interj nf vt aux

"Come on, you carry the bananas."

124 *Yifari* *me* *tonakamakiemetemoneke* *waha*  
 yifari me to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke waha  
 banana 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F now  
 nf pron vt prt

'They went to get the bananas.'

125 *Yifari* *me* *tonakamakiwa* *me* *yifari*  
 yifari me to- na- ka -makI -waha+F me yifari  
 banana 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following change 3PL.S banana  
 nf pron vt pron nf  
*me* *te* *na* *fati* *yifari* *weye* *nemetemone*  
 me tee na+F , fati yifari weye na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S put inside AUX 3SG.POSS.wife banana carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vt aux nf vt aux

'They went to get the bananas. They put the bananas in the basket. His wife carried the bananas.'

126 *Yama* *weye* *rematamonahane*  
 yama weye na -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 thing carry AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

'He didn't carry anything.'

127 *Me* *kakama* *me* *kobo*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me kobo  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S arrive  
 pron vi pron vi

*kanamemetemoneke* *fahi*  
 ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They came back, and they arrived.'

ABA TOSI

128 *Me kobo kanama me , afi nebonaha yana*  
 me kobo ka- na -ma+F me , afi na -hibona -ha yana  
 3PL.S arrive COMMIT AUX back 3PL.S bathe AUX INT+M DUP start  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux vi

*tonematamona*  
 to- na -himata -mona  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux

'They arrived back. He was ready to bathe.'

129 *E afi tokanamatahi ati*  
 ee afi to- ka- na -ma -mata -hi ati  
 1IN.S bathe away COMMIT AUX back short time IMP+F say  
 pron vi aux vt

*nematamonaka*  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'''Let's go bathe.'''

130 *E afi tokanamatahi*  
 ee afi to- ka- na -ma -mata -hi  
 1IN.S bathe away COMMIT AUX back short time IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

'''Let's go bathe.'''

131 *Afi obeya*  
 afi o- na -be -ya  
 bathe 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now  
 vi aux

'''I want to bathe.'''

132 *Yama owa kaiwini ati nematamona , faya*  
 yama owa ka- hiwa -ni ati na -himata -mona faya  
 thing 1SG.O COMMIT be hot BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M so  
 nf pron vt vt aux conj

*sonebano fahi fa kabine ya*  
 sona -hiba -no fahi faha kabine ya  
 fall FUT+M IP.N+M then port ADJU  
 vi dem nf prt

'''I'm hot,' he said. He fell down at the port.'

133 *Fa kabine ya bao nisematamonaka fahi*  
 faha kabine ya bao na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 port ADJU come down AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf prt vi aux dem

'He fell at the port.'

134 *Bao nise fahi hoka hine haha ni*  
 bao na -risa+M fahi hoka hi- na+M haahaa na.NFIN  
 come down AUX down 3SG.POSS.wife yank OC AUX laugh AUX  
 vi aux nf vt aux vi aux

*yana kamsamematamona*  
 yana ka- na -misa -ma -himata -mona  
 get up COMMIT AUX up back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi aux



ABA TOSI

142 *Yifari yome tiribana* ; *ati nemetemone*  
 yifari yome ti- na -ra+F -bana ; ati na -hemete -mone  
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX NEG FUT say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vt aux vt aux

"Aren't you going to eat bananas?" she said.'

143 *Yifari yome onaba tafi owati*  
 yifari yome o- na -haba tafa.NFIN o- ati  
 banana swallow 1SG.S AUX FUT+F eat 1SG.POSS voice  
 nf vt aux vi pn

*nofarini ati nematamona*  
 nofa -ra -ni ati na -himata -mona  
 want NEG BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt vt aux

"I'm not going to eat bananas. I don't want to eat," he said.'

144 *Tafi owati nofarini*  
 tafa.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra -ni  
 eat 1SG.POSS voice want NEG BKG+F  
 vi pn vt

"I don't want to eat."

145 *Yifari yome tinahi ati nematamonaha*  
 yifari yome ti- na -hi ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vt aux vt aux

"You eat bananas," he said.'

146 *Tafi owati nofarini*  
 tafa.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra -ni  
 eat 1SG.POSS voice want NEG BKG+F  
 vi pn vt

"I don't want to eat."

147 *Yifari yome tinahi*  
 yifari yome ti- na -hi  
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 nf vt aux

"You eat bananas."

148 *Otafaba owa awine oni ati nematamona*  
 o- tafa -haba owa awine o- ni ati na -himata -mona  
 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi pron sec prt vt aux

"I will eat later," he said.'

149 *Faya wete toname amo nematamonaka fahi*  
 faya wete to- na -ma+M amo na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so return away AUX back sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux vi aux dem

'He lay back down, and slept.'

150 *Fati mowa hirematamonane ati*  
 fati mowa hi- na -ra -himata -mona -ne ati  
 3SG.POSS.wife shake OC AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M voice  
 nf vt aux pn



ABA TOSI

**kasiromako**

kasiro -mako  
persist for this reason+M  
vi

'His wife didn't wake him up, because he didn't want to be bothered.'

151 **Fati**                      **mowa**    **hire**                      ,    **fati**                      **iyawa**  
fati                      mowa    hi- na -ra+M    ,    fati                      iyawa  
3SG.POSS.wife    shake    OC    AUX    NEG    3SG.POSS.wife    manioc mash  
nf                      vt                      aux                      nf                      nf

**kaba**                      ,    **yifari**                      **kakawi**                      **na**                      ,    **Mano Boni**                      **ati**  
kaba+F                      yifari    ka- kawi                      na+F                      Mano Boni                      ati  
eat                      banana    DUP eat with something    AUX                      (man's name)                      say  
vt                      nf                      vt                      aux                      npropm                      vt

**nemetemone**

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

'His wife didn't wake him up. His wife ate manioc mash with bananas. "Mano Boni," she said.'

152 **Mano Boni**                      ,    **tatafa**                      **tiraha**                      **amo**                      **tibana**  
Mano Boni                      ta- tafa    ti- na -ra+F    amo                      ti- na -bana  
(man's name)                      DUP eat    2SG.S AUX NEG    sleep    2SG.S AUX FUT  
npropm                      vi                      aux                      vi                      aux

**tini**                      **amo**                      **tibana**                      **tini**                      ;    **ati**                      **nemetemone**  
ti- ni    amo    ti- na -bana    ti- ni                      ;    ati    na -hemete -mone  
2SG.S BKG+F    sleep    2SG.S AUX FUT    2SG.S BKG+F                      say    AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
prt                      vi                      aux                      prt                      vt                      aux

'"Mano Boni, why are you sleeping, and not eating?" she said.'

153 **Amo**                      **oraba**                      **nokobisa**                      **onoko**  
amo    o- na -ra -haba    nokobisa    o- noko  
sleep    1SG.S AUX NEG FUT+F    sleepiness    1SG.POSS eye  
vi                      aux                      nf                      pn

**katomimakone**

katoma -mako                      -ne                      o- ni  
attack for this reason CONT+F    1SG.POSS BKG+F  
vt                      prt

'"I don't want to sleep, but I'm so sleepy I can't keep my eyes open."<sup>28</sup>

154 **Nokobisa**                      **onoko**                      **katomimakoni**                      **ama**                      **oni**  
nokobisa    o- noko    katoma -makoni                      ama    o- ni  
sleepiness    1SG.POSS eye    look at for this reason+F    SEC    1SG.POSS BKG+F  
nf                      pn                      vt                      sec                      prt

**ati nematamona**

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

'"I'm so sleepy, I can't keep my eyes open," he said.'

28 It is very difficult to hear this sentence, and Jarawara speakers disagree on what they hear. I have retained the content that Bibiri hears, but if this is correct, it is the only case I have seen of the continuous suffix *-ne* co-occurring with possessor agreement (i.e. in *oni*). It is also the only case I have seen of possessor agreement occurring without Tense.

ABA TOSI

155 *Yifari abakene ati nemetemone*  
 yifari ahaba -ke -ne ati na -hemete -mone  
 banana end DECL+F IRR+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vi vt aux

'"The bananas are all gone," she said.'

156 *Me tinatafahi*  
 me ti- na- tafa -hi  
 3PL.O 2SG.S CAUS eat IMP+F  
 pron vt

'"Give the bananas to someone else."

157 *Yifari yome ni owati nofarini ati*  
 yifari yome na.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra -ni ati  
 banana swallow AUX 1SG.POSS voice want NEG BKG+F say  
 nf vt aux pn vt vt

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

'"I don't want to eat bananas," he said.'

158 *Faya wete toname , bani me me*  
 faya wete to- na -ma+M , bani me me  
 so return away AUX back animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 conj vi aux nm pron pron

*hekama me , bani me me*  
 hi- ka- ka -ma+F me , bani me me  
 OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.O animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt pron nm pron pron

*hekama beheri ra fati kakama*  
 hi- ka- ka -ma+F beheri ra fati ka- ka -ma+F  
 OC COMIT go/come back side O 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT go/come back  
 vt pn prt nf vi

*bani kakibanaha , bani fati*  
 bani ka- ibana+F , bani fati  
 animal COMIT roast animal 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nm vt nm nf

*kakibanemetemoneke*  
 ka- ibana -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT roast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'He lay back down again. The others brought back monkeys. His wife brought back half of one of them. She put the meat on the fire.'

159 *Faya momowa hinamematamonane bani*  
 faya mo- mowa hi- to- na -ma -himata -mona -ne bani  
 so DUP shake OC away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M animal  
 conj vt aux nm

*kabebonaha*  
 kaba -hibona -ha  
 eat INT+M DUP  
 vt

'She went and shook him, so he would eat meat.'

ABA TOSI

160 *Mano Boni titafahi*  
 Mano Boni ti- tafa -hi  
 (man's name) 2SG.S eat IMP+F  
 npropm vi

"Mano Boni, wake up."

161 *Titafibeya*  
 ti- tafi -be -ya  
 2SG.S wake up IMMED+F now  
 vi

"Wake up."

162 *Titafahi ati nemetemonehe*  
 ti- tafi -hi ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 2SG.S wake up IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vi vt aux

"Wake up," she said.'

163 *Hoo owa ni nokobisa hahata ra aawa*  
 hoo owa ni nokobisa ha- hata na -ra+F a- awa  
 whew 1SG to sleepiness DUP be fast AUX NEG DUP not cooperate  
 interj pron prt nf vi aux vi

*re ati amane ati nematamona*  
 na -ra+M ati ama -ne ati na -himata -mona  
 AUX NEG voice be BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux pn vc vt aux

"Hoo, I'm so sleepy, why doesn't she leave me alone?" he said.'

164 *Amo tiwahibeya ati nemetemoneheni*  
 amo ti- na -waha -be -ya ati na -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 sleep 2SG.S AUX change IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 vi aux vt aux

"You can go back to sleep after you eat," she said.'

165 *Faya mowa hinamatase hiwa yana*  
 faya mowa hi- to- na -ma -tasa+M hiwa yana  
 so fight OC away AUX back again 3SG.REFL.M start  
 conj vt aux pron vi

*kanematamonaka fahi*  
 ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'She went and shook him again. He started being crazy.'

166 *Fito hikanematamonaha*  
 fito hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ha  
 rush OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi aux

'It attacked him.'

167 *Me fito hikarematamonaka*  
 me fito hi- ka- na -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S rush OC COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vi aux

'They didn't want to come to him.'

ABA TOSI

168 *Me toma hirihi hinematamonane*  
 me toma hi- na -rihi hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S suck OC AUX NEG.LIST OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt aux aux

'They didn't want to suck on him, either.'

169 *Me toma hirematamonaka fare warabo*  
 me toma hi- na -ra -himata -mona -ka fare warabo  
 3PL.S suck OC AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+M ear+M  
 pron vt aux dem pn

*nofima*

na nofa.NOM+F -ma  
 AUX recently like  
 aux

'They didn't suck on him, because every time people told him [to not kill people, he didn't listen].'

170 *Mano Boni e aware rabike fati ati*  
 Mano Boni ee awa -ra+M rabika+M fati , ati  
 (man's name) 1IN.S see NEG be crazy 3SG.POSS.wife voice  
 npropm pron vt vi nf pn

*saineni ati nematamona*  
 sai -ne -ni ati na -himata -mona  
 be heard CONT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi vt aux

'I don't know why Mano Boni went crazy. His wife is complaining,' he said.'

171 *Fa ki omatibeya*  
 faha kii o- na -mata -be -ya  
 water look at 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now  
 nf vt aux

'I'm going fishing.'

172 *Fa ki omatibe*  
 faha kii o- na -mata -be  
 water look at 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux

'I'm going fishing.'

173 *Me ati te kamita , Mano Boni*  
 me ati tee ka- mita , Mano Boni  
 3PL.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT hear (man's name)  
 pron pn pron vt npropm

*rabikamonaha*  
 rabika.NOM+M -mona -ha  
 be crazy REP+M DUP  
 vi

'You listen to them talking about how Mano Boni went crazy.'

174 *Tokehimatamonaka*  
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He went into the forest.'





ABA TOSI

187 *Ota towakamakiaba ota*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -makI -haba otaa  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following FUT+F 1EX.S  
 pron vi pron

"We will go on behind."

188 *Ota yana tokobonehe ati nematamona*  
 otaa yana to- ka- na.NOM -bone -he ati na -himata -mona  
 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX INT+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vi aux vt aux

"We are ready," he said.'

189 *Iti tai tiwamake*  
 iti tai ti- to- ha -makI  
 father-in-law be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX following  
 nm vi aux

"Father-in-law, go on ahead."

190 *Ota towakamakiaba otani*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -makI -haba otaa -ni  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 pron vi pron

"We will go behind."

191 *Yifo tikatisa*  
 yifo ti- ka- tisa  
 hammock 2SG.S COMIT undo  
 nm vt

"Take the hammock down."

192 *Faya yifo katisa faya yifo*  
 faya yifo ka- tisa+F faya yifo  
 so hammock COMIT undo so hammock  
 conj nm vt conj nm

*katisemetemoneke*

ka- tisa -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT undo FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'She took down the hammock.'

193 *Yifo katisa yifo te nemetemonehe me*  
 yifo ka- tisa+F yifo tee na -hemete -mone -he me  
 hammock COMIT undo hammock put inside AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP 3PL  
 nm vt nm vt aux

*ka yifo*  
 ka yifo  
 POSS hammock  
 prt nm

'She took down the hammock, and put the hammock in the basket, their hammock.'

194 *Yifo weye tikanahi ati nematamonaha*  
 yifo weye ti- ka- na -hi ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 hammock carry 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm vt aux vt aux

"You carry the hammock," he said.'

ABA TOSI

195 *Yifo weye kanemetemone fero*  
 yifo weye ka- na -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 hammock carry COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 nm vt aux dem

'She carried the hammock.'

196 *Karaboa ya yama taba ra tiwa kanematamona*  
 karaboha ya yama taba+*F* ra tiwa ka- na -himata -mona  
 blowgun ADJU thing be together O carry COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf prt nf vi prt vt aux

*fari*

faari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'He carried the blowgun and the other things.'

197 *Me kakamakemetemone fahi*  
 me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone fahi  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They came.'

198 *Hinakiti tai toniamaki me*  
 hinaka iti tai to- niha- ha -makI+M me  
 3SG.POSS father-in-law be ahead CH CAUS AUX following 3PL.S  
 nm vi aux pron

*kobo nani me me wasimakemetemone yobe me*  
 kobo na -hani me me wasi -makI -hemete -mone yobe me  
 arrive AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S find following FP.N+F REP+F house 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron pron vt nm pron

*ai nani mati*  
 ahi na -hani mati  
 work on AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron

'He had his father-in-law go ahead. They arrived. They came upon the others building a house.'

199 *Faya fiya tonakosawite yobe ai*  
 faya fiya to- na -kosa -witI yobe ahi  
 so pass away AUX middle out house work on  
 conj vi aux nm vt

*nematamonaka fahi*  
 na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He went on by and built a house.'

200 *Hinakiti ya fafamawa*  
 hinaka iti ya fa- fama -waha.LIST  
 3SG.POSS father-in-law ADJU DUP be two change  
 nm prt vi

*nematamonaha yobe me boto na mati baye*  
 na -himata -mona -ha yobe me boto na+F mati baye  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP thatch 3PL.S bend over AUX 3PL.S palm sp  
 aux nm pron vt aux pron nm



ABA TOSI

*efe*

efe

leaf+M

pn

'He and his father-in-law put on the thatch together, baye leaves.'

201 *Yobe me yama na me , yobe me yama nemetemone*  
 yobe me yama na+F me , yobe me yama na -hemete -mone  
 house 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S house 3PL.S make AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron vt aux

*ahi*

ahi

then

dem

'They made the house.'

202 *Yobe me yama na me , bai tokematamona*  
 yobe me yama na+F me , bai to- ka -himata -mona  
 house 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S sun away go/come FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vt aux pron nm vi

*amane*

ama -ne

SEC BKG+M

sec

'They made the house. It was getting late in the day.'

203 *Bai toke ya yobe tati yoto kanematamona*  
 bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya yobe tati yoto ka- na -himata -mona  
 sun away go/come ADJU house top cover COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vi prt nm pn vt aux

'When it was late in the day, he covered the top of the roof.'

204 *E oribeya ; ati nematamonaha*  
 ee o- na -ri -be -ya ; ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 be similar 1SG.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi aux vt aux

""What should I do?" he said.'

205 *Yama okahaba , yama yama bata*  
 yama o- to- ka -haba , yama yama bata  
 forest 1SG.S away go/come FUT+F thing thing surprise  
 nf vi nf nf vt

*kanake*

ka- na -ke

COMIT AUX DECL+F

aux

""I would go hunting, but the day is already ending.""

206 *Fimi e amo kamata*  
 fimi ee amo ka- na -mata  
 hunger 1IN.S sleep COMMIT AUX short time  
 nf pron vi aux

""We will sleep hungry.""

## ABA TOSI

207 *Iyawa*            *e*            *kabamata*  
 iyawa            ee            kaba -mata  
 manioc mash    1IN.S    eat    short time  
 nf                pron    vt

"We will eat manioc mash for now."

208 *Hinakiti*                            *kokoro*            *tonama*            *toematamona*  
 hinaka    iti                            ko- koro    to- na -ma    to- ha -himata -mona  
 3SG.POSS father-in-law    DUP throw    away AUX back    CH AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 nm                                vt                            aux                            aux

*Aba Tosi*            *toane*  
 Aba Tosi            to- ha -ne  
 (man's name)    CH    be BKG+M  
 npropm            vc

'Aba Tosi liked his father-in-law, he never let him be far away.'

209 *Hinakiti*                            *fimimona*                            *ene*                            *bosa*  
 hinaka    iti                            fimi                            -himona    ehene                            bosa  
 3SG.POSS father-in-law    be hungry    REP+M                            because of+M                            get up early  
 nm                                vi    post                            vi

*ne*            ,    *fa*            *ki*                            *ne*            *aba*            *me*            *sa*    *nenono*  
 na+M                            faha    kii                            na+M    aba    me            saa    na -hino  
 AUX                            water    look at                            AUX    fish    3PL.O    shoot with arrow                            AUX IP.N+M  
 aux                            nf            vt                            aux    nm            pron    vt    aux

*aba*            *me*            *kakamatase*    *Aba*            *me*  
 aba    me            ka- ka                            -ma -tasa+M                            aba    me  
 fish    3PL.O    COMMIT go/come back again                            fish    3PL.O  
 nm            pron    vt    nm            pron

*tikaware*  
 ti- ka- waa -rI  
 2SG.S COMMIT cook raised surface  
 vt

'His father-in-law said he was hungry, and because of him he got up early. He went fishing, and he speared fish. He brought the fish back. "Cook the fish."

210 *Abi*    *fimi*    *awaka*  
 abi    fimi+M    awa -ka  
 2SG.POSS.father                            be hungry    seem+M DECL+M  
 nm    vi    sec

"Your father is hungry."

211 *Abi*    *fimi*    *awane*  
 abi    fimi+M    awa -ne  
 2SG.POSS.father                            be hungry    seem+M BKG+M  
 nm    vi    sec

"Your father is hungry."

212 *Aba*            *me*            *tikaware*  
 aba    me            ti- ka- waa -rI  
 fish    3PL.O    2SG.S COMMIT cook raised surface  
 nm            pron    vt

"Cook the fish."

213 *Aba*            *me*            *fati*    *kawariemetemone*    *ahi*  
 aba    me            fati    ka- waa -rI    -hemete -mone                            ahi  
 fish    3PL.O    3SG.POSS.wife                            COMMIT cook raised surface                            FP.N+F    REP+F                            then  
 nm            pron    nf    vt    dem

ABA TOSI

*ati ehene*  
 ati ehene  
 voice because of+M  
 pn post

'His wife cooked the fish, because he told her to.'

214 *Aba me one yoro kana*  
 aba me one yoro ka- na.LIST  
 fish 3PL some+F stand COMIT AUX  
 nm pron adj vi aux

'Two of the fish were on sticks.'

215 *Aba me one yoro kanabanake tika aba*  
 aba me one yoro ka- na -habana -ke ti- ka aba  
 fish 3PL some+F stand COMIT AUX FUT+F DECL+F 2SG.POSS POSS fish  
 nm pron adj vi aux prt nm

*meba mati , me e kababa mati bati , me*  
 me -ba mati , me ee kaba -haba mati bati , me  
 3PL FUT 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F 3PL.O 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.O  
 pron pron pron vt pron nm pron

*e kabaminaba mati*  
 ee kaba -mina -haba mati  
 1IN.S eat morning FUT+F 3PL.O  
 pron vt pron

""Two of the fish will be on sticks, to be for you, so we can eat them tomorrow.""

216 *Faya hinakiti komene watabisemata awaka*  
 faya hinaka iti komene wata -bisa -himata awa -ka  
 so 3SG.POSS father-in-law pain+M exist also FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 conj nm pn vi sec

*fahi*  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'His father-in-law was not well.'

217 *Makoni oohariwa toa namata*  
 makoni o- ohari -waha to- ha.CONT+M namata  
 for this reason DUP be alone change CH AUX AUX FP.N+M  
 conj vi aux aux

'So he worked alone.'

218 *Anoti ya fafamawa toematamona*  
 anoti ya fa- fama -waha to- ha -himata -mona  
 3SG.POSS older brother ADJU DUP be with change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm prt vi aux  
 , *anoti owa*  
 anoti owa  
 3SG.POSS older brother other+M  
 nm adj

'He lived with his older brother, his other older brother.'

219 *Nisori , nisori ,*  
 nisori nisori  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 nm nm



ABA TOSI

226 *Me tamake*  
 me tama -ke  
 3PL.S be many DECL+F  
 pron vi

'There are many of them.'

227 *Maka wai hine kakawina*  
 maka wai hi- na+M ka- ka- wina  
 snake bite OC AUX DUP COMMIT lie in hammock  
 nf vt aux vi

*toematamonaka fahi*  
 to- ha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'A snake bit him, and he lay in his hammock, sick.'

228 *Anoti totoma hihematamonane*  
 anoti to- toma hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 3SG.POSS older brother DUP suck OC CH be FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vt aux

'His older brother sucked on him to cure him.'

229 *Anoti toma hine saohi sao*  
 anoti toma hi- na+M , saohi sao  
 3SG.POSS older brother suck OC AUX feel better feel better  
 nm vt aux vi vi

*saohi wine ni ya , Bonikana mayawari*  
 saohi wine ni ya , Bonikana mayawari  
 feel better lie in hammock to ADJU (man's name) titi  
 vi vi prt prt npropm nm

*tokematamona amaka , mayawari mao hisi*  
 toka -himata -mona ama -ka , mayawari mao hisi  
 partially burn FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M titi smell+M smell  
 vt sec nm pn vt

*tosebanoho*  
 to- na -kosa -hiba -no -ho  
 CH AUX middle FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'His older brother sucked on him. He got better. As he lay in his hammock, Bonikana burned the hair off a titi monkey near him, and he smelled the titi.'

230 *Mayawari mao hisi ne kerewe , yama hose*  
 mayawari mao hisi na+M kerewe , yama hose  
 titi smell+M smell AUX be slow thing give a shock to  
 nm pn vt aux vi nf vt

*hinakimatamona amaka*  
 hi- na -kI -himata -mona ama -ka  
 OC AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 aux sec

'He smelled the smell of the titi, and it jolted him.'

231 *Yama mai hiyara mai hisi tinahi maka ni*  
 yama mahi hiya -ra+F mahi hisi ti- na -hi maka ni  
 thing smell+F be bad NEG smell+F smell 2SG.S AUX IMP+F snake to  
 nf pn vi pn vt aux nf prt

ABA TOSI

*ya* .  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt  
 'You shouldn't smell a bad smell when a snake has bitten you.'

232 *Faya anoti yawematamona fahi* .  
 faya anoti yawa -himata -mona fahi  
 so 3SG.POSS older brother be upset FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj nm vi dem

'Then his older brother was upset.'

233 *Nisori maka , hose hinaki toma*  
 nisori maka hose hi- na -kI+M toma  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother snake give a shock to OC AUX coming suck  
 nm nf vt aux vt

*hine anoti tama hikana , faya*  
 hi- na+M anoti tama hi- ka- na.LIST , faya  
 OC AUX 3SG.POSS older brother hold onto OC COMIT AUX so  
 aux nm vt aux conj

*yawematamonaka fahi* .  
 yawa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'The snake jolted his younger brother. His older brother sucked on him, and he held him. He was upset.'

234 *Anoti anoti toma hine ,*  
 anoti anoti toma hi- na+M ,  
 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother suck OC AUX  
 nm nm vt aux

*fawa nisematamonaka fahi* .  
 fawa na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 disappear AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi aux dem

'His older brother sucked on him, but he died.'

235 *Faya me yawa faya , me yawehemetemoneke*  
 faya me yawa+F faya , me yawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL.S be upset so 3PL.S be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron vi conj pron vi

*fahi* .  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'Then they grieved.'

236 *Me yawa me , yawematamona Ataro* .  
 me yawa+F me , yawa -himata -mona Ataro  
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S be upset FP.N+M REP+M (man's name)  
 pron vi pron vi npropm

'They grieved. Ataro grieved.'

237 *Yawe yawa towake , fawa ne yama soki*  
 yawa+M yawa to- ka- ka+M , fawa ne yama soki.NFIN  
 be upset grief away COMIT go/come disappear AUX thing be dark  
 vi nf vt vi aux nf vi

ABA TOSI

*yama sirimaki ya ati wamematamonaka ahi*  
 yama siri -makI.NOM ya ati waa -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 thing be cold following ADJU voice stand back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf vi prt pn vi dem

'He grieved. He went into the forest grieving. He disappeared. His voice could be heard before dawn as he approached the village again.'

238 *Yama sirimaki ya ati wame , toni*  
 yama siri -makI.NOM ya ati waa -ma+M toni  
 thing be cold following ADJU voice stand back familiar spirit  
 nf vi prt pn vi nm

*me sari okana me toni me sari*  
 me sari o- ka- na+F me toni me sari  
 3PL.O burn 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.O familiar spirit 3PL.O burn  
 pron vt aux pron nm pron vt

*okana me kai iti yamani te ka*  
 o- ka- na+F me kaha.NFIN ita.NOM+F yamani tee ka  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.S be toasted be located telling 2PL POSS  
 aux pron vi vi pron prt

*toni mati ati nematamona ohi ni ati*  
 toni mati ati na -himata -mona ohi na.NFIN ati  
 familiar spirit 3PL say AUX FP.N+M REP+M cry AUX say  
 nm pron vt aux vi aux vt

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

'His voice could be heard before dawn as he approached the village again. "I burned the familiar spirits. I burned your familiar spirits, and they are there on the ground, burned up," he said, crying.'

239 *Te ka toni me sari okana me*  
 tee ka toni me sari o- ka- na+F me  
 2PL POSS familiar spirit 3PL.O burn 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 pron prt nm pron vt aux pron

*kai iti yamani ohi ni ati nematamonaha*  
 kaha.NFIN ita.NOM+F yamani ohi na.NFIN ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 be toasted be located telling cry AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi vi vi aux vt aux

*fowa iso tiwa nenoho , fowa iso*  
 fowa iso tiwa na -hino -ho fowa iso  
 manioc stalk+M carry AUX IP.N+M DUP manioc stalk+M  
 nm pn vt aux nm pn

*kakamenoho Boniwa Boniwatebana*  
 ka- ka -ma -hino -ho , Boniwa Boniwa -tee -bana  
 COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DUP (man's name) (man's name) HAB FUT  
 vt npropm npropm

'"I burned your familiar spirits, and they are there on the ground, burned up," he said, crying. He was carrying manioc stalks. He brought back manioc stalks, Boniwa.'

240 *Boniwa , Boniwateba , nisori*  
 Boniwa , Boniwa -tee -ba , nisori  
 (man's name) (man's name) HAB FUT 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 npropm npropm nm

ABA TOSI

**tabiyo yawe , bane kakimatamona**  
 tabiyo yawa+M , banehe ka- ka -kI.NOM -mata -mona ,  
 absence be upset giant anteater COMMIT go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vi nf vt

**amake ahi**  
 ama -ke ahi  
 be DECL+F then  
 vc dem

'Boniwa grieved because his younger brother was gone. He brought back a giant anteater.'

241 **Yawe kake , Okaniso ota**  
 yawa+M ka -kI , o- ka niso otaa  
 be upset go/come coming 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1EX.S  
 vi vi nm pron

**famate okaniso , yama i**  
 fama -tee o- ka niso , yama ihi  
 be two HAB 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother thing victim of+F  
 vi nm nf pn

**toane**  
 to- ha.CONT+M -ne  
 CH be BKG+M  
 vc

'He came grieving. "My younger brother, who I was always with, was killed."'

242 **Toni me ihi amari**  
 toni me ihi ama -ra.NOM+F  
 familiar spirit 3PL.POSS victim of+F be NEG  
 nm pron pn vc

""It was not familiar spirits that killed him.""

243 **Toni me ihi amakare**  
 toni me ihi ama -ka -re  
 familiar spirit 3PL.POSS victim of+F be DECL NEG+F  
 nm pron pn vc

""It was not familiar spirits that killed him.""

244 **Maka ihi amake**  
 maka ihi ama -ke  
 snake victim of+F be DECL+F  
 nf pn vc

""It was a snake that killed him.""

245 **Bani me te totokawiti ra bani me**  
 bani me tee to- toka -witI na -ra+F bani me  
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP partially burn out AUX NEG animal 3PL.O  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

**te wawasi toineni ati nematamona**  
 tee wa- wasi to- ha -ne -ni ati na -himata -mona  
 2PL.S DUP find CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt aux vt aux

""When you hunt, you should burn the hair off the animals far away," he said.'

246 **Mera kakomatamonane**  
 mera kaako -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.O be angry with FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt

'He was mad at them.'







ABA TOSI

258 *Me towinawitia* , *yawata* *me tokahabone*  
 me to- wina -witI+F , yawata me to- ka -habone  
 3PL.S away live out game for feast 3PL.S away go/come INT+F  
 pron vi adv pron vi

*me toka* *me towinawitia* *me* ,  
 me to- ka+F me to- wina -witI+F me ,  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away live out 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi pron

*Okabisiba* *ahi* .  
 o- to- ka -bisa.NOM+F -ba ahi  
 1SG.S away go/come also FUT there  
 vi dem

'They stayed out there. They went into the forest to get game for the festa. They stayed out there. "I'm going this way."'

259 *Te tokabisa* *fahi ati nematamona* , *aba*  
 tee to- ka -bisa fahi ati na -himata -mona , aba  
 2PL.S away go/come also there say AUX FP.N+M REP+M fish sp  
 pron vi dem vt aux nm

*me wasibanoho* *Koriwa abe* .  
 me wasi -hiba -no -ho Koriwa abe  
 3PL.O find FUT+M IP.N+M DUP Curiá creature+F  
 pron vt npropf pn

'"You go the other way," he said. He discovered the *aba* fish, the ones who live in the Curiá River.'

260 *Tokehimatamonaka* *fahi* .  
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'He went.'

261 *Toke* *fawa* *ne* , *fawa* *ne* *aba* *me* ,  
 to- ka+M fawa na+M , fawa na+M aba me ,  
 away go/come disappear AUX disappear AUX fish sp 3PL.O  
 vi vi aux vi aux nm pron

*awenoho*  
 awa -hino -ho  
 see IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'He went, and disappeared. He saw the *aba* fish.'

262 *Bani* *me* *fora* *nenono* *bani* *me* *weye*  
 bani me fora na -hino bani me weye  
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M animal 3PL.O carry  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

*ni kamematamona* , *wafa* *mati* .  
 na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona , wafa mati  
 AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M woolly monkey 3PL  
 aux vi nm pron

'He shot animals with his blowgun. He came back carrying the animals, woolly monkeys.'

263 *Kame* , *kame* *kobo* *namematamonaha*  
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ha  
 go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi vi vi aux

'He came back. He arrived back.'

ABA TOSI

264 **Bani me titokahi ati nematamona**  
 bani me ti- toka -hi ati na -himata -mona  
 animal 3PL.O 2SG.S partially burn IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vt vt aux

"Burn the hair off the animals," he said.'

265 **Bani me te tokahi**  
 bani me tee toka -hi  
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S partially burn IMP+F  
 nm pron pron vt

"Burn the hair off the animals."

266 **Bani me te tokahi ati nematamona**  
 bani me tee toka -hi ati na -himata -mona  
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S partially burn IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron pron vt vt aux

"Burn the hair off the animals," he said.'

267 **Faya afi nebona tokifiwahame hinaka**  
 faya afi na -hibona to- ka -fi -waha -ma+M hinaka  
 so bathe AUX INT+M away go/come water change back 3SG.POSS  
 conj vi aux vi pron

**bani me me hitoka bani me me bobi**  
 bani me me hi- toka+F bani me me bobi  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S OC partially burn animal 3PL.O 3PL.S slit  
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron vt

**nemetemone ahi**  
 na -hemete -mone ahi  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'He went to the water to bathe. They burned the hair off the animals, and cut the animals up.'

268 **Bani me me bobi na me tana me yama na**  
 bani me me bobi na+F me tana me yama na+F  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S slit AUX 3PL.S grill 3PL.S make AUX  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

**bani me me tabasi nawemetemone**  
 bani me me tabasi na -waha -hemete -mone  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX change FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They cut the animals up. They made a rack, and roasted the animals on the rack.'

269 **Me hiyarama me me hiyarama me hiyara**  
 me hiyara -ma+F me me hiyara -ma+F me hiyara  
 3PL.S speak back 3PL.S 3PL.S speak back 3PL.S speak  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron vi

**naba me ni ya ati yana nematamonaka**  
 nahaba+F me ni ya ati yana na -himata -mona -ka  
 at night 3PL to ADJU voice start AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 prt pron prt prt pn vi aux

'They talked back at the village. They were talking at night, and he spoke.'

270 **Abise abise**  
 abise abise  
 uncle uncle  
 nm nm

"Uncle, uncle."

ABA TOSI

271 *Haa* ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 ""Yes?""

272 *Abise me inamati wini yama , aba mera*  
 abise me inamati wina.NOM+F yama , aba mera  
 uncle people live (reporting) fish sp 3PL.O  
 nm nf vi prt nm pron

*keyehenoho*

keyeha -hino -ho  
 deceive IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

""Uncle, there are people living there." He was deceiving them about the *aba* fish.'"

273 *Ibaka ya* ?  
 ibaka ya  
 where ADJU  
 interrog prt

""Where?""

274 *Me inamati winahara ahi*  
 me inamati wina -hara ahi  
 people live IP.E+F there  
 nf vi dem

""There are people living there.""

275 *Me inamati te me te awaba me awineni*  
 me inamati tee me tee awa -haba me awine -ni  
 people 2PL 3PL.O 2PL.S see FUT+F 3PL.O seem+F BKG+F  
 nf pron pron pron vt pron sec

""You will see the people.""

276 *Me me hamarini* ?  
 me me hama -ra -ni  
 3PL 3PL.S be mean NEG BKG+F  
 pron pron vi

""Are they fierce?""

277 *Me hamarahara*  
 me hama -ra -hara  
 3PL.S be mean NEG IP.E+F  
 pron vi

""They aren't fierce.""

278 *Me ati somarani*  
 me ati soma -hara -ni  
 3PL.POSS voice be restored IP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron pn vi

""They are not angry.""

279 *Me ati somahara*  
 me ati soma -hara  
 3PL.POSS voice be restored IP.E+F  
 pron pn vi

ABA TOSI

"They are not angry."

280 *Me winahara*  
 me wina -hara  
 3PL.S live IP.E+F  
 pron vi

"They are living there."

281 *Faya me , me ati kamite , hiyara*  
 faya me me ati ka- mita+M hiyara  
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS voice COMMIT hear story  
 conj pron pron pn vt nf

*kaminematamonaka aba mera kaminari aba mera*  
 kamina -himata -mona -ka aba mera kamina -haari aba mera  
 tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M fish sp 3PL.O tell IP.E+M fish sp 3PL.O  
 vt nm pron vt nm pron

*wati nawebanoho*  
 wati na -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 remember AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt aux

'He listened to them. He told them the news, telling them about the *aba* fish. He remembered the *aba* fish.'

282 *Fa abe owa kanakomeba*  
 faha abe owa ka- na- komeha -haba  
 water creature+F 1SG.O COMMIT CAUS be fearsome FUT+F  
 nf pn pron vt

*owasiwitihani okomine oni ati*  
 o- to- wasi -witI -hani o- ka -ma -ne o- ni ati  
 1SG.S away find out IP.N+F 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say  
 vt vi prt vt

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

"The creatures in the water scared me when I found them, and I have come back," he said.'

283 *Fa ababote kaya ke ahi*  
 faha aba -bote kaya ke ahi  
 water be inhabited very stand AUX DECL+F there  
 nf adj vi prt dem

"There are many fish in the water there."

284 *Fa yokana ya e winene e amani ati*  
 faha yokana ya ee wina -hene ee ama -ni ati  
 water true ADJU 1IN.S live IRR+F 1IN.S SEC BKG+F say  
 nf adj prt pron vi pron sec vt

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

"We should live in a place where there is a good stream," he said.'

285 *Fa fa abe te , fa ababote kaya na*  
 faha faha abe tee , faha aba -bote kaya na+F  
 water water creature+F 2PL water be inhabited very stand AUX  
 nf nf pn pron nf adj vi aux

ABA TOSI

**ra** **abe** **te** **awibe**  
 ra abe tee awa -be  
 O creature+F 2PL.S see IMMED+F  
 prt pn pron vt  
 "You will see the stream that has a lot of fish."

286 **E** **towawitibe**  
 ee to- awa -witI -be  
 1IN.S away see out IMMED+F  
 pron vt  
 "We will go there and see it."

287 **Faya** **me** **amo** **ni** **ya** **me** **bosa**  
 faya me amo na.NOM+F ya me bosa  
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU 3PL.S get up early  
 conj pron vi aux prt pron vi  
**nemetemoneke** **fahi** **aba** **me** **me** **awabone** **mati**  
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi aba me me awa -habone mati  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S see INT+F 3PL.S  
 aux dem nm pron pron vt pron  
 'They slept, and got up early to see the *aba* fish.'

288 **Noki Maiyimetemone** **aati** **toamarokene**  
 Noki Maiyi -mete -mone a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke -ne  
 (woman's name) FP.N+F REP+F DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F IRR+F  
 npropf vt aux

**Noki Maiyi** **korokoro** **tosa** **na** **toaramaro** **ati**  
 Noki Maiyi koro- koro to- na -kosa na to- ha -ra -hamaro ati  
 (woman's name) DUP throw CH AUX middle AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+F voice  
 npropf result aux aux aux pn

'Noki Maiyi, who would not be left behind, used to tell about it.'

289 **Me fanawi** **ya** **me** **taba** **me** **tokemetemone**  
 me fanawi ya me taba+F me to- ka -hemete -mone  
 women ADJU 3PL.S be together 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf prt pron vi pron vi  
**ahi** **fa** **abe** **me** **awabone** **mati**  
 ahi faha abe me awa -habone mati  
 then water creature+F 3PL.S see INT+F 3PL.S  
 dem nf pn pron vt pron  
 'They went with the women to see the fish.'

290 **Koriwa** **Koriwa** **abe** **homabasemetemone**  
 Koriwa Koriwa abe homa -basa -hemete -mone  
 Curiá Curiá creature+F be horizontal edge FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropf npropf pn vi  
**okomise** **hiyari** **aati** **toimaro** **amani**  
 o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 nf vi vt aux vc  
**fa** **baratenihi**  
 faha bara -tee -hani -hi  
 water be tranquil HAB IP.N+F DUP  
 nf vi

'The fish of the Curiá were all along the edge, my aunt used to say. It was an untouched stream.'

ABA TOSI

291 *Me kamawemetemoneke*  
 me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi  
 'They came back.'

292 *Me hinaka me me me*  
 me hi- to- na- ka+F me , me me  
 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron pron pron

*hinaka me me tisa*  
 hi- to- na- ka+F me me tisa  
 OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 vt pron pron vt

*hinemetemoneke wati ino me soko na mati*  
 hi- na -hemete -mone -ke wati ino me soko na+F mati  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F arrow point+M 3PL.S wash AUX 3PL.S  
 aux nm pn pron vt aux pron

*wati ino iha kihari*  
 wati ino iha kihari -haari  
 arrow point+M plant sp have IP.E+M  
 nm pn nm vt

'They went after them. They went after them, and speared them. They washed the points of their arrows off, because the points of their arrows had *iha* poison.'

293 *Wati ino iha kihe me soko nia aba me*  
 wati ino iha kiha+M me soko niha- na+F aba me  
 arrow point+M plant sp have 3PL.S wash CAUS AUX fish sp 3PL.O  
 nm pn nm vt pron vt aux nm sp pron

*me tisa nemetemoneni*  
 me tisa.LIST na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vt aux

'They washed the *iha* off of the arrow points and they speared the *aba* fish.'

294 *Bani me me fora*  
 bani me me fora.LIST  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun  
 nm pron pron vt

'They also shot animals with their blowguns.'

295 *Koriwa me hiwasiemetemone amake e iti*  
 Koriwa me hi- wasi -hemete -mone ama -ke ee iti  
 Curiá 3PL.S OC find FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 1IN.POSS grandfather  
 npropf pron vt sec pron nm

*boteri mati*  
 bote -ri mati  
 old PN 3SG.POSS.mother  
 pn nf

'They discovered the Curiá, our ancestors.'

296 *Faya me me me hekanakosemetemoneke*  
 faya me me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron pron pron vt



ABA TOSI

*fahi*

fahi  
then  
dem

'Then they left them behind.'

297 *Hima e tokoma*  
hima ee to- ka -ma  
let's go 1IN.S away go/come back  
interj pron vi

'''Come on, let's go home.'''

298 *Aba hine me kaya ni na me e*  
aba hine me kaya na.NOM+F na me ee  
fish sp only 3PL.S stand AUX AUX 3PL.O 1IN.S  
nm pron pron vi aux aux pron pron

*awamatebana me me hinemetemone*  
awa -ma -tee -habana me me ati hi- na -hemete -mone  
see back HAB FUT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S say OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
vt pron pron vt

'''Let the *aba* fish be in the water. We will come and see them again,''' they said.''''

299 *E winamateba ere*  
ee wina -mata+F -haba ere  
1IN.S live short time FUT+F 1IN.S  
pron vi pron

'''We will come and live here.'''

300 *Me kamawemetemoneke fahi bani me*  
me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi bani me  
3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then animal 3PL.O  
pron vi dem nm pron

*me ai namabani mati*  
me ahi na -ma -haba -ni mati  
3PL.S work on AUX back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
pron vt aux pron

'Then they came back, and prepared the animals.'

301 *Wafa me me fora nemetemone*  
wafa me me fora na -hemete -mone  
woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
nm pron pron vt aux

*Noki Maiyi hiyari aati toamaroke*  
Noki Maiyi hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke  
(woman's name) speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
npropf vi vt aux

'They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, Noki Maiyi used to say.'

302 *Noki Maiyi afametemone aati tohamaroke*  
Noki Maiyi afa -mete -mone a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke  
(woman's name) this+F FP.N+F REP+F DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
npropf dem vt aux

'It was Noki Maiyi who used to say it.'

ABA TOSI

303	<b>Wafa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>fora</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	
	wafa	me	me	fora		na+F	me	
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with blowgun		AUX	3PL.S	
	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron	
	<b>kama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yifo</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>sai</b>
	ka -ma+F	me	yifo	me	awa+F	me	moni	sai
	go/come back	3PL.S	firewood	3PL.S	see	3PL.POSS	sound	be heard
	vi	pron	nf	pron	vt	pron	pn	vi

**nabimetemone** **ama** .  
 nahaba.NOM+F -mete -mone ama  
 at night FP.N+F REP+F be  
 prt vc  
 'They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, and they came back. They got firewood, and the sound of them could be heard during the night.'

304	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabasi</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>	<b>fahi</b>
	bani	me	me	tabasi	na -hemete -mone	fahi
	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	dem

'They roasted the animals on racks.'

305	<b>Aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>rafa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>sai</b>
	aba	me	me	rafa+F	me	ati	sai
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	wrap	3PL.POSS	voice	be heard
	nm	pron	pron	vt	pron	pn	vi

<b>nabemetemone</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>Koriwa</b>	<b>abe</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wasia</b>	<b>mati</b>
nahaba -hemete -mone	ama	Koriwa	abe	me	wasi+F	mati
at night FP.N+F REP+F	SEC	Curiá	creature+F	3PL.S	find	3PL.S
prt	sec	npropf	pn	pron	vt	pron

'They also wrapped the *aba* fish, and their voices could be heard during the night. They had discovered the fish of the Curiá.'

306	<b>Koriwa</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>boti</b>	<b>me</b>
	Koriwa	aba	me	boti	me
	Curiá	fish sp	3PL.POSS	inside	3PL.S
	npropf	nm	pron	pn	pron

<b>tokemetemoneke</b>	<b>okomise</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>na</b>
to- ka -hemete -mone -ke	o- ka	amise	me ati na
away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	1SG.POSS POSS	aunt	3PL.O say AUX
vi	nf		pron vt

<b>hiwamaro</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>amani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wasi</b>	<b>yati</b>
hi- to- ha -hamaro	me	ama -ni	me	wasi.NFIN	yati
OC CH AUX FP.E+F	3PL.O	SEC BKG+F	3PL.S	find	new
aux	pron	sec	pron	result	adj

'The *aba* fish of the Curiá didn't swim deep, because they had just been discovered, my aunt used to say.'

307	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>totowama</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>hiaremetemone</b>
	faya	me	me	to- to- awa -ma	na	hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
	so	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP away see back	AUX	OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
	conj	pron	pron	vt	aux	aux

<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>fahi</b>
me	ama -ke	fahi
3PL.O	SEC DECL+F	then
pron	sec	dem

'They didn't go back to see them for a long time.'

ABA TOSI

308 *Yama me yete ni ka ya faya me me*  
 yama me yete na.NOM+F ka ya faya me me  
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX because ADJU so 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux prt prt conj pron pron

*hiwa*

hi- awa.LIST  
 OC see  
 vt

'Then they did see them when they were hunting.'

309 *Me me hiwa me , faya me yana tona me*  
 me me hi- awa+F me , faya me yana to- na+F me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see 3PL.O so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron conj pron vi aux pron

*kamemetemoneke*

ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

*fahi*

fahi  
 then  
 dem

'They had seen them, and had come back.'

310 *Me kama , me kama me kobo*  
 me ka -ma+F , me ka -ma+F me kobo  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive  
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

*namemetemone*

na -ma -hemete -mone  
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

*ayaka*

ayaka me  
 festa 3PL.S  
 nf pron

*me*

me  
 3PL.S  
 pron

*hiri*

hiri  
 make 3PL.S  
 vt pron

*namabani*

na -ma -haba -ni  
 AUX back FUT+F IP.N+F  
 aux

*mati*

mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

*okomise*

o- ka amise  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 nf

*hiyari*

hiyara.NFIN  
 speak  
 vi

*aati*

a- ati  
 DUP say  
 vt

*toamaroke*

to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 aux

*memetemone*

me -mete -mone  
 3PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron

*mera*

mera  
 3PL.O  
 pron

*kaminaro*

kamina -haaro  
 tell IP.E+F  
 vt

'They came back, and arrived back. They had a festa back at the village, my aunt used to say, telling about them.'

# TOWISAWA ROWI

## Free Translation

Rowi, Wabao's father, when he was a teenager, a jaguar attacked Towisawa, when he went to the flooded forest. Towisawa used to tell about the jaguar that attacked him. He was shooting spider monkeys with his blowgun, he used to say, and they were excited because of the jaguar, without Towisawa being aware of it. He was shooting the monkeys, and the monkeys were falling.

He picked up two monkeys, and when he was coming back carrying them, a jaguar grabbed him, he used to say. The jaguar touched him, Towisawa used to say. "It's a spirit grabbing me," he thought, he used to say. He didn't stay there with it, he thought it was a spirit. He ran with it holding on. He threw away the two monkeys. "The jaguar will want the monkeys instead of me," he thought, he used to say. It kept on wanting him, he used to say. It was Towisawa Rowi. The jaguar attacked Rowi. It grabbed him again. It was pushing him.

Towisawa ducked and made it go over his head. It attacked again and grabbed him again. He ran with it holding on, he used to say. He passed under a log with it, and it came off, he used to say. It grabbed onto Towisawa's belt, and it held onto it. The belt was unwinding. Towisawa was spinning around as his belt was unwinding, he used to say. It held onto the belt, he used to say.

Towisawa was really something, he didn't shoot the jaguar with bow and arrow. He left it behind, he used to say. Because of it there was a scar on his head. There was also a scar on the back of his shoulder. So he came home. He left the animals, since the jaguar had attacked him. He ran away, he used to say, after the jaguar went away.

He told us about his power to encounter jaguars when he was training us to be shamans. Then Towisawa came home, he used to say. He went back for his weapons the next day, this time with his brother-in-law. He and his brother-in-law went and picked up the bow and arrows.

## Interlinear Presentation

1	<b>Rowi</b>	,	<b>Wabao</b>		<b>batiteba</b>			,	<b>Wabao</b>
	Rowi		Wabao		bati	-tee -ba			Wabao
	(man's name)		(man's name)		3SG.POSS.father	HAB FUT			(man's name)
	npropm		npropm		nm				npropm
	<b>batiteba</b>		<b>yetene</b>		<b>tohe</b>	,	<b>faya</b>	,	<b>Towisawa</b>
	bati	-tee -ba	yetene		to- ha+M		faya		Towisawa
	3SG.POSS.father	HAB FUT	teenage boy		CH be		so		(man's name)
	nm		adj		vc		conj		npropm
	<b>yome</b>	<b>mono</b>	<b>hinematamona</b>		<b>amaka</b>		<b>fahi</b>	,	
	yomee	mono	hi- na -himata -mona		ama -ka		fahi		
	jaguar	struggle with	OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M		SEC DECL+M		then		
	nm	vt	aux		sec		dem		
	<b>yetene</b>	<b>tohi</b>	,	<b>waha</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>tokahari</b>	.	
	yetene	to- ha.NFIN		waha		ya	to- ka -haari		
	teenage boy	CH be		flooded forest		ADJU	away go/come IP.E+M		
	adj	vc		nf		prt	vi		

'Rowi, Wabao's father, when he was a teenager, a jaguar attacked Towisawa, when he was a teenager, when he went to the flooded forest.'

## TOWISAWA ROWI

2	<b>Towisawa</b>	<b>yome</b>	<b>mono</b>	<b>hinemata</b>	<b>hiwa</b>
	Towisawa	yomee	mono	hi- na -himata	hiwa
	(man's name)	jaguar	struggle with	OC AUX FP.N+M	3SG.REFL.M
	npropm	nm	vt	aux	pron

<b>hihiyara</b>	<b>toemari</b>
hi- hiyara	to- ha -himari
OC tell	CH AUX FP.E+M
vt	aux

'Towisawa used to tell about the jaguar that attacked him.'

3	<b>Biyo</b>	<b>fora</b>	<b>narawe</b>	<b>biyo</b>
	biyo	fora	na -rawa+M	biyo
	spider monkey	shoot with blowgun	AUX F.PL	spider monkey
	nf	vt	aux	nf

<b>fora</b>	<b>narawematamona</b>	<b>aati</b>	<b>toemarika</b>
fora	na -rawa -himata -mona	a- ati	to- ha -himari -ka
shoot with blowgun	AUX F.PL FP.N+M	REP+M DUP	say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
vt	aux	vt	aux

<b>yama</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>kayawanihi</b>
yama	ihi	ka- yawa -hani -hi
thing	result of+F	COMIT be excited IP.N+F
nf	pn	vi

'He was shooting spider monkeys with his blowgun, he used to say, and they were excited because of the jaguar, without Towisawa being aware of it.'

4	<b>Biyo</b>	<b>fora</b>	<b>narawe</b>	<b>biyo</b>	<b>foro</b>
	biyo	fora	na -rawa+M	biyo	foro
	spider monkey	shoot with blowgun	AUX F.PL	spider monkey	fall
	nf	vt	aux	nf	vi

<b>narawa</b>	<b>biyo</b>	<b>totimake</b>	<b>biyo</b>
na -rawa+F	biyo	to- iti -makI	biyo
AUX F.PL	spider monkey	away take out following	spider monkey
aux	nf	vt	nf

<b>nafamarerawe</b>	<b>kame</b>	<b>yome</b>
na- fama -rI	ka -ma+M	yomee
CAUS be two raised surface F.PL	go/come back	jaguar
vt	vi	nm

<b>hiwatamakimatamona</b>	<b>aati</b>	<b>toemarika</b>
hi- wata -makI	-himata -mona	a- ati to- ha -himari -ka
OC catch following	FP.N+M REP+M	DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
vt	vt	aux

'He was shooting the monkeys, and the monkeys were falling. He picked up two monkeys, and when he was coming back carrying them, a jaguar grabbed him, he used to say.'

5	<b>Yome</b>	<b>kobo</b>	<b>namakimatamona</b>	<b>Towisawa</b>	<b>aati</b>
	yomee	kobo	na -makI -himata -mona	Towisawa	a- ati
	jaguar	arrive	AUX following FP.N+M	(man's name)	DUP say
	nm	vi	aux	npropm	vt

<b>toemari</b>
to- ha -himari
CH AUX FP.E+M
aux

'The jaguar touched him, Towisawa used to say.'

## TOWISAWA ROWI

6	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>wata</b>	<b>hari</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>aati</b>
	inamati	owa	wata	haari	ati	na -himata -mona	a- ati
	spirit	1SG.O	catch	that one+M	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	DUP say
	nm	pron	vt	dem	vt	aux	vt

**toemarine**

to- ha -himari -ne  
 CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

'"It's a spirit grabbing me," he thought, he used to say.'

7	<b>Hikawarematamona</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>hiemarika</b>
	hi- ka- waa -ra -himata -mona	ati na	hi- to- ha -himari -ka
	OC COMIT stand NEG FP.N+M REP+M	say AUX	OC CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
	vt	vt	aux

**inamatimonaha**

inamati -mona -ha  
 spirit REP+M DUP  
 nm

'He didn't stay there with it, he thought it was a spirit.'

8	<b>Bete hikawaibote</b>	<b>hinematamona</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	bete hi- ka- na -waha -bote	hi- na -himata -mona	ahi
	run OC COMIT AUX change quickly	OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then
	vi aux	aux	dem

'He ran with it holding on.'

9	<b>Biyo</b>	<b>koro</b>	<b>tokasarawematamonane</b>
	biyo	koro	to- ka- na -kosa -rawa -himata -mona -ne
	spider monkey	throw	CH COMIT AUX middle F.PL FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
	nf	vt	aux

'He threw away the two monkeys.'

10	<b>Biyo</b>	<b>yome</b>	<b>hihabanani</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>
	biyo	yomee	hi- iha -habana -ni	ati	na -himata -mona
	spider monkey	jaguar	OC have FUT+F BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M
	nf	nm	vt	vt	aux

**aati toemarika**

a- ati to- ha -himari -ka  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

'"The jaguar will want the monkeys instead of me," he thought, he used to say.'

11	<b>Fare</b>	<b>fe</b>	<b>iha</b>	<b>nawi</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>na</b>
	fare	fee	iha	na -wi	na -himata -mona	ati na
	same+M	3SG.O	have	AUX steadily	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	say AUX
	dem	pron	vt	aux	aux	vt

**hiwemarine**

hi- to- ha -himari -ne  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

'It kept on wanting him, he used to say.'

12	<b>Towisawa</b>	<b>Rowi</b>	<b>Rowi</b>	<b>totoa</b>	<b>toemari</b>
	Towisawa	Rowi	Rowi	to- to- ha	to- ha -himari
	(man's name)	(man's name)	(man's name)	DUP CH be	CH AUX FP.E+M
	npropm	npropm	npropm	vc	aux

## TOWISAWA ROWI

*amane*

ama -ne  
SEC BKG+M  
sec

'It was Towisawa Rowi.'

13 *Rowi*                    *yome*                    *mono*                    *hine*                    ,                    *fe*                    *watawe*  
Rowi                    yomee                    mono                    hi- na+M                    fee                    wata -waha+M  
(man's name)                    jaguar                    struggle with                    OC                    AUX                    3SG.O                    catch change  
npropm                    nm                    vt                    aux                    pron                    vt

*fe*                    *towake*                    *Towisawa*                    *itakabote*                    *ne*  
fee                    to- ka- ka+M                    Towisawa                    ita -kabote                    na+M  
3SG.O                    away COMIT go/come                    (man's name)                    sit quickly                    AUX  
pron                    vt                    npropm                    vi                    aux

*hinakariwe*                    *fito*                    *namatase*                    *fe*                    *watatase*  
hi- na- ka                    -riwaha+M                    fito                    na -ma -tasa+M                    fee                    wata -tasa+M  
OC CAUS go/come across                    rush                    AUX back again                    3SG.O                    catch again  
vt                    vi                    aux                    pron                    vt

*bete*                    *hikawematamona*                    *na*                    *hiwemari*                    *ahi*  
bete                    hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona                    ati na                    hi- to- ha -himari                    ahi  
run                    OC COMIT AUX change                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    say AUX                    OC CH                    AUX FP.E+M                    then  
vi                    aux                    vt                    aux                    dem

'The jaguar attacked Rowi. It grabbed him again. It was pushing him. Towisawa ducked and made it go over his head. It attacked again and grabbed him again. He ran with it holding on, he used to say.'

14 *Awa*                    *bofe*                    *ya*                    *habi*                    *hikase*  
awa                    bofe                    ya                    habi                    hi- to- ka- na -kosa+M  
tree                    below                    ADJU                    pass under                    OC CH                    COMIT AUX middle  
nf                    pn                    prt                    vi                    aux

*tosakosematamona*                    *na*                    *hiwemari*                    *ahi*  
to- sona -kosa -himata -mona                    ati na                    hi- to- ha -himari                    ahi  
CH fall middle                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    say AUX                    OC CH                    AUX FP.E+M                    then  
vi                    vt                    aux                    dem

'He passed under a log with it, and it came off, he used to say.'

15 *Towisawa*                    *ka*                    *kamata*                    *hiwate*                    ,                    *wara*  
Towisawa                    ka                    kamata                    hi- wata+M                    wara  
(man's name)                    POSS                    belt                    OC catch                    grab  
npropm                    prt                    nm                    vt                    vt

*nawamakimatamona*                    *na*                    *hiwemari*                    *ama*  
na -waha -makI                    -himata -mona                    ati na                    hi- to- ha -himari                    ama  
AUX change following                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    say AUX                    OC CH                    AUX FP.E+M                    SEC  
aux                    vt                    aux                    sec

'It grabbed onto Towisawa's belt, and it held onto it.'

16 *Kamata*                    ,                    *kamata*                    *tisawa*  
kamata                    kamata                    tisa                    -waha  
belt                    belt                    be stretched out                    change  
nm                    nm                    vi

*toitimatamona*  
to- na -hitI                    -himata -mona  
CH AUX along the way                    FP.N+M                    REP+M  
aux

'The belt was unwinding.'

## TOWISAWA ROWI

17 **Towisawa**      **behe**      **nawa**      **tohitimatamona**  
 Towisawa      behe      na -waha      to- na -hitI      -himata -mona  
 (man's name)      turn over      AUX change      CH AUX along the way      FP.N+M      REP+M  
 npropm      vt      aux      aux

**aati**      **toemari**      **kamata**      **tisawari**  
 a- ati to- ha -himari      kamata      tisa -waha -haari  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M      belt      undo change IP.E+M  
 vt      aux      nm      vi

'Towisawa was spinning around as his belt was unwinding, he used to say.'

18 **Kamata**      **tama**      **nematamona**      **na**      **hiwemarika**  
 kamata      tama      na -himata -mona      ati na      hi- to- ha -himari -ka  
 belt      hold onto      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M      say AUX      OC CH AUX FP.E+M      DECL+M  
 nm      vt      aux      vt      aux

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'It held onto the belt, he used to say.'

19 **Towisawa**      **kakasiro**      **na**      **toaremari**      **ino**      **amaka**  
 Towisawa      ka- kasiro      na      to- ha -ra -himari      ino      ama -ka  
 (man's name)      DUP persist      AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M      name+M      be      DECL+M  
 npropm      vi      aux      aux      pn      vc

**yome**      **titisa**      **kanaremata**  
 yomee      ti- tisa      ka- na -ra -himata  
 jaguar      DUP shoot with arrow      COMMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M  
 nm      vt      aux

'Towisawa was really something, he didn't shoot the jaguar with bow and arrow.'

20 **Hekanakosematamona**      **na**      **hiwemarine**  
 hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona      ati na      hi- to- ha -himari -ne  
 OC COMMIT leave middle      FP.N+M      REP+M      say AUX      OC CH AUX FP.E+M      BKG+M  
 vt      vt      aux

'He left it behind, he used to say.'

21 **Enematamona**      **tati**      **hihiya**      **na**      **toemari**  
 ehene      -mata -mona      tati      hi- hiya      na      to- ha -himari -ka  
 because of+M      FP.N+M      REP+M      head      DUP be hurt      AUX CH AUX FP.E+M      DECL+M  
 post      pn      vi      aux      aux

'Because of it there was a scar on his head.'

22 **Fe**      **iyori**      **bari**      **ya**      **ehene**      **kawana**  
 fee      iyori      bari      ya      ehene      ka- wana.LIST  
 3SG.POSS      shoulder      outer surface      ADJU      result of+M      COMMIT be attached  
 pron      pn      pn      prt      pn      vi

'There was also a scar on the back of his shoulder.'

23 **Faya**      **kamematamonaka**      **fahi**      **bani**      **me**  
 faya      ka -ma -himata -mona -ka      fahi      bani      me  
 so      go/come back      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M      then      animal      3PL.O  
 conj      vi      dem      nm      pron



TOWISAWA ROWI

**kakosahari**                      **yome**      **mono**                      **hinahari**  
ka- kana -kosa -haari , yomee mono hi- na -haari  
COMIT leave middle IP.E+M jaguar struggle with OC AUX IP.E+M  
vt nm vt aux  
'So he came home. He left the animals, since the jaguar had attacked him.'

24 **Bete**      **nawahematamona**                      **aati**      **toemarika**                      **yome**  
bete na -waha -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ka yomee  
run AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M jaguar  
vi aux vt aux nm

**toke**                      **nowati**      **ya**  
to- ka+M nowati ya  
away go/come after ADJU  
vi pn prt

'He ran away, he used to say, after the jaguar went away.'

25 **Yome**      **eyeye**                      **raba**                      **na**      **toemari**                      **otara**  
yomee eye -ye na -raba na to- ha -himari otara  
jaguar encounter DUP AUX a bit AUX CH AUX FP.E+M 1EX.O  
nm vt aux aux aux pron

**aafo**                      **toemari**                      **ino**                      **ama**      **ati**  
a- afo to- ha -himari ino ama ati  
DUP blow snuff into CH AUX FP.E+M name+M be voice  
vt aux pn vc pn

'He told us about his power to encounter jaguars when he was training us to be shamans.'

26 **Baroro**                      **ama**      ?  
baroro ama  
cockroach be  
nm vc

'Is that a cockroach?'

27 **Towisawa**                      **kamawematamona**                      **aati**                      **toemari**  
Towisawa ka -ma -waha -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari  
(man's name) go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M  
npropm vi vt aux

'Then Towisawa came home, he used to say.'

28 **Ye**      **honene**                      **tonakaminematamonaka**                      **fahi**  
yehe honene to- na- ka -mina -himata -mona -ka fahi  
hand weapon+M away CAUS go/come morning FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
pn pn vt dem

'He went back for his weapons the next day.'

29 **Ye**      **honene**                      **tonakamine**                      **wabori**  
yehe honene to- na- ka -mina+M wabori  
hand weapon+M away CAUS go/come morning 3SG.POSS brother-in-law  
pn pn vt nm

**ya**      **famawahari**  
ya fama -waha -haari  
ADJU be with change IP.E+M  
prt vi

'He went back for his weapons the next day, this time with his brother-in-law.'

## TOWISAWA ROWI

30	<b><i>Wabori</i></b>	<b><i>ya</i></b>	<b><i>famawe</i></b>		<b><i>wati</i></b>	<b><i>me</i></b>
	wabori	ya	fama	-waha+M	wati	me
	3SG.POSS brother-in-law	ADJU	be with	change	arrow	3PL.S
	nm	prt	vi		nm	pron

***towakitiwitememone***

to-	ka-	iti	-witI	-hemete	-mone	.
away	COMIT	pick up	out	FP.N+F	REP+F	
vt						

'He and his brother-in-law went and picked up the bow and arrows.'

## KIRAMA

### *Free Translation*

Kirama and his companion went into the forest. They disappeared, and the others missed them. "Kirama went into the forest and he has disappeared. He went with his brother-in-law. He went with Ino Kote."

They didn't come back. They were chasing some woolly monkeys, and the monkeys caused them to get lost.

They found a trail, and they started back. They couldn't find the trail to come back, and they got lost. They came out at a place where they had been before.

"Kirama, let's go there. That's the way," Ino Kote said, but Kirama didn't agree.

They called out, but the others didn't answer their calling.

They slept again. They didn't eat manioc meal, they ate a little heart of palm. They bent over a small açai palm, and pulled the leaves off. Also a *yomasa* palm.

"Wait, we will go home tomorrow. We will come out there."

They slept again, and they got up early again. Their makeshift trail went right beside the trail. The makeshift trail went along beside the trail, because of Kirama.

It was a difficult situation. They slept again. "What an intractable situation. The others haven't come."

Kirama called out. They called. They looked for them. They looked for them somewhere else. They looked for them a long time.

"Kirama didn't come back. He has disappeared. I'm going out to see Kirama." Botehefo went into the forest. He got up early and went. They had been gone a long time.

Botehefo went, and he heard Kirama calling, he used to say. "Didn't you come?" Kirama said, Botehefo used to say.

"That's Kirama calling."

He thought he was there, he used to say. He was right beside the trail. He heard the sound of him breaking branches as he came along. My uncle went ahead and stood there.

Kirama started calling. His brother-in-law was behind him.

Botehefo called him. "Kirama," he said. "Kirama."

"What?" he said.

"Kirama, come here. This is the path."

Kirama didn't stick around. He came running. His brother-in-law was running behind him.

"This is the trail here. Look at his face," Botehefo said, he used to say.

"Wow, it's the trail. I came right here."

"Kirama, you don't know how to talk. I wanted to go ahead, but you went instead," his brother-in-law said.

They were really hungry. "Bote, go ahead into the forest. We will go on back."

Kirama didn't stick around. Kirama started running right where he was standing, my uncle used to say. So the two of them went home.

Botehefo went on, he used to say, and he met up with the woolly monkeys that had caused them to get lost. He shot the monkeys with his blowgun. My uncle encountered the monkeys at the

## KIRAMA

very place where Kirama had slept, and he shot the monkeys with his blowgun. He shot the monkeys with his blowgun, and then he came back.

He came back. He looked at the evidences of them, he said. "That is what Kirama and his companion did. His hammock is tied up there. They have gone back. They aren't in the forest anymore."

Kirama went into the forest again, and disappeared again. He got lost many times. Kirama got lost again at Hato Fa, when they went into the forest at the place where there are rocks. He got lost many times. He didn't come back. Ino Kote didn't like him anymore, because he would always get lost with him, and they would eat meat. They ate animals. They came back. They feasted on white-lipped peccaries.

Amane feasted on peach palm nuts. He had peach palm nuts, and the peach palm nuts he feasted on didn't end.

"Amane said you should drink peach palm drink." Atiha came and got us to drink peach palm drink, and we went there. There were two large pots of peach palm drink, that they had mashed. There was a large basket full of the paste.

We drank the peach palm drink, but Bato wouldn't. "Bato, Bato."

"Huh?"

"Bato, Amane said we should drink peach palm drink, which they mashed. Go and drink some peach palm drink."

"Their hands smell bad, I'm not going to drink their peach palm drink," he said. Noko Mora laughed. He laughed, too. Today people plant so much they can't use all of it.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Kirama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>Kirama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>towaka</b>	<b>me</b>	
	Kirama	me	Kirama	me	to- ka- ka+F	me	
	(man's name)	3PL	(man's name)	3PL.S	away COMIT go/come	3PL.S	
	npropm	pron	npropm	pron	vi	pron	
	<b>fawa</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiwa</b>	<b>me</b>
	fawa	ka- na+F	me	tabiyo	me	hi- awa+F	me
	disappear	COMIT AUX	3PL.POSS	absence	3PL.S	OC feel	3PL.POSS
	vi	vi	pron	pn	pron	vt	pron
	<b>Kirama</b>	<b>toke</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>ahi</b>		
	Kirama	to- ka+M	fawa	na.CONT+M	ahi		
	(man's name)	away go/come	disappear	AUX	then		
	npropm	vi	vi	aux	dem		

'Kirama and his companion went into the forest. They disappeared, and the others missed them. "Kirama went into the forest and he has disappeared."

2	<b>Me</b>	<b>famahara</b>	<b>wabori</b>
	me	fama -hara	wabori
	3PL.S	be two IP.E+F	3SG.POSS brother-in-law
	pron	vi	nm

'He went with his brother-in-law.'

3	<b>Ino Kote</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>famarani</b>
	Ino Kote	ya	me	fama -hara -ni
	(man's name)	ADJU	3PL.S	be two IP.E+F BKG+F
	npropm	prt	pron	vi

'He went with Ino Kote.'

## KIRAMA

4 **Me kakakama ra wafa me me**  
 me ka- ka- ka -ma na -ra+F , wafa me me  
 3PL.S DUP COMIT go/come back AUX NEG woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux nm pron pron

**kiyo naware wafa me me**  
 kiyo na -wahaRI wafa me me  
 chase AUX all over woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt aux nm pron pron

**hinasawariemetemonehe**

hi- to- na- sawari -hemete -mone -he  
 OC CH CAUS get lost FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They didn't come back. They were chasing some woolly monkeys, and the monkeys caused them to get lost.'

5 **Wafa me me hinasawaria me hawi me**  
 wafa me me hi- to- na- sawari+F me hawi me  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CH CAUS frustrate 3PL.O trail 3PL  
 nm pron pron vt pron nf pron

**hawi me wasima me kakama hawi me**  
 hawi me wasi -ma+F me ka- ka -ma+F hawi me  
 trail 3PL.S find back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back trail 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt pron vi nf pron

**wasimabone me kakamabone me**  
 wasi -ma -habone me ka- ka -ma -habone , me  
 find back INT+F 3PL.S COMIT go/come back INT+F 3PL.S  
 vt pron vi pron

**tokasawariemetemoneke**

to- ka- sawari -hemete -mone -ke  
 away COMIT get lost FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'The monkeys caused them to get lost. They found a trail, and they started back. They couldn't find the trail to come back, and they got lost.'

6 **Fara me nowati ya me tokofotomatasa**  
 fara me nowati ya me to- ka- foto -ma -tasa+F  
 same+F 3PL.POSS behind ADJU 3PL.S away COMIT appear back again  
 dem pron pn prt pron vi

**me Kirama e towakama ahi**  
 me Kirama ee to- ka- ka -ma ahi  
 3PL.S (man's name) 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back there  
 pron npropm pron vi dem

'They came out at a place where they had been before. "Kirama, let's go there."'

7 **Yama toa awineke ahi Ino Kote ati**  
 yama to- ha+F awine -ke ahi , Ino Kote ati  
 thing CH be seem+F DECL+F there (man's name) say  
 nf vc sec dem npropm vt

**kana Kirama ati rematamona amaka**  
 na -ka -na Kirama ati na -ra -himata -mona ama -ka  
 AUX DECL+M IRR+M (man's name) say AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 aux npropm vt aux sec

'"That's the way," Ino Kote said, but Kirama didn't agree.'

8 **Me me me ha kana me ha kana me**  
 me me me haa ka- na+F , me ha ka- na+F me  
 3PL 3PL 3PL.S call COMIT AUX 3PL.S call COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 pron pron pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

## KIRAMA

*ha ni me wara hira me , me*  
 haa na.NFIN me wara hi- to- na -ra+F me , me  
 call AUX 3PL.S respond to OC CH AUX NEG 3PL.POSS 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron vt aux pron pron

*amo katasemetemoneke fahi , farina me*  
 amo ka- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke fahi , farina me  
 sleep COMMIT AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then manioc meal 3PL.S  
 vi aux dem nf pron

*kabara mati , afo bite me kaba mati .*  
 kaba -ra+F mati , afo bite me kaba+F mati .  
 eat NEG 3PL.S heart of palm small+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S  
 vt pron nf adj pron vt pron

'They called out, but the others didn't answer their calling. They slept again. They didn't eat manioc meal, they ate a little heart of palm.'

9 *Fare bite me kero na me , fare bite me*  
 fare bite me kero na+F me , fare bite me  
 açai small+F 3PL.S bend over AUX 3PL.S açai small+F 3PL.S  
 nf adj pron vt aux pron nf adj pron

*be me sore na me , yomasa behe .*  
 behe me sore na+F me , yomasa behe .  
 base 3PL.S pull off AUX 3PL.S palm sp base  
 pn pron vt aux pron nf pn

'They bent over a small açai palm, and pulled the leaves off. Also a *yomasa* palm.'

10 *Hiba e towakamaminaba e awine .*  
 hiba ee to- ka- ka -ma -mina -haba ee awine  
 wait 1IN.S away COMMIT go/come back morning FUT+F 1IN.S seem+F  
 interj pron vi pron sec

'Wait, we will go home tomorrow.'

11 *E tokafotomibe .*  
 ee to- ka- foto -ma -be  
 1IN.S away COMMIT appear back IMMED+F  
 pron vi

'We will come out there.'

12 *Faya me amo katasa me , me bosa*  
 faya me amo ka- na -tasa+F me , me bosa  
 so 3PL.S sleep COMMIT AUX again 3PL.S 3PL.S get up early  
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

*kanamatasemetemoneni .*  
 ka- na -ma -tasa -hemete -mone -ni  
 COMMIT AUX back again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

'They slept again, and they got up early again.'

13 *Hawi beri hawi beri ya me ka babaka*  
 hawi beheri hawi beheri ya me ka ba- baka  
 trail side trail side ADJU 3PL POSS DUP break  
 nf pn nf pn prt pron prt nf

*yoyobi toemetemoneni .*  
 yo- yobi to- ha -hemete -mone -ni  
 DUP go back and forth CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi aux

'Their makeshift trail went right beside the trail.'

## KIRAMA

14 *Hawi beri ya babaka homabasa*  
 hawi beheri ya ba- baka homa -basa+F  
 trail side ADJU DUP break be horizontal edge  
 nf pn prt nf vi

*tokobasawamemetemone* *amake* *ahi* *Kirama*  
 to- ka -basa -waha -ma -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi Kirama  
 away go/come edge change back FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then (man's name)  
 vi sec dem npropm

*ehene*  
 ehene  
 because of+M  
 post

'The makeshift trail went along beside the trail, because of Kirama.'

15 *Yama kakasiro toemetemone amake*  
 yama ka- kasiro to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 thing DUP persist CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf vi aux sec

'It was a difficult situation.'

16 *Faya me amo katasa me Yama kakasi*  
 faya me amo ka- na -tasa+F me yama ka- kasi  
 so 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX again 3PL.S thing DUP be naughty  
 conj pron vi aux pron nf vi

*raba nofara amani*  
 na -raba na nofa -ra+F ama -ni  
 AUX a bit AUX recently NEG SEC BKG+F  
 aux prt sec

'They slept again. "What an intractable situation."'

17 *Me kakera me awineni*  
 me ka -kI -ra+F me awine -ni  
 3PL.S go/come coming NEG 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron sec

""The others haven't come.""

18 *Kirama ha nematamona amaka*  
 Kirama haa na -himata -mona ama -ka  
 (man's name) call AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 npropm vi aux sec

'Kirama called out.'

19 *Me ha na me me ha ni me me siba*  
 me haa na+F me me haa na.NFIN me me siba  
 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S look for  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron pron vt

*hina me ha ya me me siba hina me*  
 hi- na+F me haa ya me me siba hi- na+F me  
 OC AUX 3PL.O DEM ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S look for OC AUX 3PL.O  
 aux pron dem prt pron pron vt aux pron

*me me sibasiba hia me Kirama*  
 me me siba- siba hi- to- ha+F me Kirama  
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP look for OC CH AUX 3PL.O (man's name)  
 pron pron vt aux pron npropm

## KIRAMA

<b>kamare</b>	<b>fafawa</b>	<b>toa</b>
ka -ma -ra+M	fa- fawa	to- ha.CONT+M
go/come back NEG	DUP disappear	CH AUX
vi	vi	aux

"They called. They looked for them. They looked for them somewhere else. They looked for them a long time.  
"Kirama didn't come back. He has disappeared."

<b>20 Kirama</b>	<b>owawitematibe</b>	
Kirama	o- to- awa -witI -mata -be	
(man's name)	1SG.S away see out short time IMMED+F	
npropm	vt	

"I'm going out to see Kirama."

<b>21 Faya Botefo</b>	<b>tokematamona</b>	<b>amaka</b>
faya Botefo	to- ka -himata -mona	ama -ka
so (man's name)	away go/come FP.N+M REP+M	SEC DECL+M
conj npropm	vi	sec

'Botefo went into the forest.'

<b>22 Botefo</b>	<b>tokematamonane</b>	
Botefo	to- ka -himata -mona -ne	
(man's name)	away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	
npropm	vi	

'Botefo went into the forest.'

<b>23 Botefo</b>	<b>bosa</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>toke</b>	<b>hiba</b>	<b>me</b>
Botefo	bosa	na+M	to- ka+M	hiba	me
(man's name)	get up early	AUX	away go/come	soon after	3PL.S
npropm	vi	aux	vi	conj	pron

<b>fafawa</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>toara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>Botefo</b>	<b>toke</b>
fa- fawa	ka- na to- ha -ra+F	me	me	Botefo	to- ka+M
DUP disappear	COMIT AUX CH AUX NEG	3PL.S	(man's name)	away go/come	vi
vi	aux	aux	pron	npropm	vt

<b>ni ya Kirama</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>na</b>
ni ya Kirama	haa	na.NFIN	yana	na -himata -mona	ati na
to ADJU (man's name)	call	AUX	start	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	say AUX
prt prt npropm	vi	aux	vi	aux	vt

**hiehimarine**

hi- to- ha -himari -ne
OC CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
aux

'Botefo got up early and went. They had been gone a long time. Botefo went, and he heard Kirama calling, he used to say.'

<b>24 Te</b>	<b>kakerini</b>	<b>? ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>na</b>
tee ka -kI -ra -ni	ati na -himata -mona	ati na	ati na	
2PL.S go/come coming NEG BKG+F	say AUX FP.N+M REP+M	say AUX	say AUX	
pron vi	vt aux	vt	vt	

**hiemarika**

hi- to- ha -himari -ka
OC CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
aux

"'Didn't you come?' he said, he used to say.'



## KIRAMA

25 *Efe Kirama ha na*  
 efe Kirama haa na.CONT+M  
 this+M (man's name) call AUX  
 dem npropm vi aux

"That's Kirama calling."

26 *Waikani hinematamona na*  
 waa -kani ati hi- na -himata -mona ati na  
 stand CNTRFACT say OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX  
 vi aux vt

*hiehimarika*

hi- to- ha -himari -ka  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He thought he was there, he used to say.'

27 *Hawi beheri ya homabaseno ahi hinaka babaka*  
 hawi beheri ya homa -basa -hino ahi hinaka ba- baka  
 trail side ADJU lie on ground edge IP.N+M then 3SG.POSS DUP break  
 nf pn prt vi dem pron nf

*moni kamakietemone ahi*  
 moni ka -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
 sound go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pn vi dem

'He was right beside the trail. He heard the sound of him breaking branches as he came along.'

28 *Okobise toke towawite ha ni*  
 o- ka abise to- ka+M to- waa -witI haa na.NFIN  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle away go/come away stand out call AUX  
 nm vi vi vi aux

*yana towiti wabori yoto*  
 yana to- na -witI+M wabori yoto.LIST  
 start away AUX out 3SG.POSS brother-in-law follow  
 vi aux nm vi

*nematamonane*

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

'My uncle went ahead and stood there. He started calling. His brother-in-law was behind him.'

29 *Ha ni yana towiti haha*  
 haa na.NFIN yana to- na -witI+M ha- haa  
 call AUX start away AUX out DUP call  
 vi aux vi aux vt

*hinebanoho*

hi- na -hiba -no -ho  
 OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He started calling. He called him.'

30 *Kirama ati nematamonane Kirama*  
 Kirama ati na -himata -mona -ne Kirama  
 (man's name) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M (man's name)  
 npropm vt aux npropm

"Kirama," he said. "Kirama."

## KIRAMA

- 31 **Haa**     **ati**     **nematamonane**  
 haa    ati    na   -himata   -mona   -ne  
 huh?   say    AUX FP.N+M   REP+M BKG+M  
 interj vt    aux  
 "'What?" he said.'
- 32 **Kirama**           **tikama**                    **ahi**  
 Kirama            ti-    ka            -ma    ahi  
 (man's name)    2SG.S go/come back    here  
 npropm           vi                            dem  
 "'Kirama, come here.'"
- 33 **Hawi**     **amake**            **haro**                    **Kirama**            **wehibonaha**  
 hawi    ama   -ke            haaro                    Kirama            waa   -hibona   -ha  
 trail   be    DECL+F    that one+F            (man's name)    stand INT+M    DUP  
 nf       vc                    dem                    npropm            vi  
 "'This is the path." Kirama didn't stick around.'
- 34 **Kana**     **ni**                **kakehimatamonane**  
 kana    na.NFIN   ka            -kI    -himata   -mona   -ne  
 run     AUX       go/come coming FP.N+M   REP+M BKG+M  
 vi     aux        vi  
 'He came running.'
- 35 **Wabori**                            **kana**     **ni**                **yoto**                **nematamonane**  
 wabori                            kana    na.NFIN   yoto.LIST   na   -himata   -mona   -ne  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law    run    AUX       follow    AUX FP.N+M   REP+M BKG+M  
 nm                                vi     aux        vi                aux  
 'His brother-in-law was running behind him.'
- 36 **Hawi**     **amake**            **haro**  
 hawi    ama   -ke            haaro  
 trail   be    DECL+F    that one+F  
 nf       vc                    dem  
 "'This is the trail here.'"
- 37 **Noko**     **tiwaho**                    **Botehefo**            **ati**     **nematamona**            **aati**  
 noko    ti-    awa   -ho            Botehefo            ati    na   -himata   -mona    a-    ati  
 face+M   2SG.S see IMP+M   (man's name)    say   AUX FP.N+M   REP+M   DUP say  
 pn       vt                    npropm            vt     aux                    vt  
**toemari**  
 to-   ha   -himari  
 CH   AUX FP.E+M  
 aux  
 "'Look at his face," Botehefo said, he used to say.'
- 38 **Hawi**     **amakeni**                    **haro**  
 hawi    ama   -ke            -ni    haaro  
 trail   be    DECL+F    IP.N+F   that one+F  
 nf       vc                    dem  
 "'Wow, it's the trail.'"
- 39 **Yokana**   **okomi**                    **okomi**                    **amake**                **ahi**  
 yokana   o-    ka            -ma.NOM+F   o-    ka            -ma.NOM+F   ama   -ke            ahi  
 true     1SG.S go/come back   1SG.S go/come back   be   DECL+F        here  
 adj      vi                    vi                    vc                dem

## KIRAMA

"I came right here."

40	<b>Kirama</b>	<b>tiwati</b>		<b>wato</b>	<b>nofahara</b>		<b>tini</b>	
	Kirama	ti-	ati	wato	nofa	-hara	ti-	ni
	(man's name)	2SG.POSS	voice	know	recently	IP.E+F	2SG.POSS	BKG+F
	npropm	pn		vt	prt		prt	

"Kirama, you don't know how to talk."

41	<b>Tai</b>	<b>oamabone</b>			<b>owa</b>	<b>kakaiti</b>			
	tai	o-	to-	ha	-ma	-habone	owa	ka-	kahiti
	be ahead	1SG.S	CH	AUX	back	INT+F	1SG.O	DUP	take first
	vi	aux					pron	vt	

<b>tinofara</b>			<b>ti</b>	,	<b>wabori</b>		<b>ati</b>
ti-	nofa	-hara	ti-		wabori		ati
2SG.S	recently	IP.E+F	2SG.S		3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	say
prt			prt		nm		vt

**nematamonaka**  
na -himata -mona -ka  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

"I wanted to go ahead, but you went instead," his brother-in-law said.'

42	<b>Me</b>	<b>fimimi</b>		<b>nemetemone</b>		<b>ahi</b>	
	me	fimi	-mi	na	-hemete	-mone	ahi
	3PL.S	be hungry	DUP	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	pron	vi		aux			dem

'They were really hungry.'

43	<b>Bote</b>	<b>tikiya</b>			
	Bote	ti-	to-	ka	-yahi
	(man's name)	2SG.S	away	go/come	DIST.IMP+F
	npropm	vi			

"Bote, go ahead into the forest."

44	<b>Ota</b>	<b>towakamiba</b>			<b>Kirama</b>	<b>wehibonaha</b>				
	otaa	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-baha+F	Kirama	waa	-hibona	-ha
	1EX.S	away	COMIT	go/come	back	before	(man's name)	stand	INT+M	DUP
	pron	vi					npropm	vi		

"We will go on back." Kirama didn't stick around.'

45	<b>Kirama</b>	<b>fare</b>	<b>wai</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>Kirama</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>yana</b>
	Kirama	fare	waa.NOM	ya	Kirama	kana	na.NFIN	yana
	(man's name)	same+M	stand	ADJU	(man's name)	run	AUX	start
	npropm	dem	vi	prt	npropm	vi	aux	vi

<b>tonematamona</b>			<b>okobise</b>		<b>hiyari</b>	<b>aati</b>			
to-	na	-himata	-mona	o-	ka	abise	hiyara.NFIN	a-	ati
CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	speak	DUP	say
aux				nm			vi	vt	

**toemarine**  
to- ha -himari -ne  
CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
aux

'Kirama started running right where he was standing, my uncle used to say.'

KIRAMA

46 **Faya me towakamemetemoneke fahi**  
 faya me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem  
 'So the two of them went home.'

47 **Me , Botefo tokematamona aati**  
 me , Botefo to- ka -himata -mona a- ati  
 3PL (man's name) away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DUP say  
 pron npropm vi vt  
**toemarine , yama , wafa me tonasawaria**  
 to- ha -himari -ne , yama , wafa me to- na- sawari+F  
 CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M thing woolly monkey 3PL.S CH CAUS get lost  
 aux nf nm pron vt  
**me tonasawariani mera kobo nebanoho**  
 me to- na- sawari -hani mera kobo na -hiba -no -ho  
 3PL.S CH CAUS get lost IP.N+F 3PL.O meet AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pron vt pron vt aux  
 'Botefo went on, he used to say, and he met up with the woolly monkeys that had caused them to get lost.'

48 **Wafa mera kobo ne wafa mera fora**  
 wafa mera kobo na+M wafa mera fora  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O meet AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt  
**ne , fare , fare Kirama aamo toeno**  
 na+M , fare , fare Kirama a- amo to- ha.NOM+M -no  
 AUX same+M same+M (man's name) DUP sleep CH AUX IP.N+M  
 aux dem dem npropm vi aux  
**ya okobise wafa mera wasime wafa**  
 ya o- ka abise wafa mera wasi -ma+M wafa  
 ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS uncle woolly monkey 3PL.O find back woolly monkey  
 prt nm nm pron vt nm  
**mera fora nematamona**  
 mera fora na -himata -mona  
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt aux  
 'He met up with the monkeys. He shot the monkeys with his blowgun. My uncle encountered the monkeys at the very place where Kirama had slept, and he shot the monkeys with his blowgun.'

49 **Wafa me fora ne**  
 wafa me fora na+M  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O shootwith blowgun AUX  
 nm pron vt aux  
**kamawematamona**  
 ka -ma -waha -himata -mona  
 go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi  
 'He shot the monkeys with his blowgun, and then he came back.'

50 **Kamawe kamakimatamona**  
 ka -ma -waha+M ka -makI -himata -mona  
 go/come back change go/come following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi vi  
 'He came back.'

## KIRAMA

51 *Me*            *ihi*                    *me*            *ihi*                    *ki*            *nematamona*  
 me            ihi                    me            ihi                    kii            na -himata -mona  
 3PL.POSS    result of+F    3PL.POSS    result of+F    look at    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 pron            pn                    pron            pn                    vt            aux

*ati*    *nemari*  
 ati na -himari  
 say AUX FP.E+M  
 vt    aux

'He looked at the evidences of them, he said.'

52 *Me*            *ihi*                    *ki*            *ne*    *Afa*            *Kirama*            *me*  
 me            ihi                    kii            na+M    afa            Kirama            me  
 3PL.POSS    result of+F    look at    AUX    this+F    (man's name)    3PL.POSS  
 pron            pn                    vt            aux    dem            npropm            pron

*ihini*                    *ama*  
 ihi                    -ni            ama  
 result of+F    IP.N+F    be  
 pn                    vc

'He looked at the evidences of them. "That is what Kirama and his companion did."'

53 *Hinaka*        *yifo*                    *kahohari*            *ha*  
 hinaka        yifo                    kaho -haari    haa  
 3SG.POSS    hammock    tie look+M    DEM  
 pron            nm                    result            dem

""His hammock is tied up there.""

54 *Me*            *towakamawahara*  
 me            to- ka- ka            -ma -waha -hara  
 3PL.S        away COMIT go/come back change IP.E+F  
 pron            vi

""They have gone back.""

55 *Me*            *towakamawarake*  
 me            to- ka- ka            -ma -waha -hara -ke  
 3PL.S        away COMIT go/come back change IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron            vi

""They have gone back.""

56 *Me*            *yoro*            *namawaraba*                    *me*            *awine*            *yama kabani*  
 me            yoro na -ma -waha -ra -haba me            awine yama kabani  
 3PL.S        stay AUX back change NEG FUT+F    3PL.S    seem+F    forest  
 pron            vi            aux                    pron            sec            nf

""They aren't in the forest anymore.""

57 *Faya*        *tokatase*                    *fawa*                    *tasematamona*  
 faya to- ka            -tasa+M    fawa            na -tasa.NOM+M -mata -mona  
 so        away go/come again    disappear    AUX again            FP.N+M    REP+M  
 conj    vi                    vi                    aux

*amake*                    *ahi*  
 ama -ke            ahi  
 be DECL+F    then  
 vc                    dem

'He went into the forest again, and disappeared again.'

## KIRAMA

58 **Kirama**                    **tosatosawari**                    **raba**                    **na**  
 Kirama                    tosa- to- sawari                    na -raba                    na  
 (man's name)                    DUP    CH    get lost                    AUX a bit                    AUX  
 npropm                    vi                    aux                    aux

**toarematamona**                    **ino**                    **amaka**  
 to- ha -ra -himata -mona                    ino                    ama -ka  
 CH    AUX NEG FP.N+M    REP+M                    name+M                    be    DECL+M  
 aux                    pn                    vc

'Kirama got lost many times.'

59 **Habai**                    **yawita**                    **amaka**                    **hari**                    ,                    **yawita**  
 habai                    yawita                    ama -ka                    haari                    ,                    yawita  
 friend                    peach palm                    be    DECL+M                    that one+M                    peach palm  
 nm                    nm                    vc                    dem                    nm

'Friend, those are peach palm nuts.'

60 **Hasoka**                    **ke**                    **taminaka**  
 hasoka                    ke                    tamina -ka  
 sugar                    of+M                    be good    DECL+M  
 nf                    prt                    vi

'With sugar they are good.'

61 **Asoka**                    **ya**                    **fawe**                    **siba**                    **kara**  
 asoka                    ya                    fawa+M                    siba                    na ka                    -ra  
 sugar                    ADJU                    drink                    be all right                    AUX    DECL+M    NEG  
 nf                    prt                    result                    vi                    aux

'When it is drunk with sugar it is good.'

62 **Ara**                    **yawita**                    **yawita**                    **hatihi**                    **yama**                    **hiri**                    **ni**                    **ya**  
 Ara                    yawita                    yawita                    hati+M                    yama                    hiri                    na.NOM+F                    ya  
 Alan                    peach palm                    peach palm                    be burnt                    thing                    catch fire                    AUX                    ADJU  
 npropm nm                    nm                    vi                    nf                    vi                    aux                    prt

**yawita**                    **hatihi**                    **bonotere**                    **amaka**  
 yawita                    hati+M                    bono                    -tee -ra+M                    ama -ka  
 peach palm                    be burnt                    produce fruit                    HAB    NEG                    SEC    DECL+M  
 nm                    vi                    vi                    sec

'Alan, if a peach palm is burned by fire, the burned peach palm does not produce fruit.'

63 **Kawate**                    **amaka**                    **neme**                    **ya**  
 ka-                    waa                    -tee                    ama -ka                    neme                    ya  
 COMMIT stand                    HAB                    SEC    DECL+M                    up                    ADJU  
 vi                    sec                    nf                    prt

'The fruit is up high.'

64 **Kirama**                    **tosawaritasematamona**                    **amake**                    **ahi**  
 Kirama                    to- sawari                    -tasa.NOM+M                    -mata                    -mona                    ama -ke                    ahi  
 (man's name)                    CH    get lost again                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    be    DECL+F                    there  
 npropm                    vi                    vc                    dem

**Hato Fa**                    **ya**                    ,                    **me**                    **toka**                    **mati**                    **yati**                    **homi**  
 Hato Fa                    ya                    ,                    me                    to- ka+F                    mati                    yati                    homa.NOM+F  
 (village name)                    ADJU                    3PL.S                    away go/come                    3PL.S                    stone                    lie on ground  
 npropf                    prt                    pron                    vi                    pron                    nf                    vi

**ya**  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'Kirama got lost again at Hato Fa, when they went into the forest at the place where there are rocks.'

## KIRAMA

65 *Totosawari*                    *nofaraba*                    *na*                    *toarematamona*  
 to- to- sawari                    na nofa                    -raba                    na                    to- ha                    -ra -himata -mona  
 DUP CH get lost                    AUX recently a bit                    AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi                    aux                    aux                    aux

*ino*                    *ama* .  
 ino                    ama  
 name+M be  
 pn                    vc  
 'He got lost many times.'

66 *Kakamawa*                    *na*                    *toarematamonaha*  
 ka- ka                    -ma -waha                    na                    to- ha                    -ra -himata -mona -ha  
 DUP go/come back change                    AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi                    aux                    aux

'He didn't come back.'

67 *Ino Kote*                    *nonofawa*                    *hiarematamona*                    *fe*  
 Ino Kote                    no- nofa -waha                    hi- to- ha                    -ra -himata -mona                    fee  
 (man's name) DUP like change                    OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M                    3SG.O  
 npropm                    vt                    aux

*tokasawari*                    *rima*                    *nari*  
 to- ka- sawari                    na -rima                    na -haari  
 away COMIT get lost                    AUX NEG.IMP+F                    AUX IP.E+M  
 vt                    aux                    aux

'Ino Kote didn't like him anymore, because he would always get lost with him, and they would eat meat.'

68 *Bani*                    *me*                    *me*                    *kaba*                    *mati*  
 bani                    me                    me                    kaba+F                    mati  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat                    3PL.S  
 nm                    pron                    pron                    vt                    pron

'They ate animals.'

69 *Faya*                    *me*                    *kama*                    *me*                    ,                    *hiyama*                    *me*                    *me*  
 faya                    me                    ka                    -ma+F                    me                    ,                    hiyama                    me                    me  
 so                    3PL.S                    go/come back                    3PL.S                    white-lipped peccary                    3PL.O                    3PL.S  
 conj                    pron                    vi                    pron                    nm                    pron                    pron

*mari*                    *na*                    *mati*  
 mari                    na+F                    mati  
 feast on                    AUX                    3PL.S  
 vt                    aux                    pron

'They came back. They feasted on white-lipped peccaries.'

70 *Yawita*                    ,                    *yawita*                    *Amane*                    *mari*                    *hine*                    *yawita*  
 yawita                    ,                    yawita                    Amane                    mari                    hi- na+M                    yawita  
 peach palm                    peach palm                    (man's name)                    feast on                    OC AUX                    peach palm  
 nm                    nm                    npropm                    vt                    aux                    nm

*kie*                    *yawita*                    *mari*                    *ne*                    *ka*                    *yawita*                    *aahaba*  
 kiha+M                    yawita                    mari                    na+M                    ka                    yawita                    a- ahaba  
 have                    peach palm                    feast on                    AUX                    POSS                    peach palm                    DUP end  
 vt                    nm                    vt                    aux                    prt                    nm                    vi

*toemari*                    *ama*  
 to- ha -himari                    ama  
 CH AUX FP.E+M                    SEC  
 aux                    sec

'Amane feasted on peach palm nuts. He had peach palm nuts, and the peach palm nuts he feasted on didn't end.'





## KIRAMA

78 **Bato**                    **yawita**                    **e**                    **fawabone**                    **Amane**                    **ati**  
 Bato                    yawita                    ee                    fawa -habone                    Amane                    ati  
 (man's name)                    peach palm                    1IN.S                    drink INT+F                    (man's name)                    say  
 npropm                    nm                    pron                    vt                    npropm                    vt

**nemonaha**                    ,                    **yawita**                    **me**                    **tabo**                    **hinemonaha**                    .  
 na -himona -ha                    ,                    yawita                    me                    tabo                    hi- na -himona -ha  
 AUX REP+M                    DUP                    peach palm                    3PL.S                    mash                    OC                    AUX REP+M                    DUP  
 aux                    nm                    pron                    vt                    aux

"Bato, Amane said we should drink peach palm drink, which they mashed."

79 **Yawita**                    **tifamakehi**  
 yawita                    ti-                    to-                    fawa -makI                    -hi  
 peach palm                    2SG.S                    away drink                    following                    IMP+F  
 nm                    vt

"Go and drink some peach palm drink."

80 **Yama**                    **ye**                    **mahi**                    **hiyi**                    **nofarawara**                    ,                    **me**                    **ka**  
 yama                    yehe                    mahi                    hiya                    nofa                    -rawa -ra+F                    ,                    me                    ka  
 thing                    hand                    smell+F                    be bad                    recently                    F.PL                    NEG                    3PL                    POSS  
 nf                    pn                    pn                    vi                    prt                    pron                    prt

**yawita**                    **ofariya**  
 yawita                    o-                    fawa -ra -yahi  
 peach palm                    1SG.S                    drink                    NEG                    DIST.IMP+F  
 nm                    vt

"Their hands smell bad, I'm not going to drink their peach palm drink," he said.'

81 **Noko Mora**                    **haha**                    **ne**                    **ya**                    **hahaha**                    **toemari**                    **ino**  
 Noko Mora                    haahaa                    na.NOM+M                    ya                    ha- haahaa                    to- ha -himari                    ino  
 (man's name)                    laugh                    AUX                    ADJU                    DUP laugh                    CH                    AUX FP.E+M                    name+M  
 npropm                    vi                    aux                    prt                    vi                    aux                    pn

**ama**                    .  
 ama  
 be  
 vc

'Noko Mora laughed. He laughed, too.'

82 **Owa**                    **tamabotobona**                    **koro**                    **ni**                    **ino**                    **me**                    **hiri**  
 owa                    tama                    -bote -bona                    koro                    na.NFIN                    ino                    me                    hiri  
 other+M                    be many very                    INT+M                    plant                    AUX                    name+M                    3PL.S                    say  
 adj                    adj                    result                    aux                    pn                    pron                    vt

**hinofe**                    **amaka**                    **nafi**                    **me**                    **hitihibonaha**                    .  
 na hi- nofa+M                    ama -ka                    nafi                    me                    hi- iti                    -hibona -ha  
 AUX OC                    recently                    SEC DECL+M                    all                    3PL.S                    OC                    take out                    INT+M                    DUP  
 aux                    sec                    pn                    pron                    vt

'Today people plant so much they can't use all of it.'

## THE BANAWÁS

### *Free Translation*

He was Nayi. Nayi cast a spell on the Banawás, so they would die. They got sick, and some of them died.

They wanted to shoot some of the Jamamadis with rifles, to avenge the others. He went there. They were upset because some of their people had died. They came there, planning against the Jamamadis. They came, and they came upon the flood waters. They came to the water and they stopped. They stopped. The daylight ended before they could get to their destination, so they stripped off inner bark of *tamiyara* trees and made hammocks, so they could sleep. They made hammocks and slept, and they turned back.

They turned back. They were planning against the Jamamadis, so they would die. They turned back. The Jamamadis almost died because of them.

Then they didn't see them anymore. Then they saw them again. They almost shot them.

Two of them went into the forest to hunt. They came upon a Brazilian woman who was alone. They stayed with the Brazilian woman. The woman cooked food for them, and they ate.

Then the Brazilian man came back and he wasn't happy. He thought they had had sex with his wife. He yelled at them when he came back. He grabbed a knife. The Banawá was drunk. The other one was only tipsy. He grabbed the Banawá and knifed the Banawá. The other one jumped out of the house, after taking his shotgun off the wall. The Banawá shot the Brazilian. He died.

He went running away. He had killed someone. Then they moved away to another place. They moved away, and lived far away, at Araka Barone. They went to Araka Barone and lived out there.

They waited for the Brazilians, but the Brazilians didn't come. So they came back after their crops. They came upon some Apurinãs. The Apurinãs rejected them. The Apurinãs said they were going to shoot them. So they went back.

"The Apurinãs want crops that are not theirs. They are bad people. The Apurinãs will die. Come and tell me if you see the Apurinãs. I will wait for you. I will stay here. They killed my older brother, who was with them, and they are telling about what they did. I will wait for you. Go get crops. Awa Wai Ya, if you meet up with the Apurinãs, send them back here. I will wait for you."

"Wait. If we see the Apurinãs, we will come back," the women said.

"Right, you come back running."

They were together with the Banawás, our people, our ancestors. They went, the women. The women went. They heard a dog starting to bark.

Awa Wai Ya had gone ahead. "When you hear a dog barking, go back right away," she had said, instructing them. "Go back with the report about them. I will stay with them," she had said.

Then the dog barked, and when they heard it barking, they came running back.

Many Apurinãs came after crops, Apurinã women.

They appeared. "Rowiso," she said. "Rowiso, Rowiso."

"Huh?"

"Are you in your hammock?"

"I am in my hammock."

"The Apurinãs are there," they said. It was the women.

## THE BANAWÁS

"Is it them?"

"Yes, they are there. Awa Wai Ya is there with them."

"I want them to die. I will get revenge on them."

He got his gun. He called the others to go. They got their bows and arrows. They had guns and bows and arrows. They went.

"They have been telling about themselves. They will die," he said.

They went after them. There were many people who went after the Apurinãs, Towisawa used to say.

"Where are they?"

"They are there."

They greeted the Apurinãs. He extended the stock of his shotgun, greeting them, and they greeted him. He greeted them with the stock of his gun.

"What are you up to?" they said, the Apurinãs.

"We aren't up to anything. We have come after white-lipped peccaries. Some white-lipped peccaries came this way. We have come after some peccaries that came this way. We are going into the forest."

"What are you doing?"

"We came after manioc. Our food is all gone."

"Go ahead and pull up the manioc. The manioc is there in the field."

They went into the forest. As they went, Rowiso Banawá picked up his gun. "We are going." Rowiso Apurinã's wife saw that he was going to be attacked, and she spoke. "Rowiso, Rowiso is going to attack you," the Apurinã woman said.

He rushed, but he shot him. They fell on them. Someone else shot another one, too. Arrows were hitting them, too.

The Apurinã women ran. They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They ran with arrows, Towisawa said. They ran with arrows, and they died. Their husbands also died.

"Come on, let's go. We have killed people. Let them lie."

They took their necklaces off that they were wearing. They took the necklaces off, and they brought the necklaces back. They also brought back their guns.

They arrived back. They didn't stay living there. They moved away.

"Let's go into the forest. Other Apurinãs will come."

They moved away. They went into the forest. They cut down a tree, and made the tree fall in the water. They crossed over. After crossing, they cut the tree in half and made the tree sink in the water.

They built houses out there. They built houses, and waited for the Apurinãs. They lived there, waiting for the Apurinãs to come.

Every so often they would come back for their crops. They were transporting their crops, the crops of the Banawás. They were eating the crops of the Banawás.

Then the Jarawaras came back. They had a festa before coming back. As they were having a festa, a jaguar came to them. They were afraid because they heard the jaguar roaring near them.

They came back. "We have been with you, but now we are going back. We have been with you, so we could fight against the Brazilians," they said.

"All right, go ahead back." "I am living here."

"Right, you live here. We will come and see you again."

"Right, you come back and see me."

"We killed the Apurinãs."

"No one will avenge them," he said.

## THE BANAWÁS

So they set out. They set out, and they moved away. They came back over here. They came back. They crossed over, coming back. They went along the Curiá River, and they came. They slept, and got up early. They came on.

They crossed over, and came on. It was Hato Fa. They crossed at Hato Fa. They came. Soon after coming, they came upon a tapir, a tapir that a jaguar had killed.

They came on, leaving the tapir behind. They left the tapir behind, and came on. They finally came out at the Faha Biri stream. They stopped at Yome Kabe, and they slept.

They stopped. They made houses, and they lived there. They ate jaguars, two jaguars that they killed. They lived there a long time.

They came some more this way, and stopped again. They cut down trees again. At the mouth of the Anitoni Ayake stream, they stopped, and they lived there. They cleared the brush. Then they planted the crops. They burned the gardens in the dry season. They planted the crops. They lived there.

Then they came back this way. They lived there a long time. They came this way and saw the place for them to live. "We have lived here for a while. Let's move away. Let's go live at another place." So they moved away. They came some more this way, and lived over here again. They built houses again. They cleared the brush again. They carried manioc stalks, and they planted manioc again. They lived by their crops some more, and they moved away again.

They came this way and stopped, and lived there a long time. There is a sandy clearing there. They cleared the brush.

The place where we live used to be the land of the Apurinãs, the fierce Apurinãs. Yobi went to get crops, and an Apurinã met up with him. The Apurinã wanted to shoot him but his gun kept misfiring. Yobi charged him. The Apurinã was carrying a basket on his back. He hit the Apurinã on the side of his face with the broad side of his machete, and he fell down. He yanked his gun away from him, and left him behind, sitting on the ground, stunned. He carried his gun away. Towisawa used it for a long time, he used to say.

They didn't move away. They waited for the Apurinãs, but they didn't come.

They went and lived in the other direction again. As they were living there, the Apurinãs came to them again. It was Sikari, who they had never seen. Sikari came, with his son and daughter, and he stayed here. He stayed with them. Sikari stayed. The old village is there, where there is an old sandy clearing. The other Apurinãs had shot Sikari, and he had wounds from the shot. When he went back, they shot him again, when he was staying over here. He ate peach palm nuts. He was fat because of the fat of the peach palm nuts, and they shot him to eat him. He always carried peach palm nuts. Sikari ate the fat of peach palm nuts. Sikari was an Apurinã who was a friend. The other Apurinãs hated him. They attacked him.

"I'm leaving."

"All right, go ahead."

But he didn't go. He said he was going to leave but he didn't go. He turned around and came back.

Kirama asked for his daughter. Kirama wanted to marry his daughter, but his wife wouldn't let her go.

"Masima, I'm going to shoot you with an arrow, because you won't let your daughter go. You will die. I will shoot you all with arrows. I want to marry your daughter, but you won't let her go. All right. You wait here. I will shoot you with arrows."

Then Kirama came running back. The chief scolded him. The chief João scolded him, Aniya.

He took a bow and arrows and went, not listening. He wanted to shoot the Apurinãs.

## THE BANAWÁS

The Apurinãs went around another way, and came back. "Chief João, Kirama says he is going to kill us. He says he is going to shoot us with arrows, because he says I won't let my daughter go," she said.

"I scolded Kirama. I don't think Kirama is going to come back."

He looked for them to shoot them with arrows, but they outwitted him, so he came back.

"I almost killed you. I wanted to shoot you with arrows, but the others protected you. I wanted to kill you," he said.

"Kirama, Kirama, don't shoot the Apurinãs with arrows. Let the Apurinãs live here."

He was planning to shoot them with arrows. The others protected them and they scolded him. He was upset because he couldn't be with Akota. The others scolded him, and he went into the forest mad.

Then he got lost. The two of them got lost. They got lost, and they didn't come back. They were in the forest for many days, without manioc meal. Botehefo found them out there. Their makeshift trail went along paralleling the trail.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Nayi</i>	<i>Nayimatamonaka</i>			
	Nayi	Nayi	-mata	-mona	-ka
	(man's name)	(man's name)	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	npropm	npropm			

'He was Nayi.'

2	<i>Nayi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wiso</i>	<i>hikanemetemoneke</i>		<i>bato yafi</i>
	Nayi	me	wiso	hi- ka- na	-hemete -mone -ke	bato yafi
	(man's name)	3PL.O	blow	OC COMIT AUX	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	Banawá
	npropm	pron	vi	aux		npropm

<i>mati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ababone</i>		<i>mati</i>
mati	me	ahaba -habone		mati
3PL	3PL.S	die INT+F		3PL.S
pron	pron	vi		pron

'Nayi cast a spell on the Banawás, so they would die.'

3	<i>Yama</i>	<i>kome</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>kome</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awa</i>
	yama	kome	me	awa+F	me	yama	kome	me	awa+F
	thing	sickness+F	3PL.S	feel	3PL.S	thing	sickness+F	3PL.S	feel
	nf	pn	pron	vt	pron	nf	pn	pron	vt

<i>me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>abemetemonehe</i>		
me	one	ahaba -hemete -mone -he		
3PL	some+F	die FP.N+F REP+F DUP		
pron	adj	vi		

'They got sick, and some of them died.'

4	<i>Me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>manakone</i>	<i>me</i>
	me	one	ahaba+F	me	me	one	manakone	me
	3PL	some+F	die	3PL.S	3PL	other+F	price	3PL.S
	pron	adj	vi	pron	pron	adj	pn	pron

<i>awabone</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tao</i>	<i>nabone</i>	<i>mati</i>
awa -habone	me	wahati	me	me	tao	na -habone	mati
avenge INT+F	3PL	Jamamadi	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot	AUX INT+F	3PL.S
vt	pron	npropm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron

## THE BANAWÁS

*rifi ya*  
 rifi ya  
 rifle ADJU  
 nf prt

'Some of them died. They wanted to shoot some of the Jamamadis with rifles, to avenge the others.'

### 5 Tokomakematamona

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

'He went there.'

6 *Me one aba me yawa me kamakia me*  
 me one ahaba+F me yawa+F me ka -makI+F me  
 3PL other+F die 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S  
 pron adj vi pron vi pron vi pron

*me kamakietemoneke*  
 me ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke , *wati me me*  
 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F wahati me me  
 pron vi npropm pron pron

*wati kana mati*  
 wati ka- na+F mati  
 plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron

'They were upset because some of their people had died. They came there, planning against the Jamamadis.'

7 *Wati me me wati kana me kamakia*  
 wahati me me wati ka- na+F me ka -makI+F  
 Jamamadi 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S go/come following  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vi

*me fa fowe fa fowe me wasimakemetemoneke*  
 me faha fowe faha fowe me wasi -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S flood flood 3PL.S find following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron nf nf pron vt

'They were planning against the Jamamadis. They came, and they came upon the flood waters.'

8 *Fa me wasimake me me ma*  
 faha me wasi -makI me me maa  
 water 3PL.S find following 3PL.S 3PL.S stop  
 nf pron vt pron pron vi

### *namakietemonehe*

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

'They came to the water and they stopped.'

9 *Me ma namakietemoneke fahi*  
 me maa na -makI -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 3PL.S stop AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They stopped.'

10 *Faya me amo nabone bai toke me bata*  
 faya me amo na -habone , bahi to- ka+M me bata  
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F sun away go/come 3PL.O surprise  
 conj pron vi aux nm vi pron vt

## THE BANAWÁS

**hikana**                      **tamiyara**      **me**      **sa**                      **na**      ,      **yifo**                      **me**                      **yama**  
hi- ka-      na+F      tamiyara      me      saa                      na+F      ,      yifo                      me                      yama  
OC      COMIT      AUX      tree sp      3PL.S      strip off      AUX                      hammock      3PL.S      make  
aux                                      nm                      pron      vt                      aux                      nm                      pron      vt

**nemetemoneke**

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

'The daylight ended before they could get to their destination, so they stripped off inner bark of *tamiyara* trees and made hammocks, so they could sleep.'

11 **Yifo**                      **me**                      **yama**      **na**                      **me**                      ,      **me**                      **amo**                      **na**                      **me**                      **wete**  
yifo                      me                      yama      na+F      me                      ,      me                      amo                      na+F      me                      wete  
hammock      3PL.S      make      AUX      3PL.S                      3PL.S      sleep      AUX      3PL.S      return  
nm                      pron      vt                      aux      pron                      pron      vi                      aux      pron      vi

**tonamemetemoneke**

to- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
away AUX back FP.N+F      REP+F      DECL+F  
aux

'They made hammocks and slept, and they turned back.'

12 **Me**                      **wete**                      **tonama**                      **me**                      ,      **wati**                      **me**                      **ababone**  
me                      wete                      to- na -ma+F      me                      ,      wahati                      me                      ahaba -habone  
3PL.S      return      away AUX back      3PL.S                      Jamamadi      3PL.S      die      INT+F  
pron      vi                      aux                                      pron                      npropm                      pron      vi

**me**                      **me**                      **wati**                      **kana**                      **mati**  
me                      me                      wati                      ka- na+F      mati  
3PL.O      3PL.S      plan against      COMIT AUX      3PL.S  
pron      pron      vt                      aux                      pron

'They turned back. They were planning against the Jamamadis, so they would die.'

13 **Me**                      **wete**                      **tonamemetemonehe**  
me                      wete                      to- na -ma -hemete -mone -he  
3PL.S      return      away AUX back FP.N+F      REP+F      DUP  
pron      vi                      aux

'They turned back.'

14 **Wati**                      **me**                      **ahabenemete**                      **me**                      **amake**                      **me**  
wahati                      me                      ahaba -hene -mete      me                      ama -ke                      me  
Jamamadi      3PL.S      die      IRR+F      FP.N+F      3PL.S      SEC DECL+F      3PL.POSS  
npropm                      pron      vi                                      pron                      sec                      pron

**ihi**

ihi  
because of+F  
post

'The Jamamadis almost died because of them.'

15 **Faya**                      **me**                      **me**                      **me**                      **aawama**                      **hiharemtemone**  
faya                      me                      me                      me                      a- awa -ma      hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone  
so                      3PL      3PL.O      3PL.S      DUP see back      OC      CH      AUX      NEG      FP.N+F      REP+F  
conj      pron      pron      pron      vt                                      aux

**me**                      **ama**                      **fahi**  
me                      ama                      fahi  
3PL.O      SEC      then  
pron      sec      dem

'Then they didn't see them anymore.'

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16 *Me me hiwamara me , me me faya me me*  
 me me hi- awa -ma -ra+F me , me me faya me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see back NEG 3PL.O 3PL 3PL so 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron pron pron conj pron pron

*hiwamemetemone fahi*  
 hi- awa -ma -hemete -mone fahi  
 OC see back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt dem

'They didn't see them anymore. Then they saw them again.'

17 *Me me hiwama me , me me tao*  
 me me hi- awa -ma+F me , me me tao  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see back 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot  
 pron pron vt pron pron pron vt

*hinenemetemoneni*  
 hi- na -hene -mete -mone -ni  
 OC AUX IRR+F FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

'They saw them again. They almost shot them.'

18 *Faya me fama me yama me yete nabone me*  
 faya me fama+F me yama me yete na -habone me  
 so 3PL.S be two 3PL.S thing 3PL.S hunt AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron nf pron vt aux pron

*towaka me , yara fana ohariani me*  
 to- ka- ka+F me , yara fana ohari -hani me  
 away COMMIT go/come 3PL.S Brazilian female be one IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron npropm nf vi pron

*towasiwitia me , yara fana ya me taba*  
 to- wasi -witI+F me , yara fana ya me taba+F  
 away find out 3PL.S Brazilian female ADJU 3PL.S be together  
 vt pron npropm nf prt pron vi

*me yara fana me , tafebone yara fana*  
 me yara fana me tafebone yara fana  
 3PL.S Brazilian female 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F Brazilian female  
 pron npropm nf pron pn npropm nf

*hiwasia me tafa , me tafemetemoneke yara*  
 hi- wasi+F me tafa+F , me tafa -hemete -mone -ke yara  
 OC cook 3PL.S eat 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Brazilian  
 vt pron vi pron vi npropm

*ati hiyareba kamabano ya , fati*  
 ati hiya -ra -hiba ka -ma.NOM+M -ba -no ya , fati  
 voice be bad NEG FUT+M go/come back FUT IP.N+M ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife  
 pn vi vi prt nf

*fati me fati me ye ai*  
 fati me fati me ye ahi  
 3SG.POSS.wife 3PL 3SG.POSS.wife 3PL.POSS hand have sex with  
 nf pron nf pron pn vt

*hinamone ati nebanoho , mera*  
 hi- na -hamone ati na -hiba -no -ho , mera  
 OC AUX REP+F say AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL.O  
 aux vt aux pron

*katomamebanoho*  
 katoma -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 attack back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'Two of them went into the forest to hunt. They came upon a Brazilian woman who was alone. They stayed



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with the Brazilian woman. The woman cooked food for them, and they ate. Then the Brazilian man came back and he wasn't happy. He thought they had had sex with his wife. He yelled at them when he came back.'

19	<b>Me</b>	<b>yimawa</b>	<b>totime</b>		<b>yimawa</b>	<b>totime</b>		<b>bato yafi</b>
	me	yimawa	to- iti	-ma+M	yimawa	to- iti	-ma+M	bato yafi
	3PL	knife	away pick up	back	knife	away pick up	back	Banawá
	pron	nf	vt		nf	vt		npropm

**hanohimatamonaka**

hano -himata -mona -ka  
 be drunk FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He grabbed a knife. The Banawá was drunk.'

20	<b>Owa</b>	<b>hahano</b>	<b>rama</b>	<b>nemata</b>	<b>awane</b>
	owa	ha- hano	na -rama	na -himata	awa -ne
	other+M	DUP be drunk	AUX not much	AUX FP.N+M	seem+M BKG+M
	adj	vi	aux	aux	sec

'The other one was only tipsy.'

21	<b>Bato yafi</b>	<b>wate</b>	<b>bato yafi</b>	<b>itematamonaka</b>	<b>fahi</b>
	bato yafi	wata+M	bato yafi	ita -himata -mona -ka	fahi
	Banawá	catch	Banawá	pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	npropm	vt	npropm	vt	dem

'He grabbed the Banawá and knifed the Banawá.'

22	<b>Owa</b>	<b>yora</b>	<b>towitimatamona</b>	<b>taokana</b>	<b>sota</b>
	owa	yora	to- na -witI -himata -mona	taokana	sota
	1SG.O	jump	away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M	shotgun	remove
	pron	vi	aux	nf	vt

**tokanari**

to- ka- na -haari  
 CH COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'The other one jumped out of the house, after taking his shotgun off the wall.'

23	<b>Tao</b>	<b>hikabisematamonaka</b>
	tao	hi- ka- na -bisa -himata -mona -ka
	shoot	OC COMIT AUX also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vt	aux

'He shot him.'

24	<b>Ababisematamonaka</b>
	ahaba -bisa -himata -mona -ka
	die also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi

'He died.'

25	<b>Kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>tokomematamonaka</b>	<b>fari</b>
	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka	faari
	run	AUX	away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	that one+M
	vi	aux	vi	dem

**ene**

**itihari**

ehene iti -haari  
 victim of+M exist IP.E+M  
 pn

'He went running away. He had killed someone.'

## THE BANAWÁS

26 *Faya me banemetemone me amake fahi* .  
 faya me bana -hemete -mone me ama -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi pron sec dem

'Then they moved away to another place.'

27 *Me bana me towinawawitiemetemoneni* ,  
 me bana+F me to- wina -waha -witI -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away live change out FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vi

*Araka Araka Barone ya* .  
 Araka Barone ya  
 (name of village) ADJU  
 npropm prt

'They moved away, and lived far away, at Araka Barone.'

28 *Araka Barone ya me toka me me*  
 Araka Barone ya me to- ka+F me me  
 (name of village) ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 npropm prt pron vi pron pron

*towinawitia me yara me me*  
 to- wina -witI+F me yara me me  
 away live out 3PL.S Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vi pron npropm pron pron

*karawatoemetemoneni* .  
 karawato -hemete -mone -ni  
 wait for FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt

'They went to Araka Barone and lived out there. They waited for the Brazilians.'

29 *Yara me me karawatoa me yara me*  
 yara me me karawato+F me yara me  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for 3PL.S Brazilian 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt pron npropm pron

*kamakirimakoni me tafe me*  
 ka -maki -ra -makoni me tafe me  
 go/come following NEG for this reason+F 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron pn pron

*nakama me me tafe me*  
 na- ka -ma+F me me tafe me  
 CAUS go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S  
 vt pron pron pn pron

*nakamemetemonehe* .  
 na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They waited for the Brazilians, but the Brazilians didn't come. So they came back after their crops.'

30 *Me tafe me nakama me yati me*  
 me tafe me na- ka -ma+F me yati me  
 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S CAUS go/come back 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.O  
 pron pn pron vt pron npropm pron

*me wasima me yati me me wasima yati*  
 me wasi -ma+F me yati me me wasi -ma+F yati  
 3PL.S find back 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S find back Apurinã  
 pron vt pron npropm pron pron vt npropm

## THE BANAWÁS

*me me hikakoemetemonehe*  
 me me hi- kaako -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC be angry with FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron pron vt

'They came back after their crops. They came upon some Apurinãs. The Apurinãs rejected them.'

31 *Yati me me tao hinabone me me hina*  
 yati me me tao hi- na -habone me me ati hi- na+F  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S say OC AUX  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

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

'The Apurinãs said they were going to shoot them. So they went back.'

32 *Yati me tafe amara me kayawa me ,*  
 yati me tafe ama -ra+F me ka- yawa+F me ,  
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS crops+F be NEG 3PL.S COMIT be upset 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pn vc pron vt pron

*me kasiro nofa me ama*  
 me kasiro nofa+F me ama  
 3PL.S be perverse recently 3PL.S SEC  
 pron vi prt pron sec

'''The Apurinãs want crops that are not theirs. They are bad people.'''

33 *Yati me abibana me ama*  
 yati me ahaba -bana me ama  
 Apurinã 3PL.S die FUT+F 3PL.S SEC  
 npropm pron vi pron sec

'''The Apurinãs will die.'''

34 *Yati me namoni te kamiya*  
 yati me namoni tee ka -ma -yahi  
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS report 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 npropm pron pn pron vi

'''Come and tell me if you see the Apurinãs.'''

35 *Te noki oba*  
 tee noki o- na.NOM -ba  
 2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT  
 pron vt aux

'''I will wait for you.'''

36 *Owitiba*  
 o- ita.NOM+F -ba  
 1SG.S stay FUT  
 aux

'''I will stay here.'''

37 *Okoyo sawite me , nahabihani*  
 o- ka ayo sawi -tee me , na- ahaba -hani  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be present HAB 3PL.S CAUS die IP.N+F  
 nm vi pron vt

## THE BANAWÁS

**hine me hiyari nofa me ama , okoyo**  
hine me hiyara nofa+F me ama o- ka ayo  
3.REFL 3PL.S tell recently 3PL.S SEC 1SG.POSS POSS older brother  
pron pron vt prt pron sec nm

**sawiti ya**  
sawi -tee.NOM ya  
be present HAB ADJU  
vi prt

"They killed my older brother, who was with them, and they are telling about what they did."

38 **Te noki oba**  
tee noki o- na.NOM -ba  
2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT  
pron vt aux

"I will wait for you."

39 **Yama te tonakama**  
yama tee to- na- ka -ma  
thing 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back  
nf pron vt

"Go get crops."

40 **Awa Wai Ya yara me yati me kobo tini ya**  
Awa Wai Ya yara me yati me kobo ti- na.NOM+F ya  
(woman's name) Brazilian 3PL Apurinã 3PL.O meet 2SG.S AUX ADJU  
npropf npropm pron npropm pron vt aux prt

**me tiyosemiya**  
me ti- yose -ma -yahi  
3PL.O 2SG.S send back DIST.IMP+F  
pron vt

"Awa Wai Ya, if you meet up with the Apurinãs, send them back here."

41 **Te noki obana**  
tee noki o- na.NOM -bana  
2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT  
pron vt aux

"I will wait for you."

42 **Yama nonoki tiyahi**  
yama no- noki ti- na -yahi  
thing DUP wait for 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F  
nf vt aux

"Wait."

43 **Yati me namoni ota kamaba otani me**  
yati me namoni otaa ka -ma -haba otaa -ni me  
Apurinã 3PL.POSS report 1EX.S go/come back FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 3PL.S  
npropm pron pn pron vi pron pron

**ati nemetemone**  
ati na -hemete -mone  
say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
vt aux

"If we see the Apurinãs, we will come back," they said.'

## THE BANAWÁS

44 *Ee te kamiya te kana ni me*  
 ee tee ka -ma -yahi tee kana na.NFIN , me  
 yes 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F 2PL.S run AUX 3PL.S  
 interj pron vi pron vi aux pron

*yoro tokana mati ee ota ka one ota*  
 yoro to- ka- na+F mati ee otaa ka one otaa  
 be together CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S (pause) 1EX POSS relative 1EX  
 vi aux pron interj pron prt nf pron

*ka abi mati*  
 ka abi mati  
 POSS father 3PL  
 prt nm pron

"Right, you come back running." They were together with them, our people, our ancestors.'

45 *Yati me tokometemone*  
 yati me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm pron vi

'They went.'<sup>30</sup>

46 *Faya me toka me me*  
 faya me to- ka+F me , me  
 so 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron pron

*tokometemoneke me fanawi*  
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke me fanawi  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F women  
 vi nf

'They went, the women.'

47 *Me fanawi tokoma me fanawi tokoma me ni*  
 me fanawi to- ka -ma+F , me fanawi to- ka -ma+F me ni  
 women away go/come back women away go/come back 3PL to  
 nf vi nf vi pron prt

*ya yome habo ni yana tonematamonaha*  
 ya yomee habo na.NFIN yana to- na -himata -mona -ha  
 ADJU dog bark AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 prt nm vi aux vi aux

'The women went. They heard a dog starting to bark.'

48 *Awa Wai Ya tai toamemetemonehe*  
 Awa Wai Ya tai to- ha -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 (woman's name) be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 npropf vi aux

'Awa Wai Ya went ahead.'

49 *Yome habo ni te miti ya te wete kabote*  
 yomee habo na.NFIN tee mita.NOM+F ya tee wete na -kabote  
 dog bark AUX 2PL.S hear ADJU 2PL.S return AUX quickly  
 nm vi aux pron vt prt pron vi aux

*niyahi ati nemetemoneke me warabi*  
 na -yahi ati na -hemete -mone -ke me warabi  
 AUX DIST.IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS ear+F  
 aux vt aux pron pn

30 The word *yati* is a false start.



## THE BANAWÁS

- 56 **Rowiso** , **Rowiso** .  
 Rowiso , Rowiso  
 (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm npropm  
 "Rowiso, Rowiso."
- 57 **Hai** ?  
 hai  
 interj  
 "Huh?"
- 58 **Tiwinini** ?  
 ti- wina -ni  
 2SG.S lie in hammock BKG+F  
 vi  
 "Are you in your hammock?"
- 59 **Owini** .  
 o- wina.NOM+F  
 1SG.S lie in hammock  
 vi  
 "I am in my hammock."
- 60 **Yati me nao aya me ati nemetemone** .  
 yati me naho.NOM aya me ati na -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã 3PL.S stand there 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm pron vi dem pron vt aux  
 "The Apurinãs are there," they said.'
- 61 **Me fanawi amani** .  
 me fanawi ama -ni  
 women be BKG+F  
 nf vc  
 'It was the women.'
- 62 **Fa me ama** ?  
 faa me ama  
 that 3PL.S be  
 dem pron vc  
 "Is it them?"
- 63 **Ee me naoarani** .  
 ee me naho -hara -ni  
 yes 3PL.S stay IP.E+F BKG+F  
 interj pron vi  
 "Yes, they are there."
- 64 **Awa Wai Ya me hikawarani** .  
 Awa Wai Ya me hi- ka- waa -hara -ni  
 (woman's name) 3PL.O OC COMIT stay IP.E+F BKG+F  
 npropf pron vt  
 "Awa Wai Ya is there with them."
- 65 **Me ababone me ona me ama** .  
 me ababa -habone me ona o- na+F me ama  
 3PL.S die INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O SEC  
 pron vi pron vt pron sec

## THE BANAWÁS

"I want them to die."

66 *Maki tina*  
 maki ti- na  
 pay 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux

"I will get revenge on them."

67 *Taokana kakitimatamonahane*  
 taokana ka- iti -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 shotgun COMMIT pick up FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nf vt

'He got his gun.'

68 *Me mera hima nematamona ahi*  
 me mera hima na -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL 3PL.O call to go AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron pron vt aux dem

'He called the others to go.'

69 *Wati wati me bokori kawemetemoneni*  
 wati wati me bokori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
 arrow arrow 3PL.S hold COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm nm pron vt aux

'They got their bows and arrows.'

70 *Taokana ya me ye hone*  
 taokana ya me yehe hone  
 shotgun ADJU 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F  
 nf prt pron pn pn

*tababisemetemoneke faro*  
 taba -bisa -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 be together also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 vi dem

'They had guns and bows and arrows.'

71 *Me tokomemetemone ahi*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They went.'

72 *Hine me hiyaraki nofa me ama*  
 hine me hiyara -kI nofa+F me ama  
 3.REFL 3PL.S tell coming recently 3PL.S SEC  
 pron pron vt prt pron sec

"They have been telling about themselves."

73 *Me abibana me ama ati nematamonane*  
 me ababa.NOM+F -bana me ama ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S die FUT 3PL.S SEC say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi pron sec vt aux

"They will die," he said.'



## THE BANAWÁS

74 *Me me me hinakamemetemoneni*  
 me me me hi- to- na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron pron vt

'They went after them.'

75 *Me tamemetemone Towisawa hiyari aati*  
 me tama -hemete -mone Towisawa hiyara.NFIN a- ati  
 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F (man's name) speak DUP say  
 pron vi npropm vi vt  
*toemarine yati me me wati kana*  
 to- ha -himari -ne yati me me wati ka- na+F  
 CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against COMMIT AUX  
 aux npropm pron pron vt aux

*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'There were many people who went after the Apurinãs, Towisawa used to say.'

76 *Me e ri ?*  
 me ee na -ri  
 3PL.S (question) AUX CQ+F  
 pron vi aux

'''Where are they?'''

77 *Me naone haro*  
 me naho -ne haaro  
 3PL.S stand CONT+F that one+F  
 pron vi dem

'''They are there.'''

78 *Faya yati me me komofai nemetemone ahi*  
 faya yati me me komofai na -hemete -mone ahi  
 so Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S greet AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj npropm pron pron vt aux dem

'They greeted the Apurinãs.'

79 *Taokana mate tata nakematamonane mera*  
 taokana mate ta- taa na -kI -himata -mona -ne mera  
 shotgun rear+F DUP extend AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.O  
 nf pn vt aux pron

*komofai nari me komofai hinahari*  
 komofai na -haari me komofai hi- na -haari  
 greet AUX IP.E+M 3PL.S greet OC AUX IP.E+M  
 vt aux pron vt aux

'He extended the stock of his shotgun, greeting them, and they greeted him.'

80 *Taokana mate ya mera komofai nematamonane*  
 taokana mate ya mera komofai na -himata -mona -ne  
 shotgun rear+F ADJU 3PL.O greet AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf pn prt pron vt aux

'He greeted them with the stock of his gun.'

## THE BANAWÁS

81 *Himata*    *te*        *ebe*        *naba*        *te*        *amariya*        ?    *me*        *ati*  
 himata    tee        ebe        na -haba    tee        ama -ri    -ya        ?    me        ati  
 what?    2PL.S    purpose    AUX FUT+F    2PL.S    be    CQ+F    now        3PL.S    say  
 interrog pron    vt        aux        pron    vc        pron    vt

*nemetemone*        *yati*        *mati*  
 na -hemete -mone    yati        mati  
 AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    Apurinã    3PL  
 aux        npropm    pron  
 "What are you up to?" they said, the Apurinãs.'

82 *Himata*    *ota*        *ebe*        *ri*  
 himata    otaa        ebe        na -ra.NOM+F  
 what?    1EX.S    purpose    AUX NEG  
 interrog pron    vt        aux

"We aren't up to anything."

83 *Hiyama*        *me*        *ota*        *hiyama*        *me*        *ota*  
 hiyama        me        otaa        hiyama        me        otaa  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S    white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S  
 nm        pron    pron    nm        pron    pron

*nakine*  
 na- ka        -kI        -ne  
 CAUS go/come coming CONT+F  
 vt

"We have come after white-lipped peccaries."

84 *Hiyama*        *me*        *kaki*        *ahi*  
 hiyama        me        ka- ka        -kI.NOM    ahi  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.S    COMMIT go/come coming    here  
 nm        pron    vi        dem

"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way."

85 *Hiyama*        *me*        *kakeha*        *me*        *ota*  
 hiyama        me        ka        -kI+F    me        otaa  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.S    go/come coming    3PL.O    1EX.S  
 nm        pron    vi        pron    pron

*nakine*  
 na- ka        -kI        -ne  
 CAUS go/come coming CONT+F  
 vt

"We have come after some peccaries that came this way."

86 *Hiyama*        *me*        *ota*        *nakine*        *me*  
 hiyama        me        otaa    na- ka        -kI        -ne        me  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S    CAUS go/come coming CONT+F    3PL.S  
 nm        pron    pron    vt        pron

*kake*        *mati*  
 ka        -kI        mati  
 go/come coming    3PL.S  
 vi        pron

"We have come after some peccaries that came this way."

87 *Ota*        *tokiba*        *ahi*  
 otaa    to- ka.NOM+F    -ba    ahi  
 1EX.S    away go/come    FUT    there  
 pron    vi        dem

"We are going into the forest."

## THE BANAWÁS

88 *Himata te ebe nabani te amari ?*  
 himata tee ebe na -haba -ni tee ama -ri  
 what? 2PL.S purpose AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 2PL.S be CQ+F  
 interrog pron vt aux pron vc

"What are you doing?"

89 *Fowa ota nakia ota*  
 fowa otaa na- ka -kI+F otaa  
 manioc 1EX.S CAUS go/come coming 1EX.S  
 nm pron vt pron

"We came after manioc."

90 *Fowa ota nakia ota*  
 fowa otaa na- ka -kI+F otaa  
 manioc 1EX.S CAUS go/come coming 1EX.S  
 nm pron vt pron

"We came after manioc."

91 *Ota tefe aba ota*  
 otaa tefe ahaba+F otaa  
 1EX.POSS food end 1EX.POSS  
 pron pn vi pron

"Our food is all gone."

92 *Fowa te bore niya*  
 fowa tee bore na -yahi  
 manioc 2PL.S pull out AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 nm pron vt aux

"Go ahead and pull up the manioc."

93 *Fowa wata fa*  
 fowa wata.CONT+M faa  
 manioc grow that  
 nm vi dem

"The manioc is there in the field."

94 *Me tokehemetemone*  
 me to- ka -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi

'They went into the forest.'

95 *Me tokahabone me Rowiso taokana*  
 me to- ka -habone me Rowiso taokana  
 3PL.S away go/come INT+F 3PL (man's name) shotgun  
 pron vi pron npropm nf

*itimatomona amaka*  
 iti -himata -mona ama -ka  
 pick up FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 vt sec

'As they went, Rowiso picked up his gun.'

96 *Ota tokibone*  
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone  
 1EX.S away go/come INT+F  
 pron vi

## THE BANAWÁS

"We are going."

97	<b>Rowiso</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>kani</b>	<b>fati</b>	<b>awahani</b>
	Rowiso	wati	ka- na.NFIN	fati	awa -hani
	(man's name)	plan against	COMIT AUX	3SG.POSS.wife	see IP.N+F
	npropm	result	aux	nf	vt
	<b>ati yana kanemetemone</b>				
	ati yana	ka- na	-hemete -mone		
	voice start	COMIT AUX	FP.N+F REP+F		
	pn vi	aux			

'Rowiso's wife saw that he was going to be attacked, and she spoke.'

98	<b>Rowiso</b>	<b>Rowiso</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>kane</b>	<b>yati</b>
	Rowiso	Rowiso	tiwa	wati	ka- na+M	yati
	(man's name)	(man's name)	2SG.O	plan against	COMIT AUX	Apurinã
	npropm	npropm	pron vt		aux	npropm
	<b>fana ati nemetemone ahi</b>					
	fana ati	na	-hemete -mone	ahi		
	female say	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	then		
	nf vt	aux		dem		

"Rowiso, Rowiso is going to attack you," the Apurinã woman said.'

99	<b>Fito tonakose</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>hikanematamonaka</b>
	fito to- na -kosa+M	tao	hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
	rush CH AUX middle	shoot	OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi aux	vt	aux

'He rushed, but he shot him.'

100	<b>Tao hikanematamona</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	tao hi- ka- na -himata -mona	ahi
	shoot OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then
	vt aux	dem

'He shot him.'

101	<b>Me me , me me hikatabemetemoneni</b>
	me me me me hi- to- ka- taba -hemete -mone -ni
	3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CH COMIT be together FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
	pron pron pron pron vt

'They fell on them.'

102	<b>Owa owa tao hikana hinematamonaka</b>
	owa owa tao hi- ka- na.LIST hi- na -himata -mona -ka
	other+M other+M shoot OC COMIT AUX OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	adj adj vt aux aux

**ahi**  
ahi  
then  
dem

'Someone else shot another one, too.'

103	<b>Wati kobo nabisa nematamona amane</b>
	wati kobo na -bisa.LIST na -himata -mona ama -ne
	arrow arrive AUX also AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M
	nm vi aux aux aux sec

'Arrows were hitting them, too.'

## THE BANAWÁS

104 *Yati fana , yati fana kana narawemetemone*  
 yati fana , yati fana kana na -rawa -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã female Apurinã female run AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm nf npropm nf vi aux

*amani*

ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

"The Apurinã women ran."

105 *Yati fana kana narawa , yati fana kana narawa*  
 yati fana kana na -rawa+F , yati fana kana na -rawa+F  
 Apurinã female run AUX F.PL Apurinã female run AUX F.PL  
 npropm nf vi aux npropm nf vi aux

*me tisa narawemetemone ahi , wati ya*  
 me tisa na -rawa -hemete -mone ahi , wati ya  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F then arrow ADJU  
 pron vt aux dem nm prt

"They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran."

106 *Wati kana karawemetemone Towisawa*  
 wati kana ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone Towisawa  
 arrow run COMMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)  
 nm vi aux npropm

*hirawamaroni*

ati hi- na -rawa -hamaro -ni  
 say OC AUX F.PL FP.E+F BKG+F  
 vt

"They ran with arrows, Towisawa said."

107 *Wati kana karawa , faya ahabarawemetemoneke*  
 wati kana ka- na -rawa+F , faya ahaba -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 arrow run COMMIT AUX F.PL so die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm vi aux conj vi

*fahi*

fahi  
 then  
 dem

"They ran with arrows, and they died."

108 *Me ka yibote me ahaba , me ka yibote me*  
 me ka yibote me ahaba.LIST , me ka yibote me  
 3PL POSS husband 3PL.S die 3PL POSS husband 3PL.S  
 pron prt nm pron vi pron prt nm pron

*ahaba nemetemone ahi*  
 ahaba.LIST na -hemete -mone ahi  
 die AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi aux dem

"Their husbands also died."

109 *Hima hima e tokoma*  
 hima hima ee to- ka -ma  
 let's go let's go 1IN.S away go/come back  
 interj interj pron vi

"Come on, let's go."

## THE BANAWÁS

110 *E ene iti*  
 ee ehene iti.NOM  
 1IN.POSS victim of exist  
 pron pn vi

"We have killed people."

111 *Hine me so tosi*  
 hine me soo to- na -kosa.NOM+F  
 only 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle  
 pron pron vi aux

"Let them lie."

112 *Me ka kasaro me hitisemetemone ahi kasaro*  
 me ka kasaro me hi- tisa -hemete -mone ahi kasaro  
 3PL POSS beads 3PL.S OC undo FP.N+F REP+F then beads  
 pron prt nf pron vt dem nf

*akarawaharo*

aka -rawa -haaro  
 wear F.PL IP.E+F  
 vt

'They took their necklaces off that they were wearing.'

113 *Kasaro me tisa kasaro me kakamemetemone*  
 kasaro me tisa+F kasaro me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 beads 3PL.S undo beads 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf pron vt nf pron vt

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'They took the necklaces off, and they brought the necklaces back.'

114 *Me ka taokana me hekama*  
 me ka taokana me hi- ka- ka -ma.LIST  
 3PL POSS shotgun 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back  
 pron prt nf pron vt

*hinemetemoneni*

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

'They also brought back their guns.'

115 *Taokana me hekama me kobo nama*  
 taokana me hi- ka- ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F  
 shotgun 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back  
 nf pron vt pron vi aux

*me winarabani*

me wina -ra -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.S live NEG FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

'They brought back the guns. They arrived back. They didn't stay living there.'

116 *Me banemetemoneke fahi*  
 me bana -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They moved away.'

## THE BANAWÁS

117 *Me bana me , E e toka*  
 me bana+F me , ee ee to- ka  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 1IN.S 1IN.S away go/come  
 pron vi pron pron pron vi

"They moved away. "Let's go into the forest."

118 *E tokahi*  
 ee to- ka -hi  
 1IN.S away go/come IMP+F  
 pron vi

"Let's go into the forest."

119 *Yati me one kamakiaba me ama*  
 yati me one ka -makI -haba me ama  
 Apurinā 3PL other+F go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC  
 npropm pron adj vi pron sec

"Other Apurinās will come."

120 *Faya me banehemetemone fahi*  
 faya me bana -hemete -mone fahi  
 so 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

"They moved away."

121 *Me bana me , me bana me*  
 me bana+F me , me bana+F me  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*tokemetemoneke ahi*  
 to- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem

"They moved away. They went into the forest."

122 *Me , awa me ka na awa me tonabokawite*  
 me , awa me kaa na+F awa me to- na- boka -witI  
 3PL tree 3PL.S chop AUX tree 3PL.S away CAUS enter water out  
 pron nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

*me kariwemetemoneni*  
 me ka -riwaha -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S go/come across FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi

"They cut down a tree, and made the tree fall in the water. They crossed over."

123 *Me kariwa me , awa awa me ti*  
 me ka -riwaha+F me , awa awa me tii  
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S tree tree 3PL.S cut through  
 pron vi pron nf nf pron vt

*nakosa awa me nabokemetemoneke*  
 na -kosa+F awa me na- boka -hemete -mone -ke  
 AUX middle tree 3PL.S CAUS enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux nf pron vt

"They crossed over. They cut the tree in half and made the tree sink in the water."

## THE BANAWÁS

124 *Awa me naboka me , yobe me yama*  
 awa me na- boka+F me , yobe me yama  
 tree 3PL.S CAUS enter water 3PL.S house 3PL.S make  
 nf pron vt pron nm pron vt  
*towiti yobe me yama nawemetemoneke*  
 to- na -witI.LIST yobe me yama na -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 away AUX out house 3PL.S make AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux nm pron vt aux

*fahi , yati me me karawatoha mati .*  
 fahi , yati me me karawato+F mati  
 then Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for 3PL.S  
 dem npropm pron pron vt pron  
 'They made the tree sink. They built houses out there. They built houses, and waited for the Apurinãs.'

125 *Yati me me karawatohabone , faya me winawina*  
 yati me me karawato -habone , faya me wina- wina  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for INT+F so 3PL.S DUP live  
 npropm pron pron vt conj pron vi  
*toa me yamata me nakamarima na me*  
 to- ha+F me yamata me na- ka -ma -rima na+F me  
 CH AUX 3PL.S crops 3PL.S CAUS go/come back intermittent AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron nf pron vt aux pron

*, yamata me iiso toemetemoneke bato yafi*  
 , yamata me i- iso to- ha -hemete -mone -ke bato yafi  
 crops 3PL.S DUP carry off CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Banawá  
 nf pron vt aux  
*me tafe .*  
 me tafe  
 3PL.POSS crops+F  
 pron pn

'They lived there, waiting for the Apurinãs to come. Every so often they would come back for their crops. They were transporting their crops, the crops of the Banawás.'

126 *Yamata me me bato yafi me tafe me kaba me ,*  
 yamata me me bato yafi me tafe me kaba+F me ,  
 crops 3PL 3PL Banawá 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S  
 nf pron pron npropm pron pn pron vt pron  
*me kamawemetemoneke*  
 me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They were eating the crops of the Banawás. Then they came back.'

127 *Me kamabone me , faya me*  
 me ka -ma -habone me , faya me  
 3PL.S go/come back INT+F 3PL so 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron conj pron

*ayakawahemetemone fahi .*  
 ayaka -waha -hemete -mone fahi  
 dance change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'They had a festa before coming back.'

128 *Me ayaka me ni ya yome kamakimatamona*  
 me ayaka+F me ni ya yomee ka -maki -himata -mona  
 3PL.S dance 3PL to ADJU jaguar go/come following FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vi pron prt prt nm vi



## THE BANAWÁS

**amaka**

ama -ka  
SEC DECL+M  
sec

'As they were having a festa, a jaguar came to them.'

129 **Yome**     **ati**     **yana**     **namaki**     **ene**     **me**  
yomee     ati     yana     na -makI+M     ehene     me  
jaguar     voice     start     AUX following     because of+M     3PL.S  
nm     pn     vi     aux     pn     pron

**kakomeha**     **me**     **me**     **kakomewahemetemoneni**  
ka-     komeha+F     me     me     ka-     komeha     -waha     -hemete     -mone     -ni  
COMIT be fearsome     3PL.S     3PL.S     COMIT be fearsome change FP.N+F     REP+F     BKG+F  
vi     pron     pron     vi

'They were afraid because they heard the jaguar roaring near them.'

130 **Me**     **kama**     **me**     **E**     **tabi**     **nofa**     **ota**  
me     ka     -ma+F     me     ee     taba     nofa+F     otaa  
3PL.S     go/come back     3PL.S     1IN.S     be together     recently     1EX.S  
pron     vi     pron     pron     vi     prt     pron

**tokomibone**  
to- ka     -ma.NOM+F     -bone  
away go/come back     INT+F  
vi

'They came back. "We have been with you, but now we are going back."'

131 **Ota**     **tokomibone**  
otaa     to- ka     -ma.NOM+F     -bone  
1EX.S     away go/come back     INT+F  
pron     vi

""We are going back.""

132 **E**     **e**     **tabi**     **nofaha**     **ere**     **yara**     **me**  
ee     ee     taba     nofa+F     ere     yara     me  
1IN.S     1IN.S     be together     recently     1IN.S     Brazilian     3PL  
pron     pron     vi     prt     pron     npropm     pron

**yara**     **me**     **ota**     **mowa**     **naba**     **ota**     **me**     **ati**  
yara     me     otaa     mowa     na -haba     otaa     me     ati  
Brazilian     3PL.O     1EX.S     fight     AUX FUT+F     1EX.S     3PL.S     say  
npropm     pron     pron     vt     aux     pron     pron     vt

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

""We have been with you, so we could fight against the Brazilians," they said.'

133 **Ee**     **te**     **tokoma**  
ee     tee     to- ka     -ma  
yes     2PL.S     away go/come back  
interj     pron     vi

""All right, go ahead back.""

134 **Owinine**     **o**  
o-     wina -ne     o-  
1SG.S     live CONT+F     1SG.S  
vi     prt

## THE BANAWÁS

"I am living here."

135 *Te tokoma*  
 tee to- ka -ma  
 2PL.S away go/come back  
 pron vi

"Go ahead back."

136 *Owinine oni*  
 o- wina -ne o- ni  
 1SG.S live CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi prt

"I am living here."

137 *Ee wiwina tiya*  
 ee wi- wina ti- na -yahi  
 yes DUP live 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 interj vi aux

"Right, you live here."

138 *Tiwiniya*  
 ti- wina -yahi  
 2SG.S live DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

"You live here."

139 *Tiwa ota awamateba otani me ati*  
 tiwa otaa awa -ma -tee -haba otaa -ni me ati  
 2SG.O 1EX.S see back HAB 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 come and see you again."

140 *Ee owa te awamatiya*  
 ee owa tee awa -ma -tee -yahi  
 yes 1SG.O 2PL.S see back HAB DIST.IMP+F  
 interj pron pron vt

"Right, you come back and see me."

141 *Yati me e nabia ere*  
 yati me ee na- ahaba+F ere  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 1IN.S CAUS die 1IN.S  
 npropm pron pron vt pron

"We killed the Apurinãs."

142 *Me manakone watateraba me awine ati*  
 me manakone wata -tee -ra -haba me awine ati  
 3PL.POSS revenge exist HAB NEG FUT+F 3PL.POSS seem+F say  
 pron pn vi pron sec vt

*nematamonaka*  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

"No one will avenge them," he said.'

## THE BANAWÁS

143 *Faya me yana tonemetemoneni*  
 faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 conj pron vi aux

'So they set out.'

144 *Me yana tona me banemetemone ahi*  
 me yana to- na+F me bana -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux pron vi dem

'They set out, and they moved away.'

145 *Me bana me me bana me*  
 me bana+F me me bana+F me  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*kamemetemone waha ahi*  
 ka -ma -hemete -mone waha ahi  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F now here  
 vi prt dem

'They moved away. They came back over here.'

146 *Me kama me kariwama me Koriwa*  
 me ka -ma+F me ka -riwaha -ma+F me Koriwa  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come across back 3PL.S Curiá  
 pron vi pron vi pron npropf

*ya me toka Koriwa ya me toka me*  
 ya me to- ka+F Koriwa ya me to- ka+F me  
 ADJU 3PL.S away go/come Curiá ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S  
 prt pron vi npropf prt pron vi pron

*kake me faya me amo na me me*  
 ka -kI me faya me amo na+F me me  
 go/come coming 3PL.S so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 vi pron conj pron vi aux pron pron

*bosa tasa me kakewemetemoneke*  
 bosa na -tasa+F me ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 get up early AUX again 3PL.S go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi aux pron vi

*fahi*  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'They came back. They crossed over, coming back. They went along the Curiá River, and they came. They slept, and got up early. They came on.'

147 *Me kariwa me me kariwa me*  
 me ka -riwaha+F me me ka -riwaha+F me  
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*kakewemetemone*  
 ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone  
 go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi

'They crossed over, and came on.'

## THE BANAWÁS

148 *Faya* , *Hato Fa* *amani* .  
 faya Hato Fa ama -ni  
 so (village name) be BKG+F  
 conj npropf vc

'It was Hato Fa.'

149 *Hato Fa* *ya* *me* *kariwa* *me* , *me*  
 Hato Fa ya me ka -riwaha+F me , me  
 (village name) ADJU 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 npropf prt pron vi pron pron

*kake* *hiba* *me* *kakake* *na* *awi* *me*  
 ka -kI hiba me ka- ka -kI na+F awi me  
 go/come coming soon after 3PL.S DUP go/come coming AUX tapir 3PL.S  
 vi conj pron vi aux nm pron

*wasikia* *awi* *yome* *hinaboweino*  
 wasi -kI+F awi yomee hi- na- aboha -hino -ho  
 find coming tapir jaguar OC CAUS die IP.N+M DUP  
 vt nm nm vt

'They crossed at Hato Fa. They came. Soon after coming, they came upon a tapir, a tapir that a jaguar had killed.'

150 *Awi* *me* *wasikia* *me* , *me*  
 awi me wasi -kI+F me , me  
 tapir 3PL.S find coming 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron pron

*kakewemetemonehe* , *awi* *me* *kakosa*  
 ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone -he , awi me ka- kana -kosa+F  
 go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F DUP tapir 3PL.S COMIT leave middle  
 vi nm pron vt

*mati* .  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They came upon a tapir. They came on, leaving the tapir behind.'

151 *Awi* *me* *kakosa* *me*  
 awi me ka- kana -kosa+F me  
 tapir 3PL.S COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron

*kakewemetemone* *ahi* .  
 ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'They left the tapir behind, and came on.'

152 *Fara* *me* , *Fa Biri* *ya* *me*  
 fara me , Faha Biri ya me  
 same+F 3PL (name of stream) ADJU 3PL.S  
 dem pron npropf prt pron

*fotometemoneke* *fahi* .  
 foto -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 appear back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem

'They finally came out at the Faha Biri stream.'

## THE BANAWÁS

153 *Faya me ma namemetemone Yome Kabe ya*  
 faya me maa na -ma -hemete -mone Yome Kabe ya  
 so 3PL.S stop AUX back FP.N+F REP+F (name of village) ADJU  
 conj pron vi aux npropm prt

'They stopped at Yome Kabe.'

154 *Yome Kabe ya me ma nama , me amo*  
 Yome Kabe ya me maa na -ma+F , me amo  
 (name of village) ADJU 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S sleep  
 npropm prt pron vi aux pron vi

*nemetemone fahi*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They stopped at Yome Kabe, and they slept.'

155 *Me ma nama me yobe me ahi na me*  
 me maa na -ma+F me yobe me ahi na+F me  
 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S house 3PL.S work on AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron nm pron vt aux pron

*winimetemone*  
 wina.NOM+F -mete -mone  
 live FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi

'They stopped. They made houses, and they lived there.'

156 *Yome me me hikabemetemone , yome me me*  
 yomee me me hi- kaba -hemete -mone , yomee me me  
 jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron

*hinahabihikima mati*  
 hi- na- ahaba -kima+F mati  
 OC CAUS die two 3PL.O  
 vt pron

'They ate jaguars, two jaguars that they killed.'

157 *Yome me me hinahabihikima yome me me*  
 yomee me me hi- na- ahaba -kima+F yomee me me  
 jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die two jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron

*kabemetemonehe*  
 kaba -hemete -mone -he  
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They killed two jaguars, and they ate the jaguars.'

158 *Faya me wiwina toa me kama*  
 faya me wi- wina to- ha+F me ka -ma  
 so 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX 3PL.S go/come back  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

*namahite , me kama , namahiteha ,*  
 na -ma -hitI , me ka -ma na -ma -hitI+F ,  
 AUX back along the way 3PL.S go/come back AUX back along the way  
 aux pron vi aux

## THE BANAWÁS

<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nawama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ti</i>
me	maa	na -waha	-ma+F	me	awa	me	tii
3PL.S	stop	AUX change	back	3PL.S	tree	3PL.S	cut through
pron	vi	aux		pron	nf	pron	vt

<i>tasimetemone</i>	<i>amake</i>	<i>ahi</i>
na -tasa.NOM+F	-mete	-mone
AUX again	FP.N+F	REP+F
aux	ama -ke	ahi
	be DECL+F	then
	vc	dem

'They lived there a long time. They came some more this way, and stopped again. They cut down trees again.'

159	<i>Anitoni Ayake</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>batori</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>me</i>
	Anitoni Ayake	ka	faha	batori		me	maa	na -ma+F	me
	(stream name)	of	stream	junction		3PL.S	stop	AUX back	3PL.S
	npropm	prt	nf	pn		pron	vi	aux	pron

<i>winamimetemone</i>	<i>ama</i>
wina -ma.NOM+F	-mete
live back	FP.N+F
vi	REP+F
	ama
	be
	vc

'At the mouth of the Anitoni Ayake stream, they stopped, and they lived there.'

160	<i>Awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>faya</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>koro</i>	<i>na</i>
	awa	me	tii	na+F	me	faya	yama	me	koro	na+F
	tree	3PL.S	cut through	AUX	3PL.S	so	thing	3PL.S	plant	AUX
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	conj	nf	pron	vt	aux

<i>me</i>	,	<i>awa</i>	<i>yama hiwe</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>
me		awa	yama hiwe	ya	awa	me	sari
3PL.S		tree	dry season	ADJU	tree	3PL.S	burn
pron		nf	nf	prt	nf	pron	vt

<i>nemetemoneke</i>	<i>fahi</i>
na -hemete	-mone
AUX FP.N+F	REP+F
aux	DECL+F
	fahi
	then
	dem

'They cleared the brush. Then they planted the crops. They burned the gardens in the dry season.'

161	<i>Yama hiwe</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>	<i>na</i>	,	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>	<i>na</i>
	yama hiwe	ya	awa	me	sari	na+F		awa	me	sari	na+F
	dry season	ADJU	tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX		tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX
	nf	prt	nf	pron	vt	aux		nf	pron	vt	aux

<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>natafawaha</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wina</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>faya</i>	<i>me</i>
awa	me	na- tafa	-waha+F	me	wina+F		faya	me
tree	3PL.S	CAUS eat	change	3PL.S	live		so	3PL.S
nf	pron	vt		pron	vi		conj	pron

<i>kamawemetemoneke</i>	<i>fahi</i>	<i>ahi</i>
ka -ma	-waha	-hemete
go/come back	change	FP.N+F
vi	REP+F	DECL+F
	fahi	ahi
	then	here
	dem	dem

'They burned the gardens in the dry season. They planted the crops. They lived there. Then they came back this way.'

162	<i>Me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wiwina</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>taboribone</i>	<i>me</i>
	me	me	wi- wina	to- ha+F	me		me	tabori	-bone
	3PL	3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX	3PL.S		3PL.POSS	place+F	INT+F
	pron	pron	vi	aux	pron		pron	pn	pron

<i>awama</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	,	<i>taboribone</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awama</i>	<i>me</i>
awa -ma+F	me		me		tabori	-bone	me	awama -ma+F
see back	3PL.S		3PL.POSS		place+F	INT+F	3PL.S	see back
vt	pron		pron		pn	pron	vt	pron

## THE BANAWÁS

**E wini nofa ereke**  
 ee wina nofa+F ere -ke  
 1IN.S live recently 1IN.S DECL+F  
 pron vi prt pron

"They lived there a long time. They came this way and saw the place for them to live. "We have lived here for a while."

163 **E e bana**  
 ee ee bana  
 1IN 1IN.S move away  
 pron pron vi

"Let's move away."

164 **E towinawamibe tabora one ya**  
 ee to- wina -waha -ma -be tabora one ya  
 1IN.S away lie in hammock change back IMMED+F village other+F ADJU  
 pron vi nf adj prt

"Let's go live at another place."

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

'So they moved away.'

166 **Me banaha me kakama kawaha me**  
 me bana+F me ka- ka -ma ka- na -waha+F me  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S DUP go/come back COMIT AUX change 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

**winamatasa me yobe me yama tasa , awa one**  
 wina -ma -tasa+F me yobe me yama na -tasa+F awa one  
 live back again 3PL.S house 3PL.S make AUX again tree other+F  
 vi pron nm pron vt aux nf adj

**me ti tasa yamata isi me fowa iso**  
 me tii na -tasa+F yamata isi me fowa iso  
 3PL.S cut through AUX again crops stalk+F 3PL manioc stalk+M  
 pron vt aux nf pn pron nm pn

**me iso na , fowa me koro tasa me ,**  
 me iso na+F fowa me koro na -tasa+F me  
 3PL.S carry off AUX manioc 3PL.S plant AUX again 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux nm pron vt aux pron

**yamata me kakawina kawahi ya me**  
 yamata me ka- ka- wina ka- na -waha.NOM+F ya me  
 crops 3PL.S DUP COMIT live COMIT AUX change ADJU 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux prt pron

**banatasemetemoneni**  
 bana -tasa -hemete -mone -ni  
 move away again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

"They moved away. They came some more this way, and lived over here again. They built houses again. They cleared the brush again. They carried manioc stalks, and they planted manioc again. They lived by their crops some more, and they moved away again."

## THE BANAWÁS

167	<b>Me</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>nama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wiwinawa</b>	<b>toimetemone</b>			
	me	maa	na -ma+F	me	wi- wina -waha	to- ha.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	
	3PL.S	stop	AUX back	3PL.S	DUP live change	CH AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	
	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi	aux			

'They came this way and stopped, and lived there a long time.'

168	<b>Boto</b>	<b>itineke</b>		
	boto	ita	-ne	-ke
	sandy clearing	be located	CONT+F	DECL+F
	nf	vi		

'There is a sandy clearing there.'

169	<b>Me</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>nama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wiwinawa</b>	<b>toimetemone</b>			
	me	maa	na -ma+F	me	wi- wina -waha	to- ha.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	
	3PL.S	stop	AUX back	3PL.S	DUP live change	CH AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	
	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi	aux			

<b>amake</b>	<b>fahi</b>
ama -ke	fahi
SEC DECL+F	then
sec	dem

'They came this way and stopped, and lived there a long time.'

170	<b>Faya</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>titi</b>	<b>nawa</b>
	faya	awa	awa	me	ti- tii	na -waha
	so	tree	tree	3PL.S	DUP cut through	AUX change
	conj	nf	nf	pron	vt	aux

<b>toimetemone</b>	<b>amani</b>
to- ha.NOM+F	-mete -mone
CH AUX	FP.N+F REP+F
aux	ama -ni
	SEC BKG+F
	sec

'The cleared the brush.'

171	<b>Yati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>taborimetemone</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>winineke</b>
	yati	me	tabori -mete -mone	ya	ee	wina -ne -ke
	Apurinã	3PL.POSS	place+F FP.N+F REP+F	ADJU	1IN.S	live CONT+F DECL+F
	npropm	pron	pn	prt	pron	vi

<b>yati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hahama</b>	<b>toemetemone</b>	<b>mati</b>
yati	me	ha- hama	to- ha -hemete -mone	mati
Apurinã	3PL.S	DUP be mean	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.S
npropm	pron	vi	aux	pron

'The place where we live used to be the land of the Apurinãs, the fierce Apurinãs.'

172	<b>Faya</b>	<b>Yobi</b>	<b>tokome</b>	<b>yamata</b>
	faya	Yobi	to- ka -ma+M	yamata
	so	(man's name)	away go/come back	crops
	conj	npropm	vi	nf

<b>tonakame</b>	<b>yati</b>	<b>hiwasimematamona</b>
to- na- ka -ma+M	yati	hi- to- wasi -ma -himata -mona
away CAUS go/come back	Apurinã	OC away find back FP.N+M REP+M
vt	npropm	vt

'Yobi went to get crops, and an Apurinã met up with him.'

173	<b>Fe</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>kanebona</b>	<b>fe</b>	<b>ka</b>
	fee	tao	ka- na -hibona	fee	kaa
	3SG.O	shoot	COMIT AUX INT+M	3SG.O	misfire
	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt





## THE BANAWÁS

**hiamaro** , **faya me bana me banara mati**  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro , faya me bana+F me bana -ra+F mati  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F so 3PL.S move away 3PL.S move away NEG 3PL.S  
 aux conj pron vi pron vi pron

'Towisawa used it for a long time, he used to say. They didn't move away.'

179 **Me me nonoki hiemetemoneke** , **me**  
 me me no- noki hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP wait for OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron

**noki hina me kamarimakoni** , **me**  
 noki hi- na+F me ka -ma -ra -makoni , me  
 wait for OC AUX 3PL.S go/come back NEG for this reason+F 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron vi pron

**kamakirimakoni**  
 ka -makI -ra -makoni  
 go/come following NEG for this reason+F  
 vi

'They waited for them, but they didn't come.'

180 **Me towinawamatasemetemone**  
 me to- wina -waha -ma -tasa -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S away live change back again FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi

'They went and lived in the other direction again.'

181 **Me wina** , **me wina me ni ya** , **me wina me ni**  
 me wina+F , me wina+F me ni ya , me wina+F me ni  
 3PL.S live 3PL.S live 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S live 3PL to  
 pron vi pron vi pron prt prt pron vi pron prt  
**ya yati me kamakitasimetemone amake**  
 ya yati me ka -makI -tasa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 ADJU Apurinã 3PL.S go/come following again FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 prt npropm pron vi vc

**fahi**  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'As they were living there, the Apurinãs came to them again.'

182 **Me kamakia me** , **Sikarino**  
 me ka -makI+F me , Sikari -no -ho  
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S (man's name) IP.N+M DUP  
 pron vi pron npropm

**Sikaritenoho awaterari**  
 Sikari -tee -no -ho awa -tee -ra -haari  
 (man's name) HAB IP.N+M DUP see HAB NEG IP.E+M  
 npropm result

'They came. It was Sikari, who they had never seen.'

183 **Sikari kamaki** , **biti bite** ,  
 Sikari ka -makI+M , biti.LIST bite.LIST ,  
 (man's name) go/come following 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.daughter  
 npropm vi nm nf

## THE BANAWÁS

### *sawimakematamona*

sawi -maki -himata -mona  
 be present following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'Sikari came, with his son and daughter, and he stayed here.'

184 *Sasawiwa* *toematamona* *me ni ya*  
 sa- sawi -waha to- ha -himata -mona me ni ya  
 DUP be present change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3PL to ADJU  
 vi aux pron prt prt

'He stayed with them.'

185 *Sikari* *sasawiwa* *toematamona*  
 Sikari sa- sawi -waha to- ha.NOM+M -mata -mona  
 (man's name) DUP be present change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropm vi aux

### *amake*

ama -ke  
 be DECL+F  
 vc

'Sikari stayed.'

186 *Tabora* *bote* *itineni* *boto* *bote karo*  
 tabora bote ita -ne -ni boto bote karo  
 village old be located CONT+F BKG+F sandy clearing old LOC  
 nf adj vi nf adj prt  
*me taotao hitehinoho sobo ihi kihahari*  
 me tao- tao hi- na -tee -hino -ho sobo ihi kiha -haari  
 3PL.S DUP shoot OC AUX HAB IP.N+M DUP lead result of+F have IP.E+M  
 pron vt aux nf pn vt

'The old village is there, where there is an old sandy clearing. They had shot him, and he had wounds from the shot.'

187 *Faya tokome* *me tao*  
 faya to- ka -ma+M me tao  
 so away go/come back 3PL.S shoot  
 conj vi pron vt

*hikatasematamonaka* *fahi sasawi*  
 hi- ka- na -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi sa- sawi  
 OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then DUP be present  
 aux dem vi

### *toari*

to- ha -haari  
 CH AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'When he went back, they shot him again, when he was staying over here.'

188 *Yawita* *kakaba* *toamatamatamonane*  
 yawita ka- kaba to- ha -mata -himata -mona -ne  
 peach palm DUP eat CH AUX short time FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vt aux

'He ate peach palm nuts.'

189 *Yawita* *yene weye ne ra me kabine nimete*  
 yawita yehene weye na+M ra me kaba -ne na.NOM+F -mete  
 peach palm fat+M carry AUX O 3PL.S eat CONT+F AUX FP.N+F  
 nm pn vt aux prt pron vt aux

## THE BANAWÁS

*me tao hikanari*  
 me tao hi- ka- na -haari  
 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 pron vt aux

'He was fat because of the fat of the peach palm nuts, and they shot him to eat him.'

190 *Hikabemata awaka me tao hinari*  
 hi- kaba -himata awa -ka me tao hi- na -haari  
 OC eat FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL.S shoot OC AUX IP.E+M  
 vt sec pron vt aux

'They shot him in order to eat him.'

191 *Yawita weweye toematamona ino amane*  
 yawita we- weye to- ha -himata -mona ino ama -ne  
 peach palm DUP carry CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M be BKG+M  
 nm vt aux pn vc

*Sikari yawita yene kabahari*  
 Sikari yawita yehene kaba -haari  
 (man's name) peach palm fat+M eat IP.E+M  
 npropm nm pn vt

'He always carried peach palm nuts. Sikari ate the fat of peach palm nuts.'

192 *Yati ati sosoma toematamona Sikari*  
 yati ati so- soma to- ha -himata -mona Sikari  
 Apurinã voice DUP be restored CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name)  
 npropm pn vi aux npropm

*tohaka me one hikakohari*  
 to- ha -ka me one hi- kaako -haari  
 CH be DECL+M 3PL other+F OC be angry with IP.E+M  
 vc pron adj vt

'Sikari was an Apurinã who was a friend. The others hated him.'

193 *Me one hikako me aahi*  
 me one hi- kaako+M me a- ahi  
 3PL other+F OC be angry with 3PL.S DUP mess with  
 pron adj vt pron vt

*hiwahematamonaha*  
 hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ha  
 OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 aux

'The others hated him. They attacked him.'

194 *Okomibone*  
 o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone  
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F  
 vi

'I'm leaving.'

195 *Ee tikama faya*  
 ee ti- ka -ma faya  
 yes 2SG.S go/come back so  
 interj vi conj

*tokomarebanoho*  
 to- ka -ma -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 away go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'All right, go ahead.' But he didn't go.'

## THE BANAWÁS

196 *Tokomarebano* *tokomebona* *ati* *ne*  
 to- ka -ma -ra -hiba -no to- ka -ma -hibona ati na+M  
 away go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M away go/come back INT+M say AUX  
 vi vi vt aux

*ma* *nawame* *ma* *nawahamehi* , *faya* *bite*  
 maa na -waha -ma+M maa na -waha -ma+M faya bite  
 stop AUX change back stop AUX change back so 3SG.POSS.daughter  
 vi aux vi aux conj nf

*Kirama* *hikanika* *bite* *Kirama*  
 Kirama hi- ka- nika+F bite Kirama  
 (man's name) OC COMIT ask for 3SG.POSS.daughter (man's name)  
 npropm vt nf npropm

*hitihabone* , *bite* , *fati* *hikayawa*  
 hi- iti -habone bite fati hi- ka- yawa+F  
 OC marry INT+F 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.wife OC COMIT be upset  
 vt nf nf vt

, *Masima* *tiwa* *sa* *okanabana* *o*  
 Masima tiwa saa o- ka- na -habana o-  
 (woman's name) 2SG.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S  
 npropf pron vt aux prt

*tikoto* *tikayawa* *tiwa*  
 tikoto ti- ka- yawa+F tiwa  
 2SG.POSS.daughter 2SG.S COMIT be upset 2SG.S  
 nf vt pron

'He said he was going to leave but he didn't go. He turned around and came back. Kirama asked for his daughter. Kirama wanted to marry his daughter, but his wife wouldn't let her go. "Masima, I'm going to shoot you with an arrow, because you won't let your daughter go."

197 *Tikoto* *tikayawa* *tiwa* *sa*  
 tikoto ti- ka- yawa+F tiwa saa  
 2SG.POSS.daughter 2SG.S COMIT be upset 2SG.O shoot with arrow  
 nf vt pron vt

*okanabana* *oke* *te* *ababa* *te* *te*  
 o- ka- na -habana o- ke tee ahaba -haba tee tee  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 2PL.S die FUT+F 2PL.S 2PL.O  
 aux prt pron vi pron pron

*sa* *onaba* *te*  
 saa o- na -haba tee  
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 2PL.O  
 vt aux pron

"I will shoot you with an arrow because you won't let your daughter go. You will die. I will shoot you all with arrows."

198 *Tikoto* *otihabone* *te* *kayawine*  
 tikoto o- iti -habone tee ka- yawa -ne  
 2SG.POSS.daughter 1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S COMIT be upset CONT+F  
 nf vt pron vt

"I want to marry your daughter, but you won't let her go."

199 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 "All right."

## THE BANAWÁS

200 *Faya Te te nanao karama na*  
 faya tee tee na- naho na -karahama na  
 so 2PL 2PL.S CAUS stay AUX only do AUX  
 conj pron pron vi aux aux

"You wait here."

201 *Te sa obe*  
 tee saa o- na -be  
 2PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron vt aux

"I will shoot you with arrows."

202 *Faya Kirama kana ni kamematamona*  
 faya Kirama kana na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona  
 so (man's name) run AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj npropm vi aux vi

*towisawa hora hinebanoho*  
 towisawa hora hi- na -hiba -no -ho  
 chief scold OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm vt aux

'Then Kirama came running back. The chief scolded him.'

203 *Towisawa Yowao hora hinematamonane Aniya*  
 towisawa Yowao hora hi- na -himata -mona -ne Aniya  
 chief João scold OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M (man's name)  
 nm npropm vt aux npropm

'The chief João scolded him, Aniya.'

204 *Aniya hora hinehimatamonane*  
 Aniya hora hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 (man's name) scold OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt aux

'Aniya scolded him.'

205 *Aniya hora hine wati towakame*  
 Aniya hora hi- na+M wati to- ka- ka -ma+M  
 (man's name) scold OC AUX arrow away COMMIT go/come back  
 npropm vt aux nm vt

*tokomematamona mitarama ni yati mera*  
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona mita -rama na.NFIN yati mera  
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M hear unusual AUX Apurinã 3PL.O  
 vi antip aux npropm pron

*sa nebonaha*  
 saa na -hibona -ha  
 shoot with arrow AUX INT+M DUP  
 vt aux

'Aniya scolded him. He took a bow and arrows and went, not listening. He wanted to shoot the Apurinãs.'

206 *Yati me itikosawamani me ha ya*  
 yati me iti -kosa -waha -ma -hani me haa ya  
 Apurinã 3PL.S go around middle change back IP.N+F 3PL.S DEM ADJU  
 npropm pron vi pron dem prt

*me kametemone*  
 me ka -mete -mone  
 3PL.S of FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron prt

'The Apurinãs went around another way, and came back.'

## THE BANAWÁS

207 *Towisawa* *Yowao* , *Kirama* *otara* *abini* *nebona* *ati*  
 towisawa Yowao , Kirama otara abini na -hibona ati  
 chief João (man's name) 1EX.O vt AUX INT+M say  
 nm npropm npropm pron aux vt

*narene* *wati* *otara* *sa* *nebonaha*  
 na -hare -ne wati otara saa na -hibona -ha  
 AUX IP.E+M BKG+M arrow 1EX.O shoot with arrow AUX INT+M DUP  
 aux nm pron vt aux

*okoto* *okayawamone* *ati* *nari* *ati*  
 okoto o- ka- yawa -hamone ati na -haari ati  
 my daughter 1SG.S COMIT be upset REP+F say AUX IP.E+M say  
 nf vt vt aux vt

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

"Chief João, Kirama says he is going to kill us. He says he is going to shoot us with arrows, because he says I won't let my daughter go," she said.'

208 *Kirama* , *hora* *onareka*  
 Kirama , hora o- na -hare -ka  
 (man's name) scold 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M DECL+M  
 npropm vt aux

"I scolded Kirama."

209 *Kirama* *kamareba* *awa*  
 Kirama ka -ma -ra -hiba awa  
 (man's name) go/come back NEG FUT+M seem+M  
 npropm vi sec

"I don't think Kirama is going to come back."

210 *Mera* *siba* *nematamonane* *mera* *sa*  
 mera siba na -himata -mona -ne mera saa  
 3PL.O look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.O shoot with arrow  
 pron vt aux pron vt

*nebonaha*  
 na -hibona -ha  
 AUX INT+M DUP  
 aux

'He looked for them, to shoot them with arrows.'

211 *Wati* *ya* *mera* *sa* *nebona* *mera* *siba* *ne*  
 wati ya mera saa na -hibona mera siba na+M  
 arrow ADJU 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX INT+M 3PL.O look for AUX  
 nm prt pron vt aux pron vt aux

, *me* *hikasawari* *kamawematamona*  
 me hi- ka- sawari+M ka -ma -waha -himata -mona  
 3PL.S OC COMIT frustrate go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt vi

'He looked for them to shoot them with arrows, but they outwitted him, so he came back.'

212 *Kamawematamonaka* *fahi*  
 ka -ma -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'He came back.'





## THE BANAWÁS

- 218 *Faya tosawarimatamonaka fahi* .  
 faya to- sawari -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so CH frustrate FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem  
 'Then he got lost.'
- 219 *Faya me tokasawariemetemoneni* .  
 faya me to- ka- sawari -hemete -mone -ni  
 so 3PL.S CH COMIT frustrate FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 conj pron vi  
 'The two of them got lost.'
- 220 *Me tokasawaria me kakama*  
 me to- ka- sawari+F me ka- ka- ka -ma  
 3PL.S CH COMIT get lost 3PL.S DUP COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi pron vi  
*toemetemonehe*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone -he  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux  
 'They got lost, and they didn't come back.'
- 221 *Me amo ni tatama toemetemoneke*  
 me amo na.NFIN ta- tama to- ha -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S sleep AUX DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vi aux  
*yama kabani ya , farina me kikia ra mati* .  
 yama kabani ya , farina me ki- kiha na -ra+F mati  
 forest ADJU manioc meal 3PL.S DUP have AUX NEG 3PL.S  
 nf prt nf pron vt aux pron  
 'They were in the forest for many days, without manioc meal.'
- 222 *Botefo me hiwasiwitimetemone waha* .  
 Botehefo me hi- wasi -witI.NOM -mete -mone waha  
 (man's name) 3PL.O OC find out FP.N+F REP+F now  
 npropm pron vt prt  
 'Botehefo found them out there.'
- 223 *Hawi beri ya me ka babaka yama towama*  
 hawi beheri ya me ka ba- baka yama to- na -waha -ma  
 trail side ADJU 3PL POSS DUP break turn away AUX change back  
 nf pn prt pron prt nf vi aux  
*na toemetemoneni* .  
 na to- ha -hemete -mone -ni  
 AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux aux  
 'Their makeshift trail went along paralleling the trail.'

# YATITI

## *Free Translation*

I shot some collared peccaries. I shot three peccaries because the Brazilian told me to, as we were hunting. We were hunting, and I shot the peccaries. After I shot the peccaries, we came back.

"Let's skin the peccaries."

"Let's not skin them. Let's skin the peccaries at the Brazilian's place."

We came back. There is a big sandy clearing there, an old village of the Yimas. We came back. We put the peccaries in the canoe.

"Put the peccaries in the canoe. Let's drink cachaça."

We drank cachaça. We were ready to leave. We came back. We came upon some brown capuchins, and I shot at them. The monkeys didn't die. The monkeys got away. The monkeys that they shot at got away.

"Come on, let's go back."

We drank some more cachaça. We were ready, and we came on. We came on. The boss came back when we arrived back. The son of the boss came running and saw the peccaries that I had shot, and he went running back. The Brazilian sold things only to me. We skinned the peccaries. Then we ate, eating the food that the Brazilian woman cooked. Batista was a strong man, but he died young.

"Where are we going to sleep?"

"You sleep there."

We slept. Morning came.

"Boss, we are going downstream. I want to see Nova Brasil."

We went downstream to Nova Brasil. We turned around at the mouth of the Sepatini River. We came back upstream. We arrived back in the late afternoon. We arrived back, and we ate again.

We slept. The boss had bought cachaça. We drank the cachaça that he had bought. We slept because we were feeling the effect of the cachaça. We didn't speak to the Brazilian. We took snuff, and then slept.

"We are going home."

"All right."

We got ready. I bought some things from the Brazilian. I bought shotgun shells, lead, percussion caps, gunpowder, and salt, to salt fish, because Yatiti told me to. We came back from where we had come.

"Come on, let's go home. There is a trail. There is a trail that is not far. It was not far long ago," Kerewe said.

We came back. We came in a canoe. The Brazilians brought us. We came up on the river bank.

The Brazilian's two sons went on. We came back. We came upon some woolly monkeys, but we didn't shoot them. I was waiting for some white-lipped peccaries. We came back. Those peccaries are still living there in the stand of *yowi* trees. The white-lipped peccaries whose voices I said could be heard still live in that stand of *yowi* trees, also woolly monkeys. The people used to kill many animals there, but their villages are gone now. The fish used to eat there. Wow, you have never seen the fish, the Brazilians have caught them in nets, the ones that came downstream from

## YATITI

the Mamoriá River. The Brazilians eat the fish of the Mamoriá.

We came back. We got in the boat and came back downstream.

"We will sleep in the same place as we slept before. There is a house there."

We came back downstream. I hunted. I shot a *bato biri* deer. Yatiti speared some fish, and he divided up the fish. Yatiti got two stringers of fish, he was a great fisherman. He brought the fish back. He divided up the fish. We put the fish in a makeshift basket and in a large basket that we had lined with leaves. We put the fish in the canoe. The deer was also in a pot and in a large can.

We came back. We came downstream. There was a wallow at the mouth of the Abaha stream, a tapir wallow, and it is still there. They used to spear tapirs in a wallow that Kerewe pointed out, with arrows, since they didn't have shotguns.

We came back downstream. We came upon some howler monkeys, but we didn't shoot the howler monkeys. We came downstream.

We arrived at the Pauzinho stream. I bought some manioc meal from the Brazilians, and they measured it out with a litre can. I paid with the deer meat. I gave some fish, too. Some of the fish were left. But I gave all of the deer meat, the *bato biri* deer. I deceived the Brazilians, saying it was a *bato yokana*.

We wanted to sleep. "Let's go downstream. Let's sleep at Lino's place. We will sleep at Lino's place."

"Right, we will sleep at Lino's place. We will get up early, so we will arrive at our village."

We were ready. We came downstream, and arrived at Lino's place. Lino was there.

"Lino, are you home?"

"Yes, I am home," Lino said. "Well?"

"What?"

"Where are the fish?"

"We haven't brought fish. We have come downstream."

"I'm hungry," Lino said. Saying he was hungry, Lino looked around.

"Lino, there are fish in the canoe."

"Go get the fish."

Yatiti carried over the fish. Yatiti went and got the fish. Luisa and Margarita gutted them, and we ate in the evening, because of Lino. We ate the fish that we had brought. We ate the manioc meal that I had also bought from the Brazilians. Lino was happy because he ate.

"Where did you turn back?" Lino said.

"We turned back at the edge."

"I don't want you to go hunting," Lino said.

"Let's go home."

"Firiato and Kasia are afraid of the Apurinãs."

"We aren't afraid."

"You go fishing," Lino said.

"Right, Yatiti, you go fishing. I will go hunting. I will go into the forest."

I went hunting. Yatiti and his companion went fishing. They speared fish. Late in the afternoon we met up and came back. I shot a guan. I didn't kill anything big. I only shot a guan. They came back.

"Let's go back. Let's eat. You have fish. Let's go downstream tomorrow."

We came back. Margarita and her sister gutted the fish when we arrived back. They cut up the guan, too.

"Lino, I am going downstream tomorrow. I miss my children," I said.

"Right, you go back downstream tomorrow. When we have children, we always miss them,"

## YATITI

Lino said.

"Right, I will go downstream."

We slept so that we could go downstream. We took some of Lino's snuff, and then we slept.

"The snuff doesn't have much effect," Lino said.

We took snuff because of Lino. We took snuff, and drank water, and went into our mosquito nets.

"Come on, let's sleep. We will go tomorrow."

We slept. I lay in my hammock. I dozed off.

As they slept, I called them. "Kayowi, Kayowi."

"Huh?"

"Kayowi let's go."

"All right."

"It's dawning. Let's go home."

We were ready in the morning. "Lino, I am going."

"Right, go on."

"I will come back upstream. I will see you again. I will fish, and when I fish, I will bring fish, and I will leave the fish with you."

"All right."

We went downstream. We got ready. We put the things in the canoe, and we were ready. We came downstream.

We came upon Manoel Luiz as he was fishing.

"Manoel, what about the people?"

"They are there. I am fishing because we are hungry," Towia [another name for Manoel] said.

"Yatiti you should spear a fish, so we can go back and eat the fish."

Yatiti went right away.

"Come back soon. I'm going out. I'm going hunting."

I went. I was there in the forest. "I won't go far, they are going to call me. The sun will go down." I went. I came back. I shot a *wayara* tinamou after turning back. I shot a *wayara* tinamou, and I carried it strapped on my shoulder. We came back.

"Come on. Where is Towia?"

"Towia went that way to hit a reed on the water."

"Call Towia. Let's go."

They called Towia, and he called back. He came back. "What is it?"

"Let's go."

"Right, let's go."

"Let's go back. We are going to eat. There are many fish."

I also had shot a tinamou, and it was a fatty tinamou. We came back.

"Nakiri [another name for Kerewe]."

"Huh?"

"Nakiri, there are *aba ka sami* fruits there."

Nakiri picked some *aba ka sami* fruits, and he put the *aba ka sami* fruits in the canoe. We were ready, and we came downstream. It was the Boko Wari stream. We came down the Boko Wari stream. We turned off, and came upstream. We came into Wara lake, and came back.

I had shot a tapir, too. The Brazilians ate the tapir that I shot. We ate some, too. The tapir meat was fatty. The Brazilian gave some to others. I wanted him to pay for the tapir meat with *cachaça*, but he said there was not *cachaça*. He gave money instead.

## YATITI

We came, and arrived. My mother-in-law was there. It was my mother-in-law Marikina. They were there.

"Let's go. Let's go into the house."

"Are they there?"

"They are living somewhere else."

"Towia, did you see them?"

"Yes, I saw them. They are living there."

"Ate they well?"

"Yes."

"We went upstream after them, but we didn't see them. We only saw one of them, and he went away in a canoe. We didn't speak to him. I wanted for us to talk to him, but the others wouldn't go along with it. I gave him some cachaça. He went away."

"We will talk another day," he said," I said.

"Right, you come again. We will come again."

They said he was an Apurinã, Kasia and the others.

We arrived at the village. They cooked fish, and we ate them. We ate fish, and then we slept.

We wanted to see them, but we didn't see them. Then the Brazilians killed the Katona people.<sup>31</sup> They were the Katona people.

"You can go home."

As I was sitting in the house, Aosino came to me. Aosino came.

"There is someone coming there."

"It is Aosino," Bowata [Yowao's wife] said.

"I have come," Aosino said.

"What do you know, Aosino has come. Where are the white-lipped peccaries?"

"The white-lipped peccaries are there in the forest. We didn't hunt any white-lipped peccaries. Whew, Bowataro where is the food?"

Aosino came hungry, and he ate. They had speared fish. Aosino ate, because there was lots of manioc meal, that we had brought downstream.

"Aosino, I am going there. I am going to stay at Yemetete. I'm going to move," I said.

"OK, move," Aosino said.

After I spoke to Aosino, he went back. "Are you leaving?"

"Yes, I'm going."

"All right, go. I will see you there."

"Noko Mora said he wants to have a festa, and he wants you to come. Are you going to come?"

"I guess I will come. We will go. Noko Mora invited us."

After a little while, on Saturday we went there. We came upon them eating. They were eating tapir. We came upon them as they were eating tapir. We arrived at night.

"Boniwa, what kind of festa is it? Is it a Brazilian festa, up in a house?"

"It is not a Brazilian festa. I want it to be a festa on the plaza."

"Dance some more."

They danced. I didn't dance. My feet were hurting. "My feet hurt. You go ahead and dance. I'm going to give my feet a rest."

I lay in a hammock. After lying in the hammock for a while, I watched them as they were singing and their voices could be heard. I sat and watched them. As I sat there watching them, a rooster crowed.

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31 Katona appears to refer to an Indian group.

## YATITI

"The rooster is crowing. Don't stop. It is about to dawn."

Then they sang louder. They sang louder, but they didn't whip anyone. They only sang and danced. They sang and danced some more, and then morning came. I stayed awake until dawn, too. I didn't sleep, because of their singing.

We stayed there. We stayed a while, and they had another day of dancing and singing. Bototowi was in a hurry because the chickens were in pens back at our village.

"Noko Mora, we are going home."

"Right, you can go home. Your animals are in the pens," Noko Mora said.

"The animals are in pens. The opossum is taking care of them. The opossum will eat them. We are going home. Siko let's go."

"Right, let's go."

All of us went. We came back.

"Let's pass by. Let's go past the old sandy clearing. We will arrive home. It is still far."

We came on. We came some more. It was late afternoon. We came as the sun was setting. The others decided to take a bath. "We are going to take a bath. We are feeling hot," they said.

"Go ahead and take a bath. There are signs of white-lipped peccaries there," I said.

"Look, there are signs of white-lipped peccaries," Bowata said. "There is the smell of white-lipped peccaries here," she said.

There was a strong smell of white-lipped peccaries all around. Kawi came over.

"Kawi come over here."

Siko didn't come with us.

"Look here at the signs of the white-lipped peccaries that came this way."

There were many peccaries. I went and looked around at the signs of the peccaries. They were bathing.

"Are you finished? Come on, tomorrow we will come here after the peccaries."

"Yes, we will come here tomorrow after the peccaries. Let them go for now. They will be heard where there are miriti fruits tomorrow."

We went on. We came back to our village and arrived. We arrived back when it was getting dark, and we didn't eat. We were hungry. So we got up early.

"I'm going to shoot a peccary. You wait for me."

Two of us killed some peccaries. I shot five of them. Kawi got four, too. The two of us carried the peccaries to another place. We brought the other peccaries. Then we went back and put peccaries on our backs, and we came back. We came back. We left the two peccaries, and then went back. We brought the peccaries.

"These two peccaries will stay here for now. Let's go get the others. We are tired."

The peccaries I was carrying were heavy. I went on by the others as I was carrying them. We came back. Bototowi saw me. We brought the peccaries.

"Look son, your father has come back." Bakori was happy.

"There are other peccaries lying out there. Let's go get the peccaries. Did the people say we hadn't killed any peccaries? There are many peccaries. You carry one peccary, Bowataro. I will carry two peccaries. I tied them up, it took a long time."

We went to get the peccaries. I put a peccary onto Bowata's back, and she carried it. We carried the peccaries. I carried peccaries, too. Kananisi carried a peccary. Kawi carried a peccary. We came back. There was no one to help me carry the peccaries I had killed, I am telling you.

I skinned the peccaries back at the village.

"Cook the breast of a peccary. I'm hungry."

## YATITI

So Bowata cut up a peccary, and she cooked the peccary. I worked on the peccaries all day long, and I salted them. I roasted their heads on a rack. I stretched the skins on sticks, too, by myself.

Then we ate. We ate, finally. Bowata scooped up manioc meal, and we ate. We ate peccaries. Then I roasted peccaries on a rack.

After a few days, Siko and his companions came to us, also Babao. They came along with Babao. Babao went away carrying peccaries. Babao went far away. As Babao went away, he was carrying peccaries. He carried peccary heads on his back. He went and ate the peccaries that we had given.

We ate the salted ones, because we were hungry. We would have been hungry. Babao went home. We stayed behind.

"Go see them. They live over there. I visited them," Siko said. "Noko Mora lives there."

They came. They appeared, the women. I shot a deer and brought it home. Bowataro cooked it, and they ate it. My female cousins laughed as they ate the deer meat. They asked for meat, and then they went home.

"We just came to see you."

"OK, go ahead home. We are living here. Go ahead home. Yatiti will go there. Yatiti wants to visit his younger female cousin."

But Yatiti was crazy. I didn't realize he was crazy. I didn't realize Yatiti was crazy. We didn't realize Yatiti was crazy, even though he was with us. He went after *hawa* palm fruits.

"Go after *hawa* fruits. We are going to go after manioc."

The two of us came and we pulled up manioc. We were in the garden.

"Come on, let's go back."

We went back. The manioc I was carrying was heavy. I put the child on top of the basket, and I also was carrying a shotgun. We went.

I came upon Yatiti, who had thought of something and was coming.

"Why is Yatiti coming here late in the day? What does he want?"

"What do you want?"

"I'm going there. I want to go and see them."

"Can't you see that it is late?"

"I will go there. I'm going to spend the night on the trail on the way." He was talking like a normal person.

"All right, since you are leaving me behind, I will buy the things for you."

So I bought the things for him: cloth, percussion caps, gunpowder, and shot. I also bought clothing, a shirt, but he didn't come back. He went crazy over there, and he didn't come back.

I complained about Yatiti on the trail. "Why is Yatiti going there?"

"I don't know about Yatiti," Bowataro said.

"I am not angry with Yatiti. In the afternoon he left and went away."

We arrived back.

"Put the *hawa* fruits in water."

"The *hawa* fruits are there in a basket, I brought them," he had said.

"I thought he would drink the broth of the *hawa* fruits with me, but he didn't want to."

As the two of us were there on the trail, Yatiti went.

"I am going there. I will spend the night on the trail on the way."

"All right, you are saying you are going there. Go ahead," I said.

Yatiti did not stay. Yatiti left right away, *fawaii*.

We came on home. We came back.

## YATITI

"I'm going there to see my cousin," he said.

"He is going to see his cousin. Yatiti went."

"Did you see Yatiti?" Kerewe said.

"I saw Yatiti. Yatiti has gone. I wanted to stop Yatiti, but he wouldn't let me. I don't know. I'm not angry with Yatiti, but he went away late in the day."

Siko was living there. Siko was sitting there. He went. We stayed, and Bowata grated the manioc. She grated the manioc, and squeezed the manioc. I didn't go fishing. Bowata pounded the *hawa* fruits in the mortar, and we drank the *hawa* porridge.

"I will drink the porridge of the *hawa* fruits that he left behind. He seems to have gone crazy," I said.

It was true. He went. Then he went to see them. He told about himself when he came back. They had come back carrying fish that they had gotten with *kona* poison. He went.

It was a long time later. "I cut brush, and cut brush some more, and it is taking a long time to work with the brush. Let's go the two of us. I will cut the brush nearby."

We left, and came back. It was at Yemete village. We came back to Yemete. I burned the trees for a garden. I cut down the trees, and burned them, and planted manioc. Siko planted manioc sections, too. We planted manioc.

When the manioc grew, before the news about Yatiti reached us, we came back for the sweet manioc.

"Let's go there and pull up sweet manioc. We don't have any food."

"All right."

We didn't have any food, and we went after manioc. We were in the garden pulling it up. Bowata was standing cutting the manioc stalks, when Yatowa came.

"Yatowa is coming there."

"Look at me," he said. "Look at me."

"What is it? Yatowa, what is it?" Bowata said.

"It's not what. We were afraid, and we came because of Yatiti. We are looking for Yatiti."

I became worried. "What happened to Yatiti?"

"Yatiti went crazy, and they went after him. But he disappeared, and he is gone. We thought he came here, so we came here. I don't know. Yatiti was wanting you when he disappeared."

"Yatiti was like that when he went away," I said.

"They said Yatiti attacked his cousin soon after he got crazy."

They went after him, and caught him. They brought him back and put him in his hammock. Then he saw the sun. He got out of his hammock and stood in the patio looking at the sun. Then he was ready. He went into the forest. He was gone. He went running into the forest.

"Tie Yatiti fast with a stout rope. I don't know about Yatiti. Yatiti went over there, and he didn't speak to me."

Yatiti didn't come back. The others were afraid, and we were, too. I was watching for Yatiti all the time.

"Yatiti has a shotgun, and he won't let go of the shotgun," Yatowa said. "He said he wanted you, saying he is coming back. I don't know."

So we went.

"Bowata, boil some sweet manioc. Yatowa is going to eat sweet manioc."

So Bowata boiled some sweet manioc, and we ate the sweet manioc.

"Yatiti is going to come back. His shotgun reportedly fell in the water, and it is in the Faha Biri stream. When the water level goes down, they will take it out of the water."

Yatiti didn't come back. Then we went back.



## YATITI

"Let's go back to Wara. I guess Nakiri is there."

Nakiri was there. Nakiri was living there, and we came upon him. We came upon Nakiri.

"Look, Bowataro has come back," he said.

"Kerewe, I have come back. Yatiti, who we were always with, has disappeared," Bowata said.

"Why?"

"Yatiti went crazy. We were living in the place where he started acting crazy. I don't know about Yatiti."

So we lived there. I went fishing. The seasonal flooding came.

They tied Yatiti in his hammock, but he disappeared. He went into the forest, and they looked for him. Then he came. He came.

Yatowa and his companion went. "We are going. We thought Yatiti had come here, but he hasn't. Yatiti has been crazy," Yatowa said. "The others have been going after him at night."

"All right, go ahead."

They went.

"I think Yatiti will come back."

Yatiti did come back. His shotgun fell in the water. He went to the Jamamadis and stayed there. He told the Jamamadis he wanted to toast manioc meal.

We went. Bowata and my younger sister were going ahead. He had come back and was staying in the house. He put down *basioba* palm wood for a floor, and stayed there.

As I was going up a hill, Bowata looked back. "Yatiti is there in a hammock," she whispered.

"Is it him?"

"Yes, Yatiti is there in a hammock."

I went after Yatiti as he lay in his hammock.

"You two stay here. You run away. He will fight with me."

I went to him. "Yatiti?"

"Huh?"

"Is it you?"

"Yes, it is me. I was going home, but it got dark on me. I slept, and I am here in my hammock."

Then he came out. He came out of the house. He came out, and spoke to me.

"Where are the Jamamadis?"

"The Jamamadis are living there. I went there, and I am coming back from Sabo," he said.

"The Jamamadis have a lot of manioc. They told me to toast manioc meal," he said. He stood there speaking to me. "What are you doing?"

"I have come after manioc, since I don't have any food."

"Right, you go on back ahead. I will come behind tomorrow. I'm going to see them over there."

"Right, you go see them. We are going back."

"Right, go ahead back. When I have gone there and stayed with them, I will come back, and will go to you, and then I will go to the Jamamadis. The Jamamadis said they want me to toast manioc meal," he said.

"Right, the Jamamadis asked for you."

We ate some of his manioc meal. Oh yes, he ate plantains. The women had come, and I had come behind them.

"Go ahead and see them."

## YATITI

"I will let my hammock here, that I have been lying in."

He didn't go there on the downstream trail. He went, but he didn't go there. He went and saw them at their village, Base Kabi.

"Bring back some of their fish."

"Yes," he said, but he just went and looked at them. He went and looked at them, and then he came back.

He slept, and then came the next day. Bowata was grating manioc. Bowata was grating manioc, and he came carrying his hammock on his back.

Then he went away again. Then he toasted manioc meal. The Jamamadis wanted him to toast manioc meal. The Jamamadis wanted him to go there again.

"My time is up," he said. "The time that the Jamamadis set for me to go back is close," he said.

"Yatiti, you take care. The Jamamadis are fierce."

Then he was ready. "I will go and see the Jamamadis. When I have toasted manioc meal and dropped it off here, I will toast some more manioc meal and take it to a village further on."

"Go ahead and take care of the manioc meal of the Jamamadis."

Then he went. He didn't stay. He went. He went there to the Jamamadis. He spoke to his cousin.

"What is Yatiti planning to do?"

"Yatiti said that the Jamamadis want him to toast manioc meal, and he went. Don't be concerned about him. Let him go."

He went, and disappeared. He disappeared for a long time, and then came back. He came back again. He came back before we left. Kerewe was sitting in the house. We were standing in the patio.

"Whew," he said.

"Look, Yatiti has come back."

He was holding two arrows and a bow. He was carrying some ripe bananas on the end of the bow. We ate his ripe bananas that he was carrying.

"Yatiti, what about the Jamamadis?"

"The Jamamadis are living there."

"Where is your manioc meal?"

"The manioc meal is in the house there at the village. I left it there."

"What about it?"

"I don't know."

"Are you going to go pick it up?"

"I don't know if I will pick it up. There is more manioc meal that was left in the middle of the trail."

Who went and got his manioc meal? He stayed there a long time. He didn't have a mosquito net. He didn't have a hammock, either.

"Yatiti, are you going back there?"

"I don't know. I'm going to sleep. I don't want to go there," he said. He said he didn't want to go there. "I don't want to go there. Kerewe, I will be with you. I will sleep above you," he said.

He was pale. Kerewe tried to cure him. He said he wanted to go back there with Kerewe. After that he never went back. I ordered him, and he cut thatch. He didn't have any clothes, so I gave him some clothes, and he cut thatch.

"There are no shotgun shells," he said.

"I would give you some shells, but where is your shotgun?"

## YATITI

"The shotgun disappeared over there."

"There are shells. I am not lying. The shells are here. The things for you are here. I bought percussion caps, gunpowder, and shot. I am keeping the things I bought as you asked me to. You are wearing my clothes, too."

I ordered him, and he cut thatch. He carried the thatch all day long. Late in the afternoon he came back, and went and bathed.

I speared some fish. I speared two peacock bass, and caught a *bahama* fish with hook and line. I brought the fish back. I came back.

We ate. Bowata gutted the fish. Kerewe, it was him. He was with Nakiri. He lay in his hammock above Nakiri. Bowata toasted manioc mash, and we ate.

"Are the *aba* fish coming downstream?"

"The *aba* fish are coming downstream, Yatiti."

"I'm going to spear some *aba* fish for me."

"There are arrows stuck in the rafters."

"Right, you get *sofa* latex."

"I'm going after *sofa* latex. You go and fish."

So we left him behind, and he speared *aba* fish all day long. He speared the fish that were eating *tamino* fruits, the *aba* fish that were coming upstream. I was getting *sofa* latex, and I arrived back. We arrived back.

"I'm going to bathe. Aren't you going to bathe?"

"I will bathe," Bowata said.

"You will bathe, come on."

"Where did Yatiti disappear to? Where did Yatiti go?"

Yatiti had stood on the buttress root of a *tamino* tree. Bowata bathed. I watched her bathing.

"Come out. I will take my turn at bathing."

So I bathed. I stood bathing. I put my clothes back on.

He came to me. I heard the sound of him coming. I heard the sound of him wading.

"There he is coming."

He was happy as he was coming.

"Wow."

"I speared *aba* fish as they were eating *tamino* fruits," he said. "Siko will have some of them. You will also have some."

He took some of the fish to Siko, that he had speared as they were eating *tamino* fruits.

"Come back quickly. You will eat."

"Wait."

Then Bowata cooked the fish. They were cooking. They were boiling. I sat waiting as they were boiling. Kerewe was sitting there, too, Nakiri.

"Nakiri, did you cut the trail for the *sofa* trees?"

"The *sofa* trees are there, I cut the trail for them," Nakiri said. "I will chop at them tomorrow."

Then Bowata served the fish.

"Yatiti hasn't come back."

"I think he is coming," Kerewe said.

Then he came back. "Hoo, Siko has ripe bananas at his house."

"He is coming back with ripe bananas."

"Where are the fish?"

"Serve the fish without delay. Let's eat."

## YATITI

Bowata served the fish. The pieces of fish were in the plates. We ate the fish. Nakiri ate.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 **Faya** **kobaya** **me** **tao** **omaro** **amake**  
 faya kobaya me tao o- na.NOM -maro ama -ke  
 so collared peccary 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 conj nm pron vt aux vc

**fahi**

fahi  
 then  
 dem

'I shot some collared peccaries.'

2 **Kobaya** **me** **terei** **tohamaroni** **me** **tao**  
 kobaya me terei to- ha -hamaro -ni me tao  
 collared peccary 3PL.S be three CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F 3PL.O shoot  
 nm pron vi aux pron vt

**ona** **mati** **yara** **ati** **ehene** **yama** **ota** **yete** **na**  
 o- na+F mati yara ati ehene yama otaa yete na+F  
 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O Brazilian voice because of+M thing 1EX.S hunt AUX  
 aux pron npropm pn post nf pron vt aux

**ota**

otaa  
 1EX.S  
 pron

'I shot three peccaries because the Brazilian told me to, as we were hunting.'

3 **Yama** **ota** **yete** **na** **kobaya** **me** **tao**  
 yama otaa yete na+F kobaya me tao  
 thing 1EX.S hunt AUX collared peccary 3PL.O shoot  
 nf pron vt aux nm pron vt

**onamaro**

**oke**

o- na -hamaro o- ke  
 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 aux prt

'We were hunting, and I shot the peccaries.'

4 **Kobaya** **me** **tao** **ona** **ota**  
 kobaya me tao o- na+F otaa  
 collared peccary 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S AUX 1EX.S  
 nm pron vt aux pron

**kamawaimaro**

**amake**

ka -ma -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 go/come back change FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 vi vc

'After I shot the peccaries, we came back.'

5 **Kobaya** **me** **e** **itehi**  
 kobaya me ee itI -hi  
 collared peccary 3PL.O 1IN.S skin IMP+F  
 nm pron pron vt

'''Let's skin the peccaries.'''

## YATITI

6 *Me e iteaba kobaya me e*  
 me ee itI -haba kobaya me ee  
 3PL.O 1IN.S skin FUT+F collared peccary 3PL.O 1IN.S  
 pron pron vt nm pron pron

*totemabana yara taboro ya*  
 to- itI -ma -habana yara taboro ya  
 away skin back FUT+F Brazilian place+M ADJU  
 vt npropm pn prt

"Let's not skin them. Let's skin the peccaries at the Brazilian's place."

7 *Ota kamamaro*  
 otaa ka -ma -hamaro  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F  
 pron vi

'We came back.'

8 *Ota kamamaro otani*  
 otaa ka -ma -hamaro otaa -ni  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 pron vi pron

'We came back.'

9 *Ota kama boto nafiamaro*  
 otaa ka -ma+F , boto nafi -hamaro  
 1EX.S go/come back sandy clearing be big FP.E+F  
 pron vi nf vi

*itineni boto webotemaro ho yima me*  
 ita -ne -ni boto webote -maro -ho yima me  
 be located CONT+F BKG+F sandy clearing big FP.E+F DUP Yima 3PL.POSS  
 vi nf adj npropm pron

*taborimete*  
 tabori -mete  
 place+F FP.N+F  
 nf

'We came back. There is a big sandy clearing there, an old village of the Yimas.'

10 *Faya kobaya ota kama kobaya me*  
 faya kobaya otaa ka -ma+F , kobaya me  
 so collared peccary 1EX.S go/come back collared peccary 3PL.O  
 conj nm pron vi nm pron

*ota te nama Kobaya me te te*  
 otaa tee na -ma+F , kobaya me tee tee  
 1EX.S put inside AUX back collared peccary 3PL.O 2PL.S put inside  
 pron vt aux nm pron pron vt

*na*  
 na  
 AUX  
 aux

'We came back. We put the peccaries in the canoe. "Put the peccaries in the canoe."

11 *Kasasa e fawamata*  
 kasasa ee fawa -mata  
 cachaça 1IN.S drink short time  
 nf pron vt

"Let's drink cachaça."

## YATITI

12 **Kasasa ota fawamaro otake**  
 kasasa otaa fawa -hamaro otaa -ke  
 cachaça 1EX.S drink FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 nf pron vt pron

'We drank cachaça.'

13 **Kasasa ota fawa ota yana tokanamaro otani**  
 kasasa otaa fawa+F otaa yana to- ka- na -hamaro otaa -ni  
 cachaça 1EX.S drink 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron

'We drank cachaça. We were ready to leave.'

14 **Ota kakama yowi me yowi**  
 otaa ka- ka -ma+F yowi me yowi  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back brown capuchin 3PL brown capuchin  
 pron vi nm pron nm

**me ota wasima me me tao onimaro**  
 me otaa wasi -ma+F me me tao o- na.NOM+F -maro  
 3PL.O 1EX.S find back 3PL.O 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F  
 pron pron vt pron pron vt aux

**amake fahi**  
 ama -ke fahi  
 be DECL+F then  
 vc dem

'We came back. We came upon some brown capuchins, and I shot at them.'

15 **Yowi me abaramaroke**  
 yowi me ahaba -ra -hamaro -ke  
 brown capuchin 3PL.S die NEG FP.E+F DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

'The monkeys didn't die.'

16 **Yowi me hasi namaroni**  
 yowi me hasi na -hamaro -ni  
 brown capuchin 3PL.S escape AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vi aux

'The monkeys got away.'

17 **Yowi me hasi namaroke me me tao**  
 yowi me hasi na -hamaro -ke me me tao  
 brown capuchin 3PL.S escape AUX FP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot  
 nm pron vi aux pron pron vt

**hina mati**  
 hi- na+F mati  
 OC AUX 3PL.O  
 aux pron

'The monkeys that they shot at got away.'

18 **Yowi me hasi na me Hima e**  
 yowi me hasi na+F me hima ee  
 brown capuchin 3PL.S escape AUX 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S  
 nm pron vi aux pron interj pron

**tokoma**  
 to- ka -ma  
 away go/come back  
 vi

## YATITI

'The monkeys got away. "Come on, let's go back."'

19 *Kasasa ota fawamake* , *kasasa ota*  
 kasasa otaa fawa -makI , kasasa otaa  
 cachaça 1EX.S drink following cachaça 1EX.S  
 nf pron vt nf pron

*fawamakeamaro otani*  
 fawa -makI -hamaro otaa -ni  
 drink following FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 vt pron

'We drank some more cachaça.'

20 *Kasasa ota fawamake ota yana tokana ota*  
 kasasa otaa fawa -makI otaa yana to- ka- na+F otaa  
 cachaça 1EX.S drink following 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX 1EX.S  
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron

*kakamawamaro otani*  
 ka- ka -ma -waha -hamaro otaa -ni  
 COMIT go/come back change FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 vi pron

'We drank some more cachaça. We were ready, and we came on.'

21 *Ota kakama bataro kamemari amane*  
 otaa ka- ka -ma+F , bataro ka -ma -himari ama -ne  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back boss go/come back FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 pron vi nm vi sec

*ota kobo kanama ota*  
 otaa kobo ka- na -ma+F otaa  
 1EX.S arrive COMIT AUX back 1EX.S  
 pron vi aux pron

'We came on. The boss came back when we arrived back.'

22 *Bataro biti kana ni kake kobaya*  
 bataro biti kana na.NFIN ka -kI , kobaya  
 boss 3SG.POSS.son run AUX go/come coming collared peccary  
 nm nm vi aux vi nm

*me aweno kana ni wete tonamemarine*  
 me awa -hino kana na.NFIN wete to- na -ma -himari -ne  
 3PL.O see IP.N+M run AUX return away AUX back FP.E+M BKG+M  
 pron vt vi aux vi aux

*kobaya me tao ona mati*  
 kobaya me tao o- na+F mati  
 collared peccary 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt aux pron

'The son of the boss came running and saw the peccaries that I had shot, and he went running back.'

23 *Yama ta ni yara oharimari owa ni ya*  
 yama taa na.NFIN yara ohari -himari owa ni ya  
 thing give AUX Brazilian be only FP.E+M 1SG to ADJU  
 nf vt aux npropm vi pron prt prt

'The Brazilian sold things only to me.'

24 *Kobaya me ota ite ota tafawaimaro*  
 kobaya me otaa itI , otaa tafa -waha.NOM+F -maro  
 collared peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S skin 1EX.S eat change FP.E+F  
 nm pron pron vt pron vi

## YATITI

*amake*      *yara*      *fana*      *yamata*      *hiwasia*      *ota*      *kaba*      *ota*  
 ama -ke      yara      fana      yamata      hi- wasi+F      otaa      kaba+F      otaa  
 be DECL+F      Brazilian      female      food      OC cook      1EX.S      eat      1EX.S  
 vc      npropm      nf      nf      vt      pron      vt      pron

'We skinned the peccaries. Then we ate, eating the food that the Brazilian woman cooked.'

25 *Ota*      *tafa*      ,      *Batisita*      *kitakita*      *raba*      *remari*  
 otaa      tafa+F      ,      Batisita      kita- kita      na -raba      na -ra -himari  
 1EX.S      eat      Batista      DUP      be strong      AUX a bit      AUX NEG FP.E+M  
 pron      vi      npropm      vi      aux      aux

*aba*      *namata*  
 ahaba.CONT+M      na.NOM+M -mata  
 die      AUX      FP.N+M  
 vi      aux

'We ate. Batista was a strong man, but he died young.'

26 *Ota*      *tafa*      ,      *Hibaka*      *ota*      *amo*      *ribe*      ?  
 otaa      tafa+F      ,      hibaka      otaa      amo      na -ri -be  
 1EX.S      eat      where      1EX.S      sleep      AUX CQ+F IMMED+F  
 pron      vi      interrog      pron      vi      aux

'We ate. "Where are we going to sleep?"'

27 *Te*      *amo*      *na*      *ahi*  
 tee      amo      na      ahi  
 2PL.S      sleep      AUX      there  
 pron      vi      aux      dem

""You sleep there.""

28 *Ota*      *amo*      *na*      *ota*      ,      *ota*      *kawaha*      ,      *Bataro*      *ota*  
 otaa      amo      na+F      otaa      ,      otaa      ka- waha+F      ,      bataro      otaa  
 1EX.S      sleep      AUX      1EX      1EX.S      COMMIT dawn      boss      1EX.S  
 pron      vi      aux      pron      pron      vi      nm      pron

*tokisabone*      *ota*      *ahi*  
 to- ka      -risa -habone      otaa      ahi  
 away go/come down INT+F      1EX.S      there  
 vi      pron      dem

'We slept. Morning came. "Boss, we are going downstream."<sup>32</sup>

29 *Ee*      ,      *Nofabarasio*      *owibe*  
 ee      ,      Nofabarasio      o-      awa -be  
 (pause)      (Nova Brasil)      1SG.S      see IMMED+F  
 interj      npropf      vt

""I want to see Nova Brasil.""

30 *Nofabarasio*      *ya*      *ota*      *tokisamaro*      *otake*  
 Nofabarasio      ya      otaa      to- ka      -risa -hamaro      otaa -ke  
 (Nova Brasil)      ADJU      1EX.S      away go/come down FP.E+F      1EX.S DECL+F  
 npropf      prt      pron      vi      pron

'We went downstream to Nova Brasil.'

31 *Sabatini*      *batori*      *ya*      *ota*      *wete*      *tonamamaro*      *ota*  
 Sabatini      batori      ya      otaa      wete      to- na -ma -hamaro      otaa  
 Sepatini      junction      ADJU      1EX.S      return      away AUX back FP.E+F      1EX.S  
 npropf      pn      prt      pron      vi      aux      pron

'We turned around at the mouth of the Sepatini River.'

32 There seems to be the name of a stream at the end of the sentence, but it is unclear.



## YATITI

- 32 *Sabatini*    *batori*    *otaa*    *wete*    *tonama*    *otaa*  
 Sabatini    batori    otaa    wete    to- na -ma+F    otaa  
 Sepatini    junction    1EX.S    return    away AUX back    1EX.S  
 npropf    pn    pron    vi    aux    pron
- kakatimama*    *otaa*    *kakatimama*    *otaa*  
 ka- ka -tima -ma+F ,    otaa    ka- ka -tima -ma+F    otaa  
 COMIT go/come upstream back    1EX.S    COMIT go/come upstream back    1EX.S  
 vi    pron    vi    pron
- kobo*    *kanama*    *bai*    *toke*    *ya*    *otaa*    *kobo*  
 kobo    ka- na -ma+F    bahi    to- ka.NOM+M    ya    otaa    kobo  
 arrive    COMIT AUX back    sun    away go/come    ADJU    1EX.S    arrive  
 vi    aux    nm    vi    prt    pron    vi
- kanama*    *otaa*    *tafatasamaro*    *otani*  
 ka- na -ma+F    otaa    tafa -tasa -hamaro    otaa -ni  
 COMIT AUX back    1EX.S    eat again FP.E+F    1EX.S BKG+F  
 aux    pron    vi    pron
- 'We turned around at the mouth of Sepatini. We came back upstream. We arrived back in the late afternoon. We arrived back, and we ate again.'
- 33 *Otaa*    *tafatafa*    *faya*    *otaa*    *tafatafa*    *otaa*    *amo*  
 otaa    tafa -tasa+F ,    faya    otaa    tafa -tasa+F    otaa    amo  
 1EX.S    eat again    so    1EX.S    eat again    1EX.S    sleep  
 pron    vi    conj    pron    vi    pron    vi
- nani*    *otaa*    *amo*    *nemete*    *otake*  
 na -hani    otaa    amo    na -hemete    otaa -ke  
 AUX IP.N+F    1EX.S    sleep    AUX FP.N+F    1EX.S DECL+F  
 aux    pron    vi    aux    pron
- 'We ate again. We slept.'
- 34 *Bataro*    *kasasa*    *kanikematane*  
 bataro    kasasa    ka- nika -himata -ne  
 boss    cachaça    COMIT buy    FP.N+M    BKG+M  
 nm    nf    vt
- 'The boss had bought cachaça.'
- 35 *Kasasa*    *kanikeno*    *kasasa*    *otaa*    *fawa*    *kasasa*    *kome*    *otaa*  
 kasasa    ka- nika -hino    kasasa    otaa    fawa+F    kasasa    kome    otaa  
 cachaça    COMIT buy    IP.N+M    cachaça    1EX.S    drink    cachaça    pain+F    1EX.S  
 nf    vt    nf    pron    vi    nf    pn    pron
- amo*    *nemete*    *otani*  
 amo    na -hemete    otaa -ni  
 sleep    AUX FP.N+F    1EX.S BKG+F  
 vi    aux    pron
- 'We drank the cachaça that he had bought. We slept because we were feeling the effect of the cachaça.'
- 36 *Yara*    *otaa*    *hiyararemarine*  
 yara    otaa    hiyara -ra -himari -ne  
 Brazilian    1EX.S    speak to NEG FP.E+M    BKG+M  
 npropm    pron    vt
- 'We didn't speak to the Brazilian.'
- 37 *Yara*    *otaa*    *hiyarara*    *otaa*    *sina*    *otaa*    *hisi*    *na*  
 yara    otaa    hiyara -ra+F    otaa    sina    otaa    hisi    na+F  
 Brazilian    1EX.S    speak to NEG    1EX    snuff    1EX.S    sniff    AUX  
 npropm    pron    vt    pron    nf    pron    vt    aux

## YATITI

**ota amo namaro amo nawahemete ota**  
 otaa amo na -hamaro amo na -waha -hemete otaa  
 1EX.S sleep AUX FP.E+F sleep AUX change FP.N+F 1EX.S  
 pron vi aux vi aux pron

'We didn't speak to the Brazilian. We took snuff, and then slept.'

38 **Ota amo na E tokomaba ereke**  
 otaa amo na+F ee to- ka -ma -haba ere -ke  
 1EX.S sleep AUX 1IN.S away go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

'We slept. "We are going home."'

39 **E tokomaba ere**  
 ee to- ka -ma -haba ere  
 1IN.S away go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S  
 pron vi pron

"We are going home."

40 **Ee**  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

"All right."

41 **Faya ota yana tonamaro otake**  
 faya otaa yana to- na -hamaro otaa -ke  
 so 1EX.S start CH AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 conj pron vi aux pron

'We got ready.'

42 **Yara ka yama okanikamaro oni**  
 yara ka yama o- ka- nika -hamaro o- ni  
 Brazilian POSS thing 1SG.S COMIT buy FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 npropm prt nf vt prt

'I bought some things from the Brazilian.'

43 **Katoso okanika sobo siboreta**  
 katoso o- ka- nika.LIST sobo.LIST siboreta.LIST  
 shotgun shell 1SG.S COMIT buy lead percussion cap  
 nf vt nf nf

**borofa sa okanika onamaro oni**  
 borofa.LIST saha o- ka- nika.LIST o- na -hamaro o- ni  
 gunpowder salt 1SG.S COMIT buy 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nf nf vt aux prt

**aba me saoka nibonehe Yatiti ati ehene**  
 aba me saoka na.NFIN -bone -he Yatiti ati ehene  
 fish 3PL.O salt AUX INT+F DUP (man's name) voice because of+M  
 nm pron result aux npropm pn post

'I bought shotgun shells, lead, percussion caps, gunpowder, and salt, to salt fish, because Yatiti told me to.'

44 **Ota kamatasimaro ama fara ota nowati**  
 otaa ka -ma -tasa.NOM+F -maro ama fara otaa nowati  
 1EX.S go/come back again FP.E+F SEC same+F 1EX.POSS behind  
 pron vi sec dem pron pn

## YATITI

*ya*  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'We came back from where we had come.'

45 *Ota kama* , *Hima e tokoma*  
otaa ka -ma+F , hima ee to- ka -ma  
1EX.S go/come back let's go 1IN.S away go/come back  
pron vi interj pron vi

'We came back. "Come on, let's go home."'

46 *E tokoma ahi*  
ee to- ka -ma ahi  
1IN.S away go/come back there  
pron vi dem

'''Let's go home.'''

47 *Hawi ama ha*  
hawi ama haa  
trail be DEM  
nf vc dem

'''There is a trail.'''

48 *Hawi hawi yabotera hawi yayabo*  
hawi , hawi yabo -tee -ra+F hawi ya- yabo  
trail trail be long HAB NEG trail DUP be far  
nf nf vi nf vi

*toaramaro ama ha Kerewe ati nemari amaka*  
to- ha -ra -hamaro ama haa Kerewe ati na -himari ama -ka  
CH AUX NEG FP.E+F SEC DEM (man's name) say AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
aux sec dem npropm vt aux sec

'''There is a trail that is not far. It was not far long ago," Kerewe said.'

49 *Faya ota kama ota kamamaro otani*  
faya otaa ka -ma+F , otaa ka -ma -hamaro otaa -ni  
so 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
conj pron vi pron vi pron

'We came back.'

50 *Ota kama kanawa ya ota kakama*  
otaa ka -ma+F , kanawa ya otaa ka- ka -ma+F ,  
1EX.S go/come back canoe ADJU 1EX.S COMIT go/come back  
pron vi nf prt pron vi  
*yara otara me isema ota kimisamamaro*  
yara otara me isI -ma+F otaa ka -misa -ma -hamaro  
Brazilian 1EX.O 3PL.S drop off back 1EX.S go/come up back FP.E+F  
npropm pron pron vt pron vi

*otake fahi*  
otaa -ke fahi  
1EX.S DECL+F then  
pron dem

'We came back. We came in a canoe. The Brazilians brought us. We came up on the river bank.'

## YATITI

51	<b>Yara</b>	<b>biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>towakamemete</b>		<b>me</b>
	yara	biti	me	to- ka- ka	-ma -hemete	me
	Brazilian	3SG.POSS.son	3PL.S	away COMIT	go/come back FP.N+F	3PL.S
	npropm	nm	pron	vi		pron

**awine**

awine  
seem+F  
sec

'The Brazilian's two sons went on.'

52	<b>Yara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>towakamamaroho</b>	
	yara	me	to- ka- ka	-ma -hamaro -ho
	Brazilian	3PL.S	away COMIT	go/come back FP.E+F DUP
	npropm	pron	vi	

'They went on.'

53	<b>Ota</b>	<b>kamamaro</b>	<b>otake</b>
	otaa	ka -ma -hamaro	otaa -ke
	1EX.S	go/come back FP.E+F	1EX.S DECL+F
	pron	vi	pron

'We came back.'

54	<b>Ota</b>	<b>kama</b>	<b>wafa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>wasima</b>	<b>me</b>
	otaa	ka -ma+F	wafa	me	otaa	wasi -ma+F	me
	1EX.S	go/come back	woolly monkey	3PL.O	1EX.S	find back	3PL.O
	pron	vi	nm	pron	pron	vt	pron

**ota** **tao** **ramaroni**  
otaa tao na -ra -hamaro -ni  
1EX.S shoot AUX NEG FP.E+F BKG+F  
pron vt aux

'We came back. We came upon some woolly monkeys, but we didn't shoot them.'

55	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>okarawatoamaro</b>	<b>oni</b>
	hiyama	me	o- karawato -hamaro	o- ni
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	1SG.S wait for FP.E+F	1SG.S BKG+F
	nm	pron	vt	prt

'I was waiting for some white-lipped peccaries.'

56	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>okarawatoa</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kama</b>
	hiyama	me	o- karawato+F	otaa	ka -ma+F
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	1SG.S wait for	1EX.S	go/come back
	nm	pron	vt	pron	vi

**hiyama** **me** **winamaro** **me** **winineti** **fahi**  
hiyama me wina -hamaro me wina -ne -tee.NOM fahi  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S live FP.E+F 3PL.S live CONT+F HAB there  
nm pron vi pron vi dem

**yowi** **botone** **ya**  
yowi botone ya  
tree sp bunch+M ADJU  
nm pn prt

'I was waiting for peccaries. We came back. Those peccaries are still living there in the stand of *yowi* trees.'

57	<b>Yowi</b>	<b>botone</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>
	yowi	botone	hiyama	me	ati
	tree sp	bunch+M	white-lipped peccary	3PL.POSS	voice
	nm	pn	nm	pron	pn



## YATITI

*e amo ni ya*  
 ee amo na.NOM+F ya  
 1IN.S sleep AUX ADJU  
 pron vi aux prt

'We came back. We got in the boat and came back downstream. "We will sleep in the same place as we slept before."

63 *Yobe wari amake*  
 yobe waa -rI.NOM ama -ke  
 house stand raised surface be DECL+F  
 nm vi vc

""There is a house there.""

64 *Faya ota kisama ota kisama yama*  
 faya otaa ka -risa -ma+F otaa ka -risa -ma+F yama  
 so 1EX.S go/come down back 1EX.S go/come down back thing  
 conj pron vi pron vi nf

*yete onamaro oke*  
 yete o- na -hamaro o- ke  
 hunt 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vt aux prt

'We came back downstream. I hunted.'

65 *Yama yete ona bato biri tao okanemarine*  
 yama yete o- na+F bato biri tao o- ka- na -himari -ne  
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX deer sp shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux nm vt aux

'I hunted. I shot a *bato biri* deer.'

66 *Bato biri tao okana Yatiti aba me*  
 bato biri tao o- ka- na.LIST Yatiti aba me  
 deer sp shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX (man's name) fish 3PL.O  
 nm vt aux npropm nm pron

*tisa nematamonane*  
 tisa.LIST na -himata -mona -ne  
 shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'I shot a *bato biri* deer, and Yatiti speared some fish.'

67 *Yatiti aba me tisa nemata amaka*  
 Yatiti aba me tisa na -himata ama -ka  
 (man's name) fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M SEC DECL+M  
 npropm nm pron vt aux sec

'Yatiti speared some fish.'

68 *Yatiti aba me tisa neno aba me*  
 Yatiti aba me tisa na -hino aba me  
 (man's name) fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+M fish 3PL.O  
 npropm nm pron vt aux nm pron

*ebe nemari amane*  
 ebe na -himari ama -ne  
 divide up AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 vt aux sec

'Yatiti speared some fish, and he divided up the fish.'



## YATITI

<b>Abaha</b>	<b>batori</b>	<b>karo</b>	<b>awi</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>atirine</b>
Abaha	batori	karo	awi	me	atirine
name of stream	junction	LOC	tapir	3PL.POSS	wallow
npropf	pn	prt	nm	pron	pn

'There was a wallow at the mouth of the Abaha stream, a tapir wallow, and it is still there.'

75	<b>Ata</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ata</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>titisa</b>
	ata	me	ata	ihi	me	ti- tisa
	wallow	3PL	wallow	result of+F	3PL.S	DUP shoot with arrow
	nf	pron	nf	pn	pron	nf

<b>hiemete</b>	<b>Kerewe</b>	<b>yofi</b>	<b>hinamaroho</b>	<b>wati</b>
hi- to- ha -hemete	Kerewe	yofi	hi- na -hamaro -ho	wati
OC CH AUX FP.N+F	(man's name)	show	OC AUX FP.E+F DUP	arrow
aux	npropm	vt	aux	nm

<b>siba</b>	<b>re</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>taokana</b>	<b>amara</b>	<b>ya</b>
siba	na -ra+M	ya	taokana	ama -ra+F	ya
be all right	AUX NEG	ADJU	shotgun	be NEG	ADJU
vi	aux	prt	nf	vc	prt

'They used to spear tapirs in a wallow that Kerewe pointed out, with arrows, since they didn't have shotguns.'

76	<b>Firibi</b>	<b>namiti</b>	<b>hihiya</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>haro</b>	?
	Firibi	namiti	hi- hiya	na.CONT+M	haaro	
	Felipe	neck	DUP be hurt	AUX	that one+F	
	npropm	pn	vi	aux	dem	

'Does Felipe have a problem with his neck?'

77	<b>Me</b>	<b>kama</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kisama</b>	<b>ota</b>
	me	ka -ma+F	otaa	ka -risa -ma+F	otaa
	3PL.S	go/come back	1EX.S	go/come down back	1EX.S
	pron	vi	pron	vi	pron

<b>kisama</b>	<b>yiko</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>wasima</b>	<b>yiko</b>
ka -risa -ma+F	yiko	me	otaa	wasi -ma+F	yiko
go/come down back	howler monkey	3PL.O	1EX.S	find back	howler monkey
vi	nm	pron	pron	vt	nm

<b>me</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>ramaro</b>	<b>otani</b>
me	otaa	tao	na -ra -hamaro	otaa -ni
3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot	AUX NEG FP.E+F	1EX.S BKG+F
pron	pron	vt	aux	pron

'We came back downstream. We came upon some howler monkeys, but we didn't shoot the howler monkeys.'

78	<b>Ota</b>	<b>kisama</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kobo</b>
	otaa	ka -risa -ma+F	otaa	kobo
	1EX.S	go/come down back	1EX.S	arrive
	pron	vi	pron	vi

<b>kanisamimaro</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>Baosi</b>	<b>ya</b>
ka- na -risa -ma.NOM+F	-maro	ama -ke	Baosi
COMIT AUX down back	FP.E+F	be DECL+F	Pauzinho
aux	vc	npropf	prt

'We came downstream. We arrived at the Pauzinho stream.'

79	<b>Ota</b>	<b>kobo</b>	<b>kanisama</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>yara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>
	otaa	kobo	ka- na -risa -ma+F	owa	yara	me	ka
	1EX.S	arrive	COMIT AUX down back	1SG	Brazilian	3PL	POSS
	pron	vi	aux	pron	npropm	pron	prt



## YATITI

**farina**                      **okanika**                      **ota** ,    **me**                      **kero**  
 farina                      o-        ka-        nika+F    otaa        ,    me                      kero  
 manioc meal    1SG.S COMIT buy                      1EX                      3PL.S    make with circular motion  
 nf                      vt                      pron                      pron        vt

**nimaro**                      **ama**    **bato**        **ta**                      **ona**                      **owa** .  
 na.NOM+F -maro    ama    bato    taa        o-        na+F    owa  
 AUX                      FP.E+F    be    deer    give    1SG.S AUX    1SG.S  
 aux                      vc        nm        vt        aux                      pron

'We arrived. I bought some manioc meal from the Brazilians, and they measured it out with a litre can. I paid with the deer meat.'

80 **Aba**    **me**        **ta**                      **onamaro**                      **oke**  
 aba    me        taa.LIST    o-        na    -hamaro    o-        ke  
 fish    3PL.O    give                      1SG.S AUX FP.E+F    1SG.S DECL+F  
 nm        pron    vt                      aux                      prt

'I gave some fish, too.'

81 **Aba**    **me**        **one**                      **hasi**                      **tonakosamaroni**  
 aba    me        one                      hasi                      to- na    -kosa    -hamaro    -ni  
 fish    3PL    other+F    be left    CH    AUX middle FP.E+F    BKG+F  
 nm        pron    adj                      vi                      aux

'Some of the fish were left.'

82 **Bato**    **ta**                      **nafi**    **ta**                      **onamaro**                      **oke**                      **bato biri** ,  
 bato    taa                      nafi    taa        o-        na    -hamaro    o-        ke                      bato biri  
 deer    contrast    all    give    1SG.S AUX FP.E+F    1SG.S DECL+F    deer sp  
 nm        prt                      pn        vt        aux                      prt                      nm

**yara**                      **me**                      **okeyeha**                      **owa**        **bato**        **yokanamonaha** .  
 yara                      me                      o-        keyeha+F    owa        bato        yokana    -mona    -ha  
 Brazilian    3PL.O    1SG.S deceive    1SG.S    deer        true        REP+M    DUP  
 npropm        pron    vt                      pron        nm        adj

'But I gave all of the deer meat, the *bato biri* deer. I deceived the Brazilians, saying it was a *bato yokana*.'

83 **Faya**    **ota**        ,    **ota**        **amo**        **nabone**                      **E**  
 faya    otaa        ,    otaa        amo        na    -habone    ee  
 so        1EX                      1EX.S    sleep    AUX INT+F    1IN.S  
 conj    pron                      pron    vi                      aux                      pron

**towakisama**  
 to- ka-        ka                      -risa    -ma  
 away COMIT go/come down back  
 vi

'We wanted to sleep. "Let's go downstream."'

84 **E**                      **amo**        **tonamaba**                      **ereke**                      **Rino**    **ni**        **ya** .  
 ee                      amo        to- na    -ma    -haba    ere        -ke                      Rino    ni        ya  
 1IN.S    sleep    away AUX back FUT+F    1IN.S DECL+F    Lino    to        ADJU  
 pron    vi                      aux                      pron                      npropm prt prt

'"Let's sleep at Lino's place."'

85 **Rino**    **ni**        **ya**        **e**                      **amo**        **naba**                      **ere** .  
 Rino    ni        ya        ee                      amo        na    -haba    ere  
 Lino    to        ADJU    1IN.S    sleep    AUX FUT+F    1IN.S  
 npropm prt prt    pron    vi                      aux                      pron

'"We will sleep at Lino's place."'

## YATITI

86 *Ee* , *Rino ni ya e amo naba ereke* .  
 ee , Rino ni ya ee amo na -haba ere -ke  
 yes Lino to ADJU 1IN.S sleep AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F  
 interj npropm prt prt pron vi aux pron

"Right, we will sleep at Lino's place."

87 *E bosa kanaba ere e kobo*  
 ee bosa ka- na -haba ere ee kobo  
 1IN.S get up early COMIT AUX FUT+F 1IN.S 1IN.S arrive  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi  
*tokanamaba e , fara e taboro ya*  
 to- ka- na -ma -haba ee , fara ee taboro ya  
 away COMIT AUX back FUT+F 1IN.S same+F 1IN.POSS place ADJU  
 aux pron dem pron pn prt

"We will get up early, so we will arrive at our village."

88 *Ota yana tokana ota kakisama Rino*  
 otaa yana to- ka- na+F otaa ka- ka -risa -ma , Rino  
 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX 1EX.S COMIT go/come down back Lino  
 pron vi aux pron vi  
*ni ota kobo kanama Rino itemata awaka*  
 ni otaa kobo ka- na -ma+F , Rino ita -himata awa -ka  
 to 1EX.S arrive COMIT AUX back Lino stay FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 prt pron vi aux npropm vi sec

'We were ready. We came downstream, and arrived at Lino's place. Lino was there.'

89 *Rino tiwitini* ?  
 Rino ti- ita -ni  
 Lino 2SG.S stay BKG+F  
 npropm vi

"Lino, are you home?"

90 *Ee owitara oke Rino ati nemari amane*  
 ee o- ita -hara o- ke Rino ati na -himari ama -ne  
 yes 1SG.S stay IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F Lino say AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 interj vi prt npropm vt aux sec

"Yes, I am home," Lino said.'

91 *Fara* ?  
 faa -ra  
 that NPQ  
 dem  
 ""Well?""

92 *Himata amari* ?  
 himata ama -ri  
 what? be CQ+F  
 interrog vc  
 ""What?""

93 *Abara* ?  
 aba -ra  
 fish NPQ  
 nm  
 ""Where are the fish?""

## YATITI

94 *Aba me ota kakamarini*  
 aba me otaa ka- ka -ma -ra -ni  
 fish 3PL.O 1EX.S COMMIT go/come back NEG BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt  
 "We haven't brought fish."

95 *Ota kisamineke ahi*  
 otaa ka -risa -ma -ne -ke ahi  
 1EX.S go/come down back CONT+F DECL+F there  
 pron vi dem  
 "We have come downstream."

96 *Ofimi oke Rino ati nemari*  
 o- fimi o- ke Rino ati na -himari  
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F Lino say AUX FP.E+M  
 vi prt npropm vt aux  
 "I'm hungry," Lino said.'

97 *Rino fimimona Rino fimimona yama yama*  
 Rino fimi -himona Rino fimi -himona yama yama  
 Lino be hungry REP+M Lino be hungry REP+M thing thing  
 npropm vi npropm vi nf nf  
*ki nemari amaka*  
 kii na -himari ama -ka  
 look at AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 vt aux sec  
 'Saying he was hungry, Lino looked around.'

98 *Rino aba me kibearake kanawa tori ya*  
 Rino aba me kibI -hara -ke kanawa tori ya  
 Lino fish 3PL.S be inside IP.E+F DECL+F canoe inside+F ADJU  
 npropm nm pron vi nf pn prt  
 "Lino, there are fish in the canoe."

99 *Aba me te tonakama*  
 aba me tee to- na- ka -ma  
 fish 3PL.O 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back  
 nm pron pron vt  
 "Go get the fish."

100 *Aba me Yatiti iso nemari amane*  
 aba me Yatiti iso na -himari ama -ne  
 fish 3PL.O (man's name) carry off AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm pron npropm vt aux sec  
 'Yatiti carried over the fish.'

101 *Aba me Yatiti tonakame Rowisa ya*  
 aba me Yatiti to- na- ka -ma+M Rowisa ya  
 fish 3PL.O (man's name) away CAUS go/come back Luisa ADJU  
 nm pron npropm vt npropf prt

*Makarita me fama me me me bobi hina me yama*  
 Makarita me fama+F me me me bobi hi- na+F me yama  
 Margarita 3PL.S be two 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S slit OC AUX 3PL.O thing  
 npropf pron vi pron pron pron vt aux pron nf





## YATITI

'I went hunting.'

117	<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>famaha</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>namaro</b>	<b>me</b>
	Yatiti	me	fama+F	faha	me	kii	na -hamaro	me
	(man's name)	3PL.S	be two	water	3PL.S	look at	AUX FP.E+F	3PL.S
	npropm	pron	vi	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

**amake**

ama -ke

SEC DECL+F

sec

'Yatiti and his companion went fishing.'

118	<b>Aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>sa</b>		<b>nemete</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ama</b>
	aba	me	me	saa		na -hemete	me	ama
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX FP.N+F	3PL.S	SEC
	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron	sec

'They speared fish.'

119	<b>Aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tisa</b>		<b>nani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bai</b>
	aba	me	me	tisa		na -hani	me	bahi
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX IP.N+F	3PL.S	sun
	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron	nm

**toke**

to- ka.NOM+M

away go/come

vi

**ya**

ya

ADJU

prt

**ota**

otaa

1EX.S

pron

**abe**

abe

RECIP

pn

**kobo**

kobo

meet

vt

**kanama**

ka- na -ma+F

COMIT AUX back

aux

**ota**

otaa

1EX.S

pron

**kakamimaro**

ka- ka

COMIT go/come back

vt

-ma.NOM+F

back

-maro

FP.E+F

be

**amani**

ama -ni

BKG+F

vc

'They speared fish. Late in the afternoon we met up and came back.'

120	<b>Tafo</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>okana</b>		<b>onamaro</b>	<b>oni</b>
	tafo	tao	o- ka- na.LIST		o- na -hamaro	o- ni
	Spix's guan	shoot	1SG.S COMIT AUX		1SG.S AUX FP.E+F	1SG.S BKG+F
	nm	vt	aux		aux	prt

'I shot a guan.'

121	<b>Onaramaro</b>		<b>oke</b>
	o- hona	-ra -hamaro	o- ke
	1SG.S have something	NEG FP.E+F	1SG.S DECL+F
	vi		prt

'I didn't kill anything big.'

122	<b>Tafo</b>	<b>ta</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>kani</b>	<b>owarimaro</b>
	tafo	taa	tao	ka- na.NFIN	o- ohari -hamaro
	Spix's guan	contrast	shoot	COMIT AUX	1SG.S be one FP.E+F
	nm	prt	vt	aux	vi

**oke**

o- ke

1SG.S DECL+F

prt

'I only shot a guan.'

## YATITI

123 *Me* , *me* *kakama* *me* *Hima* *e*  
 me , me ka- ka -ma+F me hima ee  
 3PL 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S  
 pron pron vi pron interj pron

*tokoma*

to- ka -ma  
 away go/come back  
 vi

"They came back. "Let's go back."

124 *E* *tafibeya*  
 ee tafa -be -ya  
 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

"Let's eat."

125 *Aba* *me* *te* *kihakeni*  
 aba me tee kiha -ke -ni  
 fish 3PL.O 2PL.S have DECL+F BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt

"You have fish."

126 *Ee* , *e* *tokisamaminaba* *ere*  
 ee , ee to- ka -risa -ma -mina -haba ere  
 yes 1IN.S away go/come down back morning FUT+F 1IN.S  
 interj pron vi pron

"Let's go downstream tomorrow."

127 *Faya* , *ota* *kakama* , *aba* , *aba* *me* *Makarita*  
 faya , otaa ka- ka -ma+F , aba , aba me Makarita  
 so 1EX.S COMIT go/come back fish fish 3PL.O Margarita  
 conj pron vi nm nm pron npropf

*me* *bobi* *kasimaro* *amake* *ota* *kobo*  
 me bobi ka- na -kosa.NOM+F -maro ama -ke otaa kobo  
 3PL.S slit COMIT AUX middle FP.E+F be DECL+F 1EX.S arrive  
 pron vt aux vc pron vi

*kanami*  
 ka- na -ma.NOM+F ya  
 COMIT AUX back ADJU  
 aux prt

'We came back. Margarita and her sister gutted the fish when we arrived back.'

128 *Tafo* *me* *bobi* *nemete*  
 tafo me bobi.LIST na -hemete  
 Spix's guan 3PL.S slit AUX FP.N+F  
 nm pron vt aux

'They cut up the guan, too.'

129 *Yama* , *Rino* *okisamaminabana*  
 yama , Rino o- to- ka -risa -ma -mina -habana  
 thing Lino 1SG.S away go/come down back morning FUT+F  
 nf npropm vi

*oke*

o- ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt

"Lino, I am going downstream tomorrow."

YATITI

130 *Okatao* , *okatao* *me* *ya* *owati* *sawike*  
 okatao , okatao me ya o- ati sawi -ke  
 my son my son 3PL ADJU 1SG.POSS voice be present DECL+F  
 nm nm pron prt pn vi

*onamaro* *ama* *o*  
 ati o- na -hamaro ama o-  
 say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F SEC 1SG.S  
 vt sec prt

"I miss my children," I said.'

131 *Ee* *tikisaminabana* *tike*  
 ee ti- to- ka -risa -ma -mina -habana ti- ke  
 yes 2SG.S away go/come down back morning FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F  
 interj vi prt

"Right, you go back downstream tomorrow."

132 *E* *kahiwa* *ati* *fawa* *tera* *ama* *Rino*  
 ee ka- hiwa+F ati fawa na -tee -ra+F ama Rino  
 1IN.S COMIT have children voice disappear AUX HAB NEG SEC Lino  
 pron vi pn vi aux sec npropm

*ati* *nemari* *amane*  
 ati na -himari ama -ne  
 say AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 vt aux sec

"When we have children, we always miss them," Lino said.'

133 *Ee* *okisaminabana* *o*  
 ee o- to- ka -risa -ma -mina -habana o-  
 yes 1SG.S away go/come down back morning FUT+F 1SG.S  
 interj vi prt

"Right, I will go downstream."

134 *Faya* *ota* *toka* *ota* *tokisamabone*  
 faya otaa to- ka+F otaa to- ka -risa -ma -habone ,  
 so 1EX.S away go/come 1EX.S away go/come down back INT+F  
 conj pron vi pron vi

*ota* *amo* *na* *ota* *amo* *nani* *Rino* *ka* *sina* *ota*  
 otaa amo na+F otaa amo na -hani , Rino ka sina otaa  
 1EX.S sleep AUX 1EX.S sleep AUX IP.N+F Lino POSS snuff 1EX.S  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux npropm prt nf pron

*hisi* *na* *ota* *amo* *nawahimaro* *amake*  
 hisi na+F otaa amo na -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 sniff AUX 1EX.S sleep AUX change FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 vt aux pron vi aux vc

'We slept so that we could go downstream. We took some of Lino's snuff, and then we slept.'

135 *Sina* *ota* *hisi* *na* , *Sina* *komara* *ama* *Rino* *ati*  
 sina otaa hisi na+F , sina koma -ra+F ama Rino ati  
 snuff 1EX.S sniff AUX snuff hurt NEG SEC Lino say  
 nf pron vt aux nf vi sec npropm vt

*nemari* *ama*  
 na -himari ama  
 AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 aux sec

'We took snuff. "The snuff doesn't have much effect," Lino said.'



## YATITI

136 *Faya sina ota hisi namaro otake Rino ehene*  
 faya sina otaa hisi na -hamaro otaa -ke Rino ehene  
 so snuff 1EX.S sniff AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F Lino because of+M  
 conj nf pron vt aux pron npropm post

'We took snuff because of Lino.'

137 *Sina ota hisi na , fa ota fawa ota*  
 sina otaa hisi na+F , faha otaa fawa+F otaa  
 snuff 1EX.S sniff AUX water 1EX.S drink 1EX.S  
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt pron

*tokiyomamaro otani*  
 to- ka -yoma -hamaro otaa -ni  
 away go/come through FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 vi pron

'We took snuff, and drank water, and went into our mosquito nets.'

138 *Hima e amo namata*  
 hima ee amo na -mata  
 let's go 1IN.S sleep AUX short time  
 interj pron vi aux

""Come on, let's sleep.""

139 *E tokomaminibe*  
 ee to- ka -ma -mina -be  
 1IN.S away go/come back morning IMMED+F  
 pron vi

""We will go tomorrow.""

140 *Ota amo na owinamaro oke*  
 otaa amo na+F o- wina -hamaro o- ke  
 1EX.S sleep AUX 1SG.S lie in hammock FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vi prt

'We slept. I lay in my hammock.'

141 *Amo onisemete oni*  
 amo o- na -risa -hemete o- ni  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX down FP.N+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi aux prt

'I dozed off.'

142 *Me amo na , me ha onamaro me amake*  
 me amo na+F , me haa o- na -hamaro me ama -ke  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S call 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron vt aux pron sec

'As they slept, I called them.'

143 *Kayowi , Kayowi*  
 Kayowi , Kayowi  
 (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm npropm

""Kayowi, Kayowi.""

## YATITI

- 144 **Haa** ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 ""Huh?""
- 145 **Kayowi** **hima**  
 Kayowi hima  
 (man's name) let's go  
 npropm interj  
 ""Kayowi let's go.""
- 146 **Ee**  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 ""All right.""
- 147 **Yama** **waharisake**  
 yama waha -risa -ke  
 thing dawn down DECL+F  
 nf vi  
 ""It's dawning.""
- 148 **E** **tokisamabone** **e** **ama** , **e** **taboro**  
 ee to- ka -risa -ma -habone ee ama , ee taboro  
 1IN.S away go/come down back INT+F 1IN.S SEC 1IN.POSS place  
 pron vi pron sec pron pn  
**ya**  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt  
 ""Let's go home.""
- 149 **Faya** **ota** **ota** **yana** **tonaminamaro** **otani**  
 faya otaa otaa yana to- na -mina -hamaro otaa -ni  
 so 1EX 1EX.S start CH AUX morning FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 conj pron pron vi aux pron  
 'We were ready in the morning.'
- 150 **Rino** **okomibone**  
 Rino o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone  
 Lino 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F  
 npropm vi  
 ""Lino, I am going.""
- 151 **Ee** **tikama**  
 ee ti- to- ka -ma  
 yes 2SG.S away go/come back  
 interj vi  
 ""Right, go on.""
- 152 **Okatimamatasabana** **o**  
 o- ka -tima -ma -tasa -habana o-  
 1SG.S go/come upstream back again FUT+F 1SG.S  
 vi prt  
 ""I will come back upstream.""

## YATITI

153 **Tiwa owamabana oke**  
 tiwa o- awa -ma -habana o- ke  
 2SG.O 1SG.S see back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vt prt

"I will see you again."

154 **Ee , fa ki onaba fa ki oni**  
 ee faha kii o- na -haba faha kii o- na.NOM+F  
 yes water look at 1SG.S AUX FUT+F water look at 1SG.S AUX  
 interj nf vt aux nf vt aux

**ya aba me owakake aba me tesa**  
 ya aba me o- ka- ka -kI aba me tesa  
 ADJU fish 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT go/come coming fish 3PL.O leave  
 prt nm pron vt nm pron vt

**onabana o , tiwa ni ya**  
 o- na -habana o- tiwa ni ya  
 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S 2SG.O to ADJU  
 aux prt pron prt prt

"I will fish, and when I fish, I will bring fish, and I will leave the fish with you."

155 **Ee**  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

"All right."

156 **Faya ota tokisama ota yana tona yama**  
 faya otaa to- ka -risa -ma+F otaa yana to- na+F yama  
 so 1EX.S away go/come down back 1EX.S start CH AUX thing  
 conj pron vi pron vi aux nf

**yama ota te na ota yana tokomaro**  
 yama otaa tee na+F otaa yana to- ka- na.NOM -maro  
 thing 1EX.S put inside AUX 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX FP.E+F  
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux

**amani**  
 ama -ni  
 be BKG+F  
 vc

'We went downstream. We got ready. We put the things in the canoe, and we were ready.'

157 **Ota yana tokana ota kakisamimaro**  
 otaa yana to- ka- na+F otaa ka- ka -risa -ma.NOM+F -maro  
 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX 1EX.S COMIT go/come down back FP.E+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi

**amake**  
 ama -ke  
 be DECL+F  
 vc

'We were ready. We came downstream.'

158 **Ota kakisama Maneo Rowi fa ki neno**  
 otaa ka- ka -risa -ma Maneo Rowi faha kii na -hino  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come down back Manoel Luiz water look at AUX IP.N+M  
 pron vi nprpnm nf vt aux

## YATITI

**ota wasimimaro ama** .  
 otaa wasi -ma.NOM+F -maro ama  
 1EX.S find back FP.E+F be  
 pron vt vc  
 'We came downstream. We came upon Manoel Luiz as he was fishing.'

159 **Maneo fa ki nemata ama** .  
 Maneo faha kii na -himata ama  
 Manoel water look at AUX FP.N+M SEC  
 npropm nf vt aux sec  
 'Manoel was fishing.'

160 **Maneo fa ki neno ota wasime Maneo fa**  
 Maneo faha kii na -hino otaa wasi -ma+M Maneo faa  
 Manoel water look at AUX IP.N+M 1EX.S find back Manoel that  
 npropm nf vt aux pron vt npropm dem

**mera** ?  
 me -ra  
 3PL NPQ  
 pron  
 'We came upon Manoel fishing. "Manoel, what about the people?"'

161 **Me naohara** .  
 me naho -hara  
 3PL.S stay IP.E+F  
 pron vi  
 "'They are there.'"

162 **Fa ki one o ota fimiha ota**  
 faha kii o- na -ne o- otaa fimi+F otaa  
 water look at 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S 1EX.S be hungry 1EX.S  
 nf vt aux prt pron vi pron

**Towia ati nemari ama** .  
 Towia ati na -himari ama  
 (man's name) say AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 npropm vt aux sec  
 "'I am fishing because we are hungry," Towia said.'

163 **Yatiti aba te sa kanahi aba**  
 Yatiti aba tee saa ka- na -hi aba  
 (man's name) fish 2PL.S shoot with arrow COMIT AUX IMP+F fish  
 npropm nm pron vt aux vt nm

**e tokobamebana** .  
 ee to- kaba -ma -hibana  
 1IN.S away eat back FUT+M  
 pron vt  
 "'Yatiti you should spear a fish, so we can go back and eat the fish.'"

164 **Yatiti yana kabote nabisemari** .  
 Yatiti yana na -kabote na -bisa -himari  
 (man's name) start AUX quickly AUX also FP.E+M  
 npropm vi aux aux  
 'Yatiti went right away.'



YATITI

172 *Wayara sana onamaro oni*  
 wayara sana o- na -hamaro o- ni  
 tinamou sp carry strapped on shoulder 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nm vt aux prt

'I carried the tinamou strapped on my shoulder.'

173 *Ara kiya oke kowewe ihi*  
 Ara kiya o- na -ke kowewe ihi  
 Alan be sick 1SG.S AUX DECL+F diarrhea because of+F  
 npropm vi prt nf post

'Alan, I am sick with diarrhea.'

174 *Ota kamamaro otake*  
 otaa ka -ma -hamaro otaa -ke  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 pron vi pron

'We came back.'

175 *Ota kama , Hima Towia e ra ?*  
 otaa ka -ma+F , hima Towia ee na -ra  
 1EX.S go/come back let's go (man's name) (question) AUX CQ+M  
 pron vi interj npropm vi aux

'We came back. "Come on. Where is Towia?"'

176 *Towia fa , koho nebona tokome ahi*  
 Towia faha , koho na -hibona to- ka -ma+M ahi  
 (man's name) water hit AUX INT+M away go/come back there  
 npropm nf vt aux vi dem

""Towia went that way to hit a reed on the water.""

177 *Towia te haha na*  
 Towia tee ha- haa na  
 (man's name) 2PL.S DUP call AUX  
 npropm pron vt aux

""Call Towia.""

178 *E towakamibeya*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -be -ya  
 1IN.S away COMMIT go/come back IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

""Let's go.""

179 *Towia me ha hine ha tonakosemari ama*  
 Towia me haa hi- na+M haa to- na -kosa -himari ama  
 (man's name) 3PL.S call OC AUX call CH AUX middle FP.E+M SEC  
 npropm pron vt aux vi aux sec

'They called Towia, and he called back.'

180 *Kamemari amane*  
 ka -ma -himari ama -ne  
 go/come back FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 vi sec

'He came back.'

## YATITI

- 181 **Himata amari** ?  
 himata ama -ri  
 what? be CQ+F  
 interrog vc  
 "What is it?"
- 182 **Hima** .  
 hima  
 let's go  
 interj  
 "Let's go."
- 183 **Ee hima** .  
 ee hima  
 yes let's go  
 interj interj  
 "Right, let's go."
- 184 **E tokoma** .  
 ee to- ka -ma  
 1IN.S away go/come back  
 pron vi  
 "Let's go back."
- 185 **E tafaba e awineke** .  
 ee tafa -haba ee awine -ke  
 1IN.S eat FUT+F 1IN.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron sec  
 "We are going to eat."
- 186 **Aba me tamake** .  
 aba me tama -ke  
 fish 3PL.S be many DECL+F  
 nm pron vi  
 "There are many fish."
- 187 **Wayara tao okana onamaro ama o** ,  
 wayara tao o- ka- na.LIST o- na -hamaro ama o-  
 tinamou sp shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F SEC 1SG.S  
 nm vt aux vt sec prt  
**wayara yebotenoho** .  
 wayara yebote -no -ho  
 tinamou sp fatty IP.N+M DUP  
 nm adj  
 'I also had shot a tinamou, and it was a fatty tinamou.'
- 188 **Faya ota kama Nakiri** .  
 faya otaa ka -ma+F Nakiri  
 so 1EX.S go/come back (man's name)  
 conj pron vi npropm  
 "We came back. "Nakiri."
- 189 **Haa** ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 "Huh?"









## YATITI

211 *Me taminini* ?  
 me tamina -ni  
 3PL.S be good BKG+F  
 pron vi

"Ate they well?"

212 *Ee* .  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

"Yes."

213 *Me ota tonakatima me ota awarara*  
 me otaa to- na- ka -tima+F me otaa awa -ra -hara  
 3PL.O 1EX.S away CAUS go/come upstream 3PL.O 1EX.S see NEG IP.E+F  
 pron pron vt pron pron vt

"We went upstream after them, but we didn't see them."

214 *Ohari ta ota awe towakamahare kanawa*  
 ohari+M taa otaa awa+M to- ka- ka -ma -hare kanawa  
 be one contrast 1EX.S see away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M canoe  
 vi prt pron vt vi nf

*ya* .  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

"We only saw one of them, and he went away in a canoe."

215 *Ota hiyararahare*  
 otaa hiyara -ra -hare  
 1EX.S speak to NEG IP.E+M  
 pron vt

"We didn't speak to him."

216 *Ota hiyaramatebona me hiware kasasa*  
 otaa hiyara -mata -hibona me hi- awa -ra+M kasasa  
 1EX.S speak to short time INT+M 3PL.S OC see NEG cachaça  
 pron vt pron vt nf

*ya onafawe me hiwarareka*  
 ya o- na- fawa+M me hi- awa -ra -hare -ka  
 ADJU 1SG.S CAUS drink 3PL.S OC see NEG IP.E+M DECL+M  
 prt vt pron vt

"I wanted for us to talk to him, but the others wouldn't go along with it. I gave him some cachaça."

217 *Towakamareka*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -hare -ka  
 away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt

"He went away."

218 *Yia one ya e hiyaraba ere ati nare*  
 yia one ya ee hiyara -haba ere ati na -hare  
 day other+F ADJU 1IN.S speak FUT+F 1IN.S say AUX IP.E+M  
 nf adj prt pron vi pron vt aux



## YATITI

225 *Yara me me hinabihawemete waha , katona*  
 yara me me hi- na- ahaba -waha -hemete waha , katona  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die change FP.N+F now npropm  
 npropm pron pron vt prt

*mati*

mati  
 3PL  
 pron

'Then the Brazilians killed the Katona people.'

226 *Katona memete me awineke*  
 katona me -mete me awine -ke  
 npropm 3PL FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron pron sec

'They were the Katona people.'

227 *Ee te tokomiya*  
 ee tee to- ka -ma -yahi  
 yes 2PL.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 interj pron vi

""You can go home.""

228 *Faya owitare owa ni ya Aosino*  
 faya o- ita -rI owa ni ya Aosino  
 so 1SG.S sit raised surface 1SG to ADJU (man's name)  
 conj vi pron prt prt npropm

*kamakimari*

ka -makI -himari amaka  
 go/come following FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 vi sec

'As I was sitting in the house, Aosino came to me.'

229 *Aosino kamakimari amane*  
 Aosino ka -makI -himari ama -ne  
 (man's name) go/come following FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 npropm vi sec

'Aosino came.'

230 *Hinamati kamakika hari*  
 hinamati ka -makI -ka haari  
 someone go/come following DECL+M that one+M  
 nm vi dem

""There is someone coming there.""

231 *Aosino amane Bowata ati nemari ama*  
 Aosino ama -ne Bowata ati na -himari ama  
 (man's name) be BKG+M (woman's name) say AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 npropm vc npropf vt aux sec

""It is Aosino," Bowata said.'

232 *Okomake oke ati nemari ama*  
 o- ka -makI o- ke ati na -himari ama  
 1SG.S go/come following 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 vi prt vt aux sec



## YATITI

<b>amake</b>	<b>farina</b>	<b>okanika</b>		<b>nafi</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>rama</b>	<b>ota</b>
ama -ke	farina	o- ka- nika+F		nafi.LIST	na+F	rama	otaa
be DECL+F	manioc meal	1SG.S COMIT buy		be big	AUX	unusual	1EX.S
vc	nf	vt		vi	aux	prt	pron

**kakisamaro**

ka- ka -risa -ma -haaro  
 COMIT go/come down back IP.E+F  
 vt

"They had speared fish. Aosino ate, because there was lots of manioc meal, that we had brought downstream."

240 <b>Aosino</b>	<b>okomakebana</b>			<b>fahi</b>
Aosino	o- to- ka	-makI	-habana	fahi
(man's name)	1SG.S away go/come	following	FUT+F	then
npropm	vi			dem

"Aosino, I am going there."

241 <b>Yemete</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>owamakebana</b>		<b>oke</b>
Yemete	ya	o- to- waa	-makI	-habana o- ke
(village name)	ADJU	1SG.S away stay	following	FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
npropm	prt	vi		prt

"I am going to stay at Yemete."

242 <b>Obanabana</b>		<b>oke</b>	<b>onamaro</b>	<b>oni</b>
o- bana	-habana	o- ke	ati o- na	-hamaro o- ni
1SG.S move away	FUT+F	1SG.S DECL+F	say 1SG.S AUX	FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
vi		prt	vt	prt

"I'm going to move," I said.'

243 <b>Ee</b>	<b>tibaniya</b>		<b>Aosino</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>
ee	ti- bana	-yahi	Aosino	ati	na -himari
yes	2SG.S move away	DIST.IMP+F	(man's name)	say	AUX FP.E+M
interj	vi		npropm	vt	aux

**amane**

ama -ne  
 SEC BKG+M  
 sec

"OK, move," Aosino said.'

244 <b>Aosino</b>	<b>warabo</b>	<b>nima</b>	<b>one</b>
Aosino	warabo	nima	o- na+M
(man's name)	ear+M	communicate to	1SG.S AUX
npropm	pn	vt	aux

<b>tokomemari</b>		<b>ama</b>
to- ka	-ma -himari	ama
away go/come back	FP.E+M	SEC
vi		sec

'After I spoke to Aosino, he went back.'

245 <b>Tikamibana</b>				
ti- to- ka	-ma+F	-bana		?
2SG.S away go/come back	FUT			
vi				

"Are you leaving?"

## YATITI

- 246 *Ee okomabone o*  
 ee o- to- ka -ma -habone o-  
 yes 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F 1SG.S  
 interj vi prt  
 "Yes, I'm going."
- 247 *Ee tikamiya*  
 ee ti- to- ka -ma -yahi  
 yes 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 interj vi  
 "All right, go."
- 248 *Te owamakewaba te*  
 tee o- to- awa -makI -waha -haba tee  
 2PL.O 1SG.S away see following change FUT+F 2PL.O  
 pron vt pron  
 "I will see you there."
- 249 *Ayaka me hiri nabone Noko Mora hiri nebona ati*  
 ayaka me hiri na -habone Noko Mora hiri na -hibona ati  
 festa 3PL.S make AUX INT+F (man's name) make AUX INT+M say  
 nf pron vt aux npropm vt aux vt  
*nare te ino hiri nari*  
 na -hare tee ino hiri na -haari  
 AUX IP.E+M 2PL.POSS name+M say AUX IP.E+M  
 aux pron pn vt aux  
 "Noko Mora said he wants to have a festa, and he wants you to come."
- 250 *Te kamakibana ?*  
 tee ka -makI -bana  
 2PL.S go/come following FUT  
 pron vi  
 "Are you going to come?"
- 251 *Okomakeba owa awine oke*  
 o- to- ka -makI -haba owa awine o- ke  
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi pron sec prt  
 "I guess I will come."
- 252 *Ota tokomakeba ota*  
 otaa to- ka -makI -haba otaa  
 1EX.S away go/come following FUT+F 1EX.S  
 pron vi pron  
 "We will go."
- 253 *Noko Mora ota ino hiri nano*  
 Noko Mora otaa ino hiri na.NOM+M -no  
 (man's name) 1EX.POSS name say AUX IP.N+M  
 npropm pron pn vt aux  
 "Noko Mora invited us."
- 254 *Faya ota ota amo ni tatama kawa*  
 faya otaa otaa amo ni ta- tama ka- na -waha+F  
 so 1EX 1EX.S sleep AUX DUP be many COMIT AUX change  
 conj pron pron vi aux vi aux



## YATITI

**sabo ya ota tokomakemaro otani**  
 sabo ya otaa to- ka -makI -hamaro otaa -ni  
 Saturday ADJU 1EX.S away go/come following FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 nf prt pron vi pron

'After a little while, on Saturday we went there.'

255 **Sabo ya ota tokomake me tafani**  
 sabo ya otaa to- ka -makI me tafa -hani  
 Saturday ADJU 1EX.S away go/come following 3PL.S eat IP.N+F  
 nf prt pron vi pron vi

**me ota towasimakimaro amake awi me**  
 me otaa to- wasi -makI.NOM -maro ama -ke awi me  
 3PL.O 1EX.S away find following FP.E+F be DECL+F tapir 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt vc nm pron

**kabani mati**  
 kaba -hani mati  
 eat IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vt pron

'On Saturday we went there. We came upon them eating. They were eating tapir.'

256 **AwI me kabani me ota towasimakia me**  
 awi me kaba -hani me otaa to- wasi -makI+F me  
 tapir 3PL.S eat IP.N+F 3PL.O 1EX.S away find following 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron pron vt pron

**tafimaro ama fahi**  
 tafa.NOM+F -maro ama fahi  
 eat FP.E+F be then  
 vi vc dem

'We came upon them as they were eating tapir. They were eating.'

257 **Yama soki ya ota kobo namaro otani**  
 yama soki.NOM ya otaa kobo na -hamaro otaa -ni  
 thing be dark ADJU 1EX.S arrive AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 nf vi prt pron vi aux pron

'We arrived at night.'

258 **Noko Mora ayakamone himata ayaka amari ?**  
 Noko Mora ayaka -mone himata ayaka ama -ri  
 (man's name) festa REP+F what? festa be CQ+F  
 npropm nf interrog nf vc

""Boniwa, what kind of festa is it?""

259 **Ayaka neme ka ama ?**  
 ayaka neme ka ama  
 festa up of be  
 nf nf prt vc

""Is it a Brazilian festa, up in a house?""

260 **Ayaka neme ka amari**  
 ayaka neme ka ama -ra.NOM+F  
 festa up of be NEG  
 nf nf prt vc

""It is not a Brazilian festa.""

## YATITI

- 261 *Ayaka bofe kabonehe*  
 ayaka bofe ka -bone -he  
 festa ground of INT+F DUP  
 nf nf prt  
 "I want it to be a festa on the plaza."
- 262 *Ayaka te hihiri kawaha*  
 ayaka tee hi- hiri ka- na -waha  
 dance 2PL.S DUP sing COMIT AUX change  
 nf pron vt aux  
 "Dance some more."
- 263 *Ayaka me hiri namaro me amake*  
 ayaka me hiri na -hamaro me ama -ke  
 dance 3PL.S sing AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 nf pron vt aux pron sec  
 'They danced.'
- 264 *Ayaka hiri oramaro oke ha owa*  
 ayaka hiri o- na -ra -hamaro o- ke haa owa  
 dance sing 1SG.S AUX NEG FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG  
 nf vt aux prt dem pron  
 'I didn't dance.'
- 265 *Oteme komamaro oni*  
 o- teme koma -hamaro o- ni  
 1SG.POSS foot hurt FP.E+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F  
 pn vi prt  
 'My feet were hurting.'
- 266 *Oteme komara oke*  
 o- teme koma -hara o- ke  
 1SG.POSS foot hurt IP.E+F 1SG.POSS DECL+F  
 pn vi prt  
 "My feet hurt."
- 267 *Ayaka te hiri na mata*  
 ayaka tee hiri na mata  
 dance 2PL.S sing AUX for now  
 nf pron vt aux prt  
 "You go ahead and dance."
- 268 *Oteme onasaomatibe*  
 o- teme o- na- sao -mata -be  
 1SG.POSS foot 1SG.S CAUS feel better short time IMMED+F  
 pn vt  
 "I'm going to give my feet a rest."
- 269 *Owinamaro oke*  
 o- wina -hamaro o- ke  
 1SG.S lie in hammock FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt  
 'I lay in a hammock.'

YATITI

270 *Oko*                      *wini*                      *yayabo*                      *kawai*                      *ya*  
 o-                      ka                      wina.NFIN                      ya- yabo                      ka- na -waha.NOM+F                      ya  
 1SG.POSS POSS                      lie in hammock                      DUP be long                      COMIT AUX change                      ADJU  
 prt                      vi                      vi                      aux                      prt

*ayaka*    *me*            *hiri*            *na*            *me*            *ati*            *saiha*            *me*            ,            *me*  
 ayaka    me            hiri            na+F        me            ati            sai+F        me            ,            me  
 song     3PL.S        sing            AUX        3PL.POSS    voice        be heard    3PL.POSS    3PL.O  
 nf        pron        vt            aux        pron        pn            vi            pron        pron

*ki*                      *onamaro*                      *me*                      *ama*                      .  
 kii                      o-                      na -hamaro                      me                      ama  
 look at    1SG.S AUX FP.E+F                      3PL.O                      SEC  
 vt                      aux                      pron                      sec

'After lying in the hammock for a while, I watched them as they were singing and their voices could be heard.'

271 *Me*                      *owakatoma*                      *owitaremoro*  
 me                      o-                      ka-                      katoma+F                      o-                      ita -rI                      -hamaro  
 3PL.O                      1SG.S COMIT look at                      1SG.S sit raised surface FP.E+F  
 pron                      vt                      vi

*oke*  
 o-                      ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt

'I sat and watched them.'

272 *Me*                      *owakatoma*                      *owitare*                      ,                      *faya*                      *arakawa*  
 me                      o-                      ka-                      katoma+F                      o-                      ita -rI                      ,                      faya                      arakawa  
 3PL.O                      1SG.S COMIT look at                      1SG.S sit raised surface                      so                      chicken  
 pron                      vt                      vi                      conj                      nm

*ha*                      *nemari*                      *amane*                      .  
 haa                      na -himari                      ama -ne  
 call                      AUX FP.E+M                      SEC BKG+M  
 vi                      aux                      sec

'As I sat there watching them, a rooster crowed.'

273 *Arakawa*                      *ha*                      *ka*  
 arakawa                      haa                      na -ka  
 chicken                      call                      AUX DECL+M  
 nm                      vi                      prt

""The rooster is crowing.""

274 *Te*                      *kitamisahi*  
 tee                      kita                      -misa -hi  
 2PL.S                      be strong up                      IMP+F  
 pron                      vi

""Don't stop.""

275 *Yama*                      *wahakibone*  
 yama                      waha -ke                      -bone  
 thing                      dawn DECL+F INT+F  
 nf                      vi

""It is about to dawn.""

276 *Faya*                      *ayaka*                      *me*                      *kasiro*                      *kanamaro*                      *me*                      *ama*                      *fahi*                      .  
 faya                      ayaka                      me                      kasiro                      ka-                      na -hamaro                      me                      ama                      fahi  
 so                      song                      3PL.S                      do forcefully                      COMIT AUX FP.E+F                      3PL.S                      SEC                      then  
 conj                      nf                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron                      sec                      dem

'Then they sang louder.'

YATITI

277 *Ayaka me kasiro kana me me abe kosi*  
 ayaka me kasiro ka- na+F me , me abe kosi  
 song 3PL.S do forcefully COMMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS RECIP flail  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron pn vt

*ramaroni*

na -ra -hamaro -ni  
 AUX NEG FP.E+F BKG+F  
 aux

'They sang louder, but they didn't whip anyone.'

278 *Hine ya ayaka me hiri namaroni*  
 hine ya ayaka me hiri na -hamaro -ni  
 only ADJU song 3PL.S sing AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron prt nf pron vt aux

'They only sang and danced.'

279 *Hine ya ayaka me hiri na me , ayaka kawaha*  
 hine ya ayaka me hiri na+F me , ayaka ka- na -waha+F  
 only ADJU song 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S sing COMMIT AUX change  
 pron prt nf pron vt aux pron vi aux

*ota kawahamaro otake*  
 otaa ka- waha -hamaro otaa -ke  
 1EX.S COMMIT dawn FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 pron vi pron

'They only sang and danced. They sang and danced some more, and then morning came.'

280 *Okowabisamaro oke*  
 o- ka- waha -bisa -hamaro o- ke  
 1SG.S COMMIT dawn also FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt

'I stayed awake until dawn, too.'

281 *Amo oramaro oke me ayaki*  
 amo o- na -ra -hamaro o- ke me ayaka.NFIN  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX NEG FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F 3PL.S sing  
 vi aux prt pron vi

*ihi*

ihi  
 because of+F  
 post

'I didn't sleep, because of their singing.'

282 *Faya ota kamaha , ota sawiha ota sasawi*  
 faya otaa ka -ma+F , otaa sawi+F otaa sa- sawi  
 so 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S be present 1EX.S DUP be present  
 conj pron vi pron vi pron vi

*kawa ayaka me hiri tasa me , arakawa me*  
 ka- na -waha+F ayaka me hiri na -tasa+F me , arakawa me  
 COMMIT AUX change song 3PL.S sing AUX again 3PL.S chicken 3PL.S  
 aux nf pron vt aux pron nm pron

*naoa me ihi Bototowi hine bao ne*  
 naho+F me ihi Bototowi hine bao na+M ,  
 stand 3PL.POSS because of+F (man's name) 3.REFL hurry AUX  
 vi pron post npropm pron vt aux

## YATITI

**Noko Mora ota towakamakibone**  
 Noko Mora otaa to- ka- ka -ma -ke -bone  
 (man's name) 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back DECL+F INT+F  
 npropm pron vi

'We stayed there. We stayed a while, and they had another day of dancing and singing. Bototowi was in a hurry because the chickens were in pens back at our village. "Noko Mora, we are going home."

283 **Ee te towakama**  
 ee tee to- ka- ka -ma  
 yes 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back  
 interj pron vi

"Right, you can go home."

284 **Te ka bani me naoa me awine Noko Mora ati**  
 tee ka bani me naoh+F me awine Noko Mora ati  
 2PL POSS animal 3PL.S stand 3PL.S seem+F (man's name) say  
 pron prt nm pron vi pron sec npropm vt

**nemari amane**  
 na -himari ama -ne  
 AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 aux sec

"Your animals are in the pens," Noko Mora said.'

285 **Bani me nao amake ahi**  
 bani me naoh.NOM ama -ke ahi  
 animal 3PL.S stand be DECL+F there  
 nm pron vi vc dem

"The animals are in pens."

286 **Yokihwi me yoto hina me awine**  
 yokihwi me yoto hi- na+F me awine  
 opossum sp 3PL.O cover OC AUX 3PL.O seem+F  
 nm pron vt aux pron sec

"The opossum is taking care of them."

287 **Yokihwi me hikaba me awinenira**  
 yokihwi me hi- kaba+F me awine -nira  
 opossum sp 3PL.O OC eat 3PL.O seem+F ?+F  
 nm pron vt pron sec

"The opossum will eat them."

288 **Yokihwi ota tokomibone**  
 yokihwi otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone  
 opossum sp 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F  
 nm pron vi

"We are going home."

289 **Siko hima**  
 Siko hima  
 (man's name) let's go  
 npropm interj

"Siko let's go."

290 **Ee hima**  
 ee hima  
 yes let's go  
 interj interj

## YATITI

"Right, let's go."

291 *Ota nafi tohamaro otani*  
 otaa nafi to- ha -hamaro otaa -ni  
 1EX.POSS all CH be FP.E+F 1EX.POSS BKG+F  
 pron pn vc pron

'All of us went.'

292 *Ota kamimaro amake ahi*  
 otaa ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
 pron vi vc dem

'We came back.'

293 *Ota kama E fiya tonama*  
 otaa ka -ma+F ee fiya to- na -ma  
 1EX.S go/come back 1IN.S pass away AUX back  
 pron vi pron vi aux

"Let's pass by."

294 *Boto bote e fiya kana*  
 boto bote ee fiya ka- na  
 sandy clearing old 1IN.S pass COMMIT AUX  
 nf adj pron vt aux

"Let's go past the old sandy clearing."

295 *E kobo tonamaba e awineke*  
 ee kobo to- na -ma -haba ee awine -ke  
 1IN.S arrive away AUX back FUT+F 1IN.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron sec

"We will arrive home."

296 *Yama yayabo ke haro*  
 yama ya- yabo na -ke haaro  
 thing DUP be far AUX DECL+F that one+F  
 nf vi prt dem

"It is still far."

297 *Ota kamimaro amake*  
 otaa ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 pron vi vc

'We came on.'

298 *Ota kama ota kakama kawaha bai*  
 otaa ka -ma+F otaa ka- ka -ma ka- na -waha+F bahi  
 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S COMMIT go/come back COMMIT AUX change sun  
 pron vi pron vi aux nm

*tokemari amane*  
 to- ka -himari ama -ne  
 away go/come FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 vi sec

'We came on. We came some more. It was late afternoon.'

YATITI

299	<b>Bai</b>	<b>toke</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>afi</b>
	bahi	to-	ka.NOM+M	ya	otaa	ka	-ma+F	me	afi
	sun	away	go/come	ADJU	1EX.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	bathe
	nm	vi		prt	pron	vi		pron	vi
	<b>nabone</b>	<b>me</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>hiyawamaro</b>			<b>me</b>	<b>amani</b>
	na	-habone	me	ati	hiyawa	-hamaro		me	ama -ni
	AUX	INT+F	3PL.POSS	voice	have an idea	FP.E+F		3PL.POSS	SEC BKG+F
	aux		pron	pn	vi			pron	sec

'We came as the sun was setting. The others decided to take a bath.'

300	<b>Ota</b>	<b>afi</b>	<b>namatibeya</b>			
	otaa	afi	na -mata	-be	-ya	
	1EX.S	bathe	AUX short time	IMMED+F	now	
	pron	vi	aux			

""We are going to take a bath.""

301	<b>Yama</b>	<b>otara</b>	<b>kahiwini</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>namaro</b>	<b>me</b>
	yama	otara	ka- hiwa	-ni	me	ati	na -hamaro	me
	thing	1EX.O	COMIT be hot	BKG+F	3PL.S	say	AUX FP.E+F	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt		pron	vt	aux	pron

**amani**  
ama -ni  
SEC BKG+F  
sec

""We are feeling hot," they said.'

302	<b>Te</b>	<b>afi</b>	<b>na</b>
	tee	afi	na
	2PL.S	bathe	AUX
	pron	vi	aux

""Go ahead and take a bath.""

303	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>haro</b>
	hiyama		me	ihi	ama -ke	haaro
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	result of+F	be DECL+F	that one+F
	nm		pron	pn	vc	dem

**onamaro**  
ati o- na -hamaro o- ni  
say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
vt prt

""There are signs of white-lipped peccaries there," I said.'

304	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>hiyama</b>
	hiyama		me	ihi	hiyama
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	result of+F	white-lipped peccary
	nm		pron	pn	nm

<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>naro</b>	<b>haro</b>	<b>Bowata</b>	<b>ati</b>
me	ihi	na -haaro	haaro	Bowata	ati
3PL.POSS	result of+F	exist look+F	that one+F	(woman's name)	say
pron	pn	vi	dem	npropf	vt

**nemari**  
na -himari ama -ne  
AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
aux sec

""Look, there are signs of white-lipped peccaries," Bowata said.'

YATITI

305 *Hiyama* *me* *maoha* *me* *ama* *ninihi*  
 hiyama me maho+F me ama na.NOM+F -ni -hi  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S emit smell 3PL.S be AUX IP.N+F DUP  
 nm pron vi pron vc aux

*ati* *nemari* *amaka*  
 ati na -himari ama -ka  
 say AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 vt aux sec

"There is the smell of white-lipped peccaries here," she said.'

306 *Hiyama* *me* , *hiyama* *me* *mahi* ,  
 hiyama me , hiyama me mahi ,  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS smell+F  
 nm pron nm pron pn

*kita* *tonikimamaro* *me* *amani*  
 kita to- na -kima -hamaro me ama -ni  
 be strong CH AUX spread out FP.E+F 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F  
 vi aux pron sec

'There was a strong smell of white-lipped peccaries all around.'

307 *Kawi* *kamakimari* *amane*  
 Kawi ka -makI -himari ama -ne  
 (man's name) go/come following FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 npropm vi sec

'Kawi came over.'

308 *Kawi* *tikamake* *ahi*  
 Kawi ti- ka -makI ahi  
 (man's name) 2SG.S go/come following here  
 npropm vi dem

"Kawi come over here."

309 *Siko* *ota* *tatabiro*  
 Siko otaa ta- taba -ro  
 (man's name) 1EX.S DUP be together without stopping  
 npropm pron vi

*nofari* *rama*  
 na nofa -ra.NOM+F rama  
 AUX recently NEG unusual  
 prt prt

'Siko didn't come with us.'

310 *Hiyama* *me* *ihi* *tiwa* *haro* *me*  
 hiyama me ihi ti- awa haaro me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS result of+F 2SG.S see that one+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn vt dem pron

*kakehani* *mati*  
 ka -kI -hani mati  
 go/come coming IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

"Look here at the signs of the white-lipped peccaries that came this way."

311 *Hiyama* *me* *kakehani* *me* *ihi*  
 hiyama me ka -kI -hani me ihi  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come coming IP.N+F 3PL.POSS result of+F  
 nm pron vi pron pn



YATITI

**tiwa**            **haro**  
 ti-    awa    haaro  
 2SG.S see    that one+F  
 vt            dem

"Look here at the signs of the white-lipped peccaries that came this way."

312 **Hiyama**                            **tamabote**                            **memeteni**  
 hiyama                            tama    -bote    me    -mete    -ni  
 white-lipped peccary    be many very    3PL FP.N+F BKG+F  
 nm                            adj                            pron

'There were many peccaries.'

313 **Hiyama**                            **me**                            **ihi**                            **ki**  
 hiyama                            me                            ihi                            kii  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.POSS    result of+F    look at  
 nm                            pron                            pn                            vt

**onamakehite**                            **me**                            **afi**                            **na**                            **me**                            **Te**  
 o-    to-    na    -makI                            -hitI                            me                            afi                            na+F                            me                            ,    tee  
 1SG.S away AUX following along the way    3PL.S    bathe    AUX    3PL.S                            2PL.S  
 aux                            pron                            vi                            aux                            pron                            pron

**hawa**                            **toini**                            ?  
 hawa                            to-    ha    -ni  
 be finished    CH    AUX BKG+F  
 vi                            aux

'I went and looked around at the signs of the peccaries. They were bathing. "Are you finished?'"

314 **Hima**                            ,    **hiyama**                            **me**                            **ota**  
 hima                            ,    hiyama                            me                            otaa  
 let's go                            white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S  
 interj                            nm                            pron                            pron

**nakiminaba**                            **otake**                            **ahi**  
 na-    ka                            -kI                            -mina                            -haba                            otaa    -ke                            ahi  
 CAUS go/come coming morning FUT+F    1EX.S DECL+F    here  
 vt                            pron                            dem

"Come on, tomorrow we will come here after the peccaries."

315 **Ee**                            ,    **hiyama**                            **me**                            **e**  
 ee                            ,    hiyama                            me                            ee  
 yes                            white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1IN.S  
 interj                            nm                            pron                            pron

**nakiminabana**                            **hine**                            **me**                            **toka**                            **mati**  
 na-    ka                            -kI                            -mina                            -habana                            hine                            me                            to-    ka+F                            mati  
 CAUS go/come coming morning FUT+F    only    3PL.S    away go/come    3PL.S  
 vt                            pron                            pron                            vi                            pron

"Yes, we will come here tomorrow after the peccaries. Let them go for now."

316 **Me**                            **ati**                            **saiminaba**                            **me**                            **amake**                            **ahi**  
 me                            ati                            sai                            -mina                            -haba                            me                            ama    -ke                            ahi  
 3PL.POSS    voice    be heard morning FUT+F    3PL.POSS    SEC DECL+F    there  
 pron                            pn                            vi                            pron                            sec                            dem

**yifo**                            **noko**                            **ya**  
 yifo                            noko                            ya  
 miriti                            seed+M    ADJU  
 nm                            pn                            prt

"They will be heard where there are miriti fruits tomorrow."

## YATITI

317 *Faya ota tokoma ota taboro ya ota*  
 faya otaa to- ka -ma+F otaa taboro ya otaa  
 so 1EX.S away go/come back 1EX.POSS place ADJU 1EX.S  
 conj pron vi pron pn prt pron

*kama ota kobo namimaro amani*  
 ka -ma+F , otaa kobo na -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 go/come back 1EX.S arrive AUX back FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 vi pron vi aux vc

'We went on. We came back to our village and arrived.'

318 *Yama yoyomarisa raba ni ya ota kobo*  
 yama yo- yoma -risa na -raba na.NOM+F ya otaa kobo  
 thing DUP be dark down AUX a bit AUX ADJU 1EX.S arrive  
 nf vi aux aux prt pron vi

*nama ota tafaramaro otake*  
 na -ma+F , otaa tafa -ra -hamaro otaa -ke  
 AUX back 1EX.S eat NEG FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F  
 aux pron vi pron

'We arrived back when it was getting dark, and we didn't eat.'

319 *Ota fimiamaro otani*  
 otaa fimi -hamaro otaa -ni  
 1EX.S be hungry FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 pron vi pron

'We were hungry.'

320 *Makoni ota bosa kanamaro otani*  
 makoni otaa bosa ka- na -hamaro otaa -ni  
 for this reason 1EX.S get up early COMIT AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F  
 conj pron vi aux pron

'So we got up early.'

321 *Hiyama tao okomatibe*  
 hiyama tao o- ka- na -mata -be  
 white-lipped peccary shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

'I'm going to shoot a peccary.'

322 *Owa te nonoki niya*  
 owa tee no- noki na -yahi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S DUP wait for AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'You wait for me.'

323 *Hiyama me ota nabimaroni ota*  
 hiyama me otaa na- ahaba.NOM -maro -ni otaa  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS die FP.E+F BKG+F 1EX.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron

*fama ota*  
 fama+F otaa  
 be two 1EX.S  
 vi pron

'Two of us killed some peccaries.'

YATITI

324 *Me tao ona siko me siko me tohamaroke*  
 me tao o- na+F siko me siko me to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S AUX five 3PL five 3PL.S CH be FP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vt aux nf pron nf pron vc

'I shot five of them.'

325 *Kawi ka me kowato toha*  
 Kawi ka me kowato to- ha.LIST  
 (man's name) POSS 3PL.S be four CH AUX  
 npropm prt pron vi aux

'Kawi got four, too.'

326 *Faya ota , hiyama me ota iiso*  
 faya otaa , hiyama me otaa i- iso  
 so 1EX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S DUP carry off  
 conj pron nm pron pron vt

*nikima na me , hiyama me one ota*  
 na -kima na+F me , hiyama me one otaa  
 AUX two AUX 3PL.O white-lipped peccary 3PL other+F 1EX.S  
 aux aux pron nm pron adj pron

*isema ota towakama , hiyama*  
 isI -ma+F otaa to- ka- ka -ma+F , hiyama  
 drop off back 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back white-lipped peccary  
 vt pron vi nm

*me ota weye namisikimatasata ota*  
 me otaa weye na -misa -kima -tasa+F otaa  
 3PL.O 1EX.S carry AUX up two again 1EX.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron

*kakamatasimaro amake*  
 ka- ka -ma -tasa.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 COMIT go/come back again FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 vi vc

'The two of us carried the peccaries to another place. We brought the other peccaries. Then we went back and put peccaries on our backs, and we came back.'

327 *Ota kakama , hiyama me ota , mata*  
 otaa ka- ka -ma+F , hiyama me otaa , mata  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S lay  
 pron vi nm pron pron vt

*nama ota wete tokanamatasimaro amake*  
 na -ma+F otaa wete to- ka- na -ma -tasa.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 AUX back 1EX.S return away COMIT AUX back again FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 aux pron vi aux vc

'We came back. We left the two peccaries, and then went back.'

328 *Hiyama me ota kakama*  
 hiyama me otaa ka- ka -ma+F ,  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S COMIT go/come back  
 nm pron pron vt

*Hiyama hine me mata ni haro*  
 hiyama hine me mata na.NOM+F haaro  
 white-lipped peccary only 3PL.S lie AUX that one+F  
 nm pron pron vi aux dem

'We brought the peccaries. "These two peccaries will stay here for now."'

YATITI

329 *Me* , *me* *e* *tonakama* *mata*  
 me , me ee to- na- ka -ma mata  
 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S away CAUS go/come back for now  
 pron pron pron vt prt

"Let's go get the others."

330 *E* *ma* *tokahake*  
 ee maa to- ka- ha -ke  
 1IN.S be tired CH COMIT AUX DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

"We are tired."

331 *Hiyama* *me* *kanahi* *hiyama* *me*  
 hiyama me kanaha.NFIN hiyama me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS be heavy white-lipped peccary 3PL.S  
 nm pron vi nm pron

*kanaha* *me* *weye* *ona* *me* *weye* *ni* *fiya*  
 kanaha+F me weye o- na+F me weye na.NFIN fiya  
 be heavy 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O carry AUX pass  
 vi pron vt aux pron vt aux vi

*onamimaro* *amani*  
 o- na -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 1SG.S AUX back FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 aux vc

'The peccaries I was carrying were heavy. I went on by the others as I was carrying them.'

332 *Ota* *kakamimaro* *amake*  
 otaa ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 pron vt vc

'We came back.'

333 *Ota* *kakama* *Bototowi* *owa* *awemari*  
 otaa ka- ka -ma+F Bototowi owa awa -himari  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back (man's name) 1SG.O see FP.E+M  
 pron vi npropm pron vt

*amane*  
 ama -ne  
 SEC BKG+M  
 sec

'We came back. Bototowi saw me.'

334 *Hiyama* *me* *ota* *kakama* *Bese*  
 hiyama me otaa ka- ka -ma+F bese  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S COMIT go/come back son  
 nm pron pron vi voc

*abi* *kamari* *hari*  
 abi ka -ma -haari haari  
 2SG.POSS.father go/come back look+M that one+M  
 nm vi dem

'We brought the peccaries. "Look son, your father has come back."

335 *Bakori* *yayai* *nemari* *amaka* *ahi*  
 Bakori ya- yai na -himari ama -ka ahi  
 (man's name) DUP be happy AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M then  
 npropm vi aux sec dem

'Bakori was happy.'

YATITI

336 *Hiyama* *me* , *one* *so* *tosi*  
 hiyama me , one soo to- na -kosa.NOM+F  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL other+F lie CH AUX middle  
 nm pron adj vi aux

*yama*  
 yama  
 (reporting)  
 prt

"There are other peccaries lying out there."

337 *Hiyama* *me* *e* *tonakama* *mata*  
 hiyama me ee to- na- ka -ma mata  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1IN.S away CAUS go/come back for now  
 nm pron pron vt prt

"Let's go get the peccaries."

338 *Hiyama* *me* *ota* *nabiramone* *me* *ati*  
 hiyama me otaa na- ahaba -ra -hamone me ati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS die NEG REP+F 3PL.S say  
 nm pron pron vt pron vt

*na* *me* *awine* ?  
 na+F me awine  
 AUX 3PL.S seem+F  
 aux pron sec

"Did the people say we hadn't killed any peccaries?"

339 *Hiyama* *me* *tamarake*  
 hiyama me tama -hara -ke  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S be many IP.E+F DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

"There are many peccaries."

340 *Hiyama* *ohari* *weye* *tinabana* *tike*  
 hiyama ohari+M weye ti- na -habana ti- ke  
 white-lipped peccary be one carry 2SG.S AUX FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F  
 nm vi vt aux prt

*Bowataro*  
 Bowataro  
 (woman's name)  
 npropf

"You carry one peccary, Bowataro."

341 *Hiyama* *me* *onafamaria* *me*  
 hiyama me o- na- fama -rI+F me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1SG.S CAUS be two raised surface 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt pron

*me* *weye* *otasabana* *o*  
 me weye o- na -tasa -habana o-  
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX again FUT+F 1SG.S  
 pron vt aux prt

"I will carry two peccaries."

342 *Yama* *wete* *ni* *nawaharawa* *wete*  
 yama wete na.NFIN nawaha -rawa+F wete  
 thing tie AUX take a long time F.PL tie  
 nf result aux vi vt

YATITI

*orawarake*

o- na -rawa -hara -ke  
 1SG.S AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F  
 aux

"I tied them up, it took a long time."

343 *Faya hiyama me ota tonakama*  
 faya hiyama me otaa to- na- ka -ma+F  
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S away CAUS go/come back  
 conj nm pron pron vt

*Bowata* , *yoko okane hiyama weye*  
 Bowata yoko o- ka- na+M hiyama weye  
 (woman's name) push 1SG.S COMIT AUX white-lipped peccary carry  
 npropf vt aux nm vt

*nemari amane*  
 na -himari ama -ne  
 AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 aux sec

'We went to get the peccaries. I put a peccary onto Bowata's back, and she carried it.'

344 *Hiyama me ota weye hiyama*  
 hiyama me otaa weye.LIST hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S carry white-lipped peccary  
 nm pron pron vt nm

*me weye omisabisa* , *Kananisi*  
 me weye o- na -misa -bisa+F Kananisi  
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX up also (woman's name)  
 pron vt aux npropf

*hiyama weye nemari amani*  
 hiyama weye na.NOM+M -mari ama -ni  
 white-lipped peccary carry AUX FP.E+M be BKG+F  
 nm vt aux vc

'We carried the peccaries. I carried peccaries, too. Kananisi carried a peccary.'

345 *Kawi hiyama weye nemari*  
 Kawi hiyama weye na -himari  
 (man's name) white-lipped peccary carry AUX FP.E+M  
 npropm nm vt aux

'Kawi carried a peccary.'

346 *Ota kamimaro amake*  
 otaa ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 1EX.S go/come back FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 pron vi vc

'We came back.'

347 *Ota kama* , *ota ehene hinama owehene*  
 otaa ka -ma+F otaa ehene hinama o- ehene  
 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.POSS victim of all 1SG.POSS victim of  
 pron vi pron pn adj pn

*hinamati aahi tohehimari owati ama*  
 hinamati a- ahi to- ha -himari o- ati ama  
 someone DUP work on CH AUX FP.E+M 1SG.POSS voice be  
 nm vt aux pn vc

'We came back. There was no one to help me carry the peccaries I had killed, I am telling you.'

YATITI

348 *Hiyama* *me* *otemimaro* *amake*  
 hiyama me o- itI -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1SG.S skin back FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 nm pron v vc

'I skinned the peccaries back at the village.'

349 *Hiyama* *bako* *tikaware*  
 hiyama bako ti- ka- waa -rI  
 white-lipped peccary chest+M 2SG.S COMIT cook raised surface  
 nm pn vt

'''Cook the breast of a peccary.'''

350 *Ofimi* *oke*  
 o- fimi o- ke  
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt

'''I'm hungry.'''

351 *Faya* *Bowata* *hiyama* *ti* *ne*  
 faya Bowata hiyama tii na+M  
 so (woman's name) white-lipped peccary cut through AUX  
 conj npropf nm vt aux

*hiyama* *kawarimari* *amane*  
 hiyama ka- waa -rI -himari ama -ne  
 white-lipped peccary COMIT cook raised surface FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm vt sec

'So Bowata cut up a peccary, and she cooked the peccary.'

352 *Yama* *kawarimari* *amaka*  
 yama ka- waa -rI -himari ama -ka  
 thing COMIT cook raised surface FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 nf vt sec

'She cooked it.'

353 *Hiyama* *me* *ahi* *onahate* *me* *saoka*  
 hiyama me ahi o- na nahatI me saoka  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O work on 1SG.S AUX daytime 3PL.O salt  
 nm pron vt aux pron vt

*okanamaro* *oni*  
 o- ka- na -hamaro o- ni  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 aux prt

'I worked on the peccaries all day long, and I salted them.'

354 *Me* *saoka* *okana* *me* *tati* *tabasi*  
 me saoka o- ka- na+F me tati tabasi  
 3PL.O salt 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS head roast on grill  
 pron vt aux pron pn vt

*owamaro* *ahi*  
 o- na -waha -hamaro ahi  
 1SG.S AUX change FP.E+F then  
 aux dem

'I salted them. I roasted their heads on a rack.'

YATITI

355 **Koro oraya** **onamaro** **oni** ,  
 koro o- raya.LIST o- na -hamaro o- ni  
 n 1SG.S stretch on sticks 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vt aux prt

**tamatama ora owa** .  
 tama- tama o- na -ra+F owa  
 DUP be many 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG.S  
 vi aux pron

'I stretched the skins on sticks, too, by myself.'

356 **Ota tafawahimaro** .  
 otaa tafa -waha.NOM+F -maro  
 1EX.S eat change FP.E+F  
 pron vi

'Then we ate.'

357 **Ota tafawahimaro amake fahi** .  
 otaa tafa -waha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke fahi  
 1EX.S eat change FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
 pron vi vc dem

'We ate, finally.'

358 **Farina Bowata kero tokaname ota**  
 farina Bowata kero to- ka- na -ma+M otaa  
 manioc meal (woman's name) scoop up away COMIT AUX back 1EX.S  
 nf npropf vt aux pron  
**tafawaimaro ama , hiyama me ota kaba**  
 tafa -waha.NOM+F -maro ama , hiyama me ota kaba+F  
 eat change FP.E+F be white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S eat  
 vi vc nm pron pron vt

**ota** .  
 otaa  
 1EX.S  
 pron

'Bowata scooped up manioc meal, and we ate. We ate peccaries.'

359 **Hiyama me tabasi owahimaro**  
 hiyama me tabasi o- na -waha.NOM+F -maro  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O roast on grill 1SG.S AUX change FP.E+F  
 nm pron vt aux

**ama ahi** .  
 ama ahi  
 be then  
 vc dem

'Then I roasted peccaries on a rack.'

360 **Hiyama me tabasi ona owa ni** ,  
 hiyama me tabasi o- na+F owa ni  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O roast on grill 1SG.S AUX 1SG to  
 nm pron vt aux pron prt  
**ota amo ni tatama na ota ni Siko me**  
 otaa amo na.NFIN ta- tama na+F otaa ni Siko me  
 1EX.S sleep AUX DUP be many AUX 1EX to (man's name) 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux vi aux pron prt npropm pron



## YATITI

<b>fotomakemaro</b>			<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>Babao</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>na</b>
foto -makI -hamaro	me	ama -ke	Babao	me	na+F		
appear following FP.E+F	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F	(man's name)	3PL.S	AUX		
vi	pron	sec	npropm	pron	aux		

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'I roasted the peccaries on a rack. After a few days, Siko and his companions came to us, also Babao.'

361 <b>Babao</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>taba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamakiemete</b>		
Babao	ya	me	taba+F	me	ka -makI -hemete		
(man's name)	ADJU	3PL.S	be together	3PL.S	go/come following FP.N+F		
npropm	prt	pron	vi	pron	vi		

**me amani**  
 me ama -ni  
 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 pron sec

'They came along with Babao.'

362 <b>Faya Babao</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>ni</b>
faya Babao	hiyama	me	weye	na.NFIN
so (man's name)	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	carry	AUX
conj npropm	nm	pron	vt	aux

**tokomemari amaka fahi**  
 to- ka -ma -himari ama -ka fahi  
 away go/come back FP.E+M SEC DECL+M then  
 vi sec dem

'Babao went away carrying peccaries.'

363 <b>Babao</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>ni</b>
Babao	hiyama	me	weye	na.NFIN
(man's name)	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	carry	AUX
npropm	nm	pron	vt	aux

**tokomemata awane**  
 to- ka -ma -himata awa -ne  
 away go/come back FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
 vi sec

'Babao went away carrying peccaries.'

364 <b>Yama yabo</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>Babao</b>	<b>tokoma</b>
yama yabo.NOM	ya	Babao	to- ka -ma.CONT+M
thing be far	ADJU	(man's name)	away go/come back
nf vi	prt	npropm	vi

**namata**  
 na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'Babao went far away.'

365 <b>Babao</b>	<b>tokome</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>
Babao	to- ka -ma+M	hiyama	me
(man's name)	away go/come back	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O
npropm	vi	nm	pron



YATITI

372 *Me yaka onahara Siko ati nemari*  
 me yaka o- na -hara Siko ati na -himari  
 3PL.O visit 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F (man's name) say AUX FP.E+M  
 pron vt aux npropm vt aux

"I visited them," Siko said.'

373 *Noko Mora winare fahi*  
 Noko Mora wina -hare fahi  
 (man's name) live IP.E+M there  
 npropm vi dem

"Noko Mora lives there."

374 *Faya me kamakiha me me kamakihani*  
 faya me ka -makI+F me me ka -makI -hani  
 so 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come following IP.N+F  
 conj pron vi pron pron vi

*me fotomakimaro ama me fanawi*  
 me foto -makI.NOM -maro ama me fanawi  
 3PL.S appear following FP.E+F be women  
 pron vi vc nf

'They came. They appeared, the women.'

375 *Bato tao okane owakame*  
 bato tao o- ka- na+M o- ka- ka -ma+M  
 deer shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S COMIT go/come back  
 nm vt aux vt

*Bowataro hikaware me*  
 Bowataro hi- ka- waa -rI me  
 (woman's name) OC COMIT cook raised surface 3PL.S  
 npropf vt pron

*kabamakimaro amani*  
 kaba -makI.NOM -maro ama -ni  
 eat following FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 vt vc

'I shot a deer and brought it home. Bowataro cooked it, and they ate it.'

376 *Bato me kaba me haha nimaro amake ahi*  
 bato me kaba+F me haahaa na.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi  
 deer 3PL.S eat 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
 nm pron vt pron vi aux vc dem

*okatirawaha*  
 o- ka ati -rawa -ha  
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin F.PL DUP  
 nf

'My female cousins laughed as they ate the deer meat.'

377 *Faya bani ime bani me ime me nika me*  
 faya bani ime bani me ime me nika me  
 so animal flesh animal 3PL.POSS flesh 3PL.S ask for 3PL.S  
 conj nm pn nm pron pn pron vt pron

*tokomimaro amani*  
 to- ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 away go/come back FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 vi vc

'They asked for meat, and then they went home.'





## YATITI

392	<b>Ota</b>	<b>towakama</b>			,	<b>fowa</b>	<b>tafotafari</b>		
	otaa	to- ka-	ka	-ma+F		fowa	tafo- tafo	-ri	
	1EX.S	away	COMIT	go/come	back	manioc	DUP	be light	DISTR
	pron	vi				nm	vi		
	<b>re</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>omaro</b>			<b>amake</b>			
	na -ra+M	weye	o-	na.NOM	-maro	ama -ke			
	AUX NEG	carry	1SG.S	AUX	FP.E+F	be DECL+F			
	aux	vt	aux			vc			

'We went back. The manioc I was carrying was heavy.'

393	<b>Inamatewe</b>	<b>onemese</b>			,	<b>taokana</b>	<b>tama</b>	,	<b>ota</b>
	inamatewe	o-	na-	meseha		taokana	tama.LIST		otaa
	child	1SG.S	CAUS	lie on top		shotgun	hold onto		1EX.S
	nm	vt				nf	vt		pron
	<b>towakama</b>			<b>Yatiti</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>hiyaweno</b>		
	to- ka-	ka	-ma+F	Yatiti		ati	hiyawa	-hino	
	away	COMIT	go/come	back	(man's name)	say	have an idea	IP.N+M	
	vi			npropm		vt	vi		
	<b>kamakino</b>			<b>owasimabani</b>				<b>owa</b>	
	ka -makI	-hino	o-	to-	wasi -ma	-haba -ni	owa		
	go/come	following	IP.N+M	1SG.S	away find	back FUT+F	IP.N+F	1SG.S	
	vi			vt				pron	

'I put the child on top of the basket, and I also was carrying a shotgun. We went. I came upon Yatiti, who had thought of something and was coming.'

394	<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>kamakikara</b>				<b>bai</b>
	Yatiti	ka	-makI.CONT+M	-kara	bahi	
	(man's name)	go/come	following	?+M	sun	
	npropm	vi			nm	
	<b>tokaramako</b>					
	to- ka	-ra	-mako			
	CH	go/come	DUP	for this reason+M		
	vi					

""Why is Yatiti coming here late in the day?""

395	<b>Himata</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>nenono</b>	?
	himata	ebe	na -hino	
	what?	purpose	AUX IP.N+M	
	interrog	vt	aux	

""What does he want?""

396	<b>Himata</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>tinabani</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>tiri</b>	?
	himata	ebe	ti- na	-haba -ni	ama	ti- ri	
	what?	purpose	2SG.S	AUX FUT+F	IP.N+F	SEC 2SG.S	CQ+F
	interrog	vt	aux		sec	prt	

""What do you want?""

397	<b>Okomakebone</b>				<b>o</b>	<b>mata</b>
	o-	to- ka	-makI	-habone	o-	mata
	1SG.S	away	go/come	following	INT+F	1SG.S
	vi				prt	prt

""I'm going there.""

398	<b>Me</b>	<b>owamakematibe</b>				
	me	o-	to- awa	-makI	-mata	-be
	3PL.O	1SG.S	away see	following	short time	IMMED+F
	pron	vt				

## YATITI

"I want to go and see them."

399 *Bai*     *toke*                     *aawa*     *re*                     *ati*     *amane*  
       bahi    to-    ka+M            a-    awa    na   -ra+M    ati    ama   -ne  
       sun    away go/come    DUP see    AUX NEG    voice be    BKG+M  
       nm    vi                     vt            aux            pn        vc

"Can't you see that it is late?"

400 *Okomakeba*     *owa*     *awine*     *oke*  
       o-     to-    ka            -makI     -haba    owa    awine    o-     ke  
       1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
       vi     pron     sec            prt

"I will go there."

401 *Amo*     *onakosamakematabana*     *o*     *ati*  
       amo    o-     to-    na   -kosa   -makI     -mata     -habana    o-     ati  
       sleep 1SG.S away AUX middle following short time FUT+F 1SG.S say  
       vi     aux     prt     vt

*nemari*

na -himari  
 AUX FP.E+M  
 aux

"I'm going to spend the night on the trail on the way."

402 *Ati*     *uirabo*                     *remarika*  
       ati    i-    irabo    na   -ra   -himari   -ka  
       voice DUP be bad    AUX NEG FP.E+M DECL+M  
       pn    vi                     aux

'He was talking like a normal person.'

403 *Ee*     ,     *owa*     *tekanakosa*     *tika*                     *yamabone*  
       ee            owa    ti-    ka-    kana   -kosa+F    ti-     ka     yama   -bone  
       yes        1SG.O    2SG.S COMIT leave middle    2SG.POSS POSS thing INT+F  
       interj     pron    vt     prt                     nf

*okanikabone*

o-    ka-    nika   -habone     *owa*  
 1SG.S COMIT buy INT+F     1SG.S  
 vt     pron

"All right, since you are leaving me behind, I will buy the things for you."

404 *Faya*     ,     *hinaka*                     *yamabone*                     *okanika*     *makari*     *makari*  
       faya            hinaka            yama   -bone    o-    ka-    nika.LIST    makari    makari  
       so            3SG.POSS    thing INT+F    1SG.S COMIT buy    cloth    cloth  
       conj        pron            nf            vt            nf        nf  
  
       *okanika*     ,     *isiborita*                     *okanika*     *borofa*  
       o-    ka-    nika.LIST            isiborita            o-    ka-    nika.LIST    borofa  
       1SG.S COMIT buy            percussion cap    1SG.S COMIT buy    gunpowder  
       vt     nf            vt            nf

*okanika*     ,     *sobo*                     *katoso*     *yama*     *namaroni*  
 o-    ka-    nika.LIST            sobo.LIST            katoso.LIST            yama    na   -hamaro   -ni  
 1SG.S COMIT buy            lead            shotgun shell    thing    AUX FP.E+F    BKG+F  
 vt     nf            nf            nf        aux

'So I bought the things for him: cloth, percussion caps, gunpowder, and shot.'





## YATITI

**toke**                      **yana**            **toneno**                      **tokomake**  
to- ka+M            yana    to- na -hino    to- ka            -makI  
away go/come    start    CH    AUX    IP.N+M    away go/come    following  
vi                      vi            aux                      vi

"I am not angry with Yatiti. In the afternoon he left and went away."

411 **Ota**            **kobo**            **kanama**                      **Hawa**            **te**  
otaa    kobo            ka-    na -ma+F    hawa            tee  
1EX.S    arrive    COMIT    AUX    back    palm sp    2PL.S  
pron    vi            aux                      nf            pron

**kabofiya**

ka-    ibofa                      -yahi  
COMIT    put in water    DIST.IMP+F  
vt

'We arrived back. "Put the *hawa* fruits in water.'

412 **Hawa**            **warera**                      **fahi**  
hawa            waa    -rI                      -hara            fahi  
palm sp    stand    raised surface    IP.E+F    then  
nf            vi

**owakamaha**                      **ati**            **nemarihi**  
o-    to-    ka-    ka            -ma+F    ati    na -himari -hi  
1SG.S    away    COMIT    go/come    back    say    AUX    FP.E+M    DUP  
vt                      vt            aux

"The *hawa* fruits are there in a basket, I brought them," he said.'

413 **Hawa**            **ota**            **fawabone**                      **ati**            **hihiya**            **re**  
hawa            otaa    fawa    -habone    ati            hi- hiya            na -ra+M  
palm sp    1EX.S    drink    INT+F    voice    DUP    be bad    AUX    NEG  
nf            pron    vt                      pn            vi            aux

"I thought he would drink the broth of the *hawa* fruits with me, but he didn't want to."

414 **Faya**            **ota**            **ota**            **goro**            **na**            **Yatiti**  
faya    otaa            otaa    yoro            na+F            Yatiti  
so    1EX            1EX.S    stand    AUX            (man's name)  
conj    pron            pron    vi            aux            npropm

**tokomakemarika**

to-    ka            -makI            -himari -ka  
away go/come    following    FP.E+M    DECL+M  
vi

'As the two of us were there on the trail, Yatiti went.'

415 **Okomakeba**                      **owa**            **awine**            **oke**  
o-    to-    ka            -makI            -haba    owa            awine            o-    ke  
1SG.S    away    go/come    following    FUT+F    1SG.S    seem+F    1SG.S    DECL+F  
vi                      pron            sec            prt

"I am going there."

416 **Amo**            **onakosamakematabana**                      **o**  
amo    o-    to-    na -kosa -makI            -mata            -habana    o-  
sleep    1SG.S    away    AUX    middle    following    short time    FUT+F    1SG.S  
vi            aux                      prt

"I will spend the night on the trail on the way."

## YATITI

417 *Ee* , *tikamakebone* *tinara*  
 ee ti- to- ka -makI -habone ati ti- na -hara  
 yes 2SG.S away go/come following INT+F say 2SG.S AUX IP.E+F  
 interj vi vt

*ti*  
 ti-  
 2SG.S  
 prt

"All right, you are saying you are going there."

418 *Tikamake* , *onamaro* *oke*  
 ti- to- ka -makI , ati o- na -hamaro o- ke  
 2SG.S away go/come following say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi vt prt

"Go ahead," I said.'

419 *Yatiti* *wawa* *remari*  
 Yatiti wa- waa na -ra -himari  
 (man's name) DUP stand AUX NEG FP.E+M  
 npropm vi aux

'Yatiti did not stay.'

420 *Yatiti* *tokomakebote* *nemari* *ama* *ahi*  
 Yatiti to- ka -makI -bote na -himari ama ahi  
 (man's name) away go/come following quickly AUX FP.E+M SEC then  
 npropm vi aux sec dem

*fawaii*  
 fawaii  
 sound of disappearing  
 sound

'Yatiti left right away, fawaii.'

421 *Ota* *kakamabisamaro* *ota*  
 otaa ka- ka -ma -bisa -hamaro otaa  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back also FP.E+F 1EX.S  
 pron vi pron

'We came on home.'

422 *Ota* *kakama*  
 otaa ka- ka -ma+F ,  
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi

*Okasima*  
 o- ka asima  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin  
 nf

*owamakematabana* *oni* *ati*  
 o- to- awa -makI -mata -habana o- ni ati  
 1SG.S away see following short time FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say  
 vt prt vt

*nemarine*  
 na -himari -ne  
 AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

'We came back. "I'm going there to see my cousin," he said.'

## YATITI

- 423 **Hinakasima** **tokatomamake** **mata**  
 hinaka asima to- katoma -makI mata  
 3SG.POSS younger sister away look at following for now  
 nf vt prt  
 "He is going to see his cousin."
- 424 **Yatiti** **tokomaki**  
 Yatiti to- ka -makI.NOM  
 (man's name) away go/come following  
 npropm vi  
 "Yatiti went."
- 425 **Yatiti** **tiwinihi** ? **Kerewe** **ati**  
 Yatiti ti- awa.NOM+F -ni -hi Kerewe ati  
 (man's name) 2SG.S see IP.N+F DUP (man's name) say  
 npropm vt npropm vt  
**nemari** **ama**  
 na -himari ama  
 AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 aux sec  
 "Did you see Yatiti?" Kerewe said.'
- 426 **Yatiti** **owareka**  
 Yatiti o- awa -hare -ka  
 (man's name) 1SG.S see IP.E+M DECL+M  
 npropm vt  
 "I saw Yatiti."
- 427 **Yatiti** **tokomakeka** **ahi**  
 Yatiti to- ka -makI -ka ahi  
 (man's name) away go/come following DECL+M there  
 npropm vi dem  
 "Yatiti has gone."
- 428 **Yatiti** , **okayawa** **okana** **ati**  
 Yatiti o- ka- yawa o- ka -na ati  
 (man's name) 1SG.S COMIT be upset 1SG.S DECL+M IRR+M say  
 npropm vt prt vt vt  
**rahare**  
 na -ra -hare  
 AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 aux  
 "I wanted to stop Yatiti, but he wouldn't let me."
- 429 **E** **aware** **awaka**  
 ee awa -ra+M awa -ka  
 1IN.S see NEG seem+M DECL+M  
 pron vt sec  
 "I don't know."
- 430 **Yatiti** **kakako** **onofare** , **bai**  
 Yatiti ka- kaako o- nofa -ra+M , bai  
 (man's name) DUP be angry with 1SG.S recently NEG sun  
 npropm vt prt nm





YATITI

444 *Tokome* *ee* , *yama* *totoyabo* *kawaha*  
to- ka -ma+M ee , yama to- to- yabo ka- na -waha+F  
away go/come back yes thing DUP CH be long COMIT AUX change  
vi interj nf vi aux

*yama* *totoyabo* *na* *tohamaro* *amani* .  
yama to- to- yabo na to- ha -hamaro ama -ni  
thing DUP CH be long AUX CH AUX FP.E+F SEC BKG+F  
nf vi aux aux sec

'He went. It was a long time later.'

445 *Awa* *ti* *ona* , *awa* *ti* *onama* ,  
awa tii o- na+F , awa tii o- na -ma+F ,  
tree cut through 1SG.S AUX tree cut through 1SG.S AUX back  
nf vt aux nf vt aux

*awa* *yobi* *kani* *nawaharake* .  
awa yobi ka- na.NFIN nawaha -hara -ke  
tree go back and forth COMIT AUX take a long time IP.E+F DECL+F  
nf vi aux vi

'I cut brush, and cut brush some more, and it is taking a long time to work with the brush.'

446 *E* *towakamaba* *ere* .  
ee to- ka- ka -ma -haba ere  
1IN.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S  
pron vi pron

'Let's go the two of us.'

447 *Ayata* *ya* *awa* *ti* *obe* .  
ayata ya awa tii o- na -be  
near ADJU tree cut through 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
nf prt nf vt aux

'I will cut the brush nearby.'

448 *Faya* *ota* *yana* *tokana* *ota* *kakamimaro*  
faya otaa yana to- ka- na+F otaa ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -maro  
so 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX 1EX.S COMIT go/come back FP.E+F  
conj pron vi aux pron vt

*amake* .

ama -ke  
be DECL+F  
vc

'We left, and came back.'

449 *Yemete* *ama* .  
Yemete ama  
(village name) be  
npropm vc

'It was at Yemete village.'

450 *Yemete* *ya* *ota* *kakama* , *Yemete* *ya*  
Yemete ya otaa ka- ka -ma+F , Yemete ya  
(village name) ADJU 1EX.S COMIT go/come back (village name) ADJU  
npropm prt pron vi npropm prt

*ota* *kakama* , *awa* *sari* *okanamaroho* .  
otaa ka- ka -ma+F , awa sari o- ka- na -hamaro -ho  
1EX.S COMIT go/come back tree burn 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F DUP  
pron vi nf vt aux

'We came back to Yemete. I burned the trees for a garden.'

## YATITI

451 *Awa ka ona sari okana , fowa koro*  
 awa kaa o- na+F sari o- ka- na+F , fowa koro  
 tree chop 1SG.S AUX burn 1SG.S COMIT AUX manioc plant  
 nf vt aux vt aux nm vt

*onemari ama* .  
 o- na -himari ama  
 1SG.S AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 aux sec

'I cut down the trees, and burned them, and planted manioc.'

452 *Fowa koro ona , Siko fowa iso koro*  
 fowa koro o- na+F , Siko fowa iso koro  
 manioc plant 1SG.S AUX (man's name) manioc stalk+M plant  
 nm vt aux npropm nm pn vt

*nabisa nemari ama* .  
 na -bisa.LIST na -himari ama  
 AUX also AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 aux aux sec

'I planted manioc. Siko planted manioc sections, too.'

453 *Fowa ota koro na fowa yane ya , Yatiti*  
 fowa otaa koro na+F fowa yana.NOM+M ya , Yatiti  
 manioc 1EX.S plant AUX manioc grow ADJU (man's name)  
 nm pron vt aux nm vi prt npropm

*tamine soimabano ya , fowa habo* ,  
 tamine sohi -ma.NOM+M -ba -no ya , fowa habo ,  
 news about reach back FUT IP.N+M ADJU manioc root+M  
 pn vi prt nm pn

*fowa kabe habo ota , fowa kabe ota nakamamaro*  
 fowa kabe habo otaa , fowa kabe otaa na- ka -ma -hamaro  
 sweet manioc root+M 1EX CAUS go/come back FP.E+F  
 nm pn pron nm pron vt

*otake* .  
 otaa -ke  
 1EX.S DECL+F  
 pron

'We planted manioc. When the manioc grew, before the news about Yatiti reached us, we came back for the sweet manioc.'

454 *Fowa kabe ota nakama Fowa kabe e bore*  
 fowa kabe otaa na- ka -ma+F fowa kabe ee bore  
 sweet manioc 1EX.S CAUS go/come back sweet manioc 1IN.S pull out  
 nm pron vt nm pron vt

*tokanamakimata* .  
 to- ka- na -makI -mata  
 away COMIT AUX following short time  
 aux

'We came for the sweet manioc. "Let's go there and pull up sweet manioc."'

455 *Fowa kabe e bore tokanamakimata* .  
 fowa kabe ee bore to- ka- na -makI -mata  
 sweet manioc 1IN.S pull out away COMIT AUX following short time  
 nm pron vt aux

""Let's go and pull up sweet manioc.""





## YATITI

463 **Himata amari** ?  
 himata ama -ri  
 what? be CQ+F  
 interrog vc  
 "What is it?"

464 **Yatowa himata amariya Bowata ati nemari**  
 Yatowa himata ama -ri -ya Bowata ati na -himari  
 (man's name) what? be CQ+F now (woman's name) say AUX FP.E+M  
 npropm interrog vc npropf vt aux

**amane**

ama -ne  
 SEC BKG+M  
 sec

"Yatowa, what is it?" Bowata said.'

465 **Himata amakere**  
 himata ama -ke -re  
 what? be DECL+F NEG+F  
 interrog vc  
 "It's not what."

466 **Ota kakome ota kakamakeneni**  
 otaa ka- komeha otaa ka- ka -makI -ne -ni  
 1EX.S COMIT be fearsome 1EX.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vi

**Yatiti tabiyo , Yatiti ota siba na ota**  
 Yatiti tabiyo , Yatiti otaa siba na+F otaa  
 (man's name) absence (man's name) 1EX.S look for AUX 1EX.S  
 npropm pn npropm pron vt aux pron

"We were afraid, and we came because of Yatiti. We are looking for Yatiti."

467 **Kori okasamaro oni**  
 kori o- ka- na -kosa -hamaro o- ni  
 be afraid 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi aux prt

'I became worried.'

468 **Himata Yatiti ebe nenoho** ?  
 himata Yatiti ebe na -hino -ho  
 what? (man's name) happen to AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 interrog npropm vt aux

"What happened to Yatiti?"

469 **Yatiti rabikareka**  
 Yatiti rabika -hare -ka  
 (man's name) be crazy IP.E+M DECL+M  
 npropm vi

"Yatiti went crazy."

470 **Yatiti rabike , me hikiyo , fawa nawahe**  
 Yatiti rabika+M , me hi- kiy+M , fawa na -waha+M  
 (man's name) be crazy 3PL.S OC chase disappear AUX change  
 npropm vi pron vt vi aux

## YATITI

**fawa**            **naka**  
 fawa            na.CONT+M -ka  
 disappear    AUX            DECL+M  
 vi              aux

"Yatiti went crazy, and they went after him. But he disappeared, and he is gone."

471 **Sawi**            **ama**    **nakani**            **ota**    **ati**    **na**    **ota**  
      sawi+M        ama    na+M -kani        otaa    ati    na+F    otaa  
      be present    be    AUX    CNTRFACT    1EX.S    say    AUX    1EX.S  
      vi              vc    aux                    pron    vt    aux    pron

**kakamakine**  
 ka-    ka            -makI            -ne  
 COMIT go/come following CONT+F  
 vi

"We thought he came here, so we came here."

472 **E**            **aware**            **awaka**  
      ee            awa -ra+M        awa            -ka  
      1IN.S        see NEG            seem+M    DECL+M  
      pron        vt                    sec

"I don't know."

473 **Yatiti**            **tiwini**            **hiri**    **ne**    **fawa**            **nare**  
      Yatiti            ti-            ini            hiri    na+M    fawa            na -hare  
      (man's name)    2SG.POSS name+F    say    AUX    disappear    AUX IP.E+M  
      npropm            pn                    vt    aux    vi                    aux

"Yatiti was wanting you when he disappeared."

474 **Yatiti**            **e**            **namako**            **Yatiti**  
      Yatiti            ee            na -mako            Yatiti  
      (man's name)    be similar    AUX for this reason+M    (man's name)  
      npropm            vi                    aux                    npropm

**tokomake**            **nanoho**            **onamaro**            **o**  
 to- ka            -makI.CONT+M    na.NOM+M -no    -ho    ati o-    na -hamaro    o-  
 away go/come following    AUX            IP.N+M DUP    say 1SG.S    AUX FP.E+F    1SG.S  
 vi                                    aux                                    vt                                    prt

"Yatiti was like that when he went away," I said.'

475 **Yatiti**            **hinakasima**            **katomemona**  
      Yatiti            hinaka    asima            katoma -himona  
      (man's name)    3SG.POSS younger female parallel cousin    look at REP+M  
      npropm            nf                                    vt

**me**    **hinareka**            **hiba**            **rabika**            **nenoho**  
 me    ati hi- na -hare -ka    hiba            rabika.LIST    na -hino -ho  
 3PL.S    say OC    AUX IP.E+M    DECL+M    soon after    be crazy    AUX IP.N+M    DUP  
 pron    vt                                    conj            vi                    aux

"They said Yatiti attacked his cousin soon after he got crazy."

476 **Faya**    **me**    ,    **me**    **hikiyo**            **me**    **hiwate**            ,    **me**  
      faya    me            me    hi- kiy+M    me    hi- wata+M            me  
      so    3PL            3PL.S    OC chase    3PL.S    OC catch            3PL.S  
      conj    pron            pron    vt                    pron    vt                    pron

**hekame**            **me**    **hinawiname**  
 hi- ka- ka            -ma+M            me    hi- to- na- wina            -ma+M  
 OC    COMIT go/come back    3PL.S    OC away CAUS lie in hammock back  
 vt                                    pron    vt

## YATITI

**bahi awematamona**

bahi awa -himata -mona  
 sun see FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vt

'They went after him, and caught him. They brought him back and put him in his hammock. Then he saw the sun.'

477 **Bahi awe kise wakose bai bai**  
 bahi awa+M ka -risa+M waa -kosa+M bahi bahi  
 sun see go/come down stand middle sun sun  
 nm vt vi vi nm nm

**kakatometamona**

ka- katoma -himata -mona  
 COMMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt

'He saw the sun. He got out of his hammock and stood in the patio looking at the sun.'

478 **Faya yana tone tokehimatamonane fahi**  
 faya yana to- na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ne fahi  
 so start CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M then  
 conj vi aux vi dem

**wawa rebanoho**

wa- waa na -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 DUP stand AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi aux

'Then he was ready. He went into the forest. He was gone.'

479 **Kana ni tokematamona ahi**  
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -himata -mona ahi  
 run AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux vi dem

'He went running into the forest.'

480 **Yatiti Yatiti timatoya anabowira**  
 Yatiti Yatiti ti- mato -yahi anabowira  
 (man's name) (man's name) 2SG.S tie DIST.IMP+F stout rope  
 npropm npropm vt nf

'''Tie Yatiti fast with a stout rope.'''

481 **Yatiti e aware**  
 Yatiti ee awa -ra+M  
 (man's name) like this see NEG  
 npropm dem result

'''I don't know about Yatiti.'''

482 **Yatiti tokomake ama fahi owa hiyararahi**  
 Yatiti to- ka -makI ama fahi owa hiyara -ra+M  
 (man's name) away go/come following SEC there 1SG.O speak to NEG  
 npropm vi sec dem pron vt

'''Yatiti went over there, and he didn't speak to me.'''

483 **Faya Yatiti Yatiti Yatiti**  
 faya Yatiti Yatiti Yatiti  
 so (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)  
 conj npropm npropm npropm

## YATITI

<b>kakamaki</b>	<b>toare mari</b>	<b>amane</b>
ka- ka -makI	to- ha -ra -himari	ama -ne
DUP go/come following	CH AUX NEG FP.E+M	SEC BKG+M
vi	aux	sec

'Yatiti didn't come back.'

<b>484 Me</b>	<b>kakakome</b>	<b>toamaro</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>ota</b>
me	ka- ka- komeha	to- ha -hamaro	me	ama -ke	otaa
3PL.S	DUP COMIT be fearsome	CH AUX FP.E+F	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F	1EX
pron	vi	aux	pron	sec	pron

'The others were afraid, and we were, too.'

<b>485 Yatiti</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>owakatomi fako</b>	<b>ha</b>
Yatiti	tabiyo	yama	o- ka- katoma -fako	haa
(man's name)	absence	thing	1SG.S COMIT look at constantly	DEM
npropm	pn	nf	vt	dem

'I was watching for Yatiti all the time.'

<b>486 Yatiti</b>	<b>taokana</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>nareka</b>	<b>taokana</b>
Yatiti	taokana	tama	na -hare -ka	taokana
(man's name)	shotgun	hold onto	AUX IP.E+M DECL+M	shotgun
npropm	nf	vt	aux	nf

<b>kokoro</b>	<b>tosarari</b>	<b>Yatowa</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>	<b>ama</b>
ko- koro	to- na -kosa -ra -haari	Yatowa	ati	na -himari	ama
DUP throw	CH AUX middle NEG IP.E+M	(man's name)	say	AUX FP.E+M	SEC
vt	aux	npropm	vt	aux	sec

'"Yatiti has a shotgun, and he won't let go of the shotgun," Yatowa said.'

<b>487 Kamakibona</b>	<b>tiwini</b>	<b>hiri</b>	<b>ne</b>
ka -makI -hibona	ti- ini	hiri	na+M
go/come following INT+M	2SG.POSS name+F	say	AUX
vi	pn	vt	aux

**kamebonaha**  
ka -ma -hibona -ha  
go/come back INT+M DUP  
vi

'"He said he wanted you, saying he is coming back."'

<b>488 E</b>	<b>aware</b>	<b>awaka</b>
ee	awa -ra+M	awa -ka
like this	see NEG	seem+M DECL+M
dem	result	sec

'"I don't know."'

<b>489 Faya</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>tokoma</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>tokoma</b>
faya	otaa	to- ka -ma+F	otaa	to- ka -ma+F
so	1EX.S	away go/come back	1EX.S	away go/come back
conj	pron	vi	pron	vi

<b>Bowata</b>	<b>fowa</b>	<b>tikaware</b>
Bowata	fowa	ti- ka- waa -rI
(woman's name)	manioc	2SG.S COMIT cook raised surface
npropf	nm	vt

'So we went. "Bowata, boil some sweet manioc."'



YATITI

- 498 *E towakamamata Wara*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -mata Wara  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back short time (name of lake)  
 pron vi npropf  
 "'Let's go back to Wara.'"
- 499 *Nakiri wine awaka*  
 Nakiri wina+M awa -ka  
 (man's name) live seem+M DECL+M  
 npropm vi sec  
 "'I guess Nakiri is there.'"
- 500 *Nakiri wemata amane*  
 Nakiri waa -himata ama -ne  
 (man's name) stay FP.N+M SEC BKG+M  
 npropm vi sec  
 'Nakiri was there.'
- 501 *Nakiri wineno ota towasimemari ama*  
 Nakiri wina -hino otaa to- wasi -ma -himari ama  
 (man's name) live IP.N+M 1EX.S away find back FP.E+M SEC  
 npropm vi pron vt sec  
 'Nakiri was living there, and we came upon him.'
- 502 *Nakiri ota towasime Bowataro*  
 Nakiri otaa to- wasi -ma+M Bowataro  
 (man's name) 1EX.S away find back (woman's name)  
 npropm pron vt npropf
- kamani haro ati nemarine*  
 ka -ma -hani haaro ati na -himari -ne  
 go/come back IP.N+F that one+F say AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vi dem vt aux  
 'We came upon Nakiri. "Look, Bowataro has come back," he said.'
- 503 *Kerewe okomine oni*  
 Kerewe o- ka -ma -ne o- ni  
 (man's name) 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 npropm vi prt  
 "'Kerewe, I have come back.'"
- 504 *Yatiti e tabi nofi fawa namona*  
 Yatiti ee taba nofa.NFIN fawa na.NOM+M -mona  
 (man's name) 1IN be together recently disappear AUX REP+M  
 npropm pron vi prt vi aux  
 aux
- yama ni Bowata ati nemarika*  
 yama ni Bowata ati na -himari -ka  
 (reporting) (woman's name) say AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 prt npropf vt aux  
 "'Yatiti, who we were always with, has disappeared," Bowata said.'
- 505 *Himata ihi* ?  
 himata ihi  
 what? because of+F  
 interrog post  
 "'Why?'"

## YATITI

506	<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>rabikemona</b>		<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>hiwa</b>	<b>yana</b>		
	Yatiti	rabika	-himona	Yatiti	hiwa	yana		
	(man's name)	be crazy	REP+M	(man's name)	3SG.REFL.M	start		
	npropm	vi		npropm	pron	vi		
	<b>kamona</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>winineni</b>	<b>Bowata</b>		<b>ati</b>
	ka- na.NOM+M	-mona	ya	ee	wina -ne	-ni Bowata		ati
	COMIT AUX	REP+M	ADJU	1IN.S	live CONT+F	BKG+F (woman's name)		say
	aux		prt	pron	vi	npropf		vt

**nemari**  
na -himari  
AUX FP.E+M  
aux

"Yatiti went crazy. We were living in the place where he started acting crazy."

507	<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>aware</b>	<b>awaka</b>	
	Yatiti	ee	awa -ra+M	awa -ka	
	(man's name)	like this	see NEG	seem+M DECL+M	
	npropm	dem	result	sec	

"I don't know about Yatiti."

508	<b>Faya</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>wina</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>onamaro</b>	
	faya	otaa	otaa	wina+F	faha	kii	o- na -hamaro	
	so	1EX	1EX.S	live	water	look at	1SG.S AUX FP.E+F	
	conj	pron	pron	vi	nf	vt	aux	

**oke**  
o- ke  
1SG.S DECL+F  
prt

'So we lived there. I went fishing.'

509	<b>Fa fowe</b>	<b>kisamaro</b>		<b>ama</b>
	faha fowe	ka	-risa -hamaro	ama
	flood	go/come	down FP.E+F	SEC
	nf	vi		sec

'The flooding came.'

510	<b>Fa fowe</b>	<b>kisamaro</b>		<b>amake</b>
	faha fowe	ka	-risa -hamaro	ama -ke
	flood	go/come	down FP.E+F	SEC DECL+F
	nf	vi		sec

'The flooding came.'

511	<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wete</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>wine</b>	<b>fawa</b>
	Yatiti	me	wete	hi- na+M	wina+M	fawa
	(man's name)	3PL.S	tie	OC AUX	lie in hammock	disappear
	npropm	pron	vt	aux	vi	vi

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

'They tied Yatiti in his hammock, but he disappeared.'

512	<b>Me</b>	<b>wete</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>wine</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>ne</b>
	me	wete	hi- na+M	wina+M	fawa	na+M
	3PL.S	tie	OC AUX	lie in hammock	disappear	AUX
	pron	vt	aux	vi	vi	aux

## YATITI

**tokehino**                      **me**            **siba**            **hinematamonaka**  
to- ka            -hino me            siba            hi- na -himata -mona -ka  
away go/come IP.N+M 3PL.S look for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi                                      pron vt            aux  
'They tied him in his hammock, but he disappeared. He went into the forest, and they looked for him.'

513 **Faya**    **kamakimataka**  
faya ka            -makI            -himata -ka  
so go/come following FP.N+M DECL+M  
conj vi  
'Then he came.'

514 **Kamakimataka**  
ka            -makI            -himata -ka  
go/come following FP.N+M DECL+M  
vi  
'He came.'

515 **Yatowa**                      **me**            **towakamamaro**                                      **me**            **ama**  
Yatowa                      me            to- ka- ka            -ma -hamaro me            ama  
(man's name) 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC  
npropm                      pron vi                                      pron            sec  
'Yatowa and his companion went.'

516 **Ota**            **towakamibone**  
otaa to- ka- ka            -ma.NOM+F -bone  
1EX.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F  
pron vi  
'"We are going."

517 **Yatiti**                      **sawimakekani**                                      **ota**            **ati**            **ne**  
Yatiti                      sawi            -makI            -kani            otaa            ati            na+M  
(man's name) be present following CNTRFACT 1EX.S say AUX  
npropm                      vi                                      pron vt            aux

**Yatiti**                      **rabike**            **kasiro**            **nofe**            **amaka**            **Yatowa**            **ati**  
Yatiti                      rabika+M            kasiro            nofa+M            ama -ka            Yatowa            ati  
(man's name) be crazy persist recently SEC DECL+M (man's name) say  
npropm                      vi                      prt            sec            npropm            vt  
**nemari**                      **ama**  
na -himari ama  
AUX FP.E+M SEC  
aux                      sec

'"We thought Yatiti had come here, but he hasn't. Yatiti has been crazy," Yatowa said.'

518 **Me**            **hikiyo**            **hinabi**            **hinofe**            **amane**  
me            hi- kiyo            hi- nahaba            hi- nofa+M            ama -ne  
3PL.S OC chase OC at night OC recently SEC BKG+M  
pron vt                      prt                      prt            sec

'"The others have been going after him at night."

519 **Ee**            **te**            **towakama**  
ee            tee            to- ka- ka            -ma  
yes 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back  
interj pron vi  
'"All right, go ahead."



## YATITI

520 *Me towakamamaroke*  
 me to- ka- ka -ma -hamaro -ke  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vi  
 'They went.'

521 *Yatiti kamakiba awa Yatiti*  
 Yatiti ka -makI -hiba awa Yatiti  
 (man's name) go/come following FUT+M seem+M (man's name)  
 npropm vi sec npropm

*kamakirebonaha*  
 ka -makI -ra -hibona -ha  
 go/come following NEG INT+M DUP  
 vi

'I think Yatiti will come back.' Yatiti did come back.'

522 *Hinaka taokana bokemeteke fahi*  
 hinaka taokana boka -hemete -ke fahi  
 3SG.POSS shotgun enter water FP.N+F DECL+F then  
 pron nf vi dem

'His shotgun fell in the water.'

523 *Faya wati me ni ya tokehino*  
 faya wahati me ni ya to- ka -hino  
 so Jamamadi 3PL to ADJU away go/come IP.N+M  
 conj npropm pron prt prt vi

*tosawiwiti tosawiwitino farina*  
 to- sawi -witI+M to- sawi -witI -hino farina  
 away be present out away be present out IP.N+M manioc meal  
 vi vi nf

*karawebona ati neno wati me warabi*  
 ka- rawa -hibona ati na -hino wahati me warabi  
 COMIT toast INT+M say AUX IP.N+M Jamamadi 3PL.POSS ear+F  
 vt vt aux npropm pron pn

*nima nematamona ati nemarine*  
 nima na -himata -mona ati na -himari -ne  
 communicate to AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt aux vt aux

'He went to the Jamamadis and stayed there. He told the Jamamadis he wanted to toast manioc meal.'

524 *Ota towakama okasima*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -ma+F o- ka asima  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister  
 pron vi nf

*Bowata Bowata me tai*  
 Bowata Bowata me tai  
 (woman's name) (woman's name) 3PL.S be ahead  
 npropf npropf pron vi

*tokahamahamaro me amake*  
 to- ka- ha -ma -hamaro me ama -ke  
 CH COMIT AUX back FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 aux pron sec

'We went. Bowata and my younger sister were going ahead.'

YATITI

525 *Kamehino*                      *winamematane*                      *yobe*      *toro*  
 ka            -ma -hino      wina -ma -himata -ne      yobe      toro  
 go/come back IP.N+M      live back FP.N+M      BKG+M      house      inside+M  
 vi                                      vi                                      nm            pn

'He had come back and was staying in the house.'

526 *Basioba*      *kakibari*                                      *ha*  
 basioba      ka-      iba                      -rI.NOM                      haa  
 palm sp      COMIT set down raised surface      DEM  
 nf            vt                                      dem

'He put down *basioba* palm wood for a floor.'

527 *Basioba*      *kakibare*                                      *winematane*  
 basioba      ka-      iba                      -rI                      wina -himata -ne  
 palm sp      COMIT set down raised surface      live FP.N+M      BKG+M  
 nf            vt                                      vi

'He put down *basioba* palm wood for a floor, and stayed there.'

528 *Okomisamake*                                      *owa*      *ni*      *Bowata*                      *noko*  
 o-            to-      ka                      -misa -makI                      owa      ni      Bowata                      noko  
 1SG.S away go/come up      following      1SG      to      (woman's name)      eye+M  
 vi                                      pron      prt      npropf                      pn

*kamemari*                                      *amaka*  
 ka            -ma -himari      ama -ka  
 go/come back FP.E+M      SEC DECL+M  
 vi                                      sec

'As I was going up a hill, Bowata looked back.'

529 *Yatiti*                      *wina*                      *hari*                      *basa*                      *ni*                      *ati*  
 Yatiti                      wina.CONT+M                      haari                      basa                      na.NFIN      ati  
 (man's name)      lie in hammock      that one+M      whisper      AUX                      say  
 npropm                      vi                      dem                      vi                      aux                      vt

*nemari*                      *ama*  
 na -himari      ama  
 AUX FP.E+M      SEC  
 aux                      sec

""Yatiti is there in a hammock," she whispered.'

530 *Efe*                      *ama*      ?  
 efe                      ama  
 this+M      be  
 dem                      vc

""Is it him?""

531 *Ee*                      *Yatiti*                      *wina*                      *hari*  
 ee                      Yatiti                      wina.CONT+M                      haari  
 yes      (man's name)      lie in hammock      that one+M  
 interj npropm                      vi                      dem

""Yes, Yatiti is there in a hammock.""

532 *Yatiti*                      *wine*                      ,      *onakama*  
 Yatiti                      wina+M                      o-      to-      na-      ka                      -ma+F  
 (man's name)      lie in hammock      1SG.S away CAUS go/come back  
 npropm                      vi                      vt

## YATITI

**onakame** , **Te te yoro towahama**  
 o- to- na- ka -ma+M , tee tee yoro to- na -waha -ma  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back 2PL 2PL.S stand away AUX change back  
 vt pron pron vi aux

'I went after Yatiti as he lay in his hammock. "You two stay here."'

533 **Te kana ni towakamiya**  
 tee kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -yahi  
 2PL.S run AUX away COMMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vi aux vi

""You run away.""

534 **Owa mono neba ama**  
 owa mono na -hiba ama  
 1SG.O struggle with AUX FUT+M SEC  
 pron vt aux sec

""He will fight with me.""

535 **Onakamemarine**  
 o- to- na- ka -ma -himari -ne  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt

'I went to him.'

536 **Onakame** , **Yatiti** ?  
 o- to- na- ka -ma+M , Yatiti ?  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back (man's name)  
 vt npropm

'I went to him. "Yatiti?"'

537 **Haa** ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj

""Huh?""

538 **Afa ama ti** ?  
 afa ama ti-  
 this+F be 2SG.S  
 dem vc prt

""Is it you?""

539 **Ee** , **afa ama oke**  
 ee , afa ama o- ke  
 yes this+F be 1SG.S DECL+F  
 interj dem vc prt

""Yes, it is me.""

540 **Okomabone** , **yama soki owa bata**  
 o- to- ka -ma -habone yama soki.NFIN owa bata  
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F thing be dark 1SG.O surprise  
 vi nf vi pron vt

**kana amo ona owinine o**  
 ka- na+F amo o- na+F o- wina -ne o-  
 COMMIT AUX sleep 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S lie in hammock CONT+F 1SG.S  
 aux vi aux vi prt

""I was going home, but it got dark on me. I slept, and I am here in my hammock.""

## YATITI

541 **Faya kamemarika**

faya ka -ma -himari -ka  
 so go/come back FP.E+M DECL+M  
 conj vi

'Then he came out.'

542 **Kisamemarine**

ka -risa -ma -himari -ne  
 go/come down back FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came out of the house.'

543 **Kisame**

ka	-risa	-ma+M	owa	hiyare	Wati	me	e
go/come	down	back	1SG.O	speak to	Jamamadi	3PL.S	(question)
vi			pron	vt	npropm	pron	vi

**ri** ?

na -ri  
 AUX CQ+F

aux

'He came out, and spoke to me. "Where are the Jamamadis?'"

544 **Wati**

wahati	me	winahara
Jamamadi	3PL.S	live IP.E+F
npropm	pron	vi

""The Jamamadis are living there.""

545 **Wati**

wahati	me	winahara
Jamamadi	3PL.S	live IP.E+F
npropm	pron	vi

""The Jamamadis are living there.""

546 **Okomake**

o-	to-	ka	-makI	okomine	o-	ka	-ma	-ne	oke	ke
1SG.S	away	go/come	following	1SG.S	go/come	back	CONT+F	1SG.S	DECL+F	
vi				vi						prt

**Sabo**

Sabo	ya	ati	nemari
(name of village)	ADJU	say	AUX FP.E+M
npropf	prt	vt	aux

'"I went there, and I am coming back from Sabo," he said.'

547 **Wati**

wahati	me	ka	fowa	tamareka	-hare	-ka	farina
Jamamadi	3PL	POSS	manioc	be many	IP.E+M	DECL+M	manioc meal
npropm	pron	prt	nm	vi			nf

**rawi**

rawa.NFIN	ini	me	hiri	na	mati	ati	nemari
toast	name+F	3PL.S	say	AUX	3PL.S	say	AUX FP.E+M
result	pn	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux

'"The Jamamadis have a lot of manioc. They told me to toast manioc meal," he said.'

YATITI

548 *Faya* , *owa* *hiyare* *we* *Himata* *ebe* *tinabani*  
 faya , owa hiyara+M waa+M himata ebe ti- na -haba -ni  
 so 1SG.O speak to stand what? purpose 2SG.S AUX FUT+F IP.N+F  
 conj pron vt vi interrog vt aux

*ama tiri* ?  
 ama ti- ri  
 SEC 2SG.S CQ+F  
 sec prt

'He stood there speaking to me. "What are you doing?"'

549 *Fowa* *onakamara* *oke* *yama*  
 fowa o- na- ka -ma -hara o- ke yama  
 manioc 1SG.S CAUS go/come back IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F thing  
 nm vt prt nf

*okihara* *owa* .  
 o- kiha -ra+F owa  
 1SG.S have NEG 1SG.S  
 vt pron

"I have come after manioc, since I don't have any food."

550 *Ee* , *te* *tai* *toamiya* .  
 ee , tee tai to- ha -ma -yahi  
 yes 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back DIST.IMP+F  
 interj pron vi aux

"Right, you go on back ahead."

551 *Okomakeminabana* *o* .  
 o- to- ka -makI -mina -habana o-  
 1SG.S away go/come following morning FUT+F 1SG.S  
 vi prt

"I will come behind tomorrow."

552 *Me* *owamamatibe* *ha* .  
 me o- to- awa -ma -mata -be haa  
 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F DEM  
 pron vt dem

"I'm going to see them over there."

553 *Ee* , *me* *totowama* *tiya* .  
 ee , me to- to- awa -ma ti- na -yahi  
 yes 3PL.O DUP away see back 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 interj pron vt aux

"Right, you go see them."

554 *Ota* *tokomibone* .  
 otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone  
 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F  
 pron vi

"We are going back."

555 *Ee* *te* *tokomiya* .  
 ee tee to- ka -ma -yahi  
 yes 2PL.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 interj pron vi

"Right, go ahead back."

## YATITI

556 *Okomakeharo*

o- to- ka -makI -haaro ,  
 1SG.S away go/come following PFUT+F  
 vi

*okomakeharo*

o- to- ka -makI -haaro *yama* , *me ni ya*  
 1SG.S away go/come following PFUT+F yama , me ni ya  
 vi nf pron prt prt  
 thing 3PL to ADJU

*osawimaharo*

o- to- sawi -ma -haaro , *okoma* *tiwa ni ya*  
 1SG.S away be present back PFUT+F 1SG.S go/come back 2SG to ADJU  
 vi vi pron prt prt

*okomake*

o- to- ka -makI , *wati me ni ya*  
 1SG.S away go/come following Jamamadi 3PL to ADJU  
 vi npropm pron prt prt

*okomabana*

o- to- ka -ma -habana o-  
 1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S  
 vi prt

"When I have gone there and stayed with them, I will come back, and will go to you, and then I will go to the Jamamadis."

557 *Farina*

*okarawahabone wati me ati nahara*  
 farina o- ka- rawa -habone wahati me ati na -hara  
 manioc meal 1SG.S COMIT toast INT+F Jamamadi 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F  
 nf vt npropm pron vt aux

*ati nemari*

ati na -himari  
 say AUX FP.E+M  
 vt aux

"The Jamamadis said they want me to toast manioc meal," he said.'

558 *Ee*

*wati tiwa me kanikakeni*  
 ee wahati tiwa me ka- nika -ke -ni  
 yes Jamamadi 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT ask for DECL+F IP.N+F  
 interj npropm pron pron vt

"Right, the Jamamadis asked for you."

559 *Hinaka*

*farina isi ni ota kabamaroni*  
 hinaka farina isi ni otaa kaba -hamaro -ni  
 3SG.POSS manioc meal little bit 1EX.S eat FP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron nf pn pron vt

'We ate some of his manioc meal.'

560 *Haa*

*yofari yofari yome nemataka yofari*  
 haa , yofari , yofari yome.LIST , na -himata -ka yofari  
 oh banana banana swallow AUX FP.N+M DECL+M banana  
 interj nf nf vt aux nf

*howe*

howe  
 large  
 adj

'Oh yes, he ate plantains.'

YATITI

561 *Me kama me , me kakama me ,*  
 me ka -ma+F me , me ka- ka -ma+F me ,  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*me kakama me nowati ya*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me nowati ya  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL behind ADJU  
 pron vi pron pn prt

*okomakimaro*  
 o- to- ka -makI.NOM -maro  
 1SG.S away go/come following FP.E+F  
 vi

'They had come, and I had come behind them.'

562 *Me totowama tiya*  
 me to- to- awa -ma ti- na -yahi  
 3PL.O DUP away see back 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vt aux

""Go ahead and see them.""

563 *Oko yifo kahomata owina owa*  
 o- ka yifo kaho -mata o- wina+F owa  
 1SG.POSS POSS hammock tie short time 1SG.S lie in hammock 1SG.S  
 prt nm result vi pron

""I will let my hammock here, that I have been lying in.""

564 *Faya tokomakemarika bato hawi ya*  
 faya to- ka -makI -himari -ka bato hawi ya  
 so away go/come following FP.E+M DECL+M downstream trail+F ADJU  
 conj vi nf pn prt

'He didn't go there on the downstream trail.'

565 *Tokomake tokomakeremata awaka*  
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -ra -himata awa -ka  
 away go/come following away go/come following NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 vi vi sec

'He went, but he didn't go there.'

566 *Me winimete ya -- Base Kabi amane -- faya*  
 me wina.NOM+F -mete ya Base Kabi ama -ne faya  
 3PL.S live FP.N+F ADJU (name of stream) be BKG+M so  
 pron vi prt npropf vc conj

*mera towakatomamakimataka fahi*  
 mera to- ka- katoma -makI -himata -ka fahi  
 3PL.O away COMIT look at following FP.N+M DECL+M then  
 pron vt dem

'He went and saw them at their village, Base Kabi.'

567 *Me ka aba me tekamiya*  
 me ka aba me ti- ka- ka -ma -yahi  
 3PL POSS fish 3PL.O 2SG.S COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 pron prt nm pron vt

""Bring back some of their fish.""

## YATITI

568 *Ee ati nemari , mera*  
 ee ati na -himari , mera  
 yes say AUX FP.E+M 3PL.O  
 interj vt aux pron

**towakatomamakibanoho**

to- ka- katoma -makI -hiba -no -ho  
 away COMIT look at following FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'"Yes," he said, but he just went and looked at them.'

569 *Faya mera , towakatomamakino*  
 faya mera to- ka- katoma -makI -hino  
 so 3PL.O away COMIT look at following IP.N+M  
 conj pron vt

**kamakiwahemata**

ka -makI -waha -himata  
 go/come following change FP.N+M  
 vi

'He went and looked at them, and then he came back.'

570 *Amo name kamakiminemata*  
 amo na -ma+M ka -makI -mina -himata  
 sleep AUX back go/come following morning FP.N+M  
 vi aux vi

'He slept, and then came the next day.'

571 *Fowa Bowata hiti nisemari ama*  
 fowa Bowata hiti na -risa -himari ama  
 manioc (woman's name) grate AUX down FP.E+M SEC  
 nm npropf vt aux sec

'Bowata was grating manioc.'

572 *Fowa Bowata hiti nise*  
 fowa Bowata hiti na -risa+M  
 manioc (woman's name) grate AUX down  
 nm npropf vt aux

**kamakimarika**  
 ka -makI -himari -ka *fahi yifo weye kani*  
 go/come following FP.E+M DECL+M fahi yifo weye ka- na.NFIN  
 vi dem nm vt aux  
 then hammock carry COMIT AUX

**tokomatasebanoho**

to- ka -ma -tasa -hiba -no -ho  
 away go/come back again FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'Bowata was grating manioc, and he came carrying his hammock on his back. Then he went away again.'

573 *Faya farina karawawahemataka fahi*  
 faya farina ka- rawa -waha -himata -ka fahi  
 so manioc meal COMIT toast change FP.N+M DECL+M then  
 conj nf vi dem

'Then he toasted manioc meal.'

574 *Faya farina karaweno , faya farina*  
 faya farina ka- rawa -hino faya farina  
 so manioc meal COMIT toast IP.N+M so manioc meal  
 conj nf vt conj nf



## YATITI

**karawebona**                      **wati**                      **me**                      **hinemona**  
ka- rawa -hibona wahati me ati hi- na -himona  
COMIT toast INT+M Jamamadi 3PL.S say OC AUX REP+M  
vt npropm pron vt

**tokomatasehibona**                      ,                      **wati**                      **me**                      **hinemonaha**  
to- ka -ma -tasa -hibona wahati me ati hi- na -himona -ha  
away go/come back again INT+M Jamamadi 3PL.S say OC AUX REP+M DUP  
vi npropm pron vt

'He toasted manioc meal. The Jamamadis wanted him to toast manioc meal. The Jamamadis wanted him to go there again.'

575 **Oko**                      **amo**                      **ni**                      **abake**                      **ati**                      **nemari**  
o- ka amo na.NFIN ahaba -ke ati na -himari  
1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX end DECL+F say AUX FP.E+M  
prt vi aux vi vt aux

"My time is up," he said.'

576 **Okomibone**                      **wati**                      **me**                      **ati**                      **ni**                      **ka**  
o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone wahati me ati na.NOM+F ka  
1SG.S away go/come back INT+F Jamamadi 3PL.S say AUX which  
vi npropm pron vt aux prt  
, **oko**                      **amo**                      **ni**                      **abibana**                      **ati**                      **nemarine**  
o- ka amo na.NFIN ahaba+F -bana ati na -himari -ne  
1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX end FUT say AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
prt vi aux vi vt aux

"The time that the Jamamadis set for me to go back is close," he said.'

577 **Yatiti**                      **tiwa**                      **tekatomahi**  
Yatiti tiwa ti- ka- katoma -hi  
(man's name) 2SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at IMP+F  
npropm pron vt

"Yatiti, you take care."

578 **Wati**                      **me**                      **hama**                      **me**                      **awineni**  
wahati me hama+F me awine -ni  
Jamamadi 3PL.S be mean 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
npropm pron vi pron sec

"The Jamamadis are fierce."

579 **Faya yana tonemari**  
faya yana to- na -himari  
so start CH AUX FP.E+M  
conj vi aux

'Then he was ready.'

580 **Yana tonemarihi**  
yana to- na -himari -hi  
start CH AUX FP.E+M DUP  
vi aux

'He was ready.'

581 **Wati**                      **me**                      **owamamatibe**  
wahati me o- to- awa -ma -mata -be  
Jamamadi 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F  
npropm pron vt

"I will go and see the Jamamadis."





## YATITI

594 **Kamatasehino** , **ota tokomari** **ya**  
 ka -ma -tasa -hino , otaa to- ka -ma -ra.NOM+F ya  
 go/come back again IP.N+M 1EX.S away go/come back NEG ADJU  
 vi pron vi prt

**kamatasematane**  
 ka -ma -tasa -himata -ne  
 go/come back again FP.N+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came back again. He came back before we left.'

595 **Kerewe** **itarimari** **amane**  
 Kerewe ita -rI -himari ama -ne  
 (man's name) sit raised surface FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 npropm vi sec

'Kerewe was sitting in the house.'

596 **Ota naoha** , **Oof hoo ati nemari**  
 otaa naho+F , oof hoo ati na -himari  
 1EX.S stand hoo whew say AUX FP.E+M  
 pron vi interj interj vt aux

'We were standing in the patio. "Whew," he said.'

597 **Haa Yatiti kamari ha**  
 haa Yatiti ka -ma -haari haa  
 oh (man's name) go/come back look+M DEM  
 interj npropm vi dem

""Look, Yatiti has come back.""

598 **Wati fame tama kana titisa**  
 wati fama+M tama ka- na.LIST ti- tisa  
 arrow be two hold onto COMMIT AUX DUP shoot with arrow  
 nm vi vt aux nf

'He was holding two arrows and a bow.'

599 **Titisa** **ya yifari hati tiwa kanematane**  
 ti- tisa ya yifari hati tiwa ka- na -himata -ne  
 DUP shoot with arrow ADJU banana ripe carry COMMIT AUX FP.N+M BKG+M  
 nf prt nf pn vt aux

'He was carrying some ripe bananas on the end of the bow.'

600 **Yifari hati tiwa kaneno hinaka yifari hati ota**  
 yifari hati tiwa ka- na -hino hinaka yifari hati otaa  
 banana ripe carry COMMIT AUX IP.N+M 3SG.POSS banana ripe 1EX.S  
 nf pn vt aux pron nf pn pron

**yome namaroho**  
 yome na -hamaro -ho  
 swallow AUX FP.E+F DUP  
 vt aux

'We ate his ripe bananas that he was carrying.'

601 **Yatiti fa mera wati mati ?**  
 Yatiti faa me -ra wahati mati  
 (man's name) that 3PL NPQ Jamamadi 3PL  
 npropm dem pron npropm pron

""Yatiti, what about the Jamamadis?""

YATITI

602 *Wati*            *me*            *winahara*  
 wahati    me        wina -hara  
 Jamamadi 3PL.S live IP.E+F  
 npropm    pron    vi

"The Jamamadis are living there."

603 *Tika*                    *farina*                    *e*                    *ri*                    ?  
 ti-            ka        farina            ee            na -ri  
 2SG.POSS POSS manioc meal (question) AUX CQ+F  
 prt                    nf                    vi                    aux

"Where is your manioc meal?"

604 *Farina*                    *warehara*                    *ahi*                    *tabora*  
 farina        waa -rI                    -hara        ahi        tabora  
 manioc meal stand raised surface IP.E+F there village  
 nf                    vi                    dem        nf

*osekosaha*  
 o-        to- isI                    -kosa+F  
 1SG.S CH drop off middle  
 vt

"The manioc meal is in the house there at the village. I left it there."

605 *E*                    *naba*                    *amari*                    ?  
 ee                    na -haba        ama -ri  
 (question) AUX FUT+F SEC CQ+F  
 vi                    aux                    sec

"What about it?"

606 *E*                    *awakere*  
 ee                    awa -ke        -re  
 like this see DECL+F NEG+F  
 prt                    result

"I don't know."

607 *Titimibana*                    ?  
 ti-        to- iti                    -ma+F -bana  
 2SG.S away pick up back FUT  
 vt

"Are you going to go pick it up?"

608 *Otimaba*                    *e*                    *awaraba*                    *ama*  
 o-        to- iti                    -ma -haba        ee                    awa -ra -haba        ama  
 1SG.S away pick up back FUT+F like this see NEG FUT+F SEC  
 vt                    dem                    result                    sec

"I don't know if I will pick it up."

609 *Farina*                    *one*                    *tohakosahara*                    *ahi*                    *hawi*                    *enoki*  
 farina        one        to- ha -kosa -hara        ahi        hawi        eenoki  
 manioc meal other+F CH be middle IP.E+F there trail middle  
 nf                    adj        vi                    dem        nf        pn

"There is more manioc meal that was left in the middle of the trail."

610 *Hinaka*                    *farina*                    *hibake*  
 hinaka        farina        hibake  
 3SG.POSS manioc meal who+M  
 pron        nf                    interrog

## YATITI

**hinakamarimeteya** **faro** ?  
 hi- to- na- ka -ma -ri -mete -ya faaro  
 OC away CAUS go/come back CQ+F FP.N+F now that+F  
 vt dem  
 'Who went and got his manioc meal?'

611 **Sasawima** **kawemarine**  
 sa- sawi -ma ka- na -waha -himari -ne  
 DUP be present back COMIT AUX change FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vi aux  
 'He stayed there a long time.'

612 **Sasawima** **kawe** , **mosikitiro**  
 sa- sawi -ma ka- na -waha+M mosikitiro  
 DUP be present back COMIT AUX change n  
 vi aux

**kiharemarihi**  
 kiha -ra -himari -hi  
 have NEG FP.E+M DUP  
 vt  
 'He stayed a long time. He didn't have a mosquito net.'

613 **Yifo** **kiharihi** **nemarine**  
 yifo kiha -rihi na -himari -ne  
 hammock have NEG.LIST AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 nm vt aux  
 'He didn't have a hammock, either.'

614 **Yatiti** **tikamaba** **ama** **ti** ?  
 Yatiti ti- to- ka -ma -haba ama ti-  
 (man's name) 2SG.S away go/come back FUT+F SEC 2SG.S  
 npropm vi sec prt  
 "'Yatiti, are you going back there?'"

615 **E** **awaraba** **ama** **oke**  
 ee awa -ra -haba ama o- ke  
 like this see NEG FUT+F be 1SG.S DECL+F  
 dem result vc prt  
 "'I don't know.'"

616 **Amo** **onabana** **oke**  
 amo o- na -habana o- ke  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi aux prt  
 "'I'm going to sleep.'"

617 **Tokomi** **owati** **nofari** **ati** **nemari**  
 to- ka -ma.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra.NOM+F ati na -himari  
 away go/come back 1SG.POSS voice want NEG say AUX FP.E+M  
 vi pn vt vt aux

'"I don't want to go there," he said.'

618 **Faya** , **tokomi** **ati** **nofaremona** ,  
 faya to- ka -ma.NFIN ati nofa -ra -himona  
 so away go/come back voice want NEG REP+M  
 conj vi pn vt



## YATITI

626 **Katoso**                    **watarini**                    **ati**    **nemarine**  
 katoso                    wata -ra -ni                    ati    na -himari -ne  
 shotgun shell            exist NEG BKG+F            say    AUX FP.E+M    BKG+M  
 nf                            vi                                vt            aux

"There are no shotgun shells," he said.'

627 **Katoso**                    **ta**                    **onaba**                    **tika**                    **taokana**                    **e**  
 katoso                    taa    o-            na -haba    ti-                    ka                    taokana                    ee  
 shotgun shell            give    1SG.S    AUX    FUT+F            2SG.POSS    POSS                    shotgun                    (question)  
 nf                            vt                    aux                                prt                                nf                    vi

**ri**                    ?

na -ri  
 AUX CQ+F  
 aux

"I would give you some shells, but where is your shotgun?"

628 **Taokana**    **fawa**                    **ni**                    **ama**    **ahi**  
 taokana    fawa                    na.NOM+F                    ama    ahi  
 shotgun disappear            AUX                    be    there  
 nf                    vi                    aux                    vc            dem

"The shotgun disappeared over there."

629 **Katoso**                    **tohake**  
 katoso                    to- ha -ke  
 shotgun shell            CH    be    DECL+F  
 nf                            vc

"There are shells."

630 **Tiwa**    **okeyeri**  
 tiwa    o-            keyeha    -ra.NOM+F  
 2SG.O    1SG.S    deceive    NEG  
 pron    vt

"I am not lying."

631 **Katoso**                    **tohine**                    **ha**  
 katoso                    to- ha -ne                    haa  
 shotgun shell            CH    AUX    CONT+F                    DEM  
 nf                            aux                                dem

"The shells are here."

632 **Tika**                    **yamabone**                    **tohine**                    **ha**  
 ti-                    ka                    yama -bone                    to- ha -ne                    haa  
 2SG.POSS    POSS                    thing    INT+F                    CH    AUX    CONT+F                    DEM  
 prt                                nf                                aux                                dem

"The things for you are here."

633 **Siboreta**                    **okanika**                    **borofa**                    **sobo**                    **yama**  
 siboreta                    o-    ka-            nika.LIST                    borofa.LIST                    sobo.LIST                    yama.LIST  
 percussion cap            1SG.S    COMMIT    buy                    gunpowder                    lead                    thing  
 nf                            vt                                nf                                nf                                nf

**na**    **okanika**                    **tohineke**                    **haro**                    **tiwati**  
 na+F    o-    ka-            nika+F                    to- ha -ne                    -ke                    haaro                    ti-                    ati  
 AUX    1SG.S    COMMIT    buy                    CH    be    CONT+F    DECL+F                    that one+F                    2SG.POSS                    voice  
 aux    vt                                vc                                dem



YATITI

*ihi*

ihi  
because of+F  
post

"I bought percussion caps, gunpowder, and shot. I am keeping the things I bought as you asked me to."

634 *Oko*                    *makari*            *one*            *tika*  
o-            ka            makari            one            ti-            aka.LIST  
1SG.POSS POSS clothes other+F 2SG.S wear  
prt            nf            adj            vt

"You are wearing my clothes, too."

635 *Faya* ,            *oyose*                    *yobe*            *ti*                    *nawahemarihi*  
faya            o-            yose            yobe            tii                    na -waha -himari -hi  
so            1SG.S command            thatch            cut through            AUX change FP.E+M DUP  
conj            vt                    nm            vt                    aux

'I ordered him, and he cut thatch.'

636 *Yobe*            *ti*                    *ne* ,            *yobe*            *ti*                    *ne*            *yobe*  
yobe            tii                    na+M            yobe            tii                    na+M            yobe  
thatch            cut through            AUX            thatch            cut through            AUX            thatch  
nm            vt                    aux            nm            vt                    aux            nm

*iso*                    *kanahate*                    ,            *yobe*            *iso*                    *kanahate*                    *bai*  
iso                    ka-            na            nahatI            ,            yobe            iso                    ka-            na            nahatI            bahi  
carry off            COMMIT AUX daytime            thatch            carry off            COMMIT AUX daytime            sun  
vt                    aux                    nm            vt                    aux                    nm

*toke*                    *ya*                    *kame*                    ,            *afi*                    *toname*                    ,            *aba*            *me*  
to-            ka.NOM+M            ya                    ka                    -ma+M            ,            afi                    to-            na            -ma+M            ,            aba            me  
away go/come            ADJU            go/come back            bathe            away AUX back            fish            3PL  
vi                    prt            vi                    vi                    aux                    nm            pron

*aba*            *me*            *sa*                    *obisamaro*                    *oke*  
aba            me            saa                    o-            na            -bisa -hamaro            o-            ke  
fish            3PL.O            shoot with arrow            1SG.S AUX also            FP.E+F            1SG.S DECL+F  
nm            pron            vt                    aux                    prt

'He cut thatch. He carried the thatch all day long. Late in the afternoon he came back, and went and bathed. I speared some fish.'

637 *Aba*            *me*            *sa*                    *obisa*                    ,            *koyofa*  
aba            me            saa                    o-            na            -bisa+F            ,            koyofa  
fish            3PL.O            shoot with arrow            1SG.S AUX also            peacock bass  
nm            pron            vt                    aux                    nf

*sa*                    *okanikimarawa*                    ,            *bama*  
saa                    o-            ka-            na            -kima -rawa+F            ,            bahama  
shoot with arrow            1SG.S COMMIT AUX two            F.PL                    fish sp  
vt                    aux                    nm

*onawasi*                    *onamaro*  
o-            na-            wasi.LIST            o-            na            -hamaro  
1SG.S CAUS get caught            1SG.S AUX FP.E+F  
vt                    aux

'I speared fish. I speared two peacock bass, and caught a *bahama* fish with hook and line.'

638 *Faya*            *ota*            *aba*            *me*                    *owakama*                    *okoma*  
faya            otaa            aba            me                    o-            ka-            ka                    -ma+F            o-            ka                    -ma+F  
so            1EX            fish            3PL.O            1SG.S COMMIT go/come back            1SG.S go/come back  
conj            pron            nm            pron            vi                    vi

## YATITI

, *ota*     *tafa*     *aba*     *me*     *Bowata*     *bobi*     *ne*     ,     *Kerewe*  
 otaa    tafa+F    aba    me    Bowata    bobi    na+M    ,    Kerewe  
 1EX.S   eat    fish   3PL.O   (woman's name)   slit   AUX   (man's name)  
 pron   vi    nm    pron   npropf    vt    aux    npropm

*efemari*                    *amane*  
 efe    -mari    ama -ne  
 this+M FP.E+M   be   BKG+M  
 dem                    vc

'I brought the fish back. I came back. We ate. Bowata gutted the fish. Kerewe, it was him.'

639 *Nakiri*                    ,     *Nakiri*                    *famemari*  
 Nakiri                    Nakiri                    fama    -himari  
 (man's name)            (man's name)    be with FP.E+M  
 npropm                    npropm                    vi

'He was with Nakiri.'

640 *Nakiri*                    *ya*     *fafama*                    *toemari*  
 Nakiri                    ya    fa- fama    to- ha   -himari  
 (man's name)            ADJU   DUP be with   CH   AUX   FP.E+M  
 npropm                    prt    vi                    aux

'He was with Nikiri.'

641 *Nakiri*                    *fame*                    ,     *Nakiri*                    *neme*     *ya*     *wiwina*  
 Nakiri                    fama+M                    Nakiri                    neme    ya    wi- wina  
 (man's name)            be with                    (man's name)    over   ADJU   DUP lie in hammock  
 npropm                    vi                                    npropm                    pn    prt    vi

*toemarine*  
 to- ha   -himari   -ne  
 CH   AUX   FP.E+M   BKG+M  
 aux

'He was with Nakiri. He lay in his hammock above Nakiri.'

642 *Iyawa*                    *Bowata*                    *sire*     *ota*     *tafimaro*                    *amake*  
 iyawa                    Bowata                    sira+M    otaa    tafa.NOM+F   -maro    ama -ke  
 grated mash    (woman's name)    toast    1EX.S   eat                    FP.E+F   be   DECL+F  
 nf                    npropf                    vt                    pron    vi                    pron    sec

*waha*  
 waha  
 now  
 prt

'Bowata toasted manioc mash, and we ate.'

643 *Ota*     *tafa*                    ,     *Aba*                    *me*     *kisa*                    *me*     *awine*     ?  
 otaa    tafa+F                    aba    me    ka                    -risa+F    me    awine  
 1EX.S   eat                    fish sp   3PL.S   go/come down   3PL.S   seem+F  
 pron   vi                    nm    pron   vi                    pron    sec

'We ate. "Are the *aba* fish coming downstream?"'

644 *Aba*                    *me*                    *kisaharake*                    *Yatiti*  
 aba    me    ka                    -risa -hara -ke    Yatiti  
 fish sp   3PL.S   go/come down   IP.E+F   DECL+F   (man's name)  
 nm                    pron   vi                    npropm

""The *aba* fish are coming downstream, Yatiti.""

## YATITI

645 *Oko*                    *aba*                    *meba*                    *me*                    *sa*  
 o-                    ka                    aba                    me -ba                    me                    saa  
 1SG.POSS POSS                    fish sp                    3PL FUT                    3PL.O                    shoot with arrow  
 prt                    nm                    pron                    pron                    vt

*obe*  
 o-                    na -be  
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 aux

"I'm going to spear some *aba* fish for me."

646 *Wati*                    *kaforika*                    *hari*  
 wati                    ka-                    forI                    -ka                    haari  
 arrow                    COMMIT lie on top DECL+M                    that one+M  
 nm                    vi                    dem

"There are arrows stuck in the rafters."

647 *Ee*                    ,                    *sofa*                    *tinaka*  
 ee                    ,                    sofa                    ti-                    to-                    na-                    ka  
 yes                    tree sp                    2SG.S away CAUS go/come  
 interj                    nf                    vt

"Right, you get *sofa* latex."

648 *Sofa*                    *onakamatibe*  
 sofa                    o-                    to-                    na-                    ka                    -mata                    -be  
 tree sp                    1SG.S away CAUS go/come short time IMMED+F  
 nf                    vt

"I'm going after *sofa* latex."

649 *Fa*                    *ki*                    *tiya*  
 faha                    kii                    ti-                    na -yahi  
 water                    look at                    2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 nf                    vt                    aux

"You go and fish."

650 *Faya*                    *ota*                    *kakose*                    *aba*                    *me*                    *tisa*  
 faya                    otaa                    ka-                    kana -kosa+M                    aba                    me                    tisa  
 so                    1EX.S                    COMMIT leave middle                    fish sp                    3PL.O                    shoot with arrow  
 conj                    pron                    vt                    nm                    pron                    vt

*natimata*                    *amani*  
 na                    nahatI.NOM -mata                    ama -ni  
 AUX daytime                    FP.N+M                    be                    BKG+F  
 aux                    vc

'So we left him behind, and he speared *aba* fish all day long.'

651 *Aba*                    *me*                    *tisa*                    *nen*o                    ,                    *tamino*                    *ene*  
 aba                    me                    tisa                    na -hino                    ,                    tamino                    ehene  
 fish sp                    3PL.O                    shoot with arrow                    AUX IP.N+M                    tree sp                    victim of+M  
 nm                    pron                    vt                    aux                    nm                    pn

*tisa*                    *nematane*                    *aba*                    *me*                    *katima*                    *mati*  
 tisa                    na -himata -ne                    aba                    me                    ka                    -tima+F                    mati  
 shoot with arrow                    AUX FP.N+M                    BKG+M                    fish sp                    3PL.S                    go/come upstream                    3PL.S  
 vt                    aux                    nm                    pron                    vi                    pron

'He speared *aba* fish. He speared the fish that were eating *tamino* fruits, the *aba* fish that were coming upstream.'

## YATITI

652 *Sofa*      *siri*      *ona*      *kobo*      *onama*      ,      *kobo*  
 sofa      siri      o-      na+F      kobo      o-      na      -ma+F      kobo  
 tree sp      scrape      1SG.S AUX      arrive      1SG.S AUX back      arrive  
 nf      vt      aux      vi      aux      vi

*onamamaro*      *oke*  
 o-      na      -ma      -hamaro      o-      ke  
 1SG.S AUX back FP.E+F      1SG.S DECL+F  
 aux      prt

'I was getting *sofa* latex, and I arrived back.'

653 *Kobo*      *onama*      *ota*      *kobo*      *nama*      *Afi*  
 kobo      o-      na      -ma+F      otaa      kobo      na      -ma+F      afi  
 arrive      1SG.S AUX back      1EX.S      arrive      AUX back      bathe  
 vi      aux      pron      vi      aux      vi

*omatibe*  
 o-      na      -mata      -be  
 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 aux

'I arrived back. We arrived back. "I'm going to bathe."'

654 *Afi*      *tiribana*      ?  
 afi      ti-      na      -ra+F      -bana  
 bathe      2SG.S AUX NEG      FUT  
 vi      aux

""Aren't you going to bathe?""

655 *Afi*      *obeya*      *Bowata*      *ati*      *nemari*  
 afi      o-      na      -be      -ya      Bowata      ati      na      -himari  
 bathe      1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now      (woman's name)      say      AUX FP.E+M  
 vi      aux      npropf      vt      aux

*amaka*  
 ama -ka  
 SEC DECL+M  
 sec

""I will bathe," Bowata said.'

656 *Afi*      *tibe*      *hima*  
 afi      ti-      na      -be      hima  
 bathe      2SG.S AUX IMMED+F      let's go  
 vi      aux      interj

""You will bathe, come on.""

657 *Yatiti*      *hibaka*      *toeno*      *fawa*      *nara*  
 Yatiti      hibaka      to- ha      -hino      fawa      na.CONT+M -ra  
 (man's name)      where      CH AUX IP.N+M      disappear      AUX      CQ+M  
 npropm      interrog aux      vi      aux

""Where did Yatiti disappear to?""

658 *Yatiti*      *hika*      *tokara*      ?  
 Yatiti      hika      to- ka      -ra  
 (man's name)      where      away go/come CQ+M  
 npropm      interrog vi

""Where did Yatiti go?""

YATITI

659	<b>Yatiti</b>	<b>waremataka</b>			<b>tamino</b>	<b>mete</b>	<b>ya</b>
	Yatiti	waa -rI		-himata -ka	tamino	mete	ya
	(man's name)	stand raised surface	FP.N+M	DECL+M	tree sp	base+M	ADJU
	npropf	vi			nm	pn	pvt

'Yatiti had stood on the buttress root of a *tamino* tree.'

660	<b>Bowata</b>	<b>afi</b>	<b>nemari</b>	<b>ama</b>
	Bowata	afi	na -himari	ama
	(woman's name)	bathe	AUX FP.E+M	SEC
	npropf	vi	aux	sec

'Bowata bathed.'

661	<b>Afi</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>owakatmemari</b>	<b>ama</b>
	afi	na+M	o- ka- katoma -himari	ama
	bathe	AUX	1SG.S COMIT look at FP.E+M	SEC
	vi	aux	vt	sec

'I watched her bathing.'

662	<b>Tikama</b>
	ti- ka -ma
	2SG.S go/come back
	vi

"Come out."

663	<b>Afi</b>	<b>omatibe</b>		<b>manako</b>
	afi	o- na -mata	-be	manako
	bathe	1SG.S AUX short time	IMMED+F	switching
	vi	aux		nf

"I will take my turn at bathing."

664	<b>Faya</b>	<b>afi</b>	<b>onamaro</b>	<b>oke</b>	<b>fahi</b>
	faya	afi	o- na -hamaro	o- ke	fahi
	so	bathe	1SG.S AUX FP.E+F	1SG.S DECL+F	then
	conj	vi	aux	pvt	dem

'So I bathed.'

665	<b>Afi</b>	<b>ona</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>makari</b>	<b>owatama</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>ni</b>
	afi	o- na+F	o- waa+F	makari	o- wata -ma+F	owa	ni
	bathe	1SG.S AUX	1SG.S stand	clothes	1SG.S put back	1SG	to
	vi	aux	vi	nf	vt	pron	pvt

<b>ya</b>	<b>kamemarine</b>
ya	ka -ma -himari -ne
ADJU	go/come back FP.E+M BKG+M
pvt	vi

'I stood bathing. I put my clothes back on. He came to me.'

666	<b>Moni</b>	<b>kamemari</b>
	moni	ka -ma -himari
	sound	go/come back FP.E+M
	pn	vi

'I heard the sound of him coming.'

667	<b>Yo</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>kame</b>	<b>Efe</b>	<b>amare</b>
	yoo	na.NFIN	moni	ka -ma+M	e	ama -ra+M
	wade	AUX	sound	go/come back	this+M	be NEG
	vi	aux	pn	vi	dem	vc

YATITI

**kama**

ka -ma.CONT+M  
go/come back  
vi

'I heard the sound of him wading. "There he is coming."'

668 **Hahaha ni kamemari**  
ha- haahaa na.NFIN ka -ma -himari  
DUP laugh AUX go/come back FP.E+M  
vi aux vi

'He was happy as he was coming.'

669 **Aii**  
aai  
wow!  
interj

""Wow.""

670 **Aba me tisa o tamino me kaba mati**  
aba me tisa o- , tamino me kaba+F mati  
fish sp 3PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S tree sp 3PL.S eat 3PL.S  
nm pron vt prt nm pron vt pron

**ati nemarine**  
ati na -himari -ne  
say AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
vt aux

""I speared *aba* fish as they were eating *tamino* fruits," he said.'

671 **Aba me tisa onahara oke tamino**  
aba me tisa o- na -hara o- ke tamino  
fish sp 3PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F tree sp  
nm pron vt aux prt nm

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

""I speared *aba* fish as they were eating *tamino* fruits.""

672 **Me one Siko hihabanake**  
me one Siko hi- iha -habana -ke  
3PL some+F (man's name) OC have FUT+F DECL+F  
pron adj npropm vt

""Siko will have some of them.""

673 **Me one tihabisa**  
me one ti- iha -bisa  
3PL some+F 2SG.S have also  
pron adj vt

""You will also have some.""

674 **Siko ka aba mebone mera**  
Siko ka aba me -bone mera  
(man's name) POSS fish sp 3PL INT+F 3PL.O  
npropm prt nm pron pron

## YATITI

**towakamehimarihine** , **tamino** **ehene**  
to- ka- ka -ma -himari -hi -ne , tamino ehene  
away COMIT go/come back FP.E+M DUP BKG+M tree sp victim of+M  
vt nm pn

**tisa** **nenoho**  
tisa na -hino -ho  
shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+M DUP  
vt aux

'He took some of the fish to Siko, that he had speared as they were eating *tamino* fruits.'

675 **Kamakabote** **tina**  
ka -ma -kabote ti- na  
go/come back quickly 2SG.S AUX  
vi aux

"Come back quickly."

676 **Titafibe**  
ti- tafa -be  
2SG.S eat IMMED+F  
vi

"You will eat."

677 **Hiba**  
hiba  
wait  
interj

"Wait."

678 **Faya** , **Bowata** **yama** **kawarimari**  
faya , Bowata yama ka- waa -rI.NOM -mari  
so (woman's name) thing COMIT cook raised surface FP.E+M  
conj npropf nf vt

**amake**  
ama -ke  
be DECL+F  
vc

'Then Bowata cooked the fish.'

679 **Yama** **kawaria** **wiwiro** **kana**  
yama ka- waa -rI+F wi- wiro ka- na  
thing COMIT cook raised surface DUP boil COMIT AUX  
nf result vi aux

**kawamaroni**  
ka- na -waha -hamaro -ni  
COMIT AUX change FP.E+F BKG+F  
aux

'They were cooking. They were boiling.'

680 **Yama** **wiro** **kana** **noki** **ona** **owitare**  
yama wiro ka- na+F noki o- na+F o- ita -rI  
thing boil COMIT AUX wait for 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S sit raised surface  
nf vi aux vt aux vi

**Kerewe** **itari** **nemari** **Nakiri**  
Kerewe ita -rI.LIST na -himari Nakiri  
(man's name) sit raised surface AUX FP.E+M (man's name)  
npropm vi aux npropm

'I sat waiting as they were boiling. Kerewe was sitting there, too, Nakiri.'

## YATITI

681 *Nakiri*                *sofa*                *hawi*                *ti*                        *tini*                ?  
 Nakiri                sofa                hawi                tii                        ti-        ni  
 (man's name)    tree sp    trail+F    cut through    2SG.S BKG+F  
 npropm            nf                pn                vt                        prt

"Nakiri, did you cut the trail for the *sofa* trees?"

682 *Sofa*                *hawi*                *ti*                        *ona*                *si*                *tonahara*                *ahi*  
 sofa                hawi                tii                        o-        na+F        sii        to- na    -hara    ahi  
 tree sp    trail+F    cut through    1SG.S AUX    stand    CH    AUX    IP.E+F    there  
 nf                pn                vt                        aux                vi                aux                dem

*Nakiri*

Nakiri  
 (man's name)  
 npropm

"The *sofa* trees are there, I cut the trail for them," Nakiri said.'

683 *Ee*                ,        *ka*                *onaminabanake*  
 ee                ,        kaa        o-        na    -mina    -habana    -ke  
 yes                chop    1SG.S AUX morning    FUT+F    DECL+F  
 interj            vt                aux

"I will chop at them tomorrow."

684 *Faya*    *ota*                ,        *faya*    *ota*                *Bowata*                *yama*    *sawa*    *nemari*  
 faya    otaa                ,        faya    otaa    Bowata                yama    sawa    na    -himari  
 so        1EX                so        1EX        (woman's name)    thing    serve    AUX    FP.E+M  
 conj    pron                conj    pron    npropf                nf                vt                aux

*amaka*

ama -ka  
 SEC DECL+M  
 sec

'Then Bowata served the fish.'

685 *Yatiti*                *kakama*                *re*  
 Yatiti                ka- ka                -ma        na    -ra+M  
 (man's name)    DUP go/come back    AUX    NEG  
 npropm            vi                        aux

"Yatiti hasn't come back."

686 *Kame*                *awaka*                *Kerewe*                *ati*    *nemari*  
 ka                -ma+M    awa        -ka                Kerewe                ati    na    -himari  
 go/come back    seem+M    DECL+M    (man's name)    say    AUX    FP.E+M  
 vi                        sec                        npropm                vt                aux

"I think he is coming," Kerewe said.'

687 *Kamemari*                *amaka*  
 ka                -ma    -himari    ama    -ka  
 go/come back    FP.E+M    SEC    DECL+M  
 vi                        sec

'He came back.'

688 *Faya*    *kamemari*                *amaka*  
 faya    ka                -ma    -himari    ama    -ka  
 so        go/come back    FP.E+M    SEC    DECL+M  
 conj    vi                        sec

'Then he came back.'



## YATITI

689 **Oof**     **hoo**     **yofari**     **hati**     **Siko**                     **kawine**                     **wine**  
 oof     hoo     yofari     hati     Siko                     ka-     wina+M     wina+M  
 hoo     whew     banana     ripe     (man's name)     COMIT     live     live  
 interj     interj     nf             pn             npropm             vt                     vi

"Hoo, Siko has ripe bananas at his house."

690 **Yofari**     **hati**     **tama**                     **kaname**                     **ati**     **ama**     **nanoho**  
 yofari     hati     tama                     ka-     na     -ma+M     ati     ama     na.NOM+M     -no     -ho  
 banana     ripe     hold onto     COMIT     AUX     back     voice     be     AUX             IP.N+M     DUP  
 nf             pn             vt                     aux                     pn             vc             aux

"He is coming back with ripe bananas."

691 **Hiya**             **aba**     **mera**             ?  
 hiya             aba     me     -ra  
 come on     fish     3PL NPQ  
 interj     nm             pron

"Where are the fish?"

692 **Aba**     **me**             **sawa**     **kabote**                     **tinahi**  
 aba     me             sawa     na     -kabote     ti-     na     -hi  
 fish     3PL.O     serve     AUX     quickly     2SG.S     AUX     IMP+F  
 nm             pron     vt             aux                     aux

"Serve the fish without delay."

693 **Ota**             **tafibeya**  
 otaa             tafa     -be             -ya  
 1EX.S     eat     IMMED+F     now  
 pron     vi

"Let's eat."

694 **Aba**     **me**             **Bowata**                     **sawa**     **nemari**                     **amane**  
 aba     me             Bowata                     sawa     na     -himari     ama     -ne  
 fish     3PL.O     (woman's name)     serve     AUX     FP.E+M     SEC     BKG+M  
 nm             pron     npropf                     vt             aux                     sec

'Bowata served the fish.'

695 **Bowata**                     **aba**     **me**             **sawa**     **ne**             ,     **aba**     **me**             **sawa**  
 Bowata                     aba     me             sawa     na+M             ,     aba     me             sawa  
 (woman's name)     fish     3PL.O     serve     AUX                     fish     3PL.O     serve  
 npropf                     nm             pron     vt             aux                     nm             pron     vt

**nemari**                     **ama**     **ahi**  
 na     -himari     ama     ahi  
 AUX     FP.E+M     SEC     then  
 aux                     sec     dem

'Bowata served the fish.'

696 **Aba**     **me**             **kawitaremaro**                     **me**     **ama**     **me**  
 aba     me             ka-     ita     -rI                     -hamaro     me     ama     me  
 fish     3PL.S     COMIT     sit     raised surface     FP.E+F     3PL.S     SEC     3PL.POSS  
 nm             pron     vi                     pron             sec             pron

**kote**  
 kote  
 piece  
 pn

'The pieces of fish were in the plates.'

## YATITI

697 *Aba me ota kabimaro amake ahi* .  
 aba me otaa kaba.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi  
 fish 3PL.O 1EX.S eat FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
 nm pron pron vt vc dem

'We ate the fish.'

698 *Nakiri , tafemari ama ahi* .  
 Nakiri , tafa -himari ama ahi  
 (man's name) eat FP.E+M SEC then  
 npropm vi sec dem

'Nakiri ate.'

## ABA TOSI (2)

### *Free Translation*

Aba Tosi's younger brother died because of the spirits. Mano Biri had sent the spirits against him. The spirits tied him to a tree when he was killing *siraba* fish. Aba Tosi was upset.

Mano Boni caught two women on a line. [He strung a shaman's line across a trail.] He made Aba Tosi angry, one of them was to be his wife.

"They caught my daughter on a line. Suck on my daughter to cure her," the girl's father said to Aba Tosi. "Don't leave my daughter alone. Stay living right where you sucked on my daughter [to take care of her]. Wait for my sick daughter," her father said.

So Aba Tosi sent spirits against Mano Boni, paying him back for what he had done to the others. He sent the spirits.

Because of his familiar spirits, he cried out in fear, in the forest. "Why were you yelling?" his wife said.

"There wasn't anything there. Something scared me, that's why I've come home," he said.

Mano Boni was a shaman. Aba Tosi sent spirits against him, to pay him back. He was grieving because of his younger brother, but Mano Boni didn't see him grieving. He sucked on her to cure her. He married her. She became his wife. "She and I will stay together. You are ordering me to stay with her. You ordered your daughter. I'm going to marry your daughter," Aba Tosi said, since his father-in-law had told him to.

"I'm going to take snuff. I need *wami* resin for light. You light some. I'm going to lie down in my hammock," he said to the girl.

He took some snuff. He was high on the snuff. Then he drank water. He went outside, high on snuff, and came upon a spirit by surprise, the spirit of the one who had sent spirits against him, Mano Boni.

"Are you standing there?"

"I'm standing here."

"What do you want?"

"I came and stood here so I could see you and the others," he said.

"It's really him," he said.

It was the spirit of the one who had sent spirits against him. He stood with him. The others called him. They called Aba Tosi's familiar spirits. The spirit [Mano Boni] came down, sick.

"It's their souls."

"Who knows?"

"I can't see their souls," said one of Aba Tosi's relatives.

So they moved to another place. He came back. They moved away. They lived back this way.

He went out with his dog. The dogs chased after some collared peccaries. A snake was coiled at the entrance to the peccaries' hole. It bit him.

He was feeling the effects of the snake bite. His older brother sucked him. He got better.

Bonikana singed the hair off a titi monkey, near him while he was in the hammock. He smelled the odor of the burning titi monkey hair. The snake gave him a shock. He cried out, my

## ABA TOSI (2)

aunt used to say.

"My younger brother," his older brother said. He sucked him. He did not get well.

He smelled the odor of the titi monkey. He died. His older brother burned his familiar spirits [by burning his house].

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Aba Tosi* , *Aba Tosi* *nisori*  
 Aba Tosi , Aba Tosi nisori  
 (man's name) (man's name) 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 npropm npropm nm

*abematamonaka* , *toni* *me* *ihi* ,  
 ahaba -himata -mona -ka , toni me ihi ,  
 die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M familiar spirit 3PL.S because of+F  
 vi nm pron post

*Mano Boni* *hikahabanari*  
 Mano Boni hi- ka- habana -haari .  
 (man's name) OC COMIT order someone against IP.E+M  
 npropm vt

'Aba Tosi's younger brother died because of the spirits. Mano Boni had sent the spirits against him.'

2 *Toni* *me* *wete* *hineimatamonaka* .  
 toni me wete hi- na -himata -mona -ka .  
 familiar spirit 3PL.S tie OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pron vt aux

'The spirits tied him up.'

3 *Namiti* *toni* *me* *wete* *hiseimatamona* ,  
 namiti toni me wete hi- na -kosa -himata -mona ,  
 neck familiar spirit 3PL.S tie OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn nm pron vt aux

*siraba* *waka* *narawari* .  
 siraba waka na -rawa -haari .  
 fish sp kill AUX F.PL IP.E+M  
 nf vt aux

'The spirits tied his neck to something when he was killing siraba fish.'

4 *Faya* *yaweimatamonaka* *fahi* .  
 faya yawa -himata -mona -ka fahi .  
 so be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'He was upset.'

5 *Me fanawi* *one* *kanawasimakehi* , *fe*  
 me fanawi one ka- na- wasi -makI+M , fee  
 women other+F COMIT CAUS find following 3SG.O  
 nf adj vt pron

*nayawataseimatamonaka* ,  
 na- yawa -tasa -himata -mona -ka ,  
 CAUS be upset again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

*fatitebanihi* .  
 fati -tee -ba -ni -hi .  
 3SG.POSS.wife HAB FUT IP.N+F DUP  
 nf

ABA TOSI (2)

'He caught the women on a line. He made him angry, she was to be his wife.'

6	<b>Okoto</b>	,	<b>okoto</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>hikanawasiani</b>		<b>ama</b>
	okoto		okoto		me		hi- ka- na- wasi -hani		ama
	my daughter		my daughter		3PL.S	OC	COMIT CAUS find IP.N+F		SEC
	nf		nf		pron		vt		sec

"They caught my daughter on a line."

7	<b>Okoto</b>		<b>toma</b>	<b>tina</b>	,	<b>bati</b>		<b>ati</b>
	okoto		toma	ti- na		bati		ati
	my daughter		suck	2SG.S AUX		3SG.POSS.father		say
	nf		vt	aux		nm		vt

**nematamonaka**

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

"Suck on my daughter to cure her," her father said.'

8	<b>Okoto</b>		<b>tekanakosariya</b>					
	okoto		ti- ka- kana -kosa -ra -yahi					
	my daughter		2SG.S COMIT leave middle NEG DIST.IMP+F					
	nf		vt					

"Don't leave my daughter alone."

9	<b>Fara</b>	<b>okoto</b>		<b>toma</b>	<b>tini</b>		<b>ya</b>
	fara	okoto		toma	ti- na.NOM+F		ya
	same+F	my daughter		suck	2SG.S AUX		ADJU
	dem	nf		vt	aux		prt

**tiwitarehi**

ti- ita -rI -hi  
2SG.S stay raised surface IMP+F  
vi

"Stay living right where you sucked on my daughter."

10	<b>Okoto</b>		<b>noki</b>		<b>tikana</b>	,	<b>bati</b>		<b>ati</b>
	okoto		noki		ti- ka- na		bati		ati
	my daughter		wait for		2SG.S COMIT AUX		3SG.POSS.father		say
	nf		vt		aux		nm		vt

**nematamonaha**

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

"Wait for my sick daughter," her father said.'

11	<b>Faya</b>	<b>Aba Tosi</b>		<b>Mano Boni</b>
	faya	Aba Tosi		Mano Boni
	so	(man's name)		(man's name)
	conj	npropm		npropm

**kahabaneimatamonaka**

ka- habana -himata -mona -ka  
COMIT order someone against FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt

**fahi**

fahi  
then  
dem

**me**

me  
3PL.POSS  
pron

**manakone**

manakone  
price  
pn

'So Aba Tosi sent spirits against Mano Boni, revenge for the others.'

ABA TOSI (2)

12 *Me*            *manakone*    *Aba Tosi*            *awehimatamonaka*  
 me            manakone    Aba Tosi            awa    -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.POSS    price            (man's name)    avenge FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 pron            pn                    npropm            vt

'Aba Tosi avenged them.'

13 *Toni*                    *mera*            *kabanabiseimatamonane*  
 toni                    mera            ka-    habana -bisa -himata -mona -ne  
 familiar spirit    3PL.O    COMMIT order also    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 nm                    pron            vt

'He sent the spirits.'

14 *Toni*                    *mera*            *kabane*            ,            *hinaka*            *toni*  
 toni                    mera            ka-    habana+M            ,            hinaka            toni  
 familiar spirit    3PL.O    COMMIT order            3SG.POSS    familiar spirit  
 nm                    pron            vt                    pron            nm

*me*            *ihi*                    *e*            *kanemetemoneke*                    ,            *yama kabani*  
 me            ihi                    ee            ka-    na -hemete -mone -ke            ,            yama kabani  
 3PL.POSS    result of+F    yell    COMMIT AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F            forest  
 pron            pn                    vi            aux                    nf

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'He sent the spirits. Because of his familiar spirits he cried out in fear, in the forest.'

15 *Himata*            ,            *himata*            *ihi*                    *tiwati*                    *amariya*            ?  
 himata            ,            himata            ihi                    ti-            ati            ama -ri -ya  
 what?            what?            result of+F    2SG.POSS    voice    be    CQ+F    now  
 interrog            interrog    pn                    pn                    vc

*fati*                    *ati*            *nemetemoneni*  
 fati                    ati            na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS.wife    say    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F  
 nf                    vt            aux

""Why were you yelling?" his wife said.'

16 *Yama*            ,            *yama*            *honari*  
 yama            ,            yama            hona                    -ra.NOM+F  
 thing            thing            have something    NEG  
 nf                    nf                    vi

""There wasn't anything there.""

17 *Yama*            *owa*            *e*            *niha*                    *okomine*                    *o*            *ati*  
 yama            owa            ee            niha-    na+F    o-    ka            -ma -ne            o-            ati  
 thing            1SG.O    yell    CAUS    AUX    1SG.S    go/come back    CONT+F    1SG.S    say  
 nf                    pron            vi            aux                    vi                    prt            vt

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

""Something scared me, that's why I've come," he said.'

18 *Mano Boni*            *inawa*  
 Mano Boni            inawa  
 (man's name)    shaman  
 npropm            nm

'Mano Boni was a shaman.'



ABA TOSI (2)

27	<b>Tikoto</b> tikoto 2SG.POSS.daughter nf	<b>otihabanake</b> o- iti -habana -ke 1SG.S marry FUT+F DECL+F vt	,	<b>Aba Tosi</b> Aba Tosi (man's name) npropm	<b>ati</b> ati say vt	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux
	<b>Aba Tosi</b> Aba Tosi (man's name) npropm	<b>ati</b> ati say vt	<b>nematamonaha</b> na -himata -mona -ha AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP aux	,	<b>kokori</b> kokori 3SG.POSS.father-in-law nm	

**hikabanari**

hi- ka- habana -haari  
OC COMMIT order IP.E+M  
vt

"I'm going to marry your daughter," Aba Tosi said, since his father-in-law had told him to.'

28	<b>Sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>hisi</b> hisi sniff vt	<b>obe</b> o- na -be 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F aux
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"I'm going to take snuff."

29	<b>Sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>hisi</b> hisi sniff vt	<b>obe</b> o- na -be 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F aux
----	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	---

"I'm going to take snuff."

30	<b>Oko</b> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt	<b>wamiba</b> wami -ba tree sp FUT nf	<b>sari</b> sari burn vt	<b>tikanama</b> ti- ka- na -ma 2SG.S COMMIT AUX back aux
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"Light some *wami* resin for me."

31	<b>Owinibeya</b> o- wina 1SG.S lie in hammock vi	-be -ya IMMED+F now	,	<b>ati</b> ati say vt	<b>nematamonaka</b> na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux
----	---	------------------------	---	--------------------------------	---

"I'm going to lie down in my hammock," he said.'

32	<b>Faya</b> faya so conj	<b>sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>hisi</b> hisi sniff vt	<b>nematamonaka</b> na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	<b>fahi</b> fahi then dem
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'He took some snuff.'

33	<b>Sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>hisi</b> hisi sniff vt	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	,	<b>hanohimatamonane</b> hano -himata -mona -ne be drunk FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vi	,	<b>sina</b> sina snuff nf
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**ihi**

ihi  
because of+F  
post

'He took snuff. He was high on the snuff.'



ABA TOSI (2)

34 *Faya fa* , *fa fawematamonaka* *fahi* .  
 faya faha , faha fawa -himata -mona -ka fahi .  
 so water water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj nf nf vt dem

'Then he drank water.'

35 *Fa fawe* , *towakiyomamematamonaha* ,  
 faha fawa+M , to- ka- ka -yoma -ma -himata -mona -ha ,  
 water drink away COMIT go/come through back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vt vi

*inamati* , *inamati bata* *torebanoho* ,  
 inamati , inamati bata to- na -rI -hiba -no -ho ,  
 spirit spirit surprise CH AUX raised surface FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm nm vt aux

*fare hikahabane* *korimari* .  
 fare hi- ka- habana+M korimari .  
 same+M OC COMIT order someone against spirit  
 dem vt pn

'He drank water. He went outside, high, and came upon a spirit by surprise, the spirit of the one who had sent spirits against him.'

36 *Tiwine* *tini* ?  
 ti- waa -ne ti- ni ?  
 2SG.S stand CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 vi prt

'''Are you standing there?'''

37 *Owine* *o* .  
 o- waa -ne o- .  
 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S  
 vi prt

'''I'm standing here.'''

38 *Himata ebe* *tine* *tiri* ?  
 himata ebe ti- na -ne ti- ri ?  
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F  
 interrog vt aux prt

'''What do you want?'''

39 *Tera owahabone* *okoma* *owine*  
 tera o- awa -habone o- ka -ma+F o- waa -ne  
 2PL.O 1SG.S see INT+F 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.S stand CONT+F  
 pron vt vi vi

*oni* *ati* *nematamonaha* .  
 o- ni ati na -himata -mona -ha .  
 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 prt vt aux

'''I came and stood here so I could see you,' he said.'

40 *Inamati bare* *amare* *ama* *nanoho* *ati*  
 inamati bare ama -ra+M ama na.NOM+M -no -ho ati  
 spirit other+M be NEG be AUX IP.N+M DUP say  
 nm adj vc vc aux vt

*nematamonane* , *fare hikabane* *kanamori*  
 na -himata -mona -ne , fare hi- ka- habana+M kanamori  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M same+M OC COMIT order someone against spirit  
 aux dem vt pn

ABA TOSI (2)

"It's really him," he said. It was the spirit of the one who had sent spirits against him.'

41 *Faya hikawe me ha hine , hinaka toni*  
 faya hi- ka- waa+M me haa hi- na+M , hinaka toni  
 so OC COMMIT stand 3PL.O call OC AUX 3SG.POSS familiar spirit  
 conj vt pron vt aux pron nm

*me me ha hinemetemoneke*  
 me me haa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S call OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'He stood with him. The others called him. They called his familiar spirits.'

42 *Faya ati kasomakeimatamonane*  
 faya ati ka- sona -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 so voice COMMIT fall following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 conj pn vi

'The spirit came down groaning, sick.'

43 *Me kanamori toha me awineni*  
 me kanamori to- ha+F me awine -ni  
 3PL.POSS spirit CH be 3PL.POSS seem+F BKG+F  
 pron pn vc pron sec

"It's their souls."

44 *E awari*  
 ee awa -ra.NOM+F  
 1IN.S see NEG  
 pron vi

"Who knows?"

45 *Me , me kanamori owarini ati*  
 me , me kanamori o- awa -ra -ni ati  
 3PL 3PL.POSS spirit 1SG.S see NEG BKG+F say  
 pron pron pn vt vt

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

"I can't see their souls," he said.'

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

'So they moved to another place.'

47 *Kame , me bana , me banaha me*  
 ka -ma+M , me bana+F , me bana+F me  
 go/come back 3PL.S move away 3PL.S move away 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi pron vi pron

*winawama me , yome towakematamonaka*  
 wina -waha -ma+F me , yomee to- ka- ka -himata -mona -ka  
 live change back 3PL.S dog away COMMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi pron nm vt

ABA TOSI (2)

*fahi*

fahi  
then  
dem

'He came back. They moved away. They lived back this way. He went out with his dog.'

48 *Yome towake* , *yome bani me me hikiyoa*  
yomee to- ka- ka+M , yomee bani me me hi- kiyof  
dog away COMIT go/come dog animal 3PL.O 3PL.S OC chase  
nm vt nm nm pron pron vt

*me* , *nokobiri maka itariani wai*  
me , nokobi -ri maka ita -rI -hani wai  
3PL.POSS door PN snake sit raised surface IP.N+F bite  
pron pn nf vi vt

*hineimatamonaka*

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

'He went out with his dog. The dogs chased after some animals. A snake was coiled at the entrance to their hole. It bit him.'

49 *Waware tina ahi*  
wa- waa -rI ti- na ahi  
DUP stand raised surface 2SG.S AUX there  
vi aux dem

'Don't come close [Yowao to a child].'

50 *Yama wanineke* , *oboko karo haro*  
yama wana -ne -ke , o- bako karo haaro  
thing be attached CONT+F DECL+F 1SG.POSS chest LOC that one+F  
nf vi pn prt dem

'The thing [microphone] is on my chest.'

51 *Tikama ami ni ya*  
ti- to- ka -ma , ami ni ya  
2SG.S away go/come back 2SG.POSS.mother to ADJU  
vi nf prt prt

'Go to your mother.'

52 *Tekamaho*  
ti- to- ka- ka -ma -ho  
2SG.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+M  
vt

'Take him home.'

53 *Faya maka kome awe* , *maka kome aawa toe*  
faya maka kome awa+M , maka kome a- awa to- ha+M  
so snake pain+F feel snake pain+F DUP feel CH AUX  
conj nf pn vt nf pn vt aux

*anoti toma hineimatamonane*  
anoti toma hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
3SG.POSS older brother suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
nm vt aux

'He was feeling the effects of the snake bite. He felt the effect of the snake bite. His older brother sucked him.'



ABA TOSI (2)

'What is it?'

61 *Yara ito me iso nineke , ito .*  
 yara ito me iso na -ne -ke , ito .  
 Brazilian cold 3PL.S carry off AUX CONT+F DECL+F cold  
 npropm nf pron vt aux nf  
 'The Brazilians are carrying the flu.'

62 *Yara yama me kiarake .*  
 yara yama me kiha -hara -ke .  
 Brazilian thing 3PL.S have IP.E+F DECL+F  
 npropm nf pron vt  
 'The Brazilians have the flu.'

63 *Faya mayawari mao hisi tose*  
 faya mayawari maho hisi to- na -kosa+M  
 so titi smell+M sniff CH AUX middle  
 conj nm pn vt aux

*abematamonaka , anoti ,*  
 ahaba -himata -mona -ka , anoti  
 die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS older brother  
 vi nm

*anoti toni me sari*  
 anoti toni me sari  
 3SG.POSS older brother familiar spirit 3PL.O burn  
 nm nm pron vt

*kanebanoho .*  
 ka- na -hiba -no -ho .  
 COMMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He smelled the odor of the titi monkey. He died. His older brother burned his familiar spirits.'

64 *Anoti toni me sari*  
 anoti toni me sari  
 3SG.POSS older brother familiar spirit 3PL.O burn  
 nm nm pron vt

*kaneimatamonane .*  
 ka- na -himata -mona -ne .  
 COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'His older brother burned his familiar spirits.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

### *Free Translation*

They moved to another place. They left the others behind living there. He didn't go back to see his father, who lived with them. He didn't go back to see his father and mother.

He was married to the daughter of a Banawá. For this reason the Banawá made fun of him.

He didn't come back. Whenever he wanted to go back, the women kept him from going. He stayed there, deceiving them about himself.

"I'm going to defecate."

"I will go with you."

He went to defecate, but they brought him back, and he didn't defecate.

He also said he wanted to urinate. They went with him, too. They also went with him when he wanted to scrape *iha* bark, to put poison on arrows, or to put poison on darts.

His father-in-law told him where he could find *iha* in the forest. So he coated arrows.

So he shot white-lipped peccaries with arrows, since they had been making fun of him. Even though he only had arrows, which are not like a shotgun, he killed many animals. *Iha* is strong poison. So he killed many peccaries.

They caused him to forget, as he stayed with them. His relatives went and saw them again. Because they went and saw them again, they married their women. Then they went and saw them, since one of them was there. They live there.

They have been telling about the Zuruahãs, that they plant the same things. They rubbed annatto on Okomobi. If they stayed here, they wouldn't go back. They would stay with us.

People told about the Banawás hunting white-lipped peccaries. There are many white-lipped peccaries downstream.

"Awa Wai Ya, you make the peccaries run, and we will wait for your peccaries. You throw two *yowi* fruits at them."

They were afraid to throw two *yowi* fruits at the peccaries. "A jaguar will kill us," she said.

"Don't say the name of the jaguar [that is, don't be afraid of a jaguar]."

"You are ordering us to do something scary," she said.

"You are saying the thing is scary, but you aren't afraid to let the Brazilians have sex with you all the time," he said. "You two go."

So they went after them. The peccaries ran nicely because of the women. The peccaries which Awa Wai Ya hit yelled. Then she yelled. They yelled at them.

Rowiso was waiting for the peccaries. Rowiso shot them as they were running.

My uncle Firisa was running and he shot peccaries with arrows. He kept Kamabira from killing any.

The man who had married the Banawá woman was there, running after the peccaries. He went along shooting the peccaries with arrows. There were two piles of them. They had made fun of him.

They carried the peccaries off. They carried the animals that they had killed. They went back and forth.

Two of them came running home. It was dark as they arrived. They left the others behind, and came back.

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

They went after the peccaries the next day. They roasted the peccaries on racks out in the forest.

They came back. He yelled at them as he came back. He was carrying roasted peccary meat, and he yelled at them as he came back. They laughed as they carried roasted peccary meat. The people laughed at them.

"Let's have a festa."

They ate peccary meat, and then they sang and danced. The Banawás sang, along with people from other tribes. They all sang together. They sang a song about white-lipped peccaries. They sang about the peccaries until daybreak.

Then my grandfather and the others moved away from the Banawá village where they were staying. There were many Banawá girls, they are still living there. They came back. They moved away from there and came back this way.

"We have been together, are you going to leave us?"

"We will come and see you again," they said. "You come and see us, too. We will come and see you again," they said. They moved away.

They ask the chief for some corn, chief Miri's corn. "I want to ask for some corn. I will plant corn, the chief's corn. Chief, chief."

"Haii," he said.

"Chief, I want some of your corn. I want to plant corn."

"The corn is lying on the poles there."

"We are going after the others."

He got some corn for him. He took the corn.

"What about that?"

"What?"

"The thing for scraping," he said.

"A knife?"

"Yes, yes," he said.

He gave him a knife. "We are going."

"We have been together, but now you are going to leave us."

"We are going back."

Then they left him behind. They moved to another place. My grandfather and the others moved to another place. They came this way. The Araka Barone stream is there. They crossed the Araka Barone stream coming this way. They came past the Curiá River, and they came past a treeless area. They came on. They travelled on the other side of the Curiá River, and then came this way. They crossed the Curiá. They came along the edge of the Curiá on the other side. They crossed this way, after having cut down a tree [to make a bridge]. They came along on the bank of the river, and they crossed to this side at Amara Wari. They came along the bank to Amara Wari.

They crossed to this side, and came on this way. They stopped. It was at Yome Kabe. They stopped at Yome Kabe. They came on in the forest. At Hato Fa a jaguar killed a tapir. The tapir lay on the ground at Hato Fa. They passed by it as they came in the forest. They came on. They stopped at the Fa Biri stream. The Tamaka stream is there. There is an old village of theirs there where the Tamaka stream is.

They cut down the brush. They cut down the trees. They finished cutting down the trees. They planted the stalks of the crops of the Banawás. They found their crops from before. It is the old village of the people who didn't live there for long.

They came along. They kept coming. The sandy clearing that they found is still there, the old sandy clearing. They came on.

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

They went to the Wara lake. They lived there, and they cut down trees. Their old gardens are beside the Kawa Fa stream. They lived there a long time.

Then they saw each other again. "Let's go see them."

They knew their trail. They came. The two of them walked. They came. They slept on the way. They came some more. They slept on the way again.

"Where do they live? I guess they went that way."

They came on, and slept again, at Bata Kote So Tosi. That's the old name of the place we now live. They slept, and then went on the next day. They are the ones that he fed. They took the fish that was for his niece. The man who impersonated Bisi took the fish.<sup>33</sup>

They went back. They ate fish. They lived there. They carried redbtail catfish. Wai Kitari discovered the Wara lake. Wai Kitari discovered it, my aunt always said.

"Where does Wai Kitari live?"

Some of them stayed living behind. They brought some of the people here, while others live over there, our ancestors.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Faya me banawemetemone*  
 faya me bana -waha -hemete -mone  
 so 3PL.S move away change FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron vi  
 'They moved to another place.'

2 *Me me me hekanakosemetemoneke me*  
 me me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke me  
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S  
 pron pron pron vt pron

*wina mati*  
 wina+F mati  
 live 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They left the others behind living there.'

3 *Bati totowamake toamata me ni*  
 bati to- to- awa -makI to- ha.NOM+M -mata me ni  
 3SG.POSS.father DUP away see following CH AUX FP.N+M 3PL to  
 nm vt aux pron prt

*ya sawihari*  
 ya sawi -haari  
 ADJU be present IP.E+M  
 prt vi

'He didn't go back to see his father, who lived with them.'

4 *Bati totowamake toharemata*  
 bati to- to- awa -makI to- ha -ra -himata  
 3SG.POSS.father DUP away see following CH AUX NEG FP.N+M  
 nm vt aux

*awaka mati naro*  
 awa -ka mati.LIST na -haaro  
 seem+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.mother AUX IP.E+F  
 sec nf aux

<sup>33</sup> This is a reference to another story, the story of Bisi.



## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

'He didn't go back to see his father and mother.'

<b>5</b>	<b>Bato yafi</b>	<b>bite</b>	<b>iti</b>	<b>toemata</b>	<b>awaka</b>
	bato yafi	bite	i- iti	to- ha -himata	awa -ka
	Banawá	3SG.POSS.daughter	DUP marry	CH AUX FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M
	npropm	nf	vt	aux	sec

<b>bato yafi</b>	<b>mati</b>
bato yafi	mati
Banawá	3PL
npropm	pron

'He was married to the daughter of a Banawá.'

<b>6</b>	<b>Makoni</b>	<b>bato yafi</b>	<b>kakasawari</b>	<b>hihemata</b>
	makoni	bato yafi	ka- ka- sawari	hi- to- ha -himata
	for this reason	Banawá	DUP COMIT frustrate	OC CH AUX FP.N+M
	conj	npropm	vt	aux

<b>awaka</b>
awa -ka
seem+M DECL+M
sec

'For this reason the Banawá made fun of him.'

<b>7</b>	<b>Kakamaki</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>toaremata</b>	<b>awaka</b>
	ka- ka -makI	na	to- ha -ra -himata	awa -ka
	DUP go/come following	AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M		seem+M DECL+M
	vi	aux aux		sec

'He didn't come back.'

<b>8</b>	<b>Tokomakebona</b>	<b>me fanawi</b>	<b>me</b>
	to- ka -makI -hibona	me fanawi	me
	away go/come following INT+M	women	3PL.S
	vi	nf	pron

<b>totimakerima</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>hiematamona</b>
to- iti -makI -rima	na	hi- to- ha -himata -mona
away pick up following intermittent	AUX	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vt	aux aux	

'Whenever he wanted to go back, the women kept him from going.'

<b>9</b>	<b>Sasawiwa</b>	<b>toematamonane</b>	<b>hiwa</b>
	sa- sawi -waha	to- ha -himata -mona -ne	hiwa
	DUP be present change	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	3SG.REFL.M
	vi	aux	pron

<b>keyehari</b>
keyeha -haari
deceive IP.E+M
vt

'He stayed there, deceiving them about himself.'

<b>10</b>	<b>Mi</b>	<b>omatibe</b>
	mii	o- na -mata -be
	defecate	1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
	vi	aux

'"I'm going to defecate."'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

11 *E tabahi*  
 ee taba -hi  
 1IN.S be together IMP+F  
 pron vi

'"I will go with you."'

12 *Mi nebona toke me*  
 mii na -hibona to- ka+M me  
 defecate AUX INT+M away go/come 3PL.S  
 vi aux vi pron

*hitimaketasa mi rari*  
 hi- to- iti -makI -tasa.LIST mii na -ra -haari  
 OC away pick up following again defecate AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 vt vi aux

'He went to defecate, but they brought him back, and he didn't defecate.'

13 *So nebona ati toha*  
 soo na -hibona ati to- ha.LIST  
 urinate AUX INT+M voice CH be  
 vi aux pn vc

'He also said he wanted to urinate.'

14 *Me hekawaha hikane ahi*  
 me hi- to- ka- ka -waha.LIST hi- ka- na+M ahi  
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come change OC COMIT AUX then  
 pron vt aux dem

'They went with him, too.'

15 *Me hekawaha ia siri*  
 me hi- to- ka- ka -waha.LIST iha siri  
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come change plant sp scrape  
 pron vt nm vt

*kanebonaha wati were nebonaha sarehe*  
 ka- na -hibona -ha wati were na -hibona -ha sarehe  
 COMIT AUX INT+M DUP arrow coat AUX INT+M DUP blowgun dart  
 aux nm vt aux nf

*sare were nebonaha*  
 sarehe were na -hibona -ha  
 blowgun dart coat AUX INT+M DUP  
 nf vt aux

'They also went with him when he wanted to scrape *iha* bark, to put poison on arrows, or to put poison on darts.'

16 *Hinaka iaba hinakiti hikaminemata*  
 hinaka iha -ba hinaka iti hi- kamina -himata  
 3SG.POSS plant sp FUT 3SG.POSS father-in-law OC tell FP.N+M  
 pron nm nm vt

*awaka*  
 awa -ka  
 seem+M DECL+M  
 sec

'His father-in-law told him where he could find *iha* in the forest.'

17 *Makoni wati were kana namata*  
 makoni wati were ka- na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata  
 for this reason arrow coat COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M  
 conj nm vt aux aux

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

'So he coated arrows.'

<b>18</b>	<b>Makoni</b>	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>mera</b>	<b>sa</b>
	makoni	hiyama		mera	saa
	for this reason	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	shoot with arrow
	conj	nm		pron	vt
	<b>nawa</b>	<b>namata</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakasawari</b>	
	na -waha.CONT+M	na.NOM+M -mata	me	ka- ka- sawari	
	AUX change	AUX FP.N+M	3PL.S	DUP COMIT frustrate	
	aux	aux	pron	vt	

**hiahari**  
 hi- to- ha -haari  
 OC CH AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'So he shot white-lipped peccaries with arrows, since they had been making fun of him.'

<b>19</b>	<b>Taokanara</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>itibasa</b>	<b>namata</b>	<b>wati</b>
	taokana -ra	ihi	iti -basa.CONT+M	na.NOM+M -mata	wati
	shotgun NEG	victim of+F	take out edge	AUX FP.N+M	arrow
	nf	pn	vt	aux	nm

'Even though he only had arrows, which are not like a shotgun, he killed many animals.'

<b>20</b>	<b>Iha</b>	<b>komaka</b>
	iha	koma -ka
	plant sp	hurt DECL+M
	nm	vi

'Iha is strong poison.'

<b>21</b>	<b>Makoni</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>itibasa</b>
	makoni	hiyama	mera	iti -basa.CONT+M
	for this reason	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	take out edge
	conj	nm	pron	vt

**namata**  
 na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'So he killed many peccaries.'

<b>22</b>	<b>Ati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>fafawa</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>hiemata</b>	<b>awaka</b>
	ati	me	fa- fawa	niha- na	hi- to- ha -himata	awa -ka
	voice	3PL.S	DUP disappear	CAUS AUX	OC CH AUX FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M
	pn	pron	vi	aux	aux	sec

**me ya tabe karo**  
 me ya taba.NOM+M karo  
 3PL ADJU be together because  
 pron prt vi prt

'They caused him to forget, as he stayed with them.'

<b>23</b>	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiwamawaha</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	me	me	hi- to- awa -ma -waha+F	me	me
	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC away see back change	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pron	pron	vt	pron	pron

**hiwamawaha**  
 hi- to- awa -ma -waha+F  
 OC away see back change  
 vt

**me me me**  
 me me me  
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron pron



## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

29 *Me sawiha me awineke e ni ya* .  
 me sawi+F me awine -ke ee ni ya  
 3PL.S be present 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F 1IN to ADJU  
 pron vi pron sec pron prt prt

'They would stay with us.'

30 *Hinabori ka makina moni sai na rama* .  
 Hinabori ka makina moni sai.LIST na+F rama  
 (woman's name) POSS machine sound be heard AUX unusual  
 npropf prt nf pn vi aux prt

'The sound of Hinabori's sewing machine can be heard.'

31 *Bato yafi me me mowa hinemetemone me me* , *me*  
 bato yafi me me mowa hi- na -hemete -mone me me  
 Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron pron

*me kakamina hiamaro me amani*  
 me ka- kamina hi- to- ha -hamaro me ama -ni  
 3PL.S DUP tell OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC BKG+F  
 pron vt aux pron sec

*hiyama*  
 hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary  
 nm

'People told about the Banawás hunting white-lipped peccaries.'

32 *Hiyama bato hiyamari tamake*  
 hiyama bato hiyama -ri tama -ke  
 white-lipped peccary downstream white-lipped peccary PN be many DECL+F  
 nm nf pn vi

'There are many white-lipped peccaries downstream.'

33 *Bato hiyamari tamini* .  
 bato hiyama -ri tama -ni  
 downstream white-lipped peccary PN be many BKG+F  
 nf pn vi

'There are many white-lipped peccaries downstream.'

34 *Awa Wai Ya hiyama me yaro tikana* ,  
 Awa Wai Ya hiyama me yaro ti- ka- na  
 (woman's name) white-lipped peccary 3PL.O start 2SG.S COMIT AUX  
 npropf nm pron vt aux

*tika hiyama me ota noki niba* ,  
 ti- ka hiyama me otaa noki na.NOM+F -ba  
 2SG.POSS POSS white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S wait for AUX FUT  
 prt nm pron pron vt aux

*yowi ya me te kinarikimi ya* .  
 yowi ya me tee kina -rI -kima.NOM+F ya  
 tree sp ADJU 3PL.O 2PL.S hit raised surface two ADJU  
 nm prt pron pron vt prt

'"Awa Wai Ya, you make the peccaries run, and we will wait for your peccaries. You throw two *yowi* fruits at them."'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

35 *Yowi ya hiyama me yowi ya*  
 yowi ya hiyama me yowi ya  
 tree sp ADJU white-lipped peccary 3PL tree sp ADJU  
 nm prt nm pron nm prt

*hiyama me me kinarikimabone Yome*  
 hiyama me me kina -rI -kima -habone yomee  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S hit raised surface two INT+F jaguar  
 nm pron pron vt nm

*otara waka naba ati nemetemone*  
 otara waka na.NOM+M -ba ati na -hemete -mone  
 1EX.O kill AUX FUT say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vt aux vt aux

'They were afraid to throw two *yowi* fruits at the peccaries. "A jaguar will kill us," she said.'

36 *Ino hiri timata fa yomahi*  
 ino hiri ti- na -mata faa yomahi  
 name+M say 2SG.S AUX short time that jaguar  
 pn vt aux dem nm

'"Don't say the name of the jaguar."'

37 *Yama yofina yama yofini ya otara*  
 yama yofina+F yama yofina.NOM+F ya otara  
 thing cause fear thing cause fear ADJU 1EX.O  
 nf vi nf vi prt pron

*tikahabanine tini ati nemetemoneni*  
 ti- ka- habana -ne ti- ni ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 2SG.S COMIT order CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt prt vt aux

'"You are ordering us to do something scary," she said.'

38 *Yama yofini ini hiri tina me*  
 yama yofina.NFIN ini hiri ti- na+F me  
 thing cause fear name+F say 2SG.S AUX 3PL.O  
 nf vi pn vt aux pron

*tinakomeha tiwa me maho nineti*  
 ti- na- komeha+F tiwa me maho na -ne -tee.NOM  
 2SG.S CAUS be fearsome 2SG.O 3PL.S do a lot AUX CONT+F HAB  
 vt pron pron vt aux

*yara mati ati nematamonane*  
 yara mati ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 Brazilian 3PL say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm pron vt aux

'"You are saying the thing is scary, but you aren't afraid to let the Brazilians have sex with you all the time," he said.'

39 *Te towakakabote na*  
 tee to- ka- ka -kabote na  
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come quickly AUX  
 pron vi aux

'"You two go."'

40 *Me me hinakawahemetemoneke waha*  
 me me hi- to- na- ka -waha -hemete -mone -ke waha  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F now  
 pron pron vt prt

'So they went after them.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

41 *Me fanawi*    *ihi*                    *kana*    *ni*                    *taminemetemone*                    *amake*  
 me fanawi    ihi                    kana    na.NFIN    tamina    -hemete    -mone    ama    -ke  
 women        result of+F    run        AUX        be good    FP.N+F    REP+F    SEC    DECL+F  
 nf              pn                    vi        aux            vi    sec

'The peccaries ran nicely because of the women.'

42 *Awa Wai Ya*                    *hiyama*                    *mera*                    *kinaria*  
 Awa Wai Ya                    hiyama                    mera                    kina -rI+F  
 (woman's name)    white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    hit    raised surface  
 npropf                    nm                    pron    vt

*ka*                    *hiyama*                    *me*                    *ye*                    *nemetemone*                    *me*  
 ka                    hiyama                    me                    yee                    na -hemete -mone    me  
 pertaining to    white-lipped peccary    3PL.S    yell                    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    3PL.S  
 prt                    nm                    pron    pn                    aux    pron

*ama*    *ahi*  
 ama    ahi  
 SEC    then  
 sec    dem

'The peccaries which Awa Wai Ya hit yelled.'

43 *Ye*                    *tosehemetemoneke*                    *ahi*  
 yee    to-    na    -kosa    -hemete    -mone    -ke                    ahi  
 yell    CH    AUX    middle    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F                    then  
 vi        vi    dem

'Then she yelled.'

44 *Me*                    *me*                    *yeye*                    *hikanemetemoneheni*  
 me                    me                    ye-    yee                    hi-    ka-                    na    -hemete    -mone    -he    -ni  
 3PL.O    3PL.S    DUP    yell                    OC    COMIT    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP    BKG+F  
 pron    pron    vi    aux

'They yelled at them.'

45 *Hiyama*                    *me*                    *noki*                    *ne*                    *rama*                    *ahi*  
 hiyama                    me                    noki                    na+M    rama                    ahi  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    wait for    AUX                    unusual    then  
 nm                    pron    vt                    aux                    prt                    dem

*Rowiso*  
 Rowiso  
 (man's name)  
 npropm

'Rowiso was waiting for the peccaries.'

46 *Rowiso*                    *me*                    *tao*                    *hinemetemoneke*                    *ahi*                    *me*  
 Rowiso                    me                    tao                    hi-    na    -hemete    -mone    -ke                    ahi                    me  
 (man's name)    3PL.O    shoot    OC    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    then                    3PL.S  
 npropm                    pron    vt                    aux    dem                    pron

*kana*    *na*                    *mati*  
 kana    na+F    mati  
 run        AUX    3PL.S  
 vi        aux    pron

'Rowiso shot them as they were running.'

47 *Faya*                    *okobise*                    *kana*                    *ni*                    *sawiba*  
 faya    o-                    ka    abise                    kana    na.NFIN    sawi                    -hiba  
 so        1SG.POSS    POSS    uncle    run        AUX                    be present    FUT+M  
 conj    nm    vi                    aux                    vi

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	, <b>sa</b> saa shoot with arrow vt	<b>nabisematamona</b> na -bisa -himata -mona AUX also FP.N+M REP+M aux
<b>ama Firisa</b> ama Firisa SEC (man's name) sec npropm	, <b>Kamabira</b> Kamabira (man's name) npropm	<b>kasomarima</b> ka- soma -rima COMIT help intermittent vt	<b>nebano</b> na -hiba -no AUX FUT+M IP.N+M aux

'My uncle Firisa was running and he shot peccaries with arrows. He kept Kamabira from killing any.'

48 <b>Taka Biri</b> Taka Biri (woman's name) npropf	<b>sako</b> sako sack nf	<b>tama</b> tama hold onto vt	<b>tina</b> ti- na 2SG.S AUX aux
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'Taka Biri, get a sack.'

49 <b>Sako foyarake</b> sako foya sack be inside nf vi	-hara -ke IP.E+F DECL+F	<b>fahi</b> fahi there dem	, <b>yoto</b> yoto cover result	<b>kanahabana</b> ka- na -habana COMIT AUX FUT+F aux
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'There is a sack in the canoe, so it will be covered.'

50 <b>Hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>kiyo</b> kiyo+M chase vt	<b>sawihimatamona</b> sawi -himata -mona be present FP.N+M REP+M vi	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem
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'He was there, running after the peccaries.'

51 <b>Hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>tisa</b> tisa shoot with arrow vt
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<b>tonamakehitematamonaka</b> to- na -makI -hitI away AUX following along the way aux	-himata -mona -ka FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem
--	--	----------------------------------

'He went along shooting the peccaries with arrows.'

52 <b>Me ta</b> me taa 3PL.S be piled up pron vi	<b>torikimemetemoneke</b> to- na -rI CH AUX raised surface vi	-kima -hemete -mone -ke FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
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<b>ahi fare</b> ahi fare then same+M dem dem	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kakasawari</b> ka- ka- sawari DUP COMIT frustrate vt	<b>hinahari</b> hi- na -haari OC AUX IP.E+M aux
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<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>iso</b> iso carry off vt	<b>nabani</b> na -haba -ni AUX FUT+F IP.N+F aux	<b>mati</b> mati 3PL.S pron
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'There were two piles of them. They had made fun of him. They carried the peccaries off.'

53 <b>Fara</b> fara same+F dem	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>ihi</b> ihi victim of+F pn	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>iso</b> iso carry off vt	<b>na</b> na+F AUX aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
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## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

'He was carrying roasted peccary meat, and he yelled at them as he came back.'

58 *Faya me haha nemetemone ahi hiyama me*  
 faya me haahaa na -hemete -mone ahi hiyama me  
 so 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F then white-lipped peccary 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi aux dem nm pron  
*kai me weye na mati*  
 kaha.NFIN me weye na+F mati  
 be toasted 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S  
 vi pron vt aux pron  
 'They laughed as they carried roasted peccary meat.'

59 *Me me haha hikanemetemoneni*  
 me me haahaa hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vi aux  
 'The people laughed at them.'

60 *Faya ama ?*  
 faya ama  
 enough be  
 adj vc  
 'Is that enough?'

61 *Faya amari*  
 faya ama -ra.NOM+F  
 enough be NEG  
 adj vc  
 'It's not enough.'

62 *E ayakamata*  
 ee ayaka -mata  
 1IN.S sing short time  
 pron vi  
 "'Let's have a festa.'"

63 *Hiyama me me kaba me*  
 hiyama me me kaba+F me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron  
*ayakawemetemoneni*  
 ayaka -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
 sing change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi  
 'They ate peccary meat, and then they sang and danced.'

64 *Bato yafi me ayakimetemone me yoro*  
 bato yafi me ayaka.NOM+F -mete -mone me yoro  
 Banawá 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be together  
 npropm pron vi pron vi  
*tokana mati*  
 to- ka- na+F mati  
 CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron  
 'The Banawás sang, along with people from other tribes.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

65 *Me yoro tokana me ayakemetemoneke*  
 me yoro to- ka- na+F me ayaka -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S be together CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi

'They all sang together.'

66 *Hiyama me tai me hiri*  
 hiyama me tahi me hiri  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS song about 3PL.S sing  
 nm pron pn pron vt

*nemetemoneni*

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

'They sang a song about white-lipped peccaries.'

67 *Hiyama me tai me hiri na me*  
 hiyama me tahi me hiri na+F me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS song about 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn pron vt aux pron

*me kawahemetemone ahi*  
 me ka- waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They sang about the peccaries until daybreak.'

68 *Karayati amaka*  
 karayati ama -ka  
 fly sp be DECL+M  
 nm vc

'It's a karayati fly.'

69 *Faya me okiti me*  
 faya me o- ka iti me  
 so 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.S  
 conj pron nm pron

*banawemetemone me amake fahi bato yafi me ni*  
 bana -waha -hemete -mone me ama -ke fahi bato yafi me ni  
 move away change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then Banawá 3PL to  
 vi pron sec dem npropm pron prt

*ya me sawiha mati*  
 ya me sawi+F mati  
 ADJU 3PL.S be present 3PL.S  
 prt pron vi pron

'Then my grandfather and the others moved away from the Banawá village where they were staying.'

70 *Bato ye fana tamarawemetemone*  
 bato yee fana tama -rawa -hemete -mone  
 downstream woman be many F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf n vi

*winineterawini*

wina -ne -tee -rawa -ni  
 live CONT+F HAB F.PL BKG+F  
 vi

'There were many Banawá girls, they are still living there.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

71 *Me kama me me bana me*  
 me ka -ma+F me me bana+F me  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

**kamimetemone**

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

"They came back. They moved away from there and came back this way."

72 *E tabi nofa era te kakanakosibana* ?  
 ee taba nofa+F era tee ka- kana -kosa+F -bana  
 1IN.S be together recently 1IN.O 2PL.S COMMIT leave middle FUT  
 pron vi prt pron pron vt

"We have been together, are you going to leave us?"

73 *Otara te kakanakosibana* ?  
 otara tee ka- kana -kosa+F -bana  
 1EX.O 2PL.S COMMIT leave middle FUT  
 pron pron vt

"Are you going to leave us?"

74 *Te ota awamateba otani me ati*  
 tee otaa awa -ma -tee -haba otaa -ni me ati  
 2PL.O 1EX.S see back HAB 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 come and see you again," they said.'

75 *Ota te otara te awamakebisiyahi*  
 otaa tee otara tee awa -makI -bisa -yahi  
 1EX 2PL 1EX.O 2PL.S see following also DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron pron pron vt

"You come and see us, too."

76 *Te ota awamaba otani me ati*  
 tee otaa awa -ma -haba otaa -ni me ati  
 2PL.O 1EX.S see back 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 come and see you again," they said.'

77 *Me me me , faya me bana me , towisawa ka kimi*  
 me me me faya me bana+F me towisawa ka kimi  
 3PL 3PL 3PL so 3PL.S move away 3PL.S chief POSS corn  
 pron pron pron conj pron vi pron nm prt nm

*me hikanikematamona , towisawa towisawa Miri*  
 me hi- ka- nika -himata -mona towisawa towisawa Miri  
 3PL.S OC COMMIT buy FP.N+M REP+M chief chief (man's name)  
 pron vt nm nm npropm



## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

86 *Hinaka*      *kimibona*      *hekiti*                      *kimi*      *wara*  
 hinaka      kimi -bona      hi- ka-      iti+M      kimi      wara  
 3SG.POSS      corn INT+M      OC      COMIT take out      corn      grab  
 pron      nm                      vt                      nm      vt

***tokowematamona***

to- ka-      na      -waha      -himata      -mona  
 CH      COMIT AUX change FP.N+M      REP+M  
 aux

'He got some corn for him. He took the corn.'

87 *Fara*              *fara*              ?  
 faa -ra      faa -ra  
 that NPQ      that NPQ  
 dem              dem

""What about that?""

88 *Himataro*              ?  
 himata -ro  
 what?  
 nf

""What?""

89 *Sisiri*              *sisiri*              *ati*      *nematamonane*                      ,      *sisiri*  
 si- siri      si- siri      ati      na -himata -mona -ne      ,      si- siri  
 DUP scrape      DUP scrape      say      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M      BKG+M      DUP scrape  
 nf                      nf                      vt      aux                      nf

""The thing for scraping," he said. "The thing for scraping.""

90 *Yimawa*      *bite*              ?  
 yimawa      bite  
 knife      small+F  
 nf              adj

""A knife?""

91 *Ee*      *ee*      *ee*      *ati*      *nematamonaka*  
 ee      ee      ee      ati      na -himata -mona -ka  
 yes      yes      yes      say      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M  
 interj      interj      interj      vt      aux

""Yes, yes," he said.'

92 *Yimawa*      *bite*              *ya*      *hekawematamona*  
 yimawa      bite              ya      hi- ka-      kawa                      -himata -mona  
 knife      small+F      ADJU      OC      COMIT give something to FP.N+M      REP+M  
 nf              adj              prt      vt

'He gave him a knife.'

93 *Ota*              *tokomakibonehe*  
 otaa      to- ka              -makI.NOM      -bone -he  
 1EX.S      away go/come following INT+F      DUP  
 pron      vi

""We are going.""

94 *Ota*              ,      *e*              *tabi*                      *nofa*              *otara*      *te*  
 otaa              ,      ee              taba                      nofa+F              otara      tee  
 1EX              1IN.S      be together      recently      1EX.O      2PL.S  
 pron              pron      vi                      prt                      pron      pron

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

**kakanakosibanani**

ka- kana -kosa+F -bana -ni  
COMIT leave middle FUT BKG+F  
vt

"We have been together, but now you are going to leave us."

95 **Ota tokomakibone**

otaa to- ka -ma -ke -bone  
1EX.S away go/come back DECL+F INT+F  
pron vi

"We are going back."

96 **Faya me , faya me hekanakosematamona**

faya me faya me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona fahi  
so 3PL so 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M then  
conj pron conj pron vt dem

'Then they left him behind.'

97 **Me me hekanakosawemetemoneni**

me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
pron pron vt

'They left them behind.'

98 **Me bana me okiti me bana**

me bana+F me o- ka iti me bana+F  
3PL.S move away 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.S move away  
pron vi pron nm pron vi

**me kamimetemone amake ahi**

me ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
pron vi vc dem

'They moved to another place. My grandfather and the others moved to another place. They came this way.'

99 **Araka Barone kaya ne awane**

Araka Barone kaya na+M awa -ne  
(name of village) stand AUX seem+M BKG+M  
npropm vi aux sec

'The Araka Barone stream is there.'

100 **Araka Barone ya me kariwamemetemoneke**

Araka Barone ya me ka -riwaha -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
(name of village) ADJU 3PL.S go/come across back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
npropm prt pron vi

**fahi**

fahi  
then  
dem

'They crossed the Araka Barone stream coming this way.'

101 **Koriwa fa , Koriwa fa me fiya nama**

Koriwa faha Koriwa faha me fiya na -ma.LIST  
Curiá stream Curiá stream 3PL.S pass AUX back  
npropf nf npropf nf pron vt aux

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

*iteni*                      *ee*                      ,                      *kabo*                      *kabo*                      *me*                      *fiya*  
 itehani                      ee                      ,                      kabo                      kabo                      me                      fiya  
 whatchamacallit (pause)                      treeless area                      treeless area                      3PL.S                      pass  
 nm                      interj                      nf                      nf                      pron                      vt

*nama*                      *nemetemone*                      *ahi* .  
 na -ma.LIST                      na -hemete -mone                      ahi  
 AUX back                      AUX FP.N+F                      REP+F                      then  
 aux                      aux                      dem

'They came past the Curiá River, and they came past a treeless area.'

102 *Me*                      *kamemetemone* .  
 me                      ka                      -ma -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S                      go/come back                      FP.N+F                      REP+F  
 pron                      vi

'They came on.'

103 *Koriwa*                      *bari*                      *me*                      ,                      *Koriwa*                      *ya*                      *me*                      *tokaha*                      ,  
 Koriwa                      bari                      me                      ,                      Koriwa                      ya                      me                      to- ka+F  
 Curiá                      other side                      3PL.S                      Curiá                      ADJU                      3PL.S                      away go/come  
 npropf                      pn                      pron                      npropf                      prt                      pron                      vi

*Koriwa*                      *ya*                      *me*                      *toka*                      *me*                      *kamemetemone* .  
 Koriwa                      ya                      me                      to- ka+F                      me                      ka                      -ma -hemete -mone  
 Curiá                      ADJU                      3PL.S                      away go/come                      3PL.S                      go/come back                      FP.N+F                      REP+F  
 npropf                      prt                      pron                      vi                      pron                      vi

'They travelled on the other side of the Curiá River, and then came this way.'

104 *Koriwa*                      *ya*                      *me*                      *kariwa*                      *me*                      ,                      *Koriwa*                      *bari*  
 Koriwa                      ya                      me                      ka                      -riwaha+F                      me                      ,                      Koriwa                      bari  
 Curiá                      ADJU                      3PL.S                      go/come across                      3PL.S                      Curiá                      other side  
 npropf                      prt                      pron                      vi                      pron                      npropf                      pn

*ya*                      *me*                      *kabasawama*                      *me*                      ,                      *me*  
 ya                      me                      ka                      -basa -waha -ma+F                      me                      ,                      me  
 ADJU                      3PL.S                      go/come edge change back                      3PL.S                      3PL.S  
 prt                      pron                      vi                      pron                      pron

*kariwamemetemone*                      ,                      *awa*                      *me*                      *ka*                      *na*                      *mati* .  
 ka                      -riwaha -ma -hemete -mone                      ,                      awa                      me                      kaa                      na+F                      mati  
 go/come across back                      FP.N+F                      REP+F                      tree                      3PL.S                      chop                      AUX                      3PL.S  
 vi                      nf                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron

'They crossed the Curiá. They came along the edge of the Curiá on the other side. They crossed this way, after having cut down a tree.'

105 *Me*                      *kabasawama*                      *me*                      *kariwama*                      *me*  
 me                      ka                      -basa -waha -ma+F                      me                      ka                      -riwaha -ma+F                      me  
 3PL.S                      go/come edge change back                      3PL.S                      go/come across back                      3PL.S  
 pron                      vi                      pron                      vi                      pron

*Amara Wari*                      *ya* .  
 Amara Wari                      ya  
 (name of place)                      ADJU  
 npropm                      prt

'They came along on the bank of the river, and they crossed to this side at Amara Wari.'

106 *Amara Wari*                      *ya*                      *me*                      *kabasawama*                      *me*                      ,                      *me*  
 Amara Wari                      ya                      me                      ka                      -basa -waha -ma+F                      me                      ,                      me  
 (name of place)                      ADJU                      3PL.S                      go/come edge change back                      3PL.S                      3PL.S  
 npropm                      prt                      pron                      vi                      pron                      pron





## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

**namimetemone**

na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone  
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They came on. They stopped at the Fa Biri stream.'

114 **Tamaka kaya nineni**  
 Tamaka kaya na -ne -ni  
 (stream name) stand AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 npropf vi aux

'The Tamaka stream is there.'

115 **Me tabori bote watineke faro Tamaka**  
 me tabori bote wata -ne -ke faaro Tamaka  
 3PL.POSS place+F old be located CONT+F DECL+F that+F (stream name)  
 pron pn adj vi dem npropf

**kaya ni karo**  
 kaya na.NOM+F karo  
 stand AUX LOC  
 vi aux prt

'There is an old village of theirs there where the Tamaka stream is.'

116 **Faya awa me ti na me awa me ka na**  
 faya awa me tii na+F me , awa me kaa na+F  
 so tree 3PL.S cut through AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S chop AUX  
 conj nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

**me awa me nabiha bato yafi me ka yamata isi**  
 me awa me na- ahaba+F , bato yafi me ka yamata isi  
 3PL.S tree 3PL.S CAUS end Banawá 3PL POSS crops stalk+F  
 pron nf pron vt npropm pron prt nf pn

**me koro namemetemone**  
 me koro na -ma -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S plant AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vt aux

'They cut down the brush. They cut down the trees. They finished cutting down the trees. They planted the stalks of the crops of the Banawás.'

117 **Me tafe me wasimemete me awineke**  
 me tafe me wasi -ma -hemete me awineke -ke  
 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S find back FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron pn pron vt pron sec

'They found their crops from before.'

118 **Me me wiwini toi na toaremetemone**  
 me , me wi- wina.NOM to- ha.NOM na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron vi aux aux aux

**me tabori bote amake**  
 me tabori bote ama -ke  
 3PL.POSS place+F old be DECL+F  
 pron pn adj vc

'It is the old village of the people who didn't live there for long.'

119 **Me kama namahite me**  
 me ka -ma na -ma -hitI me  
 3PL.S go/come back AUX back along the way 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

### *kamimetemone*

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

'They came along. They kept coming.'

120 *Boto* *me* *hiwasimemetemone*  
boto me hi- wasi -ma -hemete -mone  
sandy clearing 3PL.S OC find back FP.N+F REP+F  
nf pron vt

*itineti* *boto* *bote* *toharo*  
ita -ne -tee.NOM boto bote to- ha -haaro  
be located CONT+F HAB sandy clearing old CH be IP.E+F  
vi nf adj vc

'The sandy clearing that they found is still there, the old sandy clearing.'

121 *Me* *kamemetete* *me* *awineke*  
me ka -ma -hemete me awineke -ke  
3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
pron vi pron sec

'They came on.'

122 *Me* *tokomimetemone* *Wara*  
me to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone Wara  
3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F (name of lake)  
pron vi npropf

*itineke*  
ita -ne -ke  
be located CONT+F DECL+F  
vi

'They went to the Wara lake.'

123 *Faya* *me* *towinamimetemone* *amake* *fahi*  
faya me to- wina -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke fahi  
so 3PL.S away live back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
conj pron vi vc dem

'They lived there.'

124 *Me* *towinama* *awa* *me* *kaka* *toimetemone*  
me to- wina -ma+F awa me ka- kaa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone  
3PL.S away live back tree 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
pron vi nf pron vt aux

*amani*  
ama -ni  
be BKG+F  
vc

'They lived there, and they cut down trees.'

125 *Me* *ka* *fatara* *bote* *kaya* *nabasineni*  
me ka fatara bote kaya na -basa -ne -ni  
3PL POSS garden old stand AUX edge CONT+F BKG+F  
pron prt nf adj vi aux

*Kawa Fa* *ete* *ya*  
Kawa Fa ete ya  
(name of stream) bank+M ADJU  
npropm pn prt

'Their old gardens are beside the Kawa Fa stream.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

126 *Me*        *wiwina*        *toa*        *me*        ,        *me*        *wiwina*        *toa*        *me*  
 me        wi- wina        to- ha+F        me        ,        me        wi- wina        to- ha+F        me  
 3PL.S        DUP live        CH        AUX        3PL.S        3PL.S        DUP live        CH        AUX        3PL.POSS  
 pron        vi        aux        pron        pron        vi        aux        pron

*ebe*        *awamatasimetemone*        *amake*  
 ebe        awa -ma -tasa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 RECIP        see back again        FP.N+F REP+F        be DECL+F  
 pn        vt        vc

'They lived there a long time. Then they saw each other again.'

127 *Me*        *e*        *towamake*        *mata*  
 me        ee        to- awa -makI        mata  
 3PL.O        1IN.S        away see following        for now  
 pron        pron        vt        prt

'''Let's go see them.'''

128 *Me*        *e*        *towamake*        *mata*  
 me        ee        to- awa -makI        mata  
 3PL.O        1IN.S        away see following        for now  
 pron        pron        vt        prt

'''Let's go see them.'''

129 *Me*        *hawi*        *me*        *hiwatomete*  
 me        hawi        me        hi- wato.NOM -mete  
 3PL.POSS        trail+F        3PL.S        OC        know        FP.N+F  
 pron        pn        pron        vt

'They knew their trail.'

130 *Me*        *kake*        *me*        *yaka*        *kana*        *me*  
 me        ka        -kI        me        yaka        ka-        na+F        me  
 3PL.S        go/come coming        3PL.S        walk        COMIT AUX        3PL.S  
 pron        vi        pron        vi        aux        pron

*kakamake*        *me*        *amo*        *kasamake*        ,        *me*  
 ka-        ka        -makI        me        amo        ka-        na        -kosa        -makI        ,        me  
 COMIT go/come following        3PL.S        sleep        COMIT AUX middle following        3PL.S  
 vi        pron        vi        aux        pron

*kakamakewa*        *me*        *amo*  
 ka-        ka        -makI        -waha+F        ,        me        amo  
 COMIT go/come following change        3PL.S        sleep  
 vi        pron        vi

*kasamaketasa*        *me*        ,        *Hibaka*        *me*        *winaha*        ?  
 ka-        na        -kosa        -makI        -tasa+F        me        ,        hibaka        me        wina+F  
 COMIT AUX middle following again        3PL.S        where        3PL.S        live  
 aux        pron        interrog        pron        vi

'They came. The two of them walked. They came. They slept on the way. They came some more. They slept on the way again. "Where do they live?'''

131 *Me*        *tokomate*        *me*        *awine*        *ahi*  
 me        to- ka        -ma -tee        me        awine        ahi  
 3PL.S        away go/come back HAB        3PL.S        seem+F        there  
 pron        vi        pron        sec        dem

'''I guess they went that way.'''

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

132 *Me kakamaketasas me amo*  
 me ka- ka -makI -tasa+F me amo  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following again 3PL.S sleep  
 pron vi pron vi

*kanamaketasemetemone Bata Kote So Tosi ka*  
 ka- na -makI -tasa -hemete -mone Bata Kote So Tosi ka  
 COMIT AUX following again FP.N+F REP+F (village name) pertaining to  
 vi npropf prt

*yama*  
 yama  
 thing  
 nf

'They came on, and slept again, at Bata Kote So Tosi.'

133 *Afamete ya e nanaho tohineke*  
 afa -mete ya ee na- naho to- ha -ne -ke  
 this+F FP.N+F ADJU 1IN.S DUP stay CH be CONT+F DECL+F  
 dem prt pron vi vc

'That's the old name of the place we now live.'

134 *Faya me amo kana me*  
 faya me amo ka- na+F me  
 so 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi aux pron

*towakamakiminemete ahi*  
 to- ka- ka -makI -mina -hemete ahi  
 away COMIT go/come following morning FP.N+F then  
 vi dem

'They slept, and then went on the next day.'

135 *Afa mera iteni natafa namata*  
 afa mera itehani na- tafa.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata  
 this+F 3PL.O whatchamacallit CAUS eat AUX FP.N+M  
 dem pron nm vt aux

'They are the ones that he fed.'

136 *Hinaka koma hinaka bitimi ka ababona me*  
 hinaka koma hinaka bitimi ka aba -bona me  
 3SG.POSS daughter-in-law 3SG.POSS niece POSS fish INT+M 3PL.S  
 pron nf pron nf prt nm pron

*wara hikanematamonaha*  
 wara hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ha  
 grab OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt aux

'They took the fish that was for his niece.'

137 *Bisimonehe aba wara tokana*  
 Bisi -mone -he aba wara to- ka- na.CONT+M  
 (woman's name) REP+F DUP fish grab CH COMIT AUX  
 npropf nm vt aux

*namata*  
 na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'The man who impersonated Bisi took the fish.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

138 *Me towakamimetete*

me to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -tee  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F HAB  
 pron vi

'They went back.'

139 *Yome biti ati timita*

yomee biti ati ti- mita  
 dog young+M voice 2SG.S hear  
 nm adj pn vt

'Listen to the voice of the little dog.'

140 *Aba me me kakaba toa me wiwina*

aba me me ka- kaba to- ha+F me wi- wina  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S DUP live  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi

*toimetemone*

to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone *amake* , *ee* , *mowe ete* *me*  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F ee (pause) redtail catfish 3PL.O  
 aux vc interj nm pron

*me weye na mati*  
 me weye na+F mati  
 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

'They ate fish. They lived there. They carried redtail catfish.'

141 *Wai Kitari Wai Kitari hiwasiemetemone ama*

Wai Kitari Wai Kitari hi- wasi -hemete -mone ama  
 (man's name) (man's name) OC find FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 npropm npropm vt sec

'Wai Kitari discovered it.'

142 *Wai Kitari hiwasiemete amake , okomise*

Wai Kitari hi- wasi -hemete ama -ke o- ka amise  
 (man's name) OC compose FP.N+F SEC DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 npropm vt sec nf

*hiyari aati toimaro*

hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro  
 speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F  
 vi vt aux

'Wai Kitari discovered it, my aunt always said.'

143 *Wai Kitari hibaka winateraya fari ?*

Wai Kitari hibaka wina -tee -ra -ya faari  
 (man's name) where live HAB CQ+M now that one+M  
 npropm interrog vi dem

'"Where does Wai Kitari live?"'

144 *Me one totowinakosa toimetemone amake*

me one to- to- wina -kosa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 3PL some+F DUP CH live middle CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 pron adj vi aux vc

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'Some of them stayed living behind.'

## VISITING THE BANAWÁS

145 *Me me iso hinamakemetemone me*  
 me me iso hi- na -makI -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off OC AUX following FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron

*towinamine , ota ka ití meteba mati*  
 to- wina -ma -ne , otaa ka ití me -tee -ba mati  
 away live back CONT+F 1EX POSS grandfather 3PL HAB FUT 3PL  
 vi pron prt nm pron pron

'They brought some of the people here, while others live over there, our ancestors.'

## THE SPIRITS

### *Free Translation*

The spirits of people who have died live in the Awa Yima Wari house. The thunder doesn't let anyone come into Yima Wa, the place where they live. The thunder doesn't let anyone come into Awa Yima Wari. The thunder doesn't let anyone into the Wayoma lake, their water. They don't let anyone go to their water, because they don't let anyone go to their village. I haven't seen Wayoma. I have heard its name, when people said its name. I haven't seen the Awa Yima Wari house, either. I haven't seen the place where the spirits of people who have died live. Other people have seen it. A little further on from Awa Yima Wari is the Moniro lake, the other lake of the thunder.

Bad weather comes here all the time, because of the other sky. Because of the other sky, the thunder sends rain here, because it works on the other sky. You haven't heard its sound. The sound of the water hitting can be heard, because of them, the thunder. They have seen it. They always sing about it. I myself haven't seen it. I have heard about it, their talk. I have heard them talk.

The spirits of the people who have died live there. They turned into animals, tapirs. What we eat are not animals, they are our own people. The white-lipped peccary is our people who know a lot. I haven't seen it. They tell about it. Now I am going to see it. I haven't seen it because I don't know much.

The other sky doesn't stop making rain. The other sky sends a lot of water. The other sky is not white. It is dark.

I saw him when he came. The two of them came, and I saw them. I didn't tell about them. They came and I saw them. They were talking together as they came, and I met up with them out there. They were eating *hamise* leaves. They were eating their new food, my brothers-in-law, Bitiro and Sowakana. They were holding *hamise* leaves, to eat the *hamise* leaves. The animals were speaking to one another. I came upon them as they were talking. They really made me scared. It was really scary. When he talked like an animal, it scared me. He was talking with the voice of a tapir. He was a tapir. Their feet were really tapir feet. I met them as they were coming. It was a little further upstream from the high bank upstream from the grove of *hawa* palms. I showed the place where they had left tracks.

The Awa Waini female spirit had taken them. Awa Waini took them. They had sex with her. She wasn't an animal. They were with someone who wasn't an animal. They were with the spirit of someone who had died long before. She took them away. I never sang a song about her. I never sang a song about them.

Another time I saw some birds which live in the flooded forest, the birds of the flooded forest, which were fighting with each other. The birds didn't have any feathers left. Their feathers were in piles on the ground. The birds of Wa Bote that I saw, they are going to live there always. I never saw anything like them. There are many birds living there, including king vultures. The king vultures and the jabirus had been fighting with each other. The swallow-tailed kites and many other birds had been fighting, and none of the birds had any feathers left. They sing songs about them.

We left them there, because a spirit called out. The calling of the spirit went that way. I suppose it lives there. Something made me feel hot. Something made me sweaty. There was a strong smell of animal excrement. There was a strong stench in that place. They were living at the Ora stream. That's where they would live always, fighting each other. I think they killed each other.



## THE SPIRITS

We started home. I stripped some bark off a *hoko* tree on the way back, and finally came home. I stood until my sweat stopped. Then I sat on a log. Then I finally came on home.

"There are birds living over there."

They didn't believe me. The noise of the birds was frightful. I'm telling about the birds that didn't have any feathers. They were bald, like ducks fighting each other, haven't you seen them? We left them there.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Me abateha* , *me abateha* *me korimari*  
 me ahaba -tee+F , me ahaba -tee+F me korimari  
 3PL.S die HAB 3PL.S die HAB 3PL.POSS spirit  
 pron vi pron vi pron pn

*winake* , *Awa Yima Wari ya* .  
 wina -ke , Awa Yima Wari ya  
 lie in hammock DECL+F (place name) ADJU  
 vi npropf prt

'The spirits of people who have died live in the Awa Yima Wari house.'

2 *Me tabori bai me hikayawa hike* ,  
 me tabori bahi me hi- ka- yawa hi- ke  
 3PL.POSS place+F thunder 3PL.S OC COMIT be upset OC DECL+F  
 pron pn nm pron vt prt

*ee* , *Yima Wa karo* .  
 ee Yima Waa karo  
 (pause) (name of place) LOC  
 interj npropf prt

'The thunder doesn't let anyone come into Yima Wa, the place where they live.'

3 *Awa Yima Wari wai bai me kayawake* .  
 Awa Yima Wari waa.NFIN bahi me ka- yawa -ke  
 (place name) stand thunder 3PL.S COMIT be upset DECL+F  
 nf vi nm pron vt

'The thunder doesn't let anyone come into Awa Yima Wari.'

4 *Wayoma Wayoma iti bai me*  
 Wayoma Wayoma ita.NFIN bahi me  
 (name of lake) (name of lake) sit sun 3PL.S  
 npropf npropf vi nm pron

*kayawake* , *me fehe iti* .  
 ka- yawa -ke , me fehe ita.NFIN  
 COMIT be upset DECL+F 3PL.POSS water+F sit  
 vt pron pn vi

'The thunder doesn't let anyone into the Wayoma lake, their water.'

5 *Me fehe iti me kayawake* , *me*  
 me fehe ita.NFIN me ka- yawa -ke , me  
 3PL.POSS water+F sit 3PL.S COMIT be upset DECL+F 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vi pron vt pron

*tabori me kayawa mati* .  
 tabori me ka- yawa+F mati  
 place+F 3PL.S COMIT be upset 3PL.S  
 pn pron vt pron

'They don't let anyone go to their water, because they don't let anyone go to their village.'

## THE SPIRITS

6 **Wayoma**                      **Wayoma**                      ,                      **owa**                      **okere**  
 Wayoma                      Wayoma                      o-                      awa                      o-                      ke                      -re  
 (name of lake)                      (name of lake)                      1SG.S                      see                      1SG.S                      DECL+F                      NEG+F  
 npropf                      npropf                      vt                      prt

'I haven't seen Wayoma.'

7 **Owara**                      **ini**                      **omitate**                      **amake**                      **ini**                      **me**                      **hiri**  
 o-                      awa -ra+F                      ini                      o-                      mita -tee                      ama -ke                      ini                      me                      hiri  
 1SG.S                      see NEG                      name+F                      1SG.S                      hear HAB                      SEC                      DECL+F                      name+F                      3PL.S                      say  
 vt                      pn                      vt                      sec                      pn                      pron                      vt

**hinaharo**

hi- na -haaro  
 OC AUX IP.E+F

aux

'I have heard its name, when people said its name.'

8 **Awa Yima Wari**                      **wai**                      **owarihi**                      ,                      **oke**  
 Awa Yima Wari                      waa.NFIN                      o-                      awa -rihi                      o-                      na -ke  
 (place name)                      stand                      1SG.S                      see NEG.LIST                      1SG.S                      AUX                      DECL+F  
 nf                      vi                      vt                      prt

'I haven't seen the Awa Yima Wari house, either.'

9 **Me**                      **abateha**                      **me**                      **korimari**                      **wini**                      **ka**                      **yama**  
 me                      ahaba -tee+F                      me                      korimari                      wina.NOM+F                      ka                      yama  
 3PL.S                      die                      HAB                      3PL.POSS                      spirit                      live                      POSS                      thing  
 pron                      vi                      pron                      pn                      vi                      prt                      nf

**owa**

**okare**

o-                      awa                      o-                      ka                      -re  
 1SG.S                      see                      1SG.S                      DECL                      NEG+F  
 vt                      prt

'I haven't seen the place where the spirits of people who have died live.'

10 **Me**                      **hiwate**                      **awineke**  
 me                      hi- awa -tee                      awineke -ke  
 3PL.S                      OC                      see                      HAB                      seem+F                      DECL+F  
 pron                      vt                      sec

'Other people have seen it.'

11 **Awa Yima Wari**                      **wai**                      **sene**                      **toni**                      **ya**                      **Moniro**  
 Awa Yima Wari                      waa.NFIN                      sene                      to- na+F                      ya                      Moniro  
 (place name)                      stand                      move a little                      CH                      AUX                      ADJU                      (name of lake)  
 nf                      vi                      vi                      aux                      prt                      npropf

**itineke**

ita -ne                      -ke                      ,                      **bai**                      **me**                      **fe**                      **one**  
 sit                      CONT+F                      DECL+F                      sun                      3PL.POSS                      water+F                      other+F  
 vi                      nm                      pron                      pn                      adj

'A little further on from Awa Yima Wari is the Moniro lake, the other lake of the thunder.'

12 **Yawarene**                      **yawineke**                      **neme**                      **one**                      **ihi**  
 yawa                      -ra -hene                      yawa                      -ne                      -ke                      neme                      one                      ihi  
 be upset                      NEG                      IRR+F                      be upset                      CONT+F                      DECL+F                      sky                      other+F                      because of+F  
 vi                      vi                      nf                      adj                      post

'Bad weather comes here all the time, because of the other sky.'

## THE SPIRITS

13 *Neme one ihi* , *bai fa me*  
 neme one ihi , bahi faha me  
 sky other+F because of+F sun water 3PL.S  
 nf adj post nm nf pron

*nakifakoneke* , *neme one me*  
 na- ka -kI -fako -ne -ke , neme one me  
 CAUS go/come coming constantly CONT+F DECL+F sky other+F 3PL.S  
 vt nf adj pron

*ahi ni karo* .  
 ahi na+F karo  
 work on AUX because  
 vt aux prt

'Because of the other sky, the thunder sends rain here, because it works on the other sky.'

14 *Moni timitara* *awineke* .  
 moni ti- mita -ra+F awine -ke  
 sound 2SG.S hear NEG seem+F DECL+F  
 pn vt sec

'You haven't heard its sound.'

15 *Moni betoto* *rima* *na awineke*  
 moni betoto na -rima na+F awine -ke  
 sound (sound of water hitting) AUX intermittent AUX seem+F DECL+F  
 pn vi aux aux sec

*me ihi bai mati* .  
 me ihi bahi mati  
 3PL.POSS because of+F sun 3PL  
 pron post nm pron

'The sound of the water hitting can be heard, because of them, the thunder.'

16 *Me hiwate* *awineke* .  
 me hi- awa -tee awine -ke  
 3PL.S OC see HAB seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vt sec

'They have seen it.'

17 *Tai me hihiri hiharawa hike* .  
 tahi me hi- hiri hi- to- ha -rawa hi- ke  
 song about 3PL.S DUP say OC CH AUX F.PL OC DECL+F  
 pn pron vt aux prt

'They always sing about it.'

18 *Yama owa okare ha owa* .  
 yama o- awa o- ka -re haa owa  
 thing 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL NEG+F DEM 1SG  
 nf vt prt dem pron

'I myself haven't seen it.'

19 *Tamine omitine oke me hiyari* .  
 tamine o- mita -ne o- ke me hiyara.NFIN  
 news about 1SG.S hear CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 3PL.S speak  
 pn vt prt pron vi

'I have heard about it, their talk.'

## THE SPIRITS

20 *Me hiyari omita oke*  
 me hiyara.NFIN o- mita o- ke  
 3PL.S speak 1SG.S hear 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vi vt prt

'I have heard them talk.'

21 *Me abate me korimari winineke hine ya*  
 me ahaba -tee me korimari wina -ne -ke hine ya  
 3PL.S die HAB 3PL.POSS spirit live CONT+F DECL+F only ADJU  
 pron vi pron pn vi pron prt

*bani me me toha mati , awi mati*  
 bani me me to- ha+F mati , awi mati  
 animal 3PL.COMPL 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S tapir 3PL  
 nm pron pron vc pron nm pron

'The spirits of the people who have died live there. They turned into animals, tapirs.'

22 *Bani amare bani amare ota*  
 bani ama -ra+M bani ama -ra+M otaa  
 animal be NEG animal be NEG 1EX.S  
 nm vc nm vc pron

*kabinekiteke fara ota one mati*  
 kaba -ne -kI.NOM -tee -ke fara otaa one mati  
 eat BKG+M coming HAB DECL+F same+F 1EX other+F 3PL  
 vt dem pron adj pron

'What we eat are not animals, they are our own people.'

23 *Yama e yama yama e awabote , yama e awabote*  
 yama ee yama yama ee awa -bote , yama ee awa -bote  
 thing 1IN.S thing thing 1IN.S see very thing 1IN.S see very  
 nf pron nf nf pron adj nf pron adj

*abe ebene amake hiyama*  
 abe ebene ama -ke hiyama  
 inhabitant+F inhabitant be DECL+F white-lipped peccary  
 pn pn vc nm

'The white-lipped peccary is our people who know a lot.'

24 *Owara me hihiyarate amake*  
 o- awa -ra+F me hi- hiyara -tee ama -ke  
 1SG.S see NEG 3PL.S OC tell HAB SEC DECL+F  
 vt pron vt sec

'I haven't seen it. They tell about it.'

25 *Owabanake , waha*  
 o- awa -habana -ke , waha  
 1SG.S see FUT+F DECL+F now  
 vt prt

'Now I am going to see it.'

26 *Yama yama owatori ka owatera*  
 yama yama o- wato -ra.NOM+F ka o- awa -tee -ra+F  
 thing thing 1SG.S know NEG because 1SG.S see HAB NEG  
 nf nf vt prt vt

*amani*  
 ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'I haven't seen it because I don't know much.'

## THE SPIRITS

27 *Neme one yawi fawa kere*  
 neme one yawa.NFIN fawa na -ke -re  
 sky other+F be upset stop AUX DECL+F NEG+F  
 nf adj vi vi aux

'The other sky doesn't stop making rain.'

28 *Neme one fe kasiroke*  
 neme one fehe kasiro -ke  
 sky other+F water+F persist DECL+F  
 nf adj pn vi

'The other sky sends a lot of water.'

29 *Neme one noki sawara awineke furo*  
 neme one noki sawa -ra+F awine -ke faaro  
 sky other+F color+F be white NEG seem+F DECL+F that+F  
 nf adj pn vi sec dem

'The other sky is not white.'

30 *Bisa awineke noki*  
 bisa+F awine -ke noki  
 be dirty seem+F DECL+F color+F  
 vi sec pn

'It is dark.'

31 *Kamakino owehimari*  
 ka -makI -hino o- awa -himari  
 go/come following IP.N+M 1SG.S see FP.E+M  
 vi vt

'I saw him when he came.'

32 *Me kakamakehani me owamaro me*  
 me ka- ka -makI -hani me o- awa -hamaro me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.O 1SG.S see FP.E+F 3PL.O  
 pron vi pron vt pron

'The two of them came, and I saw them.'

33 *Me okomina*  
 me o- kamina  
 3PL.O 1SG.S tell  
 pron vt

'I didn't tell about them.'

34 *Me kakamake me owa me*  
 me ka- ka -makI me o- awa+F me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL.O 1SG.S see 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vt pron

*kakamakehani me ebe hiyarani me*  
 ka- ka -makI -hani me ebe hiyara -hani me  
 COMIT go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.POSS RECIP speak to IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 vi pron pn vt pron

*owasimamaro mati*  
 o- to- wasi -ma -hamaro mati  
 1SG.S away find back FP.E+F 3PL.O  
 vt pron

'They came and I saw them. They were talking together as they came, and I met up with them out there.'

## THE SPIRITS

35 *Hamise* , *hamise* *afe* *me* *kabehemeteni*  
 hamise , hamise afe me kaba -hemete -ni  
 epiphyte sp epiphyte sp leaf+F 3PL.S eat FP.N+F BKG+F  
 nf nf pn pron vt

'They were eating *hamise* leaves.'

36 *Me* *tafetebone* *me* *kabehemeteni* , *oko*  
 me tafe -tee -bone me kaba -hemete -ni o- ka  
 3PL.POSS food+F HAB INT+F 3PL.S eat FP.N+F BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS  
 pron pn pron vt prt

*wabo* *mati* *Bitiro* *ya* , *Bitiro* *ya* *Sowakana*  
 wabo mati Bitiro ya Bitiro ya Sowakana  
 brother-in-law 3PL (man's name) ADJU (man's name) ADJU (man's name)  
 nm pron npropm prt npropm prt npropm

*me* *fama* *mati*  
 me fama+F mati  
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

'They were eating their new food, my brothers-in-law, Bitiro and Sowakana.'

37 *Hamise* *afe* *ra* *me* *tama* *kanikimamaroni*  
 hamise afe ra me tama ka- na -kima -hamaro -ni  
 epiphyte sp leaf+F O 3PL.S hold onto COMMIT AUX two FP.E+F BKG+F  
 nf pn prt pron vt aux

*hamise* *afe* *me* *kababone* *mati*  
 hamise afe me kaba -habone mati  
 epiphyte sp leaf+F 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.S  
 nf pn pron vt pron

'They were holding *hamise* leaves, to eat the *hamise* leaves.'

38 *Bani* *me* *bani* *bani* *me* *me* *ebe* *hiyaremeteni*  
 bani me bani bani me me ebe hiyara -hemete -ni  
 animal 3PL animal animal 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP speak to FP.N+F BKG+F  
 nm pron nm nm pron pron pn vt

'The animals were speaking to one another.'

39 *Me* *ebe* *hiyarani* *me* *owasimamaroke*  
 me ebe hiyara -hani me o- to- wasi -ma -hamaroke  
 3PL.POSS RECIP speak to IP.N+F 3PL.O 1SG.S away find back  
 pron pn vt pron vt

'I came upon them as they were talking.'

40 *Obo* *me* *si* *tonihamaroke* *owa* *me*  
 o- habo me sii to- niha- na -hamaro -ke owa me  
 1SG.POSS courage 3PL.S stand CH CAUS AUX FP.E+F DECL+F 1SG.O 3PL.S  
 pn pron vi aux pron pron

*kanakomeha* *mati*  
 ka- na- komeha mati  
 COMMIT CAUS be fearsome 3PL.S  
 vt pron

'They really made me scared.'

41 *Yama* *yofinarawamaro* *ama* *ahi*  
 yama yofina -rawa -hamaro ama -ke ahi  
 thing cause fear F.PL FP.E+F SEC DECL+F then  
 nf vi sec dem

## THE SPIRITS

'It was really scary.'

42	<b>Bani</b>	<b>amare</b>		<b>bani</b>	<b>amare</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>iti</b>	<b>owa</b>
	bani	ama -ra+M	,	bani	ama -ra+M	bani	ati	iti+M	owa
	animal	be NEG		animal	be NEG	animal	voice	say	1SG.O
	nm	vc		nm	vc	nm	pn	vt	pron

**kanakomehemari**

ka-	na-	komeha		-himari	,	<b>wati</b>		
COMIT	CAUS	be fearsome		FP.E+M		waa	-tee.NOM	
vt						stand	HAB	
						vi		

'When he talked like an animal, it scared me.'

43	<b>Awi</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>itihimari</b>
	awi	ati	iti -himari
	tapir	voice	say FP.E+M
	nm	pn	vt

'He was talking with the voice of a tapir.'

44	<b>Awi</b>	<b>tohemata</b>		<b>awaka</b>
	awi	to- ha -himata		awa -ka
	tapir	CH AUX FP.N+M		seem+M DECL+M
	nm	vc		sec

'He was a tapir.'

45	<b>Awimata</b>	<b>awaka</b>
	awi -mata	awa -ka
	tapir FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M
	nm	sec

'He was a tapir.'

46	<b>Me</b>	<b>tame</b>	<b>fiya</b>	<b>toramaroke</b>
	me	tame	fiya	to- na -ra -hamaro -ke
	3PL.POSS	foot+F	pass	CH AUX NEG FP.E+F DECL+F
	pron	pn	vt	aux

'Their feet were really tapir feet.'

47	<b>Yama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ka</b>	,	<b>yama</b>	<b>me</b>
	yama	me	tai	yama	me	tai	na+F	ka		yama	me
	thing	3PL.S	step on	thing	3PL.S	step on	AUX	POSS		thing	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	nf	pron	vt	aux	prt		nf	pron

<b>tai</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>yama</b>	,	<b>me</b>	,	<b>afa</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>
tai	na+F	ka	yama		me		afa	bani	me
step on	AUX	POSS	thing		3PL		this+F	animal	3PL.O
vt	aux	prt	nf		pron		dem	nm	pron

**owasimimaro**

o-	to-	wasi	-ma.NOM+F	-maro	<b>ya</b>	<b>yama</b>	,	<b>onatamina</b>	
1SG.S	away	find	back	FP.E+F	ADJU	thing		1SG.S CAUS	be good
vt					prt	nf		vt	

<b>hawa</b>	<b>boti</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>kakatima</b>		<b>ate</b>
hawa	boti	ka	faha	ka- ka	-tima+F	ate
palm sp	bunch+F	LOC	water	COMIT go/come	upstream	bank+F
nf	pn	prt	nf	vi		pn

**kikimisamaki**

ki-	ka	-misa	-makI	<b>raba</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>
DUP	go/come up		following	na -raba	na+F	ya	me
vi				AUX a bit	AUX	ADJU	3PL.S
				aux	aux	prt	pron

## THE SPIRITS

<b>kakamakehani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kobo</b>	<b>onamaroke</b>	<b>fahi</b>
ka- ka -makI -hani	me	kobo	o- na -hamaro -ke	fahi
COMIT go/come following IP.N+F	3PL.O	meet	1SG.S AUX FP.E+F DECL+F	then
vi	pron	vt	vt	dem

'I met them as they were coming. It was a little further upstream from the high bank upstream from the grove of *hawa* palms. I showed the place where they had left tracks.'

48 <b>Awa Waini</b>	<b>Awa Waini</b>	<b>me</b>
Awa Waini	Awa Waini	me
(name of spirit)	(name of spirit)	3PL.O
npropf	npropf	pron

<b>hekamaroke</b>
hi- to- ka- ka -hamaro -ke
OC away COMIT go/come FP.E+F DECL+F
vt

'The Awa Waini female spirit had taken them.'

49 <b>Awa Waini</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hekamarohoni</b>
Awa Waini	me	hi- to- ka- ka -hamaro -ho -ni
(name of spirit)	3PL.O	OC away COMIT go/come FP.E+F DUP BKG+F
npropf	pron	vt

'Awa Waini took them.'

50 <b>Me</b>	<b>hikanahiwate</b>	<b>awineke</b>
me	hi- ka- na- hiwa	-tee awine -ke
3PL.S	OC COMIT CAUS have children	HAB seem+F DECL+F
pron	vt	sec

'They had sex with her.'

51 <b>Me</b>	<b>hikanahiwemete</b>	<b>awineke</b>
me	hi- ka- na- hiwa	-hemete awine -ke
3PL.S	OC COMIT CAUS have children	FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F
pron	vt	sec

'They had sex with her.'

52 <b>Bani</b>	<b>amaramaro</b>
bani	ama -ra -hamaro
animal	be NEG FP.E+F
nm	vc

'She wasn't an animal.'

53 <b>Bani</b>	<b>amara</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabamaroni</b>
bani	ama -ra+F	ya	me	taba -hamaro -ni
animal	be NEG	ADJU	3PL.S	be together FP.E+F BKG+F
nm	vc	pvt	pron	vi

'They were with someone who wasn't an animal.'

54 <b>Inamati</b>	<b>abemete</b>	<b>korimari</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabamaroni</b>
inamati	ahaba -hemete	korimari	ya	me	taba -hamaro -ni
spirit	die FP.N+F	spirit	ADJU	3PL.S	be together FP.E+F BKG+F
nm	vi	pn	pvt	pron	vi

'They were with the spirit of someone who had died long before.'



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**55 Me hekamakiamaroke**

me hi- to- ka- ka -makI -hamaro -ke  
 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come following FP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vt

'She took them away.'

**56 Tai hiri otera amake**

tahi hiri o- na -tee -ra+F ama -ke  
 song about say 1SG.S AUX HAB NEG SEC DECL+F  
 pn vt aux sec

'I never sang a song about her.'

**57 Me tai hiri otera me amani**

me tahi hiri o- na -tee -ra+F me ama -ni  
 3PL.POSS song about say 1SG.S AUX HAB NEG 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F  
 pron pn vt aux pron sec

'I never sang a song about them.'

**58 Bani me owatasaharo me wina me**

bani me o- awa -tasa -haro me wina+F me  
 animal 3PL.O 1SG.S see again RP.E+F 3PL.S lie in hammock 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron vi pron

**awineke ahi waha ya waha bani mati**  
 awine -ke ahi waha ya waha bani mati  
 seem+F DECL+F there flooded forest ADJU flooded forest animal 3PL  
 sec dem nf prt nf nm pron

, **me abe katomaro mati bani me**  
 me abe katoma -haro mati bani me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP attack RP.E+F 3PL.POSS animal 3PL.S  
 pron pn vt pron nm pron

**winateni me abe katomiroho**  
 wina -tee -hani me abe katoma.NOM+F -ro -ho  
 live HAB IP.N+F 3PL.POSS RECIP attack RP.E+F DUP  
 vi pron pn vt

'Another time I saw some birds which live in the flooded forest, the birds of the flooded forest, which were fighting with each other.'

**59 Bani me kori toharo me ama**

bani me kori to- ha -haaro me ama  
 animal 3PL.POSS naked+F CH be IP.E+F 3PL.POSS SEC  
 nm pron pn vc pron sec

'The birds didn't have any feathers left.'

**60 Me afe ta torero ahi**

me afe taa to- na -rI -haro ahi  
 3PL.POSS feather+F be piled up CH AUX raised surface RP.E+F there  
 pron pn vi aux dem

'Their feathers were in piles on the ground.'

**61 Wa Bote abe Wa Bote abe**  
 Waha Bote abe Waha Bote abe  
 (place name) inhabitant+F (place name) inhabitant+F  
 npropf pn npropf pn

**owaro winibanatini yama**  
 o- awa -haro wina+F -bana -tee.NOM -ni yama  
 1SG.S see RP.E+F live FUT HAB IP.N+F thing  
 vt vi nf







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*okominine*                      *oni* .  
o-      kamina -ne      o-      ni  
1SG.S tell      CONT+F      1SG.S BKG+F  
vt                              prt  
'I'm telling about the birds that didn't have any feathers.'

81 *Me*      *kasisi*                      *naroke*                      *ahi* ,      *bato*      *me*                      *abe*  
me      kasi      -si      na      -haro      -ke      ahi      ,      bato      me                      abe  
3PL.S      be bald      DUP      AUX RP.E+F      DECL+F      then                      duck      3PL.POSS      RECIP  
pron      vi                              aux                              dem                      nm                      pron                      pn

*katoma*      *me*      *aawa*                      *tiari* .  
katoma+F      me      a-      awa      ti-      to-      ha      -ra.NOM+F  
attack      3PL.O      DUP      see      2SG.S CH      AUX      NEG  
vt                      pron      vt                              aux  
'They were bald, like ducks fighting each other, haven't you seen them?'

82 *Me*      *ota*                      *kakosaroke* .  
me      otaa      ka-      kana      -kosa      -haro      -ke  
3PL.O      1EX.S      COMMIT leave middle      RP.E+F      DECL+F  
pron      pron      vt  
'We left them there.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

### *Free Translation*

*Note: Yowao heard about the events of this story from a spirit, and the participants are spirits.*

The enemies killed each other. They went and called each other and brought each other and fought with each other. They fought against each other after coming back, and they killed each other. They went after them to get revenge.

The one who had sent his fellow spirits against them died. Awa Fata Nawa died, he had sent other spirits against them. They killed him. They speared him. They went after them, and they came and fought against them, in revenge. They died. They lifted up their wooden longhouse. The house was destroyed. Awa Fata Nawa's house was destroyed by them. They came back and fought against others, and they died, too. They looked for them and they found others of them, and they fought against them, too.

They had arrows. They shot them with arrows. They caused their arrows to run out. They went after them, and fought with them. Their two women are there at Yima Wa. Their house was destroyed, too. They killed the jaguar that they were raising, a jaguar of the forest, a big jaguar. The jaguar was fierce that they had raised. A spirit killed it. Yima Ainamawi killed it. They yelled, all of them, because they had killed people. Then they came back, after killing people. They killed many women.

They brought two women back, and they are there. Yima Ainamawi brought them back. He is with them. They killed a spirit that lived there. After killing him, they came back. They brought them. The women had an idea. They wanted to go back, but they brought them back.

The floodwaters were in their way. They went around and crossed in the headwaters of the stream. The spirits had a hard time with the dense brush. They came back and they live back this way in a stand of *yawari* palms. The spirits came on the edge of the flooded forest, where there is light. They came by the white-lipped peccaries, which live there, many of them. They came back, and they are living in their village. They had scars from the arrows. They didn't have anything to protect themselves with.

They sang songs about them back at their village.

"Take care of us. I think they will come after us," they said.

The spirit didn't sleep. He sat all night at the door, watching. They spoke, and they sang all night, until dawn, along with the women. Then they switched, and the women sang. Their singing could be heard all day long. Then two women took their turn at guarding, because the others told them to. They are lying in the hammocks that they wove and brought back. They came, and they sang all night long.

"I made a house, and they attacked it. They stopped attacking it, and it is still there. I will build another one."

They all had machetes, spears, clubs. Now they have machetes as weapons; before they only had clubs. They asked Yima Abono for machetes. They have machetes as weapons now, Wa Boniwa and his group. Wa Boniwa and the others asked for machetes, and they have machetes now.

I am saying the name that will be Diego's name, Wa Boniwa. You will call Diego this. He

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

will be Wa Boniwa.

He asked for a machete, and he lives with a machete now. He missed them, and they brought him and he lives there. They also called the others who they encountered on the way back. They brought them. They are with them. They lived by the stream called Wati Tisa Ni, Wa Boniwa and his group. They called them as they were coming back, and they live with them now.

They always went on the paths of the enemies. They are always talking about their enemies, they don't forget them. They never stop talking about their enemies.

They spoke to each other. "Take care of us. We don't know when the ones who we fought against will come here. One of them is still alive," they said.<sup>34</sup>

"We found you."

"We will go back with you. We will live with you," they said. "We will be together. My crops will just be here. My crops will be ruined," he said.

So the spirits moved away. They waited for them [as they got their things ready]. They destroyed their [own] house.

There were many people that came. The women that they brought live with them. They said they will not go back. They married their women, and they in turn will marry their women.

They remember their enemies when they sing. They fought against them again. When they come after them, they will fight against them again. They will want to kill them. They will not kill them.

They have many houses. They are like a city. They are there.

They called each other to go. They offered a feast to one another. They went after game. Their voices could be heard as they chased the white-lipped peccaries, as they were camping in the forest. They were roasting the game on racks during the night. We are few. There were many of them. Toucan breast feathers. Armbands, macaw tails, headdresses. Genip...it was beautiful. The women's "tails"...they were beautiful. They were beautiful. You haven't seen it.

There is a Brazilian there, another Brazilian. There is a Brazilian there who sells things to them. He makes hats for them. They sing. It is nice.

They went with the women to hunt for game for the feast. They went, and a tapir died, also a giant anteater, a deer, some white-lipped peccaries, and a collared peccary. They didn't take long, because they shot their blowguns and many animals died. They all had lines with brown capuchin teeth strung over their bodies. Boniwa and the others never took off their decorations, they slept with them on.

They have day and night like us. The sun comes up over there. It will go down over there. The sun travels fast. The moon goes slower. The sun is hot up close. The heat of the sun will kill you. The sun has a machine [to make it travel]. It is pretty upstream. You haven't seen the place to live upstream. It is very beautiful.

They called each other. "Let's go back. There is a lot of game," they said.

They started out with the animals. They carried the roasted animals in big baskets. Their women carried the hammocks. They came back.

They came upon some women who they heard yelling about a spirit who had died and turned into a jaguar.

"Are those the voices of enemies?"

"They are not the voices of enemies. They are the voices of the women. They are yelling about the jaguar. It is fierce."

It had big teeth. They were yelling about it, and they were not whispering.

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34 That is, one of them survived when we attacked them, and he will call others from other villages to come and attack us.

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

"Shall we arrive in darkness?"

"Let's just keep going. Let's go. Let them see us."

"They are coming. They are coming," they said, the women.

The women went inside. They arrived at the same time. They were outside yelling at the ones inside, carrying game.

The people inside were going around yelling, imitating the squealing of white-lipped peccaries. They were going around yelling, and coming back yelling.

The switches were all breaking, as they were hitting them on the outside of the longhouse.

They acted excited, imitating woolly monkeys. The women were burning the men with brands, because there were many women. You will be burned if there are many women. They were burning them.

They quieted down. The women sang. The men didn't sing. Only the women sang. They sang until dawn.

They cooked the meat in the morning. Then they ate the meat. They were all together in two lines eating meat. They gave them a feast. There was no food left because of them. They ate.

When the sun was a ways on, they wanted to sing. They sang. They sang all night together with the women. They stopped singing at noon.

They had the courage to whip. There were many switches. The switches were breaking one after another. They said it would be good if there were more switches. They were hot, and they wanted to rest.

They were living there. They are like Brazilians. Then they were done hitting each other, and they started something different. Then they caught each other. They didn't leave the village. They caught each other within the village. After having hit each other with switches, they caught each other. They didn't hold them in first, it was after they were hit with switches. They caught each other. When they were finished catching each other, then they burned each other with brands last. The women burned the men with brands. There was a strong smell because of them.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Yawabonehe</b>									
	yawa	-bone	-he	yawa	-bone	ihi	iti+F	to-	ka+F	
	enemies	INT+F	DUP	enemies	INT+F	victim of+F	exist	away	go/come	
	nf			nf		pn	vi	vi		

<b>ebe</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>abe</b>	<b>kakama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>mowa</b>
ebe	haa	na+F	abe	ka- ka	-ma+F	me	ebe	mowa
RECIP	call	AUX	RECIP	COMIT	go/come back	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight
pn	vt	aux	pn	vi		pron	pn	vt

#### **namatehamoneke**

na	-ma	-tee	-hamone	-ke
AUX	back	RP.N	REP+F	DECL+F
aux				

'The enemies killed each other. They went and called each other and brought each other and fought with each other.'

2	<b>Me</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>nama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ebe</b>
	me	ebe	mowa	na -ma+F	me	me	ebe
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX back	3PL.POSS	3PL.POSS	RECIP
	pron	pn	vt	aux	pron	pron	pn





## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

9 *Wabise ya me hitatemonane*  
 wabise ya me hi- ita -tee -himona -ne  
 spear ADJU 3PL.S OC pierce RP.N REP+M BKG+M  
 nf prt pron vt

'They speared him.'

10 *Me me me me tonakamakia me me mowa*  
 me me me me to- na- ka -makI+F me me mowa  
 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O 3PL.S fight  
 pron pron pron pron vt pron pron vt

*hinamaketemoneke manako*  
 hi- na -makI -tee -hamone -ke manako  
 OC AUX following RP.N REP+F DECL+F revenge  
 aux nf

'They went after them, and they came and fought against them, in revenge.'

11 *Me abatemoneke waha*  
 me ahaba -tee -hamone -ke waha  
 3PL.S die RP.N REP+F DECL+F now  
 pron vi prt

'They died.'

12 *Me awe me hititemoneni me ka me*  
 me awe me hi- iti -tee -hamone -ni me ka me  
 3PL.POSS wood+F 3PL.S OC pick up RP.N REP+F BKG+F 3PL POSS 3PL  
 pron pn pron vt pron prt pron

*ka yobe*  
 ka yobe  
 POSS house  
 prt nm

'They lifted up their wooden longhouse.'

13 *Yobe abatemonaka*  
 yobe ahaba -tee -himona -ka  
 house end RP.N REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi

'The house was destroyed.'

14 *Awa Fata Nawa ka yobe abatemonaka fahi me*  
 Awa Fata Nawa ka yobe ahaba -tee -himona -ka fahi me  
 (name of spirit) POSS house end RP.N REP+M DECL+M then 3PL.POSS  
 npropm prt nm vi dem pron

*ihi*  
 ihi  
 because of+F  
 post

'Awa Fata Nawa's house was destroyed by them.'

15 *Me kama me me one me me mowa*  
 me ka -ma+F me me one me me mowa  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL other+F 3PL.O 3PL.S fight  
 pron vi pron pron adj pron pron vt

*hiwahawitia me abatasatemoneke faho*  
 hi- to- na -waha -witI+F me ahaba -tasa -tee -hamone -ke faaro  
 OC away AUX change out 3PL.S die again RP.N REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 aux pron vi dem

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

'They came back and fought against others, and they died, too.'

16 *Me me siba hina me me me siba*  
 me me siba hi- na+F me , me me siba  
 3PL.O 3PL.S look for OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S look for  
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron vt  
*hina me me one me hiwasia me me mowa*  
 hi- na+F me me one me hi- wasi+F me me mowa  
 OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL other+F 3PL.S OC find 3PL.O 3PL.S fight  
 aux pron pron adj pron vt pron pron vt

*hitasatemoneni*

hi- na -tasa -tee -hamone -ni  
 OC AUX again RP.N REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

'They looked for them and they found others of them, and they fought against them, too.'

17 *Wati me kihatemoneke faro*  
 wati me kiha -tee -hamone -ke faaro  
 arrow 3PL.S have RP.N REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 nm pron vt dem

'They had arrows.'

18 *Me me tisa hitemoneke*  
 me me tisa hi- na -tee -hamone -ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX RP.N REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They shot them with arrows.'

19 *Me me tisa hina me me ka wati me*  
 me me tisa hi- na+F me me ka wati me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL POSS arrow 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron pron prt nm pron

*hinafiyo*

hi- to- na- fiyo+M me me hinakamakia  
 OC CH CAUS be all gone 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following  
 vt pron pron vt

*me me mowa hinamakemoneni*  
 me me mowa hi- to- na -makI -tee -hamone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC away AUX following RP.N REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They shot them with arrows. They caused their arrows to run out. They went after them, and fought with them.'

20 *Afa me fanawiritemone kasawia awineke*  
 afa me fanawi -ri -tee -mone ka- sawi+F awine -ke  
 this+F 3PL.POSS woman PN RP.N REP+F COMIT be present seem+F DECL+F  
 dem pron pn vi sec

*ahi , Yima Wa ya*  
 ahi , Yima Waa ya  
 there (name of place) ADJU  
 dem npropf prt

'Their two women are there at Yima Wa.'

21 *Me ka yobe abatasatemonaka fari*  
 me ka yobe ahaba -tasa -tee -himona -ka faari  
 3PL POSS house end again RP.N REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
 pron prt nm vi dem

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

'Their house was destroyed, too.'

22 *Yome* , *yome* *me* *hinawatatehino* *yome* *me*  
 yomee , yomee me hi- na- wata -tee -hino yomee me  
 jaguar jaguar 3PL.S OC CAUS be born HAB IP.N+M jaguar 3PL.S  
 nm nm pron vt nm pron

*hinawatateno* *me* *hinabihatemonaka*  
 hi- na- wata -tee -hino me hi- na- ahaba -tee -himona -ka  
 OC CAUS be born HAB IP.N+M 3PL.S OC CAUS die RP.N REP+M DECL+M  
 vt pron vt

*fari* , *yome* *yama kabani* *kari* , *yome* *webote*  
 faari , yomee yama kabani kari , yomee webote  
 that one+M jaguar forest LOC+M jaguar big  
 dem nm nf prt nm adj

'They killed the jaguar that they were raising, a jaguar of the forest, a big jaguar.'

23 *Yome* *hamatemonane* , *me* *hinawatateno*  
 yomee hama -tee -himona -ne , me hi- na- wata -tee -hino  
 jaguar be mean RP.N REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S OC CAUS be born HAB IP.N+M  
 nm vi pron vt

'The jaguar was fierce that they had raised.'

24 *Inamati* *hinabihatemonaka*  
 inamati hi- na- ahaba -tee -himona -ka  
 spirit OC CAUS die RP.N REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt

'A spirit killed it.'

25 *Yima Ainamawi* *hinabihatemonane*  
 Yima Ainamawi hi- na- ahaba -tee -himona -ne  
 (name of spirit) OC CAUS die RP.N REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt

'Yima Ainamawi killed it.'

26 *Yima Ainamawi* *hinabie* , *me* *ye*  
 Yima Ainamawi hi- na- ahaba+M , me yee  
 (name of spirit) OC CAUS die 3PL.S yell  
 npropm vt pron vi  
*kawatemoneke* *me* *nafi* , *me*  
 ka- na -waha -tee -hamone -ke me nafi , me  
 COMMIT stand change RP.N REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all 3PL.POSS  
 vi pron pn pron

*ihi* *itiha* *mati*  
 ihi iti+F mati  
 victim of+F exist 3PL.POSS  
 pn vi pron

'Yima Ainamawi killed it. They yelled, all of them, because they had killed people.'

27 *Me* *kamatemoneke* *fahi* , *me* *ihi*  
 me ka -ma -tee -hamone -ke fahi , me ihi  
 3PL.S go/come back RP.N REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.POSS victim of+F  
 pron vi dem pron pn

*itiha* *mati*  
 iti+F mati  
 exist 3PL.POSS  
 vi pron

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

'Then they came back, after killing people.'

28 *Me fanawi*    *me fanawi*    *me*    *me*    *katomatemone*    *me*  
 me fanawi    me fanawi    me    me    katoma    -tee -hamone    me  
 women    women    3PL.O    3PL.S    kill many    RP.N REP+F    3PL.POSS  
 nf    nf    pron    pron    vt    pron

*tamine*    *amani*  
 tamine    ama -ni  
 news about    be    BKG+F  
 pn    vc

'They killed many women.'

29 *Me*    *fama*    *me*    *me*    *hekamatemone*    *me*  
 me    fama+F    me    me    hi- ka- ka    -ma -tee -hamone    me  
 3PL.S    be two    3PL.O    3PL.S    OC    COMIT go/come back    RP.N REP+F    3PL.S  
 pron    vi    pron    pron    vt    pron

*kasawia*    *me*    *awineke*  
 ka- sawi+F    me    awineke  
 COMIT be present    3PL.S    seem+F    DECL+F  
 vi    pron    sec

'They brought two of them back, and they are there.'

30 *Yima Ainamawi*    *me*    *Yima Ainamawi*    *me*  
 Yima Ainamawi    me    Yima Ainamawi    me  
 (name of spirit)    3PL    (name of spirit)    3PL.O  
 npropm    pron    npropm    pron

*hekamatemonehe*  
 hi- ka- ka    -ma -tee -hamone -he  
 OC    COMIT go/come back    RP.N REP+F    DUP  
 vt

'Yima Ainamawi brought them back.'

31 *Me*    *ya*    *tabe*    *awane*  
 me    ya    taba+M    awa    -ne  
 3PL    ADJU    be together    seem+M    BKG+M  
 pron prt    vi    sec

'He is with them.'

32 *Inamati*    *winateno*    *me*    *hinahabihatemona*  
 inamati    wina -tee -hino    me    hi- na- ahaba -tee -himona  
 spirit    live HAB    IP.N+M    3PL.S    OC    CAUS die    RP.N REP+M  
 nm    vi    pron    vt

'They killed a spirit that lived there.'

33 *Me*    *hinahabihe*    *me*    *kamatemoneni*  
 me    hi- na- ahaba+M    me    ka    -ma -tee -hamone -ni  
 3PL.S    OC    CAUS die    3PL.S    go/come back    RP.N REP+F    BKG+F  
 pron    vt    pron    vi

'After killing him, they came back.'

34 *Me*    *hekame*    *me*    *me*    *hekama*  
 me    hi- ka- ka    -ma+M    me    me    hi- ka- ka    -ma+F  
 3PL.S    OC    COMIT go/come back    3PL.O    3PL.S    OC    COMIT go/come back  
 pron    vt    pron    pron    vt



## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

38 *Bani me tamatemone me winineni*  
 bani me tama -tee -hamone me wina -ne -ni  
 animal 3PL.S be many RP.N REP+F 3PL.S live CONT+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vi pron vi

*hiyama mati , me me fiya hitemone*  
 hiyama mati me me fiya hi- na -tee -hamone  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S pass OC AUX RP.N REP+F  
 nm pron pron pron vt aux

*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.O  
 pron

'They came by the white-lipped peccaries, which live there, many of them.'

39 *Me kamatemone me winamineni me*  
 me ka -ma -tee -hamone me wina -ma -ne -ni me  
 3PL.S go/come back RP.N REP+F 3PL.S live back CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS  
 pron vi pron vi pron

*tabori ya*  
 tabori ya  
 place+F ADJU  
 pn prt

'They came back, and they are living in their village.'

40 *Me hiyayaya kawatemoneke wati*  
 me hiya -ya -ya ka- na -waha -tee -hamone -ke wati  
 3PL.S be hurt DUP DUP COMIT AUX change RP.N REP+F DECL+F arrow  
 pron vi aux nm

*ehene*  
 ehene  
 because of+M  
 post

'They had scars from the arrows.'

41 *Me iiha watatemonehe*  
 me i- iha wata -tee -mone -he  
 3PL.POSS DUP put exist RP.N REP+F DUP  
 pron pn vi

'They didn't have anything to protect themselves with.'

42 *Faya me tai me hiri hinamatemoneke*  
 faya me tahi me hiri hi- na -ma -tee -hamone -ke  
 so 3PL.POSS song about 3PL.S sing OC AUX back RP.N REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron pn pron vt aux

*fahi*  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'They sang songs about them back at their village.'

43 *Ayaka me hiri namatemone*  
 ayaka me hiri na -ma -tee -hamone  
 song 3PL.S sing AUX back RP.N REP+F  
 nf pron vt aux

'They sang songs back at their village.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

44 *Ayaka me hiri nama me , Era te kakatoma*  
 ayaka me hiri na -ma+F me , era tee ka- katoma  
 song 3PL.S sing AUX back 3PL.S 1IN.O 2PL.S COMMIT look at  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vt

"They sang songs back at the village. "Take care of us."

45 *Me kamakibarani oni me ati*  
 me ka -makI -barani ati o- na.NOM+F me ati  
 3PL.S go/come following only say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S say  
 pron vi vt pron vt

*temonehe*

na -tee -hamone -he  
 AUX RP.N REP+F DUP  
 aux

"I think they will come after us," they said.'

46 *Inamati amo re itari nabatemona ama*  
 inamati amo na -ra+M ita -rI nahaba -tee -himona ama  
 spirit sleep AUX NEG sit raised surface at night RP.N REP+M SEC  
 nm vi aux vi prt

*nokobi ya , yama kakatomahari yama kakatomahari*  
 nokobi ya , yama ka- katoma -haari yama ka- katoma -haari  
 door ADJU thing COMMIT look at IP.E+M thing COMMIT look at IP.E+M  
 nf prt nf vt nf vt

'The spirit didn't sleep. He sat all night at the door, watching.'

47 *Faya me , me ati saiha me , me ayaka*  
 faya me , me ati sai+F me , me ayaka  
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.POSS 3PL.S sing  
 conj pron pron pn vi pron pron vi

*naba me , me kawahatemoneke fahi me fanawi*  
 nahaba+F me , me ka- waha -tee -hamone -ke fahi me fanawi  
 at night 3PL.S 3PL.S COMMIT dawn RP.N REP+F DECL+F then women  
 prt pron pron vi dem nf

*me taba mati*  
 me taba+F mati  
 3PL.S be together 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

'They spoke, and they sang all night, until dawn, along with the women.'

48 *Manako me fanawi yowiri na , yowiri*  
 manako me fanawi yowiri na+F , yowiri  
 switching women sing woman's song AUX sing woman's song  
 nf nf vi aux vi

*ni sai nabatemone*  
 na.NFIN sai nahaba -tee -hamone  
 AUX be heard at night RP.N REP+F  
 aux vi prt

'Then they switched, and the women sang. Their singing could be heard all day long.'

49 *Me fanawi fama yama kakatoma manako , me ati*  
 me fanawi fama+F yama ka- katoma+F manako , me ati  
 women be two thing COMMIT look at switching 3PL.POSS voice  
 nf vi nf vt nf pron pn



## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

*ihi*

ihi

because of+F

post

'Then two women took their turn at guarding, because the others told them to.'

50 *Yifo me , yifo me , tore hiteno me*  
 yifo me , yifo me , tore hi- na -tee -hino me  
 hammock 3PL hammock 3PL.S weave OC AUX HAB IP.N+M 3PL.S  
 nm pron nm pron vt aux

*hekamatemona ya me ,*  
 hi- ka- ka -ma -tee -himona ya me  
 OC COMIT go/come back RP.N REP+M ADJU 3PL.S  
 vt prt pron

*winineni*

wina -ne -ni  
 lie in hammock CONT+F BKG+F

vi

'They are lying in the hammocks that they wove and brought back.'

51 *Me kamakia me ayaka naba me , Awa yama*  
 me ka -makI+F me ayaka nahaba+F me , awa yama  
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S sing at night 3PL.S wood make  
 pron vi pron vi prt pron nf vt

*onamaro me mowa hinamaro me mowa*  
 o- na -ma -haro me mowa hi- na -ma -haro me mowa  
 1SG.S AUX back RP.E+F 3PL.S fight OC AUX back RP.E+F 3PL.S fight  
 aux pron vt aux pron vt

*hina me sa hisaro wawa*  
 hi- na+F me saa hi- to- na -kosa -haro wa- waa  
 OC AUX 3PL.S leave off OC CH AUX middle RP.E+F DUP stand  
 aux pron vt aux vi

*toine*

to- ha -ne  
 CH AUX CONT+F  
 aux

'They came, and they sang all night long. "I made a house, and they attacked it. They stopped attacking it, and it is still there."'

52 *Oneba yama onabanake*  
 one -ba yama o- na -habana -ke  
 other+F FUT make 1SG.S AUX FUT+F DECL+F  
 adj vt aux

'"I will build another one."'

53 *Yimawa hinama me bokori temone yimawa , wabise ,*  
 yimawa hinama me bokori na -tee -hamone yimawa , wabise ,  
 knife all 3PL.S hold AUX RP.N REP+F knife spear  
 nf adj pron vt aux nf nf

*mata*

mata

club

nm

'They all had machetes, spears, clubs.'

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54 *Me*            *ye*        *hone*            *yimawa*    *toha*                    *nineke*                    ,    *mata*  
 me                yehe    hone            yimawa    to- ha.LIST    na -ne        -ke            ,    mata  
 3PL.POSS    hand    weapon+F    knife      CH    be            AUX CONT+F    DECL+F            club  
 pron            pn        pn            nf            vc                    aux                    nm

*me*            *bokori*        *teni*                                    *mati*  
 me            bokori    na -tee -hani    mati  
 3PL.S    hold        AUX HAB    IP.N+F    3PL.S  
 pron    vt            aux                                    pron

'Now they have machetes as weapons; before they only had clubs.'

55 *Yimawa*    *me*            *nikawa*                                    *yimawa*    *me*    *Yima Abono*                    *ka*  
 yimawa    me            nika        -waha+F    yimawa    me    Yima Abono                    ka  
 knife      3PL.S    ask for change    knife      3PL    (name of spirit)                POSS  
 nf            pron    vt                                    nf            pron npropm                    prt

*yimawa*  
 yimawa  
 knife  
 nf

'They asked Yima Abono for machetes.'

56 *Yimawa*    *me*            *ye*        *hone*            *toawaine*                    ,  
 yimawa    me            yehe    hone            to- ha -waha -ne                    ,  
 knife      3PL.POSS    hand    weapon+F    CH    be    change    CONT+F  
 nf            pron            pn        pn            vc

*Wa Boniwa*                    *mati*  
 Wa Boniwa                    mati  
 (name of spirit)                3PL  
 npropm                    pron

'They have machetes as weapons now, Wa Boniwa and his group.'

57 *Wa Boniwa*                    *yimawa*    *kanikatemona*  
 Wa Boniwa                    yimawa    ka-    nika        -tee -himona  
 (name of spirit)                knife      COMMIT ask for RP.N REP+M  
 npropm                    nf            vt

*kanikatemona*                    *yimawa*    *tama*                    *nawahaka*  
 ka-    nika        -tee -himona    yimawa    tama                    na -waha -ka  
 COMMIT ask for RP.N REP+M    knife      hold onto    AUX change    DECL+M  
 vt                    nf            vt                    aux

'Wa Boniwa and the others asked for machetes, and they have machetes now.'

58 *Tieko*    *inoba*            *ino*            *otine*                    *oke*  
 Tieko    ino        -ba    ino        o-        iti -ne        o-        ke  
 Diego    name+M    FUT    name+M    1SG.S    say    CONT+F    1SG.S    DECL+F  
 npropm    pn                    pn            vt                    prt

*Wa Boniwa*  
 Wa Boniwa  
 (name of spirit)  
 npropm

'I am saying the name that will be Diego's name, Wa Boniwa.'

59 *Tieko*    *te*            *ha*            *nebana*  
 Tieko    tee        haa    na -hibana  
 Diego    2PL.S    call    AUX FUT+M  
 npropm    pron    vt            aux

'You will call Diego this.'

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- 60 **Wa Boniwa**                    **toheba**  
 Wa Boniwa                    to- ha -hiba  
 (name of spirit) CH be FUT+M  
 npropm                    vc  
 'He will be Wa Boniwa.'
- 61 **Yimawa**    **kanikatemona**                    **yimawa**    ,    **kawinane**                    **waha**  
 yimawa ka- nika -tee -himona yimawa , ka- wina -ne waha  
 knife COMMIT ask for RP.N REP+M knife COMMIT live BKG+M now  
 nf vt                    nf vt                    prt  
 'He asked for a machete, and he lives with a machete now.'
- 62 **Mera**    **abiyotemona**                    **me**  
 mera abiyo                    -tee -himona me  
 3PL.O want the presence of RP.N REP+M 3PL.S  
 pron vt                    pron  
**hekamatemona**                    ,    **winamane**  
 hi- ka- ka -ma -tee -himona , wina -ma -ne  
 OC COMMIT go/come back RP.N REP+M live back BKG+M  
 vt                    vi  
 'He missed them, and they brought him and he lives there.'
- 63 **Me**                    **ebe**    ,    **faya**    **me**                    **ebe**    **hima**  
 me ebe , faya me ebe hima  
 3PL.POSS RECIP so 3PL.POSS RECIP call to go  
 pron pn conj pron pn vt  
**temoneke**                    **fahi**    **me**                    **me**    **wasima**                    **mati**  
 na -tee -hamone -ke fahi me me wasi -ma+F mati  
 AUX RP.N REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.O 3PL.S find back 3PL.S  
 aux dem pron pron vt pron  
 'They also called the others who they encountered on the way back.'
- 64 **Me**                    **me**                    **hekamatemoneni**  
 me me hi- ka- ka -ma -tee -hamone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMMIT go/come back RP.N REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt  
 'They brought them.'
- 65 **Me**    **ya**    **me**                    **tabineni**  
 me ya me taba -ne -ni  
 3PL ADJU 3PL.S be together CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron prt pron vi  
 'They are with them.'
- 66 **Wati Tisa Ni**                    ,    **Wati Tisa Ni**                    **fa**                    **ini**                    **toaha**                    **kaya**  
 Wati Tisa Ni , Wati Tisa Ni faha ini to- ha+F kaya  
 (name of stream) (name of stream) stream name+F CH be stand  
 npropf npropf nf pn vc vi  
**ni**                    **ya**    **me**                    **winatemoneke**  
 na.NOM+F ya me wina -tee -hamone -ke  
 AUX ADJU 3PL.S live RP.N REP+F DECL+F  
 aux prt pron vi  
 'They lived by a stream called Wati Tisa Ni.'

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67 *Wati Tisa Ni*            *fa*            *ini*            *toaha*            *ya*            *me*  
 Wati Tisa Ni            faha            ini            to- ha+F            ya            me  
 (name of stream)       stream       name+F       CH       be            ADJU       3PL.S  
 npropf                    nf            pn            vc                    prt            pron

*winatemoneni*                            *Wa Boniwa*                            *mati*                            .  
 wina -tee -mone -ni            Wa Boniwa                            mati  
 live RP.N REP+F BKG+F       (name of spirit)            3PL  
 vi    npropm                            pron

'They lived by the stream called Wati Tisa Ni, Wa Boniwa and his group.'

68 *Me*            *me*            *hima*                            *hinamatemone*                            *me*            *me*  
 me            me            hima                            hi- na -ma -tee -hamone            me            me  
 3PL.O       3PL.S       call to go       OC       AUX back RP.N REP+F            3PL.O       3PL.S  
 pron       pron       vt    aux    pron            pron

*kawinamineni*                            .  
 ka-       wina -ma -ne            -ni  
 COMIT live back CONT+F BKG+F  
 vt

'They called them as they were coming back, and they live with them now.'

69 *Me*            *ebe*            ,            *me*            *hawi*            *me*            *yete*            *me*            *hawi*  
 me            ebe            ,            me            hawi            me            yete            me            hawi  
 3PL.POSS       RECIP                            3PL.POSS       trail+F            3PL.S       hunt            3PL.POSS       trail+F  
 pron            pn    pron            pn            pron       vt            pron            pn

*me*            *yobi*    *hikatemoneni*                            .  
 me            yobi    hi- ka-            na -tee -hamone -ni  
 3PL.S       go back and forth            OC       COMIT AUX RP.N REP+F            BKG+F  
 pron       vi    aux

'They always went on their paths.'

70 *Yawa*            *yawa*            *ini*            *fawa*                            *teramone*                            *amake*  
 yawa            yawa            ini            fawa                            na -tee -ra -hamone            ama -ke  
 enemies       enemies       name+F       disappear            AUX RP.N NEG REP+F            SEC DECL+F  
 nf            nf            pn            vi    aux    sec

*me*            *ihi*    .  
 me            ihi  
 3PL.POSS       because of+F  
 pron            post

'They are always talking about their enemies, they don't forget them.'

71 *Yawa*            *ini*            *fawa*                            *teramone*                            *amani*                            .  
 yawa            ini            fawa                            na -tee -ra -hamone            ama -ni  
 enemies       name+F       disappear            AUX RP.N NEG REP+F            SEC BKG+F  
 nf            pn            vi    aux    sec

'They never stop talking about their enemies.'

72 *Me*            *ibe*            *warabi*            *nima*                            *na*            *me*                            ,            *Era*            *te*  
 me            ibe            warabi            nima                            na+F            me                            ,            era            tee  
 3PL.POSS       RECIP       ear+F            communicate to            AUX            3PL.POSS            1IN.O       2PL.S  
 pron            pn            pn            vt    aux            pron            pron            pron

*kakatoma*                            .  
 ka-       katoma  
 COMIT look at  
 vt

'They spoke to each other. "Take care of us."'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

73	<b>Me</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamakibarani</b>		<b>o</b>	
	me	ee	mowa	na+F	me	ka	-makI	-barani	ati o- na
	3PL.O	1IN.S	fight	AUX	3PL.S	go/come	following	only	say 1SG.S AUX
	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi			vt

"We don't know when the ones who we fought against will come here."

74	<b>Me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>hasi</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>awine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>
	me	ka	owa	hasi	na+M	me	awine	me	ati
	3PL	POSS	man	escape	AUX	3PL.POSS	seem+F	3PL.S	say
	pron	prt	nm	vi	aux	pron	sec	pron	vt

**temonehe**

na -tee -hamone -he  
 AUX RP.N REP+F DUP  
 aux

"One of them is still alive," they said.'

75	<b>Tiwa</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>wasima</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>ama</b>
	tiwa	tiwa	otaa	wasi -ma+F	otaa	ama
	2SG.O	2SG.O	1EX.S	find back	1EX.S	SEC
	pron	pron	pron	vt	pron	sec

"We found you."

76	<b>E</b>	<b>totabamibeya</b>
	ee	to- taba
	1IN.S	away be together
	pron	vi
		-ma -be -ya
		back IMMED+F now

"We will go back with you."

77	<b>Te</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kawinatibeya</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>
	tee	otaa	ka- wina	-tee -be -ya	me	ati
	2PL.O	1EX.S	COMIT live	HAB IMMED+F now	3PL.S	say
	pron	pron	vt		pron	vt

**temonehe**

na -tee -hamone -he  
 AUX RP.N REP+F DUP  
 aux

"We will live with you," they said.'

78	<b>E</b>	<b>tababa</b>	<b>ere</b>
	ee	taba	-haba ere
	1IN.S	be together	FUT+F 1IN.S
	pron	vi	pron

"We will be together."

79	<b>Otefe</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>wati</b>
	o-	tefe	hine wata.NOM+F
	1SG.POSS	crops	only be located
	pn	pron	vi

"My crops will just be here."

80	<b>Otefe</b>	<b>ababana</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>temonaha</b>
	o-	tefe	ahaba -habana	ati na -tee -himona -ha
	1SG.POSS	crops	end FUT+F	say AUX RP.N REP+M DUP
	pn	vi	vt	aux

"My crops will be ruined," he said.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

- 81 *Faya me inamati banatemoneke fahi*  
 faya me inamati bana -tee -hamone -ke fahi  
 so spirits move away RP.N REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj nf vi dem  
 'So the spirits moved away.'
- 82 *Me bana me me noki hitemoneni*  
 me bana+F me me noki hi- na -tee -hamone -ni  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for OC AUX RP.N REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron pron vt aux  
 'They moved away. They waited for them.'
- 83 *Me tabori me nabitemoneke ahi*  
 me tabori me na- ahaba -tee -hamone -ke ahi  
 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S CAUS end RP.N REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron pn pron vt dem  
 'They destroyed their house.'
- 84 *Me torotoro kabote temone me kama*  
 me toro- toro na -kabote na -tee -hamone me ka -ma+F  
 3PL.S DUP be short AUX quickly AUX RP.N REP+F 3PL.S go/come back  
 pron vi aux aux pron vi  
*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron  
 'There were many people that came.'
- 85 *Me fanawi me hekatemone me me*  
 me fanawi me hi- ka- ka -ma -tee -hamone me me  
 women 3PL.S OC COMMIT go/come back RP.N REP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt pron pron  
*kawinamineni*  
 ka- wina -ma -ne -ni  
 COMMIT live back CONT+F BKG+F  
 vt  
 'The women that they brought live with them.'
- 86 *Me tokomarabone me ati temoneke*  
 me to- ka -ma -ra -habone me ati na -tee -hamone -ke  
 3PL.S away go/come back NEG INT+F 3PL.S say AUX RP.N REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron vt aux  
 'They said they will not go back.'
- 87 *Me fanawiri me hiyaba me fanawiri me*  
 me fanawi -ri me hi- yaba+F me fanawi -ri me  
 3PL.POSS woman PN 3PL.S OC marry 3PL.POSS woman PN 3PL.S  
 pron pn pron vt pron pn pron  
*hiyabawaha*  
 hi- yaba -waha+F me fanawiri me yabawahateba  
 OC marry change 3PL.POSS woman PN 3PL.S marry change HAB FUT+F  
 vt pron pn pron vt  
*me amani*  
 me ama -ni  
 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 pron sec

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

'They married their women, and they in turn will marry their women.'

88	<b>Faya</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>yawa</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>sawiha</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ayaka</b>
	faya	yama	yawa	ya	me	ati	sawi+F	me	ayaka+F
	so	thing	enemies	ADJU	3PL.POSS	voice	be present	3PL.S	sing
	conj	nf	nf	prt	pron	pn	vi	pron	vi

**mati**

mati  
3PL.S  
pron

'They remember their enemies when they sing.'

89	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>hitasatemone</b>
	me	me	mowa	hi- na -tasa -tee -hamone
	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	OC AUX again RP.N REP+F
	pron	pron	vt	aux

'They fought against them again.'

90	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinakaki</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>
	me	me	hi- na- ka	-kI.NOM	ya	me	me	mowa
	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC CAUS go/come	coming	ADJU	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight
	pron	pron	vt		prt	pron	pron	vt

<b>hitasaba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>awineke</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wati</b>
hi- na -tasa -haba	me	awine -ke	me	me	wati
OC AUX again FUT+F	3PL.O	seem+F DECL+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	plan against
aux	pron	sec	pron	pron	vt

**hiki**

hi- ka- na.NOM+F ya  
OC COMIT AUX ADJU  
nf prt

'When they come after them, they will fight against them again. They will want to kill them.'

91	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinahabihaba</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>awineni</b>
	me	me	hi- na- ahaba -haba	-haba	me	awine -ni
	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC CAUS die	FUT+F	3PL.O	seem+F BKG+F
	pron	pron	vt		pron	sec

'They will not kill them.'

92	<b>Wakanikima</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>awineke</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bori</b>
	waa -kanikima	na+F	awine -ke	me	bori
	stand scattered	AUX	seem+F DECL+F	3PL.POSS	container+F
	vi	aux	sec	pron	pn

'They have many houses.'

93	<b>Afa</b>	<b>wai</b>	<b>nima</b>	<b>sitati</b>	<b>wai</b>	<b>nineke</b>	<b>haro</b>
	afa	waa.NFIN	nima	sitati	waa.NFIN	na -ne -ke	haaro
	this+F	stand	like	city	stand	AUX CONT+F DECL+F	that one+F
	dem	vi	prt	nf	vi	aux	dem

'They are like a city.'

94	<b>Si</b>	<b>tonineni</b>
	sii	to- na -ne -ni
	stand	CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F
	vi	aux

'They are there.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

95 *Me ibe hima na , me ibe mari*  
 me ibe hima na+F , me ibe mari  
 3PL.POSS RECIP call to go AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP offer a feast to  
 pron pn vt aux pron pn vt

*nawaha bani me me tonaka mati*  
 na -waha+F bani me me to- na- ka+F mati  
 AUX change animal 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come 3PL.S  
 aux nm pron pron vt pron  
 'They called each other to go. They offered a feast to one another. They went after game.'

96 *Hiyama me me mowa na me ati*  
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me ati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.POSS voice  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pn

*saitemoneni yama kabani ya me wina mati*  
 sai -tee -hamone -ni , yama kabani ya me wina+F mati  
 be heard RP.N REP+F BKG+F forest ADJU 3PL.S live 3PL.S  
 vi nf prt pron vi pron  
 'Their voices could be heard as they chased the white-lipped peccaries, as they were camping in the forest.'

97 *Yama me bani me me tabasi naba me*  
 yama me bani me me tabasi na -nahaba+F me  
 thing 3PL animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX at night 3PL  
 nf pron nm pron pron vt aux pron

*e tamakere*  
 ee tama -ke -re  
 1IN.S be many DECL+F NEG+F  
 pron vi  
 'They were roasting the game on racks during the night. There are few of us.'

98 *Yama tamarawa ini amake*  
 yama tama -rawa+F ini ama -ke  
 thing be many F.PL name+F be DECL+F  
 nf vi pn vc  
 'There were many of them.'

99 *Yaki meteri ahi ahi ahi*  
 yaki meteri ahi ahi ahi  
 toucan sp breast feathers there there there  
 nm pn dem dem dem  
 'Toucan breast feathers.'

100 *Kanamo kanamo kate yifori yaki ahi*  
 kanamo kanamo kate yifori yaki ahi  
 armband armband macaw sp tail headdress there  
 nf nf nm pn nm dem  
 'Armbands, macaw tails, headdresses.'

101 *Ora ora ... taminake*  
 ora ora ... tamina -ke  
 genip genip be good DECL+F  
 nm nm vi  
 'Genip...it was beautiful.'



## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

102 *Yifo*      *be*      ... *me*      *taminake*  
 yifo      behe      ... me      tamina      -ke  
 miriti      base      3PL.S      be good      DECL+F  
 nm      pn      pron      vi

'The women's "tails"...they were beautiful.'

103 *Me*      *taminini*  
 me      tamina      -ni  
 3PL.S      be good      BKG+F  
 pron      vi

'They were beautiful.'

104 *Yama*      *tiwarawa*      *tikere*  
 yama      ti-      awa      -rawa      ti-      -ke      -re  
 thing      2SG.S      see      F.PL      2SG.S      DECL+F      NEG+F  
 nf      vt      prt

'You haven't seen it.'

105 *Yara*      *sawika*      *fahi*      ,      *yara*      *owa*  
 yara      sawi      -ka      fahi      ,      yara      owa  
 Brazilian      be present      DECL+M      there      Brazilian      other+M  
 npropm      vi      dem      npropm      adj

'There is a Brazilian there, another Brazilian.'

106 *Yara*      *me*      *ka*      *yama*      *yara*      *me*      *ka*      *yama*      *tata*  
 yara      me      ka      yama      yara      me      ka      yama      taa-      taa  
 Brazilian      3PL      POSS      thing      Brazilian      3PL      POSS      thing      DUP      sell  
 npropm      pron      prt      nf      npropm      pron      prt      nf      pn  
*sawika*      ,      *yara*      *owa*      ,      *me*      *tati*      *bori*  
 sawi      -ka      ,      yara      owa      ,      me      tati      bori  
 be present      DECL+M      Brazilian      other+M      3PL.POSS      head      container+F  
 vi      npropm      adj      pron      pn      pn

*yayama*

ya- yama  
 DUP make  
 pn

'There is a Brazilian there who sells things to them. He makes hats for them.'

107 *Ayaka*      *me*      *ayaki*      *me*      *ayaki*      *me*      *hihiri*  
 ayaka      me      ayaka.NFIN      me      ayaka.NFIN      me      hi-      hiri  
 song      3PL.S      sing      3PL.S      sing      3PL.S      DUP      sing  
 nf      pron      vi      pron      vi      pron      vt

*toine*

*ha*  
 to- ha      -ne      haa  
 CH      AUX      CONT+F      DEM  
 aux      dem

'They sing.'

108 *Yama*      *taminarawake*  
 yama      tamina      -rawa      -ke  
 thing      be good      F.PL      DECL+F  
 nf      vi

'It is nice.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

109	<b>Me fanawi</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>taba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yawata</b>	<b>me</b>	
	me fanawi	ya	me	taba+F	me	yawata	me	
	women	ADJU	3PL.S	be together	3PL.S	game for feast	3PL.S	
	nf	prt	pron	vi	pron	adv	pron	
	<b>tokabone</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>toka</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>toka</b>	<b>awi</b>
	to- ka	-habone	me	to- ka+F	,	me	to- ka+F	awi
	away go/come	INT+F	3PL.S	away go/come		3PL.S	away go/come	tapir
	vi		pron	vi		pron	vi	nm
	<b>ahaba</b>	<b>banehe</b>		<b>bato</b>	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>mati</b>	
	ahaba.LIST	banehe.LIST		bato.LIST	hiyama		mati	,
	die	giant anteater		deer	white-lipped peccary		3PL	
	vi	nf		nm	nm		pron	
	<b>kobaya</b>							
	kobaya.LIST							
	collared peccary							
	nm							

'They went with the women to hunt for game for the feast. They went, and a tapir died, also a giant anteater, a deer, some white-lipped peccaries, and a collared peccary.'

110	<b>Sare</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>fora</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>bani</b>	
	sarehe	me	fora	na.NOM+F	ka	bani	
	blowgun dart	3PL.S	shoot with blowgun	AUX	because	animal	
	nf	pron	vt	aux	prt	nm	
	<b>me</b>	<b>ahaba</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kerewe</b>	<b>namarihi</b>
	me	ahaba.LIST	na.NOM+F	ka	me	kerewe	na -ma -rihi
	3PL.S	die	AUX	because	3PL.S	be slow	AUX back NEG.LIST
	pron	vi	aux	prt	pron	vi	aux
	<b>yama</b>	<b>yowi</b>	<b>ino</b>	<b>yowi</b>	<b>ino</b>	<b>me</b>	
	yama	yowi	ino	yowi	ino	me	
	thing	brown capuchin	tooth+M	brown capuchin	tooth+M	3PL.S	
	nf	nm	pn	nm	pn	pron	
	<b>sanari</b>		<b>kawa</b>	<b>mati</b>			
	sana		-ri ka- na -waha+F	mati			
	carry strapped on shoulder	DISTR	COMIT AUX change	3PL.S			
	vt		aux	pron			

'They didn't take long, because they shot their blowguns and many animals died. They all had lines with brown capuchin teeth strung over their bodies.'

111	<b>Boniwa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>atori</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>sota</b>	<b>totemone</b>
	Boniwa	me	atori	me	sota	to- na -tee -hamone
	(man's name)	3PL.POSS	decoration	3PL.S	remove	CH AUX RP.N REP+F
	npropm	pron	pn	pron	vt	aux
	<b>me</b>	<b>atori</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>amo</b>	<b>kine</b>	
	me	atori	me	amo	ka- na -ne	
	3PL.POSS	decoration	3PL.S	sleep	COMIT AUX CONT+F	
	pron	pn	pron	vi	aux	

'Boniwa and the others never took off their decorations, they slept with them on.'

112	<b>Yama</b>	<b>soki</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>bahi</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>soki</b>	<b>kamatasake</b>
	yama	soki.NOM	ya	bahi	yama	soki.NFIN	ka -ma -tasa -ke
	thing	be dark	ADJU	sun	thing	be dark	go/come back again DECL+F
	nf	vi	prt	nm	nf	vi	vi

'They have day and night like us.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

113 *Bahi kamakika hari*  
 bahi ka -makI -ka haari  
 sun go/come following DECL+M that one+M  
 nm vi dem

'The sun comes up over there.'

114 *Tokomeba amaka ahi*  
 to- ka -ma -hiba ama -ka ahi  
 away go/come back FUT+M SEC DECL+M there  
 vi sec dem

'It will go down over there.'

115 *Bahi yaka ni kitaka*  
 bahi yaka na.NFIN kita -ka  
 sun walk AUX be strong DECL+M  
 nm vi aux vi

'The sun travels fast.'

116 *Abariko yakayaka raba naka fari*  
 abariko yaka- yaka na -raba na.CONT+M -ka faari  
 moon DUP walk AUX a bit AUX DECL+M that one+M  
 nm vi aux aux dem

'The moon goes slower.'

117 *Bai bai bai hiwene kitaka ayata kari*  
 bahi bahi bahi hiwene kita -ka ayata kari  
 sun sun sun heat+M be strong DECL+M near LOC+M  
 nm nm nm pn vi nf prt

'The sun is hot up close.'

118 *Bai hiwene tiwa nahabika*  
 bahi hiwene tiwa na- ahaba -ka  
 sun heat+M 2SG.O CAUS die DECL+M  
 nm pn pron vt

'The heat of the sun will kill you.'

119 *Bahi makina kihaka*  
 bahi makina kiha -ka  
 sun machine have DECL+M  
 nm nf vt

'The sun has a machine.'

120 *Nakani ka yama taminake*  
 nakani ka yama tamina -ke  
 upstream of thing be good DECL+F  
 nf prt nf vi

'It is pretty upstream.'

121 *Nakani wiwina tiwene amani*  
 nakani wi- wina ti- awa -hene ama -ni  
 upstream DUP live 2SG.S see IRR+F SEC BKG+F  
 nf pn vt sec

'You haven't seen the place to live upstream.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

122 *Taminakanikima*                      *awineni*  
 tamina -kanikima+F      awine -ni  
 be good scattered      seem+F BKG+F  
 vi                                      sec

'It is very beautiful.'

123 *Me*                      *ebe*                      ,      *me*                      *ebe*                      *ha*                      *na*                      *me*                      ,      *E*  
 me                      ebe                      ,      me                      ebe                      haa                      na+F                      me                      ,      ee  
 3PL.POSS      RECIP                      3PL.POSS      RECIP      call                      AUX                      3PL.POSS                      1IN.S  
 pron                      pn                      pron                      pn                      vt                      aux                      pron                      pron

*tokoma*

to- ka                      -ma  
 away go/come back  
 vi

'They called each other. "Let's go back."'

124 *Bani*                      *me*                      *tami*                      ,      *me*                      *ati*                      *temonehe*  
 bani                      me                      tama.NOM+F                      ,      me                      ati                      na -tee -hamone -he  
 animal                      3PL.S                      be many                      3PL.S                      say                      AUX RP.N                      REP+F                      DUP  
 nm                      pron                      vi                      pron                      vt                      aux

""There are many animals," they said.'

125 *Bani*                      *me*                      *me*                      *bani*                      *me*                      *me*                      *faya*                      *bani*                      *me*                      *me*                      *yana*  
 bani                      me                      me                      bani                      me                      me                      faya                      bani                      me                      me                      yana  
 animal                      3PL                      3PL                      animal                      3PL                      3PL                      so                      animal                      3PL.O                      3PL.S                      start  
 nm                      pron                      pron                      nm                      pron                      pron                      conj                      nm                      pron                      pron                      vi

*kitemoneke*

ka- na -tee -hamone -ke      *fahi*  
 COMIT AUX RP.N REP+F      DECL+F      then  
 aux    dem

'They started out with the animals.'

126 *Baro*                      *baro*                      *kowi*                      *fotaha*                      *ya*                      *bani*                      *me*                      *kai*                      *me*  
 baro                      baro                      kowa.NFIN                      fota+F                      ya                      bani                      me                      kaha.NFIN                      me  
 basket                      basket                      weave                      be big                      ADJU                      animal                      3PL.S                      be toasted                      3PL.S  
 nf                      nf                      result                      vi                      prt                      nm                      pron                      vi                      pron

*weyeri*

*kawahatehamoneni*

weye -ri                      ka- na -waha -tee -hamone -ni  
 carry DISTR                      COMIT AUX change RP.N REP+F                      BKG+F  
 vt                                      aux

'They carried the roasted animals in big baskets.'

127 *Me*                      *fanawiri*                      *yifo*                      *weye*                      *nabisa*                      ,      *me*  
 me                      fanawi -ri                      yifo                      weye                      na -bisa+F                      ,      me  
 3PL.POSS                      woman PN                      miriti                      carry                      AUX also                      3PL.S  
 pron                      pn                      nm                      vt                      aux                      pron

*kamatemoneni*

ka                      -ma -tee -hamone -ni  
 go/come back RP.N REP+F                      BKG+F  
 vi

'Their women carried the hammocks. They came back.'

128 *Me*                      *kama*                      *me*                      *me*                      ,      *yome*                      ,      *hehe*                      *e*                      *ka*  
 me                      ka                      -ma+F                      me                      me                      ,      yomee                      ,      hehe                      ee                      ka  
 3PL.S                      go/come back                      3PL.S                      3PL                      jaguar                      this one+M                      1IN                      POSS  
 pron                      vi                      pron                      pron                      nm                      dem                      pron                      prt

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

*yomahi* , *hinamati* *abemata* *ka* *yomahi* *ra* , *me fanawi* *ye*  
yomahi hinamati ahaba -himata ka yomahi ra , me fanawi yee  
jaguar spirit die FP.N+M POSS jaguar O women yell  
nm nm vi prt nm prt nf vi

*niani* *ati* *me* *wasimatemonehe*  
niha- na -hani ati me wasi -ma -tee -hamone -he  
CAUS AUX IP.N+F voice 3PL.S find back RP.N REP+F DUP  
aux pn pron vt

'They came back. They came upon some women who they heard yelling about a spirit who had died and turned into a jaguar.'

129 *Yawa* *ati* *amarini* ?  
yawa ati ama -ra -ni  
enemies voice be NEG BKG+F  
nf pn vc

'''Are those the voices of enemies?'''

130 *Yawa* *ati* *amararani*  
yawa ati ama -ra -hara -ni  
enemies voice be NEG IP.E+F BKG+F  
nf pn vc

'''They are not the voices of enemies.'''

131 *Me fanawi* *ati* *toarani* , *yome* *me* *ye*  
me fanawi ati to- ha -hara -ni , yomee me yee  
women voice CH be IP.E+F BKG+F jaguar 3PL.S yell  
nf pn vc nm pron vi

*niani* *mati* , *yama* *ye* *hinararo*  
niha- na -hani mati , yama yee na -hina -ra -haaro  
CAUS AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S thing yell AUX can NEG IP.E+F  
aux pron nf vi aux

'''They are the voices of the women. They are yelling about the jaguar. It is fierce.'''

132 *Yama* *ini* *me* , *me* *ye* *hinihi* , *me*  
yama ini me , me yee hi- niha- na+M , me  
thing tooth+F 3PL 3PL.S yell OC CAUS AUX 3PL.S  
nf pn pron pron vi aux pron

*kama* *me* *basatemonehe*  
ka -ma+F me basa -tee -hamone -he  
go/come back 3PL.S whisper RP.N REP+F DUP  
vi pron vi

'It had big teeth. They were yelling about it, and they were not whispering.'

133 *Faya* *me* , *me* *e* *kanakayoma* ?  
faya me , me ee ka- na- kayoma+F  
so 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S COMIT CAUS darken  
conj pron pron pron vt

'''Shall we arrive in darkness?'''

134 *Hine* *e* *tokomi*  
hine ee to- ka -ma.NOM+F  
only 1IN.S away go/come back  
pron pron vi

'''Let's just keep going.'''

THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

- 135 *E tokoma*  
 ee to- ka -ma  
 1IN.S away go/come back  
 pron vi  
 "Let's go."
- 136 *Hine era me awi na*  
 hine era me awa.NOM+F na  
 only 1IN.O 3PL.S see AUX  
 pron pron pron vt aux  
 "Let them see us."
- 137 *Me kamini*  
 me ka -ma -ni  
 3PL.S go/come back BKG+F  
 pron vi  
 "They are coming."
- 138 *Me kamini me ati temone me amani*  
 me ka -ma -ni me ati na -tee -hamone me ama -ni  
 3PL.S go/come back BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX RP.N REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vt aux pron sec  
 , *me fanawi*  
 me fanawi  
 women  
 nf  
 "They are coming," they said, the women."
- 139 *Me fanawi tokiyomamatemone ahi*  
 me fanawi to- ka -yoma -ma -tee -hamone ahi  
 women away go/come through back RP.N REP+F then  
 nf vi dem  
 'The women went inside.'
- 140 *Me me hikatabamake me me ye*  
 me me hi- to- ka- taba -maki me me yee  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away COMIT be together following 3PL.O 3PL.S yell  
 pron pron vt pron pron vi  
*hikatemone* , *ahi bani me me weye na*  
 hi- ka- na -tee -hamone ahi , bani me me weye na+F  
 OC COMIT AUX RP.N REP+F then animal 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX  
 aux dem nm pron pron vt aux  
*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron  
 'They arrived at the same time. They were yelling at them, carrying game.'
- 141 *Me me ye hikana me me ye ni*  
 me me yee hi- ka- na+F me me yee na.NFIN  
 3PL.O 3PL.S yell OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S yell AUX  
 pron pron vi aux pron pron vi aux  
*tokatemone* , *eee hiyama me ati*  
 to- ka- na -tee -hamone eee hiyama me ati  
 CH COMIT AUX RP.N REP+F yoohoo white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice  
 aux interj nm pron pn

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

*me ye ni me hiri na mati*  
 me yee na.NFIN me hiri na+F mati  
 3PL.S yell AUX 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron vt aux pron

'They were yelling at them. They were going around yelling, imitating the squealing of white-lipped peccaries.'

142 *Me ye ni toka me ye ni wete*  
 me yee na.NFIN to- ka+F me yee na.NFIN wete  
 3PL.S yell AUX away go/come 3PL.S yell AUX return  
 pron vi aux vi pron vi aux vi

*namatemone ahi*  
 na -ma -tee -hamone -ke ahi  
 AUX back RP.N REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They were going around yelling, and coming back yelling.'

143 *Kokosi me tonafiyotemone awa me kosi*  
 kokosi me to- na- fiyo -tee -hamone awa me kosi  
 switch 3PL.S CH CAUS be all gone RP.N REP+F wood 3PL.S flail  
 nf pron vt nf pron vt

*na mati*  
 na+F mati  
 AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'The switches were all breaking, as they were hitting them on the outside of the longhouse.'

144 *Me kayawawatemoneke fahi wafa*  
 me ka- yawa -waha -tee -hamone -ke fahi wafa  
 3PL.S COMIT be excited change RP.N REP+F DECL+F then woolly monkey  
 pron vi dem nm

*me ati ya*  
 me ati ya  
 3PL.POSS voice ADJU  
 pron pn prt

'They acted excited, imitating woolly monkeys.'

145 *Wafa me ati ya me kayawawaha*  
 wafa me ati ya me ka- yawa -waha+F  
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice ADJU 3PL.S COMIT be excited change  
 nm pron pn prt pron vi

*me totoka yana kani kerewe temone ama*  
 me totoka yana ka- na.NFIN kerewe na -tee -hamone ama  
 3PL.S brand start COMIT AUX be slow AUX RP.N REP+F SEC  
 pron nf vi aux vi aux sec

*me ihi me fanawi tamabote*  
 me ihi me fanawi tama -bote  
 3PL.POSS because of+F women be many very  
 pron post nf adj

'They were excited like woolly monkeys. They were burning the men with brands, because there were many women.'

146 *Me fanawi tamabote totoka sariri tiniha*  
 me fanawi tama -bote totoka sari -ri ti- niha- na  
 women be many very brand burn DUP 2SG.S CAUS AUX  
 nf adj nf vt aux

'You will be burned if there are many women.'

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

147 *Faya me           abe       sari       na       me                   ,       me           abe       sari*  
 faya me           abe       sari na+F me                   ,       me           abe       sari  
 so 3PL.POSS RECIP burn AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP burn  
 conj pron           pn       vt       aux       pron                   pron           pn       vt

*na       me           ati       fawa                   nisatemoneke*  
 na+F me           ati       fawa                   na -risa -tee -hamone -ke  
 AUX 3PL.POSS voice disappear AUX down RP.N REP+F DECL+F  
 aux pron           pn       vi                   aux

'They were burning them. They quieted down.'

148 *Me fanawi       ta                   yowiri                   temone                   ama*  
 me fanawi       taa                   yowiri                   na -tee -hamone       ama  
 women           contrast       sing woman's song       AUX RP.N REP+F       SEC  
 nf                   prt                   vi                   aux                   sec

'The women sang.'

149 *Me           ayakateramonehe*  
 me           ayaka -tee -ra -hamone -he  
 3PL.S       sing       RP.N NEG REP+F       DUP  
 pron       vi

'The men didn't sing.'

150 *Me fanawi       ta                   yowiri                   na       yowiri                   ni*  
 me fanawi       taa                   yowiri                   na+F       yowiri                   na.NFIN  
 women           contrast       sing woman's song       AUX       sing woman's song       AUX  
 nf                   prt                   vi                   aux       vi                   aux

*kawahatemone                   amake*  
 ka-       waha -tee -hamone       ama -ke  
 COMIT dawn RP.N REP+F       SEC DECL+F  
 vi                   sec

'Only the women sang. They sang until dawn.'

151 *Me       yowiri                   ni                   kawaha                   me                   bani       me*  
 me       yowiri                   na.NFIN       ka-       waha+F       me                   bani       me  
 3PL.S       sing woman's song       AUX       COMIT dawn       3PL.POSS       animal       3PL.O  
 pron       vi                   aux                   vi                   pron                   nm                   pron

*me       waremina                   me       bani       me       me*  
 me       waa -rI                   -mina+F       me       bani       me       me  
 3PL.S       cook raised surface morning       3PL.S       animal       3PL.O       3PL.S  
 pron       vt                   pron       nm                   pron       pron

*kabatemone                   waha*  
 kaba -tee -hamone       waha  
 eat       RP.N REP+F       now  
 vt                   prt

'They sang until dawn. They cooked the meat in the morning. Then they ate the meat.'

152 *Me       kafamarematemone                   ahi       bani       me*  
 me       ka-       fama       -rI                   -ma       -tee -hamone       ahi       bani       me  
 3PL.S       COMIT be two raised surface back RP.N REP+F       then       animal       3PL.O  
 pron       vi                   dem       nm                   pron

*me       kaba       mati                   ,       me       yoro                   tokowa                   mati*  
 me       kaba+F       mati                   ,       me       yoro                   to- ka-       na       -waha+F       mati  
 3PL.S       eat                   3PL.S                   3PL.S       be together       CH       COMIT AUX change       3PL.S  
 pron       vt                   pron                   pron       vi                   aux                   pron

'They were all together in two lines eating meat.'



## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

153 *Me yoro tokana me me mari*  
 me yoro to- ka- na+F me me mari  
 3PL.S be together CH COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S offer a feast to  
 pron vi aux pron pron vt

*hina me , yamata watamatemone ama me*  
 hi- na+F me , yamata wata -ma -tee -hamone ama me  
 OC AUX 3PL.O food exist back RP.N REP+F SEC 3PL.POSS  
 aux pron nf vi sec pron

*ihi*

ihi

because of+F

post

'They were all together. They gave them a feast. There was no food left because of them.'

154 *Me tafawatemone ahi*  
 me tafa -waha -tee -hamone ahi  
 3PL.S eat change RP.N REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They ate.'

155 *Bai sesene tonisa raba ne ya ayaka*  
 bahi se- sene to- na -risa na -raba na.NOM+M ya ayaka  
 sun DUP move a little away AUX down AUX a bit AUX ADJU song  
 nm vi aux aux aux prt nf

*me wati kitemone fahi*  
 me wati ka- na -tee -hamone fahi  
 3PL.S think about COMIT AUX RP.N REP+F then  
 pron vt aux dem

'When the sun was a ways on, they wanted to sing.'

156 *Ayaka me hiri na me ayaka me hiri*  
 ayaka me hiri na+F me ayaka me hiri  
 song 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S song 3PL.S sing  
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

*nabatemone ahi me fanawi ya me taba mati*  
 na nahaba -tee -hamone ahi me fanawi ya me taba+F mati  
 AUX at night RP.N REP+F then women ADJU 3PL.S be together 3PL.S  
 aux dem nf prt pron vi pron

'They sang. They sang all night together with the women.'

157 *Bai nokorise ya ayaka me sa*  
 bahi noko -risa.NOM+M ya ayaka me saa  
 sun point down ADJU song 3PL.S leave off  
 nm vi prt nf pron vt

*totemoneni*

to- na -tee -hamone -ni  
 CH AUX RP.N REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

'They stopped singing at noon.'

158 *Yama habi bayiterawamone amakarawe abe*  
 yama habi bayi -tee -rawa -hamone ama -ka -rawa abe  
 thing courage+F be deep RP.N F.PL REP+F be DECL F.PL RECIP  
 nf pn vi vc pn

## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

**kosi narawaro**

kosi na -rawa -haaro  
flail AUX F.PL IP.E+F  
vt aux

'They had the courage to whip.'<sup>35</sup>

159 **Kokosi oohari temone amani me ihi**  
kokosi o- ohari na -tee -hamone ama -ni me ihi  
switch DUP be one AUX RP.N REP+F SEC BKG+F 3PL.POSS because of+F  
nf vi aux sec pron post

'There were many switches.'

160 **Kokosi oohari na tofiyotemone amake**  
kokosi o- ohari na+F to- fiyo -tee -hamone ama -ke  
switch DUP be one AUX CH be all gone RP.N REP+F SEC DECL+F  
nf vi aux vi sec

**me ihi**  
me ihi  
3PL.POSS because of+F  
pron post

'The switches were breaking one after another.'

161 **Kokosi tamara kokosi tamateramone me ati**  
kokosi tama -ra+F kokosi tama -tee -ra -hamone me ati  
switch be many NEG switch be many RP.N NEG REP+F 3PL.S say  
nf vi nf vi pron vt

**temone**  
na -tee -hamone  
AUX RP.N REP+F  
aux

'They said it would be good if there were more switches.'

162 **Yama yama hikahiwarawa hasi tabiyo**  
yama yama hi- ka- hiwa -rawa+F hasi tabiyo  
thing thing OC COMMIT be hot F.PL rest wanting  
nf nf vt vi pn

**awaterawamone winarawineke**  
awa -tee -rawa -hamone wina -rawa -ne -ke  
feel RP.N F.PL REP+F live F.PL CONT+F DECL+F  
vt vi

'They were hot, and they wanted to rest. They were living there.'

163 **Yara me nima yama narawa awineni**  
yara me nima yama na -rawa+F awine -ni  
Brazilian 3PL like thing AUX F.PL seem+F BKG+F  
npropm pron prt nf aux sec

'They are like Brazilians.'

164 **Faya me yana tona me yana**  
faya me yana to- na+F me yana  
so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S start  
conj pron vi aux pron vi

<sup>35</sup> The word *amakarawe* is an archaic form, today they would say *amake*.



## THE VILLAGE OF THE SPIRITS

171 *Me*            *abe*        *wati*            *hawa*            *tohi*            *ya*        *faya*        *totoka*  
 me            abe        wata.NFIN    hawa            to- ha.NOM+F    ya        faya        totoka  
 3PL.POSS    RECIP    catch        be finished    CH    AUX        ADJU    so        brand  
 pron        pn        vt            vi            aux            prt       conj       nf

*yototemone*            *amake*            *fahi*        *me*            *ihi*  
 yoto    -tee -hamone    ama -ke        fahi    me            ihi  
 follow RP.N REP+F    SEC DECL+F    then    3PL.POSS    because of+F  
 vi                            sec            dem    pron        post

'When they were finished catching each other, then they burned each other with brands last.'

172 *Me*            *fanawiri*        *totoka*        *me*            *sari*        *temone*            *ahi*  
 me            fanawi -ri    totoka    me            sari    na -tee -hamone    ahi  
 3PL.POSS    woman PN    brand    3PL.S    burn    AUX RP.N REP+F    then  
 pron        pn            nf        pron    vt        aux            dem

'The women burned the men with brands.'

173 *Yama*        *mahi*            *kitakanikimatemone*            *amani*            *me*  
 yama    mahi        kita        -kanikima -tee -hamone    ama -ni    me  
 thing    smell+F    be strong scattered RP.N REP+F    SEC BKG+F    3PL.POSS  
 nf        pn            vi    sec            pron

*ihi*  
 ihi  
 because of+F  
 post

'There was a strong smell because of them.'

## WARA LAKE

### *Free Translation*

*Note: There are actually three stories in this text, two about fishing for siraba fish, and one about a fight between Apurinã Indians. What ties the stories together is the place that they are associated with, Wara Lake.*

He died underwater. He died because a *siraba* fish held onto his finger.<sup>36</sup> Then they brought him up after he died. They were fishing for *siraba* fish. He went underwater again to catch another *siraba* fish, and the *siraba* held onto his finger, and he died.

He [a different man] was killing *siraba* fish. A monster caught him, one of them. He was with his brother-in-law. They were killing the fish that belonged to it [the monster]. It was behind the fish in the hole. He felt it as he extended his hand in the hole again.

"There is a monster in there."

"What is it?" the other one said.

"There is a monster in there. It's a big monster. Look at its surface."

He felt it on top underwater. The water was up to his shoulders.

"Is it an *iri* fish?"

"It is not an *iri* fish."

He caused his own demise.

"Pull it out. It must be a fish," his brother-in-law said.

"Don't order me. It's big."

He pulled on it. He pulled hard. It came loose. It made an hitting sound.

"Aa," he yelled.

He didn't take the *siraba* fish home. The monster ate him.

The other one went somewhere else [using his shamanic powers]. He escaped. He came back, and told the news back at the village.

They went in the water and caught fish with their hands, in their lake. They had another way of doing it. Their lake is there, Wara. They ate its fish. They carried redbtail catfish on their backs. Their grated mash of *fowe* tubers was there in baskets. They ate *fowe*. It was the starch eaten with redbtail catfish. Their husbands carried fish on their backs.

"They are coming,' my husband said," she said. "'They all got fish,' my husband said," she said.

They brought fish back. They were carrying redbtail catfish on their backs. They ate the fish of the Wara lake, it is still there. The village of the ancestors was at Wara.

Later there were Apurinãs living there.

They shot Paulinho. He shouldn't have gone along with the others who shot the Apurinã Chico.

Sari told them to kill him. "We have been eating the game and fish from Chico, and the

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<sup>36</sup> The *siraba* fish clamped down on the man's finger with its barb.

## WARA LAKE

Apurinãs have killed him. You kill that Apurinã, Paulinho. Kill Paulinho."

It was Soares. It was Soares with Tomé.<sup>37</sup>

"Yes, you should shoot him right away."

"Kasiano, you have ordered us to kill someone."

"Don't stay living here."

"We will go away after we shoot Paulinho," they said.

"Right, I will go away, too. I have ordered you. Shoot Paulinho. He said he is going to shoot Sikari again."<sup>38</sup>

Sikari was laid up in his hammock at Bia Fa, wounded.

They left them behind. They wanted to kill Paulinho. They waited for him. He came. They waited for him, and he came.

He came. He sat in the house and talked. He was sitting in the house speaking with them. Tomé went to him carrying a rebec. He brought a rebec, and he played the rebec.

"Paulinho, dance. Dance."

"I can't dance, because I don't have any new clothes to wear," he said.

"Dance with old clothes on. It's all right to dance with old clothes on," he said, Soares said.

Then he went inside.

Tomé ordered him. "I'm going to play the rebec again. Get up," he said.

So finally Paulinho got up. Paulinho got up and danced, dancing to the music. He really danced. He went right in front of where the rifle was pointed. Taasei, the sound of it went. Paulinho died. He reeled, and then fell off onto the ground.

Then they left him there, Paulinho. They left Paulinho behind, after having shot him.

"Are Soares and his companion there?"

"Soares and his companion are here, I told them to shoot Paulinho," Sari said, when he arrived back.

They left Paulinho behind, and went away. Then they moved away. They shot the Apurinã, and went away.

Sari wanted to see the Brazilians, and he came back. He came upon their village. Paulinho's relatives had buried him. They came upon his grave.

"The Brazilians shot Paulinho," he said. "There is the grave of their Paulinho. Paulinho died."

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Fa</i>	<i>boti</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ahabematamonaka</i>	
	faha	boti	ya	ahaba	-himata -mona -ka
	water	inside	ADJU	die	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	nf	pn	prt	vi	

'He died underwater.'<sup>39</sup>

2	<i>Abematamonaka</i>		<i>siraba</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>maro</i>	<i>hikanari</i>	
	ahaba	-himata -mona -ka	siraba	yehe	maro	hi- ka- na	-haari
	die	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	fish sp	finger	press	OC COMIT AUX	IP.E+M
	vi		nf	pn	vt	aux	

37 Soares and Tomé were Brazilians, while Sari (also called Kasiano) was a Jarawara.

38 Sikari, Chico's father, had been the main one Paulinho and the other Apurinãs had wanted to kill, when they killed Chico. They had only succeeded in wounding him.

39 Yowao gives an explanation in Portuguese at the beginning of the recording.

WARA LAKE

'He died because a *siraba* fish held onto his finger.'

3	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>horo</b>	<b>himisematamonaka</b>					<b>fahi</b>
	faya	me		faya	me	horo	hi- na -misa -himata -mona -ka					fahi
	so	3PL		so	3PL.S	drag	OC AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M					then
	conj	pron		conj	pron	vt	aux					dem
	,	<b>abari</b>		,	<b>siraba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>mati</b>		
		ahaba -haari			siraba	me	me	waka	na+F	mati		
		die IP.E+M			fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	kill	AUX	3PL.S		
		vi			nf	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron		

'Then they brought him up after he died. They were fishing for *siraba* fish.'

4	<b>Siraba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>manako</b>	,	<b>siraba</b>		
	siraba	me	me	waka	na+F	me		manako		siraba		
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	kill	AUX	3PL.S		then		fish sp		
	nf	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron		conj		nf		
	<b>watebona</b>		<b>fa</b>	<b>boti</b>	<b>tokomatase</b>					<b>siraba</b>	<b>ye</b>	
	wata -hibona		faha	boti	to- ka -ma -tasa+M					siraba	yehe	
	catch INT+M		water	inside	away go/come back again					fish sp	finger	
	vt		nf	pn	vi					nf	pn	
	<b>tama</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>abematamonaka</b>									
	tama	hi- na+M	ahaba -himata -mona -ka									
	hold onto	OC AUX	die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M									
	vt	aux	vi									

'They were fishing for *siraba* fish. He went underwater again to catch another *siraba* fish, and the *siraba* held onto his finger, and he died.'

5	<b>Siraba</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>narawe</b>	,	<b>siraba</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>narawe</b>	<b>maka</b>
	siraba	waka	na -rawa+M		siraba	waka	na -rawa+M	maka
	fish sp	kill	AUX F.PL		fish sp	kill	AUX F.PL	monster
	nf	vt	aux		nf	vt	aux	nm
	<b>hiwata</b>	<b>hinematamonaka</b>	<b>fari</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>owabisa</b>		
	hi- wata.LIST	hi- na -himata -mona -ka	faari	me	ka	owa -bisa		
	OC catch	OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	that one+M	3PL	of	man also		
	vt	aux	dem	pron	prt	nm		

'He was killing *siraba* fish. A monster caught him, one of them.'

6	<b>Wabori</b>	<b>famematamonane</b>
	wabori	fama -himata -mona -ne
	3SG.POSS brother-in-law	be with FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
	nm	vi

'He was with his brother-in-law.'

7	<b>Siraba</b>	<b>ebene</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>hine</b>			
	siraba	ebene	me	waka	hi- na+M			
	fish sp	creature+M	3PL.S	kill	OC AUX			
	nf	pn	pron	vt	aux			
	<b>foyawameno</b>	<b>boyo</b>	<b>hinematamona</b>	<b>mano</b>				
	foya -waha -ma -hino	boyo	hi- na -himata -mona	mano				
	be inside change back	feel	OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M	arm+M				
	vi	vt	aux	pn				
	<b>tokomatasahari</b>							
	to- ka -ma -tasa -haari							
	away go/come back again	IP.E+M						
	vi							

'They were killing the fish that belonged to it [the monster]. It was behind them in the hole. He felt it as he

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extended his hand in the hole again.'

8 *Yama foyine ha*  
 yama foya -ne haa  
 thing be inside CONT+F DEM  
 nf vi dem

""There is a monster in there.""

9 *Yama foyine haro*  
 yama foya -ne haaro  
 thing be inside CONT+F that one+F  
 nf vi dem

""There is a monster in there.""

10 *Himata amariya ? owa ati nematamona*  
 himata ama -ri -ya owa ati na -himata -mona  
 what? be CQ+F now other+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 interrog vc adj vt aux

""What is it?" the other one said.'

11 *Yama foyine ha*  
 yama foya -ne haa  
 thing be inside CONT+F DEM  
 nf vi dem

""There is a monster in there.""

12 *Yama nafiha aawa re*  
 yama nafi+F a- awa na -ra+M  
 thing be big DUP see AUX NEG  
 nf vi vt aux

""It's a big monster.""

13 *Mese tiwa haro*  
 mese ti- awa haaro  
 surface 2SG.S see that one+F  
 pn vt dem

""Look at its surface.""

14 *Mese tatamo hinematamona fa boti ya , mano*  
 mese ta- tamo hi- na -himata -mona faha boti ya , mano  
 surface DUP rub OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M water inside ADJU arm+M  
 pn vt aux nf pn prt pn

*batori fawa nari*  
 batori fawa na -haari  
 junction disappear AUX IP.E+M  
 pn vi aux

'He felt it on top underwater. The water was up to his shoulders.'

15 *Iri amare ?*  
 iri ama -ra+M  
 fish sp be NEG  
 nm vc

""Is it an iri fish?""





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- 25 *Aa* *kiya* *kanematamona* *ahi*  
aa kiya ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
(expression of surprise) yell COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
interj vi aux dem  
'"Aa," he yelled.'
- 26 *Siraba* *towakamarawematamona*  
siraba to- ka- ka -ma -rawa -himata -mona  
fish sp away COMMIT go/come back F.PL FP.N+M REP+M  
nf vt  
'He didn't take the *siraba* fish home.'
- 27 *Maka* *hikabawematamona*  
maka hi- kaba -waha -himata -mona  
monster OC eat change FP.N+M REP+M  
nm vt  
'The monster ate him.'
- 28 *Owa* *ta* *tokabisematamonaka* *fari*  
owa taa to- ka -bisa -himata -mona -ka faari  
other+M contrast away go/come also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
adj prt vi dem  
'The other one went somewhere else.'
- 29 *Hasi* *nematamonaka* *fari*  
hasi na -himata -mona -ka faari  
escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
vi aux dem  
'He escaped.'
- 30 *Faya* *kamawematamona* *fahi* *kame* *hiyara*  
faya ka -ma -waha -himata -mona fahi ka -ma+M hiyara  
so go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M then go/come back story  
conj vi dem vi nf  
*kaminamebanoho*  
kamina -ma -hiba -no -ho  
tell back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
vt  
'He came back, and told the news back at the village.'
- 31 *Aba* *me* *me* *afi* *na* *me* *nana*  
aba me me afi na+F me na- naa  
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S bathe with AUX 3PL.S DUP be good  
nm pron pron vt aux pron aux  
*toemetemone* *me* *fe* *bote*  
to- ha -hemete -mone me fehe bote  
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS water+F old  
aux pron pn adj  
'They went in the water and caught fish with their hands, in their lake. They had another way of doing it.'
- 32 *Me* *fe* *bote* *itine* *Wara*  
me fehe bote ita -ne Wara  
3PL.POSS water+F old be located CONT+F (name of lake)  
pron pn adj vi npropf  
'Their lake is there, Wara.'



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*ne ati nemetemone*  
na+M ati na -hemete -mone  
AUX say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
aux vt aux

'"'They all got fish,' my husband said," she said.'

40 *Aba me me kakamakekani mowe ete me*  
aba me me ka- ka -makI -kani mowe ete me  
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come following ?+F redbtail catfish 3PL.O  
nm pron pron vt nm pron

*me weye na mati*  
me weye na+F mati  
3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S  
pron vt aux pron

'They brought fish back. They were carrying redbtail catfish on their backs.'

41 *Wara ihi me kakaba hiemetemone*  
Wara ihi me ka- kaba hi- to- ha -hemete -mone  
(name of lake) victim of+F 3PL.S DUP eat OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
npropf pn pron vt aux

*itinetini*  
ita -ne -tee.NOM -ni  
be located CONT+F HAB IP.N+F  
vi

'They ate the fish of the Wara lake, it is still there.'

42 *Me iti boteri taborimetemone Wara*  
me iti bote -ri tabori -mete -mone Wara  
3PL grandfather old PN place+F FP.N+F REP+F (name of lake)  
pron nm pn pn npropf

*amake*  
ama -ke  
be DECL+F  
vc

'The village of the ancestors was at Wara.'

43 *Manako yati me winawaha nimete amani*  
manako yati me wina -waha.LIST na.NOM+F -mete ama -ni  
then Apurinã 3PL.S live change AUX FP.N+F be BKG+F  
conj npropm pron vi aux vc

'Later there were Apurinãs living there.'

44 *Baorina me tao kimetemone amake fahi*  
Baorina me tao ka- na.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke fahi  
Paulinho 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
npropm pron vt aux vc dem

'They shot Paulinho.'

45 *Baorina me tao hikaneno me tao hikanematamonaka*  
Baorina me tao hi- ka- na -hino me tao  
Paulinho 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M 3PL.S shoot  
npropm pron vt aux pron vt  
*hikarena*  
hi- ka- na -ra -hina me tao hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
OC COMIT AUX NEG IRR+M 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux pron vt aux

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**Siko me tao kana mati yati**  
 Siko me tao ka- na+F mati yati  
 Chico 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX 3PL.S Apurinã  
 npropm pron vt aux pron npropm  
 'They shot Paulinho. He shouldn't have gone along with the others who shot the Apurinã Chico.'

46 **Sari hikabanematamonaka**  
 Sari hi- ka- habana -himata -mona -ka  
 (man's name) OC COMIT order FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm vt  
 'Sari told them to kill him.'

47 **Siko ene ota kabe iborina me tao**  
 Siko ehene otaa kaba+M iborina me tao  
 Chico victim of+M 1EX.S eat Apurinã 3PL.S shoot  
 npropm pn pron vt npropm pron vt  
**kanani me ka iborina te tao kabisibe**  
 ka- na -hani me ka iborina tee tao ka- na -bisa -be  
 COMIT AUX IP.N+F 3PL of Apurinã 2PL.S shoot COMIT AUX also IMMED+F  
 aux pron prt npropm pron vt aux

**Baorina**  
 Baorina  
 Paulinho  
 npropm  
 "'We have been eating the game and fish from Chico, and the Apurinãs have killed him. You kill that Apurinã, Paulinho.'"

48 **Baorina te nabibe**  
 Baorina tee na- ahaba -be  
 Paulinho 2PL.S CAUS die IMMED+F  
 npropm pron vt  
 "'Kill Paulinho.'"

49 **Sowarimatamonaka**  
 Sowari -mata -mona -ka  
 Soares FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm  
 'It was Soares.'

50 **Sowari ya Tome me famemetemoneni**  
 Sowari ya Tome me fama -hemete -mone -ni  
 Soares ADJU Tomé 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 npropm prt npropm pron vi  
 'It was Soares with Tomé.'

51 **Ee te tao kanibote nayaho**  
 ee tee tao ka- na -bote na -yaho  
 yes 2PL.S shoot COMIT AUX quickly AUX DIST.IMP+M  
 interj pron vt aux aux  
 "'Yes, you should shoot him right away.'"

52 **Kasiano otara tikabanara ti**  
 Kasiano otara ti- ka- habana -hara ti-  
 (man's name) 1EX.O 2SG.S COMIT order IP.E+F 2SG.S  
 npropm pron vt prt  
 "'Kasiano, you have ordered us to kill someone.'"

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53 *Te winariya*  
 tee wina -ra -yahi  
 2PL.S live NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vi

"Don't stay living here."

54 *Ota towakamabisaba ota Baorina ota tao*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -ma -bisa -haba otaa Baorina otaa tao  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back also FUT+F 1EX.S Paulinho 1EX.S shoot  
 pron vi pron npropm pron vt

*ki ya , me ati nemetemoneke*  
 ka- na.NOM+F ya , me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT AUX ADJU 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux prt pron vt aux

"We will go away after we shoot Paulinho," they said.'

55 *Ee , okomabisiba*  
 ee , o- to- ka -ma -bisa.NOM+F -ba  
 yes 1SG.S away go/come back also FUT  
 interj vi

"Right, I will go away, too."

56 *Te okabani*  
 tee o- ka- habana.NOM+F  
 2PL.O 1SG.S COMIT order  
 pron vt

"I have ordered you."

57 *Owa , Baorina te tao kiya*  
 owa , Baorina tee tao ka na -yahi  
 1SG.O Paulinho 2PL.S shoot go/come AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 pron npropm pron vt aux

"Shoot Paulinho."

58 *Sikari tao kanamebona ati nemona ama*  
 Sikari tao ka- na -ma -hibona ati na -himona ama  
 (man's name) shoot COMIT AUX back INT+M say AUX REP+M SEC  
 npropm vt aux vt aux sec

"He said he is going to shoot Sikari again."

59 *Sikari kakawina toamatamona*  
 Sikari ka- ka- wina to- ha.NOM+M -mata -mona  
 (man's name) DUP COMIT lie in hammock CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropm vi aux

*amahe ahi Bia Fa ya*  
 ama -ke ahi Bia Faa ya  
 be DECL+F there (name of stream) ADJU  
 vc dem npropf prt

'Sikari was laid up in his hammock at Bia Fa, wounded.'

60 *Faya me me hekanakosa me , Baorina me*  
 faya me me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F me , Baorina me  
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle 3PL.O Paulinho 3PL  
 conj pron pron vt pron npropm pron

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*tao kani ino me hiri hine me , me noki*  
 tao ka- na.NFIN ino me hiri hi- na+M me , me noki  
 shoot COMMIT AUX name+M 3PL.S say OC AUX 3PL 3PL.S wait for  
 result aux pn pron vt aux pron pron vt

*hine kamematamona*  
 hi- na+M ka -ma -himata -mona  
 OC AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux vi

'They left them behind. They wanted to kill Paulinho. They waited for him. He came.'

61 *Me noki hine kamematamonaka*  
 me noki hi- na+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt aux vi

'They waited for him, and he came.'

62 *Kame , kame hiyame*  
 ka -ma+M ka -ma+M hiyara -ma+M  
 go/come back go/come back speak back  
 vi vi vi

*itarimatamonane*  
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ne  
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came. He sat in the house and talked.'

63 *Me , mera hiyare itari , ni ya , Tome*  
 me , mera hiyara+M ita -rI+M , ni ya , Tome  
 3PL 3PL.O speak to sit raised surface to ADJU Tomé  
 pron pron vt vi prt prt npropm

*tokome hebeka kakamematamonaka*  
 to- ka -ma+M hebeka ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come back rabeca COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi nf vt

'He was sitting in the house speaking with them. Tomé went to him carrying a rebec.'

64 *Hebeka kakame , hebeka ati*  
 hebeka ka- ka -ma+M , hebeka ati  
 rabeca COMMIT go/come back rabeca voice  
 nf vt nf pn

*nasaimatamonane*  
 na- sai -himata -mona -ne  
 CAUS be heard FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He brought a rebec, and he played the rebec.'

65 *Baorina tiyaka*  
 Baorina ti- ayaka  
 Paulinho 2SG.S dance  
 npropm vi

'''Paulinho, dance.'''

66 *Tiyaka*  
 ti- ayaka  
 2SG.S dance  
 vi

'''Dance.'''

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67 *Oyakaba*                      *makari*    *yati*    *oka*                      *okere*                      *ati*  
 o-        ayaka -haba    makari    yati    o-        aka    o-        ke        -re        ati  
 1SG.S dance FUT+F    clothes    new    1SG.S wear    1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F    say  
 vi                      nf                      adj        vt                      prt                      vt

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

"I can't dance, because I don't have any new clothes to wear," he said.'

68 *Makari*    *bote*    *tikayakahi*  
 makari    bote    ti-    ka-    ayaka -hi  
 clothes    old    2SG.S COMIT dance IMP+F  
 nf                      adj        vt

"Dance with old clothes on."

69 *Makari*    *bote*    *kayakatebisa*                      *amake*                      *ati*  
 makari    bote    ka-    ayaka -tee -bisa+F    ama -ke        ati  
 clothes    old    COMIT dance HAB also        SEC DECL+F    say  
 nf                      adj        result                      sec                      vt

*nematamonaka*                      *Sowari*    *ati*    *nematamonaha*  
 na -himata -mona -ka                      Sowari    ati    na -himata -mona -ha  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M                      Soares    say    AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 aux                      npropm    vt                      aux

"It's all right to dance with old clothes on," he said, Soares said.'

70 *Faya*    *tokiyomamematamonaka*                      *fahi*  
 faya    to-    ka        -yoma    -ma -himata -mona -ka        fahi  
 so        away go/come through back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M    then  
 conj    vi                      dem

'Then he went inside.'

71 *Tome*                      *hiyosematamonane*  
 Tome                      hi-    yose    -himata -mona -ne  
 (man's name)    OC command FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm                      vt

'Tomé ordered him.'

72 *Tome*                      *hiyose*                      *Hebeka*    *ati*                      *yana*  
 Tome                      hi-    yose                      hebeka    ati        yana  
 (man's name)    OC command                      rabeka    voice    start  
 npropm                      vt                      nf                      pn                      vi

*onihamibonehe*  
 o-        niha-    na    -ma.NOM+F -bone -he  
 1SG.S CAUS AUX back                      INT+F DUP  
 aux

'Tomé ordered him. "I'm going to play the rebec again."

73 *Yana*                      *kabote*                      *tinahi*                      *ati*    *nematamonane*  
 yana        na -kabote    ti-    na -hi        ati    na -himata -mona -ne  
 get up    AUX quickly    2SG.S AUX IMP+F    say    AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi        aux                      aux                      vt                      aux

"Get up," he said.'



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74 *Faya Baorina yana nematamona amaka fahi waha*  
 faya Baorina yana na -himata -mona ama -ka fahi waha  
 so Paulinho get up AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then now  
 conj npropm vi aux sec dem prt  
 'So finally Paulinho got up.'

75 *Baorina yana ne , ayakematamona amane yama ati*  
 Baorina yana na+M , ayaka -himata -mona ama -ne yama ati  
 Paulinho start AUX dance FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M thing voice  
 npropm vi aux vi sec nf pn

*kayakari*

ka- ayaka -haari  
 COMMIT dance IP.E+M  
 vt

'Paulinho got up and danced, dancing to the music.'

76 *Seresere nawa nematamona ahi*  
 sere- sere na -waha na -himata -mona ahi  
 DUP dance AUX change AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux aux dem

'He really danced.'

77 *Rifi boni hoti yokana tokome rama ahi*  
 rifi boni hoti yokana to- ka -ma+M rama ahi  
 rifle barrel+F hole true away go/come back unusual then  
 nf pn nf adj vi prt dem

'He went right in front of where the rifle was pointed.'

78 *Taasei yama moni tonakosemetemone ama*  
 taasei yama moni to- na -kosa -hemete -mone ama  
 (sound of shotgun) thing make sound CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 sound nf vt aux sec

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'Taasei, the sound of it went.'

79 *Baorina siwa nematamona ama*  
 Baorina siwa na -himata -mona ama  
 Paulinho die AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC  
 npropm vi aux sec

'Paulinho died.'

80 *Towake bao kanisematamona ahi*  
 to- ka- ka+M bao ka- na -risa -himata -mona ahi  
 away COMMIT go/come fall COMMIT AUX down FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi vi aux dem

'He reeled, and then fell off onto the ground.'

81 *Faya me hekanakosematamonaka fahi Baorina*  
 faya me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka fahi Baorina  
 so 3PL.S OC COMMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then Paulinho  
 conj pron vt dem npropm

'Then they left him there, Paulinho.'

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82 *Baorina me kakosemetemoneke me tao*  
 Baorina me ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke me tao  
 Paulinho 3PL.S COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S shoot  
 npropm pron vt pron vt

*hikanari*

hi- ka- na -haari  
 OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'They left Paulinho behind, after having shot him.'

83 *Me hekanakose , Sowari me watini ?*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa+M Sowari me wata -ni  
 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle Soares 3PL.S be located BKG+F  
 pron vt npropm pron vi

'They left him behind. "Are Soares and his companion there?"'

84 *Sowari me watara Baorina me tao*  
 Sowari me wata -hara Baorina me tao  
 Soares 3PL.S be located IP.E+F Paulinho 3PL.S shoot  
 npropm pron vi npropm pron vt

*kanabone me ona mati Sari ati*  
 ka- na -habone me ati o- na+F mati Sari ati  
 COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O (man's name) say  
 aux pron vt pron npropm vt

*nabiseamatamona ama kobo namahi*  
 na -bisa -himata -mona ama kobo na -ma+M  
 AUX also FP.N+M REP+M SEC arrive AUX back  
 aux sec vi aux

'Soares and his companion are here, I told them to shoot Paulinho," Sari said, when he arrived back.'

85 *Baorina me kakosa me*  
 Baorina me ka- kana -kosa+F me  
 Paulinho 3PL.S COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vt pron

*towakamemetemonehe*

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

'They left Paulinho behind, and went away.'

86 *Faya me me banemetemoneke fahi bisa*  
 faya me me bana -hemete -mone -ke fahi bisa  
 so 3PL 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then also  
 conj pron pron vi dem prt

'Then they moved away.'

87 *Me bana me me , ha me yati me tao*  
 me bana+F me me haa me yati me tao  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL DEM 3PL Apurinã 3PL.S shoot  
 pron vi pron pron dem pron npropm pron vt

*kabisa me towakamemetemone faro*  
 ka- na -bisa+F me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone faaro  
 COMIT AUX also 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F that+F  
 aux pron vi dem

'They moved away. They shot the Apurinã, and went away.'

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88 *Faya me me me , Sari yara mera awebona*  
 faya me me me , Sari yara mera awa -hibona  
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL (man's name) Brazilian 3PL.O see INT+M  
 conj pron pron pron npropm npropm pron vt

*kamatasematamonaha*

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

'Sari wanted to see the Brazilians, and he came back.'

89 *Me tabori hiwasimemetemoneke*  
 me tabori hi- wasi -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.POSS place+F OC find back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pn vt

'He came upon their village.'

90 *Baorina fare me one hikamomatamonane*  
 Baorina fare me one hi- kamo -himata -mona -ne  
 Paulinho same+M 3PL other+F OC bury FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm dem pron adj vt

'Paulinho's relatives had buried him.'

91 *Me one hikamono temene me hiwasimematamona*  
 me one hi- kamo -hino temene me hi- wasi -ma -himata -mona  
 3PL other+F OC bury IP.N+M grave+M 3PL.S OC find back FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron adj vt pn pron vt

'His relatives had buried him. They came upon his grave.'

92 *Baorina yara me tao kananini ati*  
 Baorina yara me tao ka- na -hani -ni ati  
 Paulinho Brazilian 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX IP.N+F BKG+F say  
 npropm npropm pron vt aux vt

*nematamona*

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

""The Brazilians shot Paulinho," he said.'

93 *Me ka Baorina temene ite ahi*  
 me ka Baorina temene ita+M ahi  
 3PL POSS Paulinho grave+M be located there  
 pron prt npropm pn vi dem

""There is the grave of their Paulinho.""

94 *Baorina yara me tao hikanenoho*  
 Baorina yara me tao hi- ka- na -hino -ho  
 Paulinho Brazilian 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 npropm npropm pron vt aux

""The Brazilians shot Paulinho.""

95 *Baorina abeno*  
 Baorina ahaba -hino  
 Paulinho die IP.N+M  
 npropm vi

""Paulinho died.""

## MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

### *Free Translation*

I am telling another story, about when my father fought against a spirit.

"Why are you standing there?" my familiar spirit said," my father said.

"I have come to see them fighting."

"You will see them. Let's go see them."

The Yima Wa house, which the spirits fought against, is still there today. He said that a spirit came out of the house, and other spirits chased him.

"Don't let him get away," they said.

They went running after him, but he killed them. They chased him. They complained because he killed one of them. He went running away after killing someone.

The two of them were standing there watching them, he used to say.

"The spirit that killed someone is coming," he said.

My father got up quickly.

One spirit had taken the other into the forest. The two of them went running away. One killed the other. He killed the other one, and went away. They watched him. The spirit came back after taking the other spirit away. They didn't see him killing the other one.

My father said that he looked back at the spirit. "The spirit is coming," my father said.

His familiar spirit looked, too. "The spirit is coming. Go on ahead."

The two of them went running away.

"Haahaa," the spirit said.

"Hold on my back. The spirit is going to kill us."

My father used to say that the spirit's arms were together. His arms were together, he said. He came holding a club high.

My father's familiar spirit turned around [to face the other spirit, who was coming toward them], my father used to say.

The spirit yelled [as he attacked them].

My father held on. "The spirit is going to kill me along with my familiar spirit."

My father's familiar spirit grabbed the spirit's arm, my father used to say.

"Fofu fofu fofu," the spirit said.

The spirit threw my father down along with his familiar spirit, my father used to say. The spirit fell on his knees because of him. He got back up, and yelled. He grabbed his arm.

The spirit struggled with my father's familiar spirit, and pushed him, so he would fall down.

"Don't let go of my back. I will take care of us."

The spirit made him feel sad, my father said. I am remembering him.

My father's familiar spirit closed his eyes, he used to say. He yelled. He hit the spirit. He protected them, my father said. He was Moni Nai. He took away the spirit's weapon.

The spirit came at them. He attacked them, in order to take back the weapon. But my father's familiar spirit got him back.

"Hold on."

My father's familiar spirit went after the spirit. He pushed him.

"It's my turn," he said.

## MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

My father was holding on, he used to say. They were hitting each other. My father's familiar spirit pushed the spirit hard. He slashed him on the back of the neck. He yelled [in victory].

The spirit made my father cry. My father's familiar spirit slashed him, and he struggled with them, my father said. My father took quick looks at him, he said.

"Let him lie there."

The spirit made my father feel sad [because he died], he used to say. He had difficulty breathing, he said. Moni Nai slashed him on the back of his shoulder.

As they were coming back, another spirit came upon them. A spirit was chasing the spirit.

Then they fought against the Yofori Wata spirits. My father brought them down. The Yofori Wata spirits shoot arrows. The Yofori Wata spirits know how to shoot arrows.

The spirit [that was being chased] went on by them. He went running away, he used to say. He was of the same group as the other spirit.

The spirits didn't stay there. Some left, and others stayed. They attacked the Yima Wa house many times to destroy it, but it is still standing. It was not made by people. It is a thing of the spirits of the thunder. They live there. Those spirits never stop fighting each other. They are not afraid to die.

Their voices could be heard. The spirit<sup>40</sup> hit the white-lipped peccaries with switches, my father used to say. He is still hitting the peccaries. He hit the ones that live at Awa Iti, he said. He was not afraid to be in the midst of the dangerous peccaries, my father used to say. He waved the switch, yelling at the peccaries. He used to say they ran away, as he went after them hitting them.

We hunted the peccaries that the spirits went after, and their voices could be heard. The peccaries were fierce. We shot them.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>okobi</b>		<b>mono</b>	<b>kanematamona</b>
	inamati	o-	ka	abi	mono
	spirit	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	struggle with
	nm	nm		vt	aux
					COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M

	<b>okominatasine</b>		<b>o</b>	
	o-	kamina	-tasa	-ne
	1SG.S	tell	again	CONT+F
	vt			prt

'I am telling another story, about when my father fought against a spirit.'

2	<b>Himata</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>tinaba</b>	<b>tiwine</b>	<b>tiriya</b>	
	himata	ebe	ti-	na	-haba	ti-
	what?	purpose	2SG.S	AUX	FUT+F	2SG.S
	interrog	vt	aux		stand	BKG+M
					2SG.S	CQ+F
					now	?

	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>hinemarine</b>	
	ati	na	-himata	-mona
	say	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M
	vt	aux		vt
			ati	hi-
			na	-himari
			AUX	FP.E+M
				BKG+M

""Why are you standing there?' he said," he said.'

3	<b>Yama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>owabone</b>
	yama	me	mowa	na+F	me	o-
	thing	3PL.S	fight	AUX	3PL.O	1SG.S
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt
						awa
						-habone
						see
						INT+F

40 This is not the same spirit as any of the ones mentioned above.



## MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

11 *Me*      *fitori*                      *tonamakemetemone*    *ahi*      ,      *ene*  
 me      fito -ri      to- na -makI      -hemete -mone      ahi      ,      ehene  
 3PL.S      rush DISTR      away AUX following FP.N+F      REP+F      then      victim of+M  
 pron      vi                      aux    dem                      pn

*itibanoho*

iti      -hiba -no      -ho  
 exist FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'They went running after him, but he killed them.'

12 *Me*      *hikiyomatamonaka*  
 me      hi- kiyo -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S      OC      chase FP.N+M      REP+M DECL+M  
 pron      vt

'They chased him.'

13 *Me*      *hora*                      *nemetemone*    *me*      *ka*      *owa*                      *nabino*  
 me      hora      na -hemete -mone      me      ka      owa      na- ahaba -hino  
 3PL.S      exclaim      AUX FP.N+F      REP+F      3PL      POSS      companion      CAUS die      IP.N+M  
 pron      vi                      aux    pron prt      nm                      vt

*rama*      *ahi*  
 rama      ahi  
 unusual      then  
 prt      dem

'They complained because he killed one of them.'

14 *Kana*      *ni*                      *tokematamonaka*    *fari*      ,  
 kana      na.NFIN      to- ka      -himata -mona -ka      faari  
 run      AUX                      away go/come FP.N+M      REP+M DECL+M      that one+M  
 vi      aux                      vi    dem

*ene*                      *itinoho*  
 ehene                      iti      -hino -ho  
 victim of+M      exist IP.N+M DUP  
 pn                      vi

'He went running away after killing someone.'

15 *Me*      *me*      *kakatoma*    *me*      *yoro*      *nemetemone*    *aati*  
 me      me      ka- katoma+F      me      yoro      na -hemete -mone      a- ati  
 3PL.O      3PL.S      COMIT look at      3PL.S      stand      AUX FP.N+F      REP+F      DUP say  
 pron      pron      vt    pron      vi      aux    vt

*toemarine*

to- ha -himari -ne  
 CH AUX FP.E+M      BKG+M  
 aux

'The two of them were standing there watching them, he used to say.'

16 *Me*      *yoro*      *na*      *me*      ,      *Inamati*      *inamati*      *ene*                      *iti*  
 me      yoro      na+F      me      ,      inamati      inamati      ehene                      iti+M  
 3PL.S      stand      AUX      3PL.S      spirit      spirit      victim of+M      exist  
 pron      vi      aux      pron      nm      nm      pn                      vi

*inamati*      *kaki*    *inamati*      *ati*      *nematamonane*  
 inamati      ka      -kI.NOM      inamati      ati      na -himata -mona -ne  
 spirit      go/come coming      spirit      say      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M BKG+M  
 nm      vi                      nm      vt      aux

'The two of them were standing there. "The spirit that killed someone is coming," he said.'

MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

17 *Okobi*                      *yana*                      *kabote*                      *nematamona*                      *amaka*  
 o-                      ka    abi                      yana                      na    -kabote                      na    -himata    -mona                      ama    -ka  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father                      get up                      AUX    quickly                      AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M                      SEC    DECL+M  
 nm    vi    aux    aux    sec

*ahi* .  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'My father got up quickly.'

18 *Me*                      *ebe*                      *towake*    *me*                      *ebe*                      *towaka*  
 me                      ebe                      to-    ka-    ka+M                      me                      ebe                      to-    ka-    ka+F  
 3PL.POSS    RECIP    away    COMIT    go/come                      3PL.POSS    RECIP    away    COMIT    go/come  
 pron                      pn                      vt    pron                      pn                      vt

*me*                      *kana*                      *ni*    *towakemetemone*    *ahi* .  
 me                      kana                      na.NFIN                      to-    ka-    ka                      -hemete    -mone                      ahi  
 3PL.S                      run                      AUX                      away    COMIT    go/come                      FP.N+F    REP+F                      then  
 pron    vi                      aux                      vi    dem

'He took him. The two of them went running away.'

19 *Me*                      *ebe*                      *tonabowawitemetemoneni*  
 me                      ebe                      to-    na-    aboha    -witI    -hemete    -mone    -ni  
 3PL.POSS    RECIP    away    CAUS    die                      out                      FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F  
 pron                      pn                      vt

'One killed another.'

20 *Ene*                      *iti*                      *tokome*    *me*  
 ehene                      iti+M                      to-    ka                      -ma+M                      me  
 victim of+M                      exist                      away    go/come                      back                      3PL.S  
 pn                      vi                      vi    pron

*hekatomematamona*  
 hi-    ka-                      katoma                      -himata    -mona  
 OC    COMIT    look at                      FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vt

'He killed the other one, and went away. They watched him.'

21 *Inamati*                      *hehe*                      *inamati*                      *towakeno*    *awareno*  
 inamati                      hehe                      inamati                      to-    ka-    ka                      -hino                      awa    -ra    -hino  
 spirit                      this one+M                      spirit                      away    COMIT    go/come                      IP.N+M                      see    NEG    IP.N+M  
 nm                      dem                      nm                      vt    result

*kamabano*    *ya* .  
 ka                      -ma.NOM+M    -ba    -no                      ya  
 go/come    back                      FUT    IP.N+M                      ADJU  
 vi    prt

'The spirit came back after taking the other spirit away. They didn't see him doing this.'

22 *Inamati*                      *ki*                      *kawamematamona*  
 inamati                      kii                      ka-    na    -waha    -ma    -himata    -mona  
 spirit                      look at                      COMIT    AUX    change    back                      FP.N+M    REP+M  
 nm                      vt                      aux

*okobi*    *aati*                      *toemarika*  
 o-                      ka    abi                      a-    ati                      to-    ha    -himari    -ka  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father                      DUP    say                      CH    AUX    FP.E+M    DECL+M  
 nm    vt    aux

'My father said that he looked back at the spirit.'



MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

23 *Inamati* *kame* *okobi* *ati* *nematamona*  
 inamati ka -ma+M o- ka abi ati na -himata -mona  
 spirit go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vi nm vt aux

"The spirit is coming," my father said.'

24 *Ki* *kabote* *nabiseamatamonaka* *ahi*  
 kii na -kabote na -bisa -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 look AUX quickly AUX also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi aux aux dem

'He looked, too.'

25 *Inamati* *kame*  
 inamati ka -ma+M  
 spirit go/come back  
 nm vi

"The spirit is coming."

26 *Tai* *tiahi*  
 tai ti- to- ha -hi  
 be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F  
 vi aux

"Go on ahead."

27 *Me* *kana* *ni* *towakemetemone* *ahi*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux vi dem

'The two of them went running away.'

28 *Haha* *ati* *nematamona* *ahi*  
 haahaa ati na -himata -mona ahi  
 (expression of anger) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 interj vt aux dem

"Haahaa," he said.'

29 *Tiwanamisahi*  
 ti- wana -misa -hi  
 2SG.S be attached up IMP+F  
 vi

"Hold on my back."

30 *Inamati* *era* *fawa* *tokaniba* *amane*  
 inamati era fawa to- ka- niha- na -hiba ama -ne  
 spirit 1IN.O disappear CH COMIT CAUS AUX FUT+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm pron vi aux sec

"The spirit is going to kill us."

31 *Inamati* , *inamati* *mano* *oharimatamona* *okobi*  
 inamati inamati mano ohari -himata -mona o- ka abi  
 spirit spirit arm+M be one FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm nm pn vi nm

*na* *hiemari*  
 ati na hi- to- ha -hiemari  
 say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M  
 vt aux

'My father used to say that the spirit's arms were together.'

## MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

32 **Mano famawematamona na hiwemari ahi**  
 mano fama -waha -himata -mona ati na hi- to- ha -himari ahi  
 arm+M be two change FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M then  
 pn vi vt aux dem

'His arms were together, he said.'

33 **Mata mata ta tomisi kamakimatamona**  
 mata mata taa to- na -misa.NFIN ka -makI -himata -mona  
 club club extend CH AUX up go/come following FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm nm vt aux vi

**ahi kana ni**  
 ahi kana na.NFIN  
 then run AUX  
 dem vi aux

'He came holding a club high.'

34 **Inamati nokowakabote nabisematamona**  
 inamati noko -waha -kabote na -bisa -himata -mona  
 spirit point change quickly AUX also FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vi aux

**okobi aati toemari**  
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari  
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M  
 nm vt aux

'The spirit turned around, my father used to say.'

35 **Ye tonakosematamona ahi**  
 yee to- na -kosa -himata -mona ahi  
 yell CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He yelled.'

36 **Okobi wane Inamati owa**  
 o- ka abi wana+M inamati owa  
 1SG.POSS POSS father be attached spirit 1SG.O  
 nm vi nm pron

**kanaboweba amane**  
 ka- na- aboha -hiba ama -ne  
 COMMIT CAUS die FUT+M SEC BKG+M  
 vt sec

'My father held on. "The spirit is going to kill me along with the spirit."'

37 **Inamati mano hinamati wara tonemata awane**  
 inamati mano hinamati wara to- na -himata awa -ne  
 spirit arm+M spirit grab CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
 nm pn nm vt aux sec

**okobi aati toemarika ahi**  
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 nm vt aux dem

'The spirit grabbed the spirit's arm, my father used to say.'

38 **Fofu fofu fofoo ati kawematamona**  
 ati ka- na -waha -himata -mona  
 say COMMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

"Fofu fofu fofu," he said.'

39 *Okobi* *inamati* *koro*  
 o- ka abi inamati koro  
 1SG.POSS POSS father spirit throw  
 nm nm vt  
*hikawitematamona* *aati* *toemari* *amaka*  
 hi- to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ka  
 OC away COMMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 aux vt aux sec  
*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'The spirit threw my father down along with the spirit, my father used to say.'

40 *Inamati* *iso* *witi* *tihi* *tokowitematamona* *amane*  
 inamati iso witi tihi to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona ama -ne  
 spirit leg+M edge hit away COMMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm pn pn vi aux sec  
*ehene* *ahi*  
 ehene ahi  
 because of+M then  
 post dem

'The spirit fell on his knees because of him.'

41 *Wamisamatase* *ye* *tonakosatasematamona* *ahi*  
 waa -misa -ma -tasa+M yee to- na -kosa -tasa -himata -mona ahi  
 stand up back again yell CH AUX middle again FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi vi aux dem

'He got back up, and yelled.'

42 *Mano* *wara* *hitasematamona* *ahi* *ya*  
 mano wara hi- to- na -tasa -himata -mona ahi ya  
 arm+M grab OC CH AUX again FP.N+M REP+M then ADJU  
 pn vt aux dem prt

'He grabbed his arm.'

43 *He* *mono* *he* *fata* *nematamona* *na*  
 hee mono.LIST hee fata na -himata -mona ati na  
 3SG.O struggle with 3SG.O push AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX  
 pron vt pron vt aux vt

*hiemari* *ahi* *tosehibonaha*  
 hi- to- ha -himari ahi to- sona -hibona -ha  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M then CH fall INT+M DUP  
 aux dem vi

'He struggled with him, and pushed him, so he would fall down.'

44 *Wawana* *karama* *tinahi*  
 wa- wana na -karahama ti- na -hi  
 DUP be attached AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 vi aux aux

"Don't let go."

MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

45 *Era owakatomaba owa awine oni*  
 era o- ka- katoma -haba owa awine o- ni  
 1IN.O 1SG.S COMIT look at FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 pron vt pron sec prt

"I will take care of us."

46 *Inamati kamonimatamona okobi na*  
 inamati kamoni -himata -mona o- ka abi ati na  
 spirit feel sad FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX  
 nm vi nm vt

*hiemari wati owahine oni*  
 hi- to- ha -himari wati o- na -waha -ne o- ni  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M remember 1SG.S AUX change CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 aux vt aux prt

'The spirit made him feel sad, my father said. I am remembering him.'

47 *Inamati noko amo kanisemata awane aati*  
 inamati noko amo ka- na -risa -himata awa -ne a- ati  
 spirit eye+M sleep COMIT AUX down FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M DUP say  
 nm pn vi aux sec vt

*toemarika ahi*  
 to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'The spirit closed his eyes, he used to say.'

48 *Ye tonakosatasematamona ahi*  
 yee to- na -kosa -tasa -himata -mona ahi  
 yell CH AUX middle again FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He yelled.'

49 *Inamati inamati katome hikatome mera*  
 inamati inamati katoma+M hi- katoma+M mera  
 spirit spirit attack OC attack 3PL.O  
 nm nm vt vt pron

*kakatomematamona okobi na*  
 ka- katoma -himata -mona o- ka abi ati na  
 COMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX  
 vt nm vt

*hiemari*  
 hi- to- ha -himari  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M  
 aux

'The spirit hit the spirit. He protected them, my father said.'

50 *Moni Nai toa*  
 Moni Nai to- ha.CONT+M  
 (name of spirit) CH be  
 npropm vc

'He was Moni Nai.'

51 *Ye honene hose hiwiti rama ahi*  
 yehe honene hose hi- to- na -witI+M rama ahi  
 hand weapon+M pull out OC away AUX out unusual then  
 pn pn vt aux prt dem

'He took away his weapon.'

MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

52 *Yana tonematamona*  
 yana to- na -himata -mona  
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi aux

'He came at them.'

53 *Ya hona totimakebona mera katomematamona*  
 ya hona to- iti -makI -hibona mera katoma -himata -mona  
 weapon away take out following INT+M 3PL.O attack FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt pron vt

*ahi manako hiebanoho*  
 ahi manako hi- to- ha -hiba -no -ho  
 then revenge OC CH pay back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 dem nf vt

'He attacked them, in order to take back the weapon. But he got him back.'

54 *Wawana karama tina*  
 wa- wana na -karahama ti- na  
 DUP be attached AUX only do 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux

""Hold on.""

55 *Inamati inamati wati kanematamona ahi*  
 inamati inamati wati ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
 spirit spirit go after COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm nm vt aux dem

'The spirit went after the spirit.'

56 *Fatafata tori hinematamona*  
 fata- fata to- na -rI hi- na -himata -mona  
 DUP push CH AUX raised surface OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux aux

'He pushed him.'

57 *Ha owara ati nematamona ahi*  
 haa owa -ra ati na -himata -mona ahi  
 DEM 1SG NPQ say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 dem nm vt aux dem

""It's my turn," he said.'

58 *Okobi wana nemata awane aati*  
 o- ka abi wana.LIST na -himata awa -ne a- ati  
 1SG.POSS POSS father be attached AUX FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M DUP say  
 nm vi aux sec vt

*toemarika ahi*  
 to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'My father was holding on, he used to say.'

59 *Me ibe katomemetemone okobi me*  
 me ibe katoma -hemete -mone o- ka abi me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP attack FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.O  
 pron pn vt nm pron





## MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

71 *Yofori wata*                      *yama*    *me*        *tisa*                                      *ke*  
 Yofori Wata                      yama    me        tisa                                      na -ke  
 (name of spirits)                      thing    3PL.S    shoot with arrow                      AUX DECL+F  
 npropm                                      nf        pron     vt    prt

'The Yofori Wata spirits shoot arrows.'

72 *Yofori wata*                      *wati*        *tisa*                                      *ni*                      *me*        *watoke*  
 Yofori Wata                      wati        tisa                                      na.NFIN    me        wato -ke  
 (name of spirits)                      arrow    shoot with arrow                      AUX        3PL.S    know DECL+F  
 npropm                                      nm        vt    aux        pron     vt

'The Yofori Wata spirits know how to shoot arrows.'

73 *Mera*    *kakosawematamonaka*  
 mera    ka-    kana    -kosa    -waha    -himata    -mona    -ka  
 3PL.O    COMIT    leave    middle    change    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 pron     vt

'He went on by them.'

74 *Mera*    *kakose*                                      *kana*    *ni*  
 mera    ka-    kana    -kosa+M                      ,    kana    na.NFIN  
 3PL.O    COMIT    leave    middle                                      run     AUX  
 pron     vt    vi     aux

*tokomematamona*                                      *na*                      *hiwemarine*                                      *owa*  
 to-    ka                      -ma    -himata    -mona    ati    na                      hi-    to-    ha    -himari    -ne    owa  
 away go/come back    FP.N+M    REP+M    say    AUX                      OC    CH    AUX    FP.E+M    BKG+M    other+M  
 vi    vt                      aux    adj

'He went on by them. He went running away, he used to say. He was of the same group as the other spirit.'

75 *Faya*    *me*        *naorememoneke*                                      *fahi*  
 faya    me        naho -ra -hemete -mone -ke                      fahi  
 so        3PL.S    stay NEG FP.N+F                      REP+F    DECL+F                      then  
 conj    pron     vi    dem

'They didn't stay there.'

76 *Me*                      *abe*        *kakosemetemoneni*  
 me                      abe        ka-    kana    -kosa    -hemete    -mone    -ni  
 3PL.POSS    RECIP    COMIT    leave    middle    FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F  
 pron                      pn        vt

'Some left, and others stayed.'

77 *Me*                      *mowa*    *hina*                      *me*                      *hinahabihatehamone*                                      *me*  
 me                      mowa    hi-    na+F    me                      hi-    na-    ahaba    -tee    -hamone    me  
 3PL.S    fight    OC    AUX    3PL.S    OC    CAUS    end    HAB    REP+F    3PL.S  
 pron     vt                      aux                      pron     vt    pron

*na*                      *hiamaro*                                      *wainetini*  
 ati    na                      hi-    to-    ha    -hamaro    waa    -ne    -tee.NOM    -ni  
 say    AUX                      OC    CH    AUX    FP.E+F    stand    CONT+F    HAB                      IP.N+F  
 vt                      aux    vi

'They attacked it many times to destroy it, but it is still standing.'

78 *E*                      *ka*                      *yama*    *yama*    *nimete*                                      *ama*  
 ee        ka                      yama    yama    na.NFIN    -mete    ama  
 1IN    POSS    thing    make    AUX                      FP.N+F    be  
 pron    prt     nf                      result    aux    vc

'It was not made by people.'



MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

79 *Bahi me ka yamamete amake*  
 bahi me ka yama -mete ama -ke  
 thunder 3PL POSS thing FP.N+F be DECL+F  
 nm pron prt nf vc

'It is a thing of the spirits of the thunder.'

80 *Afa ya me winineti*  
 afa ya me wina -ne -tee.NOM  
 this+F ADJU 3PL.S live CONT+F HAB  
 dem prt pron vi

'They live there.'

81 *Takabi bai hiweba ama ?*  
 Takabi bahi hiwa -hiba ama  
 (woman's name) sun be hot FUT+M SEC  
 npropf nm vi sec

'Takabi, is the sun going to be hot?'

82 *Yifo soko tibana ?*  
 yifo soko ti- na -bana  
 hammock wash 2SG.S AUX FUT  
 nm vt aux

'Are you going to wash the hammock?'

83 *Afa me ibe me ibe mowa na me ebe*  
 afa me ibe me ibe mowa na+F me ebe  
 this+F 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP fight AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 dem pron pn pron pn vt aux pron pn

*sa toneti*  
 saa to- na -ne -tee.NOM  
 release CH AUX CONT+F HAB  
 vt aux

'Those spirits never stop fighting each other.'

84 *E ahaba e toha awineke bisa me ni ya*  
 ee ahaba+F ee to- ha+F awineke -ke bisa me ni ya  
 1IN.S die 1IN.S CH be seem+F DECL+F also 3PL to ADJU  
 pron vi pron vc sec prt pron prt prt

'They are not afraid to die.'

85 *Ara Tafi e ra ?*  
 Ara Tafi ee na -ra  
 Alan David (question) AUX CQ+M  
 npropm npropm vi aux

'Alan, where is David?'

86 *Haa ?*  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj

'Huh?'

87 *Tafi , Tafi biroto*  
 Tafi Tafi biroto  
 David David pilot  
 npropm npropm nm

'David, David the pilot.'

MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

88 *We*                    *awaka*  
 waa+M                awa                -ka  
 be located    seem+M    DECL+M  
 vi                    sec

'I guess he is there.'

89 *Taboro*    *ya*                ?  
 taboro            ya  
 place+M    ADJU  
 pn                prt

'At his home?'

90 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

'Yes.'

91 *Amo*    *ni*                *e*                    *raba*                    ?  
 amo            na.NFIN    ee                na            -ra            -ba  
 sleep    AUX                (question)    AUX    CQ+M    FUT  
 vi            aux                vi                aux

'When is he coming here?'

92 *Sestafera*    *ya*                *kamebona*                    *ati*    *nareka*  
 sestafera    ya                ka                -ma            -hibona    ati    na            -hare            -ka  
 Friday            ADJU    go/come    back    INT+M    say    AUX    IP.E+M    DECL+M  
 nf                prt            vi                    vt            aux

'He said he would come on Friday.'

93 *Aa*  
 aa  
 (pause)  
 interj

'Oh.'

94 *Sestafera*    *ya*  
 sestafera    ya  
 Friday            ADJU  
 nf                prt

'Friday.'

95 *Me*                *ati*                *saiha*                *me*                    ,    *hiyama*                    *me*  
 me                ati                sai+F                me                    ,    hiyama                    me  
 3PL.POSS    voice            be heard            3PL.POSS            white-lipped peccary    3PL  
 pron            pn                vi                    pron                    nm                    pron

*hiyama*                    *me*                *kosi*                *nematamona*                    *okobi*  
 hiyama                    me                kosi                na            -himata            -mona            o-                ka            abi  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    flail            AUX    FP.N+M            REP+M    1SG.POSS    POSS    father  
 nm                    pron            vt                aux                    nm

*na*                *hiemari*                    *ahi*  
 ati    na            hi-    to-    ha            -himari            ahi  
 say    AUX            OC    CH            AUX    FP.E+M            then  
 vt                aux                    dem

'Their voices could be heard. He hit the white-lipped peccaries with switches, my father used to say.'

MY FATHER AND HIS FAMILIAR SPIRIT

96 *Hiyama* *me* *mowa* *nati* , *Awa Iti*  
 hiyama me mowa na.CONT+M -tee.NOM Awa Iti  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O fight AUX HAB (name of place)  
 nm pron vt aux npropf

*abe* *kosi* *nematamona* *na* *hiemari*  
 abe kosi na -himata -mona ati na hi- to- ha -himari  
 creature+F flail AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M  
 pn vt aux vt aux

'He is still hitting the peccaries. He hit the ones that live at Awa Iti, he said.'

97 *Hiyama* *me* *yofina* *me inamati*  
 hiyama me yofina+F me inamati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S cause fear spirits  
 nm pron vi nf

*karimematamona* *okobi* *na* *hiwemari*  
 karima -himata -mona o- ka abi ati na hi- to- ha -himari  
 suffer from FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M  
 vt nm vt aux

*amaka*  
 ama -ka  
 SEC DECL+M  
 sec

'He was not afraid to be in the midst of the dangerous peccaries, my father used to say.'

98 *Kokosi* *weo* *nematamona* *ahi* *hiyama* *me*  
 ko- kosi weho na -himata -mona ahi hiyama me  
 DUP flail wave AUX FP.N+M REP+M then white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
 nf vt aux dem nm pron

*ye* *kanahari*  
 yee ka- na -haari  
 yell COMMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 vi aux

'He waved the switch, yelling at the peccaries.'

99 *Hine* *me* *katometemone* *me* *na*  
 hine me katoma -hemete -mone me ati na  
 3.REFL 3PL.S kill many FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O say AUX  
 pron pron vt pron vt

*hiamaroke* *me* *kosi*  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro -ke me kosi  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O flail  
 aux pron vt

*hinamakehite* *mati*  
 hi- to- na -makI -hitI mati  
 OC away AUX following along the way 3PL.O  
 aux pron

'He used to say they ran away, as he went after them hitting them.'

100 *Hiyama* *me inamati* *hinaketemone*  
 hiyama me inamati hi- to- na- ka -hemete -mone  
 white-lipped peccary spirits OC away CAUS go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm nf vt

*me* *ota* *mowa* *nimaro* *amake* *ahi* , *me* *ati*  
 me otaa mowa na.NOM+F -maro amake ahi me ati  
 3PL.O 1EX.S fight AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F then 3PL.POSS voice  
 pron pron vt aux vc dem pron pn



## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

### *Free Translation*

The white-lipped peccaries were fierce, and we killed them with shotguns. They were telling about them. Their voices were like a garden burning. I was with the men, and I shot some of them. There was a female peccary that I shot, and they ate it. I carried heavy animals all day long, by myself. I left the peccaries in the forest. I got up early because of them, and went after them the next morning. The peccaries came back, and I met up with them again. Then I shot two more peccaries.

There was a jaguar that was after the peccaries. When the jaguar was after the peccaries, their sound was fearsome.

"Is that the sound of peccaries that have a jaguar after them?"

"It is the sound of peccaries that have a jaguar after them. You be careful when you are going after the peccaries, Noko Wene."

"We are going after the peccaries."

They were making a lot of noise. The voices of the peccaries could be heard. Noko Wene and the others went after them, and we waited for them. The noise of him could be heard. Teei went the sound of a rifle.

"Yee," Noko Wene said. Noko Wene yelled many times.

The jaguar was running with the peccaries as they ran. It was with the peccaries. I could have shot it, but I went past it. Tatiwi was running behind me, and he shot the jaguar. I thought he had shot a peccary.

I went running, and I shot a peccary. Maneo Rowi shot one, too. We were carrying the peccaries that we had killed to a gathering point, and he came back after shooting the jaguar.

"Efe, Efe."

"Huh?"

"Did you kill a peccary?"

"I did kill a peccary, it is lying there."

"I killed a peccary, too, it is lying over there," he said. But he had killed a jaguar. "I will go look at it." He went.

We carried the peccaries, and put them together. We gutted the peccaries. We tied the peccaries up. We heard him start calling.

"Hey, hey."

"Tatiwi is calling, Tatiwi said he shot a peccary."

"The peccary is lying there," he said.

"Bring the peccary here."

"The peccary can't be carried." He left it there. He came. "Whew," he said.

"What is it?"

"The peccary is lying there. I shot the jaguar that was causing the commotion of the peccaries, and it is lying there. The jaguar can't be carried. The jaguar is there on the ground. Come on, let's go get it."

He tried to pick up the jaguar, but the jaguar couldn't be picked up. Noko Mora carried the

## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

jaguar. We brought it, and they skinned it. I guess Tatiwi sold its skin.

One time when a jaguar attacked my grandfather, he shot it in the face and the shot was embedded in its snout.

We came back. We brought the peccaries home. Back in the village we worked on the peccaries. They cooked the meat.

Then we had a festa. We sang songs about them. We feasted on the meat.

We feasted on meat many times, when we killed animals, white-lipped peccaries. Animals, tapir, they ate a tapir, too. When we had festas, they ate peach palm nuts, too. They drank Amane's peach palm porridge. There were two large pots of peach palm porridge. He feasted a lot, and now he is feasting somewhere else.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>yawa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiri</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>tao</b>
	hiyama	yawa	me	hiri	na+F	me	otaa	tao
	white-lipped peccary	anger	3PL.S	make	AUX	3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot
	nm	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	vt

**namaro**

na -hamaro

AUX FP.E+F

aux

'The white-lipped peccaries were fierce, and we killed them with shotguns.'

2	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiyamaro</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ama</b>
	me	me	me	hiyara -hamaro	me	ama
	3PL	3PL.O	3PL.S	tell FP.E+F	3PL.S	SEC
	pron	pron	pron	vt	pron	sec

'They were telling about them.'

3	<b>Awa</b>	<b>hiri</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>nima</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>hiyama</b>
	awa	hiri	na.NFIN	moni	nima	ahi	hiyama
	tree	catch fire	AUX	sound	like	this	white-lipped peccary
	nf	vi	aux	pn	prt	dem	nm

<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>namaro</b>	<b>mati</b>
me	ati	na -hamaro	mati
3PL.POSS	voice	AUX FP.E+F	3PL.POSS
pron	pn	aux	pron

'Their voices were like a garden burning.'

4	<b>Yama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>makitiri</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>taba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tao</b>
	yama	me	makitiri	ya	me	taba+F	me	tao
	thing	3PL	man	ADJU	3PL.S	be together	3PL.O	shoot
	nf	pron	nm	prt	pron	vi	pron	vt

<b>onamaro</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>owatino</b>
o- na -hamaro	ahi	owatino
1SG.S AUX FP.E+F	then	exclamation
aux	dem	interj

'I was with the men, and I shot some of them.'

5	<b>Sawi</b>	<b>nofani</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>okana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kabamaro</b>
	sawi	nofa -hani	tao	o- ka- na+F	me	kaba -hamaro
	be present	recently IP.N+F	shoot	1SG.S COMIT AUX	3PL.S	eat FP.E+F
	vi	prt	vt	aux	pron	vt

## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

**me ama hiyama**  
 me ama hiyama  
 3PL.S SEC white-lipped peccary  
 pron sec nm

'There was a female peccary that I shot, and they ate it.'

6 **Bani me kanaha me iso onahatemaro ama**  
 bani me kanaha+F me iso o- na nahatI -hamaro ama  
 animal 3PL.S be heavy 3PL.O carry off 1SG.S AUX daytime FP.E+F SEC  
 nm pron vi pron vt aux sec

**oni owahariha owa**  
 o- ni , o- ohari+F owa  
 1SG.S BKG+F 1SG.S be alone 1SG.S  
 prt vi pron

'I carried heavy animals all day long, by myself.'

7 **Hiyama me so onihakosa me**  
 hiyama me soo o- to- niha- na -kosa+F me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O lie 1SG.S CH CAUS AUX middle 3PL.O  
 nm pron vi aux pron

**bosa okatasa me**  
 bosa o- ka- na -tasa+F me  
 get up early 1SG.S COMIT AUX again 3PL.O  
 vi aux pron

**onakamakimina me hiyama**  
 o- to- na- ka -makI -mina+F me , hiyama  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come following morning 3PL.O white-lipped peccary  
 vt pron nm

**me kamani me kobo**  
 me ka -ma -hani me kobo  
 3PL.S go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.O meet  
 pron vi pron vt

**onamakitasimaro ama**  
 o- to- na -makI -tasa.NOM+F -maro ama  
 1SG.S away AUX following again FP.E+F SEC  
 aux sec

'I left the peccaries in the forest. I got up early because of them, and went after them the next morning. The peccaries came back, and I met up with them again.'

8 **Me tao okanamakikimatasamaroke faro**  
 me tao o- ka- na -makI -kima -tasa -hamaro -ke faaro  
 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX following two again FP.E+F DECL+F that+F  
 pron vt aux dem

'Then I shot two more peccaries.'

9 **Yome hiyama me mowa ne yome yama kabani**  
 yomee hiyama me mowa na+M yomee yama kabani  
 jaguar white-lipped peccary 3PL.O fight AUX jaguar forest  
 nm nm pron vt aux nm nf

**kari**  
 kari  
 which+M  
 prt

'There was a jaguar that was after the peccaries.'





## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

'The voices of the peccaries could be heard. Noko Wene and the others went after them, and we waited for them. The noise of him could be heard.'

17	<b>Teeeee</b>	<b>rifi</b>	<b>moni</b>		<b>tonakosamaroke</b>				<b>ahi</b>
	teeeeei	rifi	moni		to- na -kosa -hamaro -ke				ahi
	sound	rifle	make	sound	CH AUX middle FP.E+F DECL+F				then
		nf	vt		aux				dem

'Tei went the sound of a rifle.'

18	<b>Yee</b>		<b>Noko Wene</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>	<b>amaka</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	yee		Noko Wene	ati	na -himari	ama -ka	ahi
	(sound of yelling)		(man's name)	say	AUX FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M	then
	interj		npropm	vt	aux	sec	dem

'"Yee," Noko Wene said.'

19	<b>Noko Wene</b>	<b>yeye</b>	<b>ba</b>		<b>nemari</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	Noko Wene	ye- yee	na -ba		na -himari	ama	ahi
	(man's name)	DUP yell	AUX without stopping		AUX FP.E+M	SEC	then
	npropm	vi	aux		aux	sec	dem

'Noko Wene yelled many times.'

20	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>
	hiyama		me	kana	na.NOM+F	ya	kana	na.NFIN
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	run	AUX	ADJU	run	AUX
	nm		pron	vi	aux	prt	vi	aux

**tabemataka**

taba -himata -ka  
be together FP.N+M DECL+M  
vi

'It was running with the peccaries as they ran.'

21	<b>Sawimataka</b>		<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>ya</b>
	sawi -himata -ka		hiyama	me	ni	ya
	be present FP.N+M DECL+M		white-lipped peccary	3PL	to	ADJU
	vi		nm	pron	prt	prt

'It was with the peccaries.'

22	<b>Tao</b>	<b>okanena</b>		<b>fiya</b>	<b>onamakeno</b>
	tao o- ka- na -hina		fiya o- to- na -makI		-hino
	shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX IRR+M		pass 1SG.S away AUX following		IP.N+M
	vt aux		vt aux		

<b>Tatiwi</b>	<b>onowati</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>yoto</b>	<b>yome</b>	<b>tao</b>
Tatiwi	o- nowati	kana	na.NFIN	yoto+M	yomee	tao
(man's name)	1SG.POSS behind	run	AUX	follow	jaguar	shoot
npropm	pn	vi	aux	vi	nm	vt

**kanemari** **amaka**  
ka- na -himari ama -ka  
COMIT AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
aux sec

'I could have shot it, but I went past it. Tatiwi was running behind me, and he shot the jaguar.'

23	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>nakani</b>
	hiyama	tao	ka- na.CONT+M	na+M -kani
	white-lipped peccary	shoot	COMIT AUX	AUX CNTRFACT
	nm	vt	aux	aux

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

*onemari*  
 ati o- na -himari  
 say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+M  
 vt  
 'I thought he had shot a peccary.'

*amane*  
 ama -ne  
 SEC BKG+M  
 sec

24 *Oko*                      *kana*    *ni*                      *tokomake*                      *hiyama*  
 o-                      ka                      kana                      na.NFIN                      to- ka                      -makI                      hiyama  
 1SG.POSS POSS                      run                      AUX                      away go/come                      following                      white-lipped peccary  
 prt                      vi                      aux                      vi                      nm

*tao*                      *okanamakimaro*                      *amake*                      *ahi*  
 tao o- to- ka- na -makI.NOM -maro ama -ke ahi  
 shoot 1SG.S away COMIT AUX following FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
 vt aux                      vc                      dem

'I went running, and I shot a peccary.'

25 *Maneo Rowi*                      *tao*                      *hikana*                      *hinemarika*                      *ahi*  
 Maneo Rowi                      tao                      hi- ka- na.LIST                      hi- na -himari -ka                      ahi  
 (man's name)                      shoot                      OC COMIT AUX                      OC AUX FP.E+M                      DECL+M                      then  
 npropm                      vt                      aux                      aux                      dem

'Maneo Rowi shot one, too.'

26 *Hiyama*                      *me*                      *ota*                      *tao*                      *na*                      *me*                      *ota*                      *iso*  
 hiyama                      me                      otaa                      tao                      na+F                      me                      otaa                      iso  
 white-lipped peccary                      3PL.O                      1EX.S                      shoot                      AUX                      3PL.O                      1EX.S                      carry off  
 nm                      pron                      pron                      vt                      aux                      pron                      pron                      vt

*na*                      *kamemarika*                      *yome*                      *tao*                      *kanenoho*  
 na+F                      ka                      -ma -himari -ka                      yomee                      tao                      ka- na -hino -ho  
 AUX                      go/come back FP.E+M                      DECL+M                      jaguar                      shoot                      COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 aux                      vi                      nm                      vt                      aux

'We were carrying the peccaries that we had killed to a gathering point, and he came back after shooting the jaguar.'

27 *Efe*                      *Efe*  
 Efe                      Efe  
 (man's name)                      (man's name)  
 npropm                      npropm  
 "'Efe, Efe.'"

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

29 *Hiyama*                      *tao*                      *tikini*                      ?  
 hiyama                      tao                      ti- ka- na -ni  
 white-lipped peccary                      shoot                      2SG.S COMIT AUX BKG+F  
 nm                      vt                      aux

'Did you kill a peccary?'

30 *Hiyama*                      *tao*                      *okane*                      *homa*                      *ha*  
 hiyama                      tao                      o- ka- na+M                      homa.CONT+M                      haa  
 white-lipped peccary                      shoot                      1SG.S COMIT AUX                      lie on ground                      DEM  
 nm                      vt                      aux                      vi                      dem

'I did kill a peccary, it is lying there.'

## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

31 *Hiyama*                                    *tao*    *okobise*                                    *home*                                    *ama*  
 hiyama                                    tao    o-    ka-    na    -bisa+M    homa.NOM+M    ama  
 white-lipped peccary    shoot    1SG.S    COMIT    AUX    also    lie on ground    be  
 nm                                    vt                                    aux                                    vi                                    vc

*ahi*                                    ,    *ati*    *nemarika*                                    *yome*    *tao*    *kanenoho*                                    .  
 ahi                                    ,    ati    na    -himari    -ka                                    yomee    tao    ka-    na    -hino    -ho  
 there                                    say    AUX    FP.E+M    DECL+M    jaguar    shoot    COMIT    AUX    IP.N+M    DUP  
 dem                                    vt    aux                                    nm                                    vt                                    aux

"I killed a peccary, too, it is lying over there," he said. But he had killed a jaguar.'

32 *Totowama*                                    *omataba*                                    .  
 to-    to-    awa    -ma    o-    na    -mata                                    -ba  
 DUP    away    see    back    1SG.S    AUX    short time    IMMED+M  
 vt                                    aux

"I will go look at it."

33 *Tokomemarihine*  
 to-    ka                                    -ma    -himari    -hi    -ne  
 away go/come    back    FP.E+M    DUP    BKG+M  
 vi

'He went.'

34 *Tokome*                                    *hiyama*                                    *me*    *ota*    *iso*                                    *na*  
 to-    ka                                    -ma+M    hiyama                                    me    otaa    iso                                    na+F  
 away go/come    back    white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S    carry off    AUX  
 vi                                    nm                                    pron    pron    vt                                    aux

*me*    *ota*    *so*    *tonihama*                                    ,    *hiyama*                                    *me*  
 me    otaa    soo    to-    niha-    na    -ma+F    ,    hiyama                                    me  
 3PL.O    1EX.S    lie    CH    CAUS    AUX    back    white-lipped peccary    3PL.POSS  
 pron    pron    vi    aux                                    nm                                    pron

*tori*                                    *ota*    *itiha*                                    ,    *hiyama*                                    *me*    *ota*    *wete*  
 tori    otaa    iti+F                                    ,    hiyama                                    me    otaa    wete  
 inside+F    1EX.S    take out    white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    1EX.S    tie  
 pn                                    pron    vt                                    nm                                    pron    pron    vt

*namaro*  
 na    -hamaro  
 AUX    FP.E+F  
 aux

'He went. We carried the peccaries, and put them together. We gutted the peccaries. We tied the peccaries up.'

35 *Ota*    *ni*    *ya*    *ha*    *ni*                                    *yana*    *tonemarine*                                    .  
 otaa    ni    ya    haa    na.NFIN    yana    to-    na    -himari    -ne  
 1EX    to    ADJU    call    AUX    start    CH    AUX    FP.E+M    BKG+M  
 pron    prt    prt    vi    aux    vi    aux

'We heard him start calling.'

36 *Hee*    *hee*                                    .  
 hee    hee  
 hey    hey  
 interj    interj

"Hey, hey."

37 *Tatiwi*                                    *ha*    *ka*                                    ,    *Tatiwi*                                    *hiyama*  
 Tatiwi    haa    na    -ka                                    ,    Tatiwi                                    hiyama  
 (man's name)    call    AUX    DECL+M    (man's name)    white-lipped peccary  
 npropm    vi    aux                                    npropm                                    nm

## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

<b>tao</b>	<b>kanemona</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>nari</b>
tao	ka- na -himona		ati na	-haari
shoot	COMIT AUX REP+M		say	AUX IP.E+M
vt	aux		vt	aux

"Tatiwi is calling, Tatiwi said he shot a peccary."

38	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>homa</b>	<b>hari</b>	<b>ati</b>		<b>nematamona</b>
	hiyama		homa.CONT+M	haari	ati	na	-himata -mona
	white-lipped peccary		lie on ground	that one+M	say	AUX FP.N+M	REP+M
	nm		vi	dem	vt	aux	

"The peccary is lying there," he said.'

39	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>tekamahi</b>				
	hiyama		ti-	ka-	ka	-ma	-hi
	white-lipped peccary		2SG.S	COMIT	go/come	back	IMP+F
	nm		vt				

"Bring the peccary here."

40	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>tiwa</b>	<b>hinare</b>
	hiyama		tiwa	na -hina -ra+M
	white-lipped peccary		carry	AUX can NEG
	nm		vt	aux

"The peccary can't be carried."

41	<b>Hekanakosemataka</b>						
	hi-	ka-	kana	-kosa	-himata	-ka	
	OC	COMIT	leave	middle	FP.N+M	DECL+M	
	vt						

'He left it there.'

42	<b>Kamemarine</b>						
	ka	-ma	-himari	-ne			
	go/come	back	FP.E+M	BKG+M			
	vi						

'He came.'

43	<b>Kame</b>		<b>kamemarika</b>				
	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma	-himari	-ka	
	go/come	back	go/come	back	FP.E+M	DECL+M	
	vi		vi				

'He came.'

44	<b>Hoo</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>				
	hoo	ati	na	-himari			
	whew	say	AUX	FP.E+M			
	interj	vt	aux				

"Whew," he said.'

45	<b>Ta</b>	<b>amari</b>		<b>?</b>
	himata	ama	-ri	
	what?	be	CQ+F	
	interrog	vc		

"What is it?"

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

46	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>home</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	hiyama		homa.NOM+M		ahi
	white-lipped peccary		lie on ground		there
	nm		vi		dem

"The peccary is lying there."

47	<b>Yama</b>	<b>i</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>saihani</b>		<b>tao</b>		<b>okana</b>
	yama	ihi		ati	sai	-hani	tao	o-	ka- na+F
	thing	result of+F		voice	be heard	IP.N+F	shoot	1SG.S	COMIT AUX
	nf	pn		pn	vi		vt		aux

<b>homake</b>		<b>ahi</b>
homa	-ke	ahi
lie on ground	DECL+F	there
vi		dem

"I shot the jaguar that was causing the commotion of the peccaries, and it is lying there."

48	<b>Yome</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>hinarareka</b>
	yomee	tiwa	na -hina -ra -hare -ka
	jaguar	carry	AUX can NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
	nm	vt	aux

"The jaguar can't be carried."

49	<b>Yome</b>	<b>homaka</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	yomee	homa	-ka	ahi
	jaguar	lie on ground	DECL+M	there
	nm	vi		dem

"The jaguar is there on the ground."

50	<b>Hima</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>tonakamaho</b>
	hima	ee	to- na- ka -ma -ho
	let's go	1IN.S	away CAUS go/come back IMP+M
	interj	pron	vt

"Come on, let's go get it."

51	<b>Yome</b>	<b>iti</b>	<b>yome</b>	<b>itihinemari</b>		<b>ama</b>
	yomee	iti+M	yomee	iti	-hina -himari	ama
	jaguar	pick up	jaguar	pick up	can FP.E+M	SEC
	nm	vt	nm	vt		sec

'He tried to pick up the jaguar, but the jaguar couldn't be picked up.'

52	<b>Yome</b>	<b>Noko Mora</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kakame</b>
	yomee	Noko Mora	tiwa	hi- na+M	otaa	ka- ka -ma+M
	jaguar	(man's name)	carry	OC AUX	1EX.S	COMIT go/come back
	nm	npropm	vt	aux	pron	vt

<b>me</b>	<b>hitemarika</b>		<b>fahi</b>
me	hi- itI -himari -ka		fahi
3PL.S	OC skin FP.E+M	DECL+M	then
pron	vt		dem

'Noko Mora carried the jaguar. We brought it, and they skinned it.'

53	<b>Ataro</b>	<b>Tatiwi</b>	<b>ta</b>	<b>hinemata</b>	<b>awaka</b>
	ataro	Tatiwi	taa	hi- na -himata	awa -ka
	skin+M	(man's name)	sell	OC AUX FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M
	pn	npropm	vt	aux	sec

'I guess Tatiwi sold its skin.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

54 *Yome okiti mono nemata*  
 yomee o- ka iti mono na -himata ,  
 jaguar 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather struggle with AUX FP.N+M  
 nm nm vt aux

*bono ya sobo si tomaroni noko tao*  
 bono ya sobo sii to- na.NOM -maro -ni noko tao  
 upper lip+M ADJU lead sit CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F face+M shoot  
 pn prt nf vi aux pn vt

*hikanemata*  
 hi- ka- na -himata  
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'One time when a jaguar attacked my grandfather, he shot it in the face and the shot was embedded in its snout.'

55 *Faya ota kama hiyama me ota*  
 faya otaa ka -ma+F hiyama me otaa  
 so 1EX.S go/come back white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 conj pron vi nm pron pron

*kakama hiyama me ota*  
 ka- ka -ma+F , hiyama me otaa  
 COMIT go/come back white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 vt nm pron pron

*kakama yama hiyama me ota ahi*  
 ka- ka -ma+F yama , hiyama me otaa ahi  
 COMIT go/come back thing white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S work on  
 vt nf nm pron pron vt

*nama yama me kawariamaro me*  
 na -ma+F , yama me ka- waa -rI -hamaro me  
 AUX back thing 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface FP.E+F 3PL.S  
 aux nf pron vt pron

*amake fahi*  
 ama -ke fahi  
 SEC DECL+F then  
 sec dem

'We came back. We brought the peccaries home. Back in the village we worked on the peccaries. They cooked the meat.'

56 *Faya ota ayakawamaro otake me tai*  
 faya otaa ayaka -waha -hamaro otaa -ke me tai  
 so 1EX.S dance change FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F 3PL.POSS song about  
 conj pron vi pron pron pn

*ota hiri nawamaroho*  
 otaa hiri na -waha -hamaro -ho  
 1EX.S sing AUX change FP.E+F DUP  
 pron vt aux

'Then we had a festa. We sang songs about them.'

57 *Sani iseni ka yamani anoti koro*  
 Sani iseni ka yama -ni anoti koro  
 Jane daughter POSS thing IP.N+F 3SG.POSS older brother throw  
 npropf nf prt nf nm vt

*hikanamakia kaforineke haro*  
 hi- ka- na -makI+F ka- forI -ne -ke haro  
 OC COMIT AUX following COMIT lie on top CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 aux vi dem

'Sani, your daughter's thing is there on the floor, that her older brother threw here.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

58 *Yome kiyomamatase*

yomee ka -yoma -ma -tasa+M  
 dog go/come through back again  
 nm vi

'The dog is coming in the house again.'

59 *Yome , yaka*

yomee yaka  
 dog walk  
 nm vi

'Dog, go away.'

60 *Tokomaka*

to- ka -ma -ka  
 away go/come back DECL+M  
 vi

'It went away.'

61 *Bani me ota mari na , bani otara ota*  
 bani me otaa mari na+F , bani otara otaa  
 animal 3PL.O 1EX.S feast on AUX animal 1EX.O 1EX.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

*mamari tohamaro ota amake bani me ota*  
 ma- mari to- ha -hamaro otaa ama -ke bani me otaa  
 DUP feast on CH AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S SEC DECL+F animal 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 vt aux pron sec nm pron pron

*nabiha ota hiyama mati*  
 na- ahaba+F otaa hiyama mati  
 CAUS die 1EX.S white-lipped peccary 3PL  
 vt pron nm pron

'We feasted on the meat. We feasted on meat many times, when we killed animals, white-lipped peccaries.'

62 *Bani mati awi , awi me kabawaha na*  
 bani mati awi awi me kaba -waha.LIST na  
 animal 3PL tapir tapir 3PL.S eat change AUX  
 nm pron nm nm pron vt aux

*toamaro me amake*  
 to- ha -hamaro me ama -ke  
 CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 aux pron sec

'Animals, tapir, they ate a tapir, too.'

63 *Ayaka ota hiri ni ka , yawita , yawita me*  
 ayaka otaa hiri na.NOM+F ka , yawita , yawita me  
 festa 1EX.S make AUX because peach palm peach palm 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux prt nm nm pron

*mari nawaha , na toimaro amani*  
 mari na -waha.LIST , na to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 feast on AUX change AUX CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 vt aux aux aux vc

'When we had festas, they ate peach palm nuts, too.'

64 *Amane ka yawita me fawimaro yawita*  
 Amane ka yawita me fawa.NOM+F -maro yawita  
 (man's name) POSS peach palm 3PL.S drink FP.E+F peach palm  
 npropm prt nm pron vt nm

## WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES AND A JAGUAR

*yoro kanikimari*

yoro ka- na -kima -haari .  
 stand COMMIT AUX two IP.E+M  
 vi aux

'They drank Amane's peach palm porridge. There were two large pots of peach palm porridge.'

65 *Marimari nofaraba na toharemari mari*  
 mari- mari na nofa -raba na to- ha -ra -himari mari  
 DUP feast AUX recently a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M feast  
 vi aux aux aux aux vi

*tonamakewati*

to- na -makI -waha -tee.NOM .  
 away AUX following change HAB  
 aux

'He feasted a lot, and now he is feasting somewhere else.'



## THE MAKA MONSTERS

### *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, 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 MAKA MONSTERS

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	<i>Hiyama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>saia</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>yama</i>
	hiyama		me	ati	sai+F	me	,	yama
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	voice	be heard	3PL.POSS		monster
	nm		pron	pn	vi	pron		nf

<i>ati</i>	<i>ya</i>							
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	<i>Yama</i>	<i>ate</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>maka</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kakemaro</i>		<i>me</i>
	yama	ate	ya	maka	me	ka -kI -hamaro		me
	thing	bank+F	ADJU	monster	3PL.S	go/come coming FP.E+F		3PL.O
	nf	pn	prt	nm	pron	vi		pron

  

<i>kakamina</i>	<i>oharo</i>				<i>me</i>	<i>winineke</i>		<i>waha</i>
ka- kamina	o-	to-	ha	-haro	me	wina -ne -ke		waha
DUP tell	1SG.S	CH	AUX	RP.E+F	3PL.S	live CONT+F DECL+F		flooded forest
vt	aux				pron	vi		nf

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

**karo** , **Kerebe** **ya** .  
 karo Kerebe ya  
 LOC (lake name) ADJU  
 prt npropm prt

'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 o- na -habone hiba faha  
 water look at 1SG.S AUX INT+F soon after water  
 nf vt aux conj nf

**kokoro** **ona** **owa ni ya** .  
 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  
 nf vi vt aux

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

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

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

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

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

'The monsters would have eaten me.'

8 **Fa** **sararine** **okabone** , **ma**  
 faha sara -rine o- to- ka -habone maa  
 water seasonally flooded area PN 1SG.S away go/come INT+F stop  
 nf pn vi vi

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

**owamaro** **oke** .  
 o- waa -hamaro o- ke  
 1SG.S stand FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

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

9 *Yama yama hine nafotorawemete awineni*  
 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 vt sec

'The monsters were coming.'

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

*owaribasa yama owakatoma*  
 o- waa -rI -basa+F yama o- ka- katoma+F  
 1SG.S stand raised surface edge thing 1SG.S COMMIT look at  
 vi nf vt

*owaria , owa ni ya yama ati yana*  
 o- waa -rI+F , owa ni ya yama ati yana  
 1SG.S stand raised surface 1SG to ADJU thing voice start  
 vi pron prt prt nf pn vi

*torawamaro*

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

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

11 *Owee , owee owee yama ati*  
 owee , owee owee yama ati  
 (sound of crying) (sound of crying) (sound of crying) thing say  
 sound sound sound nf vt

*namaro*

na -hamaro  
 AUX FP.E+F  
 aux

'"Owee, owee, owee," the monsters said.'

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

*onamaro*

ati o- na -hamaro o- ke  
 say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vt prt

'I thought it was just one monster.'

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

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

14 *Hoo hoo hoo hoo hoo hoo yama ati narawamaro*  
 hoo hoo hoo hoo hoo hoo yama ati na -rawa -hamaro  
 interj interj interj interj interj interj thing say AUX F.PL FP.E+F  
 nf vt aux

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

**amani**

ama -ni  
SEC BKG+F  
sec

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

15	<b>Yama</b>	<b>honaramone</b>		<b>matehe</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>ati</b>		<b>nonofa</b>
	yama	hona	-ra -hamone	matehe	ati	na+F	ati	,	no- nofa
	thing	have something	NEG REP+F	children	say	AUX	voice		DUP like
	nf	vi		nf	vt	aux	pn		vt

<b>ohararo</b>				<b>ama</b>	<b>oni</b>
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	<b>Yama</b>	<b>tafarawamaro</b>		<b>amani</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>hine</b>
	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	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>memaro</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>winineke</b>		<b>Kerebe</b>
	hiyama		me -maro	me	wina -ne -ke		Kerebe
	white-lipped peccary		3PL FP.E+F	3PL.S	live CONT+F DECL+F		(lake name)
	nm		pron	pron	vi		npropm

**karo**  
karo  
LOC  
prt

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

18	<b>Teoo</b>	<b>teoo</b>	<b>teoo</b>	<b>teoo</b>	<b>teoo</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>kitabote</b>		<b>yama</b>
	teoo	teoo	teoo	teoo	teoo	yama	kita -bote		yama
	sound	sound	sound	sound	sound	thing	be hard very		thing
						nf	adj		nf

**kabarawamaro**      **amani**  
kaba -rawa -hamaro      ama -ni  
eat F.PL FP.E+F      SEC BKG+F  
vt      sec

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

19	<b>Owee</b>		<b>owee</b>		<b>owee</b>		<b>owee</b>
	owee		owee		owee		owee
	(sound of crying)		(sound of crying)		(sound of crying)		(sound of crying)
	sound		sound		sound		sound

<b>hiyama</b>		<b>biti</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemari</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>ahi</b>
hiyama		biti	ati	na -himari	ama	ahi
white-lipped peccary		offspring	say	AUX FP.E+M	SEC	then
nm		nm	vt	aux	sec	dem

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

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

20 *Yama hiri namaro amake*  
 yama hiri na -hamaro ama -ke  
 thing catch fire AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf vi aux sec

'It was like the sound of fire.'

21 *Hiyama me ati ama nikani*  
 hiyama me ati ama na+F -kani  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice be AUX CNTRFACT  
 nm pron pn vc aux

*onahamaro oke yama owa yafa*  
 ati o- na -hamaro o- ke yama owa yafa  
 say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F thing 1SG.O put something on top of  
 vt prt nf pron vt

*kasabani owa*  
 ka- na -kosa -haba -ni owa  
 COMMIT AUX middle FUT+F IP.N+F 1SG.O  
 aux pron

'I thought it was the voices of white-lipped peccaries. I got sweaty.'

22 *Tanako hiri onabani yama ati*  
 tanako hiri o- na -haba -ni yama ati  
 sweat experience 1SG.S AUX FUT+F IP.N+F thing voice  
 nf vt aux nf pn

*omitimete amani*  
 o- mita.NOM+F -mete ama -ni  
 1SG.S hear FP.N+F be BKG+F  
 vt vc

'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 ati o- ka yama  
 voice DUP be heard COMMIT AUX change F.PL voice 1SG.POSS POSS thing  
 pn vi vi pn prt nf

*kiki ba onamaro oke*  
 ki- kii na -baa o- na -hamaro o- ke  
 DUP look AUX at a distance 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi 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*  
 kori o- ka- na -kosa+F tanako owa ni yana na -hamaro  
 be afraid 1SG.S COMMIT AUX middle sweat 1SG to start AUX FP.E+F  
 vi aux nf pron prt vi aux

*amani yama ati ihi*  
 ama -ni yama ati ihi  
 SEC BKG+F thing voice because of+F  
 sec nf pn post

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

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

26 *Nahohoho*                      *kawarawamaro*                                      *yama*  
 naho -ho -ho    ka-    na    -waha    -rawa    -hamaro    yama  
 stand DUP DUP    COMMIT AUX change F.PL    FP.E+F    thing  
 vi                                      aux    nf

*howerawamaroho*  
 howe -rawa -maro -ho  
 large F.PL    FP.E+F DUP  
 adj

'They were standing together. They were big.'

27 *Winarawineni*                                      *kamatasarawabana*  
 wina -rawa -ne    -ni    ka    -ma    -tasa    -rawa    -habana  
 live F.PL    CONT+F BKG+F    go/come back again F.PL    FUT+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    o-    soma    o-    nofa+M    yobi  
 (man's name) 1SG.S let go 1SG.S recently go back and forth  
 npropm                      vt                                      prt                                      vi

*nofe*                                      *yoyobi*                                      *toaha*  
 na nofa+M    yo- yobi                                      to- ha.CONT+M  
 AUX recently    DUP go back and forth    CH AUX  
 aux                                      vi                                      aux

'Hamoto Biri goes against my will. He always goes.'

29 *Ati*                      *fawa*                                      *nisarawi*                                      *ya*                      *tokomarawa*  
 ati    fawa                      na -risa -rawa.NOM+F    ya    to- ka    -ma -rawa+F  
 voice disappear AUX down F.PL    ADJU away go/come back F.PL  
 pn    vi                      aux                                      prt    vi

*fawa*                                      *tonamarawamaro*                                      *amake*                      *ahi*  
 fawa    to- na -ma -rawa -hamaro    ama -ke    ahi  
 disappear away AUX back F.PL    FP.E+F    SEC DECL+F    then  
 vi                      aux                                      sec                                      dem

'Their voices stopped, and they went away.'

30 *Fa*                      *faha*                      *towakamarawamaro*                                      *ama*    *ahi*  
 faha    faha    to- ka- ka    -ma -rawa -hamaro    ama    ahi  
 water water away COMMIT go/come back F.PL    FP.E+F    SEC then  
 nf    nf    vt    sec    dem

'They made waves.'

31 *Awa*                      *ini*                                      *fa*                      *warehamaro*                                      *amake*                      *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*                      *kabote*                                      *oko*                                      *kana*    *ni*  
 yana    na -kabote    o-    ka    kana    na.NFIN  
 start AUX quickly 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX  
 vi                      aux                                      prt                                      vi                      aux

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

**kamabisimaro**  
ka -ma -bisa.NOM+F -maro ama ahi  
go/come back also FP.E+F SEC then  
vi sec dem  
'I got up and came running back.'

33 **Aba sa okomaro amani**  
aba saa o- ka- na.NOM -maro ama -ni  
fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F  
nm vt aux vc

**ihirawaha**  
ihi -rawa -ha  
because of+F F.PL DUP  
post  
'I didn't spear any fish because of the monsters.'

34 **E kanamaroke fahi**  
ee ka- na -hamaro -ke fahi  
yell COMIT AUX FP.E+F DECL+F then  
vi aux dem  
'They yelled.'

35 **Kori okasa yama oko tanakone**  
kori o- ka- na -kosa+F yama o- ka tanakone  
be afraid 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle thing 1SG.POSS POSS sweat  
vi aux nf prt pn  
'I was afraid. I was sweaty.'

36 **Afi nari omaro amake ahi**  
afi na -ri o- na.NOM -maro ama -ke ahi  
bathe AUX like+M 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F then  
vi aux aux vc dem  
'I was all wet with sweat.'

37 **Owa onasaoha owitare yama awa**  
owa o- na- sao+F o- ita -ri yama awa  
1SG.O 1SG.S CAUS feel better 1SG.S sit raised surface thing tree  
pron vt vi nf nf

**onowati ya onokomamaro yama**  
o- nowati ya o- to- noko -ma -hamaro yama  
1SG.POSS behind ADJU 1SG.S away point back FP.E+F thing  
pn prt vi nf

**kamaki tabiyo**  
ka -makI.NFIN tabiyo  
go/come following absence  
vi post  
'I recovered. I sat on a log. I looked back to see if the monsters were coming.'

38 **Maka habosi me kiamaro**  
maka habosi me kiha -hamaro  
monster ugliness 3PL.S have FP.E+F  
nm nf pron vt  
'The monsters were really ugly.'



## THE MAKA MONSTERS

39	<b>Me</b>	<b>fe</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>oori</b>	<b>toaro</b>	<b>me</b>
	me	fehe	otaa	me	o- ori	to- ha -haro	me
	3PL.POSS	water+F	1EX	3PL.S	DUP paddle	CH AUX RP.E+F	3PL.S
	pron	pn	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron

**amake**

ama -ke  
SEC DECL+F  
sec

'They have been paddling in their lake.'

40	<b>Me</b>	<b>winineni</b>
	me	wina -ne -ni
	3PL.S	live CONT+F BKG+F
	pron	vi

'They live there.'

41	<b>Ai Hinama</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>amarawara</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>amara</b>
	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	vc	nf	vc

<b>ota</b>	<b>hohora</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>toineke</b>	<b>fa fowe</b>
otaa	ho- hora	ka- na	to- ha -ne -ke	faha fowe
1EX.S	DUP complain	COMIT AUX	CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F	flood
pron	vi	aux	aux	nf

<b>amararo</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>one</b>	<b>fehe</b>
ama -ra -haaro	faha	one	fehe
be NEG IP.E+F	water	other+F	water+F
vc	nf	adj	pn

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

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

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

43	<b>Kerebe</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>Bakoki</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>kanakokikima</b>
	Kerebe	ya	Bakoki	me	ebe	ka- noko -kI -kima+F
	(lake name)	ADJU	(man's name)	3PL.S	RECIP	COMIT point coming two
	npropm	prt	npropm	pron	pn	vt

<b>me</b>	<b>mata</b>	<b>nimetemone</b>	<b>okomise</b>	<b>aati</b>
me	mata	na.NOM+F -mete -mone	o- ka amise	a- ati
3PL.S	lie	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	1SG.POSS POSS aunt	DUP say
pron	vi	aux	nf	vt

<b>toimaro</b>	<b>amake</b>
to- ha.NOM+F -maro	ama -ke
CH AUX FP.E+F	be DECL+F
aux	vc

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

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

44	<b>Biti</b>	<b>be</b>	<b>toro</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>tati</b>	<b>tonokiyoma</b>	,	<b>fare</b>
	biti	behe	toro	ya	tati			fare
	3SG.POSS.son	crotch	inside+M	ADJU	head			same+M
	nm	pn	pn	prt	pn			dem
	<b>bati</b>	<b>be</b>	<b>toro</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>tati</b>	<b>toha</b>		<b>ne</b> <b>me</b>
	bati	behe	toro	ya	tati	to- ha.LIST		na+M    me
	3SG.POSS.father	crotch	inside+M	ADJU	head	CH be		AUX    3PL.S
	nm	pn	pn	prt	pn	vc		aux    pron

<b>fito</b>	<b>kanikima</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>mata</b>	<b>nimetemone</b>
fito	ka- na -kima+F		me	mata	na.NOM+F -mete -mone
get caught	COMIT AUX two		3PL.S	lie	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
vi	aux		pron	vi	aux

<b>okomise</b>		<b>hiyari</b>		<b>aati</b>	<b>tohimaro</b>
o-	ka amise	hiyara.NFIN		a- ati	to- ha.NOM+F -maro
1SG.POSS	POSS aunt	speak		DUP say	CH AUX FP.E+F
nf		vi		vt	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	<b>Faya</b>	<b>Bonikana</b>	<b>tokatase</b>		<b>aa</b>		<b>inohowe</b>
	faya	Bonikana	to- ka	-tasa+M	aa		inohowe
	so	(man's name)	away go/come	again	(pause)		alligator sp
	conj	npropm	vi		interj		nm

<b>bato</b>	<b>yaki</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>awe</b>	<b>kame</b>		<b>heko</b>	<b>ni</b>
bato	yaki	ka- na+M		awa+M	ka	-ma+M	heko	na.NFIN
deer	bite into	COMIT AUX		see	go/come	back	hiccup	AUX
nm	vt	aux		vt	vi		vi	aux

<b>yana</b>	<b>tokana</b>		<b>namatamona</b>		<b>okomise</b>
yana	to- ka- na.LIST		na.NOM+M -mata -mona		o- ka amise
start	away COMIT AUX		AUX FP.N+M REP+M		1SG.POSS POSS aunt
vi	aux		aux		nf

<b>aati</b>	<b>tohimaro</b>		<b>amake</b>
a- ati	to- ha.NOM+F -maro		ama -ke
DUP say	CH AUX FP.E+F		be DECL+F
vt	aux		vc

'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	<b>Me</b>	<b>iti</b>	<b>boteri</b>	,	<b>fa</b>	,	<b>fa</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>na</b>	,	<b>fa</b>
	me	iti	bote -ri		faha		faha	kii	na+F		faha
	3PL	grandfather	old PN		water		water	look at	AUX		water
	pron	nm	pn		nf		nf	vt	aux		nf

<b>ki</b>	<b>na</b>	,	<b>toke</b>	,	<b>toke</b>		<b>fa</b>	<b>koro</b>
kii	na+F		to- ka+M		to- ka+M		faha	koro
look at	AUX		away go/come		away go/come		water	throw something on
vt	aux		vi		vi		nf	vt

<b>ne</b>	<b>wabase</b>		<b>ni</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>wakari</b>	<b>me</b>
na+M	waa -basa+M		ni ya	wakari	me	
AUX	stand edge		to ADJU	Paumari	3PL.S	
aux	vi		prt prt	npropm	pron	

<b>kakimetemone</b>			<b>okomise</b>		<b>hiyari</b>	<b>aati</b>
ka- ka	-kI.NOM	-mete -mone	o-	ka amise	hiyara.NFIN	a- ati
COMIT go/come	coming	FP.N+F REP+F	1SG.POSS	POSS aunt	speak	DUP say
vi			nf		vi	vt

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

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

**Wakari me toa me awine**  
 wakari me to- ha+F me awine  
 Paumari 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S seem+F  
 npropm pron 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  
 vi

'"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 vt

**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."'

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

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 AUX Paumari 3PL.S  
 conj pn npropm pron vt aux npropm pron

*amarani mati maka meni mati*  
 ama -ra -hani mati maka me -ni mati  
 be NEG IP.N+F 3PL.S monster 3PL IP.N+F 3PL  
 vc pron nm pron pron

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

55 *Wakari me hinatafe wakara fana*  
 wakari me hi- na- tafa+M wakara fana  
 Paumari 3PL.S OC CAUS eat Paumari woman female  
 npropm pron vt npropf nf

*hahahari nemetemone ama ahi yama*  
 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 nf

*sana kanikimaharo*  
 sana ka- na -kima -haaro  
 carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX two IP.E+F  
 vt 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 tikabamakih*  
 sire sire tati ti- kaba -makI -hi  
 river turtle river turtle head 2SG.S eat following IMP+F  
 nf nf pn vt

*wakara fana ati na ka sire tati wara tone*  
 wakara fana ati na+F ka sire tati wara to- na+M  
 Paumari woman female say AUX POSS river turtle head grab CH AUX  
 npropf nf vt aux prt nf pn vt aux

*sire tati koro nifematamona*  
 sire tati koro na -fI -himata -mona  
 river turtle head throw AUX water FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf pn vt aux

'"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 okobatera ama*  
 sire tati o- 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."

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

60 *Sire tati koro tofewite , sire tati ,*  
 sire tati koro to- na -fI -witI , sire tati ,  
 river turtle head throw away AUX water out river turtle head  
 nf pn vt aux nf pn

*fa boti ka awihinara wakara fana*  
 faha boti ka awa -hina -ra+F wakara fana  
 water inside LOC see can NEG Paumari woman female  
 nf pn prt result npropf nf

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

*tati tama ni kimisabanihi*  
 tati tama na.NFIN ka -misa -ma -haba -ni -hi  
 head hold onto AUX go/come up back FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 pn vt aux vi

'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  
 vi 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  
 vi aux nf pn

**totimakeha**

to- iti -makI+F  
 away take out following  
 vt

'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 *Faya aba me , aba me tisa kane*  
 faya aba me , aba me tisa kane- na+M  
 so fish 3PL fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow COMMIT AUX  
 conj nm pron nm pron vt aux

**kamawematamona**

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

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

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

66 **Wakari me kobo ona okomine o**  
 wakari me kobo o- na+F o- ka -ma -ne o-  
 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?"

68 **Wakari me kobo onara ahi Kerebe ya**  
 wakari me kobo o- na -hara ahi Kerebe ya  
 Paumari 3PL.O 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 hinatafeno ati ama Aboro maka**  
 wakari -mona hi- na- tafa -hino ati ama Aboro maka  
 Paumari REP+M OC CAUS eat IP.N+M voice be (man's name) monster  
 nm vt pn vc npropm nm

**winematamonaha ya**  
 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 koro ofe ama**  
 wakari ka sire tati koro o- na -fI ama  
 Paumari POSS river turtle head throw 1SG.S AUX water SEC  
 npropm prt nf pn vt aux sec

"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."

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

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**        ,    **wakari**        **hahari**        **ne**        **wakara**        **fana**        ,  
 wakari        wakari        haahaa -ri        na+M    wakara        fana  
 Paumari        Paumari        laugh    DISTR    AUX    Paumari woman    female  
 npropm        npropm        vi        aux    npropf        nf

**irairabo**        **ra**        **owa**        **haha**        **kanaba**        **owa**        **haha**  
 ira-    irabo    na    -ra+F        owa        haahaa    ka-    na    -haba    owa        haahaa  
 DUP    be bad    AUX NEG    1SG.O    laugh    COMIT AUX FUT+F    1SG.O    laugh  
 vi        aux        pron    vi        aux        pron    vi

**kanahatini**        **ati**        **kane**        **ahi**  
 ka-    na    nahatI    -ni        ati    na    -kane    ahi  
 COMIT AUX daytime BKG+F    say    AUX ?+M    then  
 aux        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    boni        sana        ka-    na    -kima    -hemete    -mone  
 thing    fruit+F    carry    strapped on shoulder    COMIT AUX two    FP.N+F    REP+F  
 nf        pn        vt        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**  
 faya    yana    to-    na+M    ka        -ma    -himata    -mona  
 so        start    CH    AUX    go/come back    FP.N+M    REP+M  
 conj    vi        aux        vi

'He was ready, and he came back.'

81 **Aboro**        **maka**        **winematamona**        **amake**        **fahi**  
 Aboro        maka        wina.NOM+M    -mata    -mona    ama -ke        fahi  
 (man's name)    monster    live        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**        **o**  
 maka        ama -ra -hare    ati o-    na    -ne    o-  
 monster 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."

## THE MAKA MONSTERS

83 *Wakari ama* .  
 wakari ama  
 Paumari be  
 npropm vc  
 "It was a Paumari."

84 *Faya , faya amo ne , yama soki ya me tafaha amo*  
 faya , faya amo na+M , yama soki.NOM ya me tafaha+F amo  
 so so sleep AUX thing be dark ADJU 3PL.S eat sleep  
 conj conj vi aux nf vi prt pron vi vi  
*ne hiwa yana kanematamonaka fahi* .  
 na+M hiwa yana ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 AUX 3SG.REFL.M start COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux pron vi aux dem  
 '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*  
 hosi saa na+M , hiwa yana  
 sweet potato vomit AUX 3SG.REFL.M start  
 nm vt aux pron vi  
*kawematamona 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 kasawariharene* .  
 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*  
 Aboro Aboro maka ehene -no ama ti- ni  
 (man's name) (man's name) monster victim of+M IP.N+M be 2SG.S BKG+F  
 npropm npropm nm pn vc prt



## THE MAKA MONSTERS

*ati nematamona wabori , maka*  
 ati na -himata -mona wabori , maka  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law monster  
 vt aux nm nm

*hinatafeno 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.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

### *Free Translation*

It's another story, Yifori Wata. They fought against them, the Yifori Wata spirits. Moni Hai was one of them. Moni Hai was one of the Yifori Wata spirits. The Yifori Wata spirits lived over this way. They knew how to shoot arrows. They shot the enemies with arrows. Their many victims fell dead, as they shot the enemies with arrows. The Yifori Wata spirits raised a two-toed sloth, and the sloth killed people. The Yifori Wata spirits threw the sloth, and it grabbed a spirit when it came back after killing someone. The sloth bit it many times.

There were many Yifori Wata spirits. I guess they exist. I don't know about them. I never saw where they live. I saw a Yifori Wata spirit a long time ago, who had a tail. Its tail was big. Its tail was like the tail of a giant otter. The Yifori Wata was good-looking, with its tail. I saw a Yifori Wata spirit long ago at the old Mucuum village. I never saw it again.

I saw a spirit long ago. I never saw one again. The spirit was standing close by. I went to it. I went to the spirit as it was standing. The hair on its head was like the hair of a woolly monkey. I saw it as I was going along. I was going to ask it a question, when it went away. It went away on its own. The spirit went into the soil. As I looked, there was no one there. It didn't appear anymore. It was my father. I saw my father. The thing was like a flashlight. They say it is the *yasi tebere* bird. I guess it is the *yasi* bird. It is not the *yasi*, it is some other monster. It shines brightly as it comes. Recently it was at my house, watching us as we slept. It had a flashlight. It was not a Brazilian, it was a spirit. It is not a spirit, it is a monster. They told about him long ago. It was the flashlight of my father, in my dream long ago. "You are seeing a flashlight of the Brazilians that I am carrying," my father said in the dream, after I went back to sleep, after I saw something. When it was almost daylight, I dreamed. Then the monster went away. The monster disappeared right where it lay on the ground. It went away. It almost took me away. They didn't believe me, but then they saw it.

The spirits that we bring down to the ground are not familiar spirits, they are our own spirits. A familiar spirit can't be hidden. It was standing on the patio. I didn't see it anymore. I saw it. I didn't see it anymore. It came back. The spirit came back. The spirit was wearing clothes like people. The spirit was wearing black clothes. It is scary. It's really scary. If you meet up with one, you will be afraid. It will make you shake. It will make you have no courage. They sing songs about that jaguar. You shouldn't meet up with it. It is scary. I saw their animals, just like my father said long ago. The shaman's stones of my father and the others go back to them. When I was hungry, my father kept scolding me. I didn't eat any food for a long time, while my father was training me to be a shaman. While my father was training me to be a shaman, I didn't eat food for a long time. We ate the inner bark of trees that were slippery, that my father brought; we ate açai fruits; and we ate small new leaves from inside the açai stem. Then my father blew snuff into me on another occasion. My father blew snuff into me, and I shot a tapir. My father beat me with a switch. I went into the forest, and shot a tapir, and we carried it. They ate it.

You shouldn't say the name of the enemies. The enemies set out before dawn. The enemies don't wait for dawn. My grandmother called her son many times before dawn. "The enemies don't

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

wait until dawn, so you don't sleep until dawn," my grandmother used to say. Because the others told us to, we got up early, to go. I went hunting. The others had come telling about some white-lipped peccaries. Then we shot peccaries.

A female spirit has a strong odor. It has a strong smell, the *sonono* vine. *Sonono* has a strong smell. It gives us an odor. *Sonono* burns.

The enemies like arrows. The arrows are big. Bows, arrows, fishing arrows.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 **One**            **amake**            **Yifori Wata**  
 one            ama -ke            Yifori Wata  
 other+F      be    DECL+F      (name of spirits)  
 adj          vc                          npropm

'It's another story, Yifori Wata.'

2 **Me**            **me**            **mowa**            **hinemetemoneke**            **Yifori Wata**            **mati**  
 me            me            mowa            hi- na -hemete -mone -ke            Yifori Wata            mati  
 3PL.O      3PL.S      fight            OC    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F      (name of spirits)      3PL  
 pron        pron        vt            aux    npropm                          pron

'They fought against them, the Yifori Wata spirits.'

3 **Me**            ,            **me**            **abemetemone**            **Moni Hai**            **toaka**  
 me            ,            me            abe            -mete -mone            Moni Hai            to- ha -ka  
 3PL            3PL.POSS      creature+F    FP.N+F    REP+F      (name of spirit)      CH    be    DECL+M  
 pron        pron            pn    npropm                          vc

'Moni Hai was one of them.'

4 **Moni Hai**                          **me**            **Yifori Wata**            **abemetemone**  
 Moni Hai                          me            Yifori Wata            abe            -mete -mone  
 (name of spirit)                  3PL            (name of spirits)            creature+F    FP.N+F    REP+F  
 npropm                          pron    npropm                          pn

**Moni Hai**                          **toane**  
 Moni Hai                          to- ha .CONT+M -ne  
 (name of spirit)                  CH    be                          BKG+M  
 npropm                          vc

'Moni Hai was one of the Yifori Wata spirits.'

5 **Yifori Wata**                          **me**            **winametemone**                          **me**            **winama**  
 Yifori Wata                          me            wina -ma -hemete -mone            me            wina -ma+F  
 (name of spirits)                  3PL.S            live back    FP.N+F    REP+F      3PL.S            live back  
 npropm                          pron    vi    pron            vi

**me**            **awineke**                          ,            **wati**            **tisa**                          **ni**            **me**            **watoa**  
 me            awine -ke                          ,            wati            tisa                          na.NFIN      me            wato+F  
 3PL.S            seem+F    DECL+F                          arrow            shoot with arrow            AUX            3PL.S            know  
 pron            sec    nm            vt                          aux            pron            vt

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'The Yifori Wata spirits lived over this way. They knew how to shoot arrows.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

6 *Yawa me tisa nemetemone yawa*  
 yawa me tisa na -hemete -mone -ke yawa  
 enemies 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F enemies  
 nf pron vt aux nf

'They shot the enemies with arrows.'

7 *Me ihi fororo kanemetemone ahi ee*  
 me ihi foro -ro ka- na -hemete -mone ahi ee  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F fall DUP COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then (pause)  
 pron pn vi aux dem interj

*yawa me tisa na mati*  
 yawa me tisa na+F mati  
 enemies 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron

'Their many victims fell dead, as they shot the enemies with arrows.'

8 *Yao , yao me hiti yao me*  
 yao yao me hiti yao me  
 two-toed sloth two-toed sloth 3PL hiti yao 3PL.S  
 nm nm pron nm pron

*hinawatateino ene iti nematamonaka*  
 hi- na- wata -tee -hino ehene iti.LIST na -himata -mona -ka  
 OC CAUS grow HAB IP.N+M victim of+M exist AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt pn vi aux

*Yifori Wata mati*  
 Yifori Wata mati  
 (name of spirits) 3PL  
 npropm pron

'The Yifori Wata spirits raised a two-toed sloth, and the sloth killed people.'

9 *Yifori Wata yao me koro hiwiti*  
 Yifori Wata yao me koro hi- to- na -witI+M  
 (name of spirits) two-toed sloth 3PL.S throw OC away AUX out  
 npropm nm pron vt aux

*inamati watematamonane ene ene iti*  
 inamati wata -himata -mona -ne ehene ehene iti+M  
 spirit catch FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M victim of+M victim of+M exist  
 nm vt pn pn vi

*kamahari yao kose*  
 ka -ma -haari yao kose  
 go/come back IP.E+M two-toed sloth bite many times  
 vi nm vt

*hinebanoho*  
 hi- na -hiba -no -ho  
 OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'The Yifori Wata spirits threw the sloth, and it grabbed a spirit when it came back after killing someone. The sloth bit it many times.'

10 *Yifori Wata me tamemetemone me amake*  
 Yifori Wata me tama -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 (name of spirits) 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 npropm pron vi pron sec

'There were many Yifori Wata spirits.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

11 **Me**        **winate**            **me**        **awineni**  
 me        wina -tee    me        awine -ni  
 3PL.S    live HAB    3PL.S    seem+F BKG+F  
 pron     vi            pron     sec

'I guess they exist.'

12 **Me**        **owato**            **okere**  
 me        o-        wato    o-        ke        -re  
 3PL.O    1SG.S know    1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F  
 pron     vt            prt

'I don't know about them.'

13 **Me**        **wini**            **owa**            **okere**  
 me        wina.NFIN    o-        awa    o-        ke        -re  
 3PL.S    live        1SG.S see    1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F  
 pron     vi            vt            prt

'I never saw where they live.'

14 **Yifori Wata**            **owemari**            **amaka**            **hibati**            **ya**  
 Yifori Wata            o-        awa -himari    ama -ka        hibati            ya  
 (name of spirits)    1SG.S see FP.E+M    SEC DECL+M    long time ago    ADJU  
 npropm                vt                                sec                nf                prt

**yifori**        **watatenoho**  
 yifori    wata            -tee -hino -ho  
 tail     be located HAB    IP.N+M DUP  
 pn        vi

'I saw a Yifori Wata spirit a long time ago, who had a tail.'

15 **Yifori**        **bako**            **nafimari**            **amaka**  
 yifori    bako            nafi    -himari    ama -ka  
 tail     inner surface+M    be big FP.E+M    SEC DECL+M  
 pn        pn                vi                                sec

'Its tail was big.'

16 **Sabo**            **yifori**        **nima**            **yifori**        **nemari**            **amane**  
 sabo        yifori        nima            yifori        na -himari    ama -ne  
 giant otter tail    like            tail            AUX FP.E+M    SEC BKG+M  
 nm        pn                prt                pn                aux                sec

'Its tail was like the tail of a giant otter.'

17 **Yifori Wata**            **taminemari**            **amaka**            **yifori**        **watahari**  
 Yifori Wata            tamina -himari    ama -ka        yifori        wata            -haari  
 (name of spirits)    be good FP.E+M    SEC DECL+M    tail            be located IP.E+M  
 npropm                vi                                sec                pn                vi

'The Yifori Wata was good-looking, with its tail.'

18 **Yifori Wata**            **owimaro**            **amake**            **Mokowi**        **bote**        **ya**  
 Yifori Wata            o-        awa.NOM+F -maro    ama -ke        Mokowi        bote        ya  
 (name of spirits)    1SG.S see            FP.E+F    be DECL+F    Mucuum        old        ADJU  
 npropm                vt                                vc                npropf        adj        prt

'I saw a Yifori Wata spirit long ago at the old Mucuum village.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

19 **Owamara** **oti**  
 o-      awa -ma -ra.CONT+M      o-      -tee.NOM  
 1SG.S see back NEG      1SG.S HAB  
 vt      prt

'I never saw it again.'

20 **Inamati** **owemari**  
 inamati o-      awa -himari  
 spirit      1SG.S see FP.E+M  
 nm      vt

'I saw a spirit long ago.'

21 **Owamareba** **owine** **onimete**  
 o-      awa -ma -ra -hiba      o-      awine      o-      na.NOM+F -mete  
 1SG.S see back NEG FUT+M      1SG.S seem+F      1SG.S AUX      FP.N+F  
 vt      sec      aux

'I never saw one again.'

22 **Inamati** **wamakemari** **amane**  
 inamati waa -makI      -himari      ama -ne  
 spirit      stand following FP.E+M      SEC BKG+M  
 nm      vi      sec

**onakamebanoho**

o-      to- na- ka      -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'The spirit was standing close by. I went to it.'

23 **Inamati** **onakame** **wemarika** **ahi**  
 inamati o-      to- na- ka      -ma+M      waa -himari -ka      ahi  
 spirit      1SG.S away CAUS go/come back      stand FP.E+M DECL+M      there  
 nm      vt      vi      dem

'I went to the spirit as it was standing.'

24 **Tati** **wafa** **wafa** **kone** **nima** **tati** **kone**  
 tati wafa      wafa      kone nima tati kone  
 head woolly monkey woolly monkey hair like head hair  
 pn nm      nm      pn prt pn pn

**nemarine**

na -himari -ne  
 AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

'The hair on its head was like the hair of a woolly monkey.'

25 **Aawa** **tosii** **one** **aate**  
 a-      awa to- na -sii      o-      na+M      a-      ate  
 DUP see CH AUX slowly along the way      1SG.S AUX      DUP ask  
 vt      aux      aux      vt

**onebona** **yana** **tonemarika** **fare**  
 o-      na -hibona yana      to- na -himari -ka      fare  
 1SG.S AUX INT+M start CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M same+M  
 aux      vi      aux      dem

'I saw it as I was going along. I was going to ask it a question, when it went away.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

- 26 *Fare yana tonemarine*  
 fare yana to- na -himari -ne  
 same+M start CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 dem vi aux  
 'It went away on its own.'
- 27 *Inamati tokemari amake wami ya*  
 inamati to- ka -himari ama -ke wami ya  
 spirit away go/come FP.E+M SEC DECL+F soil ADJU  
 nm vi sec nf prt  
 'The spirit went into the soil.'
- 28 *Yama hona tohonakosaramaro amake*  
 yama hona+F to- hona -kosa -ra -hamaro ama -ke  
 thing have something CH have something middle NEG FP.E+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf vi vi sec  
 , *yama owakatomi ya*  
 yama o- ka- katoma.NOM+F ya  
 thing 1SG.S COMIT look at ADJU  
 nf vt prt  
 'As I looked, there was no one there.'
- 29 *Fotomemari ama fawa nati*  
 foto -ma -himari ama fawa na.CONT+M -tee.NOM  
 appear back FP.E+M SEC disappear AUX HAB  
 vi sec vi aux  
 'It didn't appear anymore.'
- 30 *Okobimataka*  
 o- ka abi -mata -ka  
 1SG.S POSS father FP.N+M DECL+M  
 nm  
 'It was my father.'
- 31 *Okobi okobi owemetete*  
 o- ka abi o- ka abi o- awa -hemete  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.S see FP.N+F  
 nm nm vt  
*oke haro ratena nima naro*  
 o- ke haaro ratena nima na -haaro  
 1SG.S DECL+F that one+F flashlight like AUX IP.E+F  
 prt dem nf prt aux  
 'I saw my father. The thing was like a flashlight.'
- 32 *Yasi teberetemone me hite ama*  
 yasi tebere -tee -mone me ati hi- na -tee ama  
 bird sp HAB REP+F 3PL.S say OC AUX HAB SEC  
 nf pron vt sec  
 'They say it is the *yasi tebere* bird.'
- 33 *Yasi tohate awineke*  
 yasi to- ha -tee awine -ke  
 bird sp CH be HAB seem+F DECL+F  
 nf vc sec  
 'I guess it is the *yasi* bird.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

34 *Yasi ama yama one ra*  
 yasi ama yama one ra  
 bird sp be monster other+F O  
 nf vc nf adj prt

'It is not the *yasi*, it is some other monster.'

35 *Oye nafiha awineni kamaharo*  
 oye nafi+F awine -ni ka -ma -haaro  
 light+F be big seem+F BKG+F go/come back IP.E+F  
 pn vi sec vi

'It shines brightly as is comes.'

36 *Wai nofi amake ahi otaboro ya ota amo*  
 waa nofa.NOM+F ama -ke ahi o- taboro ya otaa amo  
 stay recently be DECL+F there 1SG.POSS place ADJU 1EX.S sleep  
 vi prt vc dem pn prt pron vi  
*ni ki naro ratena kiaharo yama yara*  
 na.NFIN kii na -haaro , ratena kiha -haaro yama , yara  
 AUX look at AUX IP.E+F flashlight have IP.E+F thing Brazilian  
 aux vt aux nf vt nf npropm  
*amarari inamati*  
 ama -ra -haari , inamati  
 be NEG IP.E+M spirit  
 vc nm

'Recently it was at my house, watching us as we slept. It had a flashlight. It was not a Brazilian, it was a spirit.'

37 *Inamati ama yama ra*  
 inamati ama yama ra  
 spirit be monster O  
 nm vc nf prt

'It is not a spirit, it is a monster.'

38 *Me hikaminemata*  
 me hi- kamina -himata  
 3PL.S OC tell FP.N+M  
 pron vt

'They told about him long ago.'

39 *Okobi okobi ka*  
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS  
 nm nm prt  
*ratenametemone oko wata ati namaro*  
 ratena -mete -mone o- ka wata ati na -hamaro  
 flashlight FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS dream say AUX FP.E+F  
 nf prt nf vt aux

*oke*  
 o- ke  
 1SG.POSS DECL+F  
 prt

'It was the flashlight of my father, in my dream long ago.'

40 *Yara me ka ratena tama okana*  
 yara me ka ratena tama o- ka- na+F  
 Brazilian 3PL POSS flashlight hold onto 1SG.S COMMIT AUX  
 npropm pron prt nf vt aux



## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

<p><b>tiwine</b> ti- awa -ne 2SG.S see CONT+F vt</p>	<p><b>tini</b> ti- ni 2SG.S BKG+F prt</p>	<p><b>okobi</b> o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm</p>	<p><b>ati</b> ati say vt</p>
<p><b>nemarika</b> na -himari -ka AUX FP.E+M DECL+M aux</p>	<p><b>wata ya</b> wata ya dream ADJU nf prt</p>	<p><b>amo onama</b> amo o- to- na -ma+F sleep 1SG.S CH AUX back vi aux</p>	<p><b>owa yama</b> owa yama 1SG.S thing pron nf</p>
<p><b>owa</b> o- awa+F 1SG.S see vt</p>	<p><b>owa</b> owa 1SG.S pron</p>		

"You are seeing a flashlight of the Brazilians that I am carrying," my father said in the dream, after I went back to sleep, after I saw something.'

<p>41 <b>Yama</b> yama thing nf</p>	<p><b>we</b> wehe light+F pn</p>	<p><b>kamakini</b> ka -makI.NOM -ni go/come following IP.N+F vi</p>	<p><b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt</p>	<p><b>owatamihamaro</b> o- watami -hamaro 1SG.S dream FP.E+F vi</p>
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**oke**  
o- ke  
1SG.S DECL+F  
prt

'When it was almost daylight, I dreamed.'

<p>42 <b>Faya</b> faya so conj</p>	<p><b>yama</b> yama monster nf</p>	<p><b>tokomamaro</b> to- ka -ma -hamaro away go/come back FP.E+F vi</p>	<p><b>amani</b> ama -ni SEC BKG+F sec</p>
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'Then the monster went away.'

<p>43 <b>Yama</b> yama monster nf</p>	<p><b>fawa</b> fawa disappear vi</p>	<p><b>namaro</b> na -hamaro AUX FP.E+F aux</p>	<p><b>amake</b> ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec</p>	<p><b>fara</b> fara same+F dem</p>	<p><b>homi</b> homa.NOM+F lie on ground vi</p>	<p><b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt</p>
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'The monster disappeared right where it lay on the ground.'

<p>44 <b>Tokomamaro</b> to- ka -ma -hamaro away go/come back FP.E+F vi</p>	<p><b>amake</b> ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec</p>
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'It went away.'

<p>45 <b>Yama</b> yama thing nf</p>	<p><b>owa</b> owa 1SG.O pron</p>	<p><b>towakamenamaro</b> to- ka- ka -ma -hene -maro away COMIT go/come back IRR+F FP.E+F vt</p>	<p><b>ama oni</b> ama o- ni SEC 1SG.O BKG+F sec prt</p>
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'It almost took me away.'

<p>46 <b>Owati</b> o- ati 1SG.POSS voice pn</p>	<p><b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron</p>	<p><b>kasawarite</b> ka- sawari -tee COMIT frustrate HAB vt</p>	<p><b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron</p>	<p><b>aawawa</b> a- awa -wa DUP see DUP vt</p>
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## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

**hiaro**                                 **ama** .  
hi- to- ha -haro ama  
OC CH AUX RP.E+F SEC  
aux sec  
'They didn't believe me, but then they saw it.'

47 **Toni**                                 **toni**                                 **toni**                                 **amare**                                 **ota**  
toni                                 toni                                 toni                                 ama -ra+M                                 otaa  
familiar spirit                                 familiar spirit                                 familiar spirit                                 be NEG                                 1EX.S  
nm                                 nm                                 nm                                 vc                                 pron

**bao**                                 **nawahineti**                                 **hari**                                 **fara**                                 **ota** .  
bao                                 na -waha -ne -tee.NOM                                 haari                                 fara                                 otaa  
come down AUX change CONT+F HAB                                 that one+M                                 same+F                                 1EX  
vi                                 aux                                 dem                                 dem                                 pron  
'The spirits that we bring down to the ground are not familiar spirits, they are our own spirits.'

48 **Toni**                                 **yokana**                                 **kemoremari**                                 **amaka** .  
toni                                 yokana                                 kehemo -ra -himari                                 ama -ka  
familiar spirit                                 true                                 hide NEG FP.E+M                                 SEC DECL+M  
nm                                 adj                                 vt                                 sec

'A familiar spirit can't be hidden.'

49 **Wakosemari**                                 **amane** .  
waa -kosa -himari                                 ama -ne  
stand middle FP.E+M                                 SEC BKG+M  
vi                                 sec

'It was standing on the patio.'

50 **Owamarine**                                 **otini** .  
o-                                 awa -ma -ra -ne                                 o-                                 -tee.NOM -ni  
1SG.S see back NEG CONT+F                                 1SG.S HAB                                 IP.N+F  
vt                                 prt

'I didn't see it anymore.'

51 **Inamati**                                 **kekemo**                                 **remari** .  
inamati                                 ke- kehemo                                 na -ra -himari  
spirit                                 DUP hide                                 AUX NEG FP.E+M  
nm                                 vt                                 aux

'I saw it.'

52 **Owamarine**                                 **otini** .  
o-                                 awa -ma -ra -ne                                 o-                                 -tee.NOM -ni  
1SG.S see back NEG CONT+F                                 1SG.S HAB                                 IP.N+F  
vt                                 prt

'I didn't see it anymore.'

53 **Kame**                                 **amake**                                 **ahi** .  
ka                                 -ma.NOM+M                                 ama -ke                                 ahi  
go/come back                                 be DECL+F                                 then  
vi                                 vc                                 dem

'It came back.'

54 **Inamati**                                 **kame**                                 **ama**                                 **ahi** .  
inamati                                 ka                                 -ma.NOM+M                                 ama                                 ahi  
spirit                                 go/come back                                 be                                 then  
nm                                 vi                                 vc                                 dem

'The spirit came back.'

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

55	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>hina</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>nine</b>	<b>ha</b>
	inamati	yama	weye	hi- na+F	ee	weye	na -ne	haa
	spirit	thing	carry	OC AUX	1IN.S	carry	AUX CONT+F	DEM
	nm	nf	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux	dem

'The spirit was wearing clothes like people.'

56	<b>Yama</b>	<b>sosoki</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>inamati</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>amaka</b>
	yama	so- soki	na+F	inamati	weye	na+M	ama -ka
	thing	DUP be dark	AUX	spirit	carry	AUX	SEC DECL+M
	nf	vi	aux	nm	vt	aux	sec

'The spirit was wearing black clothes.'

57	<b>Yofine</b>	<b>amane</b>
	yofina+M	ama -ne
	cause fear	be BKG+M
	vi	vc

'It is scary.'

58	<b>Yofinabote</b>	<b>amane</b>
	yofina	-bote ama -ne
	cause fear very	be BKG+M
	adj	vc

'It's really scary.'

59	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>kobo</b>	<b>tikere</b>
	inamati	kobo	ti- na -ke -re
	spirit	meet	2SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
	nm	vt	aux

'If you meet up with one, you will be afraid.'

60	<b>Tiwa</b>	<b>wiyi</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>awane</b>
	tiwa	wiyi	na+M	awa -ne
	2SG.O	shake	AUX	seem+M BKG+M
	pron	vt	aux	sec

'It will make you shake.'

61	<b>Tibo</b>	<b>nawataba</b>	
	ti-	habo	na- wata -ba
	2SG.POSS	courage	CAUS exist IMMED+M
	pn		vt

'It will make you have no courage.'

62	<b>Hari</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiri</b>	<b>hite</b>	<b>kobo</b>	<b>tina</b>
	haari	tahi	me	hiri	hi- na -tee	kobo	ti- na
	that one+M	song about	3PL.S	sing	OC AUX HAB	meet	2SG.S AUX
	dem	pn	pron	vt	aux	vt	aux

<b>yomahi</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>fara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>abe</b>
yomahi	ahi	fara	me	abe
jaguar	this	same+F	3PL.POSS	creature+F
nm	dem	dem	pron	pn

'They sing songs about that jaguar. You shouldn't meet up with it.'

63	<b>Yama</b>	<b>yofinake</b>
	yama	yofina -ke
	thing	cause fear DECL+F
	nf	vi

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

'It is scary.'

64	<b>Fare</b>	<b>okobi</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>toemarima</b>		<b>me</b>
	fare	o-	ka	abi	ati	na	to- ha.NOM+M	-mari -ma
	same+M	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	say	AUX	CH AUX	FP.E+M like
	dem	nm		vt	aux	aux		3PL.POSS
	<b>abe</b>	<b>awari</b>	<b>one</b>			<b>otini</b>		
	abe	awa -ra.NOM+F	o-	na	-ne	o-	-tee.NOM	-ni
	creature+F	see NEG	1SG.S	AUX	CONT+F	1SG.S	HAB	IP.N+F
	pn	vi	aux			prt		

'I saw their animals, just like my father said long ago.'

65	<b>Okobi</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>totokoma</b>	
	o-	ka	abi	me	ka	yama	to- to- ka -ma
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	3PL	POSS	shaman's stone	DUP away go/come back
	nm		pron	prt	nf	vi	
	<b>toemete</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>awineke</b>				
	to- ha	-hemete	me	awine	-ke		
	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	3PL.POSS	seem+F	DECL+F	
	aux		pron	sec			

'The shaman's stones of my father and the others go back to them.'

66	<b>Ofimia</b>	<b>okobi</b>		<b>owa</b>	<b>hora</b>	
	o-	fimi+F	o-	ka	abi	owa
	1SG.S	be hungry	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.O
	vi		nm			pron
	<b>kasarima</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>kakaba</b>		
	ka- na	-kosa	-rima	na+M	yamata	ka- kaba
	COMIT	AUX	middle	intermittent	AUX	food
	aux			aux	nf	vt
	<b>oharamaro</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>oni</b>	<b>okobi</b>		<b>owa</b>
	o-	to- ha	-ra -hamaro	ama	o-	ni
	1SG.S	CH	AUX	NEG	FP.E+F	SEC
	aux			sec	prt	nm
	<b>afo</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>owa</b>			
	afo	na+M	owa			
	blow	snuff	into	AUX	1SG.O	
	vt	aux	pron			

'When I was hungry, my father kept scolding me. I didn't eat any food for a long time, while my father was training me to be a shaman.'

67	<b>Okobi</b>		<b>owa</b>	<b>afo</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>kakaba</b>
	o-	ka	abi	owa	afo	na+M	yamata
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.O	blow	snuff	into
	nm		pron	vt	aux	nf	vt
	<b>oharamaro</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>oni</b>				
	o-	to- ha	-ra -hamaro	ama	o-	ni	
	1SG.S	CH	AUX	NEG	FP.E+F	SEC	1SG.S
	aux			sec	prt		

'While my father was training me to be a shaman, I didn't eat food for a long time.'

68	<b>Awa</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>mirohanihi</b>		<b>okobi</b>	
	awa	awa	miro	-hani -hi	o-	ka
	tree	tree	be slippery	IP.N+F	DUP	1SG.POSS
	nf	nf	vi		nm	POSS
						father



## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

74 *Yawa kakawaha toemetemone ama*  
 yawa ka- ka- waha to- ha -hemete -mone ama  
 enemies DUP COMIT dawn CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 nf vi aux sec

'The enemies set out before dawn.'

75 *Yawa kawahakere*  
 yawa ka- waha -ke -re  
 enemies COMIT dawn DECL+F NEG+F  
 nf vi

'The enemies don't wait for dawn.'

76 *Okaki haha toimaro amani*  
 o- ka aki haa- haa to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP call CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 nf vi aux vc

*biti ha naminaro*  
 biti haa na -mina -haaro  
 3SG.POSS.son call AUX morning IP.E+F  
 nm vt aux

'My grandmother called her son many times before dawn.'

77 *Yawa yawa kakawaha toharimetemone*  
 yawa yawa ka- ka- waha to- ha -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone  
 enemies enemies DUP COMIT dawn CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf nf vi aux

*tika amo ni kawahahi okaki*  
 ti- ka amo na.NFIN ka- waha -hi o- ka aki  
 2SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX COMIT dawn IMP+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother  
 prt vi aux vi nf

*aati toamaroke*  
 a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'"The enemies don't wait until dawn, so you don't sleep until dawn," my grandmother used to say.'

78 *Ota bobosa toimaro amake me ati*  
 otaa bo- bosa to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke me ati  
 1EX.S DUP get up early CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F 3PL.POSS voice  
 pron vi aux vc pron pn

*ihi ota tokomabone ota yama yete*  
 ihi otaa to- ka -ma -habone otaa yama yete  
 because of+F 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F 1EX.S thing hunt  
 post pron vi pron nf vt

*onabone*  
 o- na -habone  
 1SG.S AUX INT+F  
 aux

'Because the others told us to, we got up early, to go. I went hunting.'

79 *Hiyama me namoni me*  
 hiyama me namoni me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS report 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn pron

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

**kamakiwani** **rama**  
 ka -makI -waha -hani rama  
 go/come following change IP.N+F unusual  
 vi prt  
 'The others had come telling about some white-lipped peccaries.'

80 **Hiyama** **me** **ota** **tao** **nimaro** **amake**  
 hiyama me otaa tao na.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux vc

**waha**  
 waha  
 now  
 prt  
 'Then we shot peccaries.'

81 **Tiweba** **ama** ?  
 ti- awa -hiba ama  
 2SG.S see FUT+M SEC  
 vt sec

'Do you want to see it?'<sup>41</sup>

82 **Ee** **owehibonaka**  
 ee o- awa -hibona -ka  
 yes 1SG.S see INT+M DECL+M  
 interj vt

'Yes, I want to see it.'

83 **Tiwehibanaka**  
 ti- awa -hibana -ka  
 2SG.S see FUT+M DECL+M  
 vt

'You will see it.'

84 **Kafoye** **awaka** **ahi**  
 ka- foya+M awa -ka ahi  
 COMIT be inside seem+M DECL+M there  
 vi sec dem

'It is in a basket over there.'

85 **Bakori** **hikanikehita** **amaka** **ahi** **wati** **me**  
 Bakori hi- ka- nika -hita ama -ka ahi wahati me  
 (man's name) OC COMIT ask for RP.N+M SEC DECL+M there Jamamadi 3PL  
 npropm vt sec dem npropm pron

**ni ya**  
 ni ya  
 to ADJU  
 prt prt  
 'Bakori asked the Jamamadis for it.'

86 **Kafoye** **awaka** **ahi**  
 ka- foya+M awa -ka ahi  
 COMIT be inside seem+M DECL+M there  
 vi sec dem

'It is in a basket over there.'

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41 This is the beginning of a short conversation about a headdress.

## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

87 *Inamati fanawi mao kitaka*  
 inamati fanawi maho kita -ka  
 someone woman smell+M be strong DECL+M  
 nf adj pn vi

'A female spirit has a strong odor.'

88 *Mai kita awineke sonono*  
 mahi kita+F awine -ke sonono  
 smell+F be strong seem+F DECL+F vine sp  
 pn vi sec nm

'It has a strong smell, the *sonono* vine.'

89 *Sonono* ?  
 sonono  
 vine sp  
 nm

'*Sonono*?'

90 *Ee sonono*  
 ee sonono  
 yes vine sp  
 interj nm

'Yes, *sonono*.'

91 *Sonono mai mao kite awaka e maho*  
 sonono mahi maho kita+M awa -ka ee maho  
 vine sp smell+F smell+M be strong seem+M DECL+M 1IN.POSS smell  
 nm pn pn vi sec pron pn

'*Sonono* has a strong smell. It gives us an odor.'

92 *Sonono komaka*  
 sonono koma -ka  
 vine sp hurt DECL+M  
 nm vi

'*Sonono* burns.'

93 *Komate ama* ?  
 koma -tee ama  
 hurt HAB SEC  
 vi sec

'Does it burn?'

94 *Ee komate amaka*  
 ee koma -tee ama -ka  
 yes hurt HAB SEC DECL+M  
 interj vi sec

'Yes, it burns.'

95 *Yawa wati nofake*  
 yawa wati nofa -ke  
 enemies arrow like DECL+F  
 nf nm vt

'The enemies like arrows.'



## ENCOUNTERS WITH SPIRITS

96 **Wati** , **wati** **fotaka** .  
 wati , wati fota -ka  
 arrow arrow be big DECL+M  
 nm nm vi

'The arrows are big.'

97 **Titisa** **wati** , **kanatare** .  
 ti- tisa wati , kanatare  
 DUP shoot with arrow arrow arrow for fishing  
 nf nm nm

'Bows, arrows, fishing arrows.'

98 **Mototo** **ama** ?  
 mototo ama  
 termite be  
 nm vc

'Is it termites?'

99 **Me** **hawi** **bote** **amake** .  
 me hawi bote ama -ke  
 3PL.POSS trail+F old be DECL+F  
 pron pn adj vc

'It is an old trail of theirs.'

100 **Me** **abani** **me** **awine** ?  
 me ahaba -hani me awine  
 3PL.S die IP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F  
 pron vi pron sec

'Did they die?'

101 **Ee** , **me** **abarake** .  
 ee , me ahaba -hara -ke  
 yes 3PL.S die IP.E+F DECL+F  
 interj pron vi

'Yes, they died.'

# THE STONE SPIRIT

## Free Translation

The stone spirit is bad. The stone spirit has a shell. Its shell is hard. The stone spirit is old. Its daughter is short. She is fat, the daughter of the stone spirit. The female stone spirit's breach cloth is hard. The female stone spirit is big.

The stone spirit lives at the Fa Biri stream. The stone spirit does not lie in a hammock. The stone spirit sleeps in a canoe made of stone. It is a stone like a canoe. The stone spirit is scary.

I have seen them, the stone spirits. They have designs on their breasts, as if with annatto. They have designs under their breasts. The stone spirit has a breechcloth only in the front. It is not cloth. It hangs down. The wife's clothing is the same as the daughter's. The wife is the same, she wears clothing made of stone. The stone spirits are scary. They look scary, the stone spirits. Their clothes are made of stone.

The stone spirit is fierce. It is a killer of people. The club is not wood. It is stone. I have seen it. I have seen the weapons of the stone spirits. They don't shoot animals with blowguns. The stone spirits shoot things with arrows, fish. They also eat tapirs, and other animals.

They have knives, too. Those are their weapons: knives and machetes. The stone spirit's ax is narrow. The ax is straight. The ax handle is straight, too. It is nice, not crooked. The axes are of stone.

The Yima spirit makes knives, hats, knives, machetes, axes. The dresses are big, the dresses that the Yima spirit wears. They live in the sky. The Yima spirit lives at Yimawa.

A Brazilian is there. The spirit of a Brazilian who died is there. The Brazilian is there. The Brazilian is tall. I am not deceiving you. The Brazilian is tall. The Brazilian doesn't have any hair on his head. Vitor is there with the Yima spirits. He is the only Brazilian there. He married the daughter of a Yima spirit. He got married. I saw him. I saw him on the trail.

## Interlinear Presentation

1 *Yati abono hiyakara*  
 yati abono hiya -ka -ra+M  
 stone spirit be bad DECL NEG  
 nf pn vi

'The stone spirit is bad.'

2 *Yati abono ataro weye ne awaka haro*  
 yati abono ataro weye na+M awa -ka haaro  
 stone spirit skin+M carry AUX seem+M DECL+M that one+F  
 nf pn pn vt aux sec dem

'The stone spirit has a shell.'

3 *Ataro kitaka , yati abono bote bote*  
 ataro kita -ka yati abono bote bote  
 skin+M be hard DECL+M stone spirit old old  
 pn vi nf pn adj adj

'Its shell is hard. The stone spirit is old.'

## THE STONE SPIRIT

4 **Bite** *nemehekere* *ahi*  
 bite nemeha -ke -re ahi  
 3SG.POSS.daughter be high DECL+F NEG+F then  
 nf vi dem

'Its daughter is short.'

5 **Nafike** *ahi* , *yati* *abono* *bite*  
 nafi -ke ahi yati abono bite  
 be big DECL+F then stone spirit 3SG.POSS.daughter  
 vi dem nf pn nf

'She is fat, the daughter of the stone spirit.'

6 **Yati** *abono* *fana* *ka* , *yayafa* *kitaka*  
 yati abono fana ka yayafa kita -ka  
 stone spirit female POSS breach cloth be strong DECL+M  
 nf pn nf prt nm vi

'The female stone spirit's breach cloth is hard.'

7 **Yayafa** *kitaka*  
 yayafa kita -ka  
 breach cloth be strong DECL+M  
 nm vi

'The breach cloth is hard.'

8 **Yati** *abono* *fana* *nafike*  
 yati abono fana nafi -ke  
 stone spirit female be big DECL+F  
 nf pn nf vi

'The female stone spirit is big.'

9 **Yati** *abono* *wine* *awaka* *ahi* , *Fa Biri* *ya*  
 yati abono wina+M awa -ka ahi Faha Biri ya  
 stone spirit live seem+M DECL+M there (name of stream) ADJU  
 nf pn vi sec dem npropf prt

'The stone spirit lives at the Fa Biri stream.'

10 **Yati** *abono* *winare* *awaka* *yifo* *ya*  
 yati abono wina -ra+M awa -ka yifo ya  
 stone spirit lie in hammock NEG seem+M DECL+M hammock ADJU  
 nf pn vi sec nm prt

'The stone spirit does not lie in a hammock.'

11 **Yati** *abono* *ee* , *kanawa* , *kanawa* *yati* *hiri* *na* *tori*  
 yati abono ee kanawa kanawa yati hiri na+F tori  
 stone spirit (pause) canoe canoe stone make AUX inside+F  
 nf pn interj nf nf nf result aux pn

**ya** *foye* *awaka* *amo* *ni* , *kanawa* *nima* *yati*  
 ya foya+M awa -ka amo na.NFIN kanawa nima yati  
 ADJU be inside seem+M DECL+M sleep AUX canoe like stone  
 prt vi sec vi aux nf prt nf

**naro**  
 na -haaro  
 AUX IP.E+F  
 aux

'The stone spirit sleeps in a canoe made of stone. It is a stone like a canoe.'

## THE STONE SPIRIT

12 *Yati abono yofinaka*  
 yati abono yofina -ka  
 stone spirit cause fear DECL+M  
 nf pn vi

'The stone spirit is scary.'

13 *Me owa oke yati abono mati*  
 me o- awa o- ke yati abono mati  
 3PL.O 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+F stone spirit 3PL  
 pron vt prt nf pn pron

'I have seen them, the stone spirits.'

14 *Me yoari iti hani iita me*  
 me yoha -ri ita.NFIN hani i- ita me  
 3PL.POSS breast PN be located design+F DUP be located 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vi pn pn pron

*awineke me ka ate ate amararo*  
 awine -ke me ka atehe atehe ama -ra -haaro  
 seem+F DECL+F 3PL POSS annatto annatto be NEG IP.E+F  
 sec pron prt nf nf vc

'They have designs on their breasts, as if with annatto.'

15 *Faha fa faha imaha me yoari baki*  
 faha , faha faha ima+F me yoha -ri baki  
 water water water be fat 3PL.POSS breast PN inside surface+F  
 nf nf nf vi pron pn pn

*hani tohineke*  
 hani to- ha -ne -ke  
 design+F CH be CONT+F DECL+F  
 pn vc

'They have designs under their breasts.'

16 *Yati abono ka kanatafo , wini oharia awineke*  
 yati abono ka kanatafo , wina.NFIN ohari+F awine -ke  
 stone spirit POSS breechcloth hang be one seem+F DECL+F  
 nf pn prt nf vi vi sec

*ee , makari amararo fara yati*  
 ee makari ama -ra -haaro fara yati  
 (pause) cloth be NEG IP.E+F same+F stone  
 interj nf vc dem nf

'The stone spirit has a breechcloth only in the front. It is not cloth.'

17 *Sohi nisa awineni*  
 sohi na -risa+F awine -ni  
 hang down AUX down seem+F BKG+F  
 vi aux sec

'It hangs down.'

18 *Fara bite bori toha , fati*  
 fara bite bori to- ha.LIST , fati  
 same+F 3SG.POSS.daughter clothing+F CH be 3SG.POSS.wife  
 dem nf pn vc nf

'The wife's clothing is the same as the daughter's.'

## THE STONE SPIRIT

19 *Fati*                    *fara*            *toha*                    *nineni*                    *yati*            *yama*  
 fati                    fara            to- ha.LIST            na -ne            -ni            yati            yama  
 3SG.POSS.wife            same+F            CH            be                    AUX CONT+F BKG+F            stone            make  
 nf                    dem            vc                    aux                    nf                    result

*ni*                    *weye*            *naro*  
 na.NFIN            weye            na -haaro  
 AUX                    carry            AUX IP.E+F  
 aux                    vt                    aux

'The wife is the same, she wears clothing made of stone.'

20 *Yati*            *abono*            *me*                    *yofinake*  
 yati            abono            me                    yofina            -ke  
 stone            spirit            3PL.S            cause fear            DECL+F  
 nf                    pn                    pron            vi

'The stone spirits are scary.'

21 *Me*                    *awi*                    *yofinini*                    *yati*            *abono*            *mati*  
 me                    awi                    yofina            -ni            yati            abono            mati  
 3PL.POSS            appearance            cause fear            BKG+F            stone            spirit            3PL  
 pron                    pn                    vi                    nf                    pn                    pron

'They look scary, the stone spirits.'

22 *Yati*            *yama*            *ni*  
 yati            yama            na.NFIN  
 stone            make            AUX  
 nf                    result            aux

'Their clothes are made of stone.'

23 *Hame*            *awaka*                    ,            *yati*            *abono*            *hamahari*                    ,            *era*  
 hama+M            awa            -ka                    ,            yati            abono            hama            -haari                    ,            era  
 be mean            seem+M            DECL+M                    ,            stone            spirit            be mean            IP.E+M                    ,            1IN.O  
 vi                    sec                    ,            nf                    pn                    vi                    ,            pron

*nanabowa*                    *ahi*  
 na- na-            aboha            ahi  
 DUP CAUS            die                    this  
 pn                    dem

'The stone spirit is fierce. It is a killer of people.'

24 *Awa*            *amakere*  
 awa            ama -ke            -re  
 tree            be            DECL+F            NEG+F  
 nf                    vc

'The club is not wood.'

25 *Yati*            *amake*                    ,            *ee*                    ,            *yati*            *boni*  
 yati            ama -ke                    ,            ee                    ,            yati            boni  
 stone            be            DECL+F                    (pause)                    ,            stone            mass+F  
 nf                    vc                    interj                    nf                    pn

'It is stone.'

26 *Owa*                    *oke*  
 o-            awa            o-            ke  
 1SG.S            see            1SG.S            DECL+F  
 vt                    prt

'I have seen it.'

## THE STONE SPIRIT

27 *Owini*

o-      awa -ni  
1SG.S see BKG+F  
vt

'I have seen it.'

28 *Yati*

<i>abono</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>hone</i>	<i>owa</i>	<i>oke</i>	
yati	abono	me	yehe	hone	o-      awa	o-      ke
stone	spirit	3PL.POSS	hand	weapon+F	1SG.S see	1SG.S DECL+F
nf	pn	pron	pn	pn	vt	prt

'I have seen the weapons of the stone spirits.'

29 *Yama*

<i>me</i>	<i>fora</i>	<i>kere</i>	<i>karaboa</i>	<i>ya</i>
yama	me	fora	na -ke      -re	karaboha
thing	3PL.S	shoot with blowgun	AUX DECL+F NEG+F	blowgun
nf	pron	vt	aux	nf

'They don't shoot animals with blowguns.'

30 *Yati*

<i>abono</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tisa</i>	<i>nineke</i>	<i>wati</i>
yati	abono	yama	me	tisa	na -ne      -ke
stone	spirit	thing	3PL.S	shoot with arrow	AUX CONT+F DECL+F
nf	pn	nf	pron	vt	aux

<i>ya</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>mati</i>
ya	aba	mati
ADJU	fish	3PL
prt	nm	pron

'The stone spirits shoot things with arrows, fish.'

31 *Aw*

<i>me</i>	<i>kaba</i>	<i>bani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kaba</i>	<i>ke</i>
awi	me	kaba.LIST	bani	me	me	kaba.LIST
tapir	3PL.S	eat	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	eat
nm	pron	vt	nm	pron	pron	vt

'They also eat tapirs, and other animals.'

32 *Yimawa*

<i>me</i>	<i>kiha</i>	<i>fara</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fara</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fara</i>	<i>me</i>
yimawa	me	kiha.LIST	fara	me	fara	me	fara
knife	3PL.S	have	same+F	3PL	same+F	3PL	same+F
nf	pron	vt	dem	pron	dem	pron	dem

<i>ye</i>	<i>hone</i>	<i>yimawa</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>yimawa</i>	<i>ebote</i>
yehe	hone	yimawa	bite.LIST	yimawa	ehebote.LIST
hand	weapon+F	knife	small+F	knife	big
pn	pn	nf	adj	nf	adj

'They have knives, too. Those are their weapons: knives and machetes.'

33 *Yati*

<i>abono</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>sosohi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>awineke</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>bari</i>
yati	abono	ka	bari	so- sohi	na+F	awine	-ke
stone	spirit	POSS	ax	DUP reach	AUX	seem+F	DECL+F
nf	pn	prt	nf	vi	aux	sec	dem

'The stone spirit's ax is narrow.'

34 *Bari*

<i>soi</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>soi</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>nawani</i>	<i>tamina</i>
bari	sohi.LIST	bari	sohi.LIST	isi	na- wana.NFIN
ax	reach	ax	reach	handle+F	CAUS be attached
nf	vi	nf	vi	pn	result

## THE STONE SPIRIT

### *awineni*

awine -ni  
seem+F BKG+F  
sec

'The ax is straight. The ax handle is straight, too. It is nice, not crooked.'

35 *Yati amake bari toaharo*  
yati ama -ke bari to- ha -haaro  
stone be DECL+F ax CH be IP.E+F  
nf vc nf vc

'The axes are of stone.'

36 *Bari yati toha awineke*  
bari yati to- ha+F awine -ke  
ax stone CH be seem+F DECL+F  
nf nf vc sec

'The axes are of stone.'

37 *Yima abono , yima abono yimawa yama , yima abono*  
yima abono yima abono yimawa yama.LIST yima abono  
Yima spirit Yima spirit knife make Yima spirit  
npropm pn npropm pn nf vt npropm pn  
*sabeo yama , yimawa bite , yima webote , bari , saya*  
sabeo yama.LIST yimawa bite yimawa webote bari saya  
hat make knife small+F knife big ax dress  
nf vt nf adj nf adj nf nf  
*nafi awaka yima abono ka saya , weye hinaharo*  
nafi awa -ka yima abono ka saya weye hi- na -haaro  
be big seem+M DECL+M Yima spirit POSS dress wear OC AUX IP.E+F  
vi sec npropm pn prt nf vt aux

### *ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

'The Yima spirit makes knives, hats, knives, machetes, axes. The dresses are big, the dresses that the Yima spirit wears.'

38 *Me wina me awineke ahi , neme ya*  
me wina+F me awine -ke ahi neme ya  
3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F there sky ADJU  
pron vi pron sec dem nf prt

'They live in the sky.'

39 *Yima abono Yimawa abe , yara sawika*  
yima abono Yimawa abe yara sawi -ka  
Yima spirit (place name) RECIP Brazilian be present DECL+M  
npropm pn npropf pn npropm vi

'The Yima spirit lives at Yimawa. A Brazilian is there.'

40 *Yara ahabemata korimari sawika*  
yara ahaba -himata korimari sawi -ka  
Brazilian die FP.N+M spirit be present DECL+M  
npropm vi pn vi

'The spirit of a Brazilian who died is there.'

## THE STONE SPIRIT

- 41 *Yara*            *sawika*  
 yara            sawi            -ka  
 Brazilian    be present    DECL+M  
 npropm      vi  
 'The Brazilian is there.'
- 42 *Yara*            *nemehe*        *awaka*  
 yara            nemeha+M    awa            -ka  
 Brazilian    be high      seem+M    DECL+M  
 npropm      vi            sec  
 'The Brazilian is tall.'
- 43 *Tiwa*            *okeyerini*  
 tiwa    o-        keyeha    -ra -ni  
 2SG.O   1SG.S    deceive    NEG    BKG+F  
 pron    vt  
 'I am not deceiving you.'
- 44 *Yara*            *nemehe*        *awane*  
 yara            nemeha+M    awa            -ne  
 Brazilian    be high      seem+M    BKG+M  
 npropm      vi            sec  
 'The Brazilian is tall.'
- 45 *Yara*            *tati*            *kone*        *haro*  
 yara            tati            kone            haaro  
 Brazilian    head          hair            that one+F  
 npropm      pn            pn            dem  
 'The Brazilian doesn't have any hair on his head.'
- 46 *Fito*            *sawika*                            *yima*    *abono*    *me*    *ni*    *ya*  
 Fito          sawi            -ka            yima    abono    me    ni    ya  
 Vitor        be present    DECL+M    Yima    spirit    3PL    to    ADJU  
 npropm    vi                                    npropm    pn            pron    prt    prt  
 'Vitor is there with the Yima spirits.'
- 47 *Oharite*            *amaka*  
 ohari    -tee        ama    -ka  
 be one    HAB        SEC    DECL+M  
 vi            sec  
 'He is the only Brazilian there.'
- 48 *Ee*            *yima*    *abono*    *yima*    *abono*    *bite*                            *itika*  
 ee            yima    abono    yima    abono    bite                            iti    -ka  
 (pause)    Yima    spirit    Yima    spirit    3SG.POSS.daughter    marry    DECL+M  
 interj    npropm    pn            npropm    pn            nf                            vt  
 'He married the daughter of a Yima spirit.'
- 49 *Fane*            *awaka*  
 fana+M        awa            -ka  
 be married    seem+M    DECL+M  
 vi            sec  
 'He got married.'



## THE STONE SPIRIT

50 *Owa*            *oka*            .  
 o-      awa    o-      ka  
 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+M  
 vt            prt  
 'I saw him.'

51 *Owa*            *oka*            *ahi*      *hawi*    *ya*      .  
 o-      awa    o-      ka      ahi      hawi    ya  
 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+M there trail ADJU  
 vt            prt      dem      nf      prt  
 'I saw him on the trail.'

52 *Owa*            *oka*            .  
 o-      awa    o-      ka  
 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+M  
 vt            prt  
 'I saw him.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

### *Free Translation*

Its voice started up. "Hao, hao, hao," it went. My father heard its voice. It was coming, and its voice was starting up. "Heeee," it said.

"It's the sound of a monster. I want to go hunting, but something is chasing me. It's the sound of a monster. I heard its voice."

It was running. It was coming toward him running. There were ten bullets for the rifle.

"Aaya, aaya, hahohohoo, hooooo."

The monster was coming, my father used to say. It was coming to catch my father. It was going to catch my father, but he shot it with the rifle, baaaa. He shot it again. When he shot it again, it fell.

Another one came running. My father went running. He went running away, and it came after him, the male. It was a male. It was a male that ran after my father. My father shot the male, too, in the chest. He shot it in the chest. As it ran after him, he shot it in the side. He shot it, and it was lying on the ground.

He came back running. His younger brother went running there.

"Older brother, what did you shoot?"

"Botehefo, a monster came here. I came here because the monster was chasing me."

My uncle came running back. They came running back. It was noon. They appeared at the village. My father was sweaty.

My uncle was in his hammock talking. "I thought my brother had shot a tapir. My brother had shot a monster, a creature. It is lying out there on the ground. Should we eat it?"

"I don't know, I guess we shouldn't eat it."

"It is not a tapir. The monsters had a strong odor. They had long tails. The monster that my brother shot was skinny. My brother shot it and it is lying there on the ground. You have never seen it. If we go into the forest, the creature will eat us."

The jaguar was like that long ago. It carried off people during the night.

"My brother had a hard time. The two of them are lying on the ground, my brother killed them," my uncle said, speaking. "The male was not fat. But the female was fat," my uncle said, speaking.

"We shouldn't go after them. They aren't good for eating. Let them just die."

"Yes, let them just lie there. The spirits will eat them."

They didn't want them, because they weren't tapirs. We wanted to go and see them, but they didn't let us. They said they had a strong odor. Five bullets were spent on the male. He came upon one, and then came upon another. He shot that one, too. He shot the two of them with bullets. Now it is shotguns, not rifles.

He said he dreamed about them. He met up with them, and shot them. They died. The spirits took them away after my father shot them. The spirit carried the creature on its back, my father said.

"Can I eat the creature you killed? I will eat the creature that you killed," the spirit said.

"All right, go ahead and take it. I shot it because it was going to eat me."

"I will eat it. I don't want it to go to waste."

He waited for it while it tied up the creature. It pulled down some vines and tied up the

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

creature. It tied it up. It put it on its back, he said. It took it away. It ate it over there. Then they came back for the other one. They took them away.

"I wanted to pick up crabwood fruits, but some creatures chased me, and I have come back. I was going to fish, but I didn't fish, because the creatures chased me. I shot them. They are lying there on the ground. Their faces are not fat. Their feet are like people's feet. They have the paws of jaguars."

He said they were not fat. He said they were skinny. Only the female was somewhat fat. The spirits took them away. A spirit took them away, my father said.

Then my father went into the forest again, and he heard a spirit crying, he said. There was a spirit standing inside the buttress roots of a big tree, and the spirit was crying, my father said. "Oooo, oooo," it said, my father said.

"The spirit is crying."

The spirit was sitting on the ground, my father said. It was crying all over. The spirit was sitting. It was cold.

"Leave me alone. I see you. Leave me alone. I didn't hurt you," my father said. "Go away. I am going, too."

Then my father went away and told about it. The spirits came after it, and one of them killed the spirit, my father said. It took it away. It carried it over his shoulder. Its hair hung down, he said.

It cried all over the forest. He wouldn't have seen it otherwise, he said. He went by it, and it started crying, he said, after he had passed. "It won't make me afraid," he said. He came back after it, and came upon it, he said. Then he went on. A spirit took it away, he said.

"It scared you, but it won't scare you anymore. I am going to take it away. I will eat it."

"Go ahead and take it away. I don't want it to chase me."

It took it away. It carried it on its shoulder. It had a weapon to kill it with, a spear. It was a spear.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Ati</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>namakietemoneke</b>		<b>yama</b>	<b>ati</b>
	ati	yana	na -makI -hemete -mone -ke	,	yama	ati
	voice	start	AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		thing	voice
	pn	vi	aux		nf	pn

'Its voice started up.'

2	<b>Ati</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>namakietemonehe</b>
	ati	yana	na -makI -hemete -mone -he
	voice	start	AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DUP
	pn	vi	aux

'Its voice started up.'

3	<b>Hao</b>	<b>hao</b>
	hao	hao
	(sound of barking)	(sound of barking)
	sound	sound

<b>hao</b>	<b>hao</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>
hao	hao	ati	na -hemete -mone -ke
(sound of barking)	(sound of barking)	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
sound	sound	vt	aux

'"Hao, hao, hao," it went.'



## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

13 *Rifi ka bara tei namaroke ahi*  
 rifi ka bara tei na -hamaro -ke ahi  
 rifle POSS bullet ten AUX FP.E+F DECL+F then  
 nf prt nf nf aux dem

'There were ten bullets for the rifle.'

14 *Aaya aaya hahohohohoo , hoooooo*  
 "Aaya, aaya, hahohohoo, hooooo."

15 *Yara yara me ati owatobisa*  
 yara yara me ati o- wato -bisa  
 Brazilian Brazilian 3PL.POSS voice 1SG.S know also  
 npropm npropm pron pn vt

*okere*

o- ke -re  
 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F

prt

'I don't know how to speak Portuguese.'

16 *Yara me ati onofa okere*  
 yara me ati o- nofa o- ke -re  
 Brazilian 3PL.POSS voice 1SG.S like 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F  
 npropm pron pn vt prt

'I don't like Portuguese.'

17 *Me yama kamakietemone okobi*  
 me yama ka -makI -hemete -mone o- ka abi  
 3PL monster go/come following FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 pron nf vi nm

*aati*

*toemarika*

a- ati to- ha -himari -ka  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M

vt aux

'The monster was coming, my father used to say.'

18 *Yama kamakia okobi watabone ahi*  
 yama ka -makI+F o- ka abi wata -habone ahi  
 thing go/come following 1SG.POSS POSS father catch INT+F then  
 nf vi nm vt dem

'It was coming to catch my father.'

19 *Okobi watabone tao*  
 o- ka abi wata -habone tao  
 1SG.POSS POSS father catch INT+F shoot  
 nm vt vt

*hikanemetemoneke*

*baaaa*

*rifi*

*ya*

hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke baaaa rifi ya  
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F sound rifle ADJU  
 aux nf prt

'It was going to catch my father, but he shot it with the rifle, baaaa.'

20 *Tao hikanametemoneke*  
 tao hi- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'He shot it again.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

21 **Tao hikanama** , **tosawitemetemone**  
 tao hi- ka- na -ma+F , to- sona -witI -hemete -mone  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX back away fall out FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt aux vi

'When he shot it again, it fell.'

22 **One kana ni kamakia** , **kana ni**  
 one kana na.NFIN ka -makI+F , kana na.NFIN  
 other+F run AUX go/come following run AUX  
 adj vi aux vi aux

**kamaki** , **okobi** , **kana ni**  
 ka -makI+M , o- ka abi kana na.NFIN  
 go/come following 1SG.POSS POSS father run AUX  
 vi nm vi aux

**tokematamonaka** , **ahi**  
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'Another one came running. My father went running.'

23 **Kana ni toke** , **kiyohemetemoneni** , **maki**  
 kana na.NFIN to- ka+M kiyo -hemete -mone -ni maki  
 run AUX away go/come chase FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F male  
 vi aux vi vt nm

'He went running away, and it came after him, the male.'

24 **Makimatamonane**  
 maki -mata -mona -ne  
 male FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm

'It was a male.'

25 **Makimatamonaka** , **okobi** , **kiyohari**  
 maki -mata -mona -ka o- ka abi kiyo -haari  
 male FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS POSS father chase IP.E+M  
 nm nm vt

'It was a male that ran after my father.'

26 **Maki** , **okobi** , **tao**  
 maki o- ka abi tao  
 3SG.POSS.husband 1SG.POSS POSS father shoot  
 nm nm vt

**hikatasematamona** , **bako**  
 hi- ka- na -tasa -himata -mona bako  
 OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+M REP+M chest+M  
 aux pn

'My father shot the male, too, in the chest.'

27 **Bako tao hikatasematamonane**  
 bako tao hi- ka- na -tasa -himata -mona -ne  
 chest+M shoot OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pn vt aux

'He shot it in the chest.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

28 *Kasawi*                    *he*        *kiyo*        *tao*  
 ka-    sawi+M            hee        kiyo+M    tao  
 COMMIT be present    3SG.O    chase     shoot  
 vi                        pron     vt        vt

*hikanamatasematamonaka*

hi- to- ka-    na -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ka  
 OC away COMMIT AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

, *fariboti* .  
 fariboti  
 armpit  
 pn

'As it ran after him, he shot it in the side.'

29 *Tao*        *hikaname*                    ,        *tomakose*                    *kana*    *ni*  
 tao    hi- ka-    na -ma+M            to- homa                    -kosa+M    kana    na.NFIN  
 shoot OC COMMIT AUX back        CH lie on ground middle    run    AUX  
 vt        aux                                    vi                                    vi        aux

*kamawematamonane*

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

'He shot it, and it was lying on the ground. He came back running.'

30 *Faya*    *nisori*                                    *kana*    *ni*  
 faya    nisori                                    kana    na.NFIN  
 so        3SG.POSS.younger brother    run    AUX  
 conj    nm                                    vi        aux

*tokomakematamonaha*

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

'His younger brother went running there.'

31 *Kana*    *ni*                    *tokomake*                    ,        *Ayo*                    *himata*    *tao*  
 kana    na.NFIN    to- ka        -makI                    ayo                    himata    tao  
 run    AUX        away go/come following    older brother    what?    shoot  
 vi        aux        vi                                    nm                    interrog vt

*tine*                    *tiriya*                    ?  
 ti-    na -ne        ti-    ri    -ya  
 2SG.S AUX CONT+F    2SG.S CQ+F now  
 aux                    prt

'He went running there. "Older brother, what did you shoot?"'

32 *Botehefo*                    *yama*                    *kamaki*                    *ahi* .  
 Botehefo                    yama                    ka        -makI.NOM    ahi  
 (man's name)    monster    go/come following    there  
 npropm                    nf                    vi                    dem

'"Botehefo, a monster came here."'

33 *Yama*    *owa*        *kiyoha*        *okomine*                    *oni* .  
 yama    owa        kiyoha+M    o-    ka        -ma -ne    o-    ni  
 thing    1SG.O    chase        1SG.S go/come back CONT+F    1SG.S BKG+F  
 nf        pron     vt                    vi                                    prt

'"I came here because the monster was chasing me."'

34 *Okobise*                    *kana*    *ni*                    *wete*                    *namematamona* .  
 o-        ka    abise        kana    na.NFIN    wete                    na -ma -himata -mona  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle    run    AUX        return    AUX back FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm                                    vi        aux        vi                                    aux

'My uncle came running back.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

35 *Me kana ni kakamemetemoneheni*  
 me kana na.NFIN ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 3PL.S run AUX COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 pron vi aux vi

'They came running back.'

36 *Bai nokorisemarika*  
 bahi noko -risa -himari -ka  
 sun point down FP.E+M DECL+M  
 nm vi

'It was noon.'

37 *Faya me kafotoma me okobi tanakone*  
 faya me ka- foto -ma+F me o- ka abi tanakone  
 so 3PL.S COMMIT appear back 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father sweat  
 conj pron vi pron nm  
 , *okobise ati kawinamemari*  
 o- ka abise ati ka- wina -ma -himari  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle voice COMMIT lie in hammock back FP.E+M  
 nm pn vt

'They appeared at the village. My father was sweaty. My uncle was in his hammock talking.'

38 *Okoyo awi tao nemonara*  
 o- ka ayo awi tao na -himona -ra  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother tapir shoot AUX REP+M mood  
 nm vt aux

'"I thought my brother had shot a tapir."'

39 *Okoyo yama tao narawenoho*  
 o- ka ayo yama tao na -rawa -hino -ho  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother monster shoot AUX F.PL IP.N+M DUP  
 nm nf vt aux

*yama aberawaha*  
 yama abe -rawa -ha  
 thing creature+F F.PL DUP  
 nf pn

'"My brother had shot a monster, a creature."'

40 *Homahara ahi*  
 homa -hara ahi  
 lie on ground IP.E+F there  
 vi dem

'"It is lying out there on the ground."'

41 *E kabibana ?*  
 ee kaba+F -bana  
 1IN.S eat FUT  
 pron vt

'"Should we eat it?"'

42 *E kabehene e awakere*  
 ee kaba -hene ee awa -ke -re  
 1IN.S eat IRR+F 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F  
 pron vt pron vt

'"I don't know, I guess we shouldn't eat it."'



## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

43 *Awi amakara*  
 awi ama -ka -ra+M  
 tapir be DECL+M NEG  
 nm vc

"It is not a tapir."

44 *Awi ama*  
 awi ama  
 tapir be  
 nm vc

"It's not a tapir."

45 *Yama mai kitarawarake*  
 yama mahi kita -rawa -hara -ke  
 monster smell+F be strong F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf pn vi

"The monsters had a strong odor."

46 *Yama mai kitarawarani*  
 yama mahi kita -rawa -hara -ni  
 monster smell+F be strong F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F  
 nf pn vi

"The monsters had a strong odor."

47 *Yifori , yifori yowarake ahi*  
 yifori , yifori yowa -hara -ke ahi  
 tail tail reach IP.E+F DECL+F here  
 pn pn vi dem

"They had long tails."

48 *Yama imararake okoyo tao*  
 yama ima -ra -hara -ke o- ka ayo tao  
 monster be fat NEG IP.E+F DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother shoot  
 nf vi nm vt

*hinanihi*

hi- na -hani -hi  
 OC AUX IP.N+F DUP  
 aux

"The monster that my brother shot was skinny."

49 *Okoyo tao hinani homa te*  
 o- ka ayo tao hi- na -hani homa+F tee  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother shoot OC AUX IP.N+F lie on ground 2PL.S  
 nm vt aux vi pron

*awi toerara*

awa to- ha -ra -hara  
 see CH AUX NEG IP.E+F  
 vt aux

"My brother shot it and it is lying there on the ground. You have never seen it."

50 *E totoka toha , yama kabani abe , yama*  
 ee to- to- ka to- ha+F , yama kabani abe , yama  
 1IN.S DUP away go/come CH AUX forest creature+F thing  
 pron vi aux nf pn nf

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

**era kakaba amani**  
 era ka- kaba ama -ni  
 1IN.O DUP eat be BKG+F  
 pron pn vc

"If we go into the forest, the creature will eat us."

51 **E na toemata awaka hari mera**  
 ee na to- ha -himata awa -ka haari mera  
 be similar AUX CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M that one+M 3PL.O  
 vi aux aux sec dem pron

**iso nabari yama soki ya**  
 iso na nahaba -haari yama soki.NOM ya  
 carry off AUX at night IP.E+M thing be dark ADJU  
 vt aux nf vi prt

'The jaguar was like that long ago. It carried off people during the night.'

52 **Yama yofinarawa okoyo**  
 yama yofina -rawa+F o- ka ayo  
 thing cause fear F.PL 1SG.POSS POSS older brother  
 nf vi nm

**karimaraweno amane**  
 karima -rawa -hino ama -ne  
 suffer from F.PL IP.N+M SEC BKG+M  
 vt sec

"My brother had a hard time."

53 **Mata narawahara okoyo**  
 mata na -rawa -hara o- ka ayo  
 lie AUX F.PL IP.E+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother  
 vi aux nm

**hinafamarawanihi okobise hiyari ati**  
 hi- na- fama -rawa -hani -hi o- ka abise hiyara.NFIN ati  
 OC CAUS be two F.PL IP.N+F DUP 1SG.POSS POSS uncle speak say  
 vt nm vi vt

**nemarika**  
 na -himari -ka  
 AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 aux

"The two of them are lying on the ground, my brother killed them," my uncle said, speaking.'

54 **Maki imarareka**  
 maki ima -ra -hare -ka  
 male be fat NEG IP.E+M DECL+M  
 nm vi

"The male was not fat."

55 **Fana ta imahara okobise hiyari ati**  
 fana taa ima -hara o- ka abise hiyara.NFIN ati  
 female contrast be fat IP.E+F 1SG.POSS POSS uncle speak say  
 nf prt vi nm vi vt

**nemari**  
 na -himari  
 AUX FP.E+M  
 aux

"But the female was fat," my uncle said, speaking.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

56 *E tonakamarawene*

ee to- na- ka -ma -rawa -hene  
 1IN.S away CAUS go/come back F.PL IRR+F  
 pron vt

"We shouldn't go after them."

57 *Yama kabaterawara ama*

yama kaba -tee -rawa -ra+F ama  
 thing eat HAB F.PL NEG SEC  
 nf result sec

"They aren't good for eating."

58 *Yama hine abarawi*

yama hine ahaba -rawa.NOM+F  
 thing only die F.PL  
 nf pron vi

"Let them just die."

59 *Ee , hine homake*

ee , hine homa -ke  
 yes only lie on ground DECL+F  
 interj pron vi

"Yes, let them just lie there."

60 *Me hikabarawaba awine , me*

me hi- kaba -rawa -haba awine , me  
 3PL.S OC eat F.PL FUT+F seem+F 3PL.S  
 pron vt sec pron

*hinofarawaramaroho*

hi- nofa -rawa -ra -hamaro -ho , awi amaramonamako  
 OC want F.PL NEG FP.E+F DUP tapir be NEG REP+M for this reason+M  
 vt nm vc

"The spirits will eat them." They didn't want them, because they weren't tapirs.'

61 *Ota towamarawabone me*

otaa to- awa -ma -rawa -habone me  
 1EX.S away see back F.PL INT+F 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron

*hikayawarawamaroni*

hi- ka- yawa -rawa -hamaro -ni , ota  
 OC COMMIT be upset F.PL FP.E+F BKG+F 1EX.S  
 vt pron

*tonakamarawabonehe*

to- na- ka -ma -rawa -habone -he  
 away CAUS go/come back F.PL INT+F DUP  
 vt

'We wanted to go and see them, but they didn't let us.'

62 *Mai kitemetemone me hinamaroni*

mahi kita -hemete -mone me hinamaroni  
 smell+F be strong FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S OC AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 pn vi pron aux

'They said they had a strong odor.'

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63 **Bara siko na abemetete ahi , maki ehene**  
 bara siko na+F ahaba -hemete -ke ahi , maki ehene  
 bullet five AUX end FP.N+F DECL+F then male because of+F  
 nf nf aux vi dem nm post

'Five bullets were spent on the male.'

64 **One , one hiwasirawa one**  
 one , one hi- wasi -rawa+F one  
 other+F other+F OC find F.PL other+F  
 adj adj vt adj

**hiwasitasemeteni**

hi- wasi -tasa -hemete -ni  
 OC find again FP.N+F BKG+F  
 vt

'He came upon one, and then came upon another.'

65 **Tao hikatasemetete faro**  
 tao hi- ka- na -tasa -hemete -ke faaro  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+F DECL+F that+F  
 vt aux dem

'He shot that one, too.'

66 **Tao hikatasemete faro**  
 tao hi- ka- na -tasa -hemete faaro  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+F that+F  
 vt aux dem

'He shot that one, too.'

67 **Kafamemetete faro bara ya**  
 ka- fama -hemete -ke faaro bara ya  
 COMIT be two FP.N+F DECL+F that+F bullet ADJU  
 vi dem nf prt

'He shot the two of them with bullets.'

68 **Taokanamaro faro**  
 taokana -maro faaro  
 shotgun FP.E+F that+F  
 nf dem

'Now it is shotguns, not rifles.'

69 **Watari hiwarawamone hirawamarohoni**  
 wata -ri hi- awa -rawa -hamone ati hi- na -rawa -hamaro -ho -ni  
 dream PN OC see F.PL REP+F say OC AUX F.PL FP.E+F DUP BKG+F  
 pn vt vt

'He said he dreamed about them.'

70 **Kobo hirawani , tao hirawemeteni**  
 kobo hi- na -rawa -hani , tao hi- na -rawa -hemete -ni  
 meet OC AUX F.PL IP.N+F shoot OC AUX F.PL FP.N+F BKG+F  
 vt aux vt aux

'He met up with them, and shot them.'

71 **Abarawamaro abarawemetemoneke**  
 ahaba -rawa -hamaro ahaba -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 die F.PL FP.E+F die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi vi

'They died.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

72 **Hinamati**     **hekamara**  
 hinamati hi- to- ka- ka -ma -ra+F  
 spirit OC away COMIT go/come back NEG  
 nm vt

**hekamemetemone**     **faro** ,     **okobi**  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone faaro o- ka abi  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F that+F 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 vt dem nm

**tao**     **hikanaro**  
 tao hi- ka- na -haaro  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.E+F  
 vt aux  
 'They took them away after my father shot them.'

73 **Hinamati**     **yama**     **weye**     **nematamona**     **okobi**  
 hinamati yama weye na -himata -mona o- ka abi  
 spirit thing carry AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm nf vt aux nm

**hinemarine**  
 ati hi- na -himari -ne  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt  
 'The spirit carried the creature on its back, my father said.'

74 **Kabibana**     **ama** ,     **tinahabihanihi**     ?  
 kaba+F -bana ama ti- na- ahaba -hani -hi  
 eat FUT SEC 2SG.S CAUS die IP.N+F DUP  
 vt sec vt

'"Can I eat the creature you killed?"'

75 **Tiwehene**     **okobibe** ,     **ati**     **nematamonaka**  
 ti- ehene o- kaba -be ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 2SG.POSS victim of 1SG.S eat IMMED+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vt vt aux

'"I will eat the creature that you killed," the spirit said.'

76 **Ee** ,     **tekama**  
 ee ti- to- ka- ka -ma  
 yes 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back  
 interj vt

'"All right, go ahead and take it."'

77 **Owa**     **kabene**     **tao**     **okana**     **ama**  
 owa kaba -hene tao o- ka- na+F ama  
 1SG.O eat IRR+F shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX SEC  
 pron vt vt aux sec

'"I shot it because it was going to eat me."'

78 **Okobabanani**  
 o- kaba -habana -ni  
 1SG.S eat FUT+F BKG+F  
 vt

'"I will eat it."'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

79 *Abariya* , *ati nematamonaka*  
 ahaba -ra -yahi , ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 end NEG DIST.IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vt aux

"I don't want it to go to waste."

80 *Yama wete ne noki hine* , *mato tore nise yama*  
 yama wete na+M noki hi- na+M , mato tore na -risa+M yama  
 thing tie AUX wait for OC AUX vine pull AUX down thing  
 nf vt aux vt aux nf vt aux nf

*wete nawematamonane*  
 wete na -waha -himata -mona -ne  
 tie AUX change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'He waited for it while it tied up the creature. It pulled down some vines and tied up the creature.'

81 *Yama wete ne* , *yama weye namisematamona*  
 yama wete na+M , yama weye na -misa -himata -mona  
 thing tie AUX thing carry AUX up FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

*hinemarine*  
 ati hi- na -himari -ne  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt

'It tied it up. It put it on its back, he said.'

82 *Hekamemetemoneke*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'It took it away.'

83 *Hikabamemete* *awineni*  
 hi- to- kaba -ma -hemete awine -ni  
 OC away eat back FP.N+F seem+F BKG+F  
 vt sec

'It ate it over there.'

84 *Faya one me hinakamarawemetemonehe*  
 faya one me hi- na- ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -he  
 so other+F 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 conj adj pron vt

'Then they came back for the other one.'

85 *Me hekamarawemete* *awineke*  
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa -hemete awine -ke  
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back F.PL FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vt sec

'They took them away.'

86 *Wakana oyababone* *yama owa kiyorawa*  
 wakana o- yaba -habone yama owa kiyo -rawa+F  
 crabwood 1SG.S pick up INT+F thing 1SG.O chase F.PL  
 nf vt nf pron vt

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

**okomine**

o-	ka	-ma -ne	o-
1SG.S	go/come	back	CONT+F
1SG.S			1SG.S
vi			pvt

"I wanted to pick up crabwood fruits, but some creatures chased me, and I have come back."

87 **Fa**

<b>koro</b>	<b>onabone</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>koro</b>
faha	koro	o- na -habone	faha koro
water	throw something on	1SG.S AUX INT+F	water throw something on
nf	vt	aux	nf vt

**orara**

o-	na -ra -hara	o-	yama owa	kiyo -rawa+F	owa
1SG.S	AUX NEG IP.E+F	1SG.S	thing 1SG.O	chase F.PL	1SG.O
aux		pvt	nf pron	vt	pron

"I was going to fish, but I didn't fish, because the creatures chased me."

88 **Tao**

<b>orawahara</b>			
tao	o- na -rawa -hara		
shoot	1SG.S AUX F.PL	IP.E+F	
vt	aux		

"I shot them."

89 **So**

<b>tosarawarake</b>			
soo	to- na -kosa -rawa -hara -ke		
lie	CH AUX middle F.PL	IP.E+F	DECL+F
vi	aux		

"They are lying there on the ground."

90 **Yama**

<b>noki</b>	<b>imararake</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>teme</b>	<b>nima</b>	<b>tame</b>
yama	noki ima -ra -hara -ke	ee	teme	nima	tame
thing	face+F be fat NEG IP.E+F	DECL+F	1IN.POSS	foot	like
nf	pn vi	pron	pn	pvt	pn

**naro**

na	-haaro
AUX	IP.E+F
aux	

"Their faces are not fat. Their feet are like people's feet."

91 **Yehe**

<b>yome</b>	<b>ye</b>	<b>toarani</b>	
yehe	yomee ye	to- ha -hara -ni	
hand	jaguar	hand	CH be IP.E+F
pn	nm	pn	BKG+F
		vc	

"They have the paws of jaguars."

92 **Watakaremetemone**

<b>hinamaroke</b>	
wataka	-ra -hemete -mone
be fatty	NEG FP.N+F
vi	REP+F
	ati hi- na -hamaro -ke
	say OC AUX FP.E+F
	DECL+F
	vt

'He said they were not fat.'

93 **Imaremetemone**

<b>hinamaroni</b>	
ima	-ra -hemete -mone
be fat	NEG FP.N+F
vi	REP+F
	hi- na -hamaro -ni
	OC AUX FP.E+F
	BKG+F
	aux

'He said they were skinny.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

94 *Fana ta fana ta iima nemetemone faro*  
 fana taa fana taa i- ima na -hemete -mone faaro  
 female contrast female contrast DUP be fat AUX FP.N+F REP+F that+F  
 nf prt nf prt vi aux dem

'Only the female was somewhat fat.'

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

*hekamemetemonehe*

hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They took them away.'

96 *Inamati hekamemetemone okobi*  
 inamati hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone o- ka abi  
 spirit OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm vt nm

*hinamaroke*

ati hi- na -hamaro -ke  
 say OC AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 vt

'A spirit took them away, my father said.'

97 *Faya okobi tokatasahi okobi*  
 faya o- ka abi to- ka -tasa+M o- ka abi  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come again 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 conj nm vi nm

*tokatase hinamati oi ni*  
 to- ka -tasa+M hinamati ohi na.NFIN  
 away go/come again spirit cry AUX  
 vi nm vi aux

*tomitawitimatamona ati nemarine*  
 to- mita -witI -himata -mona ati na -himari -ne  
 away hear out FP.N+M REP+M say AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt vt aux

'Then my father went into the forest again, and he heard a spirit crying, he said.'

98 *Hinamati awa awa webote wa habi tori inamati ohi*  
 hinamati awa awa webote waa+F habi tori inamati ohi  
 spirit tree tree big stand root+F inside+F spirit cry  
 nm nf nf adj vi pn pn nm vi

*nematamona okobi hinemarika*  
 na -himata -mona o- ka abi ati hi- na -himari -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father say OC AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 aux nm vt

'There was a spirit standing inside the buttress roots of a big tree, and the spirit was crying, my father said.'

99 *Oooooo oooooo , ati nematamona okobi*  
 oooo oooo , ati na -himata -mona o- ka abi  
 sound sound say AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 vt aux nm



## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

**hinemarine**

ati hi- na -himari -ne  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt

"Oooo, oooo," it said, my father said.'

100 **Hinamati ohi nakara**  
 hinamati ohi na.CONT+M -kara  
 spirit cry AUX ?+M  
 nm vi aux

"The spirit is crying."

101 **Hinamati itematamona okobi**  
 hinamati ita -himata -mona o- ka abi  
 spirit sit FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm vi nm

**hinemarine**

ati hi- na -himari -ne  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt

'The spirit was sitting on the ground, my father said.'

102 **Oohi nawahare tohane**  
 o- ohi na -waharI to- ha.CONT+M -ne  
 DUP cry AUX all over CH AUX BKG+M  
 vi aux aux

'It was crying all over.'

103 **Hinamati itematamonaka ahi**  
 hinamati ita -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 spirit pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vt dem

'The spirit was sitting.'

104 **Sirisiri nematamonane**  
 siri- siri na -himata -mona -ne  
 DUP be cold AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi aux

'It was cold.'

105 **Owa awaraba tina**  
 owa awaraba ti- na  
 1SG.O leave alone 2SG.S AUX  
 pron vi aux

"Leave me alone."

106 **Tiwa owi**  
 tiwa o- awa.NOM+F  
 2SG.O 1SG.S see  
 pron vt

"I see you."

107 **Tiwa owini**  
 tiwa o- awa -ni  
 2SG.O 1SG.S see BKG+F  
 pron vt

"I see you."

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

108 **Owa**      **awaraba**              **tinahi**  
 owa      awaraba      ti-      na      -hi  
 1SG.O      leave alone      2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 pron      vi                      aux

"Leave me alone."

109 **Tiwa**      ,      **tiwa**      **okatomari**              ,      **okobi**                      **ati**  
 tiwa      ,      tiwa      o-      katoma      -ra.NOM+F      ,      o-              ka      abi      ati  
 2SG.O      2SG.O      1SG.S attack NEG              1SG.POSS POSS father say  
 pron      pron      vt                      nm

**nematamonaha**

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

"I didn't hurt you," my father said.'

110 **Tikiya**  
 ti-      to-      ka              -yahi  
 2SG.S away go/come DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

"Go away."

111 **Tikiyahi**  
 ti-      to-      ka              -yahi  
 2SG.S away go/come DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

"Go away."

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

"I am going, too."

113 **Faya**      **namoni**      **okobi**                      **hikematamonaka**  
 faya      namoni      o-              ka      abi      hi-      to-      ka              -himata      -mona      -ka  
 so      report      1SG.POSS POSS father      OC away go/come FP.N+M      REP+M DECL+M  
 conj      pn              nm                      vi

**fahi**

fahi  
 then  
 dem

"Then my father went away and told about it.'

114 **Me**      **hinakame**                      ,      **inamati**  
 me      hi-      na-      ka              -ma+M      ,      inamati  
 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come back      spirit  
 pron      vt                      nm

**hinabowematamonane**

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

,      **okobi**

o-              ka      abi  
 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm

**hinemarika**

ati      hi-      na      -himari      -ka  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M      DECL+M  
 vt

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

'They came after it, and one of them killed the spirit, my father said.'

115 *Faya* *hekamematamonaka* *fahi*  
 faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vt dem

'It took it away.'

116 *Hekame* , *tiwa* *hinematamonane*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M tiwa hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 OC away COMIT go/come back carry OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt vt aux

'It took it away. It carried it over its shoulder.'

117 *Tati* *kone* *tabo* *winematamona* *hinemari* *ahi*  
 tati kone tabo wina -himata -mona ati hi- na -himari -ka ahi  
 head hair bunch+M hang FP.N+M REP+M say OC AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 pn pn pn vi vt dem

'Its hair hung down, he said.'

118 *Oohi* *naware* *tohane* *yama kabani* *ya*  
 o- ohi na -waharI to- ha.CONT+M -ne yama kabani ya  
 DUP cry AUX all over CH AUX BKG+M forest ADJU  
 vi aux aux nf prt

'It cried all over the forest.'

119 *Hiwarena* *hiwematamona* *hinemari*  
 hi- awa -ra -hina hi- awa -himata -mona ati hi- na -himari -ka  
 OC see NEG IRR+M OC see FP.N+M REP+M say OC AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt vt vt

'He wouldn't have seen it otherwise, he said.'

120 *Fiya* *hiwitino* *oi* *ni* *yana* *nematamona*  
 fiya hi- na -witI -hino ohi na.NFIN yana na -himata -mona  
 pass OC AUX out IP.N+M cry AUX start AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux vi aux vi aux

*hinemarine* , *he* *nowati* *ka* *ya*  
 ati hi- na -himari -ne hee nowati ka ya  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS behind LOC ADJU  
 vt pron pn prt prt

'He went by it, and it started crying, he said, after he had passed.'

121 *Owa* *kanakomeharebana* *hine*  
 owa ka- na- komeha -ra -hibana ati hi- na+M  
 1SG.O COMIT CAUS be fearsome NEG FUT+M say OC AUX  
 pron vt vt

*hinakame* *hiwasimematamona*  
 hi- na- ka -ma+M hi- wasi -ma -himata -mona  
 OC CAUS go/come back OC find back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt vt

*hinemari*  
 ati hi- na -himari -ka  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt

'"It won't make me afraid," he said. He came back after it, and came upon it, he said.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

122 *Faya tokawematamonaka* *fahi*  
 faya to- ka -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'Then he went on.'

123 *Inamati hekamematamona*  
 inamati hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona  
 spirit OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vt

*hinemarine*

ati hi- na -himari -ne  
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M  
 vt

'A spirit took it away, he said.'

124 *Tiwa kanakome* *tiwa*  
 tiwa ka- na- komeha+M tiwa  
 2SG.O COMIT CAUS be fearsome 2SG.O  
 pron vt pron

*kanakomeharayaho*

ka- na- komeha -ra -yaho  
 COMIT CAUS be fearsome NEG DIST.IMP+M  
 vt

'''It scared you, but it won't scare you anymore.'''

125 *Owakamaba*  
 o- to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+M -ba  
 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT  
 vt

'''I am going to take it away.'''

126 *Okobabaya*  
 o- kaba -ba -ya  
 1SG.S eat IMMED+M now  
 vt

'''I will eat it.'''

127 *Tekamaya*  
 ti- to- ka- ka -ma -yaho  
 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+M  
 vt

'''Go ahead and take it away.'''

128 *Owa kiyoraya*  
 owa kiyo -ra -yaho  
 1SG.O chase NEG DIST.IMP+M  
 pron vt

'''I don't want it to chase me.'''

129 *Hekamematamonaka*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'It took it away.'

## A PAIR OF MONSTERS

130 *Tiwa hinematamonane*

tiwa hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 carry OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'It carried it on its shoulder.'

131 *Taibona tama hinematamonaka wabise*  
 tahi -bona tama hi- na -himata -mona -ka wabise  
 killer INT+M hold onto OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M spear  
 pn vt aux nf

'It had a weapon to kill it with, a spear.'

132 *Wabisemetemoneni*

wabise -mete -mone -ni  
 spear FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf

'It was a spear.'

## MAIKO'S VILLAGE

### *Free Translation*

Maiko's village was there by where Makabi lives, on the other side. We saw it long ago, when we were chasing white-lipped peccaries.

"Noko Mora."

"Huh?"

"Noko Mora, that is Maiko's former village."

There was a high hill. There was a long earthwork, raised up earth. The foundation timbers were still standing, the old foundation timbers. Fiyene push one, and it fell over.

"It is Maiko's former village. There aren't any people living there. It is not a place of the Brazilians. It is a place where Indians lived long ago," we said.

We went on, and we hunted white-lipped peccaries at the mouth of the Yemete stream. We went running with the peccaries. We went with the peccaries to Mucuim village. Long ago the area of the mouth of the Yemete stream used to be scary, but now we have gotten used to it. That is where Maiko killed the monsters.

Maiko had breasts like women's breasts. His stomach was big, too. They made a feast for Maiko by himself.

"Uncle."

"Huh?"

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

There were boiled fish on leaves, and he ate them all. He ate the fish. They gave him food so that his stomach would be full. He drank the broth, and he drank the peach palm drink, all by himself. It was a full pot. Maiko ate it all by himself. He finished all of the fish.

"Now you will be like me. I will cook *nakafira* taros. You go fishing."

So his two nephews went into the forest.

"You offered a feast to me by myself. Now you will be like me."

They went. After they left, he went to get *nakafira* taros. He dug up the taros and brought them back. He cooked the taros.

Late in the afternoon his nephews came back. When his nephews arrived back, they complained to their wives, because they were hungry.

"When I come back there is no food. I am hungry, and there is no food."

"Call your uncle," she said, his wife. "Your uncle has cooked food for you," she said.

"Uncle, uncle."

"Huh?" he said.

"Uncle, where is the food?"

"You are going to eat food. Come here," he said. "Are you hungry?"

Then he gave them food. They didn't eat much. Then they called him.

"Uncle, we are full."

"All right, set it aside, to eat more tomorrow," he said.

## MAIKO'S VILLAGE

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Ara inamati taboro watemari amake ahi* ,  
 Ara inamati taboro wata.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi  
 Alan someone place+M be located FP.E+M be DECL+F there  
 npropm nm pn vi vc dem

*Maiko* , *Maiko* , *hike ya* , *hike ya ee*  
 Maiko Maiko hike ya hike ya ee  
 (man's name) (man's name) far ADJU far ADJU (pause)  
 npropm npropm nf prt nf prt interj

*Makabi wine ya* .  
 Makabi wina.NOM+M ya  
 (man's name) live ADJU  
 npropm vi prt

'Alan, someone's village was there by where Makabi lives, on the other side, Maiko.'

2 *Ota awamaro amake hiyama me ota kiyoha*  
 otaa awa -hamaro ama -ke hiyama me otaa kiyo+F  
 1EX.S see FP.E+F SEC DECL+F white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S chase  
 pron vt sec nm pron pron vt

*ota* .  
 otaa  
 1EX.S  
 pron

'We saw it long ago, when we were chasing white-lipped peccaries.'

3 *Hiyama me ota kiyoha ota tokomake*  
 hiyama me otaa kiyo+F otaa to- ka -makI  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S chase 1EX.S away go/come following  
 nm pron pron vt pron vi  
 , *ee Noko Mora* .  
 ee Noko Mora  
 (pause) (man's name)  
 interj npropm

'We were chasing the peccaries. We went. "Noko Mora."'

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

5 *Noko Mora Maiko taboromata ama ha* .  
 Noko Mora Maiko taboro -mata ama haa  
 (man's name) (man's name) place+M FP.N+M be DEM  
 npropm npropm pn vc dem

'"Noko Mora, that is Maiko's former village."'

6 *Wami nemehamaro amake* .  
 wami nemeha -hamaro ama -ke  
 soil be high FP.E+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf vi sec

'There was a high hill.'

MAIKO'S VILLAGE

7 **Wami nemeha ya fine kaya namaroke ahi**  
 wami nemeha+F ya fine kaya na -hamaro -ke ahi  
 soil be high ADJU earthwork lie AUX FP.E+F DECL+F there  
 nf vi prt nf vi aux dem

'There was a long earthwork, raised up earth.'

8 **Yiro si tona yiro bote**  
 yiro sii to- na.LIST yiro bote  
 tree sp stand CH AUX tree sp old  
 nm vi aux nm adj

'The foundation timbers were still standing, the old foundation timbers.'

9 **Fiyene yoko hine tosawitemarika ahi**  
 Fiyene yoko hi- na+M to- sona -witI -himari -ka ahi  
 (man's name) push OC AUX away fall out FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 npropm vt aux vi dem

'Fiyene push one, and it fell over.'

10 **Maiko taboromata amaka**  
 Maiko taboro -mata ama -ka  
 (man's name) place+M FP.N+M be DECL+M  
 npropm pn vc

'''It is Maiko's former village.'''

11 **E winaba watari**  
 ee wina -haba wata -ra.NOM+F  
 1IN.S live FUT+F exist NEG  
 pron vi vi

'''There aren't any people living there.'''

12 **Yara me tabori amarini**  
 yara me tabori ama -ra -ni  
 Brazilian 3PL.POSS place+F be NEG BKG+F  
 npropm pron pn vc

'''It is not a place of the Brazilians.'''

13 **E one me taborimete ama ota ati namaro**  
 ee one me taborimete -mete ama otaa ati na -hamaro  
 1IN relative 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F be 1EX.S say AUX FP.E+F  
 pron nf pron nf vc pron vt aux

**otake**  
 otaa -ke  
 1EX.S DECL+F  
 pron

'''It is a place where Indians lived long ago,' we said.'

14 **Faya ota tokomakewaha hiyama me**  
 faya otaa to- ka -makI -waha+F hiyama me  
 so 1EX.S away go/come following change white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
 conj pron vi nm pron

**ota mowa nimaro amake Yemete batori ya**  
 otaa mowa na.NOM+F -maro ama -ke Yemete batori ya  
 1EX.S fight AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F (name of stream) junction ADJU  
 pron vt aux vc npropm pn prt

'We went on, and we hunted white-lipped peccaries at the mouth of the Yemete stream.'





MAIKO'S VILLAGE

21 *Aba homa fa*  
 aba homa.CONT+M faa  
 fish lie on ground that  
 nm vi dem

"There is fish there on the leaf."

22 *Aba me haro kayowa mera maho ne , mera*  
 aba me haro.NFIN ka- yowa+F mera maho na+M , mera  
 fish 3PL.S be boiled COMMIT lie 3PL.O do a lot AUX 3PL.O  
 nm pron vi vi pron vt aux pron

*kaba mera kabe , aba me kabe , nabati ene*  
 kaba.LIST mera kaba+M , aba me kaba+M , nabati ehene  
 eat 3PL.O eat fish 3PL.O eat stomach victim of+M  
 vt pron vt nm pron vt pn pn

*toebona me hinatafe , sari fawa , yawita*  
 to- ha -hibona me hi- na- tafa+M , sahari fawa.LIST , yawita  
 CH be INT+M 3PL.S OC CAUS eat broth drink peach palm  
 vc pron vt nf vt nm

*fawa , nabati ka , ohariari , banera seya naro*  
 fawa.LIST , nabati ka , ohari -haari , banera seya naro -haaro  
 drink stomach LOC be alone IP.E+M n vi AUX IP.E+F  
 vt pn prt vi aux

'There were boiled fish on leaves, and he ate them all. He ate the fish. They gave him food so that his stomach would be full. He drank the broth, and he drank the peach palm drink, all by himself. It was a full pot.'

23 *Maiko ohaohari*  
 Maiko oha- ohari  
 (man's name) DUP be one  
 npropm vi

'Maiko ate it all by himself.'

24 *Aba me tonafiyomatamonaka fahi*  
 aba me to- na- fiyo -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 fish 3PL.O CH CAUS be all gone FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm pron vt dem

'He finished all of the fish.'

25 *Aba me tonafiyo , Owa nima te nibe*  
 aba me to- na- fiyo+M , owa nima tee na -be  
 fish 3PL.O CH CAUS be all gone 1SG like 2PL.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nm pron vt pron prt pron aux

'He finished all the fish. "Now you will be like me."

26 *Owa nima te nibe*  
 owa nima tee na -be  
 1SG like 2PL.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron prt pron aux

"You will be like me."

27 *Nakafira okowaribe*  
 nakafira o- ka- waa -rI -be  
 taro sp 1SG.S COMMIT cook raised surface IMMED+F  
 nf vt

"I will cook *nakafira* taros."

MAIKO'S VILLAGE

28 *Fa te ki na*  
 faha tee kii na  
 water 2PL.S look at AUX  
 nf pron vt aux

"You go fishing."

29 *Faya biti me towaka me Owa te*  
 faya biti me to- ka- ka+F me , owa tee  
 so 3SG.POSS.nephew 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 1SG.O 2PL.S  
 conj nm pron vi pron pron pron

*mari ni otamara owa*  
 mari na.NOM+F o- tama -ra+F owa  
 offer a feast to AUX 1SG.S be many NEG 1SG.O  
 vt aux vi pron

'So his two nephews went into the forest. "You offered a feast to me by myself."

30 *Otamara owa te mari nineni*  
 o- tama -ra+F owa tee mari na -ne -ni  
 1SG.S be many NEG 1SG.O 2PL.S offer a feast to AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 vi pron pron vt aux

"You offered a feast to me by myself."

31 *Owa nima te nibeya*  
 owa nima tee na -be -ya  
 1SG.O like 2PL.S AUX IMMED+F now  
 pron prt pron aux

"Now you will be like me."

32 *Me towaka me nowati ya nakarifa*  
 me to- ka- ka+F me nowati ya nakarifa  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.POSS behind ADJU taro sp  
 pron vi pron pn prt nf  
*tonake , nakarifa bore ne yama kakame*  
 to- na- ka+M , nakarifa bore na+M yama ka- ka -ma+M ,  
 away CAUS go/come taro sp pull out AUX thing COMIT go/come back  
 vt nf vt aux nf vt

*nakafira kawarimatamonaka fahi*  
 nakafira ka- waa -rI -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 taro sp COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf vt dem

'They went. After they left, he went to get *nakafira* taros. He dug up the taros and brought them back. He cooked the taros.'

33 *Nakarifa kawari , bai toke ya*  
 nakarifa ka- waa -rI+M , bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya  
 taro sp COMIT cook raised surface sun away go/come ADJU  
 nf vt nm vi prt

*biti me kamemetemoneni*  
 biti me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS.nephew 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vi

'He cooked the taros. Late in the afternoon his nephews came back.'

34 *Biti me kobo nama me me ka yibote*  
 biti me kobo na -ma+F me , me ka yibote  
 3SG.POSS.nephew 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL POSS wife  
 nm pron vi aux pron pron prt nf

MAIKO'S VILLAGE

<i>me</i>	<i>kasiro</i>	<i>karawemetemonehe</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fimiha</i>
me	kasiro	ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone -he	me	fimi+F
3PL.S	complain about	COMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DUP	3PL.S	be hungry
pron	vt	aux	pron	vi

*mati* .  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'When his nephews arrived back, they complained to their wives, because they were hungry.'

35	<i>Yamata</i>	<i>wawasimawa</i>	<i>onofa</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>o</i>
	yamata	wa- wasi -ma -waha	na o- nofa+F	ama	o-
	food	DUP find back change	AUX 1SG.S recently	SEC	1SG.S
	nf	vt	aux	sec	pvt

"When I come back there is no food."

36	<i>Ofimirimakoni</i>	<i>yamata</i>	<i>watarine</i>
	o- fimi -ra -makoni	yamata	wata -ra -ne
	1SG.S be hungry NEG for this reason+F	food	exist NEG CONT+F
	vi	nf	vi

"I am hungry, and there is no food."

37	<i>Yamata</i>	<i>abise</i>	<i>haha</i>	<i>tinahi</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>nemetemone</i>	<i>fara</i>
	yamata	abise	ha- haa	ti- na -hi	ati	na -hemete -mone	fara
	food	uncle	DUP call	2SG.S AUX IMP+F	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	same+F
	nf	nm	vt	aux	vt	aux	dem

*fati* , *Abise* , *te* , *tefebone*  
 fati , abise , tee , tefe -bone  
 3SG.POSS.wife 2SG.POSS.uncle 2PL.POSS food INT+F  
 nf nm pron pn

<i>warehari</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>nemetemoneke</i>
waa -rI -haari	ati	na -hemete -mone -ke
cook raised surface IP.E+M	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt	vt	aux

"Call your uncle," she said, his wife. "Your uncle has cooked food for you," she said.<sup>42</sup>

38	<i>Abise</i> ,	<i>abise</i> .
	abise	abise
	uncle	uncle
	nm	nm

"Uncle, uncle."

39	<i>Haa</i> ?	<i>ati</i>	<i>nematamonaka</i>
	haa	ati	na -himata -mona -ka
	huh?	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	interj	vt	aux

"Huh?" he said.'

40	<i>Abise</i>	<i>yamatara</i>	?
	abise	yamata -ra	
	uncle	food NPQ	
	nm	nf	

"Uncle, where is the food?"

42 The word *yamata* is false start.

MAIKO'S VILLAGE

41 *Yamata te kabibe*

yamata tee kaba -be  
 food 2PL.S eat IMMED+F  
 nf pron vt

"You are going to eat food."

42 *Te kamahi ati nematamonane*

tee ka -ma+M ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 2PL.S go/come back say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi vt aux

"Come here," he said.'

43 *Te fimiha te awine ?*

tee fimi+F tee awine  
 2PL.S be hungry 2PL.S seem+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"Are you hungry?"

44 *Faya me hinatafemetemoneke fahi*

faya me hi- na- tafa -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.O OC CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vt dem

'Then he gave them food.'

45 *Me tatafa kawaremetemoneke*

me ta- tafa ka- na -waha -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S DUP eat COMIT AUX change NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'They didn't eat much.'

46 *Faya me ha hinematamonane*

faya me haa hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 so 3PL.S call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 conj pron vt aux

'Then they called him.'

47 *Abise ota akarini*

abise otaa akara -ni  
 uncle 1EX.S be satiated BKG+F  
 nm pron vi

"Uncle, we are full."

48 *Ee , te kawatare te kabaminabana*

ee tee ka- wata -rI tee kaba -mina -habana  
 yes 2PL.S COMIT put raised surface 2PL.S eat morning FUT+F  
 interj pron vt pron vt

*ati nematamonaka*

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

"All right, set it aside, to eat more tomorrow," he said.'

## IHA POISON

### *Free Translation*

*Note: I have placed this text in the personal experience narrative section because it tells the story of Manesi, who belonged to a known family. But most of the text is a different story that is a traditional story.*

Chico Antônio's son Manesi drank *kona* juice and died, because he had drunk *kona* juice. I drank it once, too. My eyes went crazy.

"Go lie in your hammock," my mother said.

"OK, I will lie in my hammock."

My eyes were crazy because of the *kona* juice. I almost died because of the *kona* juice.

People die because of *iha*, too. A man pulverized some *iha* bark. He sat and pulverized *iha* bark. The *iha* was dripping through the filter. He sat watching the *iha* mixture dripping.

"That's good now. I'm going to make the *iha* foam up now."

Then a spirit of *iha* came. There was a lot of *iha* liquid. It took the *iha* liquid. It drank the *iha* liquid. After it drank the *iha* liquid, it went away.

"OK, go ahead and make the *iha* foam up. I'm leaving."

It went away. It did not die. It was a spirit of *iha*. It drank itself.

Manesi, on the other hand, wrung *kona* juice into a cup. He wrung *kona* juice and drank it. He sat there and then fell over. They sucked on him to cure him, but they couldn't cure him, because of the *kona*.

He had been hungry. He was upset because he was hungry, and he drank *kona* juice. His uncle carried him. He brought him down and put him in a hammock. He didn't speak anymore. He died.

*Kona* kills fish. When a tapir is hit with many arrows it dies. A white-lipped peccary dies, too, and a deer dies, too. I shot a deer with an arrow that had old *iha* poison on it. We ate it.

A man's brother-in-law was making *iha* poison, and he spoke to him. "I want to put poison on arrow points, but I don't have any *iha*," he said.

"What?"

"I want to put poison on arrow points, but I don't have any *iha*."

"There is *iha* growing there, I saw it," he said.

"Where?"

"There, in the forest."

"I will scrape *iha*."

He went into the forest. He went with his older brother. "We will go together, older brother."

They went. They looked for *iha*. They found some *iha*.

"There is *iha* growing there."

"Is that it?"

"Yes, there is *iha* growing there, let's go."

They looked at the *iha* plant. He scraped off some of the bark of the *iha* plant. He chewed the *iha* bark.

## IHA POISON

"It is not *iha*. It is a different vine."

"I don't know. Take off the bark."

"Wait."

He scraped off some more of the *iha* bark. He chewed the *iha* bark.

They were thinking about the *iha*, and he spoke. "Let's scrape off some bark."

"I will climb up it," his older brother said.

"You are climbing up something that is not *iha*, older brother. It is not *iha*."

His older brother climbed up. He cut the *iha* plant.<sup>43</sup>

The younger brother felt the force of the *iha*, and he got quiet.

"Younger brother, the *iha* is going to fall."

The younger brother didn't call out, because he was feeling the force of the *iha*. Then the *iha* fell down to the ground. He came back down.

He thought his younger brother was sitting on a log. He was lying on the ground. He was lying next to a log.

"He said it wasn't *iha*, but there he is passed out," he said.

He lifted him up by his arm. He took him to the water, and had him drink water. He sucked on him, to cure him. He also had him drink water, so he would vomit. He was sick. It was good he had not eaten all of the *iha*. He had only eaten a little of the *iha* bark. He gradually made him better.

"I'm feeling better, older brother."

"Let's go back."

It was late in the day.

"I will carry you on my back," he said, his older brother.

He stripped of inner bark for a sling for him. He had him drink some more water. Then he brought him back. Their *iha* lay on the ground, for them to come back after it the next day.

As one carried the other, they came back. He had passed out because of the *iha*.

"He has come back carrying the dead body of the one who ate what he said was not *iha*," his brother-in-law said.

"He ate 'what was not *iha*'. I told him not to, but he did anyway. He ate *iha* and died, and I have brought him back."

He lay dead in his hammock. He had laid him in his hammock.

His brother-in-law grieved. He became angry with his younger sisters [who were married to the one who died].

"It wasn't our fault. He was killed by *iha*," they said.

"Why did he eat the stuff out there?" she said.

The older brother went to bathe. He bathed, and came back. He came back, and lay in his hammock grieving, because of his younger brother who had died. His younger brother was a healthy adult. He died because of the *iha*.

Then he went and got the *iha*, after his younger brother died. Then he made *iha* poison by himself.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Kona</i>	,	<i>ee</i>	,	<i>Siko Atoni</i>		<i>biti</i>		<i>Manesi</i>	,
	kona		ee		Siko Atoni		biti		Manesi	
	plant sp		(pause)		Chico Antônio		3SG.POSS.son		(man's name)	
	nm		interj		npropm		nm		npropm	

43 The *iha* plant is a vine, and the older brother climbed up the tree that the vine was attached to.





## IHA POISON

<b>ia</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>ia</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>ite</b>
iha	too	ka-	na+M	iha	too	ka-	na+M	ita+M
plant sp	pulverize	COMIT	AUX	plant sp	pulverize	COMIT	AUX	sit
nm	vt	aux		nm	vt	aux		vi

<b>ia</b>	<b>fene</b>	<b>nowi</b>	<b>nematamonaka</b>					
iha	fehene	nowi	na	-himata	-mona	-ka		
plant sp	liquid+M	drip	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M		
nm	pn	vi	aux					

'People die because of *iha*, too. He pulverized some *iha* bark. He sat and pulverized *iha* bark. The *iha* was dripping [through the filter].'

10 <b>Ia</b>	<b>fene</b>	<b>nowi</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>kakatome</b>		<b>itari</b>	
iha	fehene	nowi	na+M	ka-	katoma+M	ita	-rI+M
plant sp	liquid+M	drip	AUX	COMIT	look at	sit	raised surface
nm	pn	vi	aux	vt		vi	

<b>ia</b>	<b>fene</b>	<b>nowi</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>kakatome</b>		<b>itematamonane</b>		
iha	fehene	nowi	na+M	ka-	katoma+M	ita	-himata	-mona -ne
plant sp	liquid+M	drip	AUX	COMIT	look at	sit	FP.N+M	REP+M BKG+M
nm	pn	vi	aux	vt		vi		

'He sat watching the *iha* mixture dripping.'

11 <b>Faya</b>	<b>ama</b>
faya	ama
enough	be
adj	vc

'''That's good now.'''

12 <b>Faya</b>	<b>ama</b>
faya	ama
enough	be
adj	vc

'''That's good now.'''

13 <b>Ia</b>	<b>were</b>	<b>omatibe</b>					
iha	were	o-	na	-mata		-be	
plant sp	stir	1SG.S	AUX	short time	IMMED+F		
nm	vt	aux					

'''I'm going to make the *iha* foam up now.'''

14 <b>Ia</b>	<b>ia</b>	<b>abono</b>	<b>ia</b>	<b>abono</b>
iha	iha	abono	iha	abono
plant sp	plant sp	spirit	plant sp	spirit
nm	nm	pn	nm	pn

<b>kamakimatamonaka</b>					<b>ahi</b>
ka	-makI	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi
go/come	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then
vi					dem

'Then a spirit of *iha* came.'

15 <b>Ia</b>	<b>fene</b>	<b>nafimatamonane</b>					
iha	fehene	nafi	-himata	-mona	-ne		
plant sp	liquid+M	be big	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M		
nm	pn	vi					

'There was a lot of *iha* liquid.'



## IHA POISON

25 *Manesibisa* , *kona* *kaneko* *ya* *kona* *faki*  
 Manesi -bisa , kona kaneko ya kona faki  
 (man's name) also plant sp cup ADJU plant sp twist  
 npropm nm nf prt nm vt  
*nawe* , *kona* *faki* *nawe* *fawematamonaka*  
 na -waha+M , kona faki na -waha+M fawa -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX change plant sp twist AUX change drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux nm vt aux vt  
 'Manesi, on the other hand, wrung *kona* juice into a cup.'

26 *Kona* *faki* *nawe* *fawe* *itari* ,  
 kona faki na -waha+M fawa+M ita -rI+M  
 plant sp twist AUX change drink sit raised surface  
 nm vt aux vt vi  
*itari* *sonehimatamonaka*  
 ita -rI+M sona -himata -mona -ka  
 sit raised surface fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi  
 'He wrung *kona* juice and drank it. He sat there and then fell over.'

27 *Me* *toma* *hine* *me* *hikasomarematamonaka*  
 me toma hi- na+M me hi- ka- soma -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S OC COMMIT let go NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt aux pron vt  
*ai* *kona* *ene*  
 ahi kona ehene  
 then plant sp because of+M  
 dem nm post  
 'They sucked on him to cure him, but they couldn't cure him, because of the *kona*.'

28 *Fimihimatamonane*  
 fimi -himata -mona -ne  
 be hungry FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi  
 'He had been hungry.'

29 *Fimi* *yawe* *kona* *fawematamonane*  
 fimi+M yawa+M kona fawa -himata -mona -ne  
 be hungry be upset plant sp drink FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi vi nm vt  
 'He was upset because he was hungry, and he drank *kona* juice.'

30 *Kona* *fawe* , *ee* , *batise* *tiwa* *himise* ,  
 kona fawa+M , ee , batise tiwa hi- na -misa+M ,  
 plant sp drink (pause) 3SG.POSS.uncle carry OC AUX up  
 nm vt interj nm vt aux  
*hekisame* , *yifo* *ya*  
 hi- ka- ka -risa -ma+M , yifo ya  
 OC COMMIT go/come down back hammock ADJU  
 vt nm prt  
*hinawiname* , *ati* *fawa*  
 hi- to- na- wina -ma+M , ati fawa  
 OC away CAUS lie in hammock back voice disappear  
 vt pn vi

## IHA POISON

### *nisematamonaka*

na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He drank *kona* juice. His uncle carried him. He brought him down and put him in a hammock. He didn't speak anymore.'

### 31 *Abematamonaka*

ahaba -himata -mona -ka  
 die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He died.'

### 32 *Kona*

<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nabite</i>	<i>amaka</i>
aba	me	na- ahaba -tee	ama -ka
plant sp	fish	3PL.O CAUS die HAB	SEC DECL+M
nm	nm	pron vt	sec

'*Kona* kills fish.'

### 33 *Wati*

<i>wati</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>awi</i>	<i>saka</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ahaba</i>
wati	wati	ya	awi	saka	na+M	ahaba.LIST
arrow	arrow	ADJU	tapir	pierce repeatedly	AUX	die
nm	nm	prt	nm	result	aux	vi

### *hiyama*

<i>ahaba</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>ahaba</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>sa</i>
ahaba.LIST	bato	ahaba.LIST	bato	saa
white-lipped peccary	die	deer	die	deer shoot with arrow
nm	vi	nm	vi	nm vt

### *okomaro*

<i>amake</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>iha</i>	<i>bote</i>	<i>ya</i>
ama -ke	ahi	iha	bote	ya
1SG.S COMIT AUX	be	DECL+F this	plant sp	old
aux	vc	dem	nm	adj
				prt

'When a tapir is hit with many arrows it dies. A white-lipped peccary dies, too, and a deer dies, too. I shot a deer with an arrow that had old *iha* poison on it.'

### 34 *Ota*

<i>kabemarika</i>
otaa kaba -himari -ka
1EX.S eat FP.E+M DECL+M
pron vt

'We ate it.'

### 35 *Wabori*

<i>iha</i>	<i>awe</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>yana</i>
iha	awa+M	ni	ya	ati	yana
plant sp	see	to	ADJU	voice	start
nm	vt	prt	prt	pn	vi

### *nematamona*

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

'His brother-in-law was making *iha* poison, and he spoke to him.'

### 36 *Yama*

<i>were</i>	<i>okanaba</i>	<i>iha</i>	<i>kikiha</i>	<i>ora</i>
were	o- ka- na -haba	iha	ki- kiha	o- na -ra+F
thing apply	1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F	plant sp	DUP have	1SG.S AUX NEG
nf	vt	aux	vt	aux

## IHA POISON

**ati nematamonaka**

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

"I want to put poison on arrow points, but I don't have any *iha*," he said.'

37 **Himataro** ?

himata -ro  
what?  
nf

"What?"

38 **Iha iha were okanabone iha**  
iha iha were o- ka- na -habone iha  
plant sp plant sp apply 1SG.S COMIT AUX INT+F plant sp  
nm nm vt aux nm

**okihara owati ama**  
o- kiha -ra+F o- ati ama  
1SG.S have NEG 1SG.POSS voice be  
vt pn vc

"I want to put poison on arrow points, but I don't have any *iha*."

39 **Iha wahareka ahi**  
iha waa -hare -ka ahi  
plant sp stand IP.E+M DECL+M then  
nm vi dem

"There is *iha* growing there."

40 **Ia owe ware ahi ati**  
iha o- awa+M waa -hare ahi ati  
plant sp 1SG.S see stand IP.E+M there say  
nm vt vi dem vt

**nematamonaka**

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

"There is *iha* growing there, I saw it," he said.'

41 **Hibaka ya** ?

hibaka ya  
where ADJU  
interrog prt

"Where?"

42 **Ahi yama kabani ya**  
ahi yama kabani ya  
there forest ADJU  
dem nf prt

"There, in the forest."

43 **Ia siri okanabana oke**  
iha siri o- ka- na -habana o- ke  
plant sp scrape 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
nm vt aux prt

"I will scrape *iha*."



## IHA POISON

52 *Ia*            *me*        *ki*            *na*        *ia*            *me*    *ataro*        *siri*  
          iha            me            kii            na+F        iha            me    ataro        siri  
          plant sp    3PL.S       look at      AUX        plant sp    3PL   bark+M    scrape  
          nm            pron        vt            aux        nm            pron pn     vt

*nise*            ,        *ia*            *ataro*        *kakaba*        *nematamonane*  
          na -risa+M        iha            ataro        ka- kaba    na -himata -mona -ne  
          AUX down            plant sp    bark+M    DUP eat    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
          aux            nm            pn        vt            aux

'They looked at the *iha* plant. He scraped off some of the bark of the *iha* plant. He chewed the *iha* bark.'

53 *Ia*            *amare*            *awaka*  
          iha            ama -ra+M    awa        -ka  
          plant sp    be    NEG        seem+M    DECL+M  
          nm            vc            sec

'It is not *iha*.'

54 *Mato*        *amake*  
          mato ama -ke  
          vine be    DECL+F  
          nf        vc

'It is [a different] vine.'

55 *E*            *aware*            *awaka*  
          ee            awa -ra+M    awa        -ka  
          1IN.S        see    NEG        seem+M    DECL+M  
          pron        vt            sec

'I don't know.'

56 *Sisiri*        *kana*            *tinaho*  
          si- siri        ka-    na    ti-    na    -ho  
          DUP scrape    COMIT    AUX    2SG.S    AUX    IMP+M  
          vt            aux            aux

'Take off the bark.'

57 *Hiba*  
          hiba  
          wait  
          interj

'Wait.'

58 *Ia*            *ataro*        *siri*            *nisamake*            ,        *ia*            *ataro*  
          iha            ataro        siri            na -risa -makI        iha            ataro  
          plant sp    bark+M    scrape    AUX down    following        plant sp    bark+M  
          nm            pn        vt            aux            nm            pn

*kabematamonane*  
          kaba -himata -mona -ne  
          eat    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
          vt

'He scraped off some more of the *iha* bark. He chewed the *iha* bark.'

59 *Ia*            *ataro*        *kabe*            ,        *ia*            *me*    *ia*            *me*        *wati*  
          iha            ataro        kaba+M        iha            me    iha            me        wati  
          plant sp    bark+M    eat            plant sp    3PL   plant sp    3PL.S    think about  
          nm            pn        vt            nm            pron nm    pron        vt





## IHA POISON

66 *Ati fawa ne , ati fawa nematamonaka*  
 ati fawa na+M , ati fawa na -himata -mona -ka  
 voice disappear AUX voice disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vi aux pn vi aux

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem  
 'He got quiet.'

67 *Niso niso ia sonabonaha*  
 niso niso iha sona.NOM+M -bona -ha  
 younger brother younger brother plant sp fall INT+M DUP  
 nm nm nm vi

'"Younger brother, the *iha* is going to fall.'"

68 *Ha rematamonahane iha komene awahari*  
 haa na -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne iha komene awa -haari  
 call AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M plant sp effect+M feel IP.E+M  
 vi aux nm pn vt

'He didn't call out, because he was feeling the force of the *iha*.'

69 *Faya ia bao nisehimatamona amane ahi*  
 faya iha bao na -risa -himata -mona ama -ne ahi  
 so plant sp come down AUX down FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M then  
 conj nm vi aux sec dem

'Then the *iha* fell down to the ground.'

70 *Ia bao nise*  
 iha bao na -risa+M  
 plant sp come down AUX down  
 nm vi aux

*kisamakehimatamonaka*  
 ka -risa -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come down following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'The *iha* fell to the ground. He came back down.'

71 *Kisamake itarikani*  
 ka -risa -makI ita -rI -kani  
 go/come down following sit raised surface CNTRFACT  
 vi vi

*hinematamonane*  
 ati hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 say OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He came back down. He thought he was sitting on a log.'

72 *Homematamonaka*  
 homa -himata -mona -ka  
 lie on ground FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He was lying on the ground.'



IHA POISON

'He had only eaten a little of the *iha* bark.'

80 *Faya me hinakitame hinakitama*  
 faya me hi- na- kita -ma+M hi- na- kita -ma  
 so 3PL OC CAUS be strong back OC CAUS be strong back  
 conj pron vt vt

*hinamaiti* , *Okitama* *oke*  
 hi- na -ma -hitI+M o- kita -ma o- ke  
 OC AUX back along the way 1SG.S be strong back 1SG.S DECL+F  
 aux vi prt

*ayo*  
 ayo  
 older brother  
 nm

'He made him better. He gradually made him better. "I'm feeling better, older brother."'

81 *E towakamaba e awine*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -haba ee awine  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S seem+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"Let's go back."

82 *Bai tokematamona amane*  
 bahi to- ka -himata -mona ama -ne  
 sun away go/come FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm vi sec

'It was late in the day.'

83 *Bai toke Tiwa tiwa weweye obe ati*  
 bahi to- ka+M tiwa tiwa we- weye o- na -be ati  
 sun away go/come 2SG.O 2SG.O DUP carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F say  
 nm vi pron pron vt aux vt

*nematamonane anoti*  
 na -himata -mona -ne anoti  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS older brother  
 aux nm

'It was late. "I will carry you on my back," he said, his older brother.'

84 *Tiwa weweye obe ati nematamona*  
 tiwa we- weye o- na -be ati na -himata -mona  
 2SG.O DUP carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt aux vt aux

"I will carry you," he said.'

85 *Faya tobenebona tobenebona sa hine*  
 faya tobene -bona tobene -bona saa hi- na+M  
 so sling+M INT+M sling+M INT+M strip off OC AUX  
 conj pn pn vt aux

*hinafawami forimematamonane faha ya*  
 hi- na- fawa -ma.NFIN forima -himata -mona -ne faha ya  
 OC CAUS drink back do properly FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M water ADJU  
 vt vi nf prt

'He stripped of inner bark for a sling for him. He had him drink some more water.'

IHA POISON

86 *Faya hekamatamonaka*

faya hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 so OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vt

'Then he brought him back.'

87 *Me ka ia tomakosematamonane*

me ka iha to- homa -kosa -himata -mona -ne me  
 3PL POSS plant sp CH lie on ground middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S  
 pron prt nm vi pron

*hinakaminebonaha*

hi- to- na- ka -mina -hibona -ha  
 OC away CAUS go/come morning INT+M DUP  
 vt

'Their *iha* lay on the ground, for them to come back after it the next day.'

88 *Faya me , me abe weye kana me*

faya me me abe weye kana na+F me  
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP carry COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 conj pron pron pn vt aux pron

*kakamemetemone*

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone me ama ahi  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC then  
 vi pron sec dem

'As one carried the other, they came back.'

89 *Abematamonaka*

ahaba -himata -mona -ka iha ene  
 die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M plant sp because of+M  
 vi nm post

'He had passed out because of the *iha*.'

90 *Iha*

ene abematamona amane  
 iha ehene ahaba -himata -mona ama -ne  
 plant sp because of+M die FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm post vi sec

'He had passed out because of the *iha*.'

91 *Ia*

amaremona tokobawitino , abowi weye  
 iha ama -ra -himona to- kaba -witI -hino abohi weye  
 plant sp be NEG REP+M away eat out IP.N+M dead body carry  
 nm vc vt pn vt

*ne kama*

hari wabori ati  
 na+M ka -ma.CONT+M haari wabori ati  
 AUX go/come back that one+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law say  
 aux vi dem nm vt

*nematamonane*

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

'"He has come back carrying the dead body of the one who ate what he said was not *iha*," his brother-in-law said.'

92 *Ia*

amare kabe hora okana ati  
 iha ama -ra+M kaba+M hora na o- ka -na ati  
 plant sp be NEG eat scold AUX 1SG.S DECL+M IRR+M say  
 nm vc vt vt aux vt

## IHA POISON

<b>re</b>	<b>ia</b>	<b>kabe</b>	<b>abe</b>	<b>owakamine</b>					<b>o</b>
na -ra+M	iha	kaba+M	ahaba+M	o- ka- ka	-ma	-ne			o-
AUX NEG	plant sp	eat	die	1SG.S COMMIT	go/come	back	CONT+F		1SG.S
aux	nm	vt	vi	vt					prt

"He ate 'what was not *iha*'. I told him not to, but he did anyway. He ate *iha* and died, and I have brought him back."

93 <b>Abowi</b>	<b>winehimatamonaka</b>		<b>yifo</b>	<b>ya</b>
abohi	wina	-himata -mona -ka	yifo	ya
dead body	lie in hammock	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	hammock	ADJU
pn	vi		nm	prt

**hinawinahari**

hi- na- wina	-haari
OC CAUS	lie in hammock IP.E+M
vt	

'He lay dead in his hammock. He had laid him in his hammock.'

94 <b>Anoti</b>		<b>aa</b>	<b>wabori</b>
anoti		aa	wabori
3SG.POSS older brother	(pause)	3SG.POSS brother-in-law	
nm	interj	nm	

**yawematamonaka**

yawa	-himata -mona -ka
be upset	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi	

'His brother-in-law grieved.'

95 <b>Wabori</b>		<b>yawe</b>	<b>hinakasima</b>
wabori		yawa+M	hinaka asima
3SG.POSS brother-in-law	be upset	3SG.POSS younger sister	
nm	vi	nf	

**kakorawematamonane**

kaako	-rawa -himata -mona -ne
be angry with F.PL	FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vt	

'His brother-in-law grieved. He became angry with his younger sisters.'

96 <b>Ota</b>	<b>ehene</b>	<b>amani</b>
otaa	ehene	ama -ni
1EX.POSS	result of	be BKG+F
pron	pn	vc

"It wasn't our fault."

97 <b>Ia</b>	<b>ehene</b>	<b>amane</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>narawemetemoneke</b>
iha	ehene	ama -ne	ati	na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
plant sp	victim of+M	be BKG+M	say	AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nm	pn	vc	vt	aux

"He was killed by *iha*," they said.'

98 <b>Himatabiyo</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>tokobawitinoho</b>		? <b>ati</b>
himatabiyo	yama	to- kaba -witI.NOM	-no -ho	ati
why	thing	away eat out	IP.N+M DUP	say
interrog	nf	vt		vt

## IHA POISON

### *nemetemonehe*

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

aux

'"Why did he eat the stuff out there?" she said.'

99 *Faya* , *faya* *afi* *nebona* *tokome* *afi*  
faya , faya afi na -hibona to- ka -ma+M afi  
so so bathe AUX INT+M away go/come back bathe  
conj conj vi aux vi vi

*toname* *kamematamona*  
to- na -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona  
away AUX back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
aux vi

'He went to bathe. He bathed, and came back.'

100 *Kame* *yawa* *kawinematamona* *ahi*  
ka -ma+M yawa ka- wina -himata -mona ahi  
go/come back grief COMMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M then  
vi nf vt dem

*nisori* *abari*  
nisori ahaba -haari  
3SG.POSS.younger brother die IP.E+M  
nm vi

'He came back, and lay in his hammock grieving, because of his younger brother who had died.'

101 *Nafihimatamonane* *nisori*  
nafi -himata -mona -ne nisori  
be big FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
vi nm

'His younger brother was big.'

102 *Ia* *abematamonaka* *ia* *ene*  
iha ahaba -himata -mona -ka iha ene  
plant sp die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M plant sp because of+M  
nm vi nm post

'He died because of the *iha*.'

103 *Faya* *ia* *tonakaminemata* *awaka*  
faya iha to- na- ka -mina -himata awa -ka  
so plant sp away CAUS go/come morning FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
conj nm vt sec

*nisori* *abari*  
nisori ahaba -haari  
3SG.POSS.younger brother die IP.E+M  
nm vi

'Then he went and got the *iha*, after his younger brother died.'

104 *Ohariwahemata* *awane*  
ohari -waha -himata awa -ne  
be alone change FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
vi sec

'Then he [made *iha* poison] alone.'

## *Part II - Traditional Stories:*

### **SABA**

#### ***Free Translation***

*Note: The Jarawaras identify the Yimas with the present-day Jumas, a Tupi-Guarani group living on the other side of the Purus River, on the way from Lábrea to Humaitá.*

The Yimas were killing people. He wanted to fight against them, so he went after the wasps. His name was Saba, the one who went after the Yimas. He fought against the wasps [to prepare himself to fight the Yimas]. He always killed the wasps [with his bare hands], without being stung by them. When he was done fighting the wasps, he went after the Yimas and fought against them.

[At the Yima village, in the night] a Yima woman wanted to urinate, and she woke her husband up. She came out of the longhouse with her husband. They took the warriors by surprise as they stood on the edge of the clearing. Saba lay down quickly, just before the Yima woman came. She urinated on his back.

After they urinated, they went back into the longhouse. The Yima man stayed behind, standing. He looked intently at the forest, afraid.

Then Saba put the Yimas to sleep [by a spell]. He went in and took their weapons, their spears. He took their spears so he could fight them. He carried off their spears, to fight with them.

He went back in. He killed. He speared the Yima man, who was having sex with his wife.

"Yima! Yima, I'm going to fight you!" he said.

The Yima didn't pay any attention to him. He speared the Yima, as he lay face down having sex with his wife.

"Yiooo," he said.

"Aaa," said the Yima.

"I'm going to fight you!" he said.

He killed the Yimas. The Yimas threw weights for weighing latex at them, but they escaped. They caused them [by magic] to fall short. They killed the Yimas. They came home after they had killed.

There were no more Yimas. The Yimas died, all of them. Then Saba fought with the wasps again, because he wanted to go after other Yimas. He fought the wasps twice. He looked for the Yimas. He searched. He was unsuccessful. He came home, because there was no one living there. Then he waited for the Yimas back in his village. The Yimas didn't come any more. The Yimas disappeared.

#### ***Interlinear Presentation***

1	<i>Yima</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ihi</i>	<i>ïiti</i>	<i>toha</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>
	yima	me	ihi	i- iti	to- ha+F	me		me
	Yima	3PL.POSS	victim of+F	DUP exist	CH AUX	3PL.POSS		3PL.O
	npropm	pron	pn	vi	aux	pron		pron

## SABA

**me mowa nabone awani me wati**  
 me mowa na -habone awani me wati  
 3PL.S fight AUX INT+F wasp 3PL.O plan against  
 pron vt aux nm pron vt

**kawahematamonaka**

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

'The Yimas were killing people. In order to fight against them, he went after the wasps.'

2 **Saba** , **inomari** **amaka** **Saba** , **Saba**  
 Saba ino -mari ama -ka Saba Saba  
 (man's name) name+M FP.E+M be DECL+M (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm pn vc npropm npropm

**yima me wati kanahari**  
 yima me wati ka- na -haari  
 Yima 3PL.O plan against COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 npropm pron vt aux

'Saba, his name was Saba, the Saba who went after the Yimas.'

3 **Awani me mowa ne awani fara me nanahabi na**  
 awani me mowa na+M awani fara me na- na- ahaba.LIST na  
 wasp 3PL.O fight AUX wasp same+F 3PL.O DUP CAUS die AUX  
 nm pron vt aux nm dem pron vt aux

**tohehimatamonane** , **awani me hitarari**  
 to- ha -himata -mona -ne , awani me hi- ita -ra -haari  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M wasp 3PL.S OC pierce NEG IP.E+M  
 aux nm pron vt

'He fought against the wasps. He always killed the wasps, without being stung by them.'

4 **Faya awani me mowa ni ahabi ya** , **yima mera**  
 faya awani me mowa na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya yima mera  
 so wasp 3PL.S fight AUX end ADJU Yima 3PL.O  
 conj nm pron result aux vi prt npropm pron

**tonakamakawahematamonaha**

to- na- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona -ha  
 away CAUS go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt

'When the fighting of the wasps was done, he went after the Yimas.'

5 **Yima me tonakamaki** , **yima me mowa**  
 yima me to- na- ka -makI+M yima me mowa  
 Yima 3PL.O away CAUS go/come following Yima 3PL.O fight  
 npropm pron vt npropm pron vt

**nebanoho**

na -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He went after the Yimas and fought the Yimas.'

6 **Yima** , **yima fana so nima nani**  
 yima yima fana soo na -nima na -hani  
 Yima Yima female urinate AUX about to AUX IP.N+F  
 npropm npropm nf vi aux aux



## SABA

<b>maki</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>maki</b>
maki	mowa	na+F	maki
3SG.POSS.husband	shake	AUX	3SG.POSS.husband
nm	vt	aux	nm

**kakiyomehemetemoneke**

ka-	ka	-yoma	-hemete	-mone	-ke
COMIT	go/come	through	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
vt					

'A Yima woman wanted to urinate, and she shook her husband as he was in his hammock, to wake him up. She came out with her husband.'

7	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bata</b>	<b>hikanemetemoneni</b>	,	<b>me</b>
	me	me	bata	hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni		me
	3PL.O	3PL.S	surprise	OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F		3PL.S
	pron	pron	vt	aux		pron

**nahobasa**

<b>nahobasa</b>	<b>mati</b>
naho -basa+F	mati
stand edge	3PL.S
vi	pron

'They took them [the Jarawaras] by surprise as they stood on the edge of the clearing.'

8	<b>Saba</b>	<b>homakabote</b>	<b>nematamonaka</b>	,	<b>yima</b>
	Saba	homa	-kabote na -himata -mona -ka		yima
	(man's name)	lie on ground	quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		Yima
	npropm	vi	aux		npropm

<b>fana</b>	<b>kakibeni</b>	<b>ya</b>	,	<b>yima</b>	<b>fana</b>	<b>so</b>
fana	ka	-kI.NOM -be -ni		ya	yima	fana soo
female	go/come	coming	FUT+F IP.N+F	ADJU	Yima	female urinate on
nf	vi			prt	npropm nf	vt

**hinebanoho**

hi-	na	-hiba	-no	-ho	<b>bari</b>
OC	AUX	FUT+M	IP.N+M	DUP	back
aux					pn

'Saba lay down quickly, just before the Yima woman came. The Yima woman urinated on his back.'

9	<b>Bari</b>	<b>yima</b>	<b>fana</b>	<b>so</b>	<b>hinematamonane</b>
	bari	yima	fana	soo	hi- na -himata -mona -ne
	back	Yima	female	urinate on	OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
	pn	npropm	nf	vt	aux

'The Yima woman urinated on his back.'

10	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>so</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>
	faya	me	soo	na+F	me
	so	3PL.S	urinate	AUX	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi	aux	pron

**tokiyomamemetemonehe**

to-	ka	-yoma	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-he	,	<b>yobe</b>	<b>wahi</b>	<b>toro</b>	<b>ya</b>
away	go/come	through	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DUP		yobe	waa+M	toro	ya
vi								house	stand	inside+M	ADJU
								nm	vi	pn	prt

'They urinated. They went back into the longhouse.'

11	<b>Me</b>	<b>tokiyoma</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>nowati</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>towakose</b>	,
	me	to- ka	-yoma+F	me	nowati	ya	to- waa -kosa+M
	3PL.S	away go/come	through	3PL.POSS	behind	ADJU	CH stand middle
	pron	vi		pron	pn	prt	vi

SABA

**yama kakatomematamonane** , **kakomehari**  
yama ka- katoma -himata -mona -ne , ka- komeha -haari  
thing COMMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M COMMIT be fearsome IP.E+M  
nf vt vi  
'They went in. He stayed behind, standing. He looked intently at the forest, afraid.'

12 **Faya tokiyomamakematamonaka** **fahi**  
faya to- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ka fahi  
so away go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
conj vi dem  
'Then he went in.'

13 **Tokiyomamake** **faya yima mera amo**  
to- ka -yoma -makI faya yima mera amo  
away go/come through following so Yima 3PL.O sleep  
vi conj npropm pron vi

**tonihame** , **tokiyomamakehimatamonaka**  
to- niha- na -ma+M , to- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ka  
away CAUS AUX back away go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux vi

, **yima me ye hone yabebanoho** , **yima me**  
yima me yehe hone yaba -hiba -no -ho , yima me  
Yima 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F take out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP Yima 3PL  
npropm pron pn pn vt npropm pron

**ka wabise**  
ka wabise  
POSS spear  
prt nf

'He went in. Then he put the Yimas to sleep. He went in and took their weapons, the Yimas' spears.'

14 **Wabise yabematamonane** , **yima mera mowa**  
wabise yaba -himata -mona -ne , yima mera mowa  
spear take out FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M Yima 3PL.O fight  
nf vt npropm pron vt

**nebonaha**  
na -hibona -ha  
AUX INT+M DUP  
aux

'He took the spears to fight the Yimas with.'

15 **Yima me mowa nebona yima me ye hone**  
yima me mowa na -hibona yima me yehe hone  
Yima 3PL.O fight AUX INT+M Yima 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F  
npropm pron vt aux npropm pron pn pn

**iso ne faya tokiyomame ehene**  
iso na+M faya to- ka -yoma -ma+M ehene  
carry off AUX so away go/come through back victim of+M  
vt aux conj vi pn

**itimatomonaka** **fahi**  
iti -himata -mona -ka fahi  
exist FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
vi dem

'He carried off the Yimas' weapons, to fight the Yimas. He went in again. He killed.'

## SABA

16 *Yima fati yori neno*  
 yima fati yori na -hino  
 Yima 3SG.POSS.wife have sex with AUX IP.N+M  
 npropm nf vt aux

*itehimatamonaka*  
 ita -himata -mona -ka  
 pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He pierced the Yima man, who was having sex with his wife.'

17 *Yima , Yima tiwa mowa obonehe , ati*  
 yima , yima tiwa mowa o- na.NOM -bone -he , ati  
 Yima Yima 2SG.O fight 1SG.S AUX INT+F DUP say  
 npropm npropm pron vt aux vt

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

'"Yima! Yima, I'm going to fight you!" he said.'

18 *Yima ati hikasawari yima itematamonaka*  
 yima ati hi- ka- sawari+M yima ita -himata -mona -ka  
 Yima voice OC COMIT frustrate Yima pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm pn vt npropm vt

*baremisahari*  
 barI -misa -haari  
 turn back up IP.E+M  
 vi

'The Yima didn't pay attention to him. He pierced the Yima, as he lay face down.'

19 *Yiooo ati nematamonaka*  
 yiooo ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

'"Yiooo," he said.'

20 *Aaa yima ati nematamonane*  
 aaa yima ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 (cry of pain) Yima say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 interj npropm vt aux

'"Aaa," said the Yima.'

21 *Tiwa mowa obonehe ati nematamonaka*  
 tiwa mowa o- na.NOM -bone -he ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 2SG.O fight 1SG.S AUX INT+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt aux vt aux

'"I'm going to fight you!" he said.'

22 *Faya yima mera nahabihimatamonaka fahi*  
 faya yima mera na- ahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so Yima 3PL.O CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj npropm pron vt dem

'Then he killed the Yimas.'

## SABA

23 *Yima me me hibana me hasi*  
 yima me me hi- bana+F me hasi  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S OC throw something at 3PL.S escape  
 npropm pron pron vt pron vi

*nemetemoneke , sirika tomene ya*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke , sirika tomene ya  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F rubber tree sp measure+M ADJU  
 aux nm pn prt

'The Yimas threw weights for weighing latex at them, but they escaped.'

24 *Sirika tomene me si tonihemetemoneni*  
 sirika tomene me sii to- niha- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 rubber tree sp measure+M 3PL.S sit CH CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pn pron vi aux

, *yima me me hibana mati*  
 yima me me hi- bana+F mati  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S OC throw something at 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt pron

'The Yimas threw things at them, but they caused the weights for weighing latex to fall on the ground.'

25 *Yima me me nahabihemetemone*  
 yima me me na- ahaba -hemete -mone  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm pron pron vt

'They killed the Yimas.'

26 *Me kamemetemoneke fahi , me ihi*  
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi , me ihi  
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.POSS victim of+F  
 pron vi dem pron pn

*itiha mati*  
 iti+F mati  
 exist 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They came home after they had killed.'

27 *Yima me watamaremetemoneke*  
 yima me wata -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 Yima 3PL.S exist back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm pron vi

'There were no more Yimas.'

28 *Yima me ahabemetemoneke , me nafi*  
 yima me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke , me nafi  
 Yima 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all  
 npropm pron vi pron pn

'The Yimas died, all of them.'

29 *Faya awani me mowa namatasematamonaka fahi*  
 faya awani me mowa na -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so wasp 3PL.O fight AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj nm pron vt aux dem

*yima me one wati kanamakehari*  
 yima me one wati ka- na -makI -haari  
 Yima 3PL other+F plan against COMIT AUX following IP.E+M  
 npropm pron adj vt aux

'Then he fought with the wasps again, because he wanted to go after other Yimas.'

## SABA

30 *Awani me mowa ni fame yama siba*  
 awani me mowa na.NFIN fama+M yama siba  
 wasp 3PL.S fight AUX be two thing look for  
 nm pron result aux vi nf vt

*nematamonaka* , *yima me tabiyo* .  
 na -himata -mona -ka yima me tabiyo  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M Yima 3PL.POSS wanting  
 aux npropm pron pn

'After he fought the wasps twice, he looked for the Yimas.'

31 *Yama siba ne yama hikasawari*  
 yama siba na+M yama hi- ka- sawari+M  
 thing look for AUX thing OC COMMIT frustrate  
 nf vt aux nf vt

*kamematamonane* , *yama winihirimakoni* ,  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ne yama wina -hira -makoni  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M thing live NEG+F for this reason+F  
 vi nf vi

*yima me noki namebanoho* .  
 yima me noki na -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 Yima 3PL.O wait for AUX back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 npropm pron vt aux

'He searched, but was unsuccessful. He came home, because there was no one living there. Then he waited back in his village.'

32 *Yima me noki yima me kakamaki*  
 yima me noki.LIST yima me ka- ka -maki  
 Yima 3PL.O wait for Yima 3PL.S DUP go/come following  
 npropm pron vt npropm pron vi

*toharemetemone* *me amake* .  
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 aux pron sec

'He waited for the Yimas, but the Yimas didn't come.'

33 *Yima me fawa nemetemoneke fahi* .  
 yima me fawa na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 Yima 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 npropm pron vi aux dem

'The Yimas disappeared.'

## BAKAYONA

### *Free Translation*

They were going to change into something else. They changed into something else. He came from cutting down trees, and called to his younger brother. "Brother, Bakayona."

"What?"

"Come here a minute."

"What should I do?"

"Come here a minute."

His younger brother came.

"Turn your back this way. I'm going to make lines on your back," he said.

So he turned his back. He cut his back up with a saw, the first saw. He cut him up and roasted him on a grill, on the coals. He was on the grill. His heart was on the grill. He ate him with *haso taro*, roasted *haso*. He roasted *haso* and ate him with it.

Then the sound of the *aba* fish taking the water started. His younger brother took the water upstream. The water went, "Beetoo."

"Wait, I'm still eating," the older brother said.

He finished eating, but he didn't drink any water. He took the casting net off the nail on the wall, and went to the water, when the noise of the *aba* fish was heard, when the noise of the *aba* fish came. He cast the net, but his net didn't go in the water. Because the net didn't go in the water, he pulled it back and cast it again.

Then he went upstream. There wasn't any water at all. So he came back.

"Mother, give me some water."

"There is no water."

"I'm thirsty."

He went to sleep thirsty. He got up early and in the morning went after the water in the empty streambed. He came back. He came back and went. He went hopping along on the rocks. As he went on the rocks, he fell down hard on a rock. He hit his head. He lay there a long time.

They put points on arrows, and it was a big bunch of arrows, to shoot at him.

"Mother, when your water is all gone, my younger brother should come after me," he had said.

So he went, and shot the arrows. He went along shooting arrows. He dammed up the water with a rock. The sound of the water started up. He shot the one arrow that was left. It landed in the water, and because of it the sound of the fish started up. The fish went, "Ooo."

"You didn't believe me. My older brother is living here. He made the first canoe, he who was the first white man."

He went to his older brother.

"My older brother is not going to die; he always said he would not die,' I said," he said.

The two of them went there.

His older brother shot some fish with bow and arrow, as he made the canoe, when the first woolly monkeys came. The woolly monkeys came. He shot fish. He set the basket of fish down, because there were so many woolly monkeys calling out. He went up in a tall tree and looked at

## BAKAYONA

how many there were. "There weren't many before, but there are many now," he said.

His fish and arrows were lying on the ground. He went up the tree to look at the monkeys. Then he came back down. He put the fish on his back again and came back, and arrived back. His wife and her sister gutted the fish.

"Did my younger brother come?"

"Your brother came," his wife said.

"Younger brother, is my mother's water all gone?"

"The water is all gone. I came because the water is all gone, and I came because my mother asked me to. I came after you," he said. "Let's go downstream. Older brother, let's go downstream tomorrow."

"Yes, let's go downstream tomorrow."

They slept. They got ready to leave. He was ready. They got into the canoe.

"I'm going to let the water go. Watch out," said the older brother.

He let the water go. The water went downstream fast. The piranhas bit the trees off to make way for the streambed. The first three-toed sloth climbed up a *sirika* tree after the fruits and was receptive to the sexual advances of the woolly monkeys.

"Yaa, yaa," the woolly monkeys called. The woolly monkeys were going downstream with the current. The water went downstream. The alligator was strong, carrying them in the canoe.

*Alan: Baka?*

Yes. His name escapes me. Baka, it was Baka, the one who was an alligator. They went downstream. He stayed with his mother.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Me tohiyaba mati*  
 me to- hiya -haba mati  
 3PL.S CH be different FUT+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

'They were going to change into something else.'

2 *Me tohiyemetemoneke*  
 me to- hiya -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S CH be different FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'They changed into something else.'

3 *Awa ka ne kame nisori*  
 awa kaa na+M ka -ma+M nisori  
 tree chop AUX go/come back 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 nf vt aux vi nm

*nisori haha nematamonaka*  
 nisori ha- haa na -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother DUP call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt aux

'He came from cutting down trees, and called to his younger brother.'

4 *Niso Bakayona*  
 niso Bakayona  
 younger brother (man's name)  
 nm npropm

'"Brother, Bakayona."'

## BAKAYONA

5 **Haa** ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 "What?"

6 **Tikamamata**  
 ti- ka -ma -mata  
 2SG.S go/come back short time  
 vi  
 "Come here a minute."

7 **Himata ebe oribe** ?  
 himata ebe o- na -ri -be  
 what? purpose 1SG.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F  
 interrog vt aux  
 "What should I do?"

8 **Tikamamata**  
 ti- ka -ma -mata  
 2SG.S go/come back short time  
 vi  
 "Come here a minute."

9 **Nisori kamematamonaka**  
 nisori ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi  
 'His younger brother came.'

10 **Kame Tibatasewama**  
 ka -ma+M ti- batasi -waha -ma  
 go/come back 2SG.S turn ones back change back  
 vi vi  
 'He came. "Turn your back this way."

11 **Tibatasewama**  
 ti- batasi -waha -ma  
 2SG.S turn ones back change back  
 vi  
 "'Turn your back this way."

12 **Tibatasi hani onawahibe** , **ati**  
 ti- batasi hani o- na- waa -be ati  
 2SG.POSS middle of back line+F 1SG.S CAUS stand IMMED+F say  
 pn pn vt vt  
**nematamonaka**  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux  
 "'I'm going to make lines on your back," he said.'

13 **Faya barewamematamonahane**  
 faya bari -waha -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 so turn back change back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 conj vi



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'So he turned his back.'

14 *Bobi hikanisematamonaka* , *sehoti ya*  
 bobi hi- ka- na -risa -himata -mona -ka , sehoti ya  
 slit OC COMIT AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M saw ADJU  
 vt aux nf prt

*sehotitebana*

sehoti -tee -bana  
 saw HAB FUT  
 nf

'He cut his back up with a saw, the first saw.'

15 *Bobi hikanise faya* , *bobi hine tabasi*  
 bobi hi- ka- na -risa+M faya , bobi hi- na+M tabasi  
 slit OC COMIT AUX down so slit OC AUX roast on grill  
 vt aux conj vt aux vt

*hinematamonaka*

hi- na -himata -mona -ka *yifo ya* , *yifo witi ya* , *tana ya*  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M fire ADJU fire coal ADJU grill ADJU  
 aux nf prt nf pn prt nf prt

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'He cut his back. He cut him up and roasted him on a grill, on the coals.'

16 *Tana ya kawematamonaka*  
 tana ya ka- waa -himata -mona -ka  
 grill ADJU COMIT stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf prt vi

'He was on the grill.'

17 *Makawari ( kawitaremamonaka tana ya )*  
 makawari ka- ita -rI -himata -mona -ka tana ya  
 heart COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M grill ADJU  
 pn vi nf prt

'His heart was on the grill.'<sup>45</sup>

18 *Haso ya kakawi hinematamonaka*  
 haso ya ka- kawo hi- na -himata -mona -ka  
 taro sp ADJU DUP eat with something OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm prt vt aux

*haso ya* , *haso yokahari*  
 haso ya , haso yoka -haari  
 taro sp ADJU taro sp roast on coals IP.E+M  
 nm prt nm result

'He ate him with *haso* taro, roasted *haso*.'

19 *Haso yoke haso kakawi hine*  
 haso yoka+M haso ka- kawo hi- na+M  
 taro sp roast on coals taro sp DUP eat with something OC AUX  
 nm vt nm vt aux

*aba me ye moni yana tonematamona amaka*  
 aba me yehe moni yana to- na -himata -mona ama -ka  
 fish sp 3PL.POSS hand sound start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm pron pn pn vi aux sec

45 The part in parentheses was said in Portuguese; the Jarawara was supplied by Okomobi.

## BAKAYONA

### **faha towakenoho**

faha to- ka- ka -hino -ho  
water away COMIT go/come IP.N+M DUP  
nf vt

'He roasted *haso* and ate him with it. Then the sound of the *aba* fish taking the water started.'<sup>46</sup>

### 20 **Faha towakatimematamonaka**

faha to- ka- ka -tima -himata -mona -ka  
water away COMIT go/come upstream FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nf vt

### **nisori**

nisori  
3SG.POSS.younger brother  
nm

'His younger brother took the water upstream.'

### 21 **Beetoo**

	<b>fa</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>	<b>ahi</b>
beetoo	faha	moni	na -hemete -mone	ahi
(sound of water)	water	make sound	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then
sound	nf	vt	aux	dem

'The water went, "Beetoo."'

### 22 **Aa**

	<b>hiba</b>	<b>otafasa</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>ati</b>
aa	hiba	o- tafa -saa	o-	ati
(pause)	wait	1SG.S eat still	1SG.S	say
interj	interj	vi	prt	vt

### **nematamonaha**

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

'"Wait, I'm still eating," he said.'

### 23 **Faya tafi**

	<b>ahabe</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>fawarematamonahane</b>		
faya	tafa.NFIN	ahaba+M	faha	fawa -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne	
so	eat	end	water	drink NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M	
conj	vi	vi	nf	vt	

'He finished eating, but didn't drink any water.'

### 24 **Fa**

	<b>faware</b>	<b>tahafa</b>	<b>sota</b>	<b>tokane</b>
faha	fawa -ra+M	tahafa	sota	to- ka- na+M
water	drink NEG	casting net	remove	CH COMIT AUX
nf	vt	nf	vt	aux

### **tokome**

	<b>tokifiwawiti</b>	<b>tahafa</b>
to- ka -ma+M	to- ka -fI -waha -witI+M	tahafa
away go/come back	away go/come water change out	casting net
vi	vi	nf

### **wati**

	<b>kanematamonaka</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>sai</b>
wati	ka- na -himata -mona -ka	aba	moni	sai.NOM
think about	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	fish sp	sound	be heard
vt	aux	nm	pn	vi

### **ya**

	<b>aba</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>kaki</b>	<b>ya</b>
ya	aba	moni	ka -kI.NOM	ya
ADJU	fish sp	sound	go/come coming	ADJU
prt	nm	pn	vi	prt

'He didn't drink any water. He took the casting net off [the nail], and went to the water, when the noise of the *aba* fish was heard, when the noise of the *aba* fish came.'

46 *Aba me ye moni* is a mistake, it should be *aba moni*.



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32 **Bakasi owa oke**  
 bakasi o- awa o- ke  
 thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S DECL+F  
 nf vt prt

"I'm thirsty."

33 **Faya bakasi amo kane** , **bakasi amo kane** ,  
 faya bakasi amo ka- na+M , bakasi amo ka- na+M ,  
 so thirst sleep COMIT AUX thirst sleep COMIT AUX  
 conj nf vi aux nf vi aux

**bosa ne** , **fa kiyominematamonane** **fa**  
 bosa na+M , faha kiyo -mina -himata -mona -ne faha  
 get up early AUX water chase morning FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M water  
 vi aux nf vt nf

**kori**  
 kori  
 empty+F  
 pn

'He went to sleep thirsty. He got up early and in the morning went after the water in the empty streambed.'

34 **Kamematamona**  
 ka -ma -himata -mona  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'He came back.'

35 **Wete namematamonaka**  
 wete na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 return AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi aux

'He turned back.'

36 **Wete name tokomake** , **tokomake** ,  
 wete na -ma+M to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI  
 return AUX back away go/come following away go/come following  
 vi aux vi vi

**yora na ya yora tonamakehite** **betira ya**  
 yora na+F ya yora to- na -makI -hitI betira ya  
 jump AUX ADJU jump away AUX following along the way rock ADJU  
 vi aux prt vi aux nf prt

'He came back and went. He went hopping along on the rocks.'<sup>47</sup>

37 **Betira ya tokomake** , **yati** , **yati ya kote**  
 betira ya to- ka -makI , yati , yati ya kote  
 rock ADJU away go/come following stone stone ADJU hit  
 nf prt vi nf nf prt vi

**kanematamonane** **sonahari**  
 ka- na -himata -mona -ne sona -haari  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M fall IP.E+M  
 aux vi

'He went on the rocks. He fell down hard on a rock.'

38 **Tati mete** , **tati karimematamonaka** **haro**  
 tati mete tati karima -himata -mona -ka haro  
 head rear+M head hit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+F  
 pn pn vi dem

47 *Yora na ya* is a mistake.

## BAKAYONA

'He hit his head.'

39	<b>Faya</b>	<b>fore</b>	<b>fofore</b>	<b>toematamonaka</b>	<b>fahi</b>
	faya	forI	fo- forI	to- ha -himata -mona -ka	fahi
	so	lie on top	DUP lie on top	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	conj	vi	vi	aux	dem

'He lay there a long time.'

40	<b>Wati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>nawaria</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>me</b>	
	wati	me	na- waa -rI+F	wati	me	
	arrow	3PL.S	CAUS stand raised surface	arrow	3PL.S	
	nm	pron	vt	nm	pron	
	<b>nawaria</b>		<b>wati</b>	<b>tabo</b>	<b>fotematamonane</b>	<b>me</b>
	na- waa -rI+F		wati	tabo	fota -himata -mona -ne	me
	CAUS stand raised surface		arrow	bunch+M	be big FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	3PL.S
	vt		nm	pn	vi	pron
	<b>tisa</b>		<b>hinebonaha</b>			
	tisa		hi- na -hibona -ha			
	shoot with arrow		OC AUX INT+M DUP			
	vt		aux			

'They put points on arrows, and it was a big bunch of arrows, to shoot at him.'

41	<b>Ami</b>	<b>tika</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>ahabi</b>	<b>ya</b>	
	ami	ti-	ka	faha	ahaba.NOM+F	ya
	mother	2SG.POSS	POSS	water	end	ADJU
	nf	prt		nf	vi	prt
	<b>okaniso</b>		<b>kamakiya</b>		<b>ati</b>	
	o- ka niso		ka -makI -yaho		ati	
	1SG.POSS POSS younger brother		go/come following DIST.IMP+M		say	
	nm		vi		vt	
	<b>nematamonane</b>					
	na -himata -mona -ne					
	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M					
	aux					

'"Mother, when your water is all gone, my younger brother should come after me," he said.'

42	<b>Faya</b>	<b>tokomakematamonaka</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>sa</b>
	faya	to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka	wati	saa
	so	away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	arrow	shoot with arrow
	conj	vi	nm	vt
	<b>nebanoho</b>			
	na -hiba -no -ho			
	AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP			
	aux			

'So he went, and shot the arrows.'

43	<b>Wati</b>	<b>tisa</b>	<b>tonamakehite</b>	<b>fa</b>		
	wati	tisa	to- na -makI -hitI	faha		
	arrow	shoot with arrow	away AUX following along the way	water		
	nm	vt	aux	nf		
	<b>bari</b>	<b>kanematamonaka</b>	<b>betira</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>yati</b>	<b>ya</b>
	bari	ka- na -himata -mona -ka	betira	ya	yati	ya
	impede	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	rock	ADJU	stone	ADJU
	vt	aux	nf	prt	nf	prt

'He went along shooting arrows. He dammed up the water with a rock.'

## BAKAYONA

44 *Yati ya fa bari kane , fa moni yana*  
 yati ya faha bari ka- na+M , faha moni yana  
 stone ADJU water impede COMMIT AUX water sound start  
 nf prt nf vt aux nf pn vi

*tonemetemone*  
 to- na -hemete -mone  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'He dammed up the water with a rock. The sound of the water started up.'

45 *Aba me wati towaharikose sa*  
 aba me wati to- ohari -kosa+M saa  
 fish 3PL arrow CH be one middle shoot with arrow  
 nm pron nm vi vt

*tokanamaki*  
 to- ka- na -makI+M , wati , koho nife ehene , aba  
 away COMMIT AUX following arrow hit AUX water because of+M fish  
 aux nm vi aux post nm

*me moni yana tonemetemone*  
 me moni yana to- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vi aux

'He shot the one arrow that was left. It landed in the water, and because of it the sound of the fish started up.'<sup>48</sup>

46 *Ooo aba me moni nemetemone*  
 ooo aba me moni na -hemete -mone  
 (sound of many fish) fish 3PL.S make sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 sound nm pron vt aux

'The fish went, "Ooo."'

47 *Owati tikasawariara ti*  
 o- ati ti- ka- sawari -hara ti-  
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S COMMIT frustrate IP.E+F 2SG.S  
 pn vt prt

'"You didn't believe me."'

48 *Okoyo wina , okoyo wine*  
 o- ka ayo wina , o- ka ayo wine+M  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live  
 nm vi nm vi

*awaka ahi*  
 awa -ka ahi  
 seem+M DECL+M there  
 sec dem

'"My older brother is living there."'

49 *Kanawateba , kanawateba yama nematamonaka*  
 kanawa -tee -ba , kanawa -tee -ba yama na -himata -mona -ka  
 canoe HAB FUT canoe HAB FUT make AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf nf vt aux

*yaratebana*  
 yara -tee -bana  
 Brazilian HAB FUT  
 npropm

'He made the first canoe, he who was the first white man.'

48 *Aba me* appears to be a mistake.

## BAKAYONA

50 *Anoti* , *anoti* *ni*  
 anoti , anoti ni  
 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother to  
 nm nm prt

*tokomakematamonaka*  
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi  
 'He went to his older brother.'

51 *Okoyo* , *ahabarebona* *ati* *nofe* *ama*  
 o- ka ayo , ahaba -ra -hibona ati na nofa+M ama  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die NEG INT+M say AUX recently SEC  
 nm vi vt aux sec  
 , *onahara* *o* *ati* *nematamonaha*  
 ati o- na -hara o- ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt prt vt aux

""My older brother always said he would not die,' I said," he said.'

52 *Faya me tokomaketemoneke*  
 faya me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron vi  
 'They went there.'

53 *Me towakamakia me , anoti*  
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me , anoti  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older brother  
 pron vi pron nm

*aba me sa nematamonane , kanawa yama*  
 aba me saa na -himata -mona -ne , kanawa yama  
 fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M canoe make  
 nm pron vt aux nf vt

*nari , wafa meteba me*  
 na -haari , wafa me -tee -ba me  
 AUX IP.E+M woolly monkey 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.S  
 aux nm pron pron

*kakibeni ya*  
 ka -kI.NOM -be -ni ya  
 go/come coming FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU  
 vi prt

'The two of them went there. His older brother shot some fish with bow and arrow, as he made the canoe, when the first woolly monkeys came.'

54 *Wafa me kakemetemone me amake*  
 wafa me ka -kI -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 woolly monkey 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 nm pron vi pron sec

'The woolly monkeys came.'

55 *Faya aba me sa ne , aba me*  
 faya aba me saa na+M , aba me  
 so fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.O  
 conj nm pron vt aux nm pron

## BAKAYONA

**nawarise**      **me**      **ati**      **tamaha**      **me**      **ihi**  
na- waa -risa+M , me ati tama+F me ihi  
CAUS stand down 3PL.POSS voice be many 3PL.POSS because of+F  
vt pron pn vi pron post  
'He shot fish. He set the [basket of] fish down, because there were so many [woolly monkeys] calling out.'

56 **Awa**      **nemeha**      **ya**      **tokomisawite**      **mera**      **ki**  
awa nemeha+F ya to- ka -misa -witI mera kii  
tree be high ADJU away go/come up out 3PL.O look at  
nf vi prt vi pron vt

**nematamonaka**      **me**      **tama**      **mati**  
na -himata -mona -ka me tama+F mati  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S be many 3PL.S  
aux pron vt pron  
'He went up in a tall tree and looked at how many there were.'

57 **Me**      **tatama**      **nofara**      **me**      **tamawaine**  
me ta- tama na nofa -ra+F me tama -waha -ne  
3PL.S DUP be many AUX recently NEG 3PL.S be many change CONT+F  
pron vi prt pron vi

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

'"There weren't many before, but there are many now," he said.'

58 **Hinaka**      **aba**      **me**      **homa**      **hinaka**      **wati**  
hinaka aba me homa.LIST , hinaka wati  
3SG.POSS fish 3PL.S lie on ground 3SG.POSS arrow  
pron nm pron vi pron nm

**kahoma**      **tokomisawite**      **mera**      **ki**  
ka- homa.LIST , to- ka -misa -witI mera kii  
COMIT lie on ground away go/come up out 3PL.O look at  
vi vi pron vt

**nematamonaka**  
na -himata -mona -ka  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

'His fish and arrows were lying on the ground. He went up [the tree] to look at them.'

59 **Faya**      **kisamematamonaka**  
faya ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
so go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
conj vi

'Then he came back down.'

60 **Kisame**      **kamematamonaha**  
ka -risa -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ha  
go/come down back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
vi vi

'He came back down, and came back.'

61 **Aba**      **me**      **weye**      **namisame**      **kame**      **kobo**  
aba me weye na -misa -ma+M ka -ma+M kobo  
fish 3PL.O carry AUX up back go/come back arrive  
nm pron vt aux vi vi



## BAKAYONA

### *namematamonaka*

na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He put the fish on his back again and came back, and arrived back.'

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

### *narawemetemone*

*ama*  
 na -rawa -hemete -mone ama  
 AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 aux sec

'His wife and her sister gutted the fish.'

63 *Okaniso* *kamakino* *awa* ?  
 o- ka niso ka -makI -hino awa ?  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother go/come following IP.N+M seem+M  
 nm vi sec

""Did my younger brother come?""

64 *Niso* *kamakinone* *fati*  
 niso ka -makI -hino -ne fati  
 2SG.POSS.younger brother go/come following IP.N+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nm vi nf

### *ati nemetemoneni*

ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt aux

""Your brother came," his wife said.'

65 *Niso* *okomi* *ka* *fa* *aba* *awine* ?  
 niso o- ka ami ka faha ahaba+F awine ?  
 younger brother 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS water end seem+F  
 nm nf prt nf vi sec

""Younger brother, is my mother's water all gone?""

66 *Fa* *abara*  
 faha ahaba -hara  
 water end IP.E+F  
 nf vi

""The water is all gone.""

67 *Fa* *aba* *ihi* *okomi* *ati* *ihi*  
 faha ahaba+F ihi o- ka ami ati ihi  
 water end because of+F 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice because of+F  
 nf vi post nf pn post

### *okomakera*

*o*  
 o- ka -makI -hara o-  
 1SG.S go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S  
 vi prt

""I came because the water is all gone, and I came because my mother asked me to.""

## BAKAYONA

68 *Tiwa onakamakiara oni ati*  
 tiwa o- na- ka -makI -hara o- ni ati  
 2SG.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F say  
 pron vt prt vt

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

"I came after you," he said.'

69 *E tokisamaba ere*  
 ee to- ka -risa -ma -haba ere  
 1IN.S away go/come down back FUT+F 1IN.S  
 pron vi pron

"Let's go downstream."

70 *Ayo , ayo e*  
 ayo ayo ee  
 older brother older brother 1IN.S  
 nm nm pron

*tokisaminabone ere*  
 to- ka -risa -ma -mina -habone ere  
 away go/come down back morning INT+F 1IN.S  
 vi pron

"Older brother, let's go downstream tomorrow."

71 *Ee , e tokisaminibe*  
 ee ee to- ka -risa -ma -mina -be  
 yes 1IN.S away go/come down back morning IMMED+F  
 interj pron vi

"Yes, let's go downstream tomorrow."

72 *Me amo na me , me amo nemetemoneke*  
 me amo na+F me me amo na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

'They slept.'

73 *Me amo na me yana tona yana*  
 me amo na+F me yana to- na+F yana  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX start  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux vi

*tonematamonane*  
 to- na -himata -mona -ne  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'They slept, and they got ready to leave. He was ready.'

74 *Kanawa ya me kibemetemonehe*  
 kanawa ya me kibI -hemete -mone -he  
 canoe ADJU 3PL.S be inside FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nf prt pron vi

'They got into the canoe.'

## BAKAYONA

**75 Fa naha okomatibe**

faha naha o- ka- na -mata -be  
 water open 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux

"I'm going to let the water go."

**76 Tera , te kakatoma**

tera , tee ka- katoma  
 2PL.O 2PL.S COMIT look at  
 pron pron vt

"Watch out."

**77 Fa naha kanematamonaka**

faha naha ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 water open COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vt aux

'He let the water go.'

**78 Fa tokisemetemone**

faha to- ka -risa -hemete -mone ama kita ya  
 water away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F SEC strength ADJU  
 nf vi sec nf prt

'The water went downstream fast.'

**79 Fa kitemetemone**

faha kita -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 water be strong FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 nf vi sec

'The water went fast.'

**80 Aba me yai hinemetemone**

aba me yai hi- na -hemete -mone , amake fa  
 fish 3PL.S bite off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F stream  
 nm pron vt aux sec nf

**toritebana**

tori -tee -bana , oma mati  
 bed+F HAB FUT piranha 3PL  
 pn nm pron

'The fish bit [the trees to make way for] the streambed, the piranhas.'

**81 Oma me yai hinemetemone**

oma me yai hi- na -hemete -mone amake  
 piranha 3PL.S bite off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 nm pron vt aux sec

'The piranhas cut them [the trees].'

**82 Kerewetebani**

kerewe -tee -ba -ni , sirika noko yama  
 three-toed sloth HAB FUT IP.N+F rubber tree sp seed+M climb after  
 nf nm pn vt

**naware**

na -wahaI siwa nimetemone ama  
 AUX all over play AUX FP.N+F REP+F be  
 aux vi aux vc

'The first three-toed sloth climbed up a *sirika* tree after the fruits and was receptive to the sexual advances [of the woolly monkeys].'

## BAKAYONA

- 83 **Yaa** , **yaa**  
 yaa yaa  
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)  
 interj interj
- yaa** **yaa** **yaa**  
 yaa yaa yaa  
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)  
 interj interj interj
- yaa** **fa** , **fa** , **fa** **tokisa** **ra**  
 yaa faha , faha , faha to- ka -risa+F ra  
 (call of woolly monkey) water water water away go/come down O  
 interj nf nf nf vi prt
- wafa** **me** **towakisemetemoneke**  
 wafa me to- ka -ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke  
 woolly monkey 3PL.S away go/come DECL+M down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron vt
- "Yaa, yaa," [the woolly monkeys called]. The woolly monkeys were going downstream with the current.'

- 84 **Faya tokisemetemone**  
 faya to- ka -risa -hemete -mone  
 so away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj vi
- 'It [the water] went downstream.'

- 85 **Kitehimatamonaka** **mera** **kaheka** **nari** **ahi**  
 kita -himata -mona -ka mera kaheka na -haari ahi  
 be strong FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M then  
 vi pron vt aux dem
- 'He was strong, carrying them.'

- 86 **Mera weye kanematamonaka** **ahi**  
 mera weye ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 3PL.O carry COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pron vt aux dem
- 'He carried them.'

- 87 **Baka** ?  
 Baka  
 (man's name)  
 npropm
- 'Baka?'

- 88 **Ee** , **ino** **fawa** **ne** **amaka** **ahi**  
 ee , ino fawa na+M ama -ka ahi  
 yes name+M disappear AUX SEC DECL+M then  
 interj pn vi aux sec dem
- 'Yes. His name escaped me.'

- 89 **Baka** , **Bakamatamonaka** , **inohowe**  
 Baka Baka -mata -mona -ka inohowe  
 (man's name) (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M alligator sp  
 npropm npropm nm
- toahari**  
 to- ha -haari  
 CH be IP.E+M  
 vc
- 'Baka, it was Baka, the one who was an alligator.'

## BAKAYONA

90 *Faya me tokisemetemoneke fahi* .  
 faya me to- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'They went downstream.'

91 *Faya mati ya fafamawa toematamona*  
 faya mati ya fa- fama -waha to- ha -himata -mona  
 so 3SG.POSS.mother ADJU DUP be two change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj nf prt vi aux

*amaka fahi* .  
 ama -ka fahi  
 SEC DECL+M then  
 sec dem

'He stayed with his mother.'

## THEY TURNED INTO WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES

### Free Translation

The ones that were to become the first white-lipped peccaries burned the new garden. They listened to the trees burning, all day long. Snuff, it was snuff. They blew snuff into each other's noses. "Oof," they said, as they blew snuff into each other. There were many people. They yelled like white-lipped peccaries as they listened to the trees burning. They listened to the trees.

Someone else went into the forest. He cut the tops of the hard outer shells of Brazil nuts, to take out the nuts. He came back. He came upon them as they were making noise.

He went to his own house. He called to his younger sister. "Sister, sister."

"Huh?"

"Are you in the seclusion hut?"

"I'm inside. Brother, this is what happened when your son took away your snuff. They wanted to turn into white-lipped peccaries," she said.

"They are there in the forest. I'm going to put poison on the darts. I'm going to shoot them with a blowgun," he said.

He foamed up the poison with a brush. He put poison on the darts. He left. He went after them, to shoot them with a blowgun. He shot them. They yelled. They ran away, and he went running after them.

His wife died when he shot her with a poison dart. He carried his dead wife. He brought her back and ate her. He roasted his wife on a grill. He ate his wife. He cracked open her skull. He spit out her brains, and they turned into the first collared peccaries.

### Interlinear Presentation

1 *Faya* *awa* *me* *sari* *nawahemetemoneke* *fahi* , *me*  
 faya awa me sari na -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi me  
 so garden 3PL.S burn AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL  
 conj nf pron vt aux dem pron

*one* , *hiyama* *meteba* *mati* .  
 one , hiyama me -tee -ba mati .  
 other+F white-lipped peccary 3PL HAB FUT 3PL  
 adj nm pron pron

'The ones that were to become the first white-lipped peccaries burned the new garden.'

2 *Awa* *me* *sari* *na* , *awa* *ati* *me* *kamita* *natia*  
 awa me sari na+F , awa ati me ka- mita+F nahatI+F  
 garden 3PL.S burn AUX garden voice 3PL.S COMIT hear daytime  
 nf pron vt aux nf pn pron vt prt

*me* *Sina* , *afa* *amake* *haro* , *sina* .  
 me sina , afa ama -ke haaro , sina .  
 3PL.S snuff this+F be DECL+F that one+F snuff  
 pron nf dem vc dem nf

'They burned the trees. They listened to the trees burning, all day long. Snuff, it was snuff.'

## THEY TURNED INTO WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES

3 *Me afo nemetemoneke , me witi ahi*  
 me afo na -hemete -mone -ke , me witi ahi  
 3PL.S blow snuff into AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS nose then  
 pron result aux pron pn dem

'They had snuff blown into their noses.'

4 *Oof , me afo na me me*  
 oof , me afo na+F me me  
 hoo 3PL.S blow snuff into AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 interj pron result aux pron pron

*tamemetemone ahi*  
 tama -hemete -mone ahi  
 be many FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'"Oof" they said, as they had snuff blown into them. There were many people.'

5 *Me ye nawahemetemone , awa ati me*  
 me yee na -waha -hemete -mone , awa ati me  
 3PL.S yell AUX change FP.N+F REP+F garden voice 3PL.S  
 pron vi vi nf pn pron

*kamita mati ahi*  
 ka- mita+F mati ahi  
 COMMIT hear 3PL.S then  
 vt pron dem

'They yelled as they listened to the trees [burning].'

6 *Awa ati me kamita me me ka owa toke ,*  
 awa ati me ka- mita+F me me ka owa to- ka+M ,  
 garden voice 3PL.S COMMIT hear 3PL.S 3PL of man away go/come  
 nf pn pron vt pron pron prt nm vi

*mowe ka ne , kame , me ati*  
 mowe kaa na+M , ka -ma+M , me ati  
 Brazil nut chop AUX go/come back 3PL.POSS voice  
 nm vt aux vi pron pn

*wasimematamonaka*  
 wasi -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 find back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'They listened to the trees. One of them went into the forest. He cut the tops of the hard outer shells of Brazil nuts [to take out the nuts]. He came back. He came upon them as they were making noise.'

7 *Me ati wasime tokome hinakasima*  
 me ati wasi -ma+M to- ka -ma+M hinaka asima  
 3PL.POSS voice find back away go/come back 3SG.POSS younger sister  
 pron pn vt vi nf

*haha nematamonaha*  
 ha- haa na -himata -mona -ha  
 DUP call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt aux

'He came upon them as they were making noise. He went to his own house. He called to his younger sister.'

8 *Asima , asima*  
 asima asima  
 younger sister younger sister  
 nf nf

'"Sister, sister."'

THEY TURNED INTO WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES

9 *Haa* ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 ""Huh?""

10 *Tifoyini* ?  
 ti- foya -ni  
 2SG.S be inside BKG+F  
 vi  
 ""Are you in the seclusion hut?""

11 *Ofoyini* .  
 o- foya -ni  
 1SG.S be inside BKG+F  
 vi  
 ""I'm inside.""

12 *Ayo* *tika* *sina* *tikatao*  
 ayo ti- ka sina tikatao  
 older brother 2SG.POSS POSS snuff 2SG.POSS.son  
 nm prt nf nm  
*towakame* *yama* *fahi* .  
 to- ka- ka -ma+M yama fahi  
 away COMIT go/come back thing then  
 vt nf dem  
 ""Brother, this is what happened when your son took away your snuff.""

13 *Me* *tohiyabone* *me* *ati* *narani* *ati*  
 me to- hiya -habone me ati na -hara -ni ati  
 3PL.S CH be different INT+F 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F BKG+F say  
 pron vi pron vt aux vt  
*nemetemonehe*  
 na -hemete -mone -he  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux  
 ""They wanted to turn [into white-lipped peccaries]," she said."

14 *Me* *nao* *ahi* .  
 me naho.NOM ahi  
 3PL.S stand there  
 pron vi dem  
 ""They are there in the forest.""

15 *Sare* *were* *okomatibe* .  
 sarehe were o- ka- na -mata -be  
 blowgun dart coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux  
 ""I'm going to put poison on the darts.""

16 *Me* *fora* *obe* .  
 me fora o- na -be  
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron vt aux  
 ""I'm going to shoot them with a blowgun.""



## THEY TURNED INTO WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES

17 *Faya iha to kane mera iha were kane*  
 faya iha too ka- na+M mera iha were ka- na+M  
 so plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX 3PL.O plant sp stir COMIT AUX  
 conj nm vt aux pron nm vt aux  
*yana tone mera tonakamematamonaka*  
 yana to- na+M mera to- na- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka , mera  
 start CH AUX 3PL.O away CAUS go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O  
 vi aux pron vt pron

*fora nebanoho*  
 fora na -hiba -no -ho  
 shoot with blowgun AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt aux  
 'He pulverized the poison. He foamed up the poison. He left. He went after them, to shoot them with the blowgun.'<sup>49</sup>

18 *Me fora ne me ye*  
 me fora na+M , me yee  
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S yell  
 pron vt aux pron vi

*nemetemoneheni*  
 na -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 aux  
 'He shot them with the blowgun. They yelled.'

19 *Me kana ni tokomemetemoneke ahi*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi ,  
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux vi dem

*me nowati kiyohibanoho*  
 me nowati kiyo -hiba -no -ho  
 3PL.POSS behind chase FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pron pn vt  
 'They ran away, and he went running after them.'<sup>50</sup>

20 *Fati ahabemetemoneke hikaraboharo*  
 fati ahaba -hemete -mone -ke , hi- karaboha -haaro  
 3SG.POSS.wife die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F OC shoot with blowgun IP.E+F  
 nf vi vt

*iha ya*  
 iha ya  
 plant sp ADJU  
 nm prt

'His wife died when he shot her with poison.'

21 *Fati ahabani weye nematamonaha*  
 fati ahaba -hani weye na -himata -mona -ha  
 3SG.POSS.wife die IP.N+F carry AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vi vt aux

'He carried his wife, who had died.'

22 *Hekamemetemoneke*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ,  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

49 The first occurrence of *mera* is a mistake.

50 The word *kiyohibanoho* is not in the original, Okomobi added it.

## THEY TURNED INTO WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES

***hikabamabanihi***

hi- kaba -ma -haba -ni -hi  
 OC eat back FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 vt

'He brought her back and ate her.'

23 ***Hikabemetemoneke***

hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'He ate her.'

24 ***Fati***

fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf

***tabasi***

tabasi  
 roast on grill  
 vt

***ne***

na+M  
 AUX  
 aux

***fati***

fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf

***kabe***

kaba+M  
 eat  
 vt

***fati***

fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf

***tati***

tati  
 head  
 pn

***waka***

waka  
 break  
 vi

***kane***

ka-  
 COMIT  
 aux

na+M  
 AUX

***fati***

fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf

***tati***

tati  
 head  
 pn

***afone***

soft core  
 pn

***firo***

firo  
 spit  
 vt

***nematamonane***

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

***kobaya***

kobaya  
 collared peccary  
 nm

***metebanihi***

me -tee -ba -ni -hi  
 3PL HAB FUT IP.N+F DUP  
 pron

'He roasted his wife on a grill. He ate his wife. He cracked open his wife's skull. He spit out his wife's brains, and they turned into the first collared peccaries.'

## THE FIRST CORN

### *Free Translation*

They cut down many trees, and burned them.

"Younger brother, come here. When the river floods, when the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here. Bring *mato* fruits without shells. I want to see them. I won't die in the middle of the fire as the new garden burns. I won't die," he said.

He stood on top of the trees that had been felled. "Set fire to the edge of the garden," he said.

They set fire to it. He had a ceramic noisemaker [a wind instrument]. He was wearing feathered armbands, and he had painted his face red with annato. They set fire around him.

"You all move to another village. Put out the fire in the whole garden with water," he said.

At first there were no crops, but he planted crops. They put out the fire. When they burned him, he went into the air. After him there was a noise. His stomach went, "Tooo" when it exploded. He shot into the air. He landed in a stream and lay there.

They went to another village. They didn't see him for a long time. Then his younger brother came after him. "I want to see my older brother again. Mother, my brother said he wasn't going to die."

So he came back, bringing *mato* fruits. "I'm going to roast *mato* fruits on my brother's fire. I will bring *mato* fruits."

He came back and got to their village. "I set fire to my brother here."

He saw the crops, there were many. Pineapple, peach palm, manioc, yams, taro, corn. The older brother had been making a house in the middle of the garden. His younger brother had come after him, and had found him.

They went through where there was no path. The two of them went. They found him in a thick stand of manioc.

"Older brother, is it you?"

"It's me."

He was weaving thatch. His house was big.

"Where are my children?" asked the older brother.

"The children are crying with hunger, and I came back because of them. I am bringing *mato* fruits because there is no way to roast them. Where is your fire?"

"I don't have a fire," he said. "Your grandfather is sitting there. Twist your grandfather's ear, the first *towisi* lizard," said the older brother. So they twisted his ear, and he was scared of the fire that came out and ran away, leaving his fire behind. So he roasted the *mato* fruits.

The day was progressing. It was far back to the other village. "Older brother, I'm going."

"All right, go. You all come back tomorrow."

He was thinking about what he would do to them. He was thinking about his switch, and his pointed darts, to perforate their lips. He made the darts to perforate their lips and ears. It was corn.

"Mother, my older brother said we should go back tomorrow. We are killing the children with hunger. You haven't seen the crops. It happened just as my older brother said. There are crops all over," he said.

So they moved to the other village, and he perforated their lips. They arrived. His mother's

## THE FIRST CORN

lip was perforated, also his younger sisters', his father's, and the children's, all of them. He perforated all their lips. He beat them with a switch, so they could all eat the crops. After he beat them, they brought crops from the garden. He cut the corn stalks to harvest the corn. Then they ate the crops.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kaka</i>	<i>toha</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>
	awa	me	ka- kaa	to- ha+F	me		awa	me	sari
	tree	3PL.S	DUP chop	CH AUX	3PL.S		tree	3PL.S	burn
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron		nf	pron	vt

***kanemetemoneke***

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

"They cut down many trees, and burned the trees."

2	<i>Niso</i>	,	<i>niso</i>	<i>tikamiya</i>
	niso		niso	ti- ka -ma -yahi
	younger brother		younger brother	2SG.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
	nm		nm	vi

"Younger brother, come here."

3	<i>Fa fowe</i>	<i>kisi</i>		<i>ya</i>	,	<i>mato</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>ya</i>
	faha fowe	ka	-risa.NOM+F	ya		mato	sona.NOM+M	ya
	flood	go/come	down	ADJU		tree sp	fall	ADJU
	nf	vi		prt		nm	vi	prt

***tikamiya***

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

"When the river floods, when the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here."

4	<i>Mato</i>	<i>korone</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tikiyahi</i>
	mato	korone	tama	ti- ka- na -yahi
	tree sp	naked+M	hold onto	2SG.S COMMIT AUX DIST.IMP+F
	nm	pn	vt	aux

"Bring *mato* fruits without shells."

5	<i>Owehiba</i>
	o- awa -hiba
	1SG.S see FUT+M
	vt

"I want to see them."

6	<i>Ohabaraba</i>	<i>owa</i>	<i>awine</i>	<i>oke</i>
	o- ahaba -ra -haba	owa	awine	o- ke
	1SG.S die NEG FUT+F	1SG.S	seem+F	1SG.S DECL+F
	vi	pron	sec	prt

"I won't die [in the middle of the fire in the new garden]."

7	<i>Ohabaraba</i>	<i>owa</i>	<i>awine</i>	<i>o</i>
	o- ahaba -ra -haba	owa	awine	o-
	1SG.S die NEG FUT+F	1SG.S	seem+F	1SG.S
	vi	pron	sec	prt

## THE FIRST CORN

"I won't die."

8	<b>Ohabaraba</b>		<b>owa</b>	<b>awine</b>	<b>oke</b>		<b>ati</b>
	o- ahaba -ra -haba	owa awine o- ke					ati
	1SG.S die NEG FUT+F	1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F					say
	vi	pron sec prt					vt

**nematamonaka**

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

"I won't die," he said.'

9	<b>Awa mese ya</b>	<b>warematamonaha</b>					
	awa mese ya	waa -rI -himata -mona -ha					
	tree surface ADJU	stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DUP					
	nf pn prt vi						

'He stood on top of the trees.'

10	<b>Yama te sari na</b>	<b>awa ibotori</b>					<b>ati</b>
	yama tee sari na	awa iboto -ri					ati
	thing 2PL.S burn AUX	garden area beside PN					say
	nf pron vt aux	nf pn					vt

**nematamonaka**

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

"Set fire to the edge of the garden," he said.'

11	<b>Yama me sari</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>				
	yama me sari na	-hemete -mone -ke				
	thing 3PL.S burn AUX	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F				
	nf pron vt aux					

'They set fire to it.'

12	<b>Hohori</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>nematamonaha</b>			
	ho- hori	tama	na -himata -mona -ha			
	DUP play by blowing	hold onto	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP			
	nf	vt	aux			

'He had a noisemaker.'

13	<b>Atohimatamona</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>kanamo</b>	<b>haro</b>	<b>atehe</b>
	ato -himata -mona	ahi	kanamo	haaro	atehe
	be decorated FP.N+M REP+M	then dem	armband nf	that one+F dem	annatto nf
	vi				

**noko mawa kanaharo**  
 noko mawa ka- na -haaro  
 face+M paint red COMMIT AUX IP.E+F  
 pn vt aux

'He was decorated with feathered armbands, and annatto had painted his face red.'

14	<b>Faya me sari</b>	<b>hikanematamonaka</b>				<b>fahi</b>
	faya me sari hi- ka- na	-himata -mona -ka				fahi
	so 3PL.S burn OC	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M				then dem
	conj pron vt aux					

'They set fire [around] him.'

## THE FIRST CORN

15 *Te banibeya*  
 tee bana -be -ya  
 2PL.S move away IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

"You all move to another village."

16 *Awa nafi te yafa niya , fatara*  
 awa nafi tee yafa na -yahi , fatara  
 garden all 2PL.S put something on top of AUX DIST.IMP+F garden  
 nf pn pron vt aux nf

*nafi , ati nematamonaka*  
 nafi ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 all say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vt aux

"Put out all the burning garden with water," he said.'

17 *Yamata watawata ri ya , yamata watateri*  
 yamata wata- wata na -ra.NOM+F ya , yamata wata -tee -ra.NOM+F  
 crops DUP exist AUX NEG ADJU crops exist HAB NEG  
 nf vi aux prt nf vi

*ya yamata yama nematamonaka*  
 ya yamata yama na -himata -mona -ka  
 ADJU crops work on AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 prt nf vt aux

'At first there were no crops, but he planted crops.'

18 *Faya yama me yafa na me , me sari*  
 faya yama me yafa na+F me , me sari  
 so thing 3PL.S put something on top of AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S burn  
 conj nf pron vt aux pron pron vt

*hikane tokematamonaka ahi*  
 hi- ka- na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 OC COMIT AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux vi dem

'They put out the fire. When they burned him, he went into the air.'

19 *Nowati moni yana tonakosematamona amane*  
 nowati moni yana to- na -kosa -himata -mona ama -ne  
 after sound start CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 pn pn vi aux sec

'After him there was a noise.'

20 *Tooo nabati moni nematamonaka ahi*  
 tooo nabati moni na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 (sound of explosion) stomach make sound AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 sound pn vt aux dem

'His stomach went, "Tooo" [when it exploded].'

21 *Tokematamonaka neme ya*  
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka neme ya  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M sky ADJU  
 vi nf prt

'He went up into the air.'

THE FIRST CORN

22 *Tobokawitimatamona* *faha* *ya* , *fare*  
 to- boka -witI -himata -mona faha ya , fare  
 away enter water out FP.N+M REP+M water ADJU same+M  
 vi nf prt dem

*hofabano* *ya* .  
 hofa.NOM+M -ba -no ya  
 be in water FUT IP.N+M ADJU  
 vi prt  
 'He landed in a stream and lay there.'

23 *Me* *bana* *me* *tokomabismetemone* *me* *ama*  
 me bana+F me to- ka -ma -bisa -hemete -mone me ama  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away go/come back also FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC  
 pron vi pron vi pron sec

*fa* .  
 faa  
 that  
 dem  
 'They went to another village.'

24 *Me* *tokoma* *me* , *me* *aawama* *na*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me , me a- awa -ma.LIST na  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP see back AUX  
 pron vi pron pron vt aux

*hiare* *nisori*  
 hi- to- ha -ra+M nisori  
 OC CH AUX NEG 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 aux nm

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

'They went and didn't see him for a long time. Then his younger brother came after him.'

25 *Okoyo* *owamamatibe*  
 o- ka ayo o- to- awa -ma -mata -be  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F  
 nm vt

'''I want to see my older brother again.'''

26 *Ami* , *okoyo* *ahabarehibona* *ati*  
 ami o- ka ayo ahaba -ra -hibona ati  
 mother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die NEG INT+M say  
 nf nm vi vt

*nofe* *ama* .  
 na nofa+M ama  
 AUX recently SEC  
 prt sec

'''Mother, my older brother said he wasn't going to die.'''

27 *Faya* *kamematamonaka*  
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi

'So he came back.'

## THE FIRST CORN

28 **Kame** , **mato** **tama** **kanematamonane**  
 ka -ma+M , mato tama ka- na -himata -mona -ne  
 go/come back tree sp hold onto COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi nm vt aux

'He came back bringing *mato* fruits strung on a line.'

29 **Mato** **oyokibe** **okoyo** **ka**  
 mato o- yoka -be o- ka ayo ka  
 tree sp 1SG.S roast on coals IMMED+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother POSS  
 nm vt nm prt

**yifo**  
 yifo  
 fire  
 nf

'I'm going to roast *mato* fruits on my older brother's fire.'

30 **Mato** **tama** **okobe**  
 mato tama o- ka- na -be  
 tree sp hold onto 1SG.S COMMIT AUX IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

'I will bring *mato* fruits.'

31 **Kame** **me** **tabori** **wasime**  
 ka -ma+M me tabori wasi -ma+M  
 go/come back 3PL.POSS place+F find back  
 vi pron pn vt

**Okoyo** **sari** **okiro** **ama** **ahi**  
 o- ka ayo sari o- ka- na.NOM+F -ro ama ahi  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother burn 1SG.S COMMIT AUX RP.E+F be here  
 nm vt aux vc dem

'He came back and got to their village. "I set fire to my older brother here.'

32 **Yamata** **tamemetemone** **amani** **hiwasimaharo**  
 yamata tama -hemete -mone ama -ni hi- wasi -ma -haaro  
 crops be many FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F OC find back IP.E+F  
 nf vi sec vt

'He came on the crops, which were many.'

33 **Yamata** **hiwasima** **tamemetemone** **amake**  
 yamata hi- wasi -ma+F tama -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 crops OC find back be many FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 nf vt vi sec

'The crops that he came on were many.'

34 **Sami** , **yawita** **fowa** , **biha** **haso** , **nakarifa** , **yama**  
 sami , yawita fowa , biha haso , nakarifa , yama  
 pineapple peach palm manioc yam taro sp taro sp thing  
 nf nm nm nf nm nf nf

**tamemetemone** **ama** **kimi**  
 tama -hemete -mone ama kimi  
 be many FP.N+F REP+F SEC corn  
 vi sec nm

'Pineapple, peach palm, manioc, yams, taro, there were many, corn.'



## THE FIRST CORN

35 *Yobe*     *yayama*     *toematamonaka*     *yobe*     *fatara*     *baikani*  
 yobe     ya- yama     to- ha -himata -mona -ka     yobe     fatara     baikani  
 house     DUP make     CH     AUX FP.N+M     REP+M     DECL+M     house     garden     middle  
 nm     vt     aux     nm     nf     pn

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'He had been making a house in the middle of the garden.'

36 *Fatara*     *baikani*     *ya*     *yobe*     *yama*     *ne*     ,     *nisori*  
 fatara     baikani     ya     yobe     yama     na+M     ,     nisori  
 garden     middle     ADJU     house     make     AUX     3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 nf     pn     prt     nm     vt     aux     nm

*hinakame*     ,     *hiwasime*     *hiwasimematamonaka*  
 hi- na- ka     -ma+M     ,     hi- wasi -ma+M     hi- wasi -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 OC CAUS go/come back     OC find back     OC find back FP.N+M     REP+M     DECL+M  
 vt     vt     vt

'He was making a house in the middle of the garden. His younger brother had come after him, and had found him.'

37 *Hiwasime*     ,     *hiwasime*     *yama*     ,     *yama*  
 hi- wasi -ma+M     ,     hi- wasi -ma+M     yama     ,     yama  
 OC find back     OC find back     thing     thing  
 vt     vt     nf     nf

*tokitokihinari*     *me*     *tokemetemone*  
 toki- to- ka     -hina -ra.NOM+F     me     to- ka     -hemete -mone  
 DUP away go/come can     NEG     3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F     REP+F  
 vi     pron     vi

'He found him. They went through where there was no path.'<sup>51</sup>

38 *Me*     *towaketemoneke*  
 me     to- ka- ka     -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F     REP+F     DECL+F  
 pron     vi

'The two of them went.'

39 *Yama*     ,     *tataraba*     *ri*     *ya*     *fowa*     *iso*     ,  
 yama     ta- taa     -raba na -ra.NOM+F     ya     fowa     iso  
 thing     DUP be dense a bit     AUX NEG     ADJU     manioc stalk+M  
 nf     vi     aux     prt     nm     pn

*botone*     ,     *me*     *hiwasiwitimatamona*     *fahi*  
 botone     me     hi- to- wasi -witI -himata -mona     fahi  
 bunch+M     3PL.S     OC away find out     FP.N+M     REP+M     then  
 pn     pron     vt     dem

'In a thick stand of manioc they found him.'

40 *Ayo*     *afa*     *ama*     *ti*     ?  
 ayo     afa     ama     ti-  
 older brother     this+F     be     2SG.S  
 nm     dem     vc     prt

'"Older brother, is it you?"'

51 There should be *ya* after *tokitokihinari* to mark the adjunct.





## THE FIRST CORN

57 *Ee* , *tikamiya*  
 ee , ti- to- ka -ma -yahi  
 yes 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F  
 interj vi  
 "All right, go."

58 *Te* *kamaminiya* , *mera* *wati*  
 tee ka -ma -mina -yahi , mera wati  
 2PL.S go/come back morning DIST.IMP+F 3PL.O plan against  
 pron vi pron vt

*kanenoho* *hinaka* *kokosi* , *sare* *ini* ,  
 ka- na -hino -ho hinaka ko- kosi , sarehe ini ,  
 COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP 3SG.POSS DUP flail blowgun dart point+F  
 aux pron nf nf pn  
*me* *witi* *taibonehe*  
 me witi tahi -bone -he  
 3PL.POSS nose instrument INT+F DUP  
 pron pn pn

"You all come back tomorrow." He was thinking about what he would do to them, and his switch, and his pointed darts, to perforate their lips.'

59 *Me* *boni* *taibonehe* *me* *warabi* ,  
 me boni tahi -bone -he me warabi ,  
 3PL.POSS upper lip+F instrument INT+F DUP 3PL.POSS ear+F  
 pron pn pn pron pn

*taibone* *yama* *nematamonaka*  
 tahi -bone yama na -himata -mona -ka  
 instrument INT+F make AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vt aux

'He made the things to perforate their lips and ears.'

60 *Kimi* *kimi* *kimimatamonaka*  
 kimi kimi kimi -mata -mona -ka  
 corn corn corn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm nm nm

'It was corn.'

61 *Ami* *e* *tokomaminabone*  
 ami ee to- ka -ma -mina -habone  
 mother 1IN.S away go/come back morning INT+F  
 nf pron vi

*okoyo* *ati* *nahare*  
 o- ka ayo ati na -hare  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother say AUX IP.E+M  
 nm vt aux

"Mother, my older brother said we should go back tomorrow."

62 *Mate* *fimiha* *e* *katomi* *nofa* *ere*  
 matehe fimi+F ee katoma nofa+F ere  
 children be hungry 1IN.S damage recently 1IN.S  
 nf vi pron vt prt pron

"The children are hungry, and we are killing them."

63 *Yamata* *te* *awi* *toheri*  
 yamata tee awa to- ha -ra.NOM+F  
 crops 2PL.S see CH AUX NEG  
 nf pron vt aux

THE FIRST CORN

"You haven't seen the crops."

64 *Okoyo* , *e* *nabamako*  
 o- ka ayo , ee na -ba -mako  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be similar AUX FUT for this reason+M  
 nm vi aux  
*okoyo* *ati* *sasai* *toenoka*  
 o- ka ayo ati sa- sai to- ha -hino -ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother voice DUP be heard CH AUX IP.N+M DECL+M  
 nm pn vi aux

"It happened just as my older brother said."

65 *Yamata* *tamakanikimaharani* *ati* *nematamonane*  
 yamata tama -kanikima -hara -ni ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 crops be many scattered IP.E+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vi vt aux

"There are crops all over," he said.'

66 *Me* *banemetemone* *amake* *fahi* , *me* *boni*  
 me bana -hemete -mone ama -ke fahi , me boni  
 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then 3PL.POSS upper lip+F  
 pron vi sec dem pron pn  
*moto* *hinabani* *mati*  
 moto hi- na -haba -ni mati  
 pierce OC AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 vt aux pron

'So they moved to the other village, and he perforated their lips.'

67 *Me* *kobo* *nama* *me* , *mati* *boni*  
 me kobo na -ma+F me , mati boni  
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.mother upper lip+F  
 pron vi aux pron nf pn  
*moto* , *hinakasimarawaha* *bati*  
 moto.LIST , hinaka asima -rawa -ha.LIST bati  
 pierce 3SG.POSS younger sister F.PL DUP 3SG.POSS.father  
 vt nf nm

*bono* *moto* , *matehe* *boni* , *me* *nafi*  
 bono moto.LIST , matehe boni.LIST , me nafi  
 upper lip+M pierce children upper lip+F 3PL.POSS all  
 pn vt nf pn pron pn

'They arrived. His mother had her lip perforated, also his younger sisters; his father had his lip perforated, also the children's lips, all of them.'

68 *Me* *nafi* *boni* *moto* *nematamonaka*  
 me nafi boni moto na -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.POSS all upper lip+F pierce AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron pn pn vt aux

'He perforated all their lips.'

69 *Mera* *kosi* *nawematamonaka* *kokosi* *ya* *me*  
 mera kosi na -waha -himata -mona -ka ko- kosi ya me  
 3PL.O flail AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M DUP flail ADJU 3PL.POSS  
 pron vt aux nf prt pron

*nafi* *me* *tafabone* *mati* *yama* *me* *kababone* *mati*  
 nafi me tafa -habone mati yama me kaba -habone mati  
 all 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.S thing 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.S  
 pn pron vi pron nf pron vt pron

## THE FIRST CORN

'He beat them with a switch, so they could all eat, so they could eat the crops.'

70 *Kokosi ya me kosi hiwemetemoneni*  
 ko- kosi ya me kosi hi- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
 DUP flail ADJU 3PL.O flail OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf prt pron vt aux

'He beat them with a switch.'

71 *Me kosi hina me , yamata me iso*  
 me kosi hi- na+F me , yamata me iso  
 3PL.O flail OC AUX 3PL.O crops 3PL.S carry off  
 pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

*nawahemetemoneke fahi*  
 na -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'After he beat them, they brought crops [from the garden].'

72 *Yamata , ti nawahematamona kimi*  
 yamata , tii na -waha -himata -mona kimi  
 crops cut through AUX change FP.N+M REP+M corn  
 nf vt aux nm

'He cut the corn stalks.'

73 *Yama me kabawemetemone amake fahi*  
 yama me kaba -waha -hemete -mone ama -ke fahi  
 thing 3PL.S eat change FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then  
 nf pron vt sec dem

'Then they ate the crops.'

# OWINE

## *Free Translation*

"I'm going fishing. I'm going to fish *sakos* with hook and line," he said. He started fishing. He was sitting on a log over the stream. He was fishing, sitting on the log. He caught a fish and was hitting it on the head, when an alligator bit his arm. The alligator took him underwater. He came out of the water, and fell onto the bank of the stream. He lay there, with his arm just a stump.

He came back to the village, hurt. The alligator had eaten his arm. The alligator had taken his arm off. His arm was just a stump. The alligator had bitten off half of his arm.

"What happened to our grandfather's arm?" the children said.

"I have come home, after an alligator bit off my arm," he said, after fishing. He was fishing, and when he went to hit the fish on the head, the alligator bit off his arm. The fish's flapping on the end of the line brought him misfortune. He was alone. He picked up the fish and went home with his arm a stump. He went home. "The *sako* fish caused me misfortune, because the alligator ate my arm," he said.

He was married. He didn't have any children. He was fishing alone.

The one who had only one arm used to weave makeshift baskets, to put fish in. He weaved baskets quickly at dusk. He weaved a makeshift basket at sunset, to carry fish in. He fished with one arm. He hunted white-lipped peccaries. My father used to say he yelled to make the peccaries run. His name was Mano Kote. He carried a machete in his hand. He carried a machete as he scared the peccaries. He directed them to where the others were waiting, and they shot them with arrows, the Banawás. His name is Owine, he was a Banawá. He wasn't an ancestor of ours. Owine was from another tribe. He was a Banawá.

## *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Fa koro omatibe*  
faha koro o- na -mata -be  
water throw 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
nf vt aux

"I'm going fishing."

2 *Sako okanawasimatibeya ati*  
sako o- ka- na- wasi -mata -be -ya ati  
fish sp 1SG.S COMIT CAUS find short time IMMED+F now say  
nf vt vt

*nematamonaka*  
na -himata -mona -ka  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

"I'm going to fish *sakos* with hook and line," he said.'

OWINE

3 **Fa koro nematamona**  
 faha koro na -himata -mona  
 water throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt aux

'He started fishing.'

4 **Awa mese ya itarimatamonaka**  
 awa mese ya ita -rI -himata -mona -ka  
 tree surface ADJU sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf pn prt vi

'He was sitting on a long over the stream.'

5 **Awa mese ya itari fa koro ne aba tati**  
 awa mese ya ita -rI+M faha koro na+M aba tati  
 tree surface ADJU sit raised surface water throw AUX fish head  
 nf pn prt vi nf vt aux nm pn

**ba nare** , **mano inohowe wai**  
 baa na -rI mano inohowe wai  
 hit AUX raised surface arm+M alligator sp bite  
 vt aux pn nm vt

**hinematamonaka ahi**  
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He was fishing, sitting on the log. He caught a fish and was hitting it on the head, when an alligator bit his arm.'

6 **Inohowe hekamematamona boti ya**  
 inohowe hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona boti ya  
 alligator sp OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M way down ADJU  
 nm vt nf prt

'The alligator took him underwater.'

7 **Sonematamonaka**  
 sona -himata -mona -ka  
 fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came out of the water, and fell onto the bank of the stream.'

8 **Homematamona mano kote toahari**  
 homa -himata -mona mano kote to- ha -haari  
 lie on ground FP.N+M REP+M arm+M piece CH be IP.E+M  
 vi pn pn vc

'He lay there, with his arm just a stump.'

9 **Faya kakamatamonaka fahi**  
 faya ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'He came back to the village, hurt.'

10 **Inohowe mano hikabematamonaka**  
 inohowe mano hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka  
 alligator sp arm+M OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pn vt

'The alligator had eaten his arm.'



OWINE

11 *Faya kamematamonaka fahi inohowe mano*  
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi , inohowe mano  
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then alligator sp arm+M  
 conj vi dem nm pn

*hekamahari*

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

'He came back to the village. The alligator had taken his arm off.'

12 *Mano kote toematamonaka*  
 mano kote to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 arm+M piece CH be FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn pn vc

'His arm was just a stump.'

13 *Mano enoki inohowe yai hisematamonaka*  
 mano eenoki inohowe yai hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 arm+M middle alligator sp bite off OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn pn nm vt aux

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'The alligator had bitten off half of his arm.'

14 *Faya Okiti mano okiti mano*  
 faya o- ka iti mano o- ka iti mano  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather arm+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather arm+M  
 conj nm pn nm pn

*himata ebe nenoho ? me ati nemetemonehe*  
 himata ebe na -hino -ho me ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 what? happen to AUX IP.N+M DUP 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 interrog vt aux pron vt aux

'"What happened to my grandfather's arm?" the children said.'

15 *Inohowe inohowe omano yai nakose*  
 inohowe inohowe o- mano yai na -kosa+M  
 alligator sp alligator sp 1SG.POSS arm+M bite off AUX middle  
 nm nm pn vt aux

*owakamine oni ati nematamonane*  
 o- ka- ka -ma -ne o- ni ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi prt vt aux

*mano , fa koro nari*  
 mano , faha koro na -haari  
 arm+M water throw AUX IP.E+M  
 pn nf vt aux

'"I have come home, after an alligator bit off my arm," he said, after fishing.'

16 *Fa koro ne aba tati ba narebona mano*  
 faha koro na+M aba tati baa na -rI -hibona mano  
 water throw AUX fish head hit AUX raised surface INT+M arm+M  
 nf vt aux nm pn vt aux pn

## OWINE

**inohowe yai hisematamonaka**  
 inohowe yai hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 alligator sp bite off OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt aux

'He was fishing, and when he went to hit the fish on the head, the alligator bit off his arm.'

17 **Aba kitikiti ne hiyokomatamonaka**  
 aba kitikiti na+M hi- yoko -himata -mona -ka  
 fish flap AUX OC bring misfortune on FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi aux vt

'The fish's flapping on the end of the line brought him misfortune.'

18 **Oharimatamonane**  
 ohari -himata -mona -ne  
 be alone FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He was alone.'

19 **Sako fana tama karawe**  
 sako fana tama ka- na -rawa+M  
 fish sp female hold onto COMMIT AUX F.PL  
 nf nf vt aux

**tokomematamonaka mano kote**  
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka mano kote  
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M arm+M piece  
 vi pn pn

'He picked up the fish and went home with his arm a stump.'

20 **Faya tokome Sako owa sako owa me**  
 faya to- ka -ma+M sako owa sako owa me  
 so away go/come back fish sp 1SG.O fish sp 1SG.O 3PL.S  
 conj vi nf pron nf pron pron

**yokoha okomine o onohowe**  
 yoko+F o- ka -ma -ne o- onohowe  
 bring misfortune on 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S alligator  
 vt vi prt nm

**omano kabe owa ati nematamonaha**  
 o- mano kaba+M owa ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 1SG.POSS arm eat 1SG.POSS say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pn vt pron vt aux

**fanahari**  
 fana -haari  
 be married IP.E+M  
 vi

'He went home. "The sako fish caused me misfortune, because the alligator ate my arm," he said. He was married.'

21 **Fanematamonaka**  
 fana -himata -mona -ka  
 be married FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He was married.'

22 **Biti me sawiremetemoneni**  
 biti me sawi -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S be present NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vi

OWINE

'He didn't have any children.'

23 *Oharimatamonaka*

ohari -himata -mona -ka  
be one FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi

'He was alone.'

24 *Faya* , *yama* *mani* *tamara* *tabasi* *kokowa*  
faya yama mani tama -ra+F tabasi ko- kowa  
so thing arm+F be many NEG makeshift basket DUP weave  
conj nf pn vi nf vt

*toemetemone* *ini* *amani* , *aba* *me*  
to- ha -hemete -mone ini ama -ni aba me  
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F name+F be BKG+F fish 3PL.POSS  
aux pn vc nm pron

*wiyebonehe* *kowahari*  
wiye -bone -he kowa -haari  
container+F INT+F DUP weave IP.E+M  
pn vt

'The one who had only one arm used to weave makeshift baskets, to put fish in.'

25 *Tabasi* *bao tokomarokabote* *kane* *ati* ,  
tabasi bao tokomaro -kabote ka- na.NOM+M ati  
makeshift basket be fast quickly COMMIT AUX voice  
nf vi aux pn

*tabasi* *kowahari* *bahi* *toke* *ya*  
tabasi kowa -haari bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya  
makeshift basket weave IP.E+M sun away go/come ADJU  
nf vt nm vi prt

'He weaved baskets quickly at dusk.'<sup>52</sup>

26 *Bahi* *toke* *ya* *tabasi* *kowematamonaka*  
bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya tabasi kowa -himata -mona -ka  
sun away go/come ADJU makeshift basket weave FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm vi prt nf vt

*aba* *me* *wiyebonehe*  
aba me wiye -bone -he  
fish 3PL.POSS container+F INT+F DUP  
nm pron pn

'He weaved a makeshift basket at sunset, to carry fish in.'

27 *Mano* *ohari* *ya* *fa* *kokoro* *toematamonaka*  
mano ohari+M ya faha ko- koro to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
arm+M be one ADJU water DUP throw CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pn vi prt nf vt aux

'He fished with one arm.'

28 *Hiyama* *me* *mowa* *nawaha* *na*  
hiyama me mowa na -waha.LIST na  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O fight AUX change AUX  
nm pron vt aux aux

*toematamona* *ino* *amane* *hiyama* *mati*  
to- ha -himata -mona ino ama -ne hiyama mati  
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M be BKG+M white-lipped peccary 3PL  
aux pn vc nm pron

52 Nowadays people say *bao tokomarokabote ne*, so I am unsure of the analysis of *kane* in the original.

OWINE

'He hunted white-lipped peccaries.'

29	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ye</b>	<b>kanematamona</b>						
	hiyama		me	yee	ka- na -himata -mona						
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	yell	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M						
	nm		pron	vi	aux						
	<b>okobi</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>hiehimari</b>		<b>ino</b>	<b>amaka</b>	<b>ahi</b>			
	o- ka abi		ati na	hi- to- ha -himari		ino	ama -ka	ahi			
	1SG.POSS POSS father		say AUX	OC CH AUX FP.E+M		name+M	be DECL+M	then			
	nm		vt	aux		pn	vc	dem			
	, <b>Mano Kote</b>		, <b>yimawa</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>nari</b>						
	Mano Kote		yimawa	tama	na -haari						
	(man's name)		knife	hold onto	AUX IP.E+M						
	npropm		nf	vt	aux						

'My father used to say he yelled to make the peccaries run. His name was Mano Kote. He carried a machete in his hand.'

30	<b>Yimawa</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>e</b>
	yimawa	tama	na+M	hiyama	me	ee
	knife	hold onto	AUX	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	yell
	nf	vt	aux	nm	pron	vi

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

'He carried a machete as he scared the peccaries.'

31	<b>Ye</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>nokomakane</b>	<b>ahi</b>	, <b>me</b>	<b>nao</b>	<b>ya</b>	, <b>me</b>
	yee	na.NFIN	noko -ma -kane	ahi	, me	naho.NOM	ya	, me
	yell	AUX	point back ?+M	there	3PL.S	stand	ADJU	3PL.O
	vi	aux	vi	dem	pron	vi	prt	pron
	<b>me</b>	<b>tisa</b>	<b>hinahabani</b>	<b>mati</b>	, <b>bato yafi</b>	<b>mati</b>		
	me	tisa	hi- na -haba -ni	mati	, bato yafi	mati		
	3PL.S	shoot with arrow	OC AUX FUT+F IP.N+F	3PL.O	Banawá	3PL		
	pron	vt	aux	pron	npropm	pron		

'He directed them to where the others were waiting, and they shot them with arrows, the Banawás.'

32	<b>Bato yafi</b>	<b>ino</b>	<b>amaka</b>	, <b>Owine</b>
	bato yafi	ino	ama -ka	, Owine
	Banawá	name+M	be DECL+M	(man's name)
	npropm	pn	vc	npropm

'His name is Owine, he was a Banawá.'

33	<b>E</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>iti</b>	<b>boteri</b>	<b>amakara</b>
	ee	ka	iti	bote -ri	ama -ka -ra+M
	1IN	POSS	grandfather	old PN	be DECL+M NEG
	pron	prt	nm	pn	vc

'He wasn't an ancestor of ours.'

34	<b>Bare</b>	<b>ino</b>	<b>amaka</b>	, <b>Owine</b>
	bare	ino	ama -ka	, Owine
	other+M	name+M	be DECL+M	(man's name)
	adj	pn	vc	npropm

'Owine was from another tribe.'

## OWINE

35 *Bato yafi*      *ino*      *amaka*      .  
bato yafi    ino      ama -ka  
Banawá      name+M    SEC DECL+M  
npropm      pn          sec  
'He was a Banawá.'



## KILLED BY A VINE

4 **Mato bobi hisematamonaka** , **ahi** , **toro** .  
 mato bobi hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka ahi , toro  
 vine slit OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there guts+M  
 nf vt aux dem pn

'The vine cut him open in the middle.'

5 **Kakame** , **ahaba** , **nematamonane** , **me**  
 ka- ka -ma+M ahaba.LIST na -himata -mona -ne , me  
 COMMIT go/come back die AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S  
 vt vi aux pron

**hiwarari** , **me** , **hiwasibanoho** .  
 hi- awa -ra -haari , me hi- wasi -hiba -no -ho  
 OC see NEG IP.E+M 3PL.S OC find FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt pron vt

'As he tried to come back, he died, and no one saw him. They found him afterwards.'

6 **Tabiyo me hiwaremata** , **awaka** .  
 tabiyo me hi- awa -ra -himata awa -ka  
 absence 3PL.S OC feel NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 pn pron vt sec

'Apparently they didn't remember him.'

## AIROWA (2)

### *Free Translation*

Airowa went into the swamp. They were running after white-lipped peccaries. He shot peccaries with arrows. He ran with two arrows [that were left]. He went after them. He jumped into a hole without seeing it. He fell into the hole.

"Where is my son?" said his father.

"Who knows? The two of them went running that way."

They followed his trail. He had gone beside the trail of the peccaries.

"Brother-in-law, we went there. Here's where he ran," his brother-in-law said. [Airowa had been running ahead of his companion.]

They followed his trail. They found the evidence of him having fallen in the hole. The bow was nowhere to be found. But pieces of his arrows came floating up to the surface.

"My son fell in the hole. You guys cut some small trees to make poles."

They cut some poles. They poked down in the water to see if they could reach him.

"Grab on a pole," they said. He didn't grab on a pole.

They carried the game he had killed, white-lipped peccaries. The father took his son's game home. So they came home. They grieved. They grieved because Airowa had fallen into a hole.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Airowa*                    *boka*  
 Airowa                    boka.LIST  
 (man's name)    enter water  
 npropm                vi

'Airowa went into the swamp.'

2 *Hiyama*                                    *me*        *me*        *mowa*    *na*        ,    *hiyama*  
 hiyama                                    me        me        mowa    na+F        hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    3PL.S    fight    AUX        white-lipped peccary  
 nm                                        pron    pron    vt        aux        nm

*me*        *tisa*                                    *nematamonaka*  
 me        tisa                                    na -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.O    shoot with arrow    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 pron    vt                                        aux

'They were running after white-lipped peccaries. He shot peccaries with arrows.'

3 *Hiyama*                                    *me*        *tisa*                                    *ne*        *wati*        *fame*        *bete*  
 hiyama                                    me        tisa                                    na+M    wati        fama+M    bete  
 white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    shoot with arrow    AUX    arrow    be two    run  
 nm                                        pron    vt                                    aux    nm        vi        vi

*kawahe*                                    *tokomake*                                    *kana*    *ni*  
 ka-    na    -waha+M    to-    ka                                    -maki    kana    na.NFIN  
 COMMIT AUX change    away go/come    following    run    AUX  
 aux                                        vi                                        vi        aux



AIROWA (2)

<b>tokomake</b>		<b>yora</b>	<b>tonamake</b>		<b>hotinihi</b>	<b>ya</b>
to- ka -makI		yora	to- na -makI	,	hoti -ni -hi	ya
away go/come following		jump	away AUX following		hole IP.N+F DUP	ADJU
vi		vi	aux		nf	prt
<b>sonematamonaka</b>		<b>hoti</b>	<b>ya</b>	.		
sona -himata -mona -ka		hoti	ya			
fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		hole	ADJU			
vi		nf	prt			

'He shot peccaries with arrows. He ran with two arrows. He went after them. He went running after them. He jumped into a hole without seeing it. He fell into the hole.'

4	<b>Okatao</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ra</b>	?	<b>bati</b>	<b>ati</b>
	okatao	ee	na -ra		bati	ati
	my son	(question)	AUX CQ+M		3SG.POSS.father	say
	nm	vi	aux		nm	vt

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

"Where is my son?" said his father.'

5	<b>E</b>	<b>awari</b>	.
	ee	awa -ra.NOM+F	
	1IN.S	see NEG	
	pron	vi	

"Who knows?"

6	<b>Me</b>	<b>towakamaki</b>		<b>amake</b>	,	<b>me</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>
	me	to- ka- ka	-makI.NOM	ama -ke		me	kana	na.NFIN
	3PL.S	away COMIT go/come following		be DECL+F		3PL.S	run	AUX
	pron	vi		vc		pron	vi	aux

"The two of them went running that way."

7	<b>Teme</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hikiyo</b>	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>nowati</b>
	teme	me	hi- kiyo+M	hiyama		me	nowati
	footprint+M	3PL.S	OC chase	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	behind
	pn	pron	vt	nm		pron	pn

<b>beri</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>tokomake</b>		<b>Wabori</b>	,	<b>wabori</b>
beheri	ya	to- ka -makI		wabori		wabori
side	ADJU	away go/come following		brother-in-law		brother-in-law
pn	prt	vi		voc		voc

<b>ota</b>	<b>towakamaki</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>ahi</b>	.
otaa	to- ka- ka	-makI.NOM	ama	ahi	
1EX.S	away COMIT go/come following		be	there	
pron	vi		vc	dem	

"They followed his trail. He had gone beside the trail of the peccaries. "Brother-in-law, we went there."

8	<b>Kana</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>toke</b>	<b>amake</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>wabori</b>
	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka.NOM+M	ama -ke	ahi	wabori
	run	AUX	away go/come	be DECL+F	here	3SG.POSS brother-in-law
	vi	aux	vi	vc	dem	nm

**ati nematamonane**  
ati na -himata -mona -ne  
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
vt aux

"Here's where he ran," his brother-in-law said.'

AIROWA (2)

9 *Ene* , *ene* *me* *hikiyo* *ehene* *me*  
 ehene , ehene me hi- kiyo+M ehene me  
 result of+M result of+M 3PL.S OC chase result of+M 3PL.S  
 pn pn pron vt pn pron  
*hiwasimakimatamonaka* , *hinaka* *hoti* *soneno*  
 hi- to- wasi -makI -himata -mona -ka , hinaka hoti sona -hino  
 OC away find following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS hole fall IP.N+M  
 vt pron nf vi

*karo*  
 karo  
 which  
 prt  
 'They followed his trail. They found signs of him, his hole that he had fallen into.'

10 *Titisa* *wataremetemonehe*  
 ti- tisa wata -ra -hemete -mone -he  
 DUP shoot with arrow exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nf vi

'There was no bow.'

11 *Wati* *ta* *kote* *tafo* *kamisamematamonaka*  
 wati taa kote tafo ka- na -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 arrow contrast piece float COMMIT AUX up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm prt pn vi aux

'But pieces of his arrows came floating up to the surface.'

12 *Okatao* *sonekano* *hoti* *ya*  
 okatao sona -ka -no hoti ya  
 my son fall DECL+M IP.N+M hole ADJU  
 nm vi nf prt

'My son fell in the hole.'

13 *Awa* *te* *titi* *nakosa* *na*  
 awa tee ti- tii na -kosa na  
 tree 2PL.S DUP cut through AUX middle AUX  
 nf pron vt aux aux

'You guys cut some trees.'

14 *Awa* *me* *ti* *na* *awa* *me* *ti* *na* *me*  
 awa me tii na+F awa me tii na+F me  
 tree 3PL.S cut through AUX tree 3PL.S cut through AUX 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron

*bori* *hinematamonane*  
 bori hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 poke OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'They cut some poles. They poked down in the water to see if they could reach him.'

15 *Awa* *wara* *tina* *me* *ati* *nemetemoneni*  
 awa wara ti- to- na me ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 wood grab 2SG.S CH AUX 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf vt aux pron vt aux

'Grab on a pole,' they said.'

AIROWA (2)

16 *Awa wara torematamonaka*  
 awa wara to- na -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 tree grab CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vt aux  
 'He didn't grab on a pole.'

17 *Ehene me weye hinematamonaka*  
 ehene me weye hi- na -himata -mona -ka  
 victim of+M 3PL.S carry OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn pron vt aux  
*hiyama mati*  
 hiyama mati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL  
 nm pron  
 'They carried the game he had killed, white-lipped peccaries.'

18 *Bati bati ehene*  
 bati bati ehene  
 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father victim of+M  
 nm nm pn  
*hekamematamonane*  
 hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt  
 'His father took his game home.'

19 *Faya me kama me me yawa me me*  
 faya me ka -ma+F me me yawa+F me me  
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron pron nf pron pron  
*yawemetemoneke* , *Airowa sone ehene*  
 yawa -hemete -mone -ke Airowa sona+M ehene  
 be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (man's name) fall because of+M  
 vi npropm vi post  
 'So they came home. They grieved. They grieved because Airowa had fallen.'

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE WATER

### *Free Translation*

They caught fish with their hands, in the water. There were no arrows. They ate the fish. They didn't have arrows. Nobody knew about arrows yet. They didn't have arrows, so they got in the water and fished with their hands. They lived at the place that is now Yawa Me Fawa Kani. They lived there and caught fish with their hands, and they disappeared as they were fishing with their hands. They all dove into the water. They all dove in, disappeared, then came out again. Then one of them saw something, and came out, too.

He came out of the water. "Did you see something?" he said.

"What thing?"

"I saw something, and came back. We have been fishing here with our hands, and something wants to kill us," he said.

"We shouldn't let that thing keep us from getting fish. Let's go look at the thing," they said. They were about to disappear. They went, and did not come back. They went splashing into the deep water. They didn't come back. Apparently one of them was left alone standing on the bank. He must have told the story.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wawata</i>		<i>tohemetemoneni</i>			<i>wati</i>
	aba	me	me	wa- wata		to- ha -hemete -mone -ni			wati
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP catch		CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F			arrow
	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux			nm

	<i>watare</i>		<i>ya</i>		<i>fa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>afi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>mati</i>
	wata	-ra.NOM+M	ya		faha	me	afi	na+F	mati
	exist	NEG	ADJUNCT		water	3PL.S	bathe in	AUX	3PL.S
	vi		prt		nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

'They caught fish with their hands, in the water. There were no arrows.'

2	<i>Fa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>afi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wawata</i>
	faha	me	afi	na+F	me	aba	me	me	wa- wata
	water	3PL.S	bathe in	AUX	3PL.S	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP catch
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nm	pron	pron	vt

	<i>toha</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kakaba</i>	<i>tohemetemoneni</i>
	to- ha+F	me	aba	me	me	ka- kaba	to- ha -hemete -mone -ni
	CH AUX	3PL.S	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP eat	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
	aux	pron	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux

	<i>wati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kihara</i>	<i>mati</i>
	wati	me	kiha -ra+F	mati
	arrow	3PL.S	have NEG	3PL.S
	nm	pron	vt	pron

'They caught fish with their hands, in the water. They ate the fish. They didn't have arrows.'

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE WATER

3 *Wati e awaremata amaka*  
 wati ee awa -ra -himata ama -ka  
 arrow 1IN.S see NEG FP.N+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm pron vt sec

'Nobody knew about arrows yet.'

4 *Wati me kihara me aafi tohemetemoneni*  
 wati me kiha -ra+F me a- afi to- ha -hemete -mone -ni  
 arrow 3PL.S have NEG 3PL.S DUP bathe CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron vt pron vi aux

*aba me me afi na mati*  
 aba me me afi na+F mati  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S bathe with AUX 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

'They didn't have arrows, so they got in the water and fished with their hands.'

5 *Me wiwina tohimetemone Yawa Me Fawa Kani*  
 me wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone Yawa Me Fawa Kani  
 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F (place name)  
 pron vi aux fpropn

*tohawaineke haro*  
 to- ha -waha -ne -ke haaro  
 CH be change CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 vc dem

'They lived at the place that is now Yawa Me Fawa Kani.'

6 *Faya me wina me me aafi toha me fawa*  
 faya me wina+F me me a- afi to- ha+F me fawa  
 so 3PL.S live 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP bathe CH AUX 3PL.S disappear  
 conj pron vi pron pron vi aux pron vi

*kimetemone amake aba me me aafi*  
 ka.NOM+F- na -mete -mone ama -ke aba me me a- afi  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP bathe with  
 aux sec nm pron pron vt

*toha mati*  
 to- ha+F mati  
 CH AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'They lived there and caught fish with their hands, and they disappeared as they were fishing with their hands.'

7 *Me nafi tokomamatemetemoneheni*  
 me nafi to- ka -ma -mata -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 3PL.POSS all away go/come back short time FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 pron pn vi

'They all dove into the water.'

8 *Me nafi tokoma me fawa na me*  
 me nafi to- ka -ma+F me fawa na+F me  
 3PL.POSS all away go/come back 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S  
 pron pn vi pron vi aux pron

*kamemetemoneni noko awehino*  
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni noko awa -hino  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F eye+M see IP.N+M  
 vi pn vi

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE WATER

### *kamakibano*

ka -makI.NOM -ba -no ya  
 go/come following FUT IP.N+M ADJUNCT  
 vi prt

'They all dove in, disappeared, then came out again. Then one of them saw something, and came out, too.'

9 *Tasi namisamaki Yama te awinihi ; ati*  
 tasi na -misa -makI+M yama tee awa.NOM+F -ni -hi ; ati  
 emerge AUX up following thing 2PL.S see IP.N+F DUP say  
 vi aux nf pron vt vt

### *nematamonaka*

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

'He came out of the water. "Did you see something?" he said.'

10 *Himata amari ?*  
 himata ama -ri  
 what? be CQ+F  
 interrog vc

""What?""

11 *Yama owa okomakine o*  
 yama o- awa+F o- ka -makI -ne o-  
 thing 1SG.S see 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S  
 nf vt vi prt

""I saw something, and came back.""

12 *E ka aba me e afi nofa yama era*  
 ee ka aba me ee afi na nofa+F yama era  
 1IN POSS fish 3PL.O 1IN.S bathe with AUX recently thing 1IN.O  
 pron prt nm pron pron vt prt nf pron

*wati kanahanihi ati nematamonaka*  
 wati ka- na -hani -hi ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 plan against COMIT AUX IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux vt aux

""We have been fishing here with our hands, and something wants to kill us," he said.'"

13 *E ka aba me e kabi nofa me yama me bari*  
 ee ka aba me ee kabi nofa+F me yama me bari  
 1IN POSS fish 3PL.O 1IN.S eat recently 3PL.O thing 3PL.O impede  
 pron prt nm pron pron vt prt pron nf pron vt

### *kariya*

ka- na -ra -yahi  
 COMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 aux

""We shouldn't let that thing keep us from getting fish.""

14 *Yama e towamamata me ati nemetemonehe*  
 yama ee to- awa -ma -mata me ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 thing 1IN.S away see back short time 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nf pron vt pron vt aux  
 , *me fawa nabani mati*  
 me fawa na -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.S disappear AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

""Let's go look at the thing," they said. They were about to disappear.'"

## THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE WATER

15 *Kamaremetemoneke* , *me tokoma mati*  
 ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke , me to- ka -ma+F mati  
 go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi pron

'They went, and did not come back.'

16 *Sibo sibo sibo sibo me tokoma kani ahi* ,  
 sibo sibo sibo sibo me to- ka -ma kani ahi  
 splash splash splash splash 3PL.S away go/come back ?+F there  
 sound sound sound sound pron vi prt dem

*fa boti ya , me kamarabani mati* .  
 faha boti ya , me ka -ma -ra -haba -ni mati  
 water inside ADJUNCT 3PL.S go/come back NEG FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nf pn prt pron vi pron

'The went splashing into the deep water. They didn't come back.'

17 *Me ka owa towakosemata awaka* .  
 me ka owa to- waa -kosa -himata awa -ka  
 3PL POSS man CH stand middle FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 pron prt nm vi sec

'Apparently one of them was left alone standing on the bank.'

18 *Makoni hiyara kakamemata awaka* .  
 makoni hiyara ka- ka -ma -himata awa -ka  
 for this reason story COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 conj nf vt sec

'He must have told the story.'

## BAHI (1)

### *Free Translation*

*Note: This text is intended to explain the initiation of pubescent girls, which is still celebrated today. Until recently, it had the following components: When the girl has her first menstruation, she goes into a seclusion hut, which is totally dark inside. She stays there by herself for several months, only going out to bathe with female relatives, and to go to the garden with them. When she goes out, she wears a covering over her head so that no men or boys see her face, and so she doesn't see them. It is said that if she sees them, they will get sick. At her coming out feast, there are several days of feasting, culminating with bringing the girl out and placing her lying face down on two logs. The men whip her bare back and legs with switches. She is taken away, and she hardly eats anything for several days, while her wounds heal. The women go after the men with faggots, and burn them in the stomach, to pay them back for harming the girl. Since the men are drunk, they can't get away and they do get burned. I say "until recently" because in recent years many Jarawaras have become baptized Christians, and as a result, there is less drunkenness at the festa, and the men no longer hurt the girl with the switches.*

*The main character of the text is Bahi, which is the same as the word for 'sun'. There is in fact a connection between the character Bahi and the sun: Bahi menstruates, and the red color of blood is said to be connected with the color of the sun at sunrise. There are various connections between the events in the story and aspects of the girls' initiation. Interestingly, Bahi is a man. He is teaching the women how they will be.*

Bahi had his first menstruation. He lay on the ground, on his belly, holding his face with his hands. He didn't look at the others. He was always turned the other way, so he wouldn't look at them. He was teaching the girls [to menstruate]. They called him, but didn't accept any food. "Let my food on the ground. I will pick it up later," Bahi said. "I will eat it. I don't want a torch light. I will eat in the dark." [If he sees his food, he will get sick.]

"Here is your food on the ground. You get it in the dark and eat," his grandmother said. His grandmother spoke to him.

He didn't eat in the light of a torch, he ate in the dark. When he was done eating, he called for water to drink, and his grandmother brought some water and set it at the door. He picked it up behind him, to drink it. Then he washed his hands. Bahi was afraid to look at anyone. He was teaching the girls. "Don't look at them. You should do what I am doing in the future," he said. "You shouldn't look at your father, your mother, your older brothers. Don't let your older brothers get sick because of the blood in your eyes," he said. "We also should not look at our food when we eat. We also should not take snuff."

He lay there in the same place, not leaving. He just lay there in the same place. He didn't take a bath while he was in seclusion. Finally he took a bath [when his menstruation was over, and he came out of seclusion]. When his menstruation was over, he got up. He put on decorations, teaching the others.

"Let's whip Bahi with switches. Let's whip Bahi."

"Whip me. I was looking at you all the time," he said [lying]. They wanted to whip him, and they whipped him. They had Bahi's coming out, he was teaching the girls. They whipped him, and



## BAHI (1)

he lay there on the logs for a long time, not getting food, not eating food, because he had been whipped. He was really skinny. Then he ate.

"You eat meat, you eat *aba* fish."

"I'm going to eat *aba* fish. Wait, I'm going to eat."

There were lots of people at the feast for Bahi, all gathered together. Where did they live? There were a lot of people. They whipped Bahi. They live downstream nowadays.

He got better from the whipping. He made war. He wasn't a woman, and he hid himself. He lay on the ground. They put decorations on him. He had annatto on his arms, and he had armbands and his woman's breach cloth, but he wasn't a woman.

He didn't look at his father, his mother, his younger sisters, his older brothers. He lay next to his mother, and he didn't look at her. [The custom of the seclusion hut had not yet come into existence.] He ate by the light of a torch. Nowadays the girls eat with a light. He couldn't eat anything that had fat. He was hungry a lot. He couldn't eat any bad meat [like peccary, and some kinds of fish]. He ate brown capuchin monkey, and woolly monkey. He stopped eating woolly monkey and then ate white-fronted capuchin, and giant anteater. That was his only food, so he wouldn't get sick. He was teaching the others.

He put some snuff in each of his nostrils. Then his grandfather blew snuff into his nose. His grandfather blew a shaman's stone into his nose.

"I'm suffering from thirst. I'm standing in the plaza [stoned]," he said, after his grandfather blew into his nose.

After his grandfather blew snuff into him, he ate good food, and got healthy again. His mother restricted him [she restricted his activities and his diet, so he wouldn't get sick]. His grandfather had blown snuff into him. He knew a lot now [i.e. he had spiritual power], because they whipped him. Bahi inhaled snuff really hard. He inhaled strong snuff.

The women went and burned the men, starting today's custom. They were paying them back for whipping Bahi. He lay on the *awa siyo* logs. They were *awa siyo* logs.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Bahi</b>		<b>Bahiteba</b>		<b>hiwa</b>
	Bahi	,	Bahi	-tee -ba	hiwa
	(man's name)		(man's name)	HAB FUT	3SG.REFL.M
	npropm		npropm		pron

#### **awematamonaka**

awa -himata -mona -ka  
feel FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt

'Bahi had his first menstruation.'

2	<b>Bahi</b>		<b>hiwa</b>		<b>awe</b>		<b>hohoma</b>
	Bahi		hiwa	awa+M	ho-		homa
	(man's name)		3SG.REFL.M	feel	DUP	lie on	ground
	npropm		pron	vt	vi		

#### **toematamonaka**

to-	ha	-himata	-mona	-ka		<b>wami</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>tobokorisari</b>		
CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M		soil	ADJU	CH	be concave	down IP.E+M
aux						nf	prt	vi		

## BAHI (1)

<i>noko</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>nari</i>	<i>waha</i>
noko	tama	na -haari	waha
face+M	hold onto	AUX IP.E+M	now
pn	vt	aux	prt

'Bahi had his first menstruation. He lay on the ground, on his belly, holding his face with his hands.'

3	<i>Bai</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>aawa</i>	<i>toarematamonaka</i>
	Bahi	mera	a- awa	to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka
	(man's name)	3PL.O	DUP see	CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	npropm	pron	vt	aux

'Bahi didn't look at the others.'

4	<i>Bahi</i>	<i>hine</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>totonokowiti</i>
	Bahi	hine	ya	to- to- noko -witI
	(man's name)	only	ADJU	DUP away point out
	npropm	pron	prt	vi

<i>toematamonaka</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>kakatamarari</i>
to- ha -himata -mona -ka	mera	ka- katoma -ra -haari
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	3PL.O	COMIT look at NEG IP.E+M
aux	pron	vt

<i>meteba</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>kanawanahari</i>	<i>me fanawi</i>	<i>me fanawiteba</i>
me -tee -ba	mera	kanawana -haari	me fanawi	me fanawi -tee -ba
3PL HAB FUT	3PL.O	teach IP.E+M	women	women HAB FUT
pron	pron	vt	nf	nf

<i>kanawanahari</i>
kanawana -haari
teach IP.E+M
vt

'Bahi was always turned the other way, so he wouldn't look at them. He was teaching the girls.'

5	<i>Me</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>hine</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>hine</i>	<i>yamata</i>	<i>wara</i>
	me	haa	hi- na+M	me	haa	hi- na+M	yamata	wara
	3PL.S	call	OC AUX	3PL.S	call	OC AUX	food	grab
	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux	nf	vt

<i>tokarihi</i>
to- ka- na -rihi
CH COMIT AUX NEG.LIST
aux

'They called him, but didn't accept any food.'

6	<i>Titefeba</i>	<i>otefeba</i>	<i>tikawata</i>
	ti- tefe -ba	o- tefe -ba	ti- ka- wata
	2SG.POSS food FUT	1SG.POSS food FUT	2SG.S COMIT be located
	pn	pn	vt

'''Let my food on the ground.'''

7	<i>Yama</i>	<i>owakitihaba</i>	<i>awine</i>	<i>Bahi</i>	<i>ati</i>
	yama	o- ka- iti -haba	awine	Bahi	ati
	thing	1SG.S COMIT pick up FUT+F	seem+F	(man's name)	say
	nf	vt	sec	npropm	vt

<i>nematamonaka</i>
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'''I will pick it up later," Bahi said.'

## BAHI (1)

8 *Yama okobaba awine*  
 yama o- kaba -haba awine  
 thing 1SG.S eat FUT+F seem+F  
 nf vt sec

"I will eat it."

9 *Wami hiri ni onofari*  
 wami hiri na.NFIN o- nofa -ra.NOM+F  
 tree sp catch fire AUX 1SG.S want NEG  
 nf vi aux vt

"I don't want a torch light."

10 *Yama soki ya otafaba owa awine o*  
 yama soki.NOM ya o- tafa -haba owa awine o-  
 thing be dark ADJU 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S  
 nf vi prt vi pron sec prt

*Bahi ati nematamonane aati*  
 Bahi ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 (man's name) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt aux DUP say  
 vt

*toematamonaka*

to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

"I will eat in the dark," Bahi said.'

11 *Titefebone titefebone kawiti faro*  
 ti- tefe -bone ti- tefe -bone ka- ita.NOM+F faaro  
 2SG.POSS food INT+F 2SG.POSS food INT+F COMIT sit that+F  
 pn pn vi dem

"Here is your food on the ground."

12 *Yama tekitihi*  
 yama ti- ka- iti -hi  
 thing 2SG.S COMIT pick up IMP+F  
 nf vt

"You get it."

13 *Yama soki ya titafibeya hinakaki*  
 yama soki.NOM ya ti- tafa -be -ya hinaka aki  
 thing be dark ADJU 2SG.S eat IMMED+F now 3SG.POSS grandmother  
 nf vi prt vi nf

*aati toemetemoneni*  
 a- ati to- ha -hemete -mone -ni  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt aux

"Eat in the dark," his grandmother said.'

14 *Faya hinakaki warabo nima hine yama*  
 faya hinaka aki warabo nima hi- na+M yama  
 so 3SG.POSS grandmother ear+M communicate to OC AUX thing  
 conj nf pn vt aux nf

*hiri ni ya tafarari yama soki ya*  
 hiri na.NFIN ya tafa -ra -haari yama soki.NOM ya  
 catch fire AUX ADJU eat NEG IP.E+M thing be dark ADJU  
 vi aux prt vi nf vi prt

## BAHI (1)

### *tafahari*

tafa -haari  
eat IP.E+M  
vi

'His grandmother spoke to him. He didn't eat in the light of a torch, he ate in the dark.'

15 *Fa* , *fa* *fawebona* *fa* *ha* *ne* , *hinaka*  
faha , faha fawa -hibona faha haa na+M , hinaka  
water water drink INT+M water call AUX 3SG.POSS  
nf nf vt nf vt aux pron

*fabone* *hinakaki* *hekama*  
faha -bone hinaka aki hi- ka- ka -ma+F  
water INT+F 3SG.POSS grandmother OC COMIT go/come back  
nf nf vt

*hikawata* *nokobi* *ya*  
hi- ka- wata+F nokobi ya  
OC COMIT be located door ADJU  
vt nf prt

'He called for water to drink, and his grandmother brought some water and set it at the door.'

16 *Bari* *ka* *ya* *fa* *kakiti* *ahi* , *fa* *fawebana*  
bari ka ya faha ka- iti+M ahi , faha fawa -hibana  
back LOC ADJU water COMIT pick up then water drink FUT+M  
pn prt prt nf vt dem nf vt

'He picked up the water behind him, to drink it.'

17 *Ye* *soko* *nawaha* , *Bai* *wawato*  
yehe soko na -waha.LIST , Bahi wa- wato  
hand wash AUX change (man's name) DUP know  
pn vt aux npropm vt

*toematamona* *amane* *me fanawiteba* *kanawanahari*  
to- ha -himata -mona ama -ne me fanawi -tee -ba kanawana -haari  
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M women HAB FUT teach IP.E+M  
aux sec nf vt

'He washed his hands. Bahi was afraid to look at anyone. He was teaching the girls.'

18 *Me* *te* *awateriya*  
me tee awa -tee -ra -yahi  
3PL.O 2PL.S see HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F  
pron pron vt

""Don't look at them.""

19 *Yama* *hiri* *ona* *te* *hiri* *tiyahi* *ati*  
yama hiri o- na+F tee hiri na -tee -yahi ati  
thing do 1SG.S AUX 2PL.S do AUX HAB DIST.IMP+F say  
nf vt aux pron vt aux vt

*nematamonaka*  
na -himata -mona -ka  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

""You should do what I am doing in the future," he said.'

20 *Te* *ka* *abi* *me* *te* *awarihi* , *te* *ka* *ami*  
tee ka abi me tee awa -rihi , tee ka ami  
2PL POSS father 3PL.O 2PL.S see NEG.LIST 2PL POSS mother  
pron prt nm pron pron vt pron prt nf

## BAHI (1)

**me te awarihi , tiyahi te ka ayo**  
 me tee awa -rihi , na -tee -yahi tee ka ayo  
 3PL.O 2PL.S see NEG.LIST AUX HAB DIST.IMP+F 2PL POSS older brother  
 pron pron vt aux pron prt nm

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL  
 pron

"You shouldn't look at your father, your mother, your older brothers."

21 **Me te awateriya**  
 me tee awa -tee -ra -yahi  
 3PL.O 2PL.S see HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron vt

"Don't look at them."

22 **Te noko amari ene te ka ayo me**  
 tee noko ama -ri ehene tee ka ayo me  
 2PL.POSS eye be bloody PN victim of 2PL POSS older brother 3PL.S  
 pron pn pn pn pron prt nm pron

**tohateriya ati nematamonahane , aati**  
 to- ha -tee -ra -yahi ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne a- ati  
 CH be HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M DUP say  
 vc vt aux vt

**toematamonaka**  
 to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

"Don't let your older brothers get sick because of the blood in your eyes," he said.'

23 **Yamata yamata e awarihi e tafaharo**  
 yamata yamata ee awa -rihi ee tafa -haaro  
 food food 1IN.S see NEG.LIST 1IN.S eat IP.E+F  
 nf nf pron vt pron vi

"We also should not look at our food when we eat."

24 **Sina hisi rihi**  
 sina hisi na -rihi  
 snuff sniff AUX NEG.LIST  
 nf vt aux

"We also should not take snuff."

25 **Fare home ya hohoma**  
 fare homa.NOM+M ya ho- homa  
 same+M lie on ground ADJU DUP lie on ground  
 dem vi prt vi

**toematamonane**  
 to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'He lay there in the same place, not leaving.'

26 **Fare home ya hohoma**  
 fare homa.NOM+M ya ho- homa  
 same+M lie on ground ADJU DUP lie on ground  
 dem vi prt vi

## BAHI (1)

### *toematamonaka*

to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He just lay there in the same place.'

### 27 *Aafi*

	<i>na</i>	<i>toarematamonane</i>		<i>, afi</i>
a-	afi.LIST	na to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ne		afi
DUP	bathe	AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M		bathe
vi	aux	aux		vi

### *nawebanoho*

na -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He didn't take a bath while he was in seclusion. Finally he took a bath.'

### 28 *Hawa*

	<i>toe</i>	<i>yokana</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>wamisamakane</i>	<i>ahi</i>
hawa	to- ha.NOM+M	yokana	ya	waa -misa -ma -kane	ahi
be finished	CH AUX	true	ADJU	stand up back ?+M	then
vi	aux	adj	prt	vi	dem

'When his menstruation was over, he got up.'

### 29 *Faya*

	<i>hiwa</i>	<i>nanahato</i>	<i>toematamonaka</i>
faya	hiwa	na- na- ato	to- ha -himata -mona -ka
so	3SG.REFL.M	DUP CAUS be decorated	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj	pron	vt	aux

### *fahi*

	<i>fara</i>	<i>meteba</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>kanawanari</i>
fahi	fara	me -tee -ba	mera	kanawana -haari
then	same+F	3PL HAB FUT	3PL.O	teach IP.E+M
dem	dem	pron	pron	vt

'He put on decorations, teaching the others.'

### 30 *Bai*

	<i>Bahi</i>	<i>Bahi</i>	<i>Bahi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>kosi</i>	<i>na</i>
Bahi	Bahi	Bahi	Bahi	ee	kosi	na
(man's name)	(man's name)	(man's name)	(man's name)	1IN.S	flail	AUX
nm	npropm	npropm	npropm	pron	vt	aux

'''Let's whip Bahi with switches.'''

### 31 *Bai*

	<i>e</i>	<i>kosi</i>	<i>nahi</i>
Bahi	ee	kosi	na -hi
(man's name)	1IN.S	flail	AUX IMP+F
nm	pron	vt	aux

'''Let's whip Bahi.'''

### 32 *Owa*

	<i>te</i>	<i>kosi</i>	<i>nahi</i>
owa	tee	kosi	na -hi
1SG.O	2PL.S	flail	AUX IMP+F
pron	pron	vt	aux

'''Whip me.'''

### 33 *Tera*

	<i>ki</i>	<i>onofa</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>oni</i>	<i>ati</i>
tera	kii	na o- nofa+F	ama	o- ni	ati
2PL.O	look at	AUX 1SG.S recently	SEC	1SG.S BKG+F	say
pron	vt	prt	sec	prt	vt

## BAHI (1)

### *nematamonane*

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

'I was looking at you all the time,' he said.'

34 *Me kosi hinehibona me wati hikane*  
me kosi hi- na -hibona me wati hi- ka- na+M  
3PL.S flail OC AUX INT+M 3PL.S plan against OC COMIT AUX  
pron vt aux pron vt aux

*me kosi hiwahematamonaka*  
me kosi hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ka  
3PL.S flail OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pron vt aux

'They wanted to whip him, and they whipped him.'

35 *Me hawa hinihematamonaka Bahi*  
me hawa hi- to- niha- ha -himata -mona -ka Bahi  
3PL.S be finished OC CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name)  
pron vi aux npropm

, *fara fara me fanawiteba kanawanahari*  
fara fara me fanawi -tee -ba kanawana -haari  
same+F same+F women HAB FUT teach IP.E+M  
dem dem nf vt

'They had Bahi's coming out, he was teaching the girls.'

36 *Me kosi hine kakafori toematamonane*  
me kosi hi- na+M ka- ka- forI to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
3PL.S flail OC AUX DUP COMIT lie on top CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
pron vt aux vi aux

*yamata wara torahari yamata kabari*  
yamata wara to- na -ra -haari yamata kaba -ra -haari  
food grab CH AUX NEG IP.E+M food eat NEG IP.E+M  
nf vt aux nf vt

*tafarari fare fare kokosi kafimiari*  
tafa -ra -haari fare fare ko- kosi ka- fimi -haari  
eat NEG IP.E+M same+M same+M DUP flail COMIT be hungry IP.E+M  
vi dem dem pn vt

'They whipped him, and he lay there on the logs for a long time, not getting food, not eating food, not eating, because he had been whipped.'

37 *Iisi na toematamona ahi*  
i- isi.LIST na to- ha -himata -mona ahi  
DUP be small AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
vi aux aux dem

'He was really skinny.'

38 *Faya tatafama toematamonaka fahi*  
faya ta- tafa -ma to- ha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
so DUP eat back CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
conj vi aux dem

'Then he ate.'

39 *Faya bani tikaba*  
faya bani ti- kaba  
so animal 2SG.S eat  
conj nm vt

## BAHI (1)

"You eat meat."

40 *Aba*            *aba*            *tikaba*  
 aba            aba            ti-    kaba  
 fish sp    fish sp    2SG.S eat  
 nm           nm           vt

"Eat *aba* fish."

41 *Aba*            *okobeba*                            *awa*  
 aba            o-    kaba -hiba    awa  
 fish sp    1SG.S eat    FUT+M    seem+M  
 nm           vt                            sec

"I'm going to eat *aba* fish."

42 *Hiba*            ,    *otafaba*                            *owa*    *awine*    *o*  
 hiba            o-    tafa -haba    owa    awine    o-  
 wait            1SG.S eat    FUT+F    1SG.S    seem+F    1SG.S  
 interj    vi                            pron    sec            prt

"Wait, I'm going to eat."

43 *Me*            *tatama*                            *toemetemone*                            *me*    *amani*            *Bahi*  
 me            ta- tama            to- ha -hemete -mone    me    ama -ni    Bahi  
 3PL.S    DUP be many    CH    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    3PL.S    SEC BKG+F    (man's name)  
 pron    vi                            aux                            pron    sec            npropm

*me*    *Bahi*                            *me*    *mari*    *kana*                            *mati*            ,    *me*    *tama*            *me*  
 me    Bahi                            me    mari    ka-    na+F    mati            ,    me    tama+F    me  
 3PL    (man's name)    3PL.S    feast    COMIT    AUX    3PL.S            3PL.S    be many    3PL.S  
 pron npropm                            pron    vi            aux                            pron            pron    vi            pron

*yoro*                            *tokana*                            *mati*  
 yoro                            to- ka-    na+F    mati  
 be together    CH    COMIT    AUX    3PL.S  
 vi                            aux                            pron

'There were lots of people at the feast for Bahi, all gathered together.'

44 *Hika*            *me*            *winateriya*                            ?  
 hika            me            wina -tee -ri -ya  
 where            3PL.S    live    HAB    CQ+F    now  
 interrog pron    vi

'Where did they live?'

45 *Me*            *tamatama*                            *raba*                            *na*    *toaremetemoneni*  
 me            tama- tama            na -raba    na    to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S    DUP    be many    AUX a bit    AUX    CH    AUX NEG FP.N+F    REP+F BKG+F  
 pron    vi                            aux                            aux    aux

'There were a lot of people.'

46 *Bahi*                            *me*            *kosi*            *nemetemoneni*  
 Bahi                            me            kosi            na -hemete -mone -ni  
 (man's name)    3PL.S    flail    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F BKG+F  
 npropm            pron    vt            aux

'They whipped Bahi.'

47 *Me*            *towinisawitewahine*  
 me            to- wina -risa -witI -waha -ne  
 3PL.S    away live down out    change CONT+F  
 pron    vi

'They live downstream nowadays.'



## BAHI (1)

48 *Faya wawawama toematamonaka fahi*  
 faya wa- waa -waha -ma to- ha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so DUP stand change back CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux dem

'He got better from the whipping.'<sup>53</sup>

49 *Yama momowa toematamonane*  
 yama mo- mowa to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 thing DUP fight CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

'He made war.'

50 *Fanawi amara hiwa kemo hohoma*  
 fanawi ama -ra+F hiwa kehemom+M ho- homa  
 woman be NEG 3SG.REFL.M hide DUP lie on ground  
 adj vc pron vt vi

*toemata ino amane Bahi me*  
 to- ha -himata ino ama -ne Bahi , me  
 CH AUX FP.N+M name+M be BKG+M (man's name) 3PL.S  
 aux pn vc npropm pron

*hinahatoari*

hi- na- ato -haari  
 OC CAUS be decorated IP.E+M  
 vt

'He wasn't a woman, and he hid himself. He lay on the ground, Bahi. They put decorations on him.'

51 *Atehe ahi mano , kanamo kawata , hinaka*  
 atehe ahi mano , kanamo ka- wata.LIST , hinaka  
 annatto there arm+M armband COMMIT put 3SG.POSS  
 nf dem pn nf vt pron

*yayafa , fanawi amararo*  
 yayafa.LIST , fanawi ama -ra -haaro  
 breach cloth woman be NEG IP.E+F  
 nm adj vc

'He had annatto on his arms, and armbands, and his woman's breach cloth, but he wasn't a woman.'

52 *Mata ya , mata ya ?*  
 mata ya , mata ya ?  
 more ADJU more ADJU  
 nf prt nf prt

'Do you want more?'

53 *Bati awarihi mati awarihi ,*  
 bati awa -rihi mati awa -rihi ,  
 3SG.POSS.father see NEG.LIST 3SG.POSS.mother see NEG.LIST  
 nm vt nf vt

*hinakatirawaha , anoti mati*  
 hinaka ati -rawa -ha , anoti mati  
 3SG.POSS older sister F.PL DUP 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL  
 nf nm pron

'He didn't look at his father, his mother, his younger sisters, his older brothers.'

<sup>53</sup> The original has *wawama*, i.e. without reduplication.

## BAHI (1)

54 **Hohoma** *toematamonaka* *mati* *beri*  
 ho- homa to- ha -himata -mona -ka mati beheri  
 DUP lie on ground CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.mother side  
 vi aux nf pn

*ya* , *mati* *awarari*  
 ya , mati awa -ra -haari  
 ADJU 3SG.POSS.mother see NEG IP.E+M  
 prt nf vt

'He lay next to his mother, and he didn't look at his mother.'

55 **Yama** *hiri* *ni* *ya* *tatafa* *toematamona*  
 yama hiri na.NFIN ya ta- tafa to- ha -himata -mona  
 thing catch fire AUX ADJU DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vi aux prt vi aux

'He ate by the light of a torch.'

56 **Yama** *hiri* *ni* *ya* *me* *tafineti*  
 yama hiri na.NFIN ya me tafa -ne -tee.NOM  
 thing catch fire AUX ADJU 3PL.S eat CONT+F HAB  
 nf vi aux prt pron vi

'Nowadays the girls eat with a light.'

57 **Wataka** *yama* *kakaba* *toaremetemone* *amani*  
 wataka+F yama ka- kaba to- ha -ra -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 be fatty thing DUP eat CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 vi nf vt aux sec

'He couldn't eat anything that had fat.'

58 **Yama** *fifimi* *toemetemone* *amake* *Bahi*  
 yama fi- fimi to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ke Bahi  
 thing DUP be hungry CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F (man's name)  
 nf vi aux sec npropm

'He was hungry a lot.'

59 **Yama** *yama* *yama* , *bani* *irabo* *e* *kaba* ,  
 yama yama yama , bani irabo.NFIN ee kaba+F ,  
 thing thing thing animal be bad 1IN.S eat  
 nf nf nf nm vi pron vt

*yowi* *kabamawaematamonaka* , *yowi*  
 yowi kaba -ma -waha -himata -mona -ka , yowi  
 brown capuchin eat back change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M brown capuchin  
 nm vt nm

'He couldn't eat any bad meat. He ate brown capuchin monkey.'

60 **Yowi** *kabama* *wafa* *kaba* , *ee*  
 yowi kaba -ma.LIST wafa kaba.LIST , ee  
 brown capuchin eat back woolly monkey eat (pause)  
 nm vt nm vt interj

*wafa* *kabi* *fawa* *ne* *nowati* *ya* *kiso*  
 wafa kaba.NFIN fawa na+M nowati ya kiso  
 woolly monkey eat stop AUX after ADJU white-fronted capuchin  
 nm vt vi aux pn prt nm

*kaba* , *bane* *kaba* *nematamonaka* *ahi*  
 kaba.LIST , bane kaba.LIST na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 eat giant anteater eat AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt nf vt aux dem

'He ate brown capuchin monkey, and woolly monkey. He stopped eating woolly monkey and then ate white-

BAHI (1)

fronted capuchin, and giant anteater.'

- 61 *Fare tefe na toematamonaka , komene*  
 fare tefe na to- ha -himata -mona -ka , komene  
 same+M food+M AUX CH be FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M sickness+M  
 dem pn aux vc pn
- watateretonaha aati toematamonane , fara*  
 wata -tee -ra -hibona -ha a- ati to- ha -himata -mona -ne , fara  
 exist HAB NEG INT+M DUP DUP say CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M same+F  
 vi vt aux dem
- meteba mera kanawanahari*  
 me -tee -ba mera kanawana -haari  
 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.O teach IP.E+M  
 pron pron vt
- 'That was his only food, so he wouldn't get sick. He was teaching the others.'

- 62 *Witi bori kawaha , hinakiti afo*  
 witi bori ka- na -waha.LIST , hinaka iti afo  
 nose poke COMMIT AUX change 3SG.POSS grandfather blow snuff into  
 pn vt aux nm vt
- hiwahematamonahane , sina ya*  
 hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ha -ne , sina ya  
 OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M snuff ADJU  
 aux nf prt
- 'He put some snuff in each of his nostrils. Then his grandfather blew snuff into his nose.'

- 63 *Hinakiti afo hinematamonaka waha*  
 hinaka iti afo hi- na -himata -mona -ka waha  
 3SG.POSS grandfather blow snuff into OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now  
 nm vt aux prt
- yama ya*  
 yama ya  
 shaman's stone ADJU  
 nf prt
- 'His grandfather blew a shaman's stone into his nose.'

- 64 *Yama bakasiri kita bakasiri okarima*  
 yama bakasi -ri kita+F bakasi -ri o- karima+F  
 thing thirst PN be strong thirst PN 1SG.S suffer from  
 nf pn vi pn vt
- owine oni ati nematamonaka ahi*  
 o- waa -ne o- ni ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi ,  
 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi prt vt aux dem
- hinakiti afo hinari*  
 hinaka iti afo hi- na -haari  
 3SG.POSS grandfather blow snuff into OC AUX IP.E+M  
 nm vt aux
- 'I'm suffering from thirst. I'm standing up," he said, after his grandfather blew snuff into his nose.'

- 65 *Hinakiti afo hine tefe irabo*  
 hinaka iti afo hi- na+M tefe irabo.NFIN  
 3SG.POSS grandfather blow snuff into OC AUX food+M be bad  
 nm vt aux pn vi

## BAHI (1)

<b>toamako</b> to- ha -mako CH be for this reason+M vc	<b>wawa</b> wa- waa DUP stand vi	<b>toa</b> to- ha.CONT+M CH AUX aux	<b>namata</b> na.NOM+M -mata AUX FP.N+M aux
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'After his grandfather blew snuff into him, he ate good food, and got healthy again.'

<b>66 Mati</b> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<b>hohora</b> ho- hora DUP scold vt	<b>hiematamonaka</b> hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ka OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	
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<b>hinakiti</b> hinaka iti 3SG.POSS grandfather nm	<b>afo</b> afo blow snuff into vt	<b>hinari</b> hi- na -haari OC AUX IP.E+M aux	<b>sina ya</b> sina ya snuff ADJU nf prt
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'His mother restricted him, and his grandfather blew snuff into him.'

<b>67 Me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kosi</b> kosi flail vt	<b>hiwahe</b> hi- na -waha.NOM+M OC AUX change aux	<b>ka</b> ka because prt	<b>yama watowato</b> yama wato- wato thing DUP know nf vt
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<b>raba</b> na -raba AUX a bit aux	<b>na</b> na AUX aux	<b>toarematamonaka</b> to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem
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'He knew a lot now, because they whipped him.'

<b>68 Bahi</b> Bahi (man's name) npropm	<b>sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>Bahi</b> Bahi (man's name) npropm	<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	<b>sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>hihisi</b> hi- hisi DUP sniff vt
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<b>nakeraba</b> na -kI AUX coming aux	<b>na</b> -raba AUX aux	<b>toarematamona</b> to- ha -ra -himata -mona CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M aux	<b>ino</b> ino name+M pn	<b>amane</b> ama -ne be BKG+M vc
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'Bahi inhaled snuff really hard.'

<b>69 Sina</b> sina snuff nf	<b>komararo</b> koma -raaro hurt vi	<b>hihisi</b> hi- hisi DUP sniff vt	<b>nake</b> na -kI AUX coming aux	<b>toematamonaha</b> to- ha -himata -mona -ha CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP aux
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'He inhaled strong snuff.'

<b>70 Me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>yana</b> yana start vi	<b>tonemetemone</b> to- na -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>amake</b> ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec	<b>haro</b> haaro that one+F dem		
<b>me fanawi</b> me fanawi women nf	<b>yama</b> yama thing nf	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>sari</b> sari burn vt	<b>nabani</b> na -haba -ni AUX FUT+F IP.N+F aux	<b>mati</b> mati 3PL.S pron	<b>fara</b> fara same+F dem	<b>hine</b> hine 3.REFL pron
<b>meteba</b> me -tee -ba 3PL HAB FUT pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kanawana</b> kanawana+F start vt	<b>mati</b> mati 3PL.S pron	<b>Bai</b> Bahi (man's name) npropm	<b>manakone</b> manakone price pn	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	

## BAHI (1)

<b>awabone</b>		<b>mati</b>		<b>me</b>		<b>kosi</b>		<b>hinahari</b>	
awa	-habone	mati	,	me		kosi		hi- na	-haari
avenge	INT+F	3PL.S		3PL.S		flail		OC AUX	IP.E+M
vt		pron		pron		vt		aux	

'The women went and burned the men, starting today's custom. They were paying them back for whipping Bahi.'

<b>71 Kakafari</b>		<b>toematamonaka</b>		<b>awa siyo</b>		<b>ya</b>
ka- ka-	forI	to- ha	-himata -mona -ka	awa siyo		ya
DUP	COMIT lie on top	CH	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	tree sp		ADJU
vi		aux		nm		prt

'He lay on the *awa siyo* logs.'

<b>72 Awa siyomatamonane</b>			
awa siyo	-mata -mona -ne		
tree sp	FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M		
nm			

'They were *awa siyo* logs.'

## BAHI (2)

### *Free Translation*

Bahi was hungry for a long time, because they had whipped him and he had not eaten real food. He ate only bananas, manioc mash, and manioc cakes.

"What else are you going to eat?" his grandmother asked.

"I don't know."

"Will it be meat? Will you eat tapir?"

"Yes, I will eat tapir," he said. "I'm not going to eat white-lipped peccary [because it is said to do harm to girls in seclusion]. I don't know. I will eat just tapir," he said.

"What are you going to eat with it?"

"Manioc mash, it will be manioc mash. White manioc, tapioca of manioc mash, I'm going to eat tapioca of sour manioc mash."

I'm telling about the one who taught the first girls. He didn't accept food for a long time, I'm telling you about him.

"I will eat just jaguar. Now I will eat jaguar. I will eat the meat of a strong jaguar, a big one. I will eat the meat of a big jaguar." Because he wanted to, he ate the meat of a jaguar, a fast jaguar.

"What meat are you going to eat now?"

"I'm going to eat giant anteater, because it never gets sick."

"All right, you will eat giant anteater."

"I'm going out hunting for giant anteater," said his brother-in-law.

He ate the meat of a giant anteater that his brother-in-law killed. He ate giant anteater without any starch. Bahi didn't look at them.

"Get up and take a bath."

"Let me just lie here, and not take a bath."

Bahi decided to take a bath.

"I won't look at you. I won't hurt you by looking at you," Bahi said, when he was going to take a bath.

He hadn't taken a bath for a long time, but now he took one, at night. He took a bath at night. He didn't look at the women.

He wore a woman's breach cloth, not a real one of cotton. It was rolled inner bark. He lay there face down, his whole body covered.

"Here is your food," his grandmother said.

"Put my food down there. I will get it later, I don't want to see your arm," he said, in the darkness.

His food sat there in the darkness. His grandmother had put it near him, behind him. He felt it and ate it in the darkness. He ate without a light.

He gave the dish back. "The dish is there. Get the dish. Set some water there for me, I want to drink water. I will pick up the water."

Bahi disappeared. He went somewhere else to heal from his whipping. No one ever took Bahi to another village. The others just stayed with Bahi all the time. He didn't go out of the house.

BAHI (2)

**Interlinear Presentation**

1 **Fifimi** **toematamonaka** , **me** **kosi**  
 fi- fimi to- ha -himata -mona -ka , me kosi  
 DUP be hungry CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S flail  
 vi aux pron vt

**hinahari** , **yamata** **kabarari** .  
 hi- na -haari , yamata kaba -ra -haari .  
 OC AUX IP.E+M food eat NEG IP.E+M  
 aux nf vt

'He was hungry for a long time, because they had whipped him and he had not eaten food.'

2 **Faya ee** **yifari** **ta** **kaba** , **iyawa** **ta** ,  
 faya ee yifari taa kaba.LIST , iyawa taa ,  
 so (pause) banana contrast eat grated mash contrast  
 conj interj nf prt vt nf prt

**iyawa** **tabe** **kaba** , **na** **toematamonaka** .  
 iyawa tabe kaba.LIST , na to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 grated mash flattened+F eat AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf pn vt aux aux

'He ate only bananas, and manioc mash, manioc cakes.'

3 **Himata** **tikabamakiribe** ?  
 himata ti- kaba -makI -ri -be ?  
 what? 2SG.S eat following CQ+F IMMED+F  
 interrog vt

""What else are you going to eat?""

4 **E** **awari** .  
 ee awa -ra.NOM+F .  
 1IN.S see NEG  
 pron vi

""I don't know.""

5 **Bani** **ihabana** ?  
 bani iha+M -bana ?  
 animal put FUT  
 nm result

""Will it be meat?""

6 **Awi** **tikabibana** ?  
 awi ti- kaba+F -bana ?  
 tapir 2SG.S eat FUT  
 nm vt

""Will you eat tapir?""

7 **Awi** **okobabana** **oke** , **ati** **nematamonaka**  
 awi o- kaba -habana o- ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 tapir 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt prt vt aux

'I will eat tapir," he said.'

8 **Hiyama** **hiyama** **okobene** .  
 hiyama hiyama o- kaba -hene .  
 white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary 1SG.S eat IRR+F  
 nm nm vt

BAHI (2)

"I'm not going to eat white-lipped peccary."

9 *Hiyama* *okobene*  
 hiyama o- kaba -hene  
 white-lipped peccary 1SG.S eat IRR+F  
 nm vt

"I'm not going to eat white-lipped peccary."

10 *E awari*  
 ee awa -ra.NOM+F  
 1IN.S see NEG  
 pron vi

"I don't know."

11 *Awi ta okobabana o ati*  
 awi taa o- kaba -habana o- ati  
 tapir contrast 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S say  
 nm prt vt prt vt

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

"I will eat just tapir," he said.'

12 *Himata kakawi tiribe* ?  
 himata ka- kawi ti- na -ri -be  
 what? DUP eat with something 2SG.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F  
 interrog vt aux

"What are you going to eat with it?"

13 *Iyawa iyawa ihahabana*  
 iyawa iyawa iha -habana  
 grated mash grated mash put FUT+F  
 nf nf result

"Manioc mash, it will be manioc mash."

14 *Fowa fowa sawa iyawa soke iyawa soke*  
 fowa fowa sawa iyawa soke iyawa soke  
 manioc white manioc grated mash residue+F grated mash residue+F  
 nm nm nf pn nf pn  
*okobabana oke iyawa maroharo*  
 o- kaba -habana o- ke iyawa maro -haaro  
 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F grated mash ferment IP.E+F  
 vt prt nf vi

"White manioc, tapioca of manioc mash, I'm going to eat tapioca of sour manioc mash."

15 *Meteba mera kanawanematamona okominareka*  
 me -tee -ba mera kanawana -himata -mona o- kamina -hare -ka  
 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.O teach FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.S tell IP.E+M DECL+M  
 pron pron vt vt

*me fanawitebana*  
 me fanawi -tee -bana  
 women HAB FUT  
 nf

'I'm telling about the one who taught the first girls.'



## BAHI (2)

16 *Yamata wawara tona toarematamona okominine*  
 yamata wa- wara to- na to- ha -ra -himata -mona o- kamina -ne  
 food DUP grab CH AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.S tell CONT+F  
 nf vt aux aux vt

*oni*

o- ni  
 1SG.S BKG+F  
 prt

'He didn't accept food for a long time, I'm telling you about him.'

17 *Yome yome ta yome ta okobabana o*  
 yomee yomee taa yomee taa o- kaba -habana o-  
 jaguar jaguar contrast jaguar contrast 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S  
 nm nm prt nm prt vt prt

""I will eat just jaguar.""

18 *Yome okobamakiabana o*  
 yomee o- kaba -makI -habana o-  
 jaguar 1SG.S eat following FUT+F 1SG.S  
 nm vt prt

""Now I will eat jaguar.""

19 *Yome kitahi okobamakiabana o yome webote*  
 yomee kita+M o- kaba -makI -habana o- yomee webote  
 jaguar be strong 1SG.S eat following FUT+F 1SG.S jaguar big  
 nm vi vt prt nm adj

""I will eat a strong jaguar, a big one.""

20 *Yome webote okobabana oke*  
 yomee webote o- kaba -habana o- ke  
 jaguar big 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 nm adj vt prt

""I will eat a big jaguar.""

21 *Fare ati ya yome kabematamonane yome yaka*  
 fare ati ya yomee kaba -himata -mona -ne yomee yaka  
 same+M voice ADJU jaguar eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M jaguar walk  
 dem pn prt nm vt nm vi

*ni*

*kitahari*  
 na.NFIN kita -haari  
 AUX be strong IP.E+M  
 aux vi

'Because he wanted to, he ate a jaguar, a fast jaguar.'

22 *Himata bani tikabamakiribe ?*  
 himata bani ti- kaba -makI -ri -be  
 what? animal 2SG.S eat following CQ+F IMMED+F  
 interrog nm vt

""What meat are you going to eat next?""

23 *Bane okobabana oke*  
 banehe o- kaba -habana o- ke  
 giant anteater 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 nf vt prt

""I'm going to eat giant anteater.""

## BAHI (2)

24	<b>Bane</b>	<b>bane</b>	<b>kome</b>	<b>watatera</b>
	banehe	banehe	kome	wata -tee -ra+F
	giant anteater	giant anteater	sickness+F	exist HAB NEG
	nf	nf	pn	vi

<b>okobabana</b>	<b>o</b>
o- kaba -habana	o-
1SG.S eat FUT+F	1SG.S
vt	prt

"I'm going to eat giant anteater, because it never gets sick."

25	<b>Ee</b>	<b>bane</b>	<b>tikababana</b>	<b>tike</b>
	ee	banehe	ti- kaba -habana	ti- ke
	yes	giant anteater	2SG.S eat FUT+F	2SG.S DECL+F
	interj	nf	vt	prt

"All right, you will eat giant anteater."

26	<b>Bane</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>okamatibe</b>	
	banehe	tabiyo	o- to- ka	-mata -be
	giant anteater	absence	1SG.S away go/come	short time IMMED+F
	nf	pn	vi	

"I'm going out hunting for giant anteater."

27	<b>Faya</b>	<b>bane</b>	<b>bane</b>	<b>wabori</b>
	faya	banehe	banehe	wabori
	so	giant anteater	giant anteater	3SG.POSS brother-in-law
	conj	nf	nf	nm

<b>hinahabi</b>	<b>kabematamonaka</b>	<b>fahi</b>
hi- na- ahaba+M	kaba -himata -mona -ka	fahi
OC CAUS die	eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
vt	vt	dem

'He ate a giant anteater that his brother-in-law killed.'

28	<b>Bane</b>	<b>kabe</b>	<b>bane</b>	<b>kabematamonane</b>
	banehe	kaba+M	banehe	kaba -himata -mona -ne
	giant anteater	eat	giant anteater	eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
	nf	vt	nf	vt

<b>iyawa</b>	<b>iyawa</b>	<b>amara</b>	<b>kakawi</b>	<b>nari</b>
iyawa	iyawa	ama -ra+F	ka- kawii	na -haari
grated mash	grated mash	be NEG	DUP eat with something	AUX IP.E+M
nf	nf	vc	vt	aux

'He ate giant anteater without any starch.'

29	<b>Yama</b>	<b>hinita</b>	<b>kabematamonaka</b>
	yama	hinita	kaba -himata -mona -ka
	thing	alone	eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	nf	pn	vt

'He ate without any starch.'

30	<b>Baiteba</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>aawa</b>	<b>toarematamona</b>
	Bahi	-tee -ba	mera	a- awa
	(man's name)	HAB FUT	3PL.O	DUP see
	npropm		pron	vt
				aux
				to- ha -ra -himata -mona
				CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M

<b>amane</b>
ama -ne
SEC BKG+M
sec

'Bahi didn't look at them.'

## BAHI (2)

- 31 **Yana tina**  
 yana ti- na  
 get up 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux  
 "Get up."
- 32 **Yana tinahi afi tibe**  
 yana ti- na -hi afi ti- na -be  
 get up 2SG.S AUX IMP+F bathe 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 vi aux vi aux  
 "Get up and take a bath."
- 33 **Afi ona hine ohomi**  
 afi o- na+F hine o- homa.NOM+F  
 bathe 1SG.S AUX only 1SG.S lie on ground  
 vi aux pron vi  
 "Let me just lie here, and not take a bath."
- 34 **Tiwa owariyahi**  
 tiwa o- awa -ra -yahi  
 2SG.O 1SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vt  
 "I won't look at you."
- 35 **Onoko ihi tihateriya ati**  
 o- noko ihi ti- to- ha -tee -ra -yahi , ati  
 1SG.POSS eye victim of+F 2SG.S CH be HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F say  
 pn pn vc vt
- nematamonaka Bai afi nebonaha**  
 na -himata -mona -ka Bahi afi na -hibona -ha  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name) bathe AUX INT+M DUP  
 aux nm vi aux
- "I won't hurt you by looking at you," Bahi said, when he was going to take a bath.'
- 36 **Afi nebona aafi toare afi**  
 afi na -hibona a- afi to- ha -ra+M afi  
 bathe AUX INT+M DUP bathe CH AUX NEG bathe  
 vi aux vi aux vi
- nawematamonane yama yama soki ya**  
 na -waha -himata -mona -ne , yama yama soki.NOM ya  
 AUX change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M thing thing be dark ADJU  
 aux nf nf vi prt
- 'He hadn't taken a bath for a long time, but now he took one, at night.'
- 37 **Yama soki ya afi nematamonaka**  
 yama soki.NOM ya afi na -himata -mona -ka  
 thing be dark ADJU bathe AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vi prt vi aux
- 'He took a bath at night.'
- 38 **Me fanawi awi nofarihi na toematamonaka**  
 me fanawi awa.NFIN nofa -rihi na to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 women see want NEG.LIST AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vt vt aux aux
- 'He didn't look at the women, either.'

## BAHI (2)

39 *Yayafa*                    *amare*                    *kawata*                    ,                    *yama*                    *faki*                    *ni*  
 yayafa                    ama -ra+M                    ka-                    wata.LIST                    ,                    yama                    faki                    na.NFIN  
 breach cloth                    be NEG                    COMIT put                    thing spin                    AUX  
 nm                    vc                    vt                    nf                    vt                    aux

***kawatari***

ka-                    wata -haari  
 COMIT put                    IP.E+M  
 vt

'He wore a woman's breach cloth, not a real one of cotton. It was rolled inner bark.'

40 *Hiwa*                    *boko*                    *kani*                    *hohoma*                    *na*  
 hiwa                    boko                    ka-                    na.NFIN                    ho-                    homa.LIST                    na  
 3SG.REFL.M                    close                    COMIT AUX                    DUP lie on ground                    AUX  
 pron                    vi                    aux                    vi                    aux

***toematamonane***

to-                    ha                    -himata -mona -ne                    ,                    *tonokorisari*  
 CH AUX FP.N+M                    REP+M BKG+M                    to-                    noko -risa -haari  
 aux                    away point down                    IP.E+M  
 vi

'He lay there face down, covering himself.'

41 *Titefebonehe*                    *mati*                    *ati*                    *na*                    *ama*  
 ti-                    tefe -bone -he                    mati                    ati                    na+F                    ama  
 2SG.S food INT+F DUP                    3SG.POSS.mother                    say                    AUX                    SEC  
 pn                    nf                    vt                    aux                    sec

***hinakakimetemonehe***

hinaka                    aki                    -mete -mone -he  
 3SG.POSS grandmother FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nf

'"Here is your food," his grandmother said.'

42 *Otefeba*                    *tikawata*  
 o-                    tefe -ba                    ti-                    ka-                    wata  
 1SG.POSS food FUT                    2SG.S COMIT be located  
 pn                    vt

'"Put my food down there."

43 *Yama*                    *owakitihaba*                    *awine*  
 yama                    o-                    ka-                    iti                    -haba                    awine  
 thing 1SG.S COMIT pick up FUT+F                    seem+F  
 nf                    vt                    sec

'"I will get it later."

44 *Timano*                    *owariya*  
 ti-                    mano                    o-                    awa -ra -yahi  
 2SG.POSS arm                    1SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pn                    vt

'"I don't want to see your arm."

45 *Timano*                    *owariyahi*                    *ati*                    *nematamonaka*  
 ti-                    mano                    o-                    awa -ra -yahi                    ati                    na -himata -mona -ka  
 2SG.POSS arm                    1SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F                    say                    AUX FP.N+M                    REP+M DECL+M  
 pn                    vt                    vt                    aux

***yama soki ya***  
 yama                    soki.NOM                    ya  
 thing be dark                    ADJU  
 nf                    vi                    prt

'"I don't want to see your arm," he said, in the darkness.'

## BAHI (2)

46 *Yama soki ya tefebona kawite , fe bari ya*  
 yama soki.NOM ya tefe -bona ka- ita+M , fee bari ya  
 thing be dark ADJU food+M INT+M COMIT sit 3SG.POSS back ADJU  
 nf vi prt pn vi pron pn prt

*yamata tokowatamake yamata boyo ne yamata kaba*  
 yamata to- ka- wata -makI yamata boyo na+M yamata kaba.LIST  
 food away COMIT exist following food feel AUX food eat  
 nf vt nf vt aux nf vt

*yama soki ya tafahari*  
 yama soki.NOM ya tafa -haari  
 thing be dark ADJU eat IP.E+M  
 nf vi prt vi

'His food sat there in the darkness. His grandmother had put it near him, behind him. He felt it and ate it in the darkness.'

47 *Yama hiri ni watari ya , tafa*  
 yama hiri na.NFIN wata -ra.NOM+F ya , tafa  
 thing catch fire AUX exist NEG ADJU eat  
 nf vi aux vi prt vi

*toematamonane*  
 to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'He ate without a light.'

48 *Yamata wiye ta nama , Yama wiye itaharo*  
 yamata wiye taa na -ma , yama wiye ita -haaro  
 food container+F give AUX back thing container+F sit look+F  
 nf pn vt aux nf pn vi

*fa*  
 faa  
 that  
 dem

'He gave the dish back. "The dish is there."'

49 *Yama wiye titima*  
 yama wiye ti- iti -ma  
 thing container+F 2SG.S pick up back  
 nf pn vt

'Get the dish.'

50 *Oko faba tikawatama*  
 o- ka faha -ba ti- ka- wata -ma  
 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT 2SG.S COMIT put back  
 prt nf vt

'Set some water there for me.'<sup>54</sup>

51 *Fa ofibe*  
 faha o- fawa -be  
 water 1SG.S drink IMMED+F  
 nf vt

'I want to drink water.'

54 The word *tikawatama* is archaic. Today the Jarawaras say *tikanawitama*.



## THE BOY'S SPIRIT CAME BACK

### *Free Translation*

A boy died and they buried him. His mother grieved for him a long time. He was to come back.

The boy's mother was grieving for him after they buried him, and he came back, his spirit. His mother was crying as he came. He was standing behind her.

He called to his mother. "Mother, is that you crying?"

His mother looked around quickly. "Are you my son?"

"Yes, it's me."

She called her husband. "The boy is standing there, calling me," she said.

His mother spit juice of chewed-up *kawaki* leaves on him. She was happy because her son had come back.

Waho was living there, too. He did something bad.

"Is that him?" he said.

"My son came back, and is living here," she said.

"Bring him here, so I can blow snuff in him. I don't want him to come back ever again," he said.

He came to Waho, who was going to do something bad. Waho blew snuff into him.

That's how the spirits began their way of talking. "Ehehe," he said, because the snuff had choked him. He went out of the house, drugged. His voice changed [i.e. he began to speak like a spirit, because of the snuff] and he disappeared, never to come back. He disappeared forever. Now people make the spirits come down at night.

We wouldn't have survived if they had fought against us. [Instead, they fight against other spirits.] If our enemies had killed us, we wouldn't have continued to live here.

His mother cried for a long time, because she was grieved. She moved away. She went to the floodplain of the main river, because she was upset. The mother was upset because her son didn't come back. His father also was upset.

They were upset, and they went and now live in the flooded forest. They all moved away. They went and are now living out there. Now they are with the Brazilians. Their gardens were left behind, and their gardens went to ruin.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Inamatewe</i>	<i>abe</i>	,	<i>inamatewe</i>	<i>ahabe</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>hikamo</i>	,	<i>tabiyo</i>
	inamatewe	ahaba+M		inamatewe	ahaba+M	me	hi- kamo+M		tabiyo
	child	die		child	die	3PL.S	OC bury		absence
	nm	vi		nm	vi	pron	vt		pn
	<i>mati</i>	<i>oohi</i>		<i>hiematamonaka</i>					
	mati	o- ohi		hi- to- ha	-himata	-mona	-ka		
	3SG.POSS.mother	DUP cry		OC CH AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M		
	pron	vi		aux					

## THE BOY'S SPIRIT CAME BACK

### *kamakitebana*

ka -makI -tee -hibana  
 go/come following HAB FUT+M  
 vi

'A boy died and they buried him. His mother grieved for him a long time. He was to come back.'

2 *Inamatewe me hikamo , tabiyo mati oohi*  
 inamatewe me hi- kamo+M , tabiyo mati o- ohi  
 child 3PL.S OC bury absence 3SG.POSS.mother DUP cry  
 nm pron vt pn nf vi

*hie kamakimatamonaka , kanamori*  
 hi- to- ha+M , ka -makI -himata -mona -ka , kanamori  
 OC CH AUX go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M spirit  
 aux vi pn

'The boy's mother was grieving for him after they buried him, and he came back, his spirit.'

3 *Kamakino mati oi na , bari ya*  
 ka -makI -hino mati ohi na+F , bari ya  
 go/come following IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX back ADJU  
 vi nf vi aux pn prt

### *wamakehinoho*

waa -makI -hino -ho  
 stand following IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'His mother was crying as he came. He was standing behind her.'

4 *Mati haha nematamonane*  
 mati ha- haa na -himata -mona -ne  
 3SG.POSS.mother DUP call AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

'He called to his mother.'

5 *Ami , ami afa ohi tine ti ?*  
 ami ami afa ohi ti- na -ne ti-  
 mother mother this+F cry 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S  
 nf nf dem vi aux prt

""Mother, is that you crying?""

6 *Mati ki kabote nemetemoneheni*  
 mati kii na -kabote na -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 3SG.POSS.mother look AUX quickly AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 nf vi aux aux

'His mother looked around quickly.'

7 *Efe efe okatao ama tini ; ati nemetemonehe*  
 efe efe okatao ama ti- ni ; ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 this+M this+M my son be 2SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 dem dem nm vc prt vt aux

""Are you my son?""

8 *Fe ama oke*  
 fee ama o- ke  
 3SG be 1SG.S DECL+F  
 pron vc prt

""I am he.""



## THE BOY'S SPIRIT CAME BACK

9 **Maki**                      **haha**                      **nemetemoneni**  
 maki                      ha- haa                      na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS.husband      DUP call                      AUX FP.N+F      REP+F      BKG+F  
 nm                      vt                      aux

'She called her husband.'

10 **Inamatewe**      **wamake**                      **owa**      **ha**      **nari**                      **ati**  
 inamatewe      waa -makI                      owa      haa      na -haari      ati  
 child                      stand following      1SG.O      call      AUX IP.E+M      say  
 nm                      vi                      pron      vt                      aux                      vt

**nemetemoneke**

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

'"The boy is standing there, calling me," she said.'

11 **Faya**      **mati**                      **firo**      **hinematamona**                      **kawaki**      **ya**  
 faya      mati                      firo      hi- na -himata -mona      kawaki      ya  
 so      3SG.POSS.mother      spit      OC      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M      grass sp      ADJU  
 conj      nf                      vt                      aux                      nf                      prt

'His mother spit *kawaki* juice on him.'

12 **Kawaki**      **ya**      **mati**                      **firo**      **hine**                      **yayai**  
 kawaki      ya      mati                      firo      hi- na+M      ya- yai  
 grass sp      ADJU      3SG.POSS.mother      spit      OC      AUX      DUP be happy  
 nf                      prt      nf                      vt      aux                      vi

**nemetemoneheni**

na -hemete -mone -he -ni      **biti**                      **kamakihari**  
 AUX FP.N+F      REP+F      DUP      BKG+F      3SG.POSS.son      go/come      following      IP.E+M  
 aux                      nm                      vi

'His mother spit *kawaki* juice on him, and she was happy because her son had come back.'

13 **Waho**                      **wina**      **nematamonaka**                      **ene**                      **hiyarebana**  
 Waho                      wina      na -himata -mona -ka      ehene      hiya -ra -hibana  
 (man's name)      live      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M      deed+M      be bad      NEG      FUT+M  
 npropm                      vi                      aux                      pn                      vi

'Waho was living there, too. He did something bad.'

14 **Waho**                      **wine**                      **Efe**                      **amane**                      ;      **ati**      **nematamona**  
 Waho                      wina+M      efe      ama -ne                      ;      ati      na -himata -mona  
 (man's name)      live      this+M      be      BKG+M                      say      AUX FP.N+M      REP+M  
 npropm                      vi                      dem      vc                      vt                      aux

'Waho was living there. "Is that him?" he said.'

15 **Okatao**      **kamakino**                      **winahari**                      **ati**  
 okatao      ka                      -makI                      -hino                      wina -haari                      ati  
 my son      go/come      following      IP.N+M                      live      IP.E+M                      say  
 nm                      vi                      vt                      vi                      vt

**nemetemone**

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

'"My son came back, and is living here," she said.'





## THE BOY'S SPIRIT CAME BACK

30 **Faya banemetemoneni**

faya bana -hemete -mone -ni  
 so move away FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 conj vi

'She moved away.'

31 **Tokimetemone**

to-	ka.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama -ke	waha	ya
away go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F	flooded forest	ADJU
vi			vc		nf	prt

**yawaharo**

yawa -haaro  
 be upset IP.E+F  
 vi

'She went to the floodplain of the main river, because she was upset.'

32 **Mati**

mati	yawa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	biti
3SG.POSS.mother	be upset	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	3SG.POSS.son
nf	vi				nm

**kamarari**

ka -ma -ra -haari  
 go/come back NEG IP.E+M  
 vi

'His mother was upset because her son didn't come back.'

33 **Bati**

bati	yawa	nematamonane
3SG.POSS.father	be upset	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nm	vi	aux

'His father also was upset.'

34 **Me**

me	yawa	me	tokimetemone	me
3PL.S	be upset	3PL.S	away go/come	FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S
pron	vi	pron	vi	pron

**towinawitineke**

to-	wina -witI	-ne	-ke	waha	ya
away live out	CONT+F	DECL+F	flooded forest	ADJU	
vi			nf		prt

'They were upset, and they went and now live in the flooded forest.'

35 **Me**

me	nafi	banemetemoneke
3PL.POSS	all	move away
pron	pn	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'They all moved away.'

36 **Me**

me	tokemetemone	me	towinawitineni
3PL.S	away go/come	FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.S
pron	vi	pron	vi

'They went and are now living out there.'



## THE SPELL

### *Free Translation*

"Older brother, go and cut down a *hawa* palm for the fruits," she said, ordering her older brother. She was grating manioc.

"All right, I will go after *hawa* fruits. You cook the manioc juice. We will mash the *hawa* fruits in the manioc juice, and drink it." So he went.

"I'm going to go kill some *yaki* toucans with a blowgun. I'm going to go and look at the toucans eating the *hawa* fruits," his brother-in-law said.

He went. He came upon his brother-in-law, who had cut down a *hawa* palm.

"What!? Did he cut down the *hawa* palm where I shoot toucans? I'm going to put a spell on him with a thread," he said.

So he sucked his shaman's stones, and attached them to a length of cotton thread, and tied the thread across the trail. Then he waited for him.

His brother-in-law weaved a makeshift basket. He put the *hawa* fruits in, and started back. On the way he got caught on the thread that had been tied. It hit him on the thigh, and shocked him. He fell – "iii". He lay there on the ground, face down.

Then his brother-in-law pretended he just happened by. "What? Have they messed with my brother-in-law? Have they put a spell on him with a thread?" he said.

He took some snuff, and sucked on his brother-in-law to cure him. He revived him.

"Go home. Someone put a spell on you, and I am sucking on you, to cure you. I revived you. Go on home with the *hawa* fruits. I'm going to go look for game," he said.

So he left. He shot some game with his blowgun.

The brother-in-law went home, hurt, and lay in his hammock. "Wait a minute. He is the one who put a spell on me, and he is out there. You are going to pay." He tied the two pieces of thread back together, and attached the shaman's stones, and extended it across the path further up ahead. After he tied it he came back to the village, and lay in his hammock. His older brothers sucked on him, to cure him.

His brother-in-law had tied a thread across his trail, and he came back carrying game, at sunset. He came running, and he got caught on the thing that had been strung across. His brother-in-law didn't suck on him, to cure him. He died.

The ants were eating him during the night. His two younger brothers tried to find him with a torch light. They turned back when they were near where he lay. "Our older brother hasn't come back. Let's go home for now, and tomorrow we will come to look for him."

They went back and slept, and they got up early because of him. They also took food for him. They went after him in the morning, and they found him dead. Something had eaten his eyes during the night. They told the news about him back home.

[They went back again to where he lay.] They cut poles for him, and carried him. The two of them came back crying, carrying their older brother.

"Brothers, be careful. I got revenge on the one who put a spell on me. They are coming crying because of him. I can't stand up yet," he said. "I can't stand up yet. The two of them are coming, crying."

The two appeared, carrying him. "Let's cry because of my older brother." They put him

## THE SPELL

down on the floor in the house. "Let's cry because of our older brother. You put a spell on our brother with a thread," they said, crying.

They all cried, and then they danced. They cried, crouching down and getting back up repeatedly. As they were crouched one of them farted, and then they laughed because of him. They buried their brother-in-law.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Ayo*                    *hawa*                    *ka*                    *tikanamakihi*                    *ati*  
 ayo                    hawa                    kaa                    ti- ka- na -makI                    -hi                    ati  
 older brother                    palm sp                    chop                    2SG.S COMIT AUX following IMP+F                    say  
 nm                    nf                    vt                    aux                    vt

*nemetemonehe*                    ,                    *anoti*                    ,                    *yoseharo*                    .  
 na -hemete -mone -he                    ,                    anoti                    yose                    -haaro  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP                    3SG.POSS older brother                    command IP.E+F  
 aux                    nm                    vt

"Older brother, go and cut down a *hawa* palm that has fruits," she said, ordering her older brother.'

2 *Fowa*                    *hiti*                    *nemetemoneke*                    .  
 fowa                    hiti                    na -hemete -mone -ke  
 manioc grate AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm                    vt                    aux

'She was grating manioc.'

3 *Fowa*                    *hiti*                    *na*                    ,                    *Ee*                    ,                    *hawa*  
 fowa                    hiti                    na+F                    ,                    ee                    ,                    hawa  
 manioc grate AUX                    yes                    palm sp  
 nm                    vt                    aux                    interj                    nf

*onakamakiabana*                    .  
 o- to- na- ka                    -makI                    -habana  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come following FUT+F  
 vt

'She was grating manioc. "All right, I will go after *hawa* fruits.'

4 *Fowa*                    *fehene*                    *tikawariya*                    .  
 fowa                    fehene                    ti- ka- waa -rI                    -yahi  
 manioc juice+M 2SG.S COMIT stand raised surface DIST.IMP+F  
 nm                    pn                    vt

"You cook the manioc juice."

5 *Fowa*                    *fene*                    *hawa*                    *e*                    *tabo*                    *nawahibe*                    ,                    *e*  
 fowa                    fehene                    hawa                    ee                    tabo na -waha -be                    ,                    ee  
 manioc juice+M palm sp 1IN.S mash AUX change IMMED+F                    1IN.S  
 nm                    pn                    nf                    pron                    vt                    v                    pron

*fawahaba*                    .  
 fawa -haba  
 drink FUT+F  
 vt

"We will mash the *hawa* fruits in the manioc juice, to drink it."

6 *Faya*                    *tokomakematamonaka*                    .  
 faya to- ka                    -makI                    -himata -mona -ka  
 so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi

'So he went.'





## THE SPELL

"What!? Did he cut down the *hawa* palm where I shoot toucans?"

12 *Okanawasimata* , *ati nematamonahane*  
 o- ka- na- wasi -mata.IMP+M , ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 1SG.S COMIT CAUS find short time say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt vt aux

'I'm going to put a spell on him with a thread,' he said.'

13 *Faya yama toma ne* , *wafe ya yama kobobo*  
 faya yama toma na+M , wafe ya yama kobo -bo  
 so thing suck AUX cotton ADJUNCT thing be attached DUP  
 conj nf vt aux nf prt nf vi

*kanihe yama kahoimatamonane*  
 ka- niha- na+M yama kaho -himata -mona -ne  
 COMIT CAUS AUX thing tie FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux nf vt

'So he sucked his shaman's stones, and fastened them to a length of cotton thread, and tied the thread.'

14 *Yama kaho* , *noki hinematamonane*  
 yama kaho+M , noki hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 thing tie wait for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt vt aux

'He tied it, and then waited for him.'

15 *Noki hine tabasi kowe* , *tabasi kowe*  
 noki hi- na+M tabasi kowa+M , tabasi kowa+M  
 wait for OC AUX makeshift basket weave makeshift basket weave  
 vt aux nf vt nf vt  
 , *hawa te ne* , *hawa te ne*  
 hawa tee na+M , hawa tee na+M  
 palm sp put inside AUX palm sp put inside AUX  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

*kamawematamonane*  
 ka- -ma -waha -himata -mona -ne  
 go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He waited for him. He weaved a makeshift basket. He put the *hawa* fruits in, and came back.'

16 *Hawa te ne kame* , *yama kahoani*  
 hawa tee na+M ka -ma+M , yama kaho -hani  
 palm sp put inside AUX go/come back thing tie IP.N+F  
 nf vt aux vi nf result

*kakitikosamebanoho*  
 ka- iti -kosa -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 COMIT pick up middle back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'He put the *hawa* fruits in and came back. He got caught on the string that had been tied.'

17 *Fe fanako ya yama kobo kanemetemone*  
 fee fanako ya yama kobo ka- na -hemete -mone  
 3SG.POSS thigh ADJUNCT thing arrive COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn prt nf vi aux

*amani yebe na rama ahi*  
 ama -ni yebe na+F rama ahi  
 SEC BKG+F shock AUX unusual then  
 sec vi aux prt dem

'It hit him on the thigh, and shocked him.'



## THE SPELL

***nakitamematamonane***

na- kita -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 CAUS be strong back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He sucked on his brother-in-law, and revived his brother-in-law.'

25 ***Wabori***

wabori na- kita -ma+M  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law CAUS be strong back  
 nm vt

***nakitame***

***Tikamiya***

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

'He revived his brother-in-law. "Go home."'

26 ***Tiwa***

<b><i>me</i></b>	<b><i>kanawasihani</i></b>		<b><i>tiwa</i></b>	<b><i>toma</i></b>	<b><i>one</i></b>
me	ka- na- wasi -hani		tiwa	toma	o- na -ne
2SG.O	3PL.S COMIT CAUS get caught IP.N+F		2SG.O	suck	1SG.S AUX CONT+F
pron	pron vt		pron	vt	aux

***o***

o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt

""They put a spell on you, and I am sucking on you.""

27 ***Tiwa***

<b><i>okasoma</i></b>	<b><i>oke</i></b>
tiwa o- ka- soma o- ke	
2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT help 1SG.S DECL+F	
pron vt	prt

""I revived you.""

28 ***Tikamiyahi***

<b><i>hawa</i></b>
ti- to- ka -ma -yahi hawa
2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F palm sp
vi nf

***tifamibe***

ti- to- fawa -ma -be  
 2SG.S away drink back IMMED+F  
 vt

""Go on home drink the *hawa* porridge.""

29 ***Bani***

<b><i>me</i></b>	<b><i>owawitematibe</i></b>		<b><i>ati</i></b>
bani me o- to- awa -witI -mata -be			ati
animal 3PL.O 1SG.S away see out short time IMMED+F			say
nm pron vt			vt

***nematamonane***

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

'I'm going to go look at the game," he said.'

30 ***Faya***

<b><i>tokematamonaka</i></b>	<b><i>fahi</i></b>
faya to- ka -himata -mona -ka	fahi
so away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
conj vi	dem

'So he left.'

## THE SPELL

31 *Toke* , *bani* *me* *fora* *nematamonane*  
 to- ka+M , bani me fora na -himata -mona -ne  
 away go/come animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi nm pron vt aux

'He went. He shot some game with his blowgun.'

32 *Towakamabise* *towinamematamona*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -bisa+M to- wina -ma -himata -mona  
 away COMIT go/come back also away lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi vi

*yifo* *ya*  
 yifo ya  
 hammock ADJUNCT  
 nm prt

'He also went home, hurt, and lay in his hammock.'

33 *Hiba* , *owa* *kanawasihino* *toka*  
 hiba owa ka- na- wasi -hino to- ka.CONT+M  
 wait 1SG.O COMIT CAUS get caught IP.N+M away go/come  
 interj pron vt vi

'''Wait a minute. He caught me and left.'''

34 *Maki* *tina*  
 maki ti- na  
 pay 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux

'''You are going to pay.'''

35 *Faya* , *wafe* *kote* *wafe* *kote* *katifome* , *yama*  
 faya wafe kote wafe kote ka- tifo -ma+M yama  
 so cotton piece cotton piece COMIT tie together back thing  
 conj nf pn nf pn vt nf

*kobobo* *kanihe* *yama*  
 kobo -bo ka- niha- na+M yama  
 be attached DUP COMIT CAUS AUX thing  
 vi aux nf

*takahomakimatamonane*  
 to- kaho -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 away tie following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He tied the two pieces of thread back together, and attached the shaman's stones, and extended it across the path further up ahead.'

36 *Yama* *takahomaki* *kame* , *tabora* *ya*  
 yama to- kaho -makI+M ka -ma+M , tabora ya  
 thing away tie following go/come back village ADJUNCT  
 nf vt vi nf prt

*kame* *winamematamonaha*  
 ka -ma+M wina -ma -himata -mona -ha  
 go/come back lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi vi

'After he tied it he came back. He came back to the village, and lay in his hammock.'



## THE SPELL

he lay.'

44 *Okoyo* *kamare*  
 o- ka ayo ka -ma -ra+M  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come back NEG  
 nm vi

"My older brother hasn't come home."

45 *E* *towakama* *mata* , *e*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma mata ee  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back for now 1IN.S  
 pron vi prt pron

*awakiminebana*

awa -kI -mina -hibana  
 see coming morning FUT+M  
 vt

"Let's go home for now, and tomorrow we will come to look for him."

46 *Me* *towakama* *me* *amo* *tokanama* *me*  
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me amo to- ka- na -ma+F me  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S sleep away COMIT AUX back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

*bosa* *hikanematamonane*  
 bosa hi- ka na -himata -mona -ne  
 get up early OC go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'They went back and slept, and they got up early because of him.'

47 *Tefebona* *me* , *tefebona* *me* *weye* *hikana*  
 tefe -bona me tefe -bona me weye hi- ka- na.LIST  
 food+M INT+M 3PL food+M INT+M 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX  
 pn pron pn pron vt aux

'They also took food for him.'

48 *Me* *hinakamine* , *ahabeno* *me*  
 me hi- to- na- ka -mina+M ahaba -hino me  
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come morning die IP.N+M 3PL.S  
 pron vt vi pron

*hiwasiwitimatamonaka*

hi- to- wasi -witI -himata -mona -ka  
 OC away find out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'They went after him in the morning, and they found him dead.'

49 *Noko* *yama* *hikaba* *hinabarawematamonane*  
 noko yama hi- kaba hi- nahaba -rawa -himata -mona -ne  
 eye+M thing OC eat OC at night F.PL FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pn nf vt aux

'Something had eaten his eyes during the night.'

50 *Faya* *namoni* *me* *hikame* , *ewenebona* *me*  
 faya namoni me hi- to- ka -ma+M ewene -bona me  
 so report 3PL.S OC away go/come back stick+M INT+M 3PL.S  
 conj pn pron vi pn pron

## THE SPELL

*ti*                    *hise*                    ,    *me*    *tiwa*  
 tii                    hi- na -kosa+M    ,    me    tiwa  
 cut through    OC    AUX    middle    3PL.S    carry  
 vt                    aux                    pron    vt

*hikanematamonaka*                    *fahi* .  
 hi- ka-    na -himata -mona -ka    fahi  
 OC    COMIT    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    then  
 aux                    dem

'They told the news about him back home. They cut poles for him, and carried him.'

51 *Me*    *tiwa*    *hikane*                    ,    *me*    *owi*    *ni*  
 me    tiwa    hi- ka-    na+M    ,    me    ohi    na.NFIN  
 3PL.S    carry    OC    COMIT    AUX    3PL.S    cry    AUX  
 pron    vt    aux                    pron    vi    aux

*kakamemetemoneni*                    ,    *me*    *ka*    *ayo*                    *me*  
 ka-    ka    -ma -hemete -mone -ni    ,    me    ka    ayo                    me  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F    3PL    POSS    older brother    3PL.S  
 vi                    pron    prt    nm                    pron

*tiwa*    *kana*                    *mati* .  
 tiwa    ka-    na+F    mati  
 carry    COMIT    AUX    3PL.S  
 vt    aux                    pron

'They carried him. The two of them came back crying, carrying their older brother.'

52 *Niso*                    *era*    *te*    *kakatoma* .  
 niso                    era    tee    ka-    katoma  
 younger brother    1IN.O    2PL.S    COMIT    look at  
 nm                    pron    pron    vt

'''Brothers, watch out for us.'''

53 *Owa*    *kanawasino*                    *manako*  
 owa    ka-    na-    wasi                    -hino    manako  
 1SG.O    COMIT    CAUS    get caught    IP.N+M    revenge  
 pron    vt                    nf

*oharani*                    *one*                    *ehene*                    *ohi*    *ni*  
 o-    to-    ha                    -hara -ni    ,    ati    o-    na+M    ehene                    ohi    na.NFIN  
 1SG.S    CH    pay back    IP.E+F    BKG+F    say    1SG.S    AUX    because of+M    cry    AUX  
 vd                    aux                    pn                    vi    aux

*kama* .  
 ka    -ma.CONT+M  
 go/come back  
 vi

'''I got revenge on the one who put a spell on me. They are coming crying because of him.'''

54 *Waihina*                    *ori*                    ,    *ati*    *nematamonaka* .  
 waa    -hina    o-    na -ra.NOM+F    ,    ati    na -himata -mona -ka  
 stand can    1SG.S    AUX    NEG    say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 vi                    vi                    vt    aux

'''I can't stand up yet,' he said.'

55 *Waihina*                    *ora*                    *owa*    *ni*    *ya*                    *me*    *owi*    *ni*  
 waa    -hina    o-    na -ra+F    owa    ni    ya                    me    ohi    na.NFIN  
 stand can    1SG.S    AUX    NEG    1SG    to    ADJUNCT    3PL.S    cry    AUX  
 vi                    aux                    pron    prt    prt    pron    vi    aux

## THE SPELL

**kakamine**

ka- ka -ma -ne  
COMIT go/come back CONT+F  
vi

"I can't stand up yet. The two of them are coming, crying."

56 *Me* , *me* *kafotomemetemoneke* *tiwa*  
me , me ka- foto -ma -hemete -mone -ke tiwa  
3PL 3PL.S COMIT appear back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F carry  
pron pron vi vt

*kati* *mati*  
ka- na -tee.NOM mati  
COMIT AUX HAB 3PL.S  
aux pron

'The two of them appeared, carrying him.'

57 *Okoyo* *okoyo* *tabiyo* *e*  
o- ka ayo o- ka ayo tabiyo ee  
1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother absence 1IN.S  
nm nm pn pron

*oi* *namata*  
ohi na -mata  
cry AUX short time  
vi aux

"Let's cry because of my older brother."

58 *Me* *hekibarimematamonaka*  
me hi- ka- iba -rI -ma -himata -mona -ka  
3PL.S OC COMIT set down raised surface back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pron vt

'They put him down.'

59 *Okoyo* *tabiyo* *e* *ohi* *namatahi*  
o- ka ayo tabiyo ee ohi na -mata -hi  
1SG.POSS POSS older brother absence 1IN.S cry AUX short time IMP+F  
nm pn pron vi aux

"Let's cry because of my older brother."

60 *Okoyo* *te* *kanawasihino*  
o- ka ayo tee ka- na- wasi -hino  
1SG.POSS POSS older brother 2PL.S COMIT CAUS get caught IP.N+M  
nm pron vt

*amane* , *me* *ohi* *ni* *ati* *nemetemoneni*  
ama -ne , me ohi na.NFIN ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
SEC BKG+M 3PL.S cry AUX say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
sec pron vi aux vt aux

"You put a spell on my brother with a thread," they said, crying.'

61 *Faya* *me* *nafi* *ohi* *nemetemoneke* , *me*  
faya me nafi ohi na -hemete -mone -ke , me  
so 3PL.POSS all cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S  
conj pron pn vi aux pron

*ayakawabani* *mati*  
ayaka -waha -haba -ni mati  
dance change FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
vi pron

'They all cried, and then they danced.'



## THE SPELL

62 *Me ohi na me kawitarisa nemetemonehe*  
 me ohi na+F me ka- ita -risa.LIST na -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S COMIT sit down AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

'They had cried, crouching down.'

63 *Me kawitarisa na me , me ka owa tosi ne*  
 me ka- ita -risa.LIST na+F me , me ka owa tosi na+M  
 3PL.S COMIT sit down AUX 3PL.S 3PL POSS man fart AUX  
 pron vi aux pron pron prt nm vi aux

*ene me haha nemetemoneke fahi , waha*  
 ehene me haahaa na -hemete -mone -ke fahi , waha  
 because of+M 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then now  
 pn pron vi aux dem prt

'They were crouching down, and one of them farted, and then they laughed because of him.'

64 *Faya me me me ka wabo me*  
 faya me me me ka wabo me  
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S  
 conj pron pron pron prt nm pron

*kamowemetemoneni*

kamo -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
 bury change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt

'They buried their brother-in-law.'

65 *Me hikamowahematamonaha*  
 me hi- kamo -waha -himata -mona -ha  
 3PL.S OC bury change FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pron vt

'They buried him.'

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (1)

### *Free Translation*

The people from Awita Fa were powerful shamans. They came home in the air. When they go fishing, they don't come back on the ground.

"They haven't come back from fishing. I'm going to go to see them," their brother-in-law said.

He went out and called out, and they heard him calling. "Eee," he said.

"Eee," they said, calling up in the air. "Aaa, we are coming in the air," they said, calling. They were carrying fish on their backs.

He blew out the torch, and went up after them.

They all came back in the air. Then they came down to the ground. Where do those people live?

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Awita Fa</b>	<b>yafi</b>		<b>yama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>awaawa</b>	<b>raba</b>	<b>na</b>
	Awita Fa	yafi	,	yama	me	awa awa	na -raba	na
	(name of stream)	inhabitant of		thing	3PL.S	see see	AUX a bit	AUX
	fpropn	pn		nf	pron	vt	aux	aux

	<b>toaremetemone</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>amani</b>		<b>neme</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>
	to- ha -ra -hemete	-mone	me	ama -ni	,	neme	ya	me
	CH AUX NEG FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S	SEC BKG+F		up	ADJUNCT	3PL.S
	aux		pron	sec		nf	prt	pron

<b>kama</b>		<b>mati</b>
ka	-ma+F	mati
go/come back		3PL.S
vi		pron

'The people from Awita Fa were powerful shamans. They came home in the air.'

2	<b>Fa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>bofe</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamarihi</b>	
	faha	me	kii	na+F	bofe	ya	me	ka	-ma -rihi
	water	3PL.S	look at	AUX	ground	ADJUNCT	3PL.S	go/come back	NEG.LIST
	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	prt	pron	vi	

<b>waha</b>
waha
now
prt

'When they go fishing, they don't come back on the ground.'

3	<b>Fa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamarine</b>	
	faha	me	kii	na+F	me	ka	-ma -ra -ne
	water	3PL.S	look at	AUX	3PL.S	go/come back	NEG CONT+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi	

""They haven't come back from fishing.""

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (1)

4 *Me owawitematibe* , *me ka*  
 me o- to- awa -witI -mata -be , me ka  
 3PL.O 1SG.S away see out short time IMMED+F 3PL POSS  
 pron vt pron prt

*wabo ati ne toke* , *ha towiti ha*  
 wabo ati na+M to- ka+M , haa to- na -witI+M haa  
 brother-in-law say AUX away go/come call away AUX out call  
 nm vt aux vi vi aux vi

*ni me wara hinematamonaka*  
 na.NFIN me wara hi- to- na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX 3PL.S understand OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux pron vt aux

"I'm going to go to see them," their brother-in-law said. He went out and called out, and they heard him calling.'

5 *Eee ati nematamona*  
 eee ati na -himata -mona  
 yoohoo say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 interj vt aux

"Eee," he said.'

6 *Eee me ha kawahemetemone neme ya*  
 eee me haa ka- na -waha -hemete -mone neme ya  
 yoohoo 3PL.S call COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F up ADJUNCT  
 interj pron vt aux nf prt

"Eee," they said, calling up in the air.'

7 *Aaa , ota kamini neme ka ya me ha*  
 aaa , otaa ka -ma -ni neme ka ya me haa  
 yoohoo 1EX.S go/come back BKG+F up LOC ADJUNCT 3PL.S call  
 interj pron vi nf prt prt pron vi

*ni ati nemetemoneni*  
 na.NFIN ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 AUX say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux vt aux

"Aaa, we are coming in the air," they said, calling.'

8 *Aba me me weyeri nemetemoneke*  
 aba me me weye -ri na -hemete -mone -ke  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They were carrying fish on their backs.'

9 *Wami fo kase*  
 wami foo ka- na -kosa+M  
 tree sp blow COMIT AUX middle  
 nf vt aux

*tokomakewematamona bisa*  
 to- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona bisa  
 away go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M also  
 vi prt

'He blew out the torch, and went after them.'

10 *Me nafi kamawemetemoneke neme ka*  
 me nafi ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke neme ka  
 3PL.POSS all go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F up LOC  
 pron pn vi nf prt

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (1)

*ya* , *me* *bao* *namabani* *mati* .  
 ya me bao na -ma -haba -ni mati  
 ADJUNCT 3PL.S come down AUX back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 prt pron vi aux pron  
 'They all came back in the air. Then they came down to the ground.'

11 *Hibaka* *ya* *me* *winariya* *fa* *mati* ?  
 hibaka ya me wina -ri -ya faa mati  
 where ADJUNCT 3PL.S live CQ+F now that 3PL  
 interrog prt pron vi dem pron  
 'Where do those people live?'

12 *Tamina* *awine* ?  
 tamina+F awine  
 be good seem+F  
 vi sec  
 'Is that good?'

## SIRABA

### *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.

## SIRABA

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].

## SIRABA

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*                      *okominamatibeya*                      *inamati*  
 Siraba                      o-      kamina -mata                      -be      -ya      inamati  
 (woman's name)      1SG.S tell      short time IMMED+F now      spirit  
 npropf                      vt                      nm

*hekamemetemonehe*  
 hi- to- ka-      ka                      -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

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

2 *Siro*                      *me*                      *tonaka*                      *me*                      *towaka*                      *me* ,  
 siro                      me                      to- na- ka+F                      me                      to- ka- ka+F                      me  
 tree sp      3PL.S      away CAUS go/come      3PL.S      away COMIT go/come      3PL.S  
 nf                      pron      vt                      pron      vi                      pron

*yama*                      *mati*                      *forineke*                      *faro*  
 yama                      mati                      forI                      -ne -ke                      faaro  
 thing line+F lie on top CONT+F DECL+F that+F  
 nf                      pn                      vi                      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*                      *towaka*                      *me* ,                      *ni*                      *ya*                      *inamati*  
 to- na- ka+F                      me                      to- ka- ka+F                      me                      ,                      ni                      ya                      inamati  
 away CAUS go/come      3PL.S      away COMIT go/come      3PL                      to      ADJU      spirit  
 vt                      pron      vi                      pron                      prt      prt                      nm

## SIRABA

**tokomakematamonaka**

to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'They went after *siro* fruits. They went. A spirit went to them.'

4 **Inamati tokomake** , **inamati tokomake** ,  
 inamati to- ka -makI , inamati to- ka -makI  
 spirit away go/come following spirit away go/come following  
 nm vi nm vi

**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 3PL.S tree sp 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron nf pron  
**yaba me yoro na me ni ya**  
 yaba+F me yoro na+F me ni ya  
 pick up 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL to ADJU  
 vt pron vi aux pron prt prt

**tofotomakimatamonane** **siro me ta**  
 to- foto -makI -himata -mona -ne **siro me ta**  
 away appear following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M tree sp 3PL.S be piled up  
 vi nf pron vi

**toniharewama** **me yoro na me ni ya**  
 to- niha- na -rI -waha -ma+F me yoro na+F me ni ya  
 CH CAUS AUX raised surface change back 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL to ADJU  
 aux pron vi aux 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.'

5 **Okoyo kamaki ati**  
 o- ka ayo ka -makI.NOM ati  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come following say  
 nm vi 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

'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

'"Are there ripe *siro* fruits?" he said.'

8 **Siro hataharani**  
 siro hata -hara -ni  
 tree sp be ripe IP.E+F BKG+F  
 nf vi

'"The *siro* fruits are ripe."



## SIRABA

9 *Siro so tosine faro ati nemetemonehe*  
 siro soo 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.'

10 *Faya Siro , siro siro hati tiwahi ati*  
 faya siro , siro siro hati ti- awa -hi ati  
 so tree sp tree sp tree sp ripe 2SG.S see IMP+F 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*  
 siro hati , iti -kima+M siro hawi na+M  
 tree sp ripe pick up two tree sp gnaw AUX  
 nf pn vt nf 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 ibaka ya*  
 waa+M , ayo ibaka ya  
 stand older brother where ADJU  
 vi nm interrog prt

*tikaribeya*

ti- to- ka -ri -be -ya ? ati *nemetemoneke*  
 2SG.S away go/come CQ+F IMMED+F now 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*  
 o- 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 *Siro noki koro towiti awa*  
 siro noki koro to- na -witI+M awa  
 tree sp seed+F throw away AUX out tree  
 nf pn vt aux nf

*kinarimatamonane*

kina -rI -himata -mona -ne  
 hit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

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

## SIRABA

15 *Boto Komaha*    *ya*    *okabone*    *oni*    *ati*  
 Boto Komaha    ya    o-    to-    ka    -habone    o-    ni    ati  
 (place name)    ADJU    1SG.S    away go/come    INT+F    1SG.S    BKG+F    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    ama -ne    ati    na -hemete -mone -ke    one  
 spirit    SEC BKG+M    say    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    other+F  
 nm    sec    vt    aux          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  
 nm    vc    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    say    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 aux                   prt    vt    aux

"You are calling him your brother, but he is not your brother," she said.'

18 *Me*    *hiwemata*    *awaka*  
 me    hi-    awa    -himata    awa    -ka  
 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

"Brother, you stay here."

21 *Siro*    *wiyeba*    *ota*    *tonakamatibeya*  
 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*    *nemetemonehe*  
 ati    na    -hemete    -mone    -he  
 say    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 vt    aux

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

SIRABA

22 *Faya me fanawi towaka mera katomeme mera*  
 faya me fanawi to- ka- ka+F mera ka- katoma+M mera  
 so women away COMIT go/come 3PL.O COMIT look at 3PL.O  
 conj nf vi pron vt pron

*towamakemata awaka*  
 to- awa -makI -himata awa -ka  
 away see following FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 vt sec

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

23 *Me ebe , mera katomemoneke*  
 me ebe , mera ka- katoma -hamone -ke  
 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.O COMIT look at REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pn pron vt

'He watched them.'

24 *Yama me waso me ti kasikima waso*  
 yama me waso me tii ka- na -kosa -kima+F waso  
 thing 3PL leaf 3PL.S cut through COMIT AUX middle two leaf  
 nf pron nf pron vt aux nf  
*me kanasona me , me yoro ra yama me*  
 me ka- na- sona+F me , me yoro na -ra+F yama me  
 3PL.S COMIT CAUS fall 3PL.S 3PL.S stand AUX NEG thing 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron pron vi aux nf pron

*ti kasaremetemoneke*  
 tii ka- na -kosa -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 cut through COMIT AUX middle NEG FP.N+F REP+F 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 kana ni towakamemetemoneke ha*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke haa  
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F DEM  
 pron vi aux vi

*ya me tokafotowamabani mati*  
 ya me to- ka- foto -waha -ma -haba -ni mati  
 ADJU 3PL.S away COMIT appear change back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 prt pron vi pron

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

26 *Me tokafotowama 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

*towakamemetemoneni , fare bati*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni , fare bati  
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F same+M 3SG.POSS.father  
 vi dem nm

*itamakino ya isiri kowahari*  
 ita -makI.NOM -no ya isiri kowa -haari  
 sit following IP.N+M ADJU basket weave IP.E+M  
 vi prt nf vt

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

SIRABA

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

*tofotomemetemoneni*

to- foto -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 away appear back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

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

28 *Abi afa ama tini : ati nemetemonehe*  
 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 it you?" she said.'

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 AUX father spirit 1EX.O  
 dem vc prt vt aux nm nm pron

*Kiyo kamaki ahi ati nemetemoneni*  
 kiyo+M ka -makI.NOM ahi ati na -hemete -mone -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 nematamona*  
 inamati to- ha+M awa -ne ati na -himata -mona  
 spirit CH be seem+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vc sec vt aux

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

31 *Inamati fotomaki kerewe nematamonaha*  
 inamati foto -makI.NFIN kerewe na -himata -mona -ha  
 spirit appear following be slow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm vi vi vt aux

'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 vt aux

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

33 *Kana ni kamakimatamona ahi , fe bata*  
 kana na.NFIN 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

*torebanoho*

to- na -rI -hiba -no -ho  
 CH AUX raised surface FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He came running, and he surprised him.'

## SIRABA

34 **Himata ebe tina tikamakine**  
 himata ebe ti- na+F ti- ka -makI -ne  
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX 2SG.S go/come following CONT+F  
 interrog vt aux vi

**tiriya ? ati nematamona Siraba bati**  
 ti- ri -ya ati na -himata -mona Siraba bati  
 2SG.S CQ+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M (woman's name) 3SG.POSS.father  
 prt vt aux npropf nm

"What are you doing coming here?" he said, Siraba's father.'

35 **Me okiyorini ati nematamonane**  
 me o- kiyo -ra -ni ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 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**  
 okoto ti- kiyo -hani ti- ka -makI -ne  
 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 owini ati 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- to- ka -ma -yahi fara ti- taboro 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 **Faya , wete tonamematamonaka**  
 faya , wete to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 so return away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi aux

'So he went back.'

## SIRABA

41 **Tokomake** **tokomare**  
 to- ka -makI 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.'

42 **Wete** **toname** , **tokome**  
 wete to- na -ma+M to- ka -ma+M  
 return away AUX back 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 kiyoha , matehe me me  
 children 3PL.O 3PL.S chase children 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf pron pron vt nf pron pron

**kiyohemetemoneke**  
 kiyohemetemoneke  
 chase FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

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

45 **Siraba** **bati** **hiwahi**  
 Siraba bati hi- awa+M  
 (woman's name) 3SG.POSS.father OC see  
 npropf nm vt

**hikahabanarehimata** **awane** ?  
 hi- ka- habana -ra -himata awa -ne  
 OC COMIT order someone against NEG FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
 vt sec

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

SIRABA

46 *Hikabanaremata* *awaka* *fare* ,  
 hi- ka- habana -ra -himata awa -ka fare ,  
 OC COMIT order someone against NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M same+M  
 vt sec dem  
*hiwa kaiyarabise hiwa awe ya* .  
 hiwa ka- hiyara -bisa+M hiwa awa.NOM+M ya  
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT speak also 3SG.REFL.M see ADJU  
 pron vt pron vt prt  
 'Apparently he didn't send [his familiar spirit] against him, even though he was a powerful shaman.'

47 *Faya tokomake* , *mera noki ne* , *me haha*  
 faya to- ka -makI , mera noki na+M , me haahaa  
 so away go/come following 3PL.O wait for AUX 3PL.S laugh  
 conj vi pron vt aux pron vi  
*ni me haha ni saiha me me abe kiyoa*  
 na.NFIN me haahaa na.NFIN sai+F me me abe kiyof  
 AUX 3PL.S laugh AUX be heard 3PL.S 3PL.POSS RECIP chase  
 aux pron vi aux vi pron pron pn vt  
*mati* .  
 mati  
 3SG.POSS.mother  
 pron  
 'He went there and waited for them. Their laughing could be heard as they chased each other.'

48 *Me me kiyoa me* , *nakiri* *ya fara*  
 me me kiyof me , nakiri ya fara  
 3PL.O 3PL.S chase 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.brother's wife ADJU same+F  
 pron pron vt pron nf prt dem  
*me fami me famemetemoneni* .  
 me fama.NFIN me fama -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vi  
 'They were chasing them. She was always with her cousin.'

49 *Mera kiyoa kana ni tokomake* *mera moto*  
 mera kiyof kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI mera moto  
 3PL.O chase run AUX away go/come following 3PL.O loop  
 pron vt vi aux vi pron vi  
*kawamemetemoneke* , *yobe wahi bari ya* .  
 ka- na -waha -ma -hemete -mone -ke , yobe waa+M bari ya  
 COMIT AUX change back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F house stand back ADJU  
 aux 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  
 'They were in their hammocks inside the longhouse.'

51 *Mera moto 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

SIRABA

*wematamonane* , *me ka owamonaha* , *fara fe*  
 waa -himata -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 brother 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.'

52 *Fito hikanemata awaka*  
 fito hi- ka- na -himata awa -ka  
 rush OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 vi aux sec

'She 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

*ka owamonaha*  
 ka owa -mona -ha  
 of man REP+M DUP  
 prt nm

'So he grabbed her, since she thought he was one of their men.'

54 *Faya Hibake ama tiriya ? ati nemetemoneke*  
 faya , hibake ama ti- ri -ya ? ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 so who+M be 2SG.S CQ+F now say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj interrog vc prt 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 o- wato o- ka -ra+M  
 name+M 1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL+M NEG  
 pn vt prt

'I don't know his name.'

57 *Faya nakiri kana ni*  
 faya nakiri kana na.NFIN  
 so 3SG.POSS.brother's wife run AUX  
 conj nf vi aux

*kamakiemetemoneni*  
 ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni  
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'Then her cousin came running.'



SIRABA

58 *Kana ni kamakia* , *Hibake te fama ? ati*  
 kana na.NFIN ka -makI+F , hibake tee fama+F ? ati  
 run AUX go/come following who+M 2PL.S be two say  
 vi aux vi interrog pron vi vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

'She came running. "Who are you with?" she said.'

59 *Fe okoyo amane ? ati*  
 fee o- ka ayo ama -ne ati  
 3SG 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be BKG+M say  
 pron nm vc vt

*nemetemoneke*

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

"Is that my brother?" she said.'

60 *Ayo awane ati nemetemonehe*  
 ayo awa -ne ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 2SG.POSS.older brother seem+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nm sec vt aux

"I think it is your brother," she said.'

61 *Ayo afa ama tini ? ati nemetemoneke*  
 ayo afa ama ti- ni ? ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 older brother this+F be 2SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm dem vc prt vt aux

"Brother, is that you?" she said.'

62 *Fe ama oni ati ne Fe ama oni*  
 fee ama o- ni ati na+M fee ama o- ni  
 3SG be 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX 3SG be 1SG.S BKG+F  
 pron vc prt vt aux pron vc prt

"It is me," he said.'

63 *Ati yana ni hihya nemata awaka*  
 ati yana na.NFIN hi- hiya na -himata awa -ka  
 voice start AUX DUP be different AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 pn vi aux vi aux sec

'I guess he had a different voice.'

64 *Fe ama oni*  
 fee ama o- ni  
 3SG be 1SG.S BKG+F  
 pron vc prt

"It is me."

65 *Okoyo ama tira* ,  
 o- ka ayo ama ti- ra+F ,  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be 2SG.S NEG  
 nm vc prt



## SIRABA

**kamemetemonehe** , **mati** **aate** **naro**  
ka -ma -hemete -mone -he , mati a- ate na -haaro  
go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP 3SG.POSS.mother DUP ask AUX IP.E+F  
vi nf vt aux

'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 o- ka 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  
nm vi vt aux

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

75 **Inamati** **Siraba** **tama** **ne** **ware** **ahi**  
inamati Siraba tama na+M waa -hare ahi  
spirit (woman's name) hold onto AUX stand IP.E+M there  
nm npropf vt aux vi dem

'"There is a spirit holding onto Siraba there on the patio."'

76 **Owamamatabaya** **ati** **nemetemone**  
o- to- awa -ma -mata -ba -ya ati na -hemete -mone  
1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+M now say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
vt vt aux

'"I'm going back to see her," she said.'

77 **Faya** **kana** **ni** **kama** **kiyomama** **fara**  
faya kana na.NFIN 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

**me** **yoro** **ni** **ya** **tokometemone**  
me yoro na.NOM+F ya to- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
3PL.S stand AUX ADJU away go/come back FP.N+F 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** **yama** **honaremetemone** **ama** **mera**  
to- ka -ma+F yama hona -ra -hemete -mone ama mera  
away go/come back thing have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC 3PL.O  
vi nf vi sec pron

**kowa** **nawarebanihi**  
kowa na -wahaI -haba -ni -hi  
whistle AUX all over FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
vi aux

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



SIRABA

*amani*

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

86 *Siraba*                      *kawahemetemone*                      *amani*                      *inamati*  
Siraba                      ka- waha -hemete -mone                      ama -ni                      inamati  
(woman's name)                      COMIT dawn FP.N+F                      REP+F                      SEC BKG+F                      spirit  
npropf                      vi                      sec                      nm

*hikawa*                      *hinahabaharo*  
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*                      *hiwemetete*                      *awineke*  
tabiyo                      me                      hi- awa -hemete                      awine -ke  
absence                      3PL.S                      OC                      feel FP.N+F                      seem+F                      DECL+F  
pn                      pron                      vt                      sec  
'They missed her.'

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                      aux                      pron

*hinemetemone*                      *okomise*                      *aati*  
ati hi- na -hemete -mone                      o-                      ka                      amise                      a-                      ati  
say OC                      AUX                      FP.N+F                      REP+F                      1SG.POSS                      POSS                      aunt                      DUP                      say  
vt                      nf                      vt

*toamaroni*                      *kamakiminaba*                      *bosa*  
to- ha -hamaro -ni                      ka                      -makI                      -mina                      -haba                      bosa  
CH                      AUX                      FP.E+F                      BKG+F                      go/come 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

'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*                      *oariemetemoneke*  
hinaka                      yama                      soki.NFIN                      ohari -hemete -mone -ke  
3SG.POSS                      thing                      be dark                      be one FP.N+F                      REP+F                      DECL+F  
pron                      nf                      vi                      vi

'She was gone for one night.'

90 *Faya*                      *kama*                      *kiyomamemetemonehe*  
faya                      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

'She came back, and came inside.'

91 *Me*                      *so*                      *na*                      *me*                      *yobiri*                      *na*                      *mera*                      *fiya*  
me                      soo                      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

SIRABA

<b>nama</b>	<b>kama</b>		<b>kiyomama</b>		<b>mati</b>	<b>ni</b>
na -ma+F	ka -ma+F	,	ka -yoma -ma+F	,	mati	ni
AUX back	go/come back		go/come through back		3SG.POSS.mother	to
aux	vi		vi		nf	prt
<b>ya</b>	<b>tokoma</b>		<b>towinamemetemonehe</b>			
ya to-	ka -ma+F		to- wina -ma -hemete -mone -he			
ADJU away	go/come back		away lie in hammock back		FP.N+F REP+F DUP	
prt vi	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	<b>Towinama</b>		<b>wete</b>	<b>towitia</b>	<b>amo</b>
	to- wina -ma+F	,	wete to- na -witI+F		amo
	away live back		return away AUX out		sleep
	vi		vi aux		vi

<b>nisemetemoneke</b>		<b>fahi</b>
na -risa -hemete -mone -ke		fahi
AUX down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		then
aux		dem

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

93	<b>Faya</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiwasia</b>	<b>mati</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>wasia</b>	
	faya yamata me	hi- wasi+F	mati	yamata wasi+F				,
	so food 3PL.S	OC cook	3SG.POSS.mother	food cook				
	conj nf	pron vt	nf	nf vt				
	<b>mati</b>	<b>yamata</b>	<b>hiwasia</b>	<b>kababone</b>	<b>mati</b>	<b>mowa</b>		
	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			
	<b>hina</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>hiyarabanihi</b>					
	hi- na+F	ihi	hiya -ra -haba -ni -hi					
	OC AUX	deed+F	be bad 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.'

94	<b>Siraba</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>
	Siraba	ati na -hemete -mone	
	(woman's name)	say AUX FP.N+F REP+F	
	npropf	vt aux	

'"Siraba," she said.'

95	<b>Siraba</b>	<b>titafihi</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>
	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	<b>Mati</b>	<b>hose</b>	<b>hikanemetemone</b>	<b>kita</b>	<b>ya</b>
	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	

'Her mother shook her hard.'

97	<b>Titafihi</b>
	ti- tafi -hi
	2SG.S wake up IMP+F
	vi

SIRABA

"Wake up."

98 *Tika*                    *yibote*                    *tiwa*                    *me*                    *kawa*                    *naba*                    *me*  
 ti-                    ka                    yibote                    tiwa                    me                    ka-                    waa                    nahaba+F                    me  
 2SG.POSS                    POSS                    husband                    2SG.O                    3PL.S                    COMIT stay                    at night                    3PL.POSS  
 prt                    nm                    pron                    pron                    vt                    prt                    pron

*ihi*                    *tikabibeya*                    *ati*                    *nemetemoneni*  
 ihi                    ti-                    kaba -be                    -ya                    ati                    na -hemete -mone -ni  
 victim of+F                    2SG.S eat                    IMMED+F now                    say                    AUX FP.N+F                    REP+F BKG+F  
 pn                    vt                    vt                    aux

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

99 *Faya*                    *sa*                    *nemetemoneke*                    *fahi*  
 faya                    saa                    na -hemete -mone -ke                    fahi  
 so                    vomit                    AUX FP.N+F                    REP+F DECL+F                    then  
 conj                    vi                    aux                    dem

"Then she vomited."

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

"Then she spoke, sick."

101 *Ati*                    *yana*                    *kana*                    ,                    *Ami*                    *ami*                    *ati*  
 ati                    yana                    ka-                    na+F                    ,                    ami                    ami                    ati  
 voice                    start                    COMIT AUX                    mother                    mother                    say  
 pn                    vi                    antip                    nf                    nf                    vt

*nemetemoneke*                    ,                    *me*                    *toma*                    *hinabanihi*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke                    ,                    me                    toma                    hi-                    na -haba -ni                    -hi  
 AUX FP.N+F                    REP+F DECL+F                    3PL.S                    suck                    OC                    AUX FUT+F                    IP.N+F                    DUP  
 aux                    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                    ahi  
 OC                    AUX FP.N+F                    REP+F                    then  
 aux                    dem

'The one who was supposed to marry her but didn't like her, 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?'

SIRABA

105 **Toma hinemete awineke**  
 toma hi- na -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**  
 me toma hi- na+F , me hi- ka- soma -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S OC COMIT help FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron vt aux pron vt

'They sucked on her, to cure her.'

107 **Fawa nisemetemoneke**  
 fawa na -risa -hemete -mone -ke  
 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 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pn vi aux vt aux  
 , **okomise hiyari aati toimaro amani**  
 o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F  
 nf vi vt aux vc  
 -- **Abi inamati ehene ? -- inamati ai**  
 abi inamati ehene inamati ahi  
 father spirit because of+M spirit have sex with  
 nm nm post nm vt

**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

'She died.'

111 **Abemetemone okomise hiyari aati**  
 ahaba -hemete -mone o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati  
 die FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say  
 vi nf vi vt

**toamaroni**  
 to- ha -hamaro -ni  
 CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 aux



SIRABA

'She died, my aunt used to say.'

112 *Faya me yawa me kakimetemone amake*  
 faya me yawa+F me ka -kI.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke  
 so 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 conj pron vi pron vi vc

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'They grieved, and they came here.'

113 *Me tokisemete me awineke ahi*  
 me to- ka -risa -hemete me awine -ke ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi pron sec dem

'I guess they went downstream.'

114 *Me ka awa botemetemone okomise na*  
 me ka awa bote -mete -mone o- ka amise ati na  
 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 yama yoyofi hiamaroke ahi*  
 o- ka amise yama yo- yofi hi- to- ha -hamaro -ke ahi  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt thing DUP show OC CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F there  
 nf nf vt aux dem

, *Fare Wari* , *ee* *Sibiri Wa Wari* *ka* , *tabora* *bote* *na*  
 Fare Wari ee Sibiri Wa Wari ka tabora bote na+F  
 (name of place) (pause) (name of place) 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 kona watematamona wate awaka fahi*  
 faya kona wata -himata -mona wata+M awa -ka fahi  
 so plant sp grow FP.N+M REP+M grow seem+M DECL+M there  
 conj nm vi vi sec dem

*Noko Maiyi aati toimaro amake*  
 Noko Maiyi a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke  
 (woman's name) DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F  
 npropf vt aux vc

'"The *kona* that grew there still is growing there," Noko Maiyi used to say.'

117 *Abi Siraba e ka fanawirimete 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

'Father, was Siraba a Jarawara?'

SIRABA

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

'I guess she was a Jarawara.'

119 *Ha me siba remetemone me one e*  
 haa me siba na -ra -hemete -mone me one ee  
 DEM 3PL.S be all right AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL other+F 1IN.S  
 dem pron vi aux pron adj pron

*amake hine me ebe kanemetemone mati*  
 ama -ke hine me ebe ka- na -hemete -mone mati  
 be DECL+F 3.REFL 3PL.S divide up COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 vc pron pron vt aux pron

'They split up a long time ago, and we became the Jarawaras.'

120 *Hine me ebe kanemetemone me yokana me*  
 hine me ebe ka- na -hemete -mone me yokana me  
 3.REFL 3PL.S divide up COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL true 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron adj pron

*amara me wina me awineke ahi*  
 ama -ra+F me wina+F me awine -ke ahi  
 be NEG 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F there  
 vc pron vi pron sec dem

'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 mati*  
 awine -ke haaha mati  
 seem+F DECL+F this+F 3PL  
 sec dem pron

'They don't speak our language.'

122 *Me bana me fa fowemetemoneke*  
 me bana+F me faha fowe -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 *Fa fowe ya me fa fowe ya me*  
 faha fowe ya me faha fowe ya me  
 high water season ADJU 3PL high water season ADJU 3PL.S  
 nf prt pron nf prt pron

*bana me kisakia me me kisakia*  
 bana+F me ka -risa -kI+F me me ka -risa -kI+F  
 move away 3PL.S go/come down coming 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come down coming  
 vi pron vi pron pron vi

*me kanawa kanawa ataromatamonane*  
 me kanawa kanawa ataro -mata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S tree sp tree sp bark+M FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron nm nm pn

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

SIRABA

124 *Kanawa ataro ya mera iso nematamonaka*  
 kanawa ataro ya mera iso na -himata -mona -ka ,  
 tree sp bark+M ADJU 3PL.O carry off AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pn prt pron vt aux

*fari e one mati*  
 faari , ee one mati .  
 that one+M 1IN other+F 3PL  
 dem pron adj pron

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

125 *Afa memetemone me e amake*  
 afa me -mete -mone me ee ama -ke  
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be DECL+F  
 dem pron pron pron vc

'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 memetemone me e amake*  
 afa me -mete -mone me ee ama -ke  
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be DECL+F  
 dem pron pron pron vc

*one oke me wete*  
 ati o- na -ne o- ke , me wete  
 say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 3PL.S return  
 vt prt pron vi

*tonamemetemone mati*  
 to- na -ma -hemete -mone mati  
 away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'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.'

129 *Me wete tonamene me wete*  
 me wete to- na -ma -hene me wete  
 3PL.S return away AUX back IRR+F 3PL.S return  
 pron vi aux pron vi

*tonamemetemone biti mano ma*  
 to- na -ma -hemete -mone , biti mano maa  
 away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.POSS.son arm+M be tired  
 aux nm pn vi

*tokahemona ati ehene mera ha*  
 to- ka- ha -himona , ati ehene mera haa  
 CH COMIT AUX REP+M voice because of+M 3PL.O call  
 aux pn post pron vt

SIRABA

*nemetemoneni* , *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 kikisama me mera iiso* , *me*  
me ki- ka -risa -ma me mera i- iso , me  
3PL.S DUP go/come down back 3PL.S 3PL.O DUP carry off 3PL.S  
pron vi pron pron vt pron

*kimisakeha* , *me nahobasemetemone ahi me*  
ka -misa -kI+F , me naho -basa -hemete -mone ahi me  
go/come up coming 3PL.S sit edge FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.POSS  
vi pron vi dem pron

*ebe noki na mati* , *fare ohari mera iso*  
ebe noki na+F mati , fare ohari+M mera iso  
RECIP wait for AUX 3PL.POSS same+M be one 3PL.O carry off  
pn vt aux pron dem vi pron vt

*namako*  
na -mako  
AUX for this reason+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 tonokosa nemetemone ahi*  
me tama+F me to- naho -kosa na -hemete -mone ahi  
3PL.S be many 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 idea FUT+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS 1IN other+F 3PL  
pron pn vi pron pron adj pron

*e yokana mati*  
ee yokana mati  
1IN true 3PL  
pron adj pron

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

132 *Hee me ati nemetemoneni*  
hee me ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
hey 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
interj pron vt aux

'"Hey," they said.'

133 *Ami omano ma tokahara oke*  
ami o- mano maa to- ka- ha -hara o- 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."

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

SIRABA

*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*  
 okatao mano maa to- ka- ha.NOM+M -mona -ha  
 my son arm+M be tired CH COMMIT AUX REP+M DUP  
 nm pn vi aux

"My son's arms are tired."

136 *Ota wete tonamibana ati nemetemoneni*  
 otaa wete to- na -ma+F -bana ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 1EX.S return away AUX back FUT say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi aux vt aux

*ha ni*  
 haa na.NFIN  
 call AUX  
 vi aux

"We are going back," she said, calling.'

137 *Ee ota ota tokomibonehe*  
 ee otaa otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he  
 yes 1EX 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F DUP  
 interj pron pron vi

"Okay, we are going back."

138 *Ota ota tokomibone*  
 otaa otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone  
 1EX 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F  
 pron pron vi

"We are going back."

139 *Ota wete tonamibone okatao ati ne ati*  
 otaa wete to- na -ma.NOM+F -bone okatao ati na+M ati  
 1EX.S return away AUX back 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 mano ma tokahamona okatao ati ne ati*  
 okatao mano maa to- ka- ha.NOM+M -mona okatao ati na+M ati  
 my son arm+M be tired CH COMMIT AUX REP+M my son say AUX say  
 nm pn vi aux nm vt aux vt

*nemetemone*  
 na -hemete -mone  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

"My son said his arms are tired," she said.'

SIRABA

141 *Ee te tokomahi me ati na me*  
 ee tee to- ka -ma -hi , me ati na+F me  
 yes 2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS  
 interj pron vi pron vt aux pron

*ati yana tonemetemoneke fahi*  
 ati yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 voice start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pn vi aux dem  
 "All right, you go," they said. They were upset as they were speaking.'

142 *Te ota kakabateba otani me ati*  
 tee otaa ka- kaba -tee -haba otaa -ni me ati  
 2PL.O 1EX.S DUP eat HAB 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 in the future," they said.'

143 *Te ota kakabatebisaba otani me ati*  
 tee otaa ka- kaba -tee -bisa -haba otaa -ni 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 ya me*  
 ee to- ka -tima.NOM+F ka ya me  
 yes away go/come upstream LOC ADJU 3PL.S  
 pron vi prt prt pron

*kisemetemoneke ha ya*  
 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 awaka ahi*  
 isI -riwaha -kI -himata awa -ka ahi  
 drop off across coming FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then  
 vt sec dem  
 'It was on the other side. He brought them across to here.'

146 *Ee me me hekanakosemetemoneke*  
 ee me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke  
 yes 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 interj pron pron vt  
 'Right, they left them behind.'

SIRABA

147 *Faya me , me ma nisimetemoneke*  
 faya me , me maa na -risa.NOM+F -mete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL 3PL.S stop AUX down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron pron vi aux

*Wara amake haro , okomise hiyari*  
 Wara ama -ke haaro , o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN  
 (name of lake) be DECL+F that one+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak  
 npropf vc dem nf vi

*aati towamaroke*  
 a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'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 lived there.'

149 *E tamemetemone e , bote me ya e*  
 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

*tabakere*  
 taba -ke -re  
 be together 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 CH 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 ateate na toemari ama*  
 yobe waa+M toro ate- ate.LIST na to- ha -himari ama  
 house stand inside+M DUP make noise AUX CH AUX FP.E+M SEC  
 nm vi pn vi aux aux sec

*me ihi ayaka ini me hiri na mati*  
 me ihi ayaka ini me hiri na+F mati  
 3PL.POSS because of+F festa name+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S  
 pron post nf pn pron vt aux pron

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

# AWA ARA WANI

## *Free Translation*

The Brazilians fought with the Apurinãs. They fought with them, and they fought them back. They fought against them, because they didn't like them. They killed the parents, and married the daughters.

He married an Apurinã woman. He killed them for the Apurinã woman. They fought against the Apurinãs, and came back. They lived on the edge of the Biya Fa stream.

*Father, were they Jarawaras? (Okomobi)*

Yes, Jarawaras, our ancestors. He married the Apurinã woman, after he captured her. He doesn't have any descendants today. There are no descendents of the one who married an Apurinã woman. His children were all fat, my aunt used to say, the one who married an Apurinã woman, who did not ask for the Apurinã woman. They fought because of the Apurinã woman, and when she ran away he captured her. He captured her, and brought her back. He married her. He lived with her. They killed the Apurinãs with clubs. My aunt used to say they were clubs, since there were no guns. The clubs were carved. There were also spears, and arrows. The Apurinãs died because of them. In those days the Brazilians said the Jarawaras were strong. He captured the Apurinã woman. He lived with the Apurinã woman. I have said his name. Awa Ara Wani, I said. Awa Ara Wani married her. Awa Ara Wani married her, and he made her pregnant. He doesn't have any descendants. It was a long time ago, my aunt used to say.

They fought against the Apurinãs, and they moved away. They came downstream, and they went again to Siro Wari. They went and lived there at Siro Wari. You have seen Siro Wari, upstream from Omaha. Siro Wari is upstream from Omaha. It is their old gardens, that turned back into forest.

## *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Yara</i>	,	<i>ee</i>	,	<i>yati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mowa</i>
	yara		ee		yati	me	me	mowa
	Brazilian		(pause)		Apurinã	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight
	nm		interj		npropm	pron	pron	vt

<i>nabisemetemone</i>	<i>waha</i>	<i>yati</i>
na -bisa -hemete -mone	waha	yati
AUX also FP.N+F REP+F	now	Apurinã
aux	prt	npropm

'The Brazilians fought with the Apurinãs.'

2	<i>Fara</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>fara</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>momowa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>me</i>
	fara	me		fara	me	me	mo- mowa.LIST	na	to- ha+F	me
	same+F	3PL		same+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP fight	AUX	CH AUX	3PL.O
	dem	pron		dem	pron	pron	vt	aux	aux	pron

<i>me</i>	<i>mowa</i>	<i>hiwahemetemone</i>	<i>manako</i>
me	mowa	hi- na -waha -hemete -mone	manako
3PL.S	fight	OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F	revenge
pron	vt	aux	nf

'They fought with them, and they fought them back.'



## AWA ARA WANI

3 *Yati me fara me ati totoa na toa*  
 yati me fara me ati to- to- ha.LIST na to- ha+F  
 Apurinã 3PL same+F 3PL.POSS voice DUP CH be AUX CH AUX  
 npropm pron dem pron pn vc aux aux

*me me mowa hinemetemone*  
 me me mowa hi- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They fought against them, because they didn't like them.'

4 *Me fanawiri , awaa rawani iiti*  
 me fanawi -ri , awa -a na -rawa -hani i- iti  
 3PL.POSS woman PN see DUP AUX F.PL IP.N+F DUP marry  
 pron pn vt aux vt

*hiemetemonehe*  
 hi- na -hemete -mone -he  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux

'They killed the parents, and married the daughters.'

5 *Yati fana iiti toematamona*  
 yati fana i- iti to- ha -himata -mona  
 Apurinã female DUP marry CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropm nf vt aux

'He married an Apurinã woman.'

6 *Yati fana kanabimatamona*  
 yati fana ka- na- ahaba -himata -mona  
 Apurinã female COMIT CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropm nf vt

'He killed them for the Apurinã woman.'

7 *Fara ?*  
 fara  
 same+F  
 dem

'Is that all?'

8 *Nafiha awine ?*  
 nafi+F awine  
 be big seem+F  
 vi sec

'Is it big enough?'

9 *Yati me me mowa na me , me , me wete*  
 yati me me mowa na+F me , me , me wete  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S return  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron pron pron vi

*namatasemetemone*  
 na -ma -tasa -hemete -mone  
 AUX back again FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They fought against the Apurinãs, and came back.'

AWA ARA WANI

10 *Me* , *me* *wiwinabasa* *toimetemone* *amake*  
 me , me wi- wina -basa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 3PL 3PL.S DUP live edge CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 pron pron vi aux vc

*ahi* *Biya Fa* *ya* .  
 ahi Biya Fa ya  
 there (name of stream) ADJU  
 dem npropf prt  
 'They lived on the edge of the Biya Fa stream.'

11 *Abi* *afa* *e* *ka* *one* *mati* ?  
 abi afa ee ka one mati  
 father this+F 1IN POSS relative 3PL.POSS  
 nm dem pron prt nf pron

'Father, were they Jarawaras?'

12 *Ee* *e* *ka* *one* *mati* *e* *ka* *iti* *boteri*  
 ee ee ka one mati ee ka iti boteri -ri  
 yes 1IN POSS relative 3PL.POSS 1IN POSS grandfather old PN  
 interj pron prt nf pron pron prt nm pn

*mati* .  
 mati  
 3PL.POSS  
 pron

'Yes, Jarawaras, our ancestors.'

13 *Faya* *yati* *fanara* *iiti* *toematamona* , *yati*  
 faya yati fana -ra i- iti to- ha -himata -mona , yati  
 so Apurinã female O DUP marry CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M Apurinã  
 conj npropm nf vt aux npropm

*fana* , *yati* *fana* *watahari* .  
 fana , yati fana wata -haari  
 female Apurinã female catch IP.E+M  
 nf npropm nf vt

'He married the Apurinã woman, after he captured the Apurinã woman.'

14 *Hiwatemetemoneke* .  
 hi- wata -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'He captured her.'

15 *Biti* , *hinaka* *noti* *bote* *sawikara* .  
 biti , hinaka noti bote sawi -ka -ra+M  
 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS grandson old be present DECL+M NEG  
 nm pron nm adj vi

'He doesn't have any descendants today.'

16 *Yara* *fana* *ita* , *yati* *fana* *itimata* , *ka*  
 yara fana ita , yati fana iti -himata , ka  
 Brazilian female Apurinã female marry FP.N+M POSS  
 nm nf npropm nf vt prt

*noti* *bote* *sawikara* .  
 noti bote sawi -ka -ra+M  
 grandson old be present DECL+M NEG  
 nm adj vi

'There are no descendents of the one who married an Apurinã woman.'

AWA ARA WANI

17	<b>Biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>birikiki</b>	<b>kawa</b>	<b>na</b>				
	biti	me	biriki -ki	ka- na	-waha.LIST	na			
	3SG.POSS.son	3PL.S	be small DUP	COMIT AUX	change	AUX			
	nm	pron	vi	aux		aux			
	<b>toemetemone</b>		<b>okomise</b>	<b>na</b>					
	to- ha -hemete	-mone	o- ka	amise	ati na				
	CH AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	1SG.POSS POSS	aunt	say AUX				
	aux		nf		vt				
	<b>hiemarine</b>		<b>yati</b>	<b>fana</b>	<b>itihari</b>	<b>yati</b>	<b>fana</b>		
	hi- to- ha -himari	-ne	yati	fana	iti -haari	yati	fana		
	OC CH AUX FP.E+M	BKG+M	Apurinā	female	marry IP.E+M	Apurinā	female		
	aux		npropm	nf	vt	npropm	nf		
	<b>kanikarahari</b>								
	ka- nika	-ra -haari							
	COMIT ask for	NEG IP.E+M							
	vt								

'His children were all fat, my aunt used to say, the one who married an Apurinā woman, who did not ask for the Apurinā woman.'

18	<b>Yati</b>	<b>fana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>	<b>hikana</b>	<b>kana</b>	<b>ni</b>		
	yati	fana	me	mowa	hi- ka- na+F	kana	na.NFIN		
	Apurinā	female	3PL.S	fight	OC COMIT AUX	run	AUX		
	npropm	nf	pron	vt	aux	vi	aux		
	<b>tokahara</b>		<b>towatamakimatamonaka</b>						
	to- ka+F	-ra	to- wata	-makI	-himata	-mona	-ka		
	away go/come	O	away catch	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M		
	vi		vt						

'They fought because of the Apurinā woman, and when she ran away he captured her.'

19	<b>Hiwata</b>	<b>hekamemetemone</b>							
	hi- wata+F	hi- ka- ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone				
	OC catch	OC COMIT	go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP+F			
	vt	vt							

'He captured her, and brought her back.'

20	<b>Iiti</b>	<b>hiemetemone</b>							
	i- iti	hi- to- ha	-hemete	-mone					
	DUP marry	OC CH AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F					
	vt	aux							

'He married her.'

21	<b>Fe</b>	<b>fafama</b>	<b>toemetemoneke</b>						
	fee	fa- fama	to- ha	-hemete	-mone	-ke			
	3SG	DUP be with	CH AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			
	pron	vi	aux						

'He lived with her.'

22	<b>Yati</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>	<b>mata</b>	<b>ya</b>		
	yati	me	me	waka	na -hemete	-mone	mata	ya	
	Apurinā	3PL.O	3PL.S	kill	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	club	ADJU	
	npropm	pron	pron	vt	aux		nm	prt	

'They killed the Apurinās with clubs.'



AWA ARA WANI

30 *Awa Ara Wani* *iiti* *hiemetemoneke*  
 Awa Ara Wani i- iti hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ke  
 (man's name) DUP marry OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm vt aux  
 'Awa Ara Wani married her.'

31 *Awa Ara Wani* *hitia* , *kakanahiwa*  
 Awa Ara Wani hi- iti+F ka- ka- na- hiwa  
 (man's name) OC marry DUP COMIT CAUS have children  
 npropm vt vi

*hiemetemoneni*  
 hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ni  
 OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux  
 'Awa Ara Wani married her, and he made her pregnant.'

32 *Biti* *sawikara* *one* *oke*  
 biti sawi -ka -ra+M ati o- na -ne o- ke  
 3SG.POSS.son be present DECL+M NEG say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F  
 nm vi vt prt

*bite*  
 bite  
 3SG.POSS.daughter  
 nf  
 'He doesn't have any descendants.'

33 *Hibatimetemone* *okomise* *aati*  
 hibati -mete -mone o- ka amise a- ati  
 long time ago FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP say  
 nf nf vt

*toamaroni*  
 to- ha -hamaro -ni  
 CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F  
 aux  
 'It was a long time ago, my aunt used to say.'

34 *Faya* *me* *yati* *me* *me* *mowa* *na* *me* *bana* *me* ,  
 faya me yati me me mowa na+F me bana+F me  
 so 3PL Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S move away 3PL.S  
 conj pron npropm pron pron vt aux pron vi pron

*kisama* *me* , *me* *tokimetemone* *amake*  
 ka -risa -ma+F me me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 go/come down back 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 vi pron pron vi vc

*tasa* *ahi* *Siro Wari* *ya* *ahi*  
 tasa ahi Siro Wari ya ahi  
 again then (village name) ADJU then  
 prt dem npropm prt dem

'They fought against the Apurinãs, and they moved away. They came downstream, and they went again to Siro Wari.'

35 *Me* *towinawitimetemone* *amake* *ahi* *Siro Wari*  
 me to- wina -witI.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke ahi Siro Wari  
 3PL.S away live out FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there (village name)  
 pron vi vc dem npropm

## AWA ARA WANI

**Siro Wari**                    **ya** .  
 Siro Wari                    ya  
 (village name)    ADJU  
 npropm                    prt  
 'They went and lived there at Siro Wari.'

36 **Siro Wari**                    **tiwa**                    **tike**                    **Omaha**                    **tati boni**                    **karo**  
 Siro Wari                    ti-    awa    ti-    ke    Omaha                    tati boni                    karo  
 (village name)    2SG.S see    2SG.S DECL+F    (name of place)    top+F                    LOC  
 npropm                    vt                    prt                    npropf                    pn                    prt

'You have seen Siro Wari, upstream from Omaha.'

37 **Omaha**                    **tati boni**                    **ka**                    **Siro Wari**                    **tohineke** .  
 Omaha                    tati boni                    ka                    Siro Wari                    to- ha -ne                    -ke  
 (name of place)    top+F                    LOC                    (village name)    CH be CONT+F DECL+F  
 npropf                    pn                    prt                    npropm                    vc

'Siro Wari is upstream from Omaha.'

38 **Me**    **ka**    **fatara**    **bote**    **amake**                    **faro**    ,    **yama**    **tohamaro**  
 me    ka    fatara    bote    ama -ke                    faaro                    ,    yama    to- ha -ma    -haaro  
 3PL    POSS    garden    old    be    DECL+F                    that+F                    forest    CH be back IP.E+F  
 pron    prt    nf                    adj    vc                    dem                    nf                    vc

'It is their old gardens, that turned back into forest.'

## THE JARAWARAS SCARED OFF THE YIMAS

### *Free Translation*

The Yimas fought against them. The Yimas wanted to fight against them, but they scared the Yimas away, our people, our ancestors, who had been sleeping.

As they slept, as a woman was sitting, spinning twine for a hammock, the points of her father's arrows were sticking out of the thatch, so that the points would be seen. As she sat there spinning twine, the sound of the arrows started. Heooo, went the sound of the arrows. She looked quickly.

Someone pulled out an arrow.

"Father," she said. "Father, someone pulled out your arrow," she said.

"Wake up, everyone. My daughter said someone pulled out an arrow," he said.

Suddenly everyone was talking.

"Hi hihi hihi hi," the Yimas said, as they shot arrows. The arrows didn't go through the thatch, because it was thick. Botoririririri, went the sound of their arrows. They were going to fight against them.

They got out of their hammocks, sleepy. They also yelled "hihii." They yelled, my aunt used to say. There were many of them, and the Yimas all went away. There was the sound of arrows all over.

They had expected them, and had put thorns on the trail. They scared them away. When they scared them away, they went running away. They stepped on the thorns. They yelled at them in the night, my aunt used to say.

They didn't come back. They waited for them, but they didn't come back, because their feet were hurt. They went after them, but they didn't meet up with them. Those are the ones. They lived there [at the location of Santana, an old Jarawara village].

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Yima</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mowa</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>yima</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mowa</i>
	yima	me	me	mowa	hi- na+F	me		yima	me	me	mowa
	Yima	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	OC AUX	3PL.O		Yima	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight
	npropm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron		npropm	pron	pron	vt
	<i>hinabone</i>		<i>yima</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>nimetemone</i>				<i>e</i>
	hi- na	-habone	yima	me	me	ee	niha- na	-hemete	-mone		ee
	OC	AUX INT+F	Yima	3PL.O	3PL.S	yell	CAUS	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F		1IN
	aux		npropm	pron	pron	vi	aux				pron
	<i>one</i>	<i>mati</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>iti</i>		<i>boteri</i>	<i>mati</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>na</i>
	one	mati	ee	iti		bote -ri	mati		me	amo	na+F
	relative	3PL	1IN	grandfather		old PN	3PL		3PL.S	sleep	AUX
	nf	pron	pron	nm		pn	pron		pron	vi	aux
	<i>mati</i>										
	mati										
	3PL.S										
	pron										

## THE JARAWARAS SCARED OFF THE YIMAS

'The Yimas fought against them. The Yimas wanted to fight against them, but they scared the Yimas away, our people, our ancestors, who had been sleeping.'

2 *Me amo na me ni ya , yifo faki na*  
 me amo na+F me ni ya , yifo faki na+F  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL to ADJU hammock spin AUX  
 pron vi aux pron prt prt nm vt aux

*itaria* , *yifo faki na itaria ni ya* ,  
 ita -rI+F yifo faki na+F ita -rI+F ni ya ,  
 sit raised surface hammock spin AUX sit raised surface to ADJU  
 vi nm vt aux vi prt prt

*hinaka wati tati ta tokenemata awaka tati*  
 hinaka wati tati taa to- ka- na -himata awa -ka tati  
 3SG.POSS arrow head extend CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M head  
 pron nm pn vt aux sec pn

*awi tabiyo*  
 awa.NFIN tabiyo  
 see wanting  
 result pn

'As they slept, as a woman was sitting, spinning twine for a hammock, the points of his arrows were sticking out of the thatch, so that the points would be seen.'

3 *Yifo faki naba itaria ni ya wati moni*  
 yifo faki na nahaba+F ita -rI+F ni ya wati moni  
 hammock spin AUX at night sit raised surface to ADJU arrow sound  
 nm vt aux vi prt prt nm pn

*yana tonematamonane*  
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ne  
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi aux

'As she sat there spinning twine, the sound of the arrows started.'

4 *Heooo wati moni nematamona*  
 heooo wati moni na -himata -mona  
 sound arrow make sound AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vt aux

'Heooo, went the sound of the arrows.'

5 *Ki kabote nemetemone*  
 kii na -kabote na -hemete -mone  
 look AUX quickly AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi aux aux

'She looked quickly.'

6 *Wati , wati inamati soba towitimatamona*  
 wati , wati inamati soba to- na -witI -himata -mona  
 arrow arrow someone pull out away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm nm nm vt aux

'Someone pulled out an arrow.'

7 *Abi ati nemetemonehe*  
 abi ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 father say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nm vt aux

'"Father," she said.'



THE JARAWARAS SCARED OFF THE YIMAS

8 *Abi abi tika wati inamati horo naki ati*  
 abi abi ti- ka wati inamati horo na -kI.NOM ati  
 father father 2SG.POSS POSS arrow someone pull AUX coming say  
 nm nm prt nm nm vt aux vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

"Father, someone pulled out your arrow," she said.'

9 *Te tafihi*  
 tee tafi -hi  
 2PL.S wake up IMP+F  
 pron vi

"Wake up, everyone."

10 *Inamati wati horo nakemona okoto ati nini*  
 inamati wati horo na -kI -himona okoto ati na -ni  
 someone arrow pull AUX coming REP+M my daughter say AUX BKG+F  
 nm nm vt aux nf vt aux

*ati nematamona*

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

"My daughter said someone pulled out an arrow," he said.'

11 *Faya me ati yana kanihiti*  
 faya me ati yana ka- na -hiti  
 so 3PL.POSS voice start COMIT AUX quickly  
 conj pron pn vi aux

*toemetemoneke*

to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'Suddenly everyone was talking.'

12 *Hi hihii hihii hi me ati nemetemoneke yama*  
 hii hihii hihii hii me ati na -hemete -mone -ke yama  
 interj hihii hihii interj 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing  
 interj interj pron vt aux nf

*me tisa na mati*  
 me tisa na+F mati  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

"Hi hihii hihii hi," they said, as they shot arrows.'

13 *Wati yobe tonakisare awaka hari*  
 wati yobe to- na- ka -risa -ra+M awa -ka haari  
 arrow thatch away CAUS go/come down NEG seem+M DECL+M that one+M  
 nm nm vt sec dem

*bayihari*

bayi -haari  
 be thick IP.E+M  
 vi

'The arrows didn't go through the thatch, because it was thick.'





THE JARAWARAS SCARED OFF THE YIMAS

26 *Me me hinakamakia me , me me*  
 me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me , me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron pron pron

*hiwasimakiremetemoneke*

hi- to- wasi -makI -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC away find following NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They went after them, but they didn't meet up with them.'

27 *Afa memetemone me amake haro*  
 afa me -mete -mone me ama -ke haaro  
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be DECL+F that one+F  
 dem pron pron vc dem

'Those are the ones.'

28 *Me wina me awineke ahi*  
 me wina+F me awine -ke ahi  
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F there  
 pron vi pron sec dem

'They lived there.'

## ABA FANI

### *Free Translation*

*Note: Yowao starts out telling about a group of men whose canoe sank, and they all died. Then he shifts to the account of a man who was killed while out hunting. Apparently the man was a member of the first group, but he did not even make it back to the canoe. All of them were hunting and roasting the meat to take back to the village for a festa. Aba Fani was the older brother of the hunter who was killed, and he was not with the group, but had stayed back at the village.*

Yes, it was a long time ago. It was later that the Apurinãs shot them. They went after white-lipped peccaries, to get meat for a festa. They went after peccaries. Where did they go after the peccaries? Who knows? They went after the peccaries, and killed some animals. They weaved a large basket.

"The basket should lie in the bottom [of the canoe]."

"As we go, we will be all right. The basket should be upright," they said.

"I said it would be good if they basket should lie down, but you won't accept it," he said, their brother-in-law.

"The basket is going to be upright. We have too much stuff."

It must have been a canoe of *kanawa* bark. They were getting meat for the festa. Where did they sink? They were getting meat for the festa.

"Lets go slow. Lets go slow," they said. But they rowed hard, and their basket tipped over, my aunt used to say, and the dolphins ate them. They sunk.

The others missed them. They didn't come back. They decided they were lost, and they went after them.

Their basket was floating in the water, the roasted meat. The roasted meat that they had put in the basket was floating in the water. They had put the meat in the basket in order to bring it back, but the meat was lost. They were going to have a feast. They were bringing meat back to eat it in the festa, but they sunk. What happened to them was like the bad thing that the people brought on themselves recently. No one survived. All of them died.

The ones who didn't all die that you always talk about are the Sorowahas. They drank *kona* juice.

They sank. The man didn't go into a tree. There was no tree there. Where did they sink? They were in a big bark canoe.

They fought with him, what was his name? They went and got him, the one whose younger brother was speared by the Yimas. He was Aba Fani [i.e., the older brother]. That is the name of a spirit. It was a spirit, when they were going to get the meat for the festa. The spirit had something bad happen to him when a spirit of *boyi* palm said something to him. He was roasting meat.

"Who is calling?"

"Where?"

"I heard someone calling."

"Was there someone calling?"

## ABA FANI

"Is that your path?" the person said. 'Yes,' another one said," he said.

"I called. It was me calling," the spirit of *boyi* palm said.

He wasn't watching out. Because the spirit of *boyi* palm said that, he was unwary.

They brought back the game.

"I called out. You heard me calling."

They brought back the animals, and they burned the hair off the animals when they got back. They burned the hair off the white-lipped peccaries. He cut up the animals. They made a roasting rack.

"Lets go home quickly."

The others were in the canoe.

Yes, he cut up the peccaries, and put the meat on top of the rack, and he roasted the meat.

He lay in his hammock, and was drowsy. He was facing the fire. There wasn't anyone else watching. People should watch out for each other.

As he roasted the meat, he was drowsy, and he grabbed the rope of the hammock above his head as he lay in the hammock. He lay in the hammock next to the fire where the meat was.

A Yima speared him. The Yima speared him as he lay sleeping in the hammock. He was almost sleeping, closing his eyes a little, as he lay in the hammock, and he speared him in his side.

"Aha, someone has speared me," he said. "Someone speared me," he said.

He got up with him. He didn't like the Yima who speared him at all. He pulled out the spear from himself. He killed the Yima. The other Yimas speared him.

He was crushing them with his arms. He put the Yima who had speared him in the fire. He put him in the fire, and there was no one to take him out of the fire. He killed him. He was weakened, and a Yima speared him. "That way is good," he said.

His two brothers-in-law went running away. They told about him back home. They went after his older brother, and he fought against the Yimas.

"They are reporting that the Yima spirits killed someone," he said.

He didn't call the others to go with him.

"The Yimas killed my younger brother," he said.

He left them behind. They wanted to go with him, but he wouldn't let them.

"They will eat me, too, after having eaten my brother."

Then he came. He left them behind. He didn't call them to go along, but they came behind. He went on ahead, alone.

He came, and came upon signs of them. He looked around for their trail. Then he found their trail. So he went after them. He wasn't quiet.

He went in to where the Yimas were. They were sleeping. He looked around for a piece of wood. He barricaded the other door of the Yimas. He stuck two poles in, and barricaded their other door. He went and stood on the other side. He yanked on one of them as he lay in the hammock sleeping, they always said about him. He turned him over backwards, breaking his back.

The Yima women were all yelling. The Yimas couldn't hurt him, they always said about him. Aba Fani killed the Yimas. He went to their place at night and fought against them. He was alone. He fought against them. He went to the Yimas place at night. The others came behind. Yes. He had left them behind, and they came. They came after him.

"Lets go look at him. I hope he doesn't kill us. He was upset when he went." They were afraid of him.

He stuck two poles in the ground. He got sleepy, and went away, and slept. Some of the Yimas were waiting for him. He came back to them early in the morning. A Yima wanted to spear him and he was aiming at him.

## ABA FANI

"Over here, come here," he said, as the Yima was aiming at him. He attacked him. The Yima wanted to spear him, but he couldn't spear him.

Then the others came. He was alone. He was courageous. He went and fought against the Yimas. His brother-in-law came behind. His brother-in-law came, and starting talking right away. "What about them?" one of them said.

"They all died. I killed them all," he said.

They looked around, at the place of the Yimas. They looked for any Yimas that might be living there. He sat on a log in the plaza, waiting for them. They looked, but couldn't find anyone. They came back. They took him home, so he could wait for the Yimas, the other Yimas. They took him home, so he could wait for the other Yimas to come.

"Lets go home. That's all the Yimas. We looked," they said.

They took him home. He had been sitting there, grieving. His brother-in-law called him to come back. Was it Aba Fani's group? It was Aba Fani. It was Aba Fani's group.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Ee* , *hibitimetoneke* *faro* .  
 ee , hibati -mete -mone -ke faaro .  
 yes long time ago FP.N+F REP+F DECL that+F  
 interj nf dem

'Yes, it was a long time ago.'

2 *Faya yati me me tao ni hiyotoemete me*  
 faya yati me me tao na.NFIN hi- yoto -hemete me  
 so Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot AUX OC follow FP.N+F 3PL.O  
 conj npropm pron pron vt aux vi pron

*amake*

ama -ke  
 SEC DECL+F  
 sec

'It was later that the Apurinãs shot them.'

3 *Hiyama me me mowa na , hiyama*  
 hiyama me me mowa na+F , hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX white-lipped peccary  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm

*me me mowa na me , yowata me*  
 me me mowa na+F me , yowata me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S food for festa 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron nf pron

*tokabone*

to- ka -habone mati  
 away go/come INT+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They went after white-lipped peccaries, to get meat for a festa.'

4 *Hiyama me me mowa na me* .  
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

'They went after peccaries.'





ABA FANI

**wabo**

wabo  
brother-in-law  
nm

"I said it would be good if they basket should lie down, but you won't accept it," he said, their brother-in-law.'

11 **Baro yoro narebana**  
baro yoro na -rI -habana  
basket stand AUX raised surface FUT+F  
nf vi aux

"The basket is going to be upright."

12 **E ka yama tami**  
ee ka yama tama.NOM+F  
1IN POSS thing be many  
pron prt nf vi

"We have too much stuff."

13 **Kanawa ataromata awaka marina me itia mati**  
kanawa ataro -mata awa -ka marina me iti+F mati  
tree sp bark+M FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M feast 3PL.S begin 3PL.S  
nm pn sec nf pron vt pron

'It must have been a canoe of *kanawa* bark. They were getting meat for the festa.'

14 **Hibaka me kabokimete ka yama toariya** ?  
hibaka me ka- boka.NOM+F -mete ka yama to- ha -ri -ya  
where 3PL.S COMIT enter water FP.N+F which place CH be CQ+F now  
interrog pron vi prt nf vc

'Where did they sink?'

15 **Marina me itia me E totowakama**  
marina me iti+F me ee to- to- ka- ka -ma  
feast 3PL.S begin 3PL.S 1IN.S DUP away COMIT go/come back  
nf pron vt pron pron vt

**raba na**  
na -raba na  
AUX a bit AUX  
aux aux

"They were getting meat for the festa. "Let's go slow."

16 **E totowakama raba na me ati**  
ee to- to- ka- ka -ma na -raba na me ati  
1IN.S DUP away COMIT go/come back AUX a bit AUX 3PL.S say  
pron vt aux aux pron vt

**nimakoni kita ya me ori na me ka**  
na -makoni kita ya me ori na+F me ka  
AUX for this reason+F strength ADJU 3PL.S paddle AUX 3PL POSS  
aux nf prt pron vi aux pron prt

**baro koke nawahemetemone**  
baro koke nawaha -hemete -mone  
basket lose one's balance take a long time FP.N+F REP+F  
nf vi vi

**okomise hiyari aati toamaroni yama**  
o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ni yama  
1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F thing  
nf vi vt aux nf

## ABA FANI

<b>me</b>	<b>hikaba</b>	<b>boto</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hikabarawabani</b>	<b>mati</b>
me	hi- kaba+F	boto	me	hi- kaba -rawa -haba -ni	mati
3PL.O	OC eat	dolphin	3PL.O	OC eat F.PL FUT+F IP.N+F	3PL.O
pron	vt	nf	pron	vt	pron

"Let's go slow," they said. But they rowed hard, and their basket tipped over, my aunt used to say, and the dolphins ate them.'

<b>17 Me</b>	<b>kabokemetemoneke</b>
me	ka- boka -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S	COMIT enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron	vi

'They sunk.'

<b>18 Me</b>	<b>kaboka</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiwa</b>
me	ka- boka+F	me	me	tabiyo	me	hi- awa+F
3PL.S	COMIT enter water	3PL.S	3PL.POSS	absence	3PL.S	OC feel
pron	vi	pron	pron	pn	pron	vt

<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamaremetemoneke</b>
me	me	ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.POSS	3PL.S	go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron	pron	vi

'They sunk. The others missed them. They didn't come back.'

<b>19 Me</b>	<b>kamaremetemoneni</b>
me	ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ni
3PL.S	go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
pron	vi

'They didn't come back.'

<b>20 Me</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiwasietemoneke</b>	<b>me</b>
me	fawa	na.NFIN	me	hi- wasi -hemete -mone -ke	me
3PL.S	disappear	AUX	3PL.S	OC find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	3PL.O
pron	vi	aux	pron	vt	pron

<b>me</b>	<b>hinakamakiwabani</b>	<b>mati</b>
me	hi- to- na- ka -makI -waha -haba -ni	mati
3PL.S	OC away CAUS go/come following change FUT+F IP.N+F	3PL.O
pron	vt	pron

'They decided they were lost, and they went after them.'

<b>21 Me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>baro</b>	<b>hofemetemoneni</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>
me	ka	baro	hofa -hemete -mone -ni	bani	me
3PL	POSS	basket	be in water FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F	animal	3PL.S
pron	prt	nf	vi	nm	pron

**kai**  
kaha.NFIN  
be toasted  
vi

'Their basket was floating in the water, the roasted meat.'

<b>22 Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kai</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>hinani</b>	<b>me</b>
bani	me	kaha.NFIN	me	tee	hi- na -hani	me
animal	3PL.S	be toasted	3PL.S	put inside	OC AUX IP.N+F	3PL.S
nm	pron	vi	pron	vt	aux	pron

<b>kai</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kai</b>	<b>kawitemetemoneke</b>
kaha.NFIN	me	kaha.NFIN	ka- ita -hemete -mone -ke
be toasted	3PL.S	be toasted	COMIT sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi	pron	vi	vi

ABA FANI

'The roasted meat that they had put in the basket was floating in the water.'

23	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakamabone</b>		<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	bani	me	me	ka- ka	-ma -habone	bani	me	me
	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	COMIT go/come	back INT+F	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt		nm	pron	pron
	<b>te</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>abemetemoneke</b>	
	tee	na+F	me	ka	bani	me	ahaba -hemete	-mone -ke
	put inside	AUX	3PL	POSS	animal	3PL.S	end FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F
	vt	aux	pron	prt	nm	pron	vi	
	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mari</b>	<b>nabone</b>	<b>mati</b>			
	hine	me	mari	na -habone	mati			
	3.REFL	3PL.S	offer a feast to	AUX INT+F	3PL.S			
	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron			

'They had put the meat in the basket in order to bring it back, but the meat was lost. They were going to have a feast.'

24	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mari</b>	<b>nabone</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	bani	me	me	mari	na -habone	bani	me	me
	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	feast on	AUX INT+F	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron	pron
	<b>kakamabone</b>			<b>kabokemetemone</b>				
	ka- ka	-ma -habone		ka- boka	-hemete -mone			
	COMIT go/come	back INT+F		COMIT enter water	FP.N+F REP+F			
	vi			vi				

'They were bringing meat back to eat it in the festa, but they sunk.'

25	<b>Afa</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>irabo</b>	<b>kanete</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>afa</b>	<b>me</b>
	afa	hine	me	irabo	ka- na -hete	me	afa	me
	this+F	3.REFL	3PL.S	be bad	COMIT AUX RP.N+F	3PL.S	this+F	3PL.S
	dem	pron	pron	vi	aux	pron	dem	pron
	<b>na</b>	<b>nenemete</b>	<b>me</b>					
	na.LIST	na -hene -mete	me					
	AUX	AUX IRR+F FP.N+F	3PL.S					
	aux	aux	pron					

'What happened to them was like the bad thing that the people brought on themselves recently.'

26	<b>Me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>hasi</b>	<b>rematamonaka</b>	
	me	ka	owa	hasi	na -ra -himata -mona -ka	
	3PL	of	man	escape	AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
	pron	prt	nm	vi	aux	

'No one survived.'

27	<b>Me</b>	<b>nafi</b>	<b>abemetemoneni</b>	
	me	nafi	ahaba -hemete -mone -ni	
	3PL.POSS	all	die FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F	
	pron	pn	vi	

'All of them died.'

28	<b>Afa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>nafi</b>	<b>ahabaremete</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tikamini</b>
	afa	me	nafi	ahaba -re -hemete	me	ti- kamina
	this+F	3PL.POSS	all	die NEG+F FP.N+F	3PL.O	2SG.S tell
	dem	pron	pn	vi	pron	vt
	<b>tinofa</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>sorowa</b>	<b>mati</b>	
	ti- nofa+F	ama	ti-		mati	
	2SG.S recently	SEC	2SG.S		3PL	
	prt	sec	prt		pron	

ABA FANI

'The ones who didn't all die that you always talk about are the Sorowahas.'

29 *Kona me fawemetete me awine faro*  
 kona me fawa -hemete me awine faaro  
 plant sp 3PL.S drink FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F that+F  
 nm pron vt pron sec dem

'They drank kona juice.'

30 *Me kabokemetemoneke faro*  
 me ka- boka -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 3PL.S COMMIT enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 pron vi dem

'They sank.'

31 *Me ka owa totowaka rematamona*  
 me ka owa to- to- ka- ka na -ra -himata -mona  
 3PL of man DUP away COMMIT go/come AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron prt nm vi aux

'The man didn't go into a tree.'

32 *Awa yama kiaremete awineke*  
 awa yama kiha -ra -hemete awine -ke  
 tree place have NEG FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F  
 nf nf vt sec

'There was no tree there.'

33 *Hibaka ya me kabokemetete ?*  
 hibaka ya me ka- boka -hemete  
 where ADJU 3PL.S COMMIT enter water FP.N+F  
 interrog prt pron vi

'Where did they sink?'

34 *Kanawa ataro nafihi ya me ihemetemoneni*  
 kanawa ataro nafi+M ya me iha -hemete -mone -ni  
 tree sp bark+M be big ADJU 3PL.S be located FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pn vi prt pron vi

'They were in a big bark canoe.'

35 *Faya iteni me mowa hinematamona amaka*  
 faya itehani me mowa hi- na -himata -mona ama -ka  
 so whatchamacallit 3PL.S fight OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 conj nm pron vt aux sec

*hari*

haari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'They fought with him, what was his name?'

36 *Aya me hitimematamonaha ee*  
 aya me hi- to- iti -ma -himata -mona -ha ee  
 this 3PL.S OC away pick up back FP.N+M REP+M DUP (pause)  
 dem pron vt interj

*nisori*  
 nisori  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 nm

*yima me saka hinahari*  
 yima me saka hi- na -haari  
 Yima 3PL.S pierce repeatedly OC AUX IP.E+M  
 npropm pron vt aux



ABA FANI

"Was there someone calling?"

45 *Afa te hawine amani ? inamati ati nahare*  
 afa tee hawine ama -ni inamati ati na -hare  
 this+F 2PL.POSS trail be BKG+F someone say AUX IP.E+M  
 dem pron pn vc nm vt aux

"'Is that your path?' the person said."

46 *Ee owa ati nahare ati nematamona*  
 ee owa ati na -hare ati na -himata -mona  
 yes other+M say AUX IP.E+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 interj adj vt aux vt aux

"'Yes,' another one said," he said.'

47 *Ha onara o*  
 haa o- na -hara o-  
 call 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S  
 vi vi prt

"I called."

48 *Okoka ha ni ama nini boyi abono ati*  
 o- ka haa na.NFIN ama.LIST na -ni boyi abono ati  
 1SG.POSS POSS call AUX be AUX BKG+F palm sp spirit say  
 prt vi aux vc aux nm pn vt  
*nematamona ama hiwa kakatoma kanenaha*  
 na -himata -mona ama hiwa ka- katoma ka- na -hina -ha  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC 3SG.REFL.M COMIT look at COMIT AUX IRR+M DUP  
 aux sec pron vt aux

"It was me calling," the spirit of *boyi* palm said. He wasn't watching out.'

49 *Boyi abono ati hiyare ene watore*  
 boyi abono ati hiya -ra+M ehene watore  
 palm sp spirit voice be bad NEG because of+M forget  
 nm pn pn vi pn vi

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

'Because the spirit of *boyi* palm said that, he was unwary.'

50 *Ati katamowamematamonaka*  
 ati ka- tamo -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 voice COMIT forget change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vi

'He was unwary.'

51 *Faya bani me me kakama me Ha*  
 faya bani me me ka- ka -ma+F me haa  
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S call  
 conj nm pron pron vt pron vi

*onara o*  
 o- na -hara o-  
 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S  
 aux prt

'They brought back the game. "I called out."'

ABA FANI

52 *Oko*                    *ha*    *ni*                    *timitine*                    *tini*                    *ati*  
 o-                    ka    haa    na.NFIN    ti-    mita   -ne                    ti-    ni    ati  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    call    AUX                    2SG.S    hear    CONT+F                    2SG.S    BKG+F    say  
 prt                    vi    aux                    vt                    prt                    vt

*nematamonaka*

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

"You heard me calling."

53 *Faya*    *bani*            *me*            *me*            *kakama*                    *bani*            *me*            *me*  
 faya    bani            me            me            ka-    ka            -ma+F    bani            me            me  
 so            animal    3PL.O    3PL.S    COMMIT go/come back    animal    3PL.O    3PL.S  
 conj    nm            pron    pron    vi                    nm            pron    pron

*tokamemetemonehe*

toka                    -ma    -hemete    -mone    -he  
 partially burn back    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 vt

'They brought back the animals, and they burned the hair off the animals when they got back.'

54 *Bani*            *me*            *me*            *tokama*                    *me*            ,    *hiyama*  
 bani            me            me            toka                    -ma+F    me            ,    hiyama  
 animal    3PL.O    3PL.S    partially burn back    3PL.S                    white-lipped peccary  
 nm            pron    pron    vt                    pron                    nm

*me*            *me*            *toka*                    ,    *bani*            *mera*            *bobi*            *ne*            ,    *bani*            *mera*  
 me            me            toka+F                    ,    bani            mera            bobi            na+M            ,    bani            mera  
 3PL.O    3PL.S    partially burn                    animal    3PL.O    slit            AUX                    animal    3PL.O  
 pron    pron    vt                    nm            pron    vt            aux                    nm            pron

*bobi*    *nematamonaka*

bobi    na    -himata    -mona    -ka  
 slit    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 vt            aux

'They burned the hair off the animals when they got back. They burned the hair off the white-lipped peccaries. He cut up the animals.'

55 *Bani*            *me*            *bobi*            *ne*            *tana*            *me*            *yama*            *nemetemonehe*  
 bani            me            bobi            na+M    tana            me            yama            na    -hemete    -mone    -he  
 animal    3PL.O    slit            AUX    grill            3PL.S    work on    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 nm            pron    vt            aux    nf            pron    vt            aux

'He cut up the animals. They made a roasting rack.'

56 *E*                    *kekerewe*                    *tonamaribe*  
 ee                    ke-    kerewe                    to-    na    -ma    -ra    -be  
 1IN.S    DUP    be slow                    away    AUX    back    NEG    IMMED+F  
 pron    vi                    aux

"Let's go home quickly."

57 *Kanawa*    *ya*            *me*            *ihemetemoneke*                    *fa*            *mati*  
 kanawa    ya            me            iha                    -hemete    -mone    -ke                    faa            mati  
 canoe    ADJU    3PL.S    be located    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F                    that    3PL  
 nf            prt            pron    vi                    dem            pron

'The others were in the canoe.'

58 *Ee*                    ,    *hiyama*                    *mera*            *bobi*            *ne*            *bani*            *me*            *so*  
 ee                    ,    hiyama                    mera            bobi            na+M    bani            me            soo  
 yes                    white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    slit            AUX                    animal    3PL.O    lie  
 interj    nm                    pron    vt            aux                    nm            pron    vi

## ABA FANI

<b>niri</b> niha- na -rI+M CAUS AUX raised surface aux	<b>bani</b> bani animal nm	<b>mera</b> mera 3PL.O pron	<b>tabasi</b> tabasi roast on grill vt
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**nematamonaka**  
na -himata -mona -ka  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

'Yes, he cut up the peccaries, and put the meat on top [of the grill], and he roasted the meat.'

59 <b>Hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>mera</b> mera 3PL.O pron	<b>tabasi</b> tabasi roast on grill vt	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	<b>wine</b> wina+M lie in hammock vi
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<b>noko</b> noko eye+M pn	<b>aamo</b> a- amo DUP sleep vi	<b>kana</b> ka- COMIT aux	<b>nematamonaka</b> na na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux
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'He roasted the meat. He lay in his hammock, and was drowsy.'

60 **Nokomematamonaka**  
noko -ma -himata -mona -ka  
point back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi

'He was facing [the fire].'

61 <b>Me</b> me 3PL pron	<b>one</b> one other+F adj	<b>ibaka</b> ibaka where interrog	<b>noki</b> noki eye+F pn	<b>toabisemete</b> to- ha -bisa -hemete CH be also FP.N+F vc	?
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'There wasn't anyone else watching.'

62 <b>E</b> ee 1IN.POSS pron	<b>ebe</b> ebe RECIP pn	<b>kakakatoma</b> ka- ka- katoma DUP COMIT look at vt	<b>raba</b> na -raba AUX a bit aux	<b>tera</b> na -tee -ra+F AUX HAB NEG pron	?
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'People should watch out for each other.'

63 <b>Bani</b> bani animal nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL pron	<b>bani</b> bani animal nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>tabasi</b> tabasi roast on grill vt	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	<b>noko</b> noko eye+M pn	<b>aamo</b> a- amo DUP sleep vi
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<b>kana</b> ka- COMIT aux	<b>ne</b> na AUX aux	<b>yama</b> yama hold something up vi	<b>tomise</b> to- na -misa+M away AUX up aux
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**winematamona**  
wina -himata -mona  
lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M  
vi

'As he roasted the meat, he was drowsy, and he grabbed the rope of the hammock above his head as he lay in the hammock.'

64 <b>Bani</b> bani animal nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>yifi</b> yifi firewood+F pn	<b>kawiti</b> ka- ita.NOM+F COMIT sit vi	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt
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ABA FANI

**winematamonaka** , **yima hitebanoho**  
wina -himata -mona -ka , yima hi- ita -hiba -no -ho  
lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M Yima OC pierce FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
vi npropm vt  
'He lay in the hammock next to the fire where the meat was. A Yima speared him.'

65 **Yima hitehimatamona amo ne winahari**  
yima hi- ita -himata -mona amo na+M wina -haari  
Yima OC pierce FP.N+M REP+M sleep AUX lie in hammock IP.E+M  
npropm vt vi aux vi  
'The Yima speared him as he lay sleeping in the hammock.'

66 **Aamo ne noko kakabowa ne wine fariboti**  
a- amo na+M noko ka- ka- aboha na+M wina+M , fariboti  
DUP sleep AUX eye+M DUP COMIT die AUX lie in hammock armpit  
vi aux pn vt aux vi pn  
**yoko hikane rama ahi**  
yoko hi- ka- na+M rama ahi  
push OC COMIT AUX unusual then  
vt aux prt dem

'He was almost sleeping, closing his eyes a little, as he lay in the hammock, and he speared him in his side.'

67 **Aha owa me itibana ati nematamona**  
aha owa me ita+F -bana ati na -himata -mona  
(unpleasant surprise) 1SG.O 3PL.S pierce FUT say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
interj pron pron vt vt aux

**ahi**  
ahi  
then  
dem

'Aha, someone has speared me," he said.'

68 **Owa me itibana ati ne yana kane yima**  
owa me ita+F -bana ati na+M yana ka- na+M , yima  
1SG.O 3PL.S pierce FUT say AUX get up COMIT AUX Yima  
pron pron vt vt aux vi aux npropm

**fana he yoko kana nofematamonane**  
fana hee yoko ka- na+F nofa -himata -mona -ne  
female 3SG.O push COMIT AUX like FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
nf pron vt aux vt

'Someone speared me," he said. He got up with him. He didn't like the Yima who speared him at all.'

69 **Tai bete towitimata awaka**  
tahi bete to- na -witI -himata awa -ka  
weapon against pull away AUX out FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
pn vt aux sec

'He pulled out the spear from himself.'

70 **Makoni ene iti namata**  
makoni ehene iti.LIST na.NOM+M -mata  
for this reason victim of+M exist AUX FP.N+M  
conj pn vi aux

'He killed him.'

ABA FANI

71 *Me saka kanikima hinematamona yima*  
 me saka na -kanikima hi- na -himata -mona yima  
 3PL.S pierce repeatedly AUX scattered OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M Yima  
 pron vt aux aux npropm

*mati ahi*  
 mati ahi  
 3PL then  
 pron dem

'The [other] Yimas speared him.'

72 *Baka nakosakani nematamona ahi*  
 baka na -kosa -kani na -himata -mona ahi  
 break AUX middle one at a time AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 antip aux aux dem

'He was crushing them with his arms.'

73 *Yima fana fe ite fe yoko kana*  
 yima fana fee ita+M fee yoko ka- na+F  
 Yima female 3SG.O pierce 3SG.O push COMIT AUX  
 npropm nf pron vt pron vt aux

*ibanibematamonaka*  
 ibana -baha -himata -mona -ka  
 roast before FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He put the Yima who had speared him in the fire.'

74 *Hibanemetemoneke faro*  
 hi- ibana -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 OC roast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 vt dem

'He put him in the fire.'

75 *Hibaniba yama me yama*  
 hi- ibana -baha+F yama me yama  
 OC roast before remove from fire 3PL.S remove from fire  
 vt vt pron vt

*hinihemetemonehe*  
 hi- niha- na -hemete -mone -he  
 OC CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux

'He put him in the fire, and there was no one to take him out of the fire.'

76 *Ene itimatamona ahi*  
 ehene iti -himata -mona ahi  
 victim of+M exist FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn vi dem

'He killed someone.'

77 *Hanorise hitawematamonaka ahi*  
 hano -risa+M hi- ita -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 be drunk down OC pierce change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi vt dem

'He was weakened, and [a Yima] speared him.'



ABA FANI

83 *Mera ha nawarematamonane*  
 mera haa na -waha -ra -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.O call AUX change NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt aux

'He didn't call the others [to go with him].'

84 *Okaniso yima me , okaniso*  
 o- ka niso yima me , o- ka niso  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother Yima 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother  
 nm npropm pron nm

*yima me no toniha me awine ati*  
 yima me noho to- niha- na+F me awine ati  
 Yima 3PL.S be hurt CH CAUS AUX 3PL.S seem+F say  
 npropm pron vi aux pron sec vt

*nematamonaka mera kakosebanoho*  
 na -himata -mona -ka mera ka- kana -kosa -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O COMIT leave middle FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux pron vt

""The Yimas killed my younger brother," he said. He left them behind.'

85 *Mera kakosematamona*  
 mera ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona  
 3PL.O COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt

'He left them behind.'

86 *Me hikayawa hikana ati*  
 me hi- ka- yawa hi- ka -na ati  
 3PL.S OC COMIT be upset OC DECL+M IRR+M say  
 pron vt prt vt

*rematamonaka*  
 na -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'They wanted to go with him, but he wouldn't let them.'

87 *Oko kabi me yotobe*  
 o- ka kaba.NFIN me yoto -be  
 1SG.POSS POSS eat 3PL.S follow IMMED+F  
 prt result pron vi

*okaniso me kabani mati*  
 o- ka niso me kaba -hani mati  
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 3PL.S eat IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron

""They will eat me, too, after having eaten my brother.""

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

'Then he came back.'

89 *Mera kakosematamonane*  
 mera ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.O COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt

'He left them behind.'

## ABA FANI

90 *Mera hima rematamonane me*  
 mera hima na -ra -himata -mona -ne me  
 3PL.O call to go AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

*yotomakebani mati*  
 yoto -makI -haba -ni mati  
 follow following FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'He didn't call them to go along, but they came behind.'

91 *Oari tai toamematamonane*  
 ohari+M tai to- ha -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 be alone be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi vi aux

'He came on ahead, alone.'

92 *Tai toame me kame me ihi*  
 tai to- ha -ma+M me ka -ma+M , me ihi  
 be ahead CH AUX back 3PL go/come back 3PL.POSS result of+F  
 vi aux pron vi pron pn

*wasimematamonahane*  
 wasi -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 find back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt

'He came on ahead. He came, and came upon signs of them.'

93 *Me ihi wasime , me hawi tabiyo yama*  
 me ihi wasi -ma+M , me hawi tabiyo yama  
 3PL.POSS result of+F find back 3PL.POSS trail absence thing  
 pron pn vt pron nf pn nf

*siba nematamona ahi*  
 siba na -himata -mona ahi  
 look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem

'He came upon signs of them. He looked around for their trail.'

94 *Mera me i towasiwamakimata*  
 mera me ihi to- wasi -waha -makI -himata  
 3PL.O 3PL.POSS result of+F away find change following FP.N+M  
 pron pron pn vt

*awane*  
 awa -ne  
 seem+M BKG+M  
 sec

'Then he found their trail.'

95 *Makoni me*  
 makoni me  
 for this reason 3PL.O  
 conj pron

*hinakamakiemetemoneke*  
 hi- to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'So he went after them.'

ABA FANI

96 *Me hinakamakia me , basa*  
 me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me , basa  
 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O whisper  
 pron vt pron vi

*nematamonaha*

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

'He went after them. He wasn't quiet.'

97 *Yima me ni tokiyomamakehi , me amo*  
 yima me ni to- ka -yoma -makI+M me amo  
 Yima 3PL to away go/come through following 3PL.S sleep  
 npropm pron prt vi pron vi

*nemetemoneke*

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

'He went in to where the Yimas were. They were sleeping.'

98 *Me amo na me ni ya awa siba nematamona*  
 me amo na+F me ni ya awa siba na -himata -mona  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL to ADJU wood look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vi aux pron prt prt nf vt aux

'They were sleeping. He looked around for a piece of wood.'

99 *Awa siba ne , yima me nokobiri one tofa*  
 awa siba na+M , yima me nokobi -ri one tofa  
 wood look for AUX Yima 3PL.POSS door PN other+F plug  
 nf vt aux npropm pron pn adj vt

*kanematamonane*

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

'He looked for a piece of wood. He barricaded the other door of the Yimas.'

100 *Awa yoro nikime , me nokobiri bari*  
 awa yoro na -kima+M , me nokobi -ri bari  
 wood stand AUX two 3PL.POSS door PN impede  
 nf vi aux pron pn vt

*hikanemetemone*

hi- ka- na -hemete -mone one  
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F other+F  
 aux adj

'He stuck two poles in, and barricaded their other door.'

101 *Ha ya towawamematamonaka*  
 haa ya to- waa -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 DEM ADJU away stand change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 dem prt vi

'He went and stood on the other side.'

102 *Yima amo ni wineno horo*  
 yima amo na.NFIN wina -hino horo  
 Yima sleep AUX lie in hammock IP.N+M drag  
 npropm vi aux vi vt

ABA FANI

**nakematamona**                      **tamine**                      **na**                      **toemari**                      **amaka**                      **ahi**  
na -kI -himata -mona tamine na to- ha -himari ama -ka ahi  
AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M news about AUX CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M then  
aux pn aux aux sec dem

**me**                      **hiyarahari**  
me hiyara -haari  
3PL.S speak to IP.E+M  
pron vt

'He yanked on him as he lay in the hammock sleeping, they always said about him.'

103 **Be**                      **hiwame**                      **baka**  
behe hi- na -waha -ma+M baka  
turn over OC AUX change back break  
vt aux vt

**hisibehimatamona**                      **ahi**  
hi- na -kosa -baha -himata -mona ahi  
OC AUX middle before FP.N+M REP+M then  
aux dem

'He turned him over backwards, breaking his back.'

104 **Yima fana yima fana hora tonikima** , **yima**  
yima fana yima fana hora to- na -kima+F yima  
Yima female Yima female exclaim CH AUX spread out Yima  
npropm nf npropm nf vi aux npropm

**me**                      **no**                      **hinihematamona**                      **tamine**                      **na**  
me noho hi- to- niha- na -himata -mona tamine na  
3PL.S be hurt OC CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M news about AUX  
pron vi aux pn aux

**toemari**  
to- ha -himari  
CH AUX FP.E+M  
aux

'The Yima women were all yelling. The Yimas couldn't hurt him, they always said about him.'

105 **Aba Fani**                      **toha**                      , **yima**                      **mera**                      **katome**                      **yobi**  
Aba Fani to- ha.LIST yima mera katoma+M yobi  
(man's name) CH be Yima 3PL.O attack go back and forth  
npropm vc npropm pron vt vi

**nabematamona**                      **ahi**                      , **mera**                      **mowa**                      **nari**  
na nahaba -himata -mona ahi mera mowa na -haari  
AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M then 3PL.O fight AUX IP.E+M  
aux dem pron vt aux

'Aba Fani killed the Yimas. He went to their place at night and fought against them.'

106 **Tamare**                      **mera**                      **mowa**                      **ne**                      **yobi**  
tama -ra+M mera mowa na+M yobi  
be many NEG 3PL.O fight AUX go back and forth  
vi pron vt aux vi

**nabematamona**                      **yima**                      **mera**                      **yobi**                      **kanahari**  
na nahaba -himata -mona yima mera yobi ka- na -haari  
AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M Yima 3PL.O go back and forth COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
aux npropm pron vi aux

'He was alone. He fought against them. He went to the Yimas' place at night.'

ABA FANI

107 *Me one kamakibisemetemone me amani*  
 me one ka -makI -bisa -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 3PL other+F go/come following also FP.N+F REP+F 3PL SEC BKG+F  
 pron adj vi pron sec

'The others came behind.'

108 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

'Yes.'

109 *Me hekanakosa me*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F me  
 3PL.O OC COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron

*kamakietemoneke*

ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'He had left them behind, and they came.'

110 *Me hinakamakimatamonaka*  
 me hi- na- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'They came after him.'

111 *Me hinakamaki E*  
 me hi- na- ka -makI+M ee  
 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come following 1IN.S  
 pron vt pron

*towamakemata*

to- awa -makI -mata  
 away see following short time  
 vt

'They came after him. "Let's go look at him."'

112 *Era waka naba*  
 era waka na -ba  
 1IN.O kill AUX IMMED+M  
 pron vt aux

'"I hope he doesn't kill us."'

113 *Yawe tokomaka*  
 yawa+M to- ka -ma -ka  
 be upset away go/come back DECL+M  
 vi vi

'"He was upset when he went."'

114 *Me hinakomematamonaka*  
 me hi- na- komeha -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S OC CAUS be fearsome FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vt

'They were afraid of him.'



ABA FANI

115 *Faya faya awa wasa nisikime , nokobisa*  
 faya faya awa wasa na -risa -kima+M , nokobisa  
 so so wood stick in ground AUX down two sleepiness  
 conj conj nf vt aux nf

*hiwasi , tokome fawa ne amo*  
 hi- wasi+M , to- ka -ma+M fawa na+M amo  
 OC find away go/come back disappear AUX sleep  
 vt vi vi aux vi

*towitino , yima me noki hinematamona*  
 to- na -witI.NOM -no , yima me noki hi- na -himata -mona  
 away AUX out IP.N+M Yima 3PL.S wait for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux npropm pron vt aux

*ahi yima me one*  
 ahi yima me one  
 then Yima 3PL other+F  
 dem npropm pron adj

'He stuck two poles in the ground. He got sleepy, and went away, and slept. Some of the Yimas were waiting for him.'

116 *Me noki hine , mera bosa*  
 me noki hi- na+M , mera bosa  
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX 3PL.O get up early  
 pron vt aux pron vi

*kanamematamonaka fahi*  
 ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'They were waiting for him. He came back to them early in the morning.'

117 *Mera bosa kaname , yima yima hitebona*  
 mera bosa ka- na -ma+M , yima yima hi- ita -hibona  
 3PL.O get up early COMIT AUX back Yima Yima OC pierce INT+M  
 pron vi aux npropm npropm vt

*yima ma hikane Hari ya kake tina*  
 yima maa hi- ka- na+M haari ya ka -kI ti- na  
 Yima stop OC COMIT AUX in the middle ADJU go/come coming 2SG.S AUX  
 npropm vi aux dem prt vi aux

'He came back to them early in the morning. A Yima wanted to spear him and he was aiming at him. "Over here, come here."

118 *Hari ya kama tina*  
 haari ya ka -ma ti- na  
 in the middle ADJU go/come back 2SG.S AUX  
 dem prt vi aux

""Over here, come here.""

119 *Hari ya kama tina ati nematamona yima*  
 haari ya kaa -ma ti- na ati na -himata -mona yima  
 in the middle ADJU chop back 2SG.S AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M Yima  
 dem prt vi aux vt aux npropm

*ma hikanari , fe fito kanebanoho*  
 maa hi- ka- na -haari , fee fito ka- na -hiba -no -ho  
 stop OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M 3SG.O rush COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi aux pron vi aux

""Over here, come here," he said, as the Yima was aiming at him. He attacked him.'

ABA FANI

120 *Yima* , *hitebona* *yima* *hitematamonaha*  
 yima hi- ita -hibona yima hi- ita -himata -mona -ha  
 Yima OC pierce INT+M Yima OC pierce FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 npropm vt npropm vt

'The Yima wanted to spear him, but he couldn't spear him.'

121 *Faya me one kamakietemoneke fahi*  
 faya me one ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL other+F go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron adj vi dem

'Then the others came.'

122 *Tatama re habo yiyifi nematamona ino*  
 ta- tama na -ra+M habo yi- yifi na -himata -mona ino  
 DUP be many AUX NEG courage+M DUP thin AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M  
 vi aux pn aux pn

*amane* , *yima mera mowa tonamari*  
 ama -ne yima mera mowa to- na -ma -haari  
 be BKG+M Yima 3PL.O fight away AUX back IP.E+M  
 vc npropm pron vt aux

'He was alone. He was courageous. He went and fought against the Yimas.'

123 *Faya wabori kamakimatamonaka*  
 faya wabori ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj nm vi

*fahi*  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'His brother-in-law came behind.'

124 *Faya wabori kamaki ati*  
 faya wabori ka -makI+M , ati  
 so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law go/come following voice  
 conj nm vi pn

*wanamakematamona*  
 wana -makI -himata -mona  
 start right away following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'His brother-in-law came, and starting talking right away.'

125 *Fa mera ; ati nematamona*  
 faa me -ra ; ati na -himata -mona  
 that 3PL NPQ say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 dem pron vt aux

'"What about them?" he said.'

126 *Me tofiyohara*  
 me to- fiyo -hara  
 3PL.S CH be all gone IP.E+F  
 pron vi

'"They all died."'

ABA FANI

127 *Me* , *me* *onafiyoharani* *ati*  
 me me o- to- na- fiyo -hara -ni ati  
 3PL 3PL.O 1SG.S CH CAUS be all gone IP.E+F BKG+F say  
 pron pron vt vt

*nematamonane*

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

'"I killed them all," he said.'

128 *Yama* *me* *ki* *nemetemone* *ahi* *yima* *me* *ka* *yima*  
 yama me kii na -hemete -mone ahi yima me ka yima  
 thing 3PL.S look at AUX FP.N+F REP+F then Yima 3PL POSS Yima  
 nf pron vt aux dem npropm pron prt npropm

*me* *tabori*  
 me tabori  
 3PL.POSS place+F  
 pron pn

'They looked around, at the place of the Yimas.'

129 *Yama* *me* *ki* *na* *me* , *yima* *me* *one* *wini*  
 yama me kii na+F me , yima me one wina.NFIN  
 thing 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S Yima 3PL other+F live  
 nf pron vt aux pron npropm pron adj vi

*tabiyo* *yama* *me* *siba* *nemetemone* *ahi*  
 tabiyo yama me siba na -hemete -mone ahi  
 absence thing 3PL.S look for AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pn nf pron vt aux dem

'They looked around. They looked for any Yimas that might be living there.'

130 *Yama* *me* *siba* *na* *me* ,  
 yama me siba na+F me ,  
 thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron

*towitarekosematamonaka*

to- ita -rI -kosa -himata -mona -ka *fari* *mera*  
 CH sit raised surface middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M faari that one+M mera  
 vi dem 3PL.O  
 pron

*noki* *nari*  
 noki na -haari  
 wait for AUX IP.E+M  
 vt aux

'They looked around. He sat on a log in the plaza, waiting for them.'

131 *Yama* *me* *siba* *na* *me* , *yama* *me*  
 yama me siba na+F me , yama me  
 thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

*hikanahonara*

hi- ka- na- hona -ra+F me *kamemetemone*  
 OC COMIT CAUS have something NEG 3PL.S ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 vt pron vi go/come back FP.N+F REP+F

'They looked, but couldn't find anyone. They came back.'





## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *Free Translation*

They shot each other with arrows. His wife broke up with him and married someone else.

"Father, there are ripe fruits in the tree there."

"I will pick the fruits. You are hungry. I'm going to climb the tree. Wait for me. Stand there."

He went up into the tree. He picked the *watama* fruits. The *watama* fruits were falling. The boy was picking up the *watama* fruits.

She and her husband came back.

"What about him?"

"Shoot him with an arrow right away. He hates me," she said, calling about him.

He was coming down from the tree. He shot him with an arrow soon after he started coming down from the tree.

"I don't want to shoot him. He's not an animal."

"Shoot him with an arrow right away," she said.

He shot him with an arrow. He came down, wounded.

"Somebody is shooting me with an arrow. Don't kill me."

"I will pull the arrow out from you," he said, since he was wounded.

He grabbed him. His wife stood there watching him. He broke his body with his arms.

She started running. He ran after her. He chased her, and caught her. He caught her, and broke her body, too. Then he started home.

"Hoo, boy I am wounded. Someone shot me with an arrow. We won't go back."

I guess the boy was somewhat big. When the *iha* poison started affecting his father, he sat on the ground. He sat on the ground, and keeled over. Iii, he keeled over.

I guess the boy ate *watama* fruits. He sat next to his father during the night. He didn't come back, and his father missed him.

"My son didn't come back. They must have killed him. They hate him," he said, his father.

He slept. "I'm going to sleep. I will go see them in the morning. My son didn't come back." He slept.

He woke up talking. "I'm going to go see them. I'm remembering that my son didn't come back."

He went and found his son. He came upon the boy crying, who had sat there during the night.

He brought his grandson back. He took his grandson back to their village. He dropped his grandson off.

"He died, so he didn't come back. He is lying there on the ground. Someone shot him with an arrow," he said.

He brought them there. He took them there. They buried his son in the forest. They dug a hole for his son in the forest.

He went to another village. He came upon them as they were playing with a shuttlecock.

"Our grandfather is coming," they said. "Grandfather, what have you come for?"

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

"I came to get my agouti tooth, my agouti tooth that is stuck in the rafters."

"Is there an agouti tooth stuck in the rafters? We didn't see the agouti tooth."

He had a strong odor, because he had painted himself red.

"I'm going to get my agouti tooth," he said.

They were laughing as they played with the shuttlecock. He went inside the longhouse. He hit on the thatch with his hand. He kept hitting on the thatch with his hand, so the agouti tooth would fall down.

"Grandfather, what are you looking for?"

"I'm looking for my agouti tooth," he said. "I am looking for the agouti tooth that is stuck in the eaves, but it is gone," he said.

He was hitting the thatch to find the agouti tooth that was missing. He picked up some old burlap that was lying there, and shook the old burlap. He shook the piece of old burlap, and the people fell down dead.

Then he left. "I'm leaving," he said.

He went home, after having cast a spell on them. After he left, they got sick. He was upset. He didn't see them anymore.

They went after him. He heard a toucan calling. He came to the old garden. He heard a toucan calling.

He spoke near where the two of them had come and were standing, and they were listening. "Oh," he said. "I think the toucan is calling at the old village of the people I cast a spell on," he said.

"That's the one who cast a spell on us talking. We will get revenge on him."

The two of them went back. They cast a spell on him, too, since he had made them sick.

He got sick. They went after him. One of them rubbed *moho* cotton between his hands. He rubbed the *moho* cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton with both palms. His cotton turned to powder and scattered. He could make people sick, too. Then he left them behind, sick. Some of them died, and others survived. Then they went after him. He took some *moho* cotton. He did the same thing as the first one had done. He rubbed cotton between his palms. He rubbed the cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton between his palms. He left them behind sick, as before. Some of them died, as before.

They hated each other, the people of long ago. Then they moved away, and came downstream. They ferried each other in a canoe. Her son was ferrying them.

Then they had an idea. They went back again, and they live back there. His arms had been tired for a long time. He was ferrying them, but some were left standing there.

They called out. "Older brother," she said. "Brother, my son is saying we should go. My son says his arms are tired," she said. "We are going back," she said.

"You go ahead back. You live there. We are going downstream. We are going," they said. "All right, we will eat you," they said.

"We are going to eat you, too," they said, calling out. They turned back, and they live back there.

They came downstream, and we live where they came to.

They put fish traps in the stream there. They put fish traps in the stream there, when Fa Ki Ra fell in the water. Fa Ki Ra fell in the water when he was setting up fish traps, with his son. He called him son.

He called them. "Hey," he said. "Hey, we two are going back ahead, because my son says he is hungry."

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

"Right, you two go on ahead."

"We are going on ahead. I'm going to climb after genip fruits," he said.

He came with his son, to climb after genip fruits. They came in the *kanawa* bark canoe.

They were taking fish out of the traps as they came along.

"There is a genip tree with fruit there. I'm going to climb after genip fruits. You stay in the canoe. Your uncle and the others are coming. The genip fruits will float. The genip fruits are ripe."

So he climbed up. He climbed up, and picked genip fruits. The genip fruits were all falling in the water, as he picked them.

"The fruits are hanging out on the limb. I'm going to jump to reach them."

The genip fruits were out there on the limb. He jumped. He grabbed the genip branch, and it broke. The branch broke off, and he let go.

"Aii," he said. He fell in the water, korii. The *koko* ducks could be heard calling. The *koko* ducks could be heard all over.

Fa Ki Ra didn't come to the surface. Fa Ki Ra disappeared.

His son was waiting for him. He made his son cry. The boy was crying as he was in the canoe, and his uncle and the others heard him crying as they came.

"Wai came, and his son is crying there. Did he fall in the water? That's why his son is crying. Paddle over there." So they came.

"My father, my father, my father fell in the water there."

"Why is he crying?" his uncle said.

"My father fell in the water there."

"Wai has fallen in the water. Where is he? Shall we try to reach him with a pole?"

"Let's try to reach him with a pole. He will grab the pole."

They cut a pole, and poked in the water for him. "Grab onto the pole. Wai, grab onto the pole."

He didn't grab the pole. They left him because the sun went down.

"He must have died. Let's leave him. We will come after him tomorrow."

They were ready to leave. He put his nephew in his canoe, and took his nephew to where Wai, without them knowing it, had been sitting on the end of a fish trap. He paddled Wai in his canoe, too. There were many canoes one after the other.

There he was, sitting on the end of a fish trap. "There is Wai sitting."

"Oooo," he said.

They put him in the canoe, and then he was with his son. They came back with them. They came back, setting fish traps. Where is the water where they set fish traps? It was the Wara lake.

A different group, it got dark on them. When they saw the sun going down, they called loudly to each other. They all came back.

"Come on, come one, let's go home. The sun is going down."

They were the people from Awita Fa. They were ready to go.

They were all paddling. They paddled toward the place where there was a monster, which they did not see. It was a monster. The monster was extended over the water.

One of them was in the front of the canoe, paddling hard, and he saw something. "Fiko, fiko."

They disappeared, as they were coming back. They went underwater. They disappeared, and came out on the other side. The monster was left there by them.

They arrived back, and tied up the canoe. They picked up the bunches of fish. It got dark on them.



## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

"Oh, they didn't come back. I'm going to see them. I will take a resin torch."

He lit the resin torch, and went after them. He went after them, calling them. "Hey."

"Hey, hey, hey, hey," they said, up high. "We are coming back up high."

"Oh, I am shining the light on them like that." Boto, he put out the torch. Fowi, he went up there. They went back. He joined them, after catching up to them.

They came down to the ground, carrying the fish. They came down to the ground, and then roasted the fish on racks. They ate fish for a long time.

The fish went back upstream and stayed there. He was fishing with his brother-in-law. The others left them behind. His brother-in-law was young.

He tied fish on a line. He tied two bunches of fish on lines. He called the others, but they didn't respond. His brother-in-law was crying, because he was hungry.

"Wait, stay here. I will take care of us. Tie up the bow and arrows. We will go there. They took the canoe and disappeared, leaving us behind."

He took snuff to get ready. "Look at me."

His mother was crying. They had left him behind.

Then they went home. He took snuff, and then spoke. The sound of him started up as he disappeared. The two of them disappeared. He took his brother-in-law. He carried the boy on his back. He took the boy.

They came down to the ground right next to their house.

"Whew."

"Is this our village?"

"This is our village. This is where we live."

The boy didn't recognize the place, because he was small.

They went in the house. He was carrying fish. His brother-in-law was carrying fish, too. They went inside. He made his brother-in-law go in first.

"Mother, why are you crying?"

"That is my son calling me," she said.

"Mother, it is me, the two of us came back. Gut the fish."

She began to gut the fish, as she stopped crying about her son. She cooked the fish. She fed her son, who had cried with hunger.

"Whew, you left us behind, and we came walking in the water. We have come back walking in the water. The water was almost going in my nose. He wouldn't listen to me as I was with him in the water. We were together. We are going to sleep now."

He brought him back. They came back, and stayed there. They ate and took snuff. They took snuff, and talked about the forest monster.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ibe</b>	<b>tisa</b>		<b>kanemetemoneke</b>				
	me	me	ibe	tisa		ka-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	3PL	3PL.POSS	RECIP	shoot with arrow		COMIT	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	pron	pron	pn	vt		aux				

**wati**     **ya**     .  
wati     ya  
arrow     ADJU  
nm     prt

'They shot each other with arrows.'

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

2 <b>Fati</b>	<b>fati</b>	<b>hikako</b>	<b>fati</b>
fati	fati	hi- kaako+M	fati
3SG.POSS.wife	3SG.POSS.wife	OC be angry with	3SG.POSS.wife
nf	nf	vt	nf

**fanawemetemoneke**

fana -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 be married change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'His wife broke up with him and married someone else.'

3 <b>Abi</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>boni</b>	<b>kawineke</b>		<b>haro</b>
abi	awa	boni	ka- waa -ne -ke		haaro
father	tree	fruit+F	COMIT stand CONT+F DECL+F		that one+F
nm	nf	pn	vi		dem

"Father, there are ripe fruits in the tree there."

4 <b>Awa</b>	<b>boni</b>	<b>bata</b>	<b>onabana</b>		<b>oke</b>
awa	boni	bata	o- na -habana		o- ke
tree	fruit+F	pick	1SG.S AUX FUT+F		1SG.S DECL+F
nf	pn	vt	aux		prt

"I will pick the fruits."

5 <b>Tifimi</b>	<b>tike</b>
ti- fimi	ti- ke
2SG.S be hungry	2SG.S DECL+F
vi	prt

"You are hungry."

6 <b>Yama</b>	<b>onabanake</b>
yama	o- na -habana -ke
climb	1SG.S AUX FUT+F DECL+F
vt	aux

"I'm going to climb the tree."

7 <b>Owa</b>	<b>nonoki</b>	<b>tina</b>
owa	no- noki	ti- na
1SG.O DUP wait for		2SG.S AUX
pron vt		aux

"Wait for me."

8 <b>Wawa</b>	<b>tina</b>	<b>fahi</b>
wa- waa	ti- na	fahi
DUP stand	2SG.S AUX	there
vi	aux	dem

"Stand there."

9 <b>Tokomisematamonaka</b>
to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka
away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He went up into the tree.'

10 <b>Tokomise</b>		<b>watama</b>	<b>bata</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>watama</b>	<b>foro</b>
to- ka -misa+M		watama	bata	na+M	watama	foro
away go/come up		tree sp	pick	AUX	tree sp	fall
vi		nf	vt	aux	nf	vi

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *nemetemonehe*

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

'He went up into the tree. He picked the *watama* fruits. The *watama* fruits were falling.'

11	<b><i>Watama</i></b>	<b><i>watama</i></b>	<b><i>foro</i></b>	<b><i>na</i></b>	<b><i>ra</i></b>	<b><i>inamatewe</i></b>	<b><i>yabematamona</i></b>		<b><i>ama</i></b>
	watama	watama	foro	na+F	ra	inamatewe	yaba -himata -mona		ama
	tree sp	tree sp	fall	AUX	O	child	pick up FP.N+M REP+M		SEC
	nf	nf	vi	aux	prt	nm	vt		sec

'The boy was picking up the *watama* fruits.'

12	<b><i>Me</i></b>	<b><i>kakamakemetemoneke</i></b>							<b><i>maki</i></b>
	me	ka- ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	-ke			maki
	3PL.S	COMIT go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			3SG.POSS.husband
	pron	vt							nm

***ya*** ***famaharo***  
 ya fama -haaro  
 ADJU be with IP.E+F  
 prt vi

'She and her husband came back.'

13	<b><i>E</i></b>	<b><i>rabaya</i></b>							
	ee	na -ra -ba -ya							?
	(question)	AUX CQ+M	FUT	now					
	vi	aux							

""What about him?""

14	<b><i>E</i></b>	<b><i>rabaya</i></b>							
	ee	na -ra -ba -ya							?
	(question)	AUX CQ+M	FUT	now					
	vi	aux							

""What about him?""

15	<b><i>Tisa</i></b>	<b><i>tikanibote</i></b>				<b><i>tinaho</i></b>			
	tisa	ti- ka- na -bote				ti- na -ho			
	shoot with arrow	2SG.S COMIT	AUX	quickly		2SG.S AUX IMP+M			
	vt	aux				aux			

""Shoot him with an arrow right away.""

16	<b><i>Owa</i></b>	<b><i>kakote</i></b>		<b><i>amane</i></b>	<b><i>ati</i></b>	<b><i>nemetemoneke</i></b>			<b><i>fe</i></b>
	owa	kaako	-tee	ama -ne	ati	na -hemete -mone -ke			fee
	1SG.O	be angry with	HAB	SEC BKG+M	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			3SG.O
	pron	vt		sec	vt	aux			pron

***ha*** ***kanaharo***  
 haa ka- na -haaro  
 call COMIT AUX IP.E+F  
 vt aux

'He hates me," she said, calling about him.'

17	<b><i>Tisa</i></b>	<b><i>tikanibote</i></b>				<b><i>tinaho</i></b>			
	tisa	ti- ka- na -bote				ti- na -ho			
	shoot with arrow	2SG.S COMIT	AUX	quickly		2SG.S AUX IMP+M			
	vt	aux				aux			

""Shoot him with an arrow right away.""

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

18 **Owa kakote amane ati nemetemonehe**  
 owa kaako -tee ama -ne ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 1SG.O be angry with HAB SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron vt sec vt aux

'"He hates me," she said.'

19 **Kisamematamonaka**  
 ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He was coming down from the tree.'

20 **Hiba kikisama ne ra sa**  
 hiba ki- ka -risa -ma na+M ra saa  
 soon after DUP go/come down back AUX O shoot with arrow  
 conj vi aux prt vt

**kanematamonaka**

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

'He shot him with an arrow soon after he started coming down from the tree.'

21 **Sa okana**  
 saa o- ka- na  
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
 vt aux

'"I don't want to shoot him."'

22 **Bani ama**  
 bani ama  
 animal be  
 nm sec

'"He's not an animal."'

23 **Sa tikanibote tinaho ati**  
 saa ti- ka- na -bote ti- na -ho ati  
 shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+M say  
 vt aux aux vt

**nemetemoneni**

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

'"Shoot him with an arrow right away," she said.'

24 **Faya sa hikanematamonaka ahi**  
 faya saa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 so shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vt aux dem

**kakisamebanoho**

ka- ka -risa -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 COMIT go/come down back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'He shot him with an arrow. He came down, wounded.'

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

25 *Kisamematamonaka*

ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came back down.'

26 *Owa me sa kanaba ama okira ati*  
 owa me saa ka- na -haba ama o- -kira ati  
 1SG.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow COMIT AUX FUT+F SEC 1SG.O ?+F say  
 pron pron vt aux sec prt vt

*nematamonane*

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

"Somebody is shooting me with an arrow."

27 *Owa owa awaraba tinahi*  
 owa owa awaraba ti- na -hi  
 1SG.O 1SG.O leave alone 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

"Don't kill me."

28 *Tiwa soba okobeya ati nematamonane*  
 tiwa soba o- ka- na -be -ya ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 2SG.O pull out 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt aux vt aux

*noho tomako*

noho to- na -mako  
 be hurt CH AUX for this reason+M  
 vi aux

"I will pull the arrow out from you," he said, since he was wounded.'

29 *Hiwatematamonaka*

hi- wata -himata -mona -ka  
 OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He grabbed him.'

30 *Hiwate futi wa nemetemone fe*  
 hi- wata+M fati waa.LIST na -hemete -mone fee  
 OC catch 3SG.POSS.wife stand AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.O  
 vt nf vi aux pron

*kakatamaharo*

ka- katoma -haaro  
 COMIT look at IP.E+F  
 vt

'He grabbed him. His wife stood there watching him.'

31 *He baka nakoseba ama namatamona ahi*  
 hee baka na -kosa -hiba ama na.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi  
 3SG.O break AUX middle FUT+M be AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron vt aux vc aux dem

'He broke his body with his arms.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

32 **Baka hisematamonaka ahi**  
 baka hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 break OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt aux dem  
 'He broke his body.'

33 **Fati kana ni yana tona fito**  
 fati kana na.NFIN yana to- na+F fito  
 3SG.POSS.wife run AUX start CH AUX rush  
 nf vi aux vi aux vi

**hikanamakia hikiyoo**  
 hi- to- ka- na -makI+F hi- kiyo+F  
 OC away COMIT AUX following OC chase  
 aux vt

**hiwatamakietemoneheni**  
 hi- to- wata -makI -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 OC away catch following FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 vt

'She started running. He ran after her. He chased her, and caught her.'

34 **Hiwatamakia baka hisatasemetemone ahi**  
 hi- to- wata -makI+F baka hi- na -kosa -tasa -hemete -mone ahi  
 OC away catch following break OC AUX middle again FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt vt aux dem

'He caught her, and broke her body, too.'

35 **Faya kamematamona**  
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona  
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj vi

'Then he started home.'

36 **Kame kamehimatamonaka**  
 ka -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi

'He came home.'

37 **Hoo inamatewe noho oni**  
 hoo inamatewe noho o- to- na.NOM+F  
 humph child be hurt 1SG.S CH AUX  
 interj nm vi aux

'''Hoo, boy I am wounded.'''

38 **Owa owa me tisa ki**  
 owa owa me tisa ka- na.NOM+F  
 1SG.O 1SG.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow COMIT AUX  
 pron pron pron vt aux

'''Someone shot me with an arrow.'''

39 **E towakamakiraba e amake**  
 ee to- ka- ka -makI -ra -haba ee ama -ke  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come following NEG FUT+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F  
 pron vi pron sec

'''We won't go back.'''

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

40 *Inamatewe*    *inamatewe*    *nanafi*    *nemata*    *awane*  
 inamatewe    inamatewe    na- nafi    na -himata    awa    -ne  
 child    child    DUP be big    AUX FP.N+M    seem+M BKG+M  
 nm    nm    vi    aux    sec

'I guess the boy was somewhat big.'

41 *Makoni*    ,    *bati*    *ia*    *wati*  
 makoni    ,    bati    iha    wati  
 for this reason    3SG.POSS.father    plant sp    plan against  
 conj    nm    nm    vt

*hikaneno*    *itarisematamonaka*  
 hi- ka-    na -hino    ita -risa -himata -mona -ka  
 OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M    sit down    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 aux    vi

'When the *iha* poison started affecting his father, he sat on the ground.'

42 *Itarise*    *boto*    *tosematamonane*  
 ita -risa+M    boto    to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 sit down    fall over    CH AUX middle    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 vi    vi    aux

'He sat on the ground, and keeled over.'

43 *Iii*    *sonematamona*    *ahi*  
 iii    sona -himata -mona    ahi  
 (sound of falling)    fall FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 sound    vi    dem

'Iii, he keeled over.'

44 *Inamatewe*    *watama*    *yome*    *nemata*    *awaka*  
 inamatewe    watama    yome    na -himata    awa    -ka  
 child    tree sp    swallow    AUX FP.N+M    seem+M    DECL+M  
 nm    nf    vt    aux    sec

*bati*    *beri*    *ya*    *ita*    *nabebanoho*  
 bati    beheri    ya    ita    nahaba    -hiba -no    -ho  
 3SG.POSS.father    side    ADJU    sit    at night    FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP  
 nm    pn    prt    vi    prt

'I guess the boy ate *watama* fruits. He sat next to his father during the night.'

45 *Bati*    ,    *bati*    *beri*    *ya*    *ita*    *nabe*  
 bati    ,    bati    beheri    ya    ita    nahaba+M  
 3SG.POSS.father    3SG.POSS.father    side    ADJU    sit    at night  
 nm    nm    pn    prt    vi    prt

*kamakire*    *tabiyo*    *bati*    *hiwe*    ,    *Okatao*  
 ka    -makI    -ra+M    tabiyo    bati    hi-    awa+M    ,    okatao  
 go/come following NEG    absence    3SG.POSS.father    OC    feel    my son  
 vi    pn    nm    vt    nm

*kamakibona*    *kamakira*  
 ka    -makI    -hibona    ka    -makI    -ra.CONT+M  
 go/come following INT+M    go/come following NEG  
 vi    vi

'He sat next to his father during the night. He didn't come back, and his father missed him. "My son didn't come back."'

46 *Me*    *me*    *hinahabihe*    *awane*  
 me    me    hi- na-    ahaba+M    awa    -ne  
 3PL    3PL.S    OC CAUS die    seem+M    BKG+M  
 pron    pron    vt    sec

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

"They must have killed him."

47 *Me hikako hinofe ama , ati*  
 me hi- kaako+M hi- nofa+M ama , ati  
 3PL.S OC be angry with OC recently SEC say  
 pron vt prt sec vt

*nematamonaka bati*  
 na -himata -mona -ka bati  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.father  
 aux nm

"They hate him," he said, his father.'

48 *Faya amo nematamonaka*  
 faya amo na -himata -mona -ka  
 so sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi aux

'He slept.'

49 *Amo omatibe*  
 amo o- na -mata -be  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 vi aux

"I'm going to sleep."

50 *Me owamaminibe*  
 me o- to- awa -ma -mina -be  
 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back morning IMMED+F  
 pron vt

"I will go see them in the morning."

51 *Okatao kamakikara*  
 okatao ka -makI -ka -ra  
 my son go/come following DECL+M NEG+M  
 nm vi

"My son didn't come back."

52 *Faya amo ne , amo ne ati*  
 faya amo na+M , amo na+M ati  
 so sleep AUX sleep AUX voice  
 conj vi aux vi aux pn

*katafimatamonahane*  
 ka- tafi -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 COMMIT wake up FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt

'He slept. He woke up talking.'

53 *Hiba me owamamatibe*  
 hiba me o- to- awa -ma -mata -be  
 wait 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F  
 interj pron vt

"I'm going to go see them."

54 *Okatao kamakiramako owati ama ,*  
 okatao ka -makI -ra -mako o- ati ama ,  
 my son go/come following NEG for this reason+M 1SG.POSS voice be  
 nm vi pn vc



## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

**biti**                    **towasimebanoho**  
 biti                    to- wasi -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 3SG.POSS.son away find back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm vt  
 'I'm remembering that my son didn't come back.' He went and found his son.'

55 **Inamatewe ita nabeno ohi ni ra**  
 inamatewe ita nahaba -hino ohi na.NFIN ra  
 child sit at night IP.N+M cry AUX O  
 nm vi prt vi aux prt

**towasimematamonane**  
 to- wasi -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 away find back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt  
 'He came upon the boy crying, who had sat there during the night.'

56 **Faya inamatewe ohi ni towasime hinaka noti**  
 faya inamatewe ohi na.NFIN to- wasi -ma+M hinaka noti  
 so child cry AUX away find back 3SG.POSS grandson  
 conj nm vi aux vt pron nm

**kakame hinaka noti**  
 ka- ka -ma+M hinaka noti  
 COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS grandson  
 vt pron nm

**towakamematamonaka fara me tabori ya**  
 to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fara me tabori ya  
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+F 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU  
 vt dem pron pn prt

'He came upon the boy crying. He brought his grandson back. He took his grandson back to their village.'

57 **Hinaka noti towakame hinaka noti**  
 hinaka noti to- ka- ka -ma+M hinaka noti  
 3SG.POSS grandson away COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS grandson  
 pron nm vt pron nm

**tosemematamonaha**  
 to- isI -ma -himata -mona -ha  
 away drop off back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt

'He took his grandson back. He dropped his grandson off.'

58 **Abamako kamakirenoho home**  
 ahaba -mako ka -makI -ra -hino -ho homa.NOM+M  
 die for this reason+M go/come following NEG IP.N+M DUP lie on ground  
 vi vi vi

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 there  
 dem

'He died, so he didn't come back. He is lying there on the ground.'

59 **Me sa hikanenone ati**  
 me saa hi- ka- na -hino -ne ati  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M BKG+M say  
 pron vt aux vt

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *nematamonaha*

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

aux

'"Someone shot him with an arrow," he said.'

### 60 *Faya me mera kakamematamonaka*

faya me mera ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
so 3PL 3PL.O COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
conj pron pron vt

'He brought them there.'

### 61 *Mera kakame biti me*

mera ka- ka -ma+M biti me  
3PL.O COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S  
pron vt nm pron

### *hikamokosematamonahane*

hi- to- kamo -kosa -himata -mona -ha -ne  
OC CH bury middle FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

vt

'He took them there. They buried his son in the forest.'

62 *Biti hotonebona me wi hinakose fiya*  
biti hotone -bona me wii hi- to- na -kosa+M fiya  
3SG.POSS.son hole+M INT+M 3PL.S dig OC CH AUX middle pass  
nm pn pron vt aux nm vi

### *tonamematamonaka*

to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka  
away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

aux

'They dug a hole for his son in the forest. He went to another village.'

63 *Fiya toname fiya toname tatao me*  
fiya to- na -ma+M fiya to- na -ma+M tatao me  
pass away AUX back pass away AUX back shuttlecock 3PL.S  
vi aux vi aux nm pron

### *tao*

tao nani mera towasimematamonane  
na -hani to- wasi -ma -himata -mona -ne  
hit with one's hand AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O away find back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
vt aux pron vt

'He went to another village. He came upon them as they were playing with a shuttlecock.'

64 *E ka iti kame me ati nemetemone*  
ee ka iti ka -ma+M me ati na -hemete -mone  
1IN POSS grandfather go/come back 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
pron prt nm vi pron vt aux

### *ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

'"Our grandfather is coming," they said.'

65 *Iti himata ebe tinahaba tikamine*  
iti himata ebe ti- na -haba ti- ka -ma -ne  
grandfather what? purpose 2SG.S AUX FUT+F 2SG.S go/come back CONT+F  
nm interrog vt aux vi

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

*tiriya* ?

ti- ri -ya  
2SG.S CQ+F now  
prt

"Grandfather, what have you come for?"

66 *Oko* *sinama* *ino* *onakamine*  
o- ka sinama ino o- na- ka -ma -ne  
1SG.POSS POSS agouti tooth+M 1SG.S CAUS go/come back CONT+F  
prt nm pn vt

*oni* *oko* *sinama* *ino* *basa* *tonenoho*  
o- ni o- ka sinama ino basa to- na -hino -ho  
1SG.S BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS agouti tooth+M protrude CH AUX IP.N+M DUP  
prt prt nm pn vi aux

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

"I came to get my agouti tooth, my agouti tooth that is stuck in the rafters."

67 *Sinama* *ino* *sinama* *ino* *basa* *tone* *awa* ?  
sinama ino sinama ino basa to- na+M awa  
agouti tooth+M agouti tooth+M protrude CH AUX seem+M  
nm pn nm pn vi aux sec

"Is there an agouti tooth stuck in the rafters?"

68 *Sinama* *ino* *ota* *awarini*  
sinama ino otaa awa -ra -ni  
agouti tooth+M 1EX.S see NEG BKG+F  
nm pn pron vt

"We didn't see the agouti tooth."

69 *Maho* *kitakanikimematamona* *hiwa* *mawa*  
maho kita -kanikima -himata -mona hiwa mawa  
smell+M be strong scattered FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.REFL.M paint red  
pn vi pron vt

*nenoho*  
na -hino -ho  
AUX IP.N+M DUP  
aux

'He had a strong odor, because he had painted himself red.'

70 *Oko* *sinama* *ino* *ati*  
o- ka sinama ino o- to- iti -ma -mata -be -ya ati  
1SG.POSS POSS agouti tooth+M 1SG.S away take out back short time IMMED+F now say  
prt nm pn vt

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

"I'm going to get my agouti tooth," he said."



## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *nematamonahane*

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

"I am looking for the agouti tooth that is stuck in the eaves, but it is gone," he said.'

77 *Sinama ino fawa ne tabiyo yama kisa ne* ,  
 sinama ino fawa na+M tabiyo yama kisa na+M  
 agouti tooth+M disappear AUX wanting thing shake up AUX  
 nm pn vi aux pn nf vt aux

*isitoba bote fore iti* , *isitoba bote wiyi*  
 isitoba bote forI iti+M isitoba bote wiyi  
 estopa old lie on top pick up estopa old shake  
 nf adj vi vt nf adj vt

### *nematamonaka*

na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He was hitting the thatch to find the agouti tooth that was missing. He picked up some old burlap that was lying there, and shook the old burlap.'

78 *Isitoba bote wiyi ne ene siwa rebanoho*  
 isitoba bote wiyi na+M ehene siwa na -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 estopa old shake AUX victim of+M die AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nf adj vt aux pn vi aux

, *ene fororo kanebanoho*  
 ehene foro -ro ka- na -hiba -no -ho  
 victim of+M fall DUP COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pn vi aux

'He shook the piece of old burlap, and the people fell down dead.'

### 79 *Faya tokomematamona*

faya to- ka -ma -himata -mona  
 so away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj vi

'Then he left.'

### 80 *Okomibonehe*

o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he  
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F DUP  
 vi

### *ati nematamonahane*

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

"I'm leaving," he said.'

### 81 *Tokomematamona*

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

, *mera mera wiso*  
 mera mera wiso  
 3PL.O 3PL.O blow  
 pron pron vi

### *kanahari*

ka- na -haari  
 COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'He went home, after having cast a spell on them.'



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

89 **Haa ati nematamonahane**  
 haa ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 oh say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 interj vt aux

"Oh," he said.'

90 **Me wiso okanamaro me tabori bote ya**  
 me wiso o- ka- na -hamaro me tabori bote ya  
 3PL.O blow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F 3PL.POSS place+F old ADJU  
 pron vi aux pron pn adj prt

**yaki hai ne awaraya ati nematamonahane**  
 yaki hai na+M awaraya ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 toucan sp call of toucan AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nm vi aux vt aux

"I think the toucan is calling at the old village of the people I cast a spell on," he said.'

91 **Era wiso kanemata ati ama**  
 era wiso ka- na -himata ati ama  
 1IN.O blow COMIT AUX FP.N+M voice be  
 pron vi aux pn vc

"That's the one who cast a spell on us talking."

92 **Manako tohabaya**  
 manako to- ha -ba -ya  
 revenge CH pay back IMMED+M now  
 nf result

"We will get revenge on him."

93 **Me wete tokanamemetemone**  
 me wete to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S return away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux

'The two of them went back.'

94 **Me wiso hikabisematamonaka mera ko**  
 me wiso hi- ka- na -bisa -himata -mona -ka mera ko  
 3PL.S blow OC COMIT AUX also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O have a tumor  
 pron vi aux pron vi

**tonihamako**  
 to- niha- ha -mako  
 CH CAUS AUX for this reason+M  
 aux

'They cast a spell on him, too, since he had made them sick.'

95 **Ene siwa nematamonaha**  
 ehene siwa na -himata -mona -ha  
 victim of+M die AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pn vi aux

'He got sick.'

96 **Faya me hinakamaki yehe bako**  
 faya me hi- to- na- ka -maki+M yehe bako  
 so 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following hand inner surface+M  
 conj pron vt pn pn

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

<b>moho</b>	<b>kiyo</b>	<b>nawahematamona</b>		<b>ahi</b>	<b>tokomakehari</b>
moho	kiyo	na -waha -himata -mona		ahi	to- ka -makI -haari
tree sp	rub	AUX change FP.N+M REP+M		then	away go/come following IP.E+M
nf	vt	aux		dem	vi

'They went after him. He rubbed *moho* cotton between his hands.'

97	<b>Yehe</b>	<b>bako</b>		<b>moho</b>	<b>kiyo</b>	<b>nawahe</b>	<b>moho</b>
	yehe	bako		moho	kiyo	na -waha+M	moho
	hand	inner surface+M		tree sp	rub	AUX change	tree sp
	pn	pn		nf	vt	aux	nf

  

<b>tao</b>		<b>kanematamona</b>		<b>ahi</b>	<b>ye</b>	<b>bako</b>
tao		ka- na -himata -mona		ahi	yehe	bako
hit with one's hand		COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M		then	hand	inner surface+M
vt		aux		dem	pn	pn

**ya**  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'He rubbed the *moho* cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton with both palms.'

98	<b>Hinaka</b>	<b>moho</b>	<b>bo</b>	<b>tonemetemoneni</b>	
	hinaka	moho	boo	to- na -hemete -mone -ni	
	3SG.POSS	tree sp	crumble	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F	
	pron	nf	vi	aux	

'His cotton turned to powder and scattered.'

99	<b>Ene</b>	<b>siwa</b>	<b>nabisareba</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>namatamonaha</b>
	ehene	siwa	na -bisa -ra -hiba		ama	na.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha
	victim of+M	die	AUX also NEG FUT+M		be	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
	pn	vi	aux		vc	aux

'He could make people sick, too.'

100	<b>Faya</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>kakosematamonaka</b>		<b>fahi</b>
	faya	mera	ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka		fahi
	so	3PL.O	COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then
	conj	pron	vt		dem

'Then he left them behind, sick.'

101	<b>Me</b>	<b>one</b>	<b>ahaba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>one</b>	<b>ta</b>	<b>hasi</b>
	me	one	ahaba+F	me	me	one	taa	hasi
	3PL	some+F	die	3PL.S	3PL	some+F	contrast	escape
	pron	adj	vi	pron	pron	adj	prt	vi

**nabisemetemoneke**  
na -bisa -hemete -mone -ke  
AUX also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
aux

'Some of them died, and others survived.'

102	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinakamakibisematamonaka</b>		
	faya	me	hi- to- na- ka -makI -bisa -himata -mona -ka		
	so	3PL.S	OC away CAUS go/come following also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		
	conj	pron	vt		

**fahi tasa**  
fahi tasa  
then again  
dem prt



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

'Then they went after him.'

103	<b>Moho</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>nabise</b>	<b>fare</b>	<b>nima</b>	,	<b>fare</b>	<b>nima</b>
	moho	tama	na -bisa+M	fare	nima		fare	nima
	tree sp	hold onto	AUX also	same+M	like		same+M	like
	nf	vt	aux	dem	prt		dem	prt

**nabise****matamonaka** **fari**  
na -bisa -himata -mona -ka faari  
AUX also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
aux dem

'He took some *moho* cotton. He did the same thing as the first one had done.'

104	<b>Mo</b>	<b>kiyo</b>	<b>nawahabise</b> <b>matamonahane</b>
	moho	kiyo	na -waha -bisa -himata -mona -ha -ne
	tree sp	rub	AUX change also FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
	nf	vt	aux

'He rubbed cotton between his palms.'

105	<b>Mo</b>	<b>kiyo</b>	<b>nawahe</b>	<b>moho</b>	<b>tao</b>	<b>kanematamona</b>	<b>ye</b>
	moho	kiyo	na -waha+M	moho	tao	ka- na -himata -mona	yehe
	tree sp	rub	AUX change	tree sp	shoot	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M	hand
	nf	vt	aux	nf	vt	aux	pn

**bako** **ya** **ahi**  
bako ya ahi  
inner surface+M ADJU then  
pn prt dem

'He rubbed the cotton between his hands, and smacked the cotton between his palms.'

106	<b>Mera</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>kakose</b> <b>matamonaka</b>	<b>bisa</b>	<b>fare</b>	<b>nima</b>
	mera	mera	ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka	bisa	fare	nima
	3PL.O	3PL.O	COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	also	same+M	like
	pron	pron	vt	prt	dem	prt

'He left them behind sick, as before.'

107	<b>Me</b>	<b>siwa</b>	<b>nabisare</b> <b>metemonekene</b>	<b>fara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>nima</b>
	me	siwa	na -bisa -ra -hemete -mone -ke -ne	fara	me	nima
	3PL.S	die	AUX also NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	same+F	3PL	like
	pron	vi	aux	dem	pron	prt

'Some of them died, as before.'

108	<b>Me</b>	<b>abe</b>	<b>kakako</b>	<b>raba</b>	<b>na</b>
	me	abe	ka- kaako	na -raba	na
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	DUP be angry with	AUX a bit	AUX
	pron	pn	vt	aux	aux

  

<b>toare</b> <b>metemoneke</b>	<b>taiti</b>	<b>mati</b>	<b>hibati</b>
to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke	tai -tee.NOM	mati	hibati
CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	be ahead HAB	3PL	long time ago
aux	vi	pron	nf

**ya** , **hibati** **ka** **mati**  
ya , hibati ka mati  
ADJU long time ago of 3PL  
prt nf prt pron

'They hated each other, the people of long ago.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

109 *Faya me bana me kisakimetemone*  
 faya me bana+F me ka -risa -kI.NOM -mete -mone  
 so 3PL.S move away 3PL.S go/come down coming FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron vi pron vi

*amahe ahi*  
 ama -ke ahi  
 be DECL+F then  
 vc dem

'Then they moved away, and came downstream.'

110 *Me kisakia me , kanawa ya me ebe*  
 me ka -risa -kI+F me , kanawa ya me ebe  
 3PL.S go/come down coming 3PL.S canoe ADJU 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 pron vi pron nf prt pron pn

*iso nemetemoneheni*  
 iso na -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 carry off AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 vt aux

'They came downstream. They ferried each other in a canoe.'

111 *Kanawa ya me ebe iso na me biti*  
 kanawa ya me ebe iso na+F me biti  
 canoe ADJU 3PL.POSS RECIP carry off AUX 3PL.POSS 3SG.POSS.son  
 nf prt pron pn vt aux pron nm

*mera iso ne , me ati hiyawemetemoneke*  
 mera iso na+M , me ati hiyawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O carry off AUX 3PL.POSS voice have an idea FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vt aux pron pn vi

'They ferried each other in a canoe. Her son was ferrying them. Then they had an idea.'

112 *Me wete tonememetemone me*  
 me wete to- na -ma -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.S return away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

*towinamineke*  
 to- wina -ma -ne -ke  
 away live back CONT+F DECL+F  
 vi

'They went back again, and they live back there.'

113 *Hiba mano ma tokaharamonamako*  
 hiba mano maa to- ka- ha -ra -mona -mako  
 soon after arm+M be tired CH COMIT AUX NEG REP+M for this reason+M  
 conj pn vi aux

*me iso hina me naho nemetemone ahi , me*  
 me iso hi- na+F me naho na -hemete -mone ahi , me  
 3PL.O carry off OC AUX 3PL.S stand AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron vi aux dem pron

*ha ni yana nibeni ya*  
 haa na.NFIN yana na -be -ni ya  
 call AUX start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU  
 vi aux vi aux prt

'His arms had been tired for a long time. He was ferrying them, but some were left standing there. They called out.'



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

122 *Ee te ota kakaba teba otani me ati*  
 ee tee otaa ka- kaba na -tee -haba otaa -ni me ati  
 yes 2PL.O 1EX.S DUP eat AUX HAB FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 3PL.S say  
 interj pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

*nemetemone ahi*  
 na -hemete -mone ahi  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

"All right, we will eat you," they said.'

123 *Te ota kabatebisaba otani me ha ni*  
 tee otaa kaba -tee -bisa -haba otaa -ni me ha na.NFIN  
 2PL.O 1EX.S eat HAB also FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 3PL.S call AUX  
 pron pron vt pron pron vi aux

*ati nemetemone ahi*  
 ati na -hemete -mone ahi  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt aux dem

"We are going to eat you, too," they said, calling out.'

124 *Me wete tonametemone me*  
 me wete to- na -ma -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.S return away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

*towinamineke*  
 to- wina -ma -ne -ke  
 away live back CONT+F DECL+F  
 vi

'They turned back, and they live back there.'

125 *Me ibe me ibe me kisakia me*  
 me ibe me ibe me ka -risa -ki+F me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.S go/come down coming 3PL.S  
 pron pn pron pn pron vi pron

*me kakimetemone ya ota nanao*  
 me ka -ki.NOM -mete -mone ya otaa na- naho  
 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F ADJU 1EX.S CAUS stay  
 pron vi prt pron vi

*tohineke ahi*  
 to- ha -ne -ke ahi  
 CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F here  
 aux dem

'They came downstream, and we live where they came to.'

126 *Haha fa me nanawina toabisemetemone*  
 haaha faha me na- na- wina to- ha -bisa -hemete -mone  
 this+F water 3PL.S DUP CAUS hang CH AUX also FP.N+F REP+F  
 dem nf pron vt aux

'They put fish traps in the stream there.'

127 *Fa me nanawina toa me me ka Fa Ki Ra*  
 faha me na- na- wina to- ha+F me me ka Faa Kii Ra  
 water 3PL.S DUP CAUS hang CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL POSS (man's name)  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron prt npropm



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

135 *Ora*      *yayama*                      *obeya*                      *ati*      *kane*                      *ahi* .  
 ora      ya- yama                      o-      na      -be      -ya      ati      na      -kane      ahi  
 genip      DUP climb after      1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now      say      AUX ?+M      there  
 nm      vt                      aux                      vt      aux                      dem

'I'm going to climb after genip fruits,' he said.'

136 *Ora*      ,      *yama*                      *nebona*                      *biti*                      *fame*  
 ora      ,      yama                      na -hibona      biti                      fama+M  
 genip      climb after      AUX INT+M      3SG.POSS.son      be with  
 nm      vt                      aux                      nm                      vi

*kamematamonane*

ka      -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came with his son, to climb after genip fruits.'

137 *Me*      *kakamemetemoneke*                      *kanawa*      *ya*      ,      *kanawa*  
 me      ka- ka      -ma -hemete -mone -ke      kanawa      ya      ,      kanawa  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F      tree sp      ADJU      tree sp  
 pron      vi                      nm                      prt                      nm

*ataro*      *ya* .  
 ataro      ya  
 bark+M      ADJU  
 pn      prt

'They came in the kanawa bark canoe.'

138 *Aba*      *me*      *yaba*                      *namahite*                      ,      *Ora*      *kawe*                      *ama*  
 aba      me      yaba                      na -ma -hitI                      ,      ora      ka-      waa+M      ama  
 fish      3PL.S take out      AUX back along the way      genip      COMIT stand      SEC  
 nm      pron      vt                      aux                      nm      vi                      sec

*ahi* .  
 ahi  
 there  
 dem

'They were taking fish out of the traps as they came along. "There is a genip tree with fruit there."

139 *Ora*      *yama*                      *omatibe* .  
 ora      yama                      o-      na      -mata                      -be  
 genip      climb after      1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nm      vt                      aux

'I'm going to climb after genip fruits.'

140 *Kakafowa*                      *karama*                      *tina* .  
 ka- ka-      fowa                      na -karahama      ti-      na  
 DUP COMIT be in water      AUX only do      2SG.S AUX  
 vi                      aux                      aux

'You stay in the canoe.'

141 *Koko*                      *me*                      *kamakiba*                      *ama* .  
 koko                      me      ka      -ma      -kI.NOM      -ba      ama  
 2SG.POSS.mother's brother      3PL.S go/come back coming      FUT      be  
 nm                      pron      vi                      vc

'Your uncle and the others are coming.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

142 *Ora tafohi awa*  
 ora tafo+M awa  
 genip float seem+M  
 nm vi sec

"The genip fruits will float."

143 *Ora hate awane*  
 ora hata+M awa -ne  
 genip be ripe seem+M BKG+M  
 nm vi sec

"The genip fruits are ripe."

144 *Faya tokomisematamonaka fahi*  
 faya to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'So he climbed up.'

145 *Tokomise ora bata nematamona ahi*  
 to- ka -misa+M ora bata na -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come up genip pick AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi nm vt aux dem

'He climbed up, and picked genip fruits.'

146 *Ora koho kanikima nematamona amane ahi bata*  
 ora koho na -kanikima na -himata -mona ama -ne ahi bata  
 genip hit AUX scattered AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M then pick  
 nm vi aux aux sec dem vt

*hinahari*

hi- na -haari  
 OC AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'The genip fruits were all falling in the water, as he picked them.'

147 *Ora koho ne Ora ora ta tokane*  
 ora koho na+M ora ora taa to- ka- na+M  
 genip hit AUX genip genip protrude CH COMIT AUX  
 nm vi aux nm vi aux

'The genip fruits were falling in the water. "The fruits are hanging out on the limb."

148 *Yoyora obaha*  
 yo- yora o- na -baha  
 DUP jump 1SG.S AUX before  
 vi aux

"I'm going to jump to reach them."

149 *Ora ta tokane , si tone yora*  
 ora taa to- ka- na+M sii to- na+M yora  
 genip protrude CH COMIT AUX stand CH AUX jump  
 nm vi aux vi aux vi

*towitamatamona*

to- na -witI -himata -mona  
 away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux

'The genip fruits were out there on the limb. He jumped.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

150 **Yora towiti rama ahi**  
 yora to- na -witI+M rama ahi  
 jump away AUX out unusual then  
 vi aux prt dem

'He jumped.'

151 **Ora ino wara hikane ino waha**  
 ora ino wara hi- to- ka- na+M ino waha  
 genip branch+M grab OC CH COMIT AUX branch+M come apart  
 nm pn vt aux pn vi

**kanematamonaka**

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

'He grabbed the genip branch, and it broke.'

152 **Waahaa ino sore tokane rama ahi**  
 waahaa ino sore to- ka- na+M rama ahi  
 (sound of falling off) branch+M pull off CH COMIT AUX unusual then  
 sound pn vt aux prt dem

'The branch broke off, and he let go.'

153 **Aii ati kane ahi**  
 aii ati na -kane ahi  
 interj say AUX ?+M then  
 vt aux dem

'"Aii," he said.'

154 **Korii bokakane ahi**  
 korii bokakane -kane ahi  
 (sound of falling in water) enter water ?+M then  
 sound vi dem

'He fell in the water, korii.'

155 **Koko me ati yana rikosakani ahi**  
 koko me ati yana na -ri -kosa -kani ahi  
 duck sp 3PL.POSS voice start AUX DISTR middle ?+F then  
 nm pron pn vi aux dem

'The koko ducks could be heard calling.'

156 **Koko me ati yana kanikima nemetemone**  
 koko me ati yana na -kanikima na -hemete -mone  
 duck sp 3PL.POSS voice start AUX scattered AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron pn vi aux aux

**me ama ahi**  
 me ama ahi  
 3PL.POSS SEC then  
 pron sec dem

'The koko ducks could be heard all over.'

157 **Fa Ki Ra kimisamematamonaha**  
 Faa Kii Ra ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ha  
 (man's name) go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 npropm vi

'Fa Ki Ra didn't come to the surface.'





## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

<p><b>okobi</b> o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm</p>	<p><b>okobi</b> o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm</p>	<p><b>ra okobi</b> ra o- ka abi O 1SG.POSS POSS father prt nm</p>
<p><b>okobi</b> o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm</p>	<p><b>boke</b> boka.NOM+M enter water vi</p>	<p><b>yamani aya</b> yamani telling there dem</p>

"My father, my father, my father fell in the water there."

166	<b>Himata</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>nen</b>	<b>ohi</b>	<b>nahi</b>	?	<b>kokori</b>
	himata	ebe	na -hino	ohi	na+M		kokori
	what?	purpose	AUX IP.N+M	cry	AUX		3SG.POSS.mother's brother
	interrog	vt	aux	vi	aux		nm

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

"Why is he crying?" his uncle said.'

167	<b>Okobi</b>		<b>boke</b>	<b>yamani</b>	<b>aya</b>
	o- ka abi		boka.NOM+M	yamani	aya
	1SG.POSS POSS father		enter water	telling	there
	nm		vi		dem

"My father fell in the water there."

168	<b>Okobi</b>		<b>bokahare</b>		<b>aya</b>
	o- ka abi		boka -hare		aya
	1SG.POSS POSS father		enter water IP.E+M		there
	nm		vi		dem

"My father fell in the water there."

169	<b>Wai</b>	<b>bokawaini</b>		
	Wai	boka	-waha -ni	
	(man's name)	enter water	change BKG+F	
	npropm	vi		

"Wai has fallen in the water."

170	<b>E</b>	<b>rabaya</b>			?
	ee	na -ra -ba -ya			
	(question)	AUX CQ+M FUT now			
	vi	aux			

"Where is he?"

171	<b>E</b>	<b>bori</b>	<b>nabana</b>		?
	ee	bori	na+M -bana		
	1IN.S	poke	AUX FUT		
	pron	vt	aux		

"Shall we try to reach him with a pole?"

172	<b>E</b>	<b>bori</b>	<b>na</b>	
	ee	bori	na	
	1IN.S	poke	AUX	
	pron	vt	aux	

"Let's try to reach him with a pole."

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

173 *E bori na*  
 ee bori na  
 1IN.S poke AUX  
 pron vt aux

"Let's try to reach him with a pole."

174 *Awa wara tobaya*  
 awa wara to- na -ba -ya  
 wood grab CH AUX IMMED+M now  
 nf vt aux

"He will grab the pole."

175 *Awa me ti na me bori hinematamona*  
 awa me tii na+F me bori hi- na -himata -mona  
 tree 3PL.S cut through AUX 3PL.S poke OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf pron vt aux pron vt aux

"They cut a pole, and poked in the water for him."

176 *Awa wara tina*  
 awa wara ti- to- na  
 wood grab 2SG.S CH AUX  
 nf vt aux

"Grab onto the pole."

177 *Wai awa wara tinahi*  
 Wai awa wara ti- to- na -hi  
 (man's name) wood grab 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F  
 npropm nf vt aux

"Wai, grab onto the pole."

178 *Awa wara tonematamonaha*  
 awa wara to- na -himata -mona -ha  
 wood grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vt aux

'He didn't grab the pole.'

179 *Bai toke ene me*  
 bahi to- ka+M ehene me  
 sun away go/come because of+M 3PL.S  
 nm vi pn pron

*hekanakosematamonaka*

hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

"They left him because the sun went down."

180 *Bai toke ene me hekanakose Abe*  
 bahi to- ka+M ehene me hi- ka- kana -kosa+M ahaba+M  
 sun away go/come because of+M 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle die  
 nm vi pn pron vt vi

*abe awaka*  
 ahaba+M awa -ka  
 die seem+M DECL+M  
 vi sec

"They left him because the sun went down. "He must have died."

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

181 *E kakosaho e*  
 ee ka- kana -kosa -ho ee  
 1IN.S COMIT leave middle IMP+M 1IN.S  
 pron vt pron

*nakiminebana*  
 na- ka -kI -mina -hibana  
 CAUS go/come coming morning FUT+M  
 vt

"Let's leave him. We will come after him tomorrow."

182 *Me yana tona me hinaka bitimi ibewaki*  
 me yana to- na+F me hinaka bitimi ibI -waha -kI+M  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS nephew put inside change coming  
 pron vi aux pron pron nm vt

*hinaka bitimi towakamematamona ahi Wai*  
 hinaka bitimi to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi Wai  
 3SG.POSS nephew away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then (man's name)  
 pron nm vt dem npropm

*itarino ya wawasi noki tame ya*  
 ita -rI.NOM -no ya , wa- wasi noki tame ya  
 sit raised surface IP.N+M ADJU DUP get caught end+F foot+F ADJU  
 vi prt nf pn pn prt

'They were ready to leave. He put his nephew in his canoe, and took his nephew to where Wai, without them knowing it, had been sitting on the end of a fish trap.'

183 *Wai ori kawakane ahi*  
 Wai ori ka- na -waha -kane ahi  
 (man's name) paddle COMIT AUX change ?+M then  
 npropm vi aux dem

'He paddled Wai in his canoe, too.'

184 *Me kasawiwi kawahakani ahi*  
 me ka- sawi -wi ka- na -waha -kani ahi  
 3PL.S COMIT be present DUP COMIT AUX change ?+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'There were many canoes one after the other.'

185 *Awa itarikosakane ahi*  
 awa ita -rI -kosa -kane ahi  
 (sound of seeing) sit raised surface middle ?+M there  
 sound vi dem

*wawasi noki tame ya*  
 wa- wasi noki tame ya  
 DUP get caught end+F foot+F ADJU  
 nf pn pn prt

'There he was, sitting on the end of a fish trap.'

186 *Wai itariaro ha*  
 Wai ita -rI -haaro haa  
 (man's name) sit raised surface look+F DEM  
 npropm vi dem

"There is Wai sitting."

187 *Oooo ati nematamonahane*  
 oooo ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 interj say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt aux

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

"Oooo," he said.'

188 *Faya me hibewe biti ya*  
 faya me hi- ibI -waha+M biti ya  
 so 3PL.S OC put inside change 3SG.POSS.son ADJU  
 conj pron vt nm prt

*famawematamonaka fahi*  
 fama -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 be with change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem  
 'They put him in the canoe, and then he was with his son.'

189 *Me ya me ya me*  
 me ya me ya me  
 3PL ADJU 3PL ADJU 3PL.S  
 pron prt pron prt pron

*tabamawahemetemoneheni*  
 taba -ma -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 be together back change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 vi  
 'They came back with them.'

190 *Me kamawemetemone ahi aba me me*  
 me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone ahi aba me me  
 3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F then fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi dem nm pron pron

*nawina mati*  
 na- wina+F mati  
 CAUS hang 3PL.S  
 vt pron  
 'They came back, setting fish traps.'

191 *Hibaka fa me nanawina hihemete*  
 hibaka faha me na- na- wina hi- to- ha -hemete  
 where water 3PL.S DUP CAUS hang OC CH AUX FP.N+F  
 interrog nf pron vt aux

*tohariya ?*  
 to- ha -ri -ya  
 CH be CQ+F now  
 vc  
 'Where is the water where they set fish traps?'

192 *Afamete itineke Wara*  
 afa -mete ita -ne -ke Wara  
 this+F FP.N+F sit CONT+F DECL+F (name of lake)  
 dem vi npropf

'It was the Wara lake.'

193 *Haha me one , me one kakayomaharo*  
 haaha me one me one ka- kayoma -haaro  
 this+F 3PL other+F 3PL other+F COMMIT darken IP.E+F  
 dem pron adj pron adj vi

'A different group, it got dark on them.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

194	<b>Bai</b>	<b>toke</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>bai</b>	<b>toke</b>		<b>me</b>
	bahi	to-	ka+M	me	awa+F	me		bahi	to-	ka+M	me
	sun	away	go/come	3PL.S	see	3PL.S		sun	away	go/come	3PL.S
	nm	vi		pron	vt	pron		nm	vi		pron
	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kita</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>abe</b>	<b>ha</b>		<b>nemetemone</b>			<b>ahi</b>
	awa+F	me	kita	me	abe	haa		na -hemete -mone			ahi
	see	3PL.S	strength	3PL.POSS	RECIP	call		AUX FP.N+F REP+F			then
	vt	pron	nf	pron	pn	vt		aux			dem

'When they saw the sun going down, they called loudly to each other.'

195	<b>Me</b>		<b>abe</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>me</b>	<b>yama</b>
	me		abe	haa	na+F	me		me	yama
	3PL.POSS		RECIP	call	AUX	3PL.S		3PL.S	turn
	pron		pn	vt	aux	pron		pron	vi

<b>namehemetemone</b>		<b>ahi</b>
na -ma -hemete -mone		ahi
AUX back FP.N+F REP+F		then
aux		dem

'They called to each other. They all came back.'

196	<b>Hima</b>	<b>hima</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>tokomahi</b>
	hima	hima	ee	to- ka -ma -hi
	let's go	let's go	1IN.S	away go/come back IMP+F
	interj	interj	pron	vi

'''Come on, come one, let's go home.'''

197	<b>Bai</b>	<b>toke</b>		<b>hari</b>	,	<b>Awita Fa</b>		<b>yafi</b>		<b>mati</b>
	bahi	to-	ka+M	haari		Awita Fa		yafi		mati
	sun	away	go/come	that one+M		(name of stream)		inhabitant of		3PL
	nm	vi		dem		npropf		pn		pron

'''The sun is going down.' They were the people from Awita Fa.'

198	<b>Me</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>tonemetemone</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	me	yana	to- na -hemete -mone		ahi
	3PL.S	start	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F		then
	pron	vi	aux		dem

'They were ready to go.'

199	<b>Me</b>	<b>orioriri</b>		<b>tokanemetemone</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	me	ori- ori -ri		to- ka- na -hemete -mone		ahi
	3PL.S	DUP paddle DUP		CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F		then
	pron	vi		aux		dem

'They were all paddling.'

200	<b>Me</b>	<b>ori</b>	<b>nemetemone</b>		<b>ahi</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>waini</b>		<b>ya</b>
	me	ori	na -hemete -mone		ahi	yama	waa.NOM+F -ni		ya
	3PL.S	paddle	AUX FP.N+F REP+F		there	thing	stand IP.N+F		ADJU
	pron	vi	aux		dem	nf	vi		prt

**maka**  
maka  
monster  
nm

'They paddled toward the place where there was a monster, which they did not see.'



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

208 *Me kobo kanama kanawa me watamakani ahi*  
 me kobo ka- na -ma+F kanawa me wata -ma -kani ahi  
 3PL.S arrive COMMIT AUX back canoe 3PL.S put back ?+F then  
 pron vi aux nf pron vt dem

'They arrived back, and tied up the canoe.'

209 *Aba me me kayabemetemone ahi ya , me*  
 aba me me ka- yaba -hemete -mone ahi ya , me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMMIT pick up FP.N+F REP+F then ADJU 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt dem prt pron

*kakayomabani mati*  
 ka- kayoma -haba -ni mati  
 COMMIT darken FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They picked up the bunches of fish. It got dark on them.'

210 *Me kakayomemetemonekene aba me me*  
 me ka- kayoma -hemete -mone -ke -ne aba me me  
 3PL.S COMMIT darken FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL 3PL  
 pron vi nm pron pron

'It got dark on them.'

211 *Aa me kamari*  
 aa me ka -ma -ra.NOM+F  
 (expression of displeasure) 3PL.S go/come back NEG  
 interj pron vi

""Oh, they didn't come back.""

212 *Me owawitematibe*  
 me o- to- awa -witI -mata -be  
 3PL.O 1SG.S away see out short time IMMED+F  
 pron vt

""I'm going to see them.""

213 *Wami tama okobe*  
 wami tama o- ka- na -be  
 tree sp hold onto 1SG.S COMMIT AUX IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux

""I will take a resin torch.""

214 *Wami sari kane , mera*  
 wami sari ka- na+M , mera  
 tree sp burn COMMIT AUX 3PL.O  
 nf vt aux pron

*tonakematamonahane*  
 to- na- ka -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt

'He lit the resin torch, and went after them.'

215 *Mera tonake , mera tonake , mera haha*  
 mera to- na- ka+M , mera to- na- ka+M , mera haha  
 3PL.O away CAUS go/come 3PL.O away CAUS go/come 3PL.O DUP call  
 pron vt pron vt pron vt



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

*towitimatamonahane*

to- na -witI -himata -mona -ha -ne  
away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
aux

'He went after them. He went after them, calling them.'

216 *Hee*

hee  
hey  
interj

""Hey.""

217 *Hee*

<i>hee</i>	<i>hee</i>	<i>hee</i>	<i>hee</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>nemetemone</i>		<i>neme</i>	<i>ya</i>
hee	hee	hee	hee	me	ati	na -hemete -mone		neme	ya
hey	hey	hey	hey	3PL.S	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F		up	ADJU
interj	interj	interj	interj	pron	vt	aux		nf	prt

*ahi*

ahi  
there  
dem

""Hey, hey, hey, hey," they said, up high.'

218 *Ota*

<i>otaa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>neme</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ya</i>
1EX.S	go/come	back	BKG+F	up	LOC	ADJU
pron	vi			nf	prt	prt

""We are coming back up high.""

219 *Aa*

<i>aa</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>firi</i>	<i>one</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>-ne</i>
oh yes	like this	3PL.S	AUX	3PL.O	shine light on	1SG.S	AUX	CONT+F	
interj	dem	pron	aux	pron	vt	aux			

*onih*

o- na.NOM+F -ni -hi  
1SG.S AUX IP.N+F DUP  
aux

""Oh, I am shining the light on them like that.""

220 *Boto*

<i>boto</i>	<i>wami</i>	<i>boto</i>	<i>kasematamona</i>	<i>ahi</i>
boto	wami	boto	ka- na -kosa -himata -mona	ahi
sound	tree sp	bend over	COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M	then
	nf	vt	aux	dem

'Boto, he put out the torch.'

221 *Fowi*

<i>fowi</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>-makI</i>	<i>-kane</i>	<i>ahi</i>
sound	away	go/come	following	?+M	then
	vi				dem

'Fowi, he went up there.'

222 *Me*

<i>me</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-kani</i>	<i>ahi</i>
3PL.S	away	go/come	back	?+F	then
pron	vi				dem

'They went back.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

223 *Mera me ya totabamawakane ahi mera*  
 mera me ya to- taba -ma -waha -kane ahi mera  
 3PL.O 3PL ADJU away be together back change ?+M then 3PL.O  
 pron pron prt vi dem pron

*towasimakiari*

to- wasi -makI -haari  
 away find following IP.E+M  
 vt

'He joined them, after catching up to them.'

224 *Me bao nemetemone ahi , aba me me weye*  
 me bao na -hemete -mone ahi , aba me me weye  
 3PL.S come down AUX FP.N+F REP+F then fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry  
 pron vi aux dem nm pron pron vt

*na mati*  
 na+F mati  
 AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'They came down to the ground, carrying the fish.'

225 *Me bao nemetemone ahi ya , aba me me*  
 me bao na -hemete -mone ahi ya , aba me me  
 3PL.S come down AUX FP.N+F REP+F there ADJU fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux dem prt nm pron pron

*tabasi nababani mati*  
 tabasi nahaba -haba -ni mati  
 roast on grill at night FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vt prt pron

'They came down to the ground, and then roasted the fish on racks.'

226 *Aba me me kakaba na hiemetemone , me*  
 aba me me ka- kaba na hi- to- ha -hemete -mone , me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux aux pron

*tokomatasi nofa me towinamine*  
 to- ka -ma -tasa nofa+F me to- wina -ma -ne ,  
 away go/come back again recently 3PL.S away live back CONT+F  
 vi prt pron vi

*banani*  
 -bana -ni  
 FUT BKG+F

'They ate fish for a long time. The fish went back upstream and stayed there.'

227 *Wabori fame , wabori fame*  
 wabori fama+M , wabori fama+M  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law be with 3SG.POSS brother-in-law be with  
 nm vi nm vi

*fa ki ne , me me hekanakosahani me*  
 faha kii na+M , me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hani me  
 water look at AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 nf vt aux pron pron vt pron

*me me hekanakosahani me*  
 me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hani me ,  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 pron pron vt pron



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

233 *E towakamakibe*

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

"We will go there."

234 *Kanawa me towakamahani*

kanawa me to- ka- ka -ma -hani me fawa  
 canoe 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S disappear  
 nf pron vt pron vi

*tonikimineni*

to- na -kima -ne -ni , era me kakosani  
 CH AUX spread out CONT+F BKG+F 1IN.O 3PL.S COMIT leave middle IP.N+F  
 aux pron pron vt

*mati*

mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

"They took the canoe and disappeared, leaving us behind."

235 *Yana toneba*

yana to- na -hiba sina hisi nematamona ahi  
 start CH AUX FUT+M snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux nf vt aux dem

'He took snuff to get ready.'

236 *Sina hisi ne Tinokowamaki*

sina hisi na+M ti- noko -waha -makI  
 snuff sniff AUX 2SG.S point change following  
 nf vt aux vi

'He took snuff. "Look at me."'

237 *Tinokomaki*

ti- noko -makI  
 2SG.S point following  
 vi

"Look at me."

238 *Mati*

mati ohi na -hemete -mone -ke me  
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S  
 nf vi aux pron

*hinawakoseno*

hi- to- na- waa -kosa -hino mati  
 OC CH CAUS stand middle IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.mother  
 vt nf

'His mother was crying. They had left him behind.'

239 *Me towakakiemetemone*

me to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'Then they went home.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

240 *Sina hisi ne ati yana ne moni yana*  
 sina hisi na+M ati yana na+M moni yana  
 snuff sniff AUX voice start AUX sound start  
 nf vt aux pn vi aux pn vi

*tonematamonaka fawaii*  
 to- na -himata -mona -ka , fawaii .  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M sound  
 aux

'He took snuff, and then spoke. The sound of him started up as he disappeared.'

241 *Me fawa kanemetemone ahi*  
 me fawa ka- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'The two of them disappeared.'

242 *Wabori towakamakimatamona ahi*  
 wabori to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vt dem

'He took his brother-in-law.'

243 *Inamatewe weye ne inamatewe towakamaki*  
 inamatewe weye na+M inamatewe to- ka- ka -makI+M ,  
 child carry AUX child away COMIT go/come following  
 nm vt aux nm vt

*fare me ka yobe bari yokana me bao*  
 fare me ka yobe bari yokana me bao  
 same+M 3PL POSS house outer surface true 3PL.S come down  
 dem pron prt nm pn adj pron vi

*kanisakani ahi*  
 ka- na -risa -kani ahi  
 COMIT AUX down ?+F then  
 aux dem

'He carried the boy on his back. He took the boy. They came down to the ground right next to their house.'

244 *Hoo*  
 hoo  
 whew  
 interj

""Whew.""

245 *Afa e taboro ama ?*  
 afa ee taboro ama ?  
 this+F 1IN.POSS place be  
 dem pron pn vc

""Is this our village?""

246 *Afa e taboro ama ?*  
 afa ee taboro ama ?  
 this+F 1IN.POSS place be  
 dem pron pn vc

""Is this our village?""

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

247 *Afa e taboro amani*  
 afa ee taboro ama -ni  
 this+F 1IN.POSS place be BKG+F  
 dem pron pn vc

"This is our village."

248 *E winineke haro*  
 ee wina -ne -ke haaro  
 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 pron vi dem

"This is where we live."

249 *Noko , noko yama watorematamonahane*  
 noko noko yama wato -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 eye+M eye+M thing know NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 pn pn nf vt

*nafire karo*  
 nafi -ra.NOM+M karo  
 be big NEG because  
 vi prt

'He didn't recognize the place, because he was small.'

250 *Faya me , kiyomamakimatamonaka*  
 faya me , ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 so 3PL.S go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj pron vi

'They went in the house.'

251 *Aba me weye , wabori , aba mera weye*  
 aba me weye.LIST , wabori , aba mera weye  
 fish 3PL.O carry 3SG.POSS brother-in-law fish 3PL.O carry  
 nm pron vt nm pron vt

*nabisakane ahi*  
 na -bisa -kane ahi  
 AUX also ?+M then  
 aux dem

'He was carrying fish. His brother-in-law was carrying fish, too.'

252 *Me kakiyomamakekani ahi*  
 me ka- ka -yoma -makI -kani ahi  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come through following ?+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They went inside.'

253 *Wabori tai*  
 wabori tai  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law be ahead  
 nm vi

*hinihamakimatamonane*  
 hi- to- niha- ha -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 OC CH CAUS AUX following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'He made his brother-in-law go in first.'



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

261 *Hoo otara te kakosani ota*  
 hoo otara tee ka- kana -kosa -hani otaa  
 whew 1EX.O 2PL.S COMIT leave middle IP.N+F 1EX.S  
 interj pron pron vt pron

*kakamakine ota afi kana ota*  
 ka- ka -makI -ne otaa afi ka- na+F otaa  
 COMIT go/come following CONT+F 1EX.S bathe COMIT AUX 1EX.S  
 vi pron vi aux pron

"Whew, you left us behind, and we came walking in the water."

262 *Ota afi kana ota kakamakeni*  
 otaa afi ka- na+F otaa ka- ka -makI -ne -ni  
 1EX.S bathe COMIT AUX 1EX.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi

"We have come back walking in the water."

263 *Fa boni hisi onakiene oni*  
 faha boni hisi o- na -kI -hene ni  
 water mass+F sniff 1SG.S AUX coming IRR+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nf pn vt aux prt

"The water was almost going in my nose."

264 *Owari kasawari afi okowari ota*  
 o- ati ka- sawari+M afi o- ka- na -wahari+M otaa  
 1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate bathe 1SG.S COMIT AUX all over 1EX.S  
 pn vt vi aux pron

*famine fari*  
 fama -ne faari  
 be with CONT+F that one+M  
 vi dem

"He wouldn't listen to me as I was with him in the water. We were together."

265 *Ota amo kibana*  
 otaa amo ka- na+F -bana  
 1EX.S sleep COMIT AUX FUT  
 pron vi aux

"We are going to sleep now."

266 *Hekamaki me kakamake me yoro*  
 hi- ka- ka -makI+M me ka- ka -makI me yoro  
 OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL.S stay  
 vt pron vi pron vi

*namakietemonehe*  
 na -makI -hemete -mone -he  
 AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux

'He brought him back. They came back, and stayed there.'

267 *Faya sina me hisi nemetemoneke fahi me tafa*  
 faya sina me hisi na -hemete -mone -ke fahi me tafa+F  
 so snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S eat  
 conj nf pron vt aux dem pron vi

*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron



THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (2)

'They ate and took snuff.'

268	<i>Sina</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>hisi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>maka</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ati</i>
	sina	me	hisi	na+F	me		maka	ya	me	ati
	snuff	3PL.S	sniff	AUX	3PL.S		monster	ADJU	3PL.POSS	voice
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron		nm	prt	pron	pn

<i>sawihemetemone</i>			<i>maka</i>	.
sawi	-hemete	-mone	maka	
be present	FP.N+F	REP+F	monster	
vi			nm	

'They took snuff, and talked about the forest monster.'

## MAIKO (1)

### *Free Translation*

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

"Are they going to eat?"

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

"E Onira, E Onira," he said, singing the *kona* song. "E Onira, E Onira, E Onira. The sting-ray drags its stinger on the fish wier. E Onira, E Onira. The sting-ray drags its stinger. E Onira, E Onira, E Onira, E Onira. My younger sister doesn't know how to take the gall bladder out of the fish. The tamarin says, 'Wisibara, wisibara, wisibara, wisibara.' The white-fronted capuchin on the branch of the tree in the clearing says, 'Hao, hao, hao, hao.' The tamarin says, 'Wisibara, wisibara, wisibara, wisibara.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"What animal is it?" he said.

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

"It is dead?"

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

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

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

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

## MAIKO (1)

said.

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

So she took him. She took her husband there.

"The animal is lying there," she said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Something is holding the deer," he said.

Finally it let go of the deer.

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

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

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

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

"I'm going to take snuff."

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yes, that is its voice."

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

"That's it," he said. "The monster whose animal I brought, which it had killed, is coming."

It didn't go away. It was waiting for Maiko. He was with his wife. His wife was behind him.

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

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

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

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

## MAIKO (1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"There, I hit it."

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

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

"Help me."

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

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

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

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

They spit around his house.

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

"Were you sleeping?"

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

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

Then he brought his wife back.

"Tie up your hammock again."

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

"The one who came after us has died."

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

"You stay here. I'm going fishing."

## MAIKO (1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are living in its place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maiko used to eat a lot.

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

"All right."

"Uncle, cover the collared peccary meat."

"All right."

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

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

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

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

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

"Uncle, uncle."

"Huh?"

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

## MAIKO (1)

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

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

"There are two pots of broth there."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Listen. Your uncle is planning against you, having a feast for you," she said, his wife.

"Your uncle cooked food for you, and he is going to call you," she said.

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

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

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

"Uncle, we are full," they said.

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

They put the two pots of his taro up.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## MAIKO (1)

### Interlinear Presentation

1 **Maka me Maiko me wawaka hihemetemone**  
 maka me Maiko me wa- waka hi- iha -hemete -mone  
 monster 3PL.O (man's name) 3PL.O DUP kill OC have FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron npropm pron vt vt

**me tabori ota winawaineti**  
 me tabori otaa wina -waha -ne -tee.NOM  
 3PL.POSS place+F 1EX.S live change CONT+F HAB  
 pron pn pron vi

'We live in the place where Maiko killed forest monsters.'

2 **Kona sasa tohematamona taboro bote ama na**  
 kona sa- saa to- ha -himata -mona taboro bote ama na  
 plant sp DUP release CH be FP.N+M REP+M place+M old be AUX  
 nm vt vc pn adj vc aux

**tohe Aifa Aifa kona sasa**  
 to- ha+M Aifa Aifa kona sa- saa  
 CH AUX (man's name) (man's name) plant sp DUP release  
 aux npropm npropm nm vt

**nofaraba na toarematamonaha**  
 na nofa -raba na to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ha  
 AUX recently a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 aux aux aux

'This is the place where Aifa used to put *kona* poison in the water, a long time ago.'

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

'His *kona* plants are here.'

4 **Kona tai hiri nawahebana kona me baro**  
 kona tahi hiri na -waha -hibana kona me baro  
 plant sp song about sing AUX change FUT+M plant sp 3PL.S beat  
 nm pn vt aux nm pron vt

**na mati fati sari hinebanoho kona**  
 na+F mati fati sari hi- na -hiba -no -ho kona  
 AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.wife burn OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP plant sp  
 aux pron nf vt aux nm

**ene tai hiri nari**  
 ehene tahi hiri na -haari  
 victim of+M song about sing AUX IP.E+M  
 pn pn vt aux

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

5 **Kona tai hiri ne kame fati**  
 kona tahi hiri na+M ka -ma+M fati  
 plant sp song about sing AUX go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nm pn vt aux vi nf

**aahi hinematamonaha**  
 a- ahi hi- na -himata -mona -ha  
 DUP mess with OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt aux

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

MAIKO (1)

6 *Fati sari hinematamonakana ahi*  
 fati sari hi- na -himata -mona -ka -na ahi  
 3SG.POSS.wife burn OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf vt aux dem  
 'His wife burned him.'

7 *Fati sari hine , Me tafaba me ama ?*  
 fati sari hi- na+M , me tafa -haba me ama  
 3SG.POSS.wife burn OC AUX 3PL.S eat FUT+F 3PL.S SEC  
 nf vt aux pron vi pron sec  
 'His wife burned him. "Are they going to eat?"'

8 *Me tafahaba me amani ati nematamonahane*  
 me tafa -haba me ama -ni ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 3PL.S eat FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 pron vi pron sec vt aux  
*kona tahi hiri nari*  
 kona tahi hiri na -haari  
 plant sp song about sing AUX IP.E+M  
 nm pn vt aux  
 "'They are going to eat," he said, singing the *kona* song.'

9 *Kona tahi hiri ne nana toematamona ino*  
 kona tahi hiri na+M na- na to- ha -himata -mona ino  
 plant sp song about sing AUX DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M  
 nm pn vt aux aux aux  
*amane Aifa mati*  
 ama -ne Aifa mati  
 be BKG+M (man's name) 3PL  
 vc npropm pron  
 'He sang the *kona* song. He was Aifa.'

10 *Ee Onira E Onira ati nematamonaka kona*  
 Ee Onira Ee Onira ati na -himata -mona -ka kona  
 (name of song) (name of song) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M plant sp  
 npropf npropf vt aux nm  
*tai hiri nari*  
 tahi hiri na -haari  
 song about sing AUX IP.E+M  
 pn vt aux  
 "'E Onira, E Onira," he said, singing the *kona* song.'

11 *E Onira E Onira E Onira*  
 Ee Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira  
 (name of song) (name of song) (name of song)  
 npropf npropf npropf  
 "'E Onira, E Onira, E Onira.'"

12 *Aba bote katakana horo kanimonehe*  
 aba bote katakana horo ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he  
 fish sting-ray stinger drag COMMIT AUX REP+F DUP  
 nm nm nf vt aux  
*kanimonehe*  
 ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he  
 COMMIT AUX REP+F DUP  
 aux  
 "'The sting-ray drags its stinger on the fish wier.'"



MAIKO (1)

13 *Ee Onira*                      *E Onira*  
 Ee Onira                      Ee Onira  
 (name of song)              (name of song)  
 npropf                      npropf

"E Onira, E Onira."

14 *Aba*    *bote*                      *katakana*    *horo*    *kanimonehe*  
 aba    bote                      katakana    horo    ka-    na.NOM+F    -mone    -he  
 fish   sting-ray              stinger    drag    COMIT AUX              REP+F DUP  
 nm    nm                      nf                      vt                      aux

*kanimonehe*                      ,    *horo*    *kanimonehe*  
 ka-    na.NOM+F    -mone    -he                      ,    horo    ka-    na.NOM+F    -mone    -he  
 COMIT AUX                      REP+F DUP                      drag    COMIT AUX                      REP+F DUP  
 aux                      vt                      aux

*kanimonehe*  
 ka-    na.NOM+F    -mone    -he  
 COMIT AUX                      REP+F DUP  
 aux

"The sting-ray drags its stinger."

15 *Ee Onira*                      *E Onira*                      ,    *E Onira*                      *E Onira*  
 Ee Onira                      Ee Onira                      ,    Ee Onira                      Ee Onira  
 (name of song)              (name of song)                      (name of song)              (name of song)  
 npropf                      npropf                      npropf                      npropf

"E Onira, E Onira, E Onira, E Onira."

16 *Aba*    *yifatari*                      *iti*                      *okasima*  
 aba    yifatari                      iti.NFIN    o-                      ka    asima  
 fish   gall bladder              take out    1SG.POSS POSS younger sister  
 nm    pn                      vt                      nf

*watorimonehe*                      *watorimonehe*                      *watorimonehe*  
 wato -ra.NOM+F    -mone    -he                      wato -ra.NOM+F    -mone    -he                      wato -ra.NOM+F    -mone    -he  
 know NEG                      REP+F DUP                      know NEG                      REP+F DUP                      know NEG                      REP+F DUP  
 vt                      vt                      vt

*watorimonehe*  
 wato -ra.NOM+F    -mone    -he  
 know NEG                      REP+F DUP  
 vt

"My younger sister doesn't know how to take the gall bladder out of the fish."

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

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

18 *Awa*    *wakosemete*                      *ini*                      *ya*    *bani*    *kiso*  
 awa    waa    -kosa    -hemete    ini                      ya    bani    kiso  
 tree    stand middle FP.N+F    branch+F    ADJU    animal    white-fronted capuchin  
 nf                      vi                      pn                      prt    nm                      nf

*ati*    *haomonehe*  
 ati    hao                      -mone    -he  
 voice    (call of white-fronted capuchin)    REP+F DUP  
 pn                      sound

## MAIKO (1)

**haomonehe**

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

**haomonehe**

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

**haomonehe**

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

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

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

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

20 **Yowi ino sana kanahari**  
 yowi ino sana ka- na -haari  
 brown capuchin tooth+M carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 nm pn vt aux

**ahi** .

ahi  
 then  
 dem

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

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

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

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

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

**hinamaroni** .

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

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

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

'It was Kakisira.'

MAIKO (1)

24 *Me fanawi nafi , me me sari hina me , kona*  
 me fanawi nafi , me me sari hi- na+F me , kona  
 women all 3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC AUX 3PL.O plant sp  
 nf pn pron pron vt aux pron nm

*tai tatamina toemari amane*  
 tahi ta- tamina to- ha -himari ama -ne  
 song about DUP be good CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M  
 pn vi aux sec

'All the women burned them. The *kona* song was very good.'

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

'The song isn't sung anymore.'

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

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

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

27 *Kona tai ota hiri na , Rasia ewene me*  
 kona tahi otaa hiri na+F , Rasia ewene me  
 plant sp song about 1EX.S sing AUX (man's name) stick+M 3PL.S  
 nm pn pron vt aux npropm pn pron

*ka hinematamona ati ne ati ota haha kana*  
 kaa hi- na -himata -mona ati na+M ati otaa haahaa ka- na  
 chop OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX voice 1EX.S laugh COMMIT AUX  
 vt aux vt aux pn pron vi aux

*toimaro amake , aba me kahi , aba me*  
 to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke , aba me kaha.NFIN , aba me  
 CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F fish 3PL.S be toasted fish 3PL.O  
 aux vc nm pron vi nm pron

*me tabasi nabani mati*  
 me tabasi na -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

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

28 *Wawasi , wawasi kowa serima , serima*  
 wa- wasi , wa- wasi kowa+F serima , serima  
 DUP get caught DUP get caught weave fish wier fish wier  
 nf nf result nf nf

*ware , wawasi , namiti bari ya*  
 waa -rI , wa- wasi , namiti bari ya  
 stand raised surface DUP get caught neck outer surface ADJU  
 vi nf pn pn prt

*serima waware toamaro amake me*  
 serima waa -rI to- ha -hamaro ama -ke me  
 fish wier DUP stand raised surface CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.POSS  
 nf vi aux sec pron

MAIKO (1)

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

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

29 **Aba me tokiyoma wawasi hoti ya aba** ,  
 aba me to- ka -yoma+F wa- wasi hoti ya , aba  
 fish 3PL.S away go/come through DUP get caught hole+F ADJU fish  
 nm pron vi nf pn prt nm  
**me tokiyoma me me kayabamaro me**  
 me to- ka -yoma+F me me , ka- yaba -hamaro me  
 3PL.S away go/come through 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT take out FP.E+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vt vt pron

**amani wawasi hoti ya aba tamabote mati** .  
 ama -ni wa- wasi hoti ya aba tama -bote mati  
 SEC BKG+F DUP get caught hole+F ADJU fish be many very 3PL  
 sec nf pn prt nm adj pron

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

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

'They dragged it up onto the bank.'

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

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

'Maiko pierced the forest monster.'

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

'I never saw Maiko.'

33 **Maiko fa koro nebona toke** ,  
 Maiko faha koro na -hibona to- ka+M  
 (man's name) water throw something on AUX INT+M away go/come  
 npropm nf vt aux vi  
**toke fawa tonakosawite biti me**  
 to- ka+M fawa to- na -kosa -witI , biti me  
 away go/come disappear away AUX middle out 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S  
 vi vi aux nm pron

## MAIKO (1)

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

34 **Towe**                      **amari**  
towe                      ama -ra.NOM+F  
bad                      be NEG  
adj                      vc  
'That's wrong.'

35 **Maiko**                      **tamarematamonahane**  
Maiko                      tama                      -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne  
(man's name)                      be many NEG FP.N+M                      REP+M DUP BKG+M  
npropm                      vi  
'Maiko was not many.'

36 **Fati**                      **yokana**                      **ya**                      **famematamonaha**  
fati                      yokana                      ya                      fama                      -himata -mona -ha  
3SG.POSS.wife                      true                      ADJU                      be with FP.N+M                      REP+M DUP  
nf                      adj                      prt                      vi  
'He was just with his wife.'

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

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

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

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

38 **Mi**                      **tina**  
mii                      ti-                      na  
defecate                      2SG.S AUX  
vi                      aux  
'"Go ahead and defecate.'"

39 **Fa**                      **koro**                      **osa**                      **o**  
faha                      koro                      o-                      na -saa                      o-  
water                      throw something on                      1SG.S AUX still                      1SG.S  
nf                      vt                      aux                      prt  
'"I am still fishing.'"

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









MAIKO (1)

63 *Bani homari ha ati nematamonaka*  
 bani homa -haari haa ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 animal lie on ground look+M DEM say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi dem vt aux

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

64 *Bani homari hari*  
 bani homa -haari haari  
 animal lie on ground look+M that one+M  
 nm vi dem

"Look, the animal is lying there."

65 *Bani homari hari ati nematamonaka*  
 bani homa -haari haari ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 animal lie on ground look+M that one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi dem vt aux

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

66 *Maiko Maiko yama yana na ihi ama ahi*  
 Maiko Maiko yama yana na+F ihi ama ahi  
 (man's name) (man's name) thing start AUX victim of+F be then  
 npropm npropm nf vi aux pn vc dem

*ati nemetemoneheni*  
 ati na -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 vt aux

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

67 *Efe ene ama nabana ati kane ahi*  
 efe ehene ama na+M -bana ati na -kane ahi  
 this+M victim of+M be AUX FUT say AUX ?+M then  
 dem pn vc aux vt aux dem

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

68 *Efe ene toe awa fari*  
 efe ehene to- ha+M awa faari  
 this+M victim of+M CH be seem+M that one+M  
 dem pn vc sec dem

"I think it did kill it."

69 *Ene kabebanane*  
 ehene kaba -hibana -ne  
 victim of+M eat FUT+M BKG+M  
 pn result

"We will eat what it killed."

70 *Bato matibone wasikane ahi*  
 bato mati -bone wasi -kane ahi  
 deer line+F INT+F find ?+M then  
 nf pn vt dem

'He found a vine to tie up the deer.'

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

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

MAIKO (1)

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

'He tied up the deer.'

73 *Aba me wiyeba tekowa*  
 aba me wiye -ba ti- ka- kowa  
 fish 3PL.POSS container+F FUT 2SG.S COMIT weave  
 nm pron pn vt

""Weave a basket for the fish.""

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

""Let's go back.""

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

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

'His wife weaved a basket for the fish.'

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

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

77 *Bato mati nawate , bato mati nawate ,*  
 bato mati na- wata+M , bato mati na- wata+M ,  
 deer line+F CAUS be located deer line+F CAUS be located  
 nf pn vt nf pn vt

*Hima tai tiamahi ati*  
 hima tai ti- to- ha -ma -hi ati  
 let's go be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX back IMP+F say  
 interj vi aux vt

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

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

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



MAIKO (1)

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

'His wife put the fish in the basket.'

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

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

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

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

"You go on ahead."

88 *Yama*    *ihi*                    *toha*                    *awine*        ?  
 yama    ihi                    to-    ha+F    awine        ?  
 thing    victim of+F    CH    be        seem+F  
 nf        pn                    vc                    sec

"Could a monster have killed it?"

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

'The deer didn't have any wound.'

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

'They went home.'

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

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

'His wife gutted the fish.'

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

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

MAIKO (1)

93 *Yifo awiha* , *bato toke* , *bato toke*  
 yifo awiha , bato toka+M , bato toka+M  
 fire take care of deer partially burn deer partially burn  
 nf vt nm vt nm vt

*ati saimatamona* , *ahi bato bobi*  
 ati sai -himata -mona ahi , bato bobi  
 voice be heard FP.N+M REP+M then deer slit  
 pn vi dem nm vt

*nawahebanoho*  
 na -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

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

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

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

'His wife cooked the fish.'

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

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

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

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

*kawarimatamona*  
 ka- waa -rI -himata -mona  
 COMMIT cook raised surface FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt

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

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

'He cooked its breast.'

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

MAIKO (1)

**hisi omatibe**

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

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

99 **Fati tafehemetemoneke**

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

'His wife ate.'

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

'They ate, eating fish.'

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

'They ate fish.'

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

**hisi nawahakane ahi**

hisi na -waha -kane ahi  
sniff AUX change ?+M then  
vt aux dem

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

103 **Sina hisi nawahematamonaka**  
sina hisi na -waha -himata -mona -ka  
snuff sniff AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nf vt aux

'He took snuff.'

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

'He took snuff.'

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

**Yama tikamita**

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

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

MAIKO (1)

106 *Yama i tabasi ona i*  
 yama ihi tabasi o- na+F ihi  
 thing victim of+F roast on grill 1SG.S AUX victim of+F  
 nf pn vt aux pn

*kawine ha*  
 ka- waa -ne haa  
 COMIT stand CONT+F DEM  
 vi dem

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

107 *Hiba me hiba me ati fafawa*  
 hiba me hiba me ati fa- fawa  
 soon after 3PL soon after 3PL.POSS voice DUP disappear  
 conj pron conj pron pn vi

*kana ni ya ohi ni*  
 ka- na.LIST na.NOM+F ya ohi na.NFIN  
 COMIT AUX AUX ADJU cry AUX  
 aux aux prt vi aux

*fotomakematamonaka*  
 foto -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 appear following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'Just as they stopped talking, it started crying.'

108 *One , one , one*  
 one one one  
 (sound of crying) (sound of crying) (sound of crying)  
 sound sound sound

"One, one, one."

109 *Aa , Boriri okanoti ohi ni awa ?*  
 aa Boriri o- ka noti ohi na.NFIN awa ?  
 aha (woman's name) 1SG.POSS POSS grandson cry AUX seem+M  
 interj npropf nm vi aux sec

"Oh, Boriri, is that my grandson crying?"

110 *Inamate amo nirahi , ene ohi naba*  
 inamate amo niha- na -ra+M , ehene ohi na nahaba.CONT+M  
 child sleep CAUS AUX NEG result of+M cry AUX at night  
 nm vi aux pn vi aux

*ati nematamona*  
 ati na -himata -mona  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

"He [his father] didn't put the child to sleep, and he is crying," he said.'

111 *Maiko yama ihi e kakama ati*  
 Maiko yama ihi ee ka- ka -ma+F ati  
 (man's name) thing victim of+F 1IN.S COMIT go/come back voice  
 npropm nf pn pron vt pn

*toha awineni fati ati nemetemonehe*  
 to- ha+F awine -ni fati ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 CH be seem+F BKG+F 3SG.POSS.wife say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vc sec nf vt aux

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

MAIKO (1)

112 *Efe*      *ati*      *ama*    *nabana*  
 efe      ati      ama    na+M -bana  
 this+M    voice    be    AUX    FUT  
 dem      pn      vc    aux

"Yes, that is its voice."

113 *Faya* , *faya*    *oi*    *ni*      *kakamakematamona*      *ahi*  
 faya    ,    faya    ohi    na.NFIN    ka-    ka      -makI      -himata    -mona    ahi  
 so      so      cry    AUX      COMIT    go/come    following    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 conj    conj    vi    aux      vi

*yama*    *hiyama*      *tokarabanihi*  
 yama    hiyama      to-    ka      -ra    -haba    -ni      -hi  
 thing    somewhere else    away go/come    NEG    FUT+F    IP.N+F    DUP  
 nf      adv      vi

'It came crying. It came right toward them.'

114 *Kisakabote*      ,    *yama*    *aawa*      *nematamona*      *ahi*  
 ka      -risa    -kabote      ,    yama    a-    awa    na    -himata    -mona    ahi  
 go/come down quickly      thing    DUP    see    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 vi      nf      vt      aux      dem

'He got out of his hammock, and took a look.'

115 *Yama*    *oye*      *kakamakemetemone*      *amani*  
 yama    oye      ka-    ka      -makI      -hemete    -mone    ama    -ni  
 thing    light+F    COMIT    go/come    following    FP.N+F    REP+F    SEC    BKG+F  
 nf      pn      vi      sec

'A light was coming.'

116 *Yama*    *oye*      *kakamake*      ,    *Ha*    *yama*    *ama*  
 yama    oye      ka-    ka      -makI      ,    haa    yama    ama  
 thing    light+F    COMIT    go/come    following      DEM    thing    be  
 nf      pn      vi      dem    nf      vc

*ninihi*      *ati*    *kane*      *ahi*  
 na.NOM+F    -ni      -hi    ati    na    -kane    ahi  
 AUX      IP.N+F    DUP    say    AUX    ?+M    then  
 aux      vt      aux      dem

'The light was coming. "That's it," he said.'

117 *Yama*    *ihi*      *owakama*  
 yama    ihi      o-    ka-    ka      -ma+F  
 thing    victim of+F    1SG.S    COMIT    go/come    back  
 nf      pn      vt

*kamakineni*      ,    *tokomebonaha*  
 ka      -makI      -ne      -ni      ,    to-    ka      -ma    -hibona    -ha  
 go/come following    CONT+F    BKG+F      away go/come back    INT+M    DUP  
 vi      vi

"The monster whose animal I brought, which it had killed, is coming." It didn't go away.'

118 *Tokomarematamonakana*      ,    *Maiko*  
 to-    ka      -ma    -ra    -himata    -mona    -ka      -na      ,    Maiko  
 away go/come back    NEG    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    IRR+M      (man's name)  
 vi      npropm

*noki*      *kanamakehari*  
 noki      ka-    na    -makI      -haari  
 wait for    COMIT    AUX    following    IP.E+M  
 vt      aux

'It didn't go away. It was waiting for Maiko.'



MAIKO (1)

119 *Fati*                    *famematamona*                    *fati*                    *ya*  
 fati                    fama        -himata   -mona   fati                    ya  
 3SG.POSS.wife   be with FP.N+M   REP+M   3SG.POSS.wife   ADJU  
 nf                    vi                    nf                    prt

'He was with his wife.'

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

'His wife was behind him.'

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

*kawe*                    *yokana*                    *wamakekane*                    *ahi*        *nokobi*        *ya*  
 ka-        waa.NOM+M        yokana        waa        -makI        -kane        ahi        nokobi        ya  
 COMMIT stand        true        stand following        ?+M        then        door        ADJU  
 vi                    adj                    vi                    dem        nf                    prt

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

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

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

123 *Bani*                    *okobarahara*  
 bani        o-        kaba        -ra        -hara  
 animal        1SG.S eat        NEG IP.E+F  
 nm                    vt

""I didn't eat the animal.""

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

""It was not eaten.""

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

""I ate fish.""

126 *Tikaba*  
 ti-        kaba  
 2SG.S eat  
 vt

""Eat it.""

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

MAIKO (1)

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

128 *Tikabamaki*  
 ti- kaba -makI  
 2SG.S eat following  
 vt

"Go ahead and eat it."

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

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

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

'He gave it broth to drink.'

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

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

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

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

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

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

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

*fati kabemetemone*  
 fati kaba -hemete -mone  
 3SG.POSS.wife eat FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vt

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

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

'It didn't eat.'

MAIKO (1)

135 *Tokomare* *we* *ehene* , *ene*  
to- ka -ma -ra+M waa+M ehene ehene  
away go/come back NEG stand because of+M because of+M  
vi vi post post

*biyamisematamonane*

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

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

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

"I'm going to sleep."

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

"You go away."

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

"I have given you food."

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

"[The meat] was not eaten."

140 *Kawaha*  
ka- waa.CONT+M  
COMIT stand  
vi

"It is there on the rack."

141 *Bani* *nafi* *ta* *nawahematamona* *ahi*  
bani nafi taa na -waha -himata -mona ahi  
animal all give AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then  
nm pn vt aux dem

*tokomaramako*

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

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

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





MAIKO (1)

156 *Faya kame ya , kame ya yama*  
 faya ka -ma.NOM+M ya ka -ma.NOM+M ya yama  
 so go/come back ADJU go/come back ADJU thing  
 conj vi prt vi prt nf

*kiki namakane ahi*  
 ki- kii na -ma -kane ahi  
 DUP look AUX back ?+M then  
 vi aux dem

'When he got back, he looked at the monster.'

157 *Fare wai wakane ahi*  
 fare waa.NOM waa -kane ahi  
 same+M stand stand ?+M then  
 dem vi vi dem

'It was still standing in the same place.'

158 *Wehimatamonane wati*  
 waa -himata -mona -ne wati  
 stand FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M plan against  
 vi vt

*hikawebanoho toni me*  
 hi- ka- na -waha -hiba -no -ho toni me  
 OC COMIT AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP familiar spirit 3PL.O  
 aux nm pron

*iharebanoho*  
 iha -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 put NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'It was standing there. He planned against it. He didn't use the spirits.'

159 *Hinaka toni mera ihematamonaha*  
 hinaka toni mera iha -himata -mona -ha  
 3SG.POSS familiar spirit 3PL.O put FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pron nm pron vt

'He didn't use his familiar spirits.'

160 *Toni me ya tabahi toni mera*  
 toni me ya taba+M toni mera  
 familiar spirit 3PL ADJU be together familiar spirit 3PL.O  
 nm pron prt vi nm pron

*toyosemematamonaka*  
 to- yose -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 away command back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'He was with the familiar spirits. He sent them back.'

161 *Taibona toma hinematamona ahi*  
 tahi -bona toma hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 killer INT+M suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn vt aux dem

'He sucked the shaman's stone that would kill it.'

162 *Yifo yifo nakoromatamona ahi ya*  
 yifo yifo na- koro -himata -mona ahi ya  
 firewood firewood CAUS be loose FP.N+M REP+M then ADJU  
 nf nf vt dem prt

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

MAIKO (1)

163 *Te tai toama*  
 tee tai to- ha -ma  
 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back  
 pron vi aux

"You go on ahead home."

164 *Owa te natoriya*  
 owa tee nahato -ra -yahi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S occupy NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron vt

"Don't get in my way."

165 *Hinaka toni mera kabanematamonaha*  
 hinaka toni mera ka- habana -himata -mona -ha  
 3SG.POSS familiar spirit 3PL.O COMIT order FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pron nm pron vt

'He didn't ask his familiar spirits to help him.'

166 *Faya hikinarematamonaka fahi yifo witi*  
 faya hi- kina -rI -himata -mona -ka fahi yifo witi  
 so OC hit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then brand  
 conj vt dem nf

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'Then he threw the piece of burnt firewood at it, and he hit it.'

167 *Bana yama yama yobe , toro ya , tiihii*  
 bana yama yama yobe , toro ya , tiihii  
 sound thing thing house inside+M ADJU (sound of hitting)  
 nf nf nm pn prt sound

*moni kane ahi*  
 moni na -kane ahi  
 make sound AUX ?+M then  
 vt aux dem

'He threw it from inside the house. It went tiihii.'

168 *Tooo fa amari ya , awa boni moni*  
 tooo faha ama -ra.NOM+F ya , awa boni moni  
 (sound of explosion) water be NEG ADJU tree fruit+F sound  
 sound nf vc prt nf pn pn

*saihemetemone ama ahi , ehene*  
 sai -hemete -mone ama ahi , ehene  
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F SEC then because of+M  
 vi sec dem post

'Too, there was the sound of fruits falling in water because of it, but there was no water.'

169 *Maiko fawa nematamonaka fahi*  
 Maiko fawa na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 (man's name) disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 npropm vi aux dem

'Maiko disappeared.'

MAIKO (1)

170 *Maka ene tohematamonaha*  
 maka ehene to- ha -himata -mona -ha  
 monster victim of+M CH be FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm pn vc

'The monster didn't kill him.'

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

'The monster didn't kill Maiko.'

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

*toaremata*

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

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

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

'He used to kill monsters.'

174 *Kinarihina*  
 kina -rI -hina  
 hit raised surface ?+M  
 result

""There, I hit it.""

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

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

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

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

""Here, help me," he said.'

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



MAIKO (1)

**abono fana abohi bao nisahabanihi**  
 abono fana abohi bao na -risa -haba -ni -hi  
 spirit female dead body come down AUX down FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 pn nf pn vi aux

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

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

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

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

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

180 **Owa tikasomahi**  
 owa ti- ka- soma -hi  
 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT help IMP+F  
 pron vt

'Help me.'

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

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

'Kisofa, it spit. It soiled itself.'

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

'Barorere, it fell over.'

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

**ama**  
 ama  
 SEC  
 sec

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

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

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

MAIKO (1)

185 *Mera ha kane foyahari*  
 mera haa na -kane foya -haari  
 3PL.O call AUX ?+M be inside IP.E+M  
 pron vt aux vi

'He called them from inside the house.'

186 *Aya owa te kasomamatahi*  
 aya owa tee ka- soma -mata -hi  
 here 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT help short time IMP+F  
 interj pron pron vt

""Here help me.""

187 *Taboro me firo hikane waha ahi*  
 taboro me firo hi- na -kane waha ahi  
 place+M 3PL.S spit OC AUX ?+M now then  
 pn pron vt aux prt dem

'They spit around his house.'

188 *Taboro me firo hinematamona ahi*  
 taboro me firo hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 place+M 3PL.S spit OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn pron vt aux dem

'They spit around his house.'

189 *Taboro me firo hine , maka mao fawa*  
 taboro me firo hi- na+M , maka maho fawa  
 place+M 3PL.S spit OC AUX monster smell+M disappear  
 pn pron vt aux nm pn vi

*tonakose ya fati*  
 to- na -kosa.NOM+M ya fati  
 CH AUX middle ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife  
 aux prt nf

*totimematamonahane*  
 to- iti -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 away pick up back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt

'They spit around his house. When the smell of the monster was almost gone, he went and got his wife.'

190 *Oko yibote onakamatibe*  
 o- ka yibote o- to- na- ka -ma -mata -be  
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F  
 prt nf vt

*toni me ni hekaru*  
 toni me ni hi- to- ka- ka -haaro  
 familiar spirit 3PL to OC away COMIT go/come IP.E+F  
 nm pron prt vt

'I will go get my wife," who he had taken to the spirits.'

191 *Fati tonakamakane ahi*  
 fati to- na- ka -ma -kane ahi  
 3SG.POSS.wife away CAUS go/come back ?+M then  
 nf vt dem

'He went after his wife.'

MAIKO (1)

192 *Onakamamatibe*

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

"I'm going to get her."

193 *Hinakama*

hi-	to-	na-	ka	-ma+F	,	<i>E</i>		<i>ri</i>		<i>amo</i>	<i>ti</i>	?
OC	away	CAUS	go/come	back		ee		na	-ri	amo	ti-	
vt						(question)		AUX	CQ+F	sleep	2SG.S	
						vi		aux		vi	prt	

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

194 *Amo orini*

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

"I'm not sleeping."

195 *Ota nahoni ati kani ahi*

otaa	naho	-ni	ati	kani	ahi
1EX.S	stand	BKG+F	say	AUX ?+F	then
pron	vi		vt	aux	dem

"We are standing here," she said.'

196 *Hima e towakama*

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

"Come on, let's go home."

197 *Yama onahabihara*

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

"I killed the monster."

198 *Ahabara*

ahaba	-hara
die	IP.E+F
vi	

"It died."

199 *Me hekama awine*

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

"They took it away."

200 *Faya fati kakamematamonaka fahi*

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

'Then he brought his wife back.'

MAIKO (1)

- 201 *Fati kakame Yifo tikahoma*  
 fati ka- ka -ma+M , yifo ti- kaho -ma  
 3SG.POSS.wife COMMIT go/come back hammock 2SG.S tie back  
 nf vt nm vt  
 'He brought his wife back. "Tie up your hammock again."'
- 202 *Fati yifo sere namakani fare ati ehene*  
 fati yifo sere na -ma -kani fare ati ehene  
 3SG.POSS.wife hammock tie AUX back ?+F same+M voice because of+M  
 nf nm vt aux dem pn post  
 'His wife did what he said and tied her hammock back up.'
- 203 *Abarene era nakamakehino*  
 ahaba -hare -ne era na- ka -makI -hino  
 die IP.E+M BKG+M 1IN.O CAUS go/come following IP.N+M  
 vi pron vt  
 "'The one who came after us has died.'"
- 204 *Faya fati fame amo nawahematamona fahi*  
 faya fati fama+M amo na -waha -himata -mona fahi  
 so 3SG.POSS.wife be with sleep AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj nf vi vi aux dem  
 'Then he went to sleep with his wife.'
- 205 *Fati amo kawahematamonakana maka*  
 fati amo ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka -na maka  
 3SG.POSS.wife sleep COMMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M monster  
 nf vi aux nm  
*abawahe rama*  
 ahaba -waha+M rama  
 die change unusual  
 vi prt  
 'He slept with his wife, now that the monster had died.'
- 206 *Iita karama tiya*  
 i- ita na -karahama ti- na -yahi  
 DUP stay AUX only do 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 vi aux aux  
 "'You stay here.'"
- 207 *Fa koro omatibe*  
 faha koro o- na -mata -be  
 water throw something on 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux  
 "'I'm going fishing.'"
- 208 *Faya tokatasematamonaka fahi*  
 faya to- ka -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem  
 'He went again.'
- 209 *Tokatase aba me tisa ne aba me*  
 to- ka -tasa+M , aba me tisa na+M aba me  
 away go/come again fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.O  
 vi nm pron vt aux nm pron

## MAIKO (1)

**weye ni kame , fati aba me**  
 weye na.NFIN ka -ma+M , fati aba me  
 carry AUX go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O  
 vt aux vi nf nm pron

**kawaria , me tafamatemetemoneke**  
 ka- waa -rI+F , me tafa -mata -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMMIT cook raised surface 3PL.S eat short time FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt pron vi

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

210 **Faya tokatasematamonaka fahi maka**  
 faya to- ka -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi maka  
 so away go/come again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then monster  
 conj vi dem nm

**towasiwitibanoho tasa , fa koho nari**  
 to- wasi -witI -hiba -no -ho tasa , fa koho na -haari  
 away find out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP again water hit AUX IP.E+M  
 vt prt nf vt aux

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

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

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

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

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

**saihemetemone amani**  
 sai -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 vi sec

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

213 **Aa oko fa koro**  
 aa o- ka faha koro  
 (expression of displeasure) 1SG.POSS POSS water throw something on  
 interj prt nf vt

**onabone koho ne awa ?**  
 o- na -habone koho na+M awa ?  
 1SG.S AUX INT+F hit AUX seem+M  
 aux vt aux sec

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

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

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

MAIKO (1)

215 *Hee moni ama nano*  
 hee moni ama na.NOM+M -no  
 hey sound be AUX IP.N+M  
 interj pn vc aux

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

216 *Maki tina*  
 maki ti- na  
 pay 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux

"It will pay."

217 *Otamata*  
 o- ita -mata  
 1SG.S pierce short time  
 vt

"I will spear it."

218 *Titisa miti tonihakane ahi*  
 ti- tisa miti to- niha- na -kane ahi  
 DUP shoot with arrow get loose CH CAUS AUX ?+M then  
 nf vi aux dem

'He took the string off his bow.'

219 *Maka faha koho ne ki nematamonaha*  
 maka faha koho na+M kii na -himata -mona -ha  
 monster water hit AUX look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm nf vt aux vt aux

'He watched the monster as it was hitting the water with the reed.'

220 *Efe ama ti*  
 efe ama ti-  
 this+M be 2SG.S  
 dem vc prt

'He was extraordinary.'

221 *Maiko kakasiro toematamona tamine amane*  
 Maiko ka- kasiro to- ha -himata -mona tamine ama -ne  
 (man's name) DUP persist CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M news about be BKG+M  
 npropm vi aux pn vc

'Maiko was really strong.'

222 *Tokakane sina hisi nakehari ahi*  
 to- ka -kane sina hisi na -kI -haari ahi  
 away go/come ?+M snuff sniff AUX coming IP.E+M then  
 vi nf vt aux dem

'He went, after taking snuff.'

223 *Kere kere ati*  
 kere kere ati  
 (call of kingfisher) (call of kingfisher) voice  
 sound sound pn

*kamematamonaka maka fa koho ne wai ya*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka maka faha koho na+M waa.NOM ya  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M monster water hit AUX stand ADJU  
 vi nm nf vt aux vt prt

MAIKO (1)

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

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

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

*tonokowame* *rama* *ahi* .  
 to- noko -waha -ma+M rama ahi  
 away point change back unusual then  
 vi prt dem

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

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

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

226 *Titisa* *nakoro* , *Kere*  
 ti- tisa na- koro+M , kere  
 DUP shoot with arrow CAUS be loose (call of kingfisher)  
 nf vt sound

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

*rama* *ahi* .  
 rama ahi  
 unusual then  
 prt dem

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

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

"Tiihii," he went.'

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

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

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

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

MAIKO (1)

"'Too," it went.'

230 **Koho** **koho**  
 koho koho  
 (sound of something hitting) (sound of something hitting)  
 sound sound

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

**moni** **nemetemone** **ama** **ahi**  
 moni na -hemete -mone ama ahi  
 make sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC then  
 vt aux sec dem

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'He came out on the other side.'

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

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

235 **Itehina**  
 ita -hina  
 pierce ?+M  
 result

"'There, I speared it.'"

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

'He speared it.'



MAIKO (1)

- 237 *Faya fa koro nawahakane ahi*  
 faya faha koro na -waha -kane ahi  
 so water throw something on AUX change ?+M then  
 conj nf vt aux dem  
 'Then Maiko fished.'
- 238 *Fa koro nawahematamona ahi maka*  
 faha koro na -waha -himata -mona ahi maka  
 water throw something on AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then monster  
 nf vt aux dem nm  
*itahari*  
 ita -haari  
 pierce IP.E+M  
 vt  
 'He fished, after spearing the monster.'
- 239 *Fa koro ne aba me tisa*  
 faha koro na+M aba me tisa  
 water throw something on AUX fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow  
 nf vt aux nm pron vt  
*nawahematamonahane*  
 na -waha -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 aux  
 'He fished. He shot fish with bow and arrow.'
- 240 *Aba me tisa nawahe aba me soki*  
 aba me tisa na -waha+M aba me soki  
 fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX change fish 3PL.O tie up  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt  
*nakosakane ahi maka itahari*  
 na -kosa -kane ahi maka ita -haari  
 AUX middle ?+M then monster pierce IP.E+M  
 aux dem nm vt  
 'He shot fish with bow and arrow. He tied the ring of fish in the middle, after spearing the monster.'
- 241 *Okoka fahakohonenotone oni*  
 o- ka faha koho na -hino o- ita -ne o- ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS water hit AUX IP.N+M 1SG.S pierce CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 prt nf vt aux vt prt  
*owatino*  
 owatino  
 exclamation  
 interj  
 "'There, I speared the one who was hitting my water with a reed.'"
- 242 *Hihiyara tosi kane ahi*  
 hi- hiyara to- na -sii na -kane ahi  
 OC speak CH AUX slowly along the way AUX ?+M then  
 vi aux dem  
 'He went along talking.'
- 243 *Faya kamematamona fahi*  
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona fahi  
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj vi dem  
 'So he came back.'

MAIKO (1)

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

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

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

'"It went away."

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

'"It died."

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

*amani Maiko*  
 ama -ni Maiko  
 be BKG+F (man's name)  
 vc npropm  
 'Maiko used to eat a lot.'

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

*amaka*  
 ama -ka  
 SEC DECL+M  
 sec  
 'Maiko used to eat a lot.'

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

*nabona*  
 na.NOM+M -bona  
 AUX INT+M  
 aux

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

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

'"We are going home."

MAIKO (1)

251 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 "All right."

252 *Abise*     *kobaya*                     *kobaya*                     *yoto*  
 abise    kobaya                     kobaya                     yoto  
 uncle    collared peccary    collared peccary    cover  
 nm       nm                             nm                             vt

*tikiyahi*  
 ti-    ka-    na    -yahi  
 2SG.S    COMIT    AUX    DIST.IMP+F  
 aux  
 "Uncle, cover the collared peccary meat."

253 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 "All right."

254 *Kobaya*                     *kabematamona*                     *ahi*  
 kobaya                     kaba -himata -mona    ahi  
 collared peccary    eat    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 nm                             vt                             dem

'He ate the peccary.'

255 *Kobaya*                     *kabe*                     ,     *kobaya*                     *kabe*  
 kobaya                     kaba+M                     ,     kobaya                     kaba+M  
 collared peccary    eat                             collared peccary    eat  
 nm                             vt                             nm                             vt

*tokomakewematamonane*  
 to-    ka                     -makI                     -waha    -himata    -mona    -ne  
 away go/come following change    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 vi  
 'He ate the peccary. He went there.'

256 *Hinaka*                     *kobaya*                     *taboro*                     *yoto*                     *kanematamonaha*  
 hinaka                     kobaya                     taboro                     yoto                     ka-    na    -himata    -mona    -ha  
 3SG.POSS    collared peccary    place+M    cover    COMIT    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP  
 pron                     nm                             pn                     vt                     aux

'He covered the place where the peccary meat had been.'

257 *Kobaya*                     *tati*                     *ohaohari*                     *kane*                     *ahi*                     ,     *hinaka*  
 kobaya                     tati                     oha-    ohari                     na    -kane                     ahi                     ,     hinaka  
 collared peccary    head    DUP    be one                     AUX    ?+M                     then                     3SG.POSS  
 nm                             pn                     vi                             aux                             dem                     pron

*kobaya*  
 kobaya  
 collared peccary  
 nm  
 'All that was left of his peccary was the head.'

MAIKO (1)

258 *Hinaka*      *kobaya*                      *wiyene*                      *boko*  
 hinaka      kobaya                      wiyene                      boko  
 3SG.POSS      collared peccary      container+M      close  
 pron      nm                      pn                      vt

*tonihematamonahane*                      *kobaya*                      *kabahari*  
 to- niha- na -himata -mona -ha -ne      kobaya                      kaba -haari  
 CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M      collared peccary      eat IP.E+M  
 aux                      nm                      vt

'He turned over the pot that the peccary meat had been in.'

259 *Me*      *mari*                      *hine*                      *yamata*      *sisywa*                      *kana*  
 me      mari                      hi- na+M      yamata      si- siwa      ka- na  
 3PL.S      offer a feast to      OC AUX      food      DUP play      COMMIT AUX  
 pron      vt                      aux                      nf                      vi                      aux

*tohematamona*                      *ino*                      *amane*                      *tamatama*                      *rahi*  
 to- ha -himata -mona      ino      ama -ne      tama- tama      na -ra+M  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M      be BKG+M      DUP be many      AUX NEG  
 aux                      pn                      vc                      vi                      aux

'They had a feast for him. He ate everything without getting full, all by himself.'

260 *Hinaka*      *sari*                      *kafama*                      *sari*                      *fawa*                      *kafama*                      *aba*      *me*  
 hinaka      sahari      ka- fama+F      sahari      fawa+F      ka- fama+F      aba      me  
 3SG.POSS      broth      COMMIT be two      broth      drink      COMMIT be two      fish      3PL.O  
 pron      nf                      vi                      nf                      result      vi                      nm      pron

*kaba*      *nari*  
 kaba.LIST      na -haari  
 eat                      AUX IP.E+M  
 vt                      aux

'He drank two pots of broth, and ate fish, too.'

261 *E*      *toro*                      *totoka*                      *tera*  
 ee      toro      to- to- ka      na -tee -ra+F  
 1IN.POSS      inside      DUP away go/come      AUX HAB NEG  
 pron      pn                      vi                      aux

'Our stomachs can't stretch.'

262 *Toke*                      *abami*      *yome*                      *ne*      *abami*      *yome*                      *ne*      *abami*  
 to- ka+M      abami      yome      na+M      abami      yome      na+M      abami  
 away go/come      tree sp      swallow      AUX      tree sp      swallow      AUX      tree sp  
 vi                      nm                      vt                      aux      nm                      vt                      aux      nm

*abami*      *owa*                      *weye*                      *kanama*                      *fati*                      *kabonaha*  
 abami      owa      weye      ka- na -ma.LIST      fati                      ka -bona -ha  
 tree sp      other+M      carry      COMMIT AUX back      3SG.POSS.wife      POSS INT+M DUP  
 nm      adj      vt      aux                      nf                      prt

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

263 *Abami*      *weye*                      *kanamematamonahane*  
 abami      weye      ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 tree sp      carry      COMMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nm      vt      aux

'He carried some *abami* fruits back.'

264 *Abami*      *weye*                      *kaname*                      *Maiko*                      *kakasi*  
 abami      weye      ka- na -ma+M      Maiko                      ka- kasi  
 tree sp      carry      COMMIT AUX back      (man's name)      DUP be naughty  
 nm      vt      aux                      npropm                      vi



MAIKO (1)

271 *Abise*    *aba*    *home*                    *tikabamata*  
 abise    aba    homa+M                    ti-    kaba -mata  
 uncle    fish    lie on ground    2SG.S eat    short time  
 nm       nm       vi                            vt

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

272 *Ee*        *hiwa*                    *homa*  
 ee        hiwa                    homa.NOM+M  
 yes       3SG.REFL.M    lie on ground  
 interj    pron                    vi

"Okay, let it be there."

273 *Owa*    *aawa*                    *naba*  
 owa    a-    awa    na    -ba  
          DUP see    AUX IMMED+M  
          result    aux

"I will take a look at it."

274 *Aba*    *aba*    *me*    *aba*    *me*    *ya*    *me*    *mari*                    *hine*  
 aba    aba    me    aba    me    ya    me    mari                    hi- na+M  
 fish    fish    3PL    fish    3PL    ADJU    3PL.S    offer a feast to    OC    AUX  
 nm       nm       pron    nm       pron    prt       pron    vt                            aux

*aba*    *me*        *siwa*    *kanematamona*                    *ino*        *amane*  
 aba    me        siwa    ka-    na    -himata    -mona    ino        ama -ne  
 fish    3PL.O    play    COMIT    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    name+M    be    BKG+M  
 nm       pron       vi        aux    pn        vc

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

275 *Aba*    *me*                    *nafi*    *yama*    *itihemetemone*                    *ini*        *amake*  
 aba    me                    nafi    yama    iti        -hemete    -mone    ini        ama -ke  
 fish    3PL.POSS    all    thing    take out    FP.N+F    REP+F    name+F    be    DECL+F  
 nm       pron                    pn       nf        vt    pn        vc

'He ate all the fish.'

276 *Sari*        *yoru*                    *kana*                    *nine*                    *fa*  
 sahari    yoru                    ka-    na.LIST    na    -ne                    faa  
 broth    stand    COMIT    AUX                    AUX    CONT+F    that  
 nf        vi        aux    aux    dem

"There are two pots of broth there."

277 *Hinaka*        *sari*                    *wiye*                    *towitakosikimakani*                    *ahi*  
 hinaka    sahari    wiye                    to-    ita    -kosa    -kima    -kani    ahi  
 3SG.POSS    broth    container+F    CH    sit    middle    two    ?+F    then  
 pron        nf        pn    vi    dem

'The two pots of broth were sitting there empty.'

278 *Hinaka*        *aba*    *me*                    *tone*    *kahoma*  
 hinaka    aba    me                    tone    ka-    homa+F  
 3SG.POSS    fish    3PL.POSS    bone    COMIT    lie on ground  
 pron        nm        pron        pn        vi

*tokomakane*                    *ahi*        *nabati*  
 to-    ka                    -ma    -kane    ahi        nabati  
 away go/come back    ?+M    then    stomach  
 vi    dem        pn

## MAIKO (1)

### *tokowinamebanoho*

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

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

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

### *toahari*

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

'He had a big chest.'

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

*te*            *mari*            *na*            *te*  
 tee mari na+F tee  
 2PL.S offer a feast to AUX 2PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MAIKO (1)

*towakemetemoneheni*

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

284 *Fa me koro nabone me*  
 faha me koro na -habone me  
 water 3PL.S throw something on AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron

*towakani me fawa kana me*  
 to- ka- ka -hani me fawa ka- na+F me  
 away COMIT go/come IP.N+F 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi aux pron

*kafotometemone aba me me weye nikima*  
 ka- foto -ma -hemete -mone aba me me weye na -kima+F  
 COMIT appear back FP.N+F REP+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX two  
 vi nm pron pron vt aux

*mati me ka yibote watarawaha me kasiro*  
 mati me ka yibote wata -rawa+F me kasiro  
 3PL.S 3PL POSS wife lie in hammock F.PL 3PL.S hurry up  
 pron pron prt nf vi pron vt

*karawa me kasiro karawabani mati*  
 ka- na -rawa+F me kasiro ka- na -rawa -haba -ni mati  
 COMIT AUX F.PL 3PL.S hurry up COMIT AUX F.PL FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron vt aux pron

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

285 *Nakarifa ware nati hinaka nakarifa haro*  
 nakarifa waa -rI nahatI+M hinaka nakarifa haro.NFIN  
 taro sp cook raised surface daytime 3SG.POSS taro sp be boiled  
 nf vt prt pron nf vi

*kawitaremtemone isiri ya*  
 ka- ita -rI -hemete -mone isiri ya  
 COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+F REP+F basket ADJU  
 vi nf prt

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

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

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

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

*o*  
 o-  
 1SG.POSS  
 prt

'"They don't cook food for me."'



MAIKO (1)

288 *Himata me ahi timati me*  
 himata me ahi na -tee.NOM -mati me  
 what? 3PL.S work on AUX HAB ?+F 3PL.O  
 interrog pron vt aux pron

*onofa owa me nafimineni* ?  
 ati o- na nofa+F owa me na- fimi -ma -ne -ni  
 say 1SG.S AUX recently 1SG.O 3PL.S CAUS be hungry back CONT+F BKG+F  
 vt pron pron vt

"Why are they leaving me hungry when I am coming back?"

289 *Me hora nikima nemetemone me ka yibote*  
 me hora na -kima.LIST na -hemete -mone me ka yibote  
 3PL.S complain AUX two AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL POSS wife  
 pron vi aux aux pron prt nf

*me kakorawa mati*  
 me kaako -rawa+F mati  
 3PL.S be angry with F.PL 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron

'The two of them were complaining, angry at their wives.'

290 *Yama tikamitamatahi*  
 yama ti- ka- mita -mata -hi  
 thing 2SG.S COMIT hear short time IMP+F  
 nf vt

"Listen."

291 *Abise tera wati kane teni te*  
 abise tera wati kane na+M tee -ni tee  
 2SG.POSS.uncle 2PL.O plan against COMIT AUX 2PL.O BKG+F 2PL.O  
 nm pron vt aux pron pron

*mari nemonaha ati nemetemone fahi*  
 mari na -himona -ha ati na -hemete -mone fahi  
 offer a feast to AUX REP+M DUP say AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.POSS.wife  
 vt aux vt aux nf

"Your uncle is planning against you, having a feast for you," she said, his wife.'

292 *Te tefebone abise ware tera ha*  
 tee tefe -bone abise waa -rI tera haa  
 2PL.POSS food INT+F 2SG.POSS.uncle cook raised surface 2PL.O call  
 pron pn nm vt pron vt

*neba awane ati nemetemone*  
 na -hiba awa -ne ati na -hemete -mone  
 AUX FUT+M seem+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux sec vt aux

"Your uncle cooked food for you, and he is going to call you," she said.'

293 *Faya mera ha nematamonaka fahi*  
 faya mera haa na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so 3PL.O call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj pron vt aux dem

'Then he called them.'

294 *Nakarifa me kakaba kawaharaba me mera*  
 nakarifa me ka- kaba ka- na -waha -ra -haba me mera  
 taro sp 3PL.S DUP eat COMIT AUX change NEG FUT+F 3PL 3PL.O  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron

MAIKO (1)

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

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

*Oko*                      *yama*                      *te*                      *kabakaba*                      *kawaha*  
 o-                      ka    yama    tee                      kaba- kaba    ka-    na    -waha  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    thing    2PL.S    DUP    eat                      COMIT AUX    change  
 prt                      nf                      pron    vt                      aux  
 'He had a feast for them. They ate taro. "Eat all my food."'

296 *E*                      *ora*                      *ama*    *o*                      *owa*                      *te*                      *mari*  
 ee                      o-    na    -ra+F    ama    o-                      owa                      tee                      mari  
 be similar    1SG.S    AUX    NEG    SEC    1SG.S    1SG.O    2PL.S    offer a feast to  
 vi                      aux                      sec    prt                      pron    pron    vt

*na*                      *te*                      *otamara*                      *owa*                      *te*                      *fami*                      *ha*                      *te*  
 na+F    tee                      o-    tama    -ra+F    owa                      tee                      fama.NFIN    haa    tee  
 AUX    2PL.S    1SG.S    be many    NEG    1SG.S    2PL.S    be two                      DEM    2PL  
 aux    pron    vi                      pron    pron    vi                      dem    pron

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

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

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

*hikanemetemoneke*  
 hi- ka-    na    -hemete    -mone    -ke  
 OC    COMIT    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 aux

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

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

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

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

299 *Ee*                      *te*                      *te*                      *kawatara*                      *te*                      *akari*  
 ee                      tee                      tee                      ka-    wata    -rI                      tee                      akara.NFIN  
 yes                      2PL                      2PL.S    COMIT    put    raised surface    2PL.S    be satiated  
 interj                      pron                      pron    vt                      pron    vi

MAIKO (1)

*te awi ya*  
 tee awa.NOM+F ya  
 2PL.S feel ADJU  
 pron vt prt

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

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

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

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

*hikanirietemoneni*

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

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

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

*abise*

abise  
 uncle  
 nm

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

303 *Yamata owasiamone owa te owa te hora nama*  
 yamata o- wasi -hamone owa tee owa tee hora na -ma+F  
 food 1SG.S cook REP+F 1SG.O 2PL 1SG.O 2PL.S scold AUX back  
 nf vt pron pron pron pron vt aux

*owinini*

o- wina -ni ati na -hemete -mone fati  
 1SG.S lie in hammock BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.POSS.wife  
 vi vt aux nf

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

304 *Tokawematamonane*

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

'He went out into the forest again.'

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

'Then they moved to another place.'

MAIKO (1)

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

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

307	<i>E</i>	<i>tokisawiti</i>			<i>ahi</i>
	ee	to- ka	-risa	-witI	ahi
	1IN.S	away go/come	down	out	there
	pron	vi			dem

""Let's go downstream.""

308	<i>E</i>	<i>winibe</i>		<i>ahi</i>
	ee	wina -be		ahi
	1IN.S	live IMMED+F		there
	pron	vi		dem

""Let's live there.""

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

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

310	<i>Hoo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>toha</i>
	hoo	tee	tai	to- ha
	whew	2PL.S	be ahead	CH AUX
	interj	pron	vi	aux

""Whew, you go on ahead.""

311	<i>Siraba</i>	<i>owatamatibe</i>			<i>siraba</i>
	siraba	o- wata	-mata	-be	siraba
	fish sp	1SG.S catch	short time	IMMED+F	fish sp
	nf	vt			nf

	<i>obanamakiaba</i>			,	<i>maka</i>	<i>foyano</i>	<i>ya</i>		
	o-	to-	ibana	-makI	-haba	maka	foya.NOM+M	-no	ya
	1SG.S	away	roast	following	FUT+F	monster	be inside	IP.N+M	ADJU
	vt					nm	vi		prt

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

312	<i>Yana</i>	<i>tonematamona</i>			<i>ahi</i>
	yana	to- na	-himata	-mona	ahi
	start	CH AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
	vi	aux			dem

'He left.'



MAIKO (1)

*me ahi na me naoha me ni ya bao*  
 me ahi na+F me naho+F me ni ya bao  
 3PL.S work on AUX 3PL.S stand 3PL to ADJU come down  
 pron vt aux pron vi pron prt prt vi

*nisakane ahi*  
 na -risa -kane ahi  
 AUX down ?+M then  
 aux dem

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

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

""Don't go back there.""

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

""There is a monster in a hole.""

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

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

# THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

## *Free Translation*

He was the one who a king vulture brought.

They ate fruits. They ate sweet fruits. They cut down a *bowi* tree with fruits. He was eating the fruits of the *bowi* tree that they had cut down.

They yelled when they cut the *bowi* tree down. They yelled. They said, "Yee." The *bowi* tree fell.

Along with the women, they ate the fruits.

"They are eating fruits that are really good to eat. You are eating fruits that are really good to eat. You go on ahead. I'm going to eat more fruits." He brought misfortune on himself.

A spirit, who was not a king vulture, turned himself into a vulture, and came after him. He was a spirit.

After everyone left, he was left alone, picking up the *bowi* fruits. He was about to say, "They left lots of good fruits on the ground when they left," when the vulture came to where he was.

"What are you doing?"

"What do you mean, what am I doing? I'm eating the fruits that they knocked on the ground."

"I took a long time to make the fruits, and you destroyed them. See my place."

"I don't want to see your place. I don't want to cry out with fear."

"You won't cry out. It's the same as where we are standing here. Don't refuse. You should see it."

"If you take me, I will yell." He sat there on the ground, refusing.

The vulture put him on his back. He looked all around. There was a clearing. He took off with him in the clearing. Fofofofofof, his wings could be heard as he went off. The old man lay on the vulture's back. He took the old man. He disappeared with him into his hole in the sky.

Their perch was very smooth, the perch of the vultures.

"Grandpa, sit down. Sit there. It's where we sit. It is wood."

He didn't say anything. He looked all around. He listened to the vultures talking. "Hii hii hii hii," the vultures said.

"You leave me alone."

"They are asking you a question. 'Is that something rotten over there?' they are saying," he said, the one who had taken him.

"No."

"He says no."

The female spirit cut up the *bahama* fish. He brought a stinger of the fish back.

The vulture's mother called her, Nemeharaha. They used to say her name. Her name was Nemeharaha. She brought food for the old man, *siraba* fish, in a ceramic pot. There is a ceramic pot in the sky. The sky has a side facing down.

"Nemeharaha, Nemeharaha," she said.

"What?" she said.

"Give some food to the old man. He came here because he is hungry," she said.

## THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

It was manioc mash. The pot was full, with manioc mash in the bottom, and boiled fish on top. There are *siraba* fish in the sky. The sky has a side facing down.

"Don't give food to my grandfather. I will eat the fish. My grandfather has eaten."

"I won't eat your food. Let your food be," the old man said. "I have already eaten."

The vulture ate her food. He ate her food, and then took the pot back.

"We ate the fish. We are going," he said.

"Go ahead. Take him."

The perch was slippery, and the old man was afraid.

"Grandfather, I will put you on my back again. I am taking you home."

So he took him back. "Hold on tightly to my armbands. Keep your eyes closed. I'm about to take off," he said.

He was carrying the *bahama* stinger, but his *bahama* stinger got lost.

He was ready. Boto, ooo, ooo, he came down. He came down fast with the old man. It's the story about him.

"Whew."

The old man fell when the vulture landed with him. He turned around and faced him. The old man lay on the ground because of him.

He was out of breath. He came home. The one who had been rough with him went away.

"He scared me."

"He scared me, too," he said, the one who had been rough with him.

"My *bahama* stinger got lost," he said.

"Whew, I'm going home."

"All right, go home."

The vulture went away. The old man went home. He had been treated rough.

The old man went home. "Whew, the fruits that you chopped down caused problems for me, and now I have come back. The spirit was rough with me, and he has gone away. I wanted you to see the *bahama* stinger, but it got lost, after you cut down the *bowi* tree that caused problems for me."

Then they criticized him. "You were left lying on the ground by yourself, and the spirit took you away."

"I was about to come back. I was ready, and then the spirit surprised me," he said.

He spoke, telling the story after coming back. "The women brought boiled *siraba* fish. The spirit wouldn't let me eat the boiled *siraba* fish. It was rough with me. The boiled *siraba* fish filled the pot," he said.

### ***Interlinear Presentation***

1	<b><i>Efe</i></b>	<b><i>ama</i></b>	<b><i>namata</i></b>		<b><i>boko sawi</i></b>
	efe	ama	na.NOM+M	-mata	boko sawi
	this+M	be	AUX	FP.N+M	king vulture
	dem	vc	aux		nm

***hekamematamonaha***  
hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ha  
OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
vt

'He was the one who a king vulture brought.'



## THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

2 *Faya awa boni me yoyome nawaha*  
 faya awa boni me yo- yome na -waha  
 so tree fruit+F 3PL.S DUP swallow AUX change  
 conj nf pn pron vt aux

*tohemetemoneke fahi awa boni sinari me boto*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi awa boni sina -ri me boto  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then tree fruit+F be sweet PN 3PL.S eat  
 aux dem nf pn pn pron vt

*nabone mati*  
 na -habone mati  
 AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron  
 'They ate fruits. They ate sweet fruits.'

3 *Faya bowi me ka hikane bowi me ka*  
 faya bowi me kaa hi- ka- na+M bowi me kaa  
 so tree sp 3PL.S chop OC COMIT AUX tree sp 3PL.S chop  
 conj nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

*hikane ra yome nematamonaka me*  
 hi- ka- na+M ra yome na -himata -mona -ka me  
 OC COMIT AUX O swallow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S  
 aux prt vt aux pron

*hekanakosahari*  
 hi- ka- kana -kosa -haari  
 OC COMIT leave middle IP.E+M  
 vt  
 'They cut down a *bowi* tree with fruits. He was eating the fruits of the *bowi* tree that they had cut down.'

4 *Me ye kawahemetemone bowi me ka*  
 me yee ka- na -waha -hemete -mone bowi me kaa  
 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F tree sp 3PL.S chop  
 pron vi aux nm pron vt

*kana mati*  
 ka- na+F mati  
 COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 aux pron  
 'They yelled when they cut the *bowi* tree down.'

5 *Me ye kawahemetemone ahi*  
 me yee ka- na -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem  
 'They yelled.'

6 *Yee me ati nemetemone me amani ahi*  
 yee me ati na -hemete -mone me ama -ni ahi  
 (sound of yelling) 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F then  
 interj pron vt aux pron sec dem  
 'They said, "Yee."'

7 *Bowi tokasonematamonane*  
 bowi to- ka- sona -himata -mona -ne  
 tree sp CH COMIT fall FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vi  
 'The *bowi* tree fell.'

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

8 *Faya me ye kawaha me fanawi ya me taba*  
 faya me yee ka- na -waha+F me fanawi ya me taba+F  
 so 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change women ADJU 3PL.S be together  
 conj pron vi aux nf prt pron vi

*me boto hinematamona ahi*  
 me boto hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL.S eat OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron vt aux dem

"They yelled. Along with the women, they ate the fruits."

9 *Me boto hinematamonaka ahi*  
 me boto hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 3PL.S eat OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pron vt aux dem

"They ate them."

10 *Me boto hine Yama boto ni eeto raba*  
 me boto hi- na+M yama boto na.NFIN e- eheto na -raba  
 3PL.S eat OC AUX thing eat AUX DUP be good AUX a bit  
 pron vt aux nf result aux vi aux

*ra me boto nine nini*  
 na -ra+F me boto na -ne na.NOM+F -ni  
 AUX NEG 3PL.S eat AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F  
 aux pron vt aux aux

"They ate them. "They are eating fruits that are really good to eat."

11 *Yama boto ni eeto raba ra te boto*  
 yama boto na.NFIN e- eheto na -raba na -ra+F tee boto  
 thing eat AUX DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG 2PL.S eat  
 nf result aux vi aux aux aux pron vt

*nine nini*  
 na -ne na.NOM+F -ni  
 AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F  
 aux aux

"You are eating fruits that are really good to eat."

12 *Te tai toama*  
 tee tai to- ha -ma  
 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back  
 pron vi aux

"You go on ahead."

13 *Te tai toama*  
 tee tai to- ha -ma  
 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back  
 pron vi aux

"You go on ahead."

14 *Yama boto omatibe*  
 yama boto o- na -mata -be  
 thing eat 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux

"I'm going to eat more fruits."

## THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

15 *Yama boto omatibeya*  
 yama boto o- na -mata -be -ya  
 thing eat 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now  
 nf vt aux

"I'm going to eat more fruits."

16 *Te tai toamahi , hiwa*  
 tee tai to- ha -ma -hi , hiwa  
 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back IMP+F 3SG.REFL.M  
 pron vi aux pron

*yokohibana*

yoko -hibana  
 bring misfortune on FUT+M  
 vt

"You go on ahead." He brought misfortune on himself.'

17 *Boko sawi amare boko sawi hiwa tonihe*  
 boko sawi ama -ra+M boko sawi hiwa to- niha- ha+M  
 king vulture be NEG king vulture 3SG.REFL.M CH CAUS be  
 nm vc nm pron vd

*hekamematamonane*

hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne inamati  
 OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M spirit  
 vt nm

'A spirit, who was not a king vulture, turned himself into a vulture, and came after him.'

18 *Inamati inamatimatamonaka*  
 inamati inamati -mata -mona -ka  
 spirit spirit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm nm

'He was a spirit.'

19 *Yama fawa tonakosi ya towitakose bowi*  
 yama fawa to- na -kosa.NOM+F ya to- ita -kosa+M bowi  
 thing disappear CH AUX middle ADJU CH sit middle tree sp  
 nf vi aux prt vi nm

*yabahari*

yaba -haari  
 pick up IP.E+M  
 vt

'After everyone left, he was left alone, picking up the *bowi* fruits.'

20 *Yama boto ni eeto raba ra me katoma*  
 yama boto na.NFIN e- eheto na -raba na -ra+F me katoma+F  
 thing eat AUX DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S damage  
 nf result aux vi aux aux pron vt

*me tokomine ati nebona ni ya*  
 me to- ka -ma -ne ati na -hibona ni ya  
 3PL.S away go/come back CONT+F say AUX INT+M to ADJU  
 pron vi vt aux prt prt

*fotokimatamonane*

foto -kI -himata -mona -ne  
 appear coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He was about to say, "They left lots of good fruits on the ground when they left," when he came to where he was.'

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

21 *Aa* , *himata ebe* ?  
 aa , himata ebe  
 (pause) what? purpose  
 interj interrog vt

"What are you doing?"

22 *Himata ebe ori* .  
 himata ebe o- na -ra.NOM+F  
 what? purpose 1SG.S AUX NEG  
 interrog vt aux

"What do you mean, what am I doing?"

23 *Yama boni me hikatoma boni boto one*  
 yama boni me hi- katoma+F boni boto o- na -ne  
 thing fruit+F 3PL.S OC damage fruit+F eat 1SG.S AUX CONT+F  
 nf pn pron vt pn vt aux

*o*

o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt

"I'm eating the fruits that they knocked on the ground."

24 *Yama boni nawahateha te katomine*  
 yama boni nawaha -tee+F tee katoma -ne  
 thing fruit+F take a long time HAB 2PL.S damage CONT+F  
 nf pn vi pron vt

*nini*

na.NOM+F -ni  
 AUX IP.N+F  
 aux

"I took a long time to make the fruits, and you destroyed them."

25 *Te katomine nini* .  
 tee katoma -ne na.NOM+F -ni  
 2PL.S damage CONT+F AUX IP.N+F  
 pron vt aux

"You destroyed them."

26 *Otaboro tiwamata* .  
 o- taboro ti- awa -mata  
 1SG.POSS place 2SG.S see short time  
 pn vt

"See my place."

27 *Titaboro owa* .  
 ti- taboro o- awa  
 2SG.POSS place 1SG.S see  
 pn vt

"I don't want to see your place."

28 *E okariya* .  
 ee o- ka- na -ra -yahi  
 yell 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 vi aux

"I don't want to cry out with fear."

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

29 *E tikaraba tiwa awine tini*  
 ee ti- ka- na -ra -haba tiwa awine ti- ni  
 yell 2SG.S COMIT AUX NEG FUT+F 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 vi aux pron sec prt

"You won't cry out."

30 *Fara nima na ya e yoro nine haro*  
 fara nima na+F ya ee yoro na -ne haaro  
 same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stand AUX CONT+F that one+F  
 dem prt aux prt pron vi aux dem

"It's the same as where we are standing here."

31 *Owa tinabirima tinahi*  
 owa ti- na- ahaba -rima ti- na -hi  
 1SG.O 2SG.S CAUS end NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 pron vt aux

"Don't refuse."

32 *Yama tiwibeya ati nematamonahane*  
 yama ti- awa -be -ya ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 thing 2SG.S see IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nf vt vt aux

"You should see it."

33 *Owa tekama e okobe*  
 owa ti- to- ka- ka -ma ee o- ka- na -be  
 1SG.O 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back yell 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F  
 pron vt vi aux

"If you take me, I will yell."

34 *Faya hiwa kayawe ite weye*  
 faya hiwa ka- yawa+M ita+M weye  
 so 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset sit carry  
 conj pron vt vi vt

*himisematamonaka*

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

'He sat there on the ground, refusing. He put him on his back.'

35 *Faya weye himisa hikane*  
 faya weye hi- na -misa hi- -kane  
 so carry OC AUX up OC ?+M  
 conj vt aux prt

'He put him on his back.'

36 *Noko totokikima kane ahi yama hoti howa*  
 noko to- to- ka -kima na -kane ahi yama hoti howa  
 eye+M DUP away go/come two AUX ?+M then thing hole+F be open  
 pn vi aux dem nf pn vi

*toni ya*  
 to- na.NOM+F ya  
 CH AUX ADJU  
 aux prt

'He looked all around. There was a clearing.'

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

37 *Yama hoti howa toni ya yana hikana*  
 yama hoti howa to- na.NOM+F ya yana hi- ka- na  
 thing hole+F be open CH AUX ADJU start OC COMIT AUX  
 nf pn vi aux prt vi aux

*hikane ahi*  
 hi- -kane ahi  
 OC ?+M then  
 prt dem

'He took off with him in the clearing.'

38 *Fo fofofo fofofo fofofo efe moni tokomakane ahi*  
 fo fofofo fofofo fofofo efe moni to- ka -ma -kane ahi  
 sound sound sound sound wing+M sound away go/come back ?+M then  
 pn pn vi dem

'Fofofofofof, his wings could be heard as he went off.'

39 *Iti bote iti bote forefore*  
 iti bote iti bote fore- forI  
 grandfather old grandfather old DUP lie on top  
 nm adj nm adj vi

*nawaharekane fe bari ya*  
 na -wahaI -kane fee bari ya  
 AUX all over ?+M 3SG.POSS back ADJU  
 aux pron pn prt

'The old man lay on his back.'

40 *Iti bote towakamematamona ahi*  
 iti bote to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 grandfather old away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm adj vt dem

'He took the old man.'

41 *Yama fara hoti hotone wanatino yokana ya*  
 yama fara hoti hotone wana -tee.NOM -no yokana ya  
 thing same+F hole+F hole+M be attached HAB IP.N+M true ADJU  
 nf dem pn pn vi adj prt

*fe fawa tokowitematamona amaka ahi*  
 fee fawa to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona ama -ka ahi  
 3SG.O disappear away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then  
 pron vi aux sec dem

'He disappeared with him into his hole in the sky.'

42 *Me awe me awe isoisori*  
 me awe me awe iso- iso -ri  
 3PL.POSS wood+F 3PL.POSS wood+F DUP be slippery DISTR  
 pron pn pron pn vi

*boko sawi me awe me me nanahori*  
 boko sawi me awe me me na- naho -rI  
 king vulture 3PL.POSS wood+F 3PL 3PL.POSS DUP stand raised surface  
 nm pron pn pron pron pn

'Their perch was very smooth, the perch of the vultures.'

43 *Iti tiwitare*  
 iti ti- ita -rI  
 grandfather 2SG.S sit raised surface  
 nm vi

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

"Grandpa, sit down."

44 *Tiwitare* *aya*  
 ti- ita -rI aya  
 2SG.S sit raised surface there  
 vi dem

"Sit there."

45 *Ota naori nofi ka yama ama ha*  
 otaa naho -rI nofa.NOM+F ka yama ama haa  
 1EX.S sit raised surface recently which thing be DEM  
 pron vi prt prt nf vc dem

"It's where we sit."

46 *Awa ama ha*  
 awa ama haa  
 wood be DEM  
 nf vc dem

"It is wood."

47 *Ati watarematamonahane*  
 ati wata -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 voice exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 pn vi

'He didn't say anything.'

48 *Ati watare noko totokikima ne boko sawi*  
 ati wata -ra+M noko to- to- ka -kima na+M boko sawi  
 voice exist NEG eye+M DUP away go/come two AUX king vulture  
 pn vi pn vi aux nm

*me ati ra mitematamonane*  
 me ati ra mita -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.POSS voice O hear FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron pn prt vt

'He didn't say anything. He looked all around. He listened to the vultures talking.'

49 *Hii hii hii hii boko sawi me ati na me Aa*  
 hii hii hii hii boko sawi me ati na+F me aa  
 sound sound sound sound king vulture 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S (pause)  
 nm pron vt aux pron interj

*owa te awaraba na*  
 owa tee awaraba na  
 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX  
 pron pron vt aux

"Hii hii hii hii," the vultures said. "You leave me alone."

50 *Tiwa me aate nineni*  
 tiwa me a- ate na -ne -ni  
 2SG.O 3PL.S DUP ask AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

"They are asking you a question."

51 *Yama bata homari fa ya ? me ati*  
 yama bata+F homa -ra.NOM+F faa ya me ati  
 thing be rotten lie on ground NEG that ADJU 3PL.S say  
 nf vi vi dem prt pron vt

## THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

<b>nineni</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamonaha</b>	<b>fare</b>	<b>fe</b>
na -ne -ni	ati	na -himata -mona -ha	fare	fee
AUX CONT+F BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP	same+M	3SG.O
aux	vt	aux	dem	pron

**towakamahari**  
to- ka- ka -ma -haari  
away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M  
vt

"'Is that something rotten over there?' they are saying," he said, the one who had taken him.'

52 **Yama homihiri**  
yama homa -hiri  
thing lie on ground NEG+F  
nf vi

"'No.'"

53 **Yama homihirimonehe**  
yama homa -hiri -mone -he  
thing lie on ground RP.E+M REP+F DUP  
nf vi

"'He says no.'"

54 <b>Bama me bama me bama mera inamati bobi</b>
bahama me bahama me bahama mera inamati bobi
fish sp 3PL fish sp 3PL fish sp 3PL.O spirit slit
nm pron nm pron nm pron nf vt

<b>nemetemonehe</b>	<b>yokohori</b>	<b>yokohori</b>	<b>tama</b>
na -hemete -mone -he	yokohori	yokohori	tama
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP	stinger	stinger	hold onto
aux	pn	pn	vt

**hinamebanoho**  
hi- na -ma -hiba -no -ho  
OC AUX back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
aux

'The female spirit cut up the *bahama* fish. He brought a stinger back.'

55 <b>Mati ha hinemetemone Nemeharaha</b>
mati haa hi- na -hemete -mone Nemeharaha
3SG.POSS.mother call OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F (woman's name)
nf vt aux npropf

'His mother called her, Nemeharaha.'

56 <b>Ini me hihiri hiamaro</b>
ini me hi- hiri hi- to- ha -hamaro
name+F 3PL.S DUP say OC CH AUX FP.E+F
pn pron vt aux

'They used to say her name.'

57 <b>Ini Nemeharaha tohineke</b>
ini Nemeharaha to- ha -ne -ke
name+F (woman's name) CH be CONT+F DECL+F
pn npropf vc

'Her name was Nemeharaha.'



## THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

58 *Iti*                    *bote*    *tefebona*                    *kakiemetemonehe*  
 iti                    bote    tefe    -bona    ka-    ka                    -kI    -hemete    -mone    -he  
 grandfather    old    food+M    INT+M    COMMIT go/come    coming    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 nm                    adj    pn                    vt

*siraba*                    *harorawaha*                    *yiwa tebe*                    *ya*  
 siraba    haro                    -rawa    -ha    yiwaha    tebe    ya  
 fish sp    be boiled    F.PL    DUP    ceramic pot    ADJU  
 nf                    vi                    nf                    prt

'She brought food for the old man, *siraba* fish, in a ceramic pot.'

59 *Yiwa tebe*                    *kiha*                    *ra*    *bakorisineni*  
 yiwaha    tebe    kiha+F    ra    bako                    -risa    -ne                    -ni  
 ceramic pot    have    0    be concave down    CONT+F    BKG+F  
 nf                    vt                    prt vi

'There is a ceramic pot in the sky. It [the sky] has a side facing down.'

60 *Nemeharaha*                    ,    *Nemeharaha*                    *ati*    *nemetemone*  
 Nemeharaha                    Nemeharaha                    ati    na    -hemete    -mone  
 (woman's name)                    (woman's name)                    say    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F  
 npropf                    npropf                    vt    aux

""Nemeharaha, Nemeharaha," she said.'

61 *Haa*                    *ati*                    *nemetemonehe*  
 haa    ati    na    -hemete    -mone    -he  
 huh?    say    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 interj    vt    aux

""What?" she said.'

62 *Iti*                    *bote*                    *tinatafahi*  
 iti                    bote    ti-    na-    tafa    -hi  
 grandfather    old    2SG.S    CAUS    eat    IMP+F  
 nm                    adj    vt

""Give some food to the old man.""

63 *Fimimako*                    *kakene*                    *ati*  
 fimi                    -mako                    ka                    -kI                    -ne                    ati  
 be hungry for this reason+M    go/come    coming    BKG+M    say  
 vi                    vi                    vt

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

""He came here because he is hungry," she said.'

64 *Iyawa*                    *iyawa*                    *iyawamete*                    *awineke*  
 iyawa                    iyawa                    iyawa                    -mete    awine    -ke  
 manioc mash    manioc mash    manioc mash    FP.N+F    seem+F    DECL+F  
 nf                    nf                    nf                    sec

'It was manioc mash.'

65 *Iyawa*                    *ya*                    *aba*                    *me*                    *haro*                    *yowamisemetemone*  
 iyawa                    ya                    aba                    me                    haro.NFIN    yowa    -misa    -hemete    -mone  
 manioc mash    ADJU    fish    3PL.S    be boiled    reach up    FP.N+F    REP+F  
 nf                    prt    nm    pron    vi                    vi

## THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

### *sirabarawaha*

siraba -rawa -ha  
fish sp F.PL DUP  
nf

'The pot was full, with manioc mash in the bottom, and boiled fish on top.'

### 66 *Siraba kiha ra bakorisiineni*

siraba kiha+F ra bako -risa -ne -ni  
fish sp have O be concave down CONT+F BKG+F  
nf vt prt vi

'There are *siraba* fish in the sky. The sky has a side facing down.'

### 67 *Okiti*

o- ka iti *te* *natafariya*  
tee na- tafa -ra -yahi  
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 2PL.S CAUS eat NEG DIST.IMP+F  
nm pron vt

""Don't give food to my grandfather.""

### 68 *Aba me okobabanani*

aba me o- kaba -habana -ni  
fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat FUT+F BKG+F  
nm pron vt

""I will eat the fish.""

### 69 *Okiti*

o- ka iti *tafaharene*  
tafa -hare -ne  
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather eat IP.E+M BKG+M  
nm vi

""My grandfather has eaten.""

### 70 *Te tefe okobene*

tee tefe o- kaba -hene  
2PL.POSS food 1SG.S eat IRR+F  
pron pn vt

""I won't eat your food.""

71 *Te tefe hine nani iti bote ati*  
tee tefe hine na -hani iti bote ati  
2PL.POSS food only exist IP.N+F grandfather old say  
pron pn pron vi nm adj vt

### *nabisematamona*

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

""Let your food be," the old man said.'

### 72 *Otafara*

o- tafa -hara o-  
1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S  
vi prt

""I have already eaten.""

### 73 *Tafe hikabemetemonekene*

tafe hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke -ne  
food+F OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pn vt

'He ate her food.'

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

74 *Tafe hikaba yiwa towakamematamona ahi*  
 tafe hi- kaba+F yiwa to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 food+F OC eat pot away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn vt nf vt dem

'He ate her food, and then took the pot back.'

75 *Aba me ota kabahara*  
 aba me otaa kaba -hara  
 fish 3PL.O 1EX.S eat IP.E+F  
 nm pron pron vt

""We ate the fish.""

76 *Aba me ota kabaharani*  
 aba me otaa kaba -hara -ni  
 fish 3PL.O 1EX.S eat IP.E+F BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt

""We ate the fish.""

77 *Ota towakamibana ati nematamonaha*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -ma+F -bana ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back FUT say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pron vi vt aux

""We are going," he said.'

78 *Te towakama*  
 tee to- ka- ka -ma  
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi

""Go ahead.""

79 *Tekamaho*  
 ti- to- ka- ka -ma -ho  
 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+M  
 vt

""Take him.""

80 *Yama , awa isoiso raba ra iti bote*  
 yama , awa iso- iso na -raba na -ra+F iti bote  
 thing wood DUP be slippery AUX a bit AUX NEG grandfather old  
 nf nf vi aux aux nm adj

*habo sisi tori kane ahi*  
 habo si- sii to- na -rI.NOM na -kane ahi  
 courage+M DUP stand CH AUX raised surface AUX ?+M then  
 pn vi aux aux dem

'The perch was slippery, and the old man was afraid.'

81 *Iti , iti tiwa weye onamibeya*  
 iti , iti tiwa weye o- na -ma -be -ya  
 grandfather grandfather 2SG.O carry 1SG.S AUX back IMMED+F now  
 nm nm pron vt aux

""Grandfather, I will put you on my back again.""

82 *Tiwa owakama ama oni*  
 tiwa o- to- ka- ka -ma+F ama oni  
 2SG.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back SEC 1SG.S BKG+F  
 pron vi sec prt

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

"I am taking you home."

83 *Faya* *hekamematamona* *fahi*  
 faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi  
 so OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj vt dem

'So he took him back.'

84 *Oko* *kanamo* *mowari* *tama* *kani*  
 o- ka kanamo mowari tama ka- na.NFIN  
 1SG.POSS POSS armband cotton hold onto COMIT AUX  
 prt nf pn vt aux

*tikitiya*

ti- kita -yahi  
 2SG.S be strong DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

"Hold on tightly to my armbands."

85 *Tinoko* *amo* *kawi* *niyahi*  
 ti- noko amo ka- na -wi na -yahi  
 2SG.POSS eye sleep COMIT AUX steadily AUX DIST.IMP+F  
 pn vi aux aux

"Keep your eyes closed."

86 *Era* *wati* *okini*  
 era wati o- ka- na -ni  
 1IN.O plan against 1SG.S COMIT AUX BKG+F  
 pron vt aux

"I'm about to take off."

87 *Era* *wati* *okini* *ati* *ne* *ya* *bama*  
 era wati o- ka- na -ni ati na.NOM+M ya bahama  
 1IN.O plan against 1SG.S COMIT AUX BKG+F say AUX ADJU fish sp  
 pron vt aux vt aux prt nm

*yokohori* *tama* *hinaka* *bama* *yokohori* *fawa*  
 yokohori tama.LIST hinaka bahama yokohori fawa  
 stinger hold onto 3SG.POSS fish sp stinger disappear  
 pn vt pron nm pn vi

*nebanoho*

na -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

"I'm about to take off," he said. He was carrying the *bahama* stinger, but his *bahama* stinger got lost.'

88 *Faya* *yana* *tonematamona* *ahi*  
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona ahi  
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj vi aux dem

'He was ready.'

89 *Boto* *ooo* *ooo* *kisamakane* *ahi*  
 boto ooo ooo ka -risa -ma -kane ahi  
 sound sound sound go/come down back ?+M then  
 vi dem

'Boto, ooo, ooo, he came down.'

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- 90 *Iti*                    *bote*    *katomematamona*                    *ino*                    *amane*                    *ahi*  
 iti                    bote    katoma -himata -mona    ino                    ama -ne                    ahi  
 grandfather    old    attack FP.N+M    REP+M    name+M    be    BKG+M    then  
 nm                    adj    vt                    pn                    vc                    dem  
 'He came down fast with the old man.'
- 91 *Tamine*                    *amane*  
 tamine                    ama -ne  
 news about    be    BKG+M  
 pn                    vc  
 'It's the story about him.'
- 92 *Hoo*  
 hoo  
 whew  
 interj  
 "'Whew.'"
- 93 *Iti*                    *bote*                    *iti*                    *bote*                    *tosawitematamona*  
 iti                    bote                    iti                    bote                    to-    sona -witI -himata -mona  
 grandfather    old                    grandfather    old    away fall out    FP.N+M    REP+M  
 nm                    adj                    nm                    adj    vi  
*amane*                    *ahi*                    *me*                    *bao*                    *hikanisahari*                    *ahi*  
 ama -ne                    ahi    me                    bao                    hi- ka-    na -risa -haari    ahi  
 SEC BKG+M    then    3PL.S    come down    OC    COMIT    AUX    down    IP.E+M    then  
 sec                    dem    pron    vi                    aux                    dem  
 'The old man fell when he landed with him.'
- 94 *Towawawitekane*                    *ahi*  
 to-    waa    -waha    -witI -kane    ahi  
 away stand change out    ?+M    then  
 vi                    dem  
 'He turned around and faced him.'
- 95 *Iti*                    *bote*                    *tohomakosakane*                    *ahi*                    *ehene*  
 iti                    bote                    to-    homa                    -kosa    -kane                    ahi                    ehene  
 grandfather    old    CH    lie on ground middle ?+M                    then    because of+M  
 nm                    adj    vi                    dem                    post  
 'The old man lay on the ground because of him.'
- 96 *Hasihasi*                    *kanakane*                    *ahi*  
 hasi-    hasi                    ka-    na    -kane    ahi  
 DUP    breathe    COMIT    AUX    ?+M    then  
 vi                    aux                    dem  
 'He was out of breath.'
- 97 *Faya*                    *kamakimatamona*                    *amane*  
 faya    ka                    -makI                    -himata -mona    ama -ne  
 so    go/come following    FP.N+M    REP+M    SEC BKG+M  
 conj    vi                    sec  
 'He came home.'
- 98 *Kamakimatamonaka*  
 ka                    -makI                    -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come following    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 vi  
 'He came home.'

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99 *Tokomematamonaka* *fari* *fe* *katomari*  
to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka faari fee katoma -haari  
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M 3SG.O attack IP.E+M  
vi dem pron vt

'The one who had been rough with him went away.'

100 *Owa e niwahi*  
owa ee niha- na -waha.NOM+F  
1SG.O yell CAUS AUX change  
pron vi aux

""He scared me.""

101 *Owa e nibisi*  
owa ee niha- na -bisa.NOM+F  
1SG.O yell CAUS AUX also  
pron vi aux

""He scared me, too.""

102 *Owa e nibisi ati kane ahi fe*  
owa ee niha- na -bisa.NOM+F ati na -kane ahi fee  
1SG.O yell CAUS AUX also say AUX ?+M then 3SG.O  
pron vi aux vt aux dem pron

*katomari*  
katoma -haari  
attack IP.E+M  
vt

""He scared me, too," he said, the one who had been rough with him.'

103 *Oko bama yokohori fawa ne*  
o- ka bahama yokohori fawa na+M  
1SG.POSS POSS fish sp stinger disappear AUX  
prt nm pn vi aux

""My bahama stinger got lost.""

104 *Oko bama yokohori fawa ne ati*  
o- ka bahama yokohori fawa na+M ati  
1SG.POSS POSS fish sp stinger disappear AUX say  
prt nm pn vi aux vt

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

""My bahama stinger got lost," he said.'

105 *Hoo okomakibone*  
hoo o- to- ka -makI.NOM -bone  
whew 1SG.S away go/come following INT+F  
interj vi

""Whew, I'm going home.""

106 *Ee tikamakiya*  
ee ti- to- ka -makI -yahi  
yes 2SG.S away go/come following DIST.IMP+F  
interj vi

""All right, go home.""

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107 *Tokomawahematamonaha*

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

'He went away.'

108 *Tokomematamonaka*

to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi  
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
vi dem

'He went away.'

109 *Iti* *bote* *towakamakimatamonahane*

iti bote to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona -ha -ne  
grandfather old away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
nm adj vi

*me* *hikatamahari*

me hi- katoma -haari  
3PL.S OC attack IP.E+M  
pron vt

'The old man went home. He had been treated rough.'

110 *Iti* *bote* *towakamaki*

iti bote to- ka- ka -makI+M *Hoo* , *awa* *boni*  
grandfather old away COMIT go/come following whew tree fruit+F  
nm adj vi interj nf pn

*te* *ka* *kanani* *owa* *yokoha*  
tee kaa ka- na -hani owa yoko+F  
2PL.S chop COMIT AUX IP.N+F 1SG.O bring misfortune on  
pron vt aux pron vt

*okomakine* *o*  
o- ka -makI -ne o-  
1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S  
vi prt

'The old man went home. "Whew, the fruits that you chopped down caused problems for me, and now I have come back."

111 *Inamati* *owa* *katome* *tokome* *ahi*

inamati owa katoma+M to- ka -ma.NOM+M ahi  
spirit 1SG.O attack away go/come back there  
nm pron vt vi dem

""The spirit was rough with me, and he has gone away.""

112 *Bama* *yokohori* *te* *awebona* *one* *yokohori*

bahama yokohori tee awa -hibona ati o- na+M yokohori  
fish sp stinger 2PL.S see INT+M say 1SG.S AUX stinger  
nm pn pron vt vt pn

*fawa* *ne* , *bowi* *owa* *yokohiba* *te* *ka*  
fawa na+M bowi owa yoko -hiba tee kaa  
disappear AUX tree sp 1SG.O bring misfortune on FUT+M 2PL.S chop  
vi aux nm pron vt pron vt

*kanani* *te*  
ka- na -hani tee  
COMIT AUX IP.N+F 2PL.S  
aux pron

""I wanted you to see the *bahama* stinger, but it got lost, after you cut down the *bowi* tree that caused

THE OLD MAN WHO WENT UP IN THE SKY

problems for me."

113 *Faya me , me hora hinematamonane*  
 faya me , me hora hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 so 3PL 3PL.S scold OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 conj pron pron vt aux

'Then they criticized him.'

114 *Tiomakosi toe tira inamati tiwa*  
 ti- to- homa -kosa to- ha ti- na -ra+F inamati tiwa  
 2SG.S CH lie on ground middle CH AUX 2SG.S AUX NEG spirit 2SG.O  
 vi aux aux nm pron

*towakamawa nanoho*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -waha.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho  
 away COMIT go/come back change AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 vt aux

""You were left lying on the ground by yourself, and the spirit took you away.""

115 *Okomakeabone yana onara oni*  
 o- ka -makI -habone yana o- to- na -hara o- ni  
 1SG.S go/come following INT+F start 1SG.S CH AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi aux vi aux prt

""I was about to come back.""

116 *Yana ona inamati owa bata kanarene*  
 yana o- to- na+F inamati owa bata ka- na -hare -ne  
 start 1SG.S CH AUX spirit 1SG.O surprise COMIT AUX IP.E+M BKG+M  
 vi aux nm pron vt aux

*ati kane*  
 ati na -kane  
 say AUX ?+M  
 vt aux

""I was ready, and then the spirit surprised me," he said.'

117 *Hiyara , hiyara kaminamaki hiyarematamonahane*  
 hiyara , hiyara kamina -makI+M hiyara -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 story story tell following speak FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nf nf vt vi

'He spoke, telling the story after coming back.'

118 *Siraba haro me fanawi kakini*  
 siraba haro.NFIN me fanawi ka- ka -kI -ni  
 fish sp be boiled women COMIT go/come coming BKG+F  
 nf vi nf vt

""The women brought boiled *siraba* fish.""

119 *Siraba haro okobabone , inamati owa kayawe*  
 siraba haro.NFIN o- kaba -habone , inamati owa ka- yawa+M  
 fish sp be boiled 1SG.S eat INT+F spirit 1SG.O COMIT be upset  
 nf vi vt nm pron vt

*owa katomawaha*  
 owa katoma -waha.CONT+M  
 1SG.O attack change  
 pron vt

""The spirit wouldn't let me eat the boiled *siraba* fish. He was rough with me.""



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120 *Siraba haro yowamisarawaharani yiwa tebe ya*  
 siraba haro.NFIN yowa -misa -rawa -hara -ni yiwaha tebe ya  
 fish sp be boiled reach up F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F ceramic pot ADJU  
 nf vi vi nf prt

*ati nematamonahane*

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

"The boiled *siraba* fish filled the pot," he said.'

## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

### *Free Translation*

They hunted white-lipped peccaries. They chased the peccaries, in the dry season. They went after the peccaries. They went and hunted the peccaries.

Their brother-in-law was thirsty. They were thirsty. "Whew."

They were cutting up the animals. There was nowhere for them to wash their hands. There was no water, and they were thirsty.

"Am I going to sleep with bloody hands? We will sleep thirsty."

They roasted meat on a rack. In order to sleep, they put leaves down.

"Older brother, let's sleep. We will go home in the morning. We are thirsty."

He put down leaves. After that a *kose* frog started croaking.

"I am going to sleep."

He stoked the fire of the peccaries. When he was going to sit down, a *kose* frog started croaking. "Oo, oo," said the frog. Then he heard it.

"Brother."

"What?"

"Brother, a *kose* frog is croaking. The frog is croaking at the Wati Fa stream, that comes this way. Let's go look at the stream. I'm thirsty."

They carried brands. They took brands. They went along breaking saplings. The frog kept on croaking. They kept on going toward the croaking. Was it nearby? The frog was croaking.

Then they found the stream. They washed their hands. They were thirsty. He was in the water, drinking water. His brother-in-law was drinking the murky water. They drank water. He was drinking the water that their brothers-in-law had stirred up.

Then they bathed. They washed their hands. They were ready to leave.

"We came into the water here. The trail is good. We broke saplings for a trail."

Their brands had gone out. They went back. They lit the brands again. They waved the brands. They went along waving the brands, along the makeshift trail they had made. They finally arrived back at their place. They arrived back at their place, not their village.

They roasted the peccary meat some more, where their fire was. They arrived back, and slept. They took pinches of snuff. They slept after taking snuff. They were happy, because they had been thirsty and had drunk water.

In order to bring the peccaries home, they weaved baskets for the peccaries. They came back. They got up early to come back. They got up early, and came back.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Hiyama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mowa</i>	<i>nemetemone</i>	
	hiyama	me	me	mowa	na -hemete	-mone
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	

'They hunted white-lipped peccaries.'

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2	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kiyoha</b>	,	<b>yama hiwe</b>	<b>ya</b>	
	hiyama		me	me	kiyo+F		yama hiwe	ya	
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	chase		dry season	ADJU	
	nm		pron	pron	vt		nf	prt	
	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kiyoha</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	
	hiyama		me	me	kiyo+F		me	hiyama	
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	chase		3PL.S	white-lipped peccary	
	nm		pron	pron	vt		pron	nm	
	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tonakamakia</b>				<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	me	me	to- na- ka		-makI+F		hiyama	me	me
	3PL.O	3PL.S	away CAUS	go/come	following		white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pron	pron	vt				nm	pron	pron
	<b>mowa</b>	<b>tonamakemetemone</b>							
	mowa	to- na -makI		-hemete	-mone				
	fight	away AUX	following	FP.N+F	REP+F				
	vt	aux							

'They chased the peccaries, in the dry season. They chased the peccaries. They went after the peccaries. They went and hunted the peccaries.'

3	<b>Me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>wabo</b>	,	<b>bakasi</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>toha</b>
	me	ka	me	ka	wabo		bakasi	ihi	to- ha.LIST
	3PL	POSS	3PL	POSS	brother-in-law		thirst	result of+F	CH be
	pron	prt	pron	prt	nm		nf	pn	vc
	<b>bakasi</b>	<b>ihi</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>tohehemetemone</b>				
	bakasi	ihi		me	to- ha -hemete -mone				
	thirst	result of+F		3PL.S	CH be FP.N+F				
	nf	pn		pron	vc				

'Their brother-in-law was thirsty. They were thirsty.'

4	<b>Bakasi</b>	<b>ihi</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>toha</b>		<b>me</b>	,	<b>Hoo</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>
	bakasi	ihi		me	to- ha+F		me		hoo	bani	me
	thirst	result of+F		3PL.S	CH be		3PL.S		whew	animal	3PL.O
	nf	pn		pron	vc		pron		interj	nm	pron
	<b>me</b>	<b>bobi</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>		<b>ye</b>	<b>sosoko</b>	<b>watara</b>
	me	bobi	na+F	bani	me	me	me		yehe	so- soko	wata -ra+F
	3PL.S	slit	AUX	animal	3PL	3PL	3PL.POSS		hand	DUP wash	exist NEG
	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron	pron	pron		pn	pn	vi
	<b>me</b>		<b>fu</b>	<b>watara</b>		<b>bakasi</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>		
	me		faha	wata -ra+F		bakasi	me	awa+F	me		
	3PL.POSS		water	exist NEG		thirst	3PL.S	feel	3PL.S		
	pron		nf	vi		nf	pron	vt	pron		
	<b>Oye</b>		<b>oye</b>		<b>ame</b>	<b>amo</b>	<b>okanaba</b>				<b>owa</b>
	o-	yehe	o-	yehe	ame	amo	o- ka- na -haba				owa
	1SG.POSS	hand	1SG.POSS	hand	blood+F	sleep	1SG.S COMIT	AUX	FUT+F		1SG.S
	pn		pn		pn	vi	aux				pron
	<b>awine</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>?</b>								
	awine	o-									
	seem+F	1SG.S									
	sec	prt									

'They were thirsty. "Whew." They were cutting up the animals. There was nowhere for them to wash their hands. There was no water, and they were thirsty. "Am I going to sleep with bloody hands?"'

5	<b>Bakasi</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>amo</b>	<b>kamata</b>
	bakasi	ee	amo	ka- na -mata
	thirst	1IN.S	sleep	COMIT AUX short time
	nf	pron	vi	aux

'"We will sleep thirsty."'

## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

6 **Bani me me tabasi nemetemoneke**  
 bani me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They roasted meat on a rack.'

7 **Bani me me tabasi na me , me amo**  
 bani me me tabasi na+F me , me amo  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron vi

**nabone waso me so tokanihemetemone**  
 na -habone waso me soo to- ka- niha- na -hemete -mone  
 AUX INT+F leaf 3PL.S lie CH COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux nf pron vi aux

'They roasted meat on a rack. In order to sleep, they put leaves down.'

8 **Ayo e amo namata**  
 ayo ee amo na -mata  
 older brother 1IN.S sleep AUX short time  
 nm pron vi aux

'Older brother, let's sleep.'

9 **E tokomaminibe**  
 ee to- ka -ma -mina -be  
 1IN.S away go/come back morning IMMED+F  
 pron vi

'We will go home in the morning.'

10 **Bakasi e awi**  
 bakasi ee awa.NOM+F  
 thirst 1IN.S feel  
 nf pron vt

'We are thirsty.'

11 **Kose ati yana nabano ya , waso**  
 kose ati yana na.NOM+M -ba -no ya , waso  
 frog sp voice start AUX FUT IP.N+M ADJU leaf  
 nm pn vi aux prt nf

**kakiba namata**  
 ka- iba.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata  
 COMIT set down AUX short time  
 vt aux

'He put down leaves. After that a kose frog started croaking.'

12 **Amo omatibeya**  
 amo o- na -mata -be -ya  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now  
 vi aux

'I am going to sleep.'

13 **Hiyama me hiyama me yifi**  
 hiyama me hiyama me yifi  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS firewood+F  
 nm pron nm pron pn



## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

20 **Bakasi owini**

bakasi o- awa -ni  
thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F  
nf vt

"I'm thirsty."

21 **Yifo witi me bokori kawahemetemone ahi**  
yifo witi me bokori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
brand 3PL.S hold COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F then  
nf pron vt aux dem

'They carried brands.'

22 **Yifo witi me towakemetemone**  
yifo witi me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone  
brand 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
nf pron vt

'They took brands.'

23 **Babaka me towakemetemone**  
ba- baka me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone  
DUP break 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
nf pron vt

'They went along breaking saplings.'

24 **Fare kose o ni tohasa nematamona**  
fare kose oo na.NFIN to- ha -saa na -himata -mona  
same+M frog sp croak AUX CH be still AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
dem nm vi aux vc aux

**amane ahi**  
ama -ne ahi  
SEC BKG+M then  
sec dem

'The frog kept on croaking.'

25 **Kose o ni yokana me tokasa**  
kose oo na.NFIN yokana me to- ka -saa  
frog sp croak AUX true 3PL.S away go/come still  
nm vi aux adj pron vi

**nemetemone ahi**  
na -hemete -mone ahi  
AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
aux dem

'They kept on going toward the croaking.'

26 **Ayatamete ama ?**  
ayata -mete ama  
near FP.N+F SEC  
nf sec

'Was it nearby?'

27 **Faya kose o ne faha me towasiwitiwaha**  
faya kose oo na+M faha me to- wasi -witI -waha+F  
so frog sp croak AUX stream 3PL.S away find out change  
conj nm vi aux nf pron vt

## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

**rama ahi**  
 rama ahi  
 unusual then  
 prt dem

'The frog was croaking. Then they found the stream.'

28 **Me yehe me soko nemetemone bakasi me awa**  
 me yehe me soko na -hemete -mone bakasi me awa+F  
 3PL.POSS hand 3PL.S wash AUX FP.N+F REP+F thirst 3PL.S feel  
 pron pn pron vt aux nf pron vt

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They washed their hands. They were thirsty.'

29 **Fa fawe itifimatamona**  
 faha fawa+M ita -fI -himata -mona  
 water drink sit water FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt vi

'He was in the water, drinking water.'

30 **Wabori hota maho nati**  
 wabori hota maho na -nati  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law cloudiness do a lot AUX only one  
 nm nf vt AUX

**toematamona ama ahi fa hote**  
 to- ha -himata -mona ama ahi faha hote  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC then water murky+F  
 aux sec dem nf pn

'His brother-in-law was drinking the murky water.'

31 **Fa me fawa me me ka wabo me**  
 faha me fawa+F me me ka wabo me  
 water 3PL.S drink 3PL.S 3PL POSS brother-in-law 3PL.POSS  
 nf pron vt pron pron prt nm pron

**hote maho nati toematamona ama**  
 hote maho na -nati to- ha -himata -mona ama  
 murky+F do a lot AUX only one CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC  
 pn vt AUX aux sec

'They drank water. He was drinking the water that their brothers-in-law had stirred up.'

32 **Me afi nawahemetemone fahi**  
 me afi nawaha -hemete -mone fahi  
 3PL.S bathe take a long time FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi vi dem

'Then they bathed.'

33 **Me ye me soko nemetemone ahi**  
 me yehe me soko na -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.POSS hand 3PL.S wash AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron pn pron vt aux dem

'They washed their hands.'

## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

34 *Me ye me soko na me yana tonemetemone*  
 me yehe me soko na+F me yana to- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS hand 3PL.S wash AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn pron vt aux pron vi aux

*waha* .

waha

now

prt

'They washed their hands. They were ready to leave.'

35 *Me yana tona me , E kifewakia*  
 me yana to- na+F me ee ka -fI -waha -kI+F  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 1IN.S go/come water change coming  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi

*eke*

*ahi*

ee -ke ahi

1IN.S DECL+F here

pron

dem

'They were ready to leave. "We came into the water here."'

36 *Hawi siba rara*  
 hawi siba na -ra -hara  
 trail be all right AUX NEG IP.E+F  
 nf vi aux

""The trail is good.""

37 *Hawi e baka narake*  
 hawi ee baka na -hara -ke  
 trail 1IN.S break AUX IP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf pron vt aux

""We broke saplings for a trail.""

38 *Me ka yifo owirisemete me awineni*  
 me ka yifo owi -risa -hemete me awine -ni  
 3PL POSS firewood go out down FP.N+F 3PL.POSS seem+F BKG+F  
 pron prt nf vi pron sec

*yifo*

*noki*

yifo noki

firewood coal+F

nf pn

'Their brands had gone out.'

39 *Me tokometemone yifo witi me*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone yifo witi me  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F brand 3PL.S  
 pron vi nf pron

*tonayowama*

*mati*

to- na- yowa -ma+F mati

CH CAUS burn back 3PL.S

vt

pron

'They went back. They lit the brands again.'

40 *Yama me kari nemetemone me amani*  
 yama me kari na -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 thing 3PL.S wave AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 nf pron vt aux pron sec

'They waved the brands.'



## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

41 *Yama me kari tonamaitia hawi hawi babaka*  
 yama me kari to- na -ma -hitI+F hawi hawi ba- baka  
 thing 3PL.S wave away AUX back along the way trail trail DUP break  
 nf pron vt aux nf nf nf

*me kakinari me tokomine*  
 me ka- ka -kI -naari me to- ka -ma -ne  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming ? 3PL.S away go/come back CONT+F  
 pron vt pron vi

*nimete*  
 na.NOM+F -mete  
 AUX FP.N+F  
 aux

'They went along waving the brands, along the makeshift trail they had made.'

42 *Faya me tofotomemetemoneke fahi fara me*  
 faya me to- foto -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi fara me  
 so 3PL.S away appear back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then same+F 3PL.POSS  
 conj pron vi dem dem pron

*tabori ya*  
 tabori ya  
 place+F ADJU  
 pn prt

'They finally arrived back at their place.'

43 *Me tabori ya me tofotomemetemoneni*  
 me tabori ya me to- foto -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 3PL.S away appear back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pn prt pron vi

*me tabori amararo*  
 me tabori ama -ra -haaro  
 3PL.POSS place+F be NEG IP.E+F  
 pron pn vc

'They arrived back at their place, not their village.'

44 *Hiyama me me tabasi namakia me*  
 hiyama me me tabasi na -makI+F me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX following 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

*me ka yifo kawiti ya*  
 me ka yifo ka- ita.NOM+F ya  
 3PL POSS fire COMIT sit ADJU  
 pron prt nf vi prt

'They roasted the peccary meat some more, where their fire was.'

45 *Faya me , kobo tonama me amo*  
 faya me , kobo to- na -ma+F me amo  
 so 3PL.S arrive away AUX back 3PL.S sleep  
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

*nawahemetemoneke fahi*  
 na -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They arrived back, and slept.'

## THE HUNTERS FOUND WATER

46 *Me witi me bori na me amo*  
 me witi me bori na+F me amo  
 3PL.POSS nose 3PL.S poke AUX 3PL.S sleep  
 pron pn pron vt aux pron vi

*nawahemetemoneheni sina me hisi na mati*  
 na -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni sina me hisi na+F mati  
 AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S  
 aux nf pron vt aux pron

'They took pinches of snuff. They slept after taking snuff.'

47 *Sina me hisi na me amo nawaha me , me*  
 sina me hisi na+F me amo na -waha+F me , me  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX change 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux pron pron

*yayai nawahemetemone faha me fawa mati*  
 ya- yayi na -waha -hemete -mone faha me fawa+F mati  
 DUP be happy AUX change FP.N+F REP+F water 3PL.S drink 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron vt pron

*bakasi ihi me toa mati*  
 bakasi ihi me to- ha+F mati  
 thirst result of+F 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S  
 nf pn pron vc pron

'After taking snuff they slept. They were happy, because they had been thirsty and had drunk water.'

48 *Hiyama me me kakamaba me*  
 hiyama me me ka- ka -ma -haba me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron

*hiyama me wiyebone me kowamina*  
 hiyama me wiye -bone me kowa -mina+F  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS container+F INT+F 3PL.S weave morning  
 nm pron pn pron vt

*me kamemetemone waha*  
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone waha  
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F now  
 pron vi prt

'In order to bring the peccaries home, they weaved baskets for the peccaries. They came back.'

49 *Me bosa namemetemoneke*  
 me bosa na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S get up early AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'They got up early to come back.'

50 *Me bosa nama me kamemetemoneni*  
 me bosa na -ma+F me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S get up early AUX back 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi

'They got up early, and came back.'

# THE MAN WHO GAVE PECCARIES TO THE MOON

## *Free Translation*

The moon. His name was Yawana. He was Yawana. He didn't have any daylight. He wanted to sleep with the white-lipped peccaries, and he called the moon.

"Moon, moon," he called. "Moon, are you a human being?" he said.

The moon didn't call.

"Moon, moon, are you a human being?" he said. "Bring food for me," he said.

The moon heard him calling, and came. It came. "Someone called out there."

It shined on the place, with its own light. It saw him sitting there. "There, was it you who called out?"

"Yes, I am the one that called out. The animals that I called about are lying there on the ground," he said. He was a Jamamadi.

The moon saw the animals with its light. It looked for firewood at night. It lit the fire with its light. It burned the hair off the peccaries. He watched it. It lit the fire for the peccaries. It cut up the peccaries. It made the grill. It looked for firewood. Then it roasted the peccaries on the grill. It roasted the peccaries at night.

"Are you alone?" it said.

"I'm alone," he said. "I'm alone. You take the animals that I called about. I only want one peccary head," he said, the owner of the peccaries.

It took all the peccaries away.

He came back carrying one peccary head, after giving away his peccaries. He came back.

"A spirit took the animals that I shot with bow and arrow, and it went away," he said. "The spirit went away carrying the peccaries," he said.

"Was it a person?"

"It was not a familiar spirit," he said. "I called the moon, and it came and roasted the animals on a grill, and it took the animals away," he said. "It went away."

"Is it the truth?"

"It is the truth. It roasted the animals on a grill, and then took the animals away," he said. "It looked for firewood with its own light," he said.

## *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Abariko* , *abariko* .  
abariko abariko  
moon moon  
nm nm

'The moon.'

2 *Ino* *inomata* *Yawana* .  
ino ino -mata Yawana  
name+M name+M FP.N+M (man's name)  
pn pn npropm

## THE MAN WHO GAVE PECCARIES TO THE MOON

'His name was Yawana.'

### 3 *Yawanamatamonaka*

Yawana            -mata   -mona   -ka  
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm

'He was Yawana.'

4 *Yama*    *we*            *kihare*            *hiyama*                            *me*            *amo*  
 yama    wehe            kiha   -ra+M    hiyama                            me            amo  
 thing    light+F    have NEG    white-lipped peccary    3PL.O    sleep  
 nf            pn            vt            nm                            pron       vi

*kanebona*                            *abariko*    *ha*            *nematamonaha*  
 ka-    na   -hibona                            abariko    haa    na   -himata   -mona   -ha  
 COMIT AUX INT+M                            moon       call    AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 aux    nm            vt            aux

'He didn't have any daylight. He wanted to sleep with the white-lipped peccaries, and he called the moon.'

5 *Abariko*            *abariko*            *ati*            *nematamonane*  
 abariko            abariko            ati    na   -himata   -mona   -ne  
 moon                moon                say    AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm                    nm                    vt       aux

'"Moon, moon," he called.'

6 *Abariko*    *e*                            *ama*    *titirani*                            *ha*    ?    *ati*  
 abariko    ee                            ama    ti-    na   -tee.NOM   -rani    haa    ?    ati  
 moon        human being    be    2SG.S AUX HAB            ?       DEM       say  
 nm            nf                            vc       aux                            dem       vt

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

'"Moon, are you a human being?" he said.'

7 *Abariko*    *ha*            *rematamona*                            *amane*  
 abariko    haa    na   -ra   -himata   -mona    ama   -ne  
 moon        call    AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M    SEC BKG+M  
 nm            vi       aux                            sec

'The moon didn't call.'

8 *Abariko*            *abariko*            *e*                            *ama*    *tini*                            ?    *ati*  
 abariko            abariko            ee                            ama    ti-    ni                            ?    ati  
 moon                moon                human being    be    2SG.S BKG+F                            say  
 nm                    nm                    nf                            vc       prt                            vt

*nematamonaka*  
 na   -himata   -mona   -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'"Moon, moon, are you a human being?" he said.'

9 *Otefeba*                            *tekakehi*                            *ati*  
 o-            tefe   -ba    ti-    ka-    ka            -kI    -hi    ati  
 1SG.POSS food FUT    2SG.S COMIT go/come coming IMP+F    say  
 pn                            vt                            vt

## THE MAN WHO GAVE PECCARIES TO THE MOON

### *nematamonaha*

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

"Bring food for me," he said.'

10 *Faya ha ni abariko mitatino*  
faya haa na.NFIN abariko mita -tee.NOM -no  
so call AUX moon hear HAB IP.N+M  
conj vi aux nm vt

*kakematamona amaka*  
ka -kI -himata -mona ama -ka  
go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
vi sec

'The moon heard him calling, and came.'

11 *Kake Inamati ha nareka ahi*  
ka -kI inamati haa na -hare -ka ahi  
go/come coming someone call AUX IP.E+M DECL+M there  
vi nm vi aux dem

'It came. "Someone called out there."

12 *Yama firi nematamona fare wehene ya*  
yama firi na -himata -mona fare wehene ya  
thing shine light on AUX FP.N+M REP+M same+M light+M ADJU  
nf vt aux dem pn prt

'It shined on the place, with its own light.'

13 *Yama firi ne itarino*  
yama firi na+M ita -rI -hino  
thing shine light on AUX sit raised surface IP.N+M  
nf vt aux vi

*hiwematamonaka*  
hi- awa -himata -mona -ka  
OC see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt

'It shined on the place. It saw him sitting there.'

14 *Hari afa ha tina ama ti ?*  
haari afa haa ti- na+F ama ti-  
that one+M this+F call 2SG.S AUX SEC 2SG.S  
dem dem vi aux sec prt

""There, was it you who called out?""

15 *Ee afa ha ona ama oni*  
ee afa haa o- na+F ama o- ni  
yes this+F call 1SG.S AUX SEC 1SG.S BKG+F  
interj dem vi aux sec prt

""Yes, I am the one that called out.""

16 *Bani me so tosineni me ha*  
bani me soo to- na -kosa -ne -ni me ha  
animal 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.O call  
nm pron vi aux pron vi



## THE MAN WHO GAVE PECCARIES TO THE MOON

<b>me</b>	<b>yifbone</b>		<b>afo</b>	<b>kane</b>	<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>
me	yifi	-bone	afo	ka- na+M	hiyama		me
3PL.POSS	firewood+F	INT+F	light	COMIT AUX	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O
pron	pn		vt	aux	nm		pron

<b>bobi</b>	<b>nematamona</b>				
bobi	na -himata -mona				
slit	AUX FP.N+M REP+M				
vt	aux				

'It burned the hair off the peccaries. It lit the fire for the peccaries. It cut up the peccaries.'

22	<b>Tana</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>yifo</b>	<b>awa</b>
	tana	yama.LIST	yifo	awa.LIST
	grill	make	firewood	see
	nf	vt	nf	vt

'It made the grill. It looked for firewood.'

23	<b>Yifo</b>	<b>awe</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>toke</b>
	yifo	awa+M	hiyama	me	toka+M
	firewood	see	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	partially burn
	nf	vt	nm	pron	vt

<b>hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>bobi</b>	<b>nawahematamona</b>	
hiyama		me	bobi	na -waha -himata -mona	
white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	slit	AUX change FP.N+M REP+M	
nm		pron	vt	aux	

<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tabasi</b>	<b>nabebanoho</b>	
hiyama	me	tabasi	na nahaba -hiba -no -ho	
white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	roast on grill	AUX at night FUT+M IP.N+M DUP	
nm	pron	vt	aux	

'It looked for firewood. It burned the hair off of the peccaries. Then it cut up the peccaries. Then it roasted the peccaries on the grill.'

24	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>tabasi</b>	<b>nabe</b>
	hiyama		me	tabasi	na nahaba+M
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	roast on grill	AUX at night
	nm		pron	vt	aux

<b>Tiwaharihani</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>tini</b>	?	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>
ti- ohari -hani		ama	ti- ni		ati	na -himata -mona
2SG.S be alone IP.N+F		SEC	2SG.S BKG+F		say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vi		sec	prt		vt	aux

'It roasted the peccaries at night. "Are you alone?" it said.'

25	<b>Owaharihara</b>		<b>oni</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamona</b>
	o- ohari -hara		o- ni	ati	na -himata -mona
	1SG.S be alone IP.E+F		1SG.S BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M
	vi		prt	vt	aux

"I'm alone," he said.'

26	<b>Owaharihara</b>		<b>oni</b>	
	o- ohari -hara		o- ni	
	1SG.S be alone IP.E+F		1SG.S BKG+F	
	vi		prt	

"I'm alone."

27	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>okana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>
	bani	me	haa	o- ka- na+F	me	bani	me
	animal	3PL.O	call	1SG.S COMIT AUX	3PL.O	animal	3PL.O
	nm	pron	vi	aux	pron	nm	pron

## THE MAN WHO GAVE PECCARIES TO THE MOON

### *tekamahi*

ti- to- ka- ka -ma -hi  
 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F  
 vt

"You take the animals that I called about."

28 *Oko*                    *bani*            *tatiba*            *ohariho*            *ati*            *nematamona*  
 o-            ka            bani            tati -ba            ohari -ho            ati            na -himata -mona  
 1SG.POSS POSS animal head FUT be one IMP+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 prt                                    nm            pn                                    vt            aux

*hiyama*                                    *me*                                    *hiti*  
 hiyama                                    me                                    hiti  
 white-lipped peccary            3PL.POSS owner  
 nm                                    pron                                    nm

"I only want one peccary head," he said, the owner of the peccaries.'

29 *Hiyama*                                    ,            *hiyama*                                    *me*                                    *nafi*  
 hiyama                                    ,            hiyama                                    me                                    nafi  
 white-lipped peccary                                    white-lipped peccary                                    3PL.POSS all  
 nm                                    nm                                    pron                                    pn

*towakamematamonane*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'It took all the peccaries away.'

30 *Hiyama*                                    *tati*            *ohari*            *weye*            *kane*  
 hiyama                                    tati            ohari+M            weye            ka- na+M  
 white-lipped peccary                                    head be one carry COMIT AUX  
 nm                                    pn            vi                                    vt            aux

*kamakibisa*                                    ,            *hinaka*            *hiyama*                                    *me*                                    *ta*  
 ka -makI -bisa.LIST ,            hinaka            hiyama                                    me                                    taa  
 go/come following also                                    3SG.POSS white-lipped peccary                                    3PL.O give  
 vi                                    pron                                    nm                                    pron                                    vt

*nari*  
 na -haari  
 AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'He came back carrying one peccary head, after giving away his peccaries.'

31 *Faya*            ,            *me*            *kamaki*                                    ,            *Bani*            *me*            *tisa*  
 faya            ,            me            ka -makI+M ,            bani            me            tisa  
 so            3PL go/come following animal 3PL.O shoot with arrow  
 conj            pron vi                                    nm            pron            vt

*ona*                                    *me*            ,            *inamati*            *towakame*                                    *tokome*  
 o- na+F me ,            inamati            to- ka- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M  
 1SG.S AUX 3PL someone away COMIT go/come back away go/come back  
 aux                                    pron nm vt                                    vi

*amane*                                    *ati*            *nematamonaha*  
 ama -ne ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 sec                                    vt            aux

'He came back. "A spirit took the animals that I shot with bow and arrow, and it went away," he said.'





## THE MAN WHO GAVE PECCARIES TO THE MOON

39 *Keye amarini*

keye ama -ra -ni  
lie be NEG BKG+F  
nf vc

"It is the truth."

40 *Bani , me tabasi ne bani me*  
bani , me tabasi na+M bani me  
animal 3PL.O roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.O  
nm pron vt aux nm pron

*towakame amane ati nematamonaha*  
to- ka- ka -ma+M ama -ne ati na -himata -mona -ha  
away COMMIT go/come back SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
vt sec vt aux

"It roasted the animals on a grill, and then took the animals away," he said.'

41 *Fare wehene ya fare wehene ya yifo awa*  
fare wehene ya fare wehene ya yifo awa  
same+M light+M ADJU same+M light+M ADJU firewood see  
dem pn prt dem pn prt nf vt

*nabera ati nematamona*  
nahaba+M -ra ati na -himata -mona  
at night mood say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
prt vt aux

"It looked for firewood with its own light," he said.'

## BISI

### *Free Translation*

Two people came upon them as they were cutting down trees. They came. The others were left behind. They came.

"I think they went over there. Let's go there."

They heard him cutting down a tree, a *wifi* tree. He was cutting down a *wifi* tree. He had bands on his upper arms, with long feathers coming up out of them. He was also wearing brown capuchin teeth strung across his chest. They were cutting down trees. They were decorated. It was their village long ago. They heard the sound of trees being cut down as they went there.

"It's the sound of someone cutting down trees. There are people living there," they said.

They went there. They ate the fish that was for Bisi. Those are the ones. They were in an enclosure of leaves near where the people lived. They were inside an enclosure of leaves. They went there. They called to the one who was cutting down trees.

"Fofowi," one of them said, whistling, "fofowi."

"Fio."

"Come here and see us," they said, whistling.

"I want to cut down trees, and you are calling me. Who are you?" he said.

"Come here," they said. The *wifi* tree that he was cutting was left half cut down. So he came back. He came.

"Oh, those two were calling."

"We are calling. We are calling you, wanting to know where you live," they said.

"We live there. Come on, you must be hungry. You will eat," he said.

They were roasting fish on a rack. Wara Lake is where they roasted fish on racks. They were roasting fish. He brought them there.

"Look at the two that were walking that I brought," he said.

The others thought he was lying. It got dark on them as they stood outside the house. They gave them food. They made food for them, and they ate. They had shot fish with arrows.

Bisi's uncle called her. Her father-in-law called Bisi as she supposedly sat on the ground at the door. "Bisi," he said, "Bisi."

"What?" she said, but it was not Bisi. The one who was visiting and was sitting there called in the voice of Bisi, imitating the calling of a woman.

"Here is a fish for you," he said.

"Where?"

"Here," he said.

It was not Bisi. He took the uncle's pot. He didn't stay. They ate. Who took her pot, before Bisi came back, hungry?

"Father-in-law," she said.

"What?" he said.

"Father-in-law, where is my fish?"

"Oh no, Bisi I already gave it to you," he said. "I already gave it to you. Who did I give it to?" he said. "Where were you?" he said.

"I came back here after talking," she said.

"Eat the tail of the fish. The fish is there on the rack," he said.

Then Bisi ate the fish.

A long time later he told about himself. He told about himself, that he had eaten the fish.

The two of them slept, and they got up early. They slept two nights, and then were ready to come back.

"We are going," they said.

"Go."

Then they went. They arrived back. The ones that they left behind divided themselves into two groups. They lived in two places. There are two sandy clearings where they used to live by the Aba Wini stream. They ate. They offered feasts to each other. They feasted on *aba* fish and white-lipped peccaries. My aunt always told about them, that they had many festas. Then they stopped having festas. The girls buried each other in the soil, but they didn't die.<sup>58</sup> There is a sandy clearing there that my aunt used to say was big. They brought an *aba* fish back. They brought an *aba* fish back that they caught with hook and line. They threaded it on a line. It was alive in an enclosure. It was the Aba Wini stream.<sup>59</sup> The *aba* fish lived in the stream. They finally ate it.

Towisawa and the others set out and came back. They had an idea. "Let's see the Brazilians."

They went out, and found Araosi. Araosi gave them presents. The Brazilian gave presents to the ones who went, who didn't have matches. He gave them matches. They carried manioc meal as they came back, also clothes. They didn't pay anything. They brought back the report about the Brazilian that they had found. They went again and took meat for him. They took roasted meat. He gave them things again. There were no guns. They shot arrows.

### Interlinear Presentation

1 *Faya awa me ka na me ni ya me*  
 faya awa me kaa na+F me ni ya me  
 so tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S  
 conj nf pron vt aux pron prt prt pron

*kakamakine nimete ahi*  
 ka- ka -makI -ne na.NOM+F -mete ahi  
 COMIT go/come following CONT+F AUX FP.N+F then  
 vi aux dem

'Two people came upon them as they were cutting down trees.'

2 *Me kakamake me one towinakosa mati*  
 me ka- ka -makI me one to- wina -kosa+F mati  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL other+F CH live middle 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron adj vi pron

'They came. The others were left behind.'

3 *Me kakamake me , Me tokoma me*  
 me ka- ka -makI me me to- ka -ma+F me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

*awine hike*  
 awine hike  
 seem+F far  
 sec nf

58 This refers to a game, when the girls buried one of their number up to her neck.

59 Aba Wini means 'place where the *aba* fish lives'.

BISI

"They came. "I think they went over there."

4	<b>E</b>	<b>towakamaki</b>				<b>awa</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>nenō</b>	<b>moni</b>
	ee	to- ka- ka	-makI			awa	kaa	na -hino	moni
	1IN.S	away COMIT	go/come following			tree	chop	AUX IP.N+M	sound
	pron	vi				nf	vt	aux	pn
	<b>me</b>	<b>tomitamakiabani</b>				<b>mati</b>	<b>wifi</b>		
	me	to- mita -makI	-haba -ni			mati	wifi		
	3PL.S	away hear following	FUT+F IP.N+F			3PL.S	tree sp		
	pron	vt				pron	nf		

"Let's go there." They heard him cutting down a tree, a *wifi* tree.'

5	<b>Wifi</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>nematamonane</b>	
	wifi	kaa	na -himata -mona -ne	
	tree sp	chop	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	
	nf	vt	aux	

'He was cutting down a *wifi* tree.'

6	<b>Atawa</b>		<b>basa</b>	<b>tokana</b>		<b>kanamo</b>
	atawa		basa	to- ka- na.LIST		kanamo
	feathered ornament		protrude	CH COMIT AUX		armband
	nm		vi	aux		nf
	<b>kawata</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>ahi</b>			
	ka- wata.LIST	na -himata -mona	ahi			
	COMIT put	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then			
	vt	aux	dem			

'He had bands on his upper arms, with long feathers coming up out of them.'

7	<b>Yowi</b>		<b>ino</b>	<b>sana</b>		<b>kanikima</b>		
	yowi		ino	sana		na -kanikima.LIST		
	brown capuchin		tooth+M	carry strapped on shoulder		AUX scattered		
	nm		pn	vt		aux		
	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinita</b>	<b>totoa</b>	<b>toemetemone</b>
	awa	me	kaa	na+F	me	hinita	to- to- ha	to- ha -hemete -mone
	tree	3PL.S	chop	AUX	3PL.POSS	empty	DUP CH be	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pn	vc	aux
	<b>me</b>	<b>tabori</b>	<b>bote</b>	<b>ama</b>				
	me	tabori	bote	ama				
	3PL.POSS	place+F	old	be				
	pron	pn	adj	vc				

'He was also wearing brown capuchin teeth strung across his chest. They were cutting down trees. They were decorated. It was their village long ago.'

8	<b>Awa</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>moni</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tomitamakia</b>	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>moni</b>
	awa	kaa	na.NFIN	moni	me	to- mita -makI+F	inamati	moni
	tree	chop	AUX	sound	3PL.S	away hear following	someone	sound
	nf	result	aux	pn	pron	vt	nm	pn
	<b>awa</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>naka</b>	<b>hari</b>				
	awa	kaa	na.CONT+M	-ka	haari			
	tree	chop	AUX	DECL+M	that one+M			
	nf	vt	aux		dem			

"They heard the sound of trees being cut down as they went there. "It's the sound of someone cutting down trees."

## BISI

9 *Me wina me awine ahi , me ati na me*  
 me wina+F me awine ahi , me ati na+F me  
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F there 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron sec dem pron vt aux pron

**towakamakiemetemoneke**

to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke , **Bisi**  
 away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (woman's name)  
 vi npropf

**Bisi ka ababona me kababani mati**  
 Bisi ka aba -bona me kaba -haba -ni mati  
 (woman's name) POSS fish INT+M 3PL.S eat FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 npropf prt nm pron vt pron

"There are people living there," they said. They went there. They ate the fish that was for Bisi.'

10 *Afa memetemoneke*  
 afa me -mete -mone -ke  
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 dem pron

'Those are the ones.'

11 *Me wina me ni ya me wasa*  
 me wina+F me ni ya me wasa  
 3PL.S live 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S enclose  
 pron vi pron prt prt pron result

**kanemetemoneni**

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

'They were in an enclosure of leaves near where they lived.'

12 *Wawasa toro me wina me ni ya me*  
 wa- wasa toro me wina+F me ni ya me  
 DUP enclose inside+M 3PL.S live 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S  
 nm pn pron vi pron prt prt pron

**towakamakiemetemoneni**

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

'They were inside an enclosure of leaves. They went there.'

13 *Inamati awa ka ne , me ha hinematamonane*  
 inamati awa kaa na+M , me haa hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 someone tree chop AUX 3PL.S call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm nf vt aux pron vt aux

'They called to the one who was cutting down trees.'

14 *Fofowi bono ati nematamonaha*  
 fofowi bono ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 (sound of whistling) upper lip+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 sound pn vt aux

**fofowi**

fofowi  
 (sound of whistling)  
 sound

"Fofowi," he said, whistling, "fofowi."

BISI

15 *Fio*  
 fio  
 (whistle)  
 sound  
 "Fio."

16 *Otara tiwamatahi me boni ati*  
 otara ti- awa -mata -hi me boni ati  
 1EX.O 2SG.S see short time IMP+F 3PL.POSS upper lip+F say  
 pron vt pron pn vt

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

"Come here and see us," they said, whistling.'

17 *Awa ka onabone owa te ha nine*  
 awa kaa o- na -habone owa tee haa na -ne  
 tree chop 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.O 2PL.S call AUX CONT+F  
 nf vt aux pron pron vt aux

"I want to cut down trees, and you are calling me."

18 *Hibake me te amariya ? ati nematamonaha*  
 hibake me tee ama -ri -ya ? ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 who+M 3PL.COMPL 2PL.S be CQ+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 interrog pron pron vc vt aux

"Who are you?" he said.'

19 *Tikamamatahi me ati nemetemoneke*  
 ti- ka -ma -mata -hi me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 2SG.S go/come back short time IMP+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi pron vt aux

"Come here," they said.'

20 *Hinaka wifi ka hina*  
 hinaka wifi kaa hi- na+F  
 3SG.POSS tree sp chop OC AUX  
 pron nf vt aux

*towarikosemetemoneni*  
 to- waa -rI -kosa -hemete -mone -ni  
 CH stand raised surface middle FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'The *wifi* tree that he was cutting was left half cut down.'

21 *Faya kamematamonaka*  
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi

'So he came back.'

22 *Kame Haa ha me ha kine*  
 ka -ma+M , haa , ha me ha ka- na -ne  
 go/come back oh call 3PL.S call COMIT AUX CONT+F  
 vi interj vi pron vi aux

## BISI

**nini**

na.NOM+F -ni  
 AUX IP.N+F  
 aux

'He came. "Oh, those two were calling."'

23 **Ota ha kine**

otaa haa ka- na -ne  
 1EX.S call COMMIT AUX CONT+F  
 pron vi aux

""We are calling.""

24 **Hibaka te winariya ota ati na tiwa ota ha**  
 hibaka tee wina -ri -ya otaa ati na+F tiwa otaa haa  
 where 2PL.S live CQ+F now 1EX.S say AUX 2SG.O 1EX.S call  
 interrog pron vi pron vt aux pron pron vi

**nineni**

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

""We are calling you, wanting to know where you live," they said.'

25 **Ota winine ha**

otaa wina -ne haa  
 1EX.S live CONT+F DEM  
 pron vi dem

""We live there.""

26 **Hima , te fimiha te awine**

hima , tee fimi+F tee awine  
 let's go 2PL.S be hungry 2PL.S seem+F  
 interj pron vi pron sec

""Come on, you must be hungry.""

27 **Te tafibe , ati nematamonaka , aba me me**  
 tee tafa -be , ati na -himata -mona -ka , aba me me  
 2PL.S eat IMMED+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M fish 3PL 3PL  
 pron vi vt aux nm pron pron

**aba me me aba me me tabasi na mati**  
 aba me me aba me me tabasi na+F mati  
 fish 3PL 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron nm pron pron vt aux pron

""You will eat," he said. They were roasting fish on a rack.'

28 **Aba me me tabasi nimetemone ka**  
 aba me me tabasi na.NOM+F -mete -mone ka  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F which  
 nm pron pron vt aux prt

**itineke**

ita -ne -ke Wara  
 be located CONT+F DECL+F (name of lake)  
 vi npropf

'Wara Lake is where they roasted fish on racks.'



## BISI

29 *Aba me me tabasi na me , me*  
 aba me me tabasi na+F me , me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S 3PL.O  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron

*kakamawa me hekamemetemoneni*  
 ka- ka -ma -waha me hi- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 COMIT go/come back change 3PL.O OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt pron vt

'They were roasting fish. He brought them there.'

30 *Me hekama , Me yaka kanani me*  
 me hi- ka- ka -ma+F , me yaka ka- na -hani me  
 3PL.O OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.S walk COMIT AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 pron vt pron vi aux pron

*owakama me te awa , ati*  
 o- ka- ka -ma+F me tee awa , ati  
 1SG.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.O 2PL.S see say  
 vi pron pron vt vt

*nematamonaka*  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He brought them. "Look at the two that were walking that I brought," he said.'

31 *Keye hiri ne ati ama nakani me*  
 keye hiri na+M ati ama na+M -kani me  
 lie say AUX voice be AUX CNTRFACT 3PL.S  
 nf vt aux pn vc aux pron

*hinematamonaka*  
 ati hi- na -himata -mona -ka  
 say OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'They thought he was lying.'

32 *Faya me yoro na me , me*  
 faya me yoro na+F me , me  
 so 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi aux pron pron

*kakayometemoneke fahi*  
 ka- kayoma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 COMIT darken FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem

'It got dark on them as they stood outside the house.'

33 *Me me hinatafemetemoneni*  
 me me hi- na- tafa -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt

'They gave them food.'

34 *Me tafebone me hiwasia me tafemetemoneni*  
 me tafe -bone me hi- wasi+F me tafa -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F 3PL.S OC cook 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pn pron vt pron vi

'They made food for them, and they ate.'

## BISI

35 *Me tafa , faya aba me me tisa nawa*  
 me tafa+F , faya aba me me tisa na -waha+F  
 3PL.S eat so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX change  
 pron vi conj nm pron pron vt aux

*me , aba me , Bisi batise ha hina*  
 me , aba me , Bisi batise haa hi- na+F  
 3PL.S fish 3PL (woman's name) 3SG.POSS.uncle call OC AUX  
 pron nm pron npropf nm vt aux

*kokori kokori ha*  
 kokori kokori haa  
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law 3SG.POSS.father-in-law call  
 nm nm vt

*hinemetemonehe Bisi itini ya nokobi*  
 hi- na -hemete -mone -he , Bisi ita.NOM+F -ni ya nokobi  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP (woman's name) sit IP.N+F ADJU door  
 aux npropf vi prt nf

*ya*  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 prt

'They ate. They had shot fish with arrows. Bisi's uncle called her. Her father-in-law called Bisi as she supposedly sat on the ground at the door.'

36 *Bisi ati nematamonaha , Bisi*  
 Bisi ati na -himata -mona -ha , Bisi  
 (woman's name) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP (woman's name)  
 npropf vt aux npropf

'"Bisi," he said, "Bisi."'

37 *Haa ati nemetemoneke Bisi amaranihi*  
 haa ati na -hemete -mone -ke Bisi ama -ra -hani -hi  
 huh? say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (woman's name) be NEG IP.N+F DUP  
 interj vt aux npropf vc

'"What?" she said, but it was not Bisi.'

38 *Hehi yaka ne itari , Bisimone ha*  
 hehi yaka na+M ita -rI+M , Bisi -mone haa  
 that one+M walk AUX sit raised surface (woman's name) REP+F call  
 dem vi aux vi npropf vi

*ni ha nematamonane inamati fanawi ha ni*  
 na.NFIN , haa na -himata -mona -ne inamati fanawi haa na.NFIN  
 AUX call AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M someone woman call AUX  
 aux vt aux nm adj vi aux

*ya ha ni toahari*  
 ya haa na.NFIN to- ha -haari  
 ADJU call AUX CH be IP.E+M  
 prt vi aux vc

'The one who was visiting and was sitting there called in the voice of Bisi, imitating the calling of a woman.'

39 *Tika ababonaha ati nematamonane*  
 ti- ka aba -bona -ha ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 2SG.POSS POSS fish INT+M DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 prt nm vt aux

'"Here is a fish for you," he said.'

## BISI

40 *Hibaka ya ?*  
 hibaka ya  
 where ADJU  
 interrog prt  
 "'Where?'"

41 *Hari ati nematamonaka , Bisi*  
 haari ati na -himata -mona -ka , Bisi  
 that one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (woman's name)  
 dem vt aux npropf

*amaranihi*

ama -ra -hani -hi  
 be NEG IP.N+F DUP  
 vc

"'Here," he said. It was not Bisi.'

42 *Faya , hinaka , yiwa wara hikanemete awineni*  
 faya , hinaka , yiwa wara hi- to- ka- na -hemete awine -ni  
 so 3SG.POSS pot grab OC away COMIT AUX FP.N+F seem+F BKG+F  
 conj pron nf vt aux sec

'He took his pot.'

43 *Wawa rematamonaka ahi*  
 wa- waa na -ra -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 DUP stand AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He didn't stay.'

44 *Me tafemetemoneni*  
 me tafa -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi

'They ate.'

45 *Hike hinaka yiwa hekamemete ,*  
 hike hinaka yiwa hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete ,  
 who+M 3SG.POSS pot OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F  
 interrog pron nf vt

*Bisi kamibeni ya fimi*  
 Bisi ka -ma -be -ni ya fimi  
 (woman's name) go/come back FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU hunger  
 npropf vi prt nf

*kakamaro*

ka- ka -ma -haaro ?  
 COMIT go/come back IP.E+F  
 vt

'Who took her pot, before Bisi came back, hungry?'

46 *Koko ati nemetemonehe*  
 koko ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 father-in-law say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nm vt aux

"'Father-in-law," she said.'

## BISI

- 47 **Haa ati nematamona**  
 haa ati na -himata -mona  
 huh? say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 interj vt aux  
 "'What?" he said.'
- 48 **Koko oko ababonara ?**  
 koko o- ka aba -bona -ra  
 father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS fish INT+M NPQ  
 nm prt nm  
 "'Father-in-law, where is my fish?'"
- 49 **Oo Bisi tiwa owakawara**  
 oo Bisi tiwa o- ka- kawa -hara  
 oh no (woman's name) 2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT give something to IP.E+F  
 interj npropf pron vt  
**okene ati nematamonane**  
 o- ke -ne ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 prt vt aux  
 "'Oh no, Bisi I already gave it to you," he said.'
- 50 **Tiwa owakawara okene**  
 tiwa o- ka- kawa -hara o- ke -ne  
 2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT give something to IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F  
 pron vt prt  
 "'I already gave it to you.'"
- 51 **Hibake owakawine oriniya ?**  
 hibake o- ka- kawa -ne o- -ri -ni -ya  
 who+M 1SG.S COMIT give something to CONT+F 1SG.S CQ+F IP.N+F now  
 interrog vt prt  
**ati nematamonane**  
 ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux  
 "'Who did I give it to?" he said.'
- 52 **Hibaka tihahanihi ati nematamonaka**  
 hibaka ti- to- ha -hani -hi ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 where 2SG.S CH be IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 interrog vc vt aux  
 "'Where were you?" he said.'
- 53 **Okomine ahi ota hiyara ota ati**  
 o- ka -ma -ne ahi otaa hiyara+F otaa ati  
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F here 1EX.S speak 1EX.S say  
 vi dem pron vi pron vt  
**nemetemone**  
 na -hemete -mone  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux  
 "'I came back here after talking," she said.'

## BISI

54 *Aba teme tikabahi*  
 aba teme ti- kaba -hi  
 fish tail+M 2SG.S eat IMP+F  
 nm pn vt

"Eat the tail of the fish."

55 *Aba kawa fari ati nematamona*  
 aba ka- waa.CONT+M faari ati na -himata -mona  
 fish COMIT stand that one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm vi dem vt aux

"The fish is there on the rack," he said.'

56 *Faya Bisi aba kabawemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya Bisi aba kaba -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so (woman's name) fish eat change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj npropf nm vt dem

'Then Bisi ate the fish.'

57 *Yama yabo ya hiwa kaminemata awaka*  
 yama yabo.NOM ya hiwa kamina -himata awa -ka  
 thing be long ADJU 3SG.REFL.M tell FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 nf vi prt pron vt sec

'A long time later he told about himself.'

58 *Hiwa kaminawahemata awane aba kabehimata*  
 hiwa kamina -waha -himata awa -ne aba kaba -himata  
 3SG.REFL.M tell change FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M fish eat FP.N+M  
 pron vt sec nm vt

'He told about himself, that he had eaten the fish.'

59 *Faya me amo kana me me bosa*  
 faya me amo ka- na+F me me bosa  
 so 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S get up early  
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

*kanemetemoneni*

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

'The two of them slept, and they got up early.'

60 *Me amo ni fama me kakami yana*  
 me amo na.NFIN fama+F me ka- ka -ma.NFIN yana  
 3PL.POSS sleep AUX be two 3PL.S COMIT go/come back start  
 pron vi aux vi pron vi vi

*tokanemetemone*

to- ka- na -hemete -mone  
 CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They slept two nights, and then were ready to come back.'

61 *Ota towakamibonehe me ati*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he me ati  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F DUP 3PL.S say  
 pron vi pron vt

## BISI

### *nemetemoneke*

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

aux

'"We are going," they said.'

### 62 *Te towakamahi*

tee to- ka- ka -ma -hi  
2PL.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F  
pron vi

'"Go."

### 63 *Faya me kakamimetemone*

faya me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone me  
so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
conj pron vi pron

### *towakamete*

to- ka- ka -ma -hemete *me* *awineke* *ahi*  
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F me awine -ke ahi  
vt 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F then  
pron sec dem

'Then they went.'

### 64 *Me kobo tokanamete*

me kobo to- ka- na -ma -hemete *me* *awineni*  
3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
pron vi aux pron sec

'They arrived back.'

### 65 *Me me hekanakosa*

me me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F *me* , *hine* *me* *ebe*  
3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle 3PL.O 3.REFL 3PL.S divide up  
pron pron vt pron pron pron vt

### *kawemetemonehe*

ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -he  
COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DUP

aux

'The ones that they left behind divided themselves into two groups.'

### 66 *Me winikimemetemoneke*

me wina -kima -hemete -mone -ke *hine* *ya*  
3PL.S live two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F only ADJU  
pron vi pron prt

'They lived in two places.'

### 67 *Me*

*tabori* *bote* , *Aba Wini* *ka* *boto* *yororo*  
me tabori bote , Aba Wini ka boto yororo  
3PL.POSS place+F old (name of stream) POSS sandy clearing stand  
pron pn adj npropf prt nf vi

### *nineke*

na -ne -ke , *me* *wiwinikima* *toimetemone* *karo*  
AUX CONT+F DECL+F me wi- wina -kima to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone karo  
aux 3PL.S DUP live two CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F which  
pron vi aux prt

'There are two sandy clearings where they used to live by the Aba Wini stream.'

BISI

68 *Me tafa , me ibe mari na me ,*  
 me tafa+F , me ibe mari na+F me ,  
 3PL.S eat 3PL.POSS RECIP offer a feast to AUX 3PL.POSS  
 pron vi pron pn vt aux pron

*aba me me mari na mati hiyama mati*  
 aba me me mari na+F mati hiyama mati  
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S feast on AUX 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron

'They ate. They offered feasts to each other. They feasted on *aba* fish and white-lipped peccaries.'

69 *Me ayaka me ayakawaha , me ayakawaha na*  
 me ayaka+F me ayaka -waha+F , me ayaka -waha na  
 3PL.S dance 3PL.S dance change 3PL.S dance change AUX  
 pron vi pron vi pron vi aux

*toemetemone me ihi okomise hihiyara*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone me ihi o- ka amise hi- hiyara  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS deed+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt OC tell  
 aux pron pn nf vt

*toimaro amani , me ati hiyawabani*  
 to- ha.NOM+F -maro amani -ni , me ati hiyawa -haba -ni  
 CH AUX FP.E+F SEC BKG+F 3PL.POSS voice have an idea FUT+F IP.N+F  
 aux sec pron pn vi

*mati me abe kakamo rawabani mati*  
 mati , me abe ka- kamo na -rawa -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT bury AUX F.PL FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.POSS  
 pron pron pn vt aux

*wami ya me abara mati*  
 wami ya me ahaba -ra+F mati  
 soil ADJU 3PL.S die NEG 3PL.S  
 nf prt pron vi pron

'My aunt always told about them, that they had many festas. Then they stopped having festas. The girls buried each other in the soil, but they didn't die.'

70 *Boto nafiemetemone okomise na*  
 boto nafi -hemete -mone o- ka amise ati na  
 sandy clearing be big FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt say AUX  
 nf vi nf vt

*hiamaro itineni*  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro ita -ne -ni  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F be located CONT+F BKG+F  
 aux vi

'There is a sandy clearing there that my aunt used to say was big.'

71 *Aba me , aba me hekame , kabikana*  
 aba me , aba me hi- ka- ka -ma+M , kabikana  
 fish sp 3PL fish sp 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back fish hook  
 nm pron nm pron vt nf

*ya me hinawasi me hekame ,*  
 ya me hi- na- wasi+M me hi- ka- ka -ma+M ,  
 ADJU 3PL.S OC CAUS get caught 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back  
 prt pron vt pron vt

*ifo me tasi hise wawa*  
 ifo me tasi hi- to- na -kosa+M wa- waa  
 lower lip+M 3PL.S string OC CH AUX middle DUP stand  
 pn pron vt aux vi







## BISI

him. They took roasted meat. He gave them things again. There were no guns.'

82	<i>Wati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>titisa</i>		<i>toemetemone</i>		<i>wati</i>	.
	wati	me	ti- tisa		to- ha -hemete -mone		wati	
	arrow	3PL.S	DUP shoot with bow		CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F		arrow	
	nm	pron	vt		aux		nm	

'They shot arrows.'

# ANITO

## *Free Translation*

In order to have a feast they went out into the forest. They stayed for a while out there. They didn't have anything to eat.

"We don't have anything to eat. What shall we eat?"

They were eating meat by itself.

"Wait, I will go and get manioc mash for us."

He went to get manioc mash. He disappeared, and they waited for him.

"Oh, it's hard not to have anything to eat with the meat."

He went, and disappeared. He came back carrying tapioca on his shoulder. There wasn't any village, but he came back carrying tapioca. Later he disappeared.

They ate his manioc mash. They ate the tapioca. They ate it with the meat.

They killed more animals with their blowguns, to get ready to leave. So that they could get ready, they shot some more animals with their blowguns, and they roasted the animals on racks.

"Come on, we don't have anything to eat. Come on after me. I will go on ahead. I will sit and wait for you."

He went on ahead not carrying any meat. He carried his bow and arrows and blowgun on his shoulder, and his hammock strapped to his shoulder. He went on ahead. They stayed behind.

They put the animals in the baskets. They started out with them. They went after him.

"Oh, Anito was supposed to wait for us, but he didn't wait for us. He seems to have left us behind," they said.

He didn't come back. He must have stayed with some other people. They missed him. He disappeared. They didn't find him. They were afraid, and they went and lived somewhere else.

*Okomobi: Was Anito the name of a Jarawara?*

I guess he was a Jarawara. Maybe he was a Jamamadi.

They looked for him. They went out looking for him, but they didn't find him. He was going to sit by the trail, but they couldn't find him. His younger brother was upset. When they called him, he never responded. There were no tracks of him, no trail. He must have found some other people, my aunt used to say.

The Wa Yafi people also heard that story. They used to tell that story.

When they came back, they yelled to each other, because they were upset. They were excited. His younger brother was grieving because he disappeared. He didn't yell out to them. He came into the house and sat down, grieving. He listened to what they said. He sat and listened to them talking.

"Mother, my older brother disappeared. I looked for him but couldn't find him," he said.

"We didn't have any manioc mash, and my brother carried back tapioca, which we ate. He went on ahead, and disappeared."

They talked. Then they had a feast, so they could have a festa. There were many people in a circle, with no one in the middle, my aunt used to say. I guess their old village still exists. We haven't seen the village. It is Bia Fa, where there are *kona* plants, their old village. They danced all night. Morning came. They remembered Anito.

## ANITO

"Anito disappeared. He scared us, and we have come back. Anito brought manioc mash from somewhere where no people live, and we ate the manioc mash, and he disappeared."

Anito disappeared. They went after him, and they looked for him but didn't find him. He didn't go crazy.

Then some of them moved away. They left the others behind, because they were grieving. They were grieving, and they came here, and we are living here. We are those people. They were grieving and they came here. They never went back there to see the others, the story said, my aunt used to say. They didn't eat garden produce, they started eating *fowe* tuber again. The women grated *fowe* tubers. They spoke a different language.

"Wait, I'm going to shoot an *aba* fish with an arrow. I'm going to shoot a *sako* fish when it is going to lay eggs."

He came back carrying *aba* fish on his back. He had shot *aba* fish with an arrow. He spoke when he came back. His wife was grating *fowe* tuber, it was not manioc.

"The *aba* fish are coming downstream. You haven't seen the *aba* fish coming downstream," he said. He told about the *aba* fish when he came back.

Then they shot *aba* fish with arrows. When they were going to shoot *aba* fish with arrows, the women squeezed the juice out of *fowe* mash. They ate *fowe* as they ate *aba* fish. They ate.

Then they went after *aba* fish the next day. They got up early because of the *aba* fish, and they shot *aba* fish all day with arrows. Then they ate.

They went and cut down trees. They grooved the trees.

"Let's cut down trees. We found a stream. We will cut down trees."

They didn't cut down trees. They grooved the trees with agouti teeth. They grooved trees, and their old gardens can be seen every day. They would groove the trees all day long. They worked all day long. They slept and then they got up early because of the trees again. They grooved the trees some more. They finished cutting the trees down. Their old gardens. There were no axes, or any Brazilians. They grooved the trees when there were no Brazilians. It's an old story of long ago.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Me</b>	<b>mari</b>	<b>nabone</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>toka</b>		<b>me</b>	
	me	mari	na -habone		me	to- ka+F		me	
	3PL.S	feast	AUX INT+F		3PL.S	away go/come		3PL.S	
	pron	vi	aux		pron	vi		pron	
	<b>towinawitia</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>kababa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kihara</b>	<b>me</b>	
	to- wina	-witI+F	me	yama	kaba -haba	me	kiha -ra+F	me	
	away live	out	3PL.S	thing	eat FUT+F	3PL.S	have NEG	3PL.S	
	vi		pron	nf	result	pron	vt	pron	
	<b>Yama</b>	<b>kababa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>kihari</b>					
	yama	kaba -haba	ee	kiha -ra.NOM+F					
	thing	eat FUT+F	1IN.S	have NEG					
	nf	result	pron	vt					

'In order to have a feast they went out into the forest. They stayed for a while out there. They didn't have anything to eat. "We don't have anything to eat."

2	<b>Himata</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>kababa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>amari</b>		
	himata	ee	kaba -haba	ee	ama -ri		
	what?	1IN.S	eat FUT+F	1IN.S	SEC CQ+F		
	interrog	pron	vt	pron	sec		

""What shall we eat?""

## ANITO

3 *Bani me hinita me kaba me , Hiba , e ka*  
 bani me hinita me kaba+F me , hiba , ee ka  
 animal 3PL.POSS alone 3PL.S eat 3PL.S wait 1IN POSS  
 nm pron pn pron vt pron interj pron prt  
*e ka iyawaba onakamatibe*  
 ee ka iyawa -ba o- to- na- ka -mata -be  
 1IN POSS manioc mash FUT 1SG.S away CAUS go/come short time IMMED+F  
 pron prt nf vt  
 "They were eating meat by itself. "Wait, I will go and get manioc mash for us."

4 *Iyawa , iyawa tonakebona fawa ne ,*  
 iyawa iyawa to- na- ka -hibona fawa na+M  
 manioc mash manioc mash away CAUS go/come INT+M disappear AUX  
 nf nf vt vi aux  
*fawa ne me noki hinematamona*  
 fawa na+M me noki hi- na -himata -mona  
 disappear AUX 3PL.S wait for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi aux pron vt aux  
 'He went to get manioc mash. He disappeared, and they waited for him.'

5 *Aa , yama kakawi*  
 aa yama ka- kawi  
 (expression of displeasure) thing DUP eat with something  
 interj nf pn  
*watari , kakasiraba rarake*  
 wata -ra.NFIN , ka- kasi -raba na -ra -hara -ke  
 exist NEG DUP be naughty a bit AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F  
 vi vi aux  
 "'Oh, it's hard not to have anything to eat with the meat.'"

6 *Faya toke fawa ne kamematamonaka*  
 faya to- ka+M fawa na+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 so away go/come disappear AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi vi aux vi  
 'He went, and disappeared. He came back.'

7 *Iyawa iyawa soke iyawa soke*  
 iyawa iyawa soke iyawa soke  
 manioc mash manioc mash residue+F manioc mash residue+F  
 nf nf pn nf pn  
*sana kanamematamonahane*  
 sana ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt aux  
 'He came back carrying tapioca on his shoulder.'

8 *Iyawa , iyawa soke sana*  
 iyawa iyawa soke sana  
 manioc mash manioc mash residue+F carry strapped on shoulder  
 nf nf pn vt  
*kaname , iyawa , e winaba wawatari*  
 ka- na -ma+M , iyawa , ee wina -haba wa- wata -ra.NOM+F  
 COMIT AUX back manioc mash 1IN.S live FUT+F DUP exist NEG  
 aux nf pron vi vi

## ANITO

**ya iyawa soke sana**  
 ya iyawa soke sana  
 ADJU manioc mash residue+F carry strapped on shoulder  
 prt nf pn vt

**kanamematamonaka , fawa nebanoho**  
 ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka , fawa na -hiba -no -ho  
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M disappear AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux vi aux

'He came back carrying tapioca. There wasn't any village, but he came back carrying tapioca. Later he disappeared.'

9 **Hinaka iyawa me hikabemetemoneni**  
 hinaka iyawa me hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS manioc mash 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron nf pron vt

'They ate his manioc mash.'

10 **Iyawa soke me kabemetemone ama**  
 iyawa soke me kaba -hemete -mone ama  
 manioc mash residue+F 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 nf pn pron vt sec

'They ate the tapioca.'

11 **Bani me me kakawi**  
 bani me me ka- kawi  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat with something  
 nm pron pron vt

**nawahemetemoneheni**  
 na -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 aux

'They ate it with the meat.'

12 **Bani me me kakawi na me , bani**  
 bani me me ka- kawi na+F me , bani  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat with something AUX 3PL.S animal  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

**me me fora tasa me , me yana**  
 me me fora na -tasa+F me , me yana  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX again 3PL.S 3PL.S start  
 pron pron vt aux pron pron vi

**tonabone mati**  
 to- na -habone mati  
 CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'They ate it with the meat. They killed more animals with their blowguns, to get ready to leave.'

13 **Me yana tonabone bani me me fora**  
 me yana to- na -habone bani me me fora  
 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun  
 pron vi aux nm pron pron vt

**tasa me bani me me tabasi nama me**  
 na -tasa+F me bani me me tabasi na -ma+F me  
 AUX again 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX back 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron pron vt aux pron

## ANITO

**bani me me tabasi namemetemoneni**  
 bani me me tabasi na -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

'So that they could get ready, they shot some more animals with their blowguns, and they roasted the animals on racks.'

14 **Hima yama kababa e kihara ere**  
 hima yama kaba -haba ee kiha -ra+F ere  
 let's go thing eat FUT+F 1IN.S have NEG 1IN.S  
 interj nf result pron vt pron

"Come on, we don't have anything to eat."

15 **Te te kamakiya**  
 tee tee ka -makI -yahi  
 2PL 2PL.S go/come following DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron vi

"Come on after me."

16 **Tai oamiba**  
 tai o- to- ha -ma -baha+F  
 be ahead 1SG.S CH AUX back before  
 vi aux

"I will go on ahead."

17 **Owitarebana o te noki onaba**  
 o- ita -rI -habana o- tee noki o- na -haba  
 1SG.S sit raised surface FUT+F 1SG.S 2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT+F  
 vi prt pron vt aux

**te**  
 tee  
 2PL.O  
 pron

"I will sit and wait for you."

18 **Honarematamonaka tai toamari**  
 hona -ra -himata -mona -ka tai to- ha -ma -haari  
 have something NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M be ahead CH AUX back IP.E+M  
 vi vi aux

'He went on ahead not carrying any meat.'

19 **Wati tiwa kana karaboa yifo**  
 wati tiwa ka- na.LIST karaboha.LIST yifo  
 arrow carry COMMIT AUX blowgun hammock  
 nm vt aux nf nm

**sana nematamonane**  
 sana.LIST na -himata -mona -ne  
 carry strapped on shoulder AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'He carried his bow and arrows and blowgun on his shoulder, and his hammock strapped to his shoulder.'

20 **Faya tai toame me tonokosa me**  
 faya tai to- ha -ma+M me to- naho -kosa+F me  
 so be ahead CH AUX back 3PL.S CH stand middle 3PL.S  
 conj vi aux pron vi pron

## ANITO

**me tonokosa bani me me te na bani**  
 me to- naho -kosa+F bani me me tee na+F bani  
 3PL.S CH stand middle animal 3PL.O 3PL.S put inside AUX animal  
 pron vi nm pron pron vt aux nm

**me me , yana tokana me , me**  
 me me , yana to- ka- na+F me , me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron pron vi aux pron pron

**tokomakewehemetemone me amani**  
 to- ka -makI -waha -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 away go/come following change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 vi pron sec

'He went on ahead. They stayed behind. They put the animals in the baskets. They started out with them. They went after him.'

21 **Me tokomake me , Aa**  
 me to- ka -makI me aa  
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S (expression of displeasure)  
 pron vi pron interj

**Anito e , Anito era noki nebona era**  
 Anito ee , Anito era noki na -hibona era  
 (man's name) 1IN (man's name) 1IN.O wait for AUX INT+M 1IN.O  
 npropm pron npropm pron vt aux pron pron

**noki re awaka**  
 noki na -ra+M awa -ka  
 wait for AUX NEG seem+M DECL+M  
 vt aux sec

'They went. "Oh, Anito was supposed to wait for us, but he didn't wait for us."

22 **Era kakose awane , me ati**  
 era ka- kana -kosa+M awa -ne me ati  
 1IN.O COMIT leave middle seem+M BKG+M 3PL.S say  
 pron vt sec pron vt

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

'"He seems to have left us behind," they said.'

23 **Kakamaki na toharematamonaha**  
 ka- ka -makI na to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ha  
 DUP go/come following AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi aux aux

'He didn't come back.'

24 **Sasawi toemata awaka me one ni ya**  
 sa- sawi to- ha -himata awa -ka me one ni ya  
 DUP be present CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL other+F to ADJU  
 vi aux sec pron adj prt prt

'He must have stayed with some other people.'

25 **Tabiyo me aawa hiematamonane**  
 tabiyo me a- awa hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 absence 3PL.S DUP feel OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pn pron vt aux

'They missed him.'







## ANITO

40 *Faya me kama me abe ye*  
 faya me ka -ma+F me abe yee  
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.POSS RECIP yell  
 conj pron vi pron pn vi

*kanamimetemone ama ahi me yawa mati*  
 ka- na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama ahi me yawa+F mati  
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F SEC then 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S  
 aux sec dem pron vi pron

'When they came back, they yelled to each other, because they were upset.'

41 *Me kayawemetemone ahi*  
 me ka- yawa -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S COMIT be excited FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They were excited.'

42 *Nisori fawa ne nisori*  
 nisori fawa na+M nisori  
 3SG.POSS.younger brother disappear AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
 nm vi aux nm

*yawematamona amane fari*  
 yawa -himata -mona ama -ne faari  
 be upset FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M that one+M  
 vi sec dem

'His younger brother was grieving because he disappeared.'

43 *Mera ye karematamonaha*  
 mera yee ka- na -ra -himata -mona -ha  
 3PL.O yell COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pron vi aux

'He didn't yell out to them.'

44 *Mera ye kare kiyomame yawa*  
 mera yee ka- na -ra+M ka -yoma -ma+M yawa  
 3PL.O yell COMIT AUX NEG go/come through back grief  
 pron vi aux vi nf

*kawitare me ati kamitematamonaka*  
 ka- ita -rI me ati ka- mita -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT sit raised surface 3PL.POSS voice COMIT hear FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt pron pn vt

'He didn't yell out to them. He came into the house and sat down, grieving. He listened to what they said.'

45 *Me ati kamite itari Ami*  
 me ati ka- mita+M ita -rI+M ami  
 3PL.POSS voice COMIT hear sit raised surface mother  
 pron pn vt vi nf

*okoyo fawa ne yama*  
 o- ka ayo fawa na.NOM+M yama  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother disappear AUX thing  
 nm vi aux nf

'He sat and listened to them talking. "Mother, my older brother disappeared."'

46 *Okoyo fawa ne siba one owa*  
 o- ka ayo fawa na+M siba o- na+M owa  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother disappear AUX look for 1SG.S AUX 1SG.O  
 nm vi aux vt aux pron





## ANITO

<b>kakame</b>			<b>ka</b>	<b>iyawa</b>	<b>ota</b>	<b>kaba</b>	<b>fawa</b>
ka-	ka	-ma.NOM+M	ka	iyawa	otaa	kaba+F	fawa
COMIT	go/come	back	which	manioc mash	1EX.S	eat	disappear
vt			prt	nf	pron	vt	vi

**nahare**

na -hare  
AUX IP.E+M  
aux

"Anito brought manioc mash from somewhere where no people live, and we ate the manioc mash, and he disappeared."

58	<b>Anito</b>		<b>fawa</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hinakamatase</b>	
	Anito		fawa	na+M	me	hi- to- na- ka	-ma -tasa+M
	(man's name)		disappear	AUX	3PL.S	OC away CAUS	go/come back again
	npropm		vi	aux	pron	vt	

  

	<b>me</b>	<b>siba</b>	<b>hine</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiwasimatamonaha</b>	
	me	siba	hi- na+M	me	hi- wasi -himata -mona -ha	
	3PL.S	look for	OC AUX	3PL.S	OC find FP.N+M REP+M DUP	
	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt	

**rarabika**

ra- rabika na -ra -haari  
DUP be crazy AUX NEG IP.E+M  
vi aux

'Anito disappeared. They went after him, and they looked for him but didn't find him. He didn't go crazy.'

59	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>one</b>	<b>banawemetemoneke</b>		<b>fahi</b>
	faya	me	me	one	bana -waha -hemete -mone -ke		fahi
	so	3PL	3PL	some+F	move away change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		then
	conj	pron	pron	adj	vi		dem

'Then some of them moved away.'

60	<b>Me</b>	<b>abe</b>	<b>kakosemetemoneni</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>yawa</b>
	me	abe	ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ni		me	yawa+F
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F		3PL.S	be upset
	pron	pn	vt		pron	vi

**mati**

mati  
3PL.S  
pron

'They left the others behind, because they were grieving.'

61	<b>Me</b>	<b>yawa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakimetemone</b>		<b>e</b>
	me	yawa+F	me	ka -kI.NOM -mete -mone		ee
	3PL.S	be upset	3PL.S	go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F		1IN.S
	pron	vi	pron	vi		pron

**winineke**

wina -ne -ke ahi  
live CONT+F DECL+F here  
vi dem

'They were grieving, and they came here, and we are living here.'

62	<b>Afa</b>	<b>memete</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>amake</b>
	afa	me -mete	me	ee	ama -ke
	this+F	3PL FP.N+F	3PL.COMPL	1IN.S	be DECL+F
	dem	pron	pron	pron	vc

'We are those people.'

## ANITO

- 63 *Me*      *yawa*      *me*      *kake*      ,      *me*      *ebe*  
 me      yawa+F      me      ka      -kI      ,      me      ebe  
 3PL.S      be upset      3PL.S      go/come coming      3PL.POSS      RECIP  
 pron      vi      pron      vi      pron      pn
- totowama*      *na*      *toaremetemone*      ,      *hiyara*      *aati*  
 to- to- awa -ma      na      to- ha -ra -hemete -mone      ,      hiyara      a- ati  
 DUP away see back      AUX      CH      AUX      NEG      FP.N+F      REP+F      story      DUP say  
 vt      aux      aux
- toemetemone*      *okomise*      *hiyari*      *aati*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone      o-      ka      amise      hiyara.NFIN      a- ati  
 CH      AUX      FP.N+F      REP+F      1SG.POSS      POSS      aunt      speak      DUP say  
 aux      nf      vi      vt
- toamaroni*      ,      *awa*      *amara*      *tafe*      *me*      *kaba*      *mati*      ,  
 to- ha -hamaro -ni      ,      awa      ama -ra+F      tafe      me      kaba+F      mati  
 CH      AUX      FP.E+F      BKG+F      garden      be      NEG      food+F      3PL.S      eat      3PL.S  
 aux      nf      vc      pn      pron      vt      pron
- fowe*      *me*      *kabawama*      *mati*  
 fowe      me      kaba -waha -ma+F      mati  
 plant sp      3PL.S      eat change back      3PL.S  
 nf      pron      vt      pron
- 'They were grieving and they came here. They never went back there to see the others, the story said, my aunt used to say. They didn't eat garden produce, they started eating *fowe* tuber again.'

- 64 *Fowe*      *me*      *hihiti*      *toemetemoneke*      *me*      *fanawiri*  
 fowe      me      hi- hiti      to- ha -hemete -mone -ke      me      fanawi -ri  
 plant sp      3PL.S      DUP grate      CH      AUX      FP.N+F      REP+F      DECL+F      3PL      woman      PN  
 nf      pron      vt      aux      pron      pn

'The women grated *fowe* tubers.'

- 65 *Me*      *ati*      *hiyaya*      *na*      *toemetemone*  
 me      ati      hiya      -ya      na      to- ha -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS      voice      be different      DUP      AUX      CH      AUX      FP.N+F      REP+F  
 pron      pn      vi      aux      aux
- okomise*      *hiyari*      *aati*      *tohamaroke*  
 o-      ka      amise      hiyara.NFIN      a- ati      to- ha -hamaro -ke  
 1SG.POSS      POSS      aunt      speak      DUP say      CH      AUX      FP.E+F      DECL+F  
 nf      vi      vt      aux

'They spoke a different language.'

- 66 *Hiba*      *aba*      *sa*      *okomatibe*  
 hiba      aba      saa      o-      ka-      na      -mata      -be  
 wait      fish sp      shoot with arrow      1SG.S      COMIT      AUX      short time      IMMED+F  
 interj      nm      vt      aux

'''Wait, I'm going to shoot an *aba* fish with an arrow.'''

- 67 *Sako*      *toka*      *sa*  
 sako      to-      ka+F      saa  
 fish sp      away go/come      shoot with arrow  
 nf      vi      vt
- okomatibe*      ,      *aba*      *me*      *weye*      *ni*  
 o-      ka-      na      -mata      -be      ,      aba      me      weye      na.NFIN  
 1SG.S      COMIT      AUX      short time      IMMED+F      fish sp      3PL.O      carry      AUX  
 aux      nm      pron      vt      aux

## ANITO

**kamebanoho**  
 ka -ma -hiba -no -ho , **aba** **me** **sa**  
 go/come back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP fish sp 3PL.O shoot with arrow  
 vi nm pron vt

**nenoho** , **aba** **me** **sa** **nenoh**  
 na -hino -ho , aba me saa na -hino  
 AUX IP.N+M DUP fish sp 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+M  
 aux nm pron vt aux

**hiyaramebanoho** **fati** **fowe** **hiti** **naro** ,  
 hiyara -ma -hiba -no -ho fati fowe hiti na -haaro ,  
 speak back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3SG.POSS.wife plant sp grate AUX IP.E+F  
 vi nf nf vt aux

**fowa** **amarari**  
 fowa ama -ra -haari  
 manioc be NEG IP.E+M  
 nm vc

"I'm going to shoot a sako fish when it is going to lay eggs." He came back carrying *aba* fish on his back. He had shot *aba* fish with an arrow. He spoke when he came back. His wife was grating *fowe* tuber, it was not manioc.'

68 **Yama** **kisarawini**  
 yama ka -risa -rawa -ni  
 thing go/come down F.PL BKG+F  
 nf vi

"The *aba* fish are coming downstream."

69 **Yama** **kisarawa** **te** **awarawara** **teni** **ati**  
 yama ka -risa -rawa+F tee awa -rawa -ra+F tee -ni ati  
 thing go/come down F.PL 2PL.S see F.PL NEG 2PL.S BKG+F say  
 nf vi pron vt pron vt

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

"You haven't seen the *aba* fish coming downstream," he said.'

70 **Yama** **kisarawa** **hora** **karawe**  
 yama ka -risa -rawa+F hora ka- na -rawa+M  
 thing go/come down F.PL exclaim COMMIT AUX F.PL  
 nf vi vi aux

**kaminamarawe** , **aba** **me** **me** **tisa**  
 kamina -ma -rawa+M , aba me me tisa  
 tell back F.PL fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 vt nm pron pron vt

**nabani** **mati**  
 na -haba -ni mati  
 AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'He told about the *aba* fish when he came back. Then they shot *aba* fish with arrows.'<sup>61</sup>

71 **Aba** **me** **me** **tisa** **nemete**  
 aba me me tisa na -hemete  
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They shot *aba* fish with arrows.'

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61 The verb *hora karawe* is a false start.





## ANITO

### *nawemetemonehe*

na -waha -hemete -mone -he

AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DUP

aux

'They ate. They went and cut down trees.'

77	<b>Faya</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kekere</b>	<b>hiemetemone</b>	<b>amake</b>
	faya	awa	me	ke- kere	hi- to- ha -hemete -mone	ama -ke
	so	tree	3PL.S	DUP groove	OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	SEC DECL+F
	conj	nf	pron	vt	aux	sec

### *haro*

haaro

that one+F

dem

'They grooved the trees.'

78	<b>Awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kere</b>	<b>nama</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>Awa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>naba</b>
	awa	me	kere	na -ma+F	awa	me	awa	ee	kaa	na -haba
	tree	3PL.S	groove	AUX back	tree	3PL	tree	1IN.S	chop	AUX FUT+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux

### *ereke*

ere -ke

1IN.S DECL+F

pron

### *ahi*

ahi

then

dem

'They grooved the trees. "Let's cut down trees."'

79	<b>Awa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>nibe</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	awa	ee	kaa	na -be	ahi
	tree	1IN.S	chop	AUX IMMED+F	then
	nf	pron	vt	aux	dem

""Let's cut down trees.""

80	<b>Fa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>wasia</b>	<b>ama</b>
	faha	ee	wasi+F	ama
	stream	1IN.S	find	SEC
	nf	pron	vt	sec

""We found a stream.""

81	<b>Fa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>wasia</b>	<b>amani</b>
	faha	ee	wasi+F	ama -ni
	stream	1IN.S	find	SEC BKG+F
	nf	pron	vt	sec

""We found a stream.""

82	<b>Awa</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>naba</b>	<b>ereke</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>awa</b>
	awa	ee	kaa	na -haba	ere -ke	awa	me	kaa.LIST	awa
	tree	1IN.S	chop	AUX FUT+F	1IN.S DECL+F	tree	3PL.S	chop	tree
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nf	pron	vt	nf

<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>rabani</b>	<b>mati</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>awa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kere</b>
awa	me	kaa	na -ra -haba -ni	mati	awa	awa	me	kere
tree	3PL.S	chop	AUX NEG FUT+F	IP.N+F	tree	tree	3PL.S	groove
nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nf	nf	pron	vt

### *nabani*

na -haba -ni

AUX FUT+F IP.N+F

aux

### **mati**

mati sinama

3PL.S agouti

pron

### **sinama**

ino

tooth+M

pn

### **ino**

ya

ADJU

prt

""We will cut down trees." They didn't cut down trees. They grooved the trees with agouti teeth.'

## ANITO

83 *Awa me kekere toemetemone me ka awa bote* ,  
 awa me ke- kere to- ha -hemete -mone me ka awa bote  
 tree 3PL.S DUP groove CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL POSS garden old  
 nf pron vt aux pron prt nf adj

**kawahatasineni**

ka- waha -tasa -ne -ni  
 COMMIT dawn again CONT+F BKG+F  
 vi

'They grooved trees, and their old gardens can be seen every day.'

84 *Awa me kere natia me , awa me kere*  
 awa me kere na nahatI+F me , awa me kere  
 tree 3PL.S groove AUX daytime 3PL.S tree 3PL.S groove  
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

**natiemetemoneke**

na nahatI -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 AUX daytime FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They would groove the trees all day long.'

85 *Bai me tonaka me awa me bosa me*  
 bahi me to- na- ka+F me awa me bosa me  
 sun 3PL.S away CAUS go/come 3PL.S tree 3PL.S get up early 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron nf pron vi pron

*amo na me , awa me bosa katasa me* ,  
 amo na+F me , awa me bosa ka- na -tasa+F me ,  
 sleep AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S get up early COMMIT AUX again 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron nf pron vi aux pron

*awa me yama me awa me kere tasa awa me*  
 awa me yama me awa me kere na -tasa+F awa me  
 tree 3PL thing 3PL tree 3PL.S groove AUX again tree 3PL.S  
 nf pron nf pron nf pron vt aux nf pron

**nanabi**

**toemetemone**

na- na- ahaba to- ha -hemete -mone  
 DUP CAUS end CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt aux

'They worked all day long. They slept and then they got up early because of the trees again. They grooved the trees some more. They finished cutting the trees down.'<sup>62</sup>

86 *Me ka fatara bote , bari watari ya , yara*  
 me ka fatara bote , bari wata -ra.NOM+F ya , yara  
 3PL POSS garden old ax exist NEG ADJU Brazilian  
 pron prt nf adj nf vi prt npropm

*yara me watari ya*  
 yara me wata -ra.NOM+F ya  
 Brazilian 3PL.S exist NEG ADJU  
 npropm pron vi prt

'Their old gardens. There were no axes, or any Brazilians.'

87 *Yara me watari ya awa me kekere*  
 yara me wata -ra.NOM+F ya awa me ke- kere  
 Brazilian 3PL.S exist NEG ADJU tree 3PL.S DUP groove  
 npropm pron vi prt nf pron vt

62 The first occurrence of *awa me bosa* is a false start.

## ANITO

### *toemetemone*

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

'They grooved the trees when there were no Brazilians.'

88 *Hibati*                    *ka*   *hiyara*   *bote*   *amani*  
hibati                    ka   hiyara   bote   ama -ni  
long time ago   of   story   old   be   BKG+F  
nf                    prt   nf            adj   vc

'It's an old story of long ago.'

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

### *Free Translation*

They grooved trees with the teeth of the animals that they shot with arrows. They were grooving trees all day long with animal teeth. Finally they finished cutting down the trees, and then they burned the trees.

"Let's burn the trees. We don't have gardens."

They burned the trees. They planted the gardens all day long. What did they plant?

They went back and got their crops. They were calling each other to go.

"Let's go."

"Are you calling me to go?"

"Let's go hunting."

The two of them went into the forest of the seasonally flooded area. They found some animals that had been killed by jaguars, that they had covered up. They came upon some giant otters that a jaguar had killed.

The jaguar fought against them during the day. He was with his brother-in-law.

"There are animals covered up there that were killed by a jaguar. They must have been killed by a jaguar."

The jaguar came back and attacked them. One of them grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high when the jaguar charged him, as he was looking at the animals. They were giant otters that the jaguar had killed. When the jaguar charged him, he grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high.

"Come here. Come here," he said.

The other one was afraid. The other one should have charged with bow and arrow, but he was afraid.

He kept grabbing the arms of the jaguar up high. He wanted to wedge the jaguar between two trees, and he carried the jaguar. He took it to wedge it between two trees. He couldn't wedge it, because it jumped away. It clawed him all over.

"Break off a sapling for us."

The other one tried to break off a sapling, but couldn't. The jaguar attacked them continuously, because it was protecting its kill.

It did not die. They left it behind. When it went to the water, they came back.

He was all bloody, because the jaguar had clawed him. They came back.

"Hom, the jaguar hurt me. Look at the wounds where the jaguar hurt me. The jaguar attacked me because of its kill that it had covered up, and I have come back wounded. The animals it killed are there in a pile. The jaguar was clawing us. He braced me, leaning against my back."

"The jaguar should have died, instead it clawed you. Because you didn't kill it, you are all clawed."

They looked at the wounds of the jaguar, the marks of its claws. They didn't go after it, to shoot it with arrows. It disappeared.

Other people set traps for fish. Fa Ki Ra set traps for fish, too.

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

### Interlinear Presentation

1 *Awa me kere na toemetemone , bani me me*  
 awa me kere na to- ha -hemete -mone , bani me me  
 tree 3PL.S groove AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F animal 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux aux nm pron pron

*tisa na bani me ini ya*  
 tisa na+F bani me ini ya  
 shoot with arrow AUX animal 3PL.POSS tooth+F ADJU  
 vt aux nm pron pn prt  
 'They grooved trees with the teeth of the animals that they shot with arrows.'

2 *Bani me ini ya awa me kere natia me*  
 bani me ini ya awa me kere na nahatI+F me  
 animal 3PL.POSS tooth+F ADJU tree 3PL.S groove AUX daytime 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn prt nf pron vt aux

*, awa me nabiwahemetemoneke waha awa me*  
 awa me na- ahaba -waha -hemete -mone -ke waha awa me  
 tree 3PL.S CAUS end change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F now tree 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt prt nf pron

*sari kawabani mati*  
 sari ka- na -waha -haba -ni mati  
 burn COMIT AUX change FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron

'They were grooving trees all day long with animal teeth. Finally they finished cutting down the trees, and then they burned the trees.'

3 *Awa e sari kanaba ere ahi*  
 awa ee sari ka- na -haba ere ahi  
 tree 1IN.S burn COMIT AUX FUT+F 1IN.S then  
 nf pron vt aux pron dem

'Let's burn the trees.'

4 *Awa e sari kanaba ereke*  
 awa ee sari ka- na -haba ere -ke  
 tree 1IN.S burn COMIT AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F  
 nf pron vt aux pron

'Let's burn the trees.'

5 *E tefe watari*  
 ee tefe wata -ra.NOM+F  
 1IN.POSS crops exist NEG  
 pron pn vi

'We don't have gardens.'

6 *Faya awa me awa me sari kana awa awa me*  
 faya awa me awa me sari ka- na+F awa awa me  
 so tree 3PL tree 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX garden garden 3PL.S  
 conj nf pron nf pron vt aux nf nf pron

*natafa natia me , himata me koro rimeteya ?*  
 na- tafa nahatI+F me , himata me koro na -ri -mete -ya  
 CAUS eat daytime 3PL.S what? 3PL.S plant AUX CQ+F FP.N+F now  
 vt prt pron interrog pron vt aux

'They burned the trees. They planted the gardens all day long. What did they plant?'

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

7 *Yamata me totonakama toemete me*  
 yamata me to- to- na- ka -ma to- ha -hemete me  
 crops 3PL.S DUP away CAUS go/come back CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron

*awineke me ka yamata*  
 awine -ke me ka yamata  
 seem+F DECL+F 3PL POSS crops  
 sec pron prt nf

"They went back and got their crops."

8 *Me abe hima na me , me abe*  
 me abe hima na+F me , me abe  
 3PL.POSS RECIP call to go AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 pron pn vt aux pron pron pn

*hima na me , Owa hima tina*  
 hima na+F me , owa hima ti- na+F  
 call to go AUX 3PL.POSS 1SG.O let's go 2SG.S AUX  
 vt aux pron pron interj aux

"They were calling each other to go."<sup>63</sup>

9 *Hima*  
 hima  
 let's go  
 interj

"Let's go."

10 *Owa hima tina ama ti ?*  
 owa hima ti- na+F ama ti- ?  
 1SG.O call to go 2SG.S AUX SEC 2SG.S  
 pron vt aux sec prt

"Are you calling me to go?"

11 *Yama e yete na mata*  
 yama ee yete na mata  
 thing 1IN.S hunt AUX for now  
 nf pron vt aux prt

"Let's go hunting."

12 *Me towakimetemone waha amake*  
 me to- ka- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone waha ama -ke  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F flooded forest be DECL+F  
 pron vi nf vc

*haro , yome yome yome me ihi me*  
 haaro , yomee yomee yomee me ihi me  
 that one+F jaguar jaguar jaguar 3PL.POSS victim of+F 3PL.S  
 dem nm nm nm pron pn pron

*towasiwitihabani mati yome me ihi yoto*  
 to- wasi -witI -haba -ni mati yomee me ihi yoto  
 away find out FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S jaguar 3PL.POSS victim of+F cover  
 vt pron nm pron pn result

*kana mati*  
 ka- na+F mati  
 COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS  
 aux pron

"The two of them went into the forest of the seasonally flooded area. They found some animals that had been killed by jaguars, that they had covered up."

63 The clause *owa hima tina* is a false start.

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

13	<b>Yome</b>	<b>sabo</b>		<b>mera</b>	<b>waka</b>	<b>nen</b>	<b>ene</b>	<b>me</b>
	yomee	sabo		mera	waka	na -hino	ehene	me
	jaguar	giant otter	3PL.O	kill	AUX	IP.N+M	victim of+M	3PL.S
	nm	nm	pron	vt	aux		pn	pron
	<b>towasiwitia</b>		<b>yome</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mono</b>		<b>hinatebani</b>	
	to- wasi	-witI+F	yomee	me	mono		na hi- nahatI	-haba -ni
	away find out		jaguar	3PL.O	struggle with		AUX OC	daytime FUT+F BKG+F
	vt		nm	pron	vt		aux	
	<b>mati</b>							
	mati							
	3PL.O							
	pron							

'They came upon some giant otters that a jaguar had killed. The jaguar fought against them during the day.'

14	<b>Me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>famemetemoneke</b>		<b>wabori</b>	<b>ya</b>			
	me	me	fama -hemete	-mone -ke	wabori	ya			
	3PL	3PL.S	be two	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	ADJU
	pron	pron	vi		nm				prt

'He was with his brother-in-law.'

15	<b>Yama</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>yoto</b>	<b>kine</b>	<b>ha</b>		
	yama	ihi	yoto	ka- na -ne	haa		
	thing	victim of+F	cover	COMIT	AUX	CONT+F	DEM
	nf	pn	result	aux			dem

'''There are animals covered up there that were killed by a jaguar.'''

16	<b>Yome</b>	<b>ene</b>	<b>toe</b>	<b>awaka</b>	<b>yome</b>			
	yomee	ehene	to- ha+M	awa -ka	yomee			
	jaguar	victim of+M	CH	be seem+M	DECL+M	jaguar		
	nm	pn	vc	sec		nm		
	<b>kamabano</b>		<b>ya</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>katoma</b>		
	ka	-ma.NOM+M	-ba -no	ya	mera	mera	katoma	
	go/come back		FUT	IP.N+M	ADJU	3PL.O	3PL.O	attack
	vi		prt	pron	pron	pron	vt	

**natibanoho**

nahatI -hiba -no -ho  
daytime FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
prt

'''They must have been killed by a jaguar.''' The jaguar came back and attacked them.'

17	<b>Yome</b>	<b>wara</b>	<b>tomisibote</b>	<b>nematamona</b>	<b>ahi</b>	<b>fare</b>			
	yomee	wara	to- na -misa -bote	na -himata -mona	ahi	fare			
	jaguar	grab	away AUX up	quickly	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	same+M
	nm	vt	aux		aux			dem	dem

<b>yome</b>	<b>fito</b>	<b>hikanari</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>nari</b>				
yomee	fito	hi- ka- na -haari	bani	me	kii	na -haari				
jaguar	rush	OC	COMIT	AUX	IP.E+M	animal	3PL.O	look at	AUX	IP.E+M
nm	vi	aux				nm	pron	vt	aux	

'He grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high when the jaguar charged him, as he was looking at the animals.'

18	<b>Sabo</b>	<b>memetemoneke</b>	<b>yome</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>waka</b>			
	sabo	me -mete -mone -ke	yomee	me	waka			
	giant otter	3PL.S	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	jaguar	3PL.O	kill
	nm	pron				nm	pron	vt



## HURT BY A JAGUAR

**hinani**                      **mati**  
 hi- na -hani      mati  
 OC AUX IP.N+F    3PL.O  
 aux                      pron

'They were giant otters that the jaguar had killed.'

19 **Yome**      **fito**      **hikane**                      **yome**      **yome**      **wara**      **tomisibote**  
 yomee      fito      hi- ka-      na+M      yomee      yomee      wara      to- na      -misa      -bote  
 jaguar      rush      OC      COMMIT      AUX      jaguar      jaguar      grab      CH      AUX      up      quickly  
 nm              vi              aux                      nm              nm              vt              aux

**nematamona**                      **ahi**  
 na -himata -mona      ahi  
 AUX FP.N+M      REP+M      then  
 aux                      dem

'When the jaguar charged him, he grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high.'

20 **Yome**      **wara**      **tomise**                      ,      **Tikamake**  
 yomee      wara      to- na      -misa+M      ,      ti- ka                      -maki  
 jaguar      grab      CH      AUX      up                      2SG.S      go/come      following  
 nm              vt              aux                      vi

'He grabbed the jaguar's arms up high. "Come here."'

21 **Tikamakehi**                      **ati**      **nematamona**                      **ahi**  
 ti- ka                      -maki                      -hi      ati      na -himata -mona      ahi  
 2SG.S      go/come      following      IMP+F      say      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      then  
 vi                      vt              aux                      dem

'"Come here," he said.'

22 **Owa**      **watohimata**                      **awaka**  
 owa      wato                      -himata      awa      -ka  
 other+M      be afraid      FP.N+M      seem+M      DECL+M  
 adj              vi                      sec

'The other one was afraid.'

23 **Owa**      **watomako**                      **efe**      **wati**      **fito**  
 owa      wato -mako                      efe      wati      fito  
 other+M      know for this reason+M      this+M      arrow      rush  
 adj              vt                      dem              nm              vi

**tokanamaki**                      **namata**  
 to- ka-      na -maki                      na.NOM+M      -mata  
 away      COMMIT      AUX      following      AUX                      FP.N+M  
 aux                      aux

'The other one should have charged with bow and arrow, but he was afraid.'

24 **Yome**      **wara**      **tomisarima**                      **nematamona**                      **ahi**  
 yomee      wara      to- na      -misa      -rima                      na -himata -mona      ahi  
 jaguar      grab      CH      AUX      up      intermittent      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      then  
 nm              vt              aux                      aux                      dem

'He kept grabbing the arms of the jaguar up high.'

25 **Yome**      ,      **yome**      **hete**                      **nisebona**                      **ati**      **ne**      ,      **awa**  
 yomee      ,      yomee      hete                      na -risa      -hibona      ati      na+M      ,      awa  
 jaguar      jaguar      stick in      AUX      down      INT+M      say      AUX                      tree  
 nm              nm              vt                      aux                      vt              aux                      nf

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

*basa kani ya yome titiwa nawa nematamona ahi*  
 basa kani ya yomee ti- tiwa na -waha na -himata -mona ahi  
 between ADJU jaguar DUP carry AUX change AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn prt nm vt aux aux dem  
 'He wanted to wedge the jaguar between two trees, and he carried the jaguar.'

26 *Awa basa kani hete hinisebona heke*  
 awa basa kani hete hi- na -risa -hibona hi- to- ka- ka+M  
 tree between stick in OC AUX down INT+M OC away COMMIT go/come  
 nf pn vt aux vt  
 , *hete hinisebona yora towitimatamona*  
 hete hi- na -risa -hibona yora to- na -witI -himata -mona  
 stick in OC AUX down INT+M jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux vi aux  
 'He took it to wedge it between two trees. He couldn't wedge it, because it jumped away.'

27 *He bisi natimatamona ahi*  
 hee bisi na nahatI.NOM -mata -mona ahi  
 3SG.O scratch AUX daytime short time REP+M then  
 pron vt aux dem  
 'It clawed him all over.'

28 *E ka awaba baka tisahi*  
 ee ka awa -ba baka ti- na -kosa -hi  
 1IN POSS wood FUT break 2SG.S AUX middle IMP+F  
 pron prt nf vt aux  
 "'Break off a sapling for us.'"

29 *Owa awa owa awa awa baka nakosebona awa*  
 owa awa owa awa awa baka na -kosa -hibona awa  
 other+M tree other+M tree tree break AUX middle INT+M tree  
 adj nf adj nf nf vt aux nf

*hikasawari yome mera mono*  
 hi- ka- sawari+M yomee mera mono  
 OC COMMIT frustrate jaguar 3PL.O struggle with  
 vt nm pron vt

*natimatamona amake ene*  
 na nahatI.NOM -mata -mona ama -ke ehene  
 AUX daytime FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F victim of+M  
 aux vc pn

*kayawari*  
 ka- yawa -haari  
 COMMIT be upset IP.E+M  
 vt

'The other one tried to break off a sapling, but couldn't. The jaguar attacked them continuously, because it was protecting its kill.'

30 *Abarematamonaka*  
 ahaba -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 die NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'It did not die.'

31 *Me hekanakosematamonane*  
 me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S OC COMMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

'They left it behind.'

<p>32 <i>Tokifiwahawiti</i>  to- ka -fI -waha -witI+M  away go/come water change out  vi</p> <p><i>kakamemetemonehe</i>  ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he  COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  vi</p> <p><i>nowati ya</i>  nowati ya  behind ADJU  pn prt</p>	<p><i>nowati ya me</i>  nowati ya me  behind ADJU 3PL.S  pn prt pron</p> <p>, <i>tokifiwawiti</i>  to- ka -fI -waha -witI+M  away go/come water change out  vi</p>
--	--

'When it went to the water, they came back.'

<p>33 <i>Me kakama</i>  me ka- ka -ma+F  3PL.S COMIT go/come back  pron vi</p> <p><i>hine karo</i>  hi- na.NOM+M karo  OC AUX because  aux prt</p>	<p>, <i>amaamama</i>  ama- ama -ma  DUP be bloody DUP  vi</p>	<p>, <i>yome bisi</i>  yomee bisi  jaguar scratch  nm vt</p>
--	---	--

'They came back. He was all bloody, because the jaguar had clawed him.'

<p>34 <i>Faya me kakamemetemoneke</i>  faya me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  conj pron vi</p>	<p><i>fahi</i>  fahi  then  dem</p>
--	---

'They came back.'

<p>35 <i>Hom</i>  hom  (expression of discomfort)  interj</p>	<p><i>yama owa katomini</i>  yama owa katoma -ni  thing 1SG.O damage BKG+F  nf pron vt</p>
---	--

""Hom, the jaguar hurt me.""

<p>36 <i>Yama owa katoma ihi</i>  yama owa katoma+F ihi  thing 1SG.O damage result of+F  nf pron vt pn</p>	<p><i>te awa haro</i>  tee awa haaro  2PL.S see that one+F  pron vt dem</p>
--	---

""Look at the wounds where the jaguar hurt me.""

<p>37 <i>Yama ihi</i>  yama ihi  thing victim of+F  nf pn</p>	<p><i>weye nani</i>  weye na -hani  carry AUX IP.N+F  vt aux</p>	<p><i>owa katoma</i>  owa katoma+F  1SG.O attack  pron vt</p>
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<p><i>owakamine</i>  o- ka- ka -ma -ne  1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F  vi</p>	<p><i>oni</i>  o- ni  1SG.S BKG+F  prt</p>
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""The jaguar attacked me because of its kill that it had covered up, and I have come back wounded.""

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

38 *I ta tori ahi*  
 ihi taa to- na -rI.NOM ahi  
 victim of+F be piled up CH AUX raised surface there  
 pn vi aux dem

"The animals it killed are there in a pile."

39 *Yama otara bisi na ota owa ma kane ama*  
 yama otara bisi na+F otaa , owa maa ka- na+M ama  
 thing 1EX.O scratch AUX 1EX 1SG.O stop COMMIT AUX SEC  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vi aux sec

*fari , obatasi wanahari*  
 faari o- batasi wana -haari  
 that one+M 1SG.POSS middle of back be attached IP.E+M  
 dem pn vi

"The jaguar was clawing us. He braced me, leaning against my back."

40 *Faya me yana tonemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi aux dem

'They were ready.'

41 *Yome tiwa bisi neno yome ahabena te aware*  
 yomee tiwa bisi na -hino yomee ahaba -hina tee awa -ra+M  
 jaguar 2SG.O scratch AUX IP.N+M jaguar die IRR+M 2PL.S see NEG  
 nm pron vt aux nm vi pron vt

*awaka*  
 awa -ka  
 seem+M DECL+M  
 sec

"The jaguar should have died, instead it clawed you."

42 *Te hasi nihino ehene tiki hine ti*  
 tee hasi niha- na -hino ehene , ti- kiha -ne ti-  
 2PL.S escape CAUS AUX IP.N+M result of+M 2SG.S have CONT+F 2SG.S  
 pron vi aux pn vt prt

"Because you didn't kill it, you are all clawed."

43 *Yome ene me ki nemetemone yome ye*  
 yomee ehene me kii na -hemete -mone yomee yehe  
 jaguar result of+M 3PL.S look at AUX FP.N+F REP+F jaguar hand  
 nm pn pron vt aux nm pn

*ataro ehene*  
 ataro ehene  
 claw+M result of+M  
 pn pn

'They looked at the wounds of the jaguar, the marks of its claws.'

44 *Me hinakebona me hinakare me*  
 me hi- to- na- ka -hibona me hi- na- ka -ra+M me  
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come INT+M 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come NEG+M 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron vt pron

*hinakebona me*  
 hi- to- na- ka -hibona me  
 OC away CAUS go/come INT+M 3PL.S  
 vt pron

## HURT BY A JAGUAR

**hinakarematamonaka**

hi- to- na- ka	-ra -himata -mona -ka	,	<b>me</b>	<b>sa</b>
OC away CAUS go/come	NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		me	saa
vt			3PL.S	shoot with arrow
			pron	vt

**hikanebonaha**

hi- ka- na	-hibona -ha
OC COMIT AUX INT+M	DUP
aux	

'They didn't go after it, to shoot it with arrows.'

45 **Fafawa**

fa- fawa	to- ha -himata -mona -ka
DUP disappear	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi	aux

**toematamonaka**

to- ha -himata -mona -ka	
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
aux	

**ahi**

ahi	
then	
dem	

'It disappeared.'

46 **Me**

me one	wa- wasi
3PL other+F	DUP get caught
pron adj	nf

**wawasi**

wa- wasi	na- wina -waha+F
DUP get caught	CAUS hang change
nf	vt

**nawinawaha**

na- wina -waha+F	
CAUS hang change	
vt	

**Fa Ki Ra**

Faa Kii Ra	(man's name)
npropm	

**Fa Ki Ra**

Faa Kii Ra	wa- wasi
(man's name)	DUP get caught
npropm	nf

**wawasi**

wa- wasi	na- wina -waha.LIST
DUP get caught	CAUS hang change
nf	vt

**nawinawaha**

na- wina -waha.LIST	
CAUS hang change	
vt	

'Other people set traps for fish. Fa Ki Ra set traps for fish, too.'

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

### *Free Translation*

The Mowaras killed people. I will remember the Mowaras.

The Mowaras killed people, and he was waiting for them. His two wives had been pregnant, and the enemy Indians had killed them, and cut open their stomachs. This had made him angry, and because of this he was waiting for the enemies.

As he was waiting for the enemies, he didn't do anything except put points on arrows. He put points on the arrows. He waited for the enemies.

They wanted to kill again, and they came back. He didn't sleep as he waited for the enemies. He was always going outside, waiting for the Mowaras. He was always going outside to see, and he encountered the Mowaras.

The Mowaras came. Their voices started. They shot arrows at the house just after he got back in his hammock. As he listened lying in his hammock, they shot arrows at the house. He yelled out. They had not hit him with an arrow. He gathered the weapons of the Mowaras. He picked up their weapons that they had shot at him, because he escaped from the enemies.

Then dawn came on them. Then he shot them with their own weapons, with the arrows they had brought. He was shooting them with arrows as he ran.

He left them behind. They came after him again. He went after other arrows, and they chased him. He went after other arrows. He picked up other arrows.

He came back out. Others killed people, too, who were with him. He chased them. He shot them with arrows as he ran. The son of a Mowara hid. He shot them with arrows as he ran. He yelled at them. Some of them escaped. Then he came back. He came back, after yelling at them. He went after them and yelled at them. He came back.

The son of a Mowara missed him. "Betekari pira," went the sound of an arrow and bow. He ducked, and he missed him. He escaped being hit. He picked up the arrow. "Stay there. You missed me."

The Mowara's son went from side to side, as he was planning to kill him. He pulled the arrow back in the bow. He shot him from close up. The boy cried out. The man yelled, because he had killed someone.

He caused the boy's father, who was hiding, to speak. "Jaguar, jaguar," he said. "Jaguar, get him," he said. "The jaguar will eat him, because he shot my son with an arrow," he said.

"I will shoot the jaguar with an arrow, too. I shot your son."

Why didn't he go after him? After they went away, he gathered their bodies. He put their bodies in the water. He moved to another place, because they would rot.

"Come on back again. Come back again. I didn't die."

He got married again. He married younger sisters of the ones he had been married to before, the daughters of his father-in-law.

He waited for them again. He went hunting, and he never forgot when he got back. "Mother, the enemies are going to come back. I killed those other enemies. I will come upon you when I come back. If I come back and you are dead, I will go after them. The enemies will take you away. They will eat you."

He wanted to go after them, but his mother wouldn't let him. "I think they will come back."

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

Stay here and wait for them," his mother said. "They will come again," his mother said.

So he waited for them. They didn't come back to fight against him. He shot a jaguar with bow and arrow, the jaguar that the Mowara had mentioned.

Where was he? I guess he moved away. I guess he went and lived downstream. He took his people downstream. He went and lived downstream. They went hunting. They never forgot that they had fought against the enemies.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Mowara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>mowara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>
	Mowara	me	ihi	Mowara	me	ihi
	Mowara	3PL.POSS	victim of+F	Mowara	3PL.POSS	victim of+F
	npropm	pron	pn	npropm	pron	pn

<b>itimetemone</b>	<b>mowara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>wati</b>
iti -hemete -mone	Mowara	me	wati
exist FP.N+F REP+F	Mowara	3PL.O	remember
vi	npropm	pron	vt

**owahamatibe**  
o- na -waha -mata -be  
1SG.S AUX change short time IMMED+F  
aux

'The Mowaras killed people. I will remember the Mowaras.'

2	<b>Mowara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>itihemetemone</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>nonoki</b>
	Mowara	me	ihi	iti -hemete -mone	mera	no- noki
	Mowara	3PL.POSS	victim of+F	exist FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.O	DUP wait for
	npropm	pron	pn	vi	pron	vt

**toematamonane**  
to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
aux

'The Mowaras killed people, and he was waiting for them.'

3	<b>Fati</b>	<b>fati</b>	<b>nabati</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>nikimarawa</b>	
	fati	fati	nabati	weye	na -kima -rawa+F	
	3SG.POSS.wife	3SG.POSS.wife	stomach	carry	AUX two F.PL	
	nf	nf	pn	vt	aux	

<b>yawa</b>	<b>hinahabi</b>	<b>hikimarawahanihi</b>	<b>tori</b>
yawa	hi- na- ahaba.LIST	hi- na -kima -rawa -hani -hi	tori
enemies	OC CAUS die	OC AUX two F.PL IP.N+F DUP	inside+F
nf	vt	aux	pn

<b>me</b>	<b>bobi</b>	<b>hikanikimarawahani</b>	<b>nayawa</b>	<b>hihe</b>
me	bobi	hi- ka- na -kima -rawa -hani	na- yawa	hi- to- ha+M
3PL.S	slit	OC COMIT AUX two F.PL IP.N+F	CAUS be upset	OC CH AUX
pron	vt	aux	vt	aux

<b>yawa</b>	<b>kakarawato</b>	<b>toematamona</b>
yawa	ka- karawato	to- ha -himata -mona
enemies	COMIT wait for	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf	vt	aux

'His two wives had been pregnant, and the enemy Indians had killed them, and cut open their stomachs. This had made him angry, and because of this he was waiting for the enemies.'

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

4 **Yawa**      **karawato**      **wati**      **ta**      **nanawari**  
 yawa      karawato      wati      taa      na- na- waa      -rI  
 enemies      wait for      arrow      contrast      DUP CAUS stand raised surface  
 nf      vt      nm      prt      vt

**toematamonane**

to- ha      -himata      -mona      -ne  
 CH      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      BKG+M  
 aux

'As he was waiting for the enemies, he didn't do anything except put points on arrows.'

5 **Wati**      **nawari**      ,      **yawa**      ,      **yawa**      **kakarawato**  
 wati      na- waa      -rI+M      ,      yawa      ,      yawa      ka- karawato  
 arrow      CAUS stand raised surface      enemies      enemies      COMIT wait for  
 nm      vt      nf      nf      vt

**toe**      **wati**      **nanawari**      ,      **toe**      ,      **me**  
 to- ha+M      wati      na- na- waa      -rI      to- ha+M      ,      me  
 CH      AUX      arrow      DUP CAUS stand raised surface      CH      AUX      3PL.O  
 aux      nm      vt      aux      pron

**nonoki**      **hiemetemone**      **ahi**  
 no- noki      hi- to- ha      -hemete      -mone      ahi  
 DUP wait for      OC      CH      AUX      FP.N+F      REP+F      then  
 vt      aux      dem

'He put points on the arrows. He waited for the enemies. He put points on the arrows. He waited for them.'

6 **Me**      **me**      **yama**      **me**      **wati**      **kanamani**      **me**      ,  
 me      me      yama      me      wati      ka- na -ma -hani      me  
 3PL      3PL      thing      3PL.S      plan against      COMIT AUX back IP.N+F      3PL.S  
 pron      pron      nf      pron      vt      aux      pron

**kamahani**      **rama**  
 ka      -ma -hani      rama  
 go/come back IP.N+F      unusual  
 vi      prt

'They wanted to kill again, and they came back.'

7 **Aamo**      **toematamonaha**      **yawa**      **karawatohi**  
 a- amo      to- ha      -himata      -mona      -ha      yawa      karawato+M  
 DUP sleep      CH      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      DUP      enemies      wait for  
 vi      aux      nf      vt

'He didn't sleep as he waited for the enemies.'

8 **Fare**      **totokiyomama**      **na**      **toematamonaka**  
 fare      to- to- ka      -yoma      -ma      na      to- ha      -himata      -mona      -ka  
 same+M      DUP away go/come through back      AUX      CH      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M  
 dem      vi      aux      aux

, **mowara**      **karawatohari**  
 Mowara      karawato -haari  
 Mowara      wait for IP.E+M  
 npropm      vt

'He was always going outside, waiting for the Mowaras.'

9 **Noko**      **awebona**      **fare**      **totokiyomama**      **ne**      ,      **mowara**  
 noko      awa -hibona      fare      to- to- ka      -yoma      -ma      na+M      ,      Mowara  
 eye+M      see INT+M      same+M      DUP away go/come through back      AUX      Mowara  
 pn      vi      dem      vi      aux      npropm



## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

**me mowara mera wasiwebanoho**  
 me Mowara mera wasi -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 3PL Mowara 3PL.O find change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pron npropm pron vt  
 'He was always going outside to see, and he encountered the Mowaras.'

10 **Mowara me kamakiani me moni me ati**  
 Mowara me ka -makI -hani me moni me ati  
 Mowara 3PL.S go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.POSS sound 3PL.POSS voice  
 npropm pron vi pron pn pron pn

**yana tonemetemone ama**  
 yana to- na -hemete -mone ama  
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 vi aux sec

'The Mowaras came. Their voices started.'

11 **Yobe me tisa nemetemone yobe hiba**  
 yobe me tisa na -hemete -mone yobe hiba  
 house 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F house soon after  
 nm pron vt aux nm conj

**towinama ne ni ya**  
 to- wina -ma na+M ni ya  
 away lie in hammock back AUX to ADJU  
 vi aux prt prt

'They shot arrows at the house just after he got back in his hammock.'

12 **Yama kamite wine ni ya yobe me**  
 yama ka- mita+M wina+M ni ya yobe me  
 thing COMMIT hear lie in hammock to ADJU house 3PL.S  
 nf vt vi prt prt nm pron

**tisa nemetemone ahi**  
 tisa na -hemete -mone ahi  
 shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt aux dem

'As he listened lying in his hammock, they shot arrows at the house.'

13 **Ye tonakosematamona ahi mowara me**  
 yee to- na -kosa -himata -mona ahi Mowara me  
 yell CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M then Mowara 3PL.S  
 vi aux dem npropm pron

**tisa hikarari**  
 tisa hi- ka- na -ra -haari  
 shoot with arrow OC COMMIT AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 vt aux

'He yelled out. They had not hit him with an arrow.'

14 **Mowara me ye hone yoro**  
 Mowara me yehe hone yoro  
 Mowara 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F be together  
 npropm pron pn pn vi

**tokaniwame me yehe hone**  
 to- ka- niha- na -waha -ma+M me yehe hone  
 CH COMMIT CAUS AUX change back 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F  
 aux pron pn pn



## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

### *kiyohemetemoneni*

kiyo -hemete -mone -ni  
chase FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

vt

'He went after other arrows, and they chased him.'

20	<b>Wati</b>	<b>owa</b>	<b>tonakame</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>kiyoha</b>	<b>wati</b>
	wati	owa	to- na- ka	-ma+M	me	kiyo+F	wati
	arrow	other+M	away CAUS	go/come back	3PL.S	chase	arrow
	nm	adj	vt		pron	vt	nm

### *towakitime*

### *kiyomamatasematamona*

to- ka- iti -ma+M ka -yoma -ma -tasa -himata -mona  
away COMIT pick up back go/come through back again FP.N+M REP+M  
vt vi

'He went after other arrows. He picked up other arrows. He came back out.'

21	<b>Me</b>	<b>one</b>	<b>ihi</b>	<b>iti</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>		<b>ahi</b>	<b>fe</b>
	me	one	ihi	iti.LIST	na -hemete -mone -ke		ahi	fee
	3PL	other+F	victim of+F	exist	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		then	3SG
	pron	adj	pn	vi	aux		dem	pron

<b>me</b>	<b>tabi</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>mati</b>
me	taba.NOM+F	ka	mati
3PL.S	be together	which	3PL
pron	vi	prt	pron

'Others killed people, too, who were with him.'

### 22 *Mera kiyohimatamona*

mera kiyo -himata -mona  
3PL.O chase FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vt

'He chased them.'

23	<b>Me</b>	<b>sa</b>
	me	saa
	3PL.O	shoot with arrow
	pron	vt

### *hinamakehitemetemone*

hi- to- na -makI -hitI -hemete -mone  
OC away AUX following along the way FP.N+F REP+F  
aux

<b>ahi</b>	<b>mowara</b>
ahi	Mowara
then	Mowara
dem	npropm

<b>biti</b>	<b>waiyabano</b>		<b>ya</b>
biti	wahiya.NOM+M	-ba -no	ya
3SG.POSS.son	hide	FUT IP.N+M	ADJU
nm	vi		prt

'He shot them with arrows as he ran. The son of a Mowara hid.'

24	<b>Tisa</b>	<b>hinamakehitemetemone</b>			<b>ahi</b>
	tisa	hi- to- na -makI	-hitI	-hemete -mone	ahi
	shoot with arrow	OC away AUX	following along the way	FP.N+F REP+F	then
	vt				dem

<b>ya</b>
ya
ADJU
prt

'He shot them with arrows as he ran.'

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

25 *Me ye hikanemetemone ahi*  
 me yee hi- ka- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.O yell OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'He yelled at them.'

26 *Me me one hasi nemete me awineke*  
 me me one hasi na -hemete me awine -ke  
 3PL 3PL some+F escape AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron pron adj vi aux pron sec

'Some of them escaped.'

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

'Then he came back.'

28 *Kamematamonaka mera ye*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka mera yee  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O yell  
 vi pron vi

*tokanamakiari*

to- ka- na -makI -haari  
 away COMIT AUX following IP.E+M  
 aux

'He came back, after yelling at them.'

29 *Mera ye tokanamaki kame mowara*  
 mera yee to- ka- na -makI+M ka -ma+M Mowara  
 3PL.O yell away COMIT AUX following go/come back Mowara  
 pron vi aux vi npropm

*biti hani hinihebanoho*  
 biti hani hi- to- niha- na -hiba -no -ho  
 3SG.POSS.son miss OC CH CAUS AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm vt aux

'He went after them and yelled at them. He came back. The son of a Mowara missed him.'

30 *Betekari pira bete pira wati moni tonakose rama*  
 betekari pira bete pira wati moni to- na -kosa+M rama  
 sound sound sound sound arrow make sound CH AUX middle unusual  
 nm vt aux aux prt

*fito tonakose ka hani*  
 fito to- na -kosa.NOM+M ka hani  
 rush CH AUX middle because miss  
 vi aux prt vt

*hinimatamonaka ahi*  
 hi- to- niha- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 OC CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'"Betekari pira," went the sound of an arrow and bow. He ducked, and he missed him.'

31 *Siyasiya kawahematamonaka ahi*  
 siya- siya ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 DUP you missed COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He escaped being hit.'

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

- 32 *Wati* *totimakematamona* *ahi*  
 wati to- iti -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 arrow away pick up following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vt dem  
 'He picked up the arrow.'
- 33 *Wawa* *karama* *tina*  
 wa- waa na -karahama ti- na  
 DUP stand AUX only do 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux  
 "'Stay there.'"
- 34 *Owa* *hani* *tiniha* *ama* *ti*  
 owa hani ti- to- niha- na+F ama ti-  
 1SG.O miss 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX SEC 2SG.S  
 pron vt aux sec prt  
 "'You missed me.'"
- 35 *Mowara* *biti* *baobao* *nawa* *nematamona*  
 Mowara biti bao- bao na -waha na -himata -mona  
 Mowara 3SG.POSS.son DUP come down AUX change AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 npropm nm vi aux aux  
*amane* *ahi* *wati* *hikanari*  
 ama -ne ahi wati hi- ka- na -haari  
 SEC BKG+M then plan against OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M  
 sec dem vt aux  
 'The Mowara's son went from side to side, as he was planning to kill him.'
- 36 *Hoka* *hikanematamona* *ahi*  
 hoka hi- ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
 yank OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem  
 'He pulled the arrow back in the bow.'
- 37 *Ayata* *sa* *hikane* *rama* *ahi*  
 ayata saa hi- ka- na+M rama ahi  
 near shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX unusual then  
 nf vt aux prt dem  
 'He shot him from close up.'
- 38 *Kiya* *kanematamona* *ahi*  
 kiya ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
 yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux dem  
 'He cried out.'
- 39 *Ye* *tonakosematamona* *ehene* *itihari*  
 yee to- na -kosa -himata -mona ehene itihari  
 yell CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M victim of+M exist IP.E+M  
 vi aux pn vi  
*bati* *waiyeno* *ati* *yana* *kanebanoho*  
 bati wahiya -hino ati yana ka- na -hiba -no -ho  
 3SG.POSS.father hide IP.N+M voice start COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm vi pn vi aux  
 'He yelled, because he had killed someone. He caused his father, who was hiding, to speak.'

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

40 *Yomahi yomahi ati nematamona*  
 yomahi yomahi ati na -himata -mona  
 jaguar jaguar say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm nm vt aux

'"Jaguar, jaguar," he said.'

41 *Yomahi tiye wata ati ne Yome hikabeba okatao*  
 yomahi ti- yehe wata ati na+M yomee hi- kaba -hiba okatao  
 jaguar 2SG.POSS hand exist say AUX jaguar OC eat FUT+M my son  
 nm pn vi vt aux nm vt nm

*tisa kana ati nematamonane*  
 tisa ka- na.CONT+M ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 shoot with arrow COMIT AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux vt aux

'"Jaguar, get him," he said. "The jaguar will eat him, because he shot my son with an arrow," he said.'

42 *Yome sa okobisibana*  
 yomee saa o- ka- na -bisa+F -bana  
 jaguar shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX also FUT  
 nm vt aux

'"I will shoot the jaguar with an arrow, too."

43 *Afa tikatao sa okarine o*  
 afa tikatao saa o- ka- na -ra -ne o-  
 this+F 2SG.POSS.son shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG CONT+F 1SG.S  
 dem nm vt aux prt

'"I shot your son."

44 *Onakamakimata ama*  
 o- to- na- ka -makI -himata ama  
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come following FP.N+M SEC  
 vt sec

'Why didn't he go after him?'

45 *Faya me tokoma me nowati ya mera*  
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me nowati ya mera  
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.POSS after ADJU 3PL.O  
 conj pron vi pron pn prt pron

*iso nematamona ahi*  
 iso na -himata -mona ahi  
 carry off AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem

'After they went away, he gathered their bodies.'

46 *Mera iso ne faha ya me iso hinemete*  
 mera iso na+M faha ya me iso hi- na -hemete  
 3PL.O carry off AUX water ADJU 3PL.O carry off OC AUX FP.N+F  
 pron vt aux nf prt pron vt aux

*me awineke*  
 me awine -ke  
 3PL.O seem+F DECL+F  
 pron sec

'He gathered their bodies. He put their bodies in the water.'



## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

<b>yama</b>	<b>yete</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>kakatamo</b>		<b>toematamonaha</b>
yama	yete	na+M	ati	ka- ka-	tamo	to- ha -himata -mona -ha
thing	hunt	AUX	voice	DUP COMIT	forget	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
nf	vt	aux	pn	vi		aux

<b>kobo</b>	<b>namahari</b>
kobo	na -ma -haari
arrive	AUX back IP.E+M
vi	aux

'He waited for them again. He went hunting, and he never forgot when he got back.'

54	<b>Ami</b>		<b>ami</b>	<b>yawa</b>	<b>kamiba</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>yawa</b>	<b>one</b>
	ami		ami	yawa	ka -ma.NOM+F	-ba	ama	yawa	one
	mother		mother	enemies	go/come back	FUT	be	enemies	other+F
	nf		nf	nf	vi		vc	nf	adj

<b>onahabiaha</b>
o- na- ahaba+F
1SG.S CAUS die
vt

""Mother, the enemies are going to come back. I killed those other enemies.""

55	<b>Tiwa</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>owasimabana</b>		<b>oni</b>
	tiwa	tiwa	o- wasi -ma -habana		o- ni
	2SG.O	2SG.O	1SG.S find back FUT+F		1SG.S BKG+F
	pron	pron	vt		prt

""I will come upon you when I come back.""

56	<b>Tika</b>		<b>abohi</b>	<b>owasimabana</b>		<b>oni</b>		<b>ati</b>
	ti-	ka	abohi	o- wasi -ma -habana		o- ni		ati
	2SG.POSS	POSS	dead body	1SG.S find back FUT+F		1SG.S BKG+F		say
	prt		pn	vt		prt		vt

<b>nematamona</b>
na -himata -mona
AUX FP.N+M REP+M
aux

""If I come back and you are dead, [I will go after them].""

57	<b>Yawa</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>towakamabana</b>
	yawa	tiwa	to- ka- ka -ma -habana
	enemies	2SG.O	away COMIT go/come back FUT+F
	nf	pron	vt

""The enemies will take you away.""

58	<b>Tiwa</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>kababana</b>
	tiwa	tiwa	kaba -habana
	2SG.O	2SG.O	eat FUT+F
	pron	pron	vt

""They will eat you.""

59	<b>Me</b>	<b>ibe</b>	<b>faya</b>	<b>mera</b>		<b>tonakamakibona</b>
	me	ibe	faya	mera		to- na- ka -makI -hibona
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	so	3PL.O		away CAUS go/come following INT+M
	pron	pn	conj	pron		vt

<b>mati</b>	<b>kakayawa</b>	<b>hiematamonane</b>
mati	ka- ka- yawa	hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ne
3SG.POSS.mother	DUP COMIT be upset	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf	vt	aux

'He wanted to go after them, but his mother wouldn't let him.'



## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

60 *Me kamaba me awineni*  
 me ka -ma -haba me awine -ni  
 3PL.S go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"I think they will come back."

61 *Me nonoki karama tinahi mati*  
 me no- noki na -karahama ti- na -hi mati  
 3PL.O DUP wait for AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F 3SG.POSS.mother  
 pron vt aux aux nf

*na hiematamonaka*  
 ati na hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 say AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

"Stay here and wait for them," his mother said.'

62 *Me kamatasaba me amani mati*  
 me ka -ma -tasa -haba me ama -ni mati  
 3PL.S go/come back again FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F 3SG.POSS.mother  
 pron vi pron sec nf

*na hiematamonane*  
 ati na hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 say AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

"They will come again," his mother said.'

63 *Mera nonoki toematamonaka fahi*  
 mera no- noki to- ha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 3PL.O DUP wait for CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pron vt aux dem

'So he waited for them.'

64 *Me momowa nama hiarematamonaka waha*  
 me mo- mowa na -ma hi- to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka waha  
 3PL.S DUP fight AUX back OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now  
 pron vt aux aux prt

'They didn't come back to fight against him.'

65 *Yome yome ta sa*  
 yomee , yomee taa saa  
 jaguar jaguar contrast shoot with arrow  
 nm nm prt vt

*kawematamonaka yome fare mowara ati ya*  
 ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka yomee fare Mowara ati ya  
 COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M jaguar same+M Mowara voice ADJU  
 aux nm dem npropm pn prt

'He shot a jaguar with bow and arrow, the jaguar that the Mowara had mentioned.'

66 *Hibaka ya toharamataya ?*  
 hibaka ya to- ha -ra -mata -ya  
 where ADJU CH be CQ+M FP.N+M now  
 interrog prt vc

'Where was he?'

## BATTLES WITH THE MOWARAS

- 67 **Banemata**                      **awaka**  
 bana            -himata    awa        -ka  
 move away FP.N+M    seem+M DECL+M  
 vi                                    sec  
 'I guess he moved away.'
- 68 **Towinisawite**                      **awane**  
 to-    wina -risa -witI    awa        -ne  
 away live down out    seem+M BKG+M  
 vi                                    sec  
 'I guess he went and lived downstream.'
- 69 **Mera**    **towakisemata**  
 mera    to-    ka-    ka            -risa -himata  
 3PL.O    away COMIT go/come down FP.N+M  
 pron    vt  
 'He took his people downstream.'
- 70 **Towinisawite**                      **awane**  
 to-    wina -risa -witI    awa        -ne  
 away live down out    seem+M BKG+M  
 vi                                    sec  
 'He went and lived downstream.'
- 71 **Yama**    **me**        **yete**    **na**        **me**        **ati**        **kakatamo**  
 yama    me        yete    na+F    me        ati        ka- ka-    tamo  
 thing 3PL.S    hunt    AUX    3PL.POSS    voice    DUP COMIT forget  
 nf        pron    vt        aux        pron    pn        vi
- toemetemone**                      **me**        **amani**        ,    **yawa**        **me**        ,    **momowa**  
 to-    ha    -hemete -mone    me        ama -ni        ,    yawa        me        ,    mo- mowa  
 CH    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    3PL.POSS    SEC BKG+F    enemies 3PL.S    DUP fight  
 aux                                    pron        sec                    nf        pron        vt
- toemete**                                      **mati**  
 to-    ha    -hemete    mati  
 CH    AUX FP.N+F    3PL.S  
 aux                                    pron  
 'They went hunting. They never forgot that they had fought against the enemies.'

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

### *Free Translation*

When someone goes into the forest and it gets dark on him, he will recognize his own people calling.

"Where are you?"

"I'm here. Hold the torch up high. I want to see where the log is." He was going to see where the log was.

"There?"

"Yes, hold the torch up high."

When he held the torch up high, he shot him with an arrow, the Yima. I guess it was a Yima. I don't know.

"Ahaa, they shot me with an arrow."

He passed by his brother-in-law. His brother-in-law grabbed him. The torch went out. They went along in the dark. He took his brother-in-law along in the pitch darkness.

He felt the arrow in his brother-in-law. He bit on the arrow near the point, and broke it apart. He turned the stub and pulled it out of his brother-in-law.

He took his brother-in-law along, and they went home.

The others went after them. "Some people killed people," he said. They went after them, but they didn't find them. They looked for their trail, but they didn't find their trail.

They came back, and they moved away. Then they had a feast. They wanted to have a feast. They invited others. "Eat meat."

"I don't want to eat meat. My father is about to die, he is sick in his hammock. I don't know. Go ahead and have a feast. Go ahead. I will just stay here. I will take care of my father."

So they moved away. They went to the feast. They went to eat the feast.

He stayed behind. His father died. He tied up his father. "Where will my father lie in his hammock, since it is late in the day? He will stay in his hammock right where he is." So he left his father in his hammock. He hung his father up high.

They all went. He stayed behind by himself. The sun went down. He went up high. He put some sticks there and sat, and ate. He went up high and sat, listening. His father made him grieve. He sat there. He also tied the door shut. He tied both doors shut. He went up high and sat up there. He lay in his hammock.

He went up high and sat there, and a spirit came. A spirit came speaking loudly. It was coming along hitting on the buttress roots with a stick. The spirit came, and he heard its voice. He got goose bumps. The story used to make people afraid.

The spirit yanked on the door. His father, who had died, started calling out. He was afraid. He was awake all night long. His father started calling out, and this made him afraid. He sat there awake all night. The spirit was talking loudly, and then it stopped talking. The spirit yanked on the door. He had kept his father in the hammock, and he had started calling out. His father was dead. He was afraid as he sat there.

He waited until it was full daylight, and then he came down. He took the hammock off of his father. He took his father away. He dug a hole for his father. He buried his father.

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

"I am going there. I'm going to my mother."

It would have been better if his mother had stayed with him. He had wanted to go there, but his father had made him grieve. He missed the feast, because he was grieving. Then he went, finally. I guess they had already finished feasting. They were feasting. He appeared.

"What about your father?" his mother said.

"My father died."

They were feasting. They were eating meat. Then they danced. They were dancing, but he was in his hammock, grieving. His father had made him grieve. He was in his hammock, grieving, as he heard them singing. He was in his hammock, listening to them sing.

His mother called him, and he got out of his hammock. "Go hunting," his mother said. "I'm hungry," she said.

So he went into the forest. His mother had commanded him, and he went. They ate what was left of their feast. She was hungry. She was grieving. Her husband had made her grieve, too. Her son was grieving, too. He went and stayed there, grieving. He went into the forest in spite of grieving, because his mother told him to.

He killed woolly monkeys with his blowgun. He brought the monkeys back. He gave the monkeys. They burned the hair off the monkeys back in the village. They cut up the animals. He roasted the animals on a rack. He didn't cook the animals. He roasted the animals. His mother toasted manioc mash.

"The meat is roasted. Mother, the meat is roasted."

His mother took the manioc mash off the fire. He ate with his mother, also his younger sisters and his younger brother. They ate.

"Mother, you left me behind. I stayed behind, and a spirit caused me to be afraid," he said. He said that a spirit had come yelling, and had attacked the door. "My father died, and I tied him up. I put him up high in his hammock. He started calling out, and he made me afraid," he said. "When the spirit stopped talking, when it was fully morning, I came back down. Then I took my father away," he said. He said that after he buried his father, he came. He came, and arrived, he said. He spoke right away to his mother. "Mother, the spirits almost ate me. I have come here after the spirit fought with me all night."

He killed animals with his blowgun. They ate the animals. Then they moved to another place. They moved away. They all moved away. They joined the ones who were having a festa. They were having a feast. They walked, and there were so many people on the trail that it got dark on them. Where do their grandchildren live, those people of long ago? They went away, and they live far away. Their voices could be heard as they built a house. My aunt used to say that they were many. My aunt used to talk a lot, because she had heard the stories.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Ee</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>owa</i>	<i>tokahi</i>		<i>kakayomahi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>na</i>	,
	ee	ee	ka	owa	to-	ka+M	ka-	kayoma+M	ee	haa	na+F
	yes	1IN	POSS	man	away	go/come	COMIT	darken	1IN.S	call	AUX
	interj	pron	prt	nm	vi		vi		pron	vt	aux
	<i>e</i>	<i>ebe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>mimita</i>	<i>raba</i>	<i>tera</i>				,
	ee	ebe	haa	na.NFIN	mi- mita	na -raba	na -tee	-ra+F			
	1IN.POSS	RECIP	call	AUX	DUP hear	AUX a bit	AUX HAB	NEG			
	pron	pn	vt	aux	vt	aux	aux				





## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

<b>yaki</b> yaki bite into vt	<b>nare</b> na -rI AUX raised surface aux	<b>wati</b> wati arrow nm	<b>batori</b> batori junction pn	<b>wakara</b> wakara eat cracking vt
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<b>kare</b> ka- na -rI COMIT AUX raised surface aux	<b>wati</b> wati arrow nm	<b>wari</b> wari turn vt	<b>kawe</b> ka- na -waha+M COMIT AUX change aux
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<b>wabori</b> wabori 3SG.POSS brother-in-law nm	<b>soba</b> soba pull out vt	<b>kanematamonane</b> ka- na -himata -mona -ne COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M aux
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'He felt the arrow in his brother-in-law. He bit on the arrow near the point, and broke it apart. He turned the stub and pulled it out of his brother-in-law.'

17 <b>Makoni</b> makoni for this reason conj	<b>wabori</b> wabori 3SG.POSS brother-in-law nm
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<b>towakamematamonakana</b> to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka -na away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M IRR+M vt
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'He took his brother-in-law along.'

18 <b>Wabori</b> wabori 3SG.POSS brother-in-law nm	<b>towakame</b> to- ka- ka -ma+M away COMIT go/come back vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
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<b>towakamemetemone</b> to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F vi	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
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<b>hinakamabani</b> hi- to- na- ka -ma -haba -ni OC away CAUS go/come back FUT+F IP.N+F vt	<b>mati</b> mati 3PL.O pron
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'He took his brother-in-law along, and they went home. The others went after them.'

19 <b>Me inamati</b> me inamati people nf	<b>ihi</b> ihi victim of+F pn	<b>iti</b> iti.NOM exist vi	<b>yamani</b> yamani telling vi	<b>me inamati</b> me inamati people nf	<b>ihi</b> ihi victim of+F pn
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<b>fawa</b> fawa disappear vi	<b>kanani</b> ka- na -hani COMIT AUX IP.N+F aux	<b>ihi</b> ihi victim of+F pn	<b>iti</b> iti.NOM exist vi	<b>yamani</b> yamani telling vt	<b>ati</b> ati say vt
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<b>nematamonane</b> na -himata -mona -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M aux
--

'"Some people killed people," he said.'

20 <b>Me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>hinakama</b> hi- to- na- ka -ma+F OC away CAUS go/come back vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
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## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

### *hiwasimaremetemoneke*

hi- to- wasi -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC away find back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They went after them, but they didn't find them.'

21 *Me hawi me siba hina , me hawi me*  
 me hawi me siba hi- na+F , me hawi me  
 3PL.POSS trail+F 3PL.S look for OC AUX 3PL.POSS trail+F 3PL.S  
 pron pn pron vt aux pron pn pron

### *hiwasiremetemoneni*

hi- wasi -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 OC find NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt

'They looked for their trail, but they didn't find their trail.'

22 *Faya me kama me banemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me ka -ma+F me bana -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi pron vi dem

'They came back, and they moved away.'

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

'They moved away.'

24 *Me , faya me mari nawahemetemoneke*  
 me , faya me mari na -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL so 3PL.S feast AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron conj pron vi aux

'Then they had a feast.'

25 *Me , me mari nabone me ibe ha na me*  
 me me mari na -habone me ibe haa na+F me  
 3PL 3PL.S feast AUX INT+F 3PL.POSS RECIP call AUX 3PL.POSS  
 pron pron pn aux pron pn vt aux pron  
 , *me ibe ha nemetemone*  
 me ibe haa na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS RECIP call AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vt aux

'They wanted to have a feast. They invited others.'

26 *Bani me te kabahabone te mata*  
 bani me tee kaba -habone tee mata  
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S eat INT+F 2PL.S for now  
 nm pron pron vt pron prt

'''Eat meat.'''

27 *Bani me okobaba*  
 bani me o- kaba -haba  
 animal 3PL.O 1SG.S eat FUT+F  
 nm pron vt

'''I don't want to eat meat.'''







## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

- 40 **Tafe tokomisawa namata**  
 tafe to- ka -misa -waha.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata  
 food+F away go/come up change AUX FP.N+M  
 pn vi aux  
 'He ate, and went up high.'
- 41 **Awa kakibare towitaremisaawite**  
 awa ka- iba -rI to- ita -rI -misa -witI  
 wood COMMIT set down raised surface away sit raised surface up out  
 nf vt vi  
 , **itarimatamonaka yama kamitari**  
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ka yama ka- mita -haari  
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M thing COMMIT hear IP.E+M  
 vi nf vt  
 'He put some sticks up there. He went up high and sat, listening.'
- 42 **Bati hinayawe itari , nokobi ,**  
 bati hi- na- yawa+M ita -rI+M nokobi  
 3SG.POSS.father OC CAUS be upset sit raised surface door  
 nm vt vi nf  
**nokobi wete kana**  
 nokobi wete ka- na.LIST  
 door tie COMMIT AUX  
 nf vt aux  
 'His father made him grieve. He sat there. He also tied the door shut.'
- 43 **Nokobi wete kanikime , tokomisame**  
 nokobi wete ka- na -kima+M to- ka -misa -ma+M  
 door tie COMMIT AUX two away go/come up back  
 nf vt aux vi  
**towitaremisaame winemata awaka**  
 to- ita -rI -misa -ma+M wina -himata awa -ka  
 away sit raised surface up back lie in hammock FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 vi vi sec  
 .  
 'He tied both doors shut. He went up high and sat up there. He lay in his hammock.'
- 44 **Tokomisawite itari ni ya inamati**  
 to- ka -misa -witI ita -rI+M ni ya inamati  
 away go/come up out sit raised surface to ADJU spirit  
 vi vi prt prt nm  
**kamematamona**  
 ka -ma -himata -mona  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi  
 'He went up high and sat there, and a spirit came.'
- 45 **Inamati hora ni kamematamona ahi**  
 inamati hora na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 spirit exclaim AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vi aux vi dem  
 'A spirit came speaking loudly.'
- 46 **Yama baro namahitematamonane**  
 yama baro na -ma -hitI -himata -mona -ne  
 thing beat AUX back along the way FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

'It was coming along hitting on the buttress roots with a stick.'

47	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>kame</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>kamitematamona</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	inamati	ka	-ma+M	ati	ka- mita -himata -mona		ahi
	spirit	go/come	back	voice	COMIT hear FP.N+M REP+M		then
	nm	vi		pn	vt		dem

'The spirit came, and he heard its voice.'

48	<b>Habo</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>tonematamona</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	habo	sii	to- na -himata -mona		ahi
	courage+M	stand	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M		then
	pn	vi	aux		dem

'He got goose bumps.'

49	<b>Hiyara</b>	<b>kokome</b>		<b>tohamaro</b>		<b>amake</b>
	hiyara	ko- komeha		to- ha -hamaro		ama -ke
	story	DUP be fearsome	CH AUX FP.E+F			SEC DECL+F
	nf	vi	aux			sec

'The story used to make people afraid.'

50	<b>Habo</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>tonematamona</b>		
	habo	sii	to- na -himata -mona		
	courage+M	stand	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M		
	pn	vi	aux		

'He got goose bumps.'

51	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>nokobi</b>	<b>hose</b>	<b>kanematamona</b>		<b>amane</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	inamati	nokobi	hose	ka- na -himata -mona		ama -ne	ahi
	spirit	door	pull out	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M		SEC BKG+M	then
	nm	nf	vt	aux		sec	dem

'The spirit yanked on the door.'

52	<b>Nokobi</b>	<b>hose</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>hehe</b>	<b>bati</b>
	nokobi	hose	ka- na+M		hehe	bati
	door	pull out	COMIT AUX		this one+M	3SG.POSS.father
	nf	vt	aux		dem	nm

<b>hikanawine</b>	<b>ahaahaba</b>	<b>raba</b>	<b>re</b>	<b>ha</b>
hi- ka- na- wina+M	aha- ahaba	na -raba	na -ra+M	haa
OC COMIT CAUS lie in hammock	DUP die	AUX a bit	AUX NEG	call
vt	vi	aux	aux	vi

<b>ni</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>rama</b>
na.NFIN	yana	na+M	rama
AUX	start	AUX	unusual
aux	vi	aux	prt

'It yanked on the door. His father, who had died, started calling out.'

53	<b>Kori</b>	<b>kasawematamona</b>		<b>ahi</b>
	kori	ka- na -kosa -waha -himata -mona		ahi
	naked+F	COMIT AUX middle change	FP.N+M REP+M	then
	pn	aux		dem

'He was afraid.'

54	<b>Faya</b>	<b>tonoko</b>	<b>nabe</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>yana</b>
	faya	to- noko	nahaba+M	me	bati	haa	na.NFIN	yana
	so	CH be awake	at night	3PL	3SG.POSS.father	call	AUX	start
	conj	vi	prt	pron	nm	vi	aux	vi

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

<b>ne</b>	<b>ene</b>	<b>kakome</b>		<b>itari</b>		<b>tonoko</b>
na+M	ehene	ka- komeha		ita -rI+M		to- noko
AUX	result of+M	COMIT be fearsome		sit raised surface		CH be awake
aux	pn	vi		vi		vi

<b>nabe</b>	<b>inamati</b>	<b>hora</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>hora</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>fawa</b>
nahaba+M	inamati	hora	na+M	hora	na.NFIN	fawa
at night	spirit	exclaim	AUX	exclaim	AUX	disappear
prt	nm	vi	aux	vi	aux	vi

<b>nematamona</b>	<b>ama</b>	<b>fari</b>
na -himata -mona	ama faari	.
AUX FP.N+M REP+M	SEC that one+M	
aux	sec dem	

'He was awake all night long. His father started calling out, and this made him afraid. He sat there awake all night. The spirit was talking loudly, and then it stopped talking.'

55	<b>Inamati</b>	<b>nokobi</b>	<b>hose</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>hora</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>fawa</b>
	inamati	nokobi	hose	ka- na+M	,	hora	na.NFIN	fawa
	spirit	door	pull out	COMIT AUX		exclaim	AUX	disappear
	nm	nf	vt	aux		vi	aux	vi

<b>nematamona</b>
na -himata -mona
AUX FP.N+M REP+M
aux

'The spirit yanked on the door. It stopped talking.'

56	<b>Hehe</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>hikanawine</b>		<b>ha</b>	<b>ni</b>
	hehe	bati	hi- ka- na- wina+M		haa	na.NFIN
	this one+M	3SG.POSS.father	OC COMIT CAUS lie in hammock		call	AUX
	dem	nm	vt		vi	aux

<b>yana</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>aahaba</b>	<b>raba</b>	<b>rari</b>
yana	na+M	bati	a- ahaba	na -raba	na -ra -haari
start	AUX	3SG.POSS.father	DUP die	AUX a bit	AUX NEG IP.E+M
vi	aux	nm	vi	aux	aux

'He had kept his father in the hammock, and he had started calling out. His father was dead.'

57	<b>Faya</b>	<b>kakome</b>	<b>itari</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>nawaharise</b>
	faya	ka- komeha	ita -rI+M	yama	na- waha -risa+M
	so	COMIT be fearsome	sit raised surface	thing	CAUS dawn down
	conj	vi	vi	nf	vt

<b>yama</b>	<b>nawaharise</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>kisamematamonaka</b>
yama	na- waha -risa.NOM+M	ya	ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka
thing	CAUS dawn down	ADJU	go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf	vt	prt	vi

<b>fahi</b>
fahi
then
dem

'He was afraid as he sat there. He waited until it was full daylight, and then he came down.'

58	<b>Faya</b>	<b>kisameno</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>bati</b>
	faya	ka -risa -ma -hino	bati	bati
	so	go/come down back IP.N+M	3SG.POSS.father	3SG.POSS.father
	conj	vi	nm	nm

<b>katise</b>	<b>bati</b>	<b>towake</b>	<b>bati</b>
ka- tisa+M	bati	to- ka- ka+M	bati
COMIT undo	3SG.POSS.father	away COMIT go/come	3SG.POSS.father
vt	nm	vt	nm

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

<b>towake</b> to- ka- ka+M away COMIT go/come vt	<b>bati</b> bati 3SG.POSS.father nm	<b>hotonebona</b> hotone -bona hole+M INT+M pn	<b>wi</b> wii dig vt	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	<b>bati</b> bati 3SG.POSS.father nm
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<b>kamo</b> kamo+M bury vt	<b>bati</b> bati 3SG.POSS.father nm	<b>kamomatamonaka</b> kamo -himata -mona -ka bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt
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'He came down. He took the hammock off of his father. He took his father away. He dug a hole for his father. He buried his father.'

### 59 *Okomakibe*

o- to- ka 1SG.S away go/come vi	-makI following -be IMMED+F
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"I am going there."

### 60 *Okomakebana*

o- to- ka 1SG.S away go/come vi	-makI following -habana FUT+F	<b>oke</b> o- ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt
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"I am going there."

### 61 *Okomakebana*

o- to- ka 1SG.S away go/come vi	-makI following -habana FUT+F	<b>oke</b> o- ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt
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<b>okomi</b> o- ka ami 1SG.POSS POSS mother nf	<b>ni ya</b> ni ya to ADJU prt prt
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"I'm going to my mother."

### 62 *Mati*

mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<b>famakamata</b> fama -ka -mata be with DECL+M FP.N+M vi	<b>na</b> na AUX aux
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'It would have been better if his mother had stayed with him.'

### 63 *Tokomakebona*

to- ka away go/come vi	-makI following -hibona INT+M	<b>bati</b> bati 3SG.POSS.father nm	<b>bati</b> bati 3SG.POSS.father nm
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<b>hinayawe</b> hi- na- yawa+M OC CAUS be upset vt	<b>marina</b> marina feast nf	<b>isi ni</b> isi ni little bit pn	<b>iharematamonaka</b> iha -ra -himata -mona -ka have NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt
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### *yawahari*

yawa -haari be upset IP.E+M vi
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'He had wanted to go there, but his father had made him grieve. He missed the feast, because he was grieving.'

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

64 *Faya tokomakematamonaka fahi waha*  
 faya to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka fahi waha  
 so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then now  
 conj vi dem prt

'Then he went, finally.'

65 *Me mari ni abemete me awineke*  
 me mari na.NFIN ahaba -hemete me awine -ke  
 3PL.S feast AUX end FP.N+F 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vi pron sec

'I guess they had already finished feasting.'

66 *Me mari na me faya tofotomaki*  
 me mari na+F me faya to- foto -makI+M  
 3PL.S feast AUX 3PL.S so away appear following  
 pron vi aux pron conj vi

*tofotomakimatamonane*

to- foto -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 away appear following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'They were feasting. He appeared.'

67 *Abi e raya ? mati ati*  
 abi ee na -ra -ya mati ati  
 2SG.POSS.father (question) AUX CQ+M now 3SG.POSS.mother say  
 nm vi aux nf vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

'"What about your father?" his mother said.'

68 *Okobi abare*  
 o- ka abi ahaba -hare  
 1SG.POSS POSS father die IP.E+M  
 nm vi

'"My father died."

69 *Me mari nemetemoneke*  
 me mari na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S feast AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'They were feasting.'

70 *Bani me me kabemetemoneke me*  
 bani me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke me  
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron

*ayakabani*

ayaka -haba -ni mati  
 dance FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They were eating meat. Then they danced.'

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

71 *Me ayaka me , yawa kawinematamonane*  
 me ayaka+F me , yawa ka- wina -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S dance 3PL.S grief COMMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi pron nf vi

'They were dancing, but he was in his hammock, grieving.'

72 *Yawa kawine , bati hinayawe yawa*  
 yawa ka- wina+M , bati hi- na- yawa+M yawa  
 grief COMMIT lie in hammock 3SG.POSS.father OC CAUS be upset grief  
 nf vt nm vt nf

*kawine , me ayaki kamitematamonane*  
 ka- wina+M , me ayaka.NFIN ka- mita -himata -mona -ne  
 COMMIT lie in hammock 3PL.S sing COMMIT hear FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt pron vi vt

'He was in his hammock, grieving. His father had made him grieve. He was in his hammock, grieving, as he heard them singing.'

73 *Me ayaki kamite wine , mati ha*  
 me ayaka.NFIN ka- mita+M wina+M , mati haa  
 3PL.S sing COMMIT hear lie in hammock 3SG.POSS.mother call  
 pron vi vt nf vt

*hine , mati ha hinematamonaka*  
 hi- na+M , mati haa hi- na -himata -mona -ka  
 OC AUX 3SG.POSS.mother call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux nf vt aux

'He was in his hammock, listening to them sing. His mother called him.'

74 *Mati ha hine , kise , Yama yete*  
 mati haa hi- na+M , ka -risa+M , yama yete  
 3SG.POSS.mother call OC AUX go/come down thing hunt  
 nf vt aux vi nf vt

*timatahi mati ati nemetemoneke*  
 ti- na -mata -hi mati ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 2SG.S AUX short time IMP+F 3SG.POSS.mother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux nf vt aux

'His mother called him, and he got out of his hammock. "Go hunting," his mother said.'

75 *Ofimini ati nemetemonehe*  
 o- fimi -ni ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vi vt aux

'"I'm hungry," she said.'

76 *Faya toke mati hiyose*  
 faya to- ka+M mati hi- yose  
 so away go/come 3SG.POSS.mother OC command  
 conj vi nf vt

*tokematamona*  
 to- ka -himata -mona  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'So he went into the forest. His mother had commanded him, and he went.'



## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

77 *Me ka marina isi ni me kaba me* ,  
 me ka marina isi ni me kaba+F me ,  
 3PL POSS feast little bit 3PL.S eat 3PL.S  
 pron prt nf pn pron vt pron

*fimihemetemone yawaharo maki*  
 fimi -hemete -mone yawa -haaro , maki  
 be hungry FP.N+F REP+F be upset IP.E+F 3SG.POSS.husband  
 vi vi nm

*hinayawa hinaha* .  
 hi- na- yawa.LIST hi- na+F  
 OC CAUS be upset OC AUX  
 vt aux

'They ate what was left of their feast. She was hungry. She was grieving. Her husband had made her grieve, too.'

78 *Maki hinayawa biti yawabisa*  
 maki hi- na- yawa+F , biti yawa -bisa.LIST  
 3SG.POSS.husband OC CAUS be upset 3SG.POSS.son be upset also  
 nm vt nm vi

*ne yawa tokasawimake yawa boti*  
 na+M yawa to- ka- sawi -makI , yawa boti  
 AUX grief away COMIT be present following grief middle  
 aux nf vt nf pn

*tokematamona mati ati ihi* .  
 to- ka -himata -mona mati ati ihi  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.mother voice because of+F  
 vi nf pn post

'Her husband had made her grieve. Her son was grieving, too. He went and stayed there, grieving. He went into the forest in spite of grieving, because his mother told him to.'

79 *Faya wafa me fora ne wafa me*  
 faya wafa me fora na+M wafa me  
 so woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O  
 conj nm pron vt aux nm pron

*kakamematamonane*  
 ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He killed woolly monkeys with his blowgun. He brought the monkeys back.'

80 *Wafa me kakame wafa mera*  
 wafa me ka- ka -ma+M , wafa mera  
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS COMIT go/come back woolly monkey 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt nm pron

*ta ne wafa me me tokemetemoneke*  
 taa na+M wafa me me toka -hemete -mone -ke  
 give AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux nm pron pron vt

*fahi* .  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'He brought the monkeys back. He gave the monkeys. They burned the hair off the monkeys.'



## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

87 *Ami bani me kake*  
ami bani me kaha -ke  
mother animal 3PL.S be toasted DECL+F  
nf nm pron vi

"Mother, the meat is roasted."

88 *Faya mati iyawa kakitia iyawa*  
faya mati iyawa ka- iti+F iyawa  
so 3SG.POSS.mother manioc mash COMIT pick up manioc mash  
conj nf nf vt nf

*towakamemetemone*

to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
vt

'His mother took the manioc mash off the fire. She carried the manioc mash.'

89 *Iyawa towakama mati ya*  
iyawa to- ka- ka -ma+F , mati ya  
manioc mash away COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.mother ADJU  
nf vt nf prt

*mati ya tabe tafawematamonaha*  
mati ya taba+M tafa -waha -himata -mona -ha  
3SG.POSS.mother ADJU be together eat change FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
nf prt vi vi

*hinakasimarawaha*

hinaka asima -rawa -ha , nisori  
3SG.POSS younger sister F.PL DUP 3SG.POSS.younger brother  
nf nm

'She carried the manioc mash. He ate with his mother, also his younger sisters and his younger brother.'

90 *Me tafawemetemone fahi*  
me tafa -waha -hemete -mone fahi  
3PL.S eat change FP.N+F REP+F then  
pron vi dem

'They ate.'

91 *Ami owa te kakosa*  
ami owa tee ka- kana -kosa+F  
mother 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT leave middle  
nf pron pron vt

"Mother, you left me behind."

92 *Owa te kakosa te nowati*  
owa tee ka- kana -kosa+F tee nowati  
1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT leave middle 2PL.POSS behind  
pron pron vt pron pn

"You left me behind."

93 *Owakosa inamati owa kanakomehare*  
o- to- waa -kosa+F inamati owa ka- na- komeha -hare  
1SG.S CH stand middle spirit 1SG.O COMIT CAUS be fearsome IP.E+M  
vi nm pron vt

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

"I stayed behind, and a spirit caused me to be afraid," he said.'

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

94 *Inamati*    *hi*    *ni*    *kame*    ,    *nokobi*    *katomematamona*  
 inamati    hii    na.NFIN    ka    -ma+M    ,    nokobi    katoma -himata -mona  
 spirit    yell    AUX    go/come back    door    attack FP.N+M    REP+M  
 nm    vi    aux    vi    nf    vt

*hiyari*    *ati*    *nematamona*  
 hiyara.NFIN    ati    na -himata -mona  
 speak    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vi    vt    aux

'He said that a spirit had come yelling, and had attacked the door.'

95 *Okobi*    ,    *okobi*    *abe*    *wete*    *one*  
 o-    ka    abi    ,    o-    ka    abi    ahaba+M    wete    o-    na+M  
 1SG.POSS POSS father    1SG.POSS POSS father    die    tie    1SG.S AUX  
 nm    nm    vi    vt    aux

*okanawinamise*    ,    *ha*    *ni*    *yana*    *ne*  
 o-    to-    ka-    na-    wina    -misa+M    ,    haa    na.NFIN    yana    na+M  
 1SG.S away COMIT CAUS lie in hammock up    call    AUX    start    AUX  
 vt    vi    aux    vi    aux

*owa*    *kanakomehare*    *oni*    *ati*    *nematamona*  
 owa    ka-    na-    komeha    -hare    o-    ni    ati    na -himata -mona  
 1SG.O COMIT CAUS be fearsome IP.E+M    1SG.O BKG+F    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 pron vt    prt    vt    aux

'"My father died, and I tied him up. I put him up high in his hammock. He started calling out, and he made me afraid," he said.'

96 *Inamati*    *ati*    *fawa*    *ne*    *ya*    *yama*    *warisi*    *mati*  
 inamati    ati    fawa    na.NOM+M    ya    yama    waha -risa.NFIN    mati  
 spirit    voice    disappear    AUX    ADJU    thing    dawn down    a lot  
 nm    pn    vi    aux    prt    nf    vi    adj

*tohi*    *ya*    *okisamara*    *o*  
 to-    ha.NOM+F    ya    o-    ka    -risa -ma -hara    o-  
 CH be    ADJU    1SG.S go/come down back IP.E+F    1SG.S  
 vc    prt    vi    prt

'"When the spirit stopped talking, when it was fully morning, I came back down."

97 *Faya*    *okobi*    *owakara*    *oni*  
 faya    o-    ka    abi    o-    to-    ka-    ka    -hara    o-    ni  
 so    1SG.POSS POSS father    1SG.S away COMIT go/come IP.E+F    1SG.S BKG+F  
 conj nm    vi    prt

*ati*    *nematamona*  
 ati    na -himata -mona  
 say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vt    aux

'"Then I took my father away," he said.'

98 *Bati*    *faya*    *bati*    *kamo*  
 bati    faya    bati    kamo+M  
 3SG.POSS.father    so    3SG.POSS.father    bury  
 nm    conj nm    vt

*kamakimatamona*    *hiyari*    *ati*    *nematamona*  
 ka    -maki    -himata -mona    hiyara.NFIN    ati    na -himata -mona  
 go/come following FP.N+M    REP+M    speak    say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vi    vi    vt    aux

'He said that after he buried his father, he came.'

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

99 *Faya kamaki* , *kobo namakimatamona* ,  
 faya ka -makI+M , kobo na -makI -himata -mona ,  
 so go/come following arrive AUX following FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj vi vi aux

*hiyari kawanamakibanoho*  
 hiyara.NFIN ka- wana -makI -hiba -no -ho  
 speak COMMIT start right away following FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi vt

*mati ni ya* .  
 mati ni ya  
 3SG.POSS.mother to ADJU  
 nf prt prt

'He came, and arrived, he said. He spoke right away to his mother.'

100 *Ami me inamati owa kabene okomakine*  
 ami me inamati owa kaba -hene o- ka -makI -ne  
 mother spirits 1SG.O eat IRR+F 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F  
 nf nf pron vt vi

*o inamati owa mono nabe owa* .  
 o- inamati owa mono na nahaba+M owa  
 1SG.S spirit 1SG.O struggle with AUX at night 1SG.O  
 prt nm pron vt aux pron

"Mother, the spirits almost ate me. I have come here after the spirit fought with me all night."

101 *Bani me fora ne bani me me kaba*  
 bani me fora na+M bani me me kaba+F  
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron pron vt

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

'He killed animals with his blowgun. They ate the animals. Then they moved to another place.'

102 *Me bana me me bana me me nafi*  
 me bana+F me me bana+F me me nafi  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.POSS all  
 pron vi pron pron vi pron pron pn

*banemetemoneni*  
 bana -hemete -mone -ni  
 move away FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'They moved away. They all moved away.'

103 *Ayaka me hiri na me ya me yoro*  
 ayaka me hiri na+F me ya me yoro  
 festa 3PL.S make AUX 3PL ADJU 3PL.S be together  
 nf pron vt aux pron prt pron vi

*tokowemetemoneke marina me hiri na*  
 to- ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke , marina me hiri na+F  
 CH COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F feast 3PL.S make AUX  
 aux nf pron vt aux

*mati* .  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They joined the ones who were having a festa. They were having a feast.'

## DEAD FATHER'S SPIRIT

104 *Me yaka kene me yaka nemetemone me*  
 me yaka na -ke -ne me yaka na -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.S walk AUX DECL+F IRR+F 3PL.S walk AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

*kasokiabani mati*  
 ka- soki -haba -ni mati  
 COMIT be dark FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They walked, and there were so many people on the trail that it got dark on them.'

105 *Hibaka me winateriya me ka noti bote mati ?*  
 hibaka me wina -tee -ri -ya me ka noti bote mati  
 where 3PL.S live HAB CQ+F now 3PL POSS grandson old 3PL  
 interrog pron vi pron prt nm adj pron

'Where do their grandchildren live, those people of long ago?'

106 *Me tokemetemone me towinawitineni*  
 me to- ka -hemete -mone me to- wina -witI -ne -ni  
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S away live out CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vi

'They went away, and they live far away.'

107 *Me , yobe me yama na me ati saiha me ,*  
 me , yobe me yama na+F me ati sai+F me ,  
 3PL house 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.POSS  
 pron nm pron vt aux pron pn vi pron

*me oohari toimetemone okomise*  
 me o- ohari to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone o- ka amise  
 3PL.S DUP be one CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt  
 pron vi aux nf

*hiyari aati toimaro*  
 hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro  
 speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F  
 vi vt aux

'Their voices could be heard as they built a house. My aunt used to say that they were many.'

108 *Okomise hiyahiyari nofaraba na*  
 o- ka amise hiya- hiyara na nofa -raba na  
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP speak AUX recently a bit AUX  
 nf vi aux nf aux

*toharamaro hiyara mimita tohemete*  
 to- ha -ra -hamaro , hiyara mi- mita to- ha -hemete  
 CH AUX NEG FP.E+F story DUP hear CH AUX FP.N+F  
 aux nf vt aux

'My aunt used to talk a lot, because she had heard the stories.'

## FA KI RA (1)

### *Free Translation*

Fa Ki Ra also fell in the water, when he was setting fish traps. He called his brother-in-law. "My son and I are going back. My son says he is hungry. My son is crying with hunger," he said.

"All right, you two go on back ahead."

"Come on, let's go. I'm going to climb up after genip fruits. You will eat genip fruits."

So the two of them came back. They were taking the fish out of the traps as they came back.

"There is a genip tree with fruits there. Stay there in the canoe. Your uncle and the others will come. I'm going to climb up after genip fruits. You will eat genip fruits."

So he climbed up in the tree. He threw down ripe genip fruits. The ripe genip fruits that he threw down were hitting the water.

"Wait, I will jump to another branch. Watch me."

He climbed the genip tree. He grabbed the branch of the genip tree. He jumped. The genip branch broke off.

"Fore," he said. He came down with the genip branch, koorii. He disappeared.

The boy's father fell in the water, and he cried. He cried as he was in the canoe. The boy was crying as he was in the canoe, his own father's canoe.

Fa Ki Ra's brother-in-law and the others came upon his son as they came back. "Wai came back, and his son is crying there."

Wai came back and his son was crying. "My father, my father," the boy was saying as he cried.

The boy's uncle spoke sternly to him. "Where is your father that you are crying?" he said.

"My father fell in the water there," the boy said, crying.

"Your father must be in the water."

They cut down a small tree. They poked in the water, to find Fa Ki Ra. They poked to find him. They couldn't, so they left him behind.

"Get in my canoe. I guess your father has died."

So the boy got in the other canoe. His uncle paddled with him. They went on ahead.

He was sitting on top of the stick of the fish trap. They came upon him. "Look at Wai sitting there."

"Oh my," he said, imitating them.

"I will pull the stick out from under him."

They brought him along. They came back in the kanawa bark canoe, taking the fish out of the traps as they came along. They came back late in the afternoon.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Fa Ki Ra</i>	<i>boka</i>	<i>namatamona</i>		<i>amake</i>	<i>ahi</i>	,
	Faa Kii Ra	boka.LIST	na.NOM+M	-mata	-mona	ama -ke	ahi
	(man's name)	enter water	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	be DECL+F	then
	npropm	vi	aux		vc		dem

FA KI RA (1)

**wawasi**                      **nawinari**  
 wa- wasi                      na- wina -haari  
 DUP get caught              CAUS hang IP.E+M  
 nf                                  vt

'Fa Ki Ra also fell in the water, when he was setting fish traps.'

2 **Wabori**                                      **ha**              **hinematamonane**  
 wabori                                      haa      hi- na    -himata -mona -ne  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law              call      OC    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M BKG+M  
 nm    vt              aux

'His brother-in-law called him.'

3 **Ota**              **towakamibone**                                      **okatao**              **ota**  
 otaa      to- ka-      ka                      -ma.NOM+F    -bone      okatao      otaa  
 1EX.S      away COMIT go/come back                      INT+F      my son      1EX  
 pron      vi    nm              pron

""My son and I are going back.""

4 **Okatao**              **fimimona**                                      **ati**              **ne**              **oi**              **ni**                      **okatao**              **fimi**              **ohi**  
 okatao      fimi                      -himona      ati      na+M      ohi      na.NFIN      okatao      fimi              ohi  
 my son      be hungry REP+M                      say      AUX      cry      AUX                      my son      hunger      cry  
 nm              vi    vt              aux              vi              aux                      nm              nf              vi

**kane**                      **ati**              **nematamona**  
 ka-      na+M      ati      na    -himata -mona  
 COMIT AUX      say      AUX FP.N+M    REP+M  
 aux                      vt              aux

""My son says he is hungry. My son is crying with hunger," he said.'

5 **Ee**                      ,              **te**                      **tai**                      **tokahama**  
 ee                      ,              tee              tai                      to- ka-      ha    -ma  
 yes                      2PL.S      be ahead      CH      COMIT AUX back  
 interj              pron      vi                      aux

""All right, you two go on back ahead.""

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

""Come on, let's go.""

7 **Ora**                      **yama**                                      **obe**  
 ora                      yama                                      o-              na    -be  
 genip      climb after                      1SG.S      AUX IMMED+F  
 nm              vt    aux

""I'm going to climb up after genip fruits.""

8 **Ora**                      **yome**                                      **tibe**  
 ora                      yome                                      ti-              na    -be  
 genip      swallow                      2SG.S      AUX IMMED+F  
 nm              vt    aux

""You will eat genip fruits.""

9 **Faya**              **me**                      **kakamemetemone**                                      **fahi**  
 faya      me                      ka-      ka                      -ma    -hemete -mone      fahi  
 so      3PL.S      COMIT go/come back      FP.N+F      REP+F                      then  
 conj      pron      vi    dem

'So the two of them came back.'



FA KI RA (1)

10 *Aba me me yaba namahite* , *Ora*  
 aba me me yaba na -ma -hitI ora  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S take out AUX back along the way genip  
 nm pron pron vt aux

*kawe amake ahi* .  
 ka- waa.NOM+M ama -ke ahi  
 COMIT stand be DECL+F there  
 vi vc dem

"They were taking the fish out of the traps as they came back. "There is a genip tree with fruits there."

11 *Kakafowa karama tina* .  
 ka- ka- fowa na -karahama ti- na  
 DUP COMIT be in water AUX only do 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux

"Stay there in the canoe."

12 *Koko me kamakiba ama* .  
 koko me ka -ma -kI.NOM -ba ama  
 2SG.POSS.mother's brother 3PL.S go/come back coming FUT be  
 nm pron vi vc

"Your uncle and the others will come."

13 *Koko me kamakiba ama* .  
 koko me ka -ma -kI.NOM -ba ama  
 2SG.POSS.mother's brother 3PL.S go/come back coming FUT be  
 nm pron vi vc

"Your uncle and the others will come."

14 *Kakafowa karama tina* .  
 ka- ka- fowa na -karahama ti- na  
 DUP COMIT be in water AUX only do 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux

"Stay there in the canoe."

15 *Ora yama omatibe* .  
 ora yama o- na -mata -be  
 genip climb after 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

"I'm going to climb up after genip fruits."

16 *Ora yome tibe* .  
 ora yome ti- na -be  
 genip swallow 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

"You will eat genip fruits."

17 *Faya tokomisehimatamonaka fahi* .  
 faya to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'So he climbed up in the tree.'

18 *Tokomise tokomisematamonane ora*  
 to- ka -misa+M , to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ne , ora  
 away go/come up vi away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M genip  
 vi vi dem nm

FA KI RA (1)

**hati ora hati were nebanoho**  
 hati ora hati were na -hiba -no -ho  
 ripe genip ripe throw AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pn nm pn vt aux  
 'He climbed up. He threw down ripe genip fruits.'

19 **Ora hati were ne ka ora koho nematamona**  
 ora hati were na+M ka ora koho na -himata -mona  
 genip ripe throw AUX which genip hit AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pn vt aux prt nm vi aux

**amane ahi**  
 ama -ne ahi  
 SEC BKG+M then  
 sec dem

'The ripe genip fruits that he threw down were hitting the water.'

20 **Ora koho nematamonaka ahi**  
 ora koho na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 genip hit AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vi aux dem

'The genip fruits were hitting the water.'

21 **Hiba ora ta tokane ora ta tokane**  
 hiba ora taa to- ka- na+M , ora ta to- ka- na+M  
 wait genip protrude CH COMIT AUX genip protrude CH COMIT AUX  
 interj nm vi aux nm vi aux

**yoyora omatibe**  
 yo- yora o- na -mata -be  
 DUP jump at 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 vt aux

""Wait, I will jump to another branch.""

22 **Owa tekatoma**  
 owa ti- ka- katoma  
 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at  
 pron vt

""Watch me.""

23 **Faya ora yama ne ora ino wara**  
 faya ora yama na+M , ora , ino wara  
 so genip climb after AUX genip branch+M grab  
 conj nm vt aux nm pn vt

**tokanematamona ahi**  
 to- ka- -na -himata -mona ahi  
 CH COMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'He climbed the genip tree. He grabbed the branch of the genip tree.'

24 **Yora towiti rama ahi**  
 yora to- na -witI+M rama ahi  
 jump away AUX out unusual then  
 vi aux prt dem

'He jumped.'

FA KI RA (1)

25 **Ora ino sore tonematamona ahi**  
 ora ino sore to- na -himata -mona ahi  
 genip branch+M pull off CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm pn vt aux dem

'The genip branch fell off.'

26 **Faii ati nematamona ahi**  
 faii ati na -himata -mona ahi  
 interj say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem

""Fore," he said.'

27 **Ora ino kihi kakise rama ahi koorii**  
 ora ino kihi ka- ka -risa+M rama ahi koorii  
 genip branch+M along with COMIT go/come down unusual then sound  
 nm pn prt vi prt dem  
 , **fawa tehibanoho**  
 fawa na -tee -hiba -no -ho  
 disappear AUX HAB FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi aux

'He came down with the genip branch, koorii. He disappeared.'

28 **Faya bati inamatewe bati boke ohi**  
 faya bati inamatewe bati boka+M ohi  
 so 3SG.POSS.father child 3SG.POSS.father enter water cry  
 conj nm nm nm vi  
**ne oi ni kafowematamonaka**  
 na+M ohi na.NFIN ka- fowa -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX cry AUX COMIT be in water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux vi aux vi

'The boy's father fell in the water, and he cried. He cried as he was in the canoe.'

29 **Inamatewe oi ni kafowematamona fare**  
 inamatewe ohi na.NFIN ka- fowa -himata -mona fare  
 child cry AUX COMIT be in water FP.N+M REP+M same+M  
 nm vi aux vi dem

**bati ka kanawa ya**  
 bati ka kanawa ya  
 3SG.POSS.father POSS canoe ADJU  
 nm prt nf prt

'The boy was crying as he was in the canoe, his own father's canoe.'

30 **Faya Fa Ki Ra biti oi ni wabori**  
 faya , Faa Kii Ra biti ohi na.NFIN wabori  
 so (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son cry AUX 3SG.POSS brother-in-law  
 conj npropm nm vi aux nm

**me hiwasimakimatamona**  
 me hi- wasi -makI -himata -mona  
 3PL.S OC find following FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt

'Fa Ki Ra's brother-in-law and the others came upon his son as they came back.'

31 **Wai kama biti ohi na ahi**  
 Wai ka -ma+F biti ohi na.CONT+M ahi  
 (man's name) go/come back 3SG.POSS.son cry AUX there  
 npropm vi nm vi aux dem

""Wai came back, and his son is crying there.""

FA KI RA (1)

32 *Wai*                    *kama*                    *biti*                    *ohi*    *ne* ,  
 Wai                    ka                    -ma+F    biti                    ohi    na+M  
 (man's name)    go/come back    3SG.POSS.son    cry    AUX  
 npropm                    vi                    nm                    vi                    aux

*Okobi*                    *abi*                    *okobira*  
 o-                    ka    abi    abi    o-                    ka                    abi    -ra  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father    father    1SG.POSS    go/come    father    NPQ  
 nm                    nm                    nm

*okobira*                    *okobira*                    *inamatewe*    *ohi*  
 o-                    ka                    abi    -ra    o-                    ka                    abi    -ra    inamatewe    ohi  
 1SG.POSS    go/come    father    NPQ    1SG.POSS    go/come    father    NPQ    child                    cry  
 nm                    nm                    nm                    nm                    nm                    vi

*ni*                    *ati*                    *nematamona*  
 na.NFIN    ati    na    -himata    -mona  
 AUX                    say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M  
 aux                    vt                    aux

'Wai came back and his son was crying. "My father, my father," the boy was saying as he cried.'

33 *Inamatewe*    *kokori*                    *hora*                    *nematamonane*  
 inamatewe    kokori                    hora                    na    -himata    -mona    -ne  
 child                    3SG.POSS.mother's brother    scold    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 nm                    nm                    vt                    aux

'The boy's uncle spoke sternly to him.'

34 *Hibaka*    *ya*                    *abi*                    *toeno*                    *ohi*    *tine*  
 hibaka    ya                    abi                    to- ha    -hino    ohi    ti-    na    -ne  
 where    ADJU    2SG.POSS.father    CH    be    IP.N+M    cry    2SG.S    AUX    CONT+F  
 interrog prt                    nm                    vc                    vi                    aux

*tiriya*                    ?    *ati*                    *nematamonane*  
 ti-    ri    -ya                    ?    ati    na    -himata    -mona    -ne  
 2SG.S    CQ+F    now                    say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 prt                    vt                    aux

'"Where is your father that you are crying?" he said.'

35 *Okobi*                    *bokahare*                    *aya*                    *inamatewe*    *oi*    *ni*  
 o-                    ka    abi                    boka                    -hare    aya                    inamatewe    ohi    na.NFIN  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father    enter water    IP.E+M    there    child                    cry    AUX  
 nm                    vi                    dem                    nm                    vi                    aux

*ati*                    *nematamona*  
 ati    na    -himata    -mona  
 say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vt                    aux

'"My father fell in the water there," the boy said, crying.'

36 *Abi*                    *hofe*                    *awa*                    *ahi*  
 abi                    hofa+M                    awa                    ahi  
 2SG.POSS.father    be in water    seem+M    there  
 nm                    vi                    sec                    dem

'"Your father must be in the water."'

37 *Awa*    *me*                    *ti*                    *nakosa*                    *awa*    *me* ,    *Fa Ki Ra*                    *tabiyo*  
 awa    me                    tii                    na    -kosa+F    awa    me                    Faa Kii Ra                    tabiyo  
 tree    3PL.S    cut through    AUX middle    tree    3PL                    (man's name)                    absence  
 nf                    pron    vt                    aux                    nf                    pron                    npropm                    pn

FA KI RA (1)

*yama me saka nemetemone ahi*  
yama me saka na -hemete -mone ahi  
thing 3PL.S pierce repeatedly AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
nf pron vt aux dem

'They cut down a small tree. They poked in the water, to find Fa Ki Ra.'

38 *Me bori hine , me bori hikaramako*  
me bori hi- na+M , me bori hi- ka- na -ra -mako  
3PL.S poke OC AUX 3PL.S poke OC COMIT AUX NEG for this reason+M  
pron vt aux pron vt aux

*me hekanakosehimatamonaka*  
me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pron vt

'They poked to find him. They couldn't, so they left him behind.'

39 *Tifoyawahahi*  
ti- foya -waha -hi  
2SG.S be inside change DUP  
vi

'"Get in my canoe."'

40 *Abi , ahabe awa*  
abi , ahaba+M awa  
2SG.POSS.father die seem+M  
nm vi sec

'"I guess your father has died."'

41 *Faya inamate foyawematamona*  
faya inamate foya -waha -himata -mona  
so child be inside change FP.N+M REP+M  
conj nm vi

'So the boy got in the other canoe.'

42 *Kokori ori hikanematamonaka*  
kokori ori hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.POSS.mother's brother paddle OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm vi aux

'His uncle paddled with him.'

43 *Me tai tokahamemetemone ahi*  
me tai to- ka- ha -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
3PL.S be ahead CH COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F then  
pron vi aux dem

'They went on ahead.'

44 *Me tai tokahama me , itarimatamonaka wawasi noki tame ya*  
me tai to- ka- ha -ma+F me , ita -rI -himata -mona -ka wawasi noki tame ya  
3PL.S be ahead CH COMIT AUX back 3PL.S sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M DUP get caught end+F foot+F ADJU  
pron vi aux pron nf pn pn prt

'They went on ahead. He was sitting on top of the stick of the fish trap.'

FA KI RA (1)

45 *Me hiwasimematamona*  
 me hi- wasi -ma -himata -mona  
 3PL.S OC find back FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt

'They came upon him.'

46 *Wai itariaro ha*  
 Wai ita -rI -haaro haa  
 (man's name) sit raised surface look+F DEM  
 npropm vi dem

""Look at Wai sitting there.""

47 *Ooo ati nematamonane me ati tomihari*  
 ooo ati na -himata -mona -ne me ati tomi -haari  
 oh no say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.POSS voice imitate IP.E+M  
 interj vt aux pron pn vt

""Oh my," he said, imitating them.'

48 *Hose okanaketasemata ama*  
 hose o- ka- na -kI -tasa -himata ama  
 pull out 1SG.S COMIT AUX coming again FP.N+M SEC  
 vt aux sec

""I will pull the stick out from under him.""

49 *Me hekame faya me*  
 me hi- ka- ka -ma+M faya me  
 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back so 3PL.S  
 pron vt conj pron  
*kamawemetemone fahi kanawa ataro ya aba me*  
 ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone fahi kanawa ataro ya aba me  
 go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F then tree sp bark+M ADJU fish 3PL.O  
 vi dem nm pn prt nm pron

*me yaba namaite mati*  
 me yaba na -ma -hitI mati  
 3PL.S take out AUX back along the way 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

'They brought him along. They came back in the kanawa bark canoe, taking the fish out of the traps as they came along.'

50 *Aba me me yaba namaite me aba*  
 aba me me yaba na -ma -hitI me aba  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S take out AUX back along the way 3PL.S fish  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

*me me yaba namahite bai toke ya*  
 me me yaba na -ma -hitI bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya  
 3PL.O 3PL.S take out AUX back along the way sun away go/come ADJU  
 pron pron vt aux nm vi prt

*me kama mati*  
 me ka -ma+F mati  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

'They came along taking the fish out of the traps. They came back late in the afternoon.'

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

### *Free Translation*

There were other people living somewhere else. They had speared fish. He was looking for a fish. "The fish was in the ground here." He dug all over, looking for the fish. "There it is in the hole." He took the fish out of the hole. He washed the fish off. He put the fish on a line.

The others were ready to leave. The two groups separated, since they lived in different places. Some lived in one place, and others who spoke a different language lived another place, my aunt used to say. They came back. They arrived back with the fish. Then they ate the fish, they used to say, my aunt used to say. The others, the people from Awita Fa, disappeared. They were all shamans. They went in the canoe. They went to fish. They fished. They killed fish. They were ready to leave late in the afternoon. "Come on, let's go home. We have gotten fish."

They were ready to leave. They came back in the canoe, the story says. They were all paddling. As they were coming back, they came upon a monster. The monster was horizontal in front of them. "Fiko, fiko, fiko," he said. "Stop the canoe. There is a monster there. Stop the canoe," he said.

They stopped. They saw the monster horizontal above the water. Fawaiii, they went underwater. They came out on the other side, leaving the monster behind. "You didn't believe me."

"Come on, let's go. It's getting dark on us."

"Wait, I'm going to take snuff." They took snuff. "Let's take snuff." They took snuff.

They took the fish out of the canoe. "Fowi, fowi, fowi," they whistled, as they went in the air. They came down in their village. That's the way they were, they were the people from Awita Fa. They came down. They were carrying the fish as they went into the house.

They went out again another day. Some of them left the others behind. The boy was with his brother-in-law. He was about the size of Tanieo. His brother-in-law brought him back. They left them behind. The others didn't call him. If they had called him, he would have come back. They left him behind.

The two of them lashed the fish in their backpacks, and came back. They brought the fish back. "Are the two of them going to stay there? Are they going to sleep there?"

"Let them stay there. We will come back tomorrow after them." They thought about going after them the next day, but they didn't go.

They called out. The boy wouldn't stop crying. He made his brother-in-law get up. The boy would not stop crying. "Wait, I will take care of us. Lift the basket of fish onto your back. I'm going to take snuff. Lift the basket of fish onto your back. We are going home." His brother-in-law lifted the basket of fish onto his back. He was young. He lifted the basket of fish onto his back. He took snuff.

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

### Interlinear Presentation

1 **Haha me winabisa** , **aba me me tisa**  
 haaha me wina -bisa+F , aba me me tisa  
 this+F 3PL.S live also fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 dem pron vi nm pron pron vt

**nabisa** , **aba siba nabisematamona fari**  
 na -bisa+F , aba siba na -bisa -himata -mona faari  
 AUX also fish look for AUX also FP.N+M REP+M that one+M  
 aux nm vt aux dem

'There were other people living somewhere else. They had speared fish. He was looking for a fish.'

2 **Aba homemari** **amake ahi**  
 aba homa.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi  
 fish lie on ground FP.E+M be DECL+F here  
 nm vi vc dem

""The fish was in the ground here.""

3 **Yama wi nawarematamona** **aba tabiyo**  
 yama wii na -wahaI -himata -mona aba tabiyo  
 thing dig AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M fish wanting  
 nf vt aux nm pn

'He dug all over, looking for the fish.'

4 **Hari** , **homa kanamata**  
 haari , homa.LIST ka- na.CONT+M -mata  
 that one+M lie on ground COMIT AUX FP.N+M  
 dem vi aux

""There it is in the hole.""

5 **Aba iti aba soko nawe** **aba tasi**  
 aba iti+M aba soko na -waha+M aba tasi  
 fish take out fish wash AUX change fish string  
 nm vt nm vt aux nm vt

**tosakabote** , **me one yana tona me me me**  
 to- na -kosa -kabote , me one yana to- na+F me me me  
 CH AUX middle quickly 3PL other+F start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S  
 aux pron adj vi aux pron pron pron

**wawaha kanikima toemetemoneni** , **me winikima**  
 wa- waha na -kanikima to- ha -hemete -mone -ni , me winikima  
 DUP turn AUX scattered CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S live two  
 vi aux aux pron vi

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'He took the fish out of the hole. He washed the fish off. He put the fish on a line. The others were ready to leave. The two groups separated, since they lived in different places.'

6 **Hine ya me one wina** **hine ya me ati**  
 hine ya me one wina.LIST hine ya me ati  
 only ADJU 3PL other+F live only ADJU 3PL.POSS voice  
 pron prt pron adj vi pron prt pron pn

**hiyaya na me wina na toemetemone**  
 hiya -ya na+F me wina.LIST na to- ha -hemete -mone  
 be different DUP AUX 3PL.S live AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi aux pron vi aux aux





## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

11	<b>Me</b>	<b>towaka</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>nabone</b>	
	me	to- ka-	ka+F	me	faha	me	kii	na -habone	
	3PL.S	away	COMIT	3PL.S	water	3PL.S	look at	AUX INT+F	
	pron	vi		pron	nf	pron	vt	aux	
	<b>me</b>	<b>toka</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>fa</b>
	me	to- ka+	me	faha	me	kii	na+F	faha	
	3PL.S	away	go/come	3PL.S	water	3PL.S	look at	AUX	water
	pron	vi	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	
	<b>abe</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>nahabiha</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>bai</b>	<b>toke</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yana</b>	
	abe	me	na- ahaba+	me	bahi	to- ka+M	me	yana	
	creature+F	3PL.S	CAUS die	3PL.S	sun	away go/come	3PL.S	start	
	pn	pron	vt	pron	nm	vi	pron	vi	

**tokanemetemone**

to- ka- na -hemete -mone  
 CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They went in the canoe. They went to fish. They fished. They killed fish. They were ready to leave late in the afternoon.'

12	<b>Hima</b>	<b>hima</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>tokomahi</b>	
	hima	hima	ee	to- ka -ma -hi	
	let's go	let's go	1IN.S	away go/come back IMP+F	
	interj	interj	pron	vi	

'''Come on, let's go home.'''

13	<b>E</b>	<b>honake</b>	
	ee	hona	-ke
	1IN.S	have something	DECL+F
	pron	vi	

'''We have gotten fish.'''

14	<b>Me</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>tokana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kakamemetemone</b>
	me	yana	to- ka- na+F	me	ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
	3PL.S	start	CH COMIT AUX	3PL.S	COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi

<b>hiyara</b>	<b>aati</b>	<b>toemetemone</b>	<b>amani</b>
hiyara	a- ati	ha -hemete -mone	ama -ni
story	DUP say	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	SEC BKG+F
nf	vt	aux	sec

'They were ready to leave. They came back in the canoe, the story says.'

15	<b>Me</b>	<b>orioriri</b>	<b>tokanemetemone</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	me	ori- ori -ri	to- ka- na -hemete -mone	ahi
	3PL.S	DUP paddle DUP	CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then
	pron	vi	aux	dem

'They were all paddling.'

16	<b>Me</b>	<b>kakama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yama</b>	<b>wani</b>	<b>me</b>
	me	ka- ka -ma+F	me	yama	waa -hani	me
	3PL.S	COMIT go/come back	3PL.S	monster	be located IP.N+F	3PL.S
	pron	vi	pron	nf	vi	pron

<b>wasimabani</b>	<b>mati</b>
wasi -ma -haba -ni	mati
find back FUT+F IP.N+F	3PL.S
vt	pron

'As they were coming back, they came upon a monster.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

17 *Yama bere nikimemetemone ama ahi me*  
 yama bere na -kima -hemete -mone ama ahi me  
 monster be across AUX two FP.N+F REP+F SEC there 3PL.POSS  
 nf vi vi sec dem pron

*nokosi ya*  
 nokosi ya  
 in front of ADJU  
 pn prt

'The monster was horizontal in front of them.'

18 *Fiko fiko fiko fiko*  
 fiko fiko fiko fiko  
 (cry of capuchin) (cry of capuchin) (cry of capuchin) (cry of capuchin)  
 vi vi vi vi

*ati kawematamona ahi*  
 ati ka- na -waha -himata -mona ahi  
 say COMMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem

'"Fiko, fiko, fiko," he said.'

19 *Kanawa ma tinihahi*  
 kanawa maa ti- to- niha- ha -hi  
 canoe stop 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX IMP+F  
 nf vi aux

'"Stop the canoe."

20 *Yama waini*  
 yama waa -ni  
 monster be located IP.N+F  
 nf vi

'"There is a monster there."

21 *Kanawa ma tinihahi ati nematamona ahi*  
 kanawa maa ti- to- niha- ha -hi ati na -himata -mona ahi  
 canoe stop 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nf vi aux vt aux dem

'"Stop the canoe," he said.'

22 *Me ma kanamemetemoneke*  
 me maa ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S stop COMMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'They stopped.'

23 *Me ma kanama me , maka maka fa neme*  
 me maa ka- na -ma+F me , maka maka faha neme  
 3PL.S stop COMMIT AUX back 3PL.S monster monster water up  
 pron vi aux pron nm nm nf nf

*bere nikime me me awa mati ahi*  
 bere na -kima+M me me awa+F mati ahi  
 be across AUX two 3PL 3PL.S see 3PL.S then  
 vi aux pron pron vt pron dem

'They stopped. They saw the monster horizontal above the water.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

24 *Fawaiii me towakakani fa boti ka ya*  
 fawaiiii me to- ka- ka -kani faha boti ka ya  
 sound 3PL.S away COMIT go/come ?+F water inside LOC ADJU  
 pron vi nf pn prt prt

'Fawaiii, they went underwater.'

25 *Me tasi tokanamemetemone maka me*  
 me tasi to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone maka me  
 3PL.S emerge away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F monster 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux nm pron

*kakosa mati*  
 ka- kana -kosa+F mati  
 COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 vt pron

'They came out on the other side, leaving the monster behind.'

26 *Owati tikasawariara ti*  
 o- ati ti- ka- sawari -hara ti-  
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IP.E+F 2SG.S  
 pn vt prt

""You didn't believe me.""

27 *Owati tikasawariara tini*  
 o- ati ti- ka- sawari -hara ti- ni  
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IP.E+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 pn vt prt

""You didn't believe me.""

28 *Hima e tokoma*  
 hima ee to- ka -ma  
 let's go 1IN.S away go/come back  
 interj pron vi

""Come on, let's go.""

29 *E kakayomibone*  
 ee ka- kayoma.NOM+F -bone  
 1IN.S COMIT darken INT+F  
 pron vi

""It's getting dark on us.""

30 *E kakayomakibone*  
 ee ka- kayoma -ke -bone  
 1IN.S COMIT darken DECL+F INT+F  
 pron vi

""It's getting dark on us.""

31 *Hiba sina hisi omatibe*  
 hiba sina hisi o- na -mata -be  
 wait snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 interj nf vt aux

""Wait, I'm going to take snuff.""

32 *Sina me hisi nemetemone ahi*  
 sina me hisi na -hemete -mone ahi  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They took snuff.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

33 *Sina e hisi namata*  
 sina ee hisi na -mata  
 snuff 1IN.S sniff AUX short time  
 nf pron vt aux

"Let's take snuff."

34 *Sina me hisi kani ahi*  
 sina me hisi na -kani ahi  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX ?+F then  
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They took snuff.'

35 *Sina me hisi nemetemone ahi*  
 sina me hisi na -hemete -mone ahi  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They took snuff.'

36 *Sina me hisi na me , aba me me*  
 sina me hisi na+F me , aba me me  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

*kayabemetemone ahi*  
 ka- yaba -hemete -mone ahi  
 COMIT take out FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt dem

'They took snuff. They took the fish out of the canoe.'

37 *Fowi fowi fowi*  
 fowi fowi fowi  
 (sound of whistling) (sound of whistling) (sound of whistling)  
 sound sound sound

*fowi fowi me tokakani ahi*  
 fowi fowi me to- ka -kani ahi  
 (sound of whistling) (sound of whistling) 3PL.S away go/come ?+F then  
 sound pron vi dem  
 , *fara me tabori ya me bao nabani mati*  
 fara me tabori ya me bao na -haba -ni mati  
 same+F 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 3PL.S come down AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 dem pron pn prt pron vi aux pron

"Fowi, fowi, fowi," they whistled, as they went in the air. They came down in their village.'

38 *Me nana toemetemone Awita Fa yafi*  
 me na- na to- ha -hemete -mone Awita Fa yafi  
 3PL.S DUP exist CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F (name of stream) inhabitant of  
 pron vi aux npropm pn

*me tohine*  
 me to- ha -ne  
 3PL.S CH be CONT+F  
 pron vc

'That's the way they were, they were the people from Awita Fa.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

39 *Me*        *bao*                    *nemetemone*                    *ahi* .  
 me        bao                    na -hemete -mone        ahi  
 3PL.S    come down        AUX FP.N+F    REP+F        then  
 pron    vi                    aux                    dem

'They came down.'

40 *Aba*    *me*        *me*        *weyeri*                    *kawemetemone*                    *me*  
 aba    me        me        weye -ri        ka-    na -waha -hemete -mone        me  
 fish    3PL.O    3PL.S    carry DISTR    COMIT AUX change FP.N+F    REP+F    3PL.S  
 nm     pron    pron    vt                    aux                    pron

*tokiyomama*                    *mati* .  
 to- ka                    -yoma -ma+F        mati  
 away go/come through back    3PL.S  
 vi                                    pron

'They were carrying the fish as they went into the house.'

41 *Me*        *toka*                    *me*        ,        *faya*        *me*        *one*                    *tokatasa*  
 me        to- ka+F                    me        ,        faya        me        one        to- ka                    -tasa+F  
 3PL.S    away go/come    3PL.S                    so        3PL    other+F        away go/come    again  
 pron    vi                    pron                    conj    pron    adj                    vi

*me*        ,        *me*                    *abe*        *kakosemetemoneke*                    *fa*  
 me        ,        me                    abe        ka-    kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke        faa  
 3PL.S                    3PL.POSS    RECIP    COMIT leave middle FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F        that  
 pron                    pron                    pn        vt                    dem

*mati* .  
 mati  
 3PL  
 pron

'They went out again another day. Some of them left the others behind.'

42 *Inamate*    *wabori*                    *famehi*                    *namatama*  
 inamate    wabori                    fama+M        na -mata                    -ma  
 child        3SG.POSS brother-in-law    be with        AUX short time like  
 nm        nm                    vi                    aux

*Tanieo*                    *ne*                    *awaka* .  
 Tanieo                    na+M        awa        -ka  
 (man's name)        AUX        seem+M    DECL+M  
 npropm                    aux        sec

'The boy was with his brother-in-law. He was about the size of Tanieo.'

43 *Wabori*                    *hekamakimatamonaha*  
 wabori                    hi- ka-        ka                    -makI                    -himata -mona -ha  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law    OC    COMIT go/come following FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP  
 nm                    vt

'His brother-in-law brought him back.'

44 *Me*        *me*        *hekanakosa*                    ,        *me*        *haha*  
 me        me        hi- ka-        kana -kosa+F                    ,        me        ha- haa  
 3PL.O    3PL.S    OC    COMIT leave middle                    3PL.S    DUP call  
 pron    pron    vt                    pron    vt

*hirehimata*                    *awaka* .  
 hi- na -ra -himata        awa        -ka  
 OC    AUX NEG FP.N+M        seem+M    DECL+M  
 aux                                    sec

'They left them behind. The others didn't call him.'

THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

45 *Me*     *haha*     *hinehimanaha*     *kamehina*     *ama*  
 me     ha- haa     hi- na -himanaha     ka     -ma -hina     ama  
 3PL.S     DUP call     OC     AUX HYPOTH+M     go/come back     IRR+M     be  
 pron     vt     aux     vi     vc

*namata*

na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX     FP.N+M  
 aux

'If they had called him, he would have come back.'

46 *Me*     *hekanakose*     ,     *aba*     *me*     *me*     *wete*  
 me     hi- ka-     kana -kosa+M     ,     aba     me     me     wete  
 3PL.S     OC     COMIT leave middle     fish     3PL.O     3PL.S     tie  
 pron     vt     nm     pron     pron     vt

*nakosikima*

na -kosa -kima+F     *me*     *kakamawahemetemone*  
 AUX middle two     3PL.S     COMIT go/come back change     FP.N+F     REP+F  
 aux     pron     vi

'They left him behind. The two of them lashed the fish in their backpacks, and came back.'

47 *Aba*     *me*     *me*     *kakama*     ,     *me*     ,     *Me*     *yororo*     *naba*  
 aba     me     me     ka- ka     -ma+F     me     ,     me     yororo     na -haba  
 fish     3PL.O     3PL.S     COMIT go/come back     3PL.S     3PL.S     stay     AUX FUT+F  
 nm     pron     pron     vt     pron     pron     vi     aux

*me*     *awine*     ?

me     awine  
 3PL.S     seem+F  
 pron     sec

'They brought the fish back. "Are the two of them going to stay there?'"

48 *Me*     *amo*     *katataba*     ,     *me*     *awine*     ?  
 me     amo     ka- na -mata     -haba     me     awine     ?  
 3PL.S     sleep     COMIT AUX short time FUT+F     3PL.S     seem+F  
 pron     vi     aux     pron     sec

'"Are they going to sleep there?"'

49 *Hine*     *me*     *yororo*     *namati*  
 hine     me     yororo     na -mata.NOM+F  
 only     3PL.S     stay     AUX short time  
 pron     pron     vi     aux

'"Let them stay there."'

50 *Me*     *e*     *nakiminabana*  
 me     ee     na- ka     -kI     -mina     -habana  
 3PL.O     1IN.S     CAUS go/come coming morning FUT+F  
 pron     pron     vt

'"We will come back tomorrow after them."'

51 *Me*     *me*     *hinakaminabone*     ,     *me*     *me*  
 me     me     hi- to- na- ka     -mina     -habone     ,     me     me  
 3PL.O     3PL.S     OC     away CAUS go/come morning INT+F     3PL.O     3PL.S  
 pron     pron     vt     pron     pron

*hinakaminaremetemoneke*

hi- to- na- ka     -mina     -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC     away CAUS go/come morning NEG FP.N+F     REP+F     DECL+F  
 vt

'They thought about going after them the next day, but they didn't go.'

## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

52 *Me ha kana me , inamate ohi ni fawa*  
 me haa ka- na+F me , inamate ohi na.NFIN fawa  
 3PL.S call COMIT AUX 3PL.S child cry AUX disappear  
 pron vi aux pron nm vi aux vi  
*rematamona amaka wabori yana*  
 na -ra -himata -mona ama -ka wabori yana  
 AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law start  
 aux sec nm vi

*nibanoho*  
 niha- na -hiba -no -ho  
 CAUS AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'They called out. The boy wouldn't stop crying. He made his brother-in-law get up.'

53 *Inamate ohi ni fawa rematamona amane*  
 inamate ohi na.NFIN fawa na -ra -himata -mona ama -ne  
 child cry AUX disappear AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm vi aux vi aux sec

'The boy would not stop crying.'

54 *Hiba era owakatomaba owa awine o*  
 hiba era o- ka- katoma -haba owa awine o-  
 wait 1IN.O 1SG.S COMIT look at FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S  
 interj pron vt pron sec prt

'''Wait, I will take care of us.'''

55 *Aba me , aba me weye timisa*  
 aba me , aba me weye ti- na -misa  
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX up  
 nm pron nm pron vt aux

'''Lift the basket of fish onto your back.'''

56 *Sina hisi omatibe*  
 sina hisi o- na -mata -be  
 snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt aux

'''I'm going to take snuff.'''

57 *Aba me weye timisa*  
 aba me weye ti- na -misa  
 fish 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX up  
 nm pron vt aux

'''Lift the basket of fish onto your back.'''

58 *E towakamakiaba e awineni*  
 ee to- ka- ka -makI -haba ee awine -ni  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come following FUT+F 1IN.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron sec

'''We are going home.'''

59 *Wabori aba mera weye namisematamona*  
 wabori aba mera weye na -misa -himata -mona  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law fish 3PL.O carry AUX up FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm nm pron vt aux



## THE PEOPLE FROM AWITA FA (3)

***nafirari***

nafi -ra -haari .  
 be big NEG IP.E+M  
 vi

'His brother-in-law lifted the basket of fish onto his back. He was young.'

60	<b><i>Aba</i></b>	<b><i>me</i></b>	<b><i>weye</i></b>	<b><i>namise</i></b>	,	<b><i>sina</i></b>	<b><i>hisi</i></b>	<b><i>nematamona</i></b>	.
	aba	me	weye	na -misa+M		sina	hisi	na -himata -mona	
	fish	3PL.O	carry	AUX up		snuff	sniff	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	
	nm	pron	vt	aux		nf	vt	aux	

'He lifted the basket of fish onto his back. He took snuff.'

## MAIKO (2)

### *Free Translation*

No one saw those people. They didn't see him. We used to hear the stories about him, Maiko. He killed monsters, he was a shaman. Maiko killed monsters, because he had a shaman's stone.

He went into the forest to fish. He went into the forest, and he came upon a monster standing in the shallow water. The monster was standing in the water hitting a reed on the surface of the water.

"Huh, it is hitting a reed on my water that I was going to fish in. I'm going to spear it."

He decided what to do. He took snuff. Then he went to where the monster was standing, hitting on the water with a reed. His water went, "koho".

Then Maiko came. "Kere, kere," he said, imitating the call of a kingfisher.

The monster was standing in the water. The monster had its back turned to him. He aimed at the monster.

Tiihiiii, went the sound of the monster being hit.

Toooooo went the sound of the water. It was the sound of the monster. The sound of the monster's fruits could be heard.

He came out far away. "Kere, kere." He went away calling.

He went around and sat down again. "I speared the one who was hitting a reed on the water where I was going to fish. I will fish."

Then he fished. He speared fish. He had speared the monster.

He weaved a basket to carry the fish in. He came back.

"My uncle has come back, carrying fish."

"I speared a monster, Boyori. It was hitting the water with a reed, and I speared it, and it died," he said.

He killed the monster. He told his nephews about the monster back in the village. "You can fish in the place where it was. I speared it. It died."

They speared fish. "My uncle eats a lot. I'm going to offer a feast to my uncle. He will eat fish." He planned to offer a feast to his uncle.

He offered a feast to his uncle. They gave him a feast. He ate all their food. One person normally doesn't have such a big stomach.

They cooked two pots of fish. They called him. "Uncle, uncle."

"Yes?" he said.

"Uncle, fish for you to eat. There is fish for you to eat on a leaf there."

"Right, let it lie there. I will take a look at it."

They served the fish. He ate the fish all by himself. He didn't have any companion. He ate the fish. He drank the broth, too.

"There are the two empty pots. I'm going home." There was a pile of bones from his fish on the leaf. He went home and lay in his hammock.

"You made a feast for me by myself. Now I will do the same for you. You will be just like me. You attacked me when I was alone." He went home and lay in his hammock.

The two of them went out into the forest again. After they left, he went and got *nakarifa taro*

## MAIKO (2)

in the garden. He brought back the taro, and cooked it. After he cooked the taro, he put it in a basket. He cooked some more.

They speared fish, and came back. They were angry with their wives. "We are with women who don't prepare food, we are hungry. They don't prepare food for us," they said.

"Wait a little. Your uncle is planning something for you," she said.

"There are two pots of food for you to eat there. Don't criticize your wives," he said. "You gave me a feast when I was alone. Now I have done the same to you. Eat it all."

So they ate the taro, and they were full. Their stomachs didn't stretch, the ones who had given a feast to him.

"Uncle, we are full. There is taro left over."

"You can eat more later. Leave the two pots of food there for now."

They left the two pots of taro, and they ate more later, just as he had said. They ate some taro, and left some.

They went fishing. Maiko went into the forest with his wife. "Let's go together. I'm going to fish. You watch me."

So the two of them went. Maiko was standing, fishing. He was standing there, and his wife spoke.

"Maiko, Maiko."

"What?" he said.

"Maiko, I need to defecate," she said.

"Go and defecate. I am continuing to fish."

He speared fish. His wife went to defecate. She came upon the monster. She was standing with the kill of the monster without knowing it. The monster flew away. There was a dead deer on the ground, and she looked at it. She defecated and then came back.

"Maiko, Maiko, there is a dead animal there on the ground," she said.

"What animal is it?"

"It's a deer. It's a *bato mawa* deer," she said. "There is a *bato mawa* deer on the ground there."

"Wait, I will take a look at it."

He speared a fish, and hit the fish on the head.

"I'm going. You put the fish in the basket. Let's go look at the animal."

They were ready to go look at the animal. They were ready, and they went.

"The animal is there on the ground," she said.

"Look, the animal is there on the ground."

He didn't want to just look at the animal. He looked at the kill of the monster.

"We don't know how the animal died. It will be eaten. I will tie it up."

He pulled down some vines, and tied up the deer.

"Maiko, I think it was killed by the thing that flew away," she said.

"It was killed by it. It was killed by the monster. The deer was killed by it. Go on ahead. I'm going to carry it."

He hit his feet on the ground in order to lift the deer onto his back, *bao, bao bao*.

"It is holding me back," he said.

It let go. Maiko carried the deer, and he finally came to where his wife was.

"You carry the fish. Let's go."

They were ready, and they came back to his village. They cooked the fish back in the village. As they cooked the fish, he devoted himself to preparing the deer. In order to burn the hair off of the deer, he went after firewood, and cut the firewood, and brought the firewood back to the

## MAIKO (2)

village. He split the firewood back in the village. He lit the firewood, and burned the hair off the deer. Then he cut it up. He made a roasting rack for it, and he roasted it.<sup>64</sup>

They only ate the fish. Maiko's wife ate fish.

He took snuff, and slept. When he was going to sleep, a child began to cry. There was the sound of a child crying, coming toward the village. "One, one, one," the child said.

"Oh no, he didn't put my grandson to sleep early, now he is putting my grandson to sleep late at night," he said.

Then his wife spoke. "Maiko, it is the voice of the monster, whose kill we brought back," she said.

"Yes, it is its voice," he said.

It came.

"I will take a look at it," he said.

He took a look at it. He opened the door. The monster had come and was standing on the plaza. It was standing there. Maiko had brought back the monster's kill, and the cooked ribs of the deer were there in the pot.

The monster came crying to the door. It went into Maiko's house.

Maiko didn't sleep. "I want to sleep. No one ate it. It is there on the rack, I roasted it. The ribs are in the pot there."

"I will give it food. I want it to go away."

He gave food to the monster, cooked deer. He gave it food. The sound of its throat could be heard.

"Maiko, there are two monsters."

"I guess there are two of them."

He put a spell on the cooked meat. He gave broth for it to drink, too.

"OK, there is roasted meat on the rack there, too. I didn't eat the meat."

Then he gave it the roasted meat. He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted deer meat. People talk about it, the monster that kills us. He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted meat. It gave food to its mate.

It hadn't eaten. Then it ate. It stayed with him.

"You two go away. Go away. I am going to sleep. Go away."

He told it to go away, but it didn't go away. It stayed with him.

Maiko had eaten. He wanted to sleep, and he kept looking at it.

"Oh no, it wants to stay with me. I want to sleep. It is staying with me."

"I'm going to take you there. I will take care of it."

Maiko took his wife away. He took his wife to the familiar spirits.

"Don't give any food to my wife. My wife has already eaten. I'm going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me."

He called them to go, but he went instead of them.

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

He went back, and his wife stayed behind. He came back with the familiar spirits. He came up out of the ground, and he took a look. It was still there.

"There the monster is, I am telling you. I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me."

He took a brand out of the fire, and put a spell on the brand. He threw the brand at it and hit it.

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<sup>64</sup> Whereas Yowao has used masculine agreement for the deer up to this point (the gender of the species is masculine), in this sentence and in most of the rest of the story he uses feminine agreement, indicating that the deer was a female.

## MAIKO (2)

"You go on ahead back. Don't get in my way."

After they were gone, he hit it with the brand. Koro, tiihii, went the sound of it.

The monster set the house on fire. It went away hurt, because Maiko had hit it with the brand. Maiko hit it.

"It was hit. I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me. It brought misfortune on itself."

His familiar spirits came down to the ground. Baowa, barorere.

"Oh, over here. Help me." His voice could be heard as he called his familiar spirits.

The familiar spirits were all dead as they came down to earth, because of the monster.

"Tokowisa Abono Fana, help me."

Tokowisa Abono Fana filled her mouth with *kawaki* grass. She came down to earth dead.

"I called her, but she is not going to help me."

Tokowisa Abono Fana came down dead. He called others of his familiar spirits. He called his familiar spirits. Another Tokowisa Abono Fana came down to earth, and spit *kawaki* grass juice out.

"Help me, Grandma."

She spit it out. "You messed with the monster," she said. Tokowisa Abono Fana spit out *kawaki* grass juice.

"Come on, I'm going to sleep. I'm going to go get my wife."

He went and picked up his wife. He went after his wife. He brought his wife back.

"Tie up the hammocks now that you are back. Let's sleep."

There were not many people living in Maiko's village. His relatives lived somewhere else.

So he slept finally. He slept, and woke up.

"I threw something at the monster and hit it. Look, there are the signs of it. Its mate was there on the ground. Its mate fell on the ground. It took its mate away."

It went away hurt. He looked at the signs of it. He blew on the place. He blew to take away its smell.

Then he got his bow and arrows. "You stay here. I'm going there to take a look at it. I'm going to spear a fish."

He went there. He speared fish, and brought fish back. He came back carrying fish.

He killed the monsters. Then he moved away. He lived there a long time, at a place where there were no monsters, after he killed the monsters. Where did he go? He must have gone somewhere else. His descendents live there. No one saw them. They live everywhere. His old village was there. The foundation poles of his house used to be there. I have said the name of Maiko. The foundation poles of Maiko's house used to be there at Toto Boti.

### ***Interlinear Presentation***

1	<b><i>Ha</i></b>	<b><i>me</i></b>	<b><i>awabisaremete</i></b>	<b><i>awaremata</i></b>	
	haa	me	awa -bisa -ra -hemete	awa -ra -himata	.
	DEM	3PL.S	see also NEG FP.N+F	see NEG FP.N+M	
	dem	pron	result	result	

'No one saw those people. They didn't see him.'

2	<b><i>Tamine</i></b>	<b><i>ota</i></b>	<b><i>mimita</i></b>	<b><i>toabisemari</i></b>	<b><i>amaka</i></b>	<b><i>ahi</i></b>
	tamine	otaa	mi- mita	to- ha -bisa -himari	ama -ka	ahi
	news about	1EX.S	DUP hear	CH AUX also FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M	then
	pn	pron	vt	aux	sec	dem

## MAIKO (2)

### **Maiko**

Maiko  
(man's name)  
npropm

'We used to hear the stories about him, Maiko.'

<b>3</b>	<b>Maka</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>nanabi</b>		<b>toematamonaha</b>		<b>inawa</b>
	maka	mera	na- na-	ahaba	to- ha	-himata -mona -ha	inawa
	monster	3PL.O	DUP CAUS	die	CH AUX	FP.N+M REP+M DUP	shaman
	nm	pron	vt		aux		nm

'He killed monsters, he was a shaman.'

<b>4</b>	<b>Maiko</b>		<b>Maiko</b>	<b>yara</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>aa</b>	<b>Maiko</b>
	Maiko		Maiko	yara	me	aa	Maiko
	(man's name)		(man's name)	Brazilian	3PL	(pause)	(man's name)
	npropm		npropm	npropm	pron	interj	npropm

	<b>maka</b>	<b>mera</b>	<b>nanabi</b>		<b>toematamona</b>		<b>yama nakora</b>
	maka	mera	na- na-	ahaba	to- ha	-himata -mona	yama nakora
	monster	3PL.O	DUP CAUS	die	CH AUX	FP.N+M REP+M	shaman's stone
	nm	pron	vt		aux		nf

### **kihamako**

kiha -mako  
have for this reason+M  
vt

'Maiko killed monsters, because he had a shaman's stone.'

<b>5</b>	<b>Toke</b>		<b>toke</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>koro</b>		<b>nebonaha</b>
	to- ka+M		to- ka+M	faha	koro		na -hibona -ha
	away go/come		away go/come	water	throw something on		AUX INT+M DUP
	vi		vi	nf	vt		aux

	<b>toke</b>		<b>maka</b>	<b>waifino</b>		
	to- ka+M		maka	waa -fI -hino		
	away go/come		monster	stand water IP.N+M		
	vi		nm	vi		

### **towasiwitibanoho**

to- wasi -witI -hiba -no -ho  
away find out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
vt

'He went into the forest to fish. He went into the forest, and he came upon a monster standing in the shallow water.'

<b>6</b>	<b>Maka</b>	<b>waifino</b>		<b>towasiwiti</b>		<b>yama</b>
	maka	waa -fI -hino		to- wasi -witI+M		yama
	monster	stand water IP.N+M		away find out		monster
	nm	vi		vt		nf

	<b>waifimetemone</b>		<b>ama</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>koho</b>	<b>naro</b>
	waa -fI.NOM -mete -mone		ama	faha	koho	na -haaro
	stand water FP.N+F REP+F		be	water	hit	AUX IP.E+F
	vi		vc	nf	vt	aux

'He came upon a monster standing in the water. The monster was standing in the water hitting a reed on the surface of the water.'

<b>7</b>	<b>Aa</b>		<b>oko</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>koro</b>
	aa		o-	ka	faha koro
	(expression of surprise)		1SG.POSS	POSS	water throw something on
	interj		prt	nf	vt

MAIKO (2)

**onabone**                      **koho**   **ne**      **awa**  
o-      na   -habone   koho   na+M   awa  
1SG.S AUX INT+F   hit   AUX   seem+M  
aux                      vt      aux      sec

"Huh, it is hitting a reed on my water that I was going to fish in."

8   **Ota**                      **mata**  
o-      ita      mata  
1SG.S pierce   for now  
vt                      prt

"I'm going to spear it."

9   **Faya**   **hiwa**                      **hiwa**                      **wati**                      **kane**                      **sina**      **hisi**  
faya   hiwa                      hiwa                      wati                      ka-      na+M      sina      hisi  
so      3SG.REFL.M      3SG.REFL.M      plan against      COMIT AUX      snuff      sniff  
conj   pron                      pron                      vt                      aux                      nf      vt

**nake**                      **tokakane**                      **ahi**                      **maka**                      **fa**                      **koho**      **ne**      **wahi**  
na   -kI                      to-   ka                      -kane                      ahi                      ,      maka                      fa                      koho      ne      wahi  
AUX coming   away go/come ?+M   there                      monster      water      hit      AUX      stand  
aux                      vi                      dem                      nm                      nf      vt      aux      vi

**ni**   **ya**  
ni   ya  
to   ADJU  
prt   prt

'He decided what to do. He took snuff. Then he went to where the monster was standing, hitting on the water with a reed.'

10   **Koho**                      **hinaka**                      **fa**                      **moni**  
koho                      hinaka                      faha                      moni  
(sound of something hitting)      3SG.POSS      water      make sound  
sound                      pron                      nf                      vt

**nemetemonehe**                      **Maiko**                      **Maiko**  
na   -hemete   -mone   -he                      Maiko                      Maiko  
AUX FP.N+F   REP+F   DUP                      (man's name)                      (man's name)  
aux                      npropm                      npropm

**kamabano**                      **ya**  
ka   -ma.NOM+M   -ba   -no                      ya  
go/come back                      FUT IP.N+M      ADJU  
vi                      prt

'His water went, "koho". Then Maiko came.'

11   **Kere**                      **kere**                      **ati**      **nematamonane**  
kere                      kere                      ati      na   -himata   -mona   -ne  
(call of kingfisher)                      (call of kingfisher)      say      AUX FP.N+M   REP+M   BKG+M  
sound                      sound                      vt      aux

**kere**                      **ati**      **hiri**      **nari**  
kere                      ati      hiri      na   -haari  
kingfisher sp      voice      make      AUX IP.E+M  
nm                      pn      vt      aux

"Kere, kere," he said, imitating the call of a kingfisher.'

12   **Maka**                      **waifi**                      **rama**                      **faha**                      **ya**  
maka      waa   -fI+M      rama                      faha      ya  
monster      stand water      unusual      water      ADJU  
nm                      vi                      prt                      nf                      prt

'The monster was standing in the water.'

MAIKO (2)

13 *Maka tonokowiti rama maka aahi*  
 maka to- noko -witI+M rama maka a- ahi  
 monster away point out unusual monster DUP work on  
 nm vi prt nm vt

*nematamonaha*

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

'The monster had its back turned to him. He aimed at the monster.'

14 *Tiihii maka moni tonematamona ahi*  
 tiihii maka moni to- na -himata -mona ahi  
 (sound of hitting) monster make sound CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 sound nm vt aux dem

'Tiihiiii, went the sound of the monster.'

15 *Toooooo fa moni nemetemone maka moni ahi*  
 toooooo faha moni na -hemete -mone maka moni ahi  
 sound water make sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F monster sound then  
 nf vt aux nm pn dem

'Toooooo went the sound of the water. It was the sound of the monster.'

16 *Maka ka awa boni moni kohokohori*  
 maka ka awa boni moni koho- koho -ri  
 monster POSS tree fruit+F sound DUP hit DISTR  
 nm prt nf pn pn vi

*tokanemetemoneni*

to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

'The sound of the monster's fruits could be heard.'

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

'He came out far away.'

18 *Kere kere ati tokakane*  
 kere kere ati to- ka -kane  
 (call of kingfisher) (call of kingfisher) voice away go/come ?+M  
 sound sound pn vi

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'"Kere, kere." He went away calling.'

19 *Towawamakane ahi*  
 to- waa -waha -ma -kane ahi  
 away stand change back ?+M then  
 vi dem

'He went around and sat down again.'



## MAIKO (2)

20 **Fa**      **koro**                      **onabone**                      **koho**    **nenō**  
 faha    koro                      o-    na    -habone    koho    na    -hino  
 water   throw something on   1SG.S AUX INT+F    hit    AUX IP.N+M  
 nf      vt                      aux                      vt      aux

**otine**                      **o**      **owatino**  
 o-    ita    -ne    o-    owatino  
 1SG.S pierce CONT+F    1SG.S exclamation  
 vt                      prt      interj

"I speared the one who was hitting a reed on the water where I was going to fish."

21 **Fa**      **koro**                      **omatibe**  
 faha    koro                      o-    na    -mata    -be  
 water   throw something on   1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nf      vt                      aux

"I will fish."

22 **Fa**      **koro**                      **nawahe**                      **aba**    **me**      **tisa**  
 faha    koro                      na    -waha+M    aba    me      tisa  
 water   throw something on   AUX change    fish    3PL.O    shoot with arrow  
 nf      vt                      aux                      nm      pron    vt

**nawahebanoho**  
 na    -waha    -hiba    -no    -ho  
 AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'Then he fished. He speared fish.'

23 **Aba**    **me**      **tisa**                      **kane**                      **ahi**    **maka**      **iti**                      **ha**  
 aba    me      tisa                      na    -kane    ahi    maka    ita.NFIN    haa  
 fish    3PL.S    shoot with arrow    AUX ?+M    then    monster    pierce    DEM  
 nm      pron    vt                      aux                      dem    nm      vt                      dem

'He speared fish. He had speared the monster.'

24 **Aba**    **me**                      **wiyebone**                      **kowe**                      **kame**  
 aba    me                      wiye    -bone    kowa+M    ka    -ma+M  
 fish    3PL.POSS    container+F INT+F    weave    go/come back  
 nm      pron      pn                      vt      vi

**kamematamonaka**  
 ka    -ma    -himata    -mona    -ka  
 go/come back FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He weaved a basket to carry the fish in. He came back.'

25 **Kame**                      **Okobise**                      **kame**                      **aba**    **me**  
 ka    -ma+M    o-    ka    abise    ka    -ma+M    aba    me  
 go/come back    1SG.POSS POSS uncle    go/come back    fish    3PL.O  
 vi                      nm                      vi                      nm      pron

**weye nari**  
 weye    na    -haari  
 carry    AUX IP.E+M  
 vt      aux

'He came back. "My uncle has come back, carrying fish."'

26 **Yama**      **otini**                      **Boyori**  
 yama    o-    ita    -ni    Boyori  
 monster   1SG.S pierce BKG+F    (woman's name)  
 nf      vt                      npropf

"I speared a monster, Boyori."

## MAIKO (2)

27 **Fa koho nani ota abarani ati**  
 faha koho na -hani o- ita+F ahaba -hara -ni ati  
 water hit AUX IP.N+F 1SG.S pierce die IP.E+F BKG+F say  
 nf vt aux vt vi vt

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

'"It was hitting the water with a reed, and I speared it, and it died," he said.'

28 **Maka nabimatamonaka**  
 maka na- ahaba -himata -mona -ka  
 monster CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt

'He killed the monster.'

29 **Maka kaminamematamonane biti me ni ya**  
 maka kamina -ma -himata -mona -ne biti me ni ya  
 monster tell back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.nephew 3PL to ADJU  
 nm vt nm pron prt prt

'He told his nephews about the monster back in the village.'

30 **Taboro fa fa te ki na**  
 taboro faha faha tee kii na  
 place+M water water 2PL.S look at AUX  
 pn nf nf pron vt aux

'"You can fish in the place where it was."'

31 **Otahare ha owa**  
 o- ita -hare haa owa  
 1SG.S pierce IP.E+M DEM 1SG  
 vt dem pron

'"I speared it."'

32 **Ahabare aba me me tisa nabani**  
 ahaba -hare aba me me tisa nabani  
 die IP.E+M fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FUT+F IP.N+F  
 vi nm pron pron vt aux

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'"It died." They speared fish.'

33 **Okobise tafitafi nofaraba nofare ama**  
 o- ka abise tafa- tafa na nofa -raba nofa -ra+M ama  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle DUP eat AUX recently a bit recently NEG SEC  
 nm vi aux prt sec

'"My uncle eats a lot."'

34 **Okobise mari obe**  
 o- ka abise mari o- na -be  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle offer a feast to 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

MAIKO (2)

"I'm going to offer a feast to my uncle."

35 *Aba kababaya*  
 aba kaba -ba -ya  
 fish eat IMMED+M now  
 nm vt

"He will eat fish."

36 *Batise batise mari nebona*  
 batise batise mari na -hibona  
 3SG.POSS.uncle 3SG.POSS.uncle offer a feast to AUX INT+M  
 nm nm vt aux

*batise wati kane batise mari*  
 batise wati ka- na+M , batise mari  
 3SG.POSS.uncle go after COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.uncle offer a feast to  
 nm vt aux nm vt

*nematamonaka fahi*  
 na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He planned to offer a feast to his uncle. He offered a feast to his uncle.'

37 *Me mari hinematamonane me tafe*  
 me mari hi- na -himata -mona -ne me tafe  
 3PL.S offer a feast to OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.POSS food+F  
 pron vt aux pron pn

*siwa kanebonaha*  
 siwa ka- na -hibona -ha  
 play COMIT AUX INT+M DUP  
 vi aux

'They gave him a feast. He ate all their food.'

38 *E tamara nabati totoka tera e*  
 ee tama -ra+F nabati to- to- ka na -tee -ra+F ee  
 1IN.S be many NEG stomach DUP away go/come AUX HAB NEG 1IN.S  
 pron vi pn vi aux pron

*nafira e nafiharo*  
 nafi -ra+F ee nafi -haaro  
 be big NEG 1IN.S be big IP.E+F  
 vi pron vi

'One person normally doesn't have such a big stomach.'

39 *Faya aba me me kawarikima me ha*  
 faya aba me me ka- waa -rI -kima+F me haa  
 so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface two 3PL.S call  
 conj nm pron pron vt pron vt

*hine Abise abise*  
 hi- na+M , abise abise  
 OC AUX uncle uncle  
 aux nm nm

'They cooked two pots of fish. They called him. "Uncle, uncle."'

40 *Hiii ati nematamonane*  
 hii ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 interj say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

"Yes?" he said.'

MAIKO (2)

41 *Abise aba tikabebonaha*  
 abise aba ti- kaba -hibona -ha  
 uncle fish 2SG.S eat INT+M DUP  
 nm nm vt

"Uncle, fish for you to eat."

42 *Aba tikabebona homa hari*  
 aba ti- kaba -hibona homa.CONT+M haari  
 fish 2SG.S eat INT+M lie on ground that one+M  
 nm vt vi dem

"There is fish for you to eat on a leaf there."

43 *Ee hiwa homa fahi*  
 ee hiwa homa.CONT+M fahi  
 yes only.M lie on ground there  
 interj pron vi dem

"Right, let it lie there."

44 *Aawa oba*  
 a- awa o- na.NOM -ba  
 DUP see 1SG.S AUX FUT  
 vt aux

"I will take a look at it."

45 *Faya aba me aba me me sawa hina me aba*  
 faya aba me aba me me sawa hi- na+F me aba  
 so fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S serve OC AUX 3PL.O fish  
 conj nm pron nm pron pron vt aux pron nm  
*me kabi oharibanoho tesene watarari*  
 me kaba.NFIN ohari -hiba -no -ho tesene wata -ra -haari  
 3PL.O eat be alone FUT+M IP.N+M DUP companion+M exist NEG IP.E+M  
 pron vt vi pn vi

'They served the fish. He ate the fish all by himself. He didn't have any companion.'

46 *Aba me kabe sari fawawaha Yiwa yoro naro*  
 aba me kaba+M sahari fawa -waha.LIST yiwa yoro na -haaro  
 fish 3PL.O eat broth drink change pot stand AUX look+F  
 nm pron vt nf vt nf vi aux

*fa*  
 faa  
 that  
 nf

'He ate the fish. He drank the broth, too. "There are the two empty pots.'"

47 *Okomi*  
 o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F  
 1SG.S away go/come back  
 vi

"I'm going home."

48 *Hinaka aba me tone tokahomakosakani ahi*  
 hinaka aba me tone to- ka- homa -kosa -kani ahi  
 3SG.POSS fish 3PL.POSS bone CH COMIT lie on ground middle ?+F then  
 pron nm pron pn vi dem

MAIKO (2)

'There was a pile of bones from his fish on the leaf.'

49 *Tokomakane* *ahi* .  
 to- ka -ma -kane ahi  
 away go/come back ?+M then  
 vi dem

'He went home.'

50 *Tokome* , *towinamakane* *ahi* .  
 to- ka -ma+M to- wina -ma -kane ahi  
 away go/come back away lie in hammock back ?+M then  
 vi vi dem

'He went home and lay in his hammock.'

51 *Otamara* *owa* *te* *mari* *na* *te* .  
 o- tama -ra+F owa tee mari na+F tee  
 1SG.S be many NEG 1SG.O 2PL.S offer a feast to AUX 2PL.S  
 vi pron pron vt aux pron

""You made a feast for me by myself.""

52 *Owa* *nima* *te* *nibe* .  
 owa nima tee na -be  
 1SG like 2PL.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron prt pron aux

""Now I will do the same for you.""

53 *Owa* *nima* *te* *naba* *te* .  
 owa nima tee na -haba tee  
 1SG like 2PL.S AUX FUT+F 2PL.S  
 pron prt pron aux pron

""You will be just like me.""

54 *Otamara* *owa* *te* *katoma* *te* .  
 o- tama -ra+F owa tee katoma+F tee  
 1SG.S be many NEG 1SG 2PL.S attack 2PL.S  
 vi pron pron vt pron

""You attacked me when I was alone.""

55 *Tokomakane* *ahi* .  
 to- ka -ma -kane ahi  
 away go/come back ?+M then  
 vi dem

'He went home.'

56 *Towiname* , *me* *towakatasa* *me*  
 to- wina -ma+M me to- ka- ka -tasa+F me  
 away lie in hammock back 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come again 3PL.POSS  
 vi pron vi pron

*nowati* *ya* *nakarifa* *tonake* , *nakarifa* *tonake*  
 nowati ya nakarifa to- na- ka+M , nakarifa to- na- ka+M  
 after ADJU taro sp away CAUS go/come taro sp away CAUS go/come  
 pn prt nf vt nf vt

*nakarifa* *kakame* *yama* *ware* , *nakarifa*  
 nakarifa ka- ka -ma+M yama waa -rI , nakarifa  
 taro sp COMMIT go/come back thing cook raised surface taro sp  
 nf vt nf vt nf

MAIKO (2)

**ware** , **hisiri ya one kawitare**  
 waa -rI hisiri ya one ka- ita -rI  
 stand raised surface basket ADJU other+F COMIT sit raised surface  
 vi nf prt adj vt

**hikawarikimamake** , **aba me me**  
 hi- ka- waa -rI -kima -makI aba me me  
 OC COMIT cook raised surface two following fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt nm pron pron

**tisa na me kamemetemoneni**  
 tisa na+F me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt aux pron vi

'He went home and lay in his hammock. The two of them went out into the forest again. After they left, he went and got *nakarifa* taro in the garden. He brought back the taro, and cooked it. After he cooked the taro, he put it in a basket. He cooked some more. They speared fish, and came back.'

57 **Me kakama me me ka yibote me**  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me me ka yibote me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL POSS wife 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron prt nf pron

**katomamarawabani mati**  
 katoma -ma -rawa -haba -ni mati  
 attack back F.PL FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vt pron

'They came back. They were angry with their wives.'

58 **Yamata me wawasi nofa me ya ota tataba**  
 yamata me wa- wasi na nofa+F me ya otaa ta- taba  
 food 3PL.S DUP cook AUX recently 3PL ADJU 1EX.S DUP be together  
 nf pron vt aux pron prt pron vi

**tohine ota fimirakoni**  
 to- ha -ne otaa fimi -ra -makoni  
 CH AUX CONT+F 1EX.S be hungry NEG for this reason+F  
 aux pron vi

'"We are with women who don't prepare food, we are hungry."'

59 **Ota ni yamata me wawasi nofara me ama me**  
 otaa ni yamata me wa- wasi na nofa -ra+F me ama me  
 1EX to food 3PL.S DUP cook AUX recently NEG 3PL.S SEC 3PL.S  
 pron prt nf pron vt aux pron sec pron

**ati nemetemoneni**  
 ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt aux

'"They don't prepare food for us," they said.'<sup>65</sup>

60 **Yama te kakatomahi**  
 yama tee ka- katoma -hi  
 thing 2PL.S COMIT look at IMP+F  
 nf pron vt

'"Wait a little."'

61 **Te ka abise tera wati kane teni ati**  
 tee ka abise tera wati ka- na+M tee -ni ati  
 2PL POSS uncle 2PL.O go after COMIT AUX 2PL.O BKG+F say  
 pron prt nm pron vt aux pron vt

65 There is an obscure phrase at the end that sounds like *me atihini*.

MAIKO (2)

*nemetemoneni*

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

"Your uncle is planning something for you," she said.'

62 *Yama te kababone yoro karine ha*  
yama tee kaba -habone yoro ka- na -rI -ne haa  
thing 2PL.S eat INT+F stand COMMIT AUX raised surface CONT+F DEM  
nf pron vt vi aux dem

"There are two pots of food for you to eat there."

63 *Te ka yibote te katomarawarima na*  
tee ka yibote tee katoma -rawa -rima na  
2PL POSS wife 2PL.S attack F.PL NEG.IMP+F AUX  
pron prt nf pron vt aux

"Don't criticize your wives."

64 *Yamata yoro karine haro ati*  
yamata yoro ka- na -rI -ne haaro ati  
food stand COMMIT AUX raised surface CONT+F that one+F say  
nf vi aux dem vt

*nematamonane*

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

"There are two pots of food there," he said.'

65 *Otamara owa te mari na te*  
o- tama -ra+F owa tee mari na+F tee  
1SG.S be many NEG 1SG.O 2PL.S offer a feast to AUX 2PL.S  
vi pron pron vt aux pron

"You gave me a feast when I was alone."

66 *Owa owa owa nima te nahi*  
owa owa owa nima tee na -hi  
1SG 1SG 1SG like 2PL.S AUX IMP+F  
pron pron pron prt pron aux

"Now I have done the same to you."

67 *Te tonafiyohi*  
tee to- na- fiyo -hi  
2PL.S CH CAUS be all gone IMP+F  
pron vt

"Eat it all."

68 *Faya , nakarifa me , nakarifa me kabemetemone*  
faya , nakarifa me , nakarifa me kaba -hemete -mone  
so taro sp 3PL taro sp 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F  
conj nf pron nf pron vt

'So they ate the taro.'

69 *Nakarifa me kaba me akarikimemetemone me*  
nakarifa me kaba+F me akara -kima -hemete -mone me  
taro sp 3PL.S eat 3PL.S be satiated two FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
nf pron vt pron vi pron

MAIKO (2)

*ama fahi*  
ama fahi  
SEC then  
sec dem

'They ate the taro, and they were full.'

70 *Me nabati tokaremetemoneke fa mati*  
me nabati to- ka -ra -hemete -mone -ke faa mati  
3PL.POSS stomach away go/come NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that 3PL  
pron pn vi dem pron

*fe me mari na mati*  
fee me mari na+F mati  
3SG.O 3PL.S offer a feast to AUX 3PL.S  
pron pron vt aux pron

'Their stomachs didn't stretch, the ones who had given a feast to him.'

71 *Abise ota akarini*  
abise otaa akara -ni  
uncle 1EX.S be satiated BKG+F  
nm pron vi

""Uncle, we are full.""

72 *Nakarifa hasi nini*  
nakarifa hasi na -ni  
taro sp be left AUX BKG+F  
nf vi aux

""There is taro left over.""

73 *Te kabamakebanani*  
tee kaba -makI -habana -ni  
2PL.S eat following FUT+F BKG+F  
pron vt

""You can eat more later.""

74 *Te yoro kare mata*  
tee yoro ka- na -rI mata  
2PL.S put in place COMIT AUX raised surface for now  
pron vt aux prt

""Leave the two pots of food there for now.""

75 *Nakarifa me yoro hikanare me*  
nakarifa me yoro hi- ka- na -rI me  
taro sp 3PL.S put in place OC COMIT AUX raised surface 3PL.S  
nf pron vt aux dem

*hikabamakitasetemone fare ati nima*  
hi- kaba -makI -tasa -hemete -mone fare ati nima  
OC eat following again FP.N+F REP+F same+M voice like  
vt dem pn prt

'They left the two pots of taro, and they ate more later, just as he had said.'

76 *Nakarifa me hikaba me sa*  
nakarifa me hi- kaba+F me sa  
taro sp 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.S leave off  
nf pron vt pron vt



## MAIKO (2)

### *hinakosemetemone*

hi- to- na -kosa -hemete -mone  
 OC CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They ate some taro, and left some.'

77 *Faya me* , *fa me ki na me* , *Maiko*  
 faya me , faha me kii na+F me , Maiko  
 so 3PL water 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S (man's name)  
 conj pron nf pron vt aux pron npropm

*fati fame toke* , *tokatase* , *faya*  
 fati fama+M to- ka+M , to- ka -tasa+M , faya  
 3SG.POSS.wife be with away go/come away go/come again so  
 nf vi vi vi conj

*tokatasematamonane* , *tokatase*  
 to- ka -tasa -himata -mona -ne , to- ka -tasa+M  
 away go/come again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M away go/come again  
 vi vi

*fati famahari*  
 fati fama -haari  
 3SG.POSS.wife be with IP.E+M  
 nf vi

'They went fishing. Maiko went into the forest with his wife.'

78 *E fama*  
 ee fama  
 1IN.S be two  
 pron vi

'''Let's go together.'''

79 *Aba me* , *fa koro obe*  
 aba me , faha koro o- na -be  
 fish 3PL water throw something on 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nm pron nf vt aux

'''I'm going to fish.'''

80 *Owa tekatomibe*  
 owa ti- ka- katoma -be  
 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at IMMED+F  
 pron vt

'''You watch me.'''

81 *Faya me towaketemoneheni*  
 faya me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 conj pron vi

'So they went.'

82 *Me towaka me* , *Maiko fa*  
 me to- ka- ka+F me , Maiko faha  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S (man's name) water  
 pron vi pron npropm nf

*koro ne wematamona amaka*  
 koro na+M waa -himata -mona ama -ka  
 throw something on AUX stand FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 vt aux vi sec

'The two of them went. Maiko was standing, fishing.'

## MAIKO (2)

83 *We* , *fati* *ati* *yana* *nemetemonehe*  
 waa+M , fati ati yana na -hemete -mone -he  
 stand 3SG.POSS.wife voice start AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vi nf pn vi aux

'He was standing there, and his wife spoke.'

84 *Maiko* *Maiko*  
 Maiko Maiko  
 (man's name) (man's name)  
 npropm npropm

""Maiko, Maiko.""

85 *Haa* ? *ati* *nematamonaka*  
 haa ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 huh? say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 interj vt aux

""What?" he said.'

86 *Maiko* *mi* *nima* *oni* *ati*  
 Maiko mii na -nima o- na -ni ati  
 (man's name) defecate AUX about to 1SG.S AUX BKG+F say  
 npropm vi aux aux vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

""Maiko, I need to defecate," she said.'

87 *Mi* *tiwiti*  
 mii ti- to- na -witI  
 defecate 2SG.S away AUX out  
 vi aux

""Go and defecate.""

88 *Fa* *koro* *osa* *o*  
 faha koro o- na -saa o-  
 water throw 1SG.S AUX still 1SG.S  
 nf vt aux prt

""I am continuing to fish.""

89 *Aba* *me* *tisa* *nematamonahane*  
 aba me tisa na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 nm pron vt aux

'He speared fish.'

90 *Aba* *me* *tisa* *ne* , *fati* *mi*  
 aba me tisa na+M , fati mii  
 fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX 3SG.POSS.wife defecate  
 nm pron vt aux nf vi

*nabone* *toka* *maka* *towasiwitiemetemoneke*  
 na -habone to- ka+F maka to- wasi -witI -hemete -mone -ke  
 AUX INT+F away go/come monster away find out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux vi nm vt



MAIKO (2)

98 *Faya* , *aba* *sa* *kane* *aba* *tati* *ba*  
 faya , aba saa ka- na+M aba tati baa  
 so fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX fish head hit  
 conj nm vt aux nm pn vt

*naremake* *Okomini*  
 na -rI -makI o- to- ka -ma -ni  
 AUX raised surface following 1SG.S away go/come back BKG+F  
 aux vi

'He speared a fish, and hit the fish on the head. "I'm going."

99 *Aba* *me* *te* *tina*  
 aba me tee ti- na  
 fish 3PL.O put inside 2SG.S AUX  
 nm pron vt aux

"You put the fish in the basket."

100 *Banimona* *e* *towamibe*  
 bani -mona ee to- awa -ma -be  
 animal REP+M 1IN.S away see back IMMED+F  
 nm pron vt

"Let's go look at the animal."

101 *Banimona* *me* *towamabone* *me* , *me* *yana*  
 bani -mona me to- awa -ma -habone me , me yana  
 animal REP+M 3PL.S away see back INT+F 3PL 3PL.S start  
 nm pron vt pron pron vi

*tokanemetemonehe*  
 to- ka- na -hemete -mone -he  
 CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux

'They were ready to go look at the animal.'

102 *Me* *yana* *tokana* *me*  
 me yana to- ka- na+F me  
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

*towakamemetemone*  
 to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi

'They were ready, and they went.'

103 *Me* *yana* *tokana* *me* *towakama* *me* ,  
 me yana to- ka- na+F me to- ka- ka -ma+F me ,  
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

*Bani* *homa* *hari* *ati* *nemetemone*  
 bani homa.CONT+M haari ati na -hemete -mone  
 animal lie on ground that one+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm vi dem vt aux

'They were ready, and they went. "The animal is there on the ground," she said.'

104 *Bani* *bani* *homari* *ha*  
 bani bani homa -haari haa  
 animal animal lie on ground look+M DEM  
 nm nm vi dem

MAIKO (2)

"Look, the animal is there on the ground."

105 *Bani hine ya aweba ama nikani* .  
 bani hine ya awa -hiba ama na -kani  
 animal only ADJU see FUT+M be AUX CNTRFACT  
 nm pron prt vt vc aux

'He didn't want to just look at the animal.'

106 *Maka ehene ki nematamona ahi* .  
 maka ehene kii na -himata -mona ahi  
 monster victim of+M look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm pn vt aux dem

'He looked at the kill of the monster.'

107 *Maka ehene ki ne Bani e awareno*  
 maka ehene kii na+M , bani ee awa -ra -hino  
 monster victim of+M look at AUX animal 1IN.S see NEG IP.N+M  
 nm pn vt aux nm pron vt

*abeno ama* .  
 ahaba -hino ama  
 die IP.N+M SEC  
 vi sec

'He looked at the kill of the monster. "We don't know how the animal died.'"

108 *Kabehibana* .  
 kaba -hibana  
 eat FUT+M  
 result

"It will be eaten."

109 *Wete omataba*  
 wete o- na -mata -ba  
 tie 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M  
 vt aux

"I will tie it up."

110 *Mato tore nise bato wete nematamona ahi* .  
 mato tore na -risa+M bato wete na -himata -mona ahi  
 vine pull AUX down deer tie AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nf vt aux nm vt aux dem

'He pulled down some vines, and tied up the deer.'

111 *Bato wete ne bato wete nematamonane* .  
 bato wete na+M , bato wete na -himata -mona -ne  
 deer tie AUX deer tie AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

'He tied up the deer.'

112 *Bato wete ne Maiko yama Maiko yama yana*  
 bato wete na+M , Maiko yama Maiko yama yana  
 deer tie AUX (man's name) thing (man's name) thing get up  
 nm vt aux npropm nf npropm nf vi

*na ihi toa awine aya ati nemetemoneni*  
 na+F ihi to- ha+F awine aya ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 AUX victim of+F CH be seem+F when say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux pn vt vc sec dem vt aux

'He tied up the deer. "Maiko, I think it was killed by the thing that flew away," she said.'



MAIKO (2)

120 *Owa*      *tama*              *kabana*  
 owa      tama              ka-    na+M -bana  
 1SG.O    hold onto    COMIT AUX    FUT  
 pron    vt              aux

"It is holding me back."

121 *Owa*      *tama*              *kabana*              *ati*      *nematamona*              *ahi*  
 owa      tama              ka-    na+M -bana    ati    na    -himata    -mona    ahi  
 1SG.O    hold onto    COMIT AUX    FUT    say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 pron    vt              aux              vt    aux                              dem

"It is holding me back," he said.'

122 *Owa*      *tama*              *kabana*              *ati*      *nematamonane*  
 owa      tama              ka-    na+M -bana    ati    na    -himata    -mona    -ne  
 1SG.O    hold onto    COMIT AUX    FUT    say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 pron    vt              aux              vt    aux

"It is holding me back," he said.'

123 *Sa*              *kabote*              *nematamona*              *ahi*  
 saa              na    -kabote    na    -himata    -mona    ahi  
 leave off    AUX quickly    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 antip              aux              aux                              dem

'It let go.'

124 *Maiko*              *bato*      *weye*      *ne*      *kamakimatamona*  
 Maiko              bato    weye    na+M    ka              -maki              -himata    -mona  
 (man's name)    deer    carry    AUX    go/come following    FP.N+M    REP+M  
 npropm              nm    vt              aux    vi

*amaka*              *waha*  
 ama -ka              waha  
 SEC DECL+M    now  
 sec              prt

'Maiko carried the deer, and he finally came to where his wife was.'

125 *Aba*      *me*              *weye*      *tikana*  
 aba    me              weye    ti-    ka-    na  
 fish    3PL.O    carry    2SG.S    COMIT    AUX  
 nm    pron    vt              aux

"You carry the fish."

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

"Let's go."

127 *Me*              *towakamawe*              *yana*              *tokana*              *me*  
 me              to-    ka-    ka              -ma    -waha    yana    to-    ka-    na+F    me  
 3PL.S    away    COMIT    go/come    back    change    start    CH    COMIT    AUX    3PL.S  
 pron    vi                              vi              aux                              pron

*kakamemetemoneni*              *fare*              *taboro*              *ya*  
 ka-    ka              -ma    -hemete    -mone    -ni    fare    taboro    ya  
 COMIT go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F    same+M    place+M    ADJU  
 vi                              dem              pn              prt

'They were ready, and they came back to his village.'<sup>66</sup>

66 *Me towakamawe* is a false start.

MAIKO (2)

128 *Me kakama me , aba me me*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , aba me me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron nm pron pron

*warememetemonehe*

waa -rI -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 cook raised surface back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They came back. They cooked the fish back in the village.'

129 *Aba me me kawaria me ni ya bato*  
 aba me me ka- waa -rI+F me ni ya bato  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface 3PL to ADJU deer  
 nm pron pron vt pron prt prt nm

*ihanati*

iha -nati to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 take in turn only one CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

'As they cooked the fish, he devoted himself to preparing the deer.'

130 *Bato tokehibona yifo tonake , yifo*  
 bato toka -hibona yifo to- na- ka+M , yifo  
 deer partially burn INT+M firewood away CAUS go/come firewood  
 nm vt nf vt nf

*ti nakose yifo kakamematamona ahi*  
 tii na -kosa+M yifo ka- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 cut through AUX middle firewood COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux nf vt dem

'In order to burn the hair off of the deer, he went after firewood, and cut the firewood, and brought the firewood back to the village.'

131 *Yifo tafa name yifo afo kane , bato*  
 yifo tafa na -ma+M yifo afo ka- na+M , bato  
 firewood split AUX back firewood light COMIT AUX deer  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux nm

*tokematamona*

toka -himata -mona ahi  
 partially burn FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt dem

'He split the firewood back in the village. He lit the firewood, and burned the hair off the deer.'

132 *Faya bobi hiwemetemoneni*  
 faya bobi hi- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
 so slit OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 conj vt aux

'Then he cut it up.'

133 *Tanebone yama hina , tabasi*  
 tane -bone yama hi- na+F , tabasi  
 grill+F INT+F make OC AUX roast on grill  
 pn vt aux vt

*hinemetemoneke*

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

'He made a roasting rack for it, and he roasted it.'



MAIKO (2)

134 *Aba me me aba me me kababismetemone ahi*  
 aba me me aba me me kaba -bisa -hemete -mone ahi  
 fish 3PL 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat also FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nm pron pron nm pron pron vt dem

'They only ate the fish.'

135 *Aba me me kabemetemoneke fa mati*  
 aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke faa mati  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that 3PL  
 nm pron pron vt dem pron

'They ate the fish.'

136 *Maiko fati aba me kabemetemonehe*  
 Maiko fati aba me kaba -hemete -mone -he  
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O eat FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 npropm nf nm pron vt

'Maiko's wife ate fish.'

137 *Faya sina hisi ne amo ne amo nebona ni ya*  
 faya sina hisi na+M amo na+M amo na -hibona ni ya  
 so snuff sniff AUX sleep AUX sleep AUX INT+M to ADJU  
 conj nf vt aux vi aux vi aux prt prt

*hinamatewe oi ni yana nematamona amaka*  
 hinamatewe ohi na.NFIN yana na -himata -mona ama -ka  
 child cry AUX start AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm vi aux vi aux sec

'He took snuff, and slept. When he was going to sleep, a child began to cry.'

138 *Hinamatewe oi ni kamakimatamona amane*  
 hinamatewe ohi na.NFIN ka -makI -himata -mona ama -ne  
 child cry AUX go/come following FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm vi aux vi sec

'There was the sound of a child crying, coming toward the village.'

139 *One one one hinamatewe*  
 one one one hinamatewe  
 (sound of crying) (sound of crying) (sound of crying) child  
 sound sound sound nm

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

'"One, one, one," the child said.'

140 *Aa okanoti amo*  
 aa o- ka noti amo  
 (expression of displeasure) 1SG.POSS POSS grandson sleep  
 interj nm vi

*nibote re okanoti ohi ni*  
 niha- na -bote na -ra+M o- ka noti ohi niha- na  
 CAUS AUX quickly AUX NEG 1SG.POSS POSS grandson cry CAUS AUX  
 aux aux nm vi aux

*nabane ati nematamonane , fati ati*  
 nahaba.CONT+M -ne ati na -himata -mona -ne fati ati  
 at night BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.wife voice  
 prt vt aux nf pn

MAIKO (2)

*yana nabanihi*

yana na -haba -ni -hi  
start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
vi aux

"Oh no, he didn't put my grandson to sleep early, now he is putting my grandson to sleep late at night," he said. Then his wife spoke.'

141 *Maiko yama ihi e kakama ati*  
Maiko yama ihi ee ka- ka -ma+F ati  
(man's name) monster victim of+F 1IN.S COMIT go/come back voice  
npropm nf pn pron vt pn

*amani ati nemetemonehe*  
ama -ni ati na -hemete -mone -he  
be BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
vc vt aux

"Maiko, it is the voice of the monster, whose kill we brought back," she said.'

142 *Efe ati ama nabana ati kane ahi*  
efe ati ama na.NOM+M -bana ati na -kane ahi  
this+M voice be AUX FUT say AUX ?+M then  
dem pn vc aux vt aux dem

"Yes, it is its voice," he said.'

143 *Kamematamona*  
ka -ma -himata -mona  
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
vi

'He came.'<sup>67</sup>

144 *Kamaki nabematamona ahi*  
ka -makI nahaba -himata -mona ahi  
go/come following at night FP.N+M REP+M then  
vi prt dem

'It came.'

145 *Aawa omataba*  
a- awa o- na -mata -ba  
DUP see 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M  
vt aux

"I will take a look at it."

146 *Aawa omatabaya ati nematamonaka*  
a- awa o- na -mata -ba -ya ati na -himata -mona -ka  
DUP see 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt aux vt aux

"I will take a look at it," he said.'

147 *Aawa hine nokobi tokanawawawitekane ahi*  
a- awa hi- na+M nokobi to- ka- na- waa -waha -witI -kane ahi  
DUP see OC AUX door away COMIT CAUS stand change out ?+M then  
vt aux nf vt dem

'He took a look at it. He opened the door.'

67 This is a false start.

## MAIKO (2)

148 *Nokobi tokanawawawite* , *maka*  
 nokobi to- ka- na- waa -waha -witI , maka  
 door away COMIT CAUS stand change out monster  
 nf vt nm

*wamakematamona* *amane* .  
 waa -makI -himata -mona ama -ne  
 stand following FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 vi sec

'He opened the door. The monster had come and was standing on the plaza.'

149 *Maka ene* , *Maiko hekame*  
 maka ehene , Maiko hi- ka- ka -ma+M  
 monster victim of+M (man's name) OC COMIT go/come back  
 nm pn npropm vt

*wamake* , *hinaka bato bako haro kawita ne*  
 waa -makI , hinaka bato bako haro.NFIN ka- ita.LIST na+M  
 stand following 3SG.POSS deer chest+M be boiled COMIT sit AUX  
 vi pron nm pn vi vi aux

*kawari* *nematamonane* .  
 ka- waa -ri.LIST na -himata -mona -ne  
 COMIT be located raised surface AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi aux

'It was standing there. Maiko had brought back the monster's kill, and the cooked ribs of the deer were there in the pot.'<sup>68</sup>

150 *Faya faya* , *maka oi ni*  
 faya faya , maka ohi na.NFIN  
 so so monster cry AUX  
 conj conj nm vi aux

*kakamakewematamona* *ama nokobi ya* .  
 ka- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona ama nokobi ya  
 COMIT go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M SEC door ADJU  
 vi sec nf prt

'The monster came crying to the door.'

151 *Tokiyomamakematamona* *Maiko ka yobe*  
 to- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona Maiko ka yobe  
 away go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) POSS house  
 vi npropm prt nm

*toro ya ahi* , *Maiko amo rebanoho* .  
 toro ya ahi , Maiko amo na -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 inside+M ADJU then (man's name) sleep AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pn prt dem npropm vi aux

'It went into Maiko's house. Maiko didn't sleep.'

152 *Amo onabone* .  
 amo o- na -habone  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX INT+F  
 vi aux

'''I want to sleep.'''

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

'''No one ate it.'''

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68 The verb *kawita ne* is a false start.



MAIKO (2)

162 *Me fama me awineni*  
 me fama+F me awine -ni  
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"I guess there are two of them."

163 *Bani haro nakorokane ahi*  
 bani haro.NFIN na- koro -kane ahi  
 animal be boiled CAUS be loose ?+M then  
 nm vi vt dem

'He put a spell on the cooked meat.'

164 *Sari hinafawawa hikane ahi*  
 sahari hi- na- fawa -waha.LIST hi- na -kane ahi  
 broth OC CAUS drink change OC AUX ?+M then  
 nf vt aux dem

'He gave broth for it to drink, too.'

165 *Ma bani kai kawa na hari*  
 hima bani kaha.NFIN ka- waa.LIST na.CONT+M haari  
 let's go animal be toasted COMMIT stand AUX that one+M  
 interj nm vi vi aux dem

"OK, there is roasted meat on the rack there, too."

166 *Bani okobarini*  
 bani o- kaba -ra -ni  
 animal 1SG.S eat NEG BKG+F  
 nm vt

"I didn't eat the meat."

167 *Bani kai ta nematamona ahi*  
 bani kaha.NFIN taa na -himata -mona ahi  
 animal be toasted give AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vi vt aux dem

'Then he gave it the roasted meat.'

168 *Bani kai ta ne ni ya , bani kai ta*  
 bani kaha.NFIN taa na+M ni ya , bani kaha.NFIN taa  
 animal be toasted give AUX to ADJU animal be toasted give  
 nm vi vt aux prt prt nm vi vt

*ne bato kai kabematamona amane*  
 na+M , bato kaha.NFIN kaba -himata -mona ama -ne  
 AUX deer be toasted eat FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 aux nm vi vt sec

'He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted deer meat.'

169 *Ino me hihiri toine maka ota*  
 ino me hi- hiri to- ha -ne maka otaa  
 name+M 3PL.S DUP say CH AUX CONT+F monster 1EX.O  
 pn pron vt aux nm pron

*nabibonaha*  
 na- ahaba -hibona -ha  
 CAUS die INT+M DUP  
 vt

'People talk about it, the monster that kills us.'

MAIKO (2)

170 **Bani kai ta ne bani kai kabe fati**  
 bani kaha.NFIN taa na+M bani kaha.NFIN kaba+M fati  
 animal be toasted give AUX animal be toasted eat 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nm vi vt aux nm vi vt nf

**natafematamonane**

na- tafa -himata -mona -ne  
 CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted meat. It gave food to its mate.'

171 **Tafare tafare tafawematamonaka fari**  
 tafa -ra+M tafa -ra+M tafa -waha -himata -mona -ka faari  
 eat NEG eat NEG eat change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
 vi vi vi dem

**fe kawahari**

fee ka- waa -haari  
 3SG.O COMIT stand IP.E+M  
 pron vt

'It hadn't eaten. Then it ate. It stayed with him.'

172 **Te towakama**  
 tee to- ka- ka -ma  
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi

""You two go away.""

173 **Tikama**  
 ti- to- ka -ma  
 2SG.S away go/come back  
 vi

""Go away.""

174 **Amo amo obana ama oni**  
 amo amo o- na -bana ama o- ni  
 sleep sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT SEC 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi vi aux sec prt

""I am going to sleep.""

175 **Tikamahi**  
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi  
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 vi

""Go away.""

176 **Faya tokomebona hiyoseme**  
 faya to- ka -ma -hibona hi- to- yose -ma+M  
 so away go/come back INT+M OC away command back  
 conj vi vt

**tokometatamona**

to- ka -ma -himata -mona ama fe kawahi  
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M SEC 3SG.O COMIT stand  
 vi sec pron vt

'He told it to go away, but it didn't go away. It stayed with him.'

## MAIKO (2)

177	<b>Faya</b>	<b>Maiko</b>	<b>tafe</b>	<b>amo</b>	<b>nebona</b>	<b>fare</b>	<b>aawa</b>	<b>hine</b>	
	faya	Maiko	tafe	amo	na -hibona	fare	a- awa	hi- na+M	
	so	(man's name)	food+F	sleep	AUX INT+M	same+M	DUP see	OC AUX	
	conj	npropm	pn	vi	aux	dem	vt	aux	
	<b>Aa</b>			<b>owa</b>	<b>kawebona</b>		<b>ati</b>	<b>ne</b>	
	aa			owa	ka- waa -hibona		ati	na+M	
	(expression of displeasure)			1SG.O	COMIT stand INT+M		say	AUX	
	interj			pron	vt		vt	aux	

**awa**

awa

seem+M

sec

'Maiko had eaten. He wanted to sleep, and he kept looking at it. "Oh no, it wants to stay with me.'

178	<b>Amo</b>	<b>obana</b>	
	amo	o- na -bana	
	sleep	1SG.S AUX FUT	
	vi	aux	

"I want to sleep."

179	<b>Owa</b>	<b>kawabana</b>	
	owa	ka- waa+M -bana	
	1SG.O	COMIT stand FUT	
	pron	vt	

"It is staying with me."

180	<b>Tiwa</b>	<b>owakamatibeya</b>	
	tiwa	o- to- ka- ka -mata -be -ya	
	2SG.O	1SG.S away COMIT go/come short time IMMED+F now	
	pron	vt	

"I'm going to take you there."

181	<b>Maki</b>	<b>tina</b>	
	maki	ti- na	
	pay	2SG.S AUX	
	vi	aux	

"I will take care of it."

182	<b>Fati</b>	<b>towakawakane</b>	<b>ahi</b>
	fati	to- ka- ka -waha -kane	ahi
	3SG.POSS.wife	away COMIT go/come change ?+M	then
	nf	vt	dem

'He took his wife away.'

183	<b>Maiko</b>	<b>fati</b>	<b>fati</b>
	Maiko	fati	fati
	(man's name)	3SG.POSS.wife	3SG.POSS.wife
	npropm	nf	nf

**towakawematamonaka**

to- ka- ka -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 away COMIT go/come change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'Maiko took his wife away.'

MAIKO (2)

184 *Fati*                      *towake*                      ,                      *toni*                      *me*  
 fati                      to- ka- ka+M                      ,                      toni                      me  
 3SG.POSS.wife                      away COMIT go/come                      familiar spirit                      3PL  
 nf                      vt                      nm                      pron

*toni*                      *toni*                      *me*                      *ni*                      *ya*                      *fati*  
 toni                      toni                      me                      ni                      ya                      fati  
 familiar spirit                      familiar spirit                      3PL                      to                      ADJU                      3SG.POSS.wife  
 nm                      nm                      pron prt prt                      nf

*towake*                      *fati*                      *Oka*                      *yibote*                      *te*  
 to- ka- ka+M                      fati                      o- ka                      yibote                      tee  
 away COMIT go/come                      3SG.POSS.wife                      1SG.POSS POSS                      wife                      2PL.S  
 vt                      nf                      prt                      nf                      pron

*natafariya*

na- tafa -ra -yahi  
 CAUS eat NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 vt

'He took his wife away. He took his wife to the familiar spirits. "Don't give any food to my wife."'

185 *Oka*                      *yibote*                      *tafabisahara*  
 o- ka                      yibote                      tafa -bisa -hara  
 1SG.POSS POSS                      wife                      eat also IP.E+F  
 prt                      nf                      vi

"My wife has already eaten."

186 *Yama*                      *owa*                      *kawa*                      *owamamatibe*  
 yama                      owa                      ka- waa+F                      o- to- awa -ma -mata                      -be  
 monster                      1SG.O                      COMIT stand                      1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F  
 nf                      pron vt                      vt

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

187 *Mera*                      *hima*                      *ne*                      *me*                      *mera*                      *ihebonaha*  
 mera                      hima                      na+M                      me                      mera                      iha                      -hibona -ha  
 3PL.O call to go                      AUX                      3PL                      3PL.O                      take in turn INT+M                      DUP  
 pron vt                      aux                      pron pron                      vt

'He called them to go, but he went instead of them.'

188 *Yama*                      *owa*                      *kawa*                      *owamamatibeya*  
 yama                      owa                      ka- waa+F                      o- to- awa -ma -mata                      -be -ya  
 monster                      1SG.O                      COMIT stand                      1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F now  
 nf                      pron vt                      vt

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

189 *Tokometatamona*                      *ahi*  
 to- ka                      -ma -himata -mona                      ahi  
 away go/come back FP.N+M                      REP+M                      then  
 vi                      dem

'He went back.'

190 *Tokome*                      *fati*  
 to- ka                      -ma+M                      fati  
 away go/come back                      3SG.POSS.wife  
 vi                      nf

*tosawikosemetemoneheni*

to- sawi                      -kosa -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 CH be present middle FP.N+F                      REP+F                      DUP                      BKG+F  
 vi



MAIKO (2)

'He went back, and his wife stayed behind.'

191 *Kamematamonane* , *toni* *me ya*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ne , toni me ya  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M familiar spirit 3PL ADJU  
 vi nm pron prt

*tabahari*

taba -haari  
 be together IP.E+M  
 vi

'He came back with the familiar spirits.'

192 *Kimisamakane* *ahi*  
 ka -misa -ma -kane ahi  
 go/come up back ?+M then  
 vi dem

'He came up out of the ground.'

193 *Kimisame* , *yama* *aawa* *fare*  
 ka -misa -ma+M , yama a- awa.LIST fare  
 go/come up back monster DUP see same+M  
 vi nf vt dem

*wairo*

waa -ro *kane* *ahi*  
 stand without stopping AUX ?+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He came up out of the ground, and he took a look. It was still there.'

194 *Yama* *wahara* *onara* *o*  
 yama waa -hara ati o- na -hara o-  
 monster stand IP.E+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S  
 nf vi vt prt

'''There the monster is, I am telling you.'''

195 *Amo* *obana* *owa* *kawahara*  
 amo o- na.NOM -bana owa ka- waa -hara  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT 1SG.O COMIT stand IP.E+F  
 vi aux pron vt

'''I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me.'''

196 *Amo* *obana* *owa* *kawane*  
 amo o- na.NOM -bana owa ka- waa.CONT+M -ne  
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT 1SG.O COMIT stand BKG+M  
 vi aux pron vt

'''I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me.'''

197 *Yifo witi* *iti* , *yifo witi* *iti* *yifo witi*  
 yifo witi iti+M , yifo witi iti+M yifo witi  
 brand take out brand take out brand  
 nf vt nf vt nf

*nakoromatamona*

na- koro -himata -mona ahi  
 CAUS be loose FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt dem

'He took a brand out of the fire, and put a spell on the brand.'



MAIKO (2)

**tone rama ahi** .  
to- na+M rama ahi  
CH AUX unusual then  
aux prt dem  
'Koro, tiihii, went the sound of it.'

207 **Yama yobe sari kaneba ama namatamona ahi**  
yama yobe sari ka- na -hiba ama na.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi  
monster house burn COMIT AUX FUT+M be AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
nf nm vt aux vc aux dem

'The monster set the house on fire.'

208 **Towakamemata awaka ahi , Maiko**  
to- ka- ka -ma -himata awa -ka ahi Maiko  
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then (man's name)  
vi sec dem npropm

**hikinarehari**  
hi- kina -rI -haari  
OC hit raised surface IP.E+M  
vt

'It went away hurt, because Maiko had hit it with the brand.'

209 **Maiko hikinare Kinarihina** .  
Maiko hi- kina -rI kina -rI -hina  
(man's name) OC hit raised surface hit raised surface IRR+M  
npropm vt result

'Maiko hit it. "It was hit."'

210 **Amo onabone owa kawamako hine**  
amo o- na -habone owa ka- waa -mako hine  
sleep 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.O COMIT stand for this reason+M 3.REFL  
vi aux pron vt pron

**yokowaha hinaka toni me hinaka**  
yoko -waha.CONT+M hinaka toni me hinaka  
bring misfortune on change 3SG.POSS familiar spirit 3PL 3SG.POSS  
vt pron nm 3PL pron pron

**toni me hinaka toni me bao**  
toni me hinaka toni me bao  
familiar spirit 3PL 3SG.POSS familiar spirit 3PL.S come down  
nm pron pron nm pron vi

**nabani mati** .  
na -haba -ni mati  
AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
aux pron

'"I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me. It brought misfortune on itself." His familiar spirits came down to the ground.'

211 **Baowa , barorere** .  
baowa barorere  
sound sound  
'Baowa, barorere.'

212 **Aa , aya** .  
aa aya  
aha here  
interj dem

MAIKO (2)

"Oh, over here."

213 *Owa te kasomamatahi*  
 owa tee ka- soma -mata -hi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT help short time IMP+F  
 pron pron vt

"Help me."

214 *Ati saimatamona , hiwa ha nari*  
 ati sai -himata -mona , hiwa haa na -haari  
 voice be heard FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.REFL.M call AUX IP.E+M  
 pn vi pron vt aux

'His voice could be heard as he called his familiar spirits.'

215 *Toni yokana me abowi babao*  
 toni yokana me abohi ba- bao  
 familiar spirit true 3PL.POSS dead body DUP come down  
 nm adj pron pn vi

*nisakani maka ene*  
 na -risa -kani maka ehene  
 AUX down ?+F monster because of+M  
 aux nm pn

'The familiar spirits were all dead as they came down to earth, because of the monster.'

216 *Tokowisa Abono Fana owa tikasomamatahi*  
 Tokowisa Abono Fana owa ti- ka- soma -mata -hi  
 (name of spirit) 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT help short time DUP  
 npropf pron vt

"Tokowisa Abono Fana, help me."

217 *Tokowisa Abono Fana , kawaki mo kananihi*  
 Tokowisa Abono Fana , kawaki moo ka- na -hani -hi  
 (name of spirit) grass sp be full COMIT AUX IP.N+F DUP  
 npropf nf vi aux

'Tokowisa Abono Fana filled her mouth with kawaki grass.'

218 *Tokowisa Abono Fana bao nake , abowi bao*  
 Tokowisa Abono Fana bao na -kI , abohi bao  
 (name of spirit) come down AUX coming dead body come down  
 npropf vi aux pn vi

*nisakani ahi*  
 na -risa -kani ahi  
 AUX down ?+F then  
 aux dem

'Tokowisa Abono Fana came down to earth dead.'

219 *Owa kasomaraba ha one okira*  
 owa ka- soma -ra -haba haa o- na -ne o- -kira  
 1SG.O COMIT help NEG FUT+F call 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S ?+F  
 pron vt vt aux prt

"I called her, but she is not going to help me."

220 *Tokowisa Abono Fana bao nisa , toni mera*  
 Tokowisa Abono Fana bao na -risa+F , toni mera  
 (name of spirit) come down AUX down familiar spirit 3PL.O  
 npropf vi aux nm pron

MAIKO (2)

*ha ne , hiwa ha nawematamona*  
 haa na+M , hiwa haa na -waha -himata -mona  
 call AUX 3SG.REFL.M call AUX change FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux pron vt aux

'Tokowisa Abono Fana came down dead. He called familiar spirits. He called others of his familiar spirits.'

221 *Hiwa ha ne , faya Tokowisa Abono Fana bao*  
 hiwa haa na+M , faya Tokowisa Abono Fana bao  
 3SG.REFL.M call AUX so (name of spirit) come down  
 pron vt aux conj npropf vi

*namakia yama firo nemetemone ama fahi*  
 na -makI+F yama firo na -hemete -mone ama fahi  
 AUX following thing spit AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC then  
 aux nf vt aux sec dem

'He called his familiar spirits. Another Tokowisa Abono Fana came down to earth, and spit kawaki grass juice out.'

222 *Owa tikasomahi aki*  
 owa ti- ka- soma -hi aki  
 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT help IMP+F grandmother  
 pron vt nf

""Help me, Grandma.""

223 *Yama firo nemetemone ahi*  
 yama firo na -hemete -mone ahi  
 thing spit AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf vt aux dem

'She spit it out.'

224 *Yama ai neno ati amane ati nemetemone*  
 yama ahi na -hino ati ama -ne ati na -hemete -mone  
 monster mess with AUX IP.N+M voice be BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vt aux pn vc vt aux

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

""You messed with the monster," she said.'

225 *Tokowisa Abono Fana kawaki firo nemetemone ama ahi*  
 Tokowisa Abono Fana kawaki firo na -hemete -mone ama ahi  
 (name of spirit) grass sp spit AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC then  
 npropf nf vt aux sec dem

'Tokowisa Abono Fana spit out kawaki grass juice.'

226 *Hima amo obe*  
 hima amo o- na -be  
 let's go sleep 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 interj vi aux

""Come on, I'm going to sleep.""

227 *Oko yibote otimamatibe*  
 o- ka yibote o- to- iti -ma -mata -be  
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.S away take out back short time IMMED+F  
 prt nf vt

""I'm going to go get my wife.""

MAIKO (2)

228 *Fati*                    *totima*                    *fati*  
 fati                    to- iti                    -ma.LIST                    fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife                    away pick up back                    3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf                    vt                    nf

*tonakamakane*                    *ahi*  
 to- na- ka                    -ma -kane                    ahi  
 away CAUS go/come back ?+M                    then  
 vt                    dem

'He went and picked up his wife. He went after his wife.'

229 *Fati*                    *tonakame*                    ,                    *fati*  
 fati                    to- na- ka                    -ma+M                    fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife                    away CAUS go/come back                    3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf                    vt                    nf

*tonakame*                    *fati*  
 to- na- ka                    -ma+M                    fati  
 away CAUS go/come back                    3SG.POSS.wife  
 vt                    nf

*kakamematamonane*  
 ka- ka                    -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He went after his wife. He brought his wife back.'

230 *Yifo*                    *tikahoma*  
 yifo                    ti- kaho -ma  
 hammock 2SG.S tie back  
 nm                    vt

""Tie up the hammocks now that you are back.""

231 *Yifo*                    *tikahomahi*  
 yifo                    ti- kaho -ma -hi  
 hammock 2SG.S tie back IMP+F  
 nm                    vt

""Tie up the hammocks.""

232 *E*                    *amo*                    *kibe*  
 ee                    amo                    ka- na -be  
 1IN.S sleep COMMIT AUX IMMED+F  
 pron vi                    aux

""Let's sleep.""

233 *Maiko*                    *tatama*                    *toaremata*                    *awaka*  
 Maiko                    ta- tama                    to- ha -ra -himata                    awa -ka  
 (man's name)                    DUP be many                    CH AUX NEG FP.N+M                    seem+M DECL+M  
 npropm                    vi                    aux                    sec

*winahari*  
 wina -haari  
 live IP.E+M  
 vi

'There were not many people living in Maiko's village.'

234 *Hine*                    *ya*                    *me*                    *one*                    *wiwina*                    *toemetemone*                    *me*  
 hine                    ya                    me                    one                    wi- wina                    to- ha -hemete -mone                    me  
 only ADJU 3PL other+F                    DUP live                    CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F                    3PL.S  
 pron prt                    pron adj                    vi                    aux                    pron

MAIKO (2)

*awineni*

awine -ni  
seem+F BKG+F  
sec

'His relatives lived somewhere else.'

235 *Faya* , *amo* *nawematamona* *fahi*  
faya , amo na -waha -himata -mona fahi  
so sleep AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then  
conj vi aux dem

'So he slept finally.'

236 *Faya* *amo* *naweno* *tafimatamonane*  
faya amo na -waha -hino tafi -himata -mona -ne  
so sleep AUX change IP.N+M wake up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
conj vi aux vi

'He slept, and woke up.'

237 *Yama* *okinari*  
yama o- kina -rI.NOM  
monster 1SG.S hit raised surface  
nf vt

""I threw something at the monster and hit it.""

238 *Ihi* *naro* *ha*  
ihi na -haaro haa  
result of+F exist look+F DEM  
pn vi dem

""Look, there are the signs of it.""

239 *Fati* *homa* *awine* *ahi*  
fati homa+F awine ahi  
3SG.POSS.wife lie on ground seem+F there  
nf vi sec dem

""Its mate was there on the ground.""

240 *Fati* *soni* *ama* *ahi*  
fati sona.NOM+F ama ahi  
3SG.POSS.wife fall SEC then  
nf vi sec dem

""Its mate fell on the ground.""

241 *Fa* *fati* *towakame* *awa*  
faa fati to- ka- ka -ma+M awa  
that 3SG.POSS.wife away COMIT go/come back seem+M  
nf nf vt sec

""It took its mate away.""

242 *Towakamematamonane*  
to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne  
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
vi

'It went away hurt.'

MAIKO (2)

243 *Ene* , *ene* *ki* *hinematamonane* ,  
 ehene ehene kii hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 result of+M result of+M look at OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pn pn vt aux

*fare*  
 fare  
 same+M  
 dem

'He looked at the signs of it.'

244 *Yama wiso kane ahi* .  
 yama wiso na -kane ahi  
 thing blow AUX ?+M then  
 nf vi aux dem

'He blew on the place.'

245 *Yama wiso kane ahi* .  
 yama wiso na -kane ahi  
 thing blow on AUX ?+M then  
 nf vt aux dem

'He blew on the place.'

246 *Mao wiso hine faya wati kakitikane fahi* .  
 maho wiso hi- na+M , faya wati ka- iti -kane fahi  
 smell+M blow on OC AUX so arrow COMIT pick up ?+M then  
 pn vt aux conj nm vt dem

'He blew to take away its smell. Then he got his bow and arrows.'

247 *Iita karama tina* .  
 i- ita na -karahama ti- na  
 DUP stay AUX only do 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux

""You stay here.""

248 *Owamakemataba* .  
 o- to- awa -makI -mata -ba  
 1SG.S away see following short time IMMED+M  
 vt

""I'm going there to take a look at it.""

249 *Aba sa okomatibe* .  
 aba saa o- ka- na -mata -be  
 fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

""I'm going to spear a fish.""

250 *Faya tokomakematamona fahi aba me* ,  
 faya to- ka -makI -himata -mona fahi , aba me  
 so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then fish 3PL.O  
 conj vi dem nm pron

*sa nebanoho aba me*  
 saa na -hiba -no -ho aba me  
 shoot with arrow AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP fish 3PL.O  
 vt aux nm pron



MAIKO (2)

**kakamebanoho**

ka- ka -ma -hiba -no -ho  
COMIT go/come back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
vt

'He went there. He speared fish, and brought fish back.'

251 **Kamakane**                    **ahi**    **aba**    **me**    **weye**    **nari**  
ka       -ma -kane    ahi    aba    me    weye    na -haari  
go/come back ?+M    then   fish   3PL.O   carry   AUX IP.E+M  
vi                                dem    nm     pron   vt     aux

'He came back carrying fish.'

252 **Maka**        **me**        **nabiha**                                ,    **maka**        **mera**        **nabi**                                ,    **faya**  
maka        me        na-    ahaba.LIST                                ,    maka        mera        na-    ahaba+M                                ,    faya  
monster    3PL.O    CAUS   die                                monster    3PL.O    CAUS   die                                so  
nm           pron    vt    nm           pron    vt    conj

**banawemata**                                **awaka**  
bana        -waha -himata    awa        -ka  
move away change FP.N+M    seem+M DECL+M  
vi    sec

'He killed the monsters. Then he moved away.'

253 **Wiwina**                                **toemata**                                **awane**                                **maka**        **me**  
wi- wina -waha    to- ha -himata    awa        -ne    maka        me  
DUP live change    CH AUX FP.N+M    seem+M BKG+M    monster    3PL.S  
vi                                aux    sec    nm           pron

**watari**                                **ya**        ,    **maka**        **mera**        **nabiari**  
wata -ra.NOM+F    ya        ,    maka        mera        na-    ahaba -haari  
exist NEG                                ADJU        monster    3PL.O    CAUS die    IP.E+M  
vi                                prt        nm           pron    vt

'He lived there a long time, at a place where there were no monsters, after he killed the monsters.'

254 **Hika**        **tokaramataya**                                ?  
hika        to- ka        -ra -mata -ya  
where        away go/come CQ+M FP.N+M now  
interrog vi

'Where did he go?'

255 **Tokemata**                                **awaka**                                **yama**        **one**        **ya**  
to- ka        -himata    awa        -ka    yama        one        ya  
away go/come FP.N+M    seem+M DECL+M    place    other+F    ADJU  
vi    sec    nf           adj           prt

**towinawititi**  
to- wina -witI -tee.NOM  
away live out    HAB  
vi

'He must have gone somewhere else. His descendents live there.'

256 **Me**        **awemete**                                **me**        **wina**        **nawarineti**  
me        awa -hemete    me        wina        na -wahaI -ne        -tee.NOM  
3PL.S    see FP.N+F    3PL.S    live        AUX all over CONT+F    HAB  
pron    result                                pron    vi           aux

'No one saw them. They live everywhere.'

MAIKO (2)

257 *Taboro bote watemari amake*  
 taboro bote wata.NOM+M -mari ama -ke  
 place+M old be located FP.E+M be DECL+F  
 pn adj vi vc

'His old village was there.'

258 *Hinaka yobe ewene waimari ama ahi*  
 hinaka yobe ewene waa.NOM -mari ama ahi  
 3SG.POSS house wood+M stand FP.E+M be then  
 pron nm pn vi vc dem

'The foundation poles of his house used to be there.'

259 *Ino hiri ona one Maiko*  
 ino hiri.LIST o- na.CONT+M o- ne Maiko  
 name+M say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S BKG+M (man's name)  
 pn vt aux aux npropm

'I have said the name of Maiko.'

260 *Maiko ka yobe ewene waimari hato*  
 Maiko ka yobe ewene waa.NOM -mari hato  
 (man's name) POSS house wood+M stand FP.E+M bamboo sp  
 npropm prt nm pn vi nf

*Toto Boti amani*  
 Toto Boti ama -ni  
 (name of village) be BKG+F  
 npropf vc

'The foundation poles of Maiko's house used to be there at Toto Boti.'

## THE YIMAS

### *Free Translation*

He was planning to go after the Yimas. He hit with a stick on the buttress roots of a tree where there were wasps in a hole. They were hitting on the tree where the wasps were, and they were grabbing the wasps with their hands, *tosi* wasps. They hit on the tree where the *tosi* wasps were. They were grabbing the *tosi* wasps with their hands. They ran out of wasps.

Then they went looking for other wasps, and they fought against those wasps, too, and they killed them. They did this so that they could fight against the Yimas. They killed wasps on two days, so they could fight against the Yimas.

"The Yimas will die. Let's go see them."

They had weapons, their weapons. They went after the Yimas, and waited for them as they were inside the longhouse. A Yima cried out when he was dreaming. Another man woke up. He shook his wife. He brought her outside. They came out. It was dark.

He quickly lay down on the ground, because the Yimas caught them by surprise. The Yima woman urinated on him. He was suffering, because he felt like speaking, as the Yima woman was urinating on him. She squatted, urinating on him.

Then they went back inside. They made the Yimas go back to sleep before dawn.

He went inside. He carried away the weapons of the Yimas. He piled up the weapons of the Yimas. He called to the others.

"Let's go home [i.e., let's kill the Yimas quickly so we can go home]," they said. They were going to attack the Yimas.

So that they could fight against the Yimas, he carried away the weapons, and piled them up at another place. Then they fought against the Yimas. He ran a Yima through with a spear as he was in the hammock with his wife.

"Yima, I am going to fight you."

The Yima woke up.

"Yima, I'm going to fight you."

Tiihii [went the sound of the spear going into the Yima], the Yima cried out.

They yelled, "Hiihii."

The sound of him wounding the Yimas could be heard, as he fought against the Yimas. The sound of him fighting with Yimas could be heard, as he was killing the Yimas. He was killing the Yimas. They were killing the Yimas. They were throwing them in a pile. They killed a Yima woman. They killed Yimas.

They spoke. "Let's go home. Let's go. There aren't any more Yimas. Let's not look anymore."

"Aren't there any others living here?"

"Apparently there aren't any others living here. Let's go home."

"Yes."

So they came back. They talked back home. "The Yimas almost killed us, because I called the others to fight against them. They all died. We killed them," Saba said back at the village. Saba told the news back home. They spoke, and their voices could be heard.

## THE YIMAS

Then they moved away to another place. They went and lived somewhere else, because they had killed people. They waited for the Yimas a long time.

They wanted to have a feast, so they invited each other. They invited the others. "Yes, we will have a feast." They invited them, and they were ready.

"You go on ahead. We will follow tomorrow."

The next day they were ready to leave. "Father, are you going to stay here?"

"I will come later. I will come after you."

"Come quickly. Let's go there together. I will go. Take down the hammock. They called us to go. We are going on ahead."

"Right, you go on ahead."

They went on ahead, to participate in the festa. Their father came afterwards. Their father came behind. They went ahead. Soon they arrived.

Then they missed their father. It was late in the day, so he came back looking for his father. "My father was going to come, but he didn't come."

"Did your father said he would come?"

"Yes, my father was going to come, but he hasn't come."

"Go back to see him."

"I will go back to see my father."

He came back after his father. He left his older brother behind. He came back.

The Yimas had tied up his father, and he came upon the signs of violence.

"Someone has caught my father. There are signs of my father. So that's why he didn't come. There are signs of someone having tied up my father. I'm going back to tell the others about them."

He went running back. "Brother, this is why my father didn't come. Someone took my father away. Let's go back and look at my father," he said.

"Right, someone has taken away my father."

He called the others to go, who were sponsoring the festa. They stopped the festa. They came back. They came upon the signs of them. They looked around.

"Someone took away my father. There is their trail going that way. Let's go look at them."

He went. They went. Their weapons were all arrows. He went there. They followed their trail. They went after them. They heard their voices as they were talking. Then they stopped.

A Yima man came right facing where they were standing. He came to the water. He took off his breechcloth. He went to the water, and took out the manioc mash [that was in a basket in the water]. He came to the bank carrying the manioc mash. He took the manioc mash away. He set the basket of manioc mash down. He set the manioc mash down so that the mash would dry out, so it would be eaten with the one that they had brought.

He bathed. He finished bathing. He went, and they went behind him. He followed. He wasn't afraid. The others surrounded the longhouse. Two of them went in.

A child cried. It was his younger brother.

"Where is my father?" he said. "I have come to get my father, who you brought here."

"Your father is lying there on the ground. Your father has not been touched. Your father is lying there," they said, the Yimas.

"Unbind my father. I'm going to take my father home."

So the Yimas unbound him. They also unbound the child. They also unbound the mother, who they had bound.

He continued to speak to them. The Yimas listened to him as they stood there. They stood listening to him. He spoke.

"Take my father away. I'm going to finish listening to them." He wanted to listen to them,

## THE YIMAS

and he handed off his father.

They took his father away. Then he went back inside. His brother-in-law stayed outside, while he went inside.

"Are you going to stay here? We are going to have a festa."

"Right," the Yimas said. "We are living here."

"Live here."

Then he took an arrow out of the sheath. He pulled out an arrow, and inserted the arrow pointing up. He pulled back on the arrow. "I want to shoot an arrow at the ceiling of your longhouse."

But he lowered the arrow and shot a Yima in the chest. He shot him from very close by, and he cried out.

They yelled. The Yima women ran away. The Yima women went out.

He was yelling as he was shooting them with arrows, as he and his brother-in-law were attacking them. The Yimas were rushing out. The others were shooting them with arrows, also the Yima women. He yelled out as he attacked them. He was attacking the Yimas. They were chasing the Yimas.

A pregnant Yima woman went running to the water, and went in the water. They shot one of the women in the sole of her foot. They shot her in the sole of her foot, and she died. The other woman didn't come to the surface. Long ago I saw the lake where she went into the water. It must still be there.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>Yima</i>	,	<i>yima</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>wati</i>		<i>kane</i>		,	<i>yima</i>	,	<i>yima</i>	<i>mera</i>
	yima		yima	mera	wati		ka- na+M			yima		yima	mera
	Yima		Yima	3PL.O	plan against		COMIT AUX			Yima		Yima	3PL.O
	npropm		npropm	pron	vt		aux			npropm		npropm	pron
	<i>wati</i>		<i>kane</i>		,	<i>awani</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>me</i>			
	wati		ka- na+M			awani	awa	hoti	ka	me			
	plan against		COMIT AUX			wasp	tree	hole	LOC	3PL.S			
	vt		aux			nm	nf	nf	prt	pron			
	<i>kaomate</i>			<i>mera</i>	<i>teo</i>	<i>kane</i>		<i>awani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awani</i>	<i>me</i>
	ka- homa		-tee	mera	teo	ka- na+M		awani	me	awani	me	awani	me
	COMIT lie on ground		HAB	3PL.O	hit	COMIT AUX		wasp	3PL	wasp	3PL.O	wasp	3PL.O
	vi			pron	vt	aux		nm	pron	nm	pron	nm	pron
	<i>me</i>	<i>teo</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>awani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>warara</i>						
	me	teo	ka- na+F	awani	me	me	wara -ra						
	3PL.S hit		COMIT AUX	wasp	3PL.O	3PL.S	grab DUP						
	pron vt		aux	nm	pron	pron	vt						
	<i>natiemetemone</i>			,	<i>awani</i>	<i>tosi</i>	<i>mati</i>						
	na nahatI		-hemete -mone		awani	tosi	mati						
	AUX daytime		FP.N+F REP+F		wasp	wasp sp	3PL						
	aux				nm	nm	pron						

'He was planning to go after the Yimas. He hit with a stick on the buttress roots of a tree where there were wasps in a hole. They were hitting on the tree where the wasps were, and they were grabbing the wasps with their hands, *tosi* wasps.'

2	<i>Tosi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>teo</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>tosi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>warara</i>
	tosi	me	me	teo	ka- na+F	tosi	me	me	wara -ra
	wasp sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	hit	COMIT AUX	wasp sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	grab DUP
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron	pron	vt

THE YIMAS

*natiha* *me* , *awani* *me* *me* *tonafiyoha* *me* ,  
na nahatI+F me , awani me me to- na- fiyo+F me ,  
AUX daytime 3PL.S wasp 3PL.O 3PL.S CH CAUS be all gone 3PL.S  
aux pron nm pron pron vt pron

*awani* *me* *me* *tonafiyoha* *me* , *awani* *haha* *awani*  
awani me me to- na- fiyo+F me , awani haaha awani  
wasp 3PL.O 3PL.S CH CAUS be all gone 3PL.S wasp this+F wasp  
nm pron pron vt pron nm dem nm

*me* *bara* *me* *me* *tohawawitetasa* *awani*  
me bara me me to- iha -waha -witI -tasa+F awani  
3PL other+F 3PL.O 3PL.S away take in turn change out again wasp  
pron adj pron pron vt nm

*me* *me* *mowa* *tasa* *me* , *awani* *me* *me*  
me me mowa na -tasa+F me , awani me me  
3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX again 3PL.S wasp 3PL.O 3PL.S  
pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

*nabitasemetemoneni* , *yima* *me* *me* *mowa*  
na- ahaba -tasa -hemete -mone -ni , yima me me mowa  
CAUS die again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S fight  
vt npropm pron pron vt

*nabone* *mati*  
na -habone mati  
AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
aux pron

'They hit on the tree where the *tos*i wasps were. They were grabbing the *tos*i wasps with their hands. They ran out of wasps. Then they went looking for other wasps, and they fought against those wasps, too, and they killed them. They did this so that they could fight against the Yimas.'

3 *Yima* *me* *me* *mowa* *nabone* *awani* *me* *me*  
yima me me mowa na -habone awani me me  
Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX INT+F wasp 3PL.O 3PL.S  
npropm pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

*nahabikimaha* *me* , *Yima* *me* *yima* *me* *ababana*  
na- ahaba -kima+F me , yima me yima me ahaba -habana  
CAUS die two 3PL.S Yima 3PL Yima 3PL.S die FUT+F  
vt pron npropm pron npropm pron vi

'They killed wasps on two days, so they could fight against the Yimas. "The Yimas will die."

4 *Me* *e* *me* *e* *towamakemata*  
me ee me ee to- awa -makI -mata  
3PL 1IN 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following short time  
pron pron pron pron vt

"Let's go see them."

5 *Me* *ye* *hone* , *me* *ye*  
me yehe hone , me yehe  
3PL.POSS hand weapon+F 3PL.POSS hand  
pron pn pn pron pn

*honemetemoneke* *fa* *mati*  
hona -hemete -mone -ke faa mati  
have something FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that 3PL  
vi dem pron

'They had weapons.'

## THE YIMAS

6 *Ya hona me bokori nabisemetemoneni me ye*  
 ya hona me bokori na -bisa -hemete -mone -ni me yehe  
 weapon 3PL.S hold AUX also FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS hand  
 nf pron vt aux pron pn

*hone*

hone  
 weapon+F  
 pn

'They had weapons, their weapons.'

7 *Yima me me tonakamakia me , yima me*  
 yima me me to- na- ka -makI+F me yima me  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S Yima 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt pron npropm pron

*me tonakamakia me , me me*  
 me to- na- ka -makI+F me me me  
 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron pron pron

*hikawemetemoneni*

hi- ka- waa -hemete -mone -ni , *yobe wahi toro ya*  
 OC COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F yobe wahi toro ya  
 vt nm pn prt

'They went after the Yimas. They went after the Yimas, and waited for them as they were inside the longhouse.'

8 *Yima me me hikawa me , yima watamino kiya*  
 yima me me hi- ka- waa+F me yima watami -hino kiya  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT stand 3PL.O Yima dream IP.N+M yell  
 npropm pron pron vt pron npropm vi vi

*kanematamona*

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

'They waited for them. A Yima cried out when he was dreaming.'

9 *Kiya kane , yima watami kiya kane , owa*  
 kiya ka- na+M yima watami+M kiya ka- na+M owa  
 yell COMIT AUX Yima dream yell COMIT AUX other+M  
 vi aux npropm vi vi aux adj

*tafihino , fati mowa ne fati*  
 tafi -hino fati mowa na+M fati  
 buoy up IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.wife shake AUX 3SG.POSS.wife  
 vi nf vt aux nf

*kakiyomame*

ka- ka -yoma -ma+M me *kiyomamemetemoneke*  
 COMIT go/come through back 3PL.S go/come through back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt pron vi

'He cried out. The Yima cried out as he was dreaming. Another man woke up. He shook his wife. He brought her outside. They came out.'

10 *Me kiyomama me , yama sokimetemoneni*  
 me ka -yoma -ma+M me yama soki.NOM -mete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S go/come through back 3PL.S thing be dark FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron nf vi

'They came out. It was dark.'

## THE YIMAS

11 **Homakabote** *nematamonane* *yima me me*  
 homa -kabote na -himata -mona -ne yima me me  
 lie on ground quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vi aux npropm pron pron

**bata hikana mati , yima fana so**  
 bata hi- ka- na+F mati , yima fana soo  
 surprise OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O Yima female urinate on  
 vt aux pron npropm nf vt

**hinebanoho**  
 hi- na -hiba -no -ho  
 OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He quickly lay down on the ground, because the Yimas caught them by surprise. The Yima woman urinated on him.'

12 **Yima fana so hine , Ee e**  
 yima fana soo hi- na+M , ee ee  
 Yima female urinate on OC AUX (expression of surprise) 1IN.S  
 npropm nf vt aux interj pron

**ati nene karimematamona yima fana so**  
 ati na -hene karima -himata -mona yima fana soo  
 say AUX IRR+F suffer from FP.N+M REP+M Yima female urinate on  
 vt aux vt npropm nf vt

**hinari**  
 hi- na -haari  
 OC AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'The Yima woman urinated on him. He was suffering, because he felt like speaking, as the Yima woman was urinating on him.'

13 **Ma kanikimemetemone ahi , he so naro**  
 maa na -kanikima -hemete -mone ahi , hee soo na -haaro  
 stop AUX scattered FP.N+F REP+F then 3SG.O urinate on AUX IP.E+F  
 vi aux dem pron vt aux

'She squatted, urinating on him.'

14 **Faya me tokiyomamemetemone**  
 faya me to- ka -yoma -ma -hemete -mone  
 so 3PL.S away go/come through back FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron vi

'Then they went back inside.'

15 **Me tokiyomama me , yima me me , yima**  
 me to- ka -yoma -ma+F me , yima me me , yima  
 3PL.S away go/come through back 3PL.S Yima 3PL 3PL Yima  
 pron vi pron npropm pron pron npropm

**me me amo tonihamemetemoneni , yama**  
 me me amo to- niha- na -ma -hemete -mone -ni , yama  
 3PL.O 3PL.S sleep CH CAUS AUX back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F thing  
 pron pron vi aux nf

**we kamaki ya**  
 wehe ka -makI.NOM ya  
 light+F go/come following ADJU  
 pn vi prt





## THE YIMAS

- 19 *Iti*  
 iti  
 grandfather  
 nm  
 'Grandpa.'
- 20 *Haa* ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj  
 'What?'
- 21 *Yima me me mowa nawemetemoneheni*  
 yima me me mowa na -waha -hemete -mone -he -ni  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F  
 npropm pron pron vt aux  
 'Then they fought against the Yimas.'
- 22 *Yima fati takoreno*  
 yima fati takora -hino  
 Yima 3SG.POSS.wife be in hammock with IP.N+M  
 npropm nf vt  
*itawematamonaka*  
 ita -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 pierce change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt  
 'He ran a Yima through with a spear as he was in the hammock with his wife.'
- 23 *Yima tiwa mowa obone*  
 yima tiwa mowa o- na.NOM -bone  
 Yima 2SG.O fight 1SG.S AUX INT+F  
 npropm pron vt aux  
 '"Yima, I am going to fight you."'
- 24 *Tiwa mowa obonehe*  
 tiwa mowa o- na.NOM -bone -he  
 2SG.O fight 1SG.S AUX INT+F DUP  
 pron vt aux  
 '"I am going to fight you."'
- 25 *Yima tafimatamona amane ahi*  
 yima tafi -himata -mona ama -ne ahi  
 Yima wake up FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M then  
 npropm vi sec dem  
 'The Yima woke up.'
- 26 *Yima tiwa mowa obonehe*  
 yima tiwa mowa o- na.NOM -bone -he  
 Yima 2SG.O fight 1SG.S AUX INT+F DUP  
 npropm pron vt aux  
 '"Yima, I'm going to fight you."'
- 27 *Tiihii* , *yima kiya kanematamona amane*  
 tiihii yima kiya ka- na -himata -mona ama -ne  
 (sound of hitting) Yima yell COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 sound npropm vi aux sec

## THE YIMAS

'Tiihii, the Yima cried out.'

28 *Me ye kawemetemone ahi* .  
 me yee ka- na -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They yelled.'

29 *Me hiihii kana nemetemone* .  
 me hiihii ka- na na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S yell "hiihii" COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux aux

'They yelled, "Hiihii."'

30 *Yima mera katome moni saihimatamona ahi yima* ,  
 yima mera katoma+M moni sai -himata -mona ahi yima  
 Yima 3PL.O attack sound be heard FP.N+M REP+M then Yima  
 npropm pron vt pn vi dem npropm

*me mowa nari* .  
 me mowa na -haari  
 3PL.O fight AUX IP.E+M  
 pron vt aux

'The sound of him wounding the Yimas could be heard, as he fought against the Yimas.'

31 *Yima me mowa ne moni saimatamona yima mera*  
 yima me mowa na+M moni sai -himata -mona yima mera  
 Yima 3PL.O fight AUX sound be heard FP.N+M REP+M Yima 3PL.O  
 npropm pron vt aux pn vi npropm pron

*nabiari* .  
 na- ahaba -haari  
 CAUS die IP.E+M  
 vt

'The sound of him fighting with Yimas could be heard, as he was killing the Yimas.'

32 *Yima mera nabi me yima me me*  
 yima mera na- ahaba+M me yima me me  
 Yima 3PL.O CAUS die 3PL Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vt pron npropm pron pron

*nabimetemoneke* .  
 na- ahaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'He was killing the Yimas. They were killing the Yimas.'

33 *Yima me me nabia me me me me were*  
 yima me me na- ahaba+F me me me me were  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die 3PL.S 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S throw  
 npropm pron pron vt pron pron pron pron vt

*hinemetemone ahi* .  
 hi- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'They were killing the Yimas. They were throwing them in a pile.'

## THE YIMAS

34 *Yima fana* , *yima fana* , *yima fana* *me hinahabiha*  
 yima fana , yima fana , yima fana me hi- na- ahaba+F  
 Yima female Yima female Yima female 3PL.S OC CAUS die  
 npropm nf npropm nf npropm nf pron vt

*me* , *yima me me nabia* *me me me ati*  
 me , yima me me na- ahaba+F me me me ati  
 3PL.O Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.POSS voice  
 pron npropm pron pron vt pron pron pron pn

*yana tonemetemonehe*  
 yana to- na -hemete -mone -he  
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vi aux

'They killed a Yima woman. They killed Yimas. They spoke.'

35 *E tokoma*  
 ee to- ka -ma+F  
 1IN.S away go/come back  
 pron vi

""Let's go home.""

36 *E tokomahi*  
 ee to- ka -ma -hi  
 1IN.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 pron vi

""Let's go.""

37 *Yima me one watara me awine*  
 yima me one wata -ra+F me awine  
 Yima 3PL other+F exist NEG 3PL.S seem+F  
 npropm pron adj vi pron sec

""There aren't any more Yimas.""

38 *Yama e siba nene ere*  
 yama ee siba na -hene ere  
 thing 1IN.S look for AUX IRR+F 1IN.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron

""Let's not look anymore.""

39 *Me one winarini* ?  
 me one wina -ri -ni  
 3PL other+F live CQ+F IP.N+F  
 pron adj vi

""Aren't there any others living here?""

40 *Me one winara me awineke*  
 me one wina -ra+F me awine -ke  
 3PL other+F live NEG 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron adj vi pron sec

""Apparently there aren't any others living here.""

41 *E tokomahi*  
 ee to- ka -ma -hi  
 1IN.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 pron vi

""Let's go home.""

## THE YIMAS

- 42 *Ee* .  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 "Yes."
- 43 *Faya me kamemetemone fahi* .  
 faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi  
 so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj pron vi dem  
 'So they came back.'
- 44 *Me kama me me kamehemetemoneni* .  
 me ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron pron vi  
 'They came back.'
- 45 *Me kama me hiyaramemetemonehe* .  
 me ka -ma+F me hiyara -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S speak back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron vi pron vi  
 'They came back. They talked back home.'
- 46 *Yima otara me waka nine me mowa ni ini*  
 yima otara me waka na -ne , me mowa na.NFIN ini  
 Yima 1EX.O 3PL.S kill AUX CONT+F 3PL.O fight AUX name+F  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vt aux pn  
*hiri ona mati*  
 hiri o- na+F mati  
 say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.POSS  
 vt aux pron  
 ""The Yimas almost killed us, because I called the others to fight against them.""
- 47 *Me abarake me nafi* .  
 me ababa -hara -ke me nafi  
 3PL.S die IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all  
 pron vi pron pn  
 ""They all died.""
- 48 *Me ota nabiarani Saba ati*  
 me otaa na- ababa -hara -ni , Saba ati  
 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS die IP.E+F BKG+F (man's name) say  
 pron pron vt npropm vt  
*nematamona hiyaramahari*  
 na -himata -mona , hiyara -ma -haari  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M speak back IP.E+M  
 aux vi  
 ""We killed them," Saba said back at the village.'
- 49 *Saba hiyara kaminame me hiyara me ati*  
 Saba hiyara kamina -ma+M me hiyara+F me ati  
 (man's name) story tell back 3PL.S speak 3PL.POSS voice  
 npropm nf vt pron vi pron pn



THE YIMAS

56 *Ota tokomakeminaba ota*  
 otaa to- ka -makI -mina -haba otaa  
 1EX.S away go/come following morning FUT+F 1EX.S  
 pron vi pron

"We will follow tomorrow."

57 *Faya , me yana tonamina , Abi tiwitibana* ?  
 faya , me yana to- na -mina+F , abi ti- ita+F -bana  
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX morning father 2SG.S stay FUT  
 conj pron vi aux nm vi

"The next day they were ready to leave. "Father, are you going to stay here?"

58 *Okomakeba owa awine o*  
 o- to- ka -makI -haba owa awine o-  
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S  
 vi pron sec prt

"I will come later."

59 *Oyotoabana o te nowati*  
 o- yoto -habana o- tee nowati  
 1SG.S follow FUT+F 1SG.S 2PL.POSS behind  
 vi prt pron pn

"I will come after you."

60 *Kamakikabote tinahi*  
 ka -makI -kabote ti- na -hi  
 go/come following quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 vi aux

"Come quickly."

61 *E totabamakibeya*  
 ee to- taba -makI -be -ya  
 1IN.S away be together following IMMED+F now  
 pron vi

"Let's go there together."

62 *Okomakeba owa awine o*  
 o- to- ka -makI -haba owa awine o-  
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S  
 vi pron sec prt

"I will go."

63 *Yifo tikatisahi*  
 yifo ti- ka- tisa -hi  
 hammock 2SG.S COMMIT undo IMP+F  
 nm vt

"Take down the hammock."

64 *Era me hima ni*  
 era me hima na.NOM+F  
 1IN.O 3PL.S call to go AUX  
 pron pron vt aux

"They called us to go."

## THE YIMAS

65 *Ota tai toamakiba*  
 otaa tai to- ha -makI -baha  
 1EX.S be ahead CH AUX following before  
 pron vi aux

"We are going on ahead."

66 *Ee te tai toamake*  
 ee tee tai to- ha -makI  
 yes 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX following  
 interj pron vi aux

"Right, you go on ahead."

67 *Me tai toamakemetemone me mari*  
 me tai to- ha -makI -hemete -mone me mari  
 3PL.S be ahead CH AUX following FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S feast  
 pron vi aux pron vi

*nabone mati*  
 na -habone mati  
 AUX INT+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'They went on ahead, to participate in the festa.'

68 *Me ka abi kamaki me ka abi*  
 me ka abi ka -makI+M me ka abi  
 3PL POSS father go/come following 3PL POSS father  
 pron prt nm vi pron prt nm

*kamaki me ka abi*  
 ka -makI+M me ka abi  
 go/come following 3PL POSS father  
 vi pron prt nm

*kamakimatamonaka*  
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'Their father came afterwards.'

69 *Me ka abi yotohimatamonane*  
 me ka abi yoto -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL POSS father follow FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron prt nm vi

'Their father came behind.'

70 *Me tai toamake hibati me kobo*  
 me tai to- ha -makI hibati me kobo  
 3PL.S be ahead CH AUX following right away 3PL.S arrive  
 pron vi aux nf pron vi

*tonamakemetemoneke furo me ka abi*  
 to- na -makI -hemete -mone -ke faaro me ka abi  
 away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F 3PL POSS father  
 aux dem pron prt nm

*tabiyo me awabani mati*  
 tabiyo me awa -haba -ni mati  
 absence 3PL.S see FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pn pron vt pron

'They went ahead. Soon they arrived. Then they missed their father.'





THE YIMAS

78 *Kamematamonaka* , *bati*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka bati  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.father  
 vi nm

*nakamari*  
 na- ka -ma -haari  
 CAUS go/come back IP.E+M  
 vt

'He came back after his father.'

79 *Bati* *nakame* *kamematamonaka*  
 bati na- ka -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.father CAUS go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt vi

'He came back after his father.'

80 *Me anoti* *kakosematamonane*  
 me anoti ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL 3SG.POSS older brother COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron nm vt

'He left his older brother behind.'

81 *Kamematamona* , *bati* *yima* *me* *wete*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona bati yima me wete  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.father Yima 3PL.S tie  
 vi nm npropm pron vt

*hinenoho*  
 hi- na -hino -ho  
 OC AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He came back. The Yimas had tied his father up.'

82 *Bati* *yima* *me* *wete* *hinenoho* , *bati*  
 bati yima me wete hi- na -hino bati  
 3SG.POSS.father Yima 3PL.S tie OC AUX IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.father  
 nm npropm pron vt aux nm

*ene* *wasimematamonaka*  
 ehene wasi -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 result of+M find back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vt

'The Yimas had tied up his father, and he came upon the signs of violence.'

83 *Bati* *ene* *wasime* *Okobi* *me inamati*  
 bati ehene wasi -ma+M o- ka abi me inamati  
 3SG.POSS.father result of+M find back 1SG.POSS POSS father people  
 nm pn vt nm nf

*watani* *awineke*  
 wata -hani awine -ke  
 catch IP.N+F seem+F DECL+F  
 vt sec

'He came upon the signs of violence. "Someone has caught my father."'

84 *Okomi* *okobi* *ene* *nari* *ha*  
 o- ka ami o- ka abi ehene na -haari haa  
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS father result of+M AUX look+M DEM  
 nf nm pn aux dem





## THE YIMAS

**hekameno**

hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hino awa -ka  
 OC away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 vt sec

"They looked around. "Someone took away my father."

**awaka**

97 **Me hawi tokomaro ha**  
 me hawi to- ka -ma -haaro haa  
 3PL.POSS trail+F away go/come back look+F DEM  
 pron pn vi dem

"There is their trail going that way."

98 **Me e towamakemata**  
 me ee to- awa -makI -mata  
 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following short time  
 pron pron vt

"Let's go look at them."

99 **Tokomakematamonaka**  
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He went.'

100 **Tokomake me tokomaketemone**  
 to- ka -makI me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone  
 away go/come following 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi pron vi

'He went. They went.'

101 **Wati hinama me ye hone tohemetemone ama ahi**  
 wati hinama me yehe hone to- ha -hemete -mone ama ahi  
 arrow all 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F CH be FP.N+F REP+F SEC then  
 nm adj pron pn pn vc sec dem

'Their weapons were all arrows.'

102 **Tokomakematamona ahi**  
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

'He went there.'

103 **Tokomake me ihi me**  
 to- ka -makI me ihi me  
 away go/come following 3PL.POSS result of+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron pn pron

**hikiyoemetemoneni me hawi**  
 hi- kiyō -hemete -mone -ni me hawi  
 OC chase FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS trail+F  
 vt pron pn

'He went. They followed their trail.'

104 **Me hawi me hikiyoa me me me**  
 me hawi me hi- kiyō+F me me me  
 3PL.POSS trail+F 3PL.S OC chase 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pn pron vt pron pron pron

## THE YIMAS

**hinakamakietemoneni**

hi- to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni  
 OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt

'They followed their trail. They went after them.'

105 **Me me hinakamakia me , me ati**  
 me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me , me ati  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O 3PL.POSS voice  
 pron pron vt pron pron pn

**me himitamakietemoneni me , me hiyara**  
 me hi- to- mita -makI -hemete -mone -ni me , me hiyara+F  
 3PL.S OC away hear following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL 3PL.S speak  
 pron vt pron pron vi

**mati**  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They went after them. They heard their voices as they were talking.'

106 **Faya me ma tonamakemetemoneke fahi**  
 faya me maa to- na -makI -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S stop away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi aux dem

'Then they stopped.'

107 **Faya yima kamematamona amaka me nao me**  
 faya yima ka -ma -himata -mona ama -ka me nao me  
 so Yima go/come back FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M 3PL.S stand 3PL.S  
 conj npropm vi sec pron vi pron

**tonomakia me nokosi ya**  
 to- naho -makI+F me nokosi ya  
 away stand following 3PL.POSS in front of ADJU  
 vi pron pn prt

'A Yima man came right facing where they were standing.'<sup>73</sup>

108 **Kifewame**  
 ka -fI -waha -ma+M  
 go/come water change back  
 vi

**kifewamematamonane**  
 ka -fI -waha -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 go/come water change back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came to the water.'

109 **Kifewame , kanatafo katise**  
 ka -fI -waha -ma+M , kanatafo ka- tisa+M  
 go/come water change back breechcloth COMMIT undo  
 vi nf vt

**tokifiwawiti , iyawa itimatamonaha**  
 to- ka -fI -waha -witI+M , iyawa iti -himata -mona -ha  
 away go/come water change out manioc mash take out FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi nf vt

<sup>73</sup> The verb *me nao* is a false start.

THE YIMAS

'He came to the water. He took off his breechcloth. He went to the water, and took out the manioc mash.'

110 *Iyawa*                    *iti*                    ,                    *iyawa*                    *tiwa*                    *ni*  
 iyawa                    iti+M                    ,                    iyawa                    tiwa                    na.NFIN  
 manioc mash                    take out                    manioc mash                    carry                    AUX  
 nf                    vt                    nf                    vt                    aux

*kimisame*                    *iyawa*                    *towakematamona*                    *ahi*  
 ka                    -misa -ma+M                    iyawa                    to- ka- ka                    -himata -mona                    ahi  
 go/come up                    back                    manioc mash                    away COMIT go/come                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    then  
 vi                    nf                    vi                    dem

'He took out the manioc mash. He came to the bank carrying the manioc mash. He took the manioc mash away.'

111 *Iyawa*                    *tonawawitematamonaka*  
 iyawa                    to- na- waa                    -witI                    -himata -mona -ka  
 manioc mash                    away CAUS stand out                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DECL+M  
 nf                    vt

'He set the basket of manioc mash down.'

112 *Iyawa*                    *tonawawite*                    ,                    *iyawa*                    *hokowabone*  
 iyawa                    to- na- waa                    -witI                    ,                    iyawa                    hoko -waha -habone  
 manioc mash                    away CAUS stand out                    manioc mash                    be dry change INT+F  
 nf                    vt                    nf                    vi

*ra tonawawitematamonane*                    ,                    *he*                    *me*  
 ra to- na- waa                    -witI -himata -mona -ne                    ,                    hee                    me  
 O away CAUS stand out                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    BKG+M                    3SG.O                    3PL.S  
 prt vt                    pron                    pron

*hekame*                    *kakawibonaha*  
 hi- to- ka- ka                    -ma+M                    ka- kawī                    -bona -ha  
 OC away COMIT go/come back                    DUP eat with something INT+M DUP  
 vt                    pn

'He set the manioc mash down. He set the manioc mash down so that the mash would dry out, so it would be eaten with the one that they had brought.'

113 *Faya*                    ,                    *faya*                    *afi*                    *ne*                    ,                    *afi*                    *ne*                    *hawa*                    *toe*  
 faya                    faya                    afi                    na+M                    ,                    afi                    na+M                    hawa                    to- ha+M  
 so                    so                    bathe                    AUX                    bathe                    AUX                    be finished                    CH                    AUX  
 conj                    conj                    vi                    aux                    vi                    aux

*tokome*                    *nowati*                    *ya*                    *me*  
 to- ka                    -ma+M                    nowati                    ya                    me  
 away go/come back                    behind                    ADJU                    3PL.S  
 vi                    pn                    prt                    pron

*tokomaketemoneke*  
 to- ka                    -makI                    -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come following                    FP.N+F                    REP+F                    DECL+F  
 vi

'He bathed. He finished bathing. He went, and they went behind him.'

114 *Tokomaketamona*  
 to- ka                    -makI                    -himata -mona -ha  
 away go/come following                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DUP  
 vi

'He followed.'





## THE YIMAS

"Your father is lying there on the ground."

122 <i>Abi</i>	<i>abi</i>	<i>nahore</i>
abi	abi	naho -ra+M
2SG.POSS.father	2SG.POSS.father	touch NEG
nm	nm	result

"Your father has not been touched."

123 <i>Abi</i>	<i>homa</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>nemetemone</i>
abi	homa.CONT+M	haari	me	ati	na -hemete -mone
2SG.POSS.father	lie on ground	that one+M	3PL.S	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm	vi	dem	pron	vt	aux

*yima mati*  
yima mati  
Yima 3PL  
npropm pron

"Your father is lying there," they said, the Yimas.'

124 <i>Okobi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tisa</i>
o- ka abi	tee	tisa
1SG.POSS POSS father	2PL.S	undo
nm	pron	vt

"Unbind my father."

125 <i>Okobi</i>	<i>owakamibeya</i>			
o- ka abi	o- to- ka- ka	-ma -be -ya		
1SG.POSS POSS father	1SG.S away COMIT	go/come back IMMED+F	now	
nm	vt			

"I'm going to take my father home."

126 <i>Faya</i>	<i>me</i>	, <i>yima</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>hitisematamonane</i>
faya	me	yima	me	hi- tisa -himata -mona -ne
so	3PL	Yima	3PL.S	OC undo FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
conj	pron	npropm	pron	vt

'So the Yimas unbound him.'

127 <i>Me</i>	<i>hitise</i>	, <i>inamatewe</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tisa</i>	<i>nemetemone</i>
me	hi- tisa+M	inamatewe	me	tisa.LIST	na -hemete -mone
3PL.S	OC undo	child	3PL.S	undo	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
pron	vt	nm	pron	vt	aux

*ahi*  
ahi  
then  
dem

"They unbound him. They also unbound the child.'

128 <i>Mati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>hitisa</i>	<i>hinemetemoneni</i>	<i>me</i>
mati	me	hi- tisa.LIST	hi- na -hemete -mone -ni	me
3SG.POSS.mother	3PL.S	OC undo	OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F	3PL.S
nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

*wete hinanihi*  
wete hi- na -hani -hi  
tie OC AUX IP.N+F DUP  
vt aux

"They also unbound the mother, who they had bound.'

## THE YIMAS

129 *Mera*     *hihiyara*                     *kawematamonaka*     *ahi*  
 mera    hi- hiyara                     ka-    na    -waha    -himata    -mona    -ka                     ahi  
 3PL.O    OC    speak to                     COMIT AUX change    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M                     then  
 pron    vt     aux     dem

'He continued to speak to them.'

130 *Yima*     *ati*             *me*             *hikamitematamona*     *me*             *naoa*             *mati*  
 yima    ati             me             hi- ka-    mita    -himata    -mona    me             naho+F    mati  
 Yima    voice    3PL.S    OC    COMIT hear    FP.N+M    REP+M    3PL.S    stand    3PL.S  
 npropm pn             pron    vt     pron    vi             pron

'The Yimas listened to him as they stood there.'

131 *Me*             *naoa*             *ati*             *me*             *hikamite*     *ati*             *yana*  
 me             naho+F    ati             me             hi- ka-    mita+M    ati             yana  
 3PL.S    stand    voice    3PL.S    OC    COMIT hear             voice    start  
 pron    vi             pn             pron    vt     pn             vi

*tonematamonane*

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

'They stood listening to him. He spoke.'

132 *Okobi*     *te*             *towakama*  
 o-             ka    abi             tee             to- ka-    ka             -ma  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father    2PL.S    away COMIT go/come back  
 nm     pron    vt

'''Take my father away.'''

133 *Okobi*     *te*             *towakama*  
 o-             ka    abi             tee             to- ka-    ka             -ma  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father    2PL.S    away COMIT go/come back  
 nm     pron    vt

'''Take my father away.'''

134 *Me*             *ati*             *omiti*     *forimamatibeya*  
 me             ati             o-             mita.NFIN    forima             -mata             -be             -ya  
 3PL.POSS    voice    1SG.S    hear             do properly short time IMMED+F now  
 pron             pn             vt     vi

'''I'm going to finish listening to them.'''

135 *Me*             *ati*             *mitehibona*     *bati*     *iseme*  
 me             ati             mita -hibona             bati     isI             -ma+M  
 3PL.POSS    voice    hear INT+M             3SG.POSS.father    drop off back  
 pron             pn             vt     nm     vt

*bati*     *me*             *hekamematamonane*  
 bati     me             hi- to- ka-    ka             -ma    -himata    -mona    -ne  
 3SG.POSS.father    3PL.S    OC    away COMIT go/come back    FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 nm     pron    vt

'He wanted to listen to them, and he handed off his father. They took his father away.'

136 *Bati*     *me*             *hekame*     *bati*  
 bati     me             hi- to- ka-    ka             -ma+M             bati  
 3SG.POSS.father    3PL.S    OC    away COMIT go/come back             3SG.POSS.father  
 nm     pron    vt     nm

## THE YIMAS

**me hekamatamonaha**

me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ha  
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pron vt

'They took his father away.'

137 **Faya tokiyomamataseamatamonaha**

faya to- ka -yoma -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ha  
 so away go/come through back again FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 conj vi

'Then he went back inside.'

138 **Wabori**

wabori to- waa -kosa+M  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law CH stand middle  
 nm vi

**towakose**

**tokiyomamatamona**

to- ka -yoma -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come through back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

**ahi**

'His brother-in-law stayed outside, while he went inside.'

139 **Te**

tee winibana -bana ?  
 2PL.S live FUT  
 pron vi

""Are you going to stay here?""

140 **Ota**

otaa mari nabone ota ama  
 1EX.S feast AUX INT+F 1EX.S SEC  
 pron vi aux pron sec

""We are going to have a festa.""

141 **Ee**

ee ee yima me ati nemetemone me amani  
 ee ee yima me ati na -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 yes yes Yima 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 interj interj npropm pron vt aux pron sec

**ahi**

ahi  
 then  
 dem

""Right," the Yimas said.'

142 **Ota**

otaa ota winineni  
 1EX 1EX.S live CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vi

""We are living here.""

143 **Te**

tee winiyahi  
 2PL.S live DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vi

""Live here.""

THE YIMAS

144 *Faya wati soba nakematamona fahi*  
 faya wati soba na -kI -himata -mona fahi  
 so arrow pull out AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj nm vt aux dem

'Then he took an arrow out of the sheath.'

145 *Wati soba nake , wati yori*  
 wati soba na -kI , wati yori  
 arrow pull out AUX coming arrow insert  
 nm vt aux nm vt

*tomisematamona neme ka ya*  
 to- na -misa -himata -mona neme ka ya  
 away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M up LOC ADJU  
 aux nf prt prt

'He pulled out an arrow, and inserted the arrow pointing up.'

146 *Hoka namematamona ahi*  
 hoka na -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 yank AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem

'He pulled back on the arrow.'

147 *Te ka yobe bako sa okani*  
 tee ka yobe bako saa o- ka- na  
 2PL POSS house inner surface+M shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
 pron prt nm pn vt aux

*toe o , yima bako sa*  
 to- ha o- , yima bako saa  
 CH AUX 1SG.S Yima chest+M shoot with arrow  
 aux prt npropm pn vt

*kanebanoho wati weo nisahari*  
 ka- na -hiba -no -ho wati weo na -risa -haari  
 COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP arrow drop down AUX down IP.E+M  
 aux nm vt aux

'"I want to shoot an arrow at the ceiling of your longhouse." But he lowered the arrow and shot a Yima in the chest.'

148 *Ayata sa hikane rama kiya*  
 ayata saa hi- ka- na+M rama kiya  
 near shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX unusual yell  
 nf vt aux prt vi

*kanematamona ahi*  
 ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'He shot him from very close by, and he cried out.'

149 *Me ye kawemetemone ahi*  
 me yee ka- na -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They yelled.'

150 *Yima fana , yima fana kana ni yana*  
 yima fana yima fana kana na.NFIN yana  
 Yima female Yima female run AUX start  
 npropm nf npropm nf vi aux vi



THE YIMAS

157 *Yima me mowa ne yima , yima me me*  
 yima me mowa na+M yima , yima me me  
 Yima 3PL.O fight AUX Yima Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vt aux npropm npropm pron pron

*kiyoemetemone ahi*  
 kiyo -hemete -mone ahi  
 chase FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt dem

'He was attacking the Yimas. They were chasing the Yimas.'

158 *Yima fana naba koro , kana ni*  
 yima fana naba koro , kana na.NFIN  
 Yima female pregnant run AUX  
 npropm nf adj vi aux

*tokifwawitia bokemetemoneke faro*  
 to- ka -fI -waha -witI+F boka -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 away go/come water change out enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 vi vi dem

'A pregnant Yima woman went running to the water, and went in the water.'

159 *One me sa hikanemetemoneni tame*  
 one me saa hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni tame  
 one+F 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F foot+F  
 adj pron vt aux pn

*baki*  
 baki  
 inside surface+F  
 pn

'They shot one of the women in the sole of her foot.'

160 *Tame baki me sa*  
 tame baki me saa  
 foot+F inside surface+F 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 pn pn pron vt

*hikanemetemonehe*  
 hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -he  
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux

'They shot her in the sole of her foot.'

161 *Tame baki me sa hikana*  
 tame baki me saa hi- ka- na+F ,  
 foot+F inside surface+F 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX  
 pn pn pron vt aux

*abemetemoneke faro*  
 ahaba -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 vi dem

'They shot her in the sole of her foot, and she died.'

162 *One ta tafiremetemoneke*  
 one taa tafi -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 other+F contrast buoy up NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 adj prt vi

'The other woman didn't come to the surface.'

## THE YIMAS

163	<b>Fe</b>	<b>bokimetemone</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>itamaro</b>			
	fehe	boka.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ka	faha	ita	-hamaro
	water+F	enter water	FP.N+F	REP+F	which	water	be located	FP.E+F
	pn	vi			prt	nf	vi	
	<b>ita</b>	<b>awineke</b>						
	ita+F	awine	-ke					
	be located	seem+F	DECL+F					
	vi	sec						

'Long ago I saw the lake where she went into the water. It must still be there.'

# SIRO WARI

## Free Translation

His name was Ataro. My aunt used to say his name. He went away angry. Then he found *aba* fish in the Koriwa stream. They went out to blowgun game, and they found *aba* fish. He went making a hunting trail. He found *aba* fish. He looked at the *aba* fish. "Look at the *aba* fish living there."

He left the *aba* fish there. He left the *aba* fish, and came back.

"Why are you standing there? There are people living there, who I found," he said.

"Let's look at them," they said. They went after the *aba* fish, to see the people.

"There are people living there. Come here. You will see them, the ones that are living there that I saw," he said.

They all went, to find and see the *aba* fish. There aren't a few *aba* fish there, which the Jamamadis used to eat. There is a Jamamadi village site there. Many Jamamadis used to fish there.

"Look at the fish living there."

They filled the stream right up to the bank. They came back after they had speared *aba* fish. They had washed the poison off their bundles of hunting arrows. They washed the poison off their hunting arrows, and they speared *aba* fish.

They came back after they blowgunned game. They hunted white-lipped peccaries, and a tapir also died because of them. There was lots of game. They feasted on it. They had lots of festas. They beat each other with switches. They beat them. They burned each other. They surrounded my grandfather with brands. They burned his mouth. They went away. That's the village, there, the old village, Siro Wari, on the Siro Wari stream, a branch of the Faha Biri.

Wiri Fa stream, there are *wiri* trees there. There are *aba* fish in the Faha Biri. There are lots of *aba* fish in the Faha Biri. There were lots of *aba* fish, but my grandfather put a curse on them, and they went away. They didn't eat *aba* fish anymore, because of my grandfather, when his son died, when the *aba* fish hurt him. The *aba* fish hurt his son, and he put a spell on the *aba* fish, the big *aba* fish.

## Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Ataro</i>	,	<i>Ataro</i>		<i>totoa</i>		<i>toeimarika</i>		,
	Ataro		Ataro		to- to- ha		to- ha -himari -ka		
	(man's name)		(man's name)		DUP CH be		CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M		
	npropm		npropm		vc		aux		
	<i>ino</i>		<i>okomise</i>		<i>hiri</i>		<i>hinahari</i>		.
	ino		o- ka		amise hiri		hi- na -haari		
	name+M		1SG.POSS POSS		aunt say		OC AUX IP.E+M		
	pn		nf		vt		aux		

'His name was Ataro. My aunt used to say his name.'

2	<i>Faya</i>	<i>yawa</i>	<i>towakamatamona</i>		<i>amake</i>	<i>ahi</i>	,	<i>aba</i>
	faya	yawa	to- ka- ka.NOM+M		-mata -mona	ama -ke	ahi	aba
	so	anger	away COMIT		go/come FP.N+M REP+M	be DECL	then	fish sp
	conj	nf	vt			vc	dem	nm





SIRO WARI

8 *Te* , *te* *nao* *fahi* .  
 tee , tee naho.NOM fahi  
 2PL.S 2PL.S stand there  
 pron pron vi dem

"Why are you standing there?"

9 *Me inamati* *winake* *ahi* .  
 me inamati wina -ke ahi  
 people live DECL+F there  
 nf vi dem

"There are people living there."

10 *Me inamati* *wini* *ahi* , *me* *winateani* *me*  
 me inamati wina.NOM+F ahi , me wina -tee -hani me  
 people live there 3PL.S live HAB IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 nf vi dem pron vi pron

*owasia* *mati* , *ati* *nematamonaha* .  
 o- wasi+F mati , ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 1SG.S find 3PL.O say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vt pron vt aux

"There are people living there, who I found," he said.'

11 *Me* *e* *awabanake* *me* *ati* *nemetemoneke* .  
 me ee awa -habana -ke me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O 1IN.S see FUT+F DECL+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt pron vt aux

"Let's look at them," they said.'

12 *Aba* *me* *me* *tonaketemonehe* , *me inamati*  
 aba me me to- na- ka -hemete -mone -he , me inamati  
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come FP.N+F REP+F DUP people  
 nm pron pron vt nf

*me* *me* *awabone* *mati* .  
 me me awa -habone mati  
 3PL.O 3PL.S see INT+F 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt pron

'They went after the *aba* fish, to see the people.'

13 *Me inamati* *winahara* *ahi* .  
 me inamati wina -hara ahi  
 people live IP.E+F there  
 nf vi dem

"There are people living there."

14 *Te* *kamaki* .  
 tee ka -makI.NOM  
 2PL.S go/come following  
 pron vi

"Come here."

15 *Me* *te* *awibe* .  
 me tee awa -be  
 3PL.O 2PL.S see IMMED+F  
 pron pron vt

"You will see them."

SIRO WARI

16 *Me te awabanake* , *me winateani me*  
 me tee awa -habana -ke , me wina -tee -hani me  
 3PL.O 2PL.S see FUT+F DECL+F 3PL.S live HAB IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 pron pron vt pron vi pron

*owasia mati ati nematamonahane*  
 o- wasi+F mati ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 1SG.S find 3PL.O say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vt pron vt aux

"You will see them, the ones that are living there that I saw," he said.'

17 *Faya me nafi tokemetemoneni* , *aba me*  
 faya me nafi to- ka -hemete -mone -ni , aba me  
 so 3PL.POSS all away go/come FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F fish sp 3PL.O  
 conj pron pn vi nm pron

*me wasiha aba me me awabani mati*  
 me wasi+F aba me me awa -haba -ni mati  
 3PL.S find fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S see FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 pron vt nm pron pron vt pron

'They all went, to see the *aba* fish that the others had found.'

18 *Aba me ohariemetemone me kaya*  
 aba me ohari -hemete -mone me kaya  
 fish sp 3PL.S be one FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S lie  
 nm pron vi pron vi

*nawahineti wati me me kakaba*  
 na -waha -ne -tee.NOM , wahati me me ka- kaba  
 AUX change CONT+F HAB Jamamadi 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat  
 aux npropm pron pron vt

*hiamaro mati*  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro mati  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O  
 aux pron

'There aren't a few *aba* fish there, which the Jamamadis used to eat.'

19 *Wati me tabori itawaine*  
 wahati me tabori ita -waha -ne  
 Jamamadi 3PL.POSS place+F be located change CONT+F  
 npropm pron pn vi

'There is a Jamamadi village site there.'

20 *Wati tamabote me me korokoro*  
 wahati tama -bote me me koro- koro  
 Jamamadi be many very 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP throw something on  
 npropm adj pron pron vt

*hiamaro me amani*  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro me ama -ni  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC BKG+F  
 aux pron sec

'Many Jamamadis used to fish there.'

21 *Yama winaterawani te awarawa haro*  
 yama wina -tee -rawa -hani tee awa -rawa+F haaro  
 thing live HAB F.PL IP.N+F 2PL.S see F.PL that one+F  
 nf vi pron vt dem

"Look at the fish living there."

SIRO WARI

22	<b>Fa</b>	<b>ibotori</b>		<b>yokana</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>yowemetemoneke</b>			<b>ahi</b>
	faha	iboto	-ri	yokana	me	yowa -hemete	-mone -ke		ahi
	stream	area beside	PN	true	3PL.S	reach FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F		then
	nf	pn		adj	pron	vi			dem

'They filled the stream right up to the bank.'

23	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamemetemone</b>			<b>fahi</b>	,	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	faya	me	ka -ma -hemete	-mone	fahi			aba	me	me
	so	3PL.S	go/come back	FP.N+F	REP+F	then		fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi			dem		nm	pron	pron

<b>sa</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>mati</b>	,	<b>wati</b>	<b>makori</b>		<b>ino</b>	<b>me</b>
saa		na+F	mati		wati	makori		ino	me
shoot with arrow		AUX	3PL.S		arrow	that has poison		point+M	3PL.S
vt		aux	pron		nm	pn		pn	pron

<b>soko</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>mati</b>
soko	na+F	mati
wash	AUX	3PL.S
vt	aux	pron

'They came back after they had speared *aba* fish. They had washed the poison off their bundles of hunting arrows.'

24	<b>Makori</b>		<b>ino</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>soko</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>
	makori		ino	me	soko	na+F	aba	me	me
	that has poison		point+M	3PL.S	wash	AUX	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pn		pn	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron	pron

<b>sa</b>		<b>nemetemoneke</b>
saa		na -hemete -mone -ke
shoot with arrow		AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt		aux

'They washed the poison off their hunting arrows, and they speared *aba* fish.'

25	<b>Faya</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>kamemetemoneke</b>			<b>fahi</b>	,	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>
	faya	me	ka -ma -hemete	-mone -ke	fahi			bani	me
	so	3PL.S	go/come back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F		then	animal
	conj	pron	vi			dem		nm	pron

<b>me</b>	<b>fora</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>mati</b>
me	fora		na+F	mati
3PL.S	shoot with blowgun		AUX	3PL.S
pron	vt		aux	pron

'They came back after they blowgunned game.'

26	<b>Hiyama</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mowa</b>	,	<b>awi</b>	<b>ahaba</b>
	hiyama		me	me	mowa.LIST		awi	ahaba.LIST
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	fight		tapir	die
	nm		pron	pron	vt		nm	vi

<b>nematamona</b>		<b>amane</b>	,	<b>me</b>	<b>ihi</b>
na -himata -mona		ama -ne		me	ihi
AUX FP.N+M		REP+M		SEC BKG+M	3PL.POSS
aux		sec		pron	post

'They hunted white-lipped peccaries, and a tapir also died because of them.'

27	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tamemetemone</b>
	bani	me	tama -hemete -mone
	animal	3PL.S	be many FP.N+F
	nm	pron	vi

'There was lots of game.'

SIRO WARI

28 *Me me mari hinemetemoneni*  
 me me mari hi- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S feast on OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They feasted on them.'

29 *Ayaka tamehemetemone amake , me ihi*  
 ayaka tama -hemete -mone ama -ke , me ihi  
 dance be many FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.POSS because of+F  
 vi vi sec pron post

'They had lots of festas.'

30 *Faya me abe kosi nemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me abe kosi na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.POSS RECIP flail AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron pn vt aux dem

'They beat each other with switches.'

31 *Me me kosi na me , me abe sari*  
 me me kosi na+F me , me abe sari  
 3PL.O 3PL.S flail AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS RECIP burn  
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pn vt

*nawemetemonehe*

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

'They beat them. They burned each other.'

32 *Faya okiti me kakatimetemone*  
 faya o- ka iti me ka- kata.NOM+F -mete -mone  
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.S COMIT arrodear FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj nm pron vt

*amake fahi , totoka ya , inohoti me sari*  
 ama -ke fahi , totoka ya , inohoti me sari  
 be DECL+F then brand ADJU mouth 3PL.S burn  
 vc dem nf prt pn pron vt

*hikanebanoho*

hi- ka- na -hiba -hino -ho  
 OC COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'They surrounded my grandfather with brands. They burned his mouth.'

33 *Me tokemete me awineke ahi*  
 me to- ka -hemete me awine -ke ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi pron sec dem

'They went away.'

34 *Tabora amake haro , Ara , ahi , tabora , tabora*  
 tabora ama -ke haaro , Ara , ahi , tabora , tabora  
 village be DECL+F that one+F Alan there village village  
 nf vc dem npropm dem nf nf

*bote , ee , Siro Wari karo , Siro Wari ya , ahi*  
 bote ee , Siro Wari karo , Siro Wari ya , ahi  
 old (pause) (village name) which (village name) ADJU there  
 adj interj npropm prt npropm prt dem

## SIRO WARI

, **Fa Biri**                      **mani**                      **ya** .  
 Faha Biri                      mani                      ya  
 (name of stream) tributary+F      ADJU  
 npropf                      pn                      prt  
 'That's the village, Alan, there, the old village, Siro Wari, on the Siro Wari stream, a branch of the Faha Biri.'

35 **Wiri Fa**                      ,      **Wiri Fa**                      ,      **wiri**                      **kawitaka**  
 Wiri Fa                      ,      Wiri Fa                      ,      wiri                      ka-      ita -ka  
 (name of stream)                      (name of stream)                      tree sp      COMMIT sit DECL+M  
 npropf                      npropf                      nm                      vi

**fari**

faari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'Wiri Fa stream, there are *wiri* trees there.'

36 **Fa Biri**                      **aba**                      **amare**                      **awane** .  
 Faha Biri                      aba                      ama -ra+M                      awa                      -ne  
 (name of stream) fish sp      be NEG                      seem+M BKG+M  
 npropf                      nm                      vc                      sec

'There are *aba* fish in the Faha Biri.'

37 **Aba**                      **me**                      **tamake**                      **bisa**                      ,      **Fa Biri**                      **ka**      **mati** .  
 aba                      me                      tama                      -ke                      bisa                      ,      Faha Biri                      ka      mati  
 fish sp      3PL.S      be many DECL+F                      also                      (name of stream)                      of      3PL  
 nm                      pron      vi                      prt                      npropf                      prt      pron

'There are lots of *aba* fish in the Faha Biri.'

38 **Aba**      **me**                      **tamemetemone**                      **okiti**                      **me**  
 aba      me                      tama                      -hemete -mone      o-                      ka      iti                      me  
 fish      3PL.S      be many FP.N+F      REP+F      1SG.POSS      POSS      grandfather      3PL.O  
 nm      pron      vi                      nm                      pron

**hikatiemetemone**

hi- ka-      hati                      -hemete -mone      me                      **amake**                      ,      **me**                      **fawa**  
 OC      COMMIT      put curse on      FP.N+F      REP+F      3PL.O      SEC      DECL+F                      3PL.S      disappear  
 vt                      pron      sec                      pron      vi

**nabani**                      **mati**                      ,      **me**                      **fawa**                      **teabani**                      **mati** .  
 na -haba -ni                      mati                      ,      me                      fawa                      na -tee -haba -ni                      mati  
 AUX FUT+F      IP.N+F      3PL.S                      3PL.S      disappear      AUX HAB      FUT+F      IP.N+F      3PL.S  
 aux                      pron                      pron      vi                      aux                      pron

'There were lots of *aba* fish, but my grandfather put a curse on them, and they went away.'

39 **Aba**                      **me**                      **me**                      **kakabama**                      **toaremetemone**  
 aba                      me                      me                      ka-      kaba -ma                      to-      ha      -ra      -hemete -mone  
 fish sp      3PL.O      3PL.S      COMMIT eat back      CH      AUX      NEG      FP.N+F      REP+F  
 nm                      pron      pron      vt                      aux

**amake**                      ,      **okiti**                      **ene**                      ,      **biti**  
 ama -ke                      ,      o-                      ka      iti                      ehene                      ,      biti  
 SEC      DECL+F                      1SG.POSS      POSS      grandfather                      because of+M                      3SG.POSS.son  
 sec                      nm                      pn                      nm

**abari**                      ,      **biti**                      **aba**                      **me**                      **no**  
 ahaba -haari                      ,      biti                      aba                      me                      noho  
 die      IP.E+M                      3SG.POSS.son      fish sp      3PL.S      be hurt  
 vi                      nm                      nm                      pron      vi

## SIRO WARI

### *hinihari*

hi- to- niha- na -haari  
 OC CH CAUS AUX IP.E+M  
 aux

'They didn't eat *aba* fish anymore, because of my grandfather, when his son died, when the *aba* fish hurt him.'

40	<b><i>Biti</i></b>	<b><i>aba</i></b>	<b><i>me</i></b>	<b><i>no</i></b>	<b><i>hinihe</i></b>	<b><i>aba</i></b>	<b><i>me</i></b>
	biti	aba	me	noho	hi- to- niha- na+M	aba	me
	3SG.POSS.son	fish sp	3PL.S	be hurt	OC CH CAUS AUX	fish sp	3PL.O
	nm	nm	pron	vi	aux	nm	pron

### ***kabanematamonaka***

ka-	habana		-himata	-mona	-ka	,	<b><i>aba</i></b>	<b><i>howerawaha</i></b>
COMIT	order	someone	against	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	aba	howe -rawa -ha
vt							fish sp	large F.PL DUP
							nm	adj

'The *aba* fish hurt his son, and he put a spell on the *aba* fish, the big *aba* fish.'

41	<b><i>Faya</i></b>	<b><i>ama</i></b>	?
	faya	ama	
	enough	be	
	adj	vc	

'Is that enough?'

## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

### *Free Translation*

When the people were sleeping, a jaguar went into the longhouse. The jaguar went inside and picked up a child. It picked up the child, and took the child away. It went and ate the child. The child disappeared.

On another night as they were sleeping it went in after them again. It went inside and killed someone again.

When dawn came, they were afraid. They stuck poles in the ground, and lashed the poles together [to make a stockade].

They took snuff again and slept, and it went in again to them. It bit the elbow of one of them who was sleeping and snoring. He pushed it away with his arm. It went back out.

They were afraid because of the jaguar. On another night, when they were about to sleep, the chief Nanaore, who knew a lot [that is, he was a powerful shaman], shot it with a gun. It was not fat. He shot it.

"The jaguar has been coming around all the time. I will shoot it. Don't be afraid of what will happen if the jaguar is killed," he said.<sup>74</sup> "I want to see it."

He took apart the thatch. He cut open the thatch. He waited for it at the hole. He sat there, up high. As he sat there, it came back, and he shot it. The jaguar that had been coming around all the time was not fat. He shot it. They yelled, because they had finally killed the jaguar. Its eyes were sunken. It had protruding teeth, as it came to them at night. It finally died. Did they eat it?

Then they started going out hunting again, the ones who the jaguar had made afraid. The jaguar had made them afraid.

They dragged the jaguar. The downstream jaguar was not fat. It was going around at night.

We eat the creatures of the rain, the rain of the thunder, the *aba* fish of the thunder. We eat the creatures of the thunder. People didn't used to spear *aba* fish before. The thunder throws the *aba* fish in the water. We eat the creatures of the water of the thunder. They are the creatures of the loud thunder. They are not the creatures of the *maka* monster. They are the creatures of the *maka* monster. The creatures of the *maka* monster go into the water because of the thunder. The *maka* monster lives with the *aba* fish.

We will eat white-lipped peccaries again. The white-lipped peccary is a person, also the tapir. The tapir is the spirit of people. I myself have seen the tapir [that is, I have seen a tapir that was the spirit of a person].

A spirit made the white-lipped peccaries run, my father used to say. It whipped the peccaries with a long peeled stick, he used to say. The spirit waved the stick at the stirred up peccaries that were fearsome, my father used to say. Bowata [Yowao's wife] has the name of their place, Awa Iti. He said they live at Awa Iti.

They were fatty when we shot them. Bibiri shot a white-lipped peccary the other day. Kofeno, too, with only one shotgun. Bibiri shot one first, and then gave the shotgun to Kofeno.

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<sup>74</sup> The sentence means literally, "Don't protect the jaguar," that is, don't let it go on living. They believed that anyone who killed the jaguar would go crazy, but Nanaore had the courage to kill it because he was a powerful shaman.



## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

Kofeno went and shot another peccary, at the Faha Biri, at Boa Vista.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Me amo na , me amo na me ni ya yome*  
 me amo na+F , me amo na+F me ni ya yomee  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL to ADJU jaguar  
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron prt prt nm

***tokiyomamakematamonaka***

to- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'When the people were sleeping, a jaguar went into the longhouse.'

2 *Yome tokiyomamake , inamate*  
 yomee to- ka -yoma -makI inamate  
 jaguar away go/come through following child  
 nm vi nm

***itimatomonaka***

iti -himata -mona -ka  
 pick up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'The jaguar went inside and picked up a child.'

3 *Inamate iti inamate towakamematamonane*  
 inamate iti+M inamate to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 child pick up child away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vt nm vt

'It picked up the child, and took the child away.'

4 *Faya inamate tokobame , inamate fawa nematamona*  
 faya inamate to- kaba -ma+M , inamate fawa na -himata -mona  
 so child away eat back child disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj nm vt nm vi aux

***amaka fahi***  
 ama -ka fahi  
 SEC DECL+M then  
 sec dem

'It went and ate the child. The child disappeared.'

5 *Yama soki one ya , yama soki one ya ,*  
 yama soki.NFIN one ya , yama soki.NFIN one ya  
 thing be dark other+F ADJU thing be dark other+F ADJU  
 nf vi adj prt nf vi adj prt

***me amo na mera***  
 me amo na+F mera  
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.O  
 pron vi aux pron

***tonakiyomamakitasematamonane***

to- na- ka -yoma -makI -tasa -himata -mona -ne  
 away CAUS go/come through following again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'On another night as they were sleeping it went in after them again.'



## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

- 12 *Faya tokiyomamatase matamonaka* *fahi*  
 faya to- ka -yoma -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come through back again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem  
 'It went back out.'
- 13 *Tokiyomamatase* , *me kakakome*  
 to- ka -yoma -ma -tasa+M , me ka- ka- komeha  
 away go/come through back again 3PL.S DUP COMIT be fearsome  
 vi pron vi  
*toemetemoneke* *yome ehene*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke yomee ehene  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F jaguar because of+M  
 aux nm post  
 'It went back out. They were afraid because of the jaguar.'
- 14 *Yama soki one ya* , *yama soki one ya* ,  
 yama soki.NFIN one ya , yama soki.NFIN one ya ,  
 thing be dark other+F ADJU thing be dark other+F ADJU  
 nf vi adj prt nf vi adj prt  
*me amo nabone me ni* , *towisawa* , *Nanaore*  
 me amo na -habone me ni , towisawa , Nanaore  
 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F 3PL to chief (man's name)  
 pron vi aux pron prt nm npropm  
*Nanaore tao hikanematamonaka* , *Nanaore*  
 Nanaore tao hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka , Nanaore  
 (man's name) shoot OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name)  
 npropm vt aux npropm  
*yama watohari*  
 yama wato -haari  
 thing know IP.E+M  
 nf vt  
 'On another night, when they were about to sleep, the chief Nanaore, who knew a lot, shot it with a gun.'
- 15 *Imarari imare tao*  
 ima -ra -haari ima -ra+M tao  
 be fat NEG IP.E+M be fat NEG shoot  
 vi vi vt  
*hikanematamonane*  
 hi- ka na -himata -mona -ne  
 OC go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux  
 'It was not fat. He shot it.'
- 16 *Yama yama era yobi* *kani nofa ama*  
 yama yama era yobi kani na nofa+F ama  
 thing thing 1IN.O go back and forth COMIT AUX recently SEC  
 nf nf pron vi aux prt sec  
 ""The jaguar has been coming around all the time.""
- 17 *Yama tao kibana amani*  
 yama tao ka- na+F -bana ama -ni  
 thing shoot COMIT AUX FUT SEC BKG+F  
 nf result aux sec  
 ""I will shoot it.""

## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

18 *Yama te kayawarima na ati nematamonane*  
 yama tee ka- yawa -rima na ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 thing 2PL.S COMIT be upset NEG.IMP+F AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf pron vt aux vt aux

'"Don't be afraid of what will happen if the jaguar is killed," he said.'

19 *Yama aawa nibana amani ati nematamonane*  
 yama a- awa na+F -bana ama -ni ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 thing DUP see AUX FUT SEC BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf result aux sec vt aux

'"I want to see it."

20 *Faya yobe , yobe katise yobe bobi kase*  
 faya yobe , yobe ka- tisa+M yobe bobi ka- na -kosa+M  
 so thatch thatch COMIT undo thatch slit COMIT AUX middle  
 conj nm nm vt nm vt aux

*yobe , yama hoti ya yama karayawematamonane*  
 yobe , yama hoti ya yama karayawaha -himata -mona -ne  
 thatch thing hole+F ADJU thing wait for FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm nf pn prt nf vt

'He took apart the thatch. He cut open the thatch. He waited for it at the hole.'

21 *Itarimatamonaka*  
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ka  
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He sat there, up high.'

22 *Itari , ni ya kamematamona amane ,*  
 ita -rI+M , ni ya ka -ma -himata -mona ama -ne ,  
 sit raised surface to ADJU go/come back FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 vi prt prt vi sec

*tao hikanebanoho*  
 tao hi- ka- na -hiba -hino -ho  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt aux

'As he sat there, it came back, and he shot it.'

23 *Yama imaremetemone amake , mera*  
 yama ima -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke , mera  
 thing be fat NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.O  
 nf vi sec pron

*yoyobi kana toaro*  
 yo- yobi ka- na to- ha -haaro  
 DUP go back and forth COMIT AUX CH AUX IP.E+F  
 vi aux aux

'The jaguar that had been coming around all the time was not fat.'

24 *Tao hikane me ye kawemetemone me*  
 tao hi- ka- na+M me ye ka- na -waha -hemete -mone me  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 vt aux pron vi aux pron

*amani yome me nabiwa mati*  
 ama -ni yomee me na- ahaba -waha+F mati  
 SEC BKG+F jaguar 3PL.S CAUS die change 3PL.S  
 sec nm pron vt pron

## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

'He shot it. They yelled, because they had finally killed the jaguar.'

25 *Noko kowiwi*  
 noko kowi -wi  
 eye+M be deep DUP  
 pn vi

'Its eyes were sunken.'

26 *Ino ta tokanematamona ahi , mera*  
 ino taa to- ka- -na -himata -mona ahi , mera  
 tooth protrude CH COMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M then 3PL.O  
 nm vi aux dem pron

*yoyobi kanaba toari*  
 yo- yobi ka- na nahaba to- ha -haari  
 DUP go back and forth COMIT AUX at night CH AUX IP.E+M  
 vi aux aux

'It had protruding teeth, as it came to them at night.'

27 *Abawematamonaka waha*  
 ahaba -waha -himata -mona -ka waha  
 die change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now  
 vi prt

'It finally died.'

28 *Me hikabamatate ?*  
 me hi- kaba.NOM+M -mata -te  
 3PL.S OC eat short time ?  
 pron vt

'Did they eat it?'

29 *Faya me totokawa toemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me to- to- ka -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S DUP away go/come change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi aux dem

*yama me yete nabone mati , yome me*  
 yama me yete na -habone mati yomee me  
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX INT+F 3PL.S jaguar 3PL.O  
 nf pron vt aux pron nm pron

*kakanakome hia mati*  
 ka- ka- na- komeha hi- to- ha+F mati  
 DUP COMIT CAUS be fearsome OC CH AUX 3PL.O  
 vt aux pron

'Then they started going out hunting again, the ones who the jaguar had made afraid.'

30 *Yome me hikanakome me , yome me yome*  
 yomee me hi- ka- na- komeha me , yomee me yomee  
 jaguar 3PL.O OC COMIT CAUS be fearsome 3PL.O jaguar 3PL jaguar  
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron nm

*me horo nemetemone ahi*  
 me horo na -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S drag AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vt aux dem

'The jaguar had made them afraid. They dragged the jaguar.'

## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

31 *Yome bato imaremetemone wawa naba*  
 yomee bato ima -ra -hemete -mone wa- waa na nahaba  
 jaguar downstream be fat NEG FP.N+F REP+F DUP stand AUX at night  
 nm nf vi vi aux

*toineni*

to- ha -ne -ni  
 CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 aux

'The downstream jaguar was not fat. It was going around at night.'

32 *Fa kakeha abe e kabineke haro*  
 faha ka -kI+F abe ee kaba -ne -ke haaro  
 water go/come coming creature+F 1IN.S eat CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 nf vi pn pron vt dem

, *fa kakeharo bai me fehe bai*  
 faha ka -kI -haaro , bahi me fehe , bahi  
 water go/come coming IP.E+F thunder 3PL.POSS water+F thunder  
 nf vi nm pron pn nm

*me ka aba mati*  
 me ka aba mati  
 3PL POSS fish sp 3PL  
 pron prt nm pron

'We eat the creatures of the rain, the rain of the thunder, the *aba* fish of the thunder.'

33 *Bai me abe e kabineke haro*  
 bahi me abe ee kaba -ne -ke haaro  
 thunder 3PL.POSS creature+F 1IN.S eat CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 nm pron pn pron vt dem

*aba me me titisa hihararo*  
 aba me me ti- tisa hi- to- ha -ra -haaro  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP shoot with arrow OC CH AUX NEG IP.E+F  
 nm pron pron vt aux

'We eat the creatures of the thunder. People didn't used to spear *aba* fish before.'

34 *Aba me yama naboka amake*  
 aba me yama na- boka+F ama -ke  
 fish sp 3PL.O thing CAUS enter water SEC DECL+F  
 nm pron nf vt sec

'The thunder throws the *aba* fish in the water.'

35 *Bai me fe abe e kabineke*  
 bahi me fehe abe ee kaba -ne -ke  
 thunder 3PL.POSS water+F creature+F 1IN.S eat CONT+F DECL+F  
 nm pron pn pn pron vt

'We eat the creatures of the water of the thunder.'

36 *Bai ati kite ebene amaka*  
 bahi ati kita+M ebene ama -ka  
 thunder voice be strong creature+M be DECL+M  
 nm pn vi pn vc

'They are the creatures of the loud thunder.'

37 *Maka maka ebene amakara*  
 maka maka ebene ama -ka -ra+M  
 monster monster creature+M be DECL+M NEG  
 nm nm pn vc

'They are not the creatures of the *maka* monster.'

## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

38 *Maka*      *maka*      *ebene*      *amane* .  
 maka      maka      ebene      ama -ne  
 monster    monster    creature+M    be    BKG+M  
 nm      nm      pn      vc

'They are the creatures of the *maka* monster.'

39 *Maka*      *ebene*      *amaka* .  
 maka      ebene      ama -ka  
 monster    creature+M    be    DECL+M  
 nm      pn      vc

'They are the creatures of the *maka* monster.'

40 *Maka*      *ebene*      *bokaka*      ,      *bai*      *me*  
 maka      ebene      boka      -ka      ,      bahi      me  
 monster    creature+M    enter water    DECL+M      thunder    3PL.POSS  
 nm      pn      vi      nm      pron

*ihi*

ihi

because of+F

post

'The creatures of the *maka* monster go into the water because of the thunder.'

41 *Yama*      *aba*      *me*      *kakawina*      *yokana*      *amani* .  
 yama      aba      me      ka- ka-      wina      yokana      ama -ni  
 thing      fish sp    3PL.POSS    DUP COMIT    live      true      be    BKG+F  
 nf      nm      pron      pn      adj      vc

'The *maka* monster lives with the *aba* fish.'

42 *Hiyama*      ,      *hiyama*      *ota*  
 hiyama      ,      hiyama      otaa  
 white-lipped peccary      white-lipped peccary      1EX.S  
 nm      nm      pron

*kabatasibanake*

kaba -tasa+F -bana -ke      *hari*  
 eat again    FUT    DECL+F      haari  
 vt      dem

'We will eat white-lipped peccaries again.'

43 *E*      *e*      *amake*      *hiyama* .  
 ee      ee      ama -ke      hiyama  
 1IN    1IN.COMPL    be    DECL+F      white-lipped peccary  
 pron    pron      vc      nm

'The white-lipped peccary is a person.'

44 *E*      *amani*      *hiyama*      ,      *awi* .  
 ee      ama -ni      hiyama      ,      awi  
 1IN.COMPL    be    BKG+F      white-lipped peccary      tapir  
 pron      vc      nm      nm

'The white-lipped peccary is a person, also the tapir.'

45 *Awi*      *e*      *e*      *korimari*      *yokana*      *amake*      *faro*      *awi* .  
 awi      ee      ee      korimari      yokana      ama -ke      faaro      awi  
 tapir    1IN    1IN.POSS    spirit      true      be    DECL+F      that+F    tapir  
 nm      pron    pron      pn      adj      vc      dem      nm

'The tapir is the spirit of people.'

## THE SKINNY JAGUAR

46 *Awi owa oke ha owa ta*  
 awi o- awa o- ke haa owa taa  
 tapir 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG contrast  
 nm vt prt dem pron prt

'I myself have seen the tapir.'

47 *Hiyama me inamati mowa hinemetemone*  
 hiyama me inamati mowa hi- na -hemete -mone  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O spirit fight OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron nm vt aux

*okobi me na hiamaro me amani*  
 o- ka abi me ati na hi- to- ha -hamaro me ama -ni  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.O say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC BKG+F  
 nm pron vt aux pron sec

'A spirit made the white-lipped peccaries run, my father used to say.'

48 *Awa kori yaboha tama neno hiyama me*  
 awa kori yabo+F tama na -hino hiyama me  
 tree naked+F be long hold onto AUX IP.N+M white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
 nf pn vt vt aux nm pron

*kosi nematamona na hiemarika ahi*  
 kosi na -himata -mona ati na hi- to- ha -himari -ka ahi  
 flail AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then  
 vt aux aux aux dem

'It whipped the peccaries with a long peeled stick, he used to say.'

49 *Hiyama yawa me toa me komeha me*  
 hiyama yawa me to- ha+F me komeha+F me  
 white-lipped peccary enemies 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S be fearsome 3PL.O  
 nm nf pron vc pron vi pron

*inamati rewe nematamona okobi aati*  
 inamati rewe na -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati  
 spirit wave AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say  
 nm vt aux nm vt

*toemari*  
 to- ha -himari  
 CH AUX FP.E+M  
 aux

'The spirit waved the stick at the stirred up peccaries that were fearsome, my father used to say.'

50 *Me tabori inimaro Bowata weye*  
 me tabori ini -maro Bowata weye  
 3PL.POSS place+F name+F FP.E+F (woman's name) carry  
 pron pn pn npropf vt

*nineti Awa Iti*  
 na -ne -tee.NOM Awa Iti  
 AUX CONT+F HAB (woman's name)  
 aux npropf

'Bowata has the name of their place, Awa Iti.'

51 *Awa Iti abemetemone hinamaroke*  
 Awa Iti abe -mete -mone ati hi- na -hamaro -ke  
 (name of place) inhabitant+F FP.N+F REP+F say OC AUX FP.E+F DECL+F  
 npropf pn vt

'He said they live at Awa Iti.'





## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

### *Free Translation*

People used to tell about the man from Awita Fa, who the others made fun of, who the women caused trouble for.<sup>75</sup>

They stayed with a heard of white-lipped peccaries until nightfall. They came back with the news about the peccaries.

He didn't hurry up. He had coated blowgun darts and arrows with poison, and had gotten the bow ready. He had two wives. There were many arrows. He went behind the others carrying many arrows, behind the ones going after the peccaries. He came upon them as they were listening to the voices of the peccaries.

"What about them?" he said.

"They said they heard the voices of the peccaries, and they are standing there planning against them," his father-in-law said.

"Friend, give me an arrow. Do the arrows that you coated have a thick coating?" he said. He always made fun of him.

"I have the arrows that I have been coating."

He pulled out an arrow that didn't have any poison on it.

"Right, woman. Ah, you go ahead and use it to kill one. You can kill one with that."

He went after the others.

"Right, you go on after the peccaries. I'm going to stay sitting here," he said.

They went after the peccaries.

His father-in-law came back. "Are you sitting here?"

"I am sitting here."

"I came to get you so that we can look for the two peccaries that I shot," he said.

"You can look for the peccaries. Give me the bow," he said. "Which way did they go?" he said.

"The peccaries went that way, to the headwaters of the Awita Fa stream."

"I will go take a look at them," he said.

He took the bow and went. He ran fast. He went and heard the voices of the peccaries. The others didn't see him. He started the peccaries up. He headed them off, after having started them up. He shot them with arrows.

"That one is a female."

"That one is a male."

"That is a fat one." His voice could be heard.

"That one is pregnant." As he shot the arrows, his voice could be heard.

He shot many peccaries, and then his arrows were all gone. His arrows were all gone, and he looked for the peccaries. He looked for the peccaries, and piled up the peccaries. He carried the peccaries to one location.

He counted the arrows. Some of the peccaries he had killed were missing, so he went out again, and he found the dead peccaries. He brought two peccaries. He counted the pieces of the

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<sup>75</sup> This refers to the fact that the man from Awita Fa married the women who another man had wanted to marry, and this man was always making fun of him because he did not go out to hunt and fish like the other men.

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

arrows again. He lay the arrows on the peccaries [matching the number of peccaries with the number of arrows].

"The one that this one killed is not here."

He went out again. He found another peccary, and brought the peccary back.

It took a long time for him to tie up the peccaries, but he tied them up. He also tied up the bundle of two that he planned to use against the one who always made fun of him.

He carried the peccaries to the stream. He carried the peccaries, and put the peccaries in the water. He also killed two young peccaries, and carried them on his shoulder on two ends of his bow.

Then he left the peccaries behind. He ran. He came and stood in the village listening to the people.

They called to each other. "Older brother," one of them said. "Older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, has our nephew come back?"

"Our nephew has not come back. He disappeared. He's not familiar with the forest."

As he was standing roasting peccary meat on a rack, he was speaking. "Friend, they are talking about the one who isn't familiar with the forest. He got lost," he said.

Then when the conversation died down, he came into the longhouse. When he came in, one of them spoke.

"Oh," he said. "There are only young ones."

"I killed two of the young of the peccaries that you killed, and I have brought them," he said.

"I didn't kill any peccaries, and have come back," he said. He didn't say anything else [about the many peccaries he killed].

He ate the breast meat of the peccaries that his father-in-law and the others had shot. They took snuff, and then slept.

He spoke to his wives at night. "Go pick up the peccary that is in the water. Go with your father. There is just one peccary," he said. "You come back quickly," he said.

"You go after the peccaries that are in the water. Many people should go," he said [telling the truth finally]. "I will go behind you."

He would go after them, and they went into the forest.

She called her father. "Father, let's go after the peccary," she said. "The peccary reportedly is in the water," she said. "He said many of us should go," she said. "Call people to go," she said.

He called them to go. They went in spite of their sleepiness. They got up.

So they found the peccaries. The sound of the water flowing could be heard.

His brother-in-law spoke. "Wow, the Awita Fa stream never had a sound before, but my brother-in-law has made it have a sound now. Don't you know?" he said.

Then he went there, the owner of the peccaries. He went, and he came out at the place where the others were taking the peccaries out of the water. He put the peccaries on the bank of the stream.

They brought them back. "I want this one for myself, because it is not big for me to carry," he said, the one who always made fun of him.

"No, you will take these here. I will help you right away," he said [lying].

He had tied up several pregnant peccaries. He got tired out because of him. He didn't make fun of him anymore after that.

Then they ate the peccaries.

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Awita Fa</b> Awita Fa (name of stream) npropm	<b>yafi</b> yafi inhabitant of pn	<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron
	<b>sa</b> saa shoot with arrow vt	<b>nematamona</b> na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kakamina</b> ka- kamina DUP tell vt
	<b>hiemarika</b> hi- to- ha -himari -ka OC CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kakasawari</b> ka- ka- sawari DUP COMIT frustrate vt	<b>hiari</b> hi- to- ha -haari OC CH AUX IP.E+M aux
	<b>me fanawi</b> me fanawi women nf	<b>hiyokoari</b> hi- yoko OC bring misfortune on vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron

'People used to tell about the man from Awita Fa, who the others made fun of, who the women caused trouble for.'

2	<b>Hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kanakayomani</b> ka- na- kayoma -hani COMIT CAUS darken IP.N+F vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
	<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kanakayoma</b> ka- na- kayoma+F COMIT CAUS darken vt	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
	<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>namoni</b> namoni report pn	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>kama</b> ka -ma+F go/come back vi
	<b>sasawiba</b> sa- sawi -ba DUP be present without stopping vi	<b>nematamona</b> na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>ni</b> ni to prt

'They stayed with a heard of white-lipped peccaries until nightfall. They came back with the news about the peccaries. He didn't hurry up.'

3	<b>Wati</b> wati arrow nm	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem	<b>sare</b> sarehe blowgun dart nf	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem	<b>sare</b> sarehe blowgun dart nf	<b>were</b> were coat vt
	<b>kawaha</b> ka- na -waha.LIST COMIT AUX change aux	<b>wati</b> wati arrow nm	<b>were</b> were coat vt	<b>kana</b> ka- na.LIST COMIT AUX aux	<b>were</b> were coat vt	<b>were</b> were coat vt
	<b>titisa</b> ti- tisa.LIST 2SG.S shoot with arrow nf	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>fafamawa</b> fa- fama -waha DUP be two change vi	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>fafamawa</b> fa- fama -waha DUP be two change vi	<b>were</b> were coat vt
	<b>toarawemetemoneke</b> to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux	<b>wati</b> wati arrow nm	<b>were</b> were coat vt	<b>kana</b> ka- na.LIST COMIT AUX aux	<b>were</b> were coat vt	<b>were</b> were coat vt

'He coated blowgun darts and arrows with poison, and got the bow ready. He had two wives.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

4 *Wati tamematamonaka ahi*  
 wati tama -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 arrow be many FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vi dem

'There were many arrows.'

5 *Wati tame towake ka wati tiwa kani*  
 wati tama+M to- ka- ka+M ka wati tiwa ka- na.NFIN  
 arrow be many away COMIT go/come POSS arrow carry COMIT AUX  
 nm vi vt prt nm vt aux

*yotohimatamona me nowati ya me , hiyama*  
 yoto -himata -mona me nowati ya me , hiyama  
 follow FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.POSS behind ADJU 3PL white-lipped peccary  
 vi pron pn prt pron nm

*me me tonaka me nowati ya*  
 me me to- na- ka+F me nowati ya  
 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come 3PL.POSS behind ADJU  
 pron pron vt pron pn prt

'He went behind the others carrying many arrows, behind the ones going after the peccaries.'

6 *Me toka me nowati ya , hiyama*  
 me to- ka+F me nowati ya , hiyama  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.POSS behind ADJU white-lipped peccary  
 pron vi pron pn prt nm

*me ati me kamitani mera*  
 me ati me ka- mita -hani mera  
 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S COMIT hear IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 pron pn pron vt pron

*towasimakematamona*  
 to- wasi -makI -himata -mona  
 away find following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt

'He came upon them as they were listening to the voices of the peccaries.'

7 *Fa mera ? ati nematamonane*  
 faa me -ra ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 that 3PL NPQ say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 dem pron vt aux

""What about them?" he said.'

8 *Hiyama me ati saihamone me me*  
 hiyama me ati sai -hamone me me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice be heard REP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn vi pron pron

*wati kana me naoneni kokori*  
 wati ka- na+F me naho -ne -ni kokori  
 plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S stand CONT+F BKG+F 3SG.POSS.father-in-law  
 vt aux pron vi nm

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

""They said they heard the voices of the peccaries, and they are standing there planning against them," his father-in-law said.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

9 *Ani oko watiba owa tekawa*  
 ani o- ka wati -ba owa ti- ka- kawa  
 friend 1SG.POSS POSS arrow FUT 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to  
 voc prt nm pron vt

"Friend, give me an arrow."

10 *Wati were tikane wati ime awa ati*  
 wati were ti- ka- na+M wati ima+M awa ati  
 arrow coat 2SG.S COMIT AUX arrow be coated seem+M say  
 nm vt aux nm vi sec vt

*nematamonaka he kakasawari toari*  
 na -himata -mona -ka hee ka- ka- sawari to- ha -haari  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.O DUP COMIT frustrate CH AUX IP.E+M  
 aux pron vt aux

"Do the arrows that you coated have a thick coating?" he said. He always made fun of him.'

11 *Wati were onofe tama okine ha*  
 wati were o- na nofa+M tama o- ka- na -ne haa  
 arrow coat 1SG.S AUX recently hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F DEM  
 nm vt aux vt aux

"I have the arrows that I have been coating."

12 *Wati ino korone soba nakematamonane*  
 wati ino korone soba na -kI -himata -mona -ne  
 arrow point+M naked+M pull out AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm pn pn vt aux

'He pulled out an arrow that didn't have any poison on it.'

13 *Ee fanawi*  
 ee fanawi  
 yes woman  
 interj adj

"Right, woman."

14 *Haa , ene te tisa namataya*  
 haa ehene tee tisa na -mata+M -ya  
 oh victim of+M 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX short time now  
 interj pn pron vt aux

"Ah, you go ahead and use it to kill one."

15 *Ene te tisa nayaho ati*  
 ehene tee tisa na -yaho ati  
 victim of+M 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX DIST.IMP+M say  
 pn pron vt aux vt

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

"You can kill one with that."

16 *Faya tokomakematamonaka fahi*  
 faya to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'He went after the others.'



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

25 *Owitari*

o- ita -rI  
1SG.S sit raised surface  
vi

"I am sitting here."

26 *Hiyama*

	<i>me</i>	<i>onafama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>siba</i>
hiyama	me	o- na- fama+F	me	ee	siba
white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	1SG.S CAUS be two	3PL.O	1IN.S	look for
nm	pron	vt	pron	pron	vt

*nabone*

<i>tiwa</i>	<i>onakamine</i>	<i>oni</i>	<i>ati</i>
na -habone	tiwa o- na- ka -ma -ne	o- ni	ati
AUX INT+F	2SG.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back CONT+F	1SG.S BKG+F	say
aux	pron vt	prt	vt

*nematamonaha*

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

"I came to get you so that we can look for the two peccaries that I shot," he said.'

27 *Hiyama*

	<i>me</i>	<i>sisiba</i>	<i>tiyahi</i>
hiyama	me	si- siba	ti- na -yahi
white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	DUP look for	2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
nm	pron	vt	aux

"You can look for the peccaries."

28 *Titisa*

	<i>owa</i>	<i>tekawahi</i>	<i>ati</i>
ti- tisa	owa	ti- ka- kawa -hi	ati
DUP shoot with arrow	1SG.O	2SG.S COMIT give something to IMP+F	say
nf	pron	vt	vt

*nematamonaha*

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

"Give me the bow," he said.'

29 *Hibaka*

<i>me</i>	<i>tokomariya</i>	<i>ati</i>
hibaka me	to- ka -ma -ri -ya	ati
where 3PL.S	away go/come back CQ+F now	say
interrog pron	vi	vt

*nematamonaka*

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

"Which way did they go?" he said.'

30 *Hiyama*

	<i>me</i>	<i>tokomi</i>	<i>ahi</i>
hiyama	me	to- ka -ma.NOM+F	ahi
white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	away go/come back	there
nm	pron	vi	dem

*Awita Fa*

	<i>tati</i>
Awita Fa	tati
(name of stream)	headwaters
npropm	pn

"The peccaries went that way, to the headwaters of the Awita Fa stream."



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

31 *Me totowamake omatibeya ati*  
 me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be -ya ati  
 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now say  
 pron vt aux vt

*nematamonaka*  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'I will go take a look at them,' he said.'

32 *Faya titisa wara tone tokomake bete*  
 faya ti- tisa wara to- na+M to- ka -makI bete  
 so DUP shoot with arrow grab CH AUX away go/come following run  
 conj nf vt aux vi vi

*nawahematamonaka fahi*  
 na -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He took the bow and went. He ran fast.'

33 *Bete nawahe , hiyama me ati*  
 bete na -waha+M , hiyama me ati  
 run AUX change white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice  
 vi aux nm pron pn

*tomitamakimata awaka , awehimata*  
 to- mita -makI -himata awa -ka , awa -himata ,  
 away hear following FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M see FP.N+M  
 vt sec result

*hiyama mera yaro kanebanoho*  
 hiyama mera yaro ka- na -hiba -no -ho  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O start COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm pron vt aux

'He ran fast. He went and heard the voices of the peccaries. The others didn't see him. He started the peccaries up.'

34 *Me yaro hikanemetemoneke*  
 me yaro hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O start OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vt aux

'He started them up.'

35 *Me nokosi hikahitiemetemone ahi me yaro*  
 me nokosi hi- kahiti -hemete -mone ahi me yaro  
 3PL.POSS in front of OC take first FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.O start  
 pron pn vt dem pron vt

*hikana mati*  
 hi- ka- na+F mati  
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O  
 aux pron

'He headed them off, after having started them up.'

36 *Me tisa hinemetemone ahi*  
 me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.O shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vt aux dem

'He shot them.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

37 *Fana*      *amake*              *haro*  
 fana      ama -ke      haaro  
 female be DECL+F      that one+F  
 nf      vc      dem

'''That one is a female.'''

38 *Maki*      *amane*  
 maki      ama -ne  
 male be BKG+M  
 nm      vc

'''That one is a male.'''

39 *Kokorobi*      *amane*              *hari*  
 kokorobi      ama -ne      haari  
 fat      be BKG+M      that one+M  
 adj      vc      dem

'''That is a fat one.'''

40 *Ati*      *saihimatamona*  
 ati      sai      -himata -mona  
 voice be heard FP.N+M      REP+M  
 pn      vi

'His voice could be heard.'

41 *Naba*      *amake*              *haro*  
 naba      ama -ke      haaro  
 pregnant be DECL+F      that one+F  
 adj      vc      dem

'''That one is pregnant.'''

42 *Wati*      *tisa*                      *ne*      *ati*      *saihimatamona*              *ahi*  
 wati      tisa                      na+M      ati      sai      -himata -mona      ahi  
 arrow shoot with bow      AUX      voice      be heard FP.N+M      REP+M      then  
 nm      vt                      aux      pn      vi                      dem

'As he shot the arrows, his voice could be heard.'

43 *Hiyama*                      *me*      *tama*              *mera*      *tisa*                      *ne*  
 hiyama                      me      tama+F      mera      tisa                      na+M  
 white-lipped peccary      3PL.S      be many      3PL.O      shoot with arrow      AUX  
 nm                      pron      vi      pron      vt                      aux

*hinaka*      *wati*      ,      *tofiyomatamonakana*                      *ahi*  
 hinaka      wati      ,      to- fiyo                      -himata -mona -ka      -na      ahi  
 3SG.POSS      arrow      CH      be all gone      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M      IRR+M      then  
 pron      nm      vi                      dem

'He shot many peccaries, and then his arrows were all gone.'

44 *Hinaka*      *wati*      *tofiyo*                      ,      *hiyama*                      *me*      *siba*  
 hinaka      wati      to- fiyo+M                      ,      hiyama                      me      siba  
 3SG.POSS      arrow      CH      be all gone                      white-lipped peccary      3PL.O      look for  
 pron      nm      vi                      nm                      pron      vt

*nawebanoho*  
 na -waha -hiba -no      -ho  
 AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M      DUP  
 aux

'His arrows were all gone, and he looked for the peccaries.'



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

50 *He ehene watare ama ha*  
 hee ehene wata -ra+M ama haa  
 3SG.POSS victim of+M exist NEG SEC DEM  
 pron pn vi sec dem

"The one that this one killed is not here."

51 *Tokomatasakane ahi*  
 to- ka -ma -tasa -kane ahi  
 away go/come back again ?+M then  
 vi dem

'He went out again.'

52 *Hiyama towasimatase hiyama*  
 hiyama to- wasi -ma -tasa+M hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary away find back again white-lipped peccary  
 nm vt nm

*kakamatasakane ahi*  
 ka- ka -ma -tasa -kane ahi  
 COMMIT go/come back again ?+M then  
 vt dem

'He found another peccary, and brought the peccary back.'

53 *Hiyama me wete ni nawa mera wete*  
 hiyama me wete na.NFIN nawaha.LIST mera wete  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O tie AUX take a long time 3PL.O tie  
 nm pron vt aux vi pron vt

*na namata*  
 na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX AUX short time  
 aux aux

'It took a long time for him to tie up the peccaries, but he tied them up.'

54 *He kakasawari toe taibona ra wete*  
 hee ka- ka- sawari to- ha+M tahi -bona ra wete  
 3SG.O DUP COMMIT frustrate CH AUX weapon against INT+M O tie  
 pron vt aux pn prt vt

*kamisa nematamonaka*  
 ka- na -misa.LIST na -himata -mona -ka  
 COMMIT AUX up AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux aux

'He also tied up the bundle of two that he planned to use against the one who always made fun of him.'

55 *Hiyama me iso ne hiyama*  
 hiyama me iso na+M hiyama  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry off AUX white-lipped peccary  
 nm pron vt aux nm

*me iso ne faha ya hiyama me iso*  
 me iso na+M faha ya hiyama me iso  
 3PL.O carry off AUX water ADJU white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry off  
 pron vt aux nf prt nm pron vt

*ne hiyama me so*  
 na+M hiyama me soo  
 AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O lie  
 aux nm pron vi

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

*nifihimatamonahane*

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

'He carried the peccaries to the stream. He carried the peccaries, and put the peccaries in the water.'

56 *Hiyama* *biti* *me* *nabowikima* , *me*  
hiyama biti me na- aboha -kima.LIST me  
white-lipped peccary young+M 3PL.O CAUS die two 3PL.O  
nm adj pron vt pron

*tiwa* *hikanabani* *mati*  
tiwa hi- ka- na -haba -ni mati  
carry OC COMIT AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.O  
vt aux pron

'He also killed two young peccaries, and carried them on his shoulder on two ends of his bow.'

57 *Faya* *hiyama* *me* *kakosematamonaka*  
faya hiyama me ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
conj nm pron vt

*fahi*  
fahi  
then  
dem

'Then he left the peccaries behind.'

58 *Bete* *nawemata* *awane*  
bete na -waha -himata awa -ne  
run AUX change FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
vi aux sec

'He ran.'

59 *Kamaki* *wamakemata* *awaka* *me* *ati*  
ka -makI+M waa -makI -himata awa -ka me ati  
go/come following stand following FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL.POSS voice  
vi vi sec pron pn  
*kamitari* , *me* *ibe* *haha* *nibeni* *ya*  
ka- mita -haari me ibe haha haa niha- -na -be -ni ya  
COMIT hear IP.E+M 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP call CAUS DUP FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU  
vt pron pn vt aux prt

'He came and stood in the village listening to the people. They called to each other.'

60 *Ayo* *ati* *nematamonaka* *owa* , *ayo*  
ayo ati na -himata -mona -ka owa ayo  
older brother say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M other+M older brother  
nm vt aux adj nm

""Older brother," one of them said. "Older brother.""

61 *Haa* ?  
haa  
huh?  
interj  
""Huh?""

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

62 *Ayo e ka koma kamaki* ?  
 ayo ee ka koma ka -makI+M  
 older brother 1IN POSS nephew go/come following  
 nm pron prt nm vi

"Brother, has our nephew come back?"

63 *E ka koma kamakire fawa namaki*  
 ee ka koma ka -makI -ra+M fawa na -makI+M  
 1IN POSS nephew go/come following NEG disappear AUX following  
 pron prt nm vi vi aux

*awaterahani*

awa -tee -ra -hani  
 see HAB NEG IP.N+F  
 result

"Our nephew has not come back. He disappeared. He's not familiar with the forest."

64 *Hiyama tabasi ne ati kawe ati*  
 hiyama tabasi na+M ati ka- waa+M , ati  
 white-lipped peccary roast on grill AUX voice COMIT stand voice  
 nm vt aux pn vt pn

*yana kanematamona*

yana ka- na -himata -mona  
 start COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi aux

'As he was standing roasting peccary meat on a rack, he was speaking.'

65 *Ani yama awatera ini me hiri na me ati*  
 ani yama awa -tee -ra+F ini me hiri na+F me ati  
 friend thing see HAB NEG name+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS voice  
 voc nf result pn pron vt aux pron pn

*saine*

sai -ne  
 be heard CONT+F  
 vi

"Friend, they are talking about the one who isn't familiar with the forest."

66 *Tosawariha ati nematamonane*  
 to- sawari+F ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 CH get lost say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi vt aux

"He got lost," he said.'

67 *Faya yama fafawa kawi ya*  
 faya yama fa- fawa ka- na -waha.NOM+F ya  
 so thing DUP disappear COMIT AUX change ADJU  
 conj nf vi aux prt

*kiyomamakimatamonaka*

ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'Then when the conversation died down, he came into the house.'

68 *Kiyomamakimatamonane*  
 ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He came into the house.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

69 *Kiyomamaki*  
 ka -yoma -makI+M ni ya ati yana  
 go/come through following to ADJU voice start  
 vi prt prt pn vi

*kanematamonane*  
 ka- na -himata -mona -ne  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'When he came in, one of them spoke.'

70 *Aa ati nematamona*  
 aa ati na -himata -mona  
 aha say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 interj vt aux

""Oh," he said.'

71 *Biti me ihibarani*  
 biti me iha+F -barani  
 young+M 3PL.S be located only  
 adj pron vi

""There are only young ones.""

72 *Hiyama me te nabiani me ka matehe*  
 hiyama me tee na- ahaba -hani me ka matehe  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 2PL.S CAUS die IP.N+F 3PL POSS children  
 nm pron pron vi pron prt nf

*onabowikima owakamakine oni*  
 o- na- aboha -kima+F o- ka- ka -makI -ne o- ni  
 1SG.S CAUS die two 1SG.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vt vt prt

*ati nematamona*  
 ati na -himata -mona  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

""I killed two of the young of the peccaries that you killed, and I have brought them," he said.'

73 *Hiyama me hiyama me tisa*  
 hiyama me hiyama me tisa  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow  
 nm pron nm pron vt

*ona okomakine oni ati*  
 o- na+F o- ka -makI -ne o- ni ati  
 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say  
 aux vi prt vt

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

""I didn't kill any peccaries, and have come back," he said.'

74 *Ati watare ati watarematamonaka*  
 ati wata -ra+M ati wata -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 voice exist NEG voice exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pn vi pn vi

'He didn't say anything else.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

75 *Hinaka koma hiyama me me* ,  
 hinaka koma hiyama me me  
 3SG.POSS son-in-law white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron nm nm pron pron  
*sa hina me baki kabamakematamona*  
 saa hi- na+F me baki kaba -makI -himata -mona  
 shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.POSS chest+F eat following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux pron pn vt  
*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'He ate the breast meat of the peccaries that his father-in-law and the others had shot.'

76 *Faya me faya me sina me hisi na me me amo*  
 faya me faya me sina me hisi na+F me me amo  
 so 3PL so 3PL snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep  
 conj pron conj pron nf pron vt aux pron pron vi  
*nawemetemoneke fahi*  
 na -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They took snuff, and then slept.'

77 *Faya fati hiyara nabematamonaka*  
 faya fati hiyara na nahaba -himata -mona -ka  
 so 3SG.POSS.wife speak to AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj nf vt aux

'He spoke to his wives at night.'

78 *Hiyama hofe te totiwite*  
 hiyama hofa+M tee to- iti -witI  
 white-lipped peccary be in water 2PL.S away pick up out  
 nm vi pron vt

""Go pick up the peccary that is in the water.""

79 *Abi te taba*  
 abi tee taba  
 2SG.POSS.father 2PL.S be together  
 nm pron vi

""Go with your father.""

80 *Hiyama tamararene ati nematamonaha*  
 hiyama tama -ra -hare -ne ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 white-lipped peccary be many NEG IP.E+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm vi vt aux

""There is just one peccary," he said.'

81 *Hiyama tamarare*  
 hiyama tama -ra -hare  
 white-lipped peccary be many NEG IP.E+M  
 nm vi

""There is just one peccary.""



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

82 *Te kakamakabote nibeya ati nematamona*  
tee ka- ka -ma -kabote na -be -ya ati na -himata -mona  
2PL.S COMIT go/come back quickly AUX IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vi aux vt aux

'"You come back quickly," he said.'

83 *Hiyama me so nife me te*  
hiyama me soo na -fI me tee  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S lie AUX water 3PL.O 2PL.S  
nm pron vi aux pron pron

*tonaka*

to- na- ka  
away CAUS go/come  
vt

'"You go after the peccaries that are in the water."'

84 *Te te tamahi ati nematamonaha*  
tee tee tama -hi ati na -himata -mona -ha  
2PL 2PL.S be many IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
pron pron vi vt aux

'"Many people should go," he said.'

85 *Okomakebana o te nowati*  
o- to- ka -makI -habana o- , tee nowati  
1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S 2PL.POSS behind  
vi prt pron pn

'"I will go behind you."'

86 *Faya tokomakebona , me tokemetemone*  
faya to- ka -makI -hibona , me to- ka -hemete -mone  
so away go/come following INT+M 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
conj vi pron vi

'He would go after them, and they went into the forest.'

87 *Faya bati ha na , Abi hiyamamona*  
faya bati haa na+F , abi hiyama -mona  
so 3SG.POSS.father call AUX father white-lipped peccary REP+M  
conj nm vt aux nm nm

*e tonakamatahi ati nemetemone*  
ee to- na- ka -mata -hi ati na -hemete -mone  
1IN.S away CAUS go/come short time IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
pron vt vt aux

'She called her father. "Father, let's go after the peccary," she said.'

88 *Hiyama hofemonaha ati*  
hiyama hofa -himona -ha ati  
white-lipped peccary be in water REP+M DUP say  
nm vi vt

*nemetemoneni*

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

'"The peccary reportedly is in the water," she said.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

89 *E tamabone* , *e tamabone* *ati narene*  
 ee tama -habone ee tama -habone ati na -hare -ne  
 1IN.S be many INT+F 1IN.S be many INT+F say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M  
 pron vi pron vi vt aux

*ati nemetemoneke*  
 ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

"He said many of us should go," she said.'

90 *Me hima tinahi* *ati nemetemoneni*  
 me hima ti- na -hi ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O call to go 2SG.S AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vt aux vt aux

"Call people to go," she said.'

91 *Me hima hina me* , *nokobisa me*  
 me hima hi- na+F me nokobisa me  
 3PL.O call to go OC AUX 3PL.O sleepiness 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron nf pron

*hi remetemone amake*  
 hii na -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 do something in spite of AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 vt aux sec

'He called them to go. They went in spite of their sleepiness.'

92 *Faya me yana nemetemone fahi*  
 faya me yana na -hemete -mone fahi  
 so 3PL.S get up AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj pron vi aux dem

'They got up.'

93 *Babakayo kimi wati kanaka*  
 babakayo kimi wati ka- na -ka  
 parrot sp corn go after COMMIT AUX DECL+M  
 nm nm vt aux

'The parrot wants the corn.'

94 *Bai tokaka hari*  
 bahi to- ka -ka haari  
 sun away go/come DECL+M that one+M  
 nm vi dem

'The sun is going down.'

95 *Faya hiyama me me towasiwitimetemone*  
 faya hiyama me me to- wasi -witI.NOM -mete -mone  
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S away find out FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj nm pron pron vt

'So they found the peccaries.'

96 *Fa moni sororo kanemetemone fahi*  
 faha moni soro -ro ka- na -hemete -mone fahi  
 water sound flow DUP COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nf pn vi aux dem

'The sound of the water flowing could be heard.'





THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (1)

*fahi* .  
fahi  
then  
dem

'He didn't make fun of him anymore after that.'

110 *Me* , *me* *me* *hikabawemetemoneke*  
me , me me hi- kaba -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron pron pron vt

*hiyama* *mati* .  
hiyama mati  
white-lipped peccary 3PL  
nm pron

'Then they ate the peccaries.'

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *Free Translation*

*Note: There are two main characters in this story, both young men. Neither one is named in the story, but one is described as **he kakasawari** 'the mocker', because he is always mocking the other one, a foreigner from Awita Fa, who he sees as lazy.*

Darkness fell as he came back. The foreigner was carrying two young white-lipped peccaries, two dead young peccaries. He expected they would make fun of him. His nephews called to each other.

"Older brother, older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, has our nephew come back?"

"Our nephew has not come back. He has disappeared."

"Friend, they are missing the one who got lost because he is not familiar with the forest. Let him be lost," the mocker said. He was standing roasting peccary meat on a rack.

The foreigner was on the plaza listening to them speaking, and he came into the house. Kisiririri, went the sound of him. The one who was standing roasting peccary meat looked quickly.

He threw the young peccaries down in front of them. "Oh," he said. "They are only young ones. I killed two young of the peccaries that you killed, which were crying, and I have brought them," he said.

He came. He went there. His brothers-in-law took out his arrows, his broken arrows. They took out the broken arrows, the pieces of the arrows he had shot the peccaries with. "Let's take out the arrows of our brother-in-law, the pieces of the arrows he shot the peccaries with," they said. They took out the package of arrows. They pulled out the arrows, the pieces of arrows.

"They are pulling out the arrows that I didn't shoot. I am bringing back the arrows I fell on. I fell on the arrows, and they broke," he said [lying].

They pulled out the arrows. They were only pieces of arrows.

"Let's look at our brother-in-law's pieces of arrows. Put down a couple of sticks on the ground."

They pulled out the arrows. The pieces of arrows all fell out, scattering.

"Wow, our brother-in-law killed a lot of peccaries. Don't you know?"

They shoved the arrows back in the package.

Then they slept. They went after the peccaries the next morning, they who had made fun of him.

"Let's go get the peccary that he said is in the water. Let's go many people," his nephew said.

They called to each other and they went out. They went out after the peccaries. They piled the peccaries up beside the stream. The one who always made fun of him was in the group.

"Mother, I want to go along. I won't carry anything when the others carry peccaries. There must not be many."

"The one who is talking is wanting to be tired," his mother said.

They went into the forest. They took the peccaries out of the stream and put them on the bank. As they were tying up the peccaries, he appeared.

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

"That's the one I will carry. I'm going to carry the young peccary," he said. He wanted the young peccary.

As he was standing there, the foreigner appeared. "No, you carry these others. I will help you," he said. "I will help you right away [when you get tired]."

"All right, you all carry those. I will carry these here."

So they came back carrying the peccaries. He was behind the others carrying the peccaries. They had left him behind. The foreigner was helping him.

"Whew, I'm tired."

"Keep walking. I'm watching you."

He took him. They came along. He sat down to rest. He waited for him.

"You carry them now."

"I will take my turn with them [later]. Don't stop carrying them. I told you I am watching you. I need to urinate. Go on ahead."

He stayed behind, but he didn't urinate. He deceived him. He went after him.

He threw the peccaries down. He looked for the knot of the line that the peccaries were tied with [so he could untie them].

The foreigner came walking fast. He came, and the mocker saw him. He stood there as if doing nothing. He wanted to untie the peccaries, but he couldn't.

"What about them?"

"I'm waiting for you. I want you to untie the peccaries, so we can divide the peccaries."

"Put them back on your back for now. I will take my turn with them [later]. You go on ahead. I'm going to defecate."

He went on. The foreigner kept deceiving him. He was really tired. He was tired, but he kept on. The foreigner followed him. He looked back, carrying the peccaries.

"Keep going. It's not far now."

He started out again, and came on. He came on. He took the peccaries into the longhouse. He threw down the peccaries.

"Whew, I have never been so tired," he said. "I will get revenge."

"Go ahead and get revenge on me," he said.

He sat down and rested. He called the foreigner. "Friend, let's bathe. Let's bathe."

"You go on ahead. You go on ahead to the water."

He got up right away. He went to the water, but no one went after him. He deceived him. He went and bathed, and then came back. He was looking back as he came along.

The next day he took him out hunting. The two of them went into the forest the next day. They went, and they encountered some woolly monkeys. The voices of the monkeys could be heard.

"Is that the voices of animals?" said the mocker.

"It is the voices of animals. It is the voices of woolly monkeys."

They listened to the voices of the monkeys. They twirled blowgun darts in their mouths.

"Shoot them. Shoot them. They will come this way," he said.

"I will shoot them [to make them come toward you]. You watch them."

He went after the monkeys. The mocker waited for him there.

The monkeys didn't move. He didn't make any noise as he stalked the monkeys. He stalked the monkeys without making any noise.

The mocker hit a monkey, and it yelled. He headed the monkeys off. He shot the monkeys as they were walking. The monkeys were falling one after the other because of him. The monkeys were falling in a line. He didn't come. The monkeys didn't see him, and he was shooting them. He

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

didn't come. He was watching the monkeys. He headed a monkey off, and he could be heard coming.

"There is a monkey," the foreigner said.

"I'm chasing the monkey. Shoot my monkey."

The foreigner waited for the monkey as it came.

"Shoot my monkey."

The foreigner broke off the point of the dart [so it would not kill the monkey]. He hit it with the broken off dart. "Come on, I can hear that I hit it. Chase it."

The mocker chased it, but the monkey didn't fall. He shot the monkey again.

Then he stopped making fun of the other one, because the monkeys tired him out.

"I will carry your monkeys. You carry my monkeys. I will carry your monkeys."

He tied up the monkeys. He stood there to carry the monkeys.

"Carry the monkeys. Let's go. I will carry your monkeys."

He carried the monkeys strapped to his shoulder. He carried the monkeys of the one who always criticized him.

They arrived at the village. The monkeys had tired him out again. He threw them down on the ground again.

"Take his monkeys there. I carried them. I'm tired. Take the monkeys away. So that you could get revenge, I carried the monkeys, and they tired me out," said the foreigner [lying].

Then he burned the hair off the monkeys. Then he cut the monkeys up. Finally they ate the monkeys. The other one burned the hair off the monkeys, too.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Kakayomamakematamonaka</b>	<b>kamakihari</b>
	ka- kayoma -makI -himata -mona -ka	ka -makI -haari
	COMIT darken following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	go/come following IP.E+M
	vi	vi

'Darkness fell as he came back.'

2	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tiwa</b>	<b>kana</b>	
	hiyama	biti	me	tiwa	ka- na.LIST	
	white-lipped peccary	offspring	3PL.O	carry	COMIT AUX	
	nm	nm	pron	vt	aux	

  

<b>hiyama</b>	<b>biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>abohi</b>	<b>me</b>
hiyama	biti	me	abohi	me
white-lipped peccary	offspring	3PL.POSS	dead body	3PL.S
nm	nm	pron	pn	pron

  

<b>hikasawaribona</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nari</b>	<b>hinaka</b>	<b>koma</b>	<b>me</b>
hi- ka- sawari -hibona	ati	na -haari	hinaka	koma	me
OC COMIT frustrate INT+M	say	AUX IP.E+M	3SG.POSS	nephew	3PL.POSS
vt	vt	aux	pron	nm	pron

  

<b>ebe</b>	<b>haha</b>	<b>nabani</b>	<b>mati</b>
ebe	ha- haa	na -haba -ni	mati
RECIP	DUP call	AUX FUT+F IP.N+F	3PL.POSS
pn	vt	aux	pron

'He was carrying two young white-lipped peccaries, two dead young peccaries. He expected they would make fun of him. His nephews called to each other.'



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

3 *Ayo* , *ayo*  
 ayo ayo  
 older brother older brother  
 nm nm

"Older brother, older brother."

4 *Haa* ?  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj

"Huh?"

5 *Ayo e ka koma kamaki* ?  
 ayo ee ka koma ka -makI+M  
 older brother 1IN POSS nephew go/come following  
 nm pron prt nm vi

"Brother, has our nephew come back?"

6 *E ka koma kamakire fawa namaki*  
 ee ka koma ka -makI -ra+M fawa na -makI+M  
 1IN POSS nephew go/come following NEG disappear AUX following  
 pron prt nm vi vi aux

"Our nephew has not come back. He has disappeared."

7 *Anihi yama awatera , tabiyo me awi tosawariha*  
 anihi yama awa -tee -ra+F , tabiyo me awa.NOM+F to- sawari+F  
 friend thing see HAB NEG absence 3PL.S see CH get lost  
 voc nf result pn pron vt vi  
 , *hine fawa namakibisi ati nematamonaka*  
 hine fawa na -makI -bisa.NOM+F ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 only disappear AUX following also say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vi aux vt aux

'Friend, they are missing the one who got lost because he is not familiar with the forest. Let him be lost,' he said.'

8 *Hiyama tabasi ne wematamonaka*  
 hiyama tabasi na+M waa -himata -mona -ka  
 white-lipped peccary roast on grill AUX stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt aux vi

'He was standing roasting peccary meat on a rack.'

9 *Me ati kamite we*  
 me ati ka- mita+M waa+M  
 3PL.POSS voice COMMIT hear stand  
 pron pn vt vi

*kiyomamakiwematamonaha*

ka -yoma -makI -waha -himata -mona -ha  
 go/come through following change FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi

'He was on the plaza listening to them speaking, and he came into the house.'

10 *Kiyomamaki kisiririri moni*  
 ka -yoma -makI+M , kisiririri moni  
 go/come through following (sound of leaves) make sound  
 vi sound vt

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

**nematamonane**

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

'He came into the house. Kisiririri, went the sound of him.'

11	<b>Ki</b>	<b>kabote</b>	<b>nematamonaka</b>	<b>hiyama</b>
	kii	na -kabote	na -himata -mona -ka	hiyama
	look	AUX quickly	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	white-lipped peccary
	vi	aux	aux	nm

<b>tabasi</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>wahari</b>
tabasi	na+M	waa -haari
roast on grill	AUX	stand IP.E+M
vt	aux	vi

'The one who was standing roasting peccary meat looked quickly.'

12	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>koro</b>
	hiyama	biti	me	koro
	white-lipped peccary	young+M	3PL.O	throw
	nm	adj	pron	vt

**kanamakematamonane**

ka- na -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 COMIT AUX following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'He threw the young peccaries down in front of them.'

13	<b>Hii</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>Biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ihibarani</b>
	hii	ati	na+M	biti	me	iha+F -barani
	wow!	say	AUX	young+M	3PL.S	be located only
	interj	vt	aux	nm	pron	vi

"Oh," he said. "They are only young ones."

14	<b>Hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>hiyama</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>te</b>
	hiyama	me	hiyama	me	tee
	white-lipped peccary	3PL	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	2PL.S
	nm	pron	nm	pron	pron

<b>sa</b>	<b>nani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>mate</b>	<b>oi</b>	<b>kanani</b>
saa	na -hani	me	ka	matehe	ohi	ka- na -hani
shoot with arrow	AUX IP.N+F	3PL	POSS	children	cry	COMIT AUX IP.N+F
vt	aux	pron	prt	nf	vi	aux

<b>me</b>	<b>onabowikima</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>owakamakine</b>
me	o- na- aboha -kima+F	me	o- ka- ka -makI -ne
3PL.O	1SG.S CAUS die two	3PL.O	1SG.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F
pron	vt	pron	vt

<b>oni</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nematamonaka</b>
o- ni	ati	na -himata -mona -ka
1SG.S BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
prt	vt	aux

"I killed two young of the peccaries that you killed, which were crying, and I have brought them," he said.'

15	<b>Faya</b>	<b>kamaki</b>	<b>tokomakematamona</b>	<b>hinaka</b>
	faya	ka -makI+M	to- ka -makI -himata -mona	hinaka
	so	go/come following	away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M	3SG.POSS
	conj	vi	vi	pron

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

**wati wabori me soba hinebanoho**  
 wati wabori me soba hi- na -hiba -no -ho ,  
 arrow 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S pull out OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 nm nm pron vt aux

**wati kote**  
 wati kote  
 arrow piece  
 nm pn

'He came. He went there. His brothers-in-law took out his arrows, his broken arrows.'

16 **Wati kote wabori me soba**  
 wati kote wabori me soba  
 arrow piece 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S pull out  
 nm pn nm pron vt

**hinematamonaka hiyama me**  
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka hiyama me  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS  
 aux nm pron

**tai kote**  
 tahi kote  
 weapon against piece  
 pn pn

'They took out the broken arrows, the pieces of the arrows he had shot the peccaries with.'

17 **Hiyama me tai kote e ka**  
 hiyama me tahi kote ee ka  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS weapon against piece 1IN POSS  
 nm pron pn pron prt

**wabo ka wati e sosoba namata me**  
 wabo ka wati ee so- soba na -mata me  
 brother-in-law POSS arrow 1IN.S DUP pull out AUX short time 3PL.S  
 nm prt nm pron vt aux pron

**ati nemetemoneni**  
 ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vt aux

'Let's take out the arrows of our brother-in-law, the pieces of the arrows he shot the peccaries with,' they said.'

18 **Wati me kakitia wati me soba**  
 wati me ka- iti+F wati me soba  
 arrow 3PL.S COMIT pick up arrow 3PL.S pull out  
 nm pron vt nm pron vt

**nakemetemoneni wati kote**  
 na -kI -hemete -mone -ni wati kote  
 AUX coming FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F arrow piece  
 aux nm pn

'They took out the package of arrows. They pulled out the arrows, the pieces of arrows.'

19 **Wati sa one me soba nine ha**  
 wati saa o- na+M me soba na -ne haa  
 arrow shoot 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S pull out AUX CONT+F DEM  
 nm vt aux pron vt aux dem

'They are pulling out the arrows that I didn't shoot.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

20 *Wati owakine owakamakine o*  
 wati o- ka- kina+M o- ka- ka -makI -ne o-  
 arrow 1SG.S COMIT hit 1SG.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S  
 nm vt vt prt

"I am bringing back the arrows I fell on."

21 *Wati ino owakine baka tokane amane ati*  
 wati ino o- ka- kina+M baka to- ka- na+M ama -ne ati  
 arrow point+M 1SG.S COMIT hit break CH COMIT AUX SEC BKG+M say  
 nm pn vt vt aux sec vt

*nematamonaha*

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

"I fell on the arrows, and they broke," he said.'

22 *Wati me soba na wati me wati kote hinama*  
 wati me soba na+F wati me wati kote hinama  
 arrow 3PL.S pull out AUX arrow 3PL arrow piece all  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron nm pn adj

*toematamona ahi*  
 to- ha -himata -mona ahi  
 CH be FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vc dem

'They pulled out the arrows. They were only pieces.'

23 *Wati kote hinama toe me E ka wabo ka*  
 wati kote hinama to- ha+M me ee ka wabo ka  
 arrow piece all CH be 3PL 1IN POSS brother-in-law POSS  
 nm pn adj vc pron pron prt nm prt

*wati kote e awibe*  
 wati kote ee awa -be  
 arrow piece 1IN.S see IMMED+F  
 nm pn pron vt

'They were only pieces of arrows. "Let's look at our brother-in-law's pieces of arrows."

24 *Awa tibawama*  
 awa ti- iba -waha -ma  
 wood 2SG.S set down change back  
 nf vt

"Put down a couple of sticks on the ground."

25 *Wati kote me soba*  
 wati kote me soba  
 arrow piece 3PL.S pull out  
 nm pn pron vt

*hikawitematamonaka ahi*  
 hi- to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 OC away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt dem

'They pulled out the arrows.'

26 *Wati kote mirara tonikimematamona ahi*  
 wati kote mirara to- na -kima -himata -mona ahi  
 arrow piece fall scattered CH AUX spread out FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm pn vi aux dem

'The pieces of arrows all fell out, scattering.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

27 *Haa e ka wabo hiyama me*  
 haa ee ka wabo hiyama me  
 oh 1IN POSS brother-in-law white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
 interj pron prt nm nm pron

*katomano awateranihi me ati*  
 katoma.NOM+M -no awa -tee -ra -hani -hi me ati  
 kill many IP.N+M see HAB NEG IP.N+F DUP 3PL.S say  
 vt result pron vt

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

"Wow, our brother-in-law killed a lot of peccaries. Don't you know?"

28 *Wati kote me yoko tokanamemetemoneke*  
 wati kote me yoko to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 arrow piece 3PL.S push away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pn pron vt aux

'They shoved the arrows back in the package.'

29 *Faya me amo nemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me amo na -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi aux dem

'Then they slept.'

30 *Faya hiyama me me*  
 faya hiyama me me  
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 conj nm pron pron

*tonakaminemetemone me ebe kasawari*  
 to- na- ka -mina -hemete -mone me ebe ka- sawari  
 away CAUS go/come morning FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT frustrate  
 vt pron pn vt

*nofa mati*  
 nofa+F mati  
 recently 3PL.POSS  
 prt pron

'They went after the peccaries the next morning, they who had made fun of him.'

31 *Hiyama me hofemona e*  
 hiyama me hofa -himona ee  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL be in water REP+M 1IN.S  
 nm pron vi pron

*tonakamata*  
 to- na- ka -mata  
 away CAUS go/come short time  
 vt

"Let's go get the peccary that he said is in the water."

32 *E tamabone ereni hinaka koma ati*  
 ee tama -habone ere -ni hinaka koma ati  
 1IN.S be many INT+F 1IN.S BKG+F 3SG.POSS nephew say  
 pron vi pron pron nm vt

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

*nematamonane*

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

"Let's go many people," his nephew said.'

33 *Me ebe ha na me*  
me ebe haa na+F me  
3PL.POSS RECIP call AUX 3PL.S  
pron pn vt aux pron

*tokiyometemoneke* , *hiyama me*  
to- ka -yoma -hemete -mone -ke , hiyama me  
away go/come through FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
vi nm pron

*me tonakiyomama mati*  
me to- na- ka -yoma -ma+F mati  
3PL.S away CAUS go/come through back 3PL.S  
pron vt pron

'They called to each other and they went out. They went out after the peccaries.'

34 *Hiyama me me iso namisemetemone*  
hiyama me me iso na -misa -hemete -mone  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off AUX up FP.N+F REP+F  
nm pron pron vt aux

*fahi*  
fahi  
then  
dem

'They piled the peccaries up beside the stream.'

35 *Fe kakasawari toe sawimatamonaka*  
fee ka- ka- sawari to- ha+M sawi -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.O DUP COMIT frustrate CH AUX be present FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
pron vt aux vi

'The one who always made fun of him was in the group.'

36 *Ami sasawi oba*  
ami sa- sawi o- na.NOM -ba  
mother DUP be present 1SG.S AUX FUT  
nf vi aux

"Mother, I want to go along."

37 *Oko hinita wawa nabana o*  
o- ka hinita wa- waa na -habana o-  
1SG.POSS POSS empty DUP stand AUX FUT+F 1SG.POSS  
prt pn vi aux prt

*hiyama me hiyama me me weye*  
hiyama me hiyama me me weye  
white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S carry  
nm pron nm pron pron vt

*ni ya*  
na.NOM+F ya  
AUX ADJU  
aux prt

"I won't carry anything when the others carry peccaries."

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

38 *Me tamara me awine*  
 me tama -ra+F me awine  
 3PL.S be many NEG 3PL.S seem+F  
 pron vi pron sec

"There must not be many."

39 *Ma toi tabiyo ati amane mati ati*  
 maa to- ha.NFIN tabiyo ati ama -ne mati ati  
 be tired CH AUX wanting voice be BKG+M 3SG.POSS.mother say  
 vi aux pn pn vc nf vt

*nemetemone*

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

"The one who is talking is wanting to be tired," his mother said.'

40 *Faya me toka me hiyama me me*  
 faya me to- ka+F me hiyama me me  
 so 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi pron nm pron pron

*iso namisa hiyama me me , mati me*  
 iso na -misa+F hiyama me me , mati me  
 carry off AUX up white-lipped peccary 3PL 3PL.POSS line+F 3PL.S  
 vt aux nm pron pron pn pron

*nawata me ni ya , tofotomakimatamonaka*  
 na- wata+F me ni ya , to- foto -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 CAUS be located 3PL to ADJU away appear following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt pron prt prt vi

'They went into the forest. They took the peccaries out of the stream and put them on the bank. As they were tying up the peccaries, he appeared.'

41 *Tofotomaki He oko weye oneba ama*  
 to- foto -makI+M , hee o- ka weye o- na -hiba ama  
 away appear following 3SG 1SG.POSS POSS carry 1SG.S AUX FUT+M SEC  
 vi pron prt vt aux sec

*ha*

haa  
 DEM  
 dem

'He appeared. "That's the one I will carry."

42 *Hiyama biti weye onabana oni ati*  
 hiyama biti weye o- na -habana o- ni ati  
 white-lipped peccary young+M carry 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say  
 nm adj vt aux prt vt

*nematamonane*

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

"I'm going to carry the young peccary," he said.'

43 *Hiyama biti kayawe we ni ya*  
 hiyama biti ka- yawa+M waa+M ni ya  
 white-lipped peccary young+M COMIT be upset stand to ADJU  
 nm adj vt vi prt prt

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *tofotomakimatamona*

to- foto -makI -himata -mona  
 away appear following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'He wanted the young peccary. As he was standing there, he appeared.'

44 *Ha ta ha ta me weweye tina haro*  
 haa taa haa taa me we- weye ti- na haaro  
 DEM contrast DEM contrast 3PL.O DUP carry 2SG.S AUX that one+F  
 dem prt dem prt pron vt aux dem

""No, you carry these others.""

45 *Tiwa tiwa tiwa okasomibeya ati*  
 tiwa tiwa tiwa o- ka- soma -be -ya ati  
 2SG.O 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT help IMMED+F now say  
 pron pron pron vt vt

### *nematamonane*

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

""I will help you," he said.'

46 *Tiwa tiwa kasomakabote obe*  
 tiwa tiwa ka- soma -kabote o- na -be  
 2SG.O 2SG.O COMIT help quickly 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron pron vt aux

""I will help you right away.""

47 *Ee , me te weye na fa*  
 ee me tee weye na faa  
 yes 3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX that  
 interj pron pron vt aux dem

""All right, you carry those.""

48 *Ha me weweye obone*  
 haa me we- weye o- na.NOM -bone  
 DEM 3PL.O DUP carry 1SG.S AUX INT+F  
 dem pron vt aux

""I will carry these here.""

49 *Faya me , faya me kamemetemone*  
 faya me faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 so 3PL so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron conj pron vi

*hiyama me me weye na mati*  
 hiyama me me weye na+F mati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

'So they came back carrying the peccaries.'

50 *Hiyama me weye ni yotohimatamona me*  
 hiyama me weye na.NFIN yoto -himata -mona me  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry AUX follow FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt aux vi pron



## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

### *hekanakosahari*

hi- ka- kana -kosa -haari  
 OC COMIT leave middle IP.E+M  
 vt

'He was behind the others carrying the peccaries. They had left him behind.'

### 51 *Hinarifematamonane*

hi- narifa -himata -mona -ne  
 OC help FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He was helping him.'

### 52 *Hoo ma oha oke*

hoo maa o- to- ha o- ke  
 whew be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.S DECL+F  
 interj vi aux prt

""Whew, I'm tired.""

### 53 *Yayaka ro timata*

ya- yaka na -ro ti- na -mata  
 DUP walk AUX without stopping 2SG.S AUX short time  
 vi aux aux

""Keep walking.""

### 54 *Tiwa owakatomi*

tiwa o- ka- katoma.NOM+F  
 2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT look at  
 pron vt

""I'm watching you.""

### 55 *Faya hekamaki me*

faya hi- ka- ka -makI+M me  
 so OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.S  
 conj vt pron

### *kakamakehite*

ka- ka -makI -hitI  
 COMIT go/come following along the way  
 vi

### *hasi*

hasi na -hibona hasi  
 rest AUX INT+M rest  
 vi aux vi

### *nebona*

rest AUX INT+M rest  
 vi aux vi

### *nebona*

na -hibona ita -rI -risa+M  
 AUX INT+M sit raised surface down  
 aux vi

### *noki*

noki hi- ka- na+M  
 wait for OC COMIT AUX  
 vt aux

### *hikane*

wait for OC COMIT AUX  
 vt aux

### *noki*

noki hi- ka na -himata -mona -ne  
 wait for OC go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'He took him. They came along. He sat down to rest. He waited for him.'

### 56 *Me weweye tina*

me we- weye ti- na  
 3PL.O DUP carry 2SG.S AUX  
 pron vt aux

""You carry them now.""

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

57 *Me wara onamatasibe*

me wara o- to- na -ma -tasa -be  
3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX back again IMMED+F  
pron vt aux

"I will take my turn with them."

58 *Me weweye ro timata*

me we- weye na -ro ti- na -mata  
3PL.O DUP carry AUX without stopping 2SG.S AUX short time  
pron vt aux aux

"Don't stop carrying them."

59 *Tiwa owakatomini one o*

tiwa o- ka- katoma -ni ati o- na -ne o-  
2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT look at BKG+F say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S  
pron vt vt prt

"I told you I am watching you."

60 *So omatibe*

soo o- na -mata -be  
urinate 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
vi aux

"I need to urinate."

61 *Tai tiamake*

tai ti- to- ha -makI  
be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX following  
vi aux

"Go on ahead."

62 *Towakosematamonane so rari*

to- waa -kosa -himata -mona -ne so na -ra -haari  
CH stand middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M urinate AUX NEG IP.E+M  
vi vi aux

'He stayed behind, but he didn't urinate.'

63 *So rematamonaka*

soo na -ra -himata -mona -ka  
urinate AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi aux

'He didn't urinate.'

64 *Hikeye tokomakematamonane*

hi- keyeha+M to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne  
OC deceive away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
vt vi

*hiyama me koro nisebanoho*

hiyama me koro na -risa -hiba -no -ho  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O throw AUX down FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
nm pron vt aux

'He deceived him. He went after him. He threw the peccaries down.'

65 *Hiyama me mati tofa tokani tabiyo*  
hiyama me mati tofa to- ka- na.NFIN tabiyo  
white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS line+F plug CH COMIT AUX wanting  
nm pron pn vt aux post

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

*yama siba nematamona ahi*  
yama siba na -himata -mona ahi  
thing look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
nf vt aux dem  
'He looked for the knot of the line that the peccaries were tied with.'

66 *Yaka nakosamaki kamaki*  
yaka na -kosa -makI+M ka -makI+M  
walk AUX middle following go/come following  
vi aux vi

*hiwehimatamonane*  
hi- awa -himata -mona -ne  
OC see FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
vt

'He came walking fast. He came, and he saw him.'

67 *Wahama nematamona hiyama me*  
waa -hama na -himata -mona hiyama me  
stand pretending AUX FP.N+M REP+M white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
vi aux nm pron  
*katisebona hiyama me hikasawarihari*  
ka- tisa -hibona hiyama me hi- ka- sawari -haari  
COMIT undo INT+M white-lipped peccary 3PL.S OC COMIT frustrate IP.E+M  
vt nm pron vt

'He stood there as if doing nothing. He wanted to untie the peccaries, but he couldn't.'

68 *Me e ri ?*  
me ee na -ri  
3PL.S (question) AUX CQ+F  
pron vi aux

""What about them?""

69 *Hoo hiyama me e ebe kanabone*  
hoo hiyama me ee ebe ka- na -habone  
whew white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1IN.S divide up COMIT AUX INT+F  
interj nm pron pron vt aux  
*me hiyama me tikatisabone tiwa*  
me hiyama me ti- ka- tisa -habone tiwa  
3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 2SG.S COMIT undo INT+F 2SG.O  
pron nm pron vt pron

*noki one o*  
noki o- na -ne o-  
wait for 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S  
vt aux prt

""I'm waiting for you. I want you to untie the peccaries, so we can divide the peccaries.""

70 *Me weye timisamatahi*  
me weye ti- na -misa -ma -mata -hi  
3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX up back short time IMP+F  
pron vt aux

""Put them back on your back for now.""

71 *Me wara onaba me awine*  
me wara o- to- na -haba me awine  
3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F 3PL.O seem+F  
pron vt aux pron sec



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

79 *Yama yama yama yabomakeri*  
 yama yama yama yabo -makI -ra.NOM+F  
 thing thing thing be far following NEG  
 nf nf nf vi

"It's not far now."

80 *Yana totase kamakimatamona ahi*  
 yana to- na -tasa+M ka -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 start CH AUX again go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux vi dem

'He started out again, and came on.'

81 *Kamaki kamaki hiyama me*  
 ka -makI+M ka -makI+M hiyama me  
 go/come following go/come following white-lipped peccary 3PL.O  
 vi vi nm pron

*kakiyomamakematamona ahi*  
 ka- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 COMMIT go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt dem

'He came on. He took the peccaries into the longhouse.'

82 *Hiyama me koro nisematamona ahi*  
 hiyama me koro na -risa -himata -mona ahi  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O throw AUX down FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm pron vt aux dem

'He threw down the peccaries.'

83 *Hoo ma oha ma ohi*  
 hoo maa o- to- ha+F maa o- to- ha.NOM+F  
 humph be tired 1SG.S CH AUX be tired 1SG.S CH AUX  
 interj vi aux vi aux

*awaterahani ati kane ahi*  
 awa -tee -ra -hani ati na -kane ahi  
 see HAB NEG IP.N+F say AUX ?+M then  
 result vt aux dem

"Whew, I have never been so tired," he said.'

84 *Manakoba amari*  
 manako -ba ama -ra.NOM+F  
 revenge FUT be NEG  
 nf vc

"I will get revenge."

85 *Manako owa tihibeya*  
 manako owa ti- to- ha -be -ya  
 revenge 1SG.O 2SG.S CH pay back IMMED+F now  
 nf pron vd

"Go ahead and get revenge on me."

86 *Manako owa tihibe*  
 manako owa ti- to- ha -be  
 revenge 1SG.O 2SG.S CH pay back IMMED+F  
 nf pron vd

"Go ahead and get revenge on me."

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

87 *Manako owa tihibeya ati nematamonaha*  
 manako owa ti- to- ha -be -ya ati na -himata -mona -ha  
 revenge 1SG.O 2SG.S CH pay back IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf pron vd vt aux

'Go ahead and get revenge on me,' he said.'

88 *Hasi ne itarimatamona ahi fe haha*  
 hasi na+M ita -rI -himata -mona ahi fee ha- haa  
 rest AUX sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M then 3SG.O DUP call  
 vi aux vi dem pron vt

*nebanoho*

na -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He sat down and rested. He called him.'

89 *Ani e afi kamata*  
 ani ee afi ka- na -mata  
 friend 1IN.S bathe COMMIT AUX short time  
 voc pron vi aux

'Friend, let's bathe.'

90 *E afi kibe*  
 ee afi ka- na -be  
 1IN.S bathe COMMIT AUX IMMED+F  
 pron vi aux

'Let's bathe.'

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

'You go on ahead.'

92 *Tai tifewama*  
 tai ti- to- ha -fI -waha -ma  
 be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX water change back  
 vi aux

'You go on ahead to the water.'

93 *Yana kabote nematamona ahi*  
 yana na -kabote na -himata -mona ahi  
 get up AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux aux dem

'He got up right away.'

94 *Tokifiwamematamona nowati ebene*  
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma -himata -mona nowati ebene  
 away go/come water change back FP.N+M REP+M behind creature+M  
 vi pn pn

*tokomakerebanoho*

to- ka -makI -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 away go/come following NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'He went to the water, but no one went after him.'

## THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

95 *Hikeyematamonane*

hi- keyeha -himata -mona -ne  
 OC deceive FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He deceived him.'

96 *Faya afi tonameno kamematamona*

faya afi to- na -ma -hino ka -ma -himata -mona  
 so bathe away AUX back IP.N+M go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj vi aux vi

'He went and bathed, and then came back.'

97 *Kiki nawa tosi nematamona*

ki- kii na -waha to- na -sii na -himata -mona  
 DUP look AUX change CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi aux aux aux

'He was looking back as he came along.'

98 *Faya hekaminatasematamonaka fahi*

faya hi- ka- ka -mina -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so OC COMIT go/come morning again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vt dem

'The next day he took him out hunting.'

99 *Me towakamina me me*

me to- ka- ka -mina+F me me  
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come morning 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron

*towakamina me wafa me me kobo*  
 to- ka- ka -mina+F me wafa me me kobo  
 away COMIT go/come morning 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 vi pron nm pron pron vt

*nemetemone wafa mati*  
 na -hemete -mone wafa mati  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F woolly monkey 3PL  
 aux nm pron

'The two of them went into the forest the next day. They went, and they encountered some woolly monkeys.'

100 *Wafa me me kobo na me wafa*

wafa me me kobo na+F me wafa  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S meet AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

*me ati saimetemone me ama ahi*  
 me ati sai.NOM -mete -mone me ama ahi  
 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS SEC then  
 pron pn vi pron sec dem

'They encountered some woolly monkeys. The voices of the monkeys could be heard.'

101 *Bani me ati ama ?*

bani me ati ama  
 animal 3PL.POSS voice be  
 nm pron pn vc

'"Is that the voices of animals?"'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

102 *Bani me ati amani*  
 bani me ati ama -ni  
 animal 3PL.POSS voice be BKG+F  
 nm pron pn vc

"It is the voices of animals."

103 *Wafa me ati amani*  
 wafa me ati ama -ni  
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice be BKG+F  
 nm pron pn vc

"It is the voices of woolly monkeys."

104 *Wafa me ati me kamita me*  
 wafa me ati me ka- mita+F me  
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S COMIT hear 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn pron vt pron

*sare me sare me rofi*  
 sarehe me sarehe me rofi  
 blowgun dart 3PL blowgun dart 3PL.S twirl in mouth  
 nf pron nf pron vt

*nawahemetemone*

na -waha -hemete -mone  
 AUX change FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They listened to the voices of the monkeys. They twirled blowgun darts in their mouths.'

105 *Me tikaraboha*  
 me ti- karaboha  
 3PL.O 2SG.S shoot with blowgun  
 pron vt

"Shoot them."

106 *Me tikaraboa*  
 me ti- karaboha  
 3PL.O 2SG.S shoot with blowgun  
 pron vt

"Shoot them."

107 *Me kamibe ahi ati nematamonane*  
 me ka -ma -be ahi ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S go/come back IMMED+F here say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vi dem vt aux

"They will come this way," he said.'

108 *Me okaraboibe*  
 me o- karaboha -be  
 3PL.O 1SG.S shoot with blowgun IMMED+F  
 pron vt

"I will shoot them."

109 *Me tekatoma*  
 me ti- ka- katoma  
 3PL.O 2SG.S COMIT look at  
 pron vt

"You watch them."



THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

110 *Wafa* *me* *tonakematamona*  
 wafa me to- na- ka -himata -mona  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vt

'He went after the monkeys.'

111 *Me* *noki* *hinematamona* *ahi*  
 me noki hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL wait for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M there  
 pron vt aux dem

'He waited for him there.'

112 *Wafa* *me* *yayana* *remetemone*  
 wafa me ya- yana na -ra -hemete -mone  
 woolly monkey 3PL.S DUP get up AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron vi aux

'The monkeys didn't move.'

113 *Ene* *watarematamona* *wafa* *me* *yete* *nari*  
 ehene wata -ra -himata -mona wafa me yete na -haari  
 deed+M exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M woolly monkey 3PL.O hunt AUX IP.E+M  
 pn vi nm pron vt aux

'He didn't make any noise as he stalked the monkeys.'

114 *Wafa* *me* *yete* *ne* *ene* *watare* *wafa*  
 wafa me yete na+M ehene wata -ra+M wafa  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O hunt AUX deed+M exist NEG woolly monkey  
 nm pron vt aux pn vi nm  
*karaboeno* *ene* *kiya*  
 karaboha -hino ehene kiya  
 shoot with blowgun IP.N+M victim of+M yell  
 vt pn vi

*tokasematamonaka* *waha*  
 to- ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka waha  
 CH COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now  
 aux prt

'He stalked the monkeys without making any noise. He hit a monkey, and it yelled.'

115 *Wafa* *me* *nokosi* *kahitimatamonane*  
 wafa me nokosi kahiti -himata -mona -ne  
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS in front of take first FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm pron pn vt

*fari* *wafa* *me* *yaka* *ni* *fora*  
 faari wafa me yaka na.NFIN fora  
 that one+M woolly monkey 3PL.S walk AUX shoot with blowgun  
 dem nm pron vi aux vt

*nebanoho*  
 na -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He headed the monkeys off. He shot the monkeys as they were walking.'

116 *Wafa* *me* *yaka* *ni* *fora* *ne*  
 wafa me yaka na.NFIN fora na+M  
 woolly monkey 3PL.S walk AUX shoot with blowgun AUX  
 nm pron vi aux vt aux

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

**wafa**                    **me**        **foro**    **tonamakehitemetemone**  
wafa                    me        foro    to-    na    -makI        -hitI                    -hemete -mone  
woolly monkey    3PL.S    fall    away AUX following along the way    FP.N+F    REP+F  
nm                    pron    vi        aux

**me**        **ama**    **ahi**        **ehene**  
me        ama    ahi        ehene  
3PL.S    SEC    then    because of+M  
pron    sec    dem    post

'He shot the monkeys as they were walking. The monkeys were falling one after the other because of him.'

117 **Wafa**                    **me**        **foro**    **tonamakehite**                    **me**  
wafa                    me        foro    to-    na    -makI        -hitI                    me  
woolly monkey    3PL.S    fall    away AUX following along the way    3PL.S  
nm                    pron    vi        aux                    pron

**kakamaki**                    **re**                    **wafa**                    **me**        **watore**  
ka- ka                    -makI                    na    -ra+M    wafa                    me        watore  
DUP go/come following    AUX NEG    woolly monkey    3PL.S    forget  
vi                    aux                    nm                    pron    vi

**karaboe**                    **kakamaki**                    **re**                    **wafa**  
karaboha+M                    ka- ka                    -makI                    na    -ra+M    wafa  
shoot with blowgun    DUP go/come following    AUX NEG    woolly monkey  
vt                    vi                    aux                    nm

**kakatometatamona**  
ka-    katoma    -himata    -mona  
COMIT look at    FP.N+M    REP+M  
vt

'The monkeys were falling in a line. He didn't come. The monkeys didn't see him, and he was shooting them. He didn't come. He was watching the monkeys.'

118 **Wafa**                    **kakate**                    **ati**                    **kamakimatamona**  
wafa                    ka-    kata+M                    ati    ka                    -makI                    -himata    -mona  
woolly monkey    COMIT arrodear                    voice    go/come following    FP.N+M    REP+M  
nm                    vt                    pn                    vi

'He headed a monkey off, and he could be heard coming.'

119 **Wafa**                    **amane**                    **ati**                    **nematamona**  
wafa                    ama    -ne                    ati    na    -himata    -mona  
woolly monkey    be    BKG+M                    say    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M  
nm                    vc                    vt                    aux

""There is a monkey," he said.'

120 **Wafa**                    **wafa**                    **okiyone**                    **o**  
wafa                    wafa                    o-    kiyo    -ne                    o-  
woolly monkey    woolly monkey    1SG.S chase    CONT+F    1SG.S  
nm                    nm                    vt                    prt

""I'm chasing the monkey.""

121 **Oko**                    **wafa**                    **tikaraboha**  
o-                    ka                    wafa                    ti-    karaboha  
1SG.POSS    POSS    woolly monkey    2SG.S shoot with blowgun  
prt                    nm                    vt

""Shoot my monkey.""

122 **Wafa**                    **kamaki**                    **noki**                    **nematamona**                    **ahi**  
wafa                    ka                    -makI+M                    noki                    na    -himata    -mona                    ahi  
woolly monkey    go/come following    wait for    AUX    FP.N+M    REP+M                    then  
nm                    vi                    vt                    aux                    dem

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

'He waited for the monkey as it came.'

123 *Oko*                    *wafa*                    *tikaraboahi*  
 o-                    ka                    wafa                    ti-                    karaboha                    -hi  
 1SG.POSS POSS                    woolly monkey                    2SG.S shoot with blowgun IMP+F  
 prt                    nm                    vt

'''Shoot my monkey.'''

124 *Sare*                    *ini*                    *baka*                    *nakosakabote*  
 sarehe                    ini                    baka                    na -kosa -kabote  
 blowgun dart                    point+F                    break                    AUX middle quickly  
 nf                    pn                    vt                    aux

'He broke off the point of the dart.'

125 *Sare*                    *kote*                    *ya*                    *hikaraboematamonane*  
 sarehe                    kote                    ya                    hi- karaboha                    -himata -mona -ne  
 blowgun dart                    piece                    ADJU                    OC shoot with blowgun FP.N+M                    REP+M                    BKG+M  
 nf                    pn                    prt                    vt

'He hit it with the broken off dart.'

126 *Hima*                    *okaraboe*                    *ati*                    *ama*  
 hima                    o-                    karaboha+M                    ati                    ama  
 let's go                    1SG.S shoot with blowgun                    voice                    be  
 interj                    vt                    pn                    vc

'''Come on, I can hear that I hit it.'''

127 *Tekiyo*  
 ti-                    ka-                    kiyo  
 2SG.S COMIT chase  
 vt

'''Chase it.'''

128 *Hekiyomatamona*                    *ahi*                    *wafa*  
 hi- ka-                    kiyo                    -himata -mona                    ahi                    wafa  
 OC COMIT chase FP.N+M                    REP+M                    then                    woolly monkey  
 vt                    dem                    nm

*sonarebanoho*

sona -ra -hiba -no                    -ho  
 fall NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'He chased it, but the monkey didn't fall.'

129 *Hikaraboamematamonaka*                    *waha*  
 hi- karaboha                    -ma -himata -mona -ka                    waha  
 OC shoot with blowgun back FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DECL+M                    now  
 vt                    prt

'He shot it again.'

130 *Wafa*                    *karaboamematamonahane*  
 wafa                    karaboha                    -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 woolly monkey                    shoot with blowgun back FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DUP                    BKG+M  
 nm                    vt

'He shot the monkey again.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

131 *Faya hinaka kakasawari fawawa*  
 faya hinaka ka- ka- sawari fa- fawa  
 so 3SG.POSS DUP COMIT frustrate DUP disappear  
 conj pron nf vi  
*toemetemoneke fahi , wafa me wafa*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi , wafa me wafa  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then woolly monkey 3PL woolly monkey  
 aux dem nm pron nm  
*me ma hinihatase ya*  
 me maa hi- to- niha- na -tasa.NOM+M ya  
 3PL.S be tired OC CH CAUS AUX again ADJU  
 pron vi aux prt  
 'Then he stopped making fun of the other one, because the monkeys tired him out.'

132 *Tika wafa me weye obeya*  
 ti- ka wafa me weye o- na -be -ya  
 2SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now  
 prt nm pron vt aux  
 'I will carry your monkeys.'

133 *Oko wafa me weye tina*  
 o- ka wafa me weye ti- na  
 1SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX  
 prt nm pron vt aux  
 'You carry my monkeys.'

134 *Tika wafa me weye obisibe*  
 ti- ka wafa me weye o- na -bisa -be  
 2SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX also IMMED+F  
 prt nm pron vt aux  
 'I will carry your monkeys.'

135 *Wafa me wafa me soki*  
 wafa me wafa me soki  
 woolly monkey 3PL woolly monkey 3PL.O tie up  
 nm pron nm pron vt  
*nakematamona ahi*  
 na -kI -himata -mona ahi  
 AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem  
 'He tied up the monkeys.'

136 *Wafa me weye neba , wematamona amane*  
 wafa me weye na -hiba , waa -himata -mona ama -ne  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O carry AUX FUT+M stand FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nm pron vt aux vi sec  
 'He stood there to carry the monkeys.'

137 *Wafa me weye tina*  
 wafa me weye ti- na  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX  
 nm pron vt aux  
 'Carry the monkeys.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

138 *E towakama*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi  
 "'Let's go.'"

139 *Tika wafa me sana*  
 ti- ka wafa me sana  
 2SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O carry strapped on shoulder  
 prt nm pron vt

*okobeya*  
 o- ka- na -be -ya  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F now  
 aux  
 "'I will carry your monkeys.'"

140 *Faya wafa me sana hikana*  
 faya wafa me sana hi- ka- na+F  
 so woolly monkey 3PL.O carry strapped on shoulder OC COMIT AUX  
 conj nm pron vt aux

*wafa me sana kanematamona*  
 wafa me sana ka- na -himata -mona  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vt aux

*fari*  
 faari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'He carried the monkeys strapped to his shoulder.'

141 *Hinaka wafa me weye hitasemetemoneni*  
 hinaka wafa me weye hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O carry OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron nm pron vt aux

, *fare ati totoha nofemako*  
 fare ati to- to- ha na nofa -mako  
 same+M voice DUP CH be AUX recently for this reason+M  
 dem pn vc aux

'He carried the monkeys of the one who always criticized him.'

142 *Me kafotomasemetemone ahi wafa me*  
 me ka- foto -ma -tasa -hemete -mone ahi wafa me  
 3PL.S COMIT appear back again FP.N+F REP+F then woolly monkey 3PL.S  
 pron vi dem nm pron

*ma hinihatase rama ahi*  
 maa hi- to- niha- na -tasa+M rama ahi  
 be tired OC CH CAUS AUX again unusual then  
 vi aux prt dem

'They arrived at the village. The monkeys had tired him out again.'

143 *Me koro nisamatasematamonane*  
 me koro na -risa -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.O throw AUX down back again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt aux

'He threw them down on the ground again.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

144 *Hinaka wafa me tekama*  
 hinaka wafa me ti- to- ka- ka -ma  
 3SG.POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron nm pron vt

"Take his monkeys there."

145 *Me weye onarani*  
 me weye o- na -hara -ni  
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron vt aux

"I carried them."

146 *Hinaka wafa me tekama*  
 hinaka wafa me ti- to- ka- ka -ma  
 3SG.POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron nm pron vt

"Take his monkeys there."

147 *Me weye onahara*  
 me weye o- na -hara  
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F  
 pron vt aux

"I carried them."

148 *Ma ohini*  
 maa o- to- ha -ni  
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F  
 vi aux

"I'm tired."

149 *Ma oha oke*  
 maa o- to- ha o- ke  
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi aux prt

"I'm tired."

150 *Wafa me tekama*  
 wafa me ti- to- ka- ka -ma  
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back  
 nm pron vt

"Take the monkeys away."

151 *Manako tika wafa me weye onara*  
 manako ti- ka wafa me weye ati o- na -hara  
 revenge 2SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey 3PL.O carry say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F  
 nf prt nm pron vt vt

*o , owa me ma tonihi , wafa mera*  
 o- owa me maa to- niha- ha.NFIN , wafa mera  
 1SG.S 1SG.O 3PL.S be tired CH CAUS AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O  
 prt pron pron vi aux nm pron

*tokawebanoho*  
 toka -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 partially burn change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

"So that you could get revenge, I carried the monkeys, and they tired me out." Then he burned the hair off the monkeys.'

THE MAN FROM AWITA FA (2)

152 *Wafa*                    *me*            *tokematamonaka*  
 wafa                        me            toka                    -himata -mona -ka ,  
 woolly monkey        3PL.O       partially burn FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 nm                        pron        vt

*wafa*                        *me*            *bobi*            *nawebanoho*  
 wafa                        me            bobi            na -waha -hiba -no        -ho .  
 woolly monkey        3PL.O       slit            AUX change FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP  
 nm                        pron        vt            aux

'He burned the hair off the monkeys. Then he cut the monkeys up.'

153 *Wafa*                        *me*            *me*            *kabawemetemoneni*  
 wafa                        me            me            kaba -waha -hemete -mone -ni .  
 woolly monkey        3PL.O       3PL.S       eat    change FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F  
 nm                        pron        pron        vt

'Finally they ate the monkeys.'

154 *Wafa*                        *mera*            *tokabisematamonaka*  
 wafa                        mera            toka                    -bisa -himata -mona -ka  
 woolly monkey        3PL.O       partially burn also    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
 nm                        pron        vt

*fari*  
 faari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'The other one burned the hair off the monkeys, too.'

## E YOWIRI (1)

### *Free Translation*

He is the one they fought against, E Yowiri. They fought against E Yowiri, the Yimas. The Yimas fought against him. We live in the old villages of those Yimas.

They grabbed him when he was coming home carrying fish, my aunt always said. He fell on the ground with the enemies. They were in a pile. He got up with them. He ran away from the enemies. They all fell.

He waited for the enemies, and killed more of them. E Yowiri fought with the enemies, and he killed all of the enemies. He kept killing them when they fought against him.

Tati Arawani and the others cut down trees. There are big old gardens at Bia Fa. There are *kona* plants there that they planted. There are *kona* plants at Bia Fa that they planted. It is the place where they lived for a long time. There are many old gardens of theirs there.

Then they came back this way. They came along, and lived over this way again, at the Ye Mete stream. There are old gardens there. They came this way, and lived over there.

Their children were going to bathe, and they were going back and forth at the port, and a Yima carried them away. It was a Yima who carried them off.

"What are you doing?"

"We are here bathing, older brother."

"Are you bathing?"

"Yes, we are bathing."

He had inner bark, and he tied the children together, and carried the children off.

"Younger brother, I'm going to carry you a little. The people will exclaim about you."

It was not a lot of children.

"You are not my older brother, but you are calling me younger brother. You aren't my brother."

"Here, brother. Brother, I'm going to carry you. The people will exclaim about you. They will exclaim about the 'animals'."

He tied the 'animals' together, and carried the children off. He lifted the children onto his back. He made believe he was taking them to where their mothers were in hammocks. He turned around right away. He went away carrying the children.

They went and found him. They discovered that the children were missing. It was at their village at Santana that the Yimas ate the children. They ate the children.

Then they fought against them. The pieces of their pots are in a pile. Then they shot them with arrows. The Yimas are fierce. We are not fierce. Then they fought against them, and their village is there. Their village is scary.

They ate Mayawari, too. They ate Mayawari when he wanted to wait for animals at a *koo* tree, and he was coming back in the late afternoon.

"I'm going to wait for animals at the *koo* tree. I'm going to blowgun kinkajous."

"Father, I want to go with you."

"You can't go."

"We will go together."



## E YOWIRI (1)

He died together with his father, because of the Yimas. He went to the water singing. He sang. He was singing a song about the kinkajous. The Yimas hid from him. A Yima woman was lying on the ground beside the trail on the bank of the stream. They had placed her there.

"We are going to feast on *bokahawa* porridge. We are walking to drink *bokahawa* porridge at the festa," he sang, Mayawari.

The two Yimas who were hiding heard him. The two Yimas were hiding, and they went to the water.

He saw something. How big was the boy? "Fiko, fiko, boy there is someone lying on the ground," he said.

Mayawari came back running. The Yima hit the tree where Mayawari had been with the spear. Kooroo, wakai, went the sound of the spear as it was thrown and hit the tree. He muttered in disgust.

He would have escaped. Because his son was yelling, he turned around and went back. Tihii, went the sound of the spear when it hit him.

"Aaa," he said.

Who took the news about Mayawari back to the village? They took out his guts.

Mayawari's relatives saw what the Yimas had done, and they called out to the Yima, but they did not avenge Mayawari.

"Some strangers ate Mayawari."

"Some strangers ate my son-in-law."

They had bows and arrows, why didn't they kill them? They went after him, to kill him. They called him, and he called back. They went running right back. The Yima looked for others to kill. Mayawari's relatives went running home. They did not avenge Mayawari, his relatives. They went running away.

One of them had courage, and he fought against the Yimas. If they had left him alone, he wouldn't have fought against them. They tied up his father. They caught him and tied him up. They took him away. His wife and son, too. They took him away. The boy was not big.

"Aa, my father said he would come quickly, but he has not come quickly. I will go and see my father."

He was remembering as he arrived back. His father didn't come. He came back. He came upon the signs of them. They were going to have a festa, but they didn't start the festa because of his grief. They fought against them first, and afterwards had the festa.

"Some strangers tied up my father, and the strangers took my father away. They made me afraid, and I have come back."

They grieved because the Yimas had taken their father away. He couldn't sleep. You won't be able to sleep if you are upset. They decided to go after them.

"Let's go and look at my father."

The people that were at the festa joined in with them. They went after them.

His arrows were on the ground. His things were on the ground, because they had taken him away.<sup>76</sup> He looked around for signs of the Yimas. He went after their tracks. He called to the others.

"Their tracks go that way. Let's go see them, the ones who took my father away."

He went there. They had gone away, and they went after their tracks. He was bold, and he went inside. As they stood there next to the water and watched, a Yima came. He bathed, and took a basket full of manioc mash out of the water. He took the ripe manioc mash out of the water, which was what they would eat with the one they had brought there. He took the ripe manioc mash out of

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76 The father had been on his way to the festa when the Yimas captured him.

## E YOWIRI (1)

the water, and he set the basket on the ground.

They went with him. "Don't just stand there. Come on, come on," they said. They went there.

The child started crying. He was crying sitting on the ground next to his father. There were women with them.

He went in the longhouse after the Yima. They went inside.

"Well? Where is my father, my father who you brought here?"

He looked around.

"Older brother, older brother," the boy said, crying. The boy was sitting on the ground crying.

"Untie my father."

They didn't ignore him. They untied him. It was the very one who had tied him up. The same one who had tied him up also untied him. That's why he shot his son with an arrow.

"Take my father away. Take my father there. Have my father rest, who they brought here."

He was holding his bow and arrows as he stood speaking in the midst of the Yimas. He was with his brother-in-law. They were grabbing the Yima women. He pulled out an arrow. He inserted the arrow pointing it upwards, but he was planning against a Yima man standing there.

"I'm going to shoot an arrow in your ceiling."

The one who he was about to shoot with an arrow was standing there. He cried out.

They yelled. There were many of them, and they fought against the Yimas. They shot the Yimas with arrows. They yelled as they shot the Yimas with arrows. Some of the Yimas came outside. They were shooting them with arrows as they were coming outside. They shot them with arrows, and left them behind. A Yima woman who was pregnant jumped into the water. A Yima and a boy struggled with each other. The boy held onto the Yima's spear. They shot the sole of the foot of a Yima woman as she was diving into the water. The other woman who jumped in the water did not come back to the surface, the pregnant Yima woman. The pregnant Yima woman who jumped in the water did not come back to the surface, Nakiri said they used to say.

The old village of the Yimas is there. They piled them up. They found a Yima woman sitting up high. They spoke to her. They shot her with an arrow, too.

After fighting with the Yimas, they came home. Then they had a festa, because they had gotten their father back. They offered a feast to the others.

They came back finally. "We are going."

"Right, go ahead."

"We fought against them. They will never come here anymore. They died."

"We are going. I am going. I am going to take my father, who they took away and I went and got back."

He went and got his father back. So they finally came home. He never forgot his grief. He was E Yowiri. E Yowiri, he went many times. The ones they left behind came to them, moving away. They gathered together. Their village was very big. They lived together, and then they split apart again. They lived in two villages, my aunt used to say of them. My aunt had appeared. My aunt used to tell the story. There are sandy clearings where they lived long ago. The Aba Wini stream is there. They caught an *aba* fish, and they penned it in. That is why it is Aba Wini.<sup>77</sup> They penned the *aba* fish in at Aba Wini. They penned it in. They buried each other there, my aunt used to say. They buried someone, and they came back crying. They buried her, and she was alone in the earth, with her head sticking out, in the sandy clearing. They buried them, and they were left in the

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<sup>77</sup> Aba Wini means 'place where the *aba* fish lives'.

## E YOWIRI (1)

earth, and they cried because of them.<sup>78</sup> Their two sandy clearings are there. They were the places of longhouses. There are two sandy clearings where there were longhouses long ago. I cut *sofa* trees there. They didn't eat manioc as they lived there. They grated *fowe* tubers. They grated *fowe* as they lived there. I don't know what it was like to eat *fowe*. They carried redbtail catfish. They ate the creatures of the Wara lake that is there, *wasabi* fish and *siraba* fish. They roasted fish on racks, and ate the fish. The women toasted *fowe* mash and ate the *fowe* with the fish, and squeezed the *fowe* mash in the *kanimaro* squeezers. Where were those people? We are those people. They fought against the Yimas for a long time, and then they left off the Yimas. They lived there a long time, after having shot them with arrows.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Ifemata</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>momowa</b>	<b>toine</b>		<b>nimete</b>	
	ife -mata		me	mo- mowa	to- ha -ne		na.NOM+F -mete	
	this+M FP.N+M		3PL.S	DUP fight	CH AUX CONT+F		AUX FP.N+F	
	dem		pron	vt	aux		aux	

#### **E Yowiri**

E Yowiri  
(man's name)  
npropm  
'He is the one they fought against, E Yowiri.'

2	<b>E Yowiri</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>momowa</b>	<b>hiematamona</b>		<b>yima</b>	<b>mati</b>
	E Yowiri		me	mo- mowa	hi- to- ha -himata -mona		yima	mati
	(man's name)		3PL.S	DUP fight	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M		Yima	3PL
	npropm		pron	vt	aux		npropm	pron

'They fought against E Yowiri, the Yimas.'

3	<b>Yima</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>momowa</b>	<b>hiematamona</b>		<b>hinaka</b>	<b>yima</b>
	yima	me	mo- mowa	hi- to- ha -himata -mona		hinaka	yima
	Yima	3PL.S	DUP fight	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M		3SG.POSS	Yima
	npropm	pron	vt	aux		pron	npropm

<b>me</b>	<b>tabori</b>	<b>bote</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>winineti</b>	
me	tabori	bote	ya	ee	wina -ne -tee.NOM	
3PL.POSS	place+F	old	ADJU	1IN.S	live CONT+F HAB	
pron	pn	adj	prt	pron	vi	

'The Yimas fought against him. We live in the old villages of those Yimas.'

4	<b>Me</b>	<b>hiwatawaha</b>		<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>weye</b>	<b>ni</b>
	me	hi- wata -waha.LIST		aba	me	weye	na.NFIN
	3PL.S	OC catch change		fish	3PL.O	carry	AUX
	pron	vt		nm	pron	vt	aux

<b>kamahari</b>		<b>okomise</b>		<b>hiyari</b>	<b>aati</b>
ka	-ma -haari	o-	ka	amise	hiyara.NFIN
go/come	back IP.E+M	1SG.POSS	POSS	aunt	speak
vi		nf		vi	vt

<b>toimaro</b>		<b>amani</b>		<b>yawa</b>	<b>kasohibanoho</b>
to- ha.NOM+F	-maro	ama -ni		yawa	ka- sona -hiba -no -ho
CH AUX	FP.E+F	be BKG+F		enemies	COMIT fall FUT+M IP.N+M
aux		vc		nf	vt

'They grabbed him when he was coming home carrying fish, my aunt always said. He fell on the ground with the enemies.'

<sup>78</sup> This refers to a game that young people played, burying each other except for the head.

E YOWIRI (1)

5 *Me hikasona me ta*  
 me hi- ka- sona+F me taa  
 3PL.O OC COMIT fall 3PL.S be piled up  
 pron vt pron vi

*torememone me yana*  
 to- na -rI -hemete -mone me yana  
 CH AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O get up  
 aux pron vi

*hikanabani mati*  
 hi- ka- na -haba -ni mati  
 OC COMIT AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.O  
 aux pron

'He fell down with them. They were in a pile. He got up with them.'

6 *Yawa bete kawakane ahi*  
 yawa bete ka- na -waha -kane ahi  
 enemies run COMIT AUX change ?+M then  
 nf vi aux dem

'He ran away from the enemies.'

7 *Me fororo tonakosemetemone ahi*  
 me foro -ro to- na -kosa -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S fall DUP CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They all fell.'

8 *Faya yawa noki ne yawa yawa nabitahari*  
 faya yawa noki na+M yawa yawa na- ahaba -tasa -haari  
 so enemies wait for AUX enemies enemies CAUS die again IP.E+M  
 conj nf vt aux nf nf vt

'He waited for the enemies, and killed more of them.'

9 *E Yowiri , yawa mowa ne yawa nanawatama*  
 E Yowiri yawa mowa na+M yawa na- na- wata -ma  
 (man's name) enemies fight AUX enemies DUP CAUS exist DUP  
 npropm nf vt aux nf vt

*toematamona ino amane*  
 to- ha -himata -mona ino ama -ne  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M be BKG+M  
 aux pn vc

'E Yowiri fought with the enemies, and he killed all of the enemies.'

10 *Mera nabirima na toematamona ino*  
 mera na- ahaba -rima na to- ha -himata -mona ino  
 3PL.O CAUS die intermittent AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M  
 pron vt aux aux pn

*amakana , me mowa hinahari*  
 ama -ka -na me mowa hi- na -haari  
 be DECL+M IRR+M 3PL.S fight OC AUX IP.E+M  
 vc pron vt aux

'He kept killing them when they fought against him.'

## E YOWIRI (1)

11 **Tati Arawani**     *me*     *awa*     *me*     *ka*     *na*     *me*     *awa*     *me*     *ka*  
 Tati Arawani     me     awa     me     kaa     na+F     me     awa     me     kaa  
 (man's name)     3PL     tree     3PL.S     chop     AUX     3PL.S     tree     3PL.S     chop  
 npropm     pron     nf     pron     vt     aux     pron     nf     pron     vt

**nawaha**     *me*     ,     **fatara**     **bote**     **bite**     **itineni**  
 na -waha+F     me     ,     fatara     bote     bite     ita     -ne     -ni  
 AUX change     3PL.S     garden     old     small+F     be located     CONT+F     BKG+F  
 aux     pron     nf     adj     adj     vi

**Bia Fa**     *ka*     *ha* .  
 Bia Faa     ka     haa  
 (name of stream)     LOC     DEM  
 npropf     prt     dem

'Tati Arawani and the others cut down trees. There are big old gardens at Bia Fa.'

12 **Kona**     *me*     **koro**     **hinemata**     **watane**  
 kona     me     koro     hi- na -himata     wata.CONT+M     -ne  
 plant sp     3PL.S     plant     OC     AUX     FP.N+M     stand     BKG+M  
 nm     pron     vt     aux     vi

'There are *kona* plants there that they planted.'

13 **Kona**     *me*     **koro**     **hinemata**     **wataka**     **fari**  
 kona     me     koro     hi- na -himata     wata -ka     faari  
 plant sp     3PL.S     plant     OC     AUX     FP.N+M     stand     DECL+M     that one+M  
 nm     pron     vt     aux     vi     dem

**Bia Fa**     **kari** .  
 Bia Faa     kari  
 (name of stream)     LOC+M  
 npropf     prt

'There are *kona* plants at Bia Fa that they planted.'

14 **Me**     **wiwina**     **toimetemone**     ,     **tabori**     **bote**     ,     *me*     *ka*  
 me     wi- wina     to- ha.NOM+F     -mete     -mone     ,     tabori     bote     ,     me     ka  
 3PL.S     DUP     live     CH     AUX     FP.N+F     REP+F     place+F     old     3PL     POSS  
 pron     vi     aux     pn     adj     pron     prt

**fatara**     **bote**     **si**     **toneni**  
 fatara     bote     sii     to- na -ne     -ni  
 garden     old     sit     CH     AUX     CONT+F     BKG+F  
 nf     adj     vi     aux

'It is the place where they lived for a long time. There are many old gardens of theirs there.'

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

**namahite**     *me*     ,     *me*     **winamatasimete**  
 na -ma -hitI     me     ,     me     wina -ma -tasa.NOM+F     -mete     ,  
 AUX back along the way     3PL.S     3PL.S     live back again     FP.N+F  
 aux     pron     pron     vi

**Ye Mete**     **amaka**     **hari** .  
 Ye Mete     ama -ka     haari  
 (stream name)     be     DECL+M     that one+M  
 npropm     vc     dem

'Then they came back this way. They came along, and lived over this way again, at the Ye Mete stream.'

E YOWIRI (1)

16 *Fatara bote , si toneni*  
 fatara bote , sii to- na -ne -ni  
 garden old stand CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 nf adj vi aux

'There are old gardens there.'

17 *Faya mate afi nabone ra me kamawa*  
 faya matehe afi na -habone ra me ka -ma -waha+F  
 so children bathe AUX INT+F O 3PL.S go/come back change  
 conj nf vi aux prt pron vi

*me towinama me ka mate fa kabine yobi*  
 me to- wina -ma+F me ka matehe faha kabine yobi  
 3PL.S away live back 3PL POSS children port go back and forth  
 pron vi pron prt nf nf vi

*na ra , yima weye na namata*  
 na+F ra yima weye na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX O Yima carry AUX AUX FP.N+M  
 aux prt npropm vt aux aux

'They came this way, and lived over there. Their children were going to bathe, and they were going back and forth at the port, and a Yima carried them away.'

18 *Yimamata awaka , mate weye nari*  
 yima -mata awa -ka , matehe weye na -haari  
 Yima FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M children carry AUX IP.E+M  
 npropm sec nf vt aux

'It was a Yima who carried them off.'

19 *Himata te ebe nineri ?*  
 himata tee ebe na -ne -ri  
 what? 2PL.S purpose AUX CONT+F CQ+F  
 interrog pron vt aux

""What are you doing?""

20 *Ota afi na ota naone ayo*  
 otaa afi na+F otaa naho -ne ayo  
 1EX.S bathe AUX 1EX.S stand CONT+F older brother  
 pron vi aux pron vi nm

""We are here bathing, older brother.""

21 *Te afi nineni ?*  
 tee afi na -ne -ni  
 2PL.S bathe AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 pron vi aux

""Are you bathing?""

22 *Ee ota afi nine*  
 ee otaa afi na -ne  
 yes 1EX.S bathe AUX CONT+F  
 interj pron vi aux

""Yes, we are bathing.""

23 *Mato tama kana nematamona mate*  
 mato tama ka- na na -himata -mona matehe  
 inner bark hold onto COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M children  
 nf vt aux aux aux nf

## E YOWIRI (1)

**karabebanoho**  
 ka- raba -hiba -no -ho , **mate** **weye**  
 COMIT lash together FUT+M IP.N+M DUP matehe weye  
 children carry  
 vt nf vt

**nebanoho**  
 na -hiba -no -ho  
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He had inner bark, and he tied the children together, and carried the children off.'

24 **Niso** **te** **weweye** **onabone**  
 niso tee we- weye o- na -habone  
 younger brother 2PL.O DUP carry 1SG.S AUX INT+F  
 nm pron vt aux

''Younger brother, I'm going to carry you a little.''

25 **Te** **weweye** **obe**  
 tee we- weye o- na -be  
 2PL.S DUP carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 pron vt aux

''I'm going to carry you a little.''

26 **Tera** **me** **hora** **kibeya**  
 tera me hora ka- na -be -ya  
 2PL.O 3PL.S exclaim COMIT AUX IMMED+F now  
 pron pron vi aux

''The people will exclaim about you.''

27 **Mate** **tamaremete** **awineke**  
 matehe tama -ra -hemete awine -ke  
 children be many NEG FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F  
 nf vi sec

'It was not a lot of children.'

28 **Okoyo** **ama** **tira** **owa** **ayo**  
 o- ka ayo ama ti- ra+F owa ayo  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be 2SG.S NEG 1SG.O older brother  
 nm vc prt pron nm

**tine** **ti**  
 ti- na -ne ti-  
 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S  
 aux prt

''You are not my older brother, but you are calling me younger brother.''<sup>79</sup>

29 **Okoyo** **ama** **tiri**  
 o- ka ayo ama ti- ra.NOM+F  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be 2SG.S NEG  
 nm vc prt

''You aren't my brother.''

30 **Hiya** , **nisori**  
 hiya nisori  
 come on younger brother  
 interj voc

''Here, brother.''

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<sup>79</sup> Yowao should have said, *owa niso tine ti*.

E YOWIRI (1)

31 *Niso*                    *tiwa*     *weye*     *obe*  
 niso                    tiwa     weye     o-     na     -be  
 younger brother     2SG.O     carry     1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nm                    pron     vt             aux

"Brother, I'm going to carry you."

32 *Tiwa*     *me*             *hora*             *kibeya*  
 tiwa     me             hora             ka-     na     -be             -ya  
 2SG.O     3PL.S     exclaim     COMIT AUX IMMED+F now  
 pron     pron     vi             aux

"The people will exclaim about you."

33 *Bani*             *memone*             *me*             *me*             *hora*             *kibe*  
 bani     me     -mone     me     me     hora     ka-     na     -be  
 animal     3PL REP+F     3PL.O     3PL.S     exclaim     COMIT AUX IMMED+F  
 nm             pron             pron     pron     vi             aux

"They will exclaim about the 'animals'."

34 *Bani*             *memone*             *mera*             *karabe*                             ,     *mate*             *weye*  
 bani     me     -mone     mera     ka-     raba+M                             ,     matehe     weye  
 animal     3PL REP+F     3PL.O     COMIT     lash together                             ,     children     carry  
 nm             pron             pron     vt     ,     nf             vt

*namisebanoho*

na     -misa     -hiba     -no             -ho  
 AUX up             FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'He tied the 'animals' together, and carried the children off.'

35 *Mate*             *weye*             *namisematamona*                             *ahi*  
 matehe     weye     na     -misa     -himata     -mona     ahi  
 children     carry     AUX up             FP.N+M     REP+M     then  
 nf             vt             aux     dem

'He lifted the children onto his back.'

36 *Me*             *towakamahama*     *hinemetemone*                             *ahi*  
 me             to-     ka-     ka             -ma     -hama                             hi-     na     -hemete     -mone     ahi  
 3PL.O     away     COMIT go/come back     pretending     OC     AUX FP.N+F     REP+F     then  
 pron     vt     aux     dem

*fara*             *me*             *ka*             *ami*             *me*             *wini*                             *ka*             *ya*  
 fara     me     ka     ami     me     wina.NOM+F                             ka     ya  
 same+F     3PL     POSS     mother     3PL.S     lie in hammock     LOC     ADJU  
 dem             pron prt     nf             pron     vi     prt     prt

'He made believe he was taking them to where their mothers were in hammocks.'

37 *Wete*             *kanibote*     *kane*             *ahi*  
 wete     ka-     na     -bote             na     -kane     ahi  
 return     COMIT AUX quickly     AUX ?+M     then  
 vi             aux     aux             dem

'He turned around right away.'

38 *Me*             *weye*             *ni*                             ,     *mate*             *weye*             *ni*  
 me             weye     na.NFIN                             ,     matehe     weye     na.NFIN  
 3PL.O     carry     AUX     children     carry     AUX  
 pron     vt             aux     nf             vt             aux



E YOWIRI (1)

**tokomematamona**

to- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

'He went away carrying the children.'

39 **Me**

**hiwamakemata**

**awa**

me hi- to- awa -makI -himata awa  
 3PL.S OC away see following FP.N+M seem+M  
 pron vt sec

'They went and found him.'

40 **Matehe**

**mate**

**fawa**

**kani**

**me**

matehe matehe fawa ka- na.NFIN me  
 children children disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 nf nf vi aux pron

**hiwasimetemoneke**

hi- wasi -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They discovered that the children were missing.'

41 **Afa**

**me**

**winimete**

**ya**

**Satana**

**amani**

**yima**

**mati**

afa me wina.NOM+F -mete ya Satana ama -ni yima mati  
 this+F 3PL.S live FP.N+F ADJU Santana be BKG+F Yima 3PL  
 dem pron vi prt npropf vc npropm pron

**me**

**mate**

**me**

**kabimete**

**karo**

me matehe me kaba.NOM+F -mete karo  
 3PL children 3PL.S eat FP.N+F LOC  
 pron nf pron vt prt

'It was at their village at Santana that the Yimas ate the children.'

42 **Mate**

**me**

**kabemete**

**me**

**awineke**

**fahi**

matehe me kaba -hemete me awine -ke fahi  
 children 3PL.S eat FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F then  
 nf pron vt pron sec dem

'They ate the children.'

43 **Me**

**me**

**mowa**

**hiwemetemone**

**me**

**amani**

**waha**

me me mowa hi- na -waha -hemete -mone me ama -ni waha  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O SEC BKG+F now  
 pron pron vt aux pron sec prt

'Then they fought against them.'

44 **Me**

**ka**

**yiwa**

**ibe**

**ta**

me ka yiwa ibe taa  
 3PL POSS pot piece be piled up  
 pron prt nf pn vi

**torineti**

to- na -rI -ne -tee.NOM  
 CH AUX raised surface CONT+F HAB  
 aux

'The pieces of their pots are in a pile.'

E YOWIRI (1)

45 *Me me tisa hiwemetemone me*  
 me me tisa hi- na -waha -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O  
 pron pron vt aux pron

*amake*

ama -ke  
 SEC DECL+F  
 sec

'Then they shot them with arrows.'

46 *Yima , yima me hamate me amake*  
 yima yima me hama -tee me ama -ke  
 Yima Yima 3PL.S be mean HAB 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 npropm npropm pron vi pron sec

'The Yimas are fierce.'

47 *Yima mati ?*  
 yima mati  
 Yima 3PL  
 npropm pron

'The Yimas?'

48 *Ee , yima me hama me amake*  
 ee yima me hama+F me ama -ke  
 yes Yima 3PL.S be mean 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 interj npropm pron vi pron sec

'Yes, the Yimas are fierce.'

49 *Ota hamakere ha ota*  
 otaa hama -ke -re haa otaa  
 1EX.S be mean DECL+F NEG+F DEM 1EX  
 pron vi dem pron

'We are not fierce.'

50 *Me me mowa hiwemetemone me tabori*  
 me me mowa hi- na -waha -hemete -mone me tabori  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS place+F  
 pron pron vt aux pron pn  
*itineke*  
 ita -ne -ke , me yofiyofina raba ra  
 be located CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.S DUP cause fear AUX a bit AUX NEG  
 vi pron vi aux aux

*mati me tabori*  
 mati me tabori  
 3PL.S 3PL.POSS place+F  
 pron pron pn

'Then they fought against them, and their village is there. Their village is scary.'

51 *Mayawari Mayawari me kaba nemetemone me*  
 Mayawari Mayawari me kaba.LIST na -hemete -mone me  
 (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.S eat AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 npropm npropm pron vt aux pron

*amani*

ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'They ate Mayawari, too.'

## E YOWIRI (1)

52 *Mayawari me kaba , bai toke ya bai toke*  
 mayawari me kaba+F , bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya bahi to- ka.NOM+M  
 titi 3PL.S eat sun away go/come ADJU sun away go/come  
 nm pron vt nm vi prt nm vi

*ya ko karayawebona kamahari*  
 ya koo karayawaha -hibona ka -ma -haari  
 ADJU tree sp wait at INT+M go/come back IP.E+M  
 prt nf vt vi

'They ate Mayawari when he wanted to wait for animals at a *koo* tree, and he was coming back in the late afternoon.'

53 *Bai tokematamona amaka*  
 bahi to- ka -himata -mona ama -ka  
 sun away go/come FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 nm vi sec

'It was late afternoon.'

54 *Ko okarayawamatibe*  
 koo o- to- karayawaha -ma -mata -be  
 tree sp 1SG.S away wait at back short time IMMED+F  
 nf vt

'I'm going to wait for animals at the *koo* tree.'

55 *Kokosi me fora obe*  
 kokosi me fora o- na -be  
 kinkajou 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nm pron vt aux

'I'm going to blowgun kinkajous.'

56 *Abi e fama*  
 abi ee fama  
 father 1IN.S be two  
 nm pron vi

'Father, I want to go with you.'

57 *E fama*  
 ee fama  
 1IN.S be two  
 pron vi

'You can't go.'

58 *E famaba ereke , bati ya fawa*  
 ee fama -haba ere -ke , bati ya fawa  
 1IN.S be two FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F 3SG.POSS.father ADJU disappear  
 pron vi pron nm prt vi

*tokanebanoho yima me ihi*  
 to- ka- na -hiba -no -ho yima me ihi  
 CH COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP Yima 3PL.POSS because of+F  
 aux npropm pron post

'We will go together.' He died together with his father, because of the Yimas.'

59 *Faya ati tokifiwamematamonane*  
 faya ati to- ka -fi -waha -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 so voice away go/come water change back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 conj pn vi

'He went to the water singing.'

E YOWIRI (1)

60 *Ayaka hiri ne ayaki*  
 ayaka hiri na+M ayaka.NFIN  
 song sing AUX sing  
 nf vt aux vi

*tokifiwamematamonane* *kokosi me*  
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma -himata -mona -ne kokosi me  
 away go/come water change back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M kinkajou 3PL.POSS  
 vi nm pron

*taibone hiri nari yima me*  
 tahi -bone hiri na -haari yima me  
 song about INT+F sing AUX IP.E+M Yima 3PL.S  
 pn vt aux npropm pron

*hiwahiyebanoho*  
 hi- wahiya -hiba -no -ho  
 OC hide from FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'He sang. He went to the water singing. He was singing a song about the kinkajous. The Yimas hid from him.'

61 *Yima fana homabasa nemetemone ama fa*  
 yima fana homa -basa.LIST na -hemete -mone ama faha  
 Yima female lie on ground edge AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC stream  
 npropm nf vi aux sec nf

*ate ya me hibaharo*  
 ate ya me hi- iba -haaro  
 bank+F ADJU 3PL.S OC set down IP.E+F  
 pn prt pron vt

'A Yima woman was lying on the ground beside the trail on the bank of the stream. They had placed her there.'

62 *Bokahawa maririne ota itihabone*  
 bokahawa mari -rine otaa iti -habone  
 palm sp feast PN 1EX.S begin INT+F  
 nf pn pron vt

'''We are going to feast on *bokahawa* porridge.'''

63 *Bokahawa ota mari nabone ota yaka nineni ati*  
 bokahawa otaa mari na -habone otaa yaka na -ne -ni ati  
 palm sp 1EX.S feast AUX INT+F 1EX.S walk AUX CONT+F BKG+F say  
 nf pron vi aux pron vi aux vt

*nematamonaka Mayawari*  
 na -himata -mona -ka Mayawari  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name)  
 aux npropm

'''We are walking to drink *bokahawa* porridge at the festa," he sang, Mayawari.'

64 *Ati yima me mitati me*  
 ati yima me mita -tee.NOM me  
 voice Yima 3PL.S hear HAB 3PL.S  
 pn npropm pron vt pron

*waiyikimemetemoneni*  
 wahiya -kima -hemete -mone -ni  
 hide two FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'The two Yimas who were hiding heard him.'

E YOWIRI (1)

65 *Yima me* , *waiyikima me tokifiwa me* ,  
 yima me , wahiya -kima+F me to- ka -fI+F me ,  
 Yima 3PL.S hide two 3PL.S away go/come water 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vi pron vi pron

*noko awebanoho*  
 noko awa -hiba -no -ho  
 eye+M see FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pn vi

'The two Yimas were hiding, and they went to the water. He saw something.'

66 *Inamatewe* , *himata nima inamate nemata* .  
 inamatewe himata nima inamate na -himata  
 child what? like child AUX FP.N+M  
 nm interrog prt nm aux

'How big was the boy?'

67 *Fiko fiko* *fiko* *inamatewe yama*  
 fiko fiko inamatewe yama  
 (cry of capuchin) (cry of capuchin) child thing  
 vi vi nm nf

*homini ati nematamona ahi* .  
 homa -ni ati na -himata -mona ahi  
 lie on ground BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi vt aux dem

'"Fiko, fiko, boy there is someone lying on the ground," he said.'

68 *Mayawari kana ni kame* , *taboro ewene*  
 mayawari kana na.NFIN ka -ma+M , taboro ewene  
 titi run AUX go/come back place wood+M  
 nm vi aux vi pn pn

*itematamona amaka ahi* .  
 ita -himata -mona ama -ka ahi  
 pierce FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then  
 vt sec dem

'Mayawari came back running. He hit the tree where he had been with the spear.'

69 *Kooroo wakai* *awa moni* *tona rama ahi* .  
 kooroo wakai awa moni to- na+F rama ahi  
 sound (sound of hitting) tree make sound CH AUX unusual then  
 sound nf vt aux prt dem

'Kooroo, wakai, went the sound of the spear as it was thrown and hit the tree.'

70 *O tonakosematamona ahi* , *hasi*  
 oo to- na -kosa -himata -mona ahi , hasi  
 express disgust CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M then escape  
 vi aux dem vi

*karenaha*  
 ka- na -ra -hina -ha  
 COMMIT AUX NEG IRR+M DUP  
 aux

'He muttered in disgust. He would have escaped.'

71 *Biti e kane ene wete kanibote*  
 biti ee ka- na+M ehene wete ka- na -bote  
 3SG.POSS.son yell COMMIT AUX because of+M return COMMIT AUX quickly  
 nm vi aux post vi aux

E YOWIRI (1)

*ne rama ahi*  
na+M rama ahi  
AUX unusual then  
aux prt dem  
'Because his son was yelling, he turned around and went back.'

72 *Tihii tai tih tone rama*  
tihii tahi tih to- na+M rama  
sound weapon against hit CH AUX unusual  
pn vi aux prt  
'Tihii, went the sound of the spear when it hit him.'

73 *Aaa ati nematamona ahi*  
aaa ati na -himata -mona ahi  
(cry of pain) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
interj vt aux dem  
'"Aaa," he said.'

74 *Hibake Mayawari , namoni tokomemata ?*  
hibake Mayawari , namoni to- ka -ma -himata ?  
who+M (man's name) report away go/come back FP.N+M  
interrog npropm pn vi  
'Who took the news about Mayawari back to the village?'

75 *Faya me faya me , toro me hitimatamona ahi*  
faya me faya me , toro me hi- iti -himata -mona ahi  
so 3PL so 3PL guts+M 3PL.S OC take out FP.N+M REP+M then  
conj pron conj pron pn pron vt dem  
'They took out his guts.'

76 *Me ihi me awatini me , me haha*  
me ihi me awa -tee.NOM -ni me , me ha- haa  
3PL.POSS result of+F 3PL.S see HAB IP.N+F 3PL 3PL.S DUP call  
pron pn pron vt pron pron vt  
*hinebanoho*  
hi- na -hiba -no -ho , *Mayawari manakone me*  
OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP Mayawari manakone me  
aux (man's name) revenge 3PL.S  
npropm pn pron  
*nawatabone mati*  
na- wata -habone mati  
CAUS exist INT+F 3PL.S  
vt pron  
'They saw what they had done, and they called out to him, but they did not avenge Mayawari.'

77 *Mayawari me inamati , Mayawari me inamati kabani*  
Mayawari me inamati , Mayawari me inamati kaba -hani  
(man's name) people (man's name) people eat IP.N+F  
npropm nf npropm nf vt  
'"Some strangers ate Mayawari.'"

78 *Oka koma amare me inamati kaba awine ?*  
o- ka koma ama -ra+M me inamati kaba+F awine ?  
1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law be NEG people eat seem+F  
prt nm vc nf vt sec  
'"Some strangers ate my son-in-law.'"

E YOWIRI (1)

79 *Wati me bokori kana hine me awaawa*  
 wati me bokori ka- na+F hine me awa- awa  
 arrow 3PL.S hold COMMIT AUX 3.REFL 3PL.S DUP see  
 nm pron vt aux pron pron vt

*rimete*

na -ra.NOM+F -mete  
 AUX NEG FP.N+F  
 aux

'They had bows and arrows, why didn't they kill them?'

80 *Me hinakame rama , me*  
 me hi- to- na- ka -ma+M rama me  
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come back unusual 3PL.S  
 pron vt prt pron

*hinakamematamonaka*

hi- to- na- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka me  
 OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S  
 vt pron

*hinahabihibonaha*

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

'They went after him, to kill him.'

81 *Me ha hine , ha tonakosematamona ahi*  
 me haa hi- na+M , haa to- na -kosa -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL.S call OC AUX call CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron vt aux vi aux dem

'They called him, and he called back.'

82 *Me kana ni tokomari na rama*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -ri na+F rama  
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back right away AUX unusual  
 pron vi aux vi aux prt

'They went running right back.'

83 *Yama siba namematamona ahi*  
 yama siba na -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 thing look for AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nf vt aux dem

'He looked for others to kill.'

84 *Mayawari me one , kana ni tokoma rama*  
 Mayawari me one , kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F rama  
 (man's name) 3PL other+F run AUX away go/come back unusual  
 npropm pron adj vi aux vi prt

'Mayawari's relatives went running home.'

85 *Mayawari manakone watematamonaha , me ihi*  
 Mayawari manakone wata -himata -mona -ha , me ihi  
 (man's name) revenge exist FP.N+M REP+M DUP 3PL.POSS because of+F  
 npropm pn vi pron post

*me one*  
 me one  
 3PL other+F  
 pron adj

E YOWIRI (1)

'They did not avenge Mayawari, his relatives.'

86 *Me one kana ni tokemete me awineke*  
 me one kana na.NFIN to- ka -hemete me awine -ke  
 3PL other+F run AUX away go/come FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 pron adj vi aux vi pron sec

'They went running away.'

87 *Siba rematamonaka hari yima me*  
 siba na -ra -himata -mona -ka haari yima me  
 be all right AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M Yima 3PL.O  
 vi aux dem npropm pron

*mowa nawebanoho*  
 mowa na -waha -hiba -no -ho  
 fight AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt aux

'One of them had courage, and he fought against the Yimas.'

88 *Me ye awaraba ninimakoni me mowa*  
 me yehe awaraba na -ni -makoni me mowa  
 3PL.POSS hand leave alone AUX IP.N+F for this reason+F 3PL.O fight  
 pron pn vi aux pron vt

*hinemetemonehe*  
 hi- na -hemete -mone -he  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 aux

'If they had left him alone, he wouldn't have fought against them.'

89 *Bati me wete hine , bati me*  
 bati me wete hi- na+M , bati me  
 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.S tie OC AUX 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

*hiwate me wete hine , me hekame*  
 hi- wata+M me wete hi- na+M , me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M  
 OC catch 3PL.S tie OC AUX 3PL.S OC away COMMIT go/come back  
 vt pron vt aux pron vt

*fati , biti , fati fame me*  
 fati biti fati fama+M me  
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.wife be with 3PL.S  
 nf nm nf vi pron

*hekame inamatewe nafiremata awaka*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M inamatewe nafi -ra -himata awa -ka  
 OC away COMMIT go/come back child be big NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 vt nm vi sec

'They tied up his father. They caught him and tied him up. They took him away. His wife and son, too. They took him away. The boy was not big.'

90 *Aa , okobi kamaki*  
 aa o- ka abi ka -makI.NFIN  
 (expression of displeasure) 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come following  
 interj nm vi

*kekerewe rebona ati ne kakamakikabote*  
 ke- kerewe na -ra -hibona ati na+M ka- ka -makI -kabote  
 DUP be slow AUX NEG INT+M say AUX DUP go/come following quickly  
 vi aux vt aux vi



## E YOWIRI (1)

**ra**

na -ra.CONT+M  
AUX NEG  
aux

"Aa, my father said he would come quickly, but he has not come quickly."

91 **Okobi**

o-	ka	abi	<b>owamamatibe</b>	o-	to-	awa	-ma	-mata	-be
1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.S	away	see	back	short	time	IMMED+F
nm			vt						

"I will go and see my father."

92 **Ati**

<b>fawa</b>	<b>namako</b>	<b>kama</b>
ati	fawa	na -mako
voice	disappear	AUX for this reason+M
pn	vi	aux
		ka -ma.CONT+M
		go/come back
		vi

**namata**

na.NOM+M -mata  
AUX FP.N+M  
aux

'He was remembering as he arrived back.'

93 **Bati**

<b>kamakiramako</b>
bati
ka -makI -ra -mako
3SG.POSS.father
nm
go/come following NEG for this reason+M
vi

**amakamata**

ama -ka -mata  
SEC DECL+M FP.N+M  
sec

'His father didn't come.'

94 **Faya**

<b>kame</b>	<b>kame</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>i</b>
faya	ka -ma+M	ka -ma+M	me
so	go/come back	go/come back	3PL.POSS
conj	vi	vi	pron
			ih
			result of+F

**wasimebanoho**

wasi -ma -hiba -no -ho  
find back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
vt

'He came back. He came upon the signs of them.'

95 **Me**

<b>i</b>	<b>wasimematamonane</b>
me	wasi -ma -himata -mona -ne
3PL.POSS	find back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
pron	pn
	vt

'He came upon the signs of them.'

96 **Me**

<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mari</b>	<b>nabone</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>mari</b>
me	me	mari	na -habone	me	me	mari
3PL	3PL.S	feast	AUX INT+F	3PL	3PL.S	feast
pron	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vi

**namataremetemonekene**

<b>yawa</b>	<b>ihi</b>
na -mata	-ra -hemete -mone -ke -ne
AUX	short time NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F IRR+F
aux	
	yawa ihi
	grief because of+F
	nf post

'They were going to have a festa, but they didn't start the festa because of his grief.'

E YOWIRI (1)

97 *Me me mowa namatemetemoneni me*  
 me me mowa na -mata -hemete -mone -ni me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX short time FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron

*ayakawabani mati*  
 ayaka -waha -haba -ni mati  
 dance change FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'They fought against them first, and afterwards had the festa.'

98 *Okobi me inamati wete nani*  
 o- ka abi , me inamati wete na -hani ,  
 1SG.POSS POSS father people tie AUX IP.N+F  
 nm nf vt aux

*okobi me me inamati towakamani*  
 o- ka abi me , me inamati to- ka- ka -ma -hani  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL people away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F  
 nm pron nf vt

*owa me kanakomeha okomine o*  
 owa me ka- na- komeha o- ka -ma -ne o-  
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT CAUS be fearsome 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S  
 pron pron vt vi prt

'Some strangers tied up my father, and the strangers took my father away. They made me afraid, and I have come back.'

99 *Me yawemete me awineke me ka abi me*  
 me yawa -hemete me awine -ke me ka abi me ,  
 3PL.S be upset FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F 3PL POSS father 3PL  
 pron vi pron sec pron prt nm pron

*yima me hekamahari*  
 yima me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -haari  
 Yima 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M  
 npropm pron vt

'They grieved because the Yimas had taken their father away.'

100 *Amo nemata awa*  
 amo na -himata awa  
 sleep AUX FP.N+M seem+M  
 vi aux sec

'He couldn't sleep.'

101 *Yawa ka amo tiba*  
 yawa ka amo ti- na.NOM -ba  
 anger because sleep 2SG.S AUX FUT  
 nf prt vi aux

'You won't be able to sleep if you are upset.'

102 *Me me hinakamakiabone*  
 me me hi- to- na- ka -makI -habone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following INT+F  
 pron pron vt

*Okobi e towamake mata*  
 o- ka abi e , to- awa -makI mata  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1IN.S away see following for now  
 nm pron vt prt

E YOWIRI (1)

'They decided to go after them. "Let's go and look at my father."<sup>80</sup>

103 *Ha* *fara* *marina* *me* *itiha* *me* *ya* *me* *yoro*  
 haa fara marina me iti+F me ya me yoro  
 DEM same+F feast 3PL.S begin 3PL ADJU 3PL.S be together  
 dem dem nf pron vt pron prt pron vi

*tokana* *rama* *ahi*  
 to- ka- na+F rama ahi  
 CH COMIT AUX unusual then  
 aux prt dem

'The people that were at the festa joined in with them.'

104 *Hekama* *me* *me*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me me  
 OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt pron pron

*hinakamemetemoneke*  
 hi- to- na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'They went after them.'

105 *Hinaka* *wati* *kahoma* *wati* *hinaka* *yama* *boti*  
 hinaka wati ka- homa.LIST wati hinaka yama boti  
 3SG.POSS arrow COMIT lie on ground arrow 3SG.POSS thing bunch+F  
 pron nm vi nm pron nf pn

*homemetemone* *me* *hekamahari*  
 homa -hemete -mone me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -haari  
 lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M  
 vi pron vt

'His arrows were on the ground. His things were on the ground, because they had taken him away.'

106 *Faya* *me* *yima* *me* *ihi* *tabiyo* *yama* *siba*  
 faya me yima me ihi tabiyo yama siba  
 so 3PL Yima 3PL.POSS result of+F wanting thing look for  
 conj pron npropm pron pn post nf vt

*nematamona* *ahi*  
 na -himata -mona ahi  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'He looked around for signs of the Yimas.'

107 *Me* *i* *tokomi* *ya*  
 me ihi to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya  
 3PL.POSS result of+F away go/come back ADJU  
 pron pn vi prt

*tokomakematamona* *ahi*  
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

'He went after their tracks.'

108 *Tokomake* *me* *one* *haha* *nematamonaha*  
 to- ka -makI me one ha- haa na -himata -mona -ha  
 away go/come following 3PL other+F DUP call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 vi pron adj vt aux

80 Yowao actually said something like *me hinakamakie*; *me me hinakamakiabone* is what he intended to say.

E YOWIRI (1)

'He went. He called to the others.'

109 *Me*            *i*                            *tokomine*                            *ha*  
 me            ihi                            to- ka                            -ma -ne                            haa  
 3PL.POSS    result of+F                    away go/come back CONT+F                    DEM  
 pron            pn                            vi    dem

""Their tracks go that way.""

110 *Me*            *e*                            *towamake*                            *mata*  
 me            ee                            to- awa -makI                            mata  
 3PL.O    1IN.S                            away see following                            for now  
 pron    pron                            vt    prt

""Let's go see them.""

111 *Me*            *e*                            *towamake*                            *mata*                            *okobi*                            *me*  
 me            ee                            to- awa -makI                            mata                            o-                            ka                            abi                            me  
 3PL.O    1IN.S                            away see following                            for now                            1SG.POSS                            POSS                            father                            3PL.S  
 pron    pron                            vt    prt                            nm    pron

*towakamani*    *mati*  
 to- ka-                            ka                            -ma -hani                            mati  
 away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F                            3PL.S  
 vt    pron

""Let's go see them, the ones who took my father away.""

112 *Tokomakematamona*    *ahi*  
 to- ka                            -makI                            -himata -mona                            ahi  
 away go/come following FP.N+M                            REP+M                            then  
 vi    dem

'He went there.'

113 *Me*            *tokomani*    *fara*                            *me*                            *ihi*                            *ya*  
 me            to- ka                            -ma -hani                            fara                            me                            ihi                            ya  
 3PL.S    away go/come back IP.N+F                            same+F                            3PL.POSS                            result of+F                            ADJU  
 pron    vi    dem                            pron                            pn    prt

*me*            *tokomaketemone*    *ahi*  
 me            to- ka                            -makI                            -hemete -mone                            ahi  
 3PL.S    away go/come following FP.N+F                            REP+F                            then  
 pron    vi    dem

'They had gone away, and they went after their tracks.'

114 *Kori*                            *kasabisamako*  
 kori                            ka-                            na -kosa -bisa -mako  
 be afraid COMIT AUX middle also for this reason+M  
 vi    aux

*tokiyomamake*    *namata*  
 to- ka                            -yoma                            -makI.CONT+M                            na.NOM+M -mata  
 away go/come through following                            AUX                            FP.N+M  
 vi    aux

'He was bold, and he went inside.'

115 *Me*            ,            *yama*            *me*            *kakatoma*                            *me*            *naobasa*                            *me*            *ni*            *ya*  
 me            yama            me            ka-            katoma+F                            me            naho -basa+F                            me            ni            ya  
 3PL            thing            3PL.S            COMIT look at                            3PL.S            stand edge                            3PL            to            ADJU  
 pron    nf                            pron    vt    pron    vi    pron    prt            prt

E YOWIRI (1)

**yima kamematamona amane afi nebanoho**  
yima ka -ma -himata -mona ama -ne afi na -hiba -no -ho  
Yima go/come back FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M bathe AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
npropm vi sec vi aux

**iyawa itibanoho**  
iyawa iti -hiba -no -ho  
manioc mash take out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
nf vt

'As they stood there next to the water and watched, a Yima came. He bathed, and took some manioc mash out of the water.'

116 **Hehe me hekame**  
hehe me hi- ka- ka -ma+M  
this one+M 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back  
dem pron vt

**kakawibonaha ra itimatamonane**  
ka- kawi -bona -ha ra iti -himata -mona -ne  
DUP eat with something INT+M DUP O take out FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
pn prt vt

**iyawa bote**  
iyawa bote  
manioc mash old  
nf adj

'He took the ripe manioc mash out of the water, which was what they would eat with the one they had brought there.'

117 **Iyawa bote iti iyawa tonawakose ra**  
iyawa bote iti+M iyawa to- na- waa -kosa+M ra  
manioc mash old take out manioc mash CH CAUS stand middle O  
nf adj vt nf vt prt

**me tokatabamakemetemone**  
me to- ka- taba -makI -hemete -mone  
3PL.S away COMIT be together following FP.N+F REP+F  
pron vt

'He took the ripe manioc mash out of the water, and he set the basket on the ground. They went with him.'

118 **Warima tinahi**  
waa -rima ti- na -hi  
stand NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
vi aux

""Don't just stand there.""

119 **Hima hima hima hima me ati nemetemone**  
hima hima hima hima me ati na -hemete -mone  
let's go let's go let's go let's go 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
interj interj interj interj pron vt aux

**ahi**  
ahi  
then  
dem

""Come on, come on," they said.'

120 **Me tokamakemetemone ahi**  
me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then  
pron vi dem

'They went there.'

E YOWIRI (1)

121 *Inamatewe oi ni yana ne oi ni*  
 inamatewe ohi na.NFIN yana na+M ohi na.NFIN  
 child cry AUX start AUX cry AUX  
 nm vi aux vi aux vi aux

*kawitematamona bati beri ya*  
 ka- ita -himata -mona bati beheri ya  
 COMIT sit FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.father side ADJU  
 vi nm pn prt

'The child started crying. He was crying sitting on the ground next to his father.'

122 *Me fanawi ya me tabemete me awineke*  
 me fanawi ya me taba -hemete me awine -ke  
 women ADJU 3PL.S be together FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F  
 nf prt pron vi pron sec

'There were women with them.'

123 *Tokiyomamakematamona*  
 to- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona  
 away go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'He went inside.'

124 *Yima nowati ya tokiyomamakematamona ahi*  
 yima nowati ya to- ka -yoma -makI -himata -mona ahi  
 Yima behind ADJU away go/come through following FP.N+M REP+M then  
 npropm pn prt vi dem

'He went in after the Yima.'

125 *Tokiyomamakemetemone ahi*  
 to- ka -yoma -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
 away go/come through following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'They went inside.'

126 *Faira ?*  
 fahi -ra  
 that NPQ  
 dem

""Well?""

127 *Okobi okobi e ra*  
 o- ka abi o- ka abi ee na -ra  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father (question) AUX CQ+M  
 nm nm vi aux

*okobi te kakamenoho ?*  
 o- ka abi tee ka- ka -ma -hino -ho  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 2PL.S COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DUP  
 nm pron vt

""Where is my father, my father who you brought here?""

128 *Yama , ki tonikimematamona ahi*  
 yama , kii to- niha- na -kima -himata -mona ahi  
 thing look at CH CAUS AUX two FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nf vt aux dem

'He looked around.'

E YOWIRI (1)

129 *Ayo*                      *ayo*                      *ayo*                      *ayo*                      *ayo*  
 ayo                      ayo                      ayo                      ayo                      ayo  
 older brother    older brother    older brother    older brother    older brother  
 nm                      nm                      nm                      nm                      nm

*inamatewe*    *oi*    *ni*                      *ati*    *nematamona*                      *ama*    *ahi*  
 inamatewe    ohi    na.NFIN    ati    na -himata -mona    ama    ahi  
 child            cry    AUX            say    AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    SEC    then  
 nm                      vi    aux            vt    aux                      sec    dem

"Older brother, older brother," the boy said, crying.'

130 *Faya*    *me*            ,    *inamate*    *oi*    *ni*                      *kawite*                      ,    *Okobi*  
 faya    me            ,    inamate    ohi    na.NFIN    ka-    ita+M                      ,    o-            ka    abi  
 so    3PL            child    cry    AUX            COMMIT    sit                      1SG.POSS    POSS    father  
 conj    pron            nm            vi    aux            vi                      nm

*te*            *tisahi*  
 tee            tisa -hi  
 2PL.S    undo IMP+F  
 pron    vt

'The boy was sitting on the ground crying. "Untie my father."

131 *Okobi*  
 o-            ka    abi            *te*            *tisa*  
 1SG.POSS    POSS    father    2PL.S    undo  
 nm                      pron    vt

"Untie my father."

132 *Ati*            *me*            *hinabiharemata*                      *awaka*  
 ati            me            hi- na-    ahaba -ra -himata    awa    -ka  
 voice    3PL.S    OC    CAUS    end    NEG FP.N+M    seem+M    DECL+M  
 pn            pron            vt                      sec

'They didn't ignore him.'

133 *Me*            *hitisemata*                      *awaka*  
 me            hi-    tisa -himata    awa    -ka  
 3PL.S    OC    undo    FP.N+M    seem+M    DECL+M  
 pron    vt                      sec

'They untied him.'

134 *Efe*            *ama*    *namata*                      ,    *fare*            *fe*            *wete*            *nenoho*  
 efe            ama    na.NOM+M    -mata                      ,    fare            fee            wete    na -hino -ho  
 this+M    be    AUX            FP.N+M                      same+M    3SG.O    tie    AUX IP.N+M    DUP  
 dem            vc    aux                      dem            pron            vt            aux

'It was the very one who had tied him up.'

135 *Fare*            *fe*            *wete*            *nenoho*                      *fe*            *tisa*                      *namata*  
 fare            fee            wete    na -hino    fee            tisa.CONT+M    na.NOM+M    -mata  
 same+M    3SG.O    tie    AUX IP.N+M    3SG.O    undo                      AUX            FP.N+M  
 dem            pron            vt            aux            pron            vt                      aux

'The same one who had tied him up also untied him.'

136 *Makoni*                      *biti*                      *sa*                      *hikana*  
 makoni                      biti                      saa                      hi- ka-    na.CONT+M  
 for this reason    3SG.POSS.son    shoot with arrow    OC    COMMIT    AUX  
 conj                      nm                      vt                      aux

E YOWIRI (1)

*hinamata*

hi- na.NOM+M -mata  
 OC AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'That's why he shot his son with an arrow.'

137 *Okobi*

o-	ka	abi	<i>te</i>	<i>towakama</i>			
1SG.POSS	POSS	father	tee	to- ka- ka	-ma		
nm			2PL.S	away COMIT	go/come	back	
			pron	vt			

""Take my father away.""

138 *Okobi*

o-	ka	abi	<i>te</i>	<i>towakama</i>			<i>ahi</i>
1SG.POSS	POSS	father	tee	to- ka- ka	-ma		ahi
nm			2PL.S	away COMIT	go/come	back	there
			pron	vt			dem

""Take my father there.""

139 *Okobi*

o-	ka	abi	<i>te</i>	<i>hasi</i>	<i>nibe</i>			<i>me</i>
1SG.POSS	POSS	father	tee	hasi	niha- na	-be		me
nm			2PL.S	rest	CAUS	AUX	IMMED+F	3PL.S
			pron	vi	aux			pron

*hekamenoho*

hi- ka- ka -ma -hino -ho  
 OC COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

""Have my father rest, who they brought here.""

140 *Wati*

<i>tama</i>	<i>kane</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>kawematamona</i>	<i>yima</i>
wati	tama	ka- na+M	ati	ka- waa -himata -mona
arrow	hold onto	COMIT AUX	voice	COMIT stand FP.N+M REP+M
nm	vt	aux	pn	vt

*me*

<i>baikani</i>	<i>ya</i>
me	baikani
3PL.POSS	middle
pron	ADJU
	prt

'He was holding his bow and arrows as he stood speaking in the midst of the Yimas.'

141 *Wabori*

<i>famematamonaka</i>
wabori
3SG.POSS brother-in-law
nm

*wabori*

<i>ya</i>
wabori
3SG.POSS brother-in-law
nm

'He was with his brother-in-law.'

142 *Yima*

<i>fana</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ihakanikima</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>rama</i>
yima	fana	me	me	iha	-kanikima
Yima	female	3PL.O	3PL.S	take in turn	scattered
npropm	nf	pron	pron	vt	

'They were grabbing the Yima women.'



E YOWIRI (1)

143 *Oof wati soba towitimatamona ahi*  
 oof wati soba to- na -witI -himata -mona ahi  
 hoo arrow pull out away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M then  
 interj nm vt aux dem

'He took out an arrow.'

144 *Wati soba towiti wati yori*  
 wati soba to- na -witI+M wati yori  
 arrow pull out away AUX out arrow insert  
 nm vt aux nm vt

*tomisematamona neme ka ya ahi yima wahi*  
 to- na -misa -himata -mona neme ka ya ahi yima waa+M  
 away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M up LOC ADJU there Yima stand  
 aux nf prt prt dem npropm vi

*wati kanenoho*  
 wati ka- na -hino -ho  
 plan against COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 vt aux

'He pulled out an arrow. He inserted the arrow pointing it upwards, but he was planning against a Yima man standing there.'

145 *Te ka yobe bako sa okani*  
 tee ka yobe bako saa o- ka- na  
 2PL POSS house inner surface+M shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
 pron prt nm pn vt aux

*toe ori*  
 to- ha o- -ra.NOM+F  
 CH AUX 1SG.S NEG  
 aux prt

'''I'm going to shoot an arrow in your ceiling.'''

146 *Te ka yobe bako sa okani*  
 tee ka yobe bako saa o- ka- na  
 2PL POSS house inner surface+M shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
 pron prt nm pn vt aux

*toe o*  
 to- ha o-  
 CH AUX 1SG.S  
 aux prt

'''I'm going to shoot an arrow in your ceiling.'''

147 *Sa hikanebano wematamona ahi*  
 saa hi- ka- na -hiba -no waa -himata -mona ahi  
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M stand FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt vt vi dem

'The one who he was about to shoot with an arrow was standing there.'

148 *Kiya kanematamona ahi*  
 kiya ka- na -himata -mona ahi  
 yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux dem

'He cried out.'

E YOWIRI (1)

149 *Me ye kawemetemone ahi*  
 me yee ka- na -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'They yelled.'

150 *Me , oharimakoni yima me me , mowa*  
 me , ohari -makoni yima me me , mowa  
 3PL.S be one for this reason+F Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S fight  
 pron vi npropm pron pron vt

*nemetemonehe*

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

'There were many of them, and they fought against the Yimas.'

151 *Yima me me tisa nemetemone ahi*  
 yima me me tisa na -hemete -mone ahi  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 npropm pron pron vt aux dem

'They shot the Yimas with arrows.'

152 *Yima me me tisa na me ye*  
 yima me me tisa na+F me yee  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S yell  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vi

*kawemetemone*

ka- na -waha -hemete -mone  
 COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They yelled as they shot the Yimas with arrows.'

153 *Me yima me one tasi tonemetemone me ama ahi*  
 me yima me one tasi to- na -hemete -mone me ama ahi  
 3PL Yima 3PL some+F emerge CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC then  
 pron npropm pron adj vi aux pron sec dem

'Some of the Yimas came outside.'

154 *Me tasisi na me me tisa*  
 me tasi -si na+F me me tisa  
 3PL.S emerge DUP AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 pron vi aux pron pron vt

*hinemetemone*

hi- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'They were shooting them with arrows as they were coming outside.'

155 *Me me tisa hina me me*  
 me me tisa hi- na+F me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron pron

*hekanakosawemetemone*

hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -hemete -mone  
 OC COMIT leave middle change FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt

E YOWIRI (1)

'They shot them with arrows, and left them behind.'

156 *Faya* , *yima fana nabati weye na*  
 faya yima fana nabati weye na+F  
 so Yima female stomach carry AUX  
 conj npropm nf pn vt aux

*bokemetemoneke fahi* .  
 boka -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem

'A Yima woman who was pregnant jumped into the water.'

157 *Faya yima me ibe hose kana me yima*  
 faya yima me ibe hose kana na+F me yima  
 so Yima 3PL.POSS RECIP pull out COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS Yima  
 conj npropm pron pn vt aux pron npropm

*inamate hose kanematamonaka fahi* .  
 inamate hose ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 child pull out COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vt aux dem

'A Yima and a Jarawara struggled with each other. The boy held onto the Yima's spear.'

158 *Yima fana tame baki me sa*  
 yima fana tame baki me saa  
 Yima female foot+F inside surface+F 3PL.S shoot with arrow  
 npropm nf pn pn pron vt

*hikana bokemetemone* .  
 hi- ka- na+F boka -hemete -mone  
 OC COMIT AUX enter water FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux vi

'They shot the sole of the foot of a Yima woman as she was diving into the water.'

159 *One boka tatafi remetemone yima*  
 one boka+F tatafi remetemone yima  
 other+F enter water DUP buoy up AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F Yima  
 adj vi vi aux npropm

*fana naba koro* .  
 fana naba koro  
 female pregnant  
 nf adj

'The other woman who jumped in the water did not come back to the surface, the pregnant Yima woman.'

160 *Yima fana nabati weye na boka tatafi*  
 yima fana nabati weye na+F boka+F tatafi  
 Yima female stomach carry AUX enter water DUP buoy up  
 npropm nf pn vt aux vi vi

*remetemone me aati toemetemone Nakiri*  
 na -ra -hemete -mone me a- ati to- ha -hemete -mone Nakiri  
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S DUP say CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)  
 aux pron vt aux npropm

*aati toemari amaka* .  
 a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ka  
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M  
 vt aux sec

'The pregnant Yima woman who jumped in the water did not come back to the surface, Nakiri said they used to say.'

E YOWIRI (1)

161 *Yima me tabori bote itineni*  
 yima me tabori bote ita -ne -ni  
 Yima 3PL.POSS place+F old be located CONT+F BKG+F  
 npropm pron pn adj vi

'The old village of the Yimas is there.'

162 *Faya me me , faya me me ta*  
 faya me me , faya me me taa  
 so 3PL 3PL so 3PL.O 3PL.S be piled up  
 conj pron pron conj pron pron vi

*hinihare*  
 hi- to- niha- na -rI me ni ya , yima fana  
 OC CH CAUS AUX raised surface 3PL to ADJU Yima female  
 aux pron prt prt npropm nf

*itariani*  
 ita -rI -hani me wasi -hemete -mone -ke fahi , me  
 sit raised surface IP.N+F 3PL.S find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S  
 vi pron vt dem pron

*hihiyarabanihi*  
 hi- hiyara -haba -ni -hi  
 OC speak to FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 vt

'They piled them up. They found a Yima woman sitting up high. They spoke to her.'

163 *Me tisa hikatasemetemone faro*  
 me tisa hi- ka- na -tasa -hemete -mone faaro  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+F REP+F that+F  
 pron vt aux dem

'They shot her with an arrow, too.'

164 *Yima me me mowa na me*  
 yima me me mowa na+F me  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron

*kamawemetemoneke waha*  
 ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke waha  
 go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F now  
 vi prt

'After fighting with the Yimas, they came home.'

165 *Me ayakawahemete me awineke , me ka abi*  
 me ayaka -waha -hemete me awine -ke , me ka abi  
 3PL.S dance change FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F 3PL POSS father  
 pron vi pron sec pron prt nm

*me totimake mati*  
 me to- iti -makI mati  
 3PL.S away take out following 3PL.S  
 pron vt pron

'Then they had a festa, because they had gotten their father back.'

166 *Me ayakawemete me awineni*  
 me ayaka -waha -hemete me awine -ni  
 3PL.S dance change FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron sec

'Then they had a festa.'

E YOWIRI (1)

167 *Bai ite awa , bahi ?*  
 bahi ita+M awa , bahi  
 sun sit seem+M sun  
 nm vi sec nm

'What time is it?'

168 *Me ayakawaha me , me me mari*  
 me ayaka -waha+F me , me me mari  
 3PL.S dance change 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S offer a feast to  
 pron vi pron pron pron vt

*tasabani mati*  
 na -tasa -haba -ni mati  
 AUX again FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 aux pron

'They had a festa. They offered a feast to the others.'

169 *Me kamawemetemone ahi*  
 me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi dem

'They came back finally.'

170 *Ota tokomibone*  
 otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone  
 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F  
 pron vi

'''We are going.'''

171 *Ee te tokoma*  
 ee tee to- ka -ma  
 yes 2PL.S away go/come back  
 interj pron vi

'''Right, go ahead.'''

172 *Me inamati e me me me e mowa na ereni*  
 me inamati ee me me me ee mowa na+F ere -ni  
 people 1IN 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S fight AUX 1IN.S BKG+F  
 nf pron pron pron pron pron vt aux pron

'''We fought against them.'''

173 *Me kamakiteraba me awine*  
 me ka -makI -tee -ra -haba me awine  
 3PL.S go/come following HAB NEG FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F  
 pron vi pron sec

'''They will never come here anymore.'''

174 *Me abara*  
 me ahaba -hara  
 3PL.S die IP.E+F  
 pron vi

'''They died.'''

175 *Me ahabarake*  
 me ahaba -hara -ke  
 3PL.S die IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

'''They died.'''

E YOWIRI (1)

176 *Ee* , *ota tokomini*  
 ee , otaa to- ka -ma -ni  
 yes 1EX.S away go/come back BKG+F  
 interj pron vi

"We are going."

177 *Okomini*  
 o- to- ka -ma -ni  
 1SG.S away go/come back BKG+F  
 vi

"I am going."

178 *Okobi* , *me hekamehino*  
 o- ka abi , me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hino  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M  
 nm pron vt

*otimake* , *owakamibana* , *o*  
 o- to- iti -makI o- to- ka- ka -ma+F -bana o-  
 1SG.S away pick up following 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT 1SG.S  
 vt vt prt

"I am going to take my father, who they took away and I went and got back."

179 *Bati* , *totimakeramako* , *ati ama*  
 bati to- iti -makI -ra -mako ati ama  
 3SG.POSS.father away pick up following NEG for this reason+M voice be  
 nm vt pn vc

*namata*  
 na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'He went and got his father back.'

180 *Faya me kamawemetemoneke* , *fahi*  
 faya me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'So they finally came home.'

181 *Yawa ya ati foyafoya* , *raba* , *na toaremata*  
 yawa ya ati foya- foya na -raba na to- ha -ra -himata  
 grief ADJU voice DUP be inside AUX a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M  
 nf prt pn vi aux aux aux

*awaka*  
 awa -ka  
 seem+M DECL+M  
 sec

'He never forgot his grief.'

182 *Efemata* , *E Yowiri* , *toemata* , *awaka*  
 efe -mata E Yowiri to- ha -himata awa -ka  
 this+M FP.N+M (man's name) CH be FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 dem npropm vc sec

'He was E Yowiri.'

E YOWIRI (1)

183 *E Yowiri* , *e*fe *totonokomaki* *toa*  
 E Yowiri , efe to- to- noko -makI to- ha.CONT+M  
 (man's name) this+M DUP away point following CH AUX  
 npropm dem vi aux

*namata*  
 na.NOM+M -mata  
 AUX FP.N+M  
 aux

'E Yowiri, he went many times.'

184 *Me me me me hekanakosa me , me*  
 me me me me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F me , me  
 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron pron pron vt pron pron

*kamakiemetemone* , *waha* , *me* *banahani* *mati*  
 ka -makI -hemete -mone , waha , me bana -hani mati  
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F now 3PL.S move away IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi prt pron vi pron

'The ones they left behind came to them, moving away.'

185 *Me yoro tokowa rama , me wini*  
 me yoro to- ka- na -waha+F rama , me wina.NFIN  
 3PL.S be together CH COMIT AUX change unusual 3PL.S live  
 pron vi aux prt pron vi

*totoro na toimete*  
 to- toro na to- ha.NOM+F -mete  
 DUP be short AUX CH AUX FP.N+F  
 vi aux aux

'They gathered together. Their village was very big.'

186 *Me abe me abe kawina me , hine*  
 me abe me abe ka- wina+F me , hine  
 3PL.POSS RECIPIENT 3PL.POSS RECIPIENT COMIT live 3PL.POSS 3.REFL  
 pron pn pron pn vt pron pron

*me ebe katasa me , me ka yobe yoyoro*  
 me ebe ka- na -tasa+F me , me ka yobe yo- yoro  
 3PL.S divide up COMIT AUX again 3PL.S 3PL POSS house DUP stand  
 pron vt aux pron pron prt nm vi

*nikima toematamona okomise me na*  
 na -kima to- ha -himata -mona o- ka amise me ati na  
 AUX two CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS aunt 3PL.O say AUX  
 aux aux nf pron vt

*hiamaroke ahi , okomise watawahani*  
 hi- to- ha -hamaro -ke ahi , o- ka amise wata -waha -hani  
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F then 1SG.POSS POSS aunt exist change IP.N+F  
 aux dem nf vi

*karo*  
 karo  
 because  
 prt

'They lived together, and then they split apart again. They lived in two villages, my aunt used to say of them. My aunt had appeared.'

E YOWIRI (1)

187 *Me ebe , okomise hiyara , hihiri*  
 me ebe o- ka amise hiyara hi- hiri  
 3PL.S divide up 1SG.POSS POSS aunt story DUP say  
 pron vt nf nf vt

*toamaro*  
 to- ha -hamaro  
 CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux

'My aunt used to tell the story.'

188 *Me wiwina toimetemone boto si*  
 me wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone boto sii  
 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F sandy clearing stand  
 pron vi aux nf vi

*toneke haro , Siraba karo*  
 to- na -ne -ke haaro Siraba karo  
 CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F that one+F (name of stream) LOC  
 aux dem npropf prt

'There are sandy clearings where they lived long ago.'

189 *Aba Wini , kaya nineni*  
 Aba Wini kaya na -ne -ni  
 (name of stream) stand AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 npropf vi aux

'The Aba Wini stream is there.'

190 *Aba me hinawasi me hinawematamona*  
 aba me hi- na- wasi+M me hi- na- waa -himata -mona  
 fish sp 3PL.S OC CAUS get caught 3PL.S OC CAUS stand FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vt pron vt

*Aba Wini toineti*  
 Aba Wini to- ha -ne -tee.NOM  
 (name of stream) CH be CONT+F HAB  
 npropf vc

'They caught an *aba* fish, and they penned it in. That is why it is Aba Wini.'

191 *Aba Winitaba aba me nawimetemone*  
 Aba Wini -tee -ba aba me na- waa.NOM+F -mete -mone  
 (name of stream) HAB FUT fish sp 3PL.S CAUS stand FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropf nm pron vt

'They penned the *aba* fish in at Aba Wini.'

192 *Me babari kana hiematamona*  
 me ba- bari ka- na hi- to- ha -himata -mona  
 3PL.S DUP impede COMIT AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron vt aux aux

'They penned it in.'

193 *Faya me , faya me ebe kakamo na*  
 faya me faya me ebe ka- kamo na  
 so 3PL so 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT bury AUX  
 conj pron conj pron pn vt aux

*toimetemone okomise aati toimaro*  
 to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone o- ka amise a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux nf vt vt aux



E YOWIRI (1)

*amake fahi*  
ama -ke fahi  
be DECL+F then  
vc dem

'They buried each other there, my aunt used to say.'

194 *Me ebe kamoha me , me ohi ni kama*  
me ebe kamo+F me , me ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+F  
3PL.POSS RECIP bury 3PL.POSS 3PL.S cry AUX go/come back  
pron pn vt pron pron vi aux vi

*me , me ohi ni kamemetemone ahi*  
me , me ohi na.NFIN ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
3PL.POSS 3PL.S cry AUX go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
pron pron vi aux vi dem

'They buried someone, and they came back crying.'

195 *Me hikamoa tomakosemetemone tati ta*  
me hi- kamo+F to- homa -kosa -hemete -mone tati ta  
3PL.S OC bury CH lie on ground middle FP.N+F REP+F head protrude  
pron vt vi pron

*tonaro , boto ya*  
to- na -haaro , boto ya  
CH AUX IP.E+F sandy clearing ADJU  
aux nf prt

'They buried her, and she was alone in the earth, with her head sticking out, in the sandy clearing.'

196 *Me me hikamoa me so tosemetemone ,*  
me me hi- kamo+F me soo to- na -kosa -hemete -mone ,  
3PL.O 3PL.S OC bury 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F  
pron pron vt pron vi aux

*me tabiyo me ohi hina mati*  
me tabiyo me ohi hi- na+F mati  
3PL.POSS absence 3PL.S cry OC AUX 3PL.POSS  
pron pn pron vi aux pron

'They buried them, and they were left in the earth, and they cried because of them.'

197 *Me ka boto yoro nineni*  
me ka boto yoro na -ne -ni  
3PL POSS sandy clearing stand AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
pron prt nf vi aux

'Their two sandy clearings are there.'

198 *Yobe wahi taboromata awaka*  
yobe wahi taboro -mata awa -ka  
longhouse place+M FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
nm pn sec

'They were the places of longhouses.'

199 *Yobe wahi taboromata yoro nikima ne boto*  
yobe wahi taboro -mata yoro na -kima na+M boto  
longhouse place+M FP.N+M stand AUX two AUX sandy clearing  
nm pn vi aux aux nf

'There are two sandy clearings where there were longhouses long ago.'



E YOWIRI (1)

205 *Aba me me tabasi na aba me me*  
 aba me me tabasi na+F aba me me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

*kabawakani ahi , fowe sirarawa fowe*  
 kaba -waha -kani ahi , fowe sira -rawa+F fowe  
 eat change ?+F then plant sp toast F.PL plant sp  
 vt dem nf vt nf

*kakawi narawaro , fowe nano*  
 ka- kawi na -rawa -haaro , fowe nano  
 DUP eat with something AUX F.PL IP.E+F plant sp squeeze  
 vt aux nf vt

*narawaro kanimaro ya .*  
 na -rawa -haaro kanimaro ya  
 AUX F.PL IP.E+F squeezer ADJU  
 aux nf prt

'They roasted fish on racks, and ate the fish. The women toasted *fowe* mash and ate the *fowe* with the fish, and squeezed the *fowe* mash in the *kanimaro* squeezers.'

206 *Hika me toharimete fa mati ?*  
 hika me to- ha -ri -mete faa mati  
 where 3PL.S CH be CQ+F FP.N+F that 3PL  
 interrog pron vc dem pron

'Where were those people?'

207 *Afa memete me e amake .*  
 afa me -mete me ee ama -ke  
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be DECL+F  
 dem pron pron pron vc

'We are those people.'

208 *Yima me me momowa toha me yima me sa*  
 yima me me mo- mowa to- ha+F me yima me saa  
 Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP fight CH AUX 3PL.S Yima 3PL.S leave off  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron npropm pron vt

*tosemetemone .*  
 to- na -kosa -hemete -mone  
 CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They fought against the Yimas for a long time, and then they left off the Yimas.'

209 *Me wiwinawa toimetemone amake , me*  
 me wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke , me  
 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F 3PL.O  
 pron vi aux vc pron

*me sa hina mati .*  
 me saa hi- na+F mati  
 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O  
 pron vt aux pron

'They lived there a long time, after having shot them with arrows.'

210 *Hima , fayaba ama ?*  
 hima , faya -ba ama  
 let's go enough FUT be  
 interj adj vc

'Let's go, is that enough?'

## FA KI RA (2)

### *Free Translation*

Their old men fished, setting fish traps. They went in many different directions in canoes of kanawa bark. They went and fished. They were standing there on the bank, fishing.

Fa Ki Ra's son began to cry. "Father, I'm hungry. Let's go home."

They got ready to leave, and he called the others. "Hey," he said. "Hey. We are going back. My son says he is hungry," he said.

"All right, you go on ahead," Fa Ki Ra's brothers-in-law said.

"Let's go. You say you are hungry."

So they came back. They were coming back.

"There is a genip tree there with fruit. I'm going to climb to get genip fruits. You stay here in the canoe. Watch me."

His son stayed in the canoe. He climbed up. He picked some genip fruits that were near the trunk, and he threw the genip fruits down. The genip fruits plopped in the water.

"Father, can I eat them?"

"Yes, eat them."

As he was in the canoe eating genip fruits, he heard his father speaking. "I'm going to jump to get some genip fruits that are hanging a ways out."

"Right," the boy said.

He jumped. He grabbed onto a limb of the genip tree.

"I'm going to hang," he said, but the genip branch broke. "Oh-oh," he said.

He fell through the branches, korii. The *koko* ducks made a lot of noise all over. He disappeared. Fa Ki Ra disappeared.

His son began to cry. "My father went in the water. My father, my father, father, father," his son said.

His uncle and the others called to each other. They came back. "Come on, Fa Ki Ra and his son have gone back. Fa Ki Ra has left us behind."

They came in the canoes. They all paddled. They heard his son crying. "My father, my father, father, father," the boy was saying, crying.

"Wai came back, and his son is there crying. He fell in the water."

They came upon the boy crying. "What happened to you that you are crying?" his uncle said.

"My father fell in the water."

"Where?"

"My father fell in the water over there."

His uncle cut two poles, and poked for him. He poked for his brother-in-law.

"Grab onto the pole, Fa Ki Ra."

He didn't grab onto the pole. He had gone and sat on the end of a fish trap. He went there swimming. His son didn't see him going. He went there.

When the sun went down they gave up on him. "Oh well, let Wai [another name for Fa Ki Ra] die. Let's go, let him die." They left him behind.

"Put the boy in the other canoe."

FA KI RA (2)

His uncle put the child in the other canoe, and paddled him.

"We have been setting fish traps many times, and now he fell in the water. Let him die."

They went on. He came in the canoe. Then they came upon Wai sitting there. Wai was sitting there facing them.

"Look, there sits Wai."

"Rororoooo." As Wai sat there and they exclaimed about him, he imitated them.

"Your canoe is back there in the water. Get in."

They put him in the canoe. His brother-in-law put him in the canoe, and paddled him.

They were taking the fish out of the traps as they came along. Bringing the fish they arrived back at the port. Then they brought the fish on the trail to the village.

They were grating *fowe* tubers. They were grating *fowe* tubers to make mash, the women.

The women grated *fowe* tubers. They squeezed the *fowe* mash in *kanimaro* squeezers, and toasted it. They cooked the fish in ceramic pots, and then they ate. They told about him to his wife, that he had fallen in the water.

She made broth of it the next morning.<sup>81</sup> He lay in his hammock. Later she called him.

"Call me so that I can eat my broth."

She called him. She was preparing the broth. She took the broth off the fire. She called him.

"Wati," she said. "Wati."

"Huh?"

"Your broth."

"Where?"

He quickly got out of the hammock. He came. She fanned the broth as she was holding the broth in a *taro* shell.

"All right," he said. He sat right down.

"It's hot," she said.

He filled his mouth with the broth. He swallowed the broth.

"It's hot, Wati."

"If it were hot, his throat would be burned," he said.

He went back speaking and lay down in his hammock again.

"He filled his mouth with something really hot, and then went back and lay in his hammock again," she said.'

**Interlinear Presentation**

1	<i>Me</i>	<i>iti</i>	<i>boteri</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>kiki</i>	<i>toemetemone</i>
	me	iti	bote -ri	faha	ki- kii	to- ha -hemete -mone
	3PL.POSS	grandfather	old PN	water	DUP look at	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
	pron	nm	pn	nf	vt	aux

,	<i>wawasi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nawina</i>	<i>mati</i>	,
	wa- wasi	me	na- wina+F	mati	
	DUP get caught	3PL.S	CAUS hang	3PL.S	
	nf	pron	vt	pron	

'Their old men fished, setting fish traps.'

2	<i>Kanawa</i>	<i>ataro</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>towakarikosa</i>	<i>me</i>	,
	kanawa	ataro	ya	me	to- ka- ka	-ri -kosa+F	me
	tree sp	bark+M	ADJU	3PL.S	away COMMIT	go/come DISTR	middle
	nm	pn	prt	pron	vt		3PL.S
							pron

81 This last part of the story is not about Fa Ki Ra/Wai, but about one of his brothers-in-law and his wife.

FA KI RA (2)

*me toka me , fa me koro*  
 me to- ka+F me , faha me koro  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S water 3PL.S throw something on  
 pron vi pron nf pron vt

**nemetemoneke**

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

'They went in many different directions in canoes of kanawa bark. They went and fished.'

3 *Fa me koro na me , me nanao*  
 faha me koro na+F me , me na- naho  
 water 3PL.S throw something on AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S CAUS stand  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vi

*kawaha me , ee , Fa Ki Ra biti oi*  
 ka- na -waha+F me , ee , Faa Kii Ra biti ohi  
 COMIT AUX change 3PL.S (pause) (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son cry  
 aux pron interj npropm nm vi

*ni yana tonematamonaha*  
 na.NFIN yana to- na -himata -mona -ha  
 AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 aux vi aux

'They were fishing. They were standing there. Fa Ki Ra's son began to cry.'

4 *Abi ofimi*  
 abi o- fimi.NOM  
 father 1SG.S be hungry  
 nm vi

'"Father, I'm hungry."'

5 *E towakama*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi

'"Let's go home."'

6 *E towakama*  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back  
 pron vi

'"Let's go home."'

7 *Ofimi oke*  
 o- fimi o- ke  
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F  
 vi prt

'"I'm hungry."'

8 *Faya me yana tokanabone mera ha*  
 faya me yana to- ka- na -habone mera haa  
 so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.O call  
 conj pron vi aux pron vt

**nematamonane**

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

'They were getting ready. He called the others.'

FA KI RA (2)

9 *Hee ati nematamona*  
 hee ati na -himata -mona  
 hey say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 interj vt aux

"Hey," he said.'

10 *Hee*  
 hee  
 hey  
 interj

"Hey."

11 *Ota towakamibonehe*  
 otaa to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he  
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F DUP  
 pron vi

"We are going back."

12 *Okatao fimimonaha ati nematamonane*  
 okatao fimi.NOM -mona -ha ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 my son be hungry REP+M DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vi vt aux

"My son says he is hungry," he said.'

13 *Ee te tai tokawamahi Fa Ki Ra*  
 ee tee tai to- ka- ha -ma -hi Faa Kii Ra  
 yes 2PL.S be ahead CH COMIT AUX back IMP+F (man's name)  
 interj pron vi aux npropm

*wabori me ati nemetemonehe*  
 wabori me ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 nm pron vt aux

"All right, you go on ahead," Fa Ki Ra's brothers-in-law said.'

14 *Faya E tai tokahamibe*  
 faya ee tai to- ka- ha -ma -be  
 so 1IN.S be ahead CH COMIT AUX back IMMED+F  
 conj pron vi aux

"Let's go."

15 *Tifimiamone ti*  
 ti- fimi -hamone ti-  
 2SG.S be hungry REP+F 2SG.S  
 vi prt

"You say you are hungry."

16 *Faya me kakamemetemoneke fahi*  
 faya me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'So they came back.'

17 *Me kakama Ora kawee ama ahi*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F ora ka- waa+M ama ahi  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back genip COMIT stand SEC there  
 pron vi nm vi sec dem

FA KI RA (2)

"They were coming back. "There is a genip tree there with fruit."

18 **Ora yama omatibe**  
 ora yama o- na -mata -be  
 genip climb after 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 nm vt aux

"I'm going to climb to get genip fruits."

19 **Kakafowa karama tina**  
 ka- ka- fowa na -karahama ti- na  
 DUP COMIT be in water AUX only do 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux aux

"You stay here in the canoe."

20 **Owa tekatoma**  
 owa ti- ka- katoma  
 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at  
 pron vt

"Watch me."

21 **Biti tokofowakosematamonaka**  
 biti to- ka- fowa -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.son CH COMIT be in water middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi

'His son stayed in the canoe.'

22 **Tokomisawitematamonane**  
 to- ka -misa -witI -himata -mona -ne  
 away go/come up out FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'He climbed up.'

23 **Tokomisawite ora ino mete ke bata ne**  
 to- ka -misa -witI ora ino mete ke bata na+M  
 away go/come up out genip branch+M base+M of+M pick AUX  
 vi nm pn pn prt vt aux

**ora were nematamona ahi**  
 ora were na -himata -mona ahi  
 genip throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vt aux dem

'He climbed up. He picked some genip fruits that were near the trunk, and he threw the genip fruits.'

24 **Ora koho nematamona amaka ahi**  
 ora koho na -himata -mona ama -ka ahi  
 genip hit AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then  
 nm vi aux sec dem

'The genip fruits plopped in the water.'

25 **Ora were nematamona ahi**  
 ora were na -himata -mona ahi  
 genip throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vt aux dem

'He threw genip fruits.'



FA KI RA (2)

26 *Abi yome obana* ?  
 abi yome o- na -bana  
 father swallow 1SG.S AUX FUT  
 nm vt aux

"Father, can I eat them?"

27 *Ee yome tinaho* .  
 ee yome ti- na -ho  
 yes swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+M  
 interj vt aux

"Yes, eat them."

28 *Ora ora yome ne kafowe ni ya*  
 ora ora yome na+M ka- fowa+M ni ya  
 genip genip swallow AUX COMIT be in water to ADJU  
 nm nm vt aux vi prt prt

*bati ati yana tonematamona*  
 bati ati yana to- na -himata -mona  
 3SG.POSS.father voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pn vi aux

'As he was in the canoe eating genip fruits, he heard his father speaking.'

29 *Ora ora ta tokane yoyora*  
 ora ora taa to- ka- na+M yo- yora  
 genip genip protrude CH COMIT AUX DUP jump at  
 nm nm vi aux vt

*obonehe ati nematamona*  
 o- na.NOM -bone -he ati na -himata -mona  
 1SG.S AUX INT+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux vt aux

"I'm going to jump to get some genip fruits that are hanging a ways out."

30 *Ee inamate ati nemata* .  
 ee inamate ati na -himata  
 yes child say AUX FP.N+M  
 interj nm vt aux

"Right," the boy said.'

31 *Yora towiti rama* .  
 yora to- na -witI+M rama  
 jump away AUX out unusual  
 vi aux prt

'He jumped.'

32 *Ora ino wara tokanematamona ahi* .  
 ora ino wara to- ka- -na -himata -mona ahi  
 genip branch+M grab CH COMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm pn vt aux dem

'He grabbed onto a limb of the genip tree.'

33 *Yota okowitibakani ati*  
 yota o- to- ka- na -witI -ba -kani ati  
 be hung up 1SG.S away COMIT AUX out FUT CNTRFACT say  
 vi aux vt

FA KI RA (2)

**nematamonane** , **ora ino sore tokane**  
na -himata -mona -ne , ora ino sore to- ka- na+M  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M genip branch+M pull off CH COMIT AUX  
aux nm pn vt aux

**rama ahi**  
rama ahi  
unusual then  
prt dem

'I'm going to hang,' he said, but the genip branch broke.'

34 **Faii ati nematamona**  
faii ati na -himata -mona  
interj say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
vt aux

'Oh-oh,' he said.'

35 **Kisakosematamona ahi korii**  
ka -risa -kosa -himata -mona ahi , korii  
go/come down middle FP.N+M REP+M then (sound of falling in water)  
vi dem sound

'He fell through the branches, korii.'

36 **Koko me ati yanarikosemetemone me**  
koko me ati yana -ri -kosa -hemete -mone me  
duck sp 3PL.POSS voice start CQ+F middle FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS  
nm pron pn vi pron

**amani ahi fawa tehibana**  
ama -ni ahi , fawa na -tee -hibana  
SEC BKG+F then disappear AUX HAB FUT+M  
sec dem vi aux

'The koko ducks made a lot of noise all over. He disappeared.'

37 **Fa Ki Ra fawa nematamonaka ahi**  
Faa Kii Ra fawa na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
(man's name) disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
npropm vi aux dem

'Fa Ki Ra disappeared.'

38 **Fawa ne biti oi ni yana**  
fawa na+M , biti ohi na.NFIN yana  
disappear AUX 3SG.POSS.son cry AUX start  
vi aux nm vi aux vi

**tonematamona**  
to- na -himata -mona  
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
aux

'He disappeared. His son began to cry.'

39 **Okobi okobi bokehiba ama**  
o- ka abi o- ka abi boka -hiba ama  
1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father enter water FUT+M be  
nm nm vi vc

**nanoho**  
na.NOM+M -no -ho  
AUX IP.N+M DUP  
aux

'My father went in the water.'







FA KI RA (2)

*awaka*

awa -ka  
seem+M DECL+M  
sec

'His son didn't see him going.'

61 *Tokomematamona*

to- ka -ma -himata -mona *ahi*  
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
vi dem

'He went there.'

62 *Bai*

*toke* *rama* *me* *sa*  
bahī to- ka+M rama me saa  
sun away go/come unusual 3PL.S leave off  
nm vi prt pron vt

*hisematamonane*

hi- to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
OC CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
aux

'When the sun went down they gave up on him.'

63 *Oof*

*Wai* *abaho*  
oof , Wai , ahaba -ho  
hoo (man's name) die IMP+M  
interj npropm vi

""Oh well, let Wai die.""

64 *Abaho*

ahaba -ho  
die IMP+M  
vi

""Let him die.""

65 *Hima*

*hiwa* *hiwa* *ahaba*  
hima hiwa hiwa ahaba.CONT+M  
let's go only.M only.M die  
interj pron pron vi

""Let's go, let him die.""

66 *Me*

*hekanakosematamona*  
me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona  
3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M  
pron vt

'They left him behind.'

67 *Inamatewe*

*tibewaha*  
inamatewe ti- ibI -waha  
child 2SG.S put inside change  
nm vt

""Put the boy in the other canoe.""

68 *Inamatewe*

*kokori* *hibewe* *ori*  
inamatewe kokori hibewe ori  
child 3SG.POSS.mother's brother OC put inside change paddle  
nm nm vt vi



FA KI RA (2)

"Rororooooo."

76 *Wai*                    *itaria*                    *me*                    *hora*                    *hikana*                    *me*  
 Wai                    ita -rI+F                    me                    hora                    hi- ka-                    na+F                    me  
 (man's name)                    sit raised surface                    3PL.S                    exclaim                    OC                    COMIT                    AUX                    3PL.POSS  
 npropm                    vi                    pron                    vi                    aux                    pron

*ati*                    *tomiha*                    ,                    *Tika*                    *kanawa*                    *iti*                    *ahi*  
 ati                    tomi+F                    ,                    ti-                    ka                    kanawa                    ita.NOM+F                    ahi  
 voice                    imitate                    2SG.POSS                    POSS                    canoe                    sit                    there  
 pn                    vt                    prt                    nf                    vi                    dem

'As Wai sat there and they exclaimed about him, he imitated them. "Your canoe is back there in the water.'

77 *Tifoya*  
 ti-                    foya  
 2SG.S                    be inside  
 vi

"Get in."

78 *Me*                    *hibewematamona*  
 me                    hi- ibI                    -waha                    -himata                    -mona  
 3PL.S                    OC                    put inside                    change                    FP.N+M                    REP+M  
 pron                    vt

'They put him in the canoe.'

79 *Wabori*                    *hibewematamonaka*  
 wabori                    hi- ibI                    -waha                    -himata                    -mona                    -ka  
 3SG.POSS                    brother-in-law                    OC                    put inside                    change                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DECL+M  
 nm                    vt

'His brother-in-law put him in the canoe.'

80 *Wabori*                    *hibe*                    ,                    *ori*  
 wabori                    hi- ibI                    ,                    ori  
 3SG.POSS                    brother-in-law                    OC                    put inside                    paddle  
 nm                    vt                    vi

*hikawematamonane*  
 hi- ka-                    na                    -waha                    -himata                    -mona                    -ne  
 OC                    COMIT                    AUX                    change                    FP.N+M                    REP+M                    BKG+M  
 v

'His brother-in-law put him in the canoe, and paddled him.'

81 *Aba*                    *me*                    *me*                    *yaba*                    *namahite*                    *me*  
 aba                    me                    me                    yaba                    na -ma                    -hitI                    me  
 fish                    3PL.O                    3PL.S                    take out                    AUX back along the way                    3PL.S  
 nm                    pron                    pron                    vt                    aux                    pron

*kamemetemone*                    *ahi*  
 ka                    -ma                    -hemete                    -mone                    ahi  
 go/come back                    FP.N+F                    REP+F                    then  
 vi                    dem

'They were taking the fish out of the traps as they came along.'

82 *Aba*                    *me*                    *me*                    *kakama*                    *me*                    ,                    *kobo*                    *kanama*  
 aba                    me                    me                    ka-                    ka                    -ma+F                    me                    ,                    kobo                    ka-                    na                    -ma+F  
 fish                    3PL.O                    3PL.S                    COMIT go/come back                    3PL.S                    arrive                    COMIT                    AUX                    back  
 nm                    pron                    pron                    vt                    pron                    vi                    aux



FA KI RA (2)

**me** , **aba** **me** **me** **kakamawahemetemone**  
 me , aba me me ka- ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron nm pron pron vi

**tabora** **ya** , **fowe** **me** **hiti** **na** **mati** .  
 tabora ya , fowe me hiti na+F mati .  
 village ADJU plant sp 3PL.S grate AUX 3PL.S  
 nf prt nf pron vt aux pron

'Bringing the fish they arrived back at the port. Then they brought the fish on the trail to the village. They were grating *fowe* tubers.'

83 **Fowe** **iyawabone** **me** **hiti** **nemetemone** **me**  
 fowe iyawa -bone me hiti na -hemete -mone me  
 plant sp grated mash INT+F 3PL.S grate AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS  
 nf nf pron vt aux pron

**fanawiri**  
 fanawi -ri  
 woman PN  
 pn

'They were grating *fowe* tubers to make mash, the women.'

84 **Me** **fanawiri** **fowe** **hiti** **na** **fowe** **faki**  
 me fanawi -ri fowe hiti na+F fowe faki  
 3PL.POSS woman PN plant sp grate AUX plant sp twist  
 pron pn nf vt aux nf vt

**nemetemone** **kanimaro** **ya** , **me**  
 na -hemete -mone kanimaro ya , me  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F squeezer ADJU 3PL.S  
 aux nf prt pron

**hisirawabanihi**  
 hi- sira -waha -haba -ni -hi  
 OC toast change FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 vt

'The women grated *fowe* tubers. They squeezed the *fowe* mash in *kanimaro* squeezers, and toasted it.'

85 **Aba** **me** **me** **warekani** **ahi** **yiwa boni** **ya** .  
 aba me me waa -rI -kani ahi yiwaha boni ya  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S cook raised surface ?+F then ceramic pot ADJU  
 nm pron pron vt dem nf prt

'They cooked the fish in ceramic pots.'

86 **Yiwa boni** **ya** **aba** **me** **me**  
 yiwaha boni ya aba me me  
 ceramic pot ADJU fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nf prt nm pron pron

**waremetemoneni** **me** **tafawabani**  
 waa -rI -hemete -mone -ni , me tafa -waha -haba -ni  
 cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S eat change FUT+F IP.N+F  
 vt pron vi

**mati** .  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron

'They cooked the fish in ceramic pots, and then they ate.'

FA KI RA (2)

87 *Me hikaminematamonaka fati ni ya*  
 me hi- kamina -himata -mona -ka fati ni ya  
 3PL.S OC tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.wife to ADJU  
 pron vt nf prt prt

*bokahari*

boka -haari  
 enter water IP.E+M  
 vi

'They told about him to his wife, that he had fallen in the water.'

88 *Afa sari ra etehani ori*  
 afa sahari ra etehani ori  
 this+F broth O whatchamacallit mix  
 dem nf prt nf vt

*kanaminemetemoneni*

ka- na -mina -hemete -mone -ni  
 COMIT AUX morning FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux

'She made broth of it the next morning.'

89 *Ha hinebano winematamonaka*  
 haa hi- na -hiba -no wina -himata -mona -ka  
 call OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux vi

'He lay in his hammock. Later she called him.'

90 *Oko sariba ha tikana yome*  
 o- ka sahari -ba haa ti- ka- na yome  
 1SG.POSS POSS broth FUT call 2SG.S COMIT AUX swallow  
 prt nf vi aux vt

*onisaba*

o- na -risa -haba  
 1SG.S AUX down FUT+F  
 aux

'''Call me so that I can eat my broth.'''

91 *Haha hinematamona*  
 ha- haa hi- na -himata -mona  
 DUP call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

'She called him.'

92 *Sari ori kanamina sari yama kaniha*  
 sahari ori ka- na -mina+F sahari yama ka- niha- na+F  
 broth mix COMIT AUX morning broth remove from fire COMIT CAUS AUX  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

, *haha hinematamonane*  
 ha- haa hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 DUP call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'She was preparing the broth. She took the broth off the fire. She called him.'

93 *Wati ati nemetemone*  
 Wati ati na -hemete -mone  
 (man's name) say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm vt aux

'''Wati," she said.'

FA KI RA (2)

94 **Wati**  
 Wati  
 (man's name)  
 npropm  
 "Wati."

95 **Hii**  
 hii  
 huh?  
 interj  
 "Huh?"

96 **Tika saribonehe**  
 ti- ka sahari -bone -he  
 2SG.POSS POSS broth INT+F DUP  
 prt nf  
 "Your broth."

97 **Hibani** ?  
 hibani  
 where  
 interrog  
 "Where?"

98 **Kisakabote nematamona ahi**  
 ka -risa -kabote na -himata -mona ahi  
 go/come down quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi aux dem  
 'He quickly got out of the hammock.'

99 **Kakehimatamonaka ahi**  
 ka -ki -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem  
 'He came.'

100 **Sari wayawaya nemetemone taro ya sari**  
 sahari waya- waya na -hemete -mone taro ya sahari  
 broth DUP fan AUX FP.N+F REP+F shellfish sp ADJU broth  
 nf vt aux nm prt nf  
**tama kanaharo**  
 tama ka- na -haaro  
 hold onto COMMIT AUX IP.E+F  
 vt aux  
 'She fanned the broth as she was holding the broth in a taro shell.'

101 **Hiya ati nematamonane**  
 hiya ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 come on say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 interj vt aux  
 "All right," he said.'

102 **Itakabote**  
 ita -kabote  
 sit quickly  
 vi

FA KI RA (2)

'He sat right down.'

103 *Yama hiwarani ati nemetemoneni*  
 yama hiwa -hara -ni ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 thing be hot IP.E+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf vi vt aux

"It's hot," she said.'

104 *Sari sari kasa tonihematamona inohoti*  
 sahari sahari kasa to- niha- ha -himata -mona inohoti  
 broth broth fill mouth with CH CAUS be FP.N+M REP+M mouth  
 nf nf vt vd pn

*ya ahi*  
 ya ahi  
 ADJU then  
 prt dem

'He filled his mouth with the broth.'

105 *Sari yome tonisematamonane*  
 sahari yome to- na -risa -himata -mona -ne  
 broth swallow CH AUX down FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

'He swallowed the broth.'

106 *Yama hiwarani Wati*  
 yama hiwa -hara -ni Wati  
 thing be hot IP.E+F BKG+F (man's name)  
 nf vi npropm

"It's hot, Wati."

107 *Yama hiwemene namiti hatinaha ati*  
 yama hiwa -hemenehe namiti hati -hina -ha ati  
 thing be hot HYPOTH+F neck be burnt IRR+M DUP say  
 nf vi pn vi vt

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

"If it were hot, his throat would be burned," he said.'

108 *Ati towakame towinamematamona*  
 ati to- ka- ka -ma+M to- wina -ma -himata -mona  
 voice away COMIT go/come back away lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vt vi

'He went back speaking and lay down in his hammock again.'

109 *Yama hiwahiwa raba ra kasa*  
 yama hiwa- hiwa na -raba na -ra+F kasa  
 thing DUP be hot AUX a bit AUX NEG fill mouth with  
 nf vi aux aux vt

*toni towinamane ati nemetemone*  
 to- niha- na+M to- wina -ma.CONT+M -ne ati na -hemete -mone  
 CH CAUS AUX away lie in hammock back BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux vi vt aux

"He filled his mouth with something really hot, and then went back and lay in his hammock again," she said.'

## YIFOMA AND MOMORA

### *Free Translation*

It was other people. They went fishing. They speared fish. They buried the fish in the soil [so that the bees would not eat them]. They were ready.

"Let's go, let's go home."

"Right, let's go." They called each other to go home.

They came back. "The fish was buried here."

He dug all over looking for the fish. "There it is buried."

He strung the fish with the others. He brought the fish back.

"The fish are heavy."

Where do those people live today?

As he carried the fish, he was going along talking. Then they set fish traps in the water. They set the fish traps, and called to each other. They called each other to go. They went. Momora called Yifoma to go. They set the fish traps. They sat in two canoes. They set the fish traps. Their voices could be heard.

His voice started up. Kofai, kofai, the sound of it went. Kabobobobobo, the sound of it went.

"Hey, brother-in-law."

"Huh?"

"What sound is that? There is something coming this way making a sound."

It was the sound of the *yifoma* lizard that went into the water.

Then he spoke. Momora spoke to Yifoma as he was sitting in the canoe. "Mora, mora, mora."

"Hey, brother-in-law."

"Huh?"

"What sound is that? There is a sound."

It was his voice [i.e. the voice of the *momora* frog].

"There is the sound of something coming this way."

They turned into animals. They set fish traps, but they didn't bring back the fish from the traps. They didn't come back, because they turned into animals.

Who ate their fish?

They left the others behind. The others called out, but they didn't answer them. They left them behind, the Awita Fa Yafi people.

"Hey, are you coming?"

"Yes."

They came and got him, the one that was calling. They came back. They all paddled hard in the bark canoe because it was late in the day. They came upon a monster. The monster was spread across in front of them.

"Fiko, fiko," he said. "There is a monster there. Stop the canoe."

The canoe stopped. It disappeared. It went underwater. They came out on the other side, leaving the monster behind. They went back. They went up on the shore.

## YIFOMA AND MOMORA

They did not walk on the ground. They went back up high. They all carried fish on their backs.

"Should we go back on the ground?"

"I don't know."

They took snuff. Fowi, went the sound of them whistling as they went up. They came down at their own port. Their wives had shamanic powers, too.

He was one of them. He brought his brother-in-law, carrying his brother-in-law on his back. One brought the other. They left their brothers-in-law behind. They were left standing.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Faya me one fa , bara mebisa memetemoneke*  
 faya me one faa , bara me -bisa me -mete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL other+F that other+F 3PL also 3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron adj dem adj pron pron

*faro*

faaro  
 that+F  
 dem

'It was other people.'

2 *Fa me ki na me , fu me ki na me*  
 faha me kii na+F me , faha me kii na+F me  
 water 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S water 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux pron  
 , *aba me me tisa na aba me me*  
 aba me me tisa na+F aba me me  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

*kamoemetemone*

kamo -hemete -mone wami ya  
 bury FP.N+F REP+F soil ADJU  
 vt nf prt

'They went fishing. They speared fish. They buried the fish in the soil.'

3 *Aba me me kamoha me , me yana tonemetemone*  
 aba me me kamo+F me , me yana to- na -hemete -mone  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S bury 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nm pron pron vt pron pron vi aux

'They buried the fish in the soil. They were ready.'

4 *Me yana tona me , Hima hima e*  
 me yana to- na+F me , hima hima ee  
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S let's go let's go 1IN.S  
 pron vi aux pron interj interj pron

*tokomahi*

to- ka -ma -hi  
 away go/come back IMP+F  
 vi

'They were ready. "Let's go, let's go home."'

## YIFOMA AND MOMORA

5 *Ee* , *e* *tokoma*  
 ee , ee to- ka -ma  
 yes 1IN.S away go/come back  
 interj pron vi

"Right, let's go."

6 *Me* *ebe* *hima* *nemetemone*  
 me ebe hima na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS RECIP call to go AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vt aux

'They called each other to go home.'

7 *Me* *kakama* *me* , *Aba* *kamomari* *amake*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , aba kamo.NOM -mari ama -ke  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S fish bury FP.E+M be DECL+F  
 pron vi pron nm result vc

*ahi*

ahi  
 there  
 dem

'They came back. "The fish was buried here."'83

8 *Yama* *yama* *wi* *nawarematamona* *aba* *tabiyo*  
 yama yama wii na -wahaI -himata -mona aba tabiyo  
 thing thing dig AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M fish wanting  
 nf nf vt aux nm post

'He dug all over looking for the fish.'

9 *Hari* *kamokamata*  
 haari kamo -ka -mata  
 that one+M bury DECL+M short time  
 dem result

"There it is buried."

10 *Faya* *aba* *tasi* *tosamake* , *aba* *tasi*  
 faya aba tasi to- na -kosa -makI , aba tasi  
 so fish string CH AUX middle following fish string  
 conj nm vt aux nm vt

*tosamakematamonane*

to- na -kosa -makI -himata -mona -ne  
 CH AUX middle following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'He strung the fish with the others.'

11 *Aba* *tasi* *tosamake* *aba* *me*  
 aba tasi to- na -kosa -makI aba me  
 fish string CH AUX middle following fish 3PL.O  
 nm vt aux nm pron

*kakamawahematamona*

ka- ka -ma -waha -himata -mona  
 COMIT go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt

'He strung the fish on. He brought the fish back.'

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83 Apparently these people used the far past tense like Jarawara speakers today use immediate past tense.

YIFOMA AND MOMORA

12 *Aba me kanahakimete*  
 aba me kanaha -ki -mete  
 fish 3PL.S be heavy DECL+F FP.N+F  
 nm pron vi

'The fish are heavy.'

13 *Hibaka me one winariya fa mati ?*  
 hibaka me one wina -ri -ya faa mati  
 where 3PL.S other+F live CQ+F now that 3PL  
 interrog pron adj vi dem pron

'Where do those people live today?'

14 *Aba me weye ne ati towakamakane ahi*  
 aba me weye na+M ati to- ka- ka -ma -kane ahi  
 fish 3PL.O carry AUX voice away COMIT go/come back ?+M then  
 nm pron vt aux pn vt dem

'As he carried the fish, he was going along talking.'

15 *Oko yobe hiyakara*  
 o- ka yobe hiya -ka -ra+M  
 1SG.POSS POSS house be bad DECL NEG  
 prt nm vi

'My house is bad.'

16 *Me fa fa me nawinawaha , fa me nawina*  
 me faha faha me na- wina -waha+F , faha me na- wina+F  
 3PL water water 3PL.S CAUS hang change water 3PL.S CAUS hang  
 pron nf nf pron vt nf pron vt  
*me , me ibe me ibe ha na , me ibe*  
 me me ibe me ibe haa na+F , me ibe  
 3PL.S 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP call AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 pron pron pn pron pn vt aux pron pn

*hima na me towaka me , Yifoma*  
 hima na+F me to- ka- ka+F me , Yifoma  
 call to go AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S (man's name)  
 vt aux pron vi pron npropm

*Yifomatebana , Yifomateba ra Momora*  
 Yifoma -tee -bana , Yifoma -tee -ba ra Momora  
 (man's name) HAB FUT (man's name) HAB FUT O (man's name)  
 npropm npropm prt npropm

*hima nematamona Momoratebana*  
 hima na -himata -mona Momora -tee -bana  
 call to go AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) HAB FUT  
 vt aux npropm

'Then they set fish traps in the water. They set the fish traps, and called to each other. They called each other to go. They went. Momora called Yifoma to go.'

17 *Faya fa me fa me nawina , fa me nawina*  
 faya faha me faha me na- wina+F , faha me na- wina+F  
 so water 3PL water 3PL.S CAUS hang water 3PL.S CAUS hang  
 conj nf pron nf pron vt nf pron vt

*me mata kife me , fa me nawina me*  
 me mata ka- na -fi me , faha me na- wina+F me  
 3PL.S sit COMIT AUX water 3PL.S water 3PL.S CAUS hang 3PL.POSS  
 pron vi aux pron nf pron vt pron



YIFOMA AND MOMORA

*ati saiha me ati yana tonematamona*  
 ati sai+F me ati yana to- na -himata -mona  
 voice be heard 3PL.POSS voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vi pron pn vi aux

'They set the fish traps. They sat in two canoes. They set the fish traps. Their voices could be heard. His voice started up.'

18 *Kofai kofai kofai*  
 kofai kofai kofai  
 (jumping in water) (jumping in water) (jumping in water)  
 sound sound sound

*kofai moni ne kabobobobo moni ne Faa*  
 kofai moni na+M kabobobobobo moni na+M faa  
 (jumping in water) make sound AUX sound make sound AUX hey  
 sound vt aux vt aux interj  
 , *e owa* , *e owa*  
 e owa e owa  
 brother-in-law brother-in-law  
 voc voc

'Kofai, kofai, the sound of it went. Kabobobobobo, the sound of it went. "Hey, brother-in-law."

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

20 *Himata moni amari* ?  
 himata moni ama -ri  
 what? sound be CQ+F  
 interrog pn vc  
 "'What sound is that?'"

21 *Yama moni kaki ahi*  
 yama moni ka -kI.NOM ahi  
 thing sound go/come coming there  
 nf pn vi dem  
 "'There is something coming this way making a sound.'"

22 *Fare yifoma yifoma boke moni yifomatebana*  
 fare yifoma yifoma boka+M moni yifoma -tee -bana  
 same+M lizard sp lizard sp enter water sound lizard sp HAB FUT  
 dem nm nm vi pn nm  
 , *ati ati yana nebano*  
 ati ati yana na -hiba -no  
 voice voice start AUX FUT+M IP.N+M  
 pn pn vi aux

'It was the sound of the *yifoma* lizard that went into the water. Then he spoke.'

23 *Yifoma Yifoma wawasi nawine ni ya*  
 Yifoma Yifoma wa- wasi na- wina+M ni ya  
 (man's name) (man's name) DUP get caught CAUS hang to ADJU  
 npropm npropm nf vt prt prt  
*itarimisame ni ya Momora ati yana*  
 ita -rI -misa -ma+M ni ya Momora ati yana  
 sit raised surface up back to ADJU (man's name) voice start  
 vi prt prt npropm pn vi

## YIFOMA AND MOMORA

**tonematamona**

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

'Momora spoke to Yifoma as he was sitting in the canoe.'

24 **Mora mora mora**  
 mora mora mora  
 sound sound sound

""Mora, mora, mora.""

25 **Faa , e owa , e owa**  
 faa e owa e owa  
 hey brother-in-law brother-in-law  
 interj voc voc

""Hey, brother-in-law.""

26 **Haa ?**  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj

""Huh?""

27 **Himata ati amari ?**  
 himata ati ama -ri  
 what? voice be CQ+F  
 interrog pn vc

""What sound is that?""

28 **Yama ati saine ha , fare ati**  
 yama ati sai -ne haa , fare ati  
 thing voice be heard CONT+F DEM same+M voice  
 nf pn vi dem dem pn

""There is a sound." It was his voice.'

29 **Yama ati kaki ahi , me**  
 yama ati ka -kI.NOM ahi me  
 thing voice go/come coming there 3PL.S  
 nf pn vi dem pron

**tohiyabani mati**  
 to- hiya -haba -ni mati  
 CH be different FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

""There is the sound of something coming this way." They turned into animals.'

30 **Faya wawasi me nawina wawasi ihi**  
 faya wa- wasi me na- wina+F wa- wasi ihi  
 so DUP get caught 3PL.S CAUS hang DUP get caught victim of+F  
 conj nf pron vt nf pn

**me kakamaremetemoneni**  
 me ka- ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vt

'They set fish traps, but they didn't bring back the fish from the traps.'

YIFOMA AND MOMORA

31 *Me tohiya me*  
 me to- hiya+F me  
 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron

*kakamaremetemoneke* *faro*  
 ka- ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 COMIT go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 vi dem

'They didn't come back, because they turned into animals.'

32 *Hibake me ka aba me me hikabarimeteya* ?  
 hibake me ka aba me me hi- kaba -ri -mete -ya  
 who+M 3PL POSS fish 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat CQ+F FP.N+F now  
 interrog pron prt nm pron pron vt

'Who ate their fish?'

33 *Me ebe kakosa nemetemone me*  
 me ebe ka- kana -kosa.LIST na -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT leave middle AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vt aux pron

*amani*  
 ama -ni  
 SEC BKG+F  
 sec

'They left the others behind.'

34 *Me ha na me me ha ni me wara*  
 me haa na+F me me haa na.NFIN me wara  
 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S respond to  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron vt

*torimakoni* *me me*  
 to- na -ra -makoni me me  
 CH AUX NEG for this reason+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 aux pron pron

*hekanakosemetemoneke* *awita fa yafi* *mati*  
 hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke awita fa yafi mati  
 OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (ethnic group name) 3PL  
 vt npropm pron

'The others called out, but they didn't answer them. They left them behind, the Awita Fa Yafi people.'

35 *Hee hee , te kakamini* ?  
 hee hee tee ka- ka -ma -ni  
 hey hey 2PL.S COMIT go/come back BKG+F  
 interj interj pron vi

'"Hey, are you coming?"'

36 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj

'"Yes."'

37 *Me hitikosamematamonaka fari ha*  
 me hi- iti -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka faari haa  
 3PL.S OC pick up middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M call  
 pron vt dem vi

YIFOMA AND MOMORA

*nari*

na -haari  
AUX IP.E+M  
aux

'They came and got him, the one that was calling.'

38 *Me kakamemetemone ahi*  
me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
pron vi dem

'They came back.'

39 *Bai toke ene me orioriri*  
bahi to- ka+M ehene me ori- ori -ri  
sun away go/come because of+M 3PL.S DUP paddle DUP  
nm vi post pron vi

*tokanakani kanawa ataro ya ahi , yama yama me*  
to- ka- na -kani kanawa ataro ya ahi , yama yama me  
CH COMIT AUX ?+F tree sp bark+M ADJU then thing thing 3PL.S  
aux nm pn prt dem nf nf pron

*wasimabani mati , maka*  
wasi -ma -haba -ni mati , maka  
find back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S monster  
vt pron nm

'They all paddled hard in the bark canoe because it was late in the day. They came upon a monster.'

40 *Maka bere nikumematamona ama me*  
maka bere na -kima -himata -mona ama me  
monster be across AUX spread out FP.N+M REP+M SEC 3PL.POSS  
nm vi aux sec pron

*nokosi ya ahi*  
nokosi ya ahi  
in front of ADJU then  
pn prt dem

'The monster was spread across in front of them.'

41 *Fiko fiko fiko ati*  
fiko fiko fiko ati  
(cry of capuchin) (cry of capuchin) (cry of capuchin) say  
vi vi vi vt

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

'"Fiko, fiko," he said.'

42 *Yama waini*  
yama waa.NOM+F -ni  
thing stand IP.N+F  
nf vi

'"There is a monster there."'

43 *Kanawa ma tinihahi*  
kanawa maa ti- to- niha- ha -hi  
canoe stop 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX IMP+F  
nf vi aux

'"Stop the canoe."'

## YIFOMA AND MOMORA

44 **Kanawa ma namemetemone ama ahi**  
 kanawa maa na -ma -hemete -mone ama ahi  
 canoe stop AUX back FP.N+F REP+F SEC then  
 nf vi aux sec dem

'The canoe stopped.'

45 **Fawaii towakamakani fa boti ka**  
 fawaii to- ka- ka -ma -kani faha boti ka  
 sound of disappearing away COMIT go/come back ?+F water middle LOC  
 sound vi nf pn prt

**ya ahi**  
 ya ahi  
 ADJU then  
 prt dem

'It disappeared. It went underwater.'

46 **Me tasi tokanamemetemone ahi , maka me**  
 me tasi to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone ahi , maka me  
 3PL.S emerge away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F then monster 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux dem nm pron

**kakosa mati**  
 ka- kana -kosa+F mati  
 COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 vt pron

'They came out on the other side, leaving the monster behind.'

47 **Maka me kakosa , me**  
 maka me ka- kana -kosa+F , me  
 monster 3PL.S COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 nm pron vt pron

**tokometemone ahi , me tonomisama**  
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi , me to- naho -misa -ma+F  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.S away stand up back  
 vi dem pron vi

**bofe me yaka rabani mati**  
 bofe me yaka na -ra -haba -ni mati  
 ground 3PL.S walk AUX NEG FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 nf pron vi aux pron

'They left the monster behind. They went back. They went up on the shore. They did not walk on the ground.'

48 **Me tokometemoneke neme ya**  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke neme ya  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F up ADJU  
 pron vi nf prt

'They went back up high.'

49 **Aba me me weyeri kawakani ahi**  
 aba me me weye -ri ka- na -waha -kani ahi  
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX change ?+F then  
 nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They all carried fish on their backs.'

50 **E tokomibana bofe ya ?**  
 ee to- ka -ma+F -bana bofe ya  
 1IN.S away go/come back FUT ground ADJU  
 pron vi nf prt

YIFOMA AND MOMORA

"Should we go back on the ground?"

51 *E awari*  
 ee awa -ra.NOM+F  
 like this see NEG  
 dem result

"I don't know."

52 *Sina me hisi kanibote* , *fowi*  
 sina me hisi ka- na -bote fowi  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff COMIT AUX quickly (sound of whistling)  
 nf pron vt aux sound

*fowi fowi fowi fowi me*  
 fowi fowi fowi fowi me  
 (sound of whistling) (sound of whistling) (sound of whistling) 3PL.POSS  
 sound sound sound sound pron

*boni tokomakani ahi*  
 boni to- ka -ma -kani ahi  
 upper lip+F away go/come back ?+F then  
 pn vi dem

'They took snuff. Fowi, went the sound of them whistling as they went up.'

53 *Fara me ka fa kabine yokana me bao kani ahi*  
 fara me ka faha kabine yokana me bao na -kani ahi  
 same+F 3PL POSS port true 3PL.S come down AUX ?+F then  
 dem pron prt nf adj pron vi aux dem

'They came down at their own port.'

54 *Me ka yibote* , *me ka yiboterawa* , *yama awa na*  
 me ka yibote me ka yibote -rawa yama awa.LIST na  
 3PL POSS wife 3PL POSS wife F.PL thing see AUX  
 pron prt nf pron prt nf nf vt aux

*toarawemete awineke me ka yiboterawaha*  
 to- ha -rawa -hemete awine -ke me ka yibote -rawa -ha  
 CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F 3PL POSS wife F.PL DUP  
 aux sec pron prt nf

'Their wives had shamanic powers, too.'

55 *Efe me ka owa ama namata hari*  
 efe me ka owa ama na.NOM+M -mata haari  
 this+M 3PL POSS man be AUX FP.N+M that one+M  
 dem pron prt nm vc aux dem

'He was one of them.'

56 *Wabori kakamakimatamonaha*  
 wabori ka- ka -makI -himata -mona -ha  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm vt

*wabori weye nari*  
 wabori weye na -haari  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law carry AUX IP.E+M  
 nm vt aux

'He brought his brother-in-law, carrying his brother-in-law on his back.'

## YIFOMA AND MOMORA

57 *Me ebe kakamake me* ,  
 me ebe ka- ka -makI me  
 3PL.POSS RECIp COMIT go/come following 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vt pron

*wabori me me hekanakosa me* ,  
 wabori me me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F me ,  
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle 3PL.S  
 nm pron pron vt pron

*yoro tonakosa me* ,  
 yoro to- na -kosa+F me  
 stand CH AUX middle 3PL.S  
 vi aux pron

'One brought the other. They left their brothers-in-law behind. They were left standing.'

## E YOWIRI (2)

### *Free Translation*

The Yimas started shooting arrows at E Yowiri. They couldn't kill E Yowiri with arrows. The enemies caught him. When they shot arrows at him, he deflected them. When they caught him, he fell on the ground with them. They fell on top of him, and he got up with them. They all fell down because of him.

He ran away. The enemies wanted to kill him, but they couldn't kill him. He escaped. He ran away. He went away. They were left lying on the ground because of him.

E Yowiri and his companions came back. Then they went after them. They went and fought against them, and they killed them.

When he came back he did not move away. He came back and kept on living there. He went there again, and fought against them again. He fought against them twice.

He fought against them. He came back again. He lived back in his own village again. They offered feasts back and forth many times.

Then they buried each other.<sup>84</sup> They buried each other in the soil in the sandy clearing. They were left buried. They went away crying because of them. They came back for them. They dug them out. They got up. Then they switched, and buried each other again.

The two sandy clearings where they lived are there. No one lives there. We live over here. The two sandy clearings are there, the old villages of the ancestors, who fought against the enemies.

The ones that E Yowiri killed are living all around. They became the Brazilians, some of them.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<i>E Yowiri</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tisa</i>		<i>nawemetemoneke</i>
	E Yowiri	me	tisa		na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
	(man's name)	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	npropm	pron	vt		aux

<i>yima</i>	<i>mati</i>				
yima	mati				
Yima	3PL				
npropm	pron				

'The Yimas started shooting arrows at E Yowiri.'

2	<i>E Yowiri</i>		<i>E Yowiri</i>	<i>E Yowiri</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>titisa</i>
	E Yowiri	,	E Yowiri	E Yowiri	me	ti- tisa
	(man's name)		(man's name)	(man's name)	3PL.S	DUP shoot with arrow
	npropm		npropm	npropm	pron	vt

<i>kana</i>	<i>hiarematamona</i>				<i>ino</i>	<i>amaka</i>		<i>yawa</i>
ka-	na	hi-	to-	ha	-ra -himata -mona	ino	ama -ka	yawa
COMIT	AUX	OC	CH	AUX	NEG FP.N+M REP+M	name+M	be DECL+M	enemies
aux		aux				pn	vc	nf

<sup>84</sup> This refers to a game that young people played, burying each other except for the head.



## E YOWIRI (2)

**me hiwatebanoho**

me hi- wata -hiba -no -ho  
 3PL.S OC catch FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 pron vt

'They couldn't kill E Yowiri with arrows. The enemies caught him.'

**3 Me hiwatematamonane**

me hi- wata -himata -mona -ne	,	me saa
3PL.S OC catch FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M		3PL.S shoot with arrow
pron vt		pron vt

<b>hikane</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>taroro</b>	<b>taroro</b>	<b>nari</b>	
hi- ka- na+M	wati	taro -ro	taro -ro	na -haari	
OC COMIT AUX	arrow	hit DUP	hit DUP	AUX IP.E+M	
aux	nm	vt	vt	aux	

'They caught him. When they shot arrows at him, he deflected them.'

**4 Me hiwate mera kasohimatamonane**

me hi- wata+M	mera	ka- sona -himata -mona -ne	yawa	
3PL.S OC catch	3PL.O	COMIT fall FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	enemies	
pron vt	pron vt		nf	

<b>yafa</b>	<b>hikanebanoho</b>	,	<b>mera</b>	<b>yana</b>
yafa	hi- ka- na -hiba -hino -ho		mera	yana
put something on top of	OC COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP		3PL.O	get up
vt	aux		pron	vi

**kanebanoho**

ka- na -hiba -no -ho  
 COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 aux

'When they caught him, he fell on the ground with them. They fell on top of him, and he got up with them.'

**5 E Yowiri mera yana kanematamona**

E Yowiri	mera	yana	ka- na -himata -mona	ama	ahi
(man's name)	3PL.O	get up	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M	SEC	then
npropm	pron	vi	aux	sec	dem

'E Yowiri got up with them.'

**6 Me tiriri tonakosemetemone**

me tiriri	to- na -kosa -hemete -mone	<b>ehene</b>
3PL.S many fall	CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F	because of+M
pron vi	aux	post

'They all fell down because of him.'

**7 Bete nawematamonaka**

bete na -waha -himata -mona -ka	<b>ahi</b>
run AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
vi aux	dem

'He ran away.'

**8 Yawa hinabibona yawa hinabowe**

yawa hi- na- ahaba -hibona	yawa	hi- na- aboha+M	<b>hasi</b>
enemies OC CAUS die INT+M	enemies	OC CAUS die	escape
nf vt	nf	vt	vi

**nematamonakana**

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

'The enemies wanted to kill him, but they couldn't kill him. He escaped.'

## E YOWIRI (2)

9 *Faya bete nawe tokomematamona fahi*  
 faya bete na -waha+M to- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi  
 so run AUX change away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj vi aux vi dem

'He ran away. He went away.'

10 *Me so tosakosemetemone amake ehene*  
 me soo to- na -kosa -kosa -hemete -mone ama -ke ehene  
 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle middle FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F because of+M  
 pron vi aux sec post

'They were left lying on the ground because of him.'

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

*hinakama me me*  
 hi- to- na- ka -ma+F me me  
 OC away CAUS go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 vt pron pron

*hinakamakiemetemone ahi*  
 hi- to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
 OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt dem

'They came back. They went after them.'

12 *Me me mowa hinamakemetemoneke*  
 me me mowa hi- to- na -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They went and fought against them.'

13 *Me me mowa hinamake me me*  
 me me mowa hi- to- na -makI me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC away AUX following 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron pron vt aux pron pron

*hinahabihemetemone ahi , banarebanoho*  
 hi- na- ahaba -hemete -mone ahi bana -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 OC CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F then move away NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt dem vi

*kamahari*  
 ka -ma -haari  
 go/come back IP.E+M  
 vi

'They went and fought against them, and they killed them. When he came back he did not move away.'

14 *Fare winame winamakane ahi*  
 fare wina -ma+M wina -ma -kane ahi  
 same+M live back live back ?+M then  
 dem vi vi dem

'He came back and kept on living there.'

E YOWIRI (2)

15 *Faya tokomaketase mera mowa*  
 faya to- ka -makI -tasa+M mera mowa  
 so away go/come following again 3PL.O fight  
 conj vi pron vt

*tonamaketasematamona*

to- na -makI -tasa -himata -mona  
 away AUX following again FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux

'He went there again, and fought against them again.'

16 *Me mowa ni famematamonaka ahi*  
 me mowa na.NFIN fama -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 3PL.O fight AUX be two FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pron vt aux vi dem

'He fought against them twice.'

17 *Mera mowa ne kamatase fare taboro*  
 mera mowa na+M ka -ma -tasa+M fare taboro  
 3PL.O fight AUX go/come back again same+M place+M  
 pron vt aux vi dem pn

*winamatasesematamona*

wina -ma -tasa -himata -mona  
 live back again FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi

'He fought against them. He came back again. He lived back in his own village again.'

18 *Me ibe me ibe mamari nawa*  
 me ibe me ibe ma- mari na -waha  
 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP offer a feast to AUX change  
 pron pn pron pn vt aux

*toemetemoneke*

to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 aux dem

'They offered feasts back and forth many times.'

19 *Me ibe kamowaha wami ya boto ya*  
 me ibe kamo -waha+F wami ya boto ya  
 3PL.POSS RECIP bury change soil ADJU sandy clearing ADJU  
 pron pn vt nf prt nf prt

*me ibe kamoha me me ibe kamoha me*  
 me ibe kamo+F me me ibe kamo+F me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP bury 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP bury 3PL.O  
 pron pn vt pron pron pn vt pron

*me hikamoa me tokomokosa me ihi me*  
 me hi- kamo+F me to- kamo -kosa+F me ihi me  
 3PL.S OC bury 3PL.S CH bury middle 3PL.POSS because of+F 3PL  
 pron vt pron vi pron post pron

*me me kamoha me ohi ni*  
 me me kamo+F me ohi na.NFIN  
 3PL.O 3PL.S bury 3PL.S cry AUX  
 pron pron vt pron vi aux

*tokomemetemoneni*

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'Then they buried each other. They buried each other in the soil in the sandy clearing. They were left buried.'

E YOWIRI (2)

They went away crying because of them.'

20 *Me ohi ni tokoma me , me me*  
 me ohi na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F me , me me  
 3PL.S cry AUX away go/come back 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux vi pron pron pron

*hinakamemetemonehe*

hi- na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he  
 OC CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt

'They went away crying. They came back for them.'

21 *Me me wi hina me yanari nemetemone*  
 me me wii hi- na+F me yana -ri na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S dig OC AUX 3PL.S get up DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron vt aux pron vi aux

'They dug them out. They got up.'

22 *Manako me ebe kamotasa me one fara me*  
 manako me ebe kamo -tasa+F me one fara me  
 switching 3PL.POSS RECIP bury again 3PL other+F same+F 3PL.POSS  
 nf pron pn vt pron adj dem pron

*abe kamo mati*  
 abe kamo+F mati  
 RECIP bury 3PL.S  
 pn vt pron

'Then they switched, and buried each other again.'

23 *Me wiwinikima toemete me ka boto*  
 me wi- wina -kima to- ha -hemete me ka boto  
 3PL.S DUP live two CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL POSS sandy clearing  
 pron vi aux pron prt nf

*yoro nikimineke Aba Wini karo*  
 yoro na -kima -ne -ke Aba Wini karo  
 be located AUX two CONT+F DECL+F (name of stream) LOC  
 vi aux npropf prt

'The two sandy clearings where they lived are there.'

24 *Winihimini*  
 wina -hima -ni  
 live BKG+F  
 vi

'No one lives there.'

25 *Winihimara ya e winineke*  
 wina -hima -ra+F ya ee wina -ne -ke  
 live NEG ADJU 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F  
 vi prt pron vi

'We live over here.'

26 *Yoro nineni boto , me iti*  
 yoro na -ne -ni boto , me iti  
 be located AUX CONT+F BKG+F sandy clearing 3PL.POSS grandfather  
 vi aux nf pron nm

## E YOWIRI (2)

*boteri*      *taborimete*                      ,      *yawa*      *momowa*      *hiemete* .  
 bote -ri    tabori    -mete                      ,      yawa      mo- mowa    hi- to- ha    -hemete .  
 old PN    place+F FP.N+F                      enemies    DUP fight    OC CH    AUX FP.N+F  
 pn            nf    nf            vt    aux  
 'The two sandy clearings are there, the old villages of the ancestors, who fought against the enemies.'

27 *E Yowiri*                      *me*      *totonafiyo*    *hiwemete* ,  
 E Yowiri                      me      to- to- na- fiyo    hi- to- ha    -hemete ,  
 (man's name)    3PL.O    DUP CH    CAUS be all gone    OC CH    AUX FP.N+F  
 npropm                      pron    vt    aux

*me*      *wina*      *nawarewaine*    *yara*      *me*      *me*  
 me      wina    na -wahaI    -waha -ne    yara      me      me  
 3PL.S    live    AUX all over change CONT+F    Brazilian    3PL.COMPL    3PL.S  
 pron    vi      aux    npropm      pron                      pron

*tohawa*    *mati*                      ,      *me*      *one* .  
 to- ha -waha+F    mati                      ,      me      one .  
 CH be change    3PL.S                      3PL    some+F  
 vc    pron                      pron adj

'The ones that E Yowiri killed are living all around. They became the Brazilians, some of them.'

## MAIKO (3)

### *Free Translation*

Maiko was a powerful shaman. He was able to defend himself, Maiko. He called his familiar spirits. He was the only one who called them. He called his familiar spirits, when he threw something at the monster.

"You stay here," he said to his two nephews. "I am going fishing. You two come after me."

"Right uncle, you go on ahead."

He went into the forest. He came upon a monster hitting the surface of the water with a reed. He went. As he stood looking, the sound of it came to him. Koho, koho, went the sound of the water. He looked. The monster was standing in the water. It had on a headdress.

"I want to fish, but it is hitting a reed on my water. I will pay it back. I will pierce it." He left. It was hitting the reed on the water. As it was standing in the water, hitting the reed on the water, he turned into a bird.

He came saying, "Kere." The kingfisher called as it came. The monster was standing in the water, hitting the water. He came. He alighted on a branch right to where the monster was standing. Foo foo foo waakai, he alighted.

He looked at the monster. Then he pierced it with his beak as it was hitting the water. He planned against it. It got up and hit the water some more.

Tiihii, went the sound of him hitting the monster. Tooo, went the sound of the water. There was the sound of many fruits hitting the surface of the water.

Wasn't he something? You are Maiko.

He came out far away. "Kere, kere." He went back calling. He landed on a branch.

"Hoo, it was hitting the water, but I pierced it."

Then he fished after the monster left. He shot fish with bow and arrow. He speared fish. Then he came back carrying the fish on his back.

"My uncle has come back."

He came back carrying the fish.

"My uncle has come back."

"Whew, you are exclaiming about me as I am coming back. There was a monster hitting on the water, but I pierced it, and I have come back. It went away wounded."

He had a huge stomach, Maiko. He had big breasts. When Maiko was young, who trained him to be a shaman? His old village is at the mouth of the Yemete stream.

He also killed another monster. The two of them came, and he killed them, the two of them. It was with its mate. He killed the two of them. It had come crying, and had stood nearby crying.

Maiko had brought back the monster's deer, and it was on the rack. He had roasted it on the rack, and had cooked its head. The monster ate.

Maiko wanted to sleep, but he heard something. Its crying came to him as he lay in his hammock.

"She didn't put my grandson to sleep early, and he is putting my grandson to sleep at night," he said.

"One, one." It came crying.

"Maiko, I think it's the voice of the monster whose kill we brought back," his wife said.

## MAIKO (3)

"It must be its voice," he said. "I guess it is its voice. Wait, I will take a look at it."

He opened the door. It had come. It came. He left it there outside the house. It came. It didn't want to go anywhere else.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>He</b>	<b>siba</b>		<b>ramako</b>		<b>hiwa</b>	
	haa+M	siba		na -ra -mako		hiwa	,
	DEM	be all right		AUX NEG for this reason+M		3SG.REFL.M	
	dem	vi		aux		pron	
	<b>kakasoma</b>		<b>toa</b>		<b>namata</b>		<b>hari</b>
	ka- ka-	soma	to- ha.	CONT+M	na.NOM+M	-mata	haari
	DUP COMIT	help	CH	AUX	AUX	FP.N+M	that one+M
	pn		aux		aux	dem	Maiko
							(man's name)
							npropm

'Maiko was a powerful shaman. He was able to defend himself, Maiko.'

2	<b>Fare</b>	<b>hiwa</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>nawaha</b>		<b>inamati</b>	<b>bare</b>	<b>ha</b>
	fare	hiwa	haa	na -waha.	LIST	inamati	bare	haa
	same+M	3SG.REFL.M	call	AUX	change	spirit	other+M	call
	dem	pron	vt	aux		nm	adj	vt

#### **hirahari**

hi- na -ra -haari  
 OC AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 aux

'He called his familiar spirits. He was the only one who called them.'

3	<b>Hinaka</b>	<b>teni</b>		<b>mera</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>nawahakane</b>		<b>maka</b>
	hinaka	itehani		mera	haa	na -waha -kane		maka
	3SG.POSS	whatchamacallit		3PL.O	call	AUX change ?+M		monster
	pron	nm		pron	vt	aux		nm

#### **kinariari**

kina -rI -haari  
 hit raised surface IP.E+M  
 vt

'He called his familiar spirits, when he threw something at the monster.'

4	<b>Tiwiya</b>						
	ti-	waa	-yahi				
	2SG.S	stay	DIST.IMP+F				
	vi						

"You stay here."

5	<b>Fa</b>	<b>kokoro</b>		<b>omatibe</b>			
	faha	ko- koro		o- na -mata		-be	
	water	DUP throw something on		1SG.S	AUX	short time	IMMED+F
	nf	vt		aux			

"I am going fishing."

6	<b>Te</b>	<b>kakamakiya</b>					
	tee	ka- ka	-makI	-yahi			
	2PL.S	COMIT go/come following		DIST.IMP+F			
	pron	vi					

"You two come after me."

MAIKO (3)

7 **Ee abise tai tia**  
 ee abise tai ti- to- ha  
 yes uncle be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX  
 interj nm vi aux

"Right uncle, you go on ahead."

8 **Tokematamona ahi maka fa koho neno**  
 to- ka -himata -mona ahi maka faha koho na -hino  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M then monster water hit AUX IP.N+M  
 vi dem nm nf vt aux

**towasiwitibanoho**

to- wasi -witI -hiba -no -ho  
 away find out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'He went into the forest. He came upon a monster hitting the surface of the water with a reed.'

9 **Toke yama kakatome towawite ni ya moni**  
 to- ka+M yama ka- katoma+M to- waa -witI ni ya moni  
 away go/come thing COMMIT look at away stand out to ADJU sound  
 vi nf vt vi prt prt pn

**yana tonematamona**

yana to- na -himata -mona  
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi aux

'He went. As he stood looking, the sound of it came to him.'

10 **Koho koho fa**  
 koho koho faha  
 (sound of something hitting) (sound of something hitting) water  
 sound sound nf

**moni nemetemone ahi**  
 moni na -hemete -mone ahi  
 make sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vt aux dem

'Koho, koho, went the sound of the water.'

11 **Yama ki ne maka waifikosematamona amane**  
 yama kii na+M maka waa -fI -kosa -himata -mona ama -ne  
 thing look at AUX monster stand water middle FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M  
 nf vt aux nm vi sec

**ahi tati atori**  
 ahi tati atori  
 then head decoration  
 dem pn pn

'He looked. The monster was standing in the water. It had on a headdress.'

12 **Fa koro onabone oko fa koho**  
 faha koro o- na -habone o- ka faha koho  
 water throw something on 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.POSS POSS water hit  
 nf vt aux prt nf vt

**ne awa**  
 na+M awa  
 AUX seem+M  
 aux sec

"I want to fish, but it is hitting a reed on my water."



MAIKO (3)

13 **Maki tina**  
 maki ti- na  
 pay 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux

"I will pay him back."

14 **Otamata**  
 o- ita -mata  
 1SG.S pierce short time  
 vt

"I will pierce it."

15 **Tokomakane ahi**  
 to- ka -ma -kane ahi  
 away go/come back ?+M then  
 vi dem

'He left.'

16 **Biri tokisawitino**  
 Biri to- ka -risa -witI -hino  
 npropm away go/come down out IP.N+M  
 vi

'Biri [Yowao's grandson] went out of the house.'

17 **Fa koho ne , fa koho ne waifi , ni ya**  
 faha koho na+M , faha koho na+M waa -fI+M , ni ya  
 water hit AUX water hit AUX stand water to ADJU  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux vi prt prt

**hiwa tonahiyakane ahi**  
 hiwa to- na- hiya -kane ahi  
 3SG.REFL.M CH CAUS be different ?+M then  
 pron vt dem

'It was hitting the reed on the water. As it was standing in the water, hitting the reed on the water, he turned into a bird.'

18 **Ati kamehimatamona ahi Kere**  
 ati ka -ma -himata -mona ahi kere  
 voice go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then (call of kingfisher)  
 pn vi dem sound

'He came saying, "Kere."'

19 **Kere ati kamematamona maka waifi**  
 kere ati ka -ma -himata -mona maka waa -fI.NOM  
 kingfisher sp voice go/come back FP.N+M REP+M monster stand water  
 nm pn vi nm vi

**ya fa koho nari**  
 ya faha koho na -haari  
 ADJU water hit AUX IP.E+M  
 prt nf vt aux

'The kingfisher called as it came. The monster was standing in the water, hitting the water.'

20 **Kamematamonaka ahi**  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'He came.'

MAIKO (3)

21 *Maka waifi yokana kobo name rama ahi*  
 maka waa -fI+M yokana kobo na -ma+M rama ahi  
 monster stand water true arrive AUX back unusual then  
 nm vi adj vi aux prt dem

'He alighted on a branch right to where the monster was standing.'

22 *Foo foo foo foo waakai kobo namakane ahi*  
 foo foo foo foo waakai kobo na -ma -kane ahi  
 sound sound sound sound sound arrive AUX back ?+M then  
 vi aux dem

'Foo foo foo waakai, he alighted.'

23 *Maka kakatomakane ahi hitehibanoho fa*  
 maka ka- katoma -kane ahi hi- ita -hiba -no -ho faha  
 monster COMIT look at ?+M then OC pierce FUT+M IP.N+M DUP water  
 nm vt dem vt nf

*koho nari*  
 koho na -haari  
 hit AUX IP.E+M  
 vt aux

'He looked at the monster. Then he pierced it as it was hitting the water.'

24 *Wati hikane rama ahi*  
 wati hi- ka- na+M rama ahi  
 plan against OC COMIT AUX unusual then  
 vt aux prt dem

'He planned against it.'

25 *Yana kabotekane ahi fa kokoho namari*  
 yana na -kabote -kane ahi faha ko- koho na -ma -haari  
 get up AUX quickly ?+M then water DUP hit AUX back IP.E+M  
 vi aux dem nf vt aux

'It got up and hit the water some more.'

26 *Tiihii moni kane ahi*  
 tiihii moni na -kane ahi  
 (sound of hitting) make sound AUX ?+M then  
 sound vt aux dem

'Tiihii, went the sound of it.'

27 *Toooooo fa moni kani ahi ya*  
 toooooo faha moni na -kani ahi ya  
 sound water make sound AUX ?+F then ADJU  
 nf vt aux dem prt

'Tooo, went the sound of the water.'

28 *Awa moni awa boni moni kohokohori*  
 awa moni awa boni moni koho- koho -ri  
 tree sound tree fruit+F sound DUP hit DISTR  
 nf pn nf pn pn vi

*tokanemetemone ahi*  
 to- ka- na -hemete -mone ahi  
 CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'There was the sound of many fruits hitting the surface of the water.'

MAIKO (3)

29 *Te*        *awa*    *hari*  
 tee        awa    haari  
 2PL.S    see    that one+M  
 pron    vt    dem

'Wasn't he something?'

30 *Maiko*                *ama*    *ti*  
 Maiko                ama    ti-  
 (man's name)    be    2SG.S  
 npropm            vc    prt

'You are Maiko.'

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

'He came out far away.'

32 *Kere*                                        ,        *kere*                                        *ati*  
 kere                                        kere                                        ati  
 (call of kingfisher)                        (call of kingfisher)                        voice  
 sound                                        sound                                        pn

*towakamakane*                                *ahi*  
 to-    ka-    ka        -ma    -kane    ahi  
 away    COMIT    go/come    back    ?+M    then  
 vi    dem

'"Kere, kere." He went back calling.'

33 *Tokomematamona*                                *ahi*  
 to-    ka        -ma    -himata    -mona    ahi  
 away    go/come    back    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 vi    dem

'He went back.'

34 *Faya*        *tosamakane*                                *ahi*  
 faya        to-    sona    -ma    -kane    ahi  
 so        away    fall    back    ?+M    then  
 conj    vi    dem

'He landed on a branch.'

35 *Hoo*        *fa*        *koho*    *ne*        *otine*                                        *oni*                                        *owatino*  
 hoo        faha    koho    na+M    o-        ita        -ne        o-        ni        owatino  
 interj    water    hit    AUX    1SG.S    pierce    CONT+F    1SG.S    BKG+F    exclamation  
           nf        vt        aux    vt                                        prt                                        interj

'"Hoo, it was hitting the water, but I pierced it."

36 *Itehina*                                ,        *fa*        *koro*                                        *nawebanoho*  
 ita        -hina                                faha    koro                                        na    -waha    -hiba    -no        -ho  
 pierce    ?+M                                water    throw something on    AUX    change    FUT+M    IP.N+M    DUP  
 result                                nf        vt                                        aux

*maka*        *nowati*        *ya*  
 maka        nowati        ya  
 monster    behind        ADJU  
 nm        pn        prt

'"I pierced it." Then he fished after the monster left.'

## MAIKO (3)

37 **Fa koro nawahe , aba me tisa**  
 faha koro na -waha+M , aba me tisa  
 water throw something on AUX change fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow  
 nf vt aux nm pron vt

**nawematamona**

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

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

38 **Aba me tisa ne kamawematamona**  
 aba me tisa na+M ka -ma -waha -himata -mona  
 fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pron vt aux vi

**aba me weye kani**  
 aba me weye ka- na.NFIN  
 fish 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX  
 nm pron vt aux

'He speared fish. Then he came back carrying the fish on his back.'

39 **Okobise kame**  
 o- ka abise ka -ma+M  
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle go/come back  
 nm vi

""My uncle has come back.""

40 **Biri himata sari tine tiri ?**  
 Biri himata sari ti- na -ne ti- ri  
 npropm what? burn 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F  
 interrog vt aux prt

'Biri, what are you burning?'

41 **Aba me weye kani kame Okobise**  
 aba me weye ka- na.NFIN ka -ma+M o- ka abise  
 fish 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS uncle  
 nm pron vt aux vi nm

**kamaka**

ka -ma -ka  
 go/come back DECL+M  
 vi

'He came back carrying the fish. "My uncle has come back."'

42 **Hoo okoma owa te hora kana**  
 hoo o- ka -ma+F owa tee hora ka- na+F  
 whew 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.O 2PL.S exclaim COMIT AUX  
 interj vi pron pron vi aux

""Whew, you are exclaiming about me as I am coming back.""

43 **Yama fa koho nani ota okomine**  
 yama faha koho na -hani o- ita+F o- ka -ma -ne  
 thing water hit AUX IP.N+F 1SG.S pierce 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F  
 nf nf vt aux vt vi

**o**

o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt

""There was a monster hitting on the water, but I pierced it, and I have come back.""

MAIKO (3)

44 *Towakamahara*

to- ka- ka -ma -hara  
away COMIT go/come back IP.E+F  
vi

"It went away wounded."

45 *Nabati*

*nabati* *nabati* *bibiriwa* *na* *toematamona*  
nabati nabati bi- biri -waha.LIST na to- ha -himata -mona  
stomach stomach DUP small change AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
pn pn vi aux aux

*Maiko*

*toha*

Maiko to- ha.CONT+M  
(man's name) CH be  
npropm vc

'He had a huge stomach, Maiko.'

46 *Yowari*

*howewe*

yoha -ri howe -we  
breast PN large DUP  
pn vi

'He had big breasts.'

47 *Maiko*

*nafire*

*hibake*

*aafo*

Maiko nafi -ra+M hibake a- afo  
(man's name) be big NEG who+M DUP blow snuff into  
npropm vi interrog vt

*hiemata*

?

hi- to- ha -himata  
OC CH AUX FP.N+M  
aux

'When Maiko was young, who trained him to be a shaman?'

48 *Taboro*

*bote*

*wata*

*ne*

*Yemete*

*batori*

taboro bote wata.LIST na+M Yemete batori  
place+M old be located AUX (name of stream) junction  
pn adj vi aux npropm pn

'His old village is at the mouth of the Yemete stream.'

49 *Owa*

*hinahabihataseamatamona*

*me*

owa hi- na- ahaba -tasa -himata -mona me  
other+M OC CAUS die again FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.S  
adj vt pron

*kakamawa*

*mati*

ka- ka -ma -waha mati  
DUP go/come back change 3PL.S  
vi pron

'He also killed another one. The two of them came.'

50 *Me*

*kakamake*

*me*

*fawa*

me ka- ka -makI me fawa  
3PL.S COMIT go/come following 3PL.O disappear  
pron vi pron vi

*hikanihemetemoneke*

*faro*

*me*

*fami*

hi- to- ka- niha- na -hemete -mone -ke faro me fami.NFIN  
OC CH COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F 3PL.S be two  
aux dem pron vi





MAIKO (3)

62 *Nokobi se kane rama kamakikane ahi* .  
 nokobi see ka- na+M rama ka -makI -kane ahi  
 door open COMIT AUX unusual go/come following ?+M then  
 nf vt aux prt vi dem  
 'He opened the door. It had come.'

63 *Kamaki , hekanakosematamonaka* .  
 ka -makI+M , hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come following OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vt  
 'It came. He left it there.'

64 *Hiyama wareba kamakimatamonakana ahi* .  
 hiyama waa -ra -hiba  
 somewhere else stand NEG FUT+M  
 adv vi  
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka -na ahi  
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M IRR+M then  
 vi dem  
 'It came. It didn't want to go anywhere else.'



## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

### *Free Translation*

The Awita Fa Yafi people put spells on each other.

"I'm going after *hawa* fruits. Boil some manioc juice."

He went. He got palm leaves for a basket. He wove the basket. He put down leaves inside the basket. Then he cut down the *hawa* palm. He chopped at the *hawa* palm.

His brother-in-law came, and heard the sound of him. Toko, toko, toko, went the sound of the ax.

"Oh no, that's my *hawa* palm where I kill birds that eat its fruits. He is cutting down the *hawa* palm where I kill birds that eat its fruits. I will get revenge. I will put a spell on him."

He went away. He prepared a shaman's stone. He put a spell on some cotton string. He extended the string across the path of his brother-in-law. He waited for him.

The first man put the *hawa* fruits that had fallen with the palm into the basket. He was ready. He thought there wasn't anyone there. His brother-in-law was hiding.

He came back carrying the *hawa* fruits on his back. He hit against the line that was extended. Yebe, went the thing. He fell down. He passed out.

His brother-in-law pretended to come. He came upon him as he was lying there.

"Ah, I guess someone cast a spell on my brother-in-law. They have messed with my brother-in-law."

He took snuff. He sucked on his brother-in-law to cure him. He took the shaman's stone out of him. His brother-in-law sat up.

"Whew, someone put a spell on me."

"Someone messed with you. I wonder who it was. I was coming and came upon you. Stand up."

He helped him to his feet. He grabbed his arm, and helped him to his feet.

"Whew, what were you doing?"

"I am going hunting."

"Right, go ahead. Go ahead."

"You go home. Go home sick. I guess someone cast a spell on you. Someone put a spell on you, and I am sucking on you to cure you."

So he went home.

The hunter picked up his blowgun, and went into the forest.

The first man lifted the *hawa* fruits onto his back, and went home. He was unsteady as he went sick. He stopped, and looked back.

"He is the one that messed with me." "It is his sickness that I have." "I will get revenge."

The other man went into the forest. He disappeared.

"Something touched me."

He untied the string that had been tied. He tied the string back together. He took it and tied it somewhere else.

"He messed with me. I saw him."

Then he got revenge on him. He tied the string, and left the hunter behind. He came back.

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

"I will go back sick. The sickness is intense."

He came back sick.

"Look my father is coming back there," his daughter said. "My father fell down. My father is not walking good," she said.

His younger brother looked quickly. "My older brother is hurt. Someone hurt my brother."

"Whew, lower my hammock. I am hurt. I am coming back sick."

"Brother, what happened to you?"

"I think someone cast a spell on me, and I have come back," he said.

"Someone cast a spell on you."

So he sucked on him to cure him. He left off sucking on him. The sun went down.

Late in the day the hunter came back, carrying toucans, carrying birds. The other man's shaman's stone was tied up. Because it was late in the day, he ran, and he hit against the string. There was the sound of him hitting, kiha. He felt a shock in his head. Iii, he fell down.

The ants cut off the feathers of his toucans during the night. The birds were without any feathers. The ants were spraying the eyes of the owner of the birds during the night.

The younger brother was sucking on his older brother to cure him, and then he stopped sucking on him.

"Oh no, my older brother went into the forest, and he has not come back. I will go look at my brother," said the brother of the hunter.

He lit a resin torch. The two of them went. They called. They went some more, and they called.

"Did he die? We would have found him if he were alive."

"He will sleep in the forest for the time being. We will get up early because of him."

"Right, we will go home for now."

They turned back near where he was lying on the ground. They came back.

"Well, did you meet up with him?"

"We didn't meet up with him. Where is he?" we said. "We came back. He disappeared."

"He will come back after he sleeps."

"We will get up early. I will get up early because of my older brother."

They slept. They got up early. He carried food for his brother. The two of them went to where their older brother was lying on the ground.

Their brother was lying there on the ground. His eyes were full of holes. His birds were there.

"This is what happens when people hate each other. He died because someone cast a spell on him."

"Someone put a spell on him. Those people did it, older brother. The younger brother has been sucking on his older brother to cure him."

"Yes, those people did it. The younger brother has been sucking on his older brother to cure him. Let's take him back."

They cut a pole. They put the pole against their brother's chest, and they tied up their brother. They carried him. They brought him back. They started crying. The two of them came back crying.

"That's their voices as they are coming back. Take care of us, younger brother. I can't stand well. They are coming to me crying. I got revenge on the one who messed with me. Now they are coming crying because of him."

Then they appeared. He was attached to a pole. They had lashed him.

"Haania, brother-in-law, let's cry because of what you did."

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

They all cried because they missed the Awita Fa Yafi man. They cried, and then they stopped crying because of him.

"Let's cry because of what you did."

"I can't stand well. They are coming to me crying. You go there [i.e. I can't go because I'm sick]."

They cried. He lay on the ground. They carried him. They cried. Then they changed.

They were squatting as they were crying. One of them got a stomach ache. They started to cry again, and they were squatting. "Booo," went the sound of the fart. As they were crying, the sound of the fart went "booo". It made them laugh.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1	<b>Ee</b>		<b>awita fa yafi</b>		<b>awita fa yafi</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ibe</b>
	ee		awita fa yafi		awita fa yafi		me	ibe
	(pause)		(ethnic group name)		(ethnic group name)		3PL.POSS	RECIP
	interj		npropm		npropm		pron	pn

**kanawasi**

ka- na- wasi.LIST  
COMIT CAUS get caught  
vt

'The Awita Fa Yafi people put spells on each other.'

2	<b>Hawa</b>		<b>onakamakimatibe</b>					
	hawa	o-	to- na- ka	-makI	-mata	-be		
	palm sp	1SG.S	away CAUS go/come	following	short time	IMMED+F		
	nf	vt						

""I'm going after *hawa* fruits.""

3	<b>Fowa</b>	<b>fene</b>	<b>tikawariya</b>					
	fowa	fehene	ti- ka- waa	-rI		-yahi		
	manioc	juice+M	2SG.S COMIT cook	raised surface		DIST.IMP+F		
	nm	pn	vt					

""Boil some manioc juice.""

4	<b>Faya</b>	<b>tokomake</b>		<b>tabasi</b>		<b>tabasi</b>		
	faya	to- ka	-makI	tabasi		tabasi		
	so	away go/come	following	makeshift basket		makeshift basket		
	conj	vi		nf		nf		

<b>kakiti</b>		<b>tabasi</b>		<b>kowe</b>		<b>tabasi</b>		<b>be</b>
ka-	iti+M	tabasi		kowa+M		tabasi		bee
COMIT	take out	makeshift basket		weave		makeshift basket		put down
vt		nf		vt		nf		vt

<b>nise</b>		<b>hawa</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>kawematamonaka</b>				
na	-risa+M	hawa	kaa	ka- na	-waha	-himata	-mona	-ka
AUX	down	palm sp	chop	COMIT AUX	change	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
aux		nf	vt	aux				

'He went. He got palm leaves for a basket. He wove the basket. He put down leaves inside the basket. Then he cut down the *hawa* palm.'

5	<b>Hawa</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>wabori</b>		<b>kamaki</b>	
	hawa	kaa	ka- na+M		wabori		ka	-makI+M
	palm sp	chop	COMIT AUX		3SG.POSS brother-in-law		go/come	following
	nf	vt	aux		nm		vi	

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

**moni himitamakimatamonaha**

moni hi- mita -makI -himata -mona -ha  
 sound OC hear following FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 pn vt

'He chopped at the *hawa* palm. His brother-in-law came, and heard the sound of him.'

6 **Toko** , **toko** , **toko bari moni nemetemone ama**  
 toko , toko , toko bari moni na -hemete -mone ama  
 sound sound sound ax make sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC  
 nf vt aux sec

'Toko, toko, toko, went the sound of the ax.'

7 **Aa** , **oko** **hawa** **i**  
 aa o- ka hawa ihi  
 (expression of displeasure) 1SG.POSS POSS palm sp result of+F  
 interj prt nf pn

**fora** **ona** **ama**  
 fora o- na+F ama  
 shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX be  
 vt aux vc

"Oh no, that's my *hawa* palm where I kill birds that eat its fruits."

8 **Oko** **hawa** **i** **fora** **ona** **ka**  
 o- ka hawa ihi fora o- na+F kaa  
 1SG.POSS POSS palm sp result of+F shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX chop  
 prt nf pn vt aux vt

**kane** **awa**  
 ka- na+M awa  
 COMMIT AUX seem+M  
 aux sec

"He is cutting down the *hawa* palm where I kill birds that eat its fruits."

9 **Maki tina**  
 maki ti- na  
 pay 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux

"I will get revenge."

10 **Okanawasimata**  
 o- ka- na- wasi -mata.IMP+M  
 1SG.S COMMIT CAUS find short time  
 vt

"I will put a spell on him."

11 **Faya tokome** , **tokome** , **yama toma**  
 faya to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M , yama toma  
 so away go/come back away go/come back thing suck  
 conj vi vi nf vt

**nematamonaka**  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He went away. He prepared a shaman's stone.'

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

12 **Yama toma ne wafe tamo torematamona**  
 yama toma na+M wafe tamo to- na -rI -himata -mona  
 thing suck AUX cotton rub CH AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

'He prepared a magical stone. He put a spell on some cotton string.'

13 **Wafe tamo tore yama wafe**  
 wafe tamo to- na -rI yama wafe  
 cotton rub CH AUX raised surface thing cotton  
 nf vt aux nf nf

**kahohimatamonane wabori hawine ya**  
 kaho -himata -mona -ne wabori hawine ya  
 tie FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law trail+M ADJU  
 vt nm pn prt

'He put a spell on the cotton string. He extended the string across the path of his brother-in-law.'

14 **Noki hinematamonane**  
 noki hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 wait for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt aux

'He waited for him.'

15 **Hawa tokasona te ne hawa te**  
 hawa to- ka- sona+F tee na+M hawa tee  
 palm sp CH COMIT fall put inside AUX palm sp put inside  
 nf vi vt aux nf vt

**nematamonaka**  
 na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'He put the *hawa* fruits that had fallen with the palm into the basket.'

16 **Hawa te ne yana tonematamonaha**  
 hawa tee na+M yana to- na -himata -mona -ha  
 palm sp put inside AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nf vt aux vi aux

'He put the *hawa* fruits in the basket. He was ready.'

17 **Yama honarikani ati nematamonaka**  
 yama hona -ra+F -kani ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 thing have something NEG CNTRFACT say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vi vt aux

'He thought there wasn't anyone there.'

18 **Waiyematamonaka wabori**  
 wahiya -himata -mona -ka wabori  
 hide FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law  
 vi nm

'His brother-in-law was hiding.'

19 **Kamematamona hawa weye ni**  
 ka -ma -himata -mona hawa weye na.NFIN  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M palm sp carry AUX  
 vi nf vt aux

'He came back carrying the *hawa* fruits on his back.'

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

20 **Kame**                    **yama**    **yama**    **kaohani** ,  
 ka            -ma+M    yama    yama    kaho -hani  
 go/come back    thing    thing    tie IP.N+F  
 vi                    nf            nf            result

**towakitikosamematamonahane**

to- ka-    iti            -kosa    -ma    -himata    -mona    -ha    -ne  
 away COMIT pick up middle back FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP    BKG+M  
 vt

'He came back. He hit against the line that was extended.'

21 **Yebe**                                    **yama**    **nemetemone**                    **ahi**  
 yebe                                    yama    na    -hemete    -mone    ahi  
 (sound of shocking)    make    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    then  
 sound                                    vt            aux                                    dem

'Yebe, went the thing.'

22 **Bao**                    **nisematamona**                    **ahi**  
 bao                    na    -risa    -himata    -mona    ahi  
 come down    AUX down    FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 vi                    aux                                    dem

'He fell down.'

23 **Faya** ,    **ahabarisematamonahane**  
 faya ,    ahaba    -risa    -himata    -mona    -ha    -ne  
 so            die    down    FP.N+M    REP+M    DUP    BKG+M  
 conj            vi

'He passed out.'

24 **Faya**    **wabori**                                    **tokome** ,  
 faya    wabori                                    to- ka            -ma+M  
 so    3SG.POSS brother-in-law    away go/come back  
 conj    nm                                    vi

**kamakiamā**                                    **ne**    **hiwasimakematamonane** ,  
 ka    -makI            -hama            na+M    hi- wasi -makI            -himata    -mona    -ne  
 go/come following pretending    AUX    OC find following FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 vi                                    aux            vt

**homahari**

homa                    -haari  
 lie on ground IP.E+M  
 vi

'His brother-in-law pretended to come. He came upon him as he was lying there.'

25 **Home**                    **wabori**                                    **hiwasimaki** ,  
 homa+M                    wabori                                    hi- to- wasi -makI+M  
 lie on ground    3SG.POSS brother-in-law    OC away find following  
 vi                    nm                                    vt

**Aa**                                    ,    **oko**                    **wabo**                    **me**  
 aa                                    o-            ka    wabo                    me  
 (expression of surprise)    1SG.POSS POSS    brother-in-law    3PL.S  
 interj                                    prt                    nm                    pron

**kanawasihani**                                    **me**    **awine**  
 ka-    na-    wasi                    -hani    me    awine  
 COMIT CAUS get caught IP.N+F    3PL.S    seem+F  
 vt                                    pron            sec

'He lay there. His brother-in-law came upon him. "Ah, I guess someone cast a spell on my brother-in-law."'

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

26 *Oko*                    *wabo*                    *me*                    *ai*                    *nani*                    *me*  
 o-                    ka                    wabo                    me                    ahi                    na -hani                    me  
 1SG.POSS                    POSS                    brother-in-law                    3PL.S                    mess with                    AUX IP.N+F                    3PL.S  
 prt                    nm                    pron                    vt                    aux                    pron

**awinekira**

awine -kira  
 seem+F ?+F  
 sec

"They have messed with my brother-in-law."

27 *Faya*                    *sina*                    *hisi*                    *ne*                    *wabori*                    *toma*                    *ne*                    *yama*  
 faya                    sina                    hisi                    na+M                    wabori                    toma                    na+M                    yama  
 so                    snuff                    sniff                    AUX                    3SG.POSS brother-in-law                    suck                    AUX                    thing  
 conj                    nf                    vt                    aux                    nm                    vt                    aux                    nf

**kayabematamonahane**

ka-                    yaba                    -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 COMIT take out FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DUP                    BKG+M  
 vt

'He took snuff. He sucked on his brother-in-law to cure him. He took the shaman's stone out of him.'

28 *Yama*                    *kayabe*                    ,                    *yama*                    *kayabematamonahane*  
 yama                    ka-                    yaba+M                    ,                    yama                    ka-                    yaba                    -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 thing                    COMIT take out                    thing                    COMIT take out FP.N+M                    REP+M                    DUP                    BKG+M  
 nf                    vt                    nf                    vt

'He took the shaman's stone out of him.'

29 *Yama*                    *kayabe*                    ,                    *faya*                    *itamisame*                    ,                    *Hoo*                    ,                    *hinamati*  
 yama                    ka-                    yaba+M                    ,                    faya                    ita -misa -ma+M                    ,                    hoo                    ,                    hinamati  
 thing                    COMIT take out                    so                    sit up                    back                    whew                    someone  
 nf                    vt                    conj                    vi                    interj                    nm

*owa*                    *kanawasi*                    *owa*                    *awine*                    *o*  
 owa                    ka-                    na-                    wasi+M                    owa                    awine                    o-  
 1SG.O                    COMIT CAUS get caught                    1SG.O                    seem+F                    1SG.O  
 pron                    vt                    pron                    sec                    prt

'He took the shaman's stone out of him. He sat up. "Whew, someone put a spell on me."'

30 *Tiwa*                    *me*                    *ai*                    *na*                    *tiwa*                    *awine*                    *tini*  
 tiwa                    me                    ahi                    na+F                    tiwa                    awine                    ti-                    ni  
 2SG.O                    3PL.S                    mess with                    AUX                    2SG.O                    seem+F                    2SG.O                    BKG+F  
 pron                    pron                    vt                    aux                    pron                    sec                    prt

"Someone messed with you."

31 *E*                    *awari*  
 ee                    awa -ra.NOM+F  
 1IN.S                    see NEG  
 pron                    vi

"I wonder who it was."

32 *Tiwa*                    *okomake*                    *tiwa*                    *owasimakiara*                    *o*  
 tiwa                    o-                    ka                    -makI                    tiwa                    o-                    wasi -makI                    -hara                    o-  
 2SG.O                    1SG.S go/come following                    2SG.O                    1SG.S find following IP.E+F                    1SG.S  
 pron                    vi                    pron                    vt                    pron                    vt

"I came and came upon you."

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

33 *Tiwamisama*

ti- waa -misa -ma  
2SG.S stand up back  
vi

"Stand up."

34 *Hinawamisame*

	<i>mano</i>	<i>hiti</i>		<i>hinawamisame</i>
hi- na- waa -misa -ma+M	mano	hi- iti+M	hi- na- waa -misa -ma+M	
OC CAUS stand up back	arm+M	OC pick up	OC CAUS stand up back	
vt	pn	vt	vt	

<i>Hoo</i>	<i>himata</i>	<i>ebe</i>	<i>tinaba</i>		<i>ama</i>	<i>tiri</i>	
hoo	himata	ebe	ti- na	-haba	ama	ti- ri	?
whew	what?	purpose	2SG.S AUX	FUT+F	SEC	2SG.S CQ+F	
interj	interrog	vt	aux		sec	prt	

'He helped him to his feet. He grabbed his arm, and helped him to his feet. "Whew, what were you doing?"

35 *Yama*

<i>yete</i>	<i>onabone</i>		<i>o</i>
yama yete o- na -habone o-			
thing hunt 1SG.S AUX INT+F			1SG.S
nf vt aux			prt

"I am going hunting."

36 *Ee*

<i>tikiya</i>			
ee ti- to- ka -yahi			
yes 2SG.S away go/come DIST.IMP+F			
interj vi			

"Right, go ahead."

37 *Tikiyahi*

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

"Go ahead."

38 *Tikamiya*

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

"You go home."

39 *Tekamiya*

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

"Go home sick."

40 *Tiwa*

<i>me</i>	<i>kanawasine</i>		<i>nirani</i>
tiwa me ka- na- wasi -ne na+F -rani			
2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT CAUS get caught CONT+F AUX ?			
pron pron vt			aux

*oni*

ati o- na -ni			
say 1SG.S AUX BKG+F			
vt			

"I guess someone cast a spell on you."



## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

41 *Tiwa me kanawasiani tiwa toma one*  
 tiwa me ka- na- wasi -hani tiwa toma o- na -ne  
 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT CAUS get caught IP.N+F 2SG.O suck 1SG.S AUX CONT+F  
 pron pron vt pron vt aux

*o*  
 o-  
 1SG.S  
 prt

"Someone put a spell on you, and I am sucking on you to cure you."

42 *Faya tokomematamonaka fahi*  
 faya to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 so away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi dem

'So he went home.'

43 *Karabowa kakiti tokematamonane*  
 karaboha ka- iti+M to- ka -himata -mona -ne  
 blowgun COMIT pick up away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt vi

'He picked up his blowgun, and went into the forest.'

44 *Hawa weye namise tokome kofafa*  
 hawa weye na -misa+M to- ka -ma+M kofa -fa  
 palm sp carry AUX up away go/come back be unsteady DUP  
 nf vt aux vi vi

*kane towakamematamona ahi*  
 ka- na+M to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 COMIT AUX away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux vi dem

'He lifted the *hawa* fruits onto his back, and went home. He was unsteady as he went sick.'

45 *Ma toname nokowame Owa ai neno*  
 maa to- na -ma+M noko -waha -ma+M owa ai na -hino  
 stop away AUX back point change back 1SG.O mess with AUX IP.N+M  
 vi aux vi pron vt aux

*amane*  
 ama -ne  
 SEC BKG+M  
 sec

'He stopped, and looked back. "He is the one that messed with me."'

46 *Hinaka yama kome owine o*  
 hinaka yama kome o- awa -ne o-  
 3SG.POSS thing sickness+F 1SG.S feel CONT+F 1SG.S  
 pron nf pn vt prt

"It is his sickness that I have."

47 *Maki tina*  
 maki ti- na  
 pay 2SG.S AUX  
 vi aux

"I will get revenge."

CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

48 *Tokematamonaka*

to-	ka	-himata	-mona	-ka	<i>fari</i>
away	go/come	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	that one+M
vi					dem

'The other man went into the forest.'

49 *Fawa*

*tonakosawitimatamona*

fawa	to-	na	-kosa	-witI	-himata	-mona
disappear	away	AUX	middle	out	FP.N+M	REP+M
vi		aux				

'He disappeared.'

50 *Yama*

*owa*

*ni*

*kobo*

*kanarake*

*ahi*

yama	owa	ni	kobo	ka-	na	-hara	-ke	ahi
thing	1SG	to	arrive	COMIT	AUX	IP.E+F	DECL+F	then
nf	pron	prt	vi	aux				dem

""Something touched me.""

51 *Yama*

*kaohani*

*mati*

*katise*

*yama*

*kaohani*

*mati*

yama	kaho	-hani	mati	ka-	tisa+M	yama	kaho	-hani	mati
thing	tie	IP.N+F	line+F	COMIT	undo	thing	tie	IP.N+F	line+F
nf	result		pn	vt		nf	result		pn

*katise*

*yama*

*mati*

*katifome*

ka-	tisa+M	yama	mati	ka-	tifo	-ma+M
COMIT	undo	thing	line+F	COMIT	tie together	back
vt		nf	pn	vt		

*hikatifomemetemoneni*

hi-	ka-	tifo	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ni
OC	COMIT	tie together	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F
vt						

'He untied the string that had been tied. He tied the string back together.'

52 *Faya*

*yama*

*towakamaki*

*yama*

faya	yama	to-	ka-	ka	-makI+M	yama
so	thing	away	COMIT	go/come	following	thing
conj	nf	vt				nf

*tokahomakimatamona*

*ahi*

to-	kaho	-makI	-himata	-mona	ahi
away	tie	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
vt					dem

'He took it and tied it somewhere else.'

53 *Owa*

*ahi*

*neni*

*ama*

owa	ahi	na	-hino	ama
1SG.O	mess with	AUX	IP.N+M	SEC
pron	vt	aux		sec

""He messed with me.""

54 *Owahare*

o-	awa	-hare
1SG.S	see	IP.E+M
vt		

""I saw him.""

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

55 *Faya* , *manako* *hiematamonane*  
 faya , manako hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ne  
 so revenge OC CH pay back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 conj nf vd  
 'Then he got revenge on him.'

56 *Yama* *kobobo* *kanihi*  
 yama kobo -bo ka- niha- na+M  
 thing be attached DUP COMIT CAUS AUX  
 nf vi aux

*hekanakosematamonaka*  
 hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt  
 'He tied the string, and left him behind.'

57 *Kamematamona*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi  
 'He came back.'

58 *Owakamibe*  
 o- to- ka- ka -ma -be  
 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back IMMED+F  
 vi  
 "'I will go back sick.'"

59 *Yama* *kome* *kiti*  
 yama kome kita.NOM+F  
 thing sickness+F be strong  
 nf pn vi  
 "'The sickness is intense.'"

60 *Kakamematamona*  
 ka- ka -ma -himata -mona  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt  
 'He came back sick.'

61 *Kakame* , *Okobi* *kamari*  
 ka- ka -ma+M o- ka abi ka -ma -haari  
 COMIT go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back look+M  
 vt nm vi  
*hari* *bite* *ati* *nemetemoneni*  
 haari bite ati na -hemete -mone -ni  
 that one+M 3SG.POSS.daughter say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 dem nf vt aux  
 'He came back sick. "Look my father is coming back there," his daughter said.'

62 *Okobi* *okobi* *okobi*  
 o- ka abi o- ka abi o- ka abi  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father  
 nm nm nm



CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

69 *Ayo* *himata* *ebe* *tirini* ?  
 ayo himata ebe ti- na -ri -ni  
 older brother what? happen to 2SG.S AUX CQ+F IP.N+F  
 nm interrog vt aux

"Brother, what happened to you?"

70 *Inamati* *owa* *kanawasirani* *ona*  
 inamati owa ka- na- wasi -rani ati o- na+F  
 someone 1SG.O COMIT CAUS find ? say 1SG.S AUX  
 nm pron vt vt

*okomine* *oni* *ati* *nematamonane*  
 o- ka -ma -ne o- ni ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi prt vt aux

"I think someone cast a spell on me, and I have come back," he said.'

71 *Tiwa* *me* *kanawasiha* *tiwa* *awine* *ti*  
 tiwa me ka- na- wasi+F tiwa awine ti-  
 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT CAUS get caught 2SG.O seem+F 2SG.O  
 pron pron vt pron sec prt

"Someone cast a spell on you."

72 *Faya* *toma* *hinematamona* *fahi*  
 faya toma hi- na -himata -mona fahi  
 so suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 conj vt aux dem

'So he sucked on him to cure him.'

73 *Toma* *hinematamona* *ahi*  
 toma hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vt aux dem

'He sucked on him.'

74 *Toma* *ni* *sa* *hise* *bai*  
 toma na.NFIN saa hi- na -kosa+M bai  
 suck AUX leave off OC AUX middle sun  
 vt aux vt aux nm

*tokematamonaka*  
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He left off sucking on him. The sun went down.'

75 *Bai* *toke* *bai* *toke* *ya*  
 bahi to- ka+M bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya  
 sun away go/come sun away go/come ADJU  
 nm vi nm vi prt

*kamematamonane* *yaki* *me* *weye* *nari*  
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ne yaki me weye na -haari  
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M toucan sp 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M  
 vi nm pron vt aux

*bani* *me* *weye* *nari*  
 bani me weye na -haari  
 animal 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M  
 nm pron vt aux

'Late in the day he came back, carrying toucans, carrying birds.'

CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

76 *Hinaka*      *yama nakora*      *kaometemoneni*  
 hinaka      yama nakora      kaho -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS shaman's stone      tie FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron      nf      result

'His shaman's stone was tied up.'

77 *Bete*      *nawahebona*      *bai*      *toke*      *ene*      *bete*  
 bete      na -waha -hibona      bahi      to-      ka+M      ehene      bete  
 run      AUX change INT+M      sun      away go/come      because of+M      run  
 vi      aux      nm      vi      post      vi

*nawebona*      ,      *yama*      *weye*  
 na -waha -hibona      ,      yama      weye  
 AUX change INT+M      thing carry  
 aux      nf      vt

*tokasematamonaka*      ,      *ahi*  
 to- ka-      na -kosa -himata -mona -ka      ahi  
 CH COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M      then  
 aux      dem

'Because it was late in the day, he ran, and he hit against the string.'

78 *Kiha*      *na*      *rama*      *ahi*  
 kiha      na+F      rama      ahi  
 sound      AUX      unusual      then  
 aux      prt      dem

'There was the sound of him hitting, kiha.'

79 *Yebe*      *tomata*      *noko*  
 yebe      to- na.NOM -mata      noko  
 shock      CH      AUX      FP.N+M      face+M  
 vi      aux      pn

'He felt a shock in his head.'

80 *Iii*      ,      *sonehimatamona*      *ahi*      ,      *hinaka*      ,      *hinaka*  
 iii      ,      sona -himata -mona      ahi      ,      hinaka      ,      hinaka  
 (sound of falling)      fall FP.N+M REP+M      then      3SG.POSS      3SG.POSS  
 sound      vi      dem      pron      pron  
 ,      *yaki*      *me*      *mafo*      *me*      *me*      *hirawa*  
 yaki      me      mafo      me      me      hi- rawa  
 toucan sp      3PL      small ant      3PL.O      3PL.S      OC      trim  
 nm      pron nm      pron      pron      vt

*hinababani*      *mati*  
 hi- nahaba -haba -ni      mati  
 OC at night FUT+F IP.N+F      3PL.O  
 prt      pron

'Iii, he fell down. The ants cut off the feathers of his toucans during the night.'

81 *Bani*      *me*      *kasisi*      *nemetemone*      *ama*      *ahi*  
 bani      me      kasi -si      na -hemete -mone      ama      ahi  
 animal      3PL.S      be bald DUP      AUX FP.N+F REP+F      SEC      then  
 nm      pron      vi      aux      sec      dem

'The birds were without any feathers.'

82 *Me*      *ka*      *bani*      *me*      *hiti*      ,      *noko*      *mafo*      *me*      *si*  
 me      ka      bani      me      hiti      ,      noko      mafo      me      sii  
 3PL      POSS      animal      3PL.POSS      owner      eye+M      small ant      3PL.S      spray  
 pron prt      nm      pron      nm      pn      nm      pron      vt

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

**hinabematamona**

hi-	na	nahaba	-himata	-mona	ama	ahi
OC	AUX	at night	FP.N+M	REP+M	SEC	then
aux					sec	dem

'The ants were spraying the eyes of the owner of the birds during the night.'

83	<b>Me</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>toma</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ebe</b>	<b>sa</b>
	me	ebe	toma	na+F	me	ebe	saa
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	suck	AUX	3PL.POSS	RECIP	leave off
	pron	pn	vt	aux	pron	pn	vt

**tosawemetemone**

to-	na	-kosa	-waha	-hemete	-mone	fahi
CH	AUX	middle	change	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
aux						dem

'The younger brother was sucking on his older brother to cure him, and then he stopped sucking on him.'

84	<b>Aa</b>				<b>okoyo</b>		
	aa				o-	ka	ayo
	(expression of displeasure)				1SG.POSS	POSS	older brother
	interj				nm		

<b>kakama</b>		<b>reba</b>		<b>toka</b>		<b>nano</b>
ka-	ka	-ma	na -ra -hiba	to-	ka.CONT+M	na.NOM+M -no
DUP	go/come back	AUX	NEG FUT+M	away go/come	AUX	IP.N+M
vi		aux		vi	aux	

""Oh no, my older brother went into the forest, and he has not come back.""

85	<b>Okoyo</b>				<b>owamakematibe</b>		
	o-	ka	ayo		o-	to-	awa -makI -mata -be
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older brother		1SG.S	away see following short time	IMMED+F
	nm				vt		

""I will go look at my brother.""

86	<b>Wami</b>	<b>sari</b>	<b>kane</b>		<b>wami</b>	<b>sari</b>	<b>kane</b>	<b>me</b>
	wami	sari	ka- na+M		wami	sari	ka- na+M	me
	tree sp	burn	COMIT AUX		tree sp	burn	COMIT AUX	3PL.S
	nf	vt	aux		nf	vt	aux	pron

**towakamakietemoneni**

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

'He lit a resin torch. The two of them went.'

87	<b>Me</b>	<b>towakamakia</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ha</b>	<b>kana</b>		<b>me</b>
	me	to- ka- ka	-makI+F	me	haa	ka- na+F		me
	3PL.S	away	COMIT go/come	following	3PL.S	call	COMIT AUX	3PL.S
	pron	vi		pron	vi	aux		pron

**towakamakiwaha**

to-	ka-	ka	-makI	-waha+F	<b>me</b>	<b>ha</b>
away	COMIT	go/come	following	change	3PL.S	call
vi					pron	vi

**tokanamakia**

to-	ka-	na	-makI+F	me	<b>Abe</b>	<b>awa</b>	?
away	COMIT	AUX	following	3PL.S	ahaba+M	awa	
aux				pron	die	seem+M	
				pron	vi	sec	

'They went. They called. They went some more, and they called. "Did he die?'"

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

88 *Efe e kobo na*  
 efe ee kobo na+F  
 this+M 1IN.S meet AUX  
 dem pron vt aux

"We would have found him [if he were alive]."

89 *Amo namateba awane*  
 amo na -mata -hiba awa -ne  
 sleep AUX short time FUT+M seem+M BKG+M  
 vi aux sec

"He will sleep in the forest for the time being."

90 *E bosa kanebana*  
 ee bosa ka- na -hibana  
 1IN.S get up early COMIT AUX FUT+M  
 pron vi aux

"We will get up early because of him."

91 *Ee e towakama mata*  
 ee , ee to- ka- ka -ma mata  
 yes 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back for now  
 interj pron vi prt

"Right, we will go home for now."

92 *Homi yabore ya me wete*  
 homa.NFIN yabo -ra.NOM+M ya me wete  
 lie on ground be far NEG ADJU 3PL.S return  
 vi vi prt pron vi

*tokanamemetemone*  
 to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone  
 away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'They turned back near where he was lying on the ground.'

93 *Me wete kanama me*  
 me wete ka- na -ma+F me  
 3PL.S return COMIT AUX back 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron

*kakamemetemoneni*  
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'They turned back. They came back.'

94 *Me kakama me me*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , me  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron

*kakamemetemoneke*  
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'They came back.'



## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

95 *Me kakama me , Faira te kobo ne ?*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , fahi -ra tee kobo na+M  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S that NPQ 2PL.S meet AUX  
 pron vi pron dem pron vt aux

"They came back. "Well, did you meet up with him?"

96 *Ota kobo rare .*  
 otaa kobo na -ra -hare  
 1EX.S meet AUX NEG IP.E+M  
 pron vt aux

"We didn't meet up with him."

97 *Hibaka toamata ota ati narene .*  
 hibaka to- ha.NOM+M -mata otaa ati na -hare -ne  
 where CH be FP.N+M 1EX.S say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M  
 interrog vc pron vt aux

"Where is he?" we said.'

98 *Ota wete kanama ota .*  
 otaa wete ka- na -ma+F otaa  
 1EX.S return COMIT AUX back 1EX.S  
 pron vi aux pron

"We came back."

99 *Aware fawa na .*  
 awa -ra+M fawa na.CONT+M  
 see NEG disappear AUX  
 result vi aux

"He disappeared."

100 *Kamakiba awane amo ne ya .*  
 ka -makI -hiba awa -ne amo na.NOM+M ya  
 go/come following FUT+M seem+M BKG+M sleep AUX ADJU  
 vi sec vi aux prt

"He will come back after he sleeps."

101 *Ota bosa kanaba ota .*  
 otaa bosa ka- na -haba otaa  
 1EX.S get up early COMIT AUX FUT+F 1EX.S  
 pron vi aux pron

"We will get up early."

102 *Okoyo okoyo bosa .*  
 o- ka ayo o- ka ayo bosa  
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother get up early  
 nm nm vi

*okanabana o .*  
 o- ka- na -habana o-  
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S  
 aux prt

"I will get up early because of my older brother."

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

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

**bosa**                      **kanemetemoneke**                      **fahi**  
 bosa                      ka-    na    -hemete   -mone   -ke                      fahi  
 get up early    COMIT AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F                      then  
 vi                      aux                      dem  
 'They slept. They got up early.'

104 **Anoti**                      **tefebona**                      **weye**                      **kana**  
 anoti                      tefe    -bona    weye    ka-    na.LIST  
 3SG.POSS older brother    food+M INT+M    carry    COMIT AUX  
 nm                      pn                      vt                      aux

**anoti**                      **tefebona**                      **weye**                      **kana**  
 anoti                      tefe    -bona    weye    ka-    na.LIST  
 3SG.POSS older brother    food+M INT+M    carry    COMIT AUX  
 nm                      pn                      vt                      aux

**nematamonane**  
 na    -himata   -mona   -ne  
 AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    BKG+M  
 aux  
 'He carried food for his brother.'

105 **Me**                      **towakamakia**                      **me**                      **me**                      **ka**                      **ayo**  
 me    to-    ka-    ka                      -makI+F    me                      ,    me    ka                      ayo  
 3PL.S    away    COMIT    go/come    following    3PL.S                      3PL    POSS    older brother  
 pron    vi                      pron                      pron    prt                      nm

**homeno**                      **ya**  
 homa.NOM+M    -no                      ya  
 lie on ground IP.N+M    ADJU  
 vi                      prt

'The two of them went to where their older brother was lying on the ground.'

106 **Me**                      **ka**                      **ayo**                      **homematamona**                      **ahi**                      **ya**  
 me    ka                      ayo                      homa                      -himata   -mona    ahi                      ya  
 3PL    POSS    older brother    lie on ground    FP.N+M    REP+M    there    ADJU  
 pron    prt                      nm                      vi                      dem                      prt

'Their brother was lying there on the ground.'

107 **Noko**                      **hotiti**                      **kane**                      **mafo**                      **me**                      **ihi**  
 noko                      hoti                      -ti    na    -kane    mafo                      me                      ihi  
 eye+M    have a hole    DUP    AUX ?+M    small ant    3PL.POSS    because of+F  
 pn                      vi                      aux                      nm                      pron                      post

**hinaka**                      **bani**                      **mati**  
 hinaka                      bani                      mati  
 3SG.POSS    animal    3PL  
 pron                      nm                      pron

'His eyes were full of holes. His birds were there.'

108 **E**                      **me**                      **na**                      **me**                      **e**                      **me**                      **na**                      **fawa**  
 ee                      me                      na+F    me                      ,    ee                      me                      na+F    fawa  
 like this    3PL.S    AUX    3PL.S                      like this    3PL.S    AUX    disappear  
 dem                      pron    aux    pron                      dem                      pron    aux    vi

**na**                      **nanoho**                      **me**  
 na.CONT+M    na.NOM+M    -no    -ho                      ,    me  
 AUX                      AUX                      IP.N+M    DUP                      3PL.S  
 aux                      aux                      pron

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

**hikanawasimako**

hi- ka- na- wasi -mako  
 OC COMIT CAUS get caught for this reason+M  
 vt

"This is what happens when people hate each other. He died because someone cast a spell on him."

109 **Me hikanawasino amane**  
 me hi- ka- na- wasi -hino ama -ne  
 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS get caught IP.N+M SEC BKG+M  
 pron vt sec

"Someone put a spell on him."

110 **Me ibe toma na me ihini amani**  
 me ibe toma na+F me ihini -ni ama -ni  
 3PL.POSS RECIP suck AUX 3PL.POSS victim of+F IP.N+F be BKG+F  
 pron pn vt aux pron pn vc

**ayo**

ayo  
 older brother  
 nm

"Those people did it, older brother. The younger brother has been sucking on his older brother to cure him."

111 **Me ibe toma na me ihini amake**  
 me ibe toma na+F me ihini -ni ama -ke  
 3PL.POSS RECIP suck AUX 3PL.POSS victim of+F IP.N+F be DECL+F  
 pron pn vt aux pron pn vc

"Yes, those people did it. The younger brother has been sucking on his older brother to cure him."

112 **E towakamaho**  
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -ho  
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back DUP  
 pron vt

"Let's take him back."

113 **Faya awa me awa me ti nakosa awa me**  
 faya awa me awa me tii na -kosa+F awa me  
 so tree 3PL tree 3PL.S cut through AUX middle tree 3PL.S  
 conj nf pron nf pron vt aux middle nf pron  
  
**ti nakosa me ka ayo bako ya awa**  
 tii na -kosa+F me ka ayo bako ya awa  
 cut through AUX middle 3PL POSS older brother chest+M ADJU wood  
 vt aux pron prt nm pn prt nf  
  
**me nawana me ka ayo me soki nake**  
 me na- wana+F me ka ayo me soki na -kI  
 3PL.S CAUS be attached 3PL POSS older brother 3PL.S tie up AUX coming  
 pron vt pron prt nm pron vt aux

, **me tiwa hikanehimatamonane**  
 me tiwa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ne  
 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 pron vt aux

'They cut a pole. They put the pole against their brother's chest, and they tied up their brother. They carried him.'

114 **Me hekamematamona ahi**  
 me hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona ahi  
 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron vt dem



## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

121 *Faya me , me ebe , me kafotomemetemone*  
 faya me , me ebe , me ka- foto -ma -hemete -mone  
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.S COMIT appear back FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron pron pn pron vi

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'Then they appeared.'

122 *Wanematamonaka awa ya awa baki*  
 wana -himata -mona -ka awa ya awa baki  
 be attached FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M wood ADJU wood inside surface+F  
 vi nf prt nf pn

*ya , me soki hiseno*  
 ya me soki hi- na -kosa -hino  
 ADJU 3PL.S tie up OC AUX middle IP.N+M  
 prt pron vt aux

'He was attached to a pole. They had lashed him.'

123 *Hania e e owa e owa ee*  
 Haania ee e owa e owa ee  
 npropm 1IN brother-in-law brother-in-law (pause)  
 pron voc voc interj

*tiweheneni e ohi namatahi*  
 ti- ehene -ni ee ohi na -mata -hi  
 2SG.POSS result of IP.N+F 1IN.S cry AUX short time IMP+F  
 post pron vi aux

'Haania, brother-in-law, let's cry because of what you did.'

124 *Te kamakikabote nahi*  
 tee ka -makI -kabote na -hi  
 2PL.S go/come following quickly AUX IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

'Come back quickly.'

125 *Me nafi ohi nemetemone ahi awita fa yafi me*  
 me nafi ohi na -hemete -mone ahi awita fa yafi me  
 3PL.POSS all cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F then (ethnic group name) 3PL  
 pron pn vi aux dem npropm pron

*tabiyo me ohi na mati*  
 tabiyo me ohi na+F mati  
 absence 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S  
 pn pron vi aux pron

'They all cried because they missed the Awita Fa Yafi man.'

126 *Me ohi na , me sa hisematamonaka*  
 me ohi na+F , me saa hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka  
 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S release OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 pron vi aux pron vt aux

'They cried, and then they stopped crying because of him.'

127 *Me sa hise , Te eneni e*  
 me saa hi- na -kosa+M , tee ehene -ni ee  
 3PL.S release OC AUX middle 2PL.POSS because of+M IP.N+F 1IN.S  
 pron vt aux pron post pron

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

**ohi namatahi**

ohi na -mata -hi  
cry AUX short time IMP+F  
vi aux

"They stopped crying because of him. "Let's cry because of what you did."

128 **Waihina ora me , owa ni ya me ati ama**  
waa -hina o- na -ra+F me , owa ni ya me ati ama  
stand can 1SG.S AUX NEG 3PL 1SG to ADJU 3PL.POSS voice be  
vi aux pron pron prt prt pron pn vc

"I can't stand well. They are coming to me crying."

129 **Te tokomakehi**  
tee to- ka -makI -hi  
2PL.S away go/come following IMP+F  
pron vi

"You go there."

130 **Me ohi nemetemone me ama ahi**  
me ohi na -hemete -mone me ama ahi  
3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC then  
pron vi aux pron sec dem

"They cried."

131 **Kaomemata awaka**  
ka- homa -himata awa -ka  
COMIT lie on ground FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
vi sec

'He lay on the ground.'

132 **Me tiwa hikanemata awane**  
me tiwa hi- ka- na -himata awa -ne  
3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M  
pron vt aux sec

'They carried him.'

133 **Me ohi na me , me tohiyabani mati**  
me ohi na+F me , me to- hiya -haba -ni mati  
3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S CH be different FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
pron vi aux pron pron vi pron

"They cried. Then they changed."

134 **Me kawitarisa nemetemone me ohi na mati**  
me ka- ita -risa.LIST na -hemete -mone me ohi na+F mati  
3PL.S COMIT sit down AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S  
pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

"They were squatting as they were crying."

135 **Yoto komene yana tonemata awaka me ka owa**  
yoto komene yana to- na -himata awa -ka me ka owa  
intestines+M pain+M start CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL of man  
pn pn vi aux sec pron prt nm

## CASTING SPELLS ON EACH OTHER

'One of them got a stomach ache.'

136 *Ohi me itima me kawitarisa*  
 ohi me iti -ma+F me ka- ita -risa.LIST  
 crying 3PL.S pick up back 3PL.S COMMIT sit down  
 nf pron vt pron vi

*nemetemone*

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

'They started to cry again, and they were squatting.'

137 *Booo iyo ati nemetemone*  
 booo iyo ati na -hemete -mone  
 sound feces say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vt aux

'"Booo," went the sound of the fart.'

138 *Me ohi na me booo fara iyo ati totoa*  
 me ohi na+F me booo fara iyo ati to- to- ha  
 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S sound same+F feces voice DUP CH be  
 pron vi aux pron dem nf pn vc

*nemetemone*

na -hemete -mone ama ahi , mera ha  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC then 3PL.O laugh  
 aux sec dem pron vi

*niwabanihi*

niha- na -waha -haba -ni -hi  
 CAUS AUX change FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 aux

'As they were crying, the sound of the fart went "booo". It made them laugh.'

139 *Mera haha niwemetemoneni*  
 mera haahaa niha- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O laugh CAUS AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi aux

'It made them laugh.'

## THE WORM LIZARD

### *Free Translation*

Now I know. Some women went into the water. They were swimming across. One of them stayed behind on the shore, and then went into the water. A worm lizard went into her crotch. The worm lizard went in.

"Eee," she said. "Something went into me," she said.

"What is it?" they said.

"Something went into my crotch," she said.

It was a worm lizard. There were many young, the young of the worm lizard, the story used to say. It stayed inside of her a long time. The young were born, my grandmother used to say, Nakamiri, long ago. It's a story of long ago.

They had gone into the water after *tamino* fruits. They were eating *tamino* fruits.

They came back. Her father beat her with a switch, because there was something inside of her.

"An ugly thing has touched you," her father said.

Her father beat her, but he couldn't kill the creature that was inside of her. Only the young of the worm lizard came out.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Owatowaha*                      *oke*  
 o-        wato -waha    o-        ke  
 1SG.S know change    1SG.S DECL+F  
 vt                                      prt

'Now I know.'

2 *Ee*                      ,    *me fanawi*    *bokehemetemoneke*                      *faha*    *ya*  
 ee                      me fanawi    boka                      -hemete -mone -ke    faha    ya  
 (pause)                      women                      enter water FP.N+F    REP+F DECL+F    water    ADJU  
 interj                      nf                      vi                      nf                      prt

'Some women went into the water.'

3 *Faha*    *ya*        *me*        *boka*                      *me*        *tao*    *toriwawite*  
 faha    ya        me        boka+F                      me        tao    to-    na    -riwaha -witI  
 water    ADJU    3PL.S    enter water    3PL.S    hit    away    AUX    across    out  
 nf        prt        pron    vi                      pron    vi        aux

*towakosa*                      ,    *bokamake*                      *tokomake*  
 to-    waa    -kosa+F                      boka                      -makI                      to-    ka                      -makI  
 CH    stand middle                      enter water following                      away go/come following  
 vi                      vi                      vi

*boyowi*                      *tokematamonaka*                      *behe*        *ya*  
 boyowi                      to-    ka                      -himata -mona -ka                      behe        ya  
 worm lizard                      away go/come    FP.N+M    REP+M DECL+M                      crotch    ADJU  
 nm                      vi                      pn                      prt

'They went into the water. They were swimming across. One of them stayed behind on the shore, and then went into the water. She went. A worm lizard went into her crotch.'





## THE WORM LIZARD

'The young were born, my grandmother used to say, Nakamiri, long ago.'

11 *Hibati*                    *ka*    *hiyara*    *amake*                    .  
 hibati                    ka    hiyara    ama -ke  
 long time ago    of    story    be    DECL+F  
 nf                    prt    nf                    vc

'It's a story of long ago.'

12 *Tamino*    *me*            *afi*                    *nemetemoneke*                    *tamino*            *tamino*  
 tamino    me            afi                    na -hemete -mone -ke            tamino    tamino  
 tree sp    3PL.S    bathe with    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    tree sp    tree sp  
 nm                    pron    vt                    aux                    nm                    nm

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

'They went into the water after *tamino* fruits. They were eating *tamino* fruits.'

13 *Faya*    *me*            *kamemetemoneke*  
 faya    me            ka            -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 so            3PL.S    go/come back    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 conj    pron    vi

'They came back.'

14 *Bati*                    *kosi*            *hinemetemoneni*                    ,            *tori*                    *yama*  
 bati                    kosi            hi- na -hemete -mone -ni            ,            tori                    yama  
 3SG.POSS.father    flail    OC    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    BKG+F            inside+F    thing  
 nm                    vt            aux                    pn                    nf

*foyi*  
 foya.NFIN  
 be inside  
 vi

'Her father beat her with a switch, because there was something inside of her.'

15 *Yama*    *irabo*            *tiwa*            *boyo*            *na*            *awineni*                    *bati*                    *ati*  
 yama    irabo.NFIN    tiwa            boyo            na+F    awine -ni            bati                    ati  
 thing    be bad            2SG.O    feel            AUX            seem+F    BKG+F            3SG.POSS.father    say  
 nf            vi                    pron    vt            aux            sec                    nm                    vt

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

'"An ugly thing has touched you," her father said.'

16 *Faya*    *bati*                    *kosi*            *hina*            *tori*                    *abe*                    *fawa*  
 faya    bati                    kosi            hi- na+F    tori                    abe                    fawa  
 so            3SG.POSS.father    flail    OC    AUX            inside+F    creature+F    disappear  
 conj    nm                    vt            aux                    pn                    pn                    vi

*hikanihemetemonehe*  
 hi- to- ka-    niha- na -hemete -mone -he  
 OC    CH    COMIT    CAUS    AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DUP  
 aux

'Her father beat her, but he couldn't kill the creature that was inside of her.'

## THE WORM LIZARD

17	<b>Boyowi</b>	<b>biti</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ta</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>iiha</b>
	boyowi	biti	me	taa	me	i- iha
	worm lizard	offspring	3PL	contrast	3PL.S	DUP be born
	nm	nm	pron	prt	pron	vi
	<b>tohemetemone</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>amake</b>		.
	to- ha -hemete -mone	me	ama	-ke		
	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.S	SEC	DECL+F		
	aux		pron	sec		

'Only the young of the worm lizard came out.'