

# The Stories of Siko and Yowao

Jarawara texts

Alan Vogel

Open Text Collections 3



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ISSN (print): 3052-9948  
ISSN (electronic): 3052-9956

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Alan Vogel. 2025. *The Stories of Siko and Yowao: Jarawara texts* (Open Text Collections 3). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/537>

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ISBN: 978-3-96110-544-1 (Digital)

978-3-98554-164-5 (Hardcover)

ISSN (print): 3052-9948

ISSN (electronic): 3052-9956

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.17158276

Source code available from [www.github.com/langsci/537](http://www.github.com/langsci/537)

Errata: [paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=537](http://paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=537)

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Christian Döhler

Proofreading: Matthew Korte

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: Xe<sub>La</sub>TeX

Language Science Press

Scharnweberstraße 10

10247 Berlin, Germany

<http://langsci-press.org>

[support@langsci-press.org](mailto:support@langsci-press.org)

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

To Okomobi and Bibiri, my teachers



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# Abbreviations

1	first person	IP	immediate past
2	second person	IRR	irrealis
3	third person	LIST	list construction
ADJU	adjunct	LOC	locative
AUX	auxiliary	M	masculine agreement
BKG	backgrounding	(M)	masculine inherent gender
CAUS	causative	MC	main clause
CH	change of state	MED	medial clause
CNTRFACT	contrafactual	MOOD	mood
COMIT	comitative	N	non-eyewitness
COMPL	copular complement	NEG	negative
CONT	continuative	NFIN	non-finite
CQ	content question	NOM	nominative
DECL	declarative	NPQ	noun phrase question
DEM	demonstrative	O	object
DIRQ	direct quote	OC	O-construction marker
DIST	distal	PFUT	past in future
DISTR	distributive	PFC	postposed finite clause
DUP	reduplication	PL	plural
E	eyewitness	POSS	possessor/possessor marker
EX	exclusive	RECIP	reciprocal
F	feminine agreement	REFL	reflexive
(F)	feminine inherent gender	REL	relative clause
FP	far past	REP	reported
FPL	feminine and plural	RP	recent past
FUT	future	S	subject
HAB	habitual	SEC	secondary verb
HYPOTH	hypothetical	SG	singular
IMMED	immediate	sp	species
IMP	imperative	SUPER	superlative
IN	inclusive	VOC	vocative
INT	intensive		

**Part I**

**Background**



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 The Jarawaras

The Jarawaras are a small indigenous people (pop. about 240) inhabiting three main villages in the Terra Indígena Jarawara/Jamamadi/Kanamanti in the municipalities of Lábrea and Tapauá, in Amazonas state, Brazil.<sup>1,2</sup> The Jarawaras share this reserve with the Jamamadis, a closely related group. Jarawara and Jamamadi have been classified as dialects of a single language, along with Banawá, which is spoken in an adjacent reserve. While the three groups accept these names for the dialects they speak, there is no generally accepted name for the language. Dixon (2004) has suggested the name Madi, and this is the name used in the Glottolog. Madi is one of a handful of languages that compose the Arawá language family, the other living languages being Kulina, Deni, Paumari, and Suruwahá, (Dienst 2014)<sup>3</sup> and probably Hi-Merimã (Shiratori et al. 2021), for which no linguistic studies have been done; it is spoken by a very small group that has no regular contact with outsiders.

My first contact with the Jarawaras was in 1984, and starting in 1987 my wife and I were assigned to SIL's Jarawara project. At that time Siko and Yowao, whose stories are the subject of this volume, were among the oldest living Jarawaras, and both were living in Casa Nova village where we also lived. Both men continued to live in Casa Nova village until their respective deaths in 1994 and 2002. Siko and Yowao were first cousins, since their fathers were brothers. Just about everyone in Casa Nova village is a descendant of Yowao or married to a descendant, but Siko does not have any descendants in Casa Nova village, although he does have descendants in other Jarawara villages.

Jarawara is a threatened language, mainly because of the small population. But the use of Jarawara by the people is not decreasing. Although all Jarawaras

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<sup>1</sup>This volume has benefitted from comments by Paul Unger, Janet Allen, and two anonymous reviewers; and Christian Döhler's generous help as editor is reflected throughout the volume.

<sup>2</sup>For a map of the reserve, see <https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/3946>.

<sup>3</sup>Dienst also lists Western Jamamadi, which is most closely related to Kulina and Deni (what I have referred to as Jamamadi he calls Eastern Jamamadi). No linguistic studies of Western Jamamadi have been published, and I do not know whether the language is still used as a regular means of communication in any community.

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also speak Portuguese, they use their language exclusively among themselves. Furthermore, they are not ashamed to use it in the presence of non-indigenous Brazilians.<sup>4</sup>

The area inhabited by Arawan-speaking ethnic groups is lowland southwestern Amazonia, specifically the basins of the Purus and Juruá Rivers, southern tributaries of the Amazon. The Jarawaras live in the area of the middle Purus River, near the main river on the western side. One of the Jarawara villages is opposite the town of Lábrea, but Casa Nova village is further upstream. The seasonal variation is quite marked in this region, because of the seasonal flooding in the rainy season from approximately December to May, and this affects travel a lot. In the rainy season travel is much easier, because canoes and motor boats can be used more easily. In the dry season travellers must walk much further on trails. There are no roads in the area inhabited by the Jarawaras. In fact, there are no roads on the western side of the Purus in the whole area. The Trans-Amazon Highway ends at Lábrea, on the eastern side of the Purus.

### 1.2 Organization of the stories

The Jarawaras love to tell and listen to stories, and this volume consists of a selection of the stories of two of their elderly men, Siko and Yowao, both of whom are now deceased. All of the stories, along with many others, have previously been published online as (Vogel 2022b) for Siko's stories and (Vogel 2023) for Yowao's stories. The selection in this volume is being published in the hopes that it will stimulate interest in this rich heritage of the Jarawaras.

I have organized the stories roughly by the time period in which the events occurred. Jarawara history can be divided into three periods. In the most remote period, they did not yet have contact with Brazilians, and they had battles with neighboring tribes. They did not know horticulture, but relied on hunting and gathering. They hunted with poisoned arrows and blowguns. They lived in long-houses. They wore breechcloths and pierced their bodies and used many feathered decorations.

In an intermediate period, the Jarawaras began to practice horticulture, planting manioc and other crops. They did not yet have the large iron pans that are used nowadays to make *farinha* from manioc. They began to have contact, sometimes violent, with Brazilians. They began to adopt many of the ways of the

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<sup>4</sup>Throughout this volume I use the shortened term "Brazilian(s)" to refer to the non-indigenous members of the national Brazilian society. The Jarawaras call them *yaras* in Jarawara or *brancos* ('whites/white people') in Portuguese.

Brazilians: houses made of split palm, rifles, clothing, and metal tools. They began to use hammocks bought from the Brazilians rather than their traditional hammocks made from native cotton or inner bark. It seems that during this period the Jarawaras began to depend more on fishing than on hunting. Siko and Yowao's parents were alive during part of this period.

Siko and Yowao were probably born in the 1920s. In their lifetimes, they saw the making of *farinha* adopted, and rifles substituted by shotguns. Hunting with bow and arrow and blowguns ceased to be practiced. Whereas probably all men had formerly been trained as shamans, and both Siko and Yowao were shamans, the training of new shamans ceased some time before I began to have contact with the Jarawaras in the 1980s.

For more information on the culture and history of contact of the Jarawaras and the closely related Jamamadis and Banawás, the reader is directed to Maizza (2012) for the Jarawaras, Shiratori (2018) for the Jamamadis, and Aparicio (2019) for the Banawás.

Jarawaras can have several names, which may be used by different people, and these can change over time as well. As a minimum, Jarawaras typically have both a Jarawara name and a Portuguese name. The name Siko is from Portuguese Chico. Siko's Jarawara name was Bai Abono, which means 'spirit of the thunder/sun', but people in the village always called him Siko, so that is what I have used here. Similarly, Yowao is from Portuguese João. Yowao's Jarawara name was Kana Abono, which means 'spirit of sugar cane', but other Jarawaras typically called him Yowao.

In selecting the stories, I have tried to include stories that illustrate common themes. Shamanism and spirits are common themes. Closely related to these are stories about monsters, and those about people who turn into animals. In the Jarawara worldview, people came into existence first, and then the various species of animals appeared. Another common theme is jaguars, which is understandable since one of the things the Jarawaras fear the most is meeting up with one in the forest. The stories also illustrate some aspects of Jarawara social organization, such as polygyny consisting of a man marrying two sisters. Both Siko and Yowao tell stories about a character called Bahi ('Sun'), and these stories explain the origin of the only traditional ritual which is still practiced today, the coming out ritual for pubescent girls.

Although Siko and Yowao told versions of some of the same stories, their repertoires were mostly different. Furthermore, each had his own distinctive style. Siko tended more often than Yowao to tell humorous stories, and his use of sound effects was especially effective. Yowao's stories tended much more to focus on spirits and shamanism. Apparently Siko got a good number of his stories from

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his wife Amoro, who was from a closely related group, the Wa Yafis, that no longer exists.

Table 1.1 provides an overview of the texts included in this collection.

Table 1.1: The texts in this collection.

TEXT	TITLE	WORDS
A	<i>Bahi (Yowao)</i>	531
B	<i>Bahi (Siko)</i>	2,020
C	<i>The first corn</i>	991
D	<i>The old man who went up in the sky</i>	663
E	<i>The hungry old man</i>	986
F	<i>The man who got away from the Kose Mati</i>	1,121
G	<i>The caimans killed the man</i>	1,723
H	<i>Siraba</i>	1,070
I	<i>The jaguars ate the girls</i>	1,315
J	<i>The toto spirit</i>	1,515
K	<i>Casting spells on each other</i>	817
L	<i>Maiko</i>	1,478
M	<i>The Yimas</i>	1,100
N	<i>Mayawari</i>	428
O	<i>Kamabira</i>	430
P	<i>The poison root song</i>	1,013
Q	<i>My father fought a cougar</i>	396
R	<i>My father and his familiar spirit</i>	395
S	<i>A pair of monsters</i>	567
T	<i>White-lipped peccaries and a jaguar</i>	457
<b>total</b>		<b>19,016</b>

### 1.3 The interlinear presentation

Before the interlinear presentation for each story, I have provided an introductory note, which includes a short summary of the plot of the story. This is followed by a paragraph translation, which is less literal than the sentence-by-sentence translation included in the interlinear presentation. The paragraph translation eliminates some repetition, and it conforms more to the conventions

of English discourse, for example with respect to choice of pronoun or proper name for person reference.

The texts are not edited, except that comments by members of the audience are usually excluded. Also, occasionally the storytellers gave explanations in Portuguese, and these are not interlinearized. False starts and other kinds of errors are included; I have noted some, but not by any means all, of these in footnotes.

There is a temptation for the researcher to exclude or change parts of a text that they don't understand or that don't fit their ideas about the grammar of the language, so in not editing the texts I have sought to make them an authentic representation of how the Jarawaras talk, within the restrictions of the genre of storytelling. This is also why I have made the unedited recordings available, at the websites mentioned above.

The first tier of the interlinear presentation, the text tier, is orthographic. The orthography of Jarawara is mostly phonemic, with the major exception that long vowels are unrepresented;<sup>5</sup> but long vowels are represented in the morpheme tier. Each numbered line represents a sentence in Jarawara, which in many cases does not correspond to a single sentence in the English translation. For information on how a Jarawara sentence may be defined, see Vogel (2022a).

The second tier represents underlying forms of morphemes, and there is further discussion of these below. In this tier, long vowels are represented as double vowels. The third tier is glosses, including grammatical information, and the fourth tier is a free translation that is more literal than the paragraph translation. A key to the abbreviations is included on page iv above.

Jarawara is rich in morphophonological processes, and they may be divided into two types: those that are automatic, and those that express grammatical meaning. These two types are handled differently in the interlinear presentation. Examples of the first type are the rules involving the first syllable of tense-modal suffixes, which has the form *-hV*. For the intensive suffix, for example, the form of this syllable is *-ha* for the feminine form *-habone* and *-hi* for the masculine form *-hibona*. In a context such as that in (1), there is no morphophonological change.

- (1) *tafahabone*  
 tafa-habone  
 eat-INT.F  
 'She will eat.'

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<sup>5</sup>For more information on the Jarawara orthography and pronunciation, see the introduction to my Jarawara-English dictionary (Vogel 2016).

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However, there is a change involved when the form is masculine, as in (2), to agree with the masculine subject. The *-hV* syllable causes *tafa* to be raised to *tafe*.

- (2) *tafehibona*  
tafa-hibona  
eat-INT.M  
'He will eat.'

In a case such as this, I have chosen to maintain the underlying form *tafa* in the morpheme tier because this is an automatic change; but I have shown the form that is actually pronounced in the text tier.

Another change involving the *-hV* syllable occurs when the preceding number of moras in the word is odd: in this case, the *-hV* syllable is elided, as in (3).

- (3) *otafabone*  
o-tafa-habone  
1SG.S-eat-INT.F  
'I will eat.'

Again, I maintain the underlying form with the *-hV* syllable in the morpheme tier, but show the pronounced form in the text tier.

There are, however, other morphophonological changes that are not automatic, but instead express grammatical information. For example, a particular kind of nonfinite verb form is expressed phonologically by a change in the final vowel of a verb stem from *a* to *i*. As is very common for verbs in Jarawara, the verb *tafa* 'eat' ends with *a*, as we have seen above. The nonfinite form of this verb is *tafi*, and this is the form used on both the text tier and the morpheme tier, as in (4).

- (4) *tafi*  
tafi  
eat.NFIN  
'her/his eating'

Similarly, the final *a* of a verb stem, when it is the last vowel of the phonological word (and the verb has covert tense, cf. Vogel (2009, 2022a)), has an inflection that consists in raising to *e* for masculine, and no change for feminine, as in (5) and (6).

(5) *tafe*  
*tafe*  
 eat.M  
 ‘He ate.’

(6) *tafa*  
*tafa*  
 eat.F  
 ‘She ate.’

When the last vowel of the verb stem is not *a*, then *ha* is added for the feminine (7), and (optionally) *hi* for the masculine (8).

(7) *yaboha*  
*yaboha*  
 be\_long.F  
 ‘It was a long time.’

(8) *yabohi*  
*yabohi*  
 be\_long.M  
 ‘It was a long time.’

Readers who compare these texts to the versions I have published previously will notice many differences in the interlinear presentation. I have made a good number of updates, to be sure, but the changes that are systematic do not represent changes in my analysis of Jarawara, but reflect my efforts to work within the constraints of the Leipzig Glossing Rules for this volume, and to otherwise simplify the presentation.

In particular, there are many contexts in Jarawara in which the auxiliary *na* is dropped, and some in which the auxiliary *ha* is dropped as well. In previous publications I have shown the deleted auxiliaries in the morpheme tier, even though they do not appear on the surface. In this volume, in order to make the interlinear presentation less abstract, I have only included the auxiliaries if they are actually pronounced. As a result, some words look like they consist entirely of prefixes and suffixes, since the auxiliary that the prefixes and suffixes attach to is absent. For example, in (9), the word *tibana* consists of a prefix followed by a suffix.

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- (9) *amo tibana?*  
amo ti-bana  
sleep 2SG.S-FUT  
'Are you going to sleep?'

When we compare this sentence with the equivalent with a third person subject (10), it becomes evident that the auxiliary has been deleted in (9). We could, if we wanted to, have *ti-na-bana* in the morpheme tier in (9).

- (10) *tikoto amo nibana?*  
tikoto amo ni-bana  
2SG.POSS.daughter(F) sleep AUX.F-FUT  
'Is your daughter going to sleep?'

Similarly, some words now consist entirely of a suffix, and the suffix looks like a root. This is sometimes the case with the negative suffix *-ra*. The negative suffix *-ra* occurs as a normal suffix with an inflected root such as *nafi* 'be big' (11).

- (11) *nafira*  
nafi-ra  
be\_big-NEG.F  
'She is big.'

But with a non-inflecting verb, the *-ra* occurs with the auxiliary, and at the same time causes the auxiliary to be deleted in many contexts, so it looks like *-ra* is a separate word, as in (12).

- (12) *ohi ra*  
ohi ra  
cry NEG.F  
'She did not cry.'

But when *-ra* occurs with another suffix such as *-ma* 'back', the auxiliary makes its presence known, and we see that *-ra* is a suffix, as in (13) whether the verb is inflecting or non-inflecting.

- (13) *ohi namara*  
ohi na-ma-ra  
cry AUX-back-NEG.F  
'She didn't cry anymore.'

Thus it should be kept in mind that phonetically deleted auxiliaries are not represented in the interlinear presentation in this volume, even though they can be analyzed as being present underlyingly.

The prefix *to-* likewise can be analyzed as being present underlyingly in contexts in which it is not pronounced. This prefix can be said to have two meanings, one being ‘away’ (i.e. movement away from the speaker) and the other being ‘change of state’. Both uses are derivational, so that, for example, *kita* ‘be strong’ and *tokita* ‘become strong’, while related derivationally, are different lexical items.

Any verb that has the derivational suffix *-witi/-wite*<sup>6</sup> ‘out’ also must have the prefix *to-* ‘away’, as the meaning requires it. However, whenever there is a person prefix *o-* 1SG, *ti-* 2SG, or the O-construction marker *hi-*, these take the place of *to-*, and *to-* does not occur (this is a general rule). This can be seen in a comparison of (14) and (15).

(14) *yama owawite*  
 yama o-awa-wite  
 thing(F) 1SG.S-see-out  
 ‘I went to look at it.’

(15) *yama towawite*  
 yama to-awa-wite  
 thing(F) away-see-out  
 ‘S/he went to look at it.’

But the form of the verb as a lexical item is *towawite*, and it would not be inappropriate to include *to-* in the morpheme tier in (14), even though it is not pronounced. In this volume, though, I have chosen not to do this, for the reasons given above.

## 1.4 Preparation of the texts

I began recording Jarawara texts in 1987, and I continued to make recordings until 2023. All the recordings were made in Casa Nova village. The last recording of a

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<sup>6</sup>A number of suffixes and roots in Jarawara have a morphophoneme which is alternately realized as *i* or *e*, depending on whether the number of preceding moras in the phonological word is even or odd, respectively (Dixon 2004: 40f.).

## 1 Introduction

text by Yowao was in 1997, five years before his death. As is evident in the collections I have published online at [https://www.silbrazil.org/resources/jarawara\\_interlinear\\_texts\\_vol\\_1](https://www.silbrazil.org/resources/jarawara_interlinear_texts_vol_1) and [https://www.silbrazil.org/resources/jarawara\\_interlinear\\_texts\\_vol\\_2](https://www.silbrazil.org/resources/jarawara_interlinear_texts_vol_2), I recorded texts by both men and women of various age groups. Although most of the authors were from Casa Nova village, there is a sprinkling of texts by authors from the other Jarawara villages. The earlier texts were recorded on cassette tape, and the later texts were recorded digitally. MP3 files of all the interlinearized texts are available for listening or downloading at these two websites, and also at the websites for Siko's and Yowao's stories mentioned previously.

Starting in 2006, I realized the need for getting written permission from the Jarawara authors to publish their texts. By that time Siko and Yowao were both dead, so their representatives signed the permission forms. The permission forms give me permission to use the texts as long as it is not to make money.

When SIL began the Jarawara project in 1987, no Jarawaras were literate in either their language or in Portuguese. Based on a study of the phonology, I proposed an orthography, based almost entirely on the the orthography of Jamamadi, which was already available.<sup>7</sup> Using this orthography, the team from Youth With a Mission who were working in Água Branca village developed a primer. My wife Lucilia taught three young men in Casa Nova village using this primer, and she also taught them to teach others, following the Laubach method that the Youth With a Mission team were employing. In this way literacy spread in the two villages, and eventually to the third Jarawara village, Saubinha.

I taught literate Jarawaras to transcribe taped stories, and I paid them to do this. This was a great help to me, as they caught many parts of the recordings that I could not. Then I input the transcriptions in the interlinearizing program (for many years Toolbox, and more recently FieldWorks Language Explorer), and I interlinearized the parts that I was able to. But a lot of the interlinearizing and translating could only be done after I went over a given recording with a Jarawara speaker. I found that some speakers had much more sophisticated knowledge of the language than others, and so almost all of the texts were gone over with just two men, Okomobi and Bibiri, a son and grandson of Yowao, respectively. For some texts it was necessary to go over the recording with both of them. And even after this, it was necessary to come back to one or the other of them with unresolved questions about particular passages. The language of traditional

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<sup>7</sup>The only significant phonological difference between Jarawara and Jamamadi for the purpose of orthography development is that Jamamadi has both /t/ and /d/, while Jarawara has no phonemic voicing contrast at this point of articulation, so we used only <t>.

#### *1.4 Preparation of the texts*

Jarawara stories is much more difficult than, for example, narratives of personal experiences told by middle-aged people, because of archaicisms in the vocabulary and the morphology.



## 2 Aspects of Jarawara syntax and morphology

### 2.1 Word classes

Clearly verbs constitute the most important word class of Jarawara; in fact, it is common for sentences to consist solely of a verb. This is because subject NPs are generally not required; NPs referencing subjects, when present, do not have the status of configurational arguments. The pronominals referencing both subject and object are almost always indexes within the verb, rather than NPs.

For phonological reasons the verb is often represented as two or more separate orthographic words. Not only can person indexes constitute separate words, but other parts of the verb, including auxiliaries and some suffix-like elements, can also constitute separate words.

These points are illustrated in the following example (1), which comes from Siko's text, "My father fought a cougar" (Text Q).

(1) *Owa ai tina ama tini.*

owa ahi ti-na ama ti-ni  
1SG.O mess\_with 2SG.S-AUX.F SEC 2SG.S-BKG.F  
'You are messing with me.' [Q.21]

The lexical verb in this sentence is *ahi na* 'mess with', consisting of the root *ahi* and its associated auxiliary *na*. But all the words in the sentence are part of the verb, considered as a constituent. The pronominal *owa* is a person index, not an NP. The pronominal *ti-* is also a person index. The word *ama* is what Dixon (2004) called a secondary verb, but it is not a separate verb. It has the status of a functional suffix.

The majority of verbs in Jarawara are associated with the auxiliary *na* in this manner: if there are prefixes or suffixes, they are attached to the auxiliary rather than to the root.<sup>1</sup> A sizeable minority of verbs are not associated in this way

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<sup>1</sup>Such verb roots can, however, be reduplicated, and there is a single suffix, i.e. distributive *-ri*, which attaches to the root rather than to the auxiliary.

with an auxiliary, including for example *tafa* ‘eat’ and *yabo* ‘be far/long’ in (1)-(8) above. And there are a handful of verbs that are associated with the auxiliary *ha* rather than *na*.

Nouns have inherent gender, either feminine or masculine. There is also a fairly large class of inalienably possessed nouns, which do not have inherent gender. Instead, they get their gender from their possessor, and this is often marked on the inalienably possessed noun.

There is gender agreement at various points within the verb, mostly with the subject but often also with the object. Gender agreement in the verb, when it is with a pronominal, is always feminine. In (1), for example, there is feminine agreement with the second person singular subject, even though in the context of the story, this pronominal referred to a cougar, which has masculine inherent gender.

Other smaller word classes include adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, question words, conjunctions, adverbs, postpositions, interjections, and sound words (i.e. ideophones).

## 2.2 The structure of a clause

All types of clauses in Jarawara are verb-final. For intransitive clauses, only the verb is required. For copular clauses, the complement is required, followed by the verb. For transitive clauses, the structure depends on which transitive construction is used, the A-construction or the O-construction (Dixon 2004: chap.16). The A-construction is similar to intransitives in that the subject is the topic of the clause. In A-construction clauses, if the object is a third person, an NP referencing it is generally required. In O-construction clauses, both the subject and the object are topical, but the object is the main topic. Neither the subject nor the object is required to be referenced by an NP. If there are NPs referencing both the subject and the object, the subject NP usually occurs before the object NP in A-construction clauses, and usually after the object in O-construction clauses; but these are only tendencies.

The normal position of adjuncts is at the beginning of the clause.

There are various kinds of elements that can occur after the verb in a clause, all of which can be classed as parenthetical. These include: NPs, a small class of words such as *tasa* ‘again’ and *bisa* ‘also’, and adjuncts. There is a kind of finite clause that also occurs in this position, which likewise contributes parenthetical information.

## 2.3 The Jarawara sentence

A sentence consists minimally of a main clause, which normally can be distinguished from other clause types by its characteristic verbal morphology, especially mood morphemes. There are often one or more finite clauses that are sentence constituents that precede the main clause, and I have characterized these as medial clauses, proposing (Vogel 2022a) that this constitutes clause chaining. Medial clauses typically convey events and states which refer to a time before the time of the main clause, or are concurrent with it.

Another kind of sentence consists of a juxtaposed clause followed by a main clause, which typically conveys the idea of frustrated expectation or intention usually translated by ‘but’.

There is also a list construction, which consists of two or more non-finite clauses with a special morphology and prosody, followed by a main clause that has as its verb the auxiliary *na*.

Jarawara has complement clauses that are constituents not of sentences but of clauses, functioning as subjects, objects, and adjuncts. I have characterized these as non-finite (Vogel 2015), and in the interlinear presentation the verbs of these clauses are labelled *NFIN*. There are also what Dixon (2004) called nominalized clauses. These are frequently the main constituent of adjuncts, and they can also occupy the subject position in a copular construction.

Direct quotes and indirect quotes likewise can be characterized as constituents of clauses. They can be seen as occupying the object position in the clause, with the verb *ati na* ‘say’ as the matrix verb.

Finally, finite clauses often function as relative clauses. Since in Jarawara these are internally headed, they can be characterized as NPs, rather than as modifiers of NPs.

In a presentation of interlinearized texts, while it is possible to show morphology in fair detail, it is not practical to show the complexities of the syntax, which in the case of Jarawara is quite complex indeed. Readers who wish to obtain more detailed information about Jarawara syntax are referred to Dixon’s (2004) grammar and to my (Vogel 2022a) monograph.

## 2.4 Syntactic analysis of two short passages

While it is not possible in the present volume to describe Jarawara syntax in detail, I think it is worthwhile dedicating a few pages to the syntactic analysis of a couple short passages from the texts. These selections should give the reader a good idea of how Jarawara sentences are organized.

## 2 Aspects of Jarawara syntax and morphology

The first selection is a passage from Siko's story, *My father fought a cougar* (Text Q, lines 26-31).<sup>2</sup> In the context, Siko's father had resisted the attacking cougar, and when he banged the cougar's head against the trunk of a miriti palm, the cougar had stopped attacking him and had run away. Siko's father had run to get his rifle, which he had left at the edge of the swamp.

- (2) [*Faya okobi kame*]<sub>MED</sub> [*bara ibewame*]<sub>MED</sub> [*yama ki tonikimematamonaka.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 faya okobi ka-me bara ibe-waha-me  
 so my\_father(M) come-back.M bullet(F) put\_inside-change-back.M  
 yama kii to-na-kima-himata-mona-ka  
 thing(F) look\_at CH-AUX-TWO-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 'My father came back. He put a bullet in the rifle, and looked around.'

[Q.26]

This sentence consists of a main clause, preceded by two medial clauses (2). The main clause is marked as such by the tense-modals *-himata* and *-mona*, and the mood morpheme *-ka*. It is typical for medial clauses to precede the main clause in this way, expressing events or states that immediately precede or are concurrent with the event of the main clause.

Within the first medial clause, the first word *faya* is a conjunction that can be analyzed as an adjunct. The clause is intransitive. The word *okobi* refers to the subject, but it should not be considered a configurational subject phrase, because no subject NP is required for intransitives, when the subject is third person.

The second medial clause is transitive. The third person masculine subject is null, and *bara* is the O. It is an A-construction clause, as shown by the gender agreement with the subject. Since it is an A-construction, the O NP *bara* is required.

The main clause is likewise an A-construction, with the same syntax as the preceding medial clause.

- (3) [*Watarematamonaka.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 wata-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 exist-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 'It wasn't there.'

[Q.27]

This is a main clause, and is intransitive. The sentence consists of a single word, the verb. The subject is null.

<sup>2</sup>The following examples contain a source code in [square brackets] which takes the reader to the respective example in the text.

## 2.4 Syntactic analysis of two short passages

- (4) [Tokomematamonaka]<sub>MC</sub> [tati karimari ahi [yifo ya.]<sub>ADJU</sub>]<sub>PFC</sub>  
 to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka                      tati karima-haari ahi yifo  
 away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M head hit-IP.E.M            there miriti(M)  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 ‘After hitting its head on the miriti palm, it went away.’                      [Q.28]

The first clause is an intransitive main clause, followed by a postposed finite clause, which contains parenthetical information. The postposed clause is intransitive, with the subject NP consisting of the inalienably possessed noun *tati*, the third person masculine possessor of which is null. As I discuss in Vogel (2022a: 129), unlike other subject NPs, a subject NP consisting of an inalienably possessed noun cannot normally be deleted.

The verb in the postposed clause contains the immediate past eyewitness tense morpheme. Whereas the tense of the main clause is far past non-eyewitness because it relates to the perspective of the narrator (i.e. Siko), the postposed clause is immediate past eyewitness because it relates to the perspective of one of the participants (i.e. Siko’s father). How tenses are interpreted is discussed in Vogel (2009: 87f), and also the contrasts in how tenses are realized morphologically in main clauses and subordinate clauses, respectively (2009: 63).

The postposed clause contains a postposed adjunct. The word *ahi* could also be analyzed as another postposed adjunct within the postposed clause.

- (5) [Faya tati karime]<sub>MED</sub> [kamarematamonane.]<sub>MC</sub>  
 faya tati karime ka-ma-ra-himata-mona-ne  
 so head hit.M come-back-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘After hitting its head on the miriti palm, it didn’t come back.’                      [Q.29]

The first clause is a medial clause, followed by the main clause. This shows one of the common uses of medial clauses, which is for what Thompson et al. (2007: 273) call “tail-head linkage”. Information from a preceding sentence is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, forming a bridge between the two sentences (Vogel 2022a: 89f.). The information is not always from the immediately preceding sentence, but it usually is, as in this case.

- (6) [Towakematamona.]<sub>MC</sub>  
 to-ka-ka-himata-mona  
 away-COMIT-go-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It went away, hurt.’                      [Q.30]

## 2 Aspects of Jarawara syntax and morphology

The sentence consists of a main clause alone, which in turn consists solely of a verb. This verb form shows one of the meanings of the comitative prefix *ka-*, which is ‘hurt/sick/high’. This is one of the meanings of *ka-* which has no syntactic effect.

- (7) [[[*Fawafawa raba re*]<sub>MED</sub> [*kamamatare*]<sub>MC</sub> [*hamahari*]<sub>PFC</sub>]<sub>DIRQ</sub> *okobi ati nematamonaka.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
*fawa-fawa raba re ka-ma-mata-re*  
 DUP-disappear a\_bit NEG.M come-back-short\_time-NEG.M  
*hama-haari okobi ati na-himata-mona-ka*  
 be\_fierce-IP.E.M my\_father(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘It disappeared. The fierce animal didn’t come back,’’ my father said.’  
 [Q.31]

The sentence consists of a direct quote followed by the quote margin, which is marked as the main clause. The direct quote can be considered the O of the quote margin verb.

Usually the main clause of a direct quote will be morphologically marked as a main clause as well, but in this case the main clause of the quote (i.e., the second clause) is morphologically marked as if it were a medial clause. As discussed in Vogel (2022a: 52f.), main clauses that are marked like medial clauses are not infrequent. But in this particular case it is clear that the second clause is a main clause, because it is followed by a postposed finite clause.

The second selection is from Yowao’s story, *Siraba* (Text H, lines 27-33). In the context, the teenage Siraba and her cousin have encountered a spirit in the forest, and they managed to run away from it. As they ran, they encountered Siraba’s father on the trail, as he was weaving a basket.

- (8) [*Isiri kowe*]<sub>MED</sub> [[[*ite*]<sub>REL</sub> *ni ya*]<sub>ADJU</sub> *bite kana ni tofotometemoneni.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
*isiri kowe ite ni ya bite kana ni*  
 basket(F) weave.M sit.M to ADJU 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) run AUX.NFIN  
*to-foto-ma-hemete-mone-ni*  
 away-appear-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘As he sat there weaving the basket, his daughter appeared, running.’  
 [H.27]

The main clause is preceded by a medial clause, which is a transitive A-construction. At the beginning of the main clause there is an adjunct which contains a relative clause. We know that *ite* is a relative clause, because there has to be

an NP with *ni ya*; that is, *ni ya* cannot occur with a null category (Vogel 2022a: 143f.).

The string *isiri kowe ite* could also be analyzed as a complex relative clause, in which the subject of the relative clause *ite* is another relative clause *isiri kowe*. In any case, the NP which occurs with *ni ya* is a relative clause.

The subject of the main clause verb, which is intransitive, is the complement clause *bite kana ni*.

- (9) [[*Abi afa ama tini?*]<sub>DIRQ</sub> *ati nemetemonehe.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 abi afa ama ti-ni ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 father(M) this.F be 2SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 “Father, is it you?” she said. [H.28]

This is the most common greeting which Jarawaras use. It seems to be, at least historically, connected with the belief that spirits can appear as human beings, as in fact one does in this story. According to this view, Siraba is making sure it really is her father and not a spirit.

- (10) [[*Afa ama okene*]<sub>DIRQ</sub> *ati ne*]<sub>MED</sub> [[[*Abi inamati otara kiyoy*]<sub>MED</sub> [*kamaki ahi*]<sub>MC</sub>]<sub>DIRQ</sub> *ati nemetemoneni.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 afa ama o-ke-ne ati ne abi inamati otara kiyoy  
 this.F be 1SG.S-DECL.F-IRR.F say AUX.M father(M) spirit(M) 1EX.O chase.M  
 ka-maki ahi ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
 come-following.NOM there say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 “It is me,” he said. “Father, there is a spirit chasing us, and he is coming this way,” she said. [H.29]

This rather complex sentence consists of a main clause preceded by a medial clause, both of which are direct quotes. The medial clause consists of the quote of the father with its quote margin. The main clause is the daughter’s quote with its margin.

The direct quote within the main clause, in turn, consists of a main clause preceded by a medial clause. This medial clause is a transitive A-construction, as seen by the gender agreement with the subject. Alternatively, this clause could be analyzed as a relative clause which is the subject of the main clause.

The main clause is not finite, but is a nominalized clause. The perceptive reader might ask, Why isn’t *kamaki* analyzed as a finite clause? The form indeed is a finite masculine form in many contexts. But when I asked what the word *kamaki* would be if the subject were feminine instead of masculine, the speaker said it

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would still be *kamaki*. That would not be true if *kamaki* were masculine, because the feminine form would be *kamakia* in that case. But if *kamaki* is a nominalized form, it would be *kamaki* whether the subject is masculine or feminine; therefore, it is a nominalized clause. Dixon (2004: 485f.) describes nominalized clauses that function as main clauses.

- (11) [[*Inamati toe awane*]<sub>DIRQ</sub> *ati nematamona.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 inamati to-he awa-ne ati na-himata-mona  
 spirit(M) CH-be.M seem-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘‘I guess it is a spirit,’’ he said. [H.30]

- (12) [*Inamati fotomaki kerewe rematamonaha.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 inamati foto-maki kerewe ra-himata-mona-ha  
 spirit(M) appear-following.NFIN be\_slow NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘The spirit didn’t take long to appear.’ [H.31]

The sentence consists of a main clause that is intransitive. The subject, *inamati fotomaki*, is an intransitive complement clause.

- (13) [*Inamati fotomaki kerewe rematamonaka.*]<sub>MC</sub>  
 inamati foto-maki kerewe ra-himata-mona-ka  
 spirit(M) appear-following.NFIN be\_slow NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The spirit didn’t take long to appear.’ [H.32]

This is identical with the preceding sentence, except that it has the declarative morpheme.

- (14) [*Kana ni kamakimatamona ahi*]<sub>MC</sub> [*fe bata torebanoho.*]<sub>PFC</sub>  
 kana ni ka-maki-himata-mona ahi fee bata  
 run AUX.NFIN come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then 3SG.O surprise  
 to-re-hiba-no-ho  
 CH-raised\_surface-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He came running, and he [Siraba’s father] surprised him.’ [H.33]

The main clause has as its subject the intransitive complement clause *kana ni*. The main clause is followed by a postposed finite clause. The verb of the postposed clause has the interesting combination of the future morpheme with the immediate past morpheme. As Dixon (2004: 212) points out, this combination is used in a subordinate clause when the event of the subordinate clause is future

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with respect to the time of the main clause, but past with respect to the time of the narrator.

The postposed clause is an A-construction, as seen by the fact that there is no O-construction marker *hi-* even though both the subject and the object are third person. In this context, there must be an overt NP referencing the O, and this is what *fee* is. Pronominals in Jarawara are almost always indexes rather than NPs, but *fee* is an exception.

The verbal suffix *-re/-ri* almost always means ‘raised surface’ or related ‘edge’, but there are a few contexts such as the verb *bata tore* ‘surprise’ in which it is difficult to see how the meaning could be anything like ‘raised surface’. But it definitely is the same suffix.

These examples should be sufficient to show the reader some of the complexities of Jarawara syntax, along with some of the possibilities for analysis.



**Part II**

**Texts**



# A Bahi (Yowao)

## Introduction

The story *Bahi* was told by Yowao in 1991. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-bahi1.mp3>.

This text is intended to explain the initiation of pubescent girls, which is still celebrated today. It has 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.

The main character of the text is Bahi, which is the same as the word for 'sun/thunder'. 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.

## English translation

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 [what to do at their first menstruation]. They called him, but he didn't accept any food. "Leave 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.]

*A Bahi (Yowao)*

“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 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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Bahi, Bahiteba hiwa awematamonaka.*

Bahi Bahi-tee-ba hiwa awa-himata-mona-ka  
 Bahi(M) Bahi(M)-HAB-FUT 3SG.REFL.M feel-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 'Bahi had his first menstruation.'

- (2) *Bahi hiwa awe hohoma toematamonaka wami ya tobokorisari, noko tama nari waha.*

Bahi hiwa awe ho-homa  
 Bahi(M) 3SG.REFL.M feel.M DUP-lie\_on\_ground  
 to-ha-himata-mona-ka wami ya to-bako-risa-haari  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M soil(F) ADJU CH-be\_concave-down-IP.E.M  
 noko tama na-haari waha  
 face.M hold\_onto AUX-IP.E.M now  
 'Bahi had his first menstruation. He lay on the ground, on his belly, holding his face with his hands.'

- (3) *Bai mera aawa toarematamonaka.*

Bahi mera a-awa to-ha-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 Bahi(M) 3PL.O DUP-see CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 'Bahi didn't look at the others.'

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- (4) *Bahi hine ya totonokowiti toematamonaka mera kakatomarari, meteba mera kanawanahari me fanawi, me fanawiteba kanawanahari.*

Bahi hine ya to-to-noko-witi to-ha-himata-mona-ka  
 Bahi(M) only ADJU DUP-away-point-out CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 mera ka-katoma-ra-haari me-tee-ba mera kanawana-haari  
 3PL.O COMIT-look\_at-NEG-IP.E.M 3PL.O-HAB-FUT 3PL.O teach-IP.E.M  
 me fanawi me fanawi-tee-ba kanawana-haari  
 3PL woman 3PL.O woman-HAB-FUT teach-IP.E.M

‘Bahi was always turned the other way, so he wouldn’t look at them. He was teaching the girls.’

- (5) *Me ha hine, me ha hine yamata wara tokarihi.*

me haa hi-ne me haa hi-ne yamata wara to-ka-rihi  
 3PL.S call OC-AUX.M 3PL.S call OC-AUX.M food(F) grab CH-COMIT-NEG.LIST  
 ‘They called him, but he didn’t accept any food.’

- (6) *Titefeba, otefeba tikawata.*

ti-tefe-ba o-tefe-ba ti-ka-wata  
 2SG.POSS-food-FUT 1SG.POSS-food-FUT 2SG.S-COMIT-be\_located  
 “‘Leave my food on the ground.’”

- (7) *Yama owakitihaba awine, Bahi ati nematamonaka.*

yama o-ka-iti-haba awine Bahi ati  
 thing(F) 1SG.S-COMIT-pick\_up-FUT.F seem.F Bahi(M) say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

“‘I will pick it up later,’ Bahi said.’

- (8) *Yama okobaba awine.*

yama o-kaba-haba awine  
 thing(F) 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F seem.F  
 “‘I will eat it.’”

- (9) *Wami hiri ni onofari.*

wami hiri ni o-nofa-ri  
 tree.sp(F) catch\_fire AUX.NFIN 1SG.S-want-NEG.NOM.F  
 “‘I don’t want a torch light.’”

- (10) *Yama soki ya otafaba owa awine o, Bahi ati nematamonane, aati toematamonaka.*

yama soki ya o-tafa-haba owa awine o Bahi ati  
 thing(F) be\_dark.NOM ADJU 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F 1SG.S seem.F 1SG.S Bahi(M) say  
 na-himata-mona-ne a-ati to-ha-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘I will eat in the dark,’ Bahi said.’

- (11) *Titefebone titefebone kawiti faro.*  
 ti-tefe-bone ti-tefe-bone ka-iti faaro  
 2SG.POSS-food-INT.F 2SG.POSS-food-INT.F COMIT-sit.NOM.F that.F  
 ‘‘Here is your food on the ground.’’
- (12) *Yama tekitihi.*  
 yama ti-ka-iti-hi  
 thing(F) 2SG.S-COMIT-pick\_up-IMP.F  
 ‘‘You get it.’’
- (13) *Yama soki ya titafibeya hinakaki aati toemetemoneni.*  
 yama soki ya ti-tafa-be-ya  
 thing(F) be\_dark.NOM ADJU 2SG.S-eat-IMMED.F-NOW  
 hinakaki a-ati to-ha-hemete-mone-ni  
 3POSS.SG.grandmother(F) DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘Eat in the dark,’’ his grandmother said.’
- (14) *Faya hinakaki warabo nima hine yama hiri ni ya tafarari yama soki ya tafahari.*  
 faya hinakaki warabo nima hi-ne  
 so 3POSS.SG.grandmother(F) ear.M communicate\_to OC-AUX.M  
 yama hiri ni ya tafa-ra-haari yama soki  
 thing(F) catch\_fire AUX.NFIN ADJU eat-NEG-IP.E.M thing(F) be\_dark.NOM  
 ya tafa-haari  
 ADJU eat-IP.E.M  
 ‘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 fabone hinakaki hekama hikawata nokobi ya.*  
 faha faha fawa-hibona faha haa ne hinaka  
 water(F) water(F) drink-INT.M water(F) call AUX.M 3SG.POSS  
 faha-bone hinakaki hi-ka-ka-ma  
 water(F)-INT.F 3POSS.SG.grandmother(F) OC-COMIT-come-back.F

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hi-ka-wata                      nokobi ya  
 OC-COMIT-be\_located.LIST door(F) ADJU  
 ‘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                      ahi faha fawa-hibana  
 back LOC ADJU water(F) COMIT-pick\_up.NOM then water(F) drink-FUT.M  
 ‘He picked up the water behind him, to drink it.’

- (17) *Ye soko nawaha, Bai wawato toematamona amane me fanawiteba  
 kanawanahari.*

yehe soko na-waha              Bahi wa-wato to-ha-himata-mona  
 hand wash AUX-change.LIST Bahi(M) DUP-know CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ama-ne me fanawi-tee-ba kanawana-haari  
 SEC-BKG.M 3PL.O woman-HAB-FUT teach-IP.E.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘‘Don’t look at them.’’

- (19) *Yama hiri ona te hiri tiyahi ati nematamonaka.*

yama hiri o-na              tee hiri tee-yahi              ati  
 thing(F) do 1SG.S-say.F 2PL.S do HAB-DIST.IMP.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘You should do what I am doing in the future,’’ he said.’

- (20) *Te ka abi me te awarihi, te ka ami me te awarihi, tiyahi te ka ayo mati.*

tee ka abi              me tee awa-rihi              tee ka ami              me  
 2PL POSS father(M) 3PL.O 2PL.S see-NEG.LIST 2PL POSS mother(F) 3PL.O  
 tee awa-rihi              tee-yahi              tee ka ayo              mati  
 2PL.S see-NEG.LIST HAB-DIST.IMP.F 2PL POSS older\_brother(M) 3PL  
 ‘‘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  
 “Don’t look at them.”
- (22) *Te noko amari ene te ka ayo me tohateriya ati nematamonahane, aati toematamonaka.*  
 tee noko ama-ri ehene tee ka ayo me  
 2PL.POSS eye be\_bloody-PN victim\_of 2PL POSS older\_brother(M) 3PL.S  
 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  
 to-ha-himata-mona-ka  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “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(F) food(F) 1IN.S see-NEG.LIST 1IN.S eat-IP.E.F  
 “We also should not look at our food when we eat.”
- (24) *Sina hisi rihi.*  
 sina hisi rihi  
 snuff(F) sniff NEG.LIST  
 “We also should not take snuff.”
- (25) *Fare home ya hohoma toematamonane.*  
 fare home ya ho-homa  
 same.M lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M ADJU DUP-lie\_on\_ground  
 to-ha-himata-mona-ne  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He lay there in the same place, not leaving.’
- (26) *Fare home ya hohoma toematamonaka.*  
 fare home ya ho-homa  
 same.M lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M ADJU DUP-lie\_on\_ground  
 to-ha-himata-mona-ka  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He just lay there in the same place.’

*A Bahi (Yowao)*

- (27) *Aafi na toarematamonane, afi nawebanoho.*  
a-afi na to-ha-ra-himata-mona-ne afi  
DUP-bathe.LIST AUX CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M bathe  
na-waha-hiba-no-ho  
AUX-change-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
'He didn't take a bath while he was in seclusion. Finally he took a bath.'
- (28) *Hawa toe yokana ya wamisamakane ahi.*  
hawa to-he yokana ya waa-misa-ma-kane ahi  
be\_finished CH-AUX.NOM.M true ADJU stand-up-back-MOOD.M then  
'When his menstruation was over, he got up.'<sup>1</sup>
- (29) *Faya hiwa nanahato toematamonaka fahi, fara meteba mera kanawanari.*  
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  
fahi fara me-tee-ba mera kanawana-haari  
then same.F 3PL-HAB-FUT 3PL.O teach-IP.E.M  
'He put on decorations, teaching the others.'
- (30) *Bai Bahi Bahi e kosi na.*  
Bahi Bahi Bahi ee kosi na  
Bahi(M) Bahi(M) Bahi(M) 1IN.S flail AUX  
'Let's whip Bahi with switches.'
- (31) *Bai e kosi nahi.*  
Bahi ee kosi na-hi  
Bahi(M) 1IN.S flail AUX-IMP.F  
'Let's whip Bahi.'
- (32) *Owa te kosi nahi.*  
owa tee kosi na-hi  
1SG.O 2PL.S flail AUX-IMP.F  
'Whip me.'

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<sup>1</sup>The suffix *-kani/-kane* is an archaic mood suffix (Vogel 2022a: 42f). Both Yowao and Siko use it in traditional stories, but it is not used by younger Jarawaras.

- (33) *Tera ki onofa ama oni ati nematamonane.*  
 tera kii o-nofa ama o-ni ati  
 2PL.O look\_at 1SG.S-recently.F SEC 1SG.S-BKG.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘I was looking at you all the time,’ he said.’
- (34) *Me kosi hinehibona me wati hikane, me kosi hiwahematamonaka.*  
 me kosi hi-na-hibona me wati hi-ka-ne me kosi  
 3PL.S flail OC-AUX-INT.M 3PL.S plan\_against OC-COMIT-AUX.M 3PL.S flail  
 hi-waha-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They wanted to whip him, and they whipped him.’
- (35) *Me hawa hinihematamonaka Bahi, fara fara me fanawiteba kanawanahari.*  
 me hawa hi-niha-himata-mona-ka Bahi fara fara  
 3PL.S be\_finished OC-CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M Bahi(M) same.F same.F  
 me fanawi-tee-ba kanawana-haari  
 3PL.O woman-HAB-FUT teach-IP.E.M  
 ‘They had Bahi’s coming out, he was teaching the girls.’
- (36) *Me kosi hine kakafori toematamonane yamata wara torahari, yamata  
 kabarari, tafarari fare fare kokosi kafimiari.*  
 me kosi hi-ne ka-ka-fori to-ha-himata-mona-ne  
 3PL.S flail OC-AUX.M DUP-COMIT-lie\_on\_top CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 yamata wara to-ra-haari yamata kaba-ra-haari tafa-ra-haari  
 food(F) grab CH-NEG-IP.E.M food(F) eat-NEG-IP.E.M eat-NEG-IP.E.M  
 fare fare ko-kosi ka-fimi-haari  
 same.M same.M DUP-flail COMIT-be\_hungry-IP.E.M  
 ‘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 na to-ha-himata-mona ahi  
 DUP-be\_small.LIST AUX CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He was really skinny.’

*A Bahi (Yowao)*

- (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  
 ‘Then he ate.’
- (39) *Faya bani tikaba.*  
 faya bani ti-kaba  
 so animal(M) 2SG.S-eat  
 ‘‘You eat meat.’’
- (40) *Aba aba tikaba.*  
 aba aba ti-kaba  
 fish.sp(M) fish.sp(M) 2SG.S-eat  
 ‘‘Eat *aba* fish.’’
- (41) *Aba okobeba awa.*  
 aba o-kaba-hiba awa  
 fish.sp(M) 1SG.S-eat-FUT.M seem.M  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘Wait, I’m going to eat.’’
- (43) *Me tatama toemetemone me amani Bahi me Bahi me mari kana mati, me tama me yoro tokana mati.*  
 me ta-tama to-ha-hemete-mone me ama-ni Bahi me  
 3PL.S DUP-be\_many CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S SEC-BKG.F Bahi(M) 3PL  
 Bahi me mari ka-na mati me tama me yoro  
 Bahi(M) 3PL.S feast COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL.S be\_many.F 3PL.S be\_together  
 to-ka-na mati  
 CH-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘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  
 ‘Where did they live?’

- (45) *Me tamatama raba na toaremetemoneni.*  
 me tama-tama raba na to-ha-ra-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S DUP-be\_many a\_bit AUX CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘There were a lot of people.’
- (46) *Bahi me kosi nemetemoneni.*  
 Bahi me kosi na-hemete-mone-ni  
 Bahi(M) 3PL.S flail AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They whipped Bahi.’
- (47) *Me towinisawitewahine.*  
 me to-wina-risa-wite-waha-ne  
 3PL.S away-live-down-out-change-CONT.F  
 ‘They live downstream nowadays.’
- (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  
 ‘He got better from the whipping.’<sup>2</sup>
- (49) *Yama momowa toematamonane.*  
 yama mo-mowa to-ha-himata-mona-ne  
 thing(F) DUP-fight CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He made war.’
- (50) *Fanawi amara hiwa kemo hohoma toemata ino amane Bahi, me hinahatoari.*  
 fanawi ama-ra hiwa kehemmo ho-homa to-ha-himata  
 woman be-NEG.F 3SG.REFL.M hide.M DUP-lie\_on\_ground CH-AUX-FP.N.M  
 ino ama-ne Bahi me hi-na-ato-haari  
 name.M be-BKG.M Bahi(M) 3PL.S OC-CAUS-be\_decorated-IP.E.M  
 ‘He wasn’t a woman, and he hid himself. He lay on the ground, Bahi.  
 They put decorations on him.’

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<sup>2</sup>The original has *wawama*, i.e. without reduplication. Okomobi made the correction.

A Bahi (Yowao)

- (51) *Atehe ahi mano, kanamo kawata, hinaka yayafa, fanawi amararo.*  
 atehe ahi mano kanamo ka-wata hinaka  
 annatto(F) there arm.M armband(F) COMMIT-put.LIST 3SG.POSS  
 yayafa fanawi ama-ra-haaro  
 breach\_cloth(M).LIST woman be-NEG-IP.E.F  
 ‘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  
 ‘Do you want more?’
- (53) *Bati awarihi mati awarihi, hinakatirawaha, anoti mati.*  
 bati awa-rihi mati awa-rihi  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) see-NEG.LIST 3SG.POSS.mother(F) see-NEG.LIST  
 hinakati-rawaha anoti mati  
 3POSS.SG.older\_sister(F) FPL 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) 3PL  
 ‘He didn’t look at his father, his mother, his younger sisters, his older  
 brothers.’
- (54) *Hohoma toematamonaka mati beri ya, mati awarari.*  
 ho-homa to-ha-himata-mona-ka mati  
 DUP-lie\_on\_ground CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 3SG.POSS.mother(F)  
 beheri ya mati awa-ra-haari  
 side ADJU 3SG.POSS.mother(F) see-NEG-IP.E.M  
 ‘He lay next to his mother, and he didn’t look at his mother.’
- (55) *Yama hiri ni ya tatafa toematamona.*  
 yama hiri ni ya ta-tafa to-ha-himata-mona  
 thing(F) catch\_fire AUX.NFIN ADJU DUP-eat CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He ate by the light of a torch.’
- (56) *Yama hiri ni ya me tafineti.*  
 yama hiri ni ya me tafa-ne-ti  
 thing(F) catch\_fire AUX.NFIN ADJU 3PL.S eat-CONT.F-HAB.NOM  
 ‘Nowadays the girls eat with a light.’

- (57) *Wataka yama kakaba toaremetemone amani.*  
wataka yama ka-kaba to-ha-ra-hemete-mone ama-ni  
be\_fatty.F thing(F) DUP-eat CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
‘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(F) DUP-be\_hungry CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-DECL.F Bahi(M)  
‘He was hungry a lot.’
- (59) *Yama yama yama, bani irabo e kaba, yowi kabamawaematamonaka, yowi.*  
yama yama yama bani irabo ee kaba  
thing(F) thing(F) thing(F) animal(M) be\_bad.NFIN 1IN.S eat.F  
yowi kaba-ma-waha-himata-mona-ka  
brown\_capuchin(M) eat-back-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
yowi  
brown\_capuchin(M)  
‘He couldn’t eat any bad meat. He ate brown capuchin monkey.’
- (60) *Yowi kabama wafa kaba, ee wafa kabi fawa ne nowati ya kiso kaba, bane kaba nematamonaka ahi.*  
yowi kaba-ma wafa kaba ee  
brown\_capuchin(M) eat-back.LIST woolly\_monkey(M) eat.LIST (pause)  
wafa kabi fawa ne nowati ya  
woolly\_monkey(M) eat.NFIN stop AUX.M after ADJU  
kiso kaba banehe kaba  
white-fronted\_capuchin(M) eat.LIST giant\_anteater(F) eat.LIST  
na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘He ate brown capuchin monkey, and woolly monkey. He stopped eating woolly monkey and then ate white-fronted capuchin, and giant anteater.’
- (61) *Fare tefe na toematamonaka, komene wataterebonaha aati toematamonane, fara meteba mera kanawanahari.*  
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  
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

*A Bahi (Yowao)*

me-tee-ba mera kanawana-haari  
 3PL-HAB-FUT 3PL.O teach-IP.E.M

‘That was his only food, so he wouldn’t get sick. He was teaching the others.’

- (62) *Witi bori kawaha, hinakiti afo hiwahematamonahane, sina ya.*

witi bori ka-waha hinakiti afo  
 nose poke COMMIT-change.LIST 3SG.POSS.grandfather(M) blow\_snuff\_into  
 hi-waha-himata-mona-ha-ne sina ya  
 OC-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M snuff(F) ADJU

‘He put some snuff in each of his nostrils. Then his grandfather blew snuff into his nose.’

- (63) *Hinakiti afo hinematamonaka waha, yama ya.*

hinaka iti afo hi-na-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS grandfather(M) blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 waha yama ya  
 now shaman’s\_stone(F) ADJU

‘His grandfather blew a shaman’s stone into his nose.’

- (64) *Yama bakasiri kita bakasiri okarima owine oni ati nematamonaka ahi, hinakiti afo hinari.*

yama bakasi-ri kita bakasi-ri o-karima  
 thing(F) thirst(F)-PN be\_strong.F thirst(F)-PN 1SG.S-suffer\_from.F  
 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  
 hinakiti afo hi-na-haari  
 3SG.POSS.grandfather(M) blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX-IP.E.M

‘“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 toamako wawa toa namata.*

hinakiti afo hi-ne tefe irabo  
 3SG.POSS.grandfather(M) blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX.M food.M be\_bad.NFIN  
 to-ha-mako wa-waa to-ha na-mata  
 CH-be-for\_this\_reason.M DUP-stand CH-AUX.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-FP.N.M

‘After his grandfather blew snuff into him, he ate good food, and got healthy again.’

- (66) *Mati hohora hiematamonaka, hinakiti afo hinari, sina ya.*  
 mati ho-hora hi-ha-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) DUP-scold OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 hinakiti afo hi-na-haari sina ya  
 3SG.POSS.grandfather(M) blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX-IP.E.M snuff(F) ADJU  
 ‘His mother restricted him, and his grandfather blew snuff into him.’
- (67) *Me kosi hiwahe ka, yama watowato raba na toarematamonaka ahi.*  
 me kosi hi-wahe ka yama wato-wato raba na  
 3PL.S flail OC-change.M because thing(F) DUP-know a\_bit AUX  
 to-ha-ra-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He knew a lot now, because they whipped him.’
- (68) *Bahi sina, Bahi ka sina hihisi nakeraba na toarematamona ino amane.*  
 Bahi sina Bahi ka sina hi-hisi na-ke-raba na  
 Bahi(M) snuff(F) Bahi(M) POSS snuff(F) DUP-sniff AUX-coming-a\_bit AUX  
 to-ha-ra-himata-mona ino ama-ne  
 CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M name.M be-BKG.M  
 ‘Bahi inhaled snuff really hard.’
- (69) *Sina komararo hihisi nake toematamonaha.*  
 sina koma-raaro hi-hisi na-ke to-ha-himata-mona-ha  
 snuff(F) hurt-(?)F DUP-sniff AUX-coming CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He inhaled strong snuff.’
- (70) *Me yana tonemetemone me amake haro me fanawi yama me sari nabani  
 mati, fara hine meteba me kanawana mati, Bai manakone me awabone  
 mati, me kosi hinahari.*  
 me yana to-na-hemete-mone me ama-ke haaro me fanawi  
 3PL.S start CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S SEC-DECL.F that\_one.F 3PL.S woman  
 yama me sari na-haba-ni mati fara hine me-tee-ba  
 thing(F) 3PL.S burn AUX-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S same.F 3.REFL 3PL-HAB-FUT  
 me kanawana mati Bahi manakone me awa-habone mati me  
 3PL.S teach.F 3PL.S Bahi(M) price 3PL.S avenge-INT.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 kosi hi-na-haari  
 flail OC-AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘The women went and burned the men, starting today’s custom. They  
 were paying them back for whipping Bahi.’

*A Bahi (Yowao)*

(71) *Kakafori toematamonaka awa siyo ya.*

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(M) ADJU  
'He lay on the *awa siyo* logs.'

(72) *Awa siyomatamonane.*

awa\_siyo-mata-mona-ne  
tree.sp(M)-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
'They were *awa siyo* logs.'

# B Bahi (Siko)

## Introduction

The story *Bahi* was told by Siko in 1991. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-bahi2.mp3>.

This text is a self-contained series of episodes from a longer story about Bahi.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning and ending sections of the text, which I have not included here, Bahi shows his extraordinary powers, turning people into various kinds of animals, and arriving at a place with a flash of light. In the present episodes, however, Bahi seems like a pretty normal person: he hunts woolly monkeys and tapirs, and gets married.

## English translation

Bahi looked at the sun. “Wait.”

Bahi went into the forest. He went away. Then he came upon the sound of people cutting down a *hawa* palm, *teo, teo*. His future father-in-law was cutting down a *hawa* palm, to mix the fruits with manioc juice. Fish were killed, *ote* fish. The *ote* fish were in the makeshift basket on the ground. They had felt for the fish, and they had killed the fish. They were in the makeshift basket.

“Are those fish?”

“They are fish. The fish that I killed are in there. Hoo, let me cut down the *hawa* palm, to add the fruits to my wife’s manioc juice.” He picked up the ax and went into the forest. He was cutting down the *hawa* palm.

“I’m going to cut down my father-in-law’s *hawa* palm.”

He went there. He went there to cut down his father-in-law’s *hawa* palm. He went there, and grabbed the ax. “Father-in-law, give the ax to me.” He chopped at the *hawa* palm. He chopped at it really hard. The *hawa* palm fell.

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<sup>1</sup>The present section begins at the 13 minute 31 second point in the recording.

*B Bahi (Siko)*

The two women who were going to be his wives were standing there. "You two go bathe. Go bathe. I'm going to cut down a *hawa* palm," he said. He went and cut down the *hawa* palm. When the *hawa* palm fell, he came back. He went to the two women who were bathing.

"Are you bathing?"

"We are bathing."

"I'm going to bathe, too. I'm sweating." He bathed. After they bathed, they put their breechcloths back on.

The two women went back. "Let's go back." They went back.

He went back after them. "Come on, I want to drink *hawa* drink. I want to eat fish. I'm hungry."

"You go ahead with him. I will follow," their father said.

"I'm going to marry you. You are going to be my wives." He wanted them, to marry them. He took them back. He arrived back with them.

"Cook the fish quickly. I want to eat fish." So they cooked the fish. When the cooking of the fish was done, they called him.

They toasted manioc mash. Her mother mashed the manioc juice in the mortar. She put the *hawa* fruits in water. She mashed the *hawa* fruits in the mortar. She mixed the manioc juice with her hands. "Well, is he full?"

"Yes, I'm full, Mother-in-law. I'm full. I ate fish."

"Aren't you going to drink manioc juice?"

"Wait, my food is almost gone."

His mother-in-law called him for him to drink manioc juice. He dipped out some manioc juice with a cup. "Wait, I will dip out a little. I will try a little. Is it sweet?"

"It is sweet."

He got some manioc juice, and he drank the manioc juice. "Yumm, it's good. *Hawa* fruits are good with manioc juice."

So he came back. He was ready to leave. "I want to leave, but you won't let me. I'm going to leave."

"We won't let you leave because of what you said, when you said you would marry us."

"Yes, I will marry you."

“Don’t deceive us.”

“I will marry you. He is my father-in-law.” He was going to marry them, and he slept with them. He didn’t sleep with them, he had sex with them all night.

“I’m going now. Where is there forest that has game?”

“There is a path going that way that has game. There are woolly monkeys living there.”

“Come on, let’s go together. You will carry the woolly monkeys.” He was ready to leave, and his two wives were ready to leave. They came on behind.

He went into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder, and holding arrows. He went into the forest. As he went, the voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. “*Siya, siya.*” The voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. As he listened to their voices, he twirled darts in his mouth. As he twirled the darts in his mouth, he went along planning against the monkeys.

“You stay here. I will come back quickly if I hear your voices.”

He went into the forest. He went, and he shot some monkeys, *fai saki*.

“*Aaa, aaa.*” A female monkey cried out.

The monkeys got excited. “*Aa, aa, aa.*” He was going to hit them with darts.

He shot monkeys with the blowgun. He was picking up the dead monkeys. The monkeys were falling onto the ground.

He came back. “Hoo, are you still here?”

“We are still here.”

“Aren’t there any dangerous animals?”

“There aren’t any dangerous animals, and we are still here.”

“I guess there isn’t a jaguar. If there were a jaguar, you would have cried out. Come on, let’s go get the game.”

They went to get the game. They went with him. He went there and picked up the monkeys.

They picked up the monkeys. His one wife carried some of the monkeys, his other wife carried some of them, and he carried some of them.

They came back, and arrived. “I’m going to tie up the monkeys. You will carry them.”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

“Aren’t you going to carry any of them? Ours should be less.”

“You are the ones who are going to eat them.”

He tied up the animals. He tied up the monkeys. His one wife carried some, and his other wife carried some, and he carried two. He came back. They came back.

He had sex with them where he had shot the monkeys. He had sex with them. “Here, I will make someone whose game will be eaten.” He had sex with them.

When the sex with them was over, he came back. They came back. “Come on, you two carry them, the ones who made you suffer.<sup>2</sup> It’s so you can eat them.” He was ready to leave. They were ready to leave.

They came back, and arrived back. When they came back, his father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys. He cut up the monkeys. He made a roasting rack, too. He threw them onto the rack. Then they ate, the monkeys’ livers, their intestines. They ate, his brothers-in-law. They ate, and they finished eating. They took snuff, and slept.

He was ready to go again the next morning. “I’m going out hunting.”

“Go hunting. You have seen the forest. You have seen where we go.”

“I want my brothers-in-law to go with me.” His brothers-in-law went with him as he went out into the forest.

As he went, it [a tapir] started making noise [brushing against leaves].

“It’s a tapir. Be quiet. I will hit it with an arrow. Wait, watch me. I’m a hunter.”

They crept toward it as it stood, breaking twigs. One of them inserted an arrow in his bow. [His brother-in-law] was going to shoot quickly, but he went first. *Takai wa.*

The tapir jumped up. It went away, hurt, and soon fell. He had hit it right in the armpit with the arrow.

“Come on, I killed it as it was eating. I really drew the bow hard! The arrow point went inside, and turned up.”

His brother-in-law pulled out the arrow. “The arrow point stayed in. I hit you with an arrow. My penis went in all the way in your younger sisters.” He was talking naughty.

They cut up the tapir. They cut up the fat tapir. They carried the tapir.

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<sup>2</sup>That is, the monkeys were the cause of the women having had to have sex with Bahi.

“The head will stay here on the ground. Let its head stay here on the ground. My mother-in-law will eat its head. You carry its head.”

“I will carry its head. You will see me, wait.”

He put the tapir’s head on top of the full basket. They all carried the tapir.

“Don’t let the feet stay there on the ground. The feet will be eaten. Let’s take it all.”

They took it. They brought it, and arrived with it.

“They are coming back carrying game. While he is here, we are eating the game he kills.”

He had impregnated his wives, they were pregnant. He spoke to his pregnant wives. “What are you going to do? Shall I take you away?”

“I don’t know.”

“I will take you, wait. When I hear what my mother says, when I go there and hear what my mother says, if my mother agrees, I will come back to get you. When I have come back to get you, and we have gone...I will sleep here [before leaving]. I will know what day it will be [that I will take you away]. If the babies are growing up when I come back, I will not leave. When the children are finished growing up, we will leave. I will ask my mother properly about it. When I ask my mother properly about it, I will also ask my father.”

“Is it scary?”

“It’s not scary, it’s just like where we are now. I went out [hunting] again and came out at another place, and then I came back here. My mother lives there. I came back here.”

“It’s scary. I don’t think I want to go there.”

“It’s just like where we are now. You will see it. You don’t believe me. It’s just like where we are now.”

He was ready to leave, but he turned back and slept there. He turned back because her labor had started. The baby was born.

“Is it a boy?”

“It’s a boy.”

“What do you know, it’s a boy. You will eat his game [that he will kill when he grows up]. Didn’t you see me? You will eat his game. You have seen me, his father.

*B Bahi (Siko)*

I have killed a tapir with bow and arrow, and have killed woolly monkeys with a blowgun.”

So he turned back. He went out hunting. “I’m going hunting, wait. My son has been born.”

“Since my son hasn’t been born yet, you shouldn’t go now. Wait for me,” [said his other wife].

“Yes, I will wait for you. The labor of the other baby will start. When the other baby is born, I will go to speak to my mother.”

He was going to be ready to leave. When the other baby was born, he was ready to leave. “The other baby who was born is a boy. What do you know, there are two boys. I will go and speak to my mother, Mother-in-law. Mother-in-law, I will go and speak to my mother, and my father.”

He was ready to go, and he went. He didn’t stay.

“I will come back here. I will come back. When the baby is nursing well, I will come back. When I have spoken to my mother...”

So he went. He went, and disappeared into the forest.

“That village of Bahi is scary. I’m not going along.”

“He said it’s the same as here. Didn’t you hear what he said? He said it’s just like the place we live in here,” their older brother said. “We will go together, so I can have sex with his younger sister, too. Wait, I’ll ask him. Let him come back.”

He was ready to go, and he disappeared into the forest.

He waited for him. They waited for him. After three full moons, he finally appeared again. “Bahi has come back. Bahi has come back.”

He came back, and arrived. “*Hoo*, the children have grown. Now I finally have children. My sons’ grandmother said I should take them there. What are you going to do? Do you want to stay with me?”

“I don’t know. Bahi, isn’t it scary?”

“It’s not scary. It’s the same as where we are now. It’s just like here. It’s just like where we are now.”

“Bahi, is there plenty of game there?”

“She is saying there isn’t much game, but the game there are the same as where we live,” [said Bahi].

They were ready to leave. When they were about ready to leave, they slept there some more.

“Wait, I will kill some game for my mother-in-law with my blowgun. When I kill game with my blowgun, my mother-in-law and father-in-law will roast them on a rack.”

“Are you intending to take my daughters away? Isn’t it scary there?”

“Father-in-law, it’s not scary. It’s the same as the place where we are. The places are the same. It’s the same as the place we’re living.”

“When we are ready to leave, and we go, and we arrive somewhere, we will go and go and will arrive. If we get up early, it won’t be far. When we have slept in the house I slept in when I went before, when we have gotten up early and gone and gone, we will arrive,” he said.

“Bahi really talks.”

He listened to his father-in-law, and his father-in-law stopped speaking.

“Yes, Father-in-law, I’m going to take my wives there. I will come back and see you again.”

“If you take my daughters to a place that is not my village....”

“It’s my village. Because it is my village there, I have come here to get my wives. It is my father and mother’s village.” So he took them away.

“Let him take them away,” [said his father-in-law].

“He is taking them so their grandmother can see them. They won’t die,” [said his mother-in-law].

“I don’t know if we will come back soon or not. I don’t know if my wives will like the place when they see it.”

So they went. They slept on the way, and went on again in the morning. He wanted to ask his brother-in-law. “You said you wanted to marry my younger sister.”

“I want you to pay for my sisters to live here.”

“No, I don’t want her to live over there. I want her to live in my village. You live in my village.”

“It’s scary.”

“It’s not scary. You heard me, it’s the same forest, for walking. It’s the same trails.”

“You said the trail goes up.”

“It doesn’t go up. It’s good to walk there. The trees are not high, they are like steps. There are tall trees. It’s the same [whether the trees are tall or short].”

“I will slide back down.”<sup>3</sup>

“He won’t slide back down. He crawls because he is a baby. Adults don’t crawl.”

They went. His brother-in-law made him go along. They went and went, and arrived at sundown. He had become Bahi’s brother-in-law. He came. They arrived at sundown.

They slept. He called his younger sister. “Sister, Sister.”

“Huh?”

“Sister, come here a minute. Listen to me. Look at what I have in my hand. I am holding something in my hand that I bought.”

“Brother, what is it?”

“Look at what I am holding in my hand.”

“He [the baby] is fat. The one my brother is holding looks just like him. Brother, whose daughters’ hands are you holding? Whose daughters did you marry?”

“I don’t know his name. I haven’t heard his name. Wait, I will hear his name now. I will go and see them again.”

“Brother, can we go together?”

“Yes, we will go together.”

“Your partner is sitting there, holding his hard penis [to hide it]. Sister, he is your future husband.”

“Are you going to stay there?” [said Bahi].

“I don’t know. I don’t want to go to his village and stay there.”

## Glossed text

- (1) *Bai aawa Bai.*  
bahi a-awa Bahi  
sun(M) DUP-see Bahi(M)  
‘Bahi looked at the sun.’

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<sup>3</sup>This is a reference to the ability of shamans to walk in the sky.

- (2) *Hiba.*  
 hiba  
 wait  
 “Wait.”
- (3) *Bai tokematamonaka.*  
 Bahi to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 Bahi(M) away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘Bahi went into the forest.’
- (4) *Toke, tokematamonaka.*  
 to-ke to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go.M away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went away.’
- (5) *Toke toke ya toke ya, toke me, me moni towasiwitibano, hawa me ka nani mati, teo teo.*  
 to-ke to-ke ya to-ke ya to-ke me  
 away-go.M away-go.NOM.M ADJU away-go.NOM.M ADJU away-go.M 3PL  
 me moni to-wasi-witi-hiba-no hawa me kaa  
 3PL.POSS sound away-find-out-FUT.M-IP.N.M palm.sp(F) 3PL.S chop  
 na-hani mati teo teo  
 AUX-IP.N.F 3PL.S (sound\_of\_hitting) (sound\_of\_hitting)  
 ‘He went. Then he came upon the sound of people cutting down a *hawa* palm, *teo, teo.*’
- (6) *Kokoriba, kokoribanoho, kokoribano, hawa ka nematamona honofene tehenebona honofene.*  
 kokori-ba  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)-FUT  
 kokori-ba-no-ho  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)-FUT-IP.N.M-DUP  
 kokori-ba-no hawa kaa na-himata-mona  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)-FUT-IP.N.M palm.sp(F) chop AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 honofene tehene-bona honofene  
 manioc\_juice(M) additive.M-INT.M manioc\_juice(M)  
 ‘His future father-in-law was cutting down a *hawa* palm, to mix the fruits with manioc juice.’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (7) *Aba me, aba me waka nemetemoneke oterawaha.*  
aba me aba me waka na-hemete-mone-ke  
fish(M) 3PL fish(M) 3PL.S be\_killed AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
ote-rawa-ha  
fish.sp(F)-FPL-DUP  
'Fish were killed, *ote* fish.'
- (8) *Ote ya, tabasi ya ote warawemetemoneke ahi.*  
ote ya tabasi ya ote  
fish.sp(F) ADJU makeshift\_basket(F) ADJU fish.sp(F)  
waa-rawa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
stand-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
'The *ote* fish were in the makeshift basket on the ground.'
- (9) *Aba me me boyo nani me aba me me waka nani me, aba me me waka nani  
aba me, tabasi ya me ihemetemoneke.*  
aba me me boyo na-hani me aba me me waka  
fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S feel AUX-IP.N.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S kill  
na-hani me aba me me waka na-hani aba me  
AUX-IP.N.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S kill AUX-IP.N.F fish(M) 3PL  
tabasi ya me iha-hemete-mone-ke  
makeshift\_basket(F) ADJU 3PL.S be\_located-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'They had felt for the fish, and they had killed the fish. They were in the  
makeshift basket.'
- (10) *Haa aba me amani?*  
haa aba me ama-ni  
huh? fish(M) 3PL.S be-BKG.F  
'“Are those fish?”'
- (11) *Aba me amani.*  
aba me ama-ni  
fish(M) 3PL.S be-BKG.F  
'“They are fish.”'
- (12) *Aba me waka ona me waine.*  
aba me waka o-na me waa-ne  
fish(M) 3PL.O kill 1SG.S-AUX.F 3PL.S stand-CONT.F  
'“The fish that I killed are in there.”'

- (13) *Oof, hawa ka okomate, oka yibote ka honofene tehenebonaha.*  
 oof hawa kaa o-ka-mate o-ka yibote  
 hoo palm.sp(F) chop 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time.IMP.F 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F)  
 ka honofene tehene-bona-ha  
 POSS manioc\_juice(M) additive.M-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘‘Hoo, let me cut down the *hawa* palm, to add the fruits to my wife’s  
 manioc juice.’’
- (14) *Oka yibote ka honofene tehenebona ka okomate mata.*  
 o-ka yibote ka honofene tehene-bona kaa  
 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) POSS manioc\_juice(M) additive.M-INT.M chop  
 o-ka-mate mata  
 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time.IMP.F for\_now  
 ‘‘Let me cut down the *hawa* palm, to add the fruits to my wife’s manioc  
 juice.’’
- (15) *Bari iti toke, tokematamonaka.*  
 bari iti to-ke to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 ax pick\_up.M away-go.M away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He picked up the ax and went into the forest.’
- (16) *Hawa ka ne hawa ka ne, Oko koko ka hawa ka okomate.*  
 hawa kaa ne hawa kaa ne o-ka  
 palm.sp(F) chop AUX.M palm.sp(F) chop AUX.M 1SG.POSS-POSS  
 koko ka hawa kaa o-ka-mate  
 father\_in\_law(M) POSS palm.sp(F) chop 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time.IMP.F  
 ‘He was cutting down the *hawa* palm. ‘I’m going to cut down my  
 father-in-law’s *hawa* palm.’’
- (17) *Tokomakematamonaka.*  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went there.’
- (18) *Kokori ka hawa ka kanebona tokomake tokomakematamonaka.*  
 kokori ka hawa kaa ka-na-hibona  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) POSS palm.sp(F) chop COMIT-AUX-INT.M  
 to-ka-make to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-following away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went there to cut down his father-in-law’s *hawa* palm.’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (19) *Tokomake bari wara tone Koko bari owa tiwakawa, ha owa ta.*  
to-ka-make bari wara to-ne koko bari owa  
away-go-following ax grab CH-AUX.M father\_in\_law(M) ax 1SG.O  
ti-ka-kawa haa owa taa  
2SG.S-COMIT-give\_something\_to DEM 1SG contrast  
'He went there, and grabbed the ax. "Father-in-law, give the axe to me.'"
- (20) *Hawa ka kanematamonaka.*  
hawa kaa ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
palm.sp(F) chop COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He chopped at the *hawa* palm.'
- (21) *Ka nemata kasiro ya ahi.*  
kaa na-himata kasiro ya ahi  
chop AUX-FP.N.M a\_lot ADJU then  
'He chopped at it really hard.'
- (22) *Hawa towakemetemoneke ahi.*  
hawa to-ka-ka-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
palm.sp(F) away-COMIT-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
'The *hawa* palm fell.'
- (23) *Towakemetemoneke.*  
to-ka-ka-hemete-mone-ke  
away-COMIT-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'It fell.'
- (24) *Fatiterawabani yoro narawa, Te afi kanahi.*  
fati-tee-rawa-ba-ni yoro na-rawa tee afi  
3SG.POSS.wife(F)-HAB-FPL-FUT-IP.N.F stand AUX-FPL.F 2PL.S bathe  
ka-na-hi  
COMIT-AUX-IMP.F  
'The two women who were going to be his wives were standing there.  
"You two go bathe.'"
- (25) *Te afi kana.*  
tee afi ka-na  
2PL.S bathe COMMIT-AUX  
'"Go bathe.'"

- (26) *Hawa ka okomatibe, ati ne hawa ka tokanamaki hawa towaki ya kame, me afi kana me ni ya tokomake tokomakematamonaka.*

hawa kaa o-ka-mata-be ati ne hawa  
 palm.sp(F) chop 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time-IMMED.F say AUX.M palm.sp(F)  
 kaa to-ka-na-maki hawa to-ka-ki  
 chop away-COMIT-AUX-following.M palm.sp(F) away-COMIT-go.NOM.F  
 ya ka-me me afi ka-na me ni ya  
 ADJU come-back.M 3PL.S bathe COMIT-AUX.F 3PL to ADJU  
 to-ka-make to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-following away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

“I’m going to cut down the *hawa* palm,” he said. He went and cut down the *hawa* palm. When the *hawa* palm fell, he came back. He went to the two women who were bathing.’

- (27) *Te afi kini?*

tee afi ka-ni  
 2PL.S bathe COMIT-BKG.F  
 “Are you bathing?”

- (28) *Ota afi kana otani.*

otaa afi ka-na otaa-ni  
 1EX.S bathe COMIT-AUX.F 1EX.S-BKG.F  
 “We are bathing.”

- (29) *Afi obisamateya.*

afi o-bisa-mate-ya  
 bathe 1SG.S-also-short\_time.IMP.F-now  
 “I’m going to bathe, too.”

- (30) *Oka tanakone tokake.*

o-ka tanakone to-ka-ke  
 1SG.POSS-POSS sweat away-go-DECL.F  
 “I’m sweating.”

- (31) *Faya afi ne, afi ne me afi naro, me afi na me, yayafa me akama me, me akama me towakama me, me towakamemetemoneke.*

faya afi ne afi ne me afi na-haaro me afi na  
 so bathe AUX.M bathe AUX.M 3PL.S bathe AUX-PFUT.F 3PL.S bathe AUX.F  
 me yayafa me aka-ma me me aka-ma me  
 3PL.S breach\_cloth(M) 3PL.S wear-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S wear-back.F 3PL.S

*B Bahi (Siko)*

to-ka-ka-ma                    me   me  
away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘He bathed. After they bathed, they put their breechcloths back on. The two women went back.’

- (32) *E towakamahi.*

ee   to-ka-ka-ma-hi  
1IN.S away-COMIT-go-back-IMP.F  
“Let’s go back.”

- (33) *Faya me, towakama me nowati ya tokomake tokomakematamonaka.*

faya me   to-ka-ka-ma                    me                    nowati ya  
so   3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.POSS behind ADJU  
to-ka-make                    to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-following away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘They went back. He went back after them.’

- (34) *Tokomake, tokomakematamonaka.*

to-ka-make                    to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-following away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He went back.’

- (35) *Tokomake, Hima hawa hawa ofibeya.*

to-ka-make                    hima   hawa                    hawa  
away-go-following let’s\_go palm.sp(F) palm.sp(F)  
o-fawa-be-ya  
1SG.S-drink-IMMED.F-now

‘He went back. “Come on, I want to drink *hawa* drink.”’

- (36) *Aba me okobibeya.*

aba   me   o-kaba-be-ya  
fish(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.F-now

“I want to eat fish.”

- (37) *Ofimini.*

o-fimi-ni  
1SG.S-be\_hungry-BKG.F

“I’m hungry.”

- (38) *Te tai tokahamaho.*  
 tee tai to-ka-ha-ma-ho  
 2PL.S be\_ ahead CH-COMIT-AUX-back-IMP.M  
 “You go ahead with him.”
- (39) *Oyotobeya, me ka abi ati nematamona.*  
 o-yoto-be-ya me ka abi ati na-himata-mona  
 1SG.S-follow-IMMED.F-now 3PL POSS father(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 “I will follow,” their father said.’
- (40) *Te oyababana oke.*  
 tee o-yaba-habana o-ke  
 2PL.O 1SG.S-marry-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “I’m going to marry you.”
- (41) *Oka yiboterawaba te amake.*  
 o-ka yibote-rawa-ba tee ama-ke  
 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F)-FPL-FUT 2PL.S be-DECL.F  
 “You are going to be my wives.”
- (42) *Faya mera yabebona mera kayawe mera towakame, mera towakame mera kobo tokaname, Aba me te kawarikabote na.*  
 faya mera yaba-hibona mera ka-yawe mera  
 so 3PL.O marry-INT.M 3PL.O COMIT-be\_upset.M 3PL.O  
 to-ka-ka-me mera to-ka-ka-me mera kobo  
 away-COMIT-go-back.M 3PL.O away-COMIT-go-back.M 3PL.O arrive  
 to-ka-na-me aba me tee  
 away-COMIT-AUX-back.M fish(M) 3PL.O 2PL.S  
 ka-waa-ri-kabote na  
 COMIT-cook-raised\_surface-quickly AUX  
 ‘He wanted them, to marry them. He took them back. He arrived back with them. “Cook the fish quickly.”’
- (43) *Aba me okobibeya.*  
 aba me o-kaba-be-ya  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.F-now  
 “I want to eat fish.”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (44) *Faya aba me me kawariemetemone fahi.*  
 faya aba me me ka-waa-ri-hemete-mone fahi  
 so fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-cook-raised\_surface-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘So they cooked the fish.’
- (45) *Aba me me kawaria me, aba me kawari ahabi ya, me ha hine iyawa me sira, iyawa me siremetemoneke.*  
 aba me me ka-waa-ria me aba me  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-cook-raised\_surface.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.S  
 ka-waa-ri ahabi ya me haa  
 COMIT-be\_cooked-raised\_surface.NFIN end.NOM.F ADJU 3PL.S call  
 hi-ne iyawa me sira iyawa me  
 OC-AUX.M grated\_mash(F) 3PL.S toast.F grated\_mash(F) 3PL.S  
 sira-hemete-mone-ke  
 toast-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They cooked the fish. When the cooking of the fish was done, they called him. They toasted manioc mash.’
- (46) *Mati honofene kawa nati toemetemone.*  
 mati honofene kawa nati  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) manioc\_juice(M) thrust only\_one  
 to-ha-hemete-mone  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘Her mother mashed the manioc juice in the mortar.’
- (47) *Hawa hawa kabofa, hawa kawa nisa honofene, tabo na, Fera akare awane?*  
 hawa hawa ka-ibofa hawa kawa  
 palm.sp(F) palm.sp(F) COMIT-put\_in\_water.F palm.sp(F) thrust  
 na-risa honofene tabo na fee-ra akare  
 AUX-down.F manioc\_juice(M) mash AUX.F that.M-NPQ be\_satiated.M  
 awa-ne  
 seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘She put the *hawa* fruits in water. She mashed the *hawa* fruits in the mortar. She mixed the manioc juice with her hands. “Well, is he full?”’
- (48) *Ee owakara oke aso.*  
 ee o-akara o-ke aso  
 yes 1SG.S-be\_satiated 1SG.S-DECL.F mother\_in\_law(F)  
 ‘“Yes, I’m full, Mother-in-law.”’

- (49) *Owakara oke.*  
 o-akara o-ke  
 1SG.S-be\_satiated 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “I’m full.”
- (50) *Aba me okoba oke.*  
 aba me o-kaba o-ke  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “I ate fish.”
- (51) *Aba me okobini.*  
 aba me o-kaba-ni  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-BKG.F  
 “I ate fish.”
- (52) *Honofene tifaribana?*  
 honofene ti-fawa-ri-bana  
 manioc\_juice(M) 2SG.S-drink-NEG.F-FUT  
 “Aren’t you going to drink manioc juice?”
- (53) *Hiba, otefe ahabake haro.*  
 hiba o-tefe ahaba-ke haaro  
 wait 1SG.POSS-food end-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 “Wait, my food is almost gone.”
- (54) *Honofene fawebona hinakaso ha hine, honofene kabi kanematamonaka.*  
 honofene fawa-hibona hinakaso haa hi-ne  
 manioc\_juice(M) drink-INT.M 3SG.POSS.mother\_in\_law(F) call OC-AUX.M  
 honofene kabi ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 manioc\_juice(M) dip\_out COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘His mother-in-law called him for him to drink manioc juice. He dipped  
 out some manioc juice with a cup.’
- (55) *Hiba, kakabi kana omataba.*  
 hiba ka-kabi ka-na o-mata-ba  
 wait DUP-dip\_out COMIT-AUX 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M  
 “Wait, I will dip out a little.”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (56) *Totomi omataba.*  
to-tomi o-mata-ba  
DUP-try 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M  
“I will try a little.”
- (57) *Sinatehino ama?*  
sina-tee-hino ama  
be\_sweet-HAB-IP.N.M SEC  
“Is it sweet?”
- (58) *Sinate amane.*  
sina-tee ama-ne  
be\_sweet-HAB SEC-BKG.M  
“It is sweet.”
- (59) *Honofene kabi kaniha honofene fawa nematamonaka.*  
honofene kabi ka-niha honofene fawa  
manioc\_juice(M) dip\_out COMMIT-CAUS.LIST manioc\_juice(M) drink.LIST  
na-himata-mona-ka  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He got some manioc juice, and he drank the manioc juice.’
- (60) *Inaa, amosake.*  
inaa amosa-ke  
hmmm be\_good-DECL.F  
“Yumm, it’s good.”
- (61) *Hawa amosini honofene karo.*  
hawa amosa-ni honofene karo  
palm.sp(F) be\_good-BKG.F manioc\_juice(M) LOC  
“Hawa fruits are good with manioc juice.”
- (62) *Faya, kame, kamematamonaka.*  
faya ka-me ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
so come-back.M come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘So he came back.’

- (63) *Kame, yana tone Okabone ona, owa te kayawa teke.*  
 ka-me yana to-ne o-ka-habone o-na owa tee  
 come-back.M start CH-AUX.M 1SG.S-go-INT.F 1SG.S-say.F 1SG.O 2PL.S  
 ka-yawa tee-ke  
 COMMIT-be\_upset.F 2PL.S-DECL.F  
 ‘He came back. He was ready to leave. “I want to leave, but you won’t let me.”<sup>4</sup>
- (64) *Okabone onara oke.*  
 o-ka-habone o-na-hara o-ke  
 1SG.S-go-INT.F 1SG.S-say-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “I’m going to leave.”
- (65) *Fara tiwati nima tiwa ota kayawi nineni ota tiyababone tina tiwa.*  
 fara ti-ati ni-ma tiwa otaa ka-yawi  
 same.F 2SG.POSS-voice AUX.NOM-like 2SG.O 1EX.S COMMIT-be\_upset.NFIN  
 na-ne-ni otaa ti-yaba-habone ti-na tiwa  
 AUX-CONT.F-BKG.F 1EX.O 2SG.S-marry-INT.F 2SG.S-say.F 2SG.S  
 “We won’t let you leave because of what you said, when you said you would marry us.”
- (66) *Ee, te oyababana oke.*  
 ee tee o-yaba-habana o-ke  
 yes 2PL.O 1SG.S-marry-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “Yes, I will marry you.”
- (67) *Ota tikeyeriyahi.*  
 otaa ti-keyeha-ra-yahi  
 1EX.O 2SG.S-deceive-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Don’t deceive us.”
- (68) *Ota tikeyeriyahi.*  
 otaa ti-keyeha-ra-yahi  
 1EX.O 2SG.S-deceive-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Don’t deceive us.”

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<sup>4</sup>Although the word *ona* means ‘I said’ (I said I will leave = I want to leave), the morpheme *na* is an auxiliary, not a verb root meaning ‘say’. The verb is *ati na* ‘say’, but there is a morphophonological rule that deletes the root *ati* and leaves just the auxiliary, when there is a person prefix (Dixon 2004: 117). I have glossed it as ‘say’ to make things easier for the reader. When the rule does not apply, i.e. when there is no person prefix, then the root *ati* appears, as in (26).

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (69) *Ota, Te oyababana oke.*  
 otaa tee o-yaba-habana o-ke  
 1EX 2PL.O 1SG.S-marry-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I will marry you.’’<sup>5</sup>
- (70) *Oka koko oka koko amaka hari.*  
 o-ka koko o-ka koko  
 1SG.POSS-POSS father\_in\_law(M) 1SG.POSS-POSS father\_in\_law(M)  
 ama-ka haari  
 be-DECL.M that\_one.M  
 ‘‘He is my father-in-law.’’
- (71) *Faya me, mera yabebona mera amo kane mera, amo karehibanoho mera ahi nabebana.*  
 faya me mera yaba-hibona mera amo ka-ne mera amo  
 so 3PL 3PL.O marry-INT.M 3PL.O sleep COMMIT-AUX.M 3PL.O sleep  
 ka-ra-hiba-no-ho mera ahi nahaba-hibana  
 COMMIT-NEG-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP 3PL.O have\_sex\_with at\_night-FUT.M  
 ‘He was going to marry them, and he slept with them. He didn’t sleep with them, he had sex with them all night.’
- (72) *Mera ai nabematamonaka fahi.*  
 mera ahi nahaba-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 3PL.O have\_sex\_with at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He had sex with them all night.’
- (73) *Mera ahi nabe, Totoka onahabone onara oke.*  
 mera ahi nahabe to-to-ka o-na-habone  
 3PL.O have\_sex\_with at\_night.M DUP-away-go 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F  
 o-na-hara o-ke  
 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘He had sex with them all night. ‘‘I’m going now.’’
- (74) *Hibaka, yama abatehani tohari?*  
 hibaka yama ahaba-tee-hani to-ha-ri  
 where thing(F) die-HAB-IP.N.F CH-be-CQ.F  
 ‘‘Where is there forest that has game?’’

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<sup>5</sup>*Ota* is a false start.

- (75) *Yama abate hawi tokine haro.*  
 yama ahaba-tee hawi to-ka-ne haaro  
 thing(F) die-HAB trail.F away-go-CONT.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘There is a path going that way that has game.’’
- (76) *Wafa me winine haro.*  
 wafa me wina-ne haaro  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.S live-CONT.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘There are woolly monkeys living there.’’
- (77) *Hima, e tabahi.*  
 hima ee taba-hi  
 let’s\_go 1IN.S be\_together-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Come on, let’s go together.’’
- (78) *Wafa me te weye nibe.*  
 wafa me tee weye na-be  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘You will carry the woolly monkeys.’’
- (79) *Faya yana tonematamonaka.*  
 faya yana to-na-himata-mona-ka  
 so start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was ready to leave.’
- (80) *Yana tone, fati yana tokarawa kayotorawemetemoneke.*  
 yana to-ne fati yana to-ka-rawa  
 start CH-AUX.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) start CH-COMIT-FPL.F  
 ka-yoto-rawa-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-follow-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He was ready to leave, and his two wives were ready to leave. They came on behind.’
- (81) *Karaboa tiwa kana wati tama kana, tokematamonaka.*  
 karaboha tiwa ka-na wati tama ka-na  
 blowgun(F) carry COMIT-AUX.LIST arrow(M) hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.LIST  
 to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder, and holding onto arrows.’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (82) *Toke, toke toke toke ya wafa me ati saimetemoneke ahi Siya siya siya siya siya siya.*

to-ke to-ke to-ke to-ke ya  
 away-go.M away-go.M away-go.M away-go.NOM.M ADJU  
 wafa me ati sai-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.POSS voice be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 siya siya  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey)  
 siya siya  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey)  
 siya siya  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey)

‘He went into the forest. As he went, the voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. “*Siya, siya.*”’

- (83) *Wafa me ati saihani me ati mite, sare sare rofi nematamonane.*

wafa me ati sai-hani me ati mite  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.POSS voice be\_heard-IP.N.F 3PL.POSS voice hear.M  
 sarehe sarehe rofi  
 blowgun\_dart(F) blowgun\_dart(F) twirl\_in\_mouth  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M

‘The voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. As he listened to their voices, he twirled darts in his mouth.’

- (84) *Sare sare rofi nematamonaka.*

sarehe sarehe rofi  
 blowgun\_dart(F) blowgun\_dart(F) twirl\_in\_mouth  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He twirled darts in his mouth.’

- (85) *Sare rofi ne, wafa me wati kane wafa me, tokematamonaka.*

sarehe rofi ne wafa me  
 blowgun\_dart(F) twirl\_in\_mouth AUX.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O  
 wati ka-ne wafa me  
 plan\_against COMIT-AUX.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL

to-ka-himata-mona-ka

away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘As he twirled the darts in his mouth, he went along planning against the monkeys.’<sup>6</sup>

(86) *Te yoyoro karahama nahi.*

tee yo-yoro karahama na-hi

2PL.S DUP-stay only\_do AUX-IMP.F

‘‘You stay here.’’

(87) *Te yoyoro karahama niyahi.*

tee yo-yoro karahama na-yahi

2PL.S DUP-stay only\_do AUX-DIST.IMP.F

‘‘You stay here.’’

(88) *Fito onamabana oke te ati omiti ya.*

fito o-na-ma-habana o-ke tee ati o-miti

rush 1SG.S-AUX-back-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F 2PL.POSS voice 1SG.S-hear.NOM.F

ya

ADJU

‘‘I will come back quickly if I hear your voices.’’

(89) *Tokehimatamonaka.*

to-ka-himata-mona-ka

away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He went into the forest.’

(90) *Toke wafa me karaboematamonaka ahi, fai saki.*

to-ke wafa me

away-go.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O

karaboha-himata-mona-ka

ahi

shoot\_with\_blowgun-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then

fai\_saki

(sound\_of\_blowgun\_dart)

‘He went, and he shot some monkeys, *fai saki*.’

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<sup>6</sup>The second occurrence of the string *wafa me* is a false start.

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (91) *Aaa aaa, wafa kiya kanemetemoneke ahi.*  
 aaa           aaa           wafa           kiya  
 (cry\_of\_pain) (cry\_of\_pain) woolly\_monkey(M) yell  
 ka-na-hemete-mone-ke           ahi  
 COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘“Aaa, aaa.” A female monkey cried out.’
- (92) *Wafa me kayawemetemoneke ahi aa aa aa aa aa aa aa me fora hinaba  
 mati ahi.*  
 wafa                   me   ka-yawa-hemete-mone-ke           ahi  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.S COMMIT-be\_excited-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 aa                   aa  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey)  
 aa                   aa  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey)  
 aa                   aa  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey)  
 aa                   aa                   me  
 (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) (call\_of\_woolly\_monkey) 3PL.O  
 fora                   hi-na-haba   mati ahi  
 shoot\_with\_blowgun OC-AUX-FUT.F 3PL.O then  
 ‘The monkeys got excited. “Aa, aa, aa.” He was going to hit them with  
 darts.’
- (93) *Wafa me fora nematamonaka ahi.*  
 wafa                   me   fora  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun  
 na-himata-mona-ka           ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He shot monkeys with the blowgun.’
- (94) *Wafa me fora ne ya, wafa me fora nematamonaka.*  
 wafa                   me   fora                   ne           ya  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX.NOM.M ADJU  
 wafa                   me   fora  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He shot monkeys with the blowgun.’

- (95) *Wafa me itibase, wafa me foro nemetemoneke.*  
 wafa me iti-base wafa me foro  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O pick\_up-edge.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.S fall  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He was picking up the dead monkeys. The monkeys were falling onto  
 the ground.’
- (96) *Kame kamematamonane.*  
 ka-me ka-ma-himata-mona-ne  
 come-back.M come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He came back.’
- (97) *Kame, Oof te yoro nini?*  
 ka-me oof tee yoro na-ni  
 come-back.M hoo 2PL.S stay AUX-BKG.F  
 ‘He came back. “Hoo, are you still here?”’
- (98) *Ota yoro nini.*  
 otaa yoro na-ni  
 1EX.S stay AUX-BKG.F  
 ‘‘We are still here.’’
- (99) *Yama honarini?*  
 yama hona-ra-ni  
 thing(F) have\_something-NEG-BKG.F  
 ‘‘Aren’t there any dangerous animals?’’
- (100) *Yama honararani.*  
 yama hona-ra-hara-ni  
 thing(F) have\_something-NEG-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘There aren’t any dangerous animals.’’
- (101) *Yama honara ota, yoro nineni.*  
 yama hona-ra otaa yoro na-ne-ni  
 thing(F) have\_something-NEG.F 1EX.S stay AUX-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘There aren’t any dangerous animals, and we are still here.’’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (102) *Yome watare awineke.*  
yomee wata-re awine-ke  
jaguar(M) exist-NEG.M seem.F-DECL.F  
“I guess there isn’t a jaguar.”
- (103) *Yomahi yomahi, yome wehimanaha, kiya tikanene ama tike.*  
yomahi yomahi yomee waa-himanaha kiya  
jaguar(M) jaguar(M) jaguar(M) stand-HYPOTH.M yell  
ti-ka-na-hene ama ti-ke  
2SG.S-COMIT-AUX-IRR.F SEC 2SG.S-DECL.F  
“If there were a jaguar, you would have cried out.”
- (104) *Faya me yama, Hima, bani me e tonakama mata.*  
faya me yama hima bani me ee to-na-ka-ma  
so 3PL thing(F) let’s\_go animal(M) 3PL.O 1IN.S away-CAUS-go-back  
mata  
for\_now  
“Come on, let’s go get the game.”
- (105) *Bani me me tonakama, me ya tabe tokomematamonaka.*  
bani me me to-na-ka-ma me ya tabe  
animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S away-CAUS-go-back.F 3PL ADJU be\_together.M  
to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘They went to get the game. They went with him.’
- (106) *Tokome, tokome wafa me yabematamonaka.*  
to-ka-me to-ka-me wafa me  
away-go-back.M away-go-back.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O  
yaba-himata-mona-ka  
pick\_up-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He went there and picked up the monkeys.’
- (107) *Wafa me wafa me me yabemetemone.*  
wafa me wafa me me  
woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
yaba-hemete-mone  
pick\_up-FP.N.F-REP.F  
‘They picked up the monkeys.’

- (108) *Wafa me me yaba me wafa, fati one me tiwa hikana fati one me tiwa hikana ha me tiwa hikana, me kamemetemoneke.*  
wafa me me yaba me wafa  
woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S pick\_up.F 3PL.S woolly\_monkey(M)  
fati one me tiwa hi-ka-na fati  
3SG.POSS.wife(F) one.F 3PL.O carry OC-COMIT-AUX.LIST 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
one me tiwa hi-ka-na haa me tiwa  
other.F 3PL.O carry OC-COMIT-AUX.LIST DEM 3PL.O carry  
hi-ka-na me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
OC-COMIT-AUX.LIST 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘They picked up the monkeys. His one wife carried some of the monkeys, his other wife carried some of them, and he carried some of them. They came back.’
- (109) *Me kama me, me kamemetemoneke.*  
me ka-ma me me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘They came back.’
- (110) *Me kama me, kobo nama Bani me wete omatibe.*  
me ka-ma me kobo na-ma bani me wete  
3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S arrive AUX-back.F animal(M) 3PL.O tie  
o-mata-be  
1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
‘They came back, and arrived. “I’m going to tie up the monkeys.”’
- (111) *Me te weye nikimibe.*  
me tee weye na-kima-be  
3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX-two-IMMED.F  
‘‘You will carry them.’’
- (112) *Me one weweye kanahirini.*  
me one we-weye ka-na-hira-ni  
3PL other.F DUP-be\_carried COMIT-AUX-NEG.F-BKG.F  
‘‘Aren’t you going to carry any of them?’’
- (113) *Ota ka me tatama rama nahi.*  
otaa ka me ta-tama rama na-hi  
1EX POSS 3PL.S DUP-be\_many not\_much AUX-IMP.F  
‘‘Ours should be less.’’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (114) *Me me hikabarahaba me awine?*  
 me me hi-kaba-ra-haba me awine  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-eat-NEG-FUT.F 3PL.O seem.F  
 ‘‘You are the ones who are going to eat them.’’
- (115) *Bani me wete nematamonaka.*  
 bani me wete na-himata-mona-ka  
 animal(M) 3PL.O tie AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He tied up the animals.’
- (116) *Wafa me wete ne, fati one me weye, fati one me weye, ha, me fama me weye hikana, kame, kame kame kame me kamemetemoneke.*  
 wafa me wete ne fati one me  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O tie AUX.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) one.F 3PL.O  
 weye fati one me weye haa me fama  
 carry.LIST 3SG.POSS.wife(F) other.F 3PL.O carry.LIST DEM 3PL.S be\_two.F  
 me weye hi-ka-na ka-me ka-me ka-me  
 3PL.O carry OC-COMIT-AUX.LIST come-back.M come-back.M come-back.M  
 ka-me me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 come-back.M 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He tied up the monkeys. His one wife carried some, and his other wife carried some, and he carried two. He came back. They came back.’
- (117) *Me kama me, faya mera mera yori ne mera yori nematamonaka fahi wafa me fora ne ya.*  
 me ka-ma me faya mera mera yori ne mera  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S so 3PL.O 3PL.O have\_sex\_with AUX.M 3PL.O  
 yori na-himata-mona-ka fahi wafa  
 have\_sex\_with AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then woolly\_monkey(M)  
 me fora ne ya  
 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX.NOM.M ADJU  
 ‘They came back. He had sex with them where he had shot the monkeys.’
- (118) *Mera yori nematamonaka.*  
 mera yori na-himata-mona-ka  
 3PL.O have\_sex\_with AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He had sex with them.’

- (119) *Hiya, ehene kabateba yama omateya.*  
 hiya ehene kaba-tee-hiba yama  
 come\_on victim\_of.M be\_eaten-HAB-FUT.M make  
 o-mate-ya  
 1SG.S-short\_time.IMP.F-now  
 ‘‘Here, I will make someone whose game will be eaten.’’
- (120) *Faya mera yori ne me yori ni abi ya kamematamona fahi.*  
 faya mera yori ne me yori ni ahabi  
 so 3PL.O have\_sex\_with AUX.M 3PL.S be\_laid AUX.NFIN end.NOM.F  
 ya ka-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 ADJU come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He had sex with them. When the sex with them was over, he came back.’
- (121) *Me kakama me, Hima me te weye nikima, te me yokoa mati.*  
 me ka-ka-ma me hima me tee weye na-kima tee  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S let’s\_go 3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX-two 2PL.O  
 me yokoa mati  
 3PL.S bring\_misfortune\_on.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They came back. ‘‘Come on, you two carry them, the ones who made you suffer.’’
- (122) *Me te kabibeya.*  
 me tee kaba-be-ya  
 3PL.O 2PL.S eat-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘It’s so you can eat them.’’
- (123) *Faya me, yana tone me yana tona me kama me, me kama me kobo namemetemoneke.*  
 faya me yana to-ne me yana to-na me ka-ma me  
 so 3PL start CH-AUX.M 3PL.S start CH-AUX.F 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S  
 me ka-ma me kobo na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S arrive AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He was ready to leave. They were ready to leave. They came back, and arrived back.’

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- (124) *Tiwahiye tokomake fari.*

ti-wahiye                      to-ka-make                      faari  
 2SG.S-hide\_from.M away-go-following that\_one.M  
 ‘The [child] you hid from went away.’<sup>7</sup>

- (125) *Me kama me kokori kokori wafa me tokematamonaka ahi.*

me ka-ma                      me kokori  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
 kokori                                      wafa                                      me  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O  
 toka-himata-mona-ka                                      ahi  
 partially\_burn-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘When they came back, his father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys.’

- (126) *Me toke wafa me toke wafa me, bobi ne wafa me tana, yama niha, tana ya me were hikanemetemoneke ahi.*

me toke                                      wafa                                      me toke  
 3PL.O partially\_burn.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O partially\_burn.M  
 wafa                                      me bobi ne                                      wafa                                      me  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O slit AUX.M woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL  
 tana                                      yama niha                                      tana                                      ya me were  
 roasting\_rack(F) make CAUS.LIST roasting\_rack(F) ADJU 3PL.O throw  
 hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke                                      ahi  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He singed the hair off them. He singed the hair off the monkeys. He cut up the monkeys. He made a roasting rack, too. He threw them onto the rack.’

- (127) *Manakobote me, tafemetemone fahi wafa me, wahati me yoti.*

manakobote me                      tafa-hemete-mone fahi wafa                                      me  
 then                      3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F                      then woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.POSS  
 wahati me                      yoti  
 liver 3PL.POSS intestines.F  
 ‘Then they ate, the monkeys’ livers, their intestines.’

- (128) *Me tafemetemoneke ahi wabori mati.*

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<sup>7</sup>Siko was talking to his wife. She had hid from a child, and the child couldn’t find her and left.

me tafa-hemete-mone-ke ahi wabori mati  
 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL  
 ‘They ate, his brothers-in-law.’

(129) *Faya me tafa me, me tafi abemetemoneke fahi.*

faya me tafa me me tafi ahaba-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S 3PL.S eat.NFIN end-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They ate, and they finished eating.’

(130) *Sina me hisi na, sina me hisi na me amo na me, me amo nemetemoneke.*

sina me hisi na sina me hisi na me amo na  
 snuff(F) 3PL.S sniff AUX.F snuff(F) 3PL.S sniff AUX.F 3PL.S sleep AUX.F  
 me me amo na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They took snuff, and slept.’

(131) *Me amo na me, yana tonaminatase, Aa yama yete onabone oke.*

me amo na me yana to-na-mina-tase aa yama  
 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S start CH-AUX-morning-again.M (pause) thing(F)  
 yete o-na-habone o-ke  
 hunt 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘They slept. He was ready to go again the next morning. “I’m going out hunting.”’

(132) *Yama yete tiyahi.*

yama yete ti-yahi  
 thing(F) hunt 2SG.S-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Go hunting.’’

(133) *Yama tiwahara tini.*

yama ti-awa-hara ti-ni  
 thing(F) 2SG.S-see-IP.E.F 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘You have seen the forest.’’

(134) *Fara e toki ka yama tiwahara tini.*

fara ee to-ki ka yama ti-awa-hara ti-ni  
 same.F 1IN.S away-go.NOM.F which place(F) 2SG.S-see-IP.E.F 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘You have seen where we go.’’

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- (135) *Oko wabo me, oko wabo me ya otababana oke.*  
o-ka                wabo                                me o-ka                wabo  
1SG.POSS-POSS brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL 1SG.POSS-POSS brother\_in\_law(M)  
me ya    o-taba-habana                                o-ke  
3PL ADJU 1SG.S-be\_together-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
“I want my brothers-in-law to go with me.”
- (136) *Wabori me ya tabematamonane wabori mati.*  
wabori    me ya    taba-himata-mona-ne  
3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL ADJU be\_together-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
wabori    mati  
3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL  
‘His brothers-in-law went with him.’
- (137) *Wabori me ya tabe toke, tokematamona.*  
wabori    me ya    tabe                                to-ke  
3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL ADJU be\_together.M away-go.M  
to-ka-himata-mona  
away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘His brothers-in-law went with him as he went out into the forest.’
- (138) *Toke, moni yana tonematamona.*  
to-ke                moni    yana to-na-himata-mona  
away-go.M sound start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘As he went, it started making noise.’
- (139) *Awi amaka.*  
awi    ama-ka  
tapir(M) be-DECL.M  
“It’s a tapir.”
- (140) *Te awaraba nahi.*  
tee    awaraba    na-hi  
2PL.S leave\_something\_alone AUX-IMP.F  
“Be quiet.”
- (141) *Te awaraba nahi.*  
tee    awaraba    na-hi  
2PL.S leave\_something\_alone AUX-IMP.F  
“Be quiet.”

- (142) *Sa okobaya ha owa ta.*  
 saa o-ka-ba-ya haa owa taa  
 shoot\_with\_arrow 1SG.S-COMIT-IMMED.M-NOW DEM 1SG contrast  
 ‘‘I will hit it with an arrow.’’
- (143) *Hibare mata owa te kakatomamatahi.*  
 hibare mata owa tee ka-katoma-mata-hi  
 wait for\_now 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT-look\_at-short\_time-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Wait, watch me.’’
- (144) *Yama tani oha owa awine oke.*  
 yama tani o-ha owa awine o-ke  
 thing(F) killer 1SG.S-be.F 1SG.S seem.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I’m a hunter.’’
- (145) *Awa baka ne wahi me yete hikane, owa wati yori tonematamona.*  
 awa baka ne wahi me yete hi-ka-ne owa  
 wood(F) break AUX.M stand.M 3PL.S hunt OC-COMIT-AUX.M one.M  
 wati yori to-na-himata-mona  
 arrow(M) insert CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘They crept toward it as it stood, breaking twigs. One of them inserted  
 an arrow in his bow.’
- (146) *Hoka kabote nebonaha ra yama nimatamonane.*  
 hoka kabote na-hibona-ha ra yama niha-himata-mona-ne  
 yank quickly AUX-INT.M-DUP O do\_before CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘[His brother-in-law] was going to shoot quickly, but he went first.’
- (147) *Takai wa awi yora kamisematamonaka ahi.*  
 takai\_waa awi yora  
 (sound\_of\_arrow\_hitting) tapir(M) jump  
 ka-misa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 COMIT-up-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘*Takai wa.* The tapir jumped up.’
- (148) *Towakame, soni kerewe rebana.*  
 to-ka-ka-me soni kerewe ra-hibana  
 away-COMIT-go-back.M fall.NFIN be\_slow NEG-FUT.M  
 ‘It went away, hurt, and soon fell.’

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- (149) *Fariboti sa hikane rama ahi.*  
fariboti saa hi-ka-ne rama ahi  
armpit shoot\_with\_arrow OC-COMIT-AUX.M unusual then  
'He hit it right in the armpit with the arrow.'
- (150) *Hima, okatomeba ama tafenoho.*  
hima o-katoma-hiba ama tafa-hino-ho  
let's\_go 1SG.S-damage-FUT.M SEC eat-IP.N.M-DUP  
"Come on, I killed it as it was eating."
- (151) *Hoka karaba omako amane.*  
hoka ka-raba o-mako ama-ne  
yank COMMIT-a\_bit 1SG.S-for\_this\_reason.M SEC-BKG.M  
"I really drew the bow hard on it!"
- (152) *Wati ino foyahari hari, hari ino nokomisamari hari.*  
wati ino foya-haari haari haari ino  
arrow(M) point.M be\_inside-look.M that\_one.M that\_one.M point.M  
noko-misa-ma-haari haari  
point-up-back-IP.E.M that\_one.M  
"The arrow point went inside, and turned up."
- (153) *Wati kote, wabori bete name, Wati, ino fawa tonaka.*  
wati kote wabori bete na-me wati  
arrow(M) piece 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) pull AUX-back.M arrow(M)  
ino fawa to-na-ka  
point.M disappear CH-AUX-DECL.M  
'His brother-in-law pulled out the arrow. "The arrow point stayed in."'
- (154) *Tiwa sa okana, ayata oko sowi foya ama o asima ya.*  
tiwa saa o-ka-na ayata o-ka sowi  
2SG.O shoot\_with\_arrow 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.F near(F) 1SG.POSS-POSS penis  
foya ama o asima ya  
be\_inside.F SEC 1SG.S 2SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) ADJU  
"I hit you with an arrow. My penis went in all the way in your younger sisters."
- (155) *Ati kakasiro raba re ati ama.*  
ati ka-kasiro raba re ati ama  
voice DUP-persist a\_bit NEG.M voice be  
"He is talking naughty."

- (156) *Me, awi me bobi nemetemoneke.*  
 me awi me bobi na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL tapir(M) 3PL.S slit AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They cut up the tapir.’
- (157) *Awī me bobi na awi, watakeno me bobi na awi me weye nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 awi me bobi na awi wataka-hino me bobi na  
 tapir(M) 3PL.S slit AUX.F tapir(M) be\_fatty-IP.N.M 3PL.S slit AUX.F  
 awi me weye na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 tapir(M) 3PL.S carry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They cut up the tapir. They cut up the fat tapir. They carried the tapir.’
- (158) *Haha homa haro.*  
 haaha homa haaro  
 this.F lie\_on\_ground.LIST that\_one.F  
 ‘‘The head will stay here on the ground.’’
- (159) *Haa tati homarama naho.*  
 haa tati homa-rama na-ho  
 DEM head lie\_on\_ground-unusual AUX-IMP.M  
 ‘‘Let its head stay here on the ground.’’
- (160) *Tati okoso hikabeba amane.*  
 tati okoso hi-kaba-hiba ama-ne  
 head 1SG.POSS.mother\_in\_law(F) OC-eat-FUT.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘‘My mother-in-law will eat its head.’’
- (161) *Tati weye tinaho.*  
 tati weye ti-na-ho  
 head carry 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.M  
 ‘‘You carry its head.’’
- (162) *Tati weye oreba ama.*  
 tati weye o-re-hiba ama  
 head carry 1SG.S-raised\_surface-FUT.M SEC  
 ‘‘I will carry its head.’’

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(163) *Owa tiwibeya hiba.*

owa ti-awa-be-ya hiba  
1SG.O 2SG.S-see-IMMED.F-now wait  
“You will see me, wait.”

(164) *Awī tati nemesematamonane.*

awi tati na-meseha-himata-mona-ne  
tapir(M) head CAUS-lie\_on\_top-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘He put the tapir’s head on top of the full basket.’

(165) *Awī me nafi weye nemetemoneke ahi.*

awi me nafi weye na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
tapir(M) 3PL.POSS all carry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
‘They all carried the tapir.’

(166) *Teme kaomarayaho.*

teme ka-homa-ra-yaho  
foot.M COMIT-lie\_on\_ground-NEG-DIST.IMP.M  
“Don’t let the feet stay there on the ground.”

(167) *Teme kabeba amaka.*

teme kaba-hiba ama-ka  
foot.M be\_eaten-FUT.M SEC-DECL.M  
“The feet will be eaten.”

(168) *Teme kabeba amane.*

teme kaba-hiba ama-ne  
foot.M be\_eaten-FUT.M SEC-BKG.M  
“The feet will be eaten.”

(169) *Me, nafi, nafi e towakamaho.*

me nafi nafi ee to-ka-ka-ma-ho  
3PL all all 1IN.S away-COMIT-go-back-DUP  
“Let’s take it all.”

(170) *Me hiwakamematamonaka.*

me hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘They took it.’

- (171) *Me hiwakame, kobo hikaname, Bani me me weye na me kamini.*  
 me hi-ka-ka-me kobo hi-ka-na-me bani me  
 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back.M arrive OC-COMIT-AUX-back.M animal(M) 3PL.O  
 me weye na me ka-ma-ni  
 3PL.S carry AUX.F 3PL.S come-back-BKG.F  
 ‘They brought it, and arrived with it. “They are coming back carrying  
 game.”’
- (172) *Faya, Sawihi ene kakaba tohemate.*  
 faya sawihi ehene ka-kaba to-ha-mate  
 so be\_present.M victim\_of.M DUP-be\_eaten CH-AUX-short\_time.M  
 ‘‘While he is here, we are eating the game he kills.’’
- (173) *Fati naba toniharawe, naba toharawemetemoneke.*  
 fati naba to-niha-rawe naba  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) pregnant CH-CAUS-FPL.M pregnant  
 to-ha-rawa-hemete-mone-ke  
 CH-be-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He had impregnated his wives, they were pregnant.’
- (174) *Me nabati weye ni ya, faya ati yana tonematamona fahi.*  
 me nabati weye ni ya faya ati yana  
 3PL.POSS stomach carry AUX.NOM.F ADJU so voice start  
 to-na-himata-mona fahi  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He spoke to his pregnant wives.’
- (175) *Himata nima te naba te amari?*  
 himata ni-ma tee na-haba tee ama-ri  
 what AUX.NOM-like 2PL.S AUX-FUT.F 2PL.S SEC-CQ.F  
 ‘‘What are you going to do?’’
- (176) *Tera owakamibana?*  
 tera o-ka-ka-mi-bana  
 2PL.O 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back.F-FUT  
 ‘‘Shall I take you away?’’
- (177) *E awarini.*  
 ee awa-ra-ni  
 1IN.S see-NEG-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I don’t know.’’

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- (178) *Te owakamaba hiba.*  
tee o-ka-ka-ma-haba hiba  
2PL.O 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back-FUT.F wait  
“I will take you, wait.”
- (179) *Okomi okomi ati omiti ya, okomi ati omiti ya okomi ati omitami ya okomi  
ati amosi ya, tera onakamabana oke.*  
okomi okomi ati o-miti ya  
1SG.POSS.mother(F) 1SG.POSS.mother(F) voice 1SG.S-hear.NOM.F ADJU  
okomi ati o-miti ya okomi  
1SG.POSS.mother(F) voice 1SG.S-hear.NOM.F ADJU 1SG.POSS.mother(F)  
ati o-mita-mi ya okomi ati  
voice 1SG.S-hear-back.NOM.F ADJU 1SG.POSS.mother(F) voice  
amosi ya tera o-na-ka-ma-habana o-ke  
be\_good.NOM.F ADJU 2PL.O 1SG.S-CAUS-come-back-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
“When I hear what my mother says, when I go there and hear what my  
mother says, if my mother agrees, I will come back to get you.”
- (180) *Tera onakamabana oni.*  
tera o-na-ka-ma-habana o-ni  
2PL.O 1SG.S-CAUS-come-back-FUT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
“I will come back to get you.”
- (181) *Tera onakamaharo, e tokomaro, amo onamiba ama ahi.*  
tera o-na-ka-ma-haaro ee to-ka-ma-haaro amo  
2PL.O 1SG.S-CAUS-come-back-PFUT.F 1IN.S away-go-back-PFUT.F sleep  
o-na-mi-ba ama ahi  
1SG.S-AUX-back.NOM.F-FUT be then  
“When I have come back to get you, and we have gone...I will sleep  
here.”
- (182) *Oko amo ni, owatoahaba owa awine oke.*  
o-ka amo ni o-wato-haba owa awine  
1SG.POSS-POSS sleep AUX.NFIN 1SG.S-know-FUT.F 1SG.S seem.F  
o-ke  
1SG.S-DECL.F  
“I will know what day it will be.”

- (183) *Mate ihaha ihi owasimi ya, ma owahama, onabana oke mata.*  
 matehe ihaha ihi o-wasi-mi ya maa  
 children(F) be\_born.F result\_of.F 1SG.S-find-back.NOM.F ADJU stop  
 o-waha-ma o-na-habana o-ke mata  
 1SG.S-change-back.LIST 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F for\_now  
 “If the babies are growing up when I come back, I will not leave.”
- (184) *Mate fotamisi forima ni ya e tokomawahaba ereke.*  
 matehe fota-misi forima ni ya ee  
 children(F) be\_big-up.NFIN do\_properly AUX.NOM.F ADJU 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ma-waha-haba ere-ke  
 away-go-back-change-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F  
 “When the children are finished growing up, we will leave.”
- (185) *Okomi aate kani forima, onabana oke ahi.*  
 okomi a-ate ka-ni forima  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) DUP-ask COMIT-AUX.NFIN do\_properly  
 o-na-habana o-ke ahi  
 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F then  
 “I will ask my mother properly about it.”
- (186) *Okomi aate kani forima oni ya okobi, okobi aate.*  
 okomi a-ate ka-ni forima  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) DUP-ask COMIT-AUX.NFIN do\_properly  
 o-ni ya okobi okobi  
 1SG.S-AUX.NOM.F ADJU 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 a-ate  
 DUP-ask.LIST  
 “When I ask my mother properly about it, I will also ask my father.”
- (187) *Yama yofinara awineni?*  
 yama yofina-ra awine-ni  
 place(F) cause\_fear-NEG.F seem.F-BKG.F  
 “Is it scary?”
- (188) *Yama yofinara fara nima na ya e naoneke.*  
 yama yofina-ra fara ni-ma na ya ee  
 place(F) cause\_fear-NEG.F same.F AUX.NOM-like AUX.F ADJU 1IN.S

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naho-ne-ke

stay-CONT.F-DECL.F

“It’s not scary, it’s just like where we are now.”

- (189) *Fara nima na ya e naoneni.*

fara ni-ma na ya ee naho-ne-ni

same.F AUX.NOM-like AUX.F ADJU 1IN.S stay-CONT.F-BKG.F

“It’s just like where we are now.”

- (190) *Okoma ahi tasi owitia, okoma ama o ahi.*

o-ka-ma ahi tasi o-witia o-ka-ma ama o

1SG.S-go-back.F there emerge 1SG.S-out.F 1SG.S-come-back.F SEC 1SG.S

ahi

here

“I went out again and came out at another place, and then I came back here.”

- (191) *Okoma ama ahi.*

o-ka-ma ama ahi

1SG.S-come-back.F SEC here

“I came here.”

- (192) *Okomi winineke haro.*

okomi wina-ne-ke haaro

1SG.POSS.mother(F) live-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F

“My mother lives there.”

- (193) *Okomine ahi.*

o-ka-ma-ne ahi

1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F here

“I came back here.”

- (194) *Okoma ama ahi.*

o-ka-ma ama ahi

1SG.S-come-back.F SEC here

“I came here.”

- (195) *Yama yofina awineni.*

yama yofina awine-ni

place(F) cause\_fear.F seem.F-BKG.F

“It’s scary.”

- (196) *Yama owati tokomi nonofa ra.*  
 yama o-ati to-ka-mi no-nofa ra  
 place(F) 1SG.POSS-voice away-go-back.NFIN DUP-want NEG.F  
 “I don’t think I want to go there.”<sup>8</sup>
- (197) *Yama fara nima na ya e naoneni.*  
 yama fara ni-ma na ya ee naho-ne-ni  
 place(F) same.F AUX.NOM-like AUX.F ADJU 1IN.S stay-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “It’s just like where we are now.”
- (198) *Te te awabana.*  
 tee tee awa-habana  
 2PL 2PL.S see-FUT.F  
 “You will see it.”
- (199) *Te awibe.*  
 tee awa-be  
 2PL.S see-IMMED.F  
 “You will see it.”
- (200) *Owati te kasawari.*  
 o-ati tee ka-sawari  
 1SG.POSS-voice 2PL.S COMIT-frustrate.NOM  
 “You don’t believe me.”
- (201) *Fara nima na ya e naoneke.*  
 fara ni-ma na ya ee naho-ne-ke  
 same.F AUX.NOM-like AUX.F ADJU 1IN.S stay-CONT.F-DECL.F  
 “It’s just like where we are now.”
- (202) *Faya yana tonematamonaka.*  
 faya yana to-na-himata-mona-ka  
 so start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was ready to leave.’
- (203) *Yana tonebona, ma nawahame, amo name, inamatewe komene yana neno,  
 inamatewe komene yana ne komene, ehene ma nawahame, faya  
 inamatewe ihe, Maki ama?*

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<sup>8</sup>The word *yama* appears to be a false start.

*B Bahi (Siko)*

yana to-na-hibona maa na-waha-me amo na-me  
start CH-AUX-INT.M stop AUX-change-back.M sleep AUX-back.M  
inamatewe komene yana na-hino inamatewe komene yana ne  
child(M) pain.M start AUX-IP.N.M child(M) pain.M start AUX.M  
komene ehene maa na-waha-me faya inamatewe  
pain.M because\_of.M stop AUX-change-back.M so child(M)  
ihe maki ama  
be\_born.M male(M) be  
'He was ready to leave, but he turned back and slept there. He turned  
back because her labor had started. The baby was born. "Is it a boy?"

(204) *Maki amane.*

maki ama-ne  
male(M) be-BKG.M  
"It's a boy."

(205) *Maki amakenoho.*

maki ama-ke-no-ho  
male(M) be-DECL-IP.N.M-DUP  
"What do you know, it's a boy."

(206) *Ene tikabateba amane.*

ehene ti-kaba-tee-hiba ama-ne  
victim\_of.M 2SG.S-eat-HAB-FUT.M SEC-BKG.M  
"You will eat his game."

(207) *Owa tiwarini?*

owa ti-awa-ra-ni  
1SG.O 2SG.S-see-NEG-BKG.F  
"Didn't you see me?"

(208) *Ene tikabateba amaka.*

ehene ti-kaba-tee-hiba ama-ka  
victim\_of.M 2SG.S-eat-HAB-FUT.M SEC-DECL.M  
"You will eat his game."

(209) *Owa tiwa tike haro bati owa.*

owa ti-awa ti-ke haaro bati owa  
1SG.O 2SG.S-see 2SG.S-DECL.F that\_one.F 3SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG  
"You have seen me, his father."

- (210) *Awī sa okana wafa me fora.*  
 awi saa o-ka-na wafa  
 tapir(M) shoot\_with\_arrow 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.LIST woolly\_monkey(M)  
 me fora  
 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun.LIST  
 ‘‘I have killed a tapir with bow and arrow, and have killed woolly  
 monkeys with a blowgun.’’
- (211) *Faya kamematamonaka.*  
 faya ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 so come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘So he came back.’
- (212) *Faya, ma nawame yama yete nebona toka.*  
 faya maa na-waha-me yama yete na-hibona to-ka  
 so stop AUX-change-back.M thing(F) hunt AUX-INT.M away-go.LIST  
 ‘So he turned back. He went out hunting.’
- (213) *Yama yete omate, hiba.*  
 yama yete o-mate hiba  
 thing(F) hunt 1SG.S-short\_time.IMP.F wait  
 ‘‘I’m going hunting, wait.’’
- (214) *Okatao ihaka.*  
 okatao iha-ka  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) be\_born-DECL.M  
 ‘‘My son has been born.’’
- (215) *Okatao okatao okatao ihare ya tikamariyahi mata.*  
 okatao okatao okatao iha-re  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 1SG.POSS.son(M) 1SG.POSS.son(M) be\_born-NEG.NOM.M  
 ya ti-ka-ma-ra-yahi mata  
 ADJU 2SG.S-go-back-NEG-DIST.IMP.F for\_now  
 ‘‘Since my son hasn’t been born yet, you shouldn’t go now.’’
- (216) *Owa noki tinahi mata.*  
 owa noki ti-na-hi mata  
 1SG.O wait\_for 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F for\_now  
 ‘‘Wait for me.’’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (217) *Ee, tiwa noki onabana o.*  
ee tiwa noki o-na-habana o  
yes 2SG.O wait\_for 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S  
“Yes, I will wait for you.”
- (218) *Inamatewe owa komene yana namakiba amane.*  
inamatewe owa komene yana na-maki-hiba ama-ne  
child(M) other.M pain.M start AUX-following-FUT.M SEC-BKG.M  
“The labor of the other baby will start.”
- (219) *Inamatewe owa ihamaki ya okomabana oke, okomi narabi nima onaba owa.*  
inamatewe owa iha-maki ya o-ka-ma-habana  
child(M) other.M be\_born-following.NOM ADJU 1SG.S-go-back-FUT.F  
o-ke okomi narabi nima  
1SG.S-DECL.F 1SG.POSS.mother(F) ear.F communicate\_to  
o-na-haba owa  
1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S  
“When the other baby is born, I will go to speak to my mother.”
- (220) *Faya yana yana toneba inamatewe owa ihamaki ya, yana tone, yana tone Inamatewe owa ihamake maki amaka.*  
faya yana yana to-na-hiba inamatewe owa  
so start start CH-AUX-FUT.M child(M) other.M  
iha-maki ya yana to-ne yana to-ne  
be\_born-following.NOM ADJU start CH-AUX.M start CH-AUX.M  
inamatewe owa iha-make maki ama-ka  
child(M) other.M be\_born-following male(M) be-DECL.M  
‘He was going to be ready to leave. When the other baby was born, he was ready to leave. “The other baby who was born is a boy.”’
- (221) *Maki me faminekeni.*  
maki me fama-ne-ke-ni  
male(M) 3PL.S be\_two-CONT.F-DECL.F-IP.N.F  
“What do you know, there are two boys.”

- (222) *Okomi narabi nima onamamatibe aso.*  
 okomi narabi nima  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) ear.F communicate\_to  
 o-na-ma-mata-be aso  
 1SG.S-AUX-back-short\_time-IMMED.F mother\_in\_law(F)  
 “I will go and speak to my mother, Mother-in-law.”
- (223) *Aso okomi narabi nima onamamatibe okobi.*  
 aso okomi narabi nima  
 mother\_in\_law(F) 1SG.POSS.mother(F) ear.F communicate\_to  
 o-na-ma-mata-be okobi  
 1SG.S-AUX-back-short\_time-IMMED.F 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 “Mother-in-law, I will go and speak to my mother, and my father.”
- (224) *Faya yana tone, tokomematamonaka.*  
 faya yana to-ne to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 so start CH-AUX.M away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was ready to go, and he went.’
- (225) *Warematamonaka.*  
 waa-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 stay-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He didn’t stay.’
- (226) *Okomabana oke ahi.*  
 o-ka-ma-habana o-ke ahi  
 1SG.S-come-back-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F here  
 “I will come back here.”
- (227) *Okomabana oni.*  
 o-ka-ma-habana o-ni  
 1SG.S-come-back-FUT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I will come back.”
- (228) *Inamatewe bowara namise ya, okomaba owa awine oke.*  
 inamatewe bowara na-mise ya o-ka-ma-haba  
 child(M) nurse\_well AUX-up.NOM.M ADJU 1SG.S-come-back-FUT.F  
 owa awine o-ke  
 1SG.S seem.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “When the baby is nursing well, I will come back.”

B Bahi (Siko)

- (229) *Okomi narabi nima onaharo...*  
 okomi narabi nima o-na-haaro  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) ear.F communicate\_to 1SG.S-AUX-PFUT.F  
 “When I have spoken to my mother...”<sup>9</sup>
- (230) *Faya tokomematamona fahi.*  
 faya to-ka-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 so away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘So he went.’
- (231) *Tokome fawa tosame, Hahi taboro Bahi taboro yofine awane.*  
 to-ka-me fawa to-kosa-me haahi taboro  
 away-go-back.M disappear CH-middle-back.M this\_one.M place.M  
 Bahi taboro yofine awa-ne  
 Bahi(M) place.M cause\_fear.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He went, and disappeared into the forest. “That village of Bahi is scary.”’
- (232) *Osawirabana oni.*  
 o-sawi-ra-habana o-ni  
 1SG.S-be\_present-NEG-FUT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I’m not going along.”
- (233) *Yama fara toamone ati nareka.*  
 yama fara to-ha-hamone ati na-hare-ka  
 place(F) same.F CH-be-REP.F say AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “He said it’s the same as here.”
- (234) *Ati te mitare awane?*  
 ati tee mita-re awa-ne  
 voice 2PL.S hear-NEG.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 “Didn’t you hear what he said?”
- (235) *Yama faramone ya e winineke haro, ati nematamona me ka, ayo ati nematamonaha.*  
 yama fara-mone ya ee wina-ne-ke haaro ati  
 place(F) same.F-REP.F ADJU 1IN.S live-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F say  
 na-himata-mona me ka ayo ati na-himata-mona-ha  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 3PL POSS older\_brother(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 “He said it’s just like the place we live in here,” their older brother said.’

<sup>9</sup>Siko didn’t finish the sentence.

- (236) *E tababa eke hinakasima yori onabana, bisa.*  
 ee taba-haba ee-ke hinakasima  
 1IN.S be\_together-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F)  
 yori o-na-habana bisa  
 have\_sex\_with 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F also  
 ‘‘We will go together, so I can have sex with his younger sister, too.’’
- (237) *Hiba aate oba.*  
 hiba a-ate o-ba  
 wait DUP-ask 1SG.S-IMMED.M  
 ‘‘Wait, I’ll ask him.’’
- (238) *Kamamata.*  
 ka-ma-mata  
 come-back-short\_time  
 ‘‘Let him come back.’’
- (239) *Faya, yana tonebona fawa tosame fawa ne, fawa ne noki hine, me nonoki hie, abariko towitamaki abariko towitamaki abariko towitamaki ne ya, faya tasi namematamona fahi.*  
 faya yana to-na-hibona fawa to-kosa-me fawa ne  
 so start CH-AUX-INT.M disappear CH-middle-back.M disappear AUX.M  
 fawa ne noki hi-ne me no-noki hi-he  
 disappear AUX.M wait\_for OC-AUX.M 3PL.S DUP-wait\_for OC-AUX.M  
 abariko to-ita-maki abariko to-ita-maki  
 moon(M) away-sit-following.LIST moon(M) away-sit-following.LIST  
 abariko to-ita-maki ne ya faya tasi  
 moon(M) away-sit-following.LIST AUX.NOM.M ADJU so emerge  
 na-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He was ready to go, and he disappeared into the forest. He disappeared. He waited for him. They waited for him. After three full moons, he finally appeared again.’
- (240) *Tasi namematamonaka.*  
 tasi na-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 emerge AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He appeared again.’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (241) *Tasi name, Bahi kame Bahi kame.*  
tasi na-me Bahi ka-me Bahi ka-me  
emerge AUX-back.M Bahi(M) come-back.M Bahi(M) come-back.M  
'He appeared again. "Bahi has come back. Bahi has come back."'
- (242) *Faya kame kobo name, Oof, mate, mate yanakeni, haro.*  
faya ka-me kobo na-me oof matehe matehe  
so come-back.M arrive AUX-back.M hoo children(F) children(F)  
yana-ke-ni haaro  
grow-DECL.F-IP.N.F that\_one.F  
'He came back, and arrived. "Hoo, the children have grown."'
- (243) *Mate okihaba ama okanani, na ohite.*  
matehe o-kiha-haba ama o-ka na-hani na  
children(F) 1SG.S-have-FUT.F SEC 1SG.S-DECL AUX-IP.N.F AUX  
o-hi-te  
1SG.S-AUX.NOM.F-RP.N.F  
'"Now I finally have children."'
- (244) *Okatao me owakamabone, okatao me owakamabone me ka aki ati narake.*  
okatao me o-ka-ka-ma-habone okatao me  
1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back-INT.F 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O  
o-ka-ka-ma-habone me ka aki ati  
1SG.S-COMIT-go-back-INT.F 3PL POSS grandmother(F) say  
na-hara-ke  
AUX-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
'"My sons' grandmother said I should take them there."'
- (245) *Himata nima te ribeya?*  
himata ni-ma tee ri-be-ya  
what AUX.NOM-like 2PL.S CQ.F-IMMED.F-now  
'"What are you going to do?"'
- (246) *Owa te abiyoni?*  
owa tee abiyoni  
1SG.O 2PL.S want\_the\_presence\_of-BKG.F  
'"Do you want to stay with me?"'

- (247) *E awara awine.*  
 ee awa-ra awine  
 1IN.S see-NEG.F seem.F  
 “I don’t know.”
- (248) *Bahi yama yofinara awineni?*  
 Bahi yama yofina-ra awine-ni  
 Bahi(M) place(F) cause\_fear-NEG.F seem.F-BKG.F  
 “Bahi, isn’t it scary?”
- (249) *Yama yofinakere.*  
 yama yofina-ke-re  
 place(F) cause\_fear-DECL.F-NEG.F  
 “It’s not scary.”
- (250) *Fara yama ya e nahoneke haro.*  
 fara yama ya ee naho-ne-ke haaro  
 same.F place(F) ADJU 1IN.S stay-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 “It’s the same as where we are now.”
- (251) *Ha nima na awineke.*  
 haa ni-ma na awine-ke  
 DEM AUX.NOM-like AUX.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 “It’s just like here.”
- (252) *Ha nima na awineke haro.*  
 haa ni-ma na awine-ke haaro  
 DEM AUX.NOM-like AUX.F seem.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 “It’s just like here.”
- (253) *Fara fara yama ya e nahoneni.*  
 fara fara yama ya ee naho-ne-ni  
 same.F same.F place(F) ADJU 1IN.S stay-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “It’s just like where we are now.”
- (254) *Bahi bani me tama me awineni?*  
 Bahi bani me tama me awine-ni  
 Bahi(M) animal(M) 3PL.S be\_many.F 3PL.S seem.F-BKG.F  
 “Bahi, is there plenty of game there?”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (255) *Bani me tamaramone ati ne bani fara me toha nineke, fara e wini nima.*  
 bani me tama-ra-hamone ati ne bani fara me  
 animal(M) 3PL.S be\_many-NEG-REP.F say AUX.M animal(M) same.F 3PL.S  
 to-ha na-ne-ke fara ee wini ni-ma  
 CH-be.LIST AUX-CONT.F-DECL.F same.F 1IN.S live.NFIN AUX.NOM-like  
 “She is saying there isn’t much game, but the game there are the same  
 as where we live.”

- (256) *Me yana tona me yana tonabone me, amo nama me amo nama me, Hiba okoso ka, okoso ka bani meba me fora omatibe.*  
 me yana to-na me yana to-na-habone me amo na-ma  
 3PL.S start CH-AUX.F 3PL.S start CH-AUX-INT.F 3PL.S sleep AUX-back.F  
 me amo na-ma me hiba okoso ka  
 3PL.S sleep AUX-back.F 3PL.S wait 1SG.POSS.mother\_in\_law(F) POSS  
 okoso ka bani me-ba me  
 1SG.POSS.mother\_in\_law(F) POSS animal(M) 3PL-FUT 3PL.O  
 fora o-mata-be  
 shoot\_with\_blowgun 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 “They were ready to leave. When they were about ready to leave, they  
 slept there some more. “Wait, I will kill some game for my  
 mother-in-law with my blowgun.”

- (257) *Bani me fora oni ya bani me okoso tabasi hinaba, oka koko me tabasi hinaba mati.*  
 bani me fora o-ni ya bani  
 animal(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun 1SG.S-AUX.NOM.F ADJU animal(M)  
 me okoso tabasi hi-na-haba  
 3PL.O 1SG.POSS.mother\_in\_law(F) roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX-FUT.F  
 o-ka koko me tabasi hi-na-haba  
 1SG.POSS-POSS father\_in\_law(M) 3PL.O roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX-FUT.F  
 mati  
 3PL.O  
 “When I kill game with my blowgun, my mother-in-law and  
 father-in-law will roast them on a rack.”

- (258) *Okoto tiwakamarawibamakoni tiwati ama?*  
 okoto ti-ka-ka-ma-rawa-ba-makoni  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) 2SG.S-COMIT-go-back-FPL-FUT-for\_this\_reason.F

ti-ati ama  
 2SG.POSS-voice be  
 “Are you intending to take my daughters away?”

(259) *Yama yofinara awine?*

yama yofina-ra awine  
 place(F) cause\_fear-NEG.F seem.F  
 “Isn’t it scary there?”

(260) *Koko yama yofinakere.*

koko yama yofina-ke-re  
 father\_in\_law(M) place(F) cause\_fear-DECL.F-NEG.F  
 “Father-in-law, it’s not scary.”

(261) *Fara yama nima yama na ya e naoneke.*

fara yama ni-ma yama na ya ee  
 same.F place(F) AUX.NOM-like place(F) AUX.F ADJU 1IN.S  
 naho-ne-ke  
 stay-CONT.F-DECL.F  
 “It’s the same as the place where we are.”

(262) *Yama fara tohineni.*

yama fara to-ha-ne-ni  
 place(F) same.F CH-be-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “The places are the same.”

(263) *Fara yama tohineni.*

fara yama to-ha-ne-ni  
 same.F place(F) CH-be-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “The places are the same.”

(264) *Fara yama toaha ya e winineke haro.*

fara yama to-haha ya ee wina-ne-ke haaro  
 same.F place(F) CH-be.F ADJU 1IN.S live-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 “It’s the same as the place we’re living.”

(265) *E yana tona e tokomaro, e tokomaro e kobo tonamaro e, tokoma e tokoma e kobo naba ereke.*

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ee yana to-na ee to-ka-ma-haaro ee  
 1IN.S start CH-AUX.F 1IN.S away-go-back-PFUT.F 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ma-haaro ee kobo to-na-ma-haaro ee  
 away-go-back-PFUT.F 1IN.S arrive away-AUX-back-PFUT.F 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ma ee to-ka-ma ee kobo na-haba  
 away-go-back.F 1IN.S away-go-back.F 1IN.S arrive AUX-FUT.F  
 ere-ke  
 1IN.S-DECL.F

“When we are ready to leave, and we go, and we arrive somewhere, we will go and go and will arrive.”

- (266) *E bosa ni ya yama yaboraba awineke.*

ee bosa ni ya yama yabo-ra-haba  
 1IN.S get\_up\_early AUX.NOM.F ADJU thing(F) be\_far-NEG-FUT.F  
 awine-ke  
 seem.F-DECL.F

“If we get up early, it won’t be far.”

- (267) *Ai okoma amo onamiro ka oko yobe ware, e amo naro e bosa naro e tokomaro e tokomaro e kobo naba ereke, ati nematamonaka.*

ahi o-ka-ma amo o-na-mi-ro ka  
 then 1SG.S-go-back.F sleep 1SG.S-AUX-back.NOM.F-RP.E.F which  
 o-ka yobe waa-re ee amo na-haaro  
 1SG.POSS-POSS house(M) stand-raised\_surface 1IN.S sleep AUX-PFUT.F  
 ee bosa na-haaro ee to-ka-ma-haaro ee  
 1IN.S get\_up\_early AUX-PFUT.F 1IN.S away-go-back-PFUT.F 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ma-haaro ee kobo na-haba ere-ke ati  
 away-go-back-PFUT.F 1IN.S arrive AUX-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

“When we have slept in the house I slept in when I went before, when we have gotten up early and gone and gone, we will arrive,” he said.’

- (268) *Bahi ati kakasiro raba re.*

Bahi ati ka-kasiro raba re  
 Bahi(M) voice DUP-persist a\_bit NEG.M

“Bahi really talks.”

- (269) *Kokori, kokori ati mite ati fawa ne, Ee koko oko, oko yibote owakamarawaboneke.*  
 kokori kokori ati mite ati  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) voice hear.M voice  
 fawa ne ee koko o-ka o-ka yibote  
 stop AUX.M yes father\_in\_law(M) 1SG.POSS-POSS 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F)  
 o-ka-ka-ma-rawa-habone-ke  
 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back-FPL-INT.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He listened to his father-in-law, and his father-in-law stopped speaking.  
 “Yes, Father-in-law, I’m going to take my wives there.”’
- (270) *Tiwa tiwa owamabana oke tasa.*  
 tiwa tiwa o-awa-ma-habana o-ke tasa  
 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S-see-back-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F again  
 “I will come back and see you again.”
- (271) *Okoto tiwakamarawa, otaboro amara.*  
 okoto ti-ka-ka-ma-rawa o-taboro  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) 2SG.S-COMIT-go-back-FPL.F 1SG.POSS-place  
 ama-ra  
 be-NEG.F  
 “If you take my daughters to a place that is not my village....”
- (272) *Otaborobisa amake.*  
 o-taboro-bisa ama-ke  
 1SG.POSS-place-also be-DECL.F  
 “It’s my village.”
- (273) *Otaborobisamakoni, oko yibote onakamarawine oke ahi.*  
 o-taboro-bisa-makoni o-ka yibote  
 1SG.POSS-place-also-for\_this\_reason.F 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F)  
 o-na-ka-ma-rawa-ne o-ke ahi  
 1SG.S-CAUS-come-back-FPL-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F here  
 “Because it is my village there, I have come here to get my wives.”
- (274) *Okobi okobi okomi, me tabori amake.*  
 okobi okobi okomi me  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.mother(F) 3PL.POSS  
 tabori ama-ke  
 place.F be-DECL.F  
 “It is my father and mother’s village.”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (275) *Faya mera towakamematamona fahi.*  
faya mera to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona fahi  
so 3PL.O away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
'So he took them away.'
- (276) *Me hiwakama Hine me hiwakami na.*  
me hi-ka-ka-ma hine me hi-ka-ka-mi na  
3PL.O OC-COMIT-go-back.F only 3PL.O OC-COMIT-go-back.NOM.F AUX  
'He took them away. "Let him take them away."'
- (277) *Me ka aki me hiwabone mera towakamane.*  
me ka aki me hi-awa-habone mera  
3PL POSS grandmother(F) 3PL.O OC-see-INT.F 3PL.O  
to-ka-ka-ma-ne  
away-COMIT-go-back.CONT.M-BKG.M  
"He is taking them so their grandmother can see them."
- (278) *Me ahabaraba me awineni.*  
me ahaba-ra-haba me awine-ni  
3PL.S die-NEG-FUT.F 3PL.S seem.F-BKG.F  
"They won't die."
- (279) *Ota kami ya ota kama ota kamari ya ota kamarihi, oko yibote yama awarawi ya yama nofarawa, narawaba amake.*  
otaa ka-mi ya otaa ka-ma otaa  
1EX.S come-back.NOM.F ADJU 1EX.S come-back.LIST 1EX.S  
ka-ma-ri ya otaa ka-ma-rihi o-ka  
come-back-NEG.NOM.F ADJU 1EX.S come-back-NEG.LIST 1SG.POSS-POSS  
yibote yama awa-rawi ya yama nofa-rawa  
wife(F) place(F) see-FPL.NOM.F ADJU place(F) like-FPL.LIST  
na-rawa-haba ama-ke  
AUX-FPL-FUT.F SEC-DECL.F  
"I don't know if we will come back soon or not. I don't know if my wives will like the place when they see it."
- (280) *Faya me, faya me, tokoma me tokoma me amo tonama me tokomamina me, wabori aate nebona wabori aate nebona wabori, Okasima titihaba, titihaba tinahani.*

faya me faya me to-ka-ma me to-ka-ma me amo  
 so 3PL so 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S sleep  
 to-na-ma me to-ka-ma-mina me  
 away-AUX-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back-morning.F 3PL.S  
 wabori a-ate na-hibona  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) DUP-ask AUX-INT.M  
 wabori a-ate na-hibona  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) DUP-ask AUX-INT.M  
 wabori okasima  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F)  
 ti-iti-haba ti-iti-haba ti-na-hani  
 2SG.S-marry-FUT.F 2SG.S-marry-FUT.F 2SG.S-say-IP.N.F  
 ‘So they went. They slept on the way, and went on again in the morning.  
 He wanted to ask his brother-in-law. “You said you wanted to marry my  
 younger sister.”<sup>10</sup>

(281) *Okasima manakonera wa ta tinahabone ona, aya sawibisabana ahi.*

okasima manakone-rawa taa ti-na-habone  
 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) price-FPL give 2SG.S-AUX-INT.F  
 o-na aya sawi-bisa-habana ahi  
 1SG.S-say.F this be\_present-also-FUT.F here  
 “I want you to pay for my sisters to live here.”

(282) *Aa sawirima nahi.*

aa sawi-rima na-hi  
 no be\_present-NEG.IMP.F AUX-IMP.F  
 “No, I don’t want her to live over there.”

(283) *Fara otaboro ya sawi-habanake.*

fara o-taboro ya sawi-habana-ke  
 same.F 1SG.POSS-place ADJU be\_present-FUT.F-DECL.F  
 “I want her to live in my village.”

<sup>10</sup>Non-eyewitness tense is used in the verb *tinahani* not because Bahi wasn’t present when the man made his request, but because he didn’t know he was going to make this request. This is a mirative use of tense (Dixon 2004: 205f).

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (284) *Fara otaboro fara otaboro ya tisawibeya.*  
fara o-taboro fara o-taboro ya  
same.F 1SG.POSS-place same.F 1SG.POSS-place ADJU  
ti-sawi-be-ya  
2SG.S-be\_present-IMMED.F-now  
“You live in my village.”
- (285) *Yama yofina awineke.*  
yama yofina awine-ke  
place(F) cause\_fear.F seem.F-DECL.F  
“It’s scary.”
- (286) *Yama yofinakere.*  
yama yofina-ke-re  
place(F) cause\_fear-DECL.F-NEG.F  
“It’s not scary.”
- (287) *Owati timita fara yama ama haro e yayaka haro.*  
o-ati ti-mita fara yama ama haaro ee  
1SG.POSS-voice 2SG.S-hear.F same.F forest(F) be that\_one.F 1IN.POSS  
ya-yaka haaro  
DUP-walk that\_one.F  
“You heard me, it’s the same forest, for walking.”
- (288) *Fara hawi tohineke haro.*  
fara hawi to-ha-ne-ke haaro  
same.F trail(F) CH-be-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
“It’s the same trails.”
- (289) *Yama tonokomisamone tina amani.*  
yama to-noko-misa-hamone ti-na ama-ni  
thing(F) away-point-up-REP.F 2SG.S-say.F SEC-BKG.F  
“You said the trail goes up.”
- (290) *Yama tonokomisakere.*  
yama to-noko-misa-ke-re  
thing(F) away-point-up-DECL.F-NEG.F  
“It doesn’t go up.”

- (291) *Yama yaka ni amosa aware awane.*  
 yama yaka ni amosa awa-re awa-ne  
 thing(F) walk AUX.NFIN be\_good.F be\_seen-NEG.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 “It’s good to walk there.”
- (292) *Tokoma tokoma tokoma, aya awa wawata na awineke ahi, totokomisama karo.*  
 to-ka-ma to-ka-ma to-ka-ma aya awa wa-wata  
 away-go-back.F away-go-back.F away-go-back.F this tree(F) DUP-stand  
 na awine-ke ahi to-to-ka-misa-ma karo  
 AUX.F seem.F-DECL.F there DUP-away-go-up-back which  
 “The trees are not high, they are like steps.”
- (293) *Awa nemeha towatamisineni.*  
 awa nemeha to-wata-misa-ne-ni  
 tree(F) be\_high.F away-stand-up-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “There are tall trees.”
- (294) *Fara toha awineke.*  
 fara to-ha awine-ke  
 same.F CH-be.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 “It’s the same.”
- (295) *Fara toha awineke.*  
 fara to-ha awine-ke  
 same.F CH-be.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 “It’s the same.”
- (296) *Wete onisamibe.*  
 wete o-na-risa-ma-be  
 return 1SG.S-AUX-down-back-IMMED.F  
 “I will slide back down.”
- (297) *Wete nisame.*  
 wete na-risa-me  
 return AUX-down-back.M  
 “He slides back down.”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (298) *Inamatewe tohe tere ne awane.*  
 inamatewe to-he tere ne awa-ne  
 child(M) CH-be.M crawl AUX.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘He crawls because he is a baby.’’
- (299) *E tere naba watakere.*  
 ee tere na-haba wata-ke-re  
 1IN.S crawl AUX-FUT.F exist-DECL.F-NEG.F  
 ‘‘People don’t crawl.’’
- (300) *Faya, me, tokoma me tokomemetemoneke.*  
 faya me to-ka-ma me to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 so 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They went.’
- (301) *Wabori hinasawimake tokomake, tokomake tokomake me tokoma me tokoma me, tokoma me, kobo nemetemoneke bahi fawa nise ya.*  
 wabori hi-na-sawi-make  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) OC-CAUS-be\_present-following  
 to-ka-make to-ka-make to-ka-make me  
 away-go-following away-go-following away-go-following 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ma me to-ka-ma me to-ka-ma me kobo  
 away-go-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S arrive  
 na-hemete-mone-ke bahi fawa na-rise ya  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F sun(M) disappear AUX-down.NOM.M ADJU  
 ‘His brother-in-law made him go along. They went and went, and arrived at sundown.’
- (302) *Bahi owa, Bahi owa tohawe kamaki, bahi toke ya me kobo na me, me kobo nemetemoneke.*  
 Bahi owa Bahi owa to-ha-wee  
 Bahi(M) brother\_in\_law(M) Bahi(M) brother\_in\_law(M) CH-be-change.M  
 ka-maki bahi to-ke ya me kobo na me  
 come-following.M sun(M) away-go.NOM.M ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX.F 3PL.S  
 me kobo na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S arrive AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He had become Bahi’s brother-in-law. He came. They arrived at sundown.’

- (303) *Me kobo na me, amo na me, faya hinakasima haha ne Asima, asima.*  
 me kobo na me amo na me faya  
 3PL.S arrive AUX.F 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S so  
 hinakasima ha-haa ne asima  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) DUP-call AUX.M younger\_sister(F)  
 asima  
 younger\_sister(F)  
 ‘They arrived. They slept. He called his younger sister. “Sister, Sister.”’
- (304) *Hoo.*  
 hoo  
 huh?  
 ‘‘Huh?’’
- (305) *Asima tikama mata.*  
 asima ti-ka-ma mata  
 younger\_sister(F) 2SG.S-come-back for\_now  
 ‘‘Sister, come here a minute.’’
- (306) *Owati timitibe.*  
 o-ati ti-mita-be  
 1SG.POSS-voice 2SG.S-hear-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘Listen to me.’’
- (307) *Yama tama ona tiwibeya ahi.*  
 yama tama o-na ti-awa-be-ya ahi  
 thing(F) hold\_onto 1SG.S-AUX.F 2SG.S-see-IMMED.F-now here  
 ‘‘Look at what I have in my hand.’’
- (308) *Aya yama okanika tama one haro.*  
 aya yama o-ka-nika tama o-ne haaro  
 this thing(F) 1SG.S-COMIT-buy.F hold\_onto 1SG.S-CONT.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘I am holding something in my hand that I bought.’’
- (309) *Ayo himata amariya?*  
 ayo himata ama-ri-ya  
 older\_brother(M) what be-CQ.F-now  
 ‘‘Brother, what is it?’’

*B Bahi (Siko)*

- (310) *Yama tama ona tiwa ha.*  
yama tama o-na ti-awa haa  
thing(F) hold\_onto 1SG.S-AUX.F 2SG.S-see DEM  
“Look at what I am holding in my hand.”
- (311) *Aabata, okoyo yokana hiwa tama ne ati ama nanoho.*  
aabata okoyo yokana hiwa tama ne  
fat 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) true 3SG.REFL.M hold\_onto AUX.M  
ati ama na-no-ho  
voice be AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
“He is fat. The one my brother is holding looks just like him.”
- (312) *Okoyo hiwa tama ne ati ama nanoho.*  
okoyo hiwa tama ne ati ama  
1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) 3SG.REFL.M hold\_onto AUX.M voice be  
na-no-ho  
AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
“He looks just like my brother.”
- (313) *Ayo hibeke bitemete tama tine tiriya?*  
ayo hibeke bite-mete tama  
older\_brother(M) who.M 3SG.POSS.daughter(F)-FP.N.F hold\_onto  
ti-ne ti-ri-ya  
2SG.S-CONT.F 2SG.S-CQ.F-now  
“Brother, whose daughters’ hands are you holding?”
- (314) *Hibeke bitemete tiyabarawine tiriya?*  
hibeke bite-mete ti-yaba-rawa-ne  
who.M 3SG.POSS.daughter(F)-FP.N.F 2SG.S-marry-FPL-CONT.F  
ti-ri-ya  
2SG.S-CQ.F-now  
“Whose daughters did you marry?”
- (315) *Ino ino owato.*  
ino ino o-wato  
name.M name.M 1SG.S-know  
“I don’t know his name.”

- (316) *Ino omiti onofare amaka.*  
ino o-mita o-nofa-re ama-ka  
name.M 1SG.S-hear 1SG.S-recently-NEG.M SEC-DECL.M  
“I haven’t heard his name.”
- (317) *Ino omiti onofare amane ama.*  
ino o-mita o-nofa-re ama-ne ama  
name.M 1SG.S-hear 1SG.S-recently-NEG.M SEC-BKG.M SEC  
“I haven’t heard his name.”
- (318) *Hiba, ino omitawahebanaka.*  
hiba ino o-mita-waha-hibana-ka  
wait name.M 1SG.S-hear-change-FUT.M-DECL.M  
“Wait, I will hear his name now.”
- (319) *Me owamaboneke.*  
me o-awa-ma-habone-ke  
3PL.O 1SG.S-see-back-INT.F-DECL.F  
“I will go and see them again.”
- (320) *Ayo e famaba ereni?*  
ayo ee fama-haba ere-ni  
older\_brother(M) 1IN.S be\_two-FUT.F 1IN.S-BKG.F  
“Brother, can we go together?”
- (321) *Ee, e famaba ereke.*  
ee ee fama-haba ere-ke  
yes 1IN.S be\_two-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F  
“Yes, we will go together.”
- (322) *Te famibone itarika hari, sowi keye tiwa nari.*  
tee fami-bone ita-ri-ka haari sowi  
2PL.S be\_with.NOM.F-INT.F sit-raised\_surface-DECL.M that\_one.M penis  
keye tiwa na-haari  
have\_an\_erection.NFIN hold AUX-IP.E.M  
“Your partner is sitting there, holding his hard penis.”
- (323) *Asima tika yibotebona amaka.*  
asima ti-ka yibote-bona ama-ka  
younger\_sister(F) 2SG.POSS-POSS husband(M)-INT.M be-DECL.M  
“Sister, he is your future husband.”

*B Bahi (Siko)*

(324) *Ai tisawiba ahi?*

ahi ti-sawi-ba ahi  
there 2SG.S-be\_present.NOM-FUT there  
“Are you going to stay there?”

(325) *E awarini.*

ee awa-ra-ni  
1IN.S see-NEG-BKG.F  
“I don’t know.”

(326) *Osawi osawi ya osawi, osawi okoma fare taboro ya, osawima onahaba.*

o-sawi o-sawi ya o-sawi  
1SG.S-be\_present.NOM 1SG.S-be\_present.NOM ADJU 1SG.S-be\_present.LIST  
o-sawi o-ka-ma fare taboro ya  
1SG.S-be\_present.LIST 1SG.S-go-back.LIST same.M place.M ADJU  
o-sawi-ma o-na-haba  
1SG.S-be\_present-back.LIST 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F  
“I don’t want to go to his village and stay there.”

# C The first corn

## Introduction

The story *The first corn* was told by Siko in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-firstcorn.mp3>.

According to this story, the man who first introduced the various crops that the Jarawaras grow in their gardens, especially corn, became the first Paumari when he subsequently went away. The Paumaris are close neighbors of the Jarawaras on the Purus River, and they speak a somewhat distantly related Arawan language. One of the characters in the story is a grandmother who became the first snake. The origin of body piercing and beating with a switch is connected with the origin of gardening in the story.

## English translation

The story of corn.

“My son, I’m hungry. I’m going to eat some corn,” his father said.

“Father, do you want to eat corn? Okay, where is my machete?”

He went after the corn. He cut down the corn stalks. They carried the corn away. They carried off the corn.

So that they could eat, he went after their upper lips with a blowgun dart, which had been sharpened.

“First one lip is pierced, then the other lip, then their ears and their noses. First this side, then the other side.” He pierced their lips.<sup>1</sup>

“Eat corn. It brought suffering on you. Eat it.”

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<sup>1</sup>Nowadays Jarawaras no longer pierce themselves, but Siko and Yowao had pierced noses, and Okomobi, who is Yowao’s son, remembers seeing the pierced lips of his maternal grandmother Marikina.

*C The first corn*

They roasted the corn on coals.

“It’s not going to be good for me to eat corn [because my mouth hurts].”

They roasted the corn on coals. They ate the corn. They ate. They had been hungry a long time.

They ate, eating the corn.

Then they found manioc. They pulled up the manioc. They ate sweet manioc because of him. The women ate. Their noses hurt.

The one who became the first snake was an old woman.

“Grandma, come here. Eat corn.”

“I should eat corn. I can’t eat corn. You put in my two teeth, blowgun darts. Put in two blowgun darts, to be my teeth. Put in my two teeth.”

She didn’t want to have her lips pierced. So he put in the snake’s two fangs. The snake was ready to leave.

A boy was standing in front of her. “Grandma, give me the corn I said you should try eating.”

She smelled it. *Hss, hss*. “Yum. That thing has a good smell, and it is going to be eaten. It is corn, look at it. It’s corn,” she said.

She grabbed the boy’s hand. She quickly grabbed a switch. She whipped the boy, *boto, boto*.

“*Aya, aya, aya*.”

She whipped the boy. She didn’t eat any corn. She went away and changed into something else.

She didn’t eat corn. She went away. She turned into something else, and stayed at the stream edge. They ate. After he pierced their noses, they ate. After he pierced their upper lips they ate. His son was small.

“Come on, I’ll pierce your lip. You are going to eat corn.”

His little son cried out. He pierced his son’s lip. Also his wife’s. He pierced the lips of all of them, also their noses. He whipped them so they could eat corn. He whipped all of them. He whipped his father, and he whipped his old mother, too. He whipped them, all of them, including the children.

His switches were stuck under the thatch, all in a row.

“Let him whip me. I’m going to eat corn.”

The pain in his upper lip didn't keep him from eating. The plug hurt him [i.e. the plug in his lower lip hit on the wound in his upper lip]. It was hard to stand.

There were no crops before, and he found them. These are the crops. He found bitter manioc, sweet manioc, yams, all the crops. He ate *boka* seeds, so he could find the crops. He also ate wild fruits. He ate all kinds of wild fruits.

Then he set fire to himself [by staying in the garden when they burned it]. Afterwards, he sat in the water, and the *korobo* fish cleaned him off [i.e. they ate the burned flesh]. The *korobo* fish cleaned him off, and he got better.

He came back, and made a house. That's the one who became the first Paumari, my grandfather used to say, my father reported. Paumaris today have pierced lips, too. They still have holes in their lips, their lips are pierced. He pierced their lips. He changed into a Paumari. He set fire to himself.

They lived there a long time. The house was full of people. They ate. They had starch to eat with their *mato* fruits. He changed himself so he could get crops. He changed into something else. He was the one who first found the sweet manioc that we eat. He caused us to suffer. Look at our lips. My grandmother said it hurt. "Pierce your lips [i.e. you try it, and you will see how it hurts]," she said.

They broke off the ears of corn when its leaves were dry. The pole for holding the ears of corn was laid on top of the rafters. He draped the corn on the pole inside the house.

"You eat the bad ears of corn. You toast the kernels from the bad ears in the pan. Eat the bad ears of corn."

His grandmothers toasted the kernels from the bad ears of corn in the pan.

"She is naughty. I thought she was going to eat corn. I put in her teeth, and she left. The snake left when no one was looking, after I put in her teeth." He complained about her.

She never came back. Her grandson complained about her.

They lived there. They ate. They grated manioc. They dug up yams when the leaves dried, because he told them to.

"When you have dug up the yams, and have dug up the *haso* taro, the *yobo* taro, and the *nakafira* taro, eat other things. You keep the seeds. Put the seeds in a container, to plant them."

They dug the crops up. They ate them. They ate. The things they dug up were in a pile, the yams. He dug up yams, that had many tubers.

### C The first corn

He gave names to *kero* yams, *wao* yams, *anabia* yams. “These are *anabia* yams. These are *wao* yams. These are *kero* yams.” He gave names to the yams. “These are *haso* taros. There are the *yobo* taros.”

The things they carried off were in piles, and he gave them names.

“What is that?”

“That is a peach palm. It’s a peach palm. Those are *biri* plantains there. Those are *biri* plantains, *howe* plantains. Those are *kofiti* bananas. Those are *sawa* bananas. Those are *mawara* bananas. Those are *kofiti* bananas.” He was giving names to the crops. “*Kofiti* bananas, *ananika* bananas, that are just this high. Those are *ananika* bananas. Those are *ananika* banana plants, they are not high.”

He was naming the bananas. “Where should we stop [picking bananas]?”

“You pick them. You eat them. You pick them.”

They picked the bananas. They carried the bananas off.

“They will be eaten, all of them. They have a good smell. Those bananas smell good. They are *kofiti* bananas. Those are *nasa* bananas. They are *nasa* bananas.” They picked the bananas. They carried the bananas off. They ate the bananas, their bananas.

They all grated manioc, too, because he told them to.

“You grate manioc, it will be eaten with the game meat. You wait for the others, who went hunting.”

He burned himself up, the one who wouldn’t stay there, the one who became the Paumaris. He became the Paumaris, and he didn’t stay. He went away. He went away, the one who became the Paumaris. His sons, too.

### Glossed text

- (1) *Kimi, kimi, kimi me, kimi, Okatao, okatao ofimini.*  
kimi kimi kimi me kimi okatao okatao  
corn(M) corn(M) corn(M) 3PL corn(M) 1SG.POSS.SON(M) 1SG.POSS.SON(M)  
o-fimi-ni  
1SG.S-be\_hungry-BKG.F  
‘The story of corn. “My son, I’m hungry.”’

- (2) *Kimi, kimi okobibeya, bati ati nematamonaka, bati.*  
 kimi kimi o-kaba-be-ya bati ati  
 corn(M) corn(M) 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.F-now 3SG.POSS.father(M) say  
 na-himata-mona-ka bati  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ‘I’m going to eat some corn,’ his father said.’
- (3) *Bati ati ne, Abi kimi kabinima tini?*  
 bati ati ne abi kimi kaba-nima ti-ni  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) say AUX.M father(M) corn(M) eat-want 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘Father, do you want to eat corn?’’
- (4) *Ee, oka yimawara?*  
 ee o-ka yimawa-ra  
 yes 1SG.POSS-POSS knife(F)-NPQ  
 ‘‘Okay, where is my machete?’’
- (5) *Kimi, kimi wati kane kimi ti ne kimi ti ne kimi me iso nemetemone ahi.*  
 kimi kimi wati ka-ne kimi tii ne  
 corn(M) corn(M) go\_after COMIT-AUX.M corn(M) cut\_through AUX.M  
 kimi tii ne kimi me iso na-hemete-mone  
 corn(M) cut\_through AUX.M corn(M) 3PL.S carry\_off AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘He went after the corn. He cut down the corn stalks. They carried the  
 corn away.’
- (6) *Kimi me iso na me tafabone mera, me tafabone me boni wati  
 kanematamona ahi, sare ya, sare siri na ya ahi.*  
 kimi me iso na me tafa-habone mera me tafa-habone  
 corn(M) 3PL.S carry\_off AUX.F 3PL.S eat-INT.F 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-INT.F  
 me boni wati ka-na-himata-mona ahi  
 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F plan\_against COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 sarehe ya sarehe siri na ya ahi  
 blowgun\_dart(F) ADJU blowgun\_dart(F) be\_scraped AUX.F ADJU then  
 ‘They carried off the corn. So that they could eat, he went after their  
 upper lips with a blowgun dart, which had been sharpened.’

C *The first corn*

- (7) *Aya moto, aya moto, me narabi moto, me witi haro haro, ahi.*  
aya moto aya moto me narabi moto me witi  
this pierce.LIST this pierce.LIST 3PL.POSS ear.F pierce.LIST 3PL.POSS nose  
haaro haaro ahi  
that\_one.F that\_one.F then  
“First one lip is pierced, then the other lip, then their ears and their  
noses.”
- (8) *Ha moto, ha ya moto, ahi.*  
haa moto haa ya moto ahi  
DEM pierce.LIST DEM ADJU pierce.LIST then  
“First this side, then the other side.”
- (9) *Faya me boni moto ne, Kimi te kabahi.*  
faya me boni moto ne kimi tee kaba-hi  
so 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F pierce AUX.M corn(M) 2PL.S eat-IMP.F  
‘He pierced their lips. “Eat corn.”’
- (10) *Tera yoko amane.*  
tera yoko ama-ne  
2PL.O bring\_misfortune\_on.M SEC-BKG.M  
“It brought suffering on you.”
- (11) *Te kabaho.*  
tee kaba-ho  
2PL.S eat-IMP.M  
“Eat it.”
- (12) *Faya me, kimi me yokehemetemone ahi.*  
faya me kimi me yoka-hemete-mone ahi  
so 3PL corn(M) 3PL.S roast\_on\_coals-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
‘They roasted the corn on coals.’
- (13) *Me, oko kimi kabi amosareba ama onihi.*  
me o-ka kimi kabi amosa-ra-hiba ama  
3PL 1SG.POSS-POSS corn(M) be\_eaten.NFIN be\_good-NEG-FUT.M be  
o-ni-hi  
1SG.POSS-IP.N.F-DUP  
“It’s not going to be good for me to eat corn.”

- (14) *Kimi me yoka me kimi me yokemetemoneke.*  
 kimi me yoka me kimi me  
 corn(M) 3PL.S roast\_on\_coals.F 3PL.S corn(M) 3PL.S  
 yoka-hemete-mone-ke  
 roast\_on\_coals-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They roasted the corn on coals.’
- (15) *Kimi me kabehemetemone.*  
 kimi me kaba-hemete-mone  
 corn(M) 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They ate the corn.’
- (16) *Me tafehemetemoneke ahi.*  
 me tafa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They ate.’
- (17) *Me fifimi toa rama ahi.*  
 me fi-fimi to-ha rama ahi  
 3PL.S DUP-be\_hungry CH-AUX.F unusual then  
 ‘They had been hungry a long time.’
- (18) *Me tafa me kimi me kaba, me tafehemetemoneke ahi.*  
 me tafa me kimi me kaba me tafa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S corn(M) 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They ate, eating the corn.’
- (19) *Fowa, fowa me wasiwa fowa me bore nawaha ehene fowa kabe, fowa kabe me kabehemetemoneni.*  
 fowa fowa me wasi-waha fowa me bore  
 manioc(M) manioc(M) 3PL.S find-change.F manioc(M) 3PL.S pull\_out  
 na-waha ehene fowa\_kabe fowa\_kabe me  
 AUX-change.F because\_of.M sweet\_manioc(M) sweet\_manioc(M) 3PL.S  
 kaba-hemete-mone-ni  
 eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘Then they found manioc. They pulled up the manioc. They ate sweet manioc because of him.’

C *The first corn*

- (20) *Faya me fanawi tafehemetemone, witi faori kawaharo.*  
 faya me fanawi tafa-hemete-mone witi fao-ri  
 so 3PL.S woman eat-FP.N.F-REP.F nose hurt-DISTR  
 ka-waha-haaro  
 COMMIT-change-IP.E.F  
 ‘The women ate. Their noses hurt.’
- (21) *Makateba, kirabote, kirabote, kirabote, Aki, aki hiya, tikama.*  
 maka-tee-ba kirabote kirabote kirabote  
 snake(F)-HAB-FUT old\_woman(F) old\_woman(F) old\_woman(F)  
 aki aki hiya ti-ka-ma  
 grandmother(F) grandmother(F) come\_on 2SG.S-come-back  
 ‘The one who became the first snake was an old woman. “Grandma, come here.”’
- (22) *Kimi tikabibeya.*  
 kimi ti-kaba-be-ya  
 corn(M) 2SG.S-eat-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘Eat corn.’’
- (23) *Faya kimi okoba ahi.*  
 faya kimi o-kaba ahi  
 so corn(M) 1SG.S-eat then  
 ‘‘I should eat corn.’’
- (24) *Kimi okobene, owiniba, owiniba yoro tinahi ahi, sare ahi.*  
 kimi o-kaba-hene o-ini-ba o-ini-ba  
 corn(M) 1SG.S-eat-IRR.F 1SG.POSS-tooth.F-FUT 1SG.POSS-tooth.F-FUT  
 yoro ti-na-hi ahi sarehe ahi  
 put\_in\_place 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F then blowgun\_dart(F) then  
 ‘‘I can’t eat corn. You put in my two teeth, blowgun darts.’’
- (25) *Sare yoro tinahi ahi, owinibana.*  
 sarehe yoro ti-na-hi ahi o-ini-bana  
 blowgun\_dart(F) put\_in\_place 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F then 1SG.POSS-tooth.F-FUT  
 ‘‘Put in two blowgun darts, to be my teeth.’’
- (26) *Owiniba yoro tina.*  
 o-ini-ba yoro ti-na  
 1SG.POSS-tooth.F-FUT put\_in\_place 2SG.S-AUX  
 ‘‘Put in my two teeth.’’

- (27) *Boni, boni kayawa, ini ta yoro hinemetemoneke ahi, ini, makatebana, maka.*  
 boni boni ka-yawa ini taa yoro  
 upper\_lip.F upper\_lip.F COMIT-be\_upset.F tooth.F contrast put\_in\_place  
 hi-na-hemete-mone-ke ahi ini maka-tee-bana maka  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then tooth.F snake(F)-HAB-FUT snake(F)  
 ‘She didn’t want to have her lips pierced. So he put in the snake’s two fangs.’
- (28) *Maka, maka yana tonemetemoneni.*  
 maka maka yana to-na-hemete-mone-ni  
 snake(F) snake(F) start CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘The snake was ready to leave.’
- (29) *Inamate wematamona ahi, he nokosi ya.*  
 inamate waa-himata-mona ahi hee nokosi ya  
 child(M) stand-FP.N.M-REP.M there 3SG.POSS in\_front\_of ADJU  
 ‘A boy was standing in front of her.’
- (30) *Aki kimi kakaba tinebona one.*  
 aki kimi ka-kaba ti-na-hibona o-ne  
 grandmother(F) corn(M) DUP-eat 2SG.S-AUX-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M  
 ‘‘Grandma, you should try eating some corn.’’
- (31) *Owa kakakawa tinaho.*  
 owa ka-ka-kawa ti-na-ho  
 1SG.O DUP-COMIT-give\_something\_to 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.M  
 ‘‘Give it to me.’’
- (32) *Mao hisi hinematamona, hss, hss.*  
 maho hisi hi-na-himata-mona hss  
 smell.M sniff OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M (sound\_of\_sniffing)  
 hss  
 (sound\_of\_sniffing)  
 ‘She smelled it. *Hss, hss.*’
- (33) *Nyai, yama mai amosa kabateraweba tiwahi, kimi.*  
 nyai yama mahi amosa kaba-tee-rawa-hiba ti-awa-hi  
 yum thing(F) smell.F be\_good.F be\_eaten-HAB-FPL-FUT.M 2SG.S-see-IMP.F

C The first corn

kimi

corn(M)

“Yum. That thing has a good smell, and it is going to be eaten. It is corn, look at it.”

- (34) *Kimi, kimi amane, kimi ati na inamate, inamate mano wara tona, kokosi, kokosi itikabote na inamate kosi nemetemoneke ahi, boto, boto.*

kimi kimi ama-ne kimi ati na inamate inamate mano  
corn(M) corn(M) be-BKG.M corn(M) say AUX.F child(M) child(M) arm.M  
wara to-na kokosi kokosi iti-kabote na inamate kosi  
grab CH-AUX.F switch(F) switch(F) pick\_up-quickly AUX.F child(M) flail  
na-hemete-mone-ke ahi boto

AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then (sound\_of\_whipping)

boto

(sound\_of\_whipping)

“It’s corn,” she said. She grabbed the boy’s hand. She quickly grabbed a switch. She whipped the boy, *boto, boto.*’

- (35) *Aya, aya, aya, aya, aya inamate kosi na, kimi kabarabana, tokabana, toyatebana.*

aya aya aya  
(expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain)  
aya aya inamate kosi na kimi  
(expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain) child(M) flail AUX.F corn(M)  
kaba-ra-habana to-ka-habana to-hiya-tee-habana  
eat-NEG-FUT.F away-go-FUT.F CH-be\_different-HAB-FUT.F

“*Aya, aya, aya.*” She whipped the boy. She didn’t eat any corn. She went away and changed into something else.’

- (36) *Kimi kabaremetemoneke.*

kimi kaba-ra-hemete-mone-ke  
corn(M) eat-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘She didn’t eat corn.’

- (37) *Tokemetemoneke.*

to-ka-hemete-mone-ke  
away-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘She went away.’

- (38) *Faya tohiyemetemone itineti, fa, fa witi ya.*  
 faya to-hiya-hemete-mone ita-ne-ti faha  
 so CH-be\_different-FP.N.F-REP.F stay-CONT.F-HAB.NOM stream(F)  
 faha witi ya  
 stream(F) edge ADJU  
 ‘She turned into something else, and stayed at the stream edge.’
- (39) *Faya, faya me tafa me me witi moto hina me tafemetemoneke.*  
 faya faya me tafa me me witi moto hi-na me  
 so so 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS nose pierce OC-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 tafa-hemete-mone-ke  
 eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They ate. After he pierced their noses, they ate.’
- (40) *Me tafa me, me boni, me boni moto hina me tafa me, faya biti iisi kabote ne  
 Hiya, tibono moto obe.*  
 me tafa me me boni me boni moto  
 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F pierce  
 hi-na me tafa me faya biti i-isi kabote  
 OC-AUX.F 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S so 3SG.POSS.son(M) DUP-be\_small quickly  
 ne hiya ti-bono moto o-be  
 AUX.M come\_on 2SG.POSS-upper\_lip pierce 1SG.S-IMMED.F  
 ‘They ate. After he pierced their upper lips they ate. His son was small.  
 “Come on, I’ll pierce your lip.”’
- (41) *Kimi tikabibe.*  
 kimi ti-kaba-be  
 corn(M) 2SG.S-eat-IMMED.F  
 “You are going to eat corn.”
- (42) *Biti inamate nafire kiya kanematamonaka.*  
 biti inamate nafi-re kiya  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) child(M) be\_big-NEG.M yell  
 ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘His little son cried out.’

C *The first corn*

- (43) *Biti bono moto ne, fati, fati me nafi, me nafi boni moto nematamona, me witi.*  
 biti bono moto ne fati  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) upper\_lip.M pierce AUX.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
 fati me nafi me nafi boni moto  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) 3PL.POSS all 3PL.POSS all upper\_lip.F pierce  
 na-himata-mona me witi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 3PL.POSS nose  
 ‘He pierced his son’s lip. Also his wife. He pierced the lips of all of them, also their noses.’
- (44) *Kimi me, kimi me kababone mera kosi nematamonaka ahi.*  
 kimi me kimi me kaba-habone mera kosi  
 corn(M) 3PL corn(M) 3PL.S eat-INT.F 3PL.O flail  
 na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He whipped them so they could eat corn.’
- (45) *Me nafi kosi nemata.*  
 me nafi kosi na-himata  
 3PL.POSS all flail AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘He whipped all of them.’
- (46) *Bati kosi, mati, mati bote kosi, mera kosi ne, mera kosi nematamonaka, me nafi, matehe.*  
 bati kosi mati mati bote  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) flail.LIST 3SG.POSS.mother(F) 3SG.POSS.mother(F) old  
 kosi mera kosi ne mera kosi na-himata-mona-ka me  
 flail.LIST 3PL.O flail AUX.M 3PL.O flail AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 3PL.POSS  
 nafi matehe  
 all children(F)  
 ‘He whipped his father, and he whipped his old mother, too. He whipped them. He whipped them, all of them, including the children.’
- (47) *Hinaka kokosi basasa ni tokomemetemone ahi.*  
 hinaka kokosi basa-sa ni to-ka-ma-hemete-mone  
 3SG.POSS switch(F) protrude-DUP AUX.NFIN away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘His switches were stuck under the thatch, all in a row.’

- (48) *Hoo owa kosi neba ama narani.*  
 hoo owa kosi na-hiba ama na-rani  
 whew 1SG.O flail AUX-FUT.M SEC AUX.M-?  
 “Let him whip me.”
- (49) *Kimi okobaba.*  
 kimi o-kaba-ba  
 corn(M) 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.M  
 “I’m going to eat corn.”
- (50) *Kimi okobibe.*  
 kimi o-kaba-be  
 corn(M) 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.F  
 “I’m going to eat corn.”
- (51) *Bono komene hi kare ahi, bono, bono ewene towatowakosa ne ka bono komebana ahi.*  
 bono komene hii ka-re ahi bono  
 upper\_lip.M pain.M be\_affected\_by COMIT-NEG.M then upper\_lip.M  
 bono ewene towa-to-waa-kosa ne ka  
 upper\_lip.M wood.M DUP-CH-stand-middle AUX.NOM.M because  
 bono koma-hibana ahi  
 upper\_lip.M hurt-FUT.M then  
 ‘The pain in his upper lip didn’t keep him from eating. The plug hurt him.’
- (52) *Nawahemetemone amani.*  
 nawaha-hemete-mone ama-ni  
 take\_a\_long\_time-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
 ‘It was hard to stand.’
- (53) *Yama nawahemetemone amani.*  
 yama nawaha-hemete-mone ama-ni  
 thing(F) take\_a\_long\_time-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
 ‘It was hard to stand.’
- (54) *Yamata watari ya yamata wasihimatamonaka.*  
 yamata wata-ri ya yamata wasi-himata-mona-ka  
 crops(F) exist-NEG.NOM.F ADJU crops(F) find-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘There were no crops, and he found them.’

C The first corn

- (55) *Yamata amake.*  
 yamata ama-ke  
 crops(F) be-DECL.F  
 ‘There are crops.’
- (56) *Fowa, fowa kabe, biha, yama nafi wasihimatamonaka.*  
 fowa fowa\_kabe biha yama nafi  
 manioc(M) sweet\_manioc(M) yam(F) thing(F) all  
 wasi-himata-mona-ka  
 find-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He found bitter manioc, sweet manioc, yams, all the crops.’
- (57) *Yama wasihiba, yama wasihiba boka noko yome, awa boni, awa boni yome, awa boni nafi yoyome toematamonaha, hiwa sari kanebana.*  
 yama wasi-hiba yama wasi-hiba boka noko yome  
 thing(F) find-FUT.M thing(F) find-FUT.M tree.sp(M) seed.M swallow.LIST  
 awa boni awa boni yome awa boni nafi yo-yome  
 tree(F) fruit.F tree(F) fruit.F swallow.LIST tree(F) fruit.F all DUP-swallow  
 to-ha-himata-mona-ha hiwa sari ka-na-hibana  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP 3SG.REFL.M burn COMIT-AUX-FUT.M  
 ‘He ate *boka* seeds, so he could find the crops. He also ate wild fruits. He ate all kinds of wild fruits. Then he set fire to himself.’
- (58) *Faya hiwa sari kanematamona fahi.*  
 faya hiwa sari ka-na-himata-mona fahi  
 so 3SG.REFL.M burn COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He set fire to himself.’
- (59) *Faya kakafowa tohe towake kakafowa toahi me nanamosa toemetemone me ama, korobo mati.*  
 faya ka-ka-fowa to-he to-ka-ke  
 so DUP-COMIT-be\_in\_water CH-AUX.M away-COMIT-go.M  
 ka-ka-fowa to-hahi me na-na-amosa  
 DUP-COMIT-be\_in\_water CH-AUX.M 3PL.S DUP-CAUS-be\_good  
 to-ha-hemete-mone me ama korobo mati  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S SEC fish.sp(M) 3PL  
 ‘He sat in the water, and the *korobo* fish cleaned him off.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The relative clause *kakafowa toahi* shows that relative clauses in Jarawara are internally headed (Dixon 2004: 525; Vogel 2022a: 123). This relative clause is the O of the main clause of the sentence, and it has no overt noun head.

- (60) *Korobo me hinamosahi, korobo me nanamosa hie tafime, kame yobe yayama toematamonaha.*  
 korobo me hi-na-amosahi korobo me na-na-amosa  
 fish.sp(M) 3PL.S OC-CAUS-be\_good.M fish.sp(M) 3PL.S DUP-CAUS-be\_good  
 hi-he tafi-me ka-me yobe ya-yama  
 OC-AUX.M get\_well-back.M come-back.M house(M) DUP-make  
 to-ha-himata-mona-ha  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘The *korobo* fish cleaned him off, and he got better. He came back, and made a house.’
- (61) *Efe, efe, efematamona wakari me tohineke, wakari mati, wakari metebana, wakari metebana, wakaritebana okiti aati toematamona okobi aati toemari amane.*  
 efe efe efe-mata-mona wakari me to-ha-ne-ke  
 this.M this.M this.M-FP.N.M-REP.M Paumari(M) 3PL.S CH-be-CONT.F-DECL.F  
 wakari mati wakari me-tee-bana wakari me-tee-bana  
 Paumari(M) 3PL Paumari(M) 3PL-HAB-FUT Paumari(M) 3PL-HAB-FUT  
 wakari-tee-bana okiti a-ati  
 Paumari(M)-HAB-FUT 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) DUP-say  
 to-ha-himata-mona okobi a-ati to-ha-himari  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.E.M  
 ama-ne  
 SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘That’s the one who became the first Paumari, my grandfather used to say, my father reported.’
- (62) *Wakariteba afa me boni moto te me ama faaro.*  
 wakari-tee-ba afa me boni moto tee  
 Paumari(M)-HAB-FUT this.F 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F be\_pierced HAB  
 me ama faaro  
 3PL.POSS SEC that.F  
 ‘Paumaris today have pierced lips, too.’
- (63) *Me boni hoti si tote me amake, me boni moto na mati.*  
 me boni hoti sii to-tee me ama-ke me  
 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F hole.F stand CH-HAB 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL.F 3PL.POSS

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boni moto na mati  
 upper\_lip.F be\_pierced AUX.F 3PL  
 ‘They still have holes in their lips, their lips are pierced.’

(64) *Me boni moto nemata.*

me boni moto na-himata  
 3PL.POSS upper\_lip.F pierce AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘He pierced their lips.’

(65) *Tohiyemata.*

to-hiya-himata  
 CH-be\_different-FP.N.M  
 ‘He changed into something else.’

(66) *Tohiyematamona amane, wakari.*

to-hiya-himata-mona ama-ne wakari  
 CH-be\_different-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M Paumari(M)  
 ‘He changed into a Paumari.’

(67) *Hiwa sari kanematamonaha.*

hiwa sari ka-na-himata-mona-ha  
 3SG.REFL.M burn COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He set fire to himself.’

(68) *Faya me wiwinawa toemetemone fahi, yobe nafi me fawa tonia mati.*

faya me wi-wina-waha to-ha-hemete-mone fahi yobe nafi me  
 so 3PL.S DUP-live-change CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then house(M) all 3PL.S  
 fawa to-niha mati  
 disappear CH-CAUS.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They lived there a long time. The house was full of people.’

(69) *Me tafatafa toemetemone ahi.*

me tafa-tafa to-ha-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S DUP-eat CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They ate.’

(70) *Faya me tatafa toa me mato me kakawi nawaha ahi hoo yama wasihiba hiwa tonahiyemata.*

faya me ta-tafa to-ha me mato me  
 so 3PL.S DUP-eat CH-AUX.F 3PL.S tree.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 ka-kawi na-waha ahi hoo yama wasi-hiba  
 DUP-eat\_with\_something AUX-change.F then whew thing(F) find-FUT.M  
 hiwa to-na-hiya-himata  
 3SG.REFL.M CH-CAUS-be\_different-FP.N.M  
 ‘They ate. They had starch to eat with their *mato* fruits. He changed himself so he could get crops.’

- (71) *Hiwa tonahiyemata yama wasimata ka yama ota kakaba toineni, fowa kabe hari.*

hiwa to-na-hiya-himata yama wasi-himata ka  
 3SG.REFL.M CH-CAUS-be\_different-FP.N.M thing(F) find-FP.N.M which  
 yama otaa ka-kaba to-ha-ne-ni fowa\_kabe  
 thing(F) 1EX.S DUP-eat CH-AUX-CONT.F-BKG.F sweet\_manioc(M)  
 haari  
 that\_one.M

‘He changed into something else. He was the one who first found the sweet manioc that we eat.’

- (72) *Otara yokohimari amane.*

otara yoko-himari ama-ne  
 1EX.O bring\_misfortune\_on-FP.E.M SEC-BKG.M

‘He caused us to suffer.’

- (73) *Otara yokohimari amaka.*

otara yoko-himari ama-ka  
 1EX.O bring\_misfortune\_on-FP.E.M SEC-DECL.M

‘He caused us to suffer.’

- (74) *Ota bono tiwa ha, ota bono.*

otaa bono ti-awa haa otaa bono  
 1EX.POSS upper\_lip 2SG.S-see DEM 1EX.POSS upper\_lip

‘Look at our lips.’

- (75) *Yama komemetemone okaki hinahamaro amake.*

yama koma-hemete-mone okaki hi-na-hamaro  
 thing(F) hurt-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.grandmother(F) OC-say-FP.E.F  
 ama-ke  
 SEC-DECL.F

‘My grandmother said it hurt.’

C The first corn

- (76) *Tibono moto tina.*  
 ti-bono moto ti-na  
 2SG.POSS-upper\_lip pierce 2SG.S-AUX  
 ‘‘Pierce your lips.’’
- (77) *Faya me wiwina toha kimi, kimi botorisahi me baka na me, kimi me baka nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 faya me wi-wina to-ha kimi kimi boto-risahi me baka  
 so 3PL.S DUP-live CH-AUX.F corn(M) corn(M) dry\_up-down.M 3PL.S break  
 na me kimi me baka na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 AUX.F 3PL.S corn(M) 3PL.S break AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They broke off the ears of corn when its leaves were dry.’
- (78) *Kimi me baka na kimi me sako na me, kimi ewene bere niha yobe toro ya kimi bere niha yobe, kimi bere kanihematamonaka ahi.*  
 kimi me baka na kimi me sako na me kimi ewene  
 corn(M) 3PL.S break AUX.F corn(M) 3PL.S tie AUX.F 3PL.S corn(M) wood.M  
 bere niha yobe toro ya kimi bere niha  
 be\_across CAUS.LIST house(M) inside.M ADJU corn(M) be\_across CAUS.LIST  
 yobe kimi bere ka-niha-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 house(M) corn(M) be\_across COMIT-CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The pole for holding the ears of corn was laid on top of the rafters. He draped the corn on the pole inside the house.’
- (79) *Botokori te kabaho.*  
 botokori tee kaba-ho  
 bad\_ear 2PL.S eat-IMP.M  
 ‘‘You eat the bad ears of corn.’’
- (80) *Botokori te rawi ha botokori te kaba naho.*  
 botokori tee rawi haa botokori tee kaba na-ho  
 bad\_ear 2PL.S toast.NOM.F DEM bridge 2PL.S eat.LIST AUX-IMP.M  
 ‘‘You toast the kernels from the bad ears in the pan. Eat the bad ears of corn.’’
- (81) *Faya kimi botokori me rawehemetemoneke, hinakakirawaha ahi.*  
 faya kimi botokori me rawa-hemete-mone-ke  
 so corn(M) bad\_ear 3PL.S toast-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F



C *The first corn*

hi-na faya me wi-wina-waha to-ha-hemete-mone fahi  
 OC-AUX.F so 3PL.S DUP-live-change CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘She didn’t come back. Her grandson complained about her. They lived there.’

- (87) *Me winawa me tafatafa toemetemone.*

me wina-waha me tafa-tafa to-ha-hemete-mone  
 3PL.S live-change.F 3PL.S DUP-eat CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They lived there. They ate.’

- (88) *Fowa me hiti, biha waya nisaha me wi nawaha, ati ehene.*

fowa me hiti biha waya na-risaha me wii  
 manioc(M) 3PL.S grate.LIST yam(F) wilt AUX-down.F 3PL.S dig  
 na-waha ati ehene  
 AUX-change.F voice because\_of.M  
 ‘They grated manioc. They dug up yams when the leaves dried, because he told them to.’

- (89) *Bia te wi na, haso, yobo, nakafira, yama te wi na yama one te kabahi.*

biha tee wii na haso yobo nakafira yama tee wii  
 yam(F) 2PL.S dig AUX.F taro.sp(M) taro.sp(M) taro.sp(F) thing(F) 2PL.S dig  
 na yama one tee kaba-hi  
 AUX.F thing(F) other.F 2PL.S eat-IMP.F  
 ‘‘When you have dug up the yams, and dug up the *haso* taro, the *yobo* taro, and the *nakafira* taro, eat other things.’’

- (90) *Yama noki te nahi.*

yama noki tee na-hi  
 thing(F) seed.F 2PL.S put\_in-IMP.F  
 ‘‘You keep the seeds.’’

- (91) *Noki te, yama wiye ya noki te iharawi ya, noki te koro nabana.*

noki tee yama wiye ya noki tee iha-rawi ya  
 seed.F 2PL thing(F) container.F ADJU seed.F 2PL.S put-FPL.NOM.F ADJU  
 noki tee koro na-habana  
 seed.F 2PL.S plant AUX-FUT.F  
 ‘‘Put the seeds in a container, to plant them.’’

- (92) *Faya yama me wi na yama me kakaba toemetemone fahi.*  
 faya yama me wii na yama me ka-kaba to-ha-hemete-mone  
 so thing(F) 3PL.S dig AUX.F thing(F) 3PL.S DUP-eat CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 fahi  
 then  
 ‘They dug the crops up. They ate them.’
- (93) *Yama me kaba me, me tatafa toemetemoneke waha.*  
 yama me kaba me me ta-tafa to-ha-hemete-mone-ke waha  
 thing(F) 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP-eat CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F NOW  
 ‘They ate them. They ate.’
- (94) *Me tafa me, yama me wi hina ta toremetemoneke ahi, biha habi.*  
 me tafa me yama me wii hi-na taa  
 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S thing(F) 3PL.S dig OC-AUX.F be\_piled\_up  
 to-re-hemete-mone-ke ahi biha habi  
 CH-raised\_surface-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then yam(F) root.F  
 ‘They ate. The things they dug up were in a pile, the yams.’
- (95) *Bia habohabo raba terani yama nemata.*  
 biha habo-habo raba tee-ra-hani yama na-himata  
 yam(F) DUP-have\_tubers a\_bit HAB-NEG-IP.N.F work\_on AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘He dug up yams, that had many tubers.’
- (96) *Biha, bia kero, bia wao, bia, bia anabia, bia ini yabematamonaka.*  
 biha biha\_kero biha\_wao biha biha\_anabia biha  
 yam(F) yam\_variety(F) yam\_variety(F) yam(F) yam\_variety(F) yam(F)  
 ini yaba-himata-mona-ka  
 name.F say-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He gave names to *kero* yams, *wao* yams, *anabia* yams.’
- (97) *Bia, bia anabia amake haro.*  
 biha biha\_anabia ama-ke haaro  
 yam(F) yam\_variety(F) be-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘They are *anabia* yams.’’
- (98) *Bia wao ama ha.*  
 biha\_wao ama haa  
 yam\_variety(F) be DEM  
 ‘‘They are *wao* yams.’’

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- (99) *Biha kero ama haro.*  
 biha\_kero ama haaro  
 yam\_variety(F) be that\_one.F  
 ‘‘They are *kero* yams.’’
- (100) *Bia kero amake haro.*  
 biha\_kero ama-ke haaro  
 yam\_variety(F) be-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘They are *kero* yams.’’
- (101) *Biha ini yabe, bia, haso, haso, haso ama hari, haso.*  
 biha ini yabe biha haso haso haso ama  
 yam(F) name.F say.M yam(F) taro.sp(M) taro.sp(M) taro.sp(M) be  
 haari haso  
 that\_one.M taro.sp(M)  
 ‘He gave names to the yams. ‘‘They are *haso* taros.’’
- (102) *Haso ama ha.*  
 haso ama haa  
 taro.sp(M) be DEM  
 ‘‘They are *haso* taros.’’
- (103) *Hahi yobo amaka hari, yobo.*  
 haahi yobo ama-ka haari yobo  
 this\_one.M taro.sp(M) be-DECL.M that\_one.M taro.sp(M)  
 ‘‘There are the *yobo* taros.’’
- (104) *Yobo ama ha.*  
 yobo ama haa  
 taro.sp(M) be DEM  
 ‘‘They are *yobo* taros.’’
- (105) *Yama me iso hina ta tokanare ini yabematamonane.*  
 yama me iso hi-na taa  
 thing(F) 3PL.S carry\_off OC-AUX.F be\_piled\_up  
 to-ka-na-re ini yaba-himata-mona-ne  
 CH-COMIT-AUX-raised\_surface name.F say-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The things they carried off were in piles, and he gave them names.’

- (106) *Faya yama ini yabe, Himata amari ha?*  
 faya yama ini yabe himata ama-ri haa  
 so thing(F) name.F say.M what be-CQ.F DEM  
 ‘He gave them names. “What is that?”’
- (107) *Yawita amane, yawita.*  
 yawita ama-ne yawita  
 peach\_palm(M) be-BKG.M peach\_palm(M)  
 ‘‘That is a peach palm.’’
- (108) *Yawita ama hari.*  
 yawita ama haari  
 peach\_palm(M) be that\_one.M  
 ‘‘It’s a peach palm.’’
- (109) *Yifari amake haro, yifari biri.*  
 yifari ama-ke haaro yifari\_biri  
 banana(F) be-DECL.F that\_one.F plantain\_variety(F)  
 ‘‘Those are *biri* plantains there.’’
- (110) *Yifari biri ama haro.*  
 yifari\_biri ama haaro  
 plantain\_variety(F) be that\_one.F  
 ‘‘Those are *biri* plantains there.’’
- (111) *Yifari biri, yifari howe, yifari howe ama haro, yifari howe.*  
 yifari\_biri yifari\_howe yifari\_howe ama  
 plantain\_variety(F) plantain\_variety(F) plantain\_variety(F) be  
 haaro yifari\_howe  
 that\_one.F plantain\_variety(F)  
 ‘‘Those are *biri* plantains, *howe* plantains.’’
- (112) *Yifari kofiti, yifari kofiti ama ha.*  
 yifari\_kofiti yifari\_kofiti ama haa  
 banana\_variety(F) banana\_variety(F) be DEM  
 ‘‘Those are *kofiti* bananas.’’
- (113) *Yifari sawa ama ha.*  
 yifari\_sawa ama haa  
 banana\_variety(F) be DEM  
 ‘‘Those are *sawa* bananas.’’

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- (114) *Yifari sawa ama ha.*  
yifari\_sawa ama haa  
banana\_variety(F) be DEM  
“Those are *sawa* bananas.”
- (115) *Yifari mawara amani.*  
yifari\_mawara ama-ni  
banana\_variety(F) be-BKG.F  
“Those are *mawara* bananas.”
- (116) *Yifari mawara ama haro.*  
yifari\_mawara ama haaro  
banana\_variety(F) be that\_one.F  
“Those are *mawara* bananas.”
- (117) *Yifari kofiti amani.*  
yifari\_kofiti ama-ni  
banana\_variety(F) be-BKG.F  
“Those are *kofiti* bananas.”
- (118) *Yama ini yabematamonaka ahi.*  
yama ini yaba-himata-mona-ka ahi  
thing(F) name.F say-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘He was giving names to the crops.’
- (119) *Yama ini yabe ama.*  
yama ini yabe ama  
thing(F) name.F say.M SEC  
‘He was giving names to the crops.’
- (120) *Yifari kofiti, ananika, ananika ama ha, aya wawa naro.*  
yifari\_kofiti ananika ananika ama haa aya  
banana\_variety(F) banana\_variety(F) banana\_variety(F) be DEM this  
wa-waa na-haaro  
DUP-stand AUX-IP.E.F  
“*Kofiti* bananas, *ananika* bananas, that are just this high.”
- (121) *Ananika amake haro.*  
ananika ama-ke haaro  
banana\_variety(F) be-DECL.F that\_one.F  
“Those are *ananika* bananas.”

- (122) *Ananika ama ha, nemeharaharo.*  
 ananika ama haa nemeha-ra-haaro  
 banana\_variety(F) be DEM be\_high-NEG-IP.E.F  
 ‘‘Those are *ananika* banana plants, they are not high.’’
- (123) *Faya yifari ini yabe Hibaka yoharibe?*  
 faya yifari ini yabe hibaka yowa-ri-be  
 so banana(F) name.F say.M where reach-CQ.F-IMMED.F  
 ‘He was naming the bananas. ‘‘Where should we stop?’’
- (124) *Te kayabahi.*  
 tee ka-yaba-hi  
 2PL.S COMIT-take\_out-IMP.F  
 ‘‘You pick them.’’
- (125) *Te yome nibeya.*  
 tee yome na-be-ya  
 2PL.S swallow AUX-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘You eat them.’’
- (126) *Te kayabahi.*  
 tee ka-yaba-hi  
 2PL.S COMIT-take\_out-IMP.F  
 ‘‘You pick them.’’
- (127) *Yifari me kayaba, yifari me iso nawaha, Yome naba amake haro, nafi.*  
 yifari me ka-yaba yifari me iso  
 banana(F) 3PL.S COMIT-take\_out.F banana(F) 3PL.S carry\_off  
 na-waha yome na-haba ama-ke haaro nafi  
 AUX-change.F be\_swallowed AUX-FUT.F SEC-DECL.F that\_one.F all  
 ‘They picked the bananas. They carried the bananas off. ‘‘They will be eaten, all of them.’’
- (128) *Mahi amosake haro.*  
 mahi amosa-ke haaro  
 smell.F be\_good-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘They have a good smell.’’

C The first corn

- (129) *Yifari mai amosa awine faaro.*  
 yifari mahi amosa awine faaro  
 banana(F) smell.F be\_good.F seem.F that.F  
 ‘‘Those bananas smell good.’’
- (130) *Yifari kofiti amani.*  
 yifari\_kofiti ama-ni  
 banana\_variety(F) be-BKG.F  
 ‘‘They are *kofiti* bananas.’’
- (131) *Yifari kofiti amake haro.*  
 yifari\_kofiti ama-ke haaro  
 banana\_variety(F) be-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘They are *kofiti* bananas.’’
- (132) *Haha nasa ama haro, nasa.*  
 haaha nasa ama haaro nasa  
 this.F banana\_variety(F) be that\_one.F banana\_variety(F)  
 ‘‘Those are *nasa* bananas.’’
- (133) *Nasa amake haro.*  
 nasa ama-ke haaro  
 banana\_variety(F) be-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘They are *nasa* bananas.’’
- (134) *Faya, me, yifari me kayaba me, yifari me iso na yifari me yoyome toemetemoneke, me ka yifari.*  
 faya me yifari me ka-yaba me yifari me  
 so 3PL banana(F) 3PL.S COMIT-take\_out.F 3PL.S banana(F) 3PL.S  
 iso na yifari me yo-yome  
 carry\_off AUX.F banana(F) 3PL.S DUP-swallow  
 to-ha-hemete-mone-ke me ka yifari  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL POSS banana(F)  
 ‘They picked the bananas. They carried the bananas off. They ate the bananas, their bananas.’
- (135) *Me nafi fowa me hiti nawaha, ati ehene.*  
 me nafi fowa me hiti na-waha ati ehene  
 3PL.POSS all manioc(M) 3PL.S grate AUX-change.LIST voice because\_of.M  
 ‘They all grated manioc, too, because he told them to.’

- (136) *Fowa te hiti nahi, me tokaha me te noki niba karo, bani me kakawibana.*  
 fowa tee hiti na-hi me to-kaha me tee noki  
 manioc(M) 2PL.S grate AUX-IMP.F 3PL.S away-go.F 3PL.O 2PL.S wait\_for  
 ni-ba karo bani me kakawi-bana  
 AUX.NOM.F-FUT so\_that animal(M) 3PL.POSS starch-FUT  
 ‘‘You grate manioc, it will be eaten with the game meat. You wait for the  
 others, who went hunting.’’
- (137) *Sawimareba, sawimareba hiwa sari kanematamona ama, wakari, wakari  
 me toehibana.*  
 sawi-ma-ra-hiba sawi-ma-ra-hiba hiwa  
 be\_present-back-NEG-FUT.M be\_present-back-NEG-FUT.M 3SG.REFL.M  
 sari ka-na-himata-mona ama wakari wakari me  
 burn COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC Paumari(M) Paumari(M) 3PL.COMPL  
 to-ha-hibana  
 CH-be-FUT.M  
 ‘He burned himself up, the one who wouldn’t stay there, the one who  
 became the Paumaris.’
- (138) *Wakari me toehiba, faya sawimare tokehimatamonaka.*  
 wakari me to-ha-hiba faya sawi-ma-re  
 Paumari(M) 3PL.COMPL CH-be-FUT.M so be\_present-back-NEG.M  
 to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He became the Paumaris, and he didn’t stay. He went away.’
- (139) *Tokehimatamona, wakari me tohati, biti mati.*  
 to-ka-himata-mona wakari me to-ha-ti  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M Paumari(M) 3PL.COMPL CH-be-HAB.NOM  
 biti mati  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL  
 ‘He went away, the one who became the Paumaris. His sons, too.’



# D The old man who went up in the sky

## Introduction

The story *The old man who went up in the sky* was told by Yowao in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-oldmansky.mp3>.

Many of Yowao's stories are about spirits, as this one is. Spirits often turn themselves into animals; in this story they are king vultures. Individual spirits which the Jarawaras contacted had personal names, and a young female spirit's name is recorded in this story.

## English 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?"

*D The old man who went up in the sky*

“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,” he said.

“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. *Fofofofofofof*, 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 slippery, 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* catfish. He brought a barb 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.

It was manioc mash. The pot<sup>1</sup> was full, with manioc mash in the bottom, and boiled fish on top.

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<sup>1</sup>This kind of ceramic pot is shallow, like a large dish.

There are *siraba* fish in the sky. The sky has a side facing down [like a ceramic dish].

“Don’t give food to my grandfather [because it will make him sick]. 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* barb, but his *bahama* barb got lost. He was ready. He opened his wings, and lifted off, and 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* barb 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* barb, 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.”

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“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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Efe ama namata, boko sawi hekamematamonaha.*  
efe ama na-mata boko\_sawi  
this.M be AUX.NOM.M-FP.N.M king\_vulture(M)  
hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ha  
OC-COMIT-COME-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
‘He was the one who a king vulture brought.’
- (2) *Faya awa boni me yoyome nawaha tohemetemoneke fahi awa boni sinari me boto nabone mati.*  
faya awa boni me yo-yome na-waha  
so tree(F) fruit.F 3PL.S DUP-swallow AUX-change  
to-ha-hemete-mone-ke fahi awa boni sina-ri me boto  
CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then tree(F) fruit.F be\_sweet-PN 3PL.S eat  
na-habone mati  
AUX-INT.F 3PL.S  
‘They ate fruits. They ate sweet fruits.’
- (3) *Faya bowi me ka hikane, bowi me ka hikane ra yome nematamonaka me hekanakosahari.*  
faya bowi me kaa hi-ka-ne bowi me kaa  
so tree.sp(M) 3PL.S chop OC-COMIT-AUX.M tree.sp(M) 3PL.S chop  
hi-ka-ne ra yome na-himata-mona-ka me  
OC-COMIT-AUX.M O swallow AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 3PL.S  
hi-ka-kana-kosa-haari  
OC-COMIT-leave-middle-IP.E.M  
‘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 kana mati.*  
 me ye ka-na-waha-hemete-mone bowi me kaa  
 3PL.S yell COMIT-AUX-change-FP.N.F-REP.F tree.sp(M) 3PL.S chop  
 ka-na mati  
 COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They yelled when they cut the *bowi* tree down.’
- (5) *Me ye kawahemetemone ahi.*  
 me ye ka-na-waha-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMIT-AUX-change-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They yelled.’
- (6) *Yee me ati nemetemone me amani ahi.*  
 yee me ati na-hemete-mone me ama-ni ahi  
 yee 3PL.S say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S SEC-BKG.F then  
 ‘They said, “Yee.”’
- (7) *Bowi tokasonematamonane.*  
 bowi to-ka-sona-himata-mona-ne  
 tree.sp(M) CH-COMIT-fall-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The *bowi* tree fell.’
- (8) *Faya me ye kawaha me fanawi ya me taba me boto hinematamona ahi.*  
 faya me ye ka-na-waha me fanawi ya me  
 so 3PL.S yell COMIT-AUX-change.F 3PL.S woman ADJU 3PL.S  
 taba me boto hi-na-himata-mona ahi  
 be\_together.F 3PL.S eat OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘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  
 ‘They ate them.’
- (10) *Me boto hine, Yama boto ni eeto raba ra me boto nine nini.*  
 me boto hi-ne yama boto ni e-eheto raba  
 3PL.S eat OC-AUX.M thing(F) be\_eaten AUX.NFIN DUP-be\_good a\_bit  
 ra me boto na-ne ni-ni  
 NEG.F 3PL.S eat AUX-CONT.F AUX.NOM.F-IP.N.F  
 ‘They ate them. “They are eating fruits that are really good to eat.”’

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- (11) *Yama boto ni eeto raba ra te boto nine nini.*  
yama boto ni e-eheto raba ra tee boto  
thing(F) be\_eaten AUX.NFIN DUP-be\_good a\_bit NEG.F 2PL.S eat  
na-ne ni-ni  
AUX-CONT.F AUX.NOM.F-IP.N.F  
‘‘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  
‘‘You go on ahead.’’
- (13) *Te tai toama.*  
tee tai to-ha-ma  
2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
‘‘You go on ahead.’’
- (14) *Yama boto omatibe.*  
yama boto o-mata-be  
thing(F) eat 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
‘‘I’m going to eat more fruits.’’
- (15) *Yama boto omatibeya.*  
yama boto o-mata-be-ya  
thing(F) eat 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F-now  
‘‘I’m going to eat more fruits.’’
- (16) *Te tai toamahi, hiwa yokohibana.*  
tee tai to-ha-ma-hi hiwa  
2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back-IMP.F 3SG.REFL.M  
yoko-hibana  
bring\_misfortune\_on-FUT.M  
‘‘You go on ahead.’’ He brought misfortune on himself.’
- (17) *Boko sawi amare boko sawi hiwa tonihe hekamematamonane inamati.*  
boko\_sawi ama-re boko\_sawi hiwa to-nihe  
king\_vulture(M) be-NEG.M king\_vulture(M) 3SG.REFL.M CH-CAUS.M  
hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ne inamati  
OC-COMIT-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M spirit(M)  
‘A spirit, who was not a king vulture, turned himself into a vulture, and brought him.’

- (18) *Inamati inamatimatamonaka.*  
 inamati inamati-mata-mona-ka  
 spirit(M) spirit(M)-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was a spirit.’
- (19) *Yama fawa tonakosi ya towitakose bowi yabahari.*  
 yama fawa to-na-kosi ya to-ita-kose bowi  
 thing(F) disappear CH-AUX-middle.NOM.F ADJU CH-sit-middle.M tree.sp(M)  
 yaba-haari  
 pick\_up-IP.E.M  
 ‘After everyone left, he was left alone, picking up the *bowi* fruits.’
- (20) *Yama boto ni eeto raba ra me katoma me tokomine ati nebona ni ya fotokimatamonane.*  
 yama boto ni e-eheto raba ra me katoma  
 thing(F) be\_eaten AUX.NFIN DUP-be\_good a\_bit NEG.F 3PL.S damage.F  
 me to-ka-ma-ne ati na-hibona ni ya  
 3PL.S away-go-back-CONT.F say AUX-INT.M to ADJU  
 foto-ki-himata-mona-ne  
 appear-coming-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He was about to say, “They left lots of good fruits on the ground when they left,” when he came to where he was.’
- (21) *Aa, himata ebe?*  
 aa himata ebe  
 (pause) what purpose  
 “‘What are you doing?’”
- (22) *Himata ebe ori.*  
 himata ebe o-ri  
 what purpose 1SG.S-NEG.NOM.F  
 “‘What do you mean, what am I doing?’”
- (23) *Yama boni me hikatoma boni boto one o.*  
 yama boni me hi-katoma boni boto o-ne o  
 thing(F) fruit.F 3PL.S OC-damage.F fruit.F eat 1SG.S-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 “‘I’m eating the fruits that they knocked on the ground.’”

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- (24) *Yama boni nawahateha te katomine nini.*  
yama boni nawaha-teeha tee katoma-ne  
thing(F) fruit.F take\_a\_long\_time-HAB.F 2PL.S damage-CONT.F  
ni-ni  
AUX.NOM.F-IP.N.F  
“I took a long time to make the fruits, and you destroyed them.”
- (25) *Te katomine nini.*  
tee katoma-ne ni-ni  
2PL.S damage-CONT.F AUX.NOM.F-IP.N.F  
“You destroyed them.”
- (26) *Otaboro tiwamata.*  
o-taboro ti-awa-mata  
1SG.POSS-place 2SG.S-see-short\_time  
“See my place.”
- (27) *Titaboro owa.*  
ti-taboro o-awa  
2SG.POSS-place 1SG.S-see  
“I don’t want to see your place.”
- (28) *E okariya.*  
ee o-ka-ra-yahi  
yell 1SG.S-COMIT-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
“I don’t want to cry out with fear.”
- (29) *E tikaraba tiwa awine tini.*  
ee ti-ka-ra-haba tiwa awine ti-ni  
yell 2SG.S-COMIT-NEG-FUT.F 2SG.S seem.F 2SG.S-BKG.F  
“You won’t cry out.”
- (30) *Fara nima na ya e yoro nine haro.*  
fara ni-ma na ya ee yoro na-ne haaro  
same.F AUX.NOM-like AUX.F ADJU 1IN.S stand AUX-CONT.F that\_one.F  
“It’s the same as where we are standing here.”
- (31) *Owati nabirima tinahi.*  
o-ati naahabiha-rima ti-na-hi  
1SG.POSS-voice kill-NEG.IMP.F 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
“Don’t refuse.”

- (32) *Yama tiwibeya ati nematamonahane.*  
 yama ti-awa-be-ya ati na-himata-mona-ha-ne  
 thing(F) 2SG.S-see-IMMED.F-now say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
 ‘‘You should see it,’’ he said.’
- (33) *Owa tekama, e okobe.*  
 owa ti-ka-ka-ma ee o-ka-be  
 1SG.O 2SG.S-COMIT-go-back yell 1SG.S-COMIT-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘If you take me, I will yell.’’
- (34) *Faya hiwa kayawe ite weye himisematamonaka.*  
 faya hiwa ka-yawe ite weye  
 so 3SG.REFL.M COMIT-be\_upset.M sit.M carry  
 hi-misa-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-up-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He sat there on the ground, refusing. He put him on his back.’
- (35) *Faya weye himisa hikane.*  
 faya weye hi-misa hi-kane  
 so carry OC-up OC-MOOD.M  
 ‘He put him on his back.’
- (36) *Noko totokikima kane ahi yama hoti howa toni ya.*  
 noko to-to-ka-kima kane ahi yama hoti howa  
 eye.M DUP-away-go-two MOOD.M then thing(F) hole.F be\_open  
 to-ni ya  
 CH-AUX.NOM.F ADJU  
 ‘He looked all around. There was a clearing.’
- (37) *Yama hoti howa toni ya yana hikana hikane ahi.*  
 yama hoti howa to-ni ya yana hi-ka-na  
 thing(F) hole.F be\_open CH-AUX.NOM.F ADJU start OC-COMIT-AUX  
 hi-kane ahi  
 OC-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He took off with him in the clearing.’
- (38) *Fo fofoyo fofoyo fofoyo efe moni tokomakane ahi.*  
 Fo\_fofoyo\_fofoyo\_fofoyo efe moni to-ka-ma-kane ahi  
 (sound\_of\_wings) wing.M sound away-go-back-MOOD.M then  
 ‘Fofoyo fofoyo, his wings could be heard as he went off.’

D *The old man who went up in the sky*

- (39) *Iti bote, iti bote forefore nawaharekane fe bari ya.*  
 iti bote iti bote fore-fore  
 grandfather(M) old grandfather(M) old DUP-lie\_on\_top  
 na-wahare-kane fee bari ya  
 AUX-all\_over-MOOD.M 3SG.POSS back ADJU  
 ‘The old man lay on his back.’
- (40) *Iti bote towakamematamona ahi.*  
 iti bote to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona ahi  
 grandfather(M) old away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He took the old man.’
- (41) *Yama fara hoti hotone wanatino yokana ya fe fawa tokowitematamona amaka ahi.*  
 yama fara hoti hotone wana-ti-no yokana ya  
 thing(F) same.F hole.F hole.M be\_attached-HAB.NOM-IP.N.M true ADJU  
 fee fawa to-ka-wite-himata-mona ama-ka ahi  
 3SG.O disappear away-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-DECL.M then  
 ‘He disappeared with him into his hole in the sky.’
- (42) *Me awe me awe isoisori, boko sawi me awe me me nanahori.*  
 me awe me awe iso-iso-ri  
 3PL.POSS wood.F 3PL.POSS wood.F DUP-be\_slippery-DISTR  
 boko\_sawi me awe me me nanahori  
 king\_vulture(M) 3PL.POSS wood.F 3PL 3PL.POSS perch  
 ‘Their perch was very slippery, the perch of the vultures.’
- (43) *Iti tiwitare.*  
 iti ti-ita-re  
 grandfather(M) 2SG.s-sit-raised\_surface  
 ‘‘Grandpa, sit down.’’
- (44) *Tiwitare aya.*  
 ti-ita-ri aya  
 2SG.s-sit-raised\_surface there  
 ‘‘Sit there.’’
- (45) *Ota naori nofi ka yama ama ha.*  
 otaa naho-ri nofi ka yama ama haa  
 1EX.S sit-raised\_surface recently.NOM.F which thing(F) be DEM  
 ‘‘It’s where we sit.’’

- (46) *Awa ama ha.*  
awa ama haa  
wood(F) be 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  
‘He didn’t say anything.’
- (48) *Ati watare noko totokikima ne boko sawi me ati ra mitematamonane.*  
ati wata-re noko to-to-ka-kima ne boko\_sawi  
voice exist-NEG.M eye.M DUP-away-go-two AUX.M king\_vulture(M)  
me ati ra mita-himata-mona-ne  
3PL.POSS voice O hear-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘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 owa te awaraba na.*  
hii\_hii\_hii\_hii boko\_sawi me ati na me aa  
(call\_of\_king\_vulture) king\_vulture(M) 3PL.S say AUX.F 3PL.S (pause)  
owa tee awaraba na  
1SG.O 2PL.S leave\_alone 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  
‘‘They are asking you a question.’’
- (51) *Yama bata homari fa ya? me ati nineni ati nematamonaha fare fe towakamahari.*  
yama bata homa-ri faa ya me ati  
thing(F) be\_rotten.F lie\_on\_ground-NEG.NOM.F that ADJU 3PL.S say  
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  
to-ka-ka-ma-haari  
away-COMIT-go-back-IP.E.M  
‘‘‘Is that something rotten over there?’ they are saying,’’ he said, the one who had taken him.’

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- (52) *Yama homihiri.*  
yama homa-hiri  
thing(F) lie\_on\_ground-NEG.F  
“No.”
- (53) *Yama homihirimonehe.*  
yama homa-hiri-mone-he  
thing(F) lie\_on\_ground-RP.E.M-REP.F-DUP  
“He says no.”
- (54) *Bama me bama me bama mera inamati bobi nemetemonehe, yokohori, yokohori tama hinamebanoho.*  
bahama me bahama me bahama mera inamati bobi  
fish.sp(M) 3PL fish.sp(M) 3PL fish.sp(M) 3PL.O spirit(F) slit  
na-hemete-mone-he yokohori yokohori tama  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP barb barb hold\_onto  
hi-na-ma-hiba-no-ho  
OC-AUX-back-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
‘The female spirit cut up the *bahama* catfish. He brought a barb back.’
- (55) *Mati ha hinemetemone Nemeharaha.*  
mati haa hi-na-hemete-mone Nemeharaha  
3SG.POSS.mother(F) call OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F Nemeharaha(F)  
‘His mother called her, Nemeharaha.’
- (56) *Ini me hihiri hiamaro.*  
ini me hi-hiri hi-ha-hamaro  
name.F 3PL.S DUP-say OC-AUX-FP.E.F  
‘They used to say her name.’
- (57) *Ini Nemeharaha tohineke.*  
ini Nemeharaha to-ha-ne-ke  
name.F Nemeharaha(F) CH-be-CONT.F-DECL.F  
‘Her name was Nemeharaha.’
- (58) *Iti bote tefebona kakiemetemonehe, siraba harorawaha yiwa tebe ya.*  
iti bote tefe-bona ka-ka-ki-hemete-mone-he  
grandfather(M) old food.M-INT.M COMIT-come-coming-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
siraba haro-rawa-ha yiwaha\_tebe ya  
fish.sp(F) be\_boiled-FPL-DUP ceramic\_pot(F) ADJU  
‘She brought food for the old man, *siraba* fish, in a ceramic pot.’

- (59) *Yiwa tebe kiha ra bakorisineni.*  
 yiwaha\_tebe kiha ra bako-risa-ne-ni  
 ceramic\_pot(F) have.F O be\_concave-down-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘There is a ceramic pot in the sky. It [the sky] has a side facing down.’<sup>2</sup>
- (60) *Nemeharaha, Nemeharaha ati nemetemone.*  
 Nemeharaha Nemeharaha ati na-hemete-mone  
 Nemeharaha(F) Nemeharaha(F) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘“Nemeharaha, Nemeharaha,” she said.’
- (61) *Haa ati nemetemonehe.*  
 haa ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 huh? say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘“What?” she said.’
- (62) *Iti bote tinatafahi.*  
 iti bote ti-na-tafa-hi  
 grandfather(M) old 2SG.S-CAUS-eat-IMP.F  
 ‘“Give some food to the old man.”’
- (63) *Fimimako kakene ati nemetemonehe.*  
 fimi-mako ka-ke-ne ati  
 be\_hungry-for\_this\_reason.M come-coming.CONT.M-BKG.M say  
 na-hemete-mone-he  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘“He came here because he is hungry,” she said.’
- (64) *Iyawa iyawa iyawamete awineke.*  
 iyawa iyawa iyawa-mete awine-ke  
 grated\_mash(F) grated\_mash(F) grated\_mash(F)-FP.N.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘It was manioc mash.’<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The morpheme *ra* is not actually an object marker in this sentence, since the verb is intransitive. According to Bibiri, *kiha ra* (or *kihara*) is the same as *kihaha*; that is, it is marked as having feminine agreement.

<sup>3</sup>This sentence does not have a verb, which is not that uncommon; but it also has the secondary verb *awine*, which is normally only found with verbs. There is a similar sentence in Text H, example (60).

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- (65) *Iyawa ya aba me haro yowamisemetemone sirabarawaha.*  
iyawa ya aba me haro  
grated\_mash(F) ADJU fish(M) 3PL.S be\_boiled.NFIN  
yowa-misa-hemete-mone siraba-rawa-ha  
reach-up-FP.N.F-REP.F fish.sp(F)-FPL-DUP  
'The pot was full, with manioc mash in the bottom, and boiled fish on top.'
- (66) *Siraba kiha ra bakorisineni.*  
siraba kiha ra bako-risa-ne-ni  
fish.sp(F) have.F O be\_concave-down-CONT.F-BKG.F  
'There are *siraba* fish in the sky. The sky has a side facing down.'
- (67) *Okiti te natafariya.*  
okiti tee na-tafa-ra-yahi  
1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) 2PL.S CAUS-eat-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
'Don't give food to my grandfather.'
- (68) *Aba me okobabanani.*  
aba me o-kaba-habana-ni  
fish(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F-BKG.F  
'I will eat the fish.'
- (69) *Okiti tafaharene.*  
okiti tafa-hare-ne  
1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) eat-IP.E.M-BKG.M  
'My grandfather has eaten.'
- (70) *Te tefe okobene.*  
tee tefe o-kaba-hene  
2PL.POSS food 1SG.S-eat-IRR.F  
'I won't eat your food.'
- (71) *Te tefe hine nani iti bote ati nabisematamona.*  
tee tefe hine naa-hani iti bote ati  
2PL.POSS food only exist-IP.N.F grandfather(M) old say  
na-bisa-himata-mona  
AUX-also-FP.N.M-REP.M  
'Let your food be,' the old man said.'

- (72) *Otafara o.*  
o-tafa-hara o  
1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F 1SG.S  
‘‘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-IRR.F  
‘He ate her food.’
- (74) *Tafe hikaba yiwa towakamematamona ahi.*  
tafe hi-kaba yiwaha to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona ahi  
food.F OC-eat.F pot(F) away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He ate her food, and then took the pot back.’
- (75) *Aba me ota kabahara.*  
aba me otaa kaba-hara  
fish(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S eat-IP.E.F  
‘‘We ate the fish.’’
- (76) *Aba me ota kabaharani.*  
aba me otaa kaba-hara-ni  
fish(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S eat-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
‘‘We ate the fish.’’
- (77) *Ota towakamibana ati nematamonaha.*  
otaa to-ka-ka-mi-bana ati na-himata-mona-ha  
1EX.S away-COMIT-go-back.F-FUT say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
‘‘We are going,’’ he said.’
- (78) *Te towakama.*  
tee to-ka-ka-ma  
2PL.S away-COMIT-go-back  
‘‘Go ahead.’’
- (79) *Tekamaho.*  
ti-ka-ka-ma-ho  
2SG.S-COMIT-go-back-IMP.M  
‘‘Take him.’’

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- (80) *Yama, awa isoiso raba ra iti bote habo sisi tori kane ahi.*  
 yama awa iso-iso raba ra iti bote  
 thing(F) wood(F) DUP-be\_slippery a\_bit NEG.F grandfather(M) old  
 habo si-sii to-ri kane ahi  
 courage.M DUP-stand CH-right\_away MOOD.M then  
 ‘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(M) grandfather(M) 2SG.O carry 1SG.S-AUX-back-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘Grandfather, I will put you on my back again.’’
- (82) *Tiwa owakama ama oni.*  
 tiwa o-ka-ka-ma ama o-ni  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back SEC 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I am taking you home.’’
- (83) *Faya hekamematamona fahi.*  
 faya hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 so OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘So he took him back.’
- (84) *Oko kanamo mowari tama kani tikitiya.*  
 o-ka kanamo mowari tama ka-ni  
 1SG.POSS-POSS armband(F) cotton hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.NFIN  
 ti-kita-yahi  
 2SG.S-be\_strong-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Hold on tightly to my armbands.’’
- (85) *Tinoko amo kawi niyahi.*  
 ti-noko amo ka-wi na-yahi  
 2SG.POSS-eye sleep COMIT-steadily AUX-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Keep your eyes closed.’’
- (86) *Era wati okini.*  
 era wati o-ka-ni  
 1IN.O plan\_against 1SG.S-COMIT-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I’m about to take off.’’

- (87) *Era wati okini ati ne ya bama yokohori tama hinaka bama yokohori fawa nebanoho.*  
 era wati o-ka-ni ati ne ya bahama  
 1IN.O plan\_against 1SG.S-COMIT-BKG.F say AUX.NOM.M ADJU fish.sp(M)  
 yokohori tama hinaka bahama yokohori fawa  
 barb hold\_onto.LIST 3SG.POSS fish.sp(M) barb disappear  
 na-hiba-no-ho  
 AUX-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘‘I’m about to take off,’’ he said. He was carrying the *bahama* barb, but his *bahama* barb got lost.’
- (88) *Faya yana tonematamona ahi.*  
 faya yana to-na-himata-mona ahi  
 so start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He was ready.’
- (89) *Boto ooo ooo kisamakane ahi.*  
 boto ooo ooo  
 (sound\_of\_opening\_wings) (sound\_of\_lifting\_off) (sound\_of\_lifting\_off)  
 ka-risa-ma-kane ahi  
 come-down-back-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He opened his wings, and lifted off, and came down.’
- (90) *Iti bote katomematamona ino amane ahi.*  
 iti bote katoma-himata-mona ino ama-ne ahi  
 grandfather(M) old attack-FP.N.M-REP.M name.M be-BKG.M then  
 ‘He came down fast with the old man.’
- (91) *Tamine amane.*  
 tamine ama-ne  
 news\_about be-BKG.M  
 ‘It’s the story about him.’
- (92) *Hoo.*  
 hoo  
 whew  
 ‘‘Whew.’’

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- (93) *Iti bote, iti bote tosawitematamona amane ahi me bao hikanisahari ahi.*  
iti bote iti bote to-sona-wite-himata-mona  
grandfather(M) old grandfather(M) old away-fall-out-FP.N.M-REP.M  
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  
'The old man fell when he landed with him.'
- (94) *Towawawitekane ahi.*  
to-waa-waha-witi-kane ahi  
away-stand-change-out-MOOD.M then  
'He turned around and faced him.'
- (95) *Iti bote tohomakosakane ahi ehene.*  
iti bote to-homa-kosa-kane ahi  
grandfather(M) old CH-lie\_on\_ground-middle-MOOD.M then  
ehene  
because\_of.M  
'The old man lay on the ground because of him.'
- (96) *Hasihasi kanakane ahi.*  
hasi-hasi ka-na-kane ahi  
DUP-breathe COMIT-AUX-MOOD.M then  
'He was out of breath.'
- (97) *Faya kamakimatamona amane.*  
faya ka-maki-himata-mona ama-ne  
so come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
'He came home.'
- (98) *Kamakimatamonaka.*  
ka-maki-himata-mona-ka  
come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He came home.'
- (99) *Tokomematamonaka fari fe katomari.*  
to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka faari fee katoma-haari  
away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M that\_one.M 3SG.O attack-IP.E.M  
'The one who had been rough with him went away.'

- (100) *Owa e niwahi.*  
owa ee niha-wahi  
1SG.O yell CAUS-change.NOM.F  
‘‘He scared me.’’
- (101) *Owa e nibisi.*  
owa ee niha-bisi  
1SG.O yell CAUS-also.NOM.F  
‘‘He scared me, too.’’
- (102) *Owa e nibisi ati kane ahi fe katomari.*  
owa ee niha-bisi ati kane ahi fee katoma-haari  
1SG.O yell CAUS-also.NOM.F say MOOD.M then 3SG.O attack-IP.E.M  
‘‘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 ne  
1SG.POSS-POSS fish.sp(M) barb disappear AUX.M  
‘‘My *bahama* barb got lost.’’
- (104) *Oko bama yokohori fawa ne ati nematamonahane.*  
o-ka bahama yokohori fawa ne ati  
1SG.POSS-POSS fish.sp(M) barb disappear AUX.M say  
na-himata-mona-ha-ne  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
‘‘My *bahama* barb got lost,’’ he said.’
- (105) *Hoo okomakibone.*  
hoo o-ka-maki-bone  
whew 1SG.s-go-following.NOM-INT.F  
‘‘Whew, I’m going home.’’
- (106) *Ee tikamakiya.*  
ee ti-ka-maki-yahi  
yes 2SG.s-go-following-DIST.IMP.F  
‘‘All right, go home.’’
- (107) *Tokomawahematamonaha.*  
to-ka-ma-waha-himata-mona-ha  
away-go-back-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
‘He went away.’

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- (108) *Tokomematamonaka ahi.*  
to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka ahi  
away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘He went away.’
- (109) *Iti bote towakamakimatamonahane me hikatomahari.*  
iti bote  
grandfather(M) old  
to-ka-ka-maki-himata-mona-ha-ne me  
away-COMIT-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M 3PL.S  
hi-katoma-haari  
OC-attack-IP.E.M  
‘The old man went home. He had been treated rough.’
- (110) *Iti bote towakamaki Hoo, awa boni te ka kanani owa yokoha okomakine o.*  
iti bote to-ka-ka-maki hoo awa boni  
grandfather(M) old away-COMIT-go-following.M whew tree(F) fruit.F  
tee kaa ka-na-hani owa yokoha  
2PL.S chop COMIT-AUX-IP.N.F 1SG.O bring\_misfortune\_on.F  
o-ka-maki-ne o  
1SG.S-come-following-CONT.F 1SG.S  
‘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 katome to-ka-me ahi  
spirit(M) 1SG.O attack.M away-go-back.NOM.M there  
‘“The spirit was rough with me, and he has gone away.”’
- (112) *Bama yokohori te awebona one yokohori fawa ne, bowi owa yokohiba te ka kanani te.*  
bahama yokohori tee awa-hibona o-ne yokohori fawa  
fish.sp(M) barb 2PL.S see-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M barb disappear  
ne bowi owa yoko-hiba tee kaa  
AUX.M tree.sp(M) 1SG.O bring\_misfortune\_on-FUT.M 2PL.S chop  
ka-na-hani tee  
COMIT-AUX-IP.N.F 2PL.S  
‘“I wanted you to see the *bahama* barb, but it got lost, after you cut down the *bowi* tree that caused 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  
 ‘Then they criticized him.’
- (114) *Tiomakosi toe tira inamati tiwa towakamawa nanoho.*  
 ti-homa-kosa to-ha ti-ra inamati tiwa  
 2SG.S-lie\_on\_ground-middle CH-AUX 2SG.S-NEG.F spirit(M) 2SG.O  
 to-ka-ka-ma-waha na-no-ho  
 away-COMIT-go-back-change.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘‘You were left lying on the ground by yourself, and the spirit took you  
 away.’’
- (115) *Okomakeabone yana onara oni.*  
 o-ka-make-habone yana o-na-hara o-ni  
 1SG.S-come-following-INT.F start 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I was about to come back.’’
- (116) *Yana ona inamati owa bata kanarene ati kane.*  
 yana o-na inamati owa bata ka-na-hare-ne ati  
 start 1SG.S-say.F spirit(M) 1SG.O surprise COMIT-AUX-IP.E.M-BKG.M say  
 kane  
 MOOD.M  
 ‘‘I was ready, and then the spirit surprised me,’’ he said.’
- (117) *Hiyara, hiyara kaminamaki hiyarematamonahane.*  
 hiyara hiyara kamina-maki hiyara-himata-mona-ha-ne  
 story(F) story(F) tell-following.M speak-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
 ‘He spoke, telling the story after coming back.’
- (118) *Siraba haro me fanawi kakini.*  
 siraba haro me fanawi ka-ka-ki-ni  
 fish.sp(F) be\_boiled.NFIN 3PL.S woman COMIT-come-coming-BKG.F  
 ‘‘The women brought boiled *siraba* fish.’’
- (119) *Siraba haro okobabone, inamati owa kayawe owa katomawaha.*  
 siraba haro o-kaba-habone inamati owa  
 fish.sp(F) be\_boiled.NFIN 1SG.S-eat-INT.F spirit(M) 1SG.O

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ka-yawe                      owa katoma-waha  
COMIT-be\_upset.M 1SG.O attack-change.CONT.M

“The spirit wouldn’t let me eat the boiled *siraba* fish. He was rough with me.”

- (120) *Siraba haro yowamisarawaharani yiwa tebe ya ati nematamonahane.*  
siraba haro                      yowa-misa-rawa-hara-ni yiwaha\_tebe ya  
fish.sp(F) be\_boiled.NFIN reach-up-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F ceramic\_pot(F) ADJU  
ati na-himata-mona-ha-ne  
say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M

“The boiled *siraba* fish filled the pot,” he said.’

# E The hungry old man

## Introduction

The story *The hungry old man* was told by Siko in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-hungryman.mp3>.

An old man was left alone to take care of his three grandsons, and he was so hungry that he killed the two smaller grandsons and roasted them and ate them. The older grandson ran away to his parents and told them what happened. When they got back, the man's daughter complained, but her husband didn't say anything. The man's son, who had been out hunting, also returned. When he also complained, the man went for his spear, but his son broke it in pieces. Finally the man's son-in-law offered the man a piece of meat on which he had put a spell, and the old man died after eating it.

## English translation

The old man was hungry lying in his hammock. The children were crying. The boy was this big. There were two younger brothers and their older brother. There were three of them.

"Father, my sons are there. You toast some manioc mash for my sons. There is manioc mash there in the pot. Toast some manioc mash for my sons. Feed them. I'm going to go get my bananas, to be food for my sons."

She went with her husband. Her older brother also went out hunting in the forest. "Younger sister, you come back quickly. I'm going hunting. I'm going to shoot animals with my blowgun."

"Older brother, come back quickly."

"I will not be long in coming back, if I kill an animal with my blowgun," he said.

They went to the garden. They went, and arrived. They got the bananas, also pineapples, ripe bananas. They started back.

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The old man was lying in his hammock. He spoke as he lay in his hammock. He picked up a spear. "Take your baths quickly. You go on ahead. You take your baths."

He got a pot and a knife. His grandsons went.

"The two of you go upstream. Go upstream, then turn around and come back downstream here. I will stand here."

His spear was against a tree. They came back downstream.

"One of you carry the other and come downstream in the water."

They came downstream in the water. They came downstream, and he speared both of them with the spear. They died where they were. Their older brother, who was big, jumped and went running away. He went running to their parents.

Then he cut them up. He cut them in pieces, and put them in the pot. He put them in the pot, and carried them. He brought them, and cooked them. He roasted a leg of one of them stuck on a stick by the fire, for his mother. He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire. The old man toasted manioc mash. He toasted manioc mash, and ate. He ate his grandsons, and then lay in his hammock with a full stomach.

Then they appeared. He covered the meat for his daughter. When he covered the meat, they appeared. The oldest son had gone and had arrived at the other village. He was a teenager. He was big. He went to his parents, and arrived. He told the news.

"What about my sons?"

"Don't say, 'What about my sons?' My grandfather speared your two sons. I ran away because of my grandfather, and came here."

"I came here to get food for my sons."

Then his daughter cried. She cried. She came crying. She stopped crying. She came, and appeared. She came back crying.

"Father, you ate my sons. I went to get food for my sons, and you ate my sons," she said, crying.

"Don't cry. Don't make trouble for yourself.<sup>1</sup> Yours is there in the pot. Eat yours after coming back, without saying anything. Don't cry. Eat it. I ate it. Eat them. Don't cause trouble for yourself."

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<sup>1</sup>This was a threat to kill his daughter if she didn't stop berating him.

The father of the children didn't say anything. Their father didn't say anything, but his wife cried. His brother-in-law came back, carrying animals. His brother-in-law came back, and threw down the animals. "Whew." He came upon his younger sister as she was crying.

"Why are you crying?"

It was another woman who spoke. "She is crying because your father ate her sons. Your father ate his grandsons, and he is in the hammock there."

The old man's spear was leaning against something beside the fire. He was waiting for them. When the old man's son heard what they said, he got up. He got ready. He went to his father as he was in his hammock. He wasn't violent with him.

"Father, why did you eat my nephews? They said you ate my nephews. Didn't I bring animals?"

He was going to pick up the spear, but he grabbed his spear from him. He twisted his spear away from him, but he didn't hit him. He stomped on his spear.

"I don't want to kill you. I don't want to kill you with a piece of your own spear," he said. He just threatened him.

His brother-in-law singed the hair off the animals. He singed the hair off the animals, and cut up the animals. They ate the meat. He roasted the meat on a rack.

"Isn't your father going to eat it?"

He took out his shaman's stone. He coughed it up. He had it in his hand. He pressed it against the leg of the animal. He pressed it against the meat.

"Here, eat some. Here is some manioc mash. Eat it with some manioc mash. Even though you ate my sons, I'm not mad at you. I am giving you food."

So he gave food to his father-in-law. He gave food to his father-in-law, and he ate the meat. When he was finished eating the meat, he drank water. When it was getting dark, he started speaking, sick.

"*Aya*, my chest, my chest," he said. "My chest," he said. His voice was heard during the night.

Because his sons had died, he had given his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it to make him sick. He gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it, and his father-in-law was heard during the night.

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Morning came. When morning came, they moved to another place. They moved to another place, and they didn't wait for him. He had chest pain during the night. They didn't wait for him. They moved away. They left. They went. His son didn't take care of him.

"You lie here in your hammock. I'm not helping you, because you did a bad thing, eating my nephews. We are leaving."

So he left his father behind, and left. He died after they left. He lay dead in his hammock. When he rotted, the vultures ate him. The vultures ate him, the king vultures.

He came back, his son. He came back to see his father. His son looked at him.

"My father has died. Let him die. I don't want to smell him," he said.

He turned around and went back.

"Let him die."

He went back. He arrived back.

"Well?"

"You ask, 'Well?' - he died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures."

So they slept.

"He should have stayed calm. He didn't take care of his grandsons. He ate his grandsons. Now they have killed him. He was always wanting more than his share of food," one of them said. "Because he was always wanting more food, he ate his grandsons. Let him die."

He died.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Iti bote, iti bote fimi, fimi kawine, faya bite, mate mate ohi nemetemoneke.*

iti                      bote iti                      bote fimi                      fimi  
grandfather(M) old grandfather(M) old be\_hungry.M hunger(F)  
ka-wine                                      faya bite                                      matehe  
COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M so 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) children(F)  
matehe ohi na-hemete-mone-ke  
children(F) cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

'The old man was hungry lying in his hammock. The children were crying.'

- (2) *Inamate e nemata awaka.*  
 inamate ee na-himata awa-ka  
 child(M) be\_similar AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The boy was this big.’
- (3) *Me me me me anoti, nisori me fama, me ka ayo ohari, me terei, toha me, Abi, abi, abi okatao me naone faro.*  
 me me me me anoti nisori  
 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M)  
 me fama me ka ayo ohari me terei  
 3PL.S be\_two.F 3PL POSS older\_brother(M) be\_one.M 3PL.S be\_three  
 to-ha me abi abi abi okatao me  
 CH-AUX.F 3PL.S father(M) father(M) father(M) 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.S  
 naho-ne faaro  
 stand-CONT.F that.F  
 ‘He had two two younger brothers and they had one older brother. There were three of them. “Father, my sons are there.”’
- (4) *Okatao me ka, iyawa tisiriya.*  
 okatao me ka iyawa ti-sira-yahi  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL POSS grated\_mash(F) 2SG.S-toast-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘You toast some manioc mash for my sons.’’
- (5) *Iyawa kawitine haro.*  
 iyawa ka-ita-ne haaro  
 grated\_mash(F) COMIT-sit-CONT.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘There is manioc mash there in the pot.’’
- (6) *Iyawa tisiriya.*  
 iyawa ti-sira-yahi  
 grated\_mash(F) 2SG.S-toast-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Toast some manioc mash.’’
- (7) *Okatao me ka iyawaba, tisiriya iyawa.*  
 okatao me ka iyawa-ba ti-sira-yahi  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL POSS grated\_mash(F)-FUT 2SG.S-toast-DIST.IMP.F  
 iyawa  
 grated\_mash(F)  
 ‘‘Toast some manioc mash for my sons.’’

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- (8) *Me tinakabiyahi.*  
me ti-na-kaba-yahi  
3PL.O 2SG.S-CAUS-eat-DIST.IMP.F  
“Feed them.”
- (9) *Oka, yifari onakamamatibeya okatao me tafebonehe.*  
o-ka yifari o-na ka-ma-mata-be-ya  
1SG.POSS-POSS banana(F) 1SG.S-AUX go-back-short\_time-IMMED.F-now  
okatao me tafebonehe  
1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.POSS food.F-INT.F-DUP  
“I’m going to go get my bananas, to be food for my sons.”
- (10) *Me maki famemetemoneke.*  
me maki fama-hemete-mone-ke  
3PL 3SG.POSS.husband(M) be\_with-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘She went with her husband.’
- (11) *Maki fama, kokori, kokori yama yete nebona toka yama kabani ya.*  
maki fama kokori  
3SG.POSS.husband(M) be\_two.F 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
kokori yama yete na-hibona to-ka  
3SG.POSS.father-in-law(M) thing(F) hunt AUX-INT.M away-go.LIST  
yama\_kabani ya  
forest(F) ADJU  
‘She went with her husband. Her father-in-law also went out hunting in the forest.’<sup>2</sup>
- (12) *Faya, Ati te kamakabote niya.*  
faya ati tee ka-ma-kabote na-yahi  
so older\_sister(F) 2PL.S come-back-quickly AUX-DIST.IMP.F  
“Older sister, you come back quickly.”<sup>3</sup>
- (13) *Yama yete omatibe.*  
yama yete o-mata-be  
thing(F) hunt 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
“I’m going hunting.”

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<sup>2</sup>Siko should have said her older brother went out hunting.

<sup>3</sup>Siko should have said younger sister.

- (14) *Bani me fora obe.*  
 bani me fora o-be  
 animal(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun 1SG.S-IMMED.F  
 “I’m going to shoot animals with my blowgun.”
- (15) *Ayo kamakabote tiyahi.*  
 ayo ka-ma-kabote ti-yahi  
 older\_brother(M) come-back-quickly 2SG.S-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Older brother, come back quickly.”
- (16) *Kami kerewe obisarabana oke, bani okaraboi ya, ati ne me, tokometemoneke ahi fatara ya.*  
 ka-mi kerewe o-bisa-ra-habana o-ke bani  
 come-back.NFIN be\_slow 1SG.S-also-NEG-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F animal(M)  
 o-karabohi ya ati ne me  
 1SG.S-shoot\_with\_blowgun.NOM.F ADJU say AUX.M 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke ahi fatara ya  
 away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F there garden(F) ADJU  
 “I will not be long in coming back, if I kill an animal with my blowgun,”  
 he said. They went to the garden.’
- (17) *Me tokoma me tokoma me kobo tonama me, faya yifari me kayaba yifari sami, yifari hati.*  
 me to-ka-ma me to-ka-ma me kobo to-na-ma  
 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S arrive away-AUX-back.F  
 me faya yifari me ka-yaba yifari  
 3PL.S so banana(F) 3PL.S COMIT-take\_out.F banana.LIST(F)  
 sami yifari hati  
 pineapple.LIST(F) banana(F) ripe  
 ‘They went, and arrived. They got the bananas, also pineapples, ripe  
 bananas.’
- (18) *Me kamemetemoneke.*  
 me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They came back.’

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- (19) *Me kama me, faya iti bote, iti bote winehimatamonaka.*  
me ka-ma me faya iti bote iti bote  
3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S so grandfather(M) old grandfather(M) old  
wina-himata-mona-ka  
lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'They came back. The old man was lying in his hammock.'
- (20) *Wine ati yana tonehimatamona.*  
wine ati yana to-na-himata-mona  
lie\_in\_hammock.M voice start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
'As he lay in his hammock, he spoke.'
- (21) *Wine ati yana tone, wabise, wabise, wabise iti Te afi kabote.*  
wine ati yana to-ne wabise wabise wabise  
lie\_in\_hammock.M voice start CH-AUX.M spear(F) spear(F) spear(F)  
iti tee afi kabote  
pick\_up.M 2PL.S bathe quickly  
'He spoke as he lay in his hammock. He picked up a spear. "Take your baths quickly."'
- (22) *Te afi nibeya.*  
tee afi na-be-ya  
2PL.S bathe AUX-IMMED.F-NOW  
'"Take your baths."'
- (23) *Te tai tohama.*  
tee tai to-ha-ma  
2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
'"You go on ahead."'
- (24) *Te tai toama.*  
tee tai to-ha-ma  
2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
'"You go on ahead."'
- (25) *Te afi nibe.*  
tee afi na-be  
2PL.S bathe AUX-IMMED.F  
'"You take your baths."'

- (26) *Yiwaha yiwaha tama, yimawa.*  
 yiwaha yiwaha tama yimawa  
 pot(F) pot(F) hold\_onto.LIST knife(F)  
 ‘He got a pot and a knife.’
- (27) *Faya hinaka noti me towaka me hinaka noti, Te ai te towakatima ahi.*  
 faya hinaka noti me to-ka-ka me hinaka  
 so 3SG.POSS grandson(M) 3PL.S away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S 3SG.POSS  
 noti tee ahi tee to-ka-ka-tima ahi  
 grandson(M) 2PL there 2PL.S away-COMIT-go-upstream there  
 ‘His grandsons went. “The two of you go upstream.”’
- (28) *Te towakatima te kakisawama te kakisama ahi.*  
 tee to-ka-ka-tima tee  
 2PL.S away-COMIT-go-upstream.F 2PL.S  
 ka-ka-risa-waha-ma tee ka-ka-risa-ma ahi  
 COMIT-come-down-change-back.F 2PL.S COMIT-come-down-back here  
 “Go upstream, then turn around and come back downstream here.”
- (29) *Owiba ahi.*  
 o-wi-ba ahi  
 1SG.S-stand.NOM.F-FUT here  
 “I will stand here.”
- (30) *Hinaka wabise wa, faya, mate kakisamemetemoneke.*  
 hinaka wabise waa faya matehe  
 3SG.POSS spear(F) stand.F so children(F)  
 ka-ka-risa-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-come-down-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘His spear was against a tree. They came back downstream.’
- (31) *Abe te abe weye na te kakisama boti ya ahi fa boti ya.*  
 abe tee abe weye na tee ka-ka-risa-ma  
 RECIP 2PL.POSS RECIP carry AUX.F 2PL.S COMIT-come-down-back  
 boti ya ahi faha boti ya  
 way\_down(F) ADJU there water(F) inside ADJU  
 “One of you carry the other and come downstream in the water.”
- (32) *Faya fa boti ya me kakisama me, me kakisama me, me  
 hiwakitamisemetemoneke ahi wabise ya.*

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faya faha boti ya me ka-ka-risa-ma me me  
 so water(F) inside ADJU 3PL.S COMIT-come-down-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 ka-ka-risa-ma me me  
 COMIT-come-down-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-ita-misa-hemete-mone-ke ahi wabise ya  
 OC-COMIT-pierce-up-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then spear(F) ADJU  
 ‘They came downstream in the water. They came downstream, and he  
 speared both of them with the spear.’

- (33) *Faya me kawi ya me ahaba, me abemetemoneke fahi.*

faya me ka-wi ya me ahaba me  
 so 3PL.S COMIT-stand.NOM.F ADJU 3PL.S die.LIST 3PL.S  
 ahaba-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 die-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They died where they were. They died.’

- (34) *Me aba me, anoti anoti nafihi, yora nariwe kana ni tokome kana ni tokomakematamonaka ahi me ka abi me ni ya.*

me ahaba me anoti anoti  
 3PL.S die.F 3PL.S 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M)  
 nafi yora na-riwee kana ni to-ka-me kana  
 be\_big.M jump AUX-across.M run AUX.NFIN away-go-back.M run  
 ni to-ka-maki-himata-mona-ka ahi me ka  
 AUX.NFIN away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M there 3PL POSS  
 abi me ni ya  
 father(M) 3PL to ADJU

‘They died. His older brother, who was big, jumped and went running  
 away. He went running to their parents.’

- (35) *Faya mera bobi ne, mera bobi nematamonaka.*

faya mera bobi ne mera bobi na-himata-mona-ka  
 so 3PL.O slit AUX.M 3PL.O slit AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘Then he cut them up.’

- (36) *Mera bobi ne, me te hina yiwaha ya.*

mera bobi ne me tee hi-na yiwaha ya  
 3PL.O slit AUX.M 3PL.O put\_inside OC-AUX.F pot(F) ADJU  
 ‘He cut them in pieces, and put them in the pot.’

- (37) *Yiwa ya me te hina me, tiwa hikana me hiwakama me hikaware, owa, owa mete hikanawa, mati kabonaha.*  
 yiwa ya me tee hi-na me tiwa hi-ka-na me  
 pot(F) ADJU 3PL.O put\_inside OC-AUX.F 3PL.O carry OC-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.O  
 hi-ka-ka-ma me hi-ka-waa-re owa owa  
 OC-COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.O OC-COMIT-cook-raised\_surface one.M one.M  
 mete hi-ka-na-waa mati ka-bona-ha  
 rear.M OC-COMIT-CAUS-stand.LIST 3SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘He put them in the pot, and carried them. He brought them, and cooked them. He roasted a leg of one of them stuck on a stick by the fire, for his mother.’
- (38) *Mete hikanawematamonaka.*  
 mete hi-ka-na-waa-himata-mona-ka  
 rear.M OC-COMIT-CAUS-stand-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire.’
- (39) *Mete hikanawe, faya iti bote, iyawa sire iyawa sirematamonaka.*  
 mete hi-ka-na-wee faya iti bote iyawa  
 rear.M OC-COMIT-CAUS-stand.M so grandfather(M) old grated\_mash(F)  
 sire iyawa sira-himata-mona-ka  
 toast.M grated\_mash(F) toast-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire. The old man toasted manioc mash.’
- (40) *Iyawa sire tafehimatamonaka ahi.*  
 iyawa sire tafa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 grated\_mash(F) toast.M eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He toasted manioc mash, and ate.’
- (41) *Tafe hinaka noti me kabe, hinaka noti me kabematamonaka, nabati kawinawebana ahi, me tasi namibeni ya.*  
 tafe hinaka noti me kabe hinaka noti me  
 eat.M 3SG.POSS grandson(M) 3PL.O eat.M 3SG.POSS grandson(M) 3PL.O  
 kaba-himata-mona-ka nabati ka-wina-waha-hibana  
 eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M stomach COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-change-FUT.M  
 ahi me tasi na-ma-be-ni ya  
 then 3PL.S emerge AUX-back-FUT.F-IP.N.F ADJU  
 ‘He ate. He ate his grandsons. He ate his grandsons, and then lay in his hammock with a full stomach. Then they appeared.’

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- (42) *Ahi mati ka, bite ka banibona yoto kana.*  
 ahi mati ka bite ka bani-bona  
 then 3SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) POSS animal(M)-INT.M  
 yoto ka-na  
 cover COMIT-AUX.LIST  
 ‘He covered the meat for his daughter.’
- (43) *Bani yoto kane ya me, tasi namemetemoneke.*  
 bani yoto ka-ne ya me tasi  
 animal(M) cover COMIT-AUX.NOM.M ADJU 3PL.S emerge  
 na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘When he covered the meat, they appeared.’
- (44) *Faya, faya tokomake kobo tonamakebisematamona.*  
 faya faya to-ka-make kobo  
 so so away-go-following arrive  
 to-na-make-bisa-himata-mona  
 away-AUX-following-also-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He had gone and had arrived at the other village.’
- (45) *Yetenematamonaka.*  
 yetene-mata-mona-ka  
 teenage\_boy-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was a teenager.’
- (46) *Nafihimatamonaka.*  
 nafi-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_big-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was big.’
- (47) *Nafi tokomake bati me ni ya tokomake kobo tonamake, kobo tonamakematamonaka.*  
 nafi to-ka-make bati me ni ya  
 be\_big.M away-go-following 3SG.POSS.father(M) 3PL to ADJU  
 to-ka-make kobo to-na-make kobo  
 away-go-following arrive away-AUX-following arrive  
 to-na-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-AUX-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was big. He went. He went to his parents, and arrived.’

- (48) *Faya hiyara kaminematamonaka.*  
 faya hiyara kamina-himata-mona-ka  
 so story(F) tell-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He told the news.’
- (49) *Oko, okatao mera?*  
 o-ka okatao me-ra  
 1SG.POSS-POSS 1SG.POSS.SON(M) 3PL-NPQ  
 “‘What about my sons?’”
- (50) *Okatao mera? tina fahi.*  
 okatao me-ra ti-na fahi  
 1SG.POSS.SON(M) 3PL-NPQ 2SG.S-say then  
 “‘Don’t say, ‘What about my sons?’”
- (51) *Okatao tikatao me, okiti, okiti hiwakitara ke.*  
 okatao tikatao me okiti  
 1SG.POSS.SON(M) 2SG.POSS.SON 3PL.O 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M)  
 okiti hi-ka-ita-hara-ke  
 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) OC-COMIT-pierce-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “‘My grandfather speared your two sons.’”
- (52) *Me ihi okiti ene bete owa okomakine oke.*  
 me ihi okiti ehene bete  
 3PL.POSS because\_of.F 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) because\_of.M run  
 o-waha o-ka-maki-ne o-ke  
 1SG.S-change.F 1SG.S-come-following-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “‘I ran away because of my grandfather, and came here.’”
- (53) *Okatao me, tafebone onakama me amani.*  
 okatao me tafebone o-na-ka-ma me  
 1SG.POSS.SON(M) 3PL.POSS food.F-INT.F 1SG.S-CAUS-come-back.F 3PL.POSS  
 ama-ni  
 SEC-BKG.F  
 “‘I came here to get food for my sons.’”
- (54) *Faya bite ohi nemetemoneke fahi.*  
 faya bite ohi na-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 so 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘Then his daughter cried.’

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- (55) *Ohi na, ohi ni kama ohi ni fawa niha, kama tasi namemetemoneke.*  
 ohi na ohi ni ka-ma ohi ni fawa niha  
 cry AUX.F cry AUX.NFIN come-back.F cry AUX.NFIN disappear CAUS.F  
 ka-ma tasi na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 come-back.F emerge AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She cried. She came crying. She stopped crying. She came, and appeared.’
- (56) *Faya tasi nama, faya ohi nama, Okatao mera okatao mera abi okatao me, tikabani ama tini.*  
 faya tasi na-ma faya ohi na-ma okatao mera  
 so emerge AUX-back.F so cry AUX-back.F 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O  
 okatao mera abi okatao me ti-kaba-hani  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O father(M) 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-IP.N.F  
 ama ti-ni  
 SEC 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘She appeared. She came back crying. “Father, you ate my sons.”’
- (57) *Okatao me tikabani ama tini.*  
 okatao me ti-kaba-hani ama ti-ni  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-IP.N.F SEC 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 “‘You ate my sons.’”
- (58) *Okatao me tafebone onakama okatao me tikabine tiwenihi ohi ni ati na, Ohi rima tinahi.*  
 okatao me tafebone o-na-ka-ma  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.POSS food.F-INT.F 1SG.S-CAUS-go-back.F  
 okatao me ti-kaba-ne ti-ni-hi ohi ni  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-CONT.F 2SG.S-IP.N.F-DUP cry AUX.NFIN  
 ati na ohi rima ti-na-hi  
 say AUX.F cry NEG.IMP.F 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 “‘I went to get food for my sons, and you ate my sons,’ she said, crying.  
 “Don’t cry.””
- (59) *Tiwa tiyokoriyahi.*  
 tiwa ti-yoko-ra-yahi  
 2SG.O 2SG.S-bring\_misfortune\_on-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 “‘Don’t make trouble for yourself.’”

- (60) *Tikabona kawita hari.*  
 ti-ka-bona ka-ita haari  
 2SG.S-POSS-INT.M COMIT-sit.CONT.M that\_one.M  
 “Yours is there in the pot.”
- (61) *Tika tikabamaho tiwati watari.*  
 ti-ka ti-kaba-ma-ho ti-ati wata-ri  
 2SG.POSS-POSS 2SG.S-eat-back-IMP.M 2SG.POSS-voice exist-NEG.NFIN  
 “Eat yours after coming back, without saying anything.”
- (62) *Ohi rima tinahi.*  
 ohi rima ti-na-hi  
 cry NEG.IMP.F 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 “Don’t cry.”
- (63) *Tikabaho.*  
 ti-kaba-ho  
 2SG.S-eat-IMP.M  
 “Eat it.”
- (64) *Okobareka.*  
 o-kaba-hare-ka  
 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “I ate it.”
- (65) *Me tikabahi.*  
 me ti-kaba-hi  
 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-IMP.F  
 “Eat them.”
- (66) *Tiwa tiyokoriyahi, ati nematamonaka.*  
 tiwa ti-yoko-ra-yahi ati  
 2SG.O 2SG.S-bring\_misfortune\_on-NEG-DIST.IMP.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “Don’t cause trouble for yourself.”

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- (67) *Yama, matehe kokori, bati, bati ati watarematamonane.*  
 yama matehe kokori bati  
 thing(F) children(F) 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 bati ati wata-ra-himata-mona-ne  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) voice exist-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The father of the children didn’t say anything.’
- (68) *Bati ati watare fati ta ohi nemetemoneke.*  
 bati ati wata-re fati taa ohi  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) voice exist-NEG.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) contrast cry  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘Their father didn’t say anything, but his wife cried.’
- (69) *Me ka abi ati watare, kokori kamematamonaka bani me weye nari ahi.*  
 me ka abi ati wata-re kokori  
 3PL POSS father(M) voice exist-NEG.M 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
 ka-ma-himata-mona-ka bani me weye na-haari ahi  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M animal(M) 3PL.O carry AUX-IP.E.M then  
 ‘Their father didn’t say anything. His father-in-law came back, carrying animals.’<sup>4</sup>
- (70) *Kokori kame, bani me koro nise, Hoo.*  
 kokori ka-me bani me koro  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) come-back.M animal(M) 3PL.O throw  
 na-rise hoo  
 AUX-down.M whew  
 ‘His father-in-law came back, and threw down the animals. “Whew.”’
- (71) *Hinakati ohi ni, ha hinakasima hinakasima ohi ni wasime, hinakasima ohi ni wasimematamonaka.*  
 hinakati ohi ni haa hinakasima  
 3POSS.SG.older\_sister(F) cry AUX.NFIN oh 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F)  
 hinakasima ohi ni wasi-me  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) cry AUX.NFIN find-back.M  
 hinakasima ohi ni wasi-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) cry AUX.NFIN find-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He came upon his younger sister as she was crying.’

<sup>4</sup>Siko should have said his brother-in-law came back, also in the next sentence.

- (72) *Hima himata ebe tinani ohi tine tiri?*  
 hima himata ebe ti-na-hani ohi ti-ne ti-ri  
 let's\_go what purpose 2SG.S-AUX-IP.N.F cry 2SG.S-CONT.F 2SG.S-CQ.F  
 “Why are you crying?”
- (73) *Aa, one ta ati yana nemetemonehe.*  
 aa one taa ati yana na-hemete-mone-he  
 (pause) other.F contrast voice start AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘It was another woman who spoke.’
- (74) *Biti me, abi hikabani, ohi nineni.*  
 biti me abi hi-kaba-hani ohi  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O 2SG.POSS.father(M) OC-eat-IP.N.F cry  
 na-ne-ni  
 AUX-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “She is crying because your father ate her sons.”
- (75) *Abi hinaka noti me kabeno wina fari.*  
 abi hinaka noti me kaba-hino  
 2SG.POSS.father(M) 3SG.POSS grandson(M) 3PL.O eat-IP.N.M  
 wina faari  
 lie\_in\_hammock.CONT.M that\_one.M  
 “Your father ate his grandsons, and he is in the hammock there.”
- (76) *Hinaka hinaka wabise wabasemetemoneke yifo beri ya ahi.*  
 hinaka hinaka wabise waa-basa-hemete-mone-ke yifo beheri  
 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS spear(F) stand-edge-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F fire(F) side  
 ya ahi  
 ADJU then  
 ‘His spear was leaning against something beside the fire.’
- (77) *Wabise wemetemoneke, mera mera noki nari.*  
 wabise waa-hemete-mone-ke mera mera noki na-haari  
 spear(F) stand-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.O 3PL.O wait\_for AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘The spear was leaning against something. He was waiting for them.’
- (78) *Faya, faya me ati mite yana nematamonaka.*  
 faya faya me ati mite yana na-himata-mona-ka  
 so 3PL.POSS voice hear.M get\_up AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘When he heard what they said, he got up.’

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- (79) *Yana tone, bati wine ni ya toke, tokehimatamonane.*  
 yana to-ne bati wine ni ya to-ke  
 start CH-AUX.M 3SG.POSS.father(M) lie\_in\_hammock.M to ADJU away-go.M  
 to-ka-himata-mona-ne  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He got ready. He went to his father as he was in his hammock.’
- (80) *Toke, hikatomarematamonane.*  
 to-ke hi-katoma-ra-himata-mona-ne  
 away-go.M OC-attack-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He went. He wasn’t violent with him.’
- (81) *Hikatomare, Abi himatabiyo oko bitimi me tikabarini?*  
 hi-katoma-re abi himatabiyo o-ka bitimi me  
 OC-attack-NEG.M father(M) why 1SG.POSS-POSS nephew(M) 3PL.O  
 ti-kaba-ri-ni  
 2SG.S-eat-CQ.F-IP.N.F  
 ‘He wasn’t violent with him. “Father, why did you eat my nephews?”’
- (82) *Oko bitimi me tikabamone me ati narake.*  
 o-ka bitimi me ti-kaba-hamone me ati  
 1SG.POSS-POSS nephew(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-REP.F 3PL.S say  
 na-hara-ke  
 AUX-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “‘They said you ate my nephews.’”
- (83) *Oko bitimi owa, bani me owakamara owa awine oni?*  
 o-ka bitimi bani me o-ka-ka-ma-ra  
 1SG.POSS-POSS nephew(M) animal(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-COMIT-come-back-NEG.M  
 owa awine o-ni  
 1SG.S seem.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “‘Didn’t I bring animals?’”
- (84) *Wabise itibona hinaka wabise wara hinemetemoneke.*  
 wabise iti-hibona hinaka wabise wara  
 spear(F) pick\_up-INT.M 3SG.POSS spear(F) grab  
 hi-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He was going to pick up the spear, but he grabbed his spear from him.’

- (85) *Hinaka wabise wara hina hinaka wabise wari hikawe, hikatomarematamonane.*  
 hinaka wabise wara hi-na hinaka wabise wari  
 3SG.POSS spear(F) grab OC-AUX.F 3SG.POSS spear(F) turn  
 hi-ka-wee hi-katoma-ra-himata-mona-ne  
 OC-COMIT-change.M OC-attack-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He grabbed his spear from him. He twisted his spear away from him, but he didn’t hit him.’
- (86) *Hikatomare, hinaka wabise tai hinisemetemoneke ahi.*  
 hi-katoma-re hinaka wabise tai  
 OC-attack-NEG.M 3SG.POSS spear(F) step\_on  
 hi-na-risa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 OC-AUX-down-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He didn’t hit him. He stomped on his spear.’
- (87) *Tiwa onabowi toe ori.*  
 tiwa o-na-aboha to-ha o-ri  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-CAUS-die CH-AUX 1SG.S-NEG.NOM.F  
 ‘‘I don’t want to kill you.’’
- (88) *Tiwa onabowi toe ori fara tika wabise kote ya, ati nematamonaka.*  
 tiwa o-na-aboha to-ha o-ri fara ti-ka  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-CAUS-die CH-AUX 1SG.S-NEG.NOM.F same.F 2SG.POSS-POSS  
 wabise kote ya ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 spear(F) piece ADJU say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘I don’t want to kill you with a piece of your own spear,’’ he said.’
- (89) *Ati ne, faya, hine ya boke hinise, wabori bani me tokematamonaka.*  
 ati ne faya hine ya boke hi-na-rise  
 say AUX.M so only ADJU threaten OC-AUX-down.M  
 wabori bani me  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) animal(M) 3PL.O  
 toka-himata-mona-ka  
 partially\_burn-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He just threatened him. His brother-in-law singed the hair off the animals.’

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- (90) *Bani me toke, bani me bobi ne bani me me kaba me, bani me me kabemetemoneke.*  
 bani me toke bani me bobi ne bani  
 animal(M) 3PL.O partially\_burn.M animal(M) 3PL.O slit AUX.M animal(M)  
 me me kaba me bani me me kaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He singed the hair off the animals, and cut up the animals. They ate the meat.’
- (91) *Bani me me kaba me, bani me tabasi ne bani me, Abi hikabarabana?*  
 bani me me kaba me bani me tabasi ne  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.O roast\_on Rack AUX.M  
 bani me abi hi-kaba-ra-bana  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 2SG.POSS.father(M) OC-eat-NEG.M-FUT  
 ‘They ate the meat. He roasted the meat on a rack. “Isn’t your father going to eat it?”’
- (92) *Ee yama, yama kakitimatamonaka.*  
 ee yama yama ka-iti-himata-mona-ka  
 (pause) thing(F) thing(F) COMMIT-take\_out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He took out the shaman’s stone.’
- (93) *Yama kakiti, yama ka kanise yama yama tama kane, bani, bani mete ya yama yoko tokane yama yoko tokanematamonaka.*  
 yama ka-iti yama kaa ka-na-rise yama  
 thing(F) COMMIT-take\_out.M thing(F) spew COMMIT-AUX-down.M thing(F)  
 yama tama ka-ne bani bani mete ya  
 thing(F) hold\_onto COMMIT-AUX.M animal(M) animal(M) rear.M ADJU  
 yama yoko to-ka-ne yama yoko  
 thing(F) push CH-COMIT-AUX.M thing(F) push  
 to-ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He took out the shaman’s stone. He coughed it up. He had it in his hand. He pressed it against the leg of the animal.’
- (94) *Yama yoko tokane, Hari kakaba.*  
 yama yoko to-ka-ne haari ka-kaba  
 thing(F) push CH-COMIT-AUX.M that\_one.M DUP-eat  
 ‘He pressed it against the meat. “Here, eat some.”’

- (95) *Iyawa ama haro.*  
 iyawa ama haaro  
 grated\_mash(F) be that\_one.F  
 “Here is some manioc mash.”
- (96) *Iyawa amake ahi.*  
 iyawa ama-ke ahi  
 grated\_mash(F) be-DECL.F here  
 “Here is some manioc mash.”
- (97) *Iyawa ya kakawi tina.*  
 iyawa ya ka-kawi ti-na  
 grated\_mash(F) ADJU DUP-eat\_with\_something 2SG.S-AUX  
 “Eat it with some manioc mash.”
- (98) *Okatao me tikabani ama tikene tiwa okako okare.*  
 okatao me ti-kaba-hani ama ti-ke-ne tiwa  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-IP.N.F SEC 2SG.S-DECL.F-IRR.F 2SG.O  
 o-kaako o-ka-re  
 1SG.S-be\_angry\_with 1SG.S-DECL-NEG.F  
 “Even though you ate my sons, I’m not mad at you.”
- (99) *Tiwa okakorini.*  
 tiwa o-kaako-ra-ni  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-be\_angry\_with-NEG-BKG.F  
 “I’m not mad at you.”
- (100) *Tiwa, onatafine oke.*  
 tiwa o-na-tafa-ne o-ke  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-CAUS-eat-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “I am giving you food.”
- (101) *Faya kokori natafe, kokori natafematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya kokori na-tafe kokori  
 so 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) CAUS-eat.M 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
 na-tafa-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 CAUS-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘So he gave food to his father-in-law.’

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- (102) *Kokori natafe, faya bani kabe, bani kabematamonaka.*  
 kokori na-tafe faya bani kabe bani  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) CAUS-eat.M so animal(M) eat.M animal(M)  
 kaba-himata-mona-ka  
 eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He gave food to his father-in-law, and he ate the meat.’
- (103) *Bani kabe, bani kabi hawa toe ya fa fawematamonaka.*  
 bani kabe bani kabi hawa to-he ya  
 animal(M) eat.M animal(M) eat.NFIN be\_finished CH-AUX.NOM.M ADJU  
 faha fawa-himata-mona-ka  
 water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He ate the meat. When he was finished eating the meat, he drank water.’
- (104) *Fa fawe, fa fawematamonane.*  
 faha fawe faha fawa-himata-mona-ne  
 water(F) drink.M water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He drank water.’
- (105) *Fa fawe, fa fawe ama.*  
 faha fawe faha fawe ama  
 water(F) drink.M water(F) drink.M SEC  
 ‘He drank water.’
- (106) *Yama kayomi ya, faya ati yana kanematamonaka fahi.*  
 yama kayomi ya faya ati yana  
 thing(F) darken.NOM.F ADJU so voice start  
 ka-na-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘When it was getting dark, he started speaking, sick.’
- (107) *Aya obokora obokora, obokora obokora obokora obokora ati nematamonaka ahi.*  
 aya o-boko-ra o-boko-ra  
 (expression\_of\_pain) 1SG.POSS-chest-NPQ 1SG.POSS-chest-NPQ  
 o-boko-ra o-boko-ra o-boko-ra  
 1SG.POSS-chest-NPQ 1SG.POSS-chest-NPQ 1SG.POSS-chest-NPQ  
 o-boko-ra ati na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 1SG.POSS-chest-NPQ say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘“Aya, my chest, my chest,” he said.’

- (108) *Obokora ati ne ati sai nabe, ati sai nabematamonaka.*  
o-boko-ra            ati ne    ati    sai        nahabe    ati  
1SG.POSS.chest-NPQ say AUX.M voice be\_heard at\_night.M voice  
sai        nahaba-himata-mona-ka  
be\_heard at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘My chest,’ he said. His voice was heard during the night.’
- (109) *Ati sai nabe, faya, biti me ahaba hikanakabe kokori  
tokanakabematamonaka.*  
ati    sai        nahabe    faya biti            me    ahaba  
voice be\_heard at\_night.M so    3SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.S die.F  
hi-ka-na-kabe        kokori  
OC-COMIT-CAUS-eat.M 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
to-ka-na-kaba-himata-mona-ka  
CH-COMIT-CAUS-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘His voice was heard during the night. Because his sons had died, he  
gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it to make  
him sick.’
- (110) *Kokori tokanakabe kokori, ati sai nabematamonaka.*  
kokori                            to-ka-na-kabe  
3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) CH-COMIT-CAUS-eat.M  
kokori                            ati    sai  
3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) voice be\_heard  
nahaba-himata-mona-ka  
at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it, and  
his father-in-law was heard during the night.’
- (111) *Ati sai nabe, faya, biti me ahaba hikanakabe, kokori  
tokanakabematamonaka.*  
ati    sai        nahabe    faya biti            me    ahaba  
voice be\_heard at\_night.M so    3SG.POSS.son(M) 3PL.S die.F  
hi-ka-na-kabe        kokori  
OC-COMIT-CAUS-eat.M 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
to-ka-na-kaba-himata-mona-ka  
CH-COMIT-CAUS-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He was heard during the night. Because his sons died, he gave him food  
to eat that had a spell on it. He gave his father-in-law food that had a  
spell on it.’

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- (112) *Kokori tokanakabe kokori, ati sai nabematamonaka.*  
kokori to-ka-na-kabe  
3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) CH-COMIT-CAUS-eat.M  
kokori ati sai  
3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) voice be\_heard  
nahaba-himata-mona-ka  
at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He gave his father-in-law food that had a spell on it. His father-in-law  
was heard during the night.'
- (113) *Ati sai nabe, yama we kamakiemetemone amake.*  
ati sai nahabe yama wehe ka-maki-hemete-mone  
voice be\_heard at\_night.M thing(F) light.F come-following-FP.N.F-REP.F  
ama-ke  
SEC-DECL.F  
'He was heard during the night. Morning came.'
- (114) *Yama we kamakia, me banehemetemoneke ahi.*  
yama wehe ka-makia me bana-hemete-mone-ke  
thing(F) light.F come-following.F 3PL.S move\_away-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
ahi  
then  
'When morning came, they moved to another place.'
- (115) *Me banehemetemoneni me noki hirebanoho.*  
me bana-hemete-mone-ni me noki  
3PL.S move\_away-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL.S wait\_for  
hi-ra-hiba-no-ho  
OC-NEG-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
'They moved to another place, and they didn't wait for him.'
- (116) *Me noki hireba bako komene awa nabe, komene awa nabematamonaka.*  
me noki hi-ra-hiba bako komene awa nahabe komene  
3PL.S wait\_for OC-NEG-FUT.M chest.M pain.M feel at\_night.M pain.M  
awa nahaba-himata-mona-ka  
feel at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'They didn't wait for him. He had chest pain during the night.'

- (117) *Me noki hire me bana me tokometemoneke.*  
 me noki hi-re me bana me  
 3PL.S wait\_for OC-NEG.M 3PL.S move\_away.F 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They didn’t wait for him. They moved away. They left.’
- (118) *Me tokometemoneke.*  
 me to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They left.’
- (119) *Tokomake me tokomake me, faya biti hinofarematamonaka.*  
 to-ka-make me to-ka-make me faya biti  
 away-go-following 3PL.S away-go-following 3PL.S so 3SG.POSS.son(M)  
 hi-nofa-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-like-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They went. His son didn’t take care of him.’
- (120) *Biti hinofare, Tiwiniyahi.*  
 biti hi-nofa-re ti-wina-yahi  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) OC-like-NEG.M 2SG.S-lie\_in\_hammock-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘His son didn’t take care of him. “You lie here.”’
- (121) *Tiwinahi.*  
 ti-wina-hi  
 2SG.S-lie\_in\_hammock-IMP.F  
 ‘“Lie here.”’
- (122) *Tiwa, tiwa onarifa okare, tiwehene hiyarani tiwa oko bitimi me tikabani tiwa.*  
 tiwa tiwa o-narifa o-ka-re ti-ehene  
 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S-help 1SG.S-DECL-NEG.F 2SG.POSS-deed  
 hiya-ra-hani tiwa o-ka bitimi me ti-kaba-hani  
 be\_bad-NEG-IP.N.F 2SG.S 1SG.POSS-POSS nephew(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-IP.N.F  
 tiwa  
 2SG.S  
 ‘“I’m not helping you, because you did a bad thing, eating my nephews.”’

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- (123) *Tiwehene hiyarani tike.*  
ti-ehene hiya-ra-hani ti-ke  
2SG.POSS-deed be\_bad-NEG-IP.N.F 2SG.POSS-DECL.F  
‘‘You did a bad thing.’’
- (124) *Ota tokomibonehe.*  
otaa to-ka-mi-bone-he  
1EX.S away-go-back.NOM.F-INT.F-DUP  
‘‘We are leaving.’’
- (125) *Faya bati kakose tokomake, tokomakematamonaka.*  
faya bati ka-kana-kose to-ka-make  
so 3SG.POSS.father(M) COMMIT-leave-middle.M away-go-following  
to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘So he left his father behind, and left.’
- (126) *Tokomake, faya me nowati ya ahabematamonaha.*  
to-ka-make faya me nowati ya ahaba-himata-mona-ha  
away-go-following so 3PL.POSS behind ADJU die-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
‘He left. He died after they left.’
- (127) *Ahabe, ahabematamonaka.*  
ahabe ahaba-himata-mona-ka  
die.M die-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He died.’
- (128) *Abohi wine, abohi winematamonaka fahi.*  
abohi wine abohi  
dead\_body lie\_in\_hammock.M dead\_body  
wina-himata-mona-ka fahi  
lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘He lay dead in his hammock.’
- (129) *Faya, batarise ya, boko me hikabematamona.*  
faya bata-rise ya boko me hi-kaba-himata-mona  
so be\_rotten-down.NOM.M ADJU vulture(F) 3PL.S OC-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘When he rotted, the vultures ate him.’

- (130) *Boko me hikabematamona bokorawaha, boko sawi.*  
 boko me hi-kaba-himata-mona boko-rawa-ha  
 vulture(F) 3PL.S OC-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M vulture(F)-FPL-DUP  
 boko\_sawi  
 king\_vulture(M)  
 ‘The vultures ate him, the king vultures.’
- (131) *Boko me hikabematamonaka.*  
 boko me hi-kaba-himata-mona-ka  
 vulture(F) 3PL.S OC-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The vultures ate him.’
- (132) *Boko me hikabe, kamematamonaka biti.*  
 boko me hi-kabe ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 vulture(F) 3PL.S OC-eat.M come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 biti  
 3SG.POSS.son(M)  
 ‘The vultures ate him. He came back, his son.’
- (133) *Kame bati awamebona kame, kame biti ki hine Okobi abakeno.*  
 ka-me bati awa-ma-hibona ka-me  
 come-back.M 3SG.POSS.father(M) see-back-INT.M come-back.M  
 ka-me biti kii hi-ne okobi  
 come-back.M 3SG.POSS.son(M) look\_at OC-AUX.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ahaba-ke-no  
 die-DECL-IP.N.M  
 ‘He came back. He came back to see his father. He came back. His son  
 looked at him. “My father has died.”’
- (134) *Hiwa ahaba.*  
 hiwa ahaba  
 only.M die.NOM.M  
 ‘“Let him die.”’
- (135) *Mao hisi orayaho ati ne wete toname tokome, tokomematamonaka.*  
 maho hisi o-ra-yaho ati ne wete to-na-me  
 smell.M sniff 1SG.S-NEG-DIST.IMP.M say AUX.M return away-AUX-back.M  
 to-ka-me to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-back.M away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘“I don’t want to smell him,” he said. He turned around and went back.’

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- (136) *Tokome Hiwa abaka.*  
to-ka-me hiwa ahaba-ka  
away-go-back.M only.M die-DECL.M  
'He went back. "Let him die."'
- (137) *Tokomematamonaka.*  
to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He went back.'
- (138) *Tokome kobo toname, Faira?*  
to-ka-me kobo to-na-me fahi-ra  
away-go-back.M arrive away-AUX-back.M that-NPQ  
'He went back. He arrived back. "Well?'"
- (139) *Faira? tina abenoka.*  
fahi-ra ti-na ahaba-hino-ka  
that-NPQ 2SG.S-say.F die-IP.N.M-DECL.M  
'"You ask, "Well?" – he died."'
- (140) *Boko boko sawi me hikabare boko sawi, boko.*  
boko boko\_sawi me hi-kaba-hare boko\_sawi  
vulture(F) king\_vulture(M) 3PL.S OC-eat-IP.E.M king\_vulture(M)  
boko  
vulture(F)  
'"The vultures ate him, the king vultures."'
- (141) *Boko hikabarawareka.*  
boko hi-kaba-rawa-hare-ka  
vulture(F) OC-eat-FPL-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
'"The vultures ate him."'
- (142) *Faya me, me amo nemetemone fahi.*  
faya me me amo na-hemete-mone fahi  
so 3PL 3PL.S sleep AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
'So they slept.'

- (143) *Me amo na me, Ati watari hinaka noti me nanarifa reno hinaka noti me kabeno, me katomawahineni.*  
 me amo na me ati wata-ri hinaka noti me  
 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S voice exist-NEG.NFIN 3SG.POSS grandson(M) 3PL.O  
 na-narifa ra-hino hinaka noti me kaba-hino me  
 DUP-help NEG-IP.N.M 3SG.POSS grandson(M) 3PL.O eat-IP.N.M 3PL.S  
 katoma-waha-ne-ni  
 attack-change-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They slept. “He should have stayed calm. He didn’t take care of his grandsons. He ate his grandsons. Now they have killed him.”’
- (144) *Nakonako raba na tohe, owa ati nematamona.*  
 nako-nako raba na to-he owa ati na-himata-mona  
 DUP-be\_famished a\_bit AUX CH-AUX.M one.M say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘“He was always wanting more than his share of food,” one of them said.’
- (145) *Nakonako raba na tohare hinaka hinaka noti me kaba nanoho.*  
 nako-nako raba na to-ha-re hinaka hinaka  
 DUP-be\_famished a\_bit AUX CH-AUX-NEG.M 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS  
 noti me kaba na-no-ho  
 grandson(M) 3PL.O eat.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘“Because he was always wanting more food, he ate his grandsons.”’
- (146) *Faya, Hiwa abaka.*  
 faya hiwa ahaba-ka  
 so only.M die-DECL.M  
 ‘“Let him die.”’
- (147) *Faya abe, ahabake haro.*  
 faya ahabe ahaba-ke haaro  
 so die.M end-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘He died. That’s the end.’



# F The man who got away from the Kose Mati

## Introduction

The story *The man who got away from the Kose Mati* was told by Siko in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-mankose.mp3>.

Siko told a number of very funny stories, and this is one of them. The Jarawaras are afraid of monsters that live in the forest, but in Siko's stories, the monsters, who are generally not very bright, just about always lose. The story also gives some insight into shamanism among the Jarawaras. The man who is the main character of the story is a shaman, and with his shamanic powers he manages to foil the attempts of the *kose mati* monster to drown him. And when he calls out for help, two of his familiar spirits come and rescue him from the monster. They kill the monster, and carry it away and eat it.

## English translation

The *kose mati* monster. The teenager was trained as a shaman. They trained him as a shaman. They trained him over a period of time, and then they were done with him. He was walking around normally again.

He went hunting.

"Father, should I go hunting?"

"Go hunting. Go."

His father ordered him, and he went. They had trained him as a shaman, and he had returned to normal. He went out into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder.

A curassow was calling. "*Hho hho hohooo ho.*"

"I'm going to shoot the curassow with a dart."

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He went on to shoot the curassow. There was a kapok tree. There was a *kose mati* monster hiding in the buttress roots of the kapok tree,<sup>1</sup> making the sound of a curassow calling. It was looking up. “*Hho hho hohoo o.*”

He was coming. He came with the blowgun in his hand.

“The curassow called there.”

He moved over to a different position, and the monster attacked him. It attacked, and caught him. He got free, and ran away with it. It caught him again. It brought him back.

It picked up its basket. It put him in the basket, and tied him in. He didn’t make a fuss.

“Whew, I’m going to throw him in the water.”

It went up into the kapok tree. It went up the kapok tree. “*Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o.*” It was carrying him attached by its head.

It arrived up high with him. At the place where there was a branch in the kapok tree, it went around.

There was a lake. The kapok tree was on the edge of a lake. It went up the kapok tree, and took him out along a straight limb of the kapok tree, on top of the limb. It went carrying him in the basket.

“All right, I will throw him in the water with the basket.”

It swung him back and forth, and threw him. Instead of landing in the water, he went back. He went back, and landed there.<sup>2</sup>

“Humph, I wanted him to go in the water, wait.”

It went down. It came back on the branch. It went down through an open place in the branches, *karii, beo*. It got him again.

“Help.”

“Hey, don’t call.”

“There is no one to help me, help!”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The kapok trees in the Jarawara area, which grow in the seasonally flooded forest, are the largest trees in the region (at least they were, but all the largest ones have been logged now). They are very thick and very high, and have huge buttress roots.

<sup>2</sup>The man’s shamanic powers kept him from falling in the water.

<sup>3</sup>The man was calling for his familiar spirits to rescue him.

But he kept on calling out. Because he stubbornly kept on calling out, it defecated on his face. His face had diarrhea on it. His face had feces on it. It defecated on his face.

It took him back up in the basket. “*Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o.*” Its voice could be heard as it went back up. It was close. “Whew.” It straightened the basket so it would not fall.

It went along the limb with him. It planned against him. It swung him back and forth, and threw him.

But he went back, even though the monster thought he was going to go in the water. He almost touched the surface of the water as he went back. He landed back there.

“*Aa*, I wanted him to go in the water. He is naughty. I wanted him to drown.”

It came back on the limb, and went down. It went down, *baasa, beo.*

He called out.

“He is calling out.”

“There is no one to help me, help!”

“Don’t call out.”

It came and got him. It defecated on his face. Because he said he wouldn’t stop calling out, it defecated diarrhea on his face. It took him back up.

“Oof, hoo, he should have gone into the water. Why didn’t he? What did he do?”

It took him back up. It went back up. It got close to the top.

Then it took him out on the limb. It took him out on the limb again.

When it arrived, it swung him back and forth. *Koro*, he went out. He didn’t fall in the water, but went along the surface, *sissss, sssi*. He landed and sat again where the kapok tree was.

“*Aa*, there he goes again.”

It came back along the branch again, and came down again.

The spirits heard something. The spirit heard something. There were two of them that heard something.

“The monster threw someone in something who was calling, I saw him. There, it took him up again. Wait, don’t do anything yet. Let’s watch him.”

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It took him out on the limb.

“Look at him.”

It threw him again. He didn't fall into the water, but went back again, *isissss*. He landed upright.

“I told you. The monster threw someone in something.”

It jumped down. They saw it coming down. Two spears would stand right where it came down.

The two of them came.

“The monster threw someone in something,” they said.

“Here.” It put him on its back again in the basket. It went up with him. It took him up.

The two of them appeared. They stuck two spears in the ground. They were standing upright. The spears were pointing up, two together. The points were together. They stuck the two spears in the ground. The two spirits stood there.

It went and took him out on the limb.

“I want him to go into the water now.”

It swung him back and forth. *Koro*, it thought he would go into the water, but he came back to the same place. He went over the water, *sisss*, and arrived again.

“*Aa*, there he goes again.”

It came back on the limb. The two spears were standing at the place where he always landed. The two spears were upright.

It dropped, and when it was going to hit the ground, the spears went through it, and it cried out. “*Aya, aya, aya*.”

It went right down to the hilts of the spears, because it fell hard. It cried out. They rushed it, and finished it off. They killed it. It died. When it died, they went and got him, and brought him back.

“Hey, what happened to you? Did it capture you?”

“It captured me. It was there on the ground. It threw me from where it was. It was there making the call of a curassow. I didn't see it, and it captured me from behind. There it is, lying on the ground.”

“Look at it. Look at it lying there. The *kose mati* is huge. We will eat it.”

Then they untied him. They untied the basket over his face. They let him out.

“Go take a bath. You smell bad. It defecated on you.”

He went to the water to bathe. He bathed. When he finished bathing, he came onto the shore. “Hoo, you saved me.”

“We heard you calling. When you called, we heard you calling, and for this reason we came and found you. We found you, and saved you. It would have eaten you. It would have killed you. We saved you. You have escaped, now go home. Go home. We will take it away. We will eat it.”

“You eat it. It captured me. I didn’t see it. It captured me from behind.”

Then the two of them went away. After he left, they left. They put it on their shoulders, and went, and ate it.

“Whew, it threw the man, and we killed it, and we are bringing it,” they said.

They ate it.

He arrived back.

“Whew, a spirit captured me to throw me, and I have come back.”

“You were not wary,” his father said. “It must have been a *kose mati*.”

“The monster was standing among the buttress roots of a kapok tree, looking up and calling like a curassow. I was looking at it, and when I changed my position, it captured me from behind.”

“It must have been a *kose mati*. You shouldn’t go to the flooded forest. The monster is there in the flooded forest. People used to say long ago that it is in the flooded forest, and now it captured you.”

“It captured me, and threw me. Two spirits saved me, and then went away. You wouldn’t have seen me anymore. It tied me in a basket. It defecated on my face, because it said I was calling out. There were feces on my face. It took me back up again in the tree, and threw me, so I would go into the water. It wanted me to drown. It wanted me to go in the water, but I couldn’t go in the water. Because I couldn’t go in the water, I survived. They heard me calling, and came after me. Because of them the monster cried out, as I was in the basket on the edge of the lake. They said they were spirits of the *kosi* palm. The two *kosi* spirits saved me, and then went away. I came back here, and appeared. You wouldn’t have seen me anymore. I would have died in the depths of the water. I would have died in the water.”

## Glossed text

- (1) *Kose mati, kose mati inamati, inamati yetene, inamati yetene yetene afo nari, me afo hinahari.*  
 kose\_mati kose\_mati inamati inamati  
 name\_of\_monster(M) name\_of\_monster(M) someone(M) someone(M)  
 yetene inamati yetene yetene afo  
 teenage\_boy someone(M) teenage\_boy teenage\_boy be\_blowed\_into  
 na-haari me afo hi-na-haari  
 AUX-IP.E.M 3PL.S blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘The *kose mati* monster. The teenager was trained as a shaman. They trained him as a shaman.’
- (2) *Me afo hine, me aafo hie me, me sa hikase, wawama toahi, yama yama yete nematamona.*  
 me afo hi-ne me a-afo hi-he  
 3PL.S blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX.M 3PL.S DUP-blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX.M  
 me me saa hi-ka-kose wa-waa-ma to-hahi yama  
 3PL 3PL.S release OC-COMIT-middle.M DUP-stand-back CH-AUX.M thing(F)  
 yama yete na-himata-mona  
 thing(F) hunt AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘They trained him as a shaman. They trained him over a period of time, and then they were done with him. He was walking around normally again. He went hunting.’
- (3) *Abi abi yama yete obana?*  
 abi abi yama yete o-bana  
 father(M) father(M) thing(F) hunt 1SG.S-FUT  
 ‘‘Father, should I go hunting?’’
- (4) *Yama yama yete tinahi.*  
 yama yama yete ti-na-hi  
 thing(F) thing(F) hunt 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Go hunting.’’
- (5) *Yama yete tinahi.*  
 yama yete ti-na-hi  
 thing(F) hunt 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Go hunting.’’

- (6) *Tika.*  
 ti-ka  
 2SG.S-go  
 “Go.”
- (7) *Bati hiyose, tokehimatamonaka.*  
 bati hi-yose to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) OC-command away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘His father ordered him, and he went.’
- (8) *Me aafō hiahi wawamisama toe, toke, karaboa tiwa kane, karaboa mase hi nematamona, hho hho hohooo ho.*  
 me a-afo hi-hahi wa-waa-misa-ma to-he  
 3PLS DUP-blow\_snuff\_into OC-AUX.M DUP-stand-up-back CH-AUX.M  
 to-ke karaboha tiwa ka-ne karaboha mase hii  
 away-go.M blowgun(F) carry COMMIT-AUX.M blowgun(F) curassow(M) call  
 na-himata-mona hho\_hho\_hohooo\_ho  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M (call\_of\_curassow)  
 ‘They had trained him as a shaman, and he had returned to normal. He went out into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder. A curassow was calling. “*Hho hho hohooo ho.*”’
- (9) *Mase okaraboamatibe.*  
 mase o-karaboha-mata-be  
 curassow(M) 1SG.S-shoot\_with\_blowgun-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 “I’m going to shoot the curassow with a dart.”
- (10) *Mase okaraboamatibe.*  
 mase o-karaboha-mata-be  
 curassow(M) 1SG.S-shoot\_with\_blowgun-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 “I’m going to shoot the curassow.”
- (11) *Eti hawa tini?*  
 Eti hawa ti-ha-ni  
 Edi(M) be\_finished 2SG.S-AUX-BKG.F  
 ‘Edi, are you finished?’

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (12) *Mase karaboebona toke, wasina waha wasina waimetemone amake.*  
 mase karaboha-hibona to-ke wasina waaha  
 curassow(M) shoot\_with\_blowgun-INT.M away-go.M kapok(F) stand.F  
 wasina wai-mete-mone ama-ke  
 kapok(F) stand.NOM-FP.N.F-REP.F be-DECL.F  
 ‘He went on to shoot the curassow. There was a kapok tree.’
- (13) *Wasina waha, habi ya, kose mati waiyematamonaka ahi mase, mase hi ni tohahari, tonokomisari ahi, tonokomisari hi nari, Hho hho hohooo o.*  
 wasina waaha habi ya kose\_mati  
 kapok(F) stand.F root.F ADJU name\_of\_monster(M)  
 wahiya-himata-mona-ka ahi mase mase hii ni  
 hide-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then curassow(M) curassow(M) call AUX.NFIN  
 to-ha-haari to-noko-misa-haari ahi to-noko-misa-haari hii  
 CH-be-IP.E.M away-point-up-IP.E.M then away-point-up-IP.E.M call  
 na-haari hho\_hho\_hohooo\_o  
 AUX-IP.E.M (call\_of\_curassow)  
 ‘There was a *kose mati* monster hiding in the buttress roots of the kapok tree, making the sound of a curassow calling. It was looking up. “*Hho hho hohooo o.*”’
- (14) *Kakehimatamonaka.*  
 ka-ke-himata-mona-ka  
 come-coming-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was coming.’
- (15) *Karaboa karaboa tama ni kake, Mase hi nareka ahi.*  
 karaboha karaboha tama na ka-ke mase  
 blowgun(F) blowgun(F) hold\_onto AUX.NFIN come-coming curassow(M)  
 hii na-hare-ka ahi  
 call AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M there  
 ‘He came with the blowgun in his hand. “The curassow called there.”’
- (16) *Towawawitebona kose mati fito nakematamonaka ahi.*  
 to-waa-waha-wite-hibona kose\_mati fito  
 away-stand-change-out-INT.M name\_of\_monster(M) rush  
 na-ke-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 AUX-coming-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He moved over to a different position, and the monster attacked him.’

- (17) *Fito nake he watematamonaka ahi.*  
 fito na-ke hee wata-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 rush AUX-coming 3SG.O catch-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It attacked, and caught him.’
- (18) *He wate fawa ne bete hikawe he towatamaki, he kakame he kakamematamonaka.*  
 hee wate fawa ne bete hi-ka-wee hee  
 3SG.O catch.M disappear AUX.M run OC-COMIT-change.M 3SG.O  
 to-wata-maki hee ka-ka-me hee  
 away-catch-following.M 3SG.O COMIT-come-back.M 3SG.O  
 ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 COMIT-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It caught him. He got free, and ran away with it. It caught him again. It brought him back.’
- (19) *He kakame, hinaka hisiri itimetemone amake hisiri.*  
 hee ka-ka-me hinaka hisiri iti-hemete-mone  
 3SG.O COMIT-come-back.M 3SG.POSS basket(F) pick\_up-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ama-ke hisiri  
 SEC-DECL.F basket(F)  
 ‘It brought him back. It picked up its basket.’
- (20) *Hisiri ya hiberise wete hikane, wete hikane hiwa hiwa katomarematamonaka.*  
 hisiri ya hi-ibe-rise wete hi-ka-ne wete  
 basket(F) ADJU OC-put\_inside-down.M tie OC-COMIT-AUX.M tie  
 hi-ka-ne hiwa hiwa  
 OC-COMIT-AUX.M 3SG.REFL.M 3SG.REFL.M  
 katoma-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 damage-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It put him in the basket, and tied him in. He didn’t make a fuss.’
- (21) *Hiwa katomare wete hikanematamonaka.*  
 hiwa katoma-re wete hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.REFL.M damage-NEG.M tie OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He didn’t make a fuss, and it tied him in.’

*F The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (22) *Wete hikane, Oof, haa, koro okofimataba.*  
wete hi-ka-ne oof haa koro  
tie OC-COMIT-AUX.M whew (expression\_of\_exhaustion) throw  
o-ka-fi-mata-ba  
1SG.S-COMIT-water-short\_time-IMMED.M  
‘It tied him in. “Whew, I’m going to throw him in the water.”’
- (23) *Tokomisematamona wasina ya ahi.*  
to-ka-misa-himata-mona wasina ya ahi  
away-go-up-FP.N.M-REP.M kapok(F) ADJU then  
‘It went up into the kapok tree.’
- (24) *Wasina wa ya tokomise, tokomise Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o weye hikanematamona tati ya.*  
wasina waa ya to-ka-mise to-ka-mise  
kapok(F) stand.F ADJU away-go-up.M away-go-up.M  
ho\_o ho\_o  
(expression\_of\_exertion) (expression\_of\_exertion)  
ho\_o ho\_o  
(expression\_of\_exertion) (expression\_of\_exertion)  
ho\_o ho\_o weye  
(expression\_of\_exertion) (expression\_of\_exertion) carry  
hi-ka-na-himata-mona tati ya  
OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M head ADJU  
‘It went up the kapok tree. It went up. “Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o.” It was carrying him attached by its head.’
- (25) *Weye hikane, kobo hikamise wasina ini batori ya, tokomisawawite fa fa kaya nemetemoneke ahi.*  
weye hi-ka-ne kobo hi-ka-mise wasina ini batori  
carry OC-COMIT-AUX.M arrive OC-COMIT-up.M kapok(F) branch.F junction  
ya to-ka-misa-waha-wite faha faha kaya  
ADJU away-go-up-change-out water(F) water(F) stand  
na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F there  
‘It carried him. It arrived up high with him. At the place where there was a branch in the kapok tree, it went around. There was a lake.’

- (26) *Fa kaya na wasina warebasa, wasina warebasa, tokomisawite bere hikawitematamonaka wasina mani yai tona mani bari ya.*  
 faha kaya na wasina waa-re-basa wasina  
 water(F) stand AUX.F kapok(F) stand-raised\_surface-edge.F kapok(F)  
 waa-ri-basa to-ka-misa-witi bere  
 stand-raised\_surface-edge.F away-go-up-out be\_across  
 hi-ka-wite-himata-mona-ka wasina mani yai  
 OC-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M kapok(F) branch.F be\_straight  
 to-na mani bari ya  
 CH-AUX.F branch.F outer\_surface ADJU  
 ‘The kapok tree was on the edge of a lake. It went up the kapok tree, and took him out along a straight limb of the kapok tree, on top of the limb.’
- (27) *Weye kani hike, weye kani hikematamonaka.*  
 weye ka-ni hi-ke weye ka-ni  
 carry COMIT-AUX.NFIN OC-go.M carry COMIT-AUX.NFIN  
 hi-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It went carrying him in the basket.’<sup>4</sup>
- (28) *Weye kani hike, Hima, koro okofimataba.*  
 weye ka-ni hi-ke hima koro  
 carry COMIT-AUX.NFIN OC-go.M let’s\_go throw  
 o-ka-fi-mata-ba  
 1SG.S-COMIT-water-short\_time-IMMED.M  
 ‘It went carrying him in the basket. “All right, I will throw him in the water with the basket.”’
- (29) *Wene hikanematamonaka ahi.*  
 wene hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 wag OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It swung him back and forth.’

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<sup>4</sup>The reason the O-construction prefix *hi-* occurs on the intransitive verb *toka* is that there is control, and the *hi-* is transferred from the subordinate clause to the matrix clause (cf. Vogel 2015: 42f.).

F The man who got away from the Kose Mati

- (30) *Wene hikane, Koro, fa bai kabokebona, iss sssss towakamematamonaka ahi.*

wene hi-ka-ne koro faha  
 wag OC-COMIT-AUX.M (sound\_of\_something\_being\_thrown) water(F)  
 bai ka-boka-hibona  
 middle COMIT-enter\_water-INT.M  
 to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It swung him back and forth, and threw him. Instead of landing in the water, he went back.’

- (31) *Towakame, tihi tokaname, Omm, kabokebona one, hiba.*

to-ka-ka-me tihi to-ka-na-me omm  
 away-COMIT-go-back.M hit away-COMIT-AUX-back.M humph  
 ka-boka-hibona o-ne hiba  
 COMIT-enter\_water-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M wait  
 ‘He went back, and landed there. “Humph, I wanted him to go in the water, wait.”’

- (32) *Kisamake kisamake warewame yama hoti howa toni ya sonehimatamonaka ahi kariii beo.*

ka-risa-make ka-risa-make  
 come-down-following come-down-following  
 waa-re-waha-me yama hoti howa  
 stand-raised\_surface-change-back.M thing(F) hole.F be\_open  
 to-ni ya sona-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 CH-AUX.NOM.F ADJU fall-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 kariii beo  
 (sound\_of\_going\_down) (sound\_of\_hitting\_ground)  
 ‘It went down. It came back on the branch. It went down through an open place in the branches, *kariii, beo*.’

- (33) *Faya hiwakitimake, hiwakitimakematamonaka.*

faya hi-ka-iti-make  
 so OC-COMIT-pick\_up-following  
 hi-ka-iti-make-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-take\_out-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It got him again.’

- (34) *Hiwakitimake, hiwakitimake, Hee.*  
 hi-ka-iti-make                      hi-ka-iti-make                      hee  
 OC-COMIT-pick\_up-following OC-COMIT-pick\_up-following hey  
 ‘It got him again. “Help.”’
- (35) *Oo ha rima tinahi.*  
 oo    haa rima    ti-na-hi  
 oh\_no call NEG.IMP.F 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 “Hey, don’t call.”
- (36) *Yama abara awineni, hee.*  
 yama    ahaba-ra    awine-ni    hee  
 thing(F) end-NEG.F seem.F-BKG.F hey  
 “There is no one to help me, help.”
- (37) *Mitarama ni ha ne ha ni kasiromona ha ni kasiromonamako noko mi hinematamonaka ahi.*  
 mita-rama    ni            haa ne    haa ni            kasiro-himona haa  
 hear-unusual AUX.NFIN call AUX.M call AUX.NFIN persist-REP.M call  
 ni            kasiro-mona-mako                      noko mii  
 AUX.NFIN persist-REP.M-for\_this\_reason.M face.M defecate\_on  
 hi-na-himata-mona-ka            ahi  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘But he kept on calling out. Because he stubbornly kept on calling out, it defecated on his face.’
- (38) *Noko iyo kowewe kihakiha.*  
 noko iyo    kowewe    kiha-kiha  
 face.M feces(F) diarrhea(F) DUP-have  
 ‘His face had diarrhea on it.’
- (39) *Noko iyo kihematamona.*  
 noko iyo    kiha-himata-mona  
 face.M feces(F) have-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘His face had feces on it.’

- (40) *Noko mi hine, noko mi hine hiwakimisamatase matamona.*  
 noko mii hi-ne noko mii hi-ne  
 face.M defecate\_on OC-AUX.M face.M defecate\_on OC-AUX.M  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-ma-tasa-himata-mona  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back-again-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It defecated on his face. It took him back up in the basket.’
- (41) *Hiwakimisamatase, hiwakimisamematamona.*  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-ma-tase hi-ka-ka-misa-ma-himata-mona  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back-again.M OC-COMIT-go-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It took him back up in the basket.’
- (42) *Hiwakimisame Ho-o ho-o, ho-o, ho-o ati tokomisamematamona.*  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-me ho\_o  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back.M (expression\_of\_exertion)  
 ho\_o ho\_o  
 (expression\_of\_exertion) (expression\_of\_exertion)  
 ho\_o ati to-ka-misa-ma-himata-mona  
 (expression\_of\_exertion) voice away-go-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It took him back up. “Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o.” Its voice could be heard as it went back up.’<sup>5</sup>
- (43) *Ati tokomisame ati tokomisame, ati tokomisame bori tomisame Oof.*  
 ati to-ka-misa-me ati to-ka-misa-me ati  
 voice away-go-up-back.M voice away-go-up-back.M voice  
 to-ka-misa-me bori to-misa-me oof  
 away-go-up-back.M get\_close away-up-back.M hoo  
 ‘Its voice could be heard as it went back up. It was close. “Whew.”’
- (44) *Weye kani forima hine bere hikawitematamonaka.*  
 weye ka-ni forima hi-ne bere  
 carry COMIT-AUX.NFIN do\_properly OC-AUX.M be\_across  
 hi-ka-wite-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It straightened the basket so it would not fall. It went along the limb with him.’

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<sup>5</sup>The pronunciation *hiwakimisame* is an archaism, younger Jarawaras say [heekimisame]. That is, the younger speakers apply a morphophonological rule that Siko does not apply (Dixon 2004: 37). See also *hiwakame* in sentence (99).

- (45) *Bere hikawite, bere hikawitematamonaka.*  
 bere hi-ka-wite bere hi-ka-wite-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_across OC-COMIT-out be\_across OC-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It went along the limb with him.’
- (46) *Bere hikawite wati hikane tawi hikanematamonaka.*  
 bere hi-ka-wite wati hi-ka-ne tawi  
 be\_across OC-COMIT-out plan\_against OC-COMIT-AUX.M spin  
 hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It went along the limb with him. It planned against him. It swung him  
 back and forth.’
- (47) *Tawi hikane, koro.*  
 tawi hi-ka-ne koro  
 spin OC-COMIT-AUX.M (sound\_of\_something\_being\_thrown)  
 ‘It swung him back and forth, and threw him.’
- (48) *Faya, towakematamonaka ahi kabokabakani.*  
 faya to-ka-ka-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 so away-COMIT-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ka-boka-ba-kani  
 COMIT-enter\_water-FUT-CNTRFACT  
 ‘But he went back, even though the monster thought he was going to go  
 in the water.’
- (49) *Fa fa baki yokana iss sss towakame tihi tokanematamonaka.*  
 faha faha baki yokana to-ka-ka-me tihi  
 water(F) water(F) inside\_surface.F true away-COMIT-go-back.M hit  
 to-ka-na-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 away-COMIT-AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He almost touched the surface of the water as he went back. He landed  
 back there.’
- (50) *Aa, kabokebona one, kabokebona one, kakasi raba reba ama narani, faha  
 ihi tohibona onahari.*  
 aa ka-boka-hibona o-ne  
 (expression\_of\_displeasure) COMIT-enter\_water-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M  
 ka-boka-hibona o-ne ka-kasi raba ra-hiba  
 COMIT-enter\_water-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M DUP-be\_naughty a\_bit NEG-FUT.M

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

ama na-rani faha ihi to-ha-hibona o-na-haari  
 SEC AUX.M-? water(F) victim\_of.F CH-be-INT.M 1SG.S-say-IP.E.M  
 “Aa, I wanted him to go in the water. He is naughty. I wanted him to  
 drown.”

- (51) *Bere name bere name sonematamonaka ahi.*

bere na-me bere na-me sona-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_across AUX-back.M be\_across AUX-back.M fall-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘It came back on the limb, and went down.’

- (52) *Sonematamonaka ahi baasa beo.*

sona-himata-mona-ka ahi baasa  
 fall-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then (sound\_of\_hitting\_leaves)  
 beo  
 (sound\_of\_hitting\_ground)  
 ‘It went down, *baasa, beo*.’

- (53) *Faya ha ne Ha nareka.*

faya haa ne haa na-hare-ka  
 so call AUX.M call AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He called out. “He is calling out.”’

- (54) *Yama abara awineni, hee.*

yama ahaba-ra awine-ni hee  
 thing(F) die-NEG.F seem.F-BKG.F hey  
 “There is no one to help me, help.”

- (55) *Ha rima tinahi.*

haa rima ti-na-hi  
 call NEG.IMP.F 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 “Don’t call out.”

- (56) *Hiwakitimake, noko mi hinemata.*

hi-ka-iti-make noko mii hi-na-himata  
 OC-COMIT-pick\_up-following face.M defecate\_on OC-AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘It came and got him. It defecated on his face.’

- (57) *Ha ni kasiromona noko mi hinematamonaka ahi iyo kowewe ya.*  
 haa ni kasiro-himona noko mii  
 call AUX.NFIN persist-REP.M face.M defecate\_on  
 hi-na-himata-mona-ka ahi iyo kowewe ya  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then feces(F) diarrhea(F) ADJU  
 ‘Because he said he wouldn’t stop calling out, it defecated diarrhea on his face.’
- (58) *Faya noko mi hine, noko mi hine hiwakimisame, Oof, hoo hiba kabokaba nena.*  
 faya noko mii hi-ne noko mii hi-ne  
 so face.M defecate\_on OC-AUX.M face.M defecate\_on OC-AUX.M  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-me oof hoo hiba ka-boka-ba  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back.M hoo humph wait COMMIT-enter\_water.M-FUT  
 na-hina  
 AUX-IRR.M  
 ‘It defecated on his face. It took him back up. “Oof, hoo, he should have gone into the water.”’
- (59) *Hiwa aawa re.*  
 hiwa a-awa re  
 3SG.REFL.M DUP-see NEG.M  
 ‘‘Why didn’t he?’’
- (60) *Hiyamata hiri nahi?*  
 hiyamata hiri nahi  
 what do AUX.M  
 ‘‘What did he do?’’
- (61) *Hiwakimisamematamona fahi.*  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘It took him back up.’
- (62) *Hiwakimisame, hiwakimisame, tokomisamematamona.*  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-me hi-ka-ka-misa-me  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back.M OC-COMIT-go-up-back.M  
 to-ka-misa-ma-himata-mona  
 away-go-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It took him back up. It went back up.’

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (63) *Tokomisama tokomisame ya, tokomisama tokomisame ya bori tomisama, faya bere hikawitemata fahi.*  
to-ka-misa-ma to-ka-misa-me ya  
away-go-up-back.LIST away-go-up-back.NOM.M ADJU  
to-ka-misa-ma to-ka-misa-me ya bori  
away-go-up-back.LIST away-go-up-back.NOM.M ADJU get\_close  
to-misa-ma faya bere hi-ka-wite-himata fahi  
away-up-back.LIST so be\_across OC-COMIT-out-FP.N.M then  
‘It went back up. It got close to the top. Then it took him out on the limb.’
- (64) *Bere hikanamatase, bere hikaname kobo tokaname ya tawi hikanematamonaka ahi.*  
bere hi-ka-na-ma-tase bere hi-ka-na-me  
be\_across OC-COMIT-AUX-back-again.M be\_across OC-COMIT-AUX-back.M  
kobo to-ka-na-me ya tawi  
arrive away-COMIT-AUX-back.NOM.M ADJU spin  
hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘It took him out on the limb again. When it arrived, it swung him back and forth.’
- (65) *Tawi hikanematamona.*  
tawi hi-ka-na-himata-mona  
spin OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘It swung him back and forth.’
- (66) *Tawi hikane, koro towake, towake kabokebona towakamatasematamonaka ahi sssss sssi.*  
tawi hi-ka-ne koro  
spin OC-COMIT-AUX.M (sound\_of\_something\_being\_thrown)  
to-ka-ke to-ka-ke ka-boka-hibona  
away-COMIT-go.M away-COMIT-go.M COMIT-enter\_water-INT.M  
to-ka-ka-ma-tasa-himata-mona-ka ahi sssss  
away-COMIT-go-back-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then (sound\_of\_water)  
sssi  
(sound\_of\_water)  
‘It swung him back and forth. *Koro*, he went out. He didn’t fall in the water, but went along the surface, *sssss, sssi*.’

- (67) *Fara fara wasina wai ya totokowitamematamonaha.*  
 fara fara wasina wai ya  
 same.F same.F kapok(F) stand.NOM ADJU  
 to-to-ka-ita-ma-himata-mona-ha  
 DUP-away-COMIT-sit-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He landed and sat again where the kapok tree was.’
- (68) *Aa, kakasi raba nahare.*  
 aa ka-kasi raba na-hare  
 (expression\_of\_displeasure) DUP-be\_naughty a\_bit AUX-NEG.M  
 “Aa, there he goes again.”
- (69) *Kame bere name sonatasematamonaka fahi.*  
 ka-me bere na-me sona-tasa-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 come-back.M be\_across AUX-back.M fall-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It came back along the branch again, and came down again.’
- (70) *Sone, me inamati narabi hawihani, me me inamati inamati narabo hawihino me me famemetemoneke me narabi hawihani mati.*  
 sone me\_inamati narabi hawi-hani me me\_inamati inamati narabo  
 fall.M spirits(F) ear.F work-IP.N.F 3PL spirits(F) spirit(M) ear.M  
 hawi-hino me me fama-hemete-mone-ke me narabi  
 work-IP.N.M 3PL 3PL.S be\_two-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.POSS ear.F  
 hawi-hani mati  
 work-IP.N.F 3PL.POSS  
 ‘It came down. The spirits heard something. The spirit heard something. There were two of them that heard something.’
- (71) *Inamati ama narani one ha ne inamati were kanareka owahari.*  
 inamati ama na-rani o-ne haa ne inamati were  
 someone(M) be AUX.M-? 1SG.S-say.M call AUX.M spirit(M) throw  
 ka-na-hare-ka o-awa-haari  
 COMIT-AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M 1SG.S-see-IP.E.M  
 “The monster threw someone in something who was calling, I saw him.”
- (72) *Hari hiwakimisamatase.*  
 haari hi-ka-ka-misa-ma-tase  
 that\_one.M OC-COMIT-go-up-back-again.M  
 “There, it took him up again.”

F The man who got away from the Kose Mati

- (73) *Hibare mata awaraba timata mata.*  
hibare mata awaraba ti-mata mata  
wait for\_now leave\_something\_alone 2SG.S-short\_time for\_now  
“Wait, don’t do anything yet.”
- (74) *E kakatomamata.*  
ee ka-katoma-mata  
1IN.S COMIT-look\_at-short\_time  
“Let’s watch him.”
- (75) *Faya bere hikaname, bere hikaname Tekatoma.*  
faya bere hi-ka-na-me bere hi-ka-na-me  
so be\_across OC-COMIT-AUX-back.M be\_across OC-COMIT-AUX-back.M  
ti-ka-katoma  
2SG.S-COMIT-look\_at  
‘It took him out on the limb. “Look at him.”’
- (76) *Faya koro hikanamatasematamonaka ahi.*  
faya koro hi-ka-na-ma-tasa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
so throw OC-COMIT-AUX-back-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘It threw him again.’
- (77) *Koro hikaname kabokebona kakamatasematamonaka ahi isissss.*  
koro hi-ka-na-me ka-boka-hibona  
throw OC-COMIT-AUX-back.M COMIT-enter\_water-INT.M  
ka-ka-ma-tasa-himata-mona-ka ahi isissss  
DUP-come-back-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then (sound\_of\_water)  
‘It threw him. He didn’t fall into the water, but went back again, isissss.’
- (78) *Tihi tokanama tihi tokaname ya Owati tikasawariara tini.*  
tihi to-ka-na-ma tihi to-ka-na-me ya  
hit away-COMIT-AUX-back.LIST hit away-COMIT-AUX-back.NOM.M ADJU  
o-ati ti-ka-sawari-hara ti-ni  
1SG.POSS-voice 2SG.S-COMIT-frustrate-IP.E.F 2SG.S-BKG.F  
‘He landed upright. “I told you.”’
- (79) *Inamati, inamati were kane amane, hiba.*  
inamati inamati were ka-ne ama-ne hiba  
someone(M) spirit(M) throw COMIT-AUX.M SEC-BKG.M wait  
“‘The monster threw someone in something.’”

- (80) *Bao nisematamona.*  
 bao na-risa-himata-mona  
 come\_down AUX-down-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It jumped down.’
- (81) *Bao nisi me hiwe, fare sosona yokana ya, sosona yokana ya wabise yoro naba me kakiemetemoneni.*  
 bao na-risi me hi-awe fare sosona  
 come\_down AUX-down.NFIN 3PL.S OC-see.M same.M place\_of\_falling  
 yokana ya sosona yokana ya wabise yoro na-haba  
 true ADJU place\_of\_falling true ADJU spear(F) stand AUX-FUT.F  
 me ka-ka-ki-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-coming-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They saw it coming down. Two spears would stand right where it came down. The two of them came.’
- (82) *Me kakiemetemoneke.*  
 me ka-ka-ki-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-coming-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They came.’
- (83) *Inamati, inamati were kanaka, me, ati na me me, Hiya.*  
 inamati inamati were ka-na-ka me ati na me me  
 spirit(M) spirit(M) throw COMIT-AUX-DECL.M 3PL.S say AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL  
 hiya  
 come\_on  
 ‘‘The monster threw someone in something,’’ they said. ‘‘Here.’’
- (84) *Weye hikamisa weye hikamisame ya hiwakimisama, hiwakimisamematamonaka ahi.*  
 weye hi-ka-misa weye hi-ka-misa-me ya  
 carry OC-COMIT-up.LIST carry OC-COMIT-up-back.NOM.M ADJU  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-ma hi-ka-ka-misa-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back.LIST OC-COMIT-go-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘It put him on its back again in the basket. It went up with him.’

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (85) *Hiwakimisame, me kafotoke me, wabise me taba nisikimemetemone ahi tokanokomisaharo ahi.*  
 hi-ka-ka-misa-me me ka-foto-ke me wabise me  
 OC-COMIT-go-up-back.M 3PL.S COMIT-appear-coming 3PL.S spear(F) 3PL.S  
 taba na-risa-kima-hemete-mone ahi to-ka-noko-misa-haaro  
 stick\_in AUX-down-two-FP.N.F-REP.F then away-COMIT-point-up-IP.E.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘It took him up. The two of them appeared. They stuck two spears in the ground. They were standing upright.’
- (86) *Wabise tokanokomisemetemone ama ahi ini famariaro ahi.*  
 wabise to-ka-noko-misa-hemete-mone ama ahi ini  
 spear(F) away-COMIT-point-up-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC then point.F  
 fama-ri-haaro ahi  
 be\_two-raised\_surface-IP.E.F then  
 ‘The spears were pointing up, two together.’
- (87) *Faya ini famaria me, wabise me taba nisikima me me yoro na me tokome bere hikawitematamonaka.*  
 faya ini fama-ria me wabise me taba  
 so point.F be\_two-raised\_surface.F 3PL spear(F) 3PL.S stick\_in  
 na-risa-kima me me yoro na me to-ka-me bere  
 AUX-down-two.F 3PL.S 3PL.S stand AUX.F 3PL.S away-go-back.M be\_across  
 hi-ka-wite-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The points were together. They stuck the two spears in the ground. They stood there. It went and took him out on the limb.’
- (88) *Bere hikawite, Kabokaba nena kakasi raba nahare, hiba.*  
 bere hi-ka-wite ka-boka-ba na-hina  
 be\_across OC-COMIT-out COMIT-enter\_water.M-FUT AUX-IRR.M  
 ka-kasi raba na-hare hiba  
 DUP-be\_naughty a\_bit AUX-NEG.M wait  
 ‘It took him out on the limb. “I want him to go into the water now.”’
- (89) *Tawi hikanematamonaka ahi.*  
 tawi hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 spin OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It swung him back and forth.’

- (90) *Tawi hikane koro, tefe nabakani, kakamakematamonaka ahi.*  
 tawi hi-ka-ne koro  
 spin OC-COMIT-AUX.M (sound\_of\_something\_being\_thrown)  
 tefe na-ba-kani  
 fall\_in\_water AUX.M-FUT-CNTRFACT  
 ka-ka-make-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 DUP-come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It swung him back and forth. *Koro*, it thought he would go into the water, but he came back to the same place.’
- (91) *Towakame sisssss kobo tokaname, Aa, kakasi raba nahare.*  
 to-ka-ka-me sisssss kobo  
 away-COMIT-go-back.M (sound\_of\_water) arrive  
 to-ka-na-me aa ka-kasi  
 away-COMIT-AUX-back.M (expression\_of\_displeasure) DUP-be\_naughty  
 raba na-hare  
 a\_bit AUX-NEG.M  
 ‘He went over the water, *sisss*, and arrived again. “*Aa*, there he goes again.”’
- (92) *Kamematamonaka.*  
 ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It came back.’
- (93) *Bere name bere name, fare sosona ya wabise yoro na rama ahi.*  
 bere na-me bere na-me fare sosona  
 be\_across AUX-back.M be\_across AUX-back.M same.M place\_of\_falling  
 ya wabise yoro na rama ahi  
 ADJU spear(F) stand AUX.F unusual then  
 ‘It came back on the limb. The two spears were standing at the place where he always landed.’
- (94) *Wabise yoro na me, kari, beo nebona wabise tasi hine kiya nematamonaka.*  
 wabise yoro na me kari beo  
 spear(F) stand AUX 3PL (sound\_of\_dropping) (sound\_of\_hitting\_ground)  
 na-hibona wabise tasi hi-ne kiya na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-INT.M spear(F) go\_through OC-AUX.M yell AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The two spears were upright. It dropped, and when it was going to hit the ground, the spears went through it, and it cried out.’

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (95) *Aya aya aya, kiya kanematamonaka.*  
 aya aya aya kiya  
 (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain) yell  
 ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘“Aya, aya, aya.” It cried out.’
- (96) *Toharisaba ne rama wabise mate ka ya ahi, sona raba namako.*  
 to-iha-risa-baa ne rama wabise mate ka  
 away-be\_located-down-at\_a\_distance AUX.M unusual spear(F) base.F LOC  
 ya ahi sona raba na-mako  
 ADJU then fall a\_bit AUX-for\_this\_reason.M  
 ‘It went right down to the hilts of the spears, because it fell hard.’
- (97) *Faya kiya kane, me fito hikanamaki me hinabowame, me hinabowematamonaka ahi.*  
 faya kiya ka-ne me fito hi-ka-na-maki me  
 so yell COMMIT-AUX.M 3PL.S rush OC-COMIT-AUX-following.M 3PL.S  
 hi-naabowa-me me hi-naabowa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 OC-kill-back.M 3PL.S OC-kill-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It cried out. They rushed it, and finished it off. They killed it.’
- (98) *Ahabe ya, abematamonaka.*  
 ahabe ya ahaba-himata-mona-ka  
 die.NOM.M ADJU die-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It died.’
- (99) *Abe ya me, me hekitimake me hiwakame, Hee, himata ebe tinahani?*  
 ahabe ya me me hi-ka-iti-make me  
 die.NOM.M ADJU 3PL 3PL.S OC-COMIT-pick\_up-following 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-ka-me hee himata ebe ti-na-hani  
 OC-COMIT-come-back.M hey what happen\_to 2SG.S-AUX-IP.N.F  
 ‘When it died, they went and got him, and brought him back. “Hey, what happened to you?”’
- (100) *Tiwa wateino ama?*  
 tiwa wata-hino ama  
 2SG.O catch-IP.N.M SEC  
 ‘“Did it capture you?”’

- (101) *Owa wate amaka ahi.*  
 owa wate ama-ka ahi  
 1SG.O catch.M SEC-DECL.M then  
 “It captured me.”
- (102) *Waino ama ahi.*  
 wai-no ama ahi  
 stand.NOM-IP.N.M be there  
 “It was there on the ground.”
- (103) *Waino ya owa were kanaka ahi.*  
 wai-no ya owa were ka-na-ka ahi  
 stand.NOM-IP.N.M ADJU 1SG.O throw COMIT-AUX-DECL.M then  
 “It threw me from where it was.”
- (104) *Waino ama ahi, mase hi ni tohahari.*  
 wai-no ama ahi mase hii ni to-ha-haari  
 stand.NOM-IP.N.M be there curassow(M) call AUX.NFIN CH-be-IP.E.M  
 “It was there making the call of a curassow.”
- (105) *Mase hi ni toenoka.*  
 mase hii ni to-ha-hino-ka  
 curassow(M) call AUX.NFIN CH-be-IP.N.M-DECL.M  
 “It was making the call of a curassow.”
- (106) *Owareno obatasi ka ya owa watareka.*  
 o-awa-ra-hino o-batasi ka ya owa  
 1SG.S-see-NEG-IP.N.M 1SG.POSS-middle\_of\_back LOC ADJU 1SG.O  
 wata-hare-ka  
 catch-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “I didn’t see it, and it captured me from behind.”
- (107) *Faya me, me, Homahari ha.*  
 faya me me homa-haari haa  
 so 3PL 3PL lie\_on\_ground-look.M DEM  
 “There it is, lying on the ground.”
- (108) *Tiwa ha.*  
 ti-awa haa  
 2SG.S-see DEM  
 “Look at it.”

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (109) *Homakane.*  
 homa-kane  
 lie\_on\_ground-MOOD.M  
 “Look at it lying there.”
- (110) *Kose mati amoamosa nematamonaha.*  
 kose\_mati amo-amosa na-himata-mona-ha  
 name\_of\_monster(M) DUP-be\_good AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 “The *kose mati* is huge.”
- (111) *Ota kabebanaka.*  
 otaa kaba-hibana-ka  
 1EX.O eat-FUT.M-DECL.M  
 “We will eat it.”
- (112) *Faya he me he me katisemetemoneke fahi.*  
 faya hee me hee me ka-tisa-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 so 3SG.O 3PL 3SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-undo-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘Then they untied him.’
- (113) *He me katisa noko me hikatise, me fito hinihe Afi tinahi.*  
 hee me ka-tisa noko me hi-ka-tise me fito  
 3SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-undo.F face.M 3PL.S OC-COMIT-undo.M 3PL.S rush  
 hi-nihe afi ti-na-hi  
 OC-CAUS.M bathe 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘They untied him. They untied the basket over his face. They let him out.  
 “Go take a bath.”’
- (114) *Timo kitake.*  
 ti-maho kita-ke  
 2SG.POSS-smell be\_strong-DECL.F  
 “You smell bad.”
- (115) *Tiwa mi narene.*  
 tiwa mii na-hare-ne  
 2SG.O defecate\_on AUX-IP.E.M-BKG.M  
 “It defecated on you.”

- (116) *Afi nebona tokifiwame afi ne, afi nematamonaka.*  
 afi na-hibona to-ka-fi-waha-me afi ne afi  
 bathe AUX-INT.M away-go-water-change-back.M bathe AUX.M bathe  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went to the water to bathe. He bathed.’
- (117) *Afi ne, afi ni, afi ni hawa toe ya kimisamematamona.*  
 afi ne afi ni afi ni hawa to-he  
 bathe AUX.M bathe AUX.NFIN bathe AUX.NFIN be\_finished CH-AUX.NOM.M  
 ya ka-misa-ma-himata-mona  
 ADJU come-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He bathed. When he finished bathing, he came onto the shore.’
- (118) *Kimisame, kimisamematamonaka.*  
 ka-misa-me ka-misa-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 come-up-back.M come-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He came onto the shore.’
- (119) *Kimisame ya, Oofowa te kasomake.*  
 ka-misa-me ya oof owa tee ka-soma-ke  
 come-up-back.NOM.M ADJU hoo 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT-help-DECL.F  
 ‘He came onto the shore. “Hoo, you saved me.”’
- (120) *Tika ha ni tika ha ni ota mita otake.*  
 ti-ka haa ni ti-ka haa ni otaa mita  
 2SG.POSS-POSS call AUX.NFIN 2SG.POSS-POSS call AUX.NFIN 1EX.S hear.F  
 otaa-ke  
 1EX.S-DECL.F  
 ‘“We heard you calling.”’
- (121) *Tika ha ni ota mita otani.*  
 ti-ka haa ni otaa mita otaa-ni  
 2SG.POSS-POSS call AUX.NFIN 1EX.S hear.F 1EX.S-BKG.F  
 ‘“We heard you calling.”’
- (122) *Ha tina tika ha ni ota mitimakoni ota kakia, tiwa ota wasikineke.*  
 haa ti-na ti-ka haa ni otaa  
 call 2SG.S-AUX.F 2SG.POSS-POSS call AUX.NFIN 1EX.S

*F The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

mita-makoni otaa ka-ka-kia tiwa otaa  
 hear-for\_this\_reason.F 1EX.S COMIT-come-coming.F 2SG.O 1EX.S  
 wasi-ki-ne-ke  
 find-coming-CONT.F-DECL.F

“When you called, we heard you calling, and for this reason we came and found you.”

- (123) *Tiwa ota wasia tiwa ota kasoma.*

tiwa ota wasiha tiwa ota ka-soma  
 2SG.O 1EX.S find.F 2SG.O 1EX.S COMIT-help.F

“We found you, and saved you.”

- (124) *Tiwa kabene amake.*

tiwa kaba-hene ama-ke  
 2SG.O eat-IRR.F SEC-DECL.F

“It would have eaten you.”

- (125) *Tiwa kabene amani.*

tiwa kaba-hene ama-ni  
 2SG.O eat-IRR.F SEC-BKG.F

“It would have eaten you.”

- (126) *Tiwa kabehene amake.*

tiwa kaba-hene ama-ke  
 2SG.O eat-IRR.F SEC-DECL.F

“It would have eaten you.”

- (127) *Tiwa nabowehene amake.*

tiwa naabowa-hene ama-ke  
 2SG.O kill-IRR.F SEC-DECL.F

“It would have killed you.”

- (128) *Tiwa nabowehene tiwa, tiwa ota kasomineke.*

tiwa naabowa-hene tiwa tiwa ota ka-soma-ne-ke  
 2SG.O kill-IRR.F 2SG.O 2SG.O 1EX.S COMIT-help-CONT.F-DECL.F

“It would have killed you. We saved you.”

- (129) *Hasi tina tikamahi.*

hasi ti-na ti-ka-ma-hi  
 escape 2SG.S-AUX.F 2SG.S-go-back-IMP.F

“You have escaped, now go home.”

- (130) *Tikamahi.*  
 ti-ka-ma-hi  
 2SG.S-go-back-IMP.F  
 “Go home.”
- (131) *Ota towakamiba.*  
 otaa to-ka-ka-ma-baha  
 1EX.S away-COMIT-go-back-before.F  
 “We will take it away.”
- (132) *Ota kabibe.*  
 otaa kaba-be  
 1EX.S eat-IMMED.F  
 “We will eat it.”
- (133) *Te kabiya.*  
 tee kaba-yahi  
 2PL.S eat-DIST.IMP.F  
 “You eat it.”
- (134) *Owa owa wataharake.*  
 owa owa wata-hara-ke  
 1SG.O 1SG.O catch-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “It captured me.”
- (135) *Awaawa orahani.*  
 awa-awa o-ra-hani  
 DUP-see 1SG.S-NEG-IP.N.F  
 “I didn’t see it.”
- (136) *Obatasi ka ya owa wata amake.*  
 o-batasi ka ya owa wata ama-ke  
 1SG.POSS-middle\_of\_back LOC ADJU 1SG.O catch.F SEC-DECL.F  
 “It captured me from behind.”
- (137) *Faya me towakamemetemoneke.*  
 faya me to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 so 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘Then the two of them went away.’

- (138) *Tokome nowati ya me towakama me tiwa himisa me, me tiwa himisa me towakama me hikabemetemone.*

to-ka-me            nowati ya    me    to-ka-ka-ma            me    tiwa  
 away-go-back.M after    ADJU 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S carry  
 hi-misa me me    tiwa hi-misa me    to-ka-ka-ma            me  
 OC-up.F 3PL 3PL.S carry OC-up.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S  
 hi-kaba-hemete-mone  
 OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F

‘After he left, they left. They put it on their shoulders, and went, and ate it.’

- (139) *Hoo inamati inamati were kane ota nabowe ota kakamineke.*

hoo    inamati    inamati    were ka-ne            otaa na-abohe  
 whew someone(M) someone(M) throw COMIT-AUX.M 1EX.S CAUS-die.M  
 otaa ka-ka-ma-ne-ke  
 1EX.S COMIT-come-back-CONT.F-DECL.F

“Whew, it threw the man, and we killed it, and we are bringing it.”

- (140) *Inamati inamati were kane ota, nabowe ota kakamine, me hina, faya me hikabemetemone fahi.*

inamati    inamati    were ka-ne            otaa na-abohe    otaa  
 someone(M) someone(M) throw COMIT-AUX.M 1EX.S CAUS-die.M 1EX.S  
 ka-ka-ma-ne            me hi-na    faya me  
 COMIT-come-back-CONT.F 3PL.S OC-say.F so    3PL.S  
 hi-kaba-hemete-mone fahi  
 OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F    then

“It threw the man, and we killed it, and we are bringing it,” they said. They ate it.’

- (141) *Tasi tonamematamonaka.*

tasi    to-na-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 emerge away-AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He arrived back.’

- (142) *Hoo inamati owa were kanaba owa watani okomine oke.*

hoo    inamati owa were ka-na-haba            owa wata-hani  
 whew spirit(M) 1SG.O throw COMIT-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.O catch-IP.N.F  
 o-ka-ma-ne            o-ke  
 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F

“Whew, a spirit captured me to throw me, and I have come back.”

- (143) *Inamati, watore tinani tiwa awine ti bati ati nematamonaka.*  
 inamati watore ti-na-hani tiwa awine ti bati  
 spirit(M) forget 2SG.S-AUX-IP.N.F 2SG.S seem.F 2SG.S 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “‘You were not wary,” his father said.’<sup>6</sup>
- (144) *Kose mati toa awine kose mati.*  
 kose\_mati to-ha awine kose\_mati  
 name\_of\_monster(M) CH-be.F seem.F name\_of\_monster(M)  
 “‘It must have been a *kose mati*.”<sup>7</sup>
- (145) *Inamati wehinoka wasina habi ya, mase hi ni hiri ne tonokomisari ahi.*  
 inamati waa-hino-ka wasina habi ya mase hii  
 spirit(M) stand-IP.N.M-DECL.M kapok(F) root.F ADJU curassow(M) call  
 ni hiri ne to-noko-misa-haari ahi  
 AUX.NFIN make AUX.M away-point-up-IP.E.M then  
 “‘The monster was standing among the buttress roots of a kapok tree,  
 looking up and calling like a curassow.”
- (146) *Tonokomiseno ki one obatasi ka owawitebone obatasi owa watareka.*  
 to-noko-misa-hino kii o-ne o-batasi  
 away-point-up-IP.N.M look\_at 1SG.S-AUX.M 1SG.POSS-middle\_of\_back  
 ka o-waa-wite-habone o-batasi owa  
 LOC 1SG.S-stand-out-INT.F 1SG.POSS-middle\_of\_back 1SG.O  
 wata-hare-ka  
 catch-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “‘It was looking up. I was looking at it, and when I changed my position,  
 it captured me from behind.”<sup>8</sup>
- (147) *Kose mati tohe awane.*  
 kose\_mati to-he awa-ne  
 name\_of\_monster(M) CH-be.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 “‘It must have been a *kose mati*.”

<sup>6</sup>The word *inamati* is a false start.

<sup>7</sup>At various points in the story, Siko switches back and forth between masculine and feminine agreement for the monster.

<sup>8</sup>The words *obatasi ka* are a false start.

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (148) *Oof totoka tihahi waha ya.*  
 oof to-to-ka ti-ha-hi waha ya  
 hoo DUP-away-go 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F flooded\_forest(F) ADJU  
 “‘You shouldn’t go to the flooded forest.’”
- (149) *Yama watemone amani waha ya.*  
 yama wata-hamone ama-ni waha ya  
 thing(F) be\_located-REP.F SEC-BKG.F flooded\_forest(F) ADJU  
 “‘The monster is there in the flooded forest.’”
- (150) *Waha ya watemona me na hihehimari amane tiwa wata nanoho.*  
 waha ya wata-himona me na hi-ha-himari  
 flooded\_forest(F) ADJU be\_located-REP.M 3PL.S say OC-AUX-FP.E.M  
 ama-ne tiwa wata na-no-ho  
 SEC-BKG.M 2SG.O catch.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “‘People used to say long ago that it is in the flooded forest, and now it captured you.’”<sup>9</sup>
- (151) *Owa wate owa were kane me inamati owa kasoma me towakamarake.*  
 owa wate owa were ka-ne me\_inamati owa ka-soma  
 1SG.O catch.M 1SG.O throw COMIT-AUX.M spirits(F) 1SG.O COMIT-help.F  
 me to-ka-ka-ma-hara-ke  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “‘It captured me, and threw me. Two spirits saved me, and then went away.’”
- (152) *Owa me kasoma me towakamarake.*  
 owa me ka-soma me to-ka-ka-ma-hara-ke  
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-help.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “‘They saved me, and then went away.’”

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<sup>9</sup>Although the indirect quote margin means ‘people used to say’ as indicated, the word *na* is not actually a verb meaning ‘say’. The verb of the clause is *ati na* ‘say’, but there is a morphophonological rule that applies when this verb is used in the iterative construction, and there is a person prefix, in this case *hi-* (Dixon 2004: 118). I have glossed the auxiliary *na* as ‘say’ in order to make things easier for the reader. When the rule does not apply, i.e. when there is no person prefix, the reduplicated root *aati* appears instead of the auxiliary, as in line (61) of Text C *The first corn*.

- (153) *Owa owa tiwarene ama tike.*  
 owa owa ti-awa-ra-hene ama ti-ke  
 1SG.O 1SG.O 2SG.S-see-NEG-IRR.F SEC 2SG.S-DECL.F  
 “You wouldn’t have seen me anymore.”
- (154) *Owa wete kanareka isiri ya.*  
 owa wete ka-na-hare-ka isiri ya  
 1SG.O tie COMIT-AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M basket(F) ADJU  
 “It tied me in a basket.”
- (155) *Ha onamone onoko mi hina ama haro.*  
 haa o-na-hamone o-noko mii hi-na ama haaro  
 call 1SG.S-AUX-REP.F 1SG.POSS-face defecate\_on OC-AUX.F SEC that\_one.F  
 “It defecated on my face, because it said I was calling out.”<sup>10</sup>
- (156) *Iyo wani ama ahi.*  
 iyo wani ama ahi  
 feces(F) be\_attached.NOM.F SEC then  
 “There were feces on my face.”
- (157) *Onoko mi ne owa towakimisamatase, owa koro tokowite, okobokabone owa.*  
 o-noko mii ne owa to-ka-ka-misa-ma-tase  
 1SG.POSS-face defecate\_on AUX.M 1SG.O away-COMIT-go-up-back-again.M  
 owa koro to-ka-wite o-ka-boka-habone owa  
 1SG.O throw away-COMIT-out 1SG.S-COMIT-enter\_water-INT.F 1SG.S  
 “It defecated on my face. It took me back up again in the tree, and threw me, so I would go into the water.”
- (158) *Fa boti ihi ohabone ati narene.*  
 faha boti ihi o-ha-habone ati na-hare-ne  
 water(F) inside victim\_of.F 1SG.S-be-INT.F say AUX-IP.E.M-BKG.M  
 “It wanted me to drown.”

<sup>10</sup>The fact that the prefix *hi-* is present in *mi hina* shows that the O is third person. The O is *onoko*, so the *hi-* shows that *onoko* is a third person NP even though it is an inalienably possessed noun with a first person singular possessor. That is, the possessor does not determine the person of the NP. See the discussion in Dixon (2004: 288f).

F *The man who got away from the Kose Mati*

- (159) *Faya okabokabone ati ne, kaboki owatorara oke.*  
 faya o-ka-boka-habone                      ati ne      ka-boki  
 so 1SG.S-COMIT-enter\_water-INT.F say AUX.M COMIT-enter\_water.NFIN  
 o-wato-ra-hara                      o-ke  
 1SG.S-KNOW-NEG-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “It wanted me to go in the water, but I couldn’t go in the water.”
- (160) *Kaboki owatorimakoni hasi one oni.*  
 ka-boki                                      o-wato-ra-makoni                                      hasi  
 COMIT-enter\_water.NFIN 1SG.S-KNOW-NEG-for\_this\_reason.F escape  
 o-ne                      o-ni  
 1SG.S-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “Because I couldn’t go in the water, I survived.”
- (161) *Faya hasi onara fahi.*  
 faya hasi      o-na-hara                      fahi  
 so escape 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E.F then  
 “I survived.”
- (162) *Oko ha ni me mitahani owa me nakiani me, i kiya kanarake okowitabasa owa ni ya.*  
 o-ka                      haa ni                      me      mita-hani owa me  
 1SG.POSS-POSS call AUX.NFIN 3PL.S hear-IP.N.F 1SG.O 3PL.S  
 na-ka-ki-hani                                      me                      ihi                      kiya  
 CAUS-come-coming-IP.N.F 3PL.POSS result\_of.F yell  
 ka-na-hara-ke                                      o-ka-ita-basa                                      owa ni ya  
 COMIT-AUX-IP.E.F-DECL.F DUP-COMIT-sit-edge.F 1SG to ADJU  
 “They heard me calling, and came after me. Because of them the monster cried out, as I was in the basket on the edge of the lake.”
- (163) *Kosi abono me kosi abono memone me ati na me, kosi abono me, owa me kasoma me towakamarake.*  
 kosi                      abono me kosi                      abono me-mone me      ati na  
 palm\_sp(M) spirit 3PL palm\_sp(M) spirit 3PL-REP.F 3PL.S say AUX.F  
 me kosi                      abono me owa me ka-soma                      me  
 3PL.S palm\_sp(M) spirit 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-help.F 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ka-ma-hara-ke  
 away-COMIT-go-back-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “They said they were spirits of the kosi palm. The two kosi spirits saved me, and then went away.”

- (164) *Okoma tasi onamine o.*  
 o-ka-ma tasi o-na-ma-ne o  
 1SG.S-come-back.F emerge 1SG.S-AUX-back-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 ‘‘I came back, and appeared.’’
- (165) *Owa te awamarene te amake.*  
 owa tee awa-ma-ra-hene tee ama-ke  
 1SG.O 2PL.S see-back-NEG-IRR.F 2PL.S SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘‘You wouldn’t have seen me anymore.’’
- (166) *Oabene ama oni fa boti ya.*  
 o-ahaba-hene ama o-ni faha boti ya  
 1SG.S-die-IRR.F SEC 1SG.S-BKG.F water(F) inside ADJU  
 ‘‘I would have died in the depths of the water.’’
- (167) *Faha boti ya ohabene ama oke.*  
 faha boti ya o-ahaba-hene ama o-ke  
 water(F) inside ADJU 1SG.S-die-IRR.F SEC 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I would have died in the water.’’
- (168) *Haha okomina te mitaharo, okoyo okoyo hikaraboemetemone?*  
 haaha o-kamina tee mita-haro okoyo  
 this.F 1SG.S-tell.F 2PL.S hear-RP.E.F 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M)  
 okoyo hi-karaboha-hemete-mone  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) OC-shoot\_with\_blowgun-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘Did you already hear the one I told, about what my older brother shot  
 with a blowgun?’
- (169) *Afa okomina te mitaroke.*  
 afa o-kamina tee mita-haro-ke  
 this.F 1SG.S-tell.F 2PL.S hear-RP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘I told it, and you heard it.’
- (170) *One, oneboneke, kose mati owa.*  
 one one-bone-ke kose\_mati owa  
 other.F other.F-INT.F-DECL.F name\_of\_monster(M) other.M  
 ‘It will be another story, about another *kose mati*.’



# G The caimans killed the man

## Introduction

The story *The caimans killed the man* was told by Siko in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-gatorman.mp3>.

In this tragedy, a young woman is about to go out hunting with her husband. She waits while he puts poison on the points of his arrows and blowgun darts. She tires of waiting, though, and leaves to go fishing by herself. When she gets back with her catch, her husband has taken and eaten some of the tapioca that she had prepared, and she is upset. In her anger she insults him, and he withdraws to sulk in his hammock, refusing to eat. The next morning he leaves by himself to go after a river turtle. The other men go after him, and they go hunting together. After killing some monkeys, he goes after a turtle. But the turtle is very large, and it carries him from the beach into the water, where he is killed and eaten by caimans. The man's brother-in-law, who is the older brother of his wife, wants to kill his sister when he gets back to the village, but the others restrain him.

## English translation

It was a different woman [from the woman of the previous story], she was pregnant. She called her husband to go with her.

“Wait a little while, I’m going to pulverize the *iha* poison. I’m going to pulverize the *iha* poison now. When I have spread the poison on the arrow points, we will go out. It’s early in the day.”

He pulverized the poison, and cooked it. The poison boiled. He took the poison off the fire. He also cooked another small pot using the same powder, so he could spread it on the arrows a second time. He stirred the poison that was to be spread the second time.

“It’s thick. Ok, that’s good,” he said.

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He tied the blowgun darts in a bundle, and tied the arrow points in another bundle. He didn't take long, but she was in a hurry, so she went out into the forest.

"I'm hungry and he isn't leaving."

Her husband was hungry. They didn't have anything to eat, and they were hungry. He pulverized the poison, hungry. He spread the poison on the arrow points. He dried the arrow points by the fire. He set the arrow points next to the fire, and he set the dart points next to the fire, too. He came back.

"Where is she, I told her to wait for me? She went off. I wanted her to wait for me, but she left me behind. Whew, I'm hungry."

She was upset. She was going upset. She was pregnant. She went out and beat *kona* roots. She put the *kona* poison in the stream. She picked up the fish.

He came.

"Hoo, I'm really hungry. What should I eat? Wait, there is some tapioca in the pot there. I'm going to eat a little of the tapioca."

His wife was angry with him later. His wife would be angry with him. He took half of the tapioca. He rubbed the tapioca between his hands. He toasted the tapioca. He ate the tapioca. He finished eating the tapioca.

"I'm going after her."

Then she came back. She had fish in her hands, also leaves and *hamise* aerial roots, for wrapping the fish. She came, and wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish. She took a look at the tapioca.

"My husband has eaten half of the tapioca," she said, unhappy.

"Did you eat half of my tapioca? You didn't wait for me. You ate half of my tapioca," she said. She was speaking angrily. "Why don't you find other wives to give you food?" She was upset because of the tapioca.

He was going to be upset. "I ate a little of the tapioca. You can still eat tapioca."

She roasted the fish. She took the fish off the fire. She put the fish on the ground. She rubbed the piece of tapioca between her hands. She toasted the tapioca. She didn't say, "My husband is hungry. Let him eat a little of the tapioca." Because she didn't say that, he became upset.

She said, "Did you do that?"

He said, "I did that. I took a little piece of the tapioca and ate it."

He lay in his hammock, upset. It's wrong to say, "You should find other wives to give you food." Why did she say that? He lay in his hammock, upset.

She finished toasting the tapioca.

"Come here. Let's eat. Come here."

He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset. The sun went down. He lay in his hammock, upset. She ate. She wanted to eat with him, but he didn't come. She saved some of the fish. She saved a little tapioca for him, too. He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset.

His wife called him. "You didn't come to eat fish."

"I already ate. I ate my wives' food. You go ahead and eat," he said. "I ate my wives' food. You eat."

He was upset. He lay in his hammock again, upset.

He wanted to take snuff and he called his father. "Father, I want snuff. I want to take snuff."

"He hasn't eaten, and he is asking for snuff," his wife said.

So he took snuff. He came back and drank water. He drank water so he could go to sleep, upset. His wife called him many times to eat, but it had no effect. He was upset, and they hung up some fish for him. There was also toasted manioc mash for him in the pot. He was upset.

Morning came. He got going.

"I'm going out into the forest. I'm going to catch a river turtle. Keep some food for me. You (pl) don't come after me."

"Sister."

"Huh?"

"Sister, put some manioc mash in a container for me."

So he left. He went out. He disappeared into the forest. The others came upon his brother-in-law [in the garden], who had taken some ripe bananas off the stalk, and had put them in a basket. They were taking roasted fish for the woman's husband.

"You (pl) take along roasted fish for that man," his wife said.

"If I take the roasted fish, is he going to want my food? Didn't you see him? He isn't going to want my food. I shouldn't take the roasted fish."

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“Take a little. Here is manioc mash for him.”

They went. As they went, they came upon the one who had put bananas in a basket, standing there.

“Whew, put the bananas in, to eat with the fish.”

He started out. They came upon him as they were walking. They walked. He shot animals with his blowgun. They shot animals with their blowguns. They went. They arrived.

“Shall we go hunting?”

“Let’s go hunting. We will sleep and eat meat.”

They went. They found animals. They shot the animals with their blowguns. They brought the animals back. They burned the hair off the animals. They ate the animals. They roasted the animals on a rack. They ate the animals. Then they started out. They were going to sleep, and then start out.

He didn’t want the little fish his brothers-in-law called him to eat, so they ate the fish.

“Brother-in-law, these fish are for you.”

“I’m not going to eat the fish. I don’t want to eat the fish. I already ate.”

He didn’t want to eat the fish, so they ate the fish. They ate. The moon was bright. They ate. They were going to catch river turtles.

“Let’s go hunting first. When we have hunted, and when we have roasted the animals, we will catch river turtles [on another trip].”

They were going to catch river turtles. First they went hunting the next day. They shot animals with their blowguns. Woolly monkeys, brown capuchins. They shot the animals, and brought the animals back, and burned the hair off the animals. They burned the hair off the animals. When they were done burning the hair off the animals, they cut the animals up.

“You (pl) make a rack.”

They made a rack. They finished making the rack. They lay the animals on top. They cut firewood. They broke the branches of fallen trees. They carried off the branches. They lit the firewood. They roasted the animals.

“Let’s go home tomorrow.”

“I don’t know, wait. First let’s look at the river turtles.”

They got up and went. The turtle was burying its eggs. Because it was really big, it carried him [when he tried to catch it]. It didn't stay there.

"You two go that way. The two of us will go this way," he said.

They had just gone. The river turtles were on the beach. He wanted to get a river turtle. He ran to catch a turtle, and the turtle carried him. It was a big turtle. He wanted to catch the turtle but he couldn't. It carried him away. He kept holding onto the turtle. His younger brother also grabbed one. The two of them went and grabbed them.

It was taking him. There were caimans there. They were calling, and they were going to kill him. He was struggling with the turtle. It carried him off. He was holding onto it, making noise in the water. A caiman attacked and bit him. They ate him alive.

His younger brother came.

"They killed my older brother, look. He didn't let go of the turtle," he said.

The caimans ate him. They could be heard, "*Obe, obe*," as they ate him.

He was upset. He went to his two brothers-in-law, who had gone off.

"Let's go back. The caimans ate my brother, because of the turtle. He didn't let go of the turtle, and the turtle went off carrying him. He was holding onto the turtle in the water, and the caimans killed him."

So they came back [to the place where the man had been killed].

"Where?"

"The caimans can be heard as they eat my brother."

They were making a lot of noise, the many caimans.

"Let's go. They are eating our brother-in-law."

They came back [to their camp]. They came back, and they arrived. They slept a little. They were going to get started.

"We will go home tomorrow."

They roasted his animals again. They roasted the animals.

"Animals will not be eaten anymore [because the man who died knew how to hunt better than the others]. Let's carry the animals so we can eat the animals. We won't eat what he kills anymore. The animals are eating him."

They put the animals in a big basket. He put the animals in the basket. He carried

the animals. He was going to eat all the animals his brother-in-law killed.

He got up. They left. "Come on, let's go."

They came back. They came back, tired. They carried the animals. His brothers-in-law carried what he had killed, which was roasted.

His younger sister was pregnant. They came back. He remembered his brother-in-law and cried. He came back crying. They came back. He came back crying, and they ran to him.

He went. He wanted to pierce his sister with his blowgun. She was pregnant. He wanted to kill his sister.

They saw him and went running. They went running.

They arrived. He was carrying the basket and crying because of his brother-in-law. He came and arrived. He wanted to hit them. His other younger brothers were there in the plaza, and they restrained him, because he wanted to hit them. His younger brothers restrained him. They calmed him down. His mother and the others calmed him down. He stopped crying.

"You didn't eat quietly with my brother-in-law," he said, crying. He wanted to kill his sister. His younger brothers restrained him, and she escaped.

They made a rack to roast the animals on, and they put the animals on top. They roasted the animals.

"You roast mine."

They roasted the animals. They ate the animals. The animals were all gone.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Haha hahabisa one, nabati nabati weye naro.*  
haaha haaha-bisa one nabati nabati weye na-haaro  
this.F this.F-also other.F stomach stomach carry AUX-IP.E.F  
'It was a different woman, she was pregnant.'
- (2) *Nabati weye na manakobisa, maki maki hima nemetemoneke.*  
nabati weye na manakobisa maki  
stomach carry AUX.F then 3SG.POSS.husband(M)  
maki hima na-hemete-mone-ke  
3SG.POSS.husband(M) call\_to\_go AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'She was pregnant. She called her husband to go with her.'

- (3) *Maki hima Hibare mata iha to okomatibe, hibare mata.*  
 maki hima hibare mata iha too  
 3SG.POSS.husband(M) call\_to\_go wait for\_now plant.sp(M) pulverize  
 o-ka-mata-be hibare mata  
 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time-IMMED.F wait for\_now  
 ‘‘Wait a little while, I’m going to pulverize the *iha* poison.’’
- (4) *Iha to okomatibe mata.*  
 iha too o-ka-mata-be mata  
 plant.sp(M) pulverize 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time-IMMED.F for\_now  
 ‘‘I’m going to pulverize the *iha* poison now.’’
- (5) *Wati ino were okani ya e towakaba ereke.*  
 wati ino were o-ka-ni ya ee  
 arrow(M) point.M coat 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.NOM.F ADJU 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ka-haba ere-ke  
 away-COMIT-go-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘When I have spread the poison on the arrow points, we will go out.’’
- (6) *Bai, bai yaboka.*  
 bahi bahi yabo-ka  
 sun(M) sun(M) be\_far-DECL.M  
 ‘‘It’s early in the day.’’
- (7) *Iha to kane, iha to kane iha kawari iha wiro kane, iha wiro kanematamonaka.*  
 iha too ka-ne iha too ka-ne  
 plant.sp(M) pulverize COMIT-AUX.M plant.sp(M) pulverize COMIT-AUX.M  
 iha ka-waa-ri iha wiro ka-ne  
 plant.sp(M) COMIT-cook-raised\_surface.M plant.sp(M) boil COMIT-AUX.M  
 iha wiro ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 plant.sp(M) boil COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He pulverized the poison, and cooked the poison. The poison boiled.’
- (8) *Iha wiro kane iha yama kanihe, ia yama kanihematamonaka.*  
 iha wiro ka-ne iha yama  
 plant.sp(M) boil COMIT-AUX.M plant.sp(M) remove\_from\_fire  
 ka-nihe iha yama  
 COMIT-CAUS.M plant.sp(M) remove\_from\_fire

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ka-niha-himata-mona-ka  
COMIT-CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘The poison boiled. He took the poison off the fire.’

- (9) *Ia yama kanihe, iha, tokayowabona ka, yiwa iisi kabote na kawari, ia nakosiribonaha.*

iha yama ka-nihe iha  
plant.sp(M) remove\_from\_fire COMIT-CAUS.M plant.sp(M)  
to-ka-yowa-bona ka yiwaha i-isi kabote  
away-COMIT-burn.NOM.M-INT.M so\_that pot(F) DUP-be\_small quickly  
na ka-waa-ri iha nakosiri-bona-ha  
AUX.F COMIT-cook-raised\_surface.M plant.sp(M) ashes-INT.M-DUP

‘He took the poison off the fire. He also cooked another small pot using the same powder, so he could spread it on the arrows a second time.’

- (10) *Nakosiribona werewere hinematamona fahi.*

nakosiri-bona were-were hi-na-himata-mona fahi  
ashes-INT.M DUP-stir OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then

‘He stirred the poison that was to be spread the second time.’

- (11) *Were hine Imake haro.*

were hi-ne ima-ke haaro  
stir OC-AUX.M be\_fat-DECL.F that\_one.F

‘He stirred it. “It’s thick.”’

- (12) *Faya ama, ati nematamonaka.*

faya ama ati na-himata-mona-ka  
enough be say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘“Ok, that’s good,” he said.’

- (13) *Faya sare soki kasa, wati soki kasa, kekerewe re faya hine bao na ita tokemetemoneke.*

faya sarehe soki ka-kosa wati soki  
so blowgun\_dart(F) tie\_up COMIT-middle.LIST arrow(M) tie\_up  
ka-kosa ke-kerewe re faya hine bao na ita  
COMIT-middle.LIST DUP-be\_slow NEG.M SO 3.REFL hurry AUX.F stay.F  
to-ka-hemete-mone-ke  
away-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘He tied the blowgun darts together, and tied the arrow points together. He didn’t take long, but she was in a hurry, so she went out.’

- (14) *Toka aba me, Ofimiha owa yana kanakabote re.*  
to-ka aba me o-fimiha owa yana ka-na-kabote  
away-go.F fish(M) 3PL 1SG.S-be\_hungry.F 1SG.O start COMIT-AUX-quickly  
re  
NEG.M  
‘She went out. “I’m hungry and he isn’t leaving.”’
- (15) *Maki fimihimatamonaka.*  
maki fimi-himata-mona-ka  
3SG.POSS.husband(M) be\_hungry-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘Her husband was hungry.’
- (16) *Maki fimi ne, yama kakaba me kihara me, faya me fimihemetemoneke.*  
maki fimi ne yama ka-kaba me  
3SG.POSS.husband(M) be\_hungry.LIST AUX.M thing(F) DUP-eat 3PL.S  
kiha-ra me faya me fimi-hemete-mone-ke  
have-NEG.F 3PL.S so 3PL.S be\_hungry-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘Her husband was hungry. They didn’t have anything to eat, and they were hungry.’
- (17) *Me fimiha me, fimi ya ia to kane, wati ino howe kane wati ino howe kane wati ino howe kane ya wati ino howe kane faya wati ino tokanayowa, wati ino kakibare, sare, sare ini kakibare, kamematamonaka.*  
me fimiha me fimi ya iha too  
3PL.S be\_hungry.F 3PL.S hunger(F) ADJU plant.sp(M) pulverize  
ka-ne wati ino howe ka-ne wati ino  
COMIT-AUX.M arrow(M) point.M wipe COMIT-AUX.M arrow(M) point.M  
howe ka-ne wati ino howe ka-ne ya  
wipe COMIT-AUX.M arrow(M) point.M wipe COMIT-AUX.NOM.M ADJU  
wati ino howe ka-ne faya wati ino  
arrow(M) point.M wipe COMIT-AUX.M so arrow(M) point.M  
to-ka-na-yowa wati ino  
CH-COMIT-CAUS-burn.LIST arrow(M) point.M  
ka-iba-re sarehe sarehe  
COMIT-set\_down-raised\_surface blowgun\_dart(F) blowgun\_dart(F)  
ini ka-iba-re ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
point.F COMIT-set\_down-raised\_surface come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘They were hungry. He pulverized the poison, hungry. He spread the poison on the arrow points. He dried the arrow points by the fire. He set

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the arrow points next to the fire, and he set the dart points next to the fire, too. He came back.’

- (18) *Kame, Owa noki nebona onehira?*  
 ka-me owa noki na-hibona o-nehi-ra  
 come-back.M 1SG.O wait\_for AUX-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M-NPQ  
 ‘He came back. “Where is she, I told her to wait for me?”’
- (19) *Toka nanoho.*  
 to-ka na-no-ho  
 away-go.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “‘She went off.’”
- (20) *Owa noki nebona owa kakosa nanoho.*  
 owa noki na-hibona owa ka-kana-kosa  
 1SG.O wait\_for AUX-INT.M 1SG.O COMIT-leave-middle.CONT.M  
 na-no-ho  
 AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “‘I wanted her to wait for me, but she left me behind.’”
- (21) *Haa ofimi oke.*  
 haa o-fimi o-ke  
 (expression\_of\_exhaustion) 1SG.S-be\_hungry 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “‘Whew, I’m hungry.’”
- (22) *Yawaha yawa towakemetemoneke.*  
 yawaha yawa to-ka-ka-hemete-mone-ke  
 be\_upset.F anger(F) away-COMIT-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She was upset. She was going upset.’
- (23) *Faya yawa towaka, naba toaro, nabati weye naro.*  
 faya yawa to-ka-ka naba to-ha-haaro nabati weye  
 so anger(F) away-COMIT-go.F pregnant CH-be-IP.E.F stomach carry  
 na-haaro  
 AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘She was going upset. She was pregnant.’
- (24) *Nabati weye nemetemoneke.*  
 nabati weye na-hemete-mone-ke  
 stomach carry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She was pregnant.’

- (25) *Nabati weye na, toka kona baro towitiha kona, kona sa na, kona sa nemetemone.*  
 nabati weye na to-ka kona baro to-witiha kona  
 stomach carry AUX.F away-go.F plant.sp(M) beat away-out.F plant.sp(M)  
 kona saa na kona saa na-hemete-mone  
 plant.sp(M) release AUX.F plant.sp(M) release AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘She was pregnant. She went out and beat *kona* roots. She put the *kona* poison in the stream.’
- (26) *Kona sa na aba me, aba me yaba, aba me yabemetemoneke.*  
 kona saa na aba me aba me yaba aba  
 plant.sp(M) release AUX.F fish(M) 3PL fish(M) 3PL.O take\_out.F fish(M)  
 me yaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.O take\_out-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She put the poison in the stream. She picked up the fish.’
- (27) *Kamaki, Hoo ofimiha owa tiwa.*  
 ka-maki hoo o-fimiha owa ti-awa  
 come-following.M whew 1SG.S-be\_hungry.F 1SG.O 2SG.S-see  
 ‘He came. “Hoo, I’m really hungry.”’
- (28) *Himata okobaba?*  
 himata o-kaba-haba  
 what 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F  
 ‘‘What should I eat?’’
- (29) *Hiba iyawa soke foyakeni haro.*  
 hiba iyawa soke foya-ke-ni haaro  
 wait grated\_mash(F) residue.F be\_inside-DECL.F-IP.N.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘Wait, there is some tapioca in the pot there.’’
- (30) *Iyawa soke isi ni okobabanake, fati hikakobanoho.*  
 iyawa soke isi\_ni o-kaba-habana-ke  
 grated\_mash(F) residue.F little\_bit 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F-DECL.F  
 fati hi-kaako-hiba-no-ho  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) OC-be\_angry\_with-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘‘I’m going to eat a little of the tapioca.’’ His wife was angry with him later.’

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- (31) *Fati hikakoba iyawa itibase iyawa wiko kane iyawa wiko kanehimatamona.*  
 fati hi-kaako-hiba iyawa  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) OC-be\_angry\_with-FUT.M grated\_mash(F)  
 iti-base iyawa wiko ka-ne iyawa  
 take\_out-edge.M grated\_mash(F) rub COMIT-AUX.M grated\_mash(F)  
 wiko ka-na-himata-mona  
 rub COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘His wife would be angry with him. He took half of the tapioca. He rubbed the tapioca between his hands.’
- (32) *Iyawa wiko kane iyawa sire iyawa kabe iyawa kabematamonaka fahi.*  
 iyawa wiko ka-ne iyawa sire  
 grated\_mash(F) rub COMIT-AUX.M grated\_mash(F) toast.M  
 iyawa kabe iyawa kaba-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 grated\_mash(F) eat.M grated\_mash(F) eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He rubbed the tapioca between his hands. He toasted the tapioca.’
- (33) *Iyawa kabe, iyawa kabi hawa toe, Totowamake omatibe.*  
 iyawa kabe iyawa kabi hawa to-he  
 grated\_mash(F) eat.M grated\_mash(F) eat.NFIN be\_finished CH-AUX.M  
 to-to-awa-make o-mata-be  
 DUP-away-see-following 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘He ate the tapioca. He finished eating the tapioca. “I’m going after her.”’
- (34) *Kamine nimetemone?*  
 ka-ma-ne ni-mete-mone  
 come-back-CONT.F AUX.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘Did she come back?’
- (35) *Faya kamemetemone fahi.*  
 faya ka-ma-hemete-mone fahi  
 so come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘Then she came back.’
- (36) *Kama, aba me, aba me tama kana waso tama kana hamise tama kana, aba me tafowebone, faya kama, aba me aba me tafa aba me yokemetemoneke.*  
 ka-ma aba me aba me tama ka-na waso  
 come-back.F fish(M) 3PL fish(M) 3PL.O hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.F leaf(F)  
 tama ka-na hamise tama ka-na aba  
 hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.F epiphyte.sp(F) hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.F fish(M)

me tafowe-bone faya ka-ma aba me aba me  
 3PL.POSS wrapped-INT.F so come-back.F fish(M) 3PL fish(M) 3PL.O  
 tafa aba me yoka-hemete-mone-ke  
 wrap.F fish(M) 3PL.O roast\_on\_coals-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She came back. She had fish in her hands, also leaves and hamise aerial  
 roots, for wrapping the fish. She came, and wrapped the fish, and roasted  
 the fish.’

- (37) *Aba me yokaha aba me, iyawa iyawa aawa nabone Iyawa ibe oko oka  
 yibote iyawa ibe hikaba ama, hikabani amani, ati rabanihi.*  
 aba me yokaha aba me iyawa  
 fish(M) 3PL.O roast\_on\_coals.F fish(M) 3PL grated\_mash(F)  
 iyawa a-awa na-habone iyawa ibe o-ka  
 grated\_mash(F) DUP-see AUX-INT.F grated\_mash(F) piece 1SG.POSS-POSS  
 o-ka yibote iyawa ibe hi-kaba ama  
 1SG.POSS-POSS husband(M) grated\_mash(F) piece OC-eat.F SEC  
 hi-kaba-hani ama-ni ati ra-haba-ni-hi  
 OC-eat-IP.N.F SEC-BKG.F say NEG-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘She roasted the fish. She took a look at the tapioca. “My husband has  
 eaten half of the tapioca,” she said, unhappy.’

- (38) *Oka iyawa, ibe tikabani?*  
 o-ka iyawa ibe ti-kaba-hani  
 1SG.POSS-POSS grated\_mash(F) piece 2SG.S-eat-IP.N.F  
 “Did you eat half of my tapioca?”

- (39) *Owa nonoki tirani oko iyawa ibe tikabine tiwenihi, ati nemetemoneke.*  
 owa no-noki ti-ra-hani o-ka iyawa ibe  
 1SG.O DUP-wait\_for 2SG.S-NEG-IP.N.F 1SG.POSS-POSS grated\_mash(F) piece  
 ti-kaba-ne ti-ni-hi ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
 2SG.S-eat-CONT.F 2SG.S-IP.N.F-DUP say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 “You didn’t wait for me. You ate half of my tapioca,” she said.’

- (40) *Yawa, yawa ya ati saihemetemoneni.*  
 yawa yawa ya ati sai-hemete-mone-ni  
 be\_upset.F anger(F) ADJU voice be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘She was angry. She was speaking angrily.’

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- (41) *Te ka yibote me tafe te kabi nofara te amani, iyawa ihi yawabanihi.*  
 tee ka yibote me tafe tee kaba nofa-ra tee  
 2PL POSS wife(F) 3PL.POSS food.F 2PL.S eat recently-NEG.F 2PL.S  
 ama-ni iyawa ihi yawa-haba-ni-hi  
 SEC-BKG.F grated\_mash(F) because\_of.F be\_upset-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘‘Why don’t you find other wives to give you food?’’ She was upset  
 because of the tapioca.’
- (42) *Yaweba, Iyawa isi ni okobarake.*  
 yawa-hiba iyawa isi\_ni o-kaba-hara-ke  
 be\_upset-FUT.M grated\_mash(F) little\_bit 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He was going to be upset. ‘‘I ate a little of the tapioca.’’
- (43) *Iyawa, tikababa awineke.*  
 iyawa ti-kaba-haba awine-ke  
 grated\_mash(F) 2SG.S-eat-FUT.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘You can still eat tapioca.’’
- (44) *Faya aba me yoka aba me yamama nia, aba me so tonihemetemoneke.*  
 faya aba me yoka aba me yama-ma  
 so fish(M) 3PL.O roast\_on\_coals.F fish(M) 3PL.O remove\_from\_fire-DUP  
 niha aba me soo to-niha-hemete-mone-ke  
 CAUS.F fish(M) 3PL.O lie CH-CAUS-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She roasted the fish. She took the fish off the fire. She put the fish on the  
 ground.’
- (45) *Aba me so toniha iyawa soke ibe, wiko kanaha, iyawa siremetemoneke.*  
 aba me soo to-niha iyawa soke ibe wiko  
 fish(M) 3PL.O lie CH-CAUS.F grated\_mash(F) residue.F piece rub  
 ka-naha iyawa sira-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMMIT-AUX.F grated\_mash(F) toast-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She put the fish on the ground. She rubbed the piece of tapioca between  
 her hands. She toasted the tapioca.’
- (46) *Iyawa sira iyawa siremetemoneke ahi.*  
 iyawa sira iyawa sira-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 grated\_mash(F) toast.F grated\_mash(F) toast-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘She toasted the tapioca.’

- (47) *Oko yibote fimihi awane.*  
 o-ka yibote fimihi awa-ne  
 1SG.POSS-POSS husband(M) be\_hungry.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘She didn’t say, “My husband is hungry.”’
- (48) *Iyawa isi ni kaba nanoho, ati re ati rimakoni, ihi yawehemetemoneke.*  
 iyawa isi\_ni kaba na-no-ho ati re  
 grated\_mash(F) little\_bit eat.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP say NEG.M  
 ati ra-makoni ihi yawa-hemete-mone-ke  
 say NEG-for\_this\_reason.F result\_of.F be\_upset-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘Let him eat a little of the tapioca.’’ Because she didn’t say this, he  
 became upset.<sup>1</sup>
- (49) *Afa tiweheneni amani? ati na, Owehene amake ati nematamonaka.*  
 afa ti-ehene-ni ama-ni ati na o-ehene ama-ke  
 this.F 2SG.POSS-deed-IP.N.F be-BKG.F say say.F 1SG.POSS-deed be-DECL.F  
 ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘She said, “Did you do that?” He said, “I did that.”’
- (50) *Owehene amake.*  
 o-ehene ama-ke  
 1SG.POSS-deed be-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I did that.’’
- (51) *Iyawa isi ni ibe otibasa okobarake.*  
 iyawa isi\_ni ibe o-iti-basa  
 grated\_mash(F) little\_bit piece 1SG.S-take\_out-edge.F  
 o-kaba-hara-ke  
 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I took a little piece of the tapioca and ate it.’’
- (52) *Yawe yawa kawinematamonaka.*  
 yawe yawa ka-wina-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_upset.M anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He lay in his hammock, upset.’

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<sup>1</sup>The verb *ati re* is a false start.

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- (53) *Yawa kawine, Te ka yibote me ka iyawa yokana te kakaba nofara te amani ati nari na rama ahi.*  
 yawa ka-wine tee ka yibote me ka  
 anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M 2PL POSS wife(F) 3PL POSS  
 iyawa yokana tee ka-kaba nofa-ra tee ama-ni ati  
 grated\_mash(F) true 2PL.S DUP-eat recently-NEG.F 2PL.S SEC-BKG.F say  
 na-haari na rama ahi  
 AUX-wrongly AUX.F unusual then  
 ‘He lay in his hammock, upset. It’s wrong to say, “You should find other wives to give you food.”’
- (54) *Hine ati tohara rama.*  
 hine ati to-ha-ra rama  
 only voice CH-be-NEG.F unusual  
 ‘Why did she say that?’
- (55) *Faya yawa kawinematamona.*  
 faya yawa ka-wina-himata-mona  
 so anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He lay in his hammock, upset.’
- (56) *Yawa kawine iyawa siri hawa toha, Tikamini.*  
 yawa ka-wine iyawa siri  
 anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M grated\_mash(F) toast.NFIN  
 hawa to-ha ti-ka-ma-ni  
 be\_finished CH-AUX.F 2SG.S-come-back-BKG.F  
 ‘He lay in his hammock, upset. She finished toasting the tapioca. “Come here.”’
- (57) *E tafibeya.*  
 ee tafa-be-ya  
 1IN.S eat-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘Let’s eat.’’
- (58) *E tafibe.*  
 ee tafa-be  
 1IN.S eat-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘Let’s eat.’’

- (59) *Tikamahi.*  
 ti-ka-ma-hi  
 2SG.S-come-back-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Come here.’’
- (60) *Yawahi yawa kawine, yawa kawinematamonaka.*  
 yawahi yawa ka-wine yawa  
 be\_upset.M anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M anger(F)  
 ka-wina-himata-mona-ka  
 COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset.’
- (61) *Bai abematamona amaka hari.*  
 bahi ahaba-himata-mona ama-ka haari  
 sun(M) end-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-DECL.M that\_one.M  
 ‘The sun went down.’
- (62) *Yawa kawine, tafehemetemoneke.*  
 yawa ka-wine tafa-hemete-mone-ke  
 anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He lay in his hammock, upset. She ate.’
- (63) *Tafaha hikatafebona hikatafebona kamaramako, aba me one hasi  
 nimetemoneke.*  
 tafaha hi-ka-tafa-hibona hi-ka-tafa-hibona  
 eat.F OC-COMIT-eat-INT.M OC-COMIT-eat-INT.M  
 ka-ma-ra-mako aba me one hasi  
 come-back-NEG-for\_this\_reason.M fish(M) 3PL.O other.F be\_left  
 niha-hemete-mone-ke  
 CAUS-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She ate. She wanted to eat with him, but he didn’t come. She saved some  
 of the fish.’
- (64) *Aba me hasi, hinaka iyawa bitebone hasi hiniha, yawematamona fahi.*  
 aba me hasi hinaka iyawa bite-bone hasi  
 fish(M) 3PL.O be\_left 3SG.POSS grated\_mash(F) small.F-INT.F be\_left  
 hi-niha yawa-himata-mona fahi  
 OC-CAUS.F be\_upset-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘She saved some fish. She saved a little tapioca for him, too. He was upset.’

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- (65) *Yawe, yawe yawa kawine fati ha kabote hine, Aba me tikababone kakama tira.*

yawe yawe yawa ka-wine  
 be\_upset.M be\_upset.M anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M  
 fati haa kabote hi-ne aba me ti-kaba-habone  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) call quickly OC-AUX.M fish(M) 3PL.O 2SG.S-eat-INT.F  
 ka-ka-ma ti-ra  
 DUP-come-DUP 2SG.S-NEG.F

‘He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset. His wife called him. “You didn’t come to eat fish.”’

- (66) *Otafara oke.*

o-tafa-hara o-ke  
 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F

“I already ate.”

- (67) *Oko yibote me tafe okobara oke.*

o-ka yibote me tafe o-kaba-hara o-ke  
 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) 3PL.POSS food.F 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F

“I ate my wives’ food.”

- (68) *Oko yibote tafe okobarawara oni.*

o-ka yibote tafe o-kaba-rawa-hara o-ni  
 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) food.F 1SG.S-eat-FPL-IP.E.F 1SG.S-BKG.F

“I ate my wives’ food.”

- (69) *Titafabisahi, ati nematamonaka.*

ti-tafa-bisa-hi ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 2SG.S-eat-also-IMP.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

“You go ahead and eat,” he said.’

- (70) *Oko yibote me tafe okobara oni.*

o-ka yibote me tafe o-kaba-hara o-ni  
 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) 3PL.POSS food.F 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F 1SG.S-BKG.F

“I ate my wives’ food.”

- (71) *Titafabisahi.*

ti-tafa-bisa-hi  
 2SG.S-eat-also-IMP.F

“You eat.”

(72) *Faya yawe yawa kawiname sina hisi nebona bati bati ha ne, Abi, abi oko sinabana.*

faya yawe yawa ka-wina-me sina hisi  
 so be\_upset.M anger(F) COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-back.M snuff(F) sniff  
 na-hibona bati bati haa ne abi  
 AUX-INT.M 3SG.POSS.father(M) 3SG.POSS.father(M) call AUX.M father(M)  
 abi o-ka sina-bana  
 father(M) 1SG.POSS-POSS snuff(F)-FUT

‘He was upset. He lay in his hammock again, upset. He wanted to take snuff and he called his father. “Father, I want snuff.”’

(73) *Sina hisi obeya.*

sina hisi o-be-ya  
 snuff(F) sniff 1SG.S-IMMED.F-NOW

“I want to take snuff.”

(74) *Tafebona sina ini hiri nane.*

tafa-hibona sina ini hiri na-ne  
 eat-INT.M snuff(F) name.F say AUX.CONT.M-BKG.M

“He hasn’t eaten, and he is asking for snuff.”

(75) *Faya sina hisi ne, sina hisi nematamonaka.*

faya sina hisi ne sina hisi na-himata-mona-ka  
 so snuff(F) sniff AUX.M snuff(F) sniff AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘So he took snuff.’

(76) *Sina hisi ne kame, fa fawematamonaka.*

sina hisi ne ka-me faha fawa-himata-mona-ka  
 snuff(F) sniff AUX.M come-back.M water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He took snuff. He came back and drank water.’

(77) *Fa fawematamonaka.*

faha fawa-himata-mona-ka  
 water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He drank water.’

G *The caimans killed the man*

- (78) *Fa fawe, fa fawematamonaka yawa amo kanebana.*  
 faha fawe faha fawa-himata-mona-ka yawa amo  
 water(F) drink.M water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M anger(F) sleep  
 ka-na-hibana  
 COMMIT-AUX-FUT.M  
 ‘He drank water. He drank water so he could go to sleep, upset.’
- (79) *Tefebona fati ha kanakabote hikana, ati re yawahi, hinaka aba mebone me me hikanawinemetemone.*  
 tefe-bona fati haa ka-na-kabote hi-ka-na  
 food.M-INT.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) call COMMIT-AUX-quickly OC-DECL.M-IRR.M  
 ati re yawahi hinaka aba me-bone me me  
 say NEG.M be\_upset.M 3SG.POSS fish(M) 3PL-INT.F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-na-wina-hemete-mone  
 OC-COMIT-CAUS-hang-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘His wife called him many times to eat, but it had no effect. He was upset, and they hung up some fish for him.’
- (80) *Aba mebone me hikanawina, hinaka iyawa kaibone foya, yawe, yama we kamakiemetemone amani.*  
 aba me-bone me hi-ka-na-wina hinaka iyawa  
 fish(M) 3PL-INT.F 3PL.S OC-COMIT-CAUS-hang.F 3SG.POSS grated\_mash(F)  
 kahi-bone foya yawe yama wehe  
 be\_toasted.NFIN-INT.F be\_inside.F be\_upset.M thing(F) light.F  
 ka-maki-hemete-mone ama-ni  
 come-following-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
 ‘They hung up fish for him. There was also toasted manioc mash for him in the pot. He was upset. Morning came.’
- (81) *Yama we kamakia, yama we kamakia me, yana tonematamona.*  
 yama wehe ka-makia yama wehe ka-makia me  
 thing(F) light.F come-following.F thing(F) light.F come-following.F 3PL  
 yana to-na-himata-mona  
 start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘Morning came. He got going.’
- (82) *Yana tone, Okabone ama oke.*  
 yana to-ne o-ka-habone ama o-ke  
 start CH-AUX.M 1SG.S-go-INT.F SEC 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘He got going. “I’m going out into the forest.”’

- (83) *Okabone ama.*  
o-ka-habone ama  
1SG.S-go-INT.F SEC  
‘‘I’m going out.’’
- (84) *Sire sire sire owatibanara oke.*  
sire sire sire o-wati-bana-hara  
river\_turtle(F) river\_turtle(F) river\_turtle(F) 1SG.S-catch.F-FUT-IP.E.F  
o-ke  
1SG.S-DECL.F  
‘‘I’m going to catch a river turtle.’’
- (85) *Otefeba tikawatiyahi.*  
o-tefe-ba ti-ka-wata-yahi  
1SG.POSS-food-FUT 2SG.S-COMIT-be\_located-DIST.IMP.F  
‘‘Keep some food for me.’’
- (86) *Owa te kiyoriyahi.*  
owa tee kiyo-ra-yahi  
1SG.O 2PL.S follow-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
‘‘Don’t come after me.’’
- (87) *Asima, asima.*  
asima asima  
younger\_sister(F) younger\_sister(F)  
‘‘Sister.’’
- (88) *Haa?*  
haa  
huh?  
‘‘Huh?’’
- (89) *Asima oko iyawaba te tikanahi.*  
asima o-ka iyawa-ba tee  
younger\_sister(F) 1SG.POSS-POSS grated\_mash(F)-FUT put\_inside  
ti-ka-na-hi  
2SG.S-COMIT-AUX-IMP.F  
‘‘Sister, put some manioc mash in a container for me.’’

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- (90) *Faya yana tonematamonaka ahi.*  
 faya yana to-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 so start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘So he left.’
- (91) *Yana tone, tokematamonaka.*  
 yana to-ne to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 start CH-AUX.M away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He left. He went out.’
- (92) *Toke wabori, fawa tonakose yifari, fatara ya yifari kakitino yifari te kaneno me hiwasimaki, hinaka aba me kaibonehe me, fati, Te ka owa ka aba me kaiba te tama kanahi.*  
 to-ke wabori fawa to-na-kose  
 away-go.M 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) disappear CH-AUX-middle.M  
 yifari fatara ya yifari ka-iti-hino yifari  
 banana(F) garden(F) ADJU banana(F) COMIT-take\_out-IP.N.M banana(F)  
 tee ka-na-hino me hi-wasi-maki hinaka aba  
 put\_inside COMIT-AUX-IP.N.M 3PL.S OC-find-following.M 3SG.POSS fish(M)  
 me kahi-bone-he me fati tee ka owa  
 3PL.S be\_toasted.NFIN-INT.F-DUP 3PL 3SG.POSS.wife(F) 2PL POSS man(M)  
 ka aba me kahi-ba tee tama ka-na-hi  
 POSS fish(M) 3PL.S be\_toasted.NFIN-FUT 2PL.S hold\_onto COMIT-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘He went out. He disappeared into the forest. The others came upon his brother-in-law, who had taken some ripe bananas off the stalk, and had put them in a basket. They were taking roasted fish for him. “You take along roasted fish for that man,” his wife said.’
- (93) *Aba me kai tama okana otefe nofebana?*  
 aba me kahi tama o-ka-na o-tefe  
 fish(M) 3PL.S be\_toasted.NFIN hold\_onto 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.F 1SG.POSS-food  
 nofa-hibana  
 want-FUT.M  
 “‘If I take the roasted fish, is he going to want my food?’”
- (94) *Aawa tire?*  
 a-awa ti-re  
 DUP-see 2SG.S-NEG.M  
 “‘Didn’t you see him?’”

- (95) *Otefe nofareba amaka.*  
 o-tefe            nofa-ra-hiba    ama-ka  
 1SG.POSS-food want-NEG-FUT.M SEC-DECL.M  
 “He isn’t going to want my food.”
- (96) *Aba me kai tama okariyahi.*  
 aba    me    kahi                    tama            o-ka-ra-yahi  
 fish(M) 3PL.S be\_toasted.NFIN hold\_onto 1SG.S-COMIT-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 “I shouldn’t take the roasted fish.”
- (97) *Me te tatama kana nahi.*  
 me    tee    ta-tama                    ka-na            na-hi  
 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP-hold\_onto COMIT-AUX AUX-IMP.F  
 “Take a little.”
- (98) *Hinaka iyawabone ama haro ya ahi.*  
 hinaka iyawa-bone                    ama haro            ya    ahi  
 3SG.POSS grated\_mash(F)-INT.F be    that\_one.F ADJU here  
 “Here is manioc mash for him.”<sup>2</sup>
- (99) *Me towakamakia me towakamakia, me me towakamakia yifari te kaneno weno me hiwasimaki, me hiwasimaki, Oof yifari te te kanahi yama kakawibana.*  
 me    to-ka-ka-makia                    me    to-ka-ka-makia                    me  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S  
 me    to-ka-ka-makia                    yifari            tee  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F banana(F) put\_inside  
 ka-na-hino            waa-hino    me    hi-wasi-maki                    me  
 COMIT-AUX-IP.N.M stand-IP.N.M 3PL.S OC-find-following.M 3PL.S  
 hi-wasi-maki            oof yifari            tee    tee            ka-na-hi  
 OC-find-following.M hoo banana(F) 2PL.S put\_inside COMIT-AUX-IMP.F  
 yama    kakawi-bana  
 thing(F) starch-FUT  
 ‘They went. As they went, they came upon the one who had put bananas in a basket, standing there. “Whew, put the bananas in, to eat with the fish.”’

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<sup>2</sup>The word *ya* is a mistake.

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- (100) *Faya yana tonematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya yana to-na-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 so start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He started out.’
- (101) *Me yana tona, me hiwasimaki me yaka nemetemoneke fahi.*  
 me yana to-na me hi-wasi-maki me yaka  
 3PL.S start CH-AUX.F 3PL.S OC-find-following.M 3PL.S walk  
 na-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He started out. They came upon him as they were walking.’
- (102) *Me yaka na, faya bani me fora nematamonaka fahi.*  
 me yaka na faya bani me fora  
 3PL.S walk AUX.F so animal(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun  
 na-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘They walked. He shot animals with his blowgun.’
- (103) *Bani me me fora nemetemone fahi.*  
 bani me me fora na-hemete-mone fahi  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They shot animals with their blowguns.’
- (104) *Me toka me toka me tokaha me kobo na me, me kobo na me, me kobo nemetemoneke.*  
 me to-ka me to-ka me to-kaha me kobo na  
 3PL.S away-go.F 3PL.S away-go.F 3PL.S away-go.F 3PL.S arrive AUX.F  
 me me kobo na me me kobo na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They went. They arrived.’
- (105) *Me kobo na me, Yama, yama e yete nibana?*  
 me kobo na me yama yama ee yete ni-bana  
 3PL.S arrive AUX.F 3PL.S thing(F) thing(F) 1IN.S hunt AUX.F-FUT  
 ‘They arrived. “Shall we go hunting?”’
- (106) *Yama e yete nahi.*  
 yama ee yete na-hi  
 thing(F) 1IN.S hunt AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘“Let’s go hunting.”’

- (107) *Yama, yama e yete nibeya e amo niba bani e kabeba.*  
 yama yama ee yete na-be-ya ee amo ni-ba  
 thing(F) thing(F) 1IN.S hunt AUX-IMMED.F-NOW 1IN.S sleep AUX.F-FUT  
 bani ee kaba-hiba  
 animal(M) 1IN.S eat-FUT.M  
 ‘Let’s go hunting. We will sleep and eat meat.’
- (108) *Me tokemetemoneke.*  
 me to-ka-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S away-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They went.’
- (109) *Me toka bani me, me toka bani me me wasiha bani me me fora na me, bani me me fora nemetemoneke fahi.*  
 me to-ka bani me me to-ka bani me me  
 3PL.S away-go.F animal(M) 3PL 3PL.S away-go.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 wasiha bani me me fora na me  
 find.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX.F 3PL.S  
 bani me me fora na-hemete-mone-ke  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 fahi  
 then  
 ‘They went. They found animals. They shot the animals with their blowguns.’
- (110) *Faya bani me me fora na me, bani me me kakama me, bani me me tokama bani me me, kabehemetemone fahi.*  
 faya bani me me fora na me bani  
 so animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX.F 3PL.S animal(M)  
 me me ka-ka-ma me bani me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 toka-ma bani me me kaba-hemete-mone fahi  
 partially\_burn-back.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They shot the animals. They brought the animals back. They burned the hair off the animals. They ate the animals.’

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- (111) *Faya bani me me kaba me, bani me me kabemetemoneke.*  
 faya bani me me kaba me bani me me  
 so animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 kaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They ate the animals.’
- (112) *Bani me me kaba me, tabasi na bani me me kaba me, me yana tonabone mati.*  
 bani me me kaba me tabasi na bani me  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX.F animal(M) 3PL.O  
 me kaba me me yana to-na-habone mati  
 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH-AUX-INT.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They ate the animals. They roasted the animals on a rack. They ate the animals. Then they started out.’<sup>3</sup>
- (113) *Me amo nabone, me yana tonabone, wabori, aba biti me, aba biti me, wabori me, ha hikana ka aba me nofare ka aba me me hikabemetemoneke.*  
 me amo na-habone me yana to-na-habone  
 3PL.S sleep AUX-INT.F 3PL.S start CH-AUX-INT.F  
 wabori aba biti me aba biti me  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) fish(M) small.M 3PL fish(M) small.M 3PL.O  
 wabori me haa hi-ka-na ka aba  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL.S call OC-COMIT-AUX.F which fish(M)  
 me nofa-re ka aba me me hi-kaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.O want-NEG.M which fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They were going to sleep, and then start out. He didn’t want the little fish his brothers-in-law called him to eat, so they ate the fish.’
- (114) *Wabo, wabo tika aba mebone me, amake haro.*  
 wabo wabo ti-ka aba me-bone  
 brother\_in\_law(M) brother\_in\_law(M) 2SG.POSS-POSS fish(M) 3PL-INT.F  
 me ama-ke haaro  
 3PL.S be-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘Brother-in-law, these fish are for you.’’

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<sup>3</sup>There is a *me* missing, it should be *me me tabasi na*.

- (115) *Aba me okobene me amake.*  
 aba me o-kaba-hene me ama-ke  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-IRR.F 3PL.O SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I’m not going to eat the fish.’’
- (116) *Aba me kabi onofa okare.*  
 aba me kabi o-nofa o-ka-re  
 fish(M) 3PL.O eat.NFIN 1SG.S-want 1SG.S-DECL-NEG.F  
 ‘‘I don’t want to eat the fish.’’
- (117) *Otafara oke.*  
 o-tafa-hara o-ke  
 1SG.S-eat-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I already ate.’’
- (118) *Faya aba me nofare ka aba me me hikabemetemoneke ahi.*  
 faya aba me nofa-re ka aba me me  
 so fish(M) 3PL.O want-NEG.M which fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hi-kaba-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He didn’t want to eat the fish, so they ate the fish.’
- (119) *Faya me tafa me, abariko waha tonemata.*  
 faya me tafa me abariko waha to-na-himata  
 so 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S moon(M) dawn CH-AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘They ate. The moon was bright.’
- (120) *Sire me me watabone me tafa me, Yama e yete namataba ereke mata.*  
 sire me me wata-habone me tafa me yama ee  
 river\_turtle(F) 3PL.O 3PL.S catch-INT.F 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S thing(F) 1IN.S  
 yete na-mata-haba ere-ke mata  
 hunt AUX-short\_time-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F for\_now  
 ‘They ate. They were going to catch river turtles. ‘‘Let’s go hunting first.’’
- (121) *Yama e yete ni ya bani me e tabasi naro, sire me e wataba ere.*  
 yama ee yete ni ya bani me ee tabasi  
 thing(F) 1IN.S hunt AUX.NOM.F ADJU animal(M) 3PL.O 1IN.S roast\_on\_rack

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na-haaro sire me ee wata-haba ere  
 AUX-PFUT.F river\_turtle(F) 3PL.O 1IN.S catch-FUT.F 1IN.S

“When we have hunted, and when we have roasted the animals, we will catch river turtles.”

- (122) *Sire me me watabone me, yama me yete namina bani me me fora nemetemoneni.*

sire me me wata-habone me yama me yete  
 river\_turtle(F) 3PL.O 3PL.S catch-INT.F 3PL.S thing(F) 3PL.S hunt  
 na-mina bani me me fora  
 AUX-morning.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_blowgun  
 na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F

‘They were going to catch river turtles. First they went hunting the next day. They shot animals with their blowguns.’

- (123) *Bani me me fora na me wafa mati yowi mati, bani me me fora na me bani me me kakama bani me, me me me tokamemetemoneke.*

bani me me fora na me  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX.F 3PL.S  
 wafa mati yowi mati bani me me  
 woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL brown\_capuchin(M) 3PL animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 fora na me bani me me  
 shoot\_with\_blowgun AUX.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 ka-ka-ma bani me me me me  
 COMIT-come-back.F animal(M) 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 toka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 partially\_burn-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘They shot animals. Woolly monkeys, brown capuchins. They shot the animals, and brought the animals back, and burned the hair off the animals.’

- (124) *Bani me toka me, bani me toki abi ya me bani me bobi ne, Tana te yama nahi.*

bani me toka me bani me  
 animal(M) 3PL.S partially\_burn.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.S  
 toki ahabi ya me bani me bobi  
 be\_partially\_burned.NFIN end.NOM.F ADJU 3PL animal(M) 3PL.O slit

ne tana tee yama na-hi  
AUX.M roasting\_rack(F) 2PL.S make AUX-IMP.F

'They burned the hair off the animals. When they were done burning the hair off the animals, they cut the animals up. "You make a rack."

- (125) *Faya tana me yama na, tana me yama nemetemoneke.*

faya tana me yama na tana me yama  
so roasting\_rack(F) 3PL.S make AUX.F roasting\_rack(F) 3PL.S make  
na-hemete-mone-ke  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

'They made a rack.'

- (126) *Tana me yama na me, tana me hawa toniha bani me me so niria, bani me me so niria, yifo me tafa nemetemoneke.*

tana me yama na me tana me  
roasting\_rack(F) 3PL.S make AUX.F 3PL.S roasting\_rack(F) 3PL.S  
hawa to-niha bani me me soo niha-ria  
be\_finished CH-CAUS.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS-raised\_surface.F  
bani me me soo niha-ria yifo me tafa  
animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS-raised\_surface.F firewood(F) 3PL.S split  
na-hemete-mone-ke  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

'They made a rack. They finished making the rack. They lay the animals on top. They cut firewood.'

- (127) *Yifo, yifo ini yifo ini me baka na yifo ini me, iso na me, yifo me afo kana bani me me tabasi nemetemoneke.*

yifo yifo ini yifo ini me baka  
firewood(F) firewood(F) branch.F firewood(F) branch.F 3PL.S break  
na yifo ini me iso na me yifo me afo  
AUX.F firewood(F) branch.F 3PL.S carry\_off AUX.F 3PL.S fire(F) 3PL.S light  
ka-na bani me me tabasi  
COMIT-AUX.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack  
na-hemete-mone-ke  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

'They broke the branches of fallen trees. They carried off the branches. They lit the firewood. They roasted the animals.'

G *The caimans killed the man*

- (128) *Me me tabasi na, E tokomaminaba ere.*  
 me me tabasi na ee to-ka-ma-mina-haba  
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX.F 1IN.S away-go-back-morning-FUT.F  
 ere  
 1IN.S  
 ‘They roasted them. “Let’s go home tomorrow.”’
- (129) *E awaraba hiba.*  
 ee awa-ra-haba hiba  
 1IN.S see-NEG-FUT.F wait  
 ‘“I don’t know, wait.”’
- (130) *Sire me e awamata.*  
 sire me ee awa-mata  
 river\_turtle(F) 3PL.O 1IN.S see-short\_time  
 ‘“First let’s look at the river turtles.”’
- (131) *Sire me e awamata mata sire.*  
 sire me ee awa-mata mata sire  
 river\_turtle(F) 3PL.O 1IN.S see-short\_time for\_now river\_turtle(F)  
 ‘“Let’s look at the river turtles.”’
- (132) *Faya me yana na me, tokemetemoneke.*  
 faya me yana na me to-ka-hemete-mone-ke  
 so 3PL.S get\_up AUX.F 3PL.S away-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They got up and went.’
- (133) *Me toka me, hife kamoha itehemetemoneke ahi.*  
 me to-ka me hife kamoha ita-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 3PL.S away-go.F 3PL.S egg.F bury.F sit-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F there  
 ‘They went. It was burying its eggs.’
- (134) *Amoamosa nemete awine makoni he weye nine nimete.*  
 amo-amosa na-hemete awine makoni hee weye  
 DUP-be\_good AUX-FP.N.F seem.F for\_this\_reason 3SG.O carry  
 na-ne ni-mete  
 AUX-CONT.F AUX.NOM.F-FP.N.F  
 ‘Because it was really big, it carried him.’

- (135) *Wara haro.*  
 waa-ra haaro  
 stand-NEG.F that\_one.F  
 ‘It didn’t stay there.’
- (136) *Tokisami forima tinahi.*  
 to-ka-risa-mi forima ti-na-hi  
 away-go-down-back.NFIN do\_properly 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘Go down the ladder carefully.’<sup>4</sup>
- (137) *Faya toke mati Te towakabisa ahi.*  
 faya to-ke mati tee to-ka-ka-bisa ahi  
 so away-go.M 3PL 2PL.S away-COMIT-go-also there  
 ‘‘You two go that way.’’<sup>5</sup>
- (138) *Ota towakiba ahi, ati nematamonaka.*  
 otaa to-ka-ki-ba ahi ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 1EX.S away-COMIT-go.NOM.F-FUT here say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘The two of us will go this way,’’ he said.’
- (139) *Hiba me totowaka na sire, naorawemetemoneke ahi.*  
 hiba me to-to-ka-ka na sire  
 wait 3PL.S DUP-away-COMIT-go AUX.F river\_turtle(F)  
 naho-rawa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 stand-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F there  
 ‘They had just gone. The river turtles were on the beach.’
- (140) *Sire naorawa, sire naorawa sire wati kane sire wati kane sire watebona fito towitimatamonaka ahi sire bete hikawehibanoho ahi.*  
 sire naho-rawa sire naho-rawa sire  
 river\_turtle(F) stand-FPL.F river\_turtle(F) stand-FPL.F river\_turtle(F)  
 wati ka-ne sire wati ka-ne  
 plan\_against COMMIT-AUX.M river\_turtle(F) plan\_against COMMIT-AUX.M  
 sire wata-hibona fito to-witi-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 river\_turtle(F) catch-INT.M rush away-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then

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<sup>4</sup>Siko said this to his wife, Amoro.

<sup>5</sup>The words *toke mati* are a false start.

G *The caimans killed the man*

sire                   bete hi-ka-waha-hiba-no-ho                   ahi  
 river\_turtle(F) run OC-COMIT-change-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP then  
 ‘The river turtles were on the beach. He wanted to get a river turtle. He  
 ran to catch a turtle, and the turtle carried him.’

- (141) *Sire ebotemetemoneke ahi.*

sire                   ehebote-mete-mone-ke ahi  
 river\_turtle(F) big-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F this  
 ‘It was a big turtle.’

- (142) *Sire wateba sire hikasawari sire weye ni hikasame, sire wanakaba  
 nematamonaka ahi.*

sire                   wata-hiba   sire                   hi-ka-sawari  
 river\_turtle(F) catch-FUT.M river\_turtle(F) OC-COMIT-frustrate.M  
 sire                   weye ni           hi-ka-risa-me       sire  
 river\_turtle(F) carry AUX.NFIN OC-go-down-back.M river\_turtle(F)  
 wana-kaba                           na-himata-mona-ka       ahi  
 be\_attached-without\_stopping AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He wanted to catch the turtle but he couldn’t. It carried him away. He  
 kept holding onto the turtle.’

- (143) *Wanakaba ne sire nisori hiwatabisa nisori tama, ha me towakabisa me me  
 hiwatikima, faya towakamemetemone ahi.*

wana-kaba                                   ne   sire  
 be\_attached-without\_stopping AUX.M river\_turtle(F)  
 nisori                                   hi-wata-bisa  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) OC-catch-also.F  
 nisori                                   tama                   haa me  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) hold\_onto.LIST DEM 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ka-bisa                   me me hi-wata-kima faya  
 away-COMIT-go-also.F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-catch-two.F so  
 to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone       ahi  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘He kept holding onto it. His younger brother also grabbed one. The two  
 of them went and grabbed them. It was taking him.’<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The object pronoun *fe* is missing before *towakamemetemone*, cf. (146) below.

- (144) *Inohowe me inohowe me kawita me, kawita me ati kosi karemete he me nabowaba mati.*

inohowe me inohowe me ka-ita me ka-ita  
 caiman.sp(M) 3PL caiman.sp(M) 3PL.S COMIT-sit.F 3PL.S COMIT-sit.F  
 me ati kosi ka-re-hemete hee me  
 3PL.POSS voice be\_heard COMIT-raised\_surface-FP.N.F 3SG.O 3PL.S  
 naabowa-haba mati  
 kill-FUT.F 3PL.S

‘There were caimans there. They were calling, and they were going to kill him.’

- (145) *Inohowe me hinaboweba sire mono nematamonane.*

inohowe me hi-naabowa-hiba sire mono  
 caiman.sp(M) 3PL.S OC-kill-FUT.M river\_turtle(F) struggle\_with  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M

‘The caimans were going to kill him. He was struggling with the turtle.’

- (146) *Faya fe towakama faya tama hina tebo tebo moni na rama inohowe, inohowe fito nake inohowe wai hine, inohowe wai hinehimatamonaka inohowe me, hikabebanoho yati.*

faya fee to-ka-ka-ma faya tama hi-na  
 so 3SG.O away-COMIT-go-back.F so hold\_onto OC-AUX.F  
 tebo tebo moni  
 (something\_hitting\_water) (something\_hitting\_water) make\_sound  
 na rama inohowe inohowe fito na-ke  
 AUX.F unusual caiman.sp(M) caiman.sp(M) rush AUX-coming  
 inohowe wai hi-ne inohowe wai  
 caiman.sp(M) bite OC-AUX.M caiman.sp(M) bite  
 hi-na-himata-mona-ka inohowe me  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M caiman.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 hi-kaba-hiba-no-ho yati  
 OC-eat-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP alive

‘It carried him off. He was holding onto it, making noise in the water. A caiman attacked and bit him. They ate him alive.’

G *The caimans killed the man*

- (147) *Nisori kamaki nisori nisori, Okoyo yama nabowarawa awineke hoho.*  
 nisori ka-maki  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) come-following.M  
 nisori nisori  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M)  
 okoyo yama naabowa-rawa awine-ke hoho  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) thing(F) kill-FPL.F seem.F-DECL.F look  
 ‘His younger brother came. “They killed my older brother, look.”’
- (148) *Okoyo yama nabowarake.*  
 okoyo yama naabowa-hara-ke  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) thing(F) kill-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “‘They killed my brother.’”
- (149) *Sire sa kanibote reno awane, ati nematamonaka.*  
 sire saa ka-na-bote ra-hino awa-ne ati  
 river\_turtle(F) release COMMIT-AUX-quickly NEG-IP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “‘He didn’t let go of the turtle,” he said.’
- (150) *Ati ne ya, faya inohowe me hikabematamonaka fahi.*  
 ati ne ya faya inohowe me  
 say AUX.NOM.M ADJU so caiman.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 hi-kaba-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 OC-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The caimans ate him.’
- (151) *Ati saihemetemoneke ahi obe obe obe obe obe obe, he me kaba mati ahi.*  
 ati sai-hemete-mone-ke ahi obe  
 voice be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then (call\_of\_caiman)  
 obe obe obe obe  
 (call\_of\_caiman) (call\_of\_caiman) (call\_of\_caiman) (call\_of\_caiman)  
 obe hee me kaba mati ahi  
 (call\_of\_caiman) 3SG.O 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S then  
 ‘They could be heard, “Obe, obe,” as they ate him.’<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>The pronominal *me* referencing the possessor of *ati* is missing at the beginning of the sentence.

- (152) *Faya yawe tokomake mera, wabori me towaka me ni ya tokomake, E tokomabone ereke.*  
 faya yawe to-ka-make mera wabori  
 so be\_upset.M away-go-following 3PL.O 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M)  
 me to-ka-ka me ni ya to-ka-make ee  
 3PL away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S to ADJU away-go-following 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ma-habone ere-ke  
 away-go-back-INT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F  
 ‘He was upset. He went to his two brothers-in-law, who had gone off.  
 “Let’s go back.”’
- (153) *E tokomabone ereni.*  
 ee to-ka-ma-habone ere-ni  
 1IN.S away-go-back-INT.F 1IN.S-BKG.F  
 “Let’s go back.”’
- (154) *Okomi okoyo, inohowe me kabarake sire ehene.*  
 okomi okoyo inohowe me  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) caiman.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 kaba-hara-ke sire ehene  
 eat-IP.E.F-DECL.F river\_turtle(M) because\_of.M  
 “The caimans ate my brother, because of the turtle.”’
- (155) *Sire sa kabote re sire weye ni hikame, inohowe faha ya sire tama ne, inohowe me hinabowenoka.*  
 sire saa kabote re sire weye ni  
 river\_turtle(M) release quickly NEG.M river\_turtle(M) carry AUX.NFIN  
 hi-ka-me inohowe faha ya sire tama  
 OC-go-back.M caiman.sp(M) water(F) ADJU river\_turtle(M) hold\_onto  
 ne inohowe me hi-naabowa-hino-ka  
 AUX.M caiman.sp(M) 3PL.S OC-kill-IP.N.M-DECL.M  
 “He didn’t let go of the turtle, and the turtle went off carrying him. He was holding onto the turtle in the water, and the caimans killed him.”’
- (156) *Faya me kamemetemone fahi.*  
 faya me ka-ma-hemete-mone fahi  
 so 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘So they came back.’

G *The caimans killed the man*

- (157) *Me kama me, me kamemetemoneke.*  
 me ka-ma me me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They came back.’
- (158) *Me kama me, Hika ya?*  
 me ka-ma me hika ya  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S where ADJU  
 ‘They came back. “Where?”’
- (159) *Inohowe okoyo me kaba me ati saineke haro.*  
 inohowe okoyo me kaba me ati  
 caiman.sp(M) 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.POSS voice  
 sai-ne-ke haaro  
 be\_heard-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘The caimans can be heard as they eat my brother.’’
- (160) *Me hora kawa nemetemoneke inohowe, tamabote mati.*  
 me hora ka-waha na-hemete-mone-ke inohowe  
 3PL.S complain COMIT-change AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F caiman.sp(M)  
 tama-bote mati  
 be\_many-very 3PL  
 ‘They were making a lot of noise, the many caimans.’
- (161) *Faya me hora na me hora ni ya Hima, ota owa, ota owa yama kabarawake.*  
 faya me hora na me hora ni ya hima  
 so 3PL.S complain AUX.F 3PL.S complain AUX.NOM.F ADJU let’s\_go  
 ota\_owa ota\_owa yama  
 1SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 1SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) thing(F)  
 kaba-rawa-ke  
 eat-FPL-DECL.F  
 ‘They were making lots of noise. “Let’s go. They are eating my  
 brother-in-law.”’
- (162) *Faya me kamemetemone fahi.*  
 faya me ka-ma-hemete-mone fahi  
 so 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They came back.’

- (163) *Me kama me, kobo nama me amo tosabani mati.*  
 me ka-ma me kobo na-ma me amo  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S arrive AUX-back.F 3PL.S sleep  
 to-kosa-haba-ni mati  
 CH-middle-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They came back, and they arrived. They slept a little.’
- (164) *Me amo tosa, me amo tosemetemoneke.*  
 me amo to-kosa me amo to-kosa-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S sleep CH-middle.F 3PL.S sleep CH-middle-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They slept a little.’
- (165) *Me amo tosa me yana tonabone mati.*  
 me amo to-kosa me yana to-na-habone mati  
 3PL.O sleep CH-middle.F 3PL.S start CH-AUX-INT.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They slept a little. They were going to get started.’
- (166) *E tokomaminaba ereke.*  
 ee to-ka-ma-mina-haba ere-ke  
 1IN.S away-go-back-morning-FUT.F 1IN.S-DECL.F  
 ‘“We will go home tomorrow.”’
- (167) *Hinaka bani me me tabasi hinamemetemone.*  
 hinaka bani me me tabasi hi-na-ma-hemete-mone  
 3SG.POSS animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They roasted his animals again.’
- (168) *Faya, bani me me tabasi na Bani me bani me, kabamaraba me amake.*  
 faya bani me me tabasi na bani me  
 so animal(M) 3PL.S 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX.F animal(M) 3PL.S  
 bani me kaba-ma-ra-haba me ama-ke  
 animal(M) 3PL.S be\_eaten-back-NEG-FUT.F 3PL.S SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘They roasted the animals. “Animals will not be eaten anymore.”’
- (169) *Bani me e kababa bani me, e weye nahi.*  
 bani me ee kaba-haba bani me ee weye na-hi  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 1IN.S eat-FUT.F animal(M) 3PL.O 1IN.S carry AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘“Let’s carry the animals so we can eat the animals.”’

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- (170) *Bani me e weye nahi.*  
 bani me ee weye na-hi  
 animal(M) 3PL.S 1IN.S carry AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Let’s carry the animals.’’
- (171) *Ene e kabamareba amaka.*  
 ehene ee kaba-ma-ra-hiba ama-ka  
 victim\_of.M 1IN.S eat-back-NEG-FUT.M SEC-DECL.M  
 ‘‘We won’t eat what he kills anymore.’’
- (172) *Yama kabarawineke.*  
 yama kaba-rawa-ne-ke  
 thing(F) eat-FPL-CONT.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘The animals are eating him.’’
- (173) *Faya hinaka bani me me, te hinemetemoneke.*  
 faya hinaka bani me me tee  
 so 3SG.POSS animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S put\_inside  
 hi-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They put his animals in a basket.’
- (174) *Bani me me te na me, baro ya baro ya hinaka bani me te hinemetemone ahi.*  
 bani me me tee na me baro ya baro  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S put\_inside AUX.F 3PL.S basket(F) ADJU basket(F)  
 ya hinaka bani me tee hi-na-hemete-mone ahi  
 ADJU 3SG.POSS animal(M) 3PL.O put\_inside OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They put the animals in a big basket.’
- (175) *Faya baro ya bani me te ne, bani me te nematamona.*  
 faya baro ya bani me tee ne bani me  
 so basket(F) ADJU animal(M) 3PL.O put\_inside AUX.M animal(M) 3PL.O  
 tee na-himata-mona  
 put\_inside AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He put the animals in the basket.’

- (176) *Bani me te ne bani me weye nematamonaka ahi, wabori ehene kabi oharibonaha.*  
 bani me tee ne bani me weye  
 animal(M) 3PL.O put\_inside AUX.M animal(M) 3PL.O carry  
 na-himata-mona-ka ahi wabori ehene  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) victim\_of.M  
 kabi ohari-hibona-ha  
 eat.NFIN be\_alone-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘He carried the animals. He was going to eat all the animals his brother-in-law killed.’
- (177) *Faya yana ne me banemetemone fahi.*  
 faya yana ne me bana-hemete-mone fahi  
 so get\_up AUX.M 3PL.S move\_away-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘He got up. They left.’
- (178) *Hima e tokomahi.*  
 hima ee to-ka-ma-hi  
 let’s\_go 1IN.S away-go-back-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Come on, let’s go.’’
- (179) *Me kamemetemoneke.*  
 me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They came back.’
- (180) *Me kama me, kamehemetemone me ma tokaha mati.*  
 me ka-ma me ka-ma-hemete-mone me maa  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S be\_tired  
 to-ka-ha mati  
 CH-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They came back, tired.’
- (181) *Bani me me weye nemetemoneni.*  
 bani me me weye na-hemete-mone-ni  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They carried the animals.’

- (182) *Ene kahi ene kahi wabori me weye hinematamonaka, hinakasima naba toaro.*  
 ehene kahi ehene kahi  
 victim\_of.M be\_toasted.NFIN victim\_of.M be\_toasted.NFIN  
 wabori me weye hi-na-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL.S carry OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 hinakasima naba to-ha-haaro  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) pregnant CH-be-IP.E.F  
 ‘His brothers-in-law carried what he had killed, which was roasted. His younger sister was pregnant.’
- (183) *Naba toaha, faya naba toa, kamemetemoneke ahi.*  
 naba to-haha faya naba to-ha ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 pregnant CH-be.F so pregnant CH-be.F come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘She was pregnant. They came back.’<sup>8</sup>
- (184) *Kama, faya wabori wati nawe ohi ne ohi ni kame, oi ni kamematamonaka.*  
 ka-ma faya wabori wati na-wee  
 come-back.F so 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) remember AUX-change.M  
 ohi ne ohi ni ka-me ohi ni  
 cry AUX.M cry AUX.NFIN come-back.M cry AUX.NFIN  
 ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They came back. He remembered his brother-in-law and cried. He came back crying.’
- (185) *Oi ni kame, hibaka ya, ati saiba amaka.*  
 ohi ni ka-me hibaka ya ati sai-hiba  
 cry AUX.NFIN come-back.M where ADJU voice be\_heard-FUT.M  
 ama-ka  
 SEC-DECL.M  
 ‘He came back crying. Where? Its voice is going to be heard [on the tape].’<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>It should be *me kamemetemoneke*.

<sup>9</sup>A chicken interrupted Siko, and he reacted.

- (186) *Faya me kama me kama me ohi ni kamehi ra me fito kanemetemoneni.*  
 faya me ka-ma me ka-ma me ohi ni  
 so 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S cry AUX.NFIN  
 ka-mehi ra me fito ka-na-hemete-mone-ni  
 come-back.M O 3PL.S rush COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They came back. He came back crying, and they ran to him.’
- (187) *Ahabake hiba.*  
 ahaba-ke hiba  
 end-DECL.F wait  
 ‘It’s over, wait.’<sup>10</sup>
- (188) *Faya me kamemetemoneni.*  
 faya me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 so 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They came back.’
- (189) *Me kama me kame fito kati me, tokome, oi ni kame me fito hikane, hinakasima, hinakasima itebona ati ne karaboa ya hitabone hina, nabati, nabati weye naro.*  
 me ka-ma me ka-me fito ka-ti me  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S come-back.M rush COMIT-HAB.NOM 3PL  
 to-ka-me ohi ni ka-me me fito hi-ka-ne  
 away-go-back.M cry AUX.NFIN come-back.M 3PL.S rush OC-COMIT-AUX.M  
 hinakasima hinakasima ita-hibona ati  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) pierce-INT.M say  
 ne karaboha ya hi-ita-habone hi-na nabati nabati  
 AUX.M blowgun(F) ADJU OC-pierce-INT.F OC-say.F stomach stomach  
 weye na-haaro  
 carry AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘They came back. He came back, and they ran to him. He went. He came back crying, and they ran to him. He wanted to pierce his sister with his blowgun. He wanted to pierce her. She was pregnant.’<sup>11</sup>
- (190) *Nabati weye nemetemoneke.*  
 nabati weye na-hemete-mone-ke  
 stomach carry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She was pregnant.’

<sup>10</sup>Siko was talking to someone present about the story.

<sup>11</sup>The verb *tokome* is a mistake.

- (191) *Nabati weye na, hinakasima nabowebona ati ne, awati me kana ni tokometemoneni.*  
 nabati weye na hinakasima naabowa-hibona ati  
 stomach carry AUX.F 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) kill-INT.M say  
 ne awa-ti me kana ni  
 AUX.M see-HAB.NOM 3PL.S run AUX.NFIN  
 to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘She was pregnant. He wanted to kill his sister. They saw him and went running.’
- (192) *Me kana ni tokometemoneke.*  
 me kana ni to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They went running.’
- (193) *Me kana ni tokoma me, kobo tonama, me kamaki baro weye ne ohi nematamonaka baro wabori ehene.*  
 me kana ni to-ka-ma me kobo to-na-ma me  
 3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-go-back.F 3PL.S arrive away-AUX-back.F 3PL.S  
 ka-maki baro weye ne ohi na-himata-mona-ka  
 come-following.M basket(F) carry AUX.M cry AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 baro wabori ehene  
 basket(F) 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) because\_of.M  
 ‘They went running. They arrived. He was carrying the basket and crying because of his brother-in-law.’
- (194) *Faya kamaki kobo namaki, mera katomebona ati ne, nisori me one, nisori me one naoha nisori me hiwatematamonaka ahi, mera katomebonaha.*  
 faya ka-maki kobo na-maki mera katoma-hibona  
 so come-following.M arrive AUX-following.M 3PL.O attack-INT.M  
 ati ne nisori me one  
 say AUX.M 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) 3PL.S other.F  
 nisori me one nahoha  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) 3PL.S other.F stand.F  
 nisori me hi-wata-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) 3PL.S OC-catch-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then



G *The caimans killed the man*

hi-wata-baha-naari hasi na-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-catch-before-? escape AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘He wanted to kill his sister. His younger brothers restrained him, and she escaped.’

- (197) *Faya bani me me, tanebone me yama na bani me me so niriemetemoneke.*

faya bani me me tane-bone me yama na  
 so animal(M) 3PL 3PL.POSS roasting\_rack.F-INT.F 3PL.S make AUX.F  
 bani me me soo niha-ri-hemete-mone-ke  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS-raised\_surface-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘They made a gill for the animals, and they put the animals on top.’

- (198) *Bani me me tabasi na me me tabasi nemetemoneke ahi.*

bani me me tabasi na me me tabasi  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX.F 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack  
 na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then

‘They roasted the animals.’

- (199) *Oko me te tabasi na.*

o-ka me tee tabasi na  
 1SG.POSS-POSS 3PL.S 2PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX

‘‘You roast mine.’’

- (200) *Faya bani me me tabasi na, bani me me kabemetemone fahi.*

faya bani me me tabasi na bani me me  
 so animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX.F animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 kaba-hemete-mone fahi  
 eat-FP.N.F-REP.F then

‘They roasted the animals. They ate the animals.’

- (201) *Bani me me kaba me, bani me abemetemone fahi.*

bani me me kaba me bani me ahaba-hemete-mone  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S animal(M) 3PL.S end-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 fahi  
 then

‘They ate the animals. The animals were all gone.’

# H Siraba

## Introduction

The story *Siraba* was told by Yowao in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-siraba.mp3>.

Siraba was a teenage girl who went with her cross-cousin to get *siro* fruits in the forest. There they encountered a spirit who impersonated Siraba's cousin's brother, who was supposed to marry Siraba. Siraba saw that it was a spirit, and the two girls managed to run away. But the spirit caught up with them later in the village. This time he succeeded in deceiving Siraba, and he took her away and spent the night with her. When she came home in the morning, she soon died.

The last part of the text briefly tells the story of how the Jarawaras were originally part of a larger group that came from upstream. The group were ferrying themselves across the Purus River, when the man who was ferrying them got tired and quit, leaving the group divided on the two sides of the river. The group that had been ferried decided to go on, and they became the present-day Jarawaras. The group that remained on the other side went back to where they came from.

Yowao's son Okomobi asks his father questions at several points, this is shown in the English translation.

## English translation

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 [to show the direction he was heading]. "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 [palm leaves to make] 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 [in the village] the girls chased the children. When Siraba's father saw him, didn't he send [his familiar spirit] against him? Apparently he didn't send [his familiar spirit] against him, even though he was a powerful shaman.

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

The others were in their hammocks inside the longhouse. She chased them around. The spirit 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.

Okomobi: 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 she 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.

Okomobi: Father, because of the spirit?

Because the spirit had sex with her all night.

Okomobi: 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.

Okomobi: Father, was Siraba a Jarawara?

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

They moved away. It was the high water season. They moved to another place in the high water season. They came downstream. It was a *kanawa* bark canoe. He carried them in a *kanawa* bark canoe, our people. We are the descendants of those people. They [the others] live [upstream]. The people who went back were Jarawaras. It was them. They wouldn't have turned back, but they turned back.

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

“Hey,” they said.

“Mother, my arms are tired. That’s enough carrying people,” he said.

“My son’s arms are tired. We are going back,” she said, calling.

“Okay, we are going back.”

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

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

“We will eat you, too,” they said.

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

## Glossed text

- (1) *Siraba okominamatibeya inamati hekamemetemonehe.*

Siraba o-kamina-mata-be-ya inamati  
Siraba(F) 1SG.S-tell-short\_time-IMMED.F-now spirit(M)  
hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-he  
OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
‘I will tell about Siraba, who a spirit took away.’

- (2) *Siro me tonaka me towaka me, yama mati forineke faro.*

siro me to-na-ka me to-ka-ka me yama  
tree.sp(F) 3PL.S away-CAUS-go.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S thing(F)  
mati fori-ne-ke faaro  
line.F lie\_on\_top-CONT.F-DECL.F that.F

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

- (3) *Siro me tonaka me, siro me tonaka me towaka me, ni ya inamati tokomakematamonaka.*  
 siro me to-na-ka me siro me to-na-ka  
 tree.sp(F) 3PL.S away-CAUS-go.F 3PL.S tree.sp(F) 3PL.S away-CAUS-go.F  
 me to-ka-ka me ni ya inamati  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go.F 3PL to ADJU spirit(M)  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They went after *siro* fruits. They went. A spirit went to them.’
- (4) *Inamati tokomake, inamati tokomake, siro me yaba me yoro na me, siro me yaba me yoro na me ni ya tofotomakimatamonane siro me ta toniharewama me yoro na me ni ya.*  
 inamati to-ka-make inamati to-ka-make siro me  
 spirit(M) away-go-following spirit(M) away-go-following tree.sp(F) 3PL.S  
 yaba me yoro na me siro me yaba me yoro  
 pick\_up.F 3PL.S stand AUX.F 3PL.S tree.sp(F) 3PL.S pick\_up.F 3PL.S stand  
 na me ni ya to-foto-maki-himata-mona-ne siro  
 AUX.F 3PL to ADJU away-appear-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M tree.sp(F)  
 me taa to-niha-re-waha-ma me yoro  
 3PL.S be\_piled\_up CH-CAUS-raised\_surface-change-back.F 3PL.S stand  
 na me ni ya  
 AUX.F 3PL to ADJU  
 ‘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 nemetemoneni.*  
 okoyo ka-maki ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) come-following.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘My older brother has come,’’ she said.’
- (6) *Ki kabote nemetemoneke.*  
 kii kabote na-hemete-mone-ke  
 look\_at quickly AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She looked quickly.’
- (7) *Fara siro hatira? ati ne.*  
 fara siro hati-ra ati ne  
 same.F tree.sp(F) ripe-NPQ say AUX.M  
 ‘‘Are there ripe *siro* fruits?’’ he said.’

- (8) *Siro hataharani.*  
 siro hata-hara-ni  
 tree.sp(F) be\_ripe-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “The *siro* fruits are ripe.”
- (9) *Siro so tosine faro ati nemetemonehe.*  
 siro soo to-kosa-ne faaro ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 tree.sp(F) stand CH-middle-CONT.F that.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 “The *siro* fruits are there in a pile,” she said.’
- (10) *Faya Siro, siro siro hati tiwahi ati nemetemoneke.*  
 faya siro siro siro hati ti-awa-hi ati  
 so tree.sp(F) tree.sp(F) tree.sp(F) ripe 2SG.S-see-IMP.F say  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 “Look at the *siro* fruits,” she said.’
- (11) *Siro hati, itikime siro hawi ne wematamonaha.*  
 siro hati iti-kime siro hawi ne  
 tree.sp(F) ripe pick\_up-two.M tree.sp(F) gnaw AUX.M  
 waa-himata-mona-ha  
 stand-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He picked up two of the *siro* fruits. He stood there gnawing on the *siro* fruits.’
- (12) *We, Ayo ibaka ya tikaribeya? ati nemetemoneke.*  
 wee ayo ibaka ya ti-ka-ri-be-ya ati  
 stand.M older\_brother(M) where ADJU 2SG.S-go-CQ.F-IMMED.F-now say  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He stood there. “Brother, where are you going?” she said.’
- (13) *Okiba ahi Boto Komaha ya.*  
 o-ka-baha ahi Boto\_Komaha ya  
 1SG.S-go-before.F there Boto\_Komaha(F) ADJU  
 “I’m going to Boto Komaha.”

- (14) *Siro noki koro towiti awa kinarimatamonane.*  
siro noki koro to-witi awa  
tree.sp(F) seed.F throw away-out.M tree(F)  
kina-ri-himata-mona-ne  
hit-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
'He threw a *siro* seed and hit a tree.'
- (15) *Boto Komaha ya okabone oni ati nematamona.*  
Boto\_Komaha ya o-ka-habone o-ni ati na-himata-mona  
Boto\_Komaha(F) ADJU 1SG.S-go-INT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
'I'm going to Boto Komaha," he said.'
- (16) *Inamati amane ati nemetemoneke one.*  
inamati ama-ne ati na-hemete-mone-ke one  
spirit(M) SEC-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F other.F  
'It's a spirit," the other one said.'
- (17) *Ayo amare ayo tinihine tini ati nemetemonehe.*  
ayo ama-re ayo  
2SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) be-NEG.M 2SG.POSS.older\_brother(M)  
ti-niha-ne ti-ni ati na-hemete-mone-he  
2SG.S-CAUS-CONT.F 2SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
'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  
'They recognized him.'
- (19) *Me hiwemata awane.*  
me hi-awa-himata awa-ne  
3PL.S OC-see-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M  
'They recognized him.'
- (20) *Ayo wawa timatahi.*  
ayo wa-waa ti-mata-hi  
older\_brother(M) DUP-stand 2SG.S-short\_time-IMP.F  
'"Brother, you stay here."

- (21) *Siro wiyeba ota tonakamatibeya ati nemetemonehe.*  
 siro wiyeba otaa to-na-ka-mata-be-ya  
 tree.sp(F) container.F-FUT 1EX.S away-CAUS-go-short\_time-IMMED.F-now  
 ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘‘We are going to go get baskets for the *siro* fruits.’’
- (22) *Faya me fanawi towaka mera kkatome mera towamakemata awaka.*  
 faya me fanawi to-ka-ka mera ka-katome mera  
 so 3PL.S woman away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.O COMIT-look\_at.M 3PL.O  
 to-awa-make-himata awa-ka  
 away-see-following-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The women went. He watched them, and he went after them to see them.’
- (23) *Me ebe, mera kkatomemoneke.*  
 me ebe mera ka-katoma-hamone-ke  
 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.O COMIT-look\_at-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He watched them.’
- (24) *Yama me waso me ti kasikima waso me kanasona me, me yoro ra yama me ti kasaremetemoneke.*  
 yama me waso me tii ka-kosa-kima waso me  
 thing(F) 3PL leaf(F) 3PL.S cut\_through COMIT-middle-two.F leaf(F) 3PL.S  
 ka-na-sona me me yoro ra yama me tii  
 COMIT-CAUS-fall.F 3PL.S 3PL.S stay NEG.F thing(F) 3PL.S cut\_through  
 ka-kosa-ra-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-middle-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘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 ya me tokafotowamabani mati.*  
 me kana ni to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke haa ya  
 3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F DEM ADJU  
 me to-ka-foto-waha-ma-haba-ni mati  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-appear-change-back-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They went running away. They came out on the other side.’

- (26) *Me tokafotowama me kana ni towakamemetemoneni, fare bati itamakino ya isiri kowahari.*  
 me to-ka-foto-waha-ma me kana ni  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-appear-change-back.F 3PL.S run AUX.NFIN  
 to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni fare bati  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F same.M 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ita-maki-no ya isiri kowa-haari  
 sit-following.NOM-IP.N.M ADJU basket(F) weave-IP.E.M  
 ‘They came out, and went running to where her father was sitting, weaving a basket.’
- (27) *Isiri kowe ite ni ya bite kana ni tofotomemetemoneni.*  
 isiri kowe ite ni ya bite kana ni  
 basket(F) weave.M sit.M to ADJU 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) run AUX.NFIN  
 to-foto-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 away-appear-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘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(M) this.F be 2SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘‘Father, is it you?’’ she said.’
- (29) *Afa ama okene ati ne Abi inamati otara kiyo kamaki ahi ati nemetemoneni.*  
 afa ama o-ke-ne ati ne abi inamati otara kiyo  
 this.F be 1SG.S-DECL.F-IRR.F say AUX.M father(M) spirit(M) 1EX.O chase.M  
 ka-maki ahi ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
 come-following.NOM there say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘It is me,’’ he said. ‘‘Father, there is a spirit chasing us, and he is coming this way,’’ she said.’
- (30) *Inamati toe awane ati nematamona.*  
 inamati to-he awa-ne ati na-himata-mona  
 spirit(M) CH-be.M seem.M-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘‘I guess it is a spirit,’’ he said.’
- (31) *Inamati fotomaki kerewe nematamonaha.*  
 inamati foto-maki kerewe na-himata-mona-ha  
 spirit(M) appear-following.NFIN be\_slow AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘The spirit didn’t take long to appear.’

- (32) *Inamati fotomaki kerewe rematamonaka.*  
 inamati foto-maki kerewe ra-himata-mona-ka  
 spirit(M) appear-following.NFIN be\_slow NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The spirit didn’t take long to appear.’
- (33) *Kana ni kamakimatamona ahi, fe bata torebano.*  
 kana ni ka-maki-himata-mona ahi fee bata  
 run AUX.NFIN come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then 3SG.O surprise  
 to-re-hiba-no-ho  
 CH-raised\_surface-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He came running, and he surprised him.’
- (34) *Himata ebe tina tikamakine tiriya? ati nematamona Siraba bati.*  
 himata ebe ti-na ti-ka-maki-ne ti-ri-ya  
 what purpose 2SG.S-say.F 2SG.S-come-following-CONT.F 2SG.S-CQ.F-now  
 ati na-himata-mona Siraba bati  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M Siraba(F) 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘I’m not chasing them,’’ he said.’
- (36) *Okoto tikiyoani tikamakine tini.*  
 okoto ti-kiyo-hani ti-ka-maki-ne  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) 2SG.S-chase-IP.N.F 2SG.S-come-following-CONT.F  
 ti-ni  
 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘I see you.’’
- (38) *Tikamiyahi.*  
 ti-ka-ma-yahi  
 2SG.S-go-back-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Go away.’’

- (39) *Tikamiya fara titaboro ya ati nematamona.*  
ti-ka-ma-yahi                      fara    ti-taboro            ya    ati  
2SG.S-go-back-DIST.IMP.F same.F 2SG.POSS-place ADJU say  
na-himata-mona  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
'“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  
'So he went back.'
- (41) *Tokomake tokomare tokomarematamonaka.*  
to-ka-make                      to-ka-ma-re  
away-go-following away-go-back-NEG.M  
to-ka-ma-ra-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-back-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He didn't go back.'
- (42) *Wete toname, tokome totikosawamakematamonaka.*  
wete    to-na-me                      to-ka-me  
return away-AUX-back.M away-go-back.M  
to-iti-kosa-waha-make-himata-mona-ka  
away-go\_around-middle-change-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He went back, but he came around.'
- (43) *Tofotowamaki tokomakewematamonane.*  
to-foto-waha-maki  
away-appear-change-following.M  
to-ka-maki-waha-himata-mona-ne  
away-go-following-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
'He came out again and went there.'
- (44) *Tofotowamaki ka, bai toke ya yama me matehe me me kiyoha, matehe me me kiyohemetemoneke.*  
to-foto-waha-maki                      ka bahi    to-ke                      ya  
away-appear-change-following.M of sun(M) away-go.NOM.M ADJU  
yama me matehe    me    me kiyoha matehe    me    me  
thing(F) 3PL children(F) 3PL.O 3PL.S chase.F children(F) 3PL.O 3PL.S

kiyo-hemete-mone-ke

chase-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

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

- (45) *Siraba bati hiwahi hikahabanarehimata awane?*

Siraba bati hi-awahi

Siraba(F) 3SG.POSS.father(M) OC-see.M

hi-ka-habana-ra-himata awa-ne

OC-COMIT-order\_someone\_against-NEG-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M

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

- (46) *Hikabanaremata awaka fare, hiwa kaiyarabise hiwa awe ya.*

hi-ka-habana-ra-himata awa-ka fare

OC-COMIT-order\_someone\_against-NEG-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M same.M

hiwa ka-hiyara-bise hiwa awe ya

3SG.REFL.M COMIT-speak-also.M 3SG.REFL.M see.NOM.M ADJU

‘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 ni me haha ni saiha me me abe kiyoa mati.*

faya to-ka-make mera noki ne me haahaa ni

so away-go-following 3PL.O wait\_for AUX.M 3PL.S laugh AUX.NFIN

me haahaa ni saiha me me abe kiyoha mati

3PL.S laugh AUX.NFIN be\_heard.F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS RECIP chase.F 3PL.POSS

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

- (48) *Me me kiyoha me, nakiri ya fara me fami me famemetemoneni.*

me me kiyoha me nakiri ya fara me

3PL.O 3PL.S chase.F 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.brother’s\_wife(F) ADJU same.F 3PL.S

fami me fama-hemete-mone-ni

be\_two.NFIN 3PL.S be\_two-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F

‘They were chasing them. She was always with her cousin.’

- (49) *Mera kiyoa kana ni tokomake mera moto kawamemetemoneke, yobe wahi bari ya.*

mera kiyoha kana ni to-ka-make mera moto  
 3PL.O chase.F run AUX.NFIN away-go-following 3PL.O loop  
 ka-waha-ma-hemete-mone-ke yobe waahi bari ya  
 COMIT-change-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F house(M) stand.M back ADJU  
 ‘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(M) inside.M ADJU 3PL.S lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They were in their hammocks inside the longhouse.’

- (51) *Mera moto kawama, wara nawebano wematamonane, me ka owamonaha, fara fe fami ka anotimonaha.*

mera moto ka-waha-ma wara na-waha-hiba-no  
 3PL.O loop COMIT-change-back.F grab AUX-change-FUT.M-IP.N.M  
 waa-himata-mona-ne me ka owa-mona-ha fara fee  
 stand-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M 3PL of man(M)-REP.M-DUP same.F 3SG  
 fami ka anoti-mona-ha  
 be\_with.NOM.F which 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M)-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘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  
 ‘She ran to him.’

- (53) *Makoni fe wara tomisa namata, me ka owamonaha.*

makoni fee wara to-misa na-mata me ka  
 for\_this\_reason 3SG.O grab away-up.LIST AUX.NOM.M-FP.N.M 3PL of  
 owa-mona-ha  
 man(M)-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘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  
 ‘“Who are you?” she said.’
- (55) *Ino himitematamona.*  
 ino hi-mita-himata-mona  
 name.M OC-hear-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘She heard his name.’
- (56) *Ino owato okara.*  
 ino o-wato o-ka-ra  
 name.M 1SG.S-know 1SG.S-DECL.M-NEG.M  
 ‘I don’t know his name.’
- (57) *Faya nakiri kana ni kamakiemetemoneni.*  
 faya nakiri                            kana ni  
 so 3SG.POSS.brother’s\_wife(F) run AUX.NFIN  
 ka-maki-hemete-mone-ni  
 come-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘Then her cousin came running.’
- (58) *Kana ni kamakia, Hibake te fama? ati nemetemonehe.*  
 kana ni ka-makia hibake tee fama ati  
 run AUX.NFIN come-following.F who.M 2PL.S be\_two.F say  
 na-hemete-mone-he  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘She came running. “Who are you with?” she said.’
- (59) *Fe okoyo amane? ati nemetemoneke.*  
 fee okoyo                            ama-ne ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3SG 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) be-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘“Is that my brother?” she said.’
- (60) *Ayo awane ati nemetemonehe.*  
 ayo                            awa-ne            ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 2SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) seem.M-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘“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(M) this.F be 2SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘Brother, is that you?’’ she said.’
- (62) *Fe ama oni ati ne Fe ama oni.*  
 fee ama o-ni ati ne fee ama o-ni  
 3SG be 1SG.S-BKG.F say AUX.M 3SG be 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘It is me,’’ he said.’
- (63) *Ati yana ni hihya nemata awaka.*  
 ati yana ni hi-hiya na-himata awa-ka  
 voice start AUX.NFIN DUP-be\_different AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
 ‘I guess he had a different voice.’
- (64) *Fe ama oni.*  
 fee ama o-ni  
 3SG be 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘It is me.’’
- (65) *Okoyo ama tira, okoyo tiwa tinihine tini ati nemetemonehe.*  
 o-ka ayo ama ti-ra  
 1SG.POSS-POSS older\_brother(M) be 2SG.S-NEG.F  
 okoyo tiwa ti-niha-ne ti-ni ati  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) 2SG.O 2SG.S-CAUS-CONT.F 2SG.S-BKG.F say  
 na-hemete-mone-he  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘‘You aren’t my brother, you are just making yourself out to be my  
 brother.’’
- (66) *Okoyo wine wine wine awane.*  
 okoyo wine wine  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) lie\_in\_hammock.M lie\_in\_hammock.M  
 wine awa-ne  
 lie\_in\_hammock.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘My brother is in his hammock.’’

- (67) *Ba, okoyo totowama omatibeya.*  
 hiba okoyo to-to-awa-ma  
 wait 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) DUP-away-see-back  
 o-mata-be-ya  
 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘Wait, I will go take a look at my brother.’’
- (68) *Te yoyoro namatahi ati nemetemoneke.*  
 tee yo-yoro na-mata-hi ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
 2PL.S DUP-stand AUX-short\_time-IMP.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘You two stay here.’’
- (69) *Faya kana ni tokoma tokiyomamemetemonehe.*  
 faya kana ni to-ka-ma  
 so run AUX.NFIN away-go-back.F  
 to-ka-yoma-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 away-go-through-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘She went running home and went inside.’
- (70) *Faya Siraba fawa kanematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya Siraba fawa ka-na-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 so Siraba(F) disappear COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Then he disappeared with Siraba.’
- (71) *Siraba fawa kane, ni ya kamemetemonehe, mati aate naro.*  
 Siraba fawa ka-ne ni ya ka-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 Siraba(F) disappear COMIT-AUX.M to ADJU come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 mati a-ate na-haaro  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) DUP-ask AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘As he was disappearing with Siraba, she came home and asked her mother.’
- (72) *Ami ati nemetemone.*  
 ami ati na-hemete-mone  
 mother(F) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘‘Mother,’’ she said.’
- (73) *Ami okoyo wine awane?*  
 ami okoyo wine awa-ne  
 mother(F) 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) lie\_in\_hammock.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘Mother, is my older brother in his hammock?’’

- (74) *Okatao wine ati nemetemonehe.*  
 okatao wine ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) lie\_in\_hammock.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘“My son is in his hammock,” she said.’
- (75) *Inamati Siraba tama ne ware ahi.*  
 inamati Siraba tama ne waa-hare ahi  
 spirit(M) Siraba(F) hold\_onto AUX.M stand-IP.E.M there  
 ‘“There is a spirit holding onto Siraba there on the plaza.”’
- (76) *Owamamatabaya ati nemetemone.*  
 o-awa-ma-mata-ba-ya ati na-hemete-mone  
 1SG.S-see-back-short\_time-IMMED.M-NOW say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘“I’m going back to see her,” she said.’
- (77) *Faya kana ni kama kiyomama, fara me yoro ni ya tokometemone.*  
 faya kana ni ka-ma ka-yoma-ma fara me  
 so run AUX.NFIN come-back.F come-through-back.F same.F 3PL.S  
 yoro ni ya to-ka-ma-hemete-mone  
 stand AUX.NOM.F ADJU away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘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 kowa nawarebanihi.*  
 to-ka-ma yama hona-ra-hemete-mone ama mera  
 away-go-back.F thing(F) have\_something-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC 3PL.O  
 kowa na-wahare-haba-ni-hi  
 whistle\_to AUX-all\_over-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘She went there, but there was no one there. She whistled for them all  
 over.’
- (79) *Boni ati sai nawaremetemone mera siba naro.*  
 boni ati sai na-wahare-hemete-mone mera siba  
 upper\_lip.F voice be\_heard AUX-all\_over-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.O look\_for  
 na-haaro  
 AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘She could be heard whistling all over, as she looked for them.’

- (80) *Mera siba na boni ati sai nawahare, kamawemetemone.*  
 mera siba na boni ati sai na-wahare  
 3PL.O look\_for AUX.F upper\_lip.F voice be\_heard AUX-all\_over  
 ka-ma-waha-hemete-mone  
 come-back-change-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘She could be heard whistling all over as she looked for them. She finally came back.’
- (81) Okomobi: *Abi me fami ya me fami me hinihenemete me ama?*  
 abi me fami ya me fami me  
 father(M) 3PL.S be\_two.NOM.F ADJU 3PL.S be\_two.NFIN 3PL.O  
 hi-niha-hene-mete me ama  
 OC-CAUS-IRR.F-FP.N.F 3PL.O SEC  
 ‘Father, if there were two of them, would he have taken both of them?’
- (82) *Me fami mera totowakama kabaramata me noki hinemenehe.*  
 me fami mera to-to-ka-ka-ma  
 3PL.S be\_two.NFIN 3PL.O DUP-away-COMIT-go-back  
 kaba-ra-mata me noki hi-na-hemenehe  
 without\_stopping-NEG.NOM.M-FP.N.M 3PL.O wait\_for OC-AUX-HYPOTH.F  
 ‘He could have taken both of them if he had waited.’
- (83) *Faya tokiyomama, kakomeharo.*  
 faya to-ka-yoma-ma ka-komeha-haaro  
 so away-go-through-back.F COMIT-be\_fearsome-IP.E.F  
 ‘Then she went inside, because she was afraid.’
- (84) *Kakomemetemoneke.*  
 ka-komeha-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-be\_fearsome-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She was afraid.’
- (85) *Siraba, Siraba kamakiremetemone amani.*  
 Siraba Siraba ka-maki-ra-hemete-mone ama-ni  
 Siraba(F) Siraba(F) come-following-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
 ‘Siraba did not come back.’

- (86) *Siraba kawahemetemone amani inamati hikawa hinahabaharo.*  
 Siraba ka-waha-hemete-mone ama-ni inamati hi-ka-waa  
 Siraba(F) COMIT-dawn-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F spirit(M) OC-COMIT-stay  
 hi-nahaba-haaro  
 OC-at\_night-IP.E.F  
 ‘When morning came, Siraba had spent the night with the spirit.’
- (87) *Tabiyo me hiwemete awineke.*  
 tabiyo me hi-awa-hemete awine-ke  
 absence 3PL.S OC-feel-FP.N.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They missed her.’
- (88) *Me hitakora fawa nine nikani mati hinemetemone okomise ati toamaroni, kamakiminaba bosa namabanihi.*  
 me hi-takora fawa na-ne ni-kani  
 3PL.S OC-be\_in\_hammock\_with.F disappear AUX-CONT.F AUX.F-CNTRFACT  
 mati hi-na-hemete-mone okomise a-ati to-ha-hamaro-ni  
 3PL.S OC-say-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.aunt(F) DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.E.F-BKG.F  
 ka-maki-mina-haba bosa na-ma-haba-ni-hi  
 come-following-morning-FUT.F get\_up\_early AUX-back-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘Her mother thought that she was gone because she was in someone’s  
 hammock with them, and that she would come back early in the morning,  
 my aunt used to say.’
- (89) *Hinaka yama soki oariemetemoneke.*  
 hinaka yama soki ohari-hemete-mone-ke  
 3SG.POSS thing(F) be\_dark.NFIN be\_one-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She was gone for one night.’
- (90) *Faya kama kiyomametemonehe.*  
 faya ka-ma ka-yoma-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 so come-back.F come-through-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘She came back, and came inside.’
- (91) *Me so na me yobiri na mera fiya nama kama, kiyomama, mati ni ya tokoma towinametemonehe.*  
 me soo na me yobi-ri na mera fiya  
 3PL.S urinate AUX.F 3PL.S go\_back\_and\_forth-DISTR AUX.F 3PL.O pass  
 na-ma ka-ma ka-yoma-ma mati ni  
 AUX-back.F come-back.F come-through-back.F 3SG.POSS.mother(F) to

- ya to-ka-ma to-wina-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 ADJU away-go-back.F away-lie\_in\_hammock-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘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) *Towinama, wete towitia amo nisetemoneke fahi.*  
 to-wina-ma wete to-witia amo  
 away-lie\_in\_hammock-back.F return away-out.F sleep  
 na-risa-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 AUX-down-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘She lay in her hammock, and turned and fell asleep.’
- (93) *Faya yamata me hiwasia mati yamata wasia, mati yamata hiwasia  
 kababone mati mowa hina i hiyarabanihi.*  
 faya yamata me hi-wasiha mati yamata wasiha  
 so food(F) 3PL.S OC-cook.F 3SG.POSS.mother(F) food(F) cook.F  
 mati yamata hi-wasiha kaba-habone mati  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) food(F) OC-cook.F eat-INT.F 3SG.POSS.mother(F)  
 mowa hi-na ihi hiya-ra-haba-ni-hi  
 shake OC-AUX.F deed.F be\_bad-NEG-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘Her mother shook her so she would eat the food that her mother had  
 prepared. She experienced a bad thing.’
- (94) *Siraba ati nemetemone.*  
 Siraba ati na-hemete-mone  
 Siraba(F) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘“Siraba,” she said.’
- (95) *Siraba titafahi ati nemetemone.*  
 Siraba ti-tafi-hi ati na-hemete-mone  
 Siraba(F) 2SG.S-wake\_up-IMP.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘“Siraba, wake up,” she said.’
- (96) *Mati hose hikanemetemone kita ya.*  
 mati hose hi-ka-na-hemete-mone kita ya  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) pull\_out OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F strength(F) ADJU  
 ‘Her mother shook her hard.’

- (97) *Titafhi.*  
ti-tafi-hi  
2SG.S-wake\_up-IMP.F  
“Wake up.”
- (98) *Tika yibote tiwa me kawa naba me ihi tikabibeya ati nemetemoneni.*  
ti-ka yibote tiwa me ka-waa nahaba me  
2SG.POSS-POSS husband(M) 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-stay at\_night.F 3PL.POSS  
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  
“Eat what your boyfriends who were 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  
‘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  
‘Then she spoke, sick.’
- (101) *Ati yana kana, Ami ami ati nemetemoneke, me toma hinabanihi.*  
ati yana ka-na ami ami ati  
voice start COMIT-AUX.F mother(F) mother(F) say  
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  
‘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  
‘They sucked on her.’
- (103) *Makibona fe nonofa toare, aawawa hinemetemone ahi.*  
maki-bona fee no-nofa to-ha-re a-awa-wa  
3SG.POSS.husband(M)-INT.M 3SG.O DUP-like CH-AUX-NEG.M DUP-see-DUP  
hi-na-hemete-mone ahi  
OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
‘The one who was supposed to marry her but didn’t like her, felt pity for her.’

- (104) *Toma hiremete awine?*  
 toma hi-ra-hemete awine  
 suck OC-NEG-FP.N.F seem.F  
 ‘Didn’t he suck on her?’
- (105) *Toma hinemete awineke.*  
 toma hi-na-hemete awine-ke  
 suck OC-AUX-FP.N.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘I guess he did suck on her.’
- (106) *Me toma hina, me hikasometemonehe.*  
 me toma hi-na me hi-ka-soma-hemete-mone-he  
 3PL.S suck OC-AUX.F 3PL.S OC-COMIT-help-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘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  
 ‘She died.’
- (108) *Fanaki fawa tokanemetemone ati nemetemone, okomise hiyari aati  
 toimaro amani – Abi inamati ehene? – inamati ai hinabaro.*  
 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  
 okomise hiyari a-ati to-hi-maroro ama-ni  
 1SG.POSS.aunt(F) speak.NFIN DUP-say CH-AUX.NOM.F-FP.E.F be-BKG.F  
 abi inamati ehene inamati ahi  
 father(M) spirit(M) because\_of.M spirit(M) have\_sex\_with  
 hi-nahaba-haaro  
 OC-at\_night-IP.E.F  
 ‘She said her legs hurt, my aunt used to say – (Okomobi asks:) Father,  
 because of the spirit? – because the spirit had sex with her all night.’
- (109) *Okomobi: Abi ahabimetemonehe?*  
 abi ahabi-mete-mone-he  
 father(M) end.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘Father, did she die?’

- (110) *Abemetemoneke.*  
 ahaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 die-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She died.’
- (111) *Abemetemone okomise hiyari aati toamaroni.*  
 ahaba-hemete-mone okomise hiyari a-ati  
 die-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.aunt(F) speak.NFIN DUP-say  
 to-ha-hamaro-ni  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.F-BKG.F  
 ‘She died, my aunt used to say.’
- (112) *Faya me yawa me kakimetemone amake ahi.*  
 faya me yawa me ka-ki-mete-mone ama-ke  
 so 3PL.S be\_upset.F 3PL.S come-coming.NOM-FP.N.F-REP.F be-DECL.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘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-down-FP.N.F 3PL.S seem.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘I guess they went downstream.’
- (114) *Me ka awa botemetemone okomise na hiamaro.*  
 me ka awa bote-mete-mone okomise na hi-ha-hamaro  
 3PL POSS garden(F) old-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.aunt(F) say OC-AUX-FP.E.F  
 ‘It’s their old garden.’
- (115) *Okomise yama yoyofi hiamaroke ahi, Fare Wari, ee Sibiri Wa Wari ka, tabora bote na awineke ahi.*  
 okomise yama yo-yofi hi-ha-hamaro-ke ahi  
 1SG.POSS.aunt(F) thing(F) DUP-show OC-AUX-FP.E.F-DECL.F there  
 Fare\_Wari ee Sibiri\_Waa\_Wari ka tabora bote naa  
 Fare\_Wari(F) (pause) Sibiri\_Waa\_Wari(M) of village(F) old exist.F  
 awine-ke ahi  
 seem.F-DECL.F there  
 ‘My aunt showed it, Fare Wari, and there is an old village at Sibiri Wa Wari.’

- (116) *Faya kona watematamona wate awaka fahi Noko Maiyi aati toimaro amake.*  
 faya kona wata-himata-mona wate awa-ka fahi  
 so plant.sp(M) grow-FP.N.M-REP.M grow.M seem.M-DECL.M there  
 Noko\_Maiyi a-ati to-hi-marou ama-ke  
 Noko\_Maiyi(F) DUP-say CH-AUX.NOM.F-FP.E.F be-DECL.F  
 ‘‘The *kona* that grew there still is growing there,’’ Noko Maiyi used to say.’
- (117) Okomobi: *Abi Siraba e ka fanawirimete ama?*  
 abi Siraba ee ka fanawiri-mete ama  
 father(M) Siraba(F) 1IN POSS woman-FP.N.F SEC  
 ‘Father, was Siraba a Jarawara?’
- (118) *E ka fanawirimete awineni.*  
 ee ka fanawiri-mete awine-ni  
 1IN POSS woman-FP.N.F seem.F-BKG.F  
 ‘I guess she was a Jarawara.’
- (119) *Ha me siba remetemone me one e amake, hine me ebe kanemetemone mati.*  
 haa me siba ra-hemete-mone me one ee ama-ke  
 DEM 3PL.S be\_all\_right NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL other.F 1IN.S be-DECL.F  
 hine me ebe ka-na-hemete-mone mati  
 3.REFL 3PL.S divide\_up COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They split up a long time ago, and we became the Jarawaras.’
- (120) *Hine me ebe kanemetemone, me yokana me amara me wina me awineke ahi.*  
 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  
 ama-ra me wina me awine-ke ahi  
 be-NEG.F 3PL.S live.F 3PL.S seem.F-DECL.F there  
 ‘They divided up long ago, and the ones who are not Jarawaras live [upstream].’
- (121) *E ati nima me ati ra me awineke haha mati.*  
 ee ati nima me ati ra me awine-ke haaha  
 1IN.POSS voice like 3PL.POSS voice NEG.F 3PL.POSS seem.F-DECL.F this.F  
 mati  
 3PL  
 ‘They don’t speak our language.’

- (122) *Me bana me fa fowemetemoneke.*  
 me bana me faha\_fowe-mete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S move\_away.F 3PL.S high\_water\_season(F)-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They moved away. It was the high water season.’
- (123) *Fa fowe ya me, fa fowe ya me bana me kisakia me, me kisakia me kanawa kanawa ataromatamonane.*  
 faha\_fowe ya me faha\_fowe ya me  
 high\_water\_season(F) ADJU 3PL high\_water\_season(F) ADJU 3PL.S  
 bana me ka-risa-kia me me  
 move\_away.F 3PL.S come-down-coming.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 ka-risa-kia me kanawa kanawa  
 come-down-coming.F 3PL.S tree.sp(M) tree.sp(M)  
 ataro-mata-mona-ne  
 bark.M-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘They moved to another place in the high water season. They came downstream. It was a *kanawa* bark canoe.’
- (124) *Kanawa ataro ya mera iso nematamonaka, fari, e one mati.*  
 kanawa ataro ya mera iso na-himata-mona-ka  
 tree.sp(M) bark.M ADJU 3PL.O carry\_off AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 faari ee one mati  
 that\_one.M 1IN other.F 3PL  
 ‘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  
 ‘We are the descendants of those people.’
- (126) *Me wina me awineke.*  
 me wina me awine-ke  
 3PL.S live.F 3PL.S seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They [the others] live [upstream].’
- (127) *Afa memetemone me e amake one oke, me wete tonamemetemone mati.*  
 afa me-mete-mone me ee ama-ke o-ne  
 this.F 3PL-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be-DECL.F 1SG.S-CONT.F

o-ke me wete to-na-ma-hemete-mone mati  
 1SG.S-DECL.F 3PL.S return away-AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S  
 ‘The people who went back were Jarawaras.’<sup>1</sup>

- (128) *Afa memete me amani.*  
 afa me-mete me ama-ni  
 this.F 3PL-FP.N.F 3PL.S be-BKG.F  
 ‘It was them.’
- (129) *Me wete tonamene me wete tonamemetemone, biti mano ma tokahemona, ati ehene mera ha nemetemoneni, mera iso nari.*  
 me wete to-na-ma-hene me wete  
 3PL.S return away-AUX-back-IRR.F 3PL.S return  
 to-na-ma-hemete-mone biti mano maa  
 away-AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F 3SG.POSS.son(M) arm.M be\_tired  
 to-ka-ha-himona ati ehene mera haa  
 CH-COMIT-AUX-REP.M voice because\_of.M 3PL.O call  
 na-hemete-mone-ni mera iso na-haari  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL.O carry\_off AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘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 kikasama me mera iiso, me kimisakeha, me nahobasemetemone ahi me ebe noki na mati fare ohari mera iso namako.*  
 me ki-ka-risa-ma me mera i-iso me  
 3PL.S DUP-come-down-back 3PL.S 3PL.O DUP-carry\_off 3PL.S  
 ka-misa-keha me naho-basa-hemete-mone ahi me ebe  
 come-up-coming.F 3PL.S sit-edge-FP.N.F-REP.F then 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 noki na mati fare ohari mera iso  
 wait\_for AUX.F 3PL.POSS same.M be\_one.M 3PL.O carry\_off  
 na-mako  
 AUX-for\_this\_reason.M  
 ‘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.’

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<sup>1</sup>The word *one* is a form of the verb *ati na* ‘say’ even though in this morphological context not even the auxiliary *na* is pronounced.

- (131) *Me tama me tonokosa nemetemone ahi me ati hiyawabani mati, e one  
mati e yokana mati.*  
 me tama me to-naho-kosa na-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S be\_many.F 3PL.S CH-stand-middle.LIST AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 me ati hiyawa-haba-ni mati ee one mati ee  
 3PL.POSS voice have\_an\_idea-FUT.F-BKG.F 3PL.POSS 1IN other.F 3PL 1IN  
 yokana mati  
 true 3PL  
 ‘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  
 ‘‘Hey,’’ they said.’
- (133) *Ami omano ma tokahara oke.*  
 ami o-mano maa to-ka-ha-hara o-ke  
 mother(F) 1SG.POSS-arm be\_tired CH-COMIT-AUX-IP.E.F 1SG.POSS-DECL.F  
 ‘‘Mother, my arms are tired.’’
- (134) *Faya te, faya me iso ni amani ati nematamonaha.*  
 faya tee faya me iso ni ama-ni ati  
 enough 2PL enough 3PL.S be\_carried\_off AUX.NFIN be-BKG.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ha  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘‘That’s enough carrying people,’’ he said.’
- (135) *Okatao mano ma tokahamonaha.*  
 okatao mano maa to-ka-ha-mona-ha  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) arm.M be\_tired CH-COMIT-AUX.NOM.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘‘My son’s arms are tired.’’
- (136) *Ota wete tonamibana ati nemetemoneni, ha ni.*  
 otaa wete to-na-mi-bana ati na-hemete-mone-ni haa  
 1EX.S return away-AUX-back.F-FUT say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F call  
 ni  
 AUX.NFIN  
 ‘‘We are going back,’’ she said, calling.’

- (137) *Ee ota ota tokomibonehe.*  
 ee otaa otaa to-ka-mi-bone-he  
 yes 1EX 1EX.S away-go-back.NOM.F-INT.F-DUP  
 “Okay, we are going back.”
- (138) *Ota ota tokomibone.*  
 otaa otaa to-ka-mi-bone  
 1EX 1EX.S away-go-back.NOM.F-INT.F  
 “We are going back.”
- (139) *Ota wete tonamibone okatao ati ne ati nemetemoneni.*  
 otaa wete to-na-mi-bone okatao ati ne ati  
 1EX.S return away-AUX-back.NOM.F-INT.F 1SG.POSS.son(M) say AUX.M say  
 na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 “My son said we should go back,” she said.’
- (140) *Okatao mano ma tokahamona okatao ati ne ati nemetemone.*  
 okatao mano maa to-ka-ha-mona  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) arm.M be\_tired CH-COMIT-AUX.NOM.M-REP.M  
 okatao ati ne ati na-hemete-mone  
 1SG.POSS.son(M) say AUX.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 “My son said his arms are tired,” she said.’
- (141) *Ee te tokomahi, me ati na me ati yana tonemetemoneke fahi.*  
 ee tee to-ka-ma-hi me ati na me ati yana  
 yes 2PL.S away-go-back-IMP.F 3PL.S say AUX.F 3PL.POSS voice start  
 to-na-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 “All right, you go,” they said. They were upset as they were speaking.’
- (142) *Te ota kakabateba otani me ati nemetemoneni.*  
 tee otaa ka-kaba-tee-haba otaa-ni me ati  
 2PL.O 1EX.S COMIT-eat-HAB-FUT.F 1EX.S-BKG.F 3PL.S say  
 na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 “We will eat you in the future,” they said.’

- (143) *Te ota kakabatebisaba otani me ati nemetemoneni.*  
 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  
 na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘We will eat you, too,’’ they said.’
- (144) *Ee tokatimi ka ya me kisemetemoneke ha ya.*  
 ee to-ka-timi ka ya me  
 yes away-go-upstream.NOM.F LOC ADJU 3PL.S  
 ka-risa-hemete-mone-ke haa ya  
 come-down-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F DEM ADJU  
 ‘Yes, they came downstream from up there upstream.’
- (145) *Kowani ka ama nimete ahi.*  
 kowani ka ama ni-mete ahi  
 other\_side LOC be AUX.NOM.F-FP.N.F there  
 ‘It was on the other side.’
- (146) *Ha ya me mera iseriwakemata awaka ahi.*  
 haa ya me mera ise-riwaha-ke-himata awa-ka ahi  
 DEM ADJU 3PL 3PL.O drop\_off-across-coming-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He brought them across to here.’
- (147) *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  
 ‘Right, they left them behind.’
- (148) *Faya me, me ma nisimetemoneke Wara amake haro, okomise hiyari aati toamaroke.*  
 faya me me maa na-risi-mete-mone-ke Wara  
 so 3PL 3PL.S stop AUX-down.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F Wara(F)  
 ama-ke haaro okomise hiyari a-ati  
 be-DECL.F that\_one.F 1SG.POSS.aunt(F) speak.NFIN DUP-say  
 to-ha-hamaro-ke  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘Then they stopped coming downstream at Wara, my aunt used to say.’

- (149) *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  
 ‘Then they lived there.’
- (150) *E tamemetemone e, bote me ya e tabakere.*  
 ee tama-hemete-mone ee bote me ya ee  
 1IN.S be\_many-FP.N.F-REP.F 1IN old 3PL ADJU 1IN.S  
 taba-ke-re  
 be\_together-DECL.F-NEG.F  
 ‘We were numerous, but the old people aren’t with us anymore.’
- (151) *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  
 ‘You didn’t see them.’
- (152) *Yobe wahi toro ateate na toemari ama me ihi ayaka ini me hiri na mati.*  
 yobe waahi toro ate-ate na to-ha-himari  
 house(M) stand.M inside.M DUP-make\_noise.LIST AUX CH-AUX-FP.E.M  
 ama me ihi ayaka ini me hiri na mati  
 SEC 3PL.POSS because\_of.F feast(F) name.F 3PL.S say AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘There was a lot of noise in the longhouse because of them, because they  
 were asking for a feast.’<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>This sentence is in eyewitness tense, indicating that Yowao was alive when people still lived in longhouses.



# I The jaguars ate the girls

## Introduction

The story *The jaguars ate the girls* was told by Siko in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-jaggirls.mp3>.

The Jarawaras tell many stories about encounters with jaguars in the forest. Most of them end with fatalities, but some narrate escapes from jaguars. In this story, about a group of girls, one girl escapes, but her friends are killed, because they failed to listen to her warning.

## English translation

It was her future sister-in-law. She called her future sister-in-law to go out. It was *bihi*. It was *bihi* palm leaves, to be woven [into fans].

“Sister-in-law, let’s all go together.”

“My mother won’t let me.”

“Let’s go together and play all over. We aren’t men. We are all women. When we have gone and picked the *bihi* leaves and brought back the *bihi* leaves, my mother and the others will weave them.”

“Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her. Go with your sister-in-law. If you don’t go, she won’t call you anymore,” her mother said.

Her sister-in-law called her, and they went. They went out into the forest. They picked *bihi* leaves. They picked *bihi* leaves as they came back. They came back picking *bihi* leaves. As they were coming back picking *bihi* leaves, she found some *bihi* fruits and cut the bunch off. She cut off the bunch of *bihi* fruits, and was holding it in her hand. She picked *bihi* leaves and carried them on her shoulder. She came holding the bunch of *bihi* fruits in her hand.

“Are you finished?”

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“Yes, we are finished. Let’s go. Let’s not separate the *bihi* leaves into strips, let’s take the *bihi* leaves home.”

She wanted to give her *bihi* fruits to her mother. Her sisters-in-law played a joke on her and ate the *bihi* fruits.

She was upset because they ate them. “You are eating the *bihi* fruits that are for my mother.”

They didn’t pay any attention to what she was saying. They pulled off the *bihi* fruits. They ate the *bihi* fruits, cracking them in their mouths.

“You go ahead and stay here. Go ahead and eat them.”

“Go ahead, let her be mad. *Hehei*. Look at her, she’s mad.”

She went back mad. She went back. They were left behind running after each other. Their voices came to her and she stopped to listen. Their voices could be heard. She went on.

While the girls were playing, the jaguars were also playing. There were two logs across the trail, and the two jaguars were on top of them playing. “*Ooo*.” The male was playing with its mate. When she saw it she left and came back. She came running back.

“Someone is coming. Someone is coming,” they said.

“Don’t say ‘Someone’s coming.’ Let’s go this way. There are jaguars playing. There are jaguars playing on our trail. Let’s go the other way. We will come out on the other side of them.”

“She is lying. She’s saying that because she saw her boyfriend,” they said. “She is coming here saying that because she saw her boyfriend who had come after her.”

“That’s enough talk. I am telling you to come with me, and you aren’t listening. There are jaguars playing there. I am not fooling you. There are jaguars playing on the trail. They are playing on top of two logs on the trail.”

“She is coming saying that because she saw her boyfriend,” they sang. They came singing.

“Go ahead back singing.”

She was behind them as they went back. As they went, there was noise, *kisiririri, toko* [sounds of moving leaves, and of jaguars’ paws hitting flesh].

“*Aya, aya, toko, aya.*” They were crying out. As they were crying out, the jaguar killed them. The jaguar killed them and they were crying out.

She came. She was wearing cotton twine adornments, and she undid the cotton and wrapped it around her feet. It was a *baro* tree. She climbed up the *baro*, which was this thick [thick enough to be strong, but thin enough to climb]. She climbed up.

The jaguars ate her sisters-in-law. She looked down as she heard them eating.

“They wouldn’t listen to me.”

She waited until their stomachs were full, then she called out. The sun went down. She was afraid as the sun went down. “What am I going to do? Where can I go? I’m going to call out,” she said. “I think they are full now. I think their stomachs are full.”

Her older brother was making arrow poison. He ground the *iha* in the mortar. He stirred the poison. He dried the arrow points. He put more poison on the arrow points. The arrow points were dry. The dart points were dry, too.

The sun was going down. When the sun was going down, he went to urinate. He went, and untied his penis. He stood urinating.

“Heei,” someone said. It was her calling. She was calling, and her older brother heard her calling.

“Mother, Mother, someone is calling there, where my sister went with the others,” he said.

“Go look at my daughter.”

“Wait.” He went. He put the arrow points in the sheath. He hung up the darts and went.

“I’m going to take a look at them. Let’s go together. Come along.”

The two of them went.

“Hee,” she said.

He called out. “Just let her call,” he said, and he went.

They went on. “Someone is calling up there. I think she is standing up there in a tree.”

As her calling could be heard, they came. The two jaguars were sitting eating. They were eating the bellies. They were eating their bellies, the girls’ bellies. They were sitting eating the girls’ bellies. They were full. They had eaten their livers, their intestines, the fat of their intestines.

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He came to where they were sitting eating. The jaguar looked. It looked at him as he appeared. It was sitting eating. It got up quickly. He quickly pulled out an arrow. The other one behind him pulled out an arrow, too. They charged them, and they shot them with arrows.

The jaguar was full. It was staggering. It went a ways and collapsed. The other one shot the other one, and it went a ways and collapsed. They each killed one. They died.

“Sister.”

“Brother, Brother,” she said.

“What?”

“Is it you?”

“Yes, it’s me.”

“Is it really you?”

“It’s really me. Come down.”

So his sister came down. She thought her brother was someone else. She looked at her brother, holding on up there. “Oh, it’s my brother.” She came down.

The one who was with him was standing a ways away, his brother-in-law. She came down. “Brother, they wouldn’t listen to me, and the jaguars ate them.”

She cried. She could be heard crying. “I was coming back. I was holding *bihi* fruits in my hand for my mother, and they took them from me and made me mad, so I came back. As I was coming back, I came upon the jaguars here. I came upon them playing, their log is across the path here. They are lying there by their log.”

Then she cried. She could be heard crying. “I went back there. I wanted for us to go away, but they wouldn’t listen to me. They came singing here. They came along singing. Now there is no more work for them to do.”

“Come on, you go first.”

The two jaguars were lying there. They left them lying on the ground.

“Come on, you two go on first.”

So they came back. She was crying for her sisters-in-law along the way. She came back crying. They arrived back. She was crying.

When the mothers heard about their children, they cried, all of them. “*Aya*, my daughter, my daughter,” they said, crying.





- (9) *Maki me e amakarene.*  
 maki me ee ama-ka-re-ne  
 male(M) 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be-DECL-NEG.F-IRR.F  
 “We aren’t men.”
- (10) *Maki me e amarini.*  
 maki me ee ama-ra-ni  
 male(M) 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be-NEG-BKG.F  
 “We aren’t men.”
- (11) *Fana hinama e toharawarake haro.*  
 fana hinama ee to-ha-rawa-hara-ke haaro  
 female(F) all 1IN.S CH-be-FPL-IP.E.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 “We are all women.”
- (12) *E tokomakeharo e tokomake bi e hose naro, bi e hose na bi kakamaro bi okomi hikowarawaba hikowarawabanani.*  
 ee to-ka-make-haaro ee to-ka-make bihi ee  
 1IN.S away-go-following-PFUT.F 1IN.S away-go-following palm.sp(F) 1IN.S  
 hose na-haaro bihi ee hose na bihi  
 pull\_out AUX-PFUT.F palm.sp(F) 1IN.S pull\_out AUX.F palm.sp(F)  
 ka-ka-ma-haaro bihi okomi  
 COMIT-come-back-PFUT.F palm.sp(F) 1SG.POSS.mother(F)  
 hi-kowa-rawa-haba hi-kowa-rawa-habana-ni  
 OC-weave-FPL-FUT.F OC-weave-FPL-FUT.F-BKG.F  
 “When we have gone and picked the *bihi* leaves and brought back the *bihi* leaves, my mother and the others will weave them.”
- (13) *Naki tiwa hima na ati amani.*  
 naki tiwa hima na ati ama-ni  
 2SG.POSS.brother’s\_wife(F) 2SG.O call\_to\_go AUX.F voice be-BKG.F  
 “Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her.”
- (14) *Naki te famahi.*  
 naki tee fama-hi  
 2SG.POSS.brother’s\_wife(F) 2PL.S be\_two-IMP.F  
 “Go with your sister-in-law.”



- (21) *Me tokomake me, me tokomake me, me tokomake bihi me hose nemetemoneke.*  
 me to-ka-make me me to-ka-make me me  
 3PL.S away-go-following 3PL.S 3PL.S away-go-following 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 to-ka-make bihi me hose na-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-following palm.sp(F) 3PL.S pull\_out AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They went. They picked *bihi* leaves.’
- (22) *Bi me hose namahite bi me hose ni kama, bi me hose namakia, bi boni, bi boni watawa toaha, watawa, watawa wasiha watawa, watawa ti nakosemetemoneke.*  
 bihi me hose na-ma-hite bihi me  
 palm.sp(F) 3PL.S pull\_out AUX-back-along\_the\_way palm.sp(F) 3PL.S  
 hose ni ka-ma bihi me hose  
 pull\_out AUX.NFIN come-back.F palm.sp(F) 3PL.S pull\_out  
 na-makia bihi boni bihi boni watawa to-haha  
 AUX-following.F palm.sp(F) fruit.F palm.sp(F) fruit.F bihi\_fruit(M) CH-be.F  
 watawa watawa wasiha watawa watawa tii  
 bihi\_fruit(M) bihi\_fruit(M) find.F bihi\_fruit(M) bihi\_fruit(M) cut\_through  
 na-kosa-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-middle-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They picked *bihi* leaves as they came back. They came back picking *bihi* leaves. As they were coming back picking *bihi* leaves, she found some *bihi* fruits and cut the bunch off.’
- (23) *Watawa ti nakosa, watawa ti nakosa watawa tama na, bi hose na bi tiwa kana, watawa tama ni kamakia me, Te hawa tohini?*  
 watawa tii na-kosa watawa tii  
 bihi\_fruit(M) cut\_through AUX-middle.F bihi\_fruit(M) cut\_through  
 na-kosa watawa tama na bihi hose na  
 AUX-middle.F bihi\_fruit(M) hold\_onto AUX.F palm.sp(F) pull\_out AUX.F  
 bihi tiwa ka-na watawa tama ni  
 palm.sp(F) carry COMIT-AUX.F bihi\_fruit(M) hold\_onto AUX.NFIN  
 ka-makia me tee hawa to-ha-ni  
 come-following.F 3PL 2PL.S be\_finished CH-AUX-BKG.F  
 ‘She cut off the bunch of *bihi* fruits, and was holding it in her hand. She picked *bihi* leaves and carried them on her shoulder. She came holding the bunch of *bihi* fruits in her hand. “Are you finished?”’

*I The jaguars ate the girls*

- (24) *Ee ota hawa toha otani.*  
 ee otaa hawa to-ha otaa-ni  
 yes 1EX.S be\_finished CH-AUX.F 1EX.S-BKG.F  
 “Yes, we are finished.”
- (25) *Ota hawa toha otani.*  
 otaa hawa to-ha otaa-ni  
 1EX.S be\_finished CH-AUX.F 1EX.S-BKG.F  
 “We are finished.”
- (26) *Ota, hima.*  
 otaa hima  
 1EX let's\_go  
 “Let's go.”
- (27) *Bi e sisi namatara bi e towakamabanakene.*  
 bihi ee si-sii na-mata-ra bihi ee  
 palm.sp(F) 1IN.S DUP-pull\_off AUX-short\_time-NEG.F palm.sp(F) 1IN.S  
 to-ka-ka-ma-habana-ke-ne  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FUT.F-DECL.F-IRR.F  
 “Let's not separate the *bihi* leaves into strips, let's take the *bihi* leaves home.”
- (28) *Ee hinaka watawa, mati ka mati ka watawabonaha, nakiri nakiri siwa hiniharawa nakiri watawa kaba, kabarawaha ihi, yawehemetemoneni.*  
 ee hinaka watawa mati ka  
 (pause) 3SG.POSS bihi\_fruit(M) 3SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS  
 mati ka watawa-bona-ha  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS bihi\_fruit(M)-INT.M-DUP  
 nakiri nakiri siwa  
 3SG.POSS.brother's\_wife(F) 3SG.POSS.brother's\_wife(F) play  
 hi-niha-rawa nakiri watawa kaba  
 OC-CAUS-FPL.F 3SG.POSS.brother's\_wife(F) bihi\_fruit(M) eat.F  
 kaba-rawa-ha ihi yawa-hemete-mone-ni  
 eat-FPL.F-DUP because\_of.F be\_upset-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘She wanted to give her *bihi* fruits to her mother. Her sisters-in-law played a joke on her and ate the *bihi* fruits. She was upset because they ate them.’

- (29) *Okomi ka okomi ka watawabona, okomi ka watawabona te kabineni.*  
 okomi ka okomi ka watawa-bona  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS 1SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS bihi\_fruit(M)-INT.M  
 okomi ka watawa-bona tee kaba-ne-ni  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS bihi\_fruit(M)-INT.M 2PL.S eat-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘You are eating the *bihi* fruits that are for my mother.’’
- (30) *Okomi, okomi ati me aima hine watawa me watawa me hose nemetemoneke.*  
 okomi okomi ati me aima hi-ne  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) 1SG.POSS.mother(F) voice 3PL.S ignore OC-AUX.M  
 watawa me watawa me hose na-hemete-mone-ke  
 bihi\_fruit(M) 3PL bihi\_fruit(M) 3PL.S pull\_out AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They didn’t pay any attention to what she was saying. They pulled off the *bihi* fruits.’
- (31) *Watawa me hose nemetemoneke.*  
 watawa me hose na-hemete-mone-ke  
 bihi\_fruit(M) 3PL.S pull\_out AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They pulled off the *bihi* fruits.’
- (32) *Watawa me wakara na watawa me kabehemetemoneke.*  
 watawa me wakara na watawa me  
 bihi\_fruit(M) 3PL.S eat\_cracking AUX.F bihi\_fruit(M) 3PL.S  
 kaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They ate the *bihi* fruits, cracking them in their mouths.’
- (33) *Watawa me kaba me, Te nahoyahi ahi.*  
 watawa me kaba me tee naho-yahi ahi  
 bihi\_fruit(M) 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S 2PL.S stay-DIST.IMP.F here  
 ‘They ate the *bihi* fruits. ‘‘You go ahead and stay here.’’
- (34) *Te kabaho.*  
 tee kaba-ho  
 2PL.S eat-IMP.M  
 ‘‘Go ahead and eat them.’’

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- (35) *Hine yawa na hehei.*  
 hine yawa na hehei  
 only be\_upset AUX (exclamation\_of\_children\_playing)  
 “Go ahead, let her be mad. *Hehei.*”
- (36) *Yama yawaha te awa haro.*  
 yama yawaha tee awa haaro  
 thing(F) be\_upset.F 2PL.S see that\_one.F  
 “Look at her, she’s mad.”
- (37) *Yawa towakame, yawa towakamemetemoneke.*  
 yawa to-ka-ka-me yawa  
 anger(F) away-COMIT-go-back.M anger(F)  
 to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She went back mad.’
- (38) *Yawa towakama tokoma, tokoma, tokomemetemoneke.*  
 yawa to-ka-ka-ma to-ka-ma to-ka-ma  
 anger(F) away-COMIT-go-back.F away-go-back.F away-go-back.F  
 to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She went back mad.’
- (39) *Tokoma, tokoma tokoma me abe kiyoha me tonokosa me ati koro namakia me ati, yama mimita nemetemone.*  
 to-ka-ma to-ka-ma to-ka-ma me abe kiyoha  
 away-go-back.F away-go-back.F away-go-back.F 3PL.POSS RECIP chase.F  
 me to-naho-kosa me ati koro na-makia  
 3PL.S CH-stand-middle.F 3PL.POSS voice be\_heard AUX-following.F  
 me ati yama mi-mita na-hemete-mone  
 3PL.POSS voice thing(F) DUP-hear AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘She went back. They were left behind running after each other. Their voices came to her and she stopped to listen.’
- (40) *Me ati saiha tokoma tokoma tokomemetemoneke.*  
 me ati saiha to-ka-ma to-ka-ma  
 3PL.POSS voice be\_heard.F away-go-back.F away-go-back.F  
 to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘Their voices could be heard. She went on.’

- (41) *Yama, me fanawi siwa narawi ya me siwa nemetemone yome mati.*  
 yama me fanawi siwa na-rawi ya me siwa  
 thing(F) 3PL.S woman play AUX-FPL.NOM.F ADJU 3PL.S play  
 na-hemete-mone yomee mati  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F jaguar(M) 3PL  
 ‘While the girls were playing, the jaguars were also playing.’
- (42) *Awa, awa bere nikima, mese ya me yoro nare me siwa nemetemoneni.*  
 awa awa bere na-kima mese ya me yoro  
 tree(F) tree(F) be\_across AUX-two.F surface ADJU 3PL.S stay  
 na-re me siwa na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-raised\_surface 3PL.S play AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘There were two logs across the trail, and the two jaguars were on top of them playing.’
- (43) *Ooo.*  
 ooo  
 (purring\_of\_jaguar)  
 ‘‘Ooo.’’
- (44) *Fati siwa nimatamonaka fati.*  
 fati siwa niha-himata-mona-ka fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) play CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
 ‘The male was playing with its mate.’
- (45) *Fati siwa ni, fati siwa ni, me awati yana tona kama kana ni kana ni kamemetemoneke.*  
 fati siwa niha fati siwa niha me awa-ti  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) play CAUS 3SG.POSS.wife(F) play CAUS 3PL see-HAB.NOM  
 yana to-na ka-ma kana ni kana ni  
 start CH-AUX.F come-back.F run AUX.NFIN run AUX.NFIN  
 ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘It was playing with its mate. When she saw it, she left and came back. She came running back.’<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The pronominal *me* is a false start.

*I The jaguars ate the girls*

- (46) *Kana ni kama, kana ni kama Hinamati kame hinamati kame inamati kame me ati nemetemoneke.*  
kana ni ka-ma kana ni ka-ma hinamati  
run AUX.NFIN come-back.F run AUX.NFIN come-back.F someone(M)  
ka-me hinamati ka-me inamati ka-me me  
come-back.M someone(M) come-back.M someone(M) come-back.M 3PL.S  
ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'She came back running. "Someone is coming. Someone is coming," they said.'
- (47) *Hinamati kame tinahi fahi.*  
hinamati ka-me ti-na-hi fahi  
someone(M) come-back.M 2SG.S-say-IMP.F then  
"Don't say 'Someone's coming.'"
- (48) *E tokabone onahara ahi.*  
ee to-ka-habone o-na-hara ahi  
1IN.S away-go-INT.F 1SG.S-say-IP.E.F here  
"Let's go this way."
- (49) *Yama siwa narawarani.*  
yama siwa na-rawa-hara-ni  
thing(F) play AUX-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
"There are jaguars playing."
- (50) *E hawine yama siwa narawarani.*  
ee hawine yama siwa na-rawa-hara-ni  
1IN.POSS trail thing(F) play AUX-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
"There are jaguars playing on our trail."
- (51) *E toka ahi.*  
ee to-ka ahi  
1IN.S away-go there  
"Let's go the other way."
- (52) *E tasi tobe ahi.*  
ee tasi to-be ahi  
1IN.S emerge CH-IMMED.F there  
"We will come out on the other side of them."

- (53) *Keye hiri nane.*  
 keye hiri na-ne  
 lie(F) say AUX.CONT.M-BKG.M  
 “She is lying.”
- (54) *Keye hiri nane.*  
 keye hiri na-ne  
 lie(F) say AUX.CONT.M-BKG.M  
 “She is lying.”
- (55) *Ee, efe tabiyo hiyawe ehene, makibonaha, makibonaha awanihi ati amani, ati narawemetemoneke.*  
 ee efe tabiyo hi-yawe ehene  
 (pause) this.M absence OC-be\_upset.M because\_of.M  
 maki-bona-ha maki-bona-ha  
 3SG.POSS.husband(M)-INT.M-DUP 3SG.POSS.husband(M)-INT.M-DUP  
 awa-hani-hi ati ama-ni ati na-rawa-hemetemone-ke  
 see-IP.N.F-DUP voice be-BKG.F say AUX-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 “She’s saying that because she saw her boyfriend,” they said.’
- (56) *Maki he nakamakenoho awani ati kakamineni.*  
 maki hee na-ka-make-hino-ho awa-hani  
 3SG.POSS.husband(M) 3SG.O CAUS-come-following-IP.N.M-DUP see-IP.N.F  
 ati ka-ka-ma-ne-ni  
 voice COMIT-come-back-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “She is coming here saying that because she saw her boyfriend who had come after her.”
- (57) *Te ati fe na fahi.*  
 tee ati fee naa fahi  
 2PL.POSS voice 3SG exist then  
 “That’s enough talk.”
- (58) *Te ati fe na fahi.*  
 tee ati fee naa fahi  
 2PL.POSS voice 3SG exist then  
 “That’s enough talk.”

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- (59) *Tera hima onaha owati te kasawarineni.*  
 tera hima o-naha o-ati tee  
 2PL.O call\_to\_go 1SG.S-AUX.F 1SG.POSS-voice 2PL.S  
 ka-sawari-ne-ni  
 COMMIT-frustrate-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “I am telling you to come with me, and you aren’t listening.”
- (60) *Yama siwa narawarani.*  
 yama siwa na-rawa-hara-ni  
 thing(F) play AUX-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “There are jaguars playing there.”
- (61) *Yama tera okeyerini.*  
 yama tera o-keyeha-ra-ni  
 thing(F) 2PL.O 1SG.S-deceive-NEG-BKG.F  
 “I am not fooling you.”
- (62) *Yama siwa narawarani hawi.*  
 yama siwa na-rawa-hara-ni hawi  
 thing(F) play AUX-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F trail(F)  
 “There are jaguars playing on the trail.”
- (63) *Awa kahoma ya yama siwa narawa yoro narerawarani.*  
 awa ka-homa ya yama siwa na-rawa yoro  
 tree(F) COMMIT-lie\_on\_ground.F ADJU thing(F) play AUX-FPL.F stay  
 na-re-rawa-hara-ni  
 AUX-raised\_surface-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “They are playing on top of two logs on the trail.”
- (64) *Makibonaha makibonaha, awahanihi ati kakamineni kakamineni yowiri ni ati nemetemoneni.*  
 maki-bona-ha maki-bona-ha  
 3SG.POSS.husband(M)-INT.M-DUP 3SG.POSS.husband(M)-INT.M-DUP  
 awa-hani-hi ati ka-ka-ma-ne-ni  
 see-IP.N.F-DUP voice COMMIT-come-back-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ka-ka-ma-ne-ni yowiri ni ati  
 COMMIT-come-back-CONT.F-BKG.F sing\_woman’s\_song AUX.NFIN say  
 na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 “She is coming saying that because she saw her boyfriend,” they sang.’

- (65) *Yowiri ni kakamemetemoneke.*  
 yowiri ni ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 'They came singing.'
- (66) *Yowiri ni kakamemetemone ahi.*  
 yowiri ni ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone ahi  
 sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 'They came singing.'
- (67) *Yowiri ni kakama ahi.*  
 yowiri ni ka-ka-ma ahi  
 sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back.F then  
 'They came singing.'
- (68) *Yowiri ni kakama me yowiri ni kakamemetemoneke ahi.*  
 yowiri ni ka-ka-ma me  
 sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S  
 yowiri ni ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 'They came singing.'
- (69) *Tika yowiri ni tokoma fahi.*  
 ti-ka yowiri ni to-ka-ma fahi  
 2SG.POSS-POSS sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN away-go-back then  
 "Go ahead back singing."
- (70) *Yotohemetemoneke.*  
 yoto-hemete-mone-ke  
 follow-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 'She was behind.'
- (71) *Yotowama yotoha me tokomemetemoneke ahi.*  
 yoto-waha-ma yotoha me to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 follow-change-back.F follow.F 3PL.S away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 'She was behind, and they went back.'

*I The jaguars ate the girls*

- (72) *Me tokoma me tokomi ya, me tokomi ya yama moni yana torawemetemone amake ahi kisiririri, toko.*

me to-ka-ma me to-ka-mi ya me  
 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S away-go-back.NOM.F ADJU 3PL.S  
 to-ka-mi ya yama moni yana to-rawa-hemete-mone  
 away-go-back.NOM.F ADJU thing(F) sound start CH-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ama-ke ahi kisiririri toko  
 SEC-DECL.F then (sound\_of\_leaves) (sound\_of\_paws\_grabbing)  
 ‘They went back. As they went, there was noise, *kisiririri, toko*.’

- (73) *Aya aya aya aya aya aya toko aya.*

aya aya aya  
 (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain)  
 aya aya aya  
 (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain) (expression\_of\_pain)  
 toko aya  
 (sound\_of\_paws\_grabbing) (expression\_of\_pain)  
 ‘‘Aya, aya,’’ *toko*, ‘aya.’’

- (74) *Kiyari nemetemoneke.*

kiya-ri na-hemete-mone-ke  
 yell-DISTR AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They were crying out.’

- (75) *Me kiyari nemetemoneni.*

me kiya-ri na-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S yell-DISTR AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They were crying out.’

- (76) *Me kiyari na, waka hirawemetemoneke ahi.*

me kiya-ri na waka hi-rawa-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 3PL.S yell-DISTR AUX.F kill OC-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘As they were crying out, the jaguar killed them.’

- (77) *Yome waka hirawa, kiyari narawemetemoneni.*

yomee waka hi-rawa kiya-ri na-rawa-hemete-mone-ni  
 jaguar(M) kill OC-FPL.F yell-DISTR AUX-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘The jaguar killed them and they were crying out.’

- (78) *Kamakia, kamakia ya wafe boni wafe sana hikana katisa wafe katisa, tame mati nawata, barometemoneke baro.*  
 ka-makia ka-makia ya wafe boni wafe  
 come-following.F come-following.F ADJU cotton(F) fruit.F cotton(F)  
 sana hi-ka-na ka-tisa wafe  
 carry\_strapped\_on\_shoulder OC-COMIT-AUX.F COMIT-undo.F cotton(F)  
 ka-tisa tame mati na-wata  
 COMIT-undo.F foot.F line.F CAUS-be\_located.F  
 baro-mete-mone-ke baro  
 tree.sp(F)-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F tree.sp(F)  
 ‘She came. She was wearing cotton twine adornments, and she undid the cotton and wrapped it around her feet. It was a *baro* tree.’<sup>2</sup>
- (79) *Baro aya totoha na ya baro wa ya tokomisemetemoneke.*  
 baro aya to-to-ha na ya baro waa ya  
 tree.sp(F) this DUP-CH-be AUX.F ADJU tree.sp(F) stand.F ADJU  
 to-ka-misa-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-up-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She climbed up the *baro*, which was this thick.’
- (80) *Tokomisa, tokomisemetemoneke.*  
 to-ka-misa to-ka-misa-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-up.F away-go-up-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She climbed up.’
- (81) *Nakiri yome hikabarawa me hikaba me, me tafi moni kamitani nokorisama, Owati me kasawariha, me akari forima hinihi ha ha nemetemone fahi.*  
 nakiri yomee hi-kaba-rawa me hi-kaba me  
 3SG.POSS.brother’s\_wife(F) jaguar(M) OC-eat-FPL.F 3PL.O OC-eat.F 3PL.O  
 me tafi moni ka-mita-hani noko-risa-ma  
 3PL.S eat.NFIN sound COMIT-hear-IP.N.F point-down-back.F  
 o-ati me ka-sawariha me akari  
 1SG.POSS-voice 3PL.S COMIT-frustrate.F 3PL.S be\_satiated.NFIN  
 forima hi-nihi ha haa na-hemete-mone fahi  
 do\_properly OC-CAUS.NOM.F ADJU call AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘The jaguars ate her sisters-in-law. She looked down as she heard them eating. “They wouldn’t listen to me.” She waited until their stomachs were full, then she called out.’

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<sup>2</sup>*Wafe boni* is a mistake, it should be just *wafe*.

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- (82) *Bai bai abematamonaka.*  
 bahi bahi ahaba-himata-mona-ka  
 sun(M) sun(M) end-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The sun went down.’
- (83) *Bai ahabe, bai bai abe aawawa nemetemoneke.*  
 bahi ahabe bahi bahi ahabe a-awa-wa na-hemete-mone-ke  
 sun(M) end.M sun(M) sun(M) end.M DUP-see-DUP AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘The sun went down. She was afraid as the sun went down.’
- (84) *Himata nima onaba?*  
 himata ni-ma o-na-haba  
 what AUX.NOM-like 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F  
 ‘‘What am I going to do?’’
- (85) *Okomaba ama oniti.*  
 o-ka-ma-haba ama o-ni-ti  
 1SG.S-go-back-FUT.F SEC 1SG.S-AUX.NOM-HAB.NOM  
 ‘‘Where can I go?’’
- (86) *Haha onabana oke.*  
 ha-haa o-na-habana o-ke  
 DUP-call 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I’m going to call out.’’
- (87) *Haha onabana oke ati nemetemoneni.*  
 ha-haa o-na-habana o-ke ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
 DUP-call 1SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I’m going to call out,’’ she said.’
- (88) *Me akara me akara me awinekene.*  
 me akara me akara me awine-ke-ne  
 3PL.S be\_satiated.F 3PL.S be\_satiated.F 3PL.S seem.F-DECL.F-IRR.F  
 ‘‘I think they are full now.’’
- (89) *Me nabati fota awineni.*  
 me nabati fota awine-ni  
 3PL.POSS stomach be\_big.F seem.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I think their stomachs are full.’’

- (90) *Faya anoti anoti iha to kanematamonaka.*  
 faya anoti anoti iha  
 so 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) plant.sp(M)  
 too ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 pulverize COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘Her older brother was making arrow poison.’
- (91) *Iha to kane ia iha were ne, ia were ne wati wati ino tokanayowe wati ino howe ne, wati ino howe nematamonaka.*  
 iha too ka-ne iha iha were ne  
 plant.sp(M) pulverize COMIT-AUX.M plant.sp(M) plant.sp(M) stir AUX.M  
 iha were ne wati wati ino  
 plant.sp(M) stir AUX.M arrow(M) arrow(M) point.M  
 to-ka-na-yowe wati ino howe ne wati ino  
 CH-COMIT-CAUS-burn.M arrow(M) point.M wipe AUX.M arrow(M) point.M  
 howe na-himata-mona-ka  
 wipe AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He ground the *iha* in the mortar. He stirred the poison. He dried the arrow points. He put more poison on the arrow points.’
- (92) *Wati ino howe ne, wati ino hokowe, sare sare ini hokowaha, faya, bai abematamonaka.*  
 wati ino howe ne wati ino hoko-wee  
 arrow(M) point.M wipe AUX.M arrow(M) point.M be\_dry-change.M  
 sarehe sarehe ini hoko-waha faya bahi  
 blowgun\_dart(F) blowgun\_dart(F) point.F be\_dry-change.F so sun(M)  
 ahaba-himata-mona-ka  
 end-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He put more poison on the arrow points. The arrow points were dry. The dart points were dry, too. The sun was going down.’
- (93) *Bai abe ya, so nebona, so nebona tokomakematamonaka.*  
 bahi ahabe ya soo na-hibona soo na-hibona  
 sun(M) end.NOM.M ADJU urinate AUX-INT.M urinate AUX-INT.M  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘When the sun was going down, he went to urinate.’

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- (94) *Tokomake, tokomake, sowiri sowiri sota tonematamonaka.*  
to-ka-make to-ka-make sowiri sowiri sota  
away-go-following away-go-following penis penis remove  
to-na-himata-mona-ka  
CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He went, and untied his penis.’
- (95) *Sowiri sota tone so ne we, so nematamonaka.*  
sowiri sota to-ne soo ne wee soo  
penis remove CH-AUX.M urinate AUX.M stand.M urinate  
na-himata-mona-ka  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He untied his penis, and stood urinating.’
- (96) *So ne, Heei inamati ati na, ha nemetemoneke ahi.*  
soo ne heei inamati ati na haa  
urinate AUX.M yooohoo someone(F) say AUX.F call  
na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
‘He was urinating. “Heei,” someone said. It was her calling.’
- (97) *Ha nemetemoneke.*  
haa na-hemete-mone-ke  
call AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘She was calling.’
- (98) *Ha na ha ni, anoti himitemetemoneke.*  
haa na haa ni anoti  
call AUX.F call AUX.NFIN 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M)  
hi-mita-hemete-mone-ke  
OC-hear-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘She was calling, and her older brother heard her calling.’
- (99) *Anoti ha ni himita, Ami, ami hinamati ha naka hari.*  
anoti haa ni hi-mita ami ami  
3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) call AUX.NFIN OC-hear.F mother(F) mother(F)  
hinamati haa na-ka haari  
someone(M) call AUX.CONT.M-DECL.M that\_one.M  
‘Her brother heard her calling. “Mother, Mother someone is calling there.”’

- (100) *Ami hinamati ha na hari, okasima me taba me toki ya, ati nematamonaka.*  
ami hinamati haa na haari  
mother(F) someone(M) call AUX.CONT.M that\_one.M  
okasima me taba me to-ki  
1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) 3PL.S be\_together.F 3PL.S away-go.NOM.F  
ya ati na-himata-mona-ka  
ADJU say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘‘Mother, someone is calling there, where my sister went with the others,’’ he said.’
- (101) *Okoto totowamake re ati amane.*  
okoto to-to-awa-make re ati ama-ne  
1SG.POSS.daughter(F) DUP-away-see-following NEG.M voice be-BKG.M  
‘‘Go look at my daughter.’’
- (102) *Hiba.*  
hiba  
wait  
‘‘Wait.’’
- (103) *Tokome wati ino yoko tokaname, sare tafowe nawiname tokomakewematamona.*  
to-ka-me wati ino yoko to-ka-na-me  
away-go-back.M arrow(M) point.M push away-COMIT-AUX-back.M  
sarehe tafowe na-wina-me  
blowgun\_dart(F) wrapped CAUS-hang-back.M  
to-ka-make-wee-himata-mona  
away-go-following-change.M-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘He went. He put the arrow points in the sheath. He hung up the darts and went.’
- (104) *Me totowamake omatibe.*  
me to-to-awa-make o-mata-be  
3PL.O DUP-away-see-following 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
‘‘I’m going to take a look at them.’’
- (105) *E famahi.*  
ee fama-hi  
1IN.S be\_two-IMP.F  
‘‘Let’s go together.’’

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- (106) *E famibe.*  
ee fama-be  
1IN.S be\_two-IMMED.F  
“Let’s go together.”
- (107) *Tikamake.*  
ti-ka-make  
2SG.S-come-following  
“Come along.”
- (108) *Me towakamakemetemoneke.*  
me to-ka-ka-make-hemete-mone-ke  
3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘The two of them went.’
- (109) *Me towakamakia me, towakamakemetemone.*  
me to-ka-ka-makia me  
3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S  
to-ka-ka-make-hemete-mone  
away-COMIT-go-following-FP.N.F-REP.F  
‘They went.’
- (110) *Hee ati nemetemoneke.*  
hee ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
hey say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
“‘Hee,’ she said.’
- (111) *Ha nematamonane.*  
haa na-himata-mona-ne  
call AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘He called out.’
- (112) *Ha ni hine saine ati ne, tokomakematamona.*  
haa ni hine sai-ne ati ne  
call AUX.NFIN only be\_heard-CONT.F say AUX.M  
to-ka-make-himata-mona  
away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M  
“‘Just let her call,’ he said, and he went.’

- (113) *Me towakamakia me towakamakia me, me towakamakia me Inamati ha nari hari neme kari.*  
 me to-ka-ka-makia me to-ka-ka-makia  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F  
 me me to-ka-ka-makia me inamati haa  
 3PL.S 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S someone(M) call  
 na-haari haari neme kari  
 AUX-look.M that\_one.M up(F) LOC.M  
 ‘They went. They went on. “Someone is calling up there.”’
- (114) *Wareha awineke neme ya.*  
 waa-reha awine-ke neme ya  
 stand-raised\_surface.F seem.F-DECL.F up(F) ADJU  
 ‘‘I think she is standing up there.’’
- (115) *Faya ha ni saia me kakamake me, me tafa me yoro nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 faya haa ni saia me ka-ka-make me me  
 so call AUX.NFIN be\_heard.F 3PL.S COMIT-come-following 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 tafa me yoro na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 eat.F 3PL.S sit AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F there  
 ‘As her calling could be heard, they came. The two jaguars were sitting eating.’
- (116) *Sobo me kabemetemoneke sobo haro.*  
 sobo me kaba-hemete-mone-ke sobo haaro  
 belly(F) 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F belly(F) that\_one.F  
 ‘They were eating the bellies.’
- (117) *Me sobori me kabehemetemone me fanawi sobori.*  
 me sobo-ri me kaba-hemete-mone me fanawi  
 3PL.POSS belly(F)-PN 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.POSS woman  
 sobo-ri  
 belly(F)-PN  
 ‘They were eating their bellies, the girls’ bellies.’

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- (118) *Me fanawi sobori me kaba me yoro na me akara rama ahi, me me wahati me yoti yoti yehe.*  
 me fanawi sobo-ri me kaba me yoro na me  
 3PL.POSS woman belly(F)-PN 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S sit AUX.F 3PL.S  
 akara rama ahi me me wahati me yoti  
 be\_satiated.F unusual then 3PL 3PL.POSS liver 3PL.POSS intestines.F  
 yoti yehe  
 intestines.F fat.F  
 ‘They were sitting eating the girls’ bellies. They were full. They had eaten their livers, their intestines, the fat of their intestines.’
- (119) *Me tafaha me yoro na me ni ya tasi namakimatamonaka.*  
 me tafaha me yoro na me ni ya tasi  
 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S sit AUX.F 3PL to ADJU emerge  
 na-maki-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He came to where they were sitting eating.’
- (120) *Yama aawa ne tasi na-maki kii kabote nematamonaka, tafahi itahari ahi.*  
 yama a-awa ne tasi na-maki kii kabote  
 thing(F) DUP-see AUX.M emerge AUX-following.M look\_at quickly  
 na-himata-mona-ka tafahi ita-haari ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M eat.M sit-IP.E.M then  
 ‘The jaguar looked. It looked at him as he appeared. It was sitting eating.’
- (121) *Yana kabote nematamonaka ahi.*  
 yana kabote na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 get\_up quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It got up quickly.’
- (122) *Wati, wati soba kabote nematamona ahi.*  
 wati wati soba kabote na-himata-mona ahi  
 arrow(M) arrow(M) pull\_out quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He quickly pulled out an arrow.’

- (123) *Owa wati soba nakebise yotobise, wati soba nakebisehimatamonaka ahi.*  
 owa wati soba na-ke-bise yoto-bise wati  
 other.M arrow(M) pull\_out AUX-coming-also.M follow-also.M arrow(M)  
 soba na-ke-bisa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 pull\_out AUX-coming-also-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The other one behind him pulled out an arrow, too. He pulled out an  
 arrow.’
- (124) *He me fito kanahabone me me sa hikanikimemetemoneke ahi, akare rama  
 ahi.*  
 hee me fito ka-na-habone me me saa  
 3SG.O 3PL.S rush COMIT-AUX-INT.F 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_arrow  
 hi-ka-na-kima-hemete-mone-ke ahi akare rama  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-two-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then be\_satiated.M unusual  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘They charged them, and they shot them with arrows. It was full.’
- (125) *Kawa nawahare toke tosawitematamonaka ahi.*  
 ka-waa na-wahare to-ke  
 COMIT-stand AUX-all\_over away-go.M  
 to-sona-wite-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 away-fall-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It was staggering. It went a ways and collapsed.’
- (126) *Owa sa hikabise towake tosawitematamona ahi.*  
 owa saa hi-ka-bise to-ka-ke  
 other.M shoot\_with\_arrow OC-COMIT-also.M away-COMIT-go.M  
 to-sona-witi-himata-mona ahi  
 away-fall-out-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘The other one shot the other one, and it went a ways and collapsed.’
- (127) *Me me hinafamemetemoneke.*  
 me me hi-na-fama-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-CAUS-be\_two-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They each killed one.’

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- (128) *Me me hinafama me, me abemetemone fahi.*  
me me hi-na-fama me me ahaba-hemete-mone fahi  
3PL.O 3PL.S OC-CAUS-be\_two.F 3PL.O 3PL.S die-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
'They each killed one. They died.'
- (129) *Asima.*  
asima  
younger\_sister(F)  
'"Sister."'
- (130) *Haa?*  
haa  
huh?  
'"Huh?"'<sup>3</sup>
- (131) *Ayo, ayo ati nemetemone.*  
ayo ayo ati na-hemete-mone  
older\_brother(M) older\_brother(M) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
'"Brother, Brother," she said.'
- (132) *Haa?*  
haa  
huh?  
'"What?"'
- (133) *Efe ama tini?*  
efe ama ti-ni  
this.M be 2SG.S-BKG.F  
'"Is it you?"'
- (134) *Ee efe ama oke.*  
ee efe ama o-ke  
yes this.M be 1SG.S-DECL.F  
'"Yes, it's me."'
- (135) *Efe ama oni.*  
efe ama o-ni  
this.M be 1SG.S-BKG.F  
'"It's me."'

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<sup>3</sup>Siko started the girl's quote wrong, and immediately corrected it.

- (136) *Efe yokana ama tini?*  
 efe yokana ama ti-ni  
 this.M true be 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 “Is it really you?”
- (137) *Efe ama oke.*  
 efe ama o-ke  
 this.M be 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “It’s really me.”
- (138) *Tikisamahi.*  
 ti-ka-risa-ma-hi  
 2SG.S-come-down-back-IMP.F  
 “Come down.”
- (139) *Faya hinakasima kisama, kizamemetemoneke.*  
 faya hinakasima ka-risa-ma  
 so 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) come-down-back.F  
 ka-risa-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 come-down-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘So his sister came down.’
- (140) *Faya anoti anoti baremona ati na anoti ki nemetemoneke wanaharo ahi neme ya.*  
 faya anoti anoti  
 so 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M)  
 bare-mona ati na anoti kii  
 other.M-REP.M say AUX.F 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) look\_at  
 na-hemete-mone-ke wana-haaro ahi neme ya  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F be\_attached-IP.E.F there up(F) ADJU  
 ‘She thought her brother was someone else. She looked at her brother, holding on up there.’
- (141) *Anoti ki na anoti, Haa okoyo ama nanoho.*  
 anoti kii na anoti  
 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) look\_at AUX.F 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M)  
 haa okoyo ama na-no-ho  
 oh 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) be AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘She looked at her brother. “Oh, it’s my brother.”’

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- (142) *Kisamemetemoneke.*  
ka-risa-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
come-down-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'She came down.'
- (143) *Kisama, hahi he ya famabise towamematamonaka hike ya, wabori.*  
ka-risa-ma haahi hee ya fama-bise  
come-down-back.F this\_one.M 3SG ADJU be\_with-also.M  
to-waa-ma-himata-mona-ka hike ya  
away-stand-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M far ADJU  
wabori  
3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M)  
'She came down. The one who was with him was standing a ways away,  
his brother-in-law.'
- (144) *Faya kisama, Ayo, owati me kasawaria me, yome me me kabineni.*  
faya ka-risa-ma ayo o-ati me  
so come-down-back.F older\_brother(M) 1SG.POSS-voice 3PL.S  
ka-sawariha me yomee me me kaba-ne-ni  
COMIT-frustrate.F 3PL.S jaguar(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-CONT.F-BKG.F  
'She came down. "Brother, they wouldn't listen to me, and the jaguars  
ate them."'
- (145) *Ohi nemetemoneke.*  
ohi na-hemete-mone-ke  
cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'She cried.'
- (146) *Ohi ni ati saihemetemoneni.*  
ohi ni ati sai-hemete-mone-ni  
cry AUX.NFIN voice be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
'She could be heard crying.'
- (147) *Okomi ama ahi.*  
o-ka-mi ama ahi  
1SG.S-come-back.NOM.F be here  
'"I was coming back."'

- (148) *Okoma okomi ka, watawabona tama one me owa me owa me hose kana  
owa me nayawa, okomara oni.*  
o-ka-ma okomi ka watawa-bona  
1SG.S-come-back.F 1SG.POSS.mother(F) POSS bihi\_fruit(M)-INT.M  
tama o-ne me owa me owa me hose ka-na  
hold\_onto 1SG.S-AUX.M 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S pull\_out COMIT-AUX.F  
owa me na-yawa o-ka-ma-hara o-ni  
1SG.O 3PL.S CAUS-be\_upset.F 1SG.S-come-back-IP.E.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
“I was coming back. I was holding *bihi* fruits in my hand for my mother,  
and they took them from me and made me mad, so I came back.”
- (149) *Okoma yome me owasimi ama ahi.*  
o-ka-ma yomee me o-wasi-mi ama ahi  
1SG.S-come-back.F jaguar(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-find-back.NOM.F be here  
“As I was coming back, I came upon the jaguars here.”
- (150) *Me owasima me siwa nani me awe bere nine haro.*  
me o-wasi-ma me siwa na-hani me awe bere  
3PL.O 1SG.S-find-back.F 3PL.S play AUX-IP.N.F 3PL.POSS wood.F be\_across  
na-ne haaro  
AUX-CONT.F that\_one.F  
“I came upon them playing, their log is across the path here.”
- (151) *Fara me awe ya me, ta torineni.*  
fara me awe ya me taa  
same.F 3PL.POSS wood.F ADJU 3PL.S be\_piled\_up  
to-ri-ne-ni  
CH-raised\_surface-CONT.F-BKG.F  
“They are lying there by their log.”
- (152) *Faya ohi nemetemoneke.*  
faya ohi na-hemete-mone-ke  
so cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘Then she cried.’
- (153) *Ohi ni ati saihemetemoneke.*  
ohi ni ati sai-hemete-mone-ke  
cry AUX.NFIN voice be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘She could be heard crying.’

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- (154) *Faya wete onama okoma, ota ota tokabone owati me kasawariha, me yowiri ni kama me ama ahi.*  
 faya wete o-na-ma o-ka-ma otaa otaa to-ka-habone  
 so return 1SG.S-AUX-back.F 1SG.S-go-back.F 1EX 1EX.S away-go-INT.F  
 o-ati me ka-sawariha me yowiri  
 1SG.POSS-voice 3PL.S COMIT-frustrate.F 3PL.S sing\_woman's\_song  
 ni ka-ma me ama ahi  
 AUX.NFIN come-back.F 3PL.POSS SEC here  
 “I went back there. I wanted for us to go away, but they wouldn’t listen to me. They came singing here.”
- (155) *Me yowiri ni kama me, yama me ahi nawahineni.*  
 me yowiri ni ka-ma me yama me  
 3PL.S sing\_woman's\_song AUX.NFIN come-back.F 3PL.POSS thing(F) 3PL.S  
 ahi na-waha-ne-ni  
 work\_on AUX-change-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 “They came along singing. Now there is no more work for them to do.”
- (156) *Faya, me Hima tai tiama.*  
 faya me hima tai ti-ha-ma  
 so 3PL let's\_go be\_ahead 2SG.S-AUX-back  
 “Come on, you go first.”
- (157) *Me mata nemetemoneke.*  
 me mata na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S lie AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘The two of them were lying there.’
- (158) *Me mata na me me hekanakosemetemoneke.*  
 me mata na me me  
 3PL.S lie AUX.F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-kana-kosa-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-COMIT-leave-middle-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They left them lying on the ground.’
- (159) *Hima te tai tokahama.*  
 hima tee tai to-ka-ha-ma  
 let's\_go 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-COMIT-AUX-back  
 “Come on, you two go on first.”

- (160) *Faya me kama me, oohi tosi nemetemoneke nakiri tabiyorawaha.*  
 faya me ka-ma me o-ohi to-sii  
 so 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S DUP-cry CH-slowly\_along\_the\_way  
 na-hemete-mone-ke nakiri tabiyo-rawa-ha  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3SG.POSS.brother's\_wife(F) absence-FPL-DUP  
 'So they came back. She was crying for her sisters-in-law along the way.'
- (161) *Faya ohi ni kama, me kobo namemetemoneni.*  
 faya ohi ni ka-ma me kobo  
 so cry AUX.NFIN come-back.F 3PL.S arrive  
 na-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 'She came back crying. They arrived back.'
- (162) *Ohi ya ohi nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 ohi ya ohi na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 crying(F) ADJU cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 'She was crying.'
- (163) *Haha me ka ami, me ka mate tamine me mita me ohi nemetemone me nafi.*  
 haaha me ka ami me ka matehe tamine me mita  
 this.F 3PL POSS mother(F) 3PL POSS children(F) news\_about 3PL.S hear.F  
 me ohi na-hemete-mone me nafi  
 3PL.S cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.POSS all  
 'When the mothers heard about their children, they cried, all of them.'
- (164) *Me nafi ohi nemetemoneke.*  
 me nafi ohi na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.POSS all cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 'All of them cried.'
- (165) *Aya okotora okotora ohi ni ati nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 aya okoto-ra  
 (expression\_of\_pain) 1SG.POSS.daughter(F)-NPQ  
 okoto-ra ohi ni ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F)-NPQ cry AUX.NFIN say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 '“Aya, my daughter, my daughter,” they said, crying.'

*I The jaguars ate the girls*

- (166) *Me okayawarani.*  
 me o-ka-yawa-hara-ni  
 3PL.O 1SG.S-COMIT-be\_upset-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “I wanted to save them.”
- (167) *Me, me ati hiyararake.*  
 me me ati hiya-ra-hara-ke  
 3PL 3PL.POSS voice be\_bad-NEG-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ““They refused.””
- (168) *Owa me yokohene me amani.*  
 owa me yoko-hene me ama-ni  
 1SG.O 3PL.S bring\_misfortune\_on-IRR.F 3PL.S SEC-BKG.F  
 ““They almost caused me misfortune.””
- (169) *Owa me yokohene me, yama siwa narawani owasimarawani, ohi ni ati nemetemoneke.*  
 owa me yoko-hene me yama siwa  
 1SG.O 3PL.S bring\_misfortune\_on-IRR.F 3PL.S thing(F) play  
 na-rawa-hani o-wasi-ma-rawa-hani ohi ni ati  
 AUX-FPL-IP.N.F 1SG.S-find-back-FPL-IP.N.F cry AUX.NFIN say  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ““They almost caused me misfortune. I came upon the jaguars playing,”  
 she said, crying.”
- (170) *Ohi ya hiyaremetemoneni.*  
 ohi ya hiyara-hemete-mone-ni  
 crying(F) ADJU speak-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘She was crying while she talked.’
- (171) *Me okeyehamone me ati na me ota me nakamakehamone me ati na me, oko kana ni tokoma me owakabone me ati hiyara me owa me fiya tonamarani.*  
 me o-keyeha-hamone me ati na me otaa me  
 3PL.O 1SG.S-deceive-REP.F 3PL.S say AUX.F 3PL.S 1EX.O 3PL.S  
 na-ka-make-hamone me ati na me o-ka kana  
 CAUS-come-following-REP.F 3PL.S say AUX.F 3PL.S 1SG.POSS-POSS run

ni to-ka-ma me o-ka-ka-habone me ati  
 AUX.NFIN away-go-back.F 3PL.O 1SG.S-COMIT-go-INT.F 3PL.POSS voice  
 hiya-ra me owa me fiya to-na-ma-hara-ni  
 be\_bad-NEG.F 3PL.POSS 1SG.O 3PL.S pass away-AUX-back-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “They said I was fooling them. They said some men were coming after  
 us. I went running. I wanted to take them, but they refused. They passed  
 by me.”

- (172) *Owa me fiya tonama me, yome me me waka hinarani.*  
 owa me fiya to-na-ma me yomee me me waka  
 1SG.O 3PL.S pass away-AUX-back.F 3PL.S jaguar(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S kill  
 hi-na-hara-ni  
 OC-AUX-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “They passed by me, and the jaguars killed them.”
- (173) *Faya me nowati ya oyotomakia okomisawite, okomisawiteara oni.*  
 faya me nowati ya o-yoto-makia o-ka-misa-wite  
 so 3PL.POSS behind ADJU 1SG.S-follow-following.F 1SG.S-go-up-out  
 o-ka-misa-wite-hara o-ni  
 1SG.S-go-up-out-IP.E.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I came on behind them, and I climbed a tree.”
- (174) *Okomisawite, me, tafi ati okomita owitare, bai abamako oko ha ni yana tonahara oni.*  
 o-ka-misa-wite me tafi ati o-ka-mita  
 1SG.S-go-up-out 3PL.S eat.NFIN voice 1SG.S-COMIT-hear.F  
 o-ita-re bahi ahaba-mako o-ka  
 1SG.S-sit-raised\_surface sun(M) end-for\_this\_reason.M 1SG.POSS-POSS  
 haa ni yana to-na-hara o-ni  
 call AUX.NFIN start CH-AUX-IP.E.F 1SG.POSS-BKG.F  
 “I climbed the tree and heard them eating as I sat there. After the sun  
 was setting I started calling out.”
- (175) *Bai abe ehene faya oko ha ni yana na.*  
 bahi ahabe ehene faya o-ka haa ni yana na  
 sun(M) end.M because\_of.M so 1SG.POSS-POSS call AUX.NFIN start AUX.F  
 “I started calling out when the sun was going down.”



- (182) *Faya me tone me me tone me bosa hikanemetemoneke.*  
 faya me tone me me tone me bosa  
 so 3PL.POSS bone 3PL 3PL.POSS bone 3PL.S get\_up\_early  
 hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They got up early to go after their bones.’
- (183) *Me me bosa hikana me me, yifo ya fara me ka yifo ya me, me me tiwari hikanemetemoneke.*  
 me me bosa hi-ka-na me me yifo ya  
 3PL.O 3PL.S get\_up\_early OC-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.O 3PL hammock(M) ADJU  
 fara me ka yifo ya me me me tiwa-ri  
 same.F 3PL POSS hammock(M) ADJU 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S carry-DISTR  
 hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They got up early because of them. They carried them in their own hammocks.’
- (184) *Me me tiwari hikana me hikamometemone.*  
 me me tiwa-ri hi-ka-na me hi-kamo-hemete-mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S carry-DISTR OC-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.O OC-bury-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They carried them and they buried them.’<sup>4</sup>
- (185) *Me me hikamoha me, me hikamometemoneke me nafi.*  
 me me hi-kamoha me me hi-kamo-hemete-mone-ke me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-bury.F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-bury-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.POSS  
 nafi  
 all  
 ‘They buried them, all of them.’
- (186) *Me me ohi na me bite wati nawaha bite ohi, ohi nemetemoneke bite tabiyo.*  
 me me ohi na me bite wati na-waha  
 3PL 3PL.S cry AUX.F 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) remember AUX-change.F  
 bite ohi ohi na-hemete-mone-ke  
 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) cry cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 bite tabiyo  
 3SG.POSS.daughter(F) absence  
 ‘They cried. One of them remembered her daughter, and she cried, missing her daughter.’

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<sup>4</sup>It should be *me me hikamometemone*, as in the next sentence (185).

*I The jaguars ate the girls*

(187) *Me ohi nemetemoneni.*

me ohi na-hemete-mone-ni  
3PL.S cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
'They cried.'

(188) *Me ohi ni fawa na me faya me amo na me, me amo nemetemoneke fahi.*

me ohi ni fawa na me faya me amo na me  
3PL.S cry AUX.NFIN stop AUX.F 3PL.POSS so 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S  
me amo na-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
3PL.S sleep AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
'They cried. They stopped crying, and slept.'

(189) *Me amo na me ya, me me wati hiwatasaha, me me wati hiwatasaha me, Me fanawi tokamarabanake.*

me amo na me ya me me wati hi-waha-tasa  
3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S remember OC-change-again.F  
me me wati hi-waha-tasaha me me fanawi  
3PL.O 3PL.S remember OC-change-again.F 3PL.O 3PL.S woman  
to-ka-ma-ra-habana-ke  
away-go-back-NEG-FUT.F-DECL.F  
'They slept. They remembered them again. "The women will not go out in the forest anymore."'

(190) *Me fanawi yome tefe yokanamatomona amaka.*

me fanawi yomee tefe yokana-mata-mona ama-ka  
3PL.COMPL woman jaguar(M) food.M true-FP.N.M-REP.M be-DECL.M  
'The girls were true jaguar food.'

# J The toto spirit

## Introduction

The story *The toto spirit* was told by Siko in 1991. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-totoabono.mp3>.

The spirit of the *toto* bamboo didn't know how to fish or hunt, so he married his aunt's daughter in order to kill her and eat her. When he got hungry again, he went to his aunt and asked for another daughter, and he did the same thing again with her. Finally he brought the other two sisters to his village, but they caught on when they found the skulls of their sisters, and they ran home. Then, since the *toto* spirit didn't have any meat, he cut out his own belly and roasted it and ate it. This resulted in his death, of course. His brother-in-law lambasted him for marrying his sisters to eat them instead of having children with them.

## English translation

The spirit of *toto* bamboo wanted to get married, so he asked for a wife. He called on his father's sister. "Aunt, I want to marry your daughter. I don't have anyone to cook my food, and my manioc is sitting in the field without being grated."

Then the girl's father came home. "Your nephew asked for your daughter. He's standing there."

"Did he really ask for my daughter? Let him take my daughter." So he gave away his daughter, but she didn't have any children.

The spirit of *toto* went to his own home. He arrived. His new wife toasted manioc mash. Then they ate, but she didn't eat again.

The two of them slept. He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her. He just lay beside her hammock in his. He didn't want to have sex with her.

"My manioc mash is all gone. I want you to pull up some manioc. Then you grate the manioc, too. When the manioc is grated, there will be a lot of manioc mash."

*J The toto spirit*

So she pulled up manioc. She carried the manioc. She peeled the manioc, which became the starch eaten with herself. She made the starch that was eaten with herself. She grated the manioc. When the manioc was finished being grated, she put the manioc through the sieve. The manioc was finished being put through the sieve.

“Toto Abono,<sup>1</sup> aren’t you a fisherman?”

“I don’t have any arrows to spear fish with. The fish are there in the water, but I don’t have any arrows. Because I don’t have any equipment, I am always hungry.”

So the *toto* spirit didn’t go fishing. She pestered him. She ate manioc meal by itself. “I don’t want to eat manioc meal by itself.” She ate manioc meal by itself, before the two of them slept. She slept.

When the sun was this high, the *hato* spirit had cut firewood. He had put the firewood in a pile. He was planning to kill his bride, who he had brought.

While she was sleeping, he hit her on the head, at dawn. She died.

He got up early. He cut her up in the morning. He ate her in the morning. He roasted her. After he roasted her, he ate her. He ate her with the starch that she herself had grated.

When he was done eating his wife, he decided to leave. He was hungry. He went back to his mother-in-law. He arrived.

“Aha, there comes your older sister’s husband.”

“Whew, I have come back. Whew, my wife called for you. I came because she told me to, so you can grate manioc together.”

“I guess my daughter is tired, because she is grating manioc.”

“She wants you to grate manioc together. I have come because she told me to.”

“You take them. Let the two of them be together again.”

He got ready to leave. “Mother-in-law, I’m going. Let your other daughter go back with me, to help her older sister, so they will grate manioc together.”

She agreed. “You go back with your older sister’s husband. The two of you go. You stay with your older sister.”

So he took her. He went back. He disappeared into the forest.

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<sup>1</sup>Presumably, the girl did not know her husband was really a spirit, so in this case Toto Abono is a proper name.

“He said my daughter is grating manioc, and now Toto Abono has taken her younger sister, too, because he said she is tired.”

The two of them arrived. He was married, but he didn't have sex with his wives. He was carrying them off and eating them. He ate them. He killed her, also. He ate her. After he finished eating her, his manioc meal ran out.

“Whew, I don't have any more manioc meal. The manioc meal is all gone. I'll go get someone to grate manioc meal.”

She died. He ate her. He hit her on the head. He strangled her as she slept in her hammock. He killed her. He cut her up in the morning. Then he roasted her. He ate her belly. After he ate, he lay in his hammock during the day.

“Oh, my meat. Oh, I need to roast my meat some more.” So he roasted her. He ate her all day. He ate more of her the next day again. He ate another piece the next day again, and then she was all gone. He was done eating her.

Then he went back again. “I'm going to go after them, others of them, for them to grate manioc for me.” He went after his father-in-law's daughters, for them to grate manioc. He went and asked for others.

“Look, Toto Abono has come again.”

“Whew! I have come back. They keep pestering me. I came again because they told me to. ‘Let's all process manioc together. We will all process manioc. Go get our younger sisters,’ they said. I have come because they told me to.”

There were two of them. He took the two of them.

“You will peel your sisters' manioc. You squeeze the poison juice out of more manioc. Don't just look at each other. My daughters must be tired.”

“They are tired and they don't stop pestering me. I came because they told me to. It wasn't my idea to come.”

So he went home. They arrived when the sun was this high.

“Whew! I'm going to get myself some firewood. I didn't realize I had no firewood.” He was planning to kill them, too.

“Where are my older sisters? They must have gone out to pull up manioc. Sister, sister.” They called their older sisters, calling, “Sister.”

Their older sisters didn't call out. They looked around. They looped around. Their sisters' skulls had been strung with a line of inner bark, and were hanging on the split *basioba* palm wall. They found their skulls.

“Hato Abono has been eating my older sisters.”

The sound of him cutting firewood could be heard in the distance, *teo, teo, teo, teo.*

“Sister, let’s go.” So they got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled-up hammocks. They went running away because they had seen their sisters’ skulls.

He came back carrying the firewood. He threw the firewood on the ground. “Whew, where is some water? They said they were going to bathe, are they bathing? They aren’t here. They went away.”

They had gone, and he called after them. He called them. “Yoohoo, are you bathing?”

They had disappeared. They didn’t call. He came back. He looked around. “What, their things aren’t here. Where did they take the things?”

The *toto* spirit decided to leave. He went running after them. Darkness overtook him.

He came back. He arrived back. “Oh boy, because I wasn’t hungry they disappeared. Now I’m hungry, and they aren’t here. I’m hungry now.”

He lit a fire, and later did something bad.

He went to sleep hungry. He could be heard in the night. “Now I’m going to be hungry. When I was going to eat my meat, they went away. I was going to eat them, and they went away.”

Morning came. “I’ll eat my belly. Look, it’s thick. I’m going to eat it. I’m hungry.”

It was a circular cut. He cut the belly out. Then he roasted the belly. It was ready. He licked his fingers. He toasted manioc meal. He ate some manioc meal. He ate his belly.

After he was done eating his belly, he covered the middle of his body with a wild banana leaf. He got water ready. His water was in the vessel. He drank water. He drank all the water. His water came out, Ssssss.

“Oh no, my water came out. Look, my water came out.”

So he tied inner bark around the middle of his body. He placed wild banana leaves in. He tied the middle of his body. Then he lay in his hammock, on his back.

“Hoo, I’m thirsty, because I couldn’t drink water.” He drank some more water.

His water came pouring out. “Oh no, it doesn’t stop.”

So he went back and lay in his hammock again. “Whew!”

His gut started to hurt. He lay sick in the hammock. He rotted right where he lay.

His brother-in-law came. “Toto Abono, the people eater, lives here.”

He smelled him from far out. “Peeoo, is that him? He has started to rot.” He was rotting because of his guts. He was dead, lying in the hammock.

He yelled at his brother-in-law, who he had found lying dead in his hammock. “Why did Toto Abono cut himself open? He didn’t hunt. He was always hungry. Now he has cut himself open. He was eating my sisters. He didn’t want to have children. He was strangling my sisters. Let him lie there dead in his hammock.”

He left him there. He went home.

So the vultures ate him. So the *toto* spirit died. He lay dead in the hammock. He left him there.

He told about him back home. “Toto Abono is lying there in the hammock. He had cut himself up. Toto Abono had died. My two sisters didn’t wait, they came home. He would have eaten them.”

“Toto Abono had eaten our older sisters, and we found their skulls. We didn’t like him. We left him behind, looking for us.”

They left him behind. He ate himself. Then he died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures. But his manioc was still there, with no one to grate it.

They didn’t see him anymore. “Don’t go after Toto Abono anymore. Toto Abono is lying dead in a hammock. Let him be dead. He cut up his belly. He ate his belly, it tasted really good. The liquid from inside him spilled out, the water which he had drunk.”

So he came home. He arrived home. “Mother, your son-in-law ate himself and he died and is lying there in the hammock.”

“He was my son-in-law, but I didn’t eat his game; he ate my daughters. This is what he asked for. Let him be dead. He is dead. He is no more. He has rotted. Why did he hurt himself? He has rotted. He can’t be touched. He is lying rotten in his hammock.”

“We will go back there and see his bones.”

After three days they went after their brother-in-law. A king vulture had cut off his head and had taken his head far away from the body, and it was on the ground.

“There is the head on the ground.”

The vultures ate him. They came upon a vulture on the ground eating him during the day at the place where he died. It ate a lot as it ate the *hato* spirit.

“There is a vulture sitting on a branch. His rotted hammock is hanging there. His skin is in the hammock.”

They came home. They arrived home.

“Well?”

“Well, he isn’t living there anymore. He isn’t there. His bones are in a pile. Why did he cut into himself and eat himself? Now he is dead. There is game in the forest. Toto Abono didn’t want to make my sisters pregnant, but he married them. In the end he ate himself. Now he is dead.”

## Glossed text

- (1) *Toto abono faneibona fatibone kanike, hinakaso biti, hinakaso ha ne hinakaso, Aso, aso, aso tikoto ota famabone onara oke.*

toto            abono fana-hibona            fati-bone  
bamboo.sp(F) spirit be\_married-INT.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)-INT.F  
ka-nike            hinakaso            biti  
COMIT-ask\_for.M 3SG.POSS.father’s\_sister(F) 3SG.POSS.son(M)  
hinakaso            haa ne            hinakaso  
3SG.POSS.father’s\_sister(F) call AUX.M 3SG.POSS.father’s\_sister(F)  
aso            aso            aso            tikoto  
father’s\_sister(F) father’s\_sister(F) father’s\_sister(F) 2SG.POSS.daughter(F)  
otaa fama-habone o-na-hara            o-ke  
1EX.S be\_two-INT.F 1SG.S-say-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F

‘The spirit of *toto* bamboo wanted to get married, so he asked for a wife. He called his father’s sister. “Aunt, I want to be with your daughter.”’<sup>2,3,4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The words *hinakaso biti* are a false start.

<sup>3</sup>When I first published this story (Vogel 2012), I assumed that *Toto Abono* was a human being. But *toto abono* also means ‘spirit of *toto* bamboo’. After reading the Portuguese translation of the Jamamadi version of the story in Shiratori (2018: 163f), in which *hado abono* is ‘spirit of *hado* bamboo’, and only appears as a human being, I wondered whether this might be true for the Jarawara version as well. I asked Bibiri, and he wasn’t sure, but he said *toto abono* does seem to be a spirit. I have made the change here, but some doubt remains: if he was hiding his true identity from people, it seems strange to me that he would be known as *Toto Abono*, and addressed as such, as in for example sentence (31).

<sup>4</sup>The NP *toto abono* consists of the inalienably possessed noun *abono*, which has no marking for

- (2) *Otefe wawasi wawata nofara, oko fowa hiti re kawita.*  
 o-tefe            wawasi            wa-wata nofa-ra  
 1SG.POSS-food person\_who\_cooks DUP-exist recently-NEG.F  
 o-ka            fowa            hiti            re            ka-ita  
 1SG.POSS-POSS manioc(M) be\_grated NEG.M COMIT-sit.LIST  
 “There is no one to cook my food, and my manioc is sitting in the field  
 without being grated.”
- (3) *Faya bati kamematamona fahi.*  
 faya bati            ka-ma-himata-mona            fahi  
 so 3SG.POSS.father(M) come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘Then her father came home.’
- (4) *Tikoto bitimi kanike, wa fari.*  
 tikoto            bitimi            ka-nike            waa  
 2SG.POSS.daughter(F) 2SG.POSS.nephew(M) COMIT-ask\_for.M stand.CONT.M  
 faari  
 that\_one.M  
 “Your nephew asked for your daughter. He’s standing there.”
- (5) *Okoto kanikanoho?*  
 okoto            ka-nika-no-ho  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) COMIT-ask\_for.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “Did he really ask for my daughter?”
- (6) *Okoto hiwakamahi.*  
 okoto            hi-ka-ka-ma-hi  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) OC-COMIT-go-back-IMP.F  
 “Let him take my daughter.”
- (7) *Hiwakamahi.*  
 hi-ka-ka-ma-hi  
 OC-COMIT-go-back-IMP.F  
 “Let him take her.”

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gender, and the possessor *toto*, which is a feminine noun. The NP, however, is masculine, as seen in the agreement throughout the text. The reason for this is that all spirits are assumed to be males, unless they are specified with the addition of the noun *fana* as being females, as is the case, for example with *tokowisa abono fana* in Text L *Maiko*, line (216).



- (15) *Faya me tafemetemone fahi, tafamarabanihi.*  
 faya me tafa-hemete-mone fahi tafa-ma-ra-haba-ni-hi  
 so 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F then eat-back-NEG-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘Then they ate, but she didn’t eat again.’
- (16) *Faya me tafa me amo kana me, hitakoraremetemoneke.*  
 faya me tafa me amo ka-na me  
 so 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S sleep COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 hi-takora-ra-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-be\_in\_hammock\_with-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They ate. The two of them slept. He didn’t sleep in the same hammock with her.’
- (17) *Hitakorara, hine ya winaha ni ya winabase, ai ni hinofaremetemoneke.*  
 hi-takora-ra hine ya winaha ni ya  
 OC-be\_in\_hammock\_with-NEG.F only ADJU lie\_in\_hammock.F to ADJU  
 wina-base ahi ni  
 lie\_in\_hammock-edge.M have\_sex\_with AUX.NFIN  
 hi-nofa-ra-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-want-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He didn’t sleep in the same hammock with her. He just lay in the hammock beside where she was lying. He didn’t want to have sex with her.’<sup>5</sup>
- (18) *Ai ni hinofara, faya toto abono, Oko, oko iyawa abarake.*  
 ahi ni hi-nofa-ra faya toto abono  
 have\_sex\_with AUX.NFIN OC-want-NEG.F so bamboo.sp(F) spirit  
 o-ka o-ka iyawa ahaba-hara-ke  
 1SG.POSS-POSS 1SG.POSS-POSS grated\_mash(F) end-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He didn’t want to have sex with her. “My manioc mash is all gone.”’
- (19) *Iyawa abarake.*  
 iyawa ahaba-hara-ke  
 grated\_mash(F) end-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘“The manioc mash is all gone.”’

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<sup>5</sup>The verb *winaha* is a relative clause, as seen by the fact that it occurs with *ni ya* (Vogel 2022a: 142f). Since it occurs with no NP, it is evidence for Dixon’s (2004: 525) contention that relative clauses are internally headed.

- (20) *Fowa bore tikanabone onara oke.*  
fowa bore ti-ka-na-habone o-na-hara o-ke  
manioc(M) pull\_out 2SG.S-COMIT-AUX-INT.F 1SG.S-say-IP.E.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
“I want you to pull up some manioc.”
- (21) *Fowa bore tikana fowa hiti.*  
fowa bore ti-ka-na fowa hiti  
manioc(M) pull\_out 2SG.S-COMIT-AUX.LIST manioc(M) grate.LIST  
“When you have pulled up the manioc, grate the manioc, too.”
- (22) *Fowa hiti tinisahi.*  
fowa hiti ti-na-risa-hi  
manioc(M) grate 2SG.S-AUX-down-IMP.F  
“Grate the manioc.”
- (23) *Fowa hiti tinisa iyawa nanafi nama nabanake.*  
fowa hiti ti-na-risa iyawa na-nafi  
manioc(M) grate 2SG.S-AUX-down.F grated\_mash(F) DUP-be\_big  
na-nama na-habana-ke  
AUX-SUPER AUX-FUT.F-DECL.F  
“When you grate the manioc, there will be a lot of manioc mash.”
- (24) *Faya fowa bore na, fowa iso na fowa sowe nemetemoneke.*  
faya fowa bore na fowa iso na fowa  
so manioc(M) pull\_out AUX.F manioc(M) carry\_off AUX.F manioc(M)  
sowe na-hemete-mone-ke  
scrape AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
‘So she pulled up manioc. She carried the manioc. She peeled the manioc.’
- (25) *Fowa sowe na, fowa sowe na fara kawiabanihi.*  
fowa sowe na fowa sowe na fara  
manioc(M) scrape AUX.F manioc(M) scrape AUX.F same.F  
kawia-ba-ni-hi  
accompanying\_food-FUT-IP.N.F-DUP  
‘She peeled the manioc. She peeled the manioc that was to be the starch eaten with herself.’

- (26) *Fara kawiabani ra ai nemetemoneni.*  
 fara kawia-ba-ni ra ahi  
 same.F accompanying\_food-FUT-IP.N.F O work\_on  
 na-hemete-mone-ni  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘She made the starch that was eaten with herself.’
- (27) *Fowa hiti nemetemoneke.*  
 fowa hiti na-hemete-mone-ke  
 manioc(M) grate AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She grated the manioc.’
- (28) *Fowa hiti na, fowa hiti nemetemoneke.*  
 fowa hiti na fowa hiti na-hemete-mone-ke  
 manioc(M) grate AUX.F manioc(M) grate AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She grated the manioc.’
- (29) *Fowa hiti ni ahabe ya, iyawa, fowa nano na, fowa nano nemetemoneke fahi.*  
 fowa hiti ni ahabe ya iyawa  
 manioc(M) be\_grated AUX.NFIN end.NOM.M ADJU grated\_mash(F)  
 fowa nano na fowa nano na-hemete-mone-ke  
 manioc(M) squeeze AUX.F manioc(M) squeeze AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 fahi  
 then  
 ‘When the manioc was finished being grated, she put the manioc through the sieve.’
- (30) *Fowa nano ni abematamonaka.*  
 fowa nano ni ahaba-himata-mona-ka  
 manioc(M) be\_squeezed AUX.NFIN end-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The manioc was finished being put through the sieve.’
- (31) *Toto Abono aba, aba me tani tihara tiwa awine tini?*  
 Toto\_Abono aba aba me tani ti-ha-ra tiwa  
 Toto\_Abono(M) fish(M) fish(M) 3PL.POSS killer 2SG.S-be-NEG.F 2SG.S  
 awine ti-ni  
 seem.F 2SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘‘‘Toto Abono, aren’t you a fisherman?’’’

*J The toto spirit*

- (32) *Aba me sasa kana wati okia okere.*

aba me sasaa\_kana wati o-kiha  
 fish(M) 3PL.POSS thing\_for\_spearing arrow(M) 1SG.S-have  
 o-ke-re  
 1SG.S-DECL.F-NEG.F

“I don’t have any arrows to spear fish with.”

- (33) *Aba me kaya ke.*

aba me kaya ke  
 fish(M) 3PL.S stand DECL.F

“The fish are there in the water.”

- (34) *Aba me kaya na me wati okiarihi.*

aba me kaya na me wati o-kiha-rihi  
 fish(M) 3PL.S stand AUX.F 3PL.S arrow(M) 1SG.S-have-NEG.LIST

“The fish are there in the water, but I don’t have any arrows.”

- (35) *Oye honarimakoni ofimi onofa ama oni.*

o-yehe hona-ra-makoni o-fimi  
 1SG.POSS-hand have\_something-NEG-for\_this\_reason.F 1SG.S-be\_hungry  
 o-nofa ama o-ni  
 1SG.S-recently.F SEC 1SG.S-BKG.F

“Because I don’t have any equipment, I am always hungry.”

- (36) *Faya toto abono tokare, kasiro hikane, iyawa hinita kaba, iyawa hinita kabemetemoneni.*

faya toto abono to-ka-re kasiro  
 so bamboo.sp(F) spirit away-go-NEG.M complain\_about  
 hi-ka-ne iyawa hinita kaba iyawa hinita  
 OC-COMIT-AUX.M grated\_mash(F) alone eat.F grated\_mash(F) alone  
 kaba-hemete-mone-ni  
 eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F

‘So the *toto* spirit didn’t go out. She pestered him. She ate manioc meal by itself.’

- (37) *Iyawa hinita kabi onofarini.*

iyawa hinita kabi o-nofa-ra-ni  
 grated\_mash(F) alone eat.NFIN 1SG.S-want-NEG-BKG.F

“I don’t want to eat manioc meal by itself.”

- (38) *Iyawa hinita kabemetemoneke, me amo kanabone me fama mati.*  
 iyawa hinita kaba-hemete-mone-ke me amo  
 grated\_mash(F) alone eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.S sleep  
 ka-na-habone me fama mati  
 COMIT-AUX-INT.F 3PL.S be\_two.F 3PL.S  
 ‘She ate manioc meal by itself, before the two of them slept.’
- (39) *Faya amo na, amo nemetemone fahi.*  
 faya amo na amo na-hemete-mone fahi  
 so sleep AUX.F sleep AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘She slept.’
- (40) *Hato abono ai bai ite ya yifo tafa nematamonaka.*  
 hato abono ahi bahi ite ya yifo tafa  
 bamboo.sp(F) spirit there sun(M) sit.M ADJU firewood(F) split  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘When the sun was this high the *hato* spirit cut firewood.’<sup>6</sup>
- (41) *Faya yifo tafa ne, yifo tafa nematamonane.*  
 faya yifo tafa ne yifo tafa na-himata-mona-ne  
 so firewood(F) split AUX.M firewood(F) split AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He cut firewood.’
- (42) *Yifo ta toniharematamonaka, fati, fatitebone, hiwakama wati kanehinoho.*  
 yifo taa to-niha-re-himata-mona-ka  
 firewood(F) be\_piled\_up CH-CAUS-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 fati fati-tee-bone hi-ka-ka-ma  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) 3SG.POSS.wife(F)-HAB-INT.F OC-COMIT-come-back.F  
 wati ka-na-hino-ho  
 plan\_against COMIT-AUX-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He put the firewood in a pile. He was planning against his bride, who he had brought.’

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<sup>6</sup>Here and in a couple other places in the story, the spirit is called *hato abono*, the same name used in the Jamamadi version of the story. *Hato* is another species of bamboo.

- (43) *Wati hikanani, amo na, amo ni tati ba hiremetemoneke, amo naro ahi, yama we kamaki ya.*  
 wati hi-ka-na-hani amo na amo ni tati baa  
 plan\_against OC-COMIT-AUX-IP.N.F sleep AUX.M sleep AUX.NFIN head hit  
 hi-re-hemete-mone-ke amo na-haaro ahi yama  
 OC-raised\_surface-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F sleep AUX-IP.E.F then thing(F)  
 wehe ka-maki ya  
 light.F come-following.NOM ADJU  
 ‘He was planning against her. She was sleeping. While she was sleeping, he hit her on the head, at dawn.’
- (44) *Faya tati ba hiremetemone ahi.*  
 faya tati baa hi-re-hemete-mone ahi  
 so head hit OC-raised\_surface-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘He hit her on the head.’
- (45) *Faya ahaba, bosa hikana bobi hinamina hikabaminemetemoneke.*  
 faya ahaba bosa hi-ka-na bobi hi-na-mina  
 so die.F get\_up\_early OC-COMIT-AUX.F slit OC-AUX-morning.F  
 hi-kaba-mina-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-eat-morning-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘She died. He got up early with respect to her. He cut her up in the morning. He ate her in the morning.’
- (46) *Tabasi hina, tabasi hini ya hikaba, fara kakawiabone hiti hinaha ya kakawi hinemetemoneke.*  
 tabasi hi-na tabasi hi-ni ya hi-kaba  
 roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX.F roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX.NOM.F ADJU OC-eat.F  
 fara kakawia-bone hiti hi-naha ya  
 same.F accompanying\_food-INT.F grate OC-AUX.F ADJU  
 ka-kawi hi-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-eat\_with\_something OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He roasted her. After he roasted her, he ate her. He ate her with the starch that she herself had grated.’
- (47) *Faya kakawi hina, faya abi ya, faya fati kabi abi ya, yana tone fimihya yana tone, tokomematamonaka.*  
 faya ka-kawi hi-na faya ahabi ya faya  
 so DUP-eat\_with\_something OC-AUX.F so die.NOM.F ADJU so

fati kabi ahabi ya yana to-ne  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) be\_eaten.NFIN end.NOM.F ADJU start CH-AUX.M  
 fimihī yana to-ne to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_hungry.M start CH-AUX.M away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He ate her with starch. When the eating of his wife was finished, he got ready to leave. He was hungry, and he got ready to leave. He went back.’

- (48) *Tokome, hinaka koma ni ya, hinaka koma ni ya tokome kobo toname, kobo tonamematamonaka.*

to-ka-me hinaka koma ni ya hinaka  
 away-go-back.M 3SG.POSS son\_in\_law(M) to ADJU 3SG.POSS  
 koma ni ya to-ka-me kobo to-na-me kobo  
 son\_in\_law(M) to ADJU away-go-back.M arrive away-AUX-back.M arrive  
 to-na-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 away-AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He went back. He went back to his mother-in-law. He arrived.’<sup>7</sup>

- (49) *Aa, ati maki kame.*

aa ati maki ka-me  
 aha 2SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) 3SG.POSS.husband(M) come-back.M  
 ‘‘Aha, there comes your older sister’s husband.’’<sup>8</sup>

- (50) *Oof, okomine oke.*

oof o-ka-ma-ne o-ke  
 hoo 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘Whew, I have come back.’’

- (51) *Hoo, oko yibote tera ati na ati ihi okomine oni, fowa te hiti nabone te.*

hoo o-ka yibote tera ati na ati ihi  
 whew 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) 2PL.O call\_for AUX.F voice because\_of.F  
 o-ka-ma-ne o-ni fowa tee hiti na-habone  
 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F manioc(M) 2PL.S grate AUX-INT.F

<sup>7</sup>Instead of *hinaka koma*, Siko should have said *hinakaso* ‘his mother-in-law’.

<sup>8</sup>The feminine equivalent of *kame* is *kamini*, showing the pairing of feminine *-ni* with ‘‘nothing’’ rather than the masculine *-ne*. This phenomenon is discussed by Dixon (2004: 411), who claims, however, that it only applies to polar questions. The masculine *-ne* could be used to form the word *kamane*, but then the word would contain continuous aspect (cf. e.g. *abawahane* in sentence (231), and the feminine equivalent would be *kamineni*, which contains the continuous suffix *-ne*, and not *kamini*. See also Vogel (2022a: 36f.).

tee

2PL.S

“Whew, my wife called for you. Because of what she said I have come, so you can grate manioc together.”

- (52) *Okoto ma toa awineni, fowa hiti naro.*

okoto                      maa    to-ha    awine-ni    fowa    hiti  
1SG.POSS.daughter(F) be\_tired CH-AUX.F seem.F-BKG.F manioc(M) grate  
na-haaro  
AUX-IP.E.F

“I guess my daughter is tired, because she is grating manioc.”

- (53) *Fowa te hiti nabone ati na ati ihi okomine o.*

fowa    tee    hiti    na-habone    ati    na    ati    ihi  
manioc(M) 2PL.S grate AUX-INT.F say AUX.F voice because\_of.F  
o-ka-ma-ne                      o  
1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S

“She wants you to grate manioc together. Because of what she said I have come.”

- (54) *Me tekamiya.*

me    ti-ka-ka-ma-yahi  
3PL.O 2SG.S-COMIT-go-back-DIST.IMP.F

“You take them.”

- (55) *Me famamiyahi.*

me    fama-ma-yahi  
3PL.S be\_two-back-DIST.IMP.F

“Let the two of them be together again.”

- (56) *Yana tonematamona fahi.*

yana to-na-himata-mona    fahi  
start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He got ready to leave.’

- (57) *Yana toneibona Aso, aso okoma oke.*

yana to-na-hibona    aso                      aso                      o-ka-ma  
start CH-AUX-INT.M mother\_in\_law(F) mother\_in\_law(F) 1SG.S-go-back  
o-ke  
1SG.S-DECL.F

‘He got ready to leave. “Mother-in-law, I’m going.”’

- (58) *Tikoto one ota tofamamibana, hinakati asota nabonehe, fowa me hiti nabone mati.*  
tikoto                      one      otaa to-fama-mi-bana  
2SG.POSS.daughter(F) other.F 1EX.S away-be\_two-back.F-FUT  
hinakati                      asota na-habone-he fowa      me hiti  
3POSS.SG.older\_sister(F) help AUX-INT.F-DUP manioc(M) 3PL.S grate  
na-habone mati  
AUX-INT.F 3PL.S  
“Let your other daughter go back with me, to help her older sister, so they will grate manioc together.”
- (59) *Ati amosematamonaka.*  
ati      amosa-himata-mona-ka  
voice be\_good-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘What he said was acceptable to her.’
- (60) *Ati maki te tofamamahi.*  
ati                              maki                              tee  
2SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) 3SG.POSS.husband(M) 2PL.S  
to-fama-ma-hi  
away-be\_two-back-IMP.F  
“‘You go back with your older sister’s husband.’”
- (61) *Ati maki te tofamamahi.*  
ati                              maki                              tee  
2SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) 3SG.POSS.husband(M) 2PL.S  
to-fama-ma-hi  
away-be\_two-back-IMP.F  
“‘You go back with your older sister’s husband.’”
- (62) *Te towakamahi.*  
tee to-ka-ka-ma-hi  
2PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-IMP.F  
“‘The two of you go.’”
- (63) *Ati te fafamawa na toharima nahi.*  
ati                              tee fa-fama-waha                      na  
2SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) 2PL.S DUP-be\_two-change.LIST AUX  
to-ha-rima                      na-hi  
CH-AUX-intermittent AUX-IMP.F  
“‘You stay with your older sister.’”

- (64) *Faya hiwakamemetemone amake.*  
 faya hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone ama-ke  
 so OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘So he took her.’
- (65) *Hiwakama, hiwakamemetemoneke.*  
 hi-ka-ka-ma hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-COMIT-go-back.F OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He took her.’
- (66) *Tokome fawa tosame, fawa tonakosamematamonaka.*  
 to-ka-me fawa to-kosa-me fawa  
 away-go-back.M disappear CH-middle-back.M disappear  
 to-na-kosa-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 CH-AUX-middle-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went back. He disappeared into the forest.’
- (67) *Okoto fowa hiti namone hinakasima, Toto Abono towakama ne, ma toamone ati ihimonehe.*  
 okoto fowa hiti na-hamone  
 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) manioc(M) grate AUX-REP.F  
 hinakasima Toto\_Abono to-ka-ka-ma  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) Toto\_Abono(M) away-COMIT-go-back.LIST  
 ne maa to-ha-hamone ati ihi-mone-he  
 AUX.M be\_tired CH-AUX-REP.F voice because\_of.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘‘My daughter is said to be grating manioc, and now Toto Abono has taken her younger sister, too, because she is said to be tired.’’
- (68) *Faya me kobo tokanama, fanahi mera yori rari.*  
 faya me kobo to-ka-na-ma fanahi mera  
 so 3PL.S arrive away-COMIT-AUX-back.F be\_married.M 3PL.O  
 yori ra-haari  
 have\_sex\_with NEG-IP.E.M  
 ‘The two of them arrived. He was married, but he didn’t have sex with them.’

- (69) *Mera yori re mera iiso tohe mera kakaba toemata.*  
 mera yori re mera i-iso to-he mera ka-kaba  
 3PL.O have\_sex\_with NEG.M 3PL.O DUP-carry\_off CH-AUX.M 3PL.O DUP-eat  
 to-ha-himata  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘He didn’t have sex with them. He was carrying them off. He was eating them.’
- (70) *Mera kabe, faya hinabowamake, hikabemetemoneke fahi.*  
 mera kabe faya hi-naabowa-make hi-kaba-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 3PL.O eat.M so OC-kill-following OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He ate them. He killed her, also. He ate her.’
- (71) *Hikaba, kabi abi ya hinaka iyawa ahaba, faya hinaka iyawa, hinaka iyawa aba, Oof, iyawa okiamari.*  
 hi-kaba kabi ahabi ya hinaka iyawa ahaba  
 OC-eat.F be\_eaten.NFIN end.NOM.F ADJU 3SG.POSS grated\_mash(F) end.F  
 faya hinaka iyawa hinaka iyawa ahaba oof  
 so 3SG.POSS grated\_mash(F) 3SG.POSS grated\_mash(F) end.F hoo  
 iyawa o-kiha-ma-ri  
 grated\_mash(F) 1SG.S-have-back-NEG.NOM.F  
 ‘He ate her. After he finished eating her, his manioc mash ran out.  
 “Whew, I don’t have any more manioc mash.”’
- (72) *Iyawa abake.*  
 iyawa ahaba-ke  
 grated\_mash(F) end-DECL.F  
 “The manioc mash is all gone.”
- (73) *Iyawa hihiti nisaba onakamamate.*  
 iyawa hihiti\_nisa-ba  
 grated\_mash(F) person\_who\_grates-FUT  
 o-na-ka-ma-mate  
 1SG.S-CAUS-go-back-short\_time.IMP.F  
 “I’ll go get someone to grate manioc mash.”

- (74) *Faya abemetemone amani.*  
 faya ahaba-hemete-mone ama-ni  
 so die-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
 ‘She died.’
- (75) *Hikabemetemone amake.*  
 hi-kaba-hemete-mone ama-ke  
 OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘He ate her.’
- (76) *Tati ba hiremetemone.*  
 tati baa hi-re-hemete-mone  
 head hit OC-raised\_surface-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘He hit her on the head.’
- (77) *Tati ba hire, namiti, namiti niki hikanemetemoneke, amo naro.*  
 tati baa hi-re namiti namiti niki  
 head hit OC-raised\_surface neck neck press\_on  
 hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke amo na-haaro  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F sleep AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘He hit her on the head. He strangled her as she slept.’
- (78) *Amo ni winaha ra namiti niki kanematamonaka.*  
 amo ni winaha ra namiti niki  
 sleep AUX.NFIN lie\_in\_hammock.F O neck press\_on  
 ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He strangled her as she slept in her hammock.’
- (79) *Faya namiti niki hikana, hinahabiha, bobi hinamina, bobi hinamina faya tabasi hina sobori hikabemetemoneke ahi.*  
 faya namiti niki hi-ka-na hi-naahabiha bobi  
 so neck press\_on OC-COMIT-AUX.F OC-kill.F slit  
 hi-na-mina bobi hi-na-mina faya tabasi hi-na  
 OC-AUX-morning.F slit OC-AUX-morning.F so roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX.F  
 sobori hi-kaba-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 belly OC-eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He strangled her. He killed her. He cut her up in the morning. Then he roasted her. He ate her belly.’

- (80) *Sobori hikaba, tafe ya wina nati, Aa, oko bani.*  
 sobori hi-kaba tafe ya wina nahati aa  
 belly OC-eat.F eat.M ADJU lie\_in\_hammock daytime.M oh\_yes  
 o-ka bani  
 1SG.POSS-POSS animal(M)  
 ‘He ate her belly. After he ate, he lay in his hammock during the day. “Oh, my meat.”’
- (81) *Aa, oko bani tabatabasi okowamate.*  
 aa o-ka bani taba-tabasi  
 oh\_yes 1SG.POSS-POSS animal(M) DUP-roast\_on\_rack  
 o-ka-waha-mate  
 1SG.S-COMIT-change-short\_time.IMP.F  
 “Oh, I need to roast my meat some more.”’
- (82) *Faya tabasi hina, hikaba hinate, hikabaminatasa, one hikabaminatasi ya aba, faya abemetemoneke.*  
 faya tabasi hi-na hi-kaba hi-nahate  
 so roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX.F OC-eat OC-daytime  
 hi-kaba-mina-tasa one hi-kaba-mina-tasi ya ahaba  
 OC-eat-morning-again.F other.F OC-eat-morning-again.NOM.F ADJU end.F  
 faya ahaba-hemete-mone-ke  
 so end-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘So he roasted her. He ate her all day. He ate her the next day again. He ate another piece the next day again, and then she was all gone.’
- (83) *Kabi aba, kabi abemetemone fahi, tokomatasebanoho.*  
 kabi ahaba kabi ahaba-hemete-mone fahi  
 be\_eaten.NFIN end.F be\_eaten.NFIN end-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 to-ka-ma-tasa-hiba-no-ho  
 away-go-back-again-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘The eating of her was done. Then he went back again.’
- (84) *Me onakamamatibe, me one, oko fowa me hiti naba mati.*  
 me o-na-ka-ma-mata-be me one o-ka  
 3PL.O 1SG.S-CAUS-go-back-short\_time-IMMED.F 3PL other.F 1SG.POSS-POSS  
 fowa me hiti na-haba mati  
 manioc(M) 3PL.S grate AUX-FUT.F 3PL.S  
 “I’m going to go after them, others of them, for them to grate my manioc.”’

- (85) *Oof, fowa me hiti nabone mera, kokori biterawa tonakamatarawe, mera tonakame mera tokanikamatase, Hiya, aa, Toto Abono kamatasari hari.*  
 oof fowa me hiti na-habone mera kokori  
 hoo manioc(M) 3PL.S grate AUX-INT.F 3PL.O 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M)  
 bite-rawa to-na-ka-ma-tasa-rawe mera  
 3SG.POSS.daughter(F)-FPL away-CAUS-go-back-again-FPL.M 3PL.O  
 to-na-ka-me mera to-ka-nika-ma-tase hiya  
 away-CAUS-go-back.M 3PL.O away-COMIT-ask\_for-back-again.M come\_on  
 aa Toto\_Abono ka-ma-tasa-haari haari  
 aha Toto\_Abono(M) come-back-again-look.M that\_one.M  
 ‘He went after his father-in-law’s daughters, for them to grate manioc.  
 He went after them. He went and asked for others. “Look, Toto Abono  
 has come again.”’
- (86) *Oof, okomine oke.*  
 oof o-ka-ma-ne o-ke  
 hoo 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 “‘Whew! I have come back.’”
- (87) *Me ati kakasiro ra me ati ihi okomatasine oni.*  
 me ati ka-kasiro ra me ati ihi  
 3PL.POSS voice DUP-persist NEG.F 3PL.POSS voice because\_of.F  
 o-ka-ma-tasa-ne o-ni  
 1SG.S-come-back-again-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “‘They keep pestering me. Because of what they said I have come again.’”
- (88) *Fowa e nafi ahi nibeya.*  
 fowa ee nafi ahi na-be-ya  
 manioc(M) 1IN.POSS all work\_on AUX-IMMED.F-NOW  
 “‘Let’s all process manioc together.’”
- (89) *Ota nafi fowa ahi nabanani.*  
 otaa nafi fowa ahi na-habana-ni  
 1EX.POSS all manioc(M) work\_on AUX-FUT.F-BKG.F  
 “‘We will all process manioc.’”

- (90) *Ota ka asima tinakamarawahi me ati narake.*  
 otaa ka asima ti-na-ka-ma-rawa-hi me ati  
 1EX POSS younger\_sister(F) 2SG.S-CAUS-go-back-FPL-IMP.F 3PL.S say  
 na-hara-ke  
 AUX-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘Go get our younger sisters,’ they said.’’
- (91) *Faya me ati na me ati ihi okomine oke.*  
 faya me ati na me ati ihi o-ka-ma-ne  
 so 3PL.S say say.F 3PL.POSS voice because\_of.F 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F  
 o-ke  
 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I have come because of what they said.’’
- (92) *Faya me, me famarawemetemoneke.*  
 faya me me fama-rawa-hemete-mone-ke  
 so 3PL 3PL.S be\_two-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘There were two of them.’
- (93) *Famarawa, towakame, me hekamemetemoneke.*  
 fama-rawa to-ka-ka-me me  
 be\_two-FPL.F away-COMIT-go-back.M 3PL.O  
 hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He took the two of them. He took them.’
- (94) *Me hekama, Ati ka fowa te sowe na fowa owa te nano niyahi.*  
 me hi-ka-ka-ma ati ka fowa tee  
 3PL.O OC-COMIT-go-back.F 2SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) POSS manioc(M) 2PL.S  
 sowe na fowa owa tee nano na-yahi  
 scrape AUX.F manioc(M) other.M 2PL.S squeeze AUX-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘He took them. ‘‘You will peel your older sister’s manioc. You squeeze the  
 poison juice out of more manioc.’’
- (95) *Fowa te nano niyahi.*  
 fowa tee nano na-yahi  
 manioc(M) 2PL.S squeeze AUX-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘You squeeze the poison juice out of the manioc.’’

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- (96) *Te ebe kakatomariyahi.*  
tee ebe ka-katoma-ra-yahi  
2PL.POSS RECIP COMIT-look\_at-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
“Don’t just look at each other.”
- (97) *Okoto ma toarawa awineni.*  
okoto maa to-ha-rawa awine-ni  
1SG.POSS.daughter(F) be\_tired CH-AUX-FPL.F seem.F-BKG.F  
“My daughters must be tired.”
- (98) *Me ma toarara.*  
me maa to-ha-ra-hara  
3PL.S be\_tired CH-AUX-NEG-IP.E.F  
“They are tired.”
- (99) *Me ma toa me ati kasiroarake.*  
me maa to-ha me ati kasiro-hara-ke  
3PL.S be\_tired CH-AUX.F 3PL.POSS voice persist-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
“They are tired and they don’t stop pestering.”
- (100) *Me ma toa me ati kasiroarake.*  
me maa to-ha me ati kasiro-hara-ke  
3PL.S be\_tired CH-AUX.F 3PL.POSS voice persist-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
“They are tired and they don’t stop pestering.”
- (101) *Me ati ihi okomine oke.*  
me ati ihi o-ka-ma-ne o-ke  
3PL.POSS voice because\_of.F 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F  
“Because of what they said I have come.”
- (102) *Owati amakere.*  
o-ati ama-ke-re  
1SG.POSS-voice be-DECL.F-NEG.F  
“It wasn’t my idea.”
- (103) *Owati amara ya okomine oni.*  
o-ati ama-ra ya o-ka-ma-ne o-ni  
1SG.POSS-voice be-NEG.F ADJU 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
“I have come, not because of my idea.”

- (104) *Faya kame me kobo namemetemoneke.*  
 faya ka-me me kobo na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 so come-back.M 3PL.S arrive AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘So he went home. They arrived back.’
- (105) *Me kobo nama me, bai ite me kobo namemetemoneke ahi.*  
 me kobo na-ma me bahi ite me kobo  
 3PL.S arrive AUX-back.F 3PL.S sun(M) sit.M 3PL.S arrive  
 na-ma-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They arrived back. They arrived back when the sun was this high.’
- (106) *Oof oko yifoba owamatibe.*  
 oof o-ka yifo-ba o-awa-mata-be  
 hoo 1SG.POSS-POSS firewood(F)-FUT 1SG.S-see-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘Whew! I’m going to get myself some firewood.’’
- (107) *Yifo okia okereni, mera wati kanenoho, tasa.*  
 yifo o-kiha o-ke-re-ni mera wati  
 firewood(F) 1SG.S-have 1SG.S-DECL.F-NEG.F-IP.N.F 3PL.O plan\_against  
 ka-na-hino-ho tasa  
 COMIT-AUX-IP.N.M-DUP again  
 ‘‘I didn’t realize I had no firewood.’’ He was planning against them, too.’
- (108) *Hibaka okati toaha?*  
 hibaka okati to-haha  
 where 1SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) CH-be.F  
 ‘‘Where are my older sisters?’’
- (109) *Me towaka me awineke, fowa me bore naba mati.*  
 me to-ka-ka me awine-ke fowa me bore  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S seem.F-DECL.F manioc(M) 3PL.S pull\_out  
 na-haba mati  
 AUX-FUT.F 3PL.S  
 ‘‘They must have gone out to pull up manioc.’’
- (110) *Ati, ati, ati ya me ka ati me ha na me, me ka ati haha remetemoneke.*  
 ati ati ati ya me ka  
 older\_sister(F) older\_sister(F) older\_sister(F) ADJU 3PL POSS

ati me haa na me me ka ati ha-haa  
 older\_sister(F) 3PL.S call AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL POSS older\_sister(F) DUP-call  
 ra-hemete-mone-ke  
 NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

“Sister, sister.” They called their older sisters, calling, “Sister.” Their older sisters didn’t call out.’

- (111) *Yama me siba na me, me moto tokanama, me, hinakati tati tone ra, hinakati tati tone tasi tokasani, mato ya tasi tokasa watehemetemoneni, basioba kawari ya.*

yama me siba na me me moto to-ka-na-ma  
 thing(F) 3PL.S look\_for AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL.S loop away-COMIT-AUX-back.F  
 me hinakati tati tone ra hinakati tati  
 3PL.S 3POSS.SG.older\_sister(F) head bone O 3POSS.SG.older\_sister(F) head  
 tone tasi to-ka-kosa-hani mato ya tasi  
 bone emerge CH-COMIT-middle-IP.N.F inner\_bark(F) ADJU emerge  
 to-ka-kosa wata-hemete-mone-ni basioba  
 CH-COMIT-middle.F hang-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F palm.sp(F)  
 ka-waa-ri ya  
 COMIT-stand-raised\_surface.NOM ADJU

‘They looked around. They looped around. Her sisters’ skulls had been strung with a line of inner bark, and were hanging with a line of inner bark through them, on the *basioba* palm wall.’

- (112) *Faya tati tone me hiwasia Hato Abono okati me kakaba toeino awane.*

faya tati tone me hi-wasiha Hato\_Abono okati  
 so head bone 3PL.S OC-find.F Hato\_Abono(M) 1SG.POSS.older\_sister(F)  
 me ka-kaba to-ha-hino awa-ne  
 3PL.O DUP-eat CH-AUX-IP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M

‘They found their skulls. “Hato Abono has been eating my older sisters.”’

- (113) *Yifo, yifo ti ne moni saiba nematamona hike ya ahi, teo, teo, teo, teo.*

yifo yifo tii ne moni  
 firewood(F) firewood(F) cut\_through AUX.M sound  
 sai-baa na-himata-mona hike ya ahi  
 be\_heard-at\_a\_distance AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M far ADJU then  
 teo teo teo  
 (sound\_of\_hitting) (sound\_of\_hitting) (sound\_of\_hitting)

teo

(sound\_of\_hitting)

‘The sound of him cutting firewood could be heard in the distance, *teo, teo, teo, teo.*’

(114) *Ati e towakamahi.*

ati ee to-ka-ka-ma-hi  
older\_sister(F) 1IN.S away-COMIT-go-back-IMP.F

‘‘Sister, let’s go.’’

(115) *Faya me yana tokanemetemone fahi, yifo tabo me itikimakabote.*

faya me yana to-ka-na-hemete-mone fahi yifo tabo  
so 3PL.S start CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then hammock(M) bunch.M  
me iti-kima-kabote  
3PL.S pick\_up-two-quickly

‘So they got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled-up hammocks.’

(116) *Me kana ni towakamemetemoneke ahi, me ka ati, tati me awa mati, tati tone.*

me kana ni to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke ahi me  
3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then 3PL  
ka ati tati me awa mati tati tone  
POSS older\_sister(F) head 3PL.S see.F 3PL.S head bone

‘They went running away because they had seen their sisters’ skulls.’

(117) *Me kana ni towakamemetemoneke.*

me kana ni to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F

‘They went running away.’

(118) *Me kana ni towakama me, kamematamonaka yifo tiwa ni.*

me kana ni to-ka-ka-ma me  
3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S  
ka-ma-himata-mona-ka yifo tiwa ni  
come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M firewood(F) carry AUX.NFIN

‘They went running away. He came back carrying the firewood.’

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- (119) *Yifo tiwa ni kame, yifo koro nisematamonaka.*  
yifo tiwa ni ka-me yifo koro  
firewood(F) carry AUX.NFIN come-back.M firewood(F) throw  
na-risa-himata-mona-ka  
AUX-down-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He came back carrying the firewood. He threw the firewood down.’
- (120) *Oof, oof, oof, haa, fahara?*  
oof oof oof haa faha-ra  
hoo hoo hoo (expression\_of\_exhaustion) water(F)-NPQ  
‘“Whew, where is some water?”’
- (121) *Me afi kanabone me afi kana me awine?*  
me afi ka-na-habone me afi ka-na me awine  
3PL.S bathe COMIT-AUX-INT.F 3PL.S bathe COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S seem.F  
‘“They said they were going to bathe, are they bathing?”’
- (122) *Me watariya.*  
me wata-ri-ya  
3PL.S exist-NEG.F-NOW  
‘“They aren’t here.”’
- (123) *Me towakamiya.*  
me to-ka-ka-mi-ya  
3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back.F-NOW  
‘“They went away.”’
- (124) *Me towakama me nowati ra ha ne mera ha ne Hii, hii, te afi kini?*  
me to-ka-ka-ma me nowati ra haa ne mera haa ne  
3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S after o call AUX.M 3PL.O call AUX.M  
hii hii tee afi ka-ni  
yoohoo yoohoo 2PL.S bathe COMIT-BKG.F  
‘They had gone, and he called after them. He called them. “Yoohoo, are you bathing?”’
- (125) *Yama fafawa.*  
yama fa-fawa  
thing(F) DUP-disappear  
‘They had disappeared.’

- (126) *Yama fafawa nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 yama fa-fawa na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 thing(F) DUP-disappear AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They had disappeared.’
- (127) *Me ha remetemoneke.*  
 me haa ra-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.S call NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They didn’t call.’
- (128) *Me ha ra me, me ha remetemoneni.*  
 me haa ra me me haa ra-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S call NEG.F 3PL.S 3PL.S call NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They didn’t call.’
- (129) *Kame, yama siba nematamonaka ahi.*  
 ka-me yama siba na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 come-back.M thing(F) look\_for AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He came back. He looked around.’
- (130) *Hika, me ka yama watakare.*  
 hika me ka yama wata-ka-re  
 where 3PL POSS thing(F) exist-DECL-NEG.F  
 ‘‘What, their things aren’t here.’’
- (131) *Hika yama me towakamarini?*  
 hika yama me to-ka-ka-ma-ri-ni  
 where thing(F) 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-CQ.F-IP.N.F  
 ‘‘Where did they take the things?’’
- (132) *Toto abono yana tonematamonaka.*  
 toto abono yana to-na-himata-mona-ka  
 bamboo.sp(F) spirit start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The *toto* spirit was ready to leave.’
- (133) *Yana tone, yana tone kana ni tokomakematamona ahi.*  
 yana to-ne yana to-ne kana ni  
 start CH-AUX.M start CH-AUX.M run AUX.NFIN  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona ahi  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He was ready to leave. He went running after them.’

- (134) *Kana ni tokomake, yama soki, yama soki bata hikane, wete name, kobo name, Hoo, ofimirimakoni me fawa kineni.*

kana ni to-ka-make yama soki yama  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go-following thing(F) be\_dark.NFIN thing(F)  
 soki bata hi-ka-ne wete na-me kobo  
 be\_dark.NFIN surprise OC-COMIT-AUX.M return AUX-back.M arrive  
 na-me hoo o-fimi-ra-makoni me  
 AUX-back.M humph 1SG.S-be\_hungry-NEG-for\_this\_reason.F 3PL.S  
 fawa ka-ne-ni  
 disappear COMIT-CONT.F-BKG.F

‘He went running after them. Darkness overtook him. He came back. He arrived back. “Oh boy, because I wasn’t hungry they disappeared.”’

- (135) *Ofimi ya owa ni me fawa kineke.*

o-fimi ya owa ni me fawa  
 1SG.S-be\_hungry.NOM ADJU 1SG to 3PL.S disappear  
 ka-ne-ke  
 COMIT-CONT.F-DECL.F

“Now I’m hungry, and they aren’t here.”

- (136) *Ofimi oke haro.*

o-fimi o-ke haaro  
 1SG.S-be\_hungry 1SG.S-DECL.F that\_one.F

“I’m hungry now.”

- (137) *Faya yifo afo kane, ene hiyarebanoho.*

faya yifo afo ka-ne ehene hiya-ra-hiba-no-ho  
 so fire(F) light COMIT-AUX.M deed.M be\_bad-NEG-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP

‘He lit a fire, and then did something bad.’

- (138) *Faya fimi amo kane, ati sai nabe, Ofimiaba ama okanani, oko bani me okobabone me ona me towakamani me me okobabone me ona me towakamine ninihi.*

faya fimi amo ka-ne ati sai nahabe  
 so hunger(F) sleep COMIT-AUX.M voice be\_heard at\_night.M  
 o-fimi-haba ama o-ka na-hani o-ka  
 1SG.S-be\_hungry-FUT.F SEC 1SG.S-DECL AUX-IP.N.F 1SG.POSS-POSS  
 bani me o-kaba-habone me o-na me  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-INT.F 3PL.O 1SG.S-say.F 3PL.S

to-ka-ka-ma-hani me me o-kaba-habone me o-na  
 away-COMIT-go-back-IP.N.F 3PL.S 3PL.O 1SG.S-eat-INT.F 3PL.O 1SG.S-say.F  
 me to-ka-ka-ma-ne ni-ni-hi  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-CONT.F AUX.NOM.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘He went to sleep hungry. He could be heard in the night. “Now I’m  
 going to be hungry. When I was going to eat my meat, they went away.  
 I was going to eat them, and they went away.”’

- (139) *Faya yama wamini ya, yama waminemetemone amake.*

faya yama waha-mini ya yama  
 so thing(F) dawn-morning.NOM.F ADJU thing(F)  
 waha-mina-hemete-mone ama-ke  
 dawn-morning-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘In the morning it dawned.’

- (140) *Faya Oko sobo okobamakoni, sobo haro.*

faya o-ka sobo o-koba-makoni sobo  
 so 1SG.POSS-POSS belly(F) 1SG.S-hit-for\_this\_reason.F belly(F)  
 haaro  
 that\_one.F  
 ‘‘I’ll eat my belly.’’<sup>9</sup>

- (141) *Hoho, bayikene, bayikene.*

hoho bayi-ke-ne bayi-ke-ne  
 look be\_thick-DECL.F-IRR.F be\_thick-DECL.F-IRR.F  
 ‘‘Look, it’s thick.’’

- (142) *Okobabanake.*

o-kaba-habana-ke  
 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I’m going to eat it.’’

- (143) *Ofimi oke.*

o-fimi o-ke  
 1SG.S-be\_hungry 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I’m hungry.’’

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<sup>9</sup>Siko should have said *okobimakoni*.

- (144) *Kero nawamemetemone ahi.*  
 kero na-waha-ma-hemete-mone ahi  
 be\_curved AUX-change-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘It was circular.’
- (145) *Wisi hisemetemone ahi.*  
 wisi hi-kosa-hemete-mone ahi  
 cut\_up OC-middle-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘He cut it out.’
- (146) *Wisi hisa, yoto.*  
 wisi hi-kosa yoto  
 cut\_up OC-middle.LIST intestines.M  
 ‘He cut the belly out.’<sup>10</sup>
- (147) *Faya tabasi hinemetemoneke, sobori.*  
 faya tabasi hi-na-hemete-mone-ke sobori  
 so roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F belly  
 ‘Then he roasted the belly.’
- (148) *Sobori tabasi hina, tabasi hina kaha, ye sosobi hina iyawa sisirihina, iyawa sisirihina nematamonaka.*  
 sobori tabasi hi-na tabasi hi-na kaha  
 belly roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX.F roast\_on\_rack OC-AUX.F be\_toasted.LIST  
 yehe so-sobi hina iyawa  
 hand DUP-lick at\_the\_same\_time.LIST grated\_mash(F)  
 si-sira-hina iyawa  
 DUP-toast-at\_the\_same\_time.LIST grated\_mash(F)  
 si-sira-hina na-himata-mona-ka  
 DUP-toast-at\_the\_same\_time AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He roasted the belly. He roasted it. It was ready. He licked his fingers.  
 He toasted manioc mash.’
- (149) *Iyawa sire iyawa kakabihina, sobori kabematamonaka ahi.*  
 iyawa sire iyawa  
 grated\_mash(F) toast.M grated\_mash(F)  
 ka-kaba-hina sobori kaba-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 COMMIT-eat-at\_the\_same\_time.LIST belly eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He toasted manioc mash. He ate some manioc mash. He ate his belly.’

<sup>10</sup>Probably *yoto* begins a new sentence which Siko did not finish.

- (150) *Sobori kabe, sobori kabe, sobori kabematamonaka.*  
 sobori kabe sobo-ri kabe sobori kaba-himata-mona-ka  
 belly eat.M belly(F)-PN eat.M belly eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He ate his belly.’
- (151) *Sobori kabe, sobori kabe ya sobori kabi abe ya, toro tama kanematamona ahi, honofe.*  
 sobori kabe sobori kabe ya sobori kabi ahabe ya  
 belly eat.M belly eat.NOM.M ADJU belly eat.NFIN end.NOM.M ADJU  
 toro tama ka-na-himata-mona ahi honofe  
 guts.M hold\_onto COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then plant.sp(M)  
 ‘He ate his belly. After he was done eating his belly, he covered the middle of his body with a wild banana leaf.’
- (152) *Fa hawa tonihawame hinaka fa kawita, fa fawehimatamonaka.*  
 faha hawa to-niha-waha-me hinaka faha  
 water(F) be\_finished CH-CAUS-change-back.M 3SG.POSS water(F)  
 ka-ita faha fawa-himata-mona-ka  
 COMIT-sit.F water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He got water ready. His water was in the vessel. He drank water.’
- (153) *Fa fawematamonaka.*  
 faha fawa-himata-mona-ka  
 water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He drank water.’
- (154) *Fa fawe fa nafi fawe, hinaka fa taha tonemetemoneke ahi, ssssss.*  
 faha fawe faha nafi fawe hinaka faha taha  
 water(F) drink.M water(F) all drink.M 3SG.POSS water(F) scatter  
 to-na-hemete-mone-ke ahi ssssss  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then (sound\_of\_water)  
 ‘He drank water. He drank all the water. His water came out, ssssss.’
- (155) *See, oko fa ababa amakira.*  
 see o-ka faha ahaba-haba ama-kira  
 oh\_no 1SG.POSS-POSS water(F) spill-FUT.F SEC-MOOD.F  
 ‘“Oh no, my water came out.”’<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>The suffix *-kira/-kara* is an archaic mood suffix (Vogel 2022a: 42f). It is used by Siko and Yowao in traditional stories, but younger Jarawaras do not use it.

- (156) *Oko fa ababa amakira.*  
 o-ka faha ahaba-haba ama-kira  
 1SG.POSS-POSS water(F) spill-FUT.F SEC-MOOD.F  
 “My water came out.”
- (157) *Te awa.*  
 tee awa  
 2PL.S see  
 “Look!”
- (158) *Oko fa ababa amakenihi.*  
 o-ka faha ahaba-haba ama-ke-ni-hi  
 1SG.POSS-POSS water(F) spill-FUT.F SEC-DECL.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 “My water came out.”
- (159) *Faya toro wete nakose, honofe nawane toro wete nakose, faya winematamonaka, tobokomisari ahi.*  
 faya toro wete na-kose honofe na-wane toro  
 so guts.M tie AUX-middle.M plant.sp(M) CAUS-be\_attached.M guts.M  
 wete na-kose faya wina-himata-mona-ka  
 tie AUX-middle.M so lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 to-bako-misa-haari ahi  
 away-lie\_belly\_up-up-IP.E.M then  
 ‘So he tied inner bark around the middle of his body. He placed wild banana leaves in. He tied the middle of his body. Then he lay in his hammock, on his back.’
- (160) *Tobokomise winematamona ahi.*  
 to-bako-mise wina-himata-mona ahi  
 away-lie\_belly\_up-up.M lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He lay in his hammock on his back.’
- (161) *Hoo, bakasi owa oke, fa fawarama ora owa.*  
 hoo bakasi o-awa o-ke faha fawa-rama  
 humph thirst(F) 1SG.S-feel 1SG.S-DECL.F water(F) drink-unusual  
 o-ra owa  
 1SG.S-NEG.F 1SG.S  
 “Hoo, I’m thirsty, because I couldn’t drink water.”

- (162) *Fa fawarama ora bakasi owine oke.*  
 faha fawa-rama o-ra bakasi o-awa-ne  
 water(F) drink-unusual 1SG.S-NEG.F thirst(F) 1SG.S-feel-CONT.F  
 o-ke  
 1SG.S-DECL.F  
 ‘‘I couldn’t drink water and I’m thirsty.’’
- (163) *Faya fa fawamatase hinaka fa taha tona tasi tona, See, kasiroarake.*  
 faya faha fawa-ma-tase hinaka faha taha to-na  
 so water(F) drink-back-again.M 3SG.POSS water(F) scatter CH-AUX.F  
 tasi to-na see kasiro-hara-ke  
 emerge CH-AUX.F oh\_no persist-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He drank some more water. His water came pouring out. It came out.  
 ‘‘Oh no, it doesn’t stop.’’
- (164) *Faya towiname, towinamematamonaka.*  
 faya to-wina-me  
 so away-lie\_in\_hammock-back.M  
 to-wina-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 away-lie\_in\_hammock-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘So he went back and lay in his hammock again.’
- (165) *Hoo.*  
 hoo  
 whew  
 ‘‘Whew!’’
- (166) *Faya toro komene yana ne, toro komene yana nematamona fahi.*  
 faya toro komene yana ne toro komene yana na-himata-mona  
 so guts.M pain.M start AUX.M guts.M pain.M start AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 fahi  
 then  
 ‘His gut started to hurt.’
- (167) *Faya kawine fare wine ya, fare wine ya batematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya ka-wine fare wine ya  
 so COMMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M same.M lie\_in\_hammock.NOM.M ADJU  
 fare wine ya bata-himata-mona-ka  
 same.M lie\_in\_hammock.NOM.M ADJU be\_rotten-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

fahi

then

‘He lay sick in the hammock. He rotted right where he lay.’

- (168) *Wabori, wabori kamaki, wabori kamakimatamonane.*  
wabori wabori  
3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M)  
ka-maki wabori  
come-following.M 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M)  
ka-maki-himata-mona-ne  
come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘His brother-in-law came.’
- (169) *Toto Abono wini nofe amake, era kakaba.*  
Toto\_Abono wina nofe ama-ke era kakaba  
Toto\_Abono(M) live recently.NOM.M be-DECL.F 1IN.O eater  
“‘Toto Abono, the people eater, lives here.’”
- (170) *Era kakaba wini nofe amake ahi.*  
era kakaba wina nofe ama-ke ahi  
1IN.O eater live recently.NOM.M be-DECL.F here  
“‘The people eater lives here.’”
- (171) *Hike hike ya mao hisi naba hinematamonaka hike ya ahi.*  
hike hike ya maho hisi na-baa  
far far ADJU smell.M smell AUX-at\_a\_distance  
hi-na-himata-mona-ka hike ya ahi  
OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M far ADJU then  
‘He smelled him from far out.’
- (172) *Hanf, hanf, hanf, efe amare?*  
hanf hanf hanf efe ama-re  
peeoo peeoo peeoo this.M be-NEG.M  
“‘Peeoo, is that him?’”
- (173) *Batawaha.*  
bata-waha  
be\_rotten-change.CONT.M  
“‘He has started to rot.’”

- (174) *Yoto ene batehino, batematamonaka.*  
yoto ehene bata-hino  
intestines.M because\_of.M be\_rotten-IP.N.M  
bata-himata-mona-ka  
be\_rotten-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He was rotting because of his guts.’
- (175) *Batehino abowi winematamona fahi.*  
bata-hino abohi wina-himata-mona fahi  
be\_rotten-IP.N.M dead\_body lie\_in\_hammock-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He was rotting. He was dead, lying in the hammock.’
- (176) *Faya abowi winehino hiwasimaki wabori hora ne, Toto Abono himatabiyo*  
*hiwa wisi neno yama yete re nanako raba nofe hiwa wisi nawa nano.*  
faya abohi wina-hino hi-wasi-maki  
so dead\_body lie\_in\_hammock-IP.N.M OC-find-following.M  
wabori hora ne Toto\_Abono himatabiyo  
3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) scold AUX.M Toto\_Abono(M) why  
hiwa wisi na-hino yama yete re na-nako  
3SG.REFL.M cut\_up AUX-IP.N.M thing(F) hunt NEG.M CAUS-be\_famished  
raba nofe hiwa wisi na-waha  
a\_bit recently.M 3SG.REFL.M cut\_up AUX-change.CONT.M  
na-no  
AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M  
‘He yelled at his brother-in-law, who he had found lying dead in his hammock. “Why did Toto Abono cut himself open? He didn’t hunt. He was always hungry. Now he has cut himself open.”’
- (177) *Okasima kabi nofarawenoho.*  
okasima kaba nafa-rawa-hino-ho  
1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) eat recently-FPL-IP.N.M-DUP  
‘‘He was eating my sisters.’’
- (178) *Okasima kabi nofaraweno kakahiwa reba okasima niki nofarawahari.*  
okasima kaba nafa-rawa-hino  
1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) eat recently-FPL-IP.N.M  
ka-ka-hiwa ra-hiba okasima  
DUP-COMIT-have\_children NEG-FUT.M 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F)

niki nofa-rawa-haari  
 press\_on recently-FPL-IP.E.M  
 “He was eating my sisters. He didn’t want to have children. He was strangling my sisters.”

(179) *Hiwa kawinaka.*

hiwa ka-wina-ka  
 only.M COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-DECL.M  
 “Let him lie dead in his hammock.”

(180) *Hekanakosematamonaka.*

hi-ka-kana-kosa-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-leave-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He left him there.’

(181) *Tokomematamonaka.*

to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went home.’

(182) *Faya boko, boko yome hirawematamona fahi.*

faya boko boko yome hi-rawa-himata-mona fahi  
 so vulture(F) vulture(F) swallow OC-FPL-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘So the vultures ate him.’

(183) *Boko yome hirawe, faya toto abono abe, abowi wine hekanakose hikaminame, Toto Abono winaka ahi, hiwa bobi nenoho.*

boko yome hi-rawe faya toto abono ahabe abohi  
 vulture(F) swallow OC-FPL.M so bamboo.sp(F) spirit die.M dead\_body  
 wine hi-ka-kana-kose hi-kamina-me  
 lie\_in\_hammock.M OC-COMIT-leave-middle.M OC-tell-back.M  
 Toto\_Abono wina-ka ahi hiwa bobi  
 Toto\_Abono(M) lie\_in\_hammock-DECL.M there 3SG.REFL.M slit  
 na-hino-ho  
 AUX-IP.N.M-DUP

‘The vultures ate him. So the toto spirit died. He lay dead in the hammock. He left him there. He told about him back home. “Toto Abono is lying there in the hammock. He had cut himself up.”’

- (184) *Toto Abono abareka.*  
 Toto\_Abono ahaba-hare-ka  
 Toto\_Abono(M) die-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “Toto Abono died.”
- (185) *Abawahe.*  
 ahaba-wahe  
 die-change.M  
 “He had died.”
- (186) *Me fere ne me kakamani me amake haro.*  
 me fere-hene me ka-ka-ma-hani me ama-ke  
 3PL.S wait-IRR.F 3PL.S COMIT-come-back-IP.N.F 3PL.S SEC-DECL.F  
 haaro  
 that\_one.F  
 “They didn’t wait, the two of them came home.”
- (187) *Me hikabene me amake.*  
 me hi-kaba-hene me ama-ke  
 3PL.O OC-eat-IRR.F 3PL.O SEC-DECL.F  
 “He would have eaten them.”
- (188) *Toto Abono okati kabi nofaraweno okati tati tone ota wasirawarani.*  
 Toto\_Abono okati kaba nofa-rawa-hino  
 Toto\_Abono(M) 1SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) eat recently-FPL-IP.N.M  
 okati tati tone otaa wasi-rawa-hara-ni  
 1SG.POSS.older\_sister(F) head bone 1EX.S find-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “Toto Abono had eaten our older sisters, and we found their skulls.”
- (189) *Ota nofare ota kakose, yama siba na nanoho.*  
 otaa nofa-re otaa ka-kana-kose yama siba  
 1EX.S like-NEG.M 1EX.S COMIT-leave-middle.M thing(F) look\_for  
 na na-no-ho  
 AUX.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “We didn’t like him. We left him behind, looking for us.”

- (190) *Me abe, me hekanakose me, hiwa kabe abawahematamonaka fahi.*  
 me ahabe me hi-ka-kana-kose me hiwa kabe  
 3PL die.M 3PL.S OC-COMIT-leave-middle.M 3PL 3SG.REFL.M eat.M  
 ahaba-waha-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 die-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He died. They left him behind. He ate himself. Then he died.’<sup>12</sup>
- (191) *Faya abe, faya abematamonaka ahi.*  
 faya ahabe faya ahaba-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 so die.M so die-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He died.’
- (192) *Abe, boko hikabarawematamonaka, boko, boko sawi.*  
 ahabe boko hi-kaba-rawa-himata-mona-ka boko  
 die.M vulture(F) OC-eat-FPL-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M vulture(F)  
 boko\_sawi  
 king\_vulture(M)  
 ‘He died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures.’
- (193) *Boko sawi me hikabematamonane.*  
 boko\_sawi me hi-kaba-himata-mona-ne  
 king\_vulture(M) 3PL.S OC-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The king vultures ate him.’
- (194) *Hinaka fowa ta kawita, hihiti watarari.*  
 hinaka fowa taa ka-ita hihiti  
 3SG.POSS manioc(M) contrast COMIT-sit.LIST person\_who\_grates  
 wata-ra-haari  
 exist-NEG-IP.E.M  
 ‘But his manioc was still there, with no one to grate it.’
- (195) *Faya me hiwamarematamona fahi.*  
 faya me hi-awa-ma-ra-himata-mona fahi  
 so 3PL.S OC-see-back-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘They didn’t see him anymore.’

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<sup>12</sup>Me at the beginning is a mistake, also the *me* after *hekanakose*.

- (196) *Toto Abono te tonakamariyahi.*  
 Toto\_Abono tee to-na-ka-ma-ra-yahi  
 Toto\_Abono(M) 2PL.S away-CAUS-go-back-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Don’t go after Toto Abono anymore.”
- (197) *Toto Abono bate winarene.*  
 Toto\_Abono bate wina-hare-ne  
 Toto\_Abono(M) be\_rotten.M lie\_in\_hammock-IP.E.M-BKG.M  
 “Toto Abono is lying dead in a hammock.”
- (198) *Hiwa abaka.*  
 hiwa ahaba-ka  
 only.M die-DECL.M  
 “Let him die.”
- (199) *Sobori bobi nakoseno ahi.*  
 sobori bobi na-kosa-hino ahi  
 belly slit AUX-middle-IP.N.M there  
 “He cut up his belly.”
- (200) *Sobori bobi nakose sobori kabeinoka, eeto raba rinihi.*  
 sobori bobi na-kose sobori kaba-hino-ka e-eheto raba  
 belly slit AUX-middle.M belly eat-IP.N.M-DECL.M DUP-be\_good a\_bit  
 ri-ni-hi  
 NEG.NOM.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 “He cut up his belly. He ate his belly, it tasted really good.”
- (201) *Toro fene itarisareka, fa faweno karo.*  
 toro fehene ita-risa-hare-ka faha fawa-hino karo  
 inside.M juice.M sit-down-IP.E.M-DECL.M water(F) drink-IP.N.M which  
 “The liquid from inside him spilled out, the water which he had drunk.”
- (202) *Faya kamematamona fahi.*  
 faya ka-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 so come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘So he came home.’

- (203) *Kame kobo name, Ami, ami tika koma, tika koma hiwa kabehino, abeno winaka ahi.*  
 ka-me kobo na-me ami ami ti-ka  
 come-back.M arrive AUX-back.M mother(F) mother(F) 2SG.POSS-POSS  
 koma ti-ka koma hiwa kaba-hino  
 son\_in\_law(M) 2SG.POSS-POSS son\_in\_law(M) 3SG.REFL.M eat-IP.N.M  
 ahaba-hino wina-ka ahi  
 die-IP.N.M lie\_in\_hammock-DECL.M there  
 ‘He came home. He arrived home. “Mother, your son-in-law ate himself and he died and is lying there in the hammock.”’
- (204) *Koma oteharekana ene okobarari, okoto kabaterawari.*  
 koma o-tee-hare-ka-na ehene  
 call\_son\_in\_law 1SG.S-HAB-IP.E.M-DECL.M-IRR.M victim\_of.M  
 o-kaba-ra-haari okoto kaba-tee-rawa-haari  
 1SG.S-eat-NEG-IP.E.M 1SG.POSS.daughter(F) eat-HAB-FPL-IP.E.M  
 “He was my son-in-law, but I didn’t eat his game; he ate my daughters.”<sup>13</sup>
- (205) *Afa tabiyo hiwani ra hiri nawa nanoho.*  
 afa tabiyo hi-awa-hani ra hiri na-waha  
 this.F wanting OC-feel-IP.N.F o do AUX-change.CONT.M  
 na-no-ho  
 AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “This is what he asked for.”
- (206) *Hiwa abakana.*  
 hiwa ahaba-ka-na  
 only.M die-DECL.M-IRR.M  
 “Let him die.”
- (207) *Abarare.*  
 ahaba-ra-hare  
 die-NEG-IP.E.M  
 “He is dead.”

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<sup>13</sup>The first two clauses are an example of the “no effect” construction discussed in Vogel (2022a: 200f). The idea is that a mother-in-law could expect to receive meat when her son-in-law hunted. But the *toto* spirit, instead of hunting, ate her daughters.

- (208) *Watamahare.*  
wata-ma-hare  
exist-back-NEG.M  
‘‘He is no more.’’
- (209) *Batareka.*  
bata-hare-ka  
be\_rotten-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
‘‘He has rotted.’’
- (210) *Himatabiyo hiwa katoma namata onarekana.*  
himatabiyo hiwa katoma na-mata  
why 3SG.REFL.M attack.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-(?)M  
o-na-hare-ka-na  
1SG.S-say-IP.E.M-DECL.M-IRR.M  
‘‘Why did he hurt himself?’’
- (211) *Batareka.*  
bata-hare-ka  
be\_rotten-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
‘‘He has rotted.’’
- (212) *Itihina rareka.*  
iti-hina ra-hare-ka  
pick\_up-can NEG-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
‘‘He can’t be touched.’’
- (213) *Winareka, bete.*  
wina-hare-ka bete  
lie\_in\_hammock-IP.E.M-DECL.M rotten.M  
‘‘He is lying rotten in his hammock.’’
- (214) *Bete winareka.*  
bete wina-hare-ka  
rotten.M lie\_in\_hammock-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
‘‘He is lying rotten in his hammock.’’
- (215) *Ota towamebanaka, tone.*  
otaa to-awa-ma-hibana-ka tone  
1EX.S away-see-back-FUT.M-DECL.M bone  
‘‘We will go back there and see his bones.’’

- (216) *Faya wabori me amo ni tere toi ya wabori me hinakame, tati boko sawi ti hiseno tati hekamakino tati itamakematamonaka.*  
 faya wabori me amo ni terei  
 so 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL.POSS sleep AUX.NFIN be\_three  
 to-hi ya wabori me  
 CH-AUX.NOM.F ADJU 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL.S  
 hi-na-ka-me tati boko\_sawi tii  
 OC-CAUS-go-back.M head king\_vulture(M) cut\_through  
 hi-kosa-hino tati hi-ka-ka-maki-hino tati  
 OC-middle-IP.N.M head OC-COMIT-come-following-IP.N.M head  
 ita-make-himata-mona-ka  
 sit-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘After three days they went after their brother-in-law. A king vulture had cut off his head and had taken his head away, and it was on the ground.’
- (217) *Tati itaro ha.*  
 tati ita-haaro haa  
 head sit-look.F DEM  
 ‘‘There is the head on the ground.’’
- (218) *Boko me hikabematamonaka fahi.*  
 boko me hi-kaba-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 vulture(F) 3PL.S OC-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The vultures ate him.’
- (219) *Faya me hikabe, hikabe abeno ya, boko tone boko kiro natini wani me towasima, faya tafe, tafatafa raba rinihi, hato abono kabaharo.*  
 faya me hi-kabe hi-kabe ahaba-hino ya boko tone boko  
 so 3PL.S OC-eat.M OC-eat.M die-IP.N.M ADJU vulture(F) bone vulture(F)  
 kiro nahati-hani waa-hani me to-wasi-ma faya tafe  
 gnaw daytime-IP.N.F stand-IP.N.F 3PL.S away-find-back.F so eat.M  
 tafa-tafa raba ri-ni-hi hato abono kaba-haaro  
 DUP-eat a\_bit NEG.NOM.F-IP.N.F-DUP bamboo.sp(F) spirit eat-IP.E.F  
 ‘They ate him. They came upon a vulture on the ground eating him during the day after he died. It ate a lot as it ate the *hato* spirit.’<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup>The words *ya* and *boko* are mistakes, so that the string should be *abeno tone boko kiro natini*.

- (220) *Boko, wareharo haro.*  
 boko waa-re-haaro haaro  
 vulture(F) stand-raised\_surface-look.F that\_one.F  
 ‘‘There is a vulture sitting on a branch.’’
- (221) *Wareharo ha, haro.*  
 waa-re-haaro haa haaro  
 stand-raised\_surface-look.F DEM that\_one.F  
 ‘‘It’s sitting on a branch.’’
- (222) *Hinaka yifo bete kawinari hari.*  
 hinaka yifo bete ka-wina-haari haari  
 3SG.POSS hammock(M) rotten.M COMIT-hang-look.M that\_one.M  
 ‘‘His rotted hammock is hanging there.’’
- (223) *Ataro winari ha.*  
 ataro wina-haari haa  
 skin.M lie\_in\_hammock-look.M DEM  
 ‘‘His skin is in the hammock.’’
- (224) *Me kakamemetemone fahi.*  
 me ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone fahi  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They came home.’
- (225) *Me kakama me, me kakama me kobo kanami ya, me kobo  
 kanamemetemoneke.*  
 me ka-ka-ma me me ka-ka-ma me kobo  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S arrive  
 ka-na-mi ya me kobo  
 COMIT-AUX-back.NOM.F ADJU 3PL.S arrive  
 ka-na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They came come. They arrived home.’
- (226) *Me kobo kanama me, Faira?*  
 me kobo ka-na-ma me fahi-ra  
 3PL.S arrive COMIT-AUX-back.F 3PL.S that-NPQ  
 ‘They arrived home. ‘‘Well?’’

- (227) *Faira tina winahare.*  
 fahi-ra ti-na wina-hare  
 that-NPQ 2SG.S-say.F live-NEG.M  
 “Well, he isn’t living there anymore.”
- (228) *Watarareka.*  
 wata-ra-hare-ka  
 exist-NEG-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “He isn’t there.”
- (229) *Faya tone ta tori ahi.*  
 faya tone taa to-ri ahi  
 so bone be\_piled\_up CH-raised\_surface.NOM there  
 “His bones are in a pile.”
- (230) *Himatabiyo hiwa wisi na namata oneheno hiwa kabehino?*  
 himatabiyo hiwa wisi na na-mata  
 why 3SG.REFL.M cut\_up AUX.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-(?).M  
 o-na-hino hiwa kaba-hino  
 1SG.O-say-IP.N.M 3SG.REFL.M eat-IP.N.M  
 “Why did he cut into himself and eat himself?”
- (231) *Abawahane, bani me, bani me nahorimakoni.*  
 ahaba-waha-ne bani me bani me  
 die-change.CONT.M-BKG.M animal(M) 3PL animal(M) 3PL.S  
 naho-ra-makoni  
 stand-NEG-for\_this\_reason.F  
 “Now he died. There is game.”
- (232) *Toto Abono okasima kanahiwawareba, okasima yabaraweimata.*  
 Toto\_Abono okasima  
 Toto\_Abono(M) 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F)  
 ka-na-hiwa-rawa-ra-hiba okasima  
 COMIT-CAUS-have\_children-FPL-NEG-FUT.M 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F)  
 yaba-rawa-himata  
 marry-FPL-FP.N.M  
 “Toto Abono didn’t want to make my sisters pregnant, but he married my sisters.”

(233) *Hiwa kabi yotoimata.*  
hiwa kabi yoto-himata  
3SG.REFL.M eat.NFIN follow-FP.N.M  
“In the end he ate himself.”

(234) *Abawane.*  
ahaba-waha-ne  
die-change.CONT.M-BKG.M  
“Now he died.”



# K Casting spells on each other

## Introduction

The story *Casting spells on each other* was told by Yowao in 1994. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-castspell.mp3>.

Aspects of shamanism are shown in this story. Two brothers-in-law put spells on each other, and one of them dies as a result. The one who survives is cured by the shamanic skills of his younger brother.

## English translation

The people from Awita Fa put spells on each other.

“I’m going after *hawa* fruits. Boil some manioc juice.”<sup>1</sup>

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.

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<sup>1</sup>The Jarawaras don’t boil manioc juice to mix with *hawa* fruits anymore, today they use water, but Yowao’s wife Aobina used to make it when they were younger.

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He came back carrying the *hawa* fruits on his back. He hit against the line that was extended. *Yebe* [shocking], 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.

“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,” [said someone else].

*K Casting spells on each other*

“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.”

They all cried because they missed the man from Awita Fa. 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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Ee, Awita Fa yafi Awita Fa yafi me ibe kanawasi.*  
 ee Awita\_Faa yafi Awita\_Faa yafi me ibe  
 (pause) Awita\_Faa inhabitant\_of Awita\_Faa inhabitant\_of 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 ka-na-wasi  
 COMMIT-CAUS-get\_caught.LIST  
 ‘The people of Awita Fa put spells on each other.’<sup>2</sup>
- (2) *Hawa onakamakimatibe.*  
 hawa o-na-ka-maki-mata-be  
 palm.sp(F) 1SG.S-CAUS-go-following-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘I’m going after hawa fruits.’’
- (3) *Fowa fene tikawariya.*  
 fowa fehene ti-ka-waa-ri-yahi  
 manioc(M) juice.M 2SG.S-COMIT-cook-raised\_surface-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Boil some manioc juice.’’
- (4) *Faya tokomake, tabasi tabasi kakiti tabasi kowe, tabasi be nise, hawa ka kawematamonaka.*  
 faya to-ka-make tabasi tabasi  
 so away-go-following makeshift\_basket(F) makeshift\_basket(F)  
 ka-iti tabasi kowe tabasi  
 COMMIT-take\_out.M makeshift\_basket(F) weave.M makeshift\_basket(F)  
 bee na-rise hawa kaa  
 put\_down AUX-down.M palm.sp(F) chop  
 ka-waha-himata-mona-ka  
 COMMIT-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘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) *Hawa ka kane, wabori kamaki moni himitamakimatamonaha.*  
 hawa kaa ka-ne wabori  
 palm.sp(F) chop COMMIT-AUX.M 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M)  
 ka-maki moni hi-mita-maki-himata-mona-ha  
 come-following.M sound OC-hear-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He chopped at the hawa palm. His brother-in-law came, and heard the sound of him.’

<sup>2</sup>Awita is a species of fish, so Awita Fa means ‘Awita Stream’.

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- (6) *Toko, toko, toko bari moni nemetemone ama.*  
toko                      toko                      toko                      bari  
(sound\_of\_chopping) (sound\_of\_chopping) (sound\_of\_chopping) ax  
moni                      na-hemete-mone ama  
make\_sound AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC  
'Toko, toko, toko, went the sound of the ax.'
- (7) *Aa, oko hawa i fora ona ama.*  
aa                                      o-ka                      hawa                      ihi  
(expression\_of\_displeasure) 1SG.POSS-POSS palm.sp(F) result\_of.F  
fora                                      o-na                      ama  
shoot\_with\_blowgun 1SG.S-AUX.F be  
"Oh no, that's my hawa palm where I kill birds that eat its fruits."
- (8) *Oko hawa i fora ona ka kane awa.*  
o-ka                      hawa                      ihi                      fora                                      o-na  
1SG.POSS-POSS palm.sp(F) result\_of.F shoot\_with\_blowgun 1SG.S-AUX.F  
kaa ka-ne                      awa  
chop COMIT-AUX.M seem.M  
"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  
"I will get revenge."
- (10) *Okanawasimata.*  
o-ka-na-wasi-mata  
1SG.S-COMIT-CAUS-find-short\_time.IMP.M  
"I will put a spell on him."
- (11) *Faya tokome, tokome, yama toma nematamonaka.*  
faya to-ka-me                      to-ka-me                      yama toma  
so away-go-back.M away-go-back.M thing(F) suck  
na-himata-mona-ka  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He went away. He prepared a shaman's stone.'

- (12) *Yama toma ne wafe tamo torematamona.*  
 yama toma ne wafe tamo to-re-himata-mona  
 thing(F) suck AUX.M cotton(F) rub CH-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He prepared a magical stone. He put a spell on some cotton string.’
- (13) *Wafe tamo tore yama wafe kahohimatamonane wabori hawine ya.*  
 wafe tamo to-re yama wafe  
 cotton(F) rub CH-raised\_surface thing(F) cotton(F)  
 kaho-himata-mona-ne wabori hawine ya  
 tie-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) trail.M ADJU  
 ‘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  
 ‘He waited for him.’
- (15) *Hawa tokasona te ne, hawa te nematamonaka.*  
 hawa to-ka-sona tee ne hawa tee  
 palm.sp(F) CH-COMIT-fall.F put\_inside AUX.M palm.sp(F) put\_inside  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He put the hawa fruits that had fallen with the palm into the basket.’
- (16) *Hawa te ne, yana tonematamonaha.*  
 hawa tee ne yana to-na-himata-mona-ha  
 palm.sp(F) put\_inside AUX.M start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He put the hawa fruits in the basket. He was ready.’
- (17) *Yama honarikani ati nematamonaka.*  
 yama hona-ri-kani ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 thing(F) have\_something-NEG.F-CNTRFACT say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘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(M)  
 ‘His brother-in-law was hiding.’

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (19) *Kamematamona hawa weye ni.*  
ka-ma-himata-mona hawa weye ni  
come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M palm.sp(F) carry AUX.NFIN  
‘He came back carrying the hawa fruits on his back.’
- (20) *Kame yama yama kaohani, towakitikosamematamonahane.*  
ka-me yama yama kaho-hani  
come-back.M thing(F) thing(F) be\_tied-IP.N.F  
to-ka-iti-kosa-ma-himata-mona-ha-ne  
away-COMIT-pick\_up-middle-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
‘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  
‘Yebe, went the thing.’
- (22) *Bao nisematamona ahi.*  
bao na-risa-himata-mona ahi  
come\_down AUX-down-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He fell down.’
- (23) *Faya, ahabarisematamonahane.*  
faya ahaba-risa-himata-mona-ha-ne  
so die-down-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
‘He passed out.’
- (24) *Faya wabori tokome, kamakiama ne hiwasimakimatamonane, homahari.*  
faya wabori to-ka-me  
so 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) away-go-back.M  
ka-maki-hama ne  
come-following-pretending AUX.M  
hi-wasi-maki-himata-mona-ne homa-haari  
OC-find-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M lie\_on\_ground-IP.E.M  
‘His brother-in-law pretended to come. He came upon him as he was lying there.’

- (25) *Home wabori hiwasimaki, Aa, oko wabo me kanawasihani me awine.*  
 home wabori hi-wasi-maki  
 lie\_on\_ground.M 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) OC-find-following.M  
 aa o-ka wabo me  
 (expression\_of\_surprise) 1SG.POSS-POSS brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL.S  
 ka-na-wasi-hani me awine  
 COMMIT-CAUS-get\_caught-IP.N.F 3PL.S seem.F  
 ‘He lay there. His brother-in-law came upon him. “Ah, I guess someone  
 cast a spell on my brother-in-law.”’
- (26) *Oko wabo me ai nani me awinekira.*  
 o-ka wabo me ahi na-hani me  
 1SG.POSS-POSS brother\_in\_law(M) 3PL.S mess\_with AUX-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 awine-kira  
 seem.F-MOOD.F  
 “‘They have messed with my brother-in-law.”’
- (27) *Faya sina hisi ne wabori toma ne yama kayabematamonahane.*  
 faya sina hisi ne wabori toma ne  
 so snuff(F) sniff AUX.M 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) suck AUX.M  
 yama ka-yaba-himata-mona-ha-ne  
 thing(F) COMMIT-take\_out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
 ‘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-yabe yama  
 thing(F) COMMIT-take\_out.M thing(F)  
 ka-yaba-himata-mona-ha-ne  
 COMMIT-take\_out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
 ‘He took the shaman’s stone out of him.’
- (29) *Yama kayabe, faya itamisame, Hoo, hinamati owa kanawasi owa awine o.*  
 yama ka-yabe faya ita-misa-me hoo hinamati owa  
 thing(F) COMMIT-take\_out.M so sit-up-back.M whew someone(M) 1SG.O  
 ka-na-wasi owa awine o  
 COMMIT-CAUS-get\_caught.M 1SG.O seem.F 1SG.S  
 ‘He took the shaman’s stone out of him. He sat up. “Whew, someone put  
 a spell on me.”’

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (30) *Tiwa me ai na tiwa awine tini.*  
tiwa me ahi na tiwa awine ti-ni  
2SG.O 3PL.S mess\_with AUX.F 2SG.O seem.F 2SG.O-BKG.F  
“Someone messed with you.”
- (31) *E awari.*  
ee awa-ri  
1IN.S see-NEG.NOM.F  
“I wonder who it was.”
- (32) *Tiwa okomake tiwa owasimakiara o.*  
tiwa o-ka-make tiwa o-wasi-maki-hara o  
2SG.O 1SG.S-come-following 2SG.O 1SG.S-find-following-IP.E.F 1SG.S  
“I came and came upon you.”
- (33) *Tiwamisama.*  
ti-waa-misa-ma  
2SG.S-stand-up-back  
“Stand up.”
- (34) *Hinawamisame mano hiti hinawamisame, Hoo himata ebe tinaba ama tiri?*  
hi-na-waa-misa-me mano hi-iti hi-na-waa-misa-me  
OC-CAUS-stand-up-back.M arm.M OC-pick\_up.M OC-CAUS-stand-up-back.M  
hoo himata ebe ti-na-haba ama ti-ri  
whew what purpose 2SG.S-AUX-FUT.F SEC 2SG.S-CQ.F  
‘He helped him to his feet. He grabbed his arm, and helped him to his feet.  
“Whew, what were you doing?”
- (35) *Yama yete onabone o.*  
yama yete o-na-habone o  
thing(F) hunt 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F 1SG.S  
“I am going hunting.”
- (36) *Ee tikiya.*  
ee ti-ka-yahi  
yes 2SG.S-go-DIST.IMP.F  
“Right, go ahead.”

- (37) *Tikiyahi.*  
 ti-ka-yahi  
 2SG.S-go-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Go ahead.”
- (38) *Tikamiya.*  
 ti-ka-ma-yahi  
 2SG.S-go-back-DIST.IMP.F  
 “You go home.”
- (39) *Tekamiya.*  
 ti-ka-ka-ma-yahi  
 2SG.S-COMIT-go-back-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Go home sick.”
- (40) *Tiwa me kanawasine nirani oni.*  
 tiwa me ka-na-wasi-ne ni-rani o-ni  
 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-CAUS-get\_caught-CONT.F AUX.F-? 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I guess someone cast a spell on you.”
- (41) *Tiwa me kanawasiani tiwa toma one o.*  
 tiwa me ka-na-wasi-hani tiwa toma o-ne o  
 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-CAUS-get\_caught-IP.N.F 2SG.O suck 1SG.S-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 “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-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘So he went home.’
- (43) *Karabowa kakiti tokematamonane.*  
 karaboha ka-iti to-ka-himata-mona-ne  
 blowgun(F) COMIT-pick\_up.M away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He picked up his blowgun, and went into the forest.’
- (44) *Hawa weye namise tokome kofafa kane towakamematamona ahi.*  
 hawa weye na-mise to-ka-me kofa-fa  
 palm.sp(F) carry AUX-up.M away-go-back.M be\_unsteady-DUP  
 ka-ne to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona ahi  
 COMIT-AUX.M away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He lifted the hawa fruits onto his back, and went home. He was unsteady as he went sick.’

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- (45) *Ma toname nokowame, Owa ai neno amane.*  
 maa to-na-me noko-waha-me owa ahi na-hino  
 stop away-AUX-back.M point-change-back.M 1SG.O mess\_with AUX-IP.N.M  
 ama-ne  
 SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘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(F) sickness.F 1SG.S-feel-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 “It is his sickness that I have.”
- (47) *Maki tina.*  
 maki ti-na  
 pay 2SG.S-AUX  
 “I will get revenge.”
- (48) *Tokematamonaka fari.*  
 to-ka-himata-mona-ka faari  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M that\_one.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘He disappeared.’
- (50) *Yama owa, ni kobo kanarake ahi.*  
 yama owa ni kobo ka-na-hara-ke ahi  
 thing(F) 1SG to arrive COMIT-AUX-IP.E.F-DECL.F then  
 “Something touched me.”
- (51) *Yama kaohani mati katise, yama kaohani mati katise yama mati katifome, hikatifomemetemoneni.*  
 yama kaho-hani mati ka-tise yama kaho-hani mati  
 thing(F) be\_tied-IP.N.F line.F COMIT-undo.M thing(F) be\_tied-IP.N.F line.F  
 ka-tise yama mati ka-tifo-me  
 COMIT-undo.M thing(F) line.F COMIT-tie\_together-back.M  
 hi-ka-tifo-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 OC-COMIT-tie\_together-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘He untied the string that had been tied. He tied the string back together.’

- (52) *Faya yama towakamaki yama tokahomakimatamona ahi.*  
 faya yama to-ka-ka-maki yama  
 so thing(F) away-COMIT-go-following.M thing(F)  
 to-kaho-maki-himata-mona ahi  
 away-tie-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He took it and tied it somewhere else.’
- (53) *Owa ahi neno ama.*  
 owa ahi na-hino ama  
 1SG.O mess\_with AUX-IP.N.M SEC  
 ‘‘He messed with me.’’
- (54) *Owahare.*  
 o-awa-hare  
 1SG.S-see-IP.E.M  
 ‘‘I saw him.’’
- (55) *Faya, manako hiematamonane.*  
 faya manako hi-ha-himata-mona-ne  
 so revenge OC-pay\_back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘Then he got revenge on him.’
- (56) *Yama kobobo kanihi hekanakosematamonaka.*  
 yama kobo-bo ka-nihi  
 thing(F) be\_attached-DUP COMIT-CAUS.M  
 hi-ka-kana-kosa-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-leave-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He tied the string, and left him behind.’
- (57) *Kamematamona.*  
 ka-ma-himata-mona  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He came back.’
- (58) *Owakamibe.*  
 o-ka-ka-ma-be  
 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘I will go back sick.’’

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (59) *Yama kome kiti.*  
yama kome kiti  
thing(F) sickness.F be\_strong.NOM.F  
‘‘The sickness is intense.’’
- (60) *Kakamematamona.*  
ka-ka-ma-himata-mona  
COMIT-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘He came back sick.’
- (61) *Kakame, Okobi kamari hari bite ati nemetemoneni.*  
ka-ka-me okobi ka-ma-haari haari  
COMIT-come-back.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) come-back-look.M that\_one.M  
bite ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
3SG.POSS.daughter(F) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
‘He came back sick. ‘‘Look my father is coming back there,’’ his daughter said.’
- (62) *Okobi okobi okobi sonehino amane.*  
okobi okobi okobi sona-hino  
1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) fall-IP.N.M  
ama-ne  
SEC-BKG.M  
‘‘My father fell down.’’
- (63) *Okobi yaka ni hiyare ati nemetemoneheni.*  
okobi yaka ni hiya-re ati  
1SG.POSS.father(M) walk AUX.NFIN be\_bad-NEG.M say  
na-hemete-mone-he-ni  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP-BKG.F  
‘‘My father is not walking good,’’ she said.’
- (64) *Anoti ki kabote nematamonane.*  
anoti kii kabote na-himata-mona-ne  
3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) look quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘His older brother looked quickly.’<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Yowao should have said *nisori* ‘his younger brother’.

- (65) *Okoyo, okoyo no toneno ama.*  
 okoyo okoyo noho  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) be\_hurt  
 to-na-hino ama  
 CH-AUX-IP.N.M SEC  
 “My older brother is hurt.”
- (66) *Okoyo inamati, no tonihare.*  
 okoyo inamati noho to-niha-hare  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) someone(M) be\_hurt CH-CAUS-IP.E.M  
 “Someone hurt my brother.”
- (67) *Hoo oko yifo oko yifo horo tikanisamahi.*  
 hoo o-ka yifo o-ka yifo horo  
 whew 1SG.POSS-POSS hammock(M) 1SG.POSS-POSS hammock(M) drag  
 ti-ka-na-risa-ma-hi  
 2SG.S-COMIT-AUX-down-back-IMP.F  
 “Whew, lower my hammock.”
- (68) *No ona owakamine oni.*  
 noho o-na o-ka-ka-ma-ne o-ni  
 be\_hurt 1SG.S-AUX.F 1SG.S-COMIT-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I am hurt. I am coming back sick.”
- (69) *Ayo himata ebe tirini?*  
 ayo himata ebe ti-ri-ni  
 older\_brother(M) what happen\_to 2SG.S-CQ.F-IP.N.F  
 “Brother, what happened to you?”
- (70) *Inamati owa kanawasirani ona okomine oni ati nematamonane.*  
 inamati owa ka-na-wasi-rani o-na o-ka-ma-ne  
 someone(M) 1SG.O COMIT-CAUS-find-? 1SG.S-say.F 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F  
 o-ni ati na-himata-mona-ne  
 1SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 “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-wasiha tiwa awine ti  
 2SG.O 3PL.S COMIT-CAUS-get\_caught.F 2SG.O seem.F 2SG.S  
 “Someone cast a spell on you.”

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (72) *Faya toma hinematamona fahi.*  
 faya toma hi-na-himata-mona fahi  
 so suck OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘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  
 ‘He sucked on him.’
- (74) *Toma ni sa hise, bai tokematamonaka.*  
 toma ni saa hi-kose bahi  
 suck AUX.NFIN leave\_off OC-middle.M sun(M)  
 to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He left off sucking on him. The sun went down.’
- (75) *Bai toke, bai toke ya kamematamonane yaki me weye nari bani me weye nari.*  
 bahi to-ke bahi to-ke ya  
 sun(M) away-go.M sun(M) away-go.NOM.M ADJU  
 ka-ma-himata-mona-ne yaki me weye na-haari  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M toucan.sp(M) 3PL.O carry AUX-IP.E.M  
 bani me weye na-haari  
 animal(M) 3PL.O carry AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘Late in the day he came back, carrying toucans, carrying birds.’
- (76) *Hinaka yama nakora kaometemoneni.*  
 hinaka yama\_nakora kaho-hemete-mone-ni  
 3SG.POSS shaman’s\_stone(F) be\_tied-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘His shaman’s stone was tied up.’
- (77) *Bete nawahebona bai toke ene bete nawebona, yama weye tokasematamonaka ahi.*  
 bete na-waha-hibona bahi to-ke ehene bete  
 run AUX-change-INT.M sun(M) away-go.M because\_of.M run  
 na-waha-hibona yama weye to-ka-kosa-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-change-INT.M thing(F) carry CH-COMIT-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘Because it was late in the day, he ran, and he hit against the string.’

- (78) *Kiha na rama ahi.*  
 kiha na rama ahi  
 (sound\_of\_hitting) AUX.F unusual then  
 ‘There was the sound of him hitting, *kiha*.’
- (79) *Yebe tomata noko.*  
 yebe to-mata noko  
 shock CH-FP.N.M face.M  
 ‘He felt a shock in his head.’
- (80) *Iii, sonehimatamona ahi, hinaka, hinaka, yaki me mafo me me hirawa hinababani mati.*  
 iii sona-himata-mona ahi hinaka hinaka  
 (sound\_of\_falling) fall-FP.N.M-REP.M then 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS  
 yaki me mafo me me hi-rawa  
 toucan.sp(M) 3PL small\_ant(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-trim  
 hi-nahaba-haba-ni mati  
 OC-at\_night-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.O  
 ‘*Iii*, he fell down. The ants cut off the feathers of his toucans during the night.’<sup>4</sup>
- (81) *Bani me kasisi nemetemone ama ahi.*  
 bani me kasi-si na-hemete-mone ama ahi  
 animal(M) 3PL.S be\_bald-DUP AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC then  
 ‘The birds were without any feathers.’
- (82) *Me ka bani me hiti, noko mafo me si hinabematamona ama ahi.*  
 me ka bani me hiti noko mafo me sii  
 3PL POSS animal(M) 3PL.POSS owner(M) eye.M small\_ant(M) 3PL.S spray  
 hi-nahaba-himata-mona ama ahi  
 OC-at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC then  
 ‘The ants were spraying the eyes of the owner of the birds during the night.’

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<sup>4</sup>The sound word *iii* is interesting, because the event it represents doesn’t actually have a sound. We, too, do this in cartoons, for example when there is a sound effect for when a character has an idea.

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (83) *Me ebe toma na me ebe sa tosawemetemone fahi.*  
 me ebe toma na me ebe saa  
 3PL.POSS RECIP suck AUX.F 3PL.POSS RECIP leave\_off  
 to-kosa-waha-hemete-mone fahi  
 CH-middle-change-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘The younger brother was sucking on his older brother to cure him, and then he stopped sucking on him.’
- (84) *Aa, okoyo kakama reba toka nano.*  
 aa okoyo ka-ka-ma  
 (expression\_of\_displeasure) 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) DUP-come-back  
 ra-hiba to-ka na-no  
 NEG-FUT.M away-go.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M  
 “‘Oh no, my older brother went into the forest, and he has not come back.’”
- (85) *Okoyo owamakematibe.*  
 okoyo o-awa-make-mata-be  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) 1SG.S-see-following-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 “‘I will go look at my brother.’”
- (86) *Wami sari kane, wami sari kane me towakamakietemoneni.*  
 wami sari ka-ne wami sari ka-ne me  
 tree.sp(F) burn COMIT-AUX.M tree.sp(F) burn COMIT-AUX.M 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ka-maki-hemete-mone-ni  
 away-COMIT-go-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘He lit a resin torch. The two of them went.’
- (87) *Me towakamakia me ha kana, me towakamakiwaha, me ha tokanamakia me, Abe awa?*  
 me to-ka-ka-makia me haa ka-na me  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S call COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 to-ka-ka-maki-waha me haa  
 away-COMIT-go-following-change.F 3PL.S call  
 to-ka-na-makia me ahabe awa  
 away-COMIT-AUX-following.F 3PL.S die.M seem.M  
 ‘They went. They called. They went some more, and they called. “Did he die?”’

- (88) *Efe e kobo na.*  
 efe ee kobo na  
 this.M 1IN.S meet AUX.F  
 “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  
 “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  
 “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-back for\_now  
 “Right, we will go home for now.”
- (92) *Homi yabore ya me wete tokanamemetemone.*  
 homi yabo-re ya me wete  
 lie\_on\_ground.NFIN be\_far-NEG.NOM.M ADJU 3PL.S return  
 to-ka-na-ma-hemete-mone  
 away-COMIT-AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They turned back near where he was lying on the ground.’
- (93) *Me wete kanama me kakamemetemoneni.*  
 me wete ka-na-ma me  
 3PL.S return COMIT-AUX-back.F 3PL.S  
 ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They turned back. They came back.’
- (94) *Me kakama me, me kakamemetemoneke.*  
 me ka-ka-ma me me  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They came back.’

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (95) *Me kakama me, Faira te kobo ne?*  
 me ka-ka-ma me fahi-ra tee kobo ne  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S that-NPQ 2PL.S meet AUX.M  
 ‘They came back. “Well, did you meet up with him?”’
- (96) *Ota kobo rare.*  
 otaa kobo ra-hare  
 1EX.S meet NEG-IP.E.M  
 ‘‘We didn’t meet up with him.’’
- (97) *Hibaka toamata ota ati narene.*  
 hibaka to-ha-mata otaa ati na-hare-ne  
 where CH-be.NOM.M-FP.N.M 1EX.S say AUX-IP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘‘Where is he?’ we said.’’
- (98) *Ota wete kanama ota.*  
 otaa wete ka-na-ma otaa  
 1EX.S return COMIT-AUX-back.F 1EX.S  
 ‘‘We came back.’’
- (99) *Aware fawa na.*  
 awa-re fawa na  
 be\_seen-NEG.M disappear AUX.CONT.M  
 ‘‘He disappeared.’’
- (100) *Kamakiba awane amo ne ya.*  
 ka-maki-hiba awa-ne amo ne ya  
 come-following-FUT.M seem.M-BKG.M sleep AUX.NOM.M ADJU  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘We will get up early.’’
- (102) *Okoyo okoyo bosa okanabana o.*  
 okoyo okoyo bosa  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) get\_up\_early  
 o-ka-na-habana o  
 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-FUT.F 1SG.S  
 ‘‘I will get up early because of my older brother.’’

- (103) *Faya, me amo na me, me amo na faya me bosa kanemetemoneke fahi.*  
 faya me amo na me me amo na faya me bosa  
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX.F so 3PL.S get\_up\_early  
 ka-na-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They slept. They got up early.’
- (104) *Anoti tefebona weye kana, anoti tefebona weye kana nematamonane.*  
 anoti tefe-bona weye ka-na  
 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) food.M-INT.M carry COMIT-AUX.LIST  
 anoti tefe-bona weye ka-na  
 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) food.M-INT.M carry COMIT-AUX.LIST  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He carried food for his brother.’
- (105) *Me towakamakia me, me ka ayo homeno ya.*  
 me to-ka-ka-makia me me ka ayo  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.S 3PL POSS older\_brother(M)  
 homa-no ya  
 lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M-IP.N.M ADJU  
 ‘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(M) lie\_on\_ground-FP.N.M-REP.M there ADJU  
 ‘Their brother was lying there on the ground.’
- (107) *Noko hotiti kane mafo me ihi hinaka bani mati.*  
 noko hoti-ti kane mafo me ihi  
 eye.M have\_a\_hole-DUP MOOD.M small\_ant(M) 3PL.POSS because\_of.F  
 hinaka bani mati  
 3SG.POSS animal(M) 3PL  
 ‘His eyes were full of holes. His birds were there.’
- (108) *E me na me, e me na fawa na nanoho, me hikanawasimako.*  
 ee me na me ee me na fawa na  
 like\_this 3PL.S AUX.F 3PL.S like\_this 3PL.S AUX.F disappear AUX.CONT.M



soki na-ke me tiwa hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ne  
 tie\_up AUX-coming 3PL.S carry OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘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-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘They brought him back.’
- (115) *Me hekame me, me oi ni yana kana me, me hekamematamona.*  
 me hi-ka-ka-me me me ohi ni yana ka-na  
 3PL.S OC-COMIT-come-back.M 3PL 3PL.S cry AUX.NFIN start COMIT-AUX.F  
 me me hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona  
 3PL.POSS 3PL.S OC-COMIT-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘They brought him back. They started crying. They brought him back.’
- (116) *Me oi ni kakamakani.*  
 me ohi ni ka-ka-ma-kani  
 3PL.S cry AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back-MOOD.F  
 ‘The two of them came back crying.’
- (117) *Me oi ni kakama me, Me ati kakamaro ha.*  
 me ohi ni ka-ka-ma me me ati  
 3PL.S cry AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS voice  
 ka-ka-ma-haaro haa  
 COMIT-come-back-look.F DEM  
 ‘They came back crying. “That’s their voices as they are coming back.”’
- (118) *Era te kkatoma niso.*  
 era tee ka-katoma niso  
 1IN.O 2PL.S COMIT-look\_at younger\_brother  
 ‘‘Take care of us, younger brother.’’
- (119) *Waihina ora owa ni me ohi ni kakamineni.*  
 waa-hina o-ra owa ni me ohi ni  
 stand-can 1SG.S-NEG.F 1SG to 3PL.S cry AUX.NFIN  
 ka-ka-ma-ne-ni  
 COMIT-come-back-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I can’t stand well. They are coming to me crying.’’

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (120) *Owa owa ahi neno manako oha orani one, ehene ati kama.*  
 owa owa ahi na-hino manako o-ha  
 1SG.O 1SG.O mess\_with AUX-IP.N.M revenge 1SG.S-pay\_back.CONT.M  
 o-rani o-ne ehene ati ka-ma  
 1SG.S-? 1SG.S-say.M result\_of.M voice come-back.CONT.M  
 “I got revenge on the one who messed with me. Now they are coming  
 crying because of him.”
- (121) *Faya me, me ebe, me kafotomemetemone ahi.*  
 faya me me ebe me ka-foto-ma-hemete-mone ahi  
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.S COMIT-appear-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘Then they appeared.’
- (122) *Wanematamonaka awa ya awa baki ya, me soki hiseno.*  
 wana-himata-mona-ka awa ya awa  
 be\_attached-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M wood(F) ADJU wood(F)  
 baki ya me soki hi-kosa-hino  
 inside\_surface.F ADJU 3PL.S tie\_up OC-middle-IP.N.M  
 ‘He was attached to a pole. They had lashed him.’
- (123) *Hania e e owa e owa ee tiweheneni e ohi namatahi.*  
 Haania ee e\_owa e\_owa ee  
 Haania(M) 1IN brother\_in\_law brother\_in\_law (pause)  
 ti-ehene-ni ee ohi na-mata-hi  
 2SG.POSS-because\_of-IP.N.F 1IN.S cry AUX-short\_time-IMP.F  
 “Haania, brother-in-law, let’s cry because of what you did.”
- (124) *Te kamakikabote nahi.*  
 tee ka-maki-kabote na-hi  
 2PL.S come-following-quickly AUX-IMP.F  
 “Come back quickly.”
- (125) *Me nafi ohi nemetemone ahi Awita Faa yafi me tabiyo me ohi na mati.*  
 me nafi ohi na-hemete-mone ahi Awita\_Faa yafi me  
 3PL.POSS all cry AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then Awita\_Faa inhabitant\_of 3PL  
 tabiyo me ohi na mati  
 absence 3PL.S cry AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They all cried because they missed the man from Awita Fa.’<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>The *me* after *yafi* is a mistake.

- (126) *Me ohi na, me sa hisematamonaka.*  
 me ohi na me saa hi-kosa-himata-mona-ka  
 3PL.S cry AUX.F 3PL.S release OC-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They cried, and then they stopped crying because of him.’
- (127) *Me sa hise, Te eneni e ohi namatahi.*  
 me saa hi-kose tee ehene-ni ee ohi  
 3PL.S release OC-middle.M 2PL.POSS because\_of-IP.N.F 1IN.S cry  
 na-mata-hi  
 AUX-short\_time-IMP.F  
 ‘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-ra me owa ni ya me ati ama  
 stand-can 1SG.S-NEG.F 3PL 1SG to ADJU 3PL.POSS voice be  
 ‘‘I can’t stand well. They are coming to me crying.’’
- (129) *Te tokomakehi.*  
 tee to-ka-make-hi  
 2PL.S away-go-following-IMP.F  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘They cried.’
- (131) *Kaomemata awaka.*  
 ka-homa-himata awa-ka  
 COMIT-lie\_on\_ground-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘They carried him.’

*K Casting spells on each other*

- (133) *Me ohi na me, me tohiyabani mati.*  
 me ohi na me me to-hiya-haba-ni mati  
 3PL.S cry AUX.F 3PL.S 3PL.S CH-be\_different-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They cried. Then they changed.’
- (134) *Me kawitarisa nemetemone me ohi na mati.*  
 me ka-ita-risa na-hemete-mone me ohi na mati  
 3PL.S COMIT-sit-down.LIST AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S cry AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘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(M)  
 ‘One of them got a stomach ache.’
- (136) *Ohi me itima me kawitarisa nemetemone.*  
 ohi me iti-ma me ka-ita-risa  
 crying(F) 3PL.S pick\_up-back.F 3PL.S COMIT-sit-down.LIST  
 na-hemete-mone  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They started to cry again, and they were squatting.’
- (137) *Booo iyo ati nemetemone.*  
 booo iyo ati na-hemete-mone  
 (sound\_of\_fart) feces(F) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘Booo, went the sound of the fart.’
- (138) *Me ohi na me booo fara iyo ati totoa nemetemone ama ahi, mera ha niwabanihi.*  
 me ohi na me booo fara iyo ati to-to-ha  
 3PL.S cry AUX.F 3PL.S (sound\_of\_fart) same.F feces(F) voice DUP-CH-be  
 na-hemete-mone ama ahi mera haa niha-waha-haba-ni-hi  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC then 3PL.O laugh CAUS-change-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘As they were crying, the sound of the fart went, booo. It made them laugh.’
- (139) *Mera haha niwemetemoneni.*  
 mera haahaa niha-waha-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.O laugh CAUS-change-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘It made them laugh.’

# L Maiko

## Introduction

The story *Maiko* was told by Yowao in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-maiko2.mp3>.

Maiko was a powerful shaman, who was able to kill *maka* monsters. The *maka* monster was occupying Maiko's fishing place, so Maiko turned himself into a kingfisher and stabbed the monster. Maiko caught some fish, and came home.

Maiko's two nephews went out fishing, and they offered a large amount of cooked fish to Maiko. They thought they could embarrass him by offering him more than he could eat, but he ate it all. Then he got them back by cooking two batches of taro for them to eat, and they couldn't eat it all.

Maiko went fishing again, this time with his wife. As he was fishing, she went into the forest to defecate, and there she saw a dead deer. She told him about it, and after investigating, he concluded it had been killed by a *maka* monster. They decided to take the deer home to eat, but the monster held onto the deer, trying to keep Maiko from taking it. But they made it home with the deer, along with the fish that Maiko had caught.

Maiko cooked part of the deer and roasted another part, but they only ate the fish. The monster came to the village after the deer, along with its mate. Maiko gave the deer meat to them. When they refused to leave, Maiko called his familiar spirits to help him. But they were overpowered by the monster. So he took a brand from the fire, and put a spell on it, and threw it at the monsters. This killed the female monster, and her mate took her and went away.

## English translation

No one saw those people. They didn't see him. We used to hear the stories about him, Maiko. He killed *maka* 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 *maka* 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 [by the kingfisher’s beak].

*Toooooo* went the sound of the water. It was the sound of the monster. The sound of the monster’s fruits could be heard.<sup>1</sup>

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 to the village.

“My uncle has come back, carrying fish.”

“I speared a monster, Boyori [his wife]. 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.”

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<sup>1</sup>That is, the monster made a sound like the sound of many fruits falling in the water.

“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 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.<sup>2</sup>

“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*.<sup>3</sup>

“It is holding me back,” he said.

The monster 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,

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<sup>2</sup>The monster had taken the form of a bird.

<sup>3</sup>Maiko was in a sitting position, to stand up with the load, but the monster was holding onto the deer.

and brought the firewood back to the 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.

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 [as it swallowed].

"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.<sup>4</sup> 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.

“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.

“Female *tokowisa*<sup>5</sup> spirit, help me.”

The female *tokowisa* spirit filled her mouth with *kawaki* grass. She came down to earth dead.

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<sup>4</sup>If she ate the food of the familiar spirits, she would die.

<sup>5</sup>*Tokowisa* is a tree in the forest.

“I called her, but she is not going to help me.”

The female *tokowisa* spirit came down dead. He called others of his familiar spirits. He called his familiar spirits. Another female *tokowisa* spirit came down to earth, and spit *kawaki* grass juice out.

“Help me, Grandma.”

She spit it out. “You messed with the monster,” she said. The female *tokowisa* spirit 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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Ha me awabisaremete awaremata.*  
haa me awa-bisa-ra-hemete awa-ra-himata  
DEM 3PL.S be\_seen-also-NEG-FP.N.F be\_seen-NEG-FP.N.M  
'No one saw those people. They didn't see him.'
- (2) *Tamine ota mimita toabisemari amaka ahi Maiko.*  
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  
Maiko  
Maiko(M)  
'We used to hear the stories about him, Maiko.'
- (3) *Maka mera nanabi toematamonaha inawa.*  
maka mera na-naahabiha to-ha-himata-mona-ha inawa  
monster(M) 3PL.O DUP-kill CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP shaman(M)  
'He killed maka monsters, he was a shaman.'
- (4) *Maiko, Maiko yara me aa Maiko maka mera nanabi toematamona yama nakora khamako.*  
Maiko Maiko yara me aa Maiko maka mera  
Maiko(M) Maiko(M) Brazilian 3PL (pause) Maiko(M) monster(M) 3PL.O  
na-naahabiha to-ha-himata-mona yama\_nakora  
DUP-kill CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M shaman's\_stone(F)  
kiha-mako  
have-for\_this\_reason.M  
'Maiko killed monsters, because he had a shaman's stone.'
- (5) *Toke, toke fa koro nebonaha toke, maka waifino towasiwitibanoho.*  
to-ke to-ke faha koro na-hibona-ha  
away-go.M away-go.M water(F) throw\_something\_on AUX-INT.M-DUP  
to-ke maka waa-fi-hino  
away-go.M monster(M) stand-water-IP.N.M  
to-wasi-witi-hiba-no-ho  
away-find-out-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
'He went into the forest to fish. He went into the forest, and he came upon a monster standing in the shallow water.'

- (6) *Maka waifino towasiwiti, yama waifimetemone ama fa koho naro.*  
 maka waa-fi-hino to-wasi-witi yama  
 monster(M) stand-water-IP.N.M away-find-out.M monster(F)  
 waa-fi-mete-mone ama faha koho na-haaro  
 stand-water.NOM-FP.N.F-REP.F be water(F) hit AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘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.’
- (7) *Aa, oko fa koro onabone koho ne awa.*  
 aa o-ka faha koro  
 (expression\_of\_surprise) 1SG.POSS-POSS water(F) throw\_something\_on  
 o-na-habone koho ne awa  
 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F hit AUX.M seem.M  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘I’m going to spear it.’’
- (9) *Faya hiwa hiwa wati kane sina hisi nake tokakane ahi, maka fa koho ne wahi ni ya.*  
 faya hiwa hiwa wati ka-ne sina hisi  
 so 3SG.REFL.M 3SG.REFL.M plan\_against COMIT-AUX.M snuff(F) sniff  
 na-ke to-ka-kane ahi maka faha koho ne  
 AUX-coming away-go-MOOD.M there monster(M) water(F) hit AUX.M  
 waahi ni ya  
 stand.M to ADJU  
 ‘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 nemetemonehe, Maiko Maiko kamabano ya.*  
 koho hinaka faha moni  
 (sound\_of\_something\_hitting) 3SG.POSS water(F) make\_sound  
 na-hemete-mone-he Maiko Maiko ka-ma-ba-no  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP Maiko(M) Maiko(M) come-back.NOM.M-FUT-IP.N.M  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 ‘His water went, *koho*. Then Maiko came.’

- (11) *Kere, kere ati nematamonane kere ati hiri nari.*  
kere kere ati na-himata-mona-ne  
(call\_of\_kingfisher) (call\_of\_kingfisher) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
kere ati hiri na-haari  
kingfisher.sp(M) voice make AUX-IP.E.M  
“*Kere, kere,*” he said, imitating the call of a kingfisher.’
- (12) *Maka waifi rama faha ya.*  
maka waa-fi rama faha ya  
monster(M) stand-water.M unusual water(F) ADJU  
‘The monster was standing in the water.’
- (13) *Maka tonokowiti rama maka aahi nematamonaha.*  
maka to-noko-witi rama maka a-ahi  
monster(M) away-point-out.M unusual monster(M) DUP-work\_on  
na-himata-mona-ha  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
‘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(M) make\_sound CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘*Tiihiiii,* went the sound of the monster.’
- (15) *Toooooo fa moni nemetemone maka moni ahi.*  
toooooo faha moni na-hemete-mone  
(sound\_of\_explosion) water(F) make\_sound AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
maka moni ahi  
monster(M) sound then  
‘*Toooooo* went the sound of the water. It was the sound of the monster.’
- (16) *Maka ka awa boni moni kohokohori tokanemetemoneni.*  
maka ka awa boni moni koho-koho-ri  
monster(M) POSS tree(F) fruit.F sound DUP-hit-DISTR  
to-ka-na-hemete-mone-ni  
CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
‘The sound of the monster’s fruits could be heard.’

- (17) *Tasi towitikane ahi.*  
 tasi to-witi-kane ahi  
 emerge away-out-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He came out far away.’
- (18) *Kere, kere ati tokakane ahi.*  
 kere kere ati to-ka-kane ahi  
 (call\_of\_kingfisher) (call\_of\_kingfisher) voice away-go-MOOD.M then  
 ‘“Kere, kere.” He went away calling.’
- (19) *Towawamakane ahi.*  
 to-waa-waha-ma-kane ahi  
 away-stand-change-back-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He went around and sat down again.’
- (20) *Fa koro onabone koho neno otine o owatino.*  
 faha koro o-na-habone koho na-hino  
 water(F) throw\_something\_on 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F hit AUX-IP.N.M  
 o-ita-ne o owatino  
 1SG.S-pierce-CONT.F 1SG.S exclamation  
 ‘“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-mata-be  
 water(F) throw\_something\_on 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘“I will fish.”’
- (22) *Fa koro nawahe aba me tisa nawahebanoho.*  
 faha koro na-wahe aba me  
 water(F) throw\_something\_on AUX-change.M fish(M) 3PL.O  
 tisa na-waha-hiba-no-ho  
 shoot\_with\_arrow AUX-change-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘Then he fished. He speared fish.’
- (23) *Aba me tisa kane ahi maka iti ha.*  
 aba me tisa kane ahi maka iti  
 fish(M) 3PL.S shoot\_with\_arrow MOOD.M then monster(M) pierce.NFIN  
 haa  
 DEM  
 ‘He speared fish. He had speared the monster.’

- (24) *Aba me wiyebone kowe kame, kamematamonaka.*  
aba me wiye-bone kowe ka-me  
fish(M) 3PL.POSS container.F-INT.F weave.M come-back.M  
ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He weaved a basket to carry the fish in. He came back.'
- (25) *Kame, Okobise kame, aba me weye nari.*  
ka-me okobise ka-me aba me weye  
come-back.M 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) come-back.M fish(M) 3PL.O carry  
na-haari  
AUX-IP.E.M  
'He came back. "My uncle has come back, carrying fish."'
- (26) *Yama otini Boyori.*  
yama o-ita-ni Boyori  
monster(F) 1SG.S-pierce-BKG.F Boyori(F)  
"I speared a monster, Boyori."
- (27) *Fa koho nani ota abarani ati nematamona.*  
faha koho na-hani o-ita ahaba-hara-ni ati  
water(F) hit AUX-IP.N.F 1SG.S-pierce.F die-IP.E.F-BKG.F say  
na-himata-mona  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
'"It was hitting the water with a reed, and I speared it, and it died," he said.'
- (28) *Maka nabimatamonaka.*  
maka naahabiha-himata-mona-ka  
monster(M) kill-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He killed the monster.'
- (29) *Maka kaminamatamonane biti me ni ya.*  
maka kamina-ma-himata-mona-ne biti me ni  
monster(M) tell-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M 3SG.POSS.nephew(M) 3PL to  
ya  
ADJU  
'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(F) water(F) 2PL.S look\_at 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  
 “I speared it.”
- (32) *Ahabare, aba me me, tisa nabani mati.*  
 ahaba-hare aba me me tisa na-haba-ni mati  
 die-IP.E.M fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot\_with\_arrow AUX-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 “It died.” They speared fish.’
- (33) *Okobise tafitafi nofaraba nofare ama.*  
 okobise tafa-tafa nofa-raba nofa-re ama  
 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) DUP-eat recently-a\_bit recently-NEG.M SEC  
 “My uncle eats a lot.”<sup>6</sup>
- (34) *Okobise mari obe.*  
 okobise mari o-be  
 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) offer\_a\_feast\_to 1SG.S-IMMED.F  
 “I’m going to offer a feast to my uncle.”
- (35) *Aba kababaya.*  
 aba kaba-ba-ya  
 fish(M) eat-IMMED.M-now  
 “He will eat fish.”
- (36) *Batise batise mari nebona batise wati kane, batise mari nematamonaka fahi.*  
 batise batise mari na-hibona  
 3SG.POSS.uncle(M) 3SG.POSS.uncle(M) offer\_a\_feast\_to AUX-INT.M  
 batise wati ka-ne batise  
 3SG.POSS.uncle(M) go\_after COMIT-AUX.M 3SG.POSS.uncle(M)  
 mari na-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 offer\_a\_feast\_to AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He planned to offer a feast to his uncle. He offered a feast to his uncle.’

<sup>6</sup>The morpheme *nofa* ‘recently’ occurs twice in this verb. I have also seen this kind of repetition with *-ma* ‘back’ and with *-kosa* ‘middle’ (Vogel 2016: 132).

- (37) *Me mari hinematamonane me tafe siwa kanebonaha.*  
me mari hi-na-himata-mona-ne me tafe siwa  
3PL.S offer\_a\_feast\_to OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M 3PL.POSS food.F play  
ka-na-hibona-ha  
COMIT-AUX-INT.M-DUP  
'They gave him a feast. He ate all their food.'
- (38) *E tamara nabati totoka tera e nafira e nafiharo.*  
ee tama-ra nabati to-to-ka tee-ra ee  
1IN.S be\_many-NEG.F stomach DUP-away-go HAB-NEG.F 1IN.S  
nafi-ra ee nafi-haaro  
be\_big-NEG.F 1IN.S be\_big-IP.E.F  
'One person normally doesn't have such a big stomach.'
- (39) *Faya aba me me kawarikima me ha hine, Abise abise.*  
faya aba me me ka-waa-ri-kima me haa  
so fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-cook-raised\_surface-two.F 3PL.S call  
hi-ne abise abise  
OC-AUX.M uncle(M) uncle(M)  
'They cooked two pots of fish. They called him. "Uncle, uncle."'
- (40) *Hiii ati nematamonane.*  
ati na-himata-mona-ne  
say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
'"Yes?" he said.'
- (41) *Abise aba tikabebonaha.*  
abise aba ti-kaba-hibona-ha  
uncle(M) fish(M) 2SG.S-eat-INT.M-DUP  
'"Uncle, fish for you to eat."'
- (42) *Aba tikabebona homa hari.*  
aba ti-kaba-hibona homa haari  
fish(M) 2SG.S-eat-INT.M lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M that\_one.M  
'"There is fish for you to eat on a leaf there."'
- (43) *Ee, hiwa homa fahi.*  
ee hiwa homa fahi  
yes only.M lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M there  
'"Right, let it lie there."'

- (44) *Aawa oba.*  
a-awa o-ba  
DUP-see 1SG.S-FUT  
‘‘I will take a look at it.’’
- (45) *Faya aba me, aba me me sawa hina me, aba me kabi oharibanoho, tesene watarari.*  
faya aba me aba me me sawa hi-na me aba me  
so fish(M) 3PL fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S serve OC-AUX.F 3PL.O fish(M) 3PL.O  
kabi ohari-hiba-no-ho tesene wata-ra-haari  
eat.NFIN be\_alone-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP companion.M exist-NEG-IP.E.M  
‘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 fa.*  
aba me kabe sahari fawa-waha yiwa yoro na-haaro faa  
fish(M) 3PL.O eat.M broth drink-change.LIST pot(F) stand AUX-look.F that  
‘He ate the fish. He drank the broth, too. ‘‘There are the two empty pots.’’
- (47) *Okomi.*  
o-to-ka-mi  
1SG.S-away-go-back.NOM.F  
‘‘I’m going home.’’
- (48) *Hinaka aba me tone tokahomakosakani ahi.*  
hinaka aba me tone to-ka-homa-kosa-kani  
3SG.POSS fish(M) 3PL.POSS bone CH-COMIT-lie\_on\_ground-middle-MOOD.F  
ahi  
then  
‘There was a pile of bones from his fish on the leaf.’
- (49) *Tokomakane ahi.*  
to-ka-ma-kane ahi  
away-go-back-MOOD.M then  
‘He went home.’
- (50) *Tokome, towinamakane ahi.*  
to-ka-me to-wina-ma-kane ahi  
away-go-back.M away-lie\_in\_hammock-back-MOOD.M then  
‘He went home and lay in his hammock.’

- (51) *Otamara owa te mari na te.*  
 o-tama-ra owa tee mari na tee  
 1SG.S-be\_many-NEG.F 1SG.O 2PL.S offer\_a\_feast\_to AUX.F 2PL.S  
 “You made a feast for me by myself.”
- (52) *Owa nima te nibe.*  
 owa ni-ma tee na-be  
 1SG AUX.NOM-like 2PL.S AUX-IMMED.F  
 “Now I will do the same for you.”
- (53) *Owa nima te naba te.*  
 owa ni-ma tee na-haba tee  
 1SG AUX.NOM-like 2PL.S AUX-FUT.F 2PL.S  
 “You will be just like me.”
- (54) *Otamara owa te katoma te.*  
 o-tama-ra owa tee katoma tee  
 1SG.S-be\_many-NEG.F 1SG 2PL.S attack.F 2PL.S  
 “You attacked me when I was alone.”
- (55) *Tokomakane ahi.*  
 to-ka-ma-kane ahi  
 away-go-back-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He went home.’
- (56) *Towiname, me towakatasa me nowati ya nakarifa tonake, nakarifa tonake  
 nakarifa kakame yama ware, nakarifa ware, hisiri ya one kawitare  
 hikawarikimamake, aba me me tisa na me kamemetemoneni.*  
 to-wina-me me to-ka-ka-tasa me  
 away-lie\_in\_hammock-back.M 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-again.F 3PL.POSS  
 nowati ya nakarifa to-na-ke nakarifa to-na-ke  
 after ADJU taro.sp(F) away-CAUS-go.M taro.sp(F) away-CAUS-go.M  
 nakarifa ka-ka-me yama waa-re nakarifa  
 taro.sp(F) COMIT-come-back.M thing(F) cook-raised\_surface taro.sp(F)  
 waa-re hisiri ya one ka-ita-re  
 cook-raised\_surface basket(F) ADJU other.F COMIT-sit-raised\_surface  
 hi-ka-waa-ri-kima-make aba me me  
 OC-COMIT-cook-raised\_surface-two-following fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S



- (62) *Yama te kababone yoro karine ha.*  
 yama tee kaba-habone yoro ka-ri-ne haa  
 thing(F) 2PL.S eat-INT.F stand COMIT-raised\_surface-CONT.F 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(F) 2PL.S attack-FPL-NEG.IMP.F AUX  
 “Don’t criticize your wives.”
- (64) *Yamata yoro karine haro ati nematamonane.*  
 yamata yoro ka-ri-ne haaro ati  
 food(F) stand COMIT-raised\_surface-CONT.F that\_one.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 “There are two pots of food there,” he said.’
- (65) *Otamara owa te mari na te.*  
 o-tama-ra owa tee mari na tee  
 1SG.S-be\_many-NEG.F 1SG.O 2PL.S offer\_a\_feast\_to AUX.F 2PL.S  
 “You gave me a feast when I was alone.”
- (66) *Owa owa owa nima te nahi.*  
 owa owa owa ni-ma tee na-hi  
 1SG 1SG 1SG AUX.NOM-like 2PL.S AUX-IMP.F  
 “Now I have done the same to you.”
- (67) *Te tonafiyohi.*  
 tee to-na-fiyohi  
 2PL.S CH-CAUS-be\_all\_gone-IMP.F  
 “Eat it all.”
- (68) *Faya, nakarifa me, nakarifa me kabemetemone.*  
 faya nakarifa me nakarifa me kaba-hemete-mone  
 so taro.sp(F) 3PL taro.sp(F) 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘So they ate the taro.’
- (69) *Nakarifa me kaba me akarikimemetemone me ama fahi.*  
 nakarifa me kaba me akara-kima-hemete-mone me ama fahi  
 taro.sp(F) 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S be\_satiated-two-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S SEC then  
 ‘They ate the taro, and they were full.’

- (70) *Me nabati tokaremetemoneke fa mati fe me mari na mati.*  
 me nabati to-ka-ra-hemete-mone-ke faa mati fee me  
 3PL.POSS stomach away-go-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F that 3PL 3SG.O 3PL.S  
 mari na mati  
 offer\_a\_feast\_to AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘Their stomachs didn’t stretch, the ones who had given a feast to him.’
- (71) *Abise ota akarini.*  
 abise otaa akara-ni  
 uncle(M) 1EX.S be\_satiated-BKG.F  
 ‘‘Uncle, we are full.’’
- (72) *Nakarifa hasi nini.*  
 nakarifa hasi na-ni  
 taro.sp(F) be\_left AUX-BKG.F  
 ‘‘There is taro left over.’’
- (73) *Te kabamakebanani.*  
 tee kaba-maki-habana-ni  
 2PL.S eat-following-FUT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘You can eat more later.’’
- (74) *Te yoro kare mata.*  
 tee yoro ka-re mata  
 2PL.S put\_in\_place COMIT-raised\_surface for\_now  
 ‘‘Leave the two pots of food there for now.’’
- (75) *Nakarifa me yoro hikanare me hikabamakitasetemone fare ati nima.*  
 nakarifa me yoro hi-ka-na-re me  
 taro.sp(F) 3PL.S put\_in\_place OC-COMIT-AUX-raised\_surface 3PL.S  
 hi-kaba-maki-tasa-hemete-mone fare ati ni-ma  
 OC-eat-following-again-FP.N.F-REP.F same.M voice AUX.NOM-like  
 ‘They left the two pots of taro, and they ate more later, just as he had said.’
- (76) *Nakarifa me hikaba, me sa hinakosemetemone.*  
 nakarifa me hi-kaba me saa hi-na-kosa-hemete-mone  
 taro.sp(F) 3PL.S OC-eat.F 3PL.S leave\_off OC-AUX-middle-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They ate some taro, and left some.’

- (77) *Faya me, fa me ki na me, Maiko fati fame toke, tokatase, faya tokatasematamonane, tokatase fati famahari.*  
faya me faha me kii na me Maiko fati  
so 3PL water(F) 3PL.S look\_at AUX.F 3PL.S Maiko(M) 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
fame to-ke to-ka-tase faya  
be\_with.M away-go.M away-go-again.M so  
to-ka-tasa-himata-mona-ne to-ka-tase fati  
away-go-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M away-go-again.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
fama-haari  
be\_with-IP.E.M  
'They went fishing. Maiko went into the forest with his wife.'
- (78) *E fama.*  
ee fama  
1IN.S be\_two  
"Let's go together."
- (79) *Aba me, fa koro obe.*  
aba me faha koro o-be  
fish(M) 3PL water(F) throw\_something\_on 1SG.S-IMMED.F  
"I'm going to fish."
- (80) *Owa tekatomibe.*  
owa ti-ka-katoma-be  
1SG.O 2SG.S-COMIT-look\_at-IMMED.F  
"You watch me."
- (81) *Faya me towakemetemoneheni.*  
faya me to-ka-ka-hemete-mone-he-ni  
so 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP-BKG.F  
'So they went.'
- (82) *Me towaka me, Maiko fa koro ne wematamona amaka.*  
me to-ka-ka me Maiko faha koro  
3PL.S away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S Maiko(M) water(F) throw\_something\_on  
ne waa-himata-mona ama-ka  
AUX.M stand-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-DECL.M  
'The two of them went. Maiko was standing, fishing.'

- (83) *We, fati ati yana nemetemonehe.*  
 wee fati ati yana na-hemete-mone-he  
 stand.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) voice start AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘He was standing there, and his wife spoke.’
- (84) *Maiko Maiko.*  
 Maiko Maiko  
 Maiko(M) Maiko(M)  
 “Maiko, Maiko.”
- (85) *Haa? ati nematamonaka.*  
 haa ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 huh? say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “What?” he said.’
- (86) *Maiko mi nima oni ati nemetemonehe.*  
 Maiko mii nima o-ni ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 Maiko(M) defecate want 1SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 “Maiko, I need to defecate,” she said.’
- (87) *Mi tiwiti.*  
 mii ti-witi  
 defecate 2SG.S-out  
 “Go and defecate.”
- (88) *Fa koro osa o.*  
 faha koro o-saa o  
 water(F) throw 1SG.S-still 1SG.S  
 “I am continuing to fish.”
- (89) *Aba me tisa nematamonahane.*  
 aba me tisa na-himata-mona-ha-ne  
 fish(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_arrow AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP-BKG.M  
 ‘He speared fish.’
- (90) *Aba me tisa ne, fati mi nabone toka maka towasiwitiemetemoneke, makanoho ehene kawenoho.*  
 aba me tisa ne fati mii  
 fish(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_arrow AUX.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) defecate

na-habone to-ka maka to-wasi-witi-hemete-mone-ke  
AUX-INT.F away-go.F monster(M) away-find-out-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
maka-no-ho ehene ka-waa-hino-ho  
monster(M)-IP.N.M-DUP victim\_of.M COMIT-stand-IP.N.M-DUP

‘He was spearing fish. His wife went to defecate. She came upon the monster. She was standing with the kill of the monster without knowing it.’

- (91) *Maka yana ne tokematamona amane ahi.*

maka yana ne to-ka-himata-mona ama-ne ahi  
monster(M) start AUX.M away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M then  
‘The monster flew away.’

- (92) *Bato abowi home abowi kakatoma mi towitia kama, Maiko, Maiko bani bani abeno home ahi ati nemetemonehe.*

bato abohi home abohi ka-katoma  
deer(M) dead\_body lie\_on\_ground.M dead\_body COMIT-look\_at.F  
mii to-witia ka-ma Maiko Maiko bani  
defecate away-out.F come-back.F Maiko(M) Maiko(M) animal(M)  
bani ahaba-hino home ahi ati  
animal(M) die-IP.N.M lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M there say  
na-hemete-mone-he  
AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP

‘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.’

- (93) *Himata bani amara?*

himata bani ama-ra  
what animal(M) be-CQ.M  
“‘What animal is it?’”

- (94) *Bato amane.*

bato ama-ne  
deer(M) be-BKG.M  
“‘It’s a deer.’”

- (95) *Bato mawa amane ati nemetemonehe.*  
 bato\_mawa ama-ne ati na-hemete-mone-he  
 deer.sp(M) be-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘‘It’s a bato mawa deer,’’ she said.’
- (96) *Bato mawa home ahi.*  
 bato\_mawa home ahi  
 deer.sp(M) lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M there  
 ‘‘There is a bato mawa deer on the ground there.’’
- (97) *Hiba aawa oba.*  
 hiba a-awa o-ba  
 wait DUP-see 1SG.S-FUT  
 ‘‘Wait, I will take a look at it.’’
- (98) *Faya, aba sa kane aba tati ba naremake Okomini.*  
 faya aba saa ka-ne aba tati baa  
 so fish(M) shoot\_with\_arrow COMIT-AUX.M fish(M) head hit  
 na-re-make o-ka-ma-ni  
 AUX-raised\_surface-following 1SG.S-go-back-BKG.F  
 ‘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(M) 3PL.O put\_inside 2SG.S-AUX  
 ‘‘You put the fish in the basket.’’
- (100) *Banimona e towamibe.*  
 bani-mona ee to-awa-ma-be  
 animal(M)-REP.M 1IN.S away-see-back-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘Let’s go look at the animal.’’
- (101) *Banimona me towamabone me, me yana tokanemetemonehe.*  
 bani-mona me to-awa-ma-habone me me yana  
 animal(M)-REP.M 3PL.S away-see-back-INT.F 3PL 3PL.S start  
 to-ka-na-hemete-mone-he  
 CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘They were ready to go look at the animal.’

- (102) *Me yana tokana me towakamemetemone.*  
 me yana to-ka-na me to-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone  
 3PL.S start CH-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They were ready, and they went.’
- (103) *Me yana tokana me towakama me, Bani homa hari ati nemetemone.*  
 me yana to-ka-na me to-ka-ka-ma me  
 3PL.S start CH-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S  
 bani homa haari ati na-hemete-mone  
 animal(M) lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M that\_one.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘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(M) animal(M) lie\_on\_ground-look.M DEM  
 “Look, the animal is there on the ground.”
- (105) *Bani hine ya aweba ama nikani.*  
 bani hine ya awa-hiba ama na-kani  
 animal(M) only ADJU see-FUT.M be AUX-CNTRFACT  
 ‘He didn’t want to just look at the animal.’
- (106) *Maka ehene ki nematamona ahi.*  
 maka ehene kii na-himata-mona ahi  
 monster(M) victim\_of.M look\_at AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He looked at the kill of the monster.’
- (107) *Maka ehene ki ne, Bani e awareno abeno ama.*  
 maka ehene kii ne bani ee awa-ra-hino  
 monster(M) victim\_of.M look\_at AUX.M animal(M) 1IN.S see-NEG-IP.N.M  
 ahaba-hino ama  
 die-IP.N.M SEC  
 ‘He looked at the kill of the monster. “We don’t know how the animal  
 died.”’
- (108) *Kabehibana.*  
 kaba-hibana  
 be\_eaten-FUT.M  
 “It will be eaten.”

- (109) *Wete omataba.*  
 wete o-mata-ba  
 tie 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M  
 ‘‘I will tie it up.’’
- (110) *Mato tore nise bato wete nematamona ahi.*  
 mato tore na-rise bato wete na-himata-mona ahi  
 vine(F) pull AUX-down.M deer(M) tie AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He pulled down some vines, and tied up the deer.’
- (111) *Bato wete ne, bato wete nematamonane.*  
 bato wete ne bato wete na-himata-mona-ne  
 deer(M) tie AUX.M deer(M) tie AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He tied up the deer.’
- (112) *Bato wete ne, Maiko yama Maiko yama yana na ihi toa awine aya ati nemetemoneni.*  
 bato wete ne Maiko yama Maiko yama yana na  
 deer(M) tie AUX.M Maiko(M) thing(F) Maiko(M) thing(F) get\_up AUX.F  
 ihi to-ha awine aya ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
 victim\_of.F CH-be.F seem.F when say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘He tied up the deer. ‘‘Maiko, I think it was killed by the thing that flew away,’’ she said.’
- (113) *Fe ehene amarabana.*  
 fee ehene ama-ra-habana  
 3SG.POSS victim\_of.M be-NEG-FUT.F  
 ‘‘It was killed by it.’’
- (114) *Maka ehene toe awane.*  
 maka ehene to-he awa-ne  
 monster(M) victim\_of.M CH-be.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘It was killed by the monster.’’
- (115) *Maka ene toe awa, ba.*  
 maka ehene to-he awa hiba  
 monster(M) victim\_of.M CH-be.M seem.M wait  
 ‘‘It was killed by the monster.’’

- (116) *Efe ene toe awa, bato.*  
 efe ehene to-he awa bato  
 this.M victim\_of.M CH-be.M seem.M deer(M)  
 ‘‘The deer was killed by it.’’
- (117) *Tai tiama.*  
 tai ti-ha-ma  
 be\_ahead 2SG.S-AUX-back  
 ‘‘Go on ahead.’’
- (118) *Weye omataba.*  
 weye o-mata-ba  
 carry 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M  
 ‘‘I’m going to carry it.’’
- (119) *Bato weye namisebona bato bao kanematamona ahi bao bao bao bao bao*  
*bao.*  
 bato weye na-misa-hibona bato bao  
 deer(M) carry AUX-up-INT.M deer(M) come\_down  
 ka-na-himata-mona ahi bao  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then (sound\_of\_feet\_hitting\_ground)  
 bao bao  
 (sound\_of\_feet\_hitting\_ground) (sound\_of\_feet\_hitting\_ground)  
 bao bao  
 (sound\_of\_feet\_hitting\_ground) (sound\_of\_feet\_hitting\_ground)  
 bao  
 (sound\_of\_feet\_hitting\_ground)  
 ‘He hit his feet on the ground in order to lift the deer onto his back, *bao*,  
*bao bao*.’
- (120) *Owa tama kabana.*  
 owa tama ka-bana  
 1SG.O hold\_onto COMIT.M-FUT  
 ‘‘It is holding me back.’’
- (121) *Owa tama kabana ati nematamona ahi.*  
 owa tama ka-bana ati na-himata-mona ahi  
 1SG.O hold\_onto COMIT.M-FUT say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘‘It is holding me back,’’ he said.’

- (122) *Owa tama kabana ati nematamonane.*  
 owa tama ka-bana ati na-himata-mona-ne  
 1SG.O hold\_onto COMIT.M-FUT say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘It is holding me back,’’ he said.’
- (123) *Sa kabote nematamona ahi.*  
 saa kabote na-himata-mona ahi  
 release quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘It let go.’
- (124) *Maiko bato weye ne kamakimatamona amaka waha.*  
 Maiko bato weye ne ka-maki-himata-mona  
 Maiko(M) deer(M) carry AUX.M come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ama-ka waha  
 SEC-DECL.M now  
 ‘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(M) 3PL.O carry 2SG.S-COMIT-AUX  
 ‘‘You carry the fish.’’
- (126) *E towakamibe.*  
 ee to-ka-ka-ma-be  
 1IN.S away-COMIT-go-back-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘Let’s go.’’
- (127) *Me towakamawe yana tokana me kakamemetemoneni fare taboro ya.*  
 me to-ka-ka-ma-wee yana to-ka-na me  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-back-change.M start CH-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni fare taboro ya  
 COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F same.M place.M ADJU  
 ‘They were ready, and they came back to his village.’<sup>7</sup>
- (128) *Me kakama me, aba me me warememetemonehe.*  
 me ka-ka-ma me aba me me  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 waa-ri-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 cook-raised\_surface-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘They came back. They cooked the fish back in the village.’

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<sup>7</sup>The words *me towakamawe* are a false start.

- (129) *Aba me me kawaria me ni ya bato ihanati toematamonaka.*  
 aba me me ka-waa-ria me ni ya bato  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-cook-raised\_surface.F 3PL to ADJU deer(M)  
 iha-nati to-ha-himata-mona-ka  
 take\_in\_turn-only\_one CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘As they cooked the fish, he devoted himself to preparing the deer.’
- (130) *Bato tokehibona yifo tonake, yifo ti nakose yifo kakamematamona ahi.*  
 bato toka-hibona yifo to-na-ke yifo  
 deer(M) partially\_burn-INT.M firewood(F) away-CAUS-go.M firewood(F)  
 tii na-kose yifo ka-ka-ma-himata-mona  
 cut\_through AUX-middle.M firewood(F) COMIT-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘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 tokematamona ahi.*  
 yifo tafa na-me yifo afo ka-ne bato  
 firewood(F) split AUX-back.M firewood(F) light COMIT-AUX.M deer(M)  
 toka-himata-mona ahi  
 partially\_burn-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘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-waha-hemete-mone-ni  
 so slit OC-change-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘Then he cut it up.’<sup>8</sup>
- (133) *Tanebone yama hina, tabasi hinemetemoneke.*  
 tane-bone yama hi-na tabasi  
 roasting\_rack.F-INT.F make OC-AUX.F roast\_on\_rack  
 hi-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He made a roasting rack for it, and he roasted it.’

<sup>8</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.

- (134) *Aba me me aba me me kababismetemone ahi.*  
 aba me me aba me me kaba-bisa-hemete-mone ahi  
 fish(M) 3PL 3PL fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-also-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They only ate the fish.’
- (135) *Aba me me kabemetemoneke fa mati.*  
 aba me me kaba-hemete-mone-ke faa mati  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F that 3PL  
 ‘They ate the fish.’
- (136) *Maiko fati aba me kabemetemonehe.*  
 Maiko fati aba me kaba-hemete-mone-he  
 Maiko(M) 3SG.POSS.wife(F) fish(M) 3PL.O eat-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘Maiko’s wife ate fish.’
- (137) *Faya sina hisi ne amo ne amo nebona ni ya, hinamatewe oi ni yana nematamona amaka.*  
 faya sina hisi ne amo ne amo na-hibona ni ya  
 so snuff(F) sniff AUX.M sleep AUX.M sleep AUX-INT.M to ADJU  
 hinamatewe ohi ni yana na-himata-mona ama-ka  
 child(M) cry AUX.NFIN start AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-DECL.M  
 ‘He took snuff, and slept. When he was going to sleep, a child began to cry.’
- (138) *Hinamatewe oi ni kamakimatamona amane.*  
 hinamatewe ohi ni ka-maki-himata-mona ama-ne  
 child(M) cry AUX.NFIN come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘There was the sound of a child crying, coming toward the village.’
- (139) *One, one one hinamatewe ati nematamonaha.*  
 one one one hinamatewe  
 (sound\_of\_crying) (sound\_of\_crying) (sound\_of\_crying) child(M)  
 ati na-himata-mona-ha  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘“One, one, one,” the child said.’

- (140) *Aa, okanoti amo nibote re okanoti ohi ni nabane ati nematamonane, fati ati yana nabanihi.*

aa okanoti amo niha-bote  
(expression\_of\_displeasure) 1SG.POSS.grandson(M) sleep CAUS-quickly  
re okanoti ohi niha nahaba-ne ati  
NEG.M 1SG.POSS.grandson(M) cry CAUS at\_night.CONT.M-BKG.M say  
na-himata-mona-ne fati ati yana  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) voice start  
na-haba-ni-hi  
AUX-FUT.F-IP.N.F-DUP

“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 amani ati nemetemonehe.*

Maiko yama ihi ee ka-ka-ma ati  
Maiko(M) monster(F) victim\_of.F 1IN.S COMIT-come-back.F voice  
ama-ni ati na-hemete-mone-he  
be-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP

“Maiko, it is the voice of the monster, whose kill we brought back,” she said.’

- (142) *Efe ati ama nabana ati kane ahi.*

e-fe ati ama na-bana ati kane ahi  
this.M voice be AUX.M-FUT say MOOD.M then

“Yes, it is its voice,” he said.’

- (143) *Kamematamona.*

ka-ma-himata-mona  
come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M

‘He came.’<sup>9</sup>

- (144) *Kamaki nabematamona ahi.*

ka-maki nahaba-himata-mona ahi  
come-following at\_night-FP.N.M-REP.M then

‘It came.’

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<sup>9</sup>This is a false start.

- (145) *Aawa omataba.*  
a-awa o-mata-ba  
DUP-see 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M  
‘‘I will take a look at it.’’
- (146) *Aawa omatabaya ati nematamonaka.*  
a-awa o-mata-ba-ya ati na-himata-mona-ka  
DUP-see 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M-now say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘‘I will take a look at it,’’ he said.’
- (147) *Aawa hine nokobi tokanawawitekane ahi.*  
a-awa hi-ne nokobi  
DUP-see OC-AUX.M door(F)  
to-ka-na-waa-waha-wite-kane ahi  
away-COMIT-CAUS-stand-change-out-MOOD.M then  
‘He took a look at it. He opened the door.’
- (148) *Nokobi tokanawawawite, maka wamakematamona amane.*  
nokobi to-ka-na-waa-waha-wite maka  
door(F) away-COMIT-CAUS-stand-change-out monster(M)  
waa-make-himata-mona ama-ne  
stand-following-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
‘He opened the door. The monster had come and was standing on the plaza.’
- (149) *Maka ene, Maiko hekame wamake, hinaka bato bako haro kawita ne kawari nematamonane.*  
maka ehene Maiko hi-ka-ka-me  
monster(M) victim\_of.M Maiko(M) OC-COMIT-come-back.M  
waa-make hinaka bato bako haro ka-ita  
stand-following 3SG.POSS deer(M) chest.M be\_boiled.NFIN COMIT-sit.LIST  
ne ka-waa-ri na-himata-mona-ne  
AUX.M COMIT-be\_located-raised\_surface.LIST AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘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>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>The verb *kawita ne* is a false start.

- (150) *Faya faya, maka oi ni kakamakewematamona ama nokobi ya.*  
 faya faya maka ohi ni  
 so so monster(M) cry AUX.NFIN  
 ka-ka-make-waha-himata-mona ama nokobi ya  
 COMIT-come-following-change-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC door(F) ADJU  
 ‘The monster came crying to the door.’
- (151) *Tokiyomamakematamona Maiko ka yobe toro ya ahi, Maiko amo rebanoho.*  
 to-ka-yoma-make-himata-mona Maiko ka yobe  
 away-go-through-following-FP.N.M-REP.M Maiko(M) POSS house(M)  
 toro ya ahi Maiko amo ra-hiba-no-ho  
 inside.M ADJU then Maiko(M) sleep NEG-FUT.M-IP.N.M-M-DUP  
 ‘It went into Maiko’s house. Maiko didn’t sleep.’
- (152) *Amo onabone.*  
 amo o-na-habone  
 sleep 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F  
 ‘‘I want to sleep.’’
- (153) *Kabaraharani.*  
 kaba-ra-hara-ni  
 be\_eaten-NEG-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘No one ate it.’’
- (154) *Kawine ha, tabasi onaharo.*  
 ka-waa-ne haa tabasi o-na-haaro  
 COMIT-stand-CONT.F DEM roast\_on\_rack 1SG.S-AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘‘It is there on the rack, I roasted it.’’
- (155) *Baki haro kawitine ha.*  
 baki haro ka-ita-ne haa  
 chest.F be\_boiled.NFIN COMIT-sit-CONT.F DEM  
 ‘‘The ribs are in the pot there.’’
- (156) *Onatafamatabaya.*  
 o-na-tafa-mata-ba-ya  
 1SG.S-CAUS-eat-short\_time-IMMED.M-now  
 ‘‘I will give it food.’’

- (157) *Tokomabaya.*  
to-ka-ma-ba-ya  
away-go-back-IMMED.M-NOW  
‘‘I want it to go away.’’
- (158) *Maka natafematamona aya maka, me bani haro bato haro ya.*  
maka na-tafa-himata-mona aya maka me bani  
monster(M) CAUS-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M this monster(M) 3PL animal(M)  
haro bato haro ya  
be\_boiled.NFIN deer(M) be\_boiled.NFIN ADJU  
‘He gave food to the monster, cooked deer.’
- (159) *Hinatafematamona ahi.*  
hi-na-tafa-himata-mona ahi  
OC-CAUS-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He gave it food.’
- (160) *Hinatafe, hinatafe namiti moni saihimatamona ahi.*  
hi-na-tafe hi-na-tafe namiti moni sai-himata-mona ahi  
OC-CAUS-eat.M OC-CAUS-eat.M throat sound be\_heard-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He gave it food. The sound of its throat could be heard.’
- (161) *Maiko yama famarawa awineni.*  
Maiko yama fama-rawa awine-ni  
Maiko(M) monster(F) be\_two-FPL.F seem.F-BKG.F  
‘‘Maiko, there are two monsters.’’
- (162) *Me fama me awineni.*  
me fama me awine-ni  
3PL.S be\_two.F 3PL.S seem.F-BKG.F  
‘‘I guess there are two of them.’’
- (163) *Bani haro nakorokane ahi.*  
bani haro na-koro-kane ahi  
animal(M) be\_boiled.NFIN CAUS-be\_loose-MOOD.M then  
‘He put a spell on the cooked meat.’
- (164) *Sari hinafawawa hikane ahi.*  
sahari hi-na-fawa-waha hi-kane ahi  
broth OC-CAUS-drink-change.LIST OC-MOOD.M then  
‘He gave broth for it to drink, too.’

- (165) *Ma bani kai kawa na hari.*  
 hima bani kahi ka-waa na  
 let's\_go animal(M) be\_toasted.NFIN COMIT-stand.LIST AUX.CONT.M  
 haari  
 that\_one.M  
 ‘‘OK, there is roasted meat on the rack there, too.’’
- (166) *Bani okobarini.*  
 bani o-kaba-ra-ni  
 animal(M) 1SG.S-eat-NEG-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I didn’t eat the meat.’’
- (167) *Bani kai ta nematamona ahi.*  
 bani kahi taa na-himata-mona ahi  
 animal(M) be\_toasted.NFIN give AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘Then he gave it the roasted meat.’
- (168) *Bani kai ta ne ni ya, bani kai ta ne, bato kai kabematamona amane.*  
 bani kahi taa ne ni ya bani  
 animal(M) be\_toasted.NFIN give AUX.M to ADJU animal(M)  
 kahi taa ne bato kahi  
 be\_toasted.NFIN give AUX.M deer(M) be\_toasted.NFIN  
 kaba-himata-mona ama-ne  
 eat-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted deer meat.’
- (169) *Ino me hihiri toine maka ota nabibonaha.*  
 ino me hi-hiri to-ha-ne maka otaa  
 name.M 3PL.S DUP-say CH-AUX-CONT.F monster(M) 1EX.S  
 naahabiha-hibona-ha  
 kill-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘People talk about it, the monster that we can’t kill.’
- (170) *Bani kai ta ne bani kai kabe fati natafematamonane.*  
 bani kahi taa ne bani kahi kabe  
 animal(M) be\_toasted.NFIN give AUX.M animal(M) be\_toasted.NFIN eat.M  
 fati na-tafa-himata-mona-ne  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) CAUS-eat-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He gave the roasted meat to it, and it ate the roasted meat. It gave food to its mate.’

- (171) *Tafare tafare tafawematamonaka fari, fe kawahari.*  
 tafa-re tafa-re tafa-waha-himata-mona-ka faari fee  
 eat-NEG.M eat-NEG.M eat-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M that\_one.M 3SG.O  
 ka-waa-haari  
 COMIT-stand-IP.E.M  
 ‘It hadn’t eaten. Then it ate. It stayed with him.’
- (172) *Te towakama.*  
 tee to-ka-ka-ma  
 2PL.S away-COMIT-go-back  
 “‘You two go away.’”
- (173) *Tikama.*  
 ti-ka-ma  
 2SG.S-go-back  
 “‘Go away.’”
- (174) *Amo amo obana ama oni.*  
 amo amo o-bana ama o-ni  
 sleep sleep 1SG.S-FUT SEC 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “‘I am going to sleep.’”
- (175) *Tikamahi.*  
 ti-ka-ma-hi  
 2SG.S-go-back-IMP.F  
 “‘Go away.’”
- (176) *Faya tokomebona hiyoseme tokomematamona ama fe kawahi.*  
 faya to-ka-ma-hibona hi-yose-me  
 so away-go-back-INT.M OC-command-back.M  
 to-ka-ma-himata-mona ama fee ka-waahi  
 away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC 3SG.O COMIT-stand.M  
 ‘He told it to go away, but it didn’t go away. It stayed with him.’
- (177) *Faya Maiko tafe amo nebona fare aawa hine, Aa, owa kawebona ati ne awa.*  
 faya Maiko tafe amo na-hibona fare a-awa hi-ne  
 so Maiko(M) eat.M sleep AUX-INT.M same.M DUP-see OC-AUX.M



- (184) *Fati towake, toni me toni toni me ni ya fati towake fati Oka yibote te natafariya.*  
 fati to-ka-ke toni me  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) away-COMIT-go.M familiar\_spirit(M) 3PL  
 toni toni me ni ya fati  
 familiar\_spirit(M) familiar\_spirit(M) 3PL to ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
 to-ka-ke fati o-ka yibote tee  
 away-COMIT-go.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) 2PL.S  
 na-tafa-ra-yahi  
 CAUS-eat-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘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(F) eat-also-IP.E.F  
 “‘My wife has already eaten.’”
- (186) *Yama owa kawa owamamatibe.*  
 yama owa ka-waa o-awa-ma-mata-be  
 monster(F) 1SG.O COMIT-stand.F 1SG.S-see-back-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 “‘I’m going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me.’”
- (187) *Mera hima ne me mera ihebonaha.*  
 mera hima ne me mera iha-hibona-ha  
 3PL.O call\_to\_go AUX.M 3PL 3PL.O take\_in\_turn-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘He called them to go, but he went instead of them.’
- (188) *Yama owa kawa owamamatibeya.*  
 yama owa ka-waa  
 monster(F) 1SG.O COMIT-stand.F  
 o-awa-ma-mata-be-ya  
 1SG.S-see-back-short\_time-IMMED.F-now  
 “‘I’m going to go and take care of the monster that stayed with me.’”
- (189) *Tokomematamona ahi.*  
 to-ka-ma-himata-mona ahi  
 away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He went back.’

- (190) *Tokome fati tosawikosemetemoneheni.*  
to-ka-me           fati  
away-go-back.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
to-sawi-kosa-hemete-mone-he-ni  
CH-be\_present-middle-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP-BKG.F  
‘He went back, and his wife stayed behind.’
- (191) *Kamematamonane, toni me ya tabahari.*  
ka-ma-himata-mona-ne           toni                           me ya  
come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M familiar\_spirit(M) 3PL ADJU  
taba-haari  
be\_together-IP.E.M  
‘He came back with the familiar spirits.’
- (192) *Kimisamakane ahi.*  
ka-misa-ma-kane           ahi  
come-up-back-MOOD.M then  
‘He came up out of the ground.’
- (193) *Kimisame, yama aawa fare wairo kane ahi.*  
ka-misa-me           yama           a-awa           fare  
come-up-back.M monster(F) DUP-see.LIST same.M  
waa-ro                           kane           ahi  
stand-without\_stopping MOOD.M then  
‘He came up out of the ground, and he took a look. It was still there.’
- (194) *Yama wahara onara o.*  
yama           waa-hara   o-na-hara           o  
monster(F) stand-IP.E.F 1SG.S-say-IP.E.F 1SG.S  
‘‘There the monster is, I am telling you.’’
- (195) *Amo obana owa kawahara.*  
amo o-bana   owa ka-waa-hara  
sleep 1SG.S-FUT 1SG.O COMIT-stand-IP.E.F  
‘‘I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me.’’
- (196) *Amo obana owa kawane.*  
amo o-bana   owa ka-waa-ne  
sleep 1SG.S-FUT 1SG.O COMIT-stand.CONT.M-BKG.M  
‘‘I wanted to sleep, but it stayed with me.’’

- (197) *Yifo witi iti, yifo witi iti yifo witi nakoromatamona ahi.*  
 yifo\_witi iti            yifo\_witi iti            yifo\_witi  
 brand(F) take\_out.M brand(F) take\_out.M brand(F)  
 na-koro-himata-mona        ahi  
 CAUS-be\_loose-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He took a brand out of the fire, and put a spell on the brand.’
- (198) *Yifo nakoromatamona ahi.*  
 yifo            na-koro-himata-mona        ahi  
 firewood(F) CAUS-be\_loose-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He put a spell on the brand.’
- (199) *Yifo nakoro, hikinarebanoho.*  
 yifo            na-koro            hi-kina-re-hiba-no-ho  
 firewood(F) CAUS-be\_loose OC-hit-raised\_surface-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He put a spell on the brand. He threw the brand at it and hit it.’
- (200) *Te tai toama.*  
 tee tai            to-ha-ma  
 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
 ‘‘You go on ahead back.’’
- (201) *Owa te natoriya.*  
 owa tee nahato-ra-yahi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S occupy-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Don’t get in my way.’’
- (202) *Owa te natoriya.*  
 owa tee nahato-ra-yahi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S occupy-NEG-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Don’t get in my way.’’
- (203) *Te tai toama.*  
 tee tai            to-ha-ma  
 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
 ‘‘Go on ahead back.’’

- (204) *Me fawa na me nowati ya mera, hitehimatamona ahi.*  
me fawa na me nowati ya mera  
3PL.S disappear AUX.F 3PL.POSS after ADJU 3PL.O  
hi-ita-himata-mona ahi  
OC-pierce-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
'After they were gone, he speared it.'<sup>11</sup>
- (205) *Hikinarematamona yifo witi ya.*  
hi-kina-re-himata-mona yifo\_witi ya  
OC-hit-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M brand(F) ADJU  
'He hit it with the brand.'
- (206) *Koro tiihii moni tone rama ahi.*  
koro tiihii moni  
(sound\_of\_something\_being\_thrown) (sound\_of\_hitting) make\_sound  
to-ne rama ahi  
CH-AUX.M unusual then  
'Koro, tiihii, went the sound of it.'
- (207) *Yama yobe sari kaneba ama namatamona ahi.*  
yama yobe sari ka-na-hiba ama  
monster(F) house(M) burn COMIT-AUX-FUT.M be  
na-mata-mona ahi  
AUX.NOM.M-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
'The monster set the house on fire.'
- (208) *Towakamemata awaka ahi, Maiko hikinarehari.*  
to-ka-ka-ma-himata awa-ka ahi Maiko  
away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M then Maiko(M)  
hi-kina-re-haari  
OC-hit-raised\_surface-IP.E.M  
'It went away hurt, because Maiko had hit it with the brand.'
- (209) *Maiko hikinare, Kinarihina.*  
Maiko hi-kina-re kina-ri-hina  
Maiko(M) OC-hit-raised\_surface be\_hit-raised\_surface-IRR.M  
'Maiko hit it. "It was hit."'

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<sup>11</sup>The last clause is a false start, which is corrected in the next sentence.

- (210) *Amo onabone owa kawamako hine yokowaha, hinaka toni me hinaka toni me, hinaka toni me bao nabani mati.*  
 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  
 yoko-waha hinaka toni me  
 bring\_misfortune\_on-change.CONT.M 3SG.POSS familiar\_spirit(M) 3PL  
 hinaka toni me hinaka toni me  
 3SG.POSS familiar\_spirit(M) 3PL 3SG.POSS familiar\_spirit(M) 3PL.S  
 bao na-haba-ni mati  
 come\_down AUX-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 ‘‘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\_of\_spirits\_arriving sound\_of\_spirits\_dying  
 ‘*Baowa, barorere* (the spirits died as soon as they arrived).’
- (212) *Aa, aya.*  
 aa aya  
 aha here  
 ‘‘Oh, over here.’’
- (213) *Owa te kasomamatahi.*  
 owa tee ka-soma-mata-hi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT-help-short\_time-IMP.F  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘His voice could be heard as he called his familiar spirits.’
- (215) *Toni yokana me abowi babao nisakani maka ene.*  
 toni yokana me abohi ba-bao  
 familiar\_spirit(M) true 3PL.POSS dead\_body DUP-come\_down  
 na-risa-kani maka ehene  
 AUX-down-MOOD.F monster(M) because\_of.M  
 ‘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  
tree.sp(F) spirit female(F) 1SG.O 2SG.S-COMIT-help-short\_time-DUP  
“Female tokowisa spirit, help me.”
- (217) *Tokowisa abono fana, kawaki mo kananihi.*  
tokowisa abono fana kawaki moo ka-na-hani-hi  
tree.sp(F) spirit female(F) grass.sp(F) be\_full COMIT-AUX-IP.N.F-DUP  
‘The female tokowisa spirit filled her mouth with kawaki grass.’
- (218) *Tokowisa abono fana bao nake, abowi bao nisakani ahi.*  
tokowisa abono fana bao na-ke abohi  
tree.sp(F) spirit female(F) come\_down AUX-coming dead\_body  
bao na-risa-kani ahi  
come\_down AUX-down-MOOD.F then  
‘The female tokowisa spirit came down to earth dead.’
- (219) *Owa kasomaraba ha one okira.*  
owa ka-soma-ra-haba haa o-ne o-kira  
1SG.O COMIT-help-NEG-FUT.F call 1SG.S-CONT.F 1SG.S-MOOD.F  
“‘I called her, but she is not going to help me.’”
- (220) *Tokowisa abono fana bao nisa, toni mera ha ne, hiwa ha nawematamona.*  
tokowisa abono fana bao na-risa toni  
tree.sp(F) spirit female(F) come\_down AUX-down.F familiar\_spirit(M)  
mera haa ne hiwa haa na-waha-himata-mona  
3PL.O call AUX.M 3SG.REFL.M call AUX-change-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘The female tokowisa spirit came down dead. He called familiar spirits.  
He called others of his familiar spirits.’
- (221) *Hiwa ha ne, faya tokowisa abono fana bao namakia yama firo nemetemone ama fahi.*  
hiwa haa ne faya tokowisa abono fana bao  
3SG.REFL.M call AUX.M so tree.sp(F) spirit female(F) come\_down  
na-makia yama firo na-hemete-mone ama fahi  
AUX-following.F thing(F) spit AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC then  
‘He called his familiar spirits. Another female tokowisa spirit 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(F)  
 ‘‘Help me, Grandma.’’
- (223) *Yama firo nemetemone ahi.*  
 yama firo na-hemete-mone ahi  
 thing(F) spit AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘She spit it out.’
- (224) *Yama ai neno ati amane ati nemetemone ahi.*  
 yama ahi na-hino ati ama-ne ati na-hemete-mone  
 monster(F) mess\_with AUX-IP.N.M voice be-BKG.M say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘‘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  
 tree.sp(F) spirit female(F) grass.sp(F) spit AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC then  
 ‘The female tokowisa spirit spit out kawaki grass juice.’
- (226) *Hima amo obe.*  
 hima amo o-be  
 let’s\_go sleep 1SG.S-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘Come on, I’m going to sleep.’’
- (227) *Oko yibote otimamatibe.*  
 o-ka yibote o-iti-ma-mata-be  
 1SG.POSS-POSS wife(F) 1SG.S-take\_out-back-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘I’m going to go get my wife.’’
- (228) *Fati totima fati tonakamakane ahi.*  
 fati to-iti-ma fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) away-pick\_up-back.LIST 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
 to-na-ka-ma-kane ahi  
 away-CAUS-go-back-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He went and picked up his wife. He went after his wife.’

- (229) *Fati tonakame, fati tonakame fati kakamematamonane.*  
fati to-na-ka-me fati  
3SG.POSS.wife(F) away-CAUS-go-back.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
to-na-ka-me fati  
away-CAUS-go-back.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ne  
COMIT-come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
'He went after his wife. He brought his wife back.'
- (230) *Yifo tikahoma.*  
yifo ti-kaho-ma  
hammock(M) 2SG.S-tie-back  
'"Tie up the hammocks now that you are back."'
- (231) *Yifo tikahomahi.*  
yifo ti-kaho-ma-hi  
hammock(M) 2SG.S-tie-back-IMP.F  
'"Tie up the hammocks."'
- (232) *E amo kibe.*  
ee amo ka-be  
1IN.S sleep COMIT-IMMED.F  
'"Let's sleep."'
- (233) *Maiko tatama toaremata awaka winahari.*  
Maiko ta-tama to-ha-ra-himata awa-ka wina-haari  
Maiko(M) DUP-be\_many CH-AUX-NEG-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M live-IP.E.M  
'There were not many people living in Maiko's village.'
- (234) *Hine ya me one wiwina toemetemone me awineni.*  
hine ya me one wi-wina to-ha-hemete-mone me awine-ni  
only ADJU 3PL other.F DUP-live CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S seem.F-BKG.F  
'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  
'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  
 ‘He slept, and woke up.’
- (237) *Yama okinari.*  
 yama o-kina-ri  
 monster(F) 1SG.S-hit-raised\_surface.NOM  
 ‘‘I threw something at the monster and hit it.’’
- (238) *Ihi naro ha.*  
 ihi naa-haaro haa  
 result\_of.F exist-look.F DEM  
 ‘‘Look, there are the signs of it.’’
- (239) *Fati homa awine ahi.*  
 fati homa awine ahi  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) lie\_on\_ground.F seem.F there  
 ‘‘Its mate was there on the ground.’’
- (240) *Fati soni ama ahi.*  
 fati soni ama ahi  
 3SG.POSS.wife(F) fall.NOM.F be then  
 ‘‘Its mate fell on the ground.’’
- (241) *Fa fati towakame awa.*  
 faa fati to-ka-ka-me awa  
 that 3SG.POSS.wife(F) away-COMIT-go-back.M seem.M  
 ‘‘It took its mate away.’’
- (242) *Towakamematamonane.*  
 to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ne  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘It went away hurt.’
- (243) *Ene, ene ki hinematamonane, fare.*  
 ehene ehene kii hi-na-himata-mona-ne fare  
 result\_of.M result\_of.M look\_at OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M same.M  
 ‘He looked at the signs of it.’

- (244) *Yama wiso kane ahi.*  
 yama wiso kane ahi  
 thing(F) blow\_on MOOD.M then  
 ‘He blew on the place.’
- (245) *Yama wiso kane ahi.*  
 yama wiso kane ahi  
 thing(F) blow\_on MOOD.M then  
 ‘He blew on the place.’
- (246) *Mao wiso hine, faya wati kakitikane fahi.*  
 maho wiso hi-ne faya wati ka-iti-kane fahi  
 smell.M blow\_on OC-AUX.M so arrow(M) COMIT-pick\_up-MOOD.M then  
 ‘He blew to take away its smell. Then he got his bow and arrows.’
- (247) *Iita karama tina.*  
 i-ita karahama ti-na  
 DUP-stay only\_do 2SG.S-AUX  
 ‘‘You stay here.’’
- (248) *Owamakemataba.*  
 o-awa-make-mata-ba  
 1SG.S-see-following-short\_time-IMMED.M  
 ‘‘I’m going there to take a look at it.’’
- (249) *Aba sa okomatibe.*  
 aba saa o-ka-mata-be  
 fish(M) shoot\_with\_arrow 1SG.S-COMIT-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘I’m going to spear a fish.’’
- (250) *Faya tokomakematamona fahi, aba me sa nebanoho aba me kakamebanoho.*  
 faya to-ka-maki-himata-mona fahi aba me  
 so away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then fish(M) 3PL.O  
 saa na-hiba-no-ho aba me  
 shoot\_with\_arrow AUX-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP fish(M) 3PL.O  
 ka-ka-ma-hiba-no-ho  
 COMIT-come-back-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘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  
come-back-MOOD.M then fish(M) 3PL.O carry AUX-IP.E.M  
‘He came back carrying fish.’
- (252) *Maka me nabiha, maka mera nabi, faya banawemata awaka.*  
maka me naahabiha maka mera naahabi faya  
monster(M) 3PL.O kill.LIST monster(M) 3PL.O kill.M so  
bana-waha-himata awa-ka  
move\_away-change-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
‘He killed the monsters. Then he moved away.’
- (253) *Wiwina toemata awane maka me watari ya, maka mera nabiari.*  
wi-wina-waha to-ha-himata awa-ne maka me  
DUP-live-change CH-AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M monster(M) 3PL.S  
wata-ri ya maka mera naahabiha-haari  
exist-NEG.NOM.F ADJU monster(M) 3PL.O kill-IP.E.M  
‘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-CQ.M-FP.N.M-now  
‘Where did he go?’
- (255) *Tokemata awaka yama one ya towinawititi.*  
to-ka-himata awa-ka yama one ya  
away-go-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M place(F) other.F ADJU  
to-wina-witi-ti  
away-live-out-HAB.NOM  
‘He must have gone somewhere else. His descendents live there.’
- (256) *Me awemete me wina nawarineti.*  
me awa-hemete me wina na-wahare-ne-ti  
3PL.S be\_seen-FP.N.F 3PL.S live AUX-all\_over-CONT.F-HAB.NOM  
‘No one saw them. They live everywhere.’
- (257) *Taboro bote watemari amake.*  
taboro bote wate-mari ama-ke  
place.M old be\_located.NOM.M-FP.E.M be-DECL.F  
‘His old village was there.’

(258) *Hinaka yobe ewene waimari ama ahi.*

hinaka yobe ewene wai-mari ama ahi  
3SG.POSS house(M) wood.M stand.NOM-FP.E.M be there  
'The foundation poles of his house used to be there.'

(259) *Ino hiri ona one Maiko.*

ino hiri o-na o-ne Maiko  
name.M say.LIST 1SG.S-AUX.CONT.M 1SG.S-BKG.M Maiko(M)  
'I have said the name of Maiko.'

(260) *Maiko ka yobe ewene waimari hato Toto Boti amani.*

Maiko ka yobe ewene wai-mari hato  
Maiko(M) POSS house(M) wood.M stand.NOM-FP.E.M bamboo.sp(F)  
Toto\_Boti ama-ni  
Toto\_Boti(F) be-BKG.F

'The foundation poles of Maiko's house used to be there at Toto Boti.'<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>The name *Toto Boti* means 'stand of *toto* bamboo'. Yowao started to say *hato*, and immediately corrected it to *toto*, a different species of bamboo.

# M The Yimas

## Introduction

The story *The Yimas* was told by Yowao in 1993. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-theyimas.mp3>.

In the stories of the Jarawaras, their most traditional enemies were the Yimas. Tradition says that they were close neighbors of the Jarawaras. Today the Jarawaras identify the Yimas with the Jumas, a Tupi-Guarani speaking group that formerly inhabited an area between Lábrea and Humaitá. The identification seems dubious to me, since the Jumas never crossed the Purus. Also, in the stories, the Jarawaras and Yimas converse with each other, indicating they probably spoke closely related languages.

In this text, two encounters with the Yimas are narrated. The first involves Saba and his companions, who attacked a Yima village. In the second episode, a man leaves his parents alone in their village when the rest of the people go to another village for a feast. The couple are supposed to come to the feast later, but they are captured by Yimas and taken to the Yima village. Their son discovers what has happened, and he and his companions go to the Yima village to rescue their relatives. They succeed, and kill many Yimas in the attack.

## English 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, making many trips in and out. 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], and 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 couldn’t kill 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.

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," [he said to his wife]. "We are going on ahead," [he said to his father].

"Right, you go on ahead."

They went on ahead, to participate in the feast. 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 say 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 feast. They stopped the feast. 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 child’s 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, 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 feast.”

“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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Yima, yima mera wati kane, yima, yima mera wati kane, awani awa hoti ka me kaomate mera teo kane awani me awani me me teo kana awani me me warara natiemetemone, awani tosi mati.*

yima yima mera wati ka-ne yima yima  
 Yima(M) Yima(M) 3PL.O plan\_against COMIT-AUX.M Yima(M) Yima(M)  
 mera wati ka-ne awani awa hoti ka me  
 3PL.O plan\_against COMIT-AUX.M wasp(M) tree(F) hole.F LOC 3PL.S  
 ka-homa-tee mera teo ka-ne awani me awani  
 COMIT-lie\_on\_ground-HAB 3PL.O hit COMIT-AUX.M wasp(M) 3PL wasp(M)  
 me me teo ka-na awani me me wara-ra  
 3PL.O 3PL.S hit COMIT-AUX.F wasp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S grab-DUP  
 nahati-hemete-mone awani tosi mati  
 daytime-FP.N.F-REP.F wasp(M) wasp.sp(M) 3PL

'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) *Tosi me me teo kana tosi me me warara natiha me, awani me me tonafiyoha me, awani me me tonafiyoha me, awani haha awani me bara me me tohawawitetasawani me me mowa tasa me, awani me me nabitasetemoneni, yima me me mowa nabone mati.*

tosi me me teo ka-na tosi me me wara-ra  
 wasp.sp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S hit COMIT-AUX.F wasp.sp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S grab-DUP  
 nahatiha me awani me me to-na-fiyoha me  
 daytime.F 3PL.S wasp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S CH-CAUS-be\_all\_gone.F 3PL.S  
 awani me me to-na-fiyoha me awani haaha awani  
 wasp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S CH-CAUS-be\_all\_gone.F 3PL.S wasp(M) this.F wasp(M)  
 me bara me me to-ihawaha-wite-tasa awani  
 3PL other.F 3PL.O 3PL.S away-take\_in\_turn-change-out-again.F wasp(M)  
 me me mowataasa me awani me me  
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight again.F 3PL.S wasp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 naahabiha-tasahemete-mone-ni yima me me mowana-habone  
 kill-again-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX-INT.F  
 mati  
 3PL.S

‘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.’

- (3) *Yima me me mowana-bone awani me me nahabikimaha me, Yima me yima me ababana.*

yima me me mowana-habone awani me me  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX-INT.F wasp(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 naahabiha-kimaha me yima me yima me ahaba-habana  
 kill-two.F 3PL.S Yima(M) 3PL Yima(M) 3PL.S die-FUT.F

‘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-make-mata  
 3PL 1IN 3PL.O 1IN.S away-see-following-short\_time  
 “Let’s go see them.”

- (5) *Me ye hone, me ye honemetemoneke faa mati.*

me yehe hone me yehe  
 3PL.POSS hand weapon.F 3PL.POSS hand  
 honahemete-mone-ke faa mati  
 have\_something-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F that 3PL

‘They had weapons.’

- (6) *Ya hona me bokori nabisemetemoneni me ye hone.*  
 ya\_hona me bokori na-bisa-hemete-mone-ni me yehe  
 weapon(F) 3PL.S hold AUX-also-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL.POSS hand  
 hone  
 weapon.F  
 ‘They had weapons, their weapons.’
- (7) *Yima me me tonakamakia me, yima me me tonakamakia me, me me hikawemetemoneni, yobe wahi toro ya.*  
 yima me me to-na-ka-makia me yima me me  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S away-CAUS-go-following.F 3PL.S Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 to-na-ka-makia me me me  
 away-CAUS-go-following.F 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-waa-hemete-mone-ni yobe waahi toro ya  
 OC-COMIT-stand-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F house(M) stand.M inside.M ADJU  
 ‘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 kanematamona.*  
 yima me me hi-ka-waa me yima watami-hino kiya  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-COMIT-stand.F 3PL.O Yima(M) dream-IP.N.M yell  
 ka-na-himata-mona  
 COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘They waited for them. A Yima cried out when he was dreaming.’
- (9) *Kiya kane, yima watami kiya kane, owa tafihino, fati mowa ne fati kakiyomame me kiyomamemetemoneke.*  
 kiya ka-ne yima watami kiya ka-ne owa  
 yell COMMIT-AUX.M Yima(M) dream.M yell COMMIT-AUX.M other.M  
 tafi-hino fati mowa ne fati  
 buoy\_up-IP.N.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F) shake AUX.M 3SG.POSS.wife(F)  
 ka-ka-yoma-me me  
 COMMIT-come-through-back.M 3PL.S  
 ka-yoma-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 come-through-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘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 me yama  
 3PL.S come-through-back.F 3PL.S thing(F)  
 soki-mete-mone-ni  
 be\_dark.NOM-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They came out. It was dark.’
- (11) *Homakabote nematamonane yima me me bata hikana mati, yima fana so hinebanoho.*  
 homa-kabote na-himata-mona-ne yima me me  
 lie\_on\_ground-quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 bata hi-ka-na mati yima fana soo  
 surprise OC-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.O Yima(M) female(F) urinate\_on  
 hi-na-hiba-no-ho  
 OC-AUX-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘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 ati nene karimematamona yima fana so hinari.*  
 yima fana soo hi-ne ee ee  
 Yima(M) female(F) urinate\_on OC-AUX.M (expression\_of\_surprise) 1IN.S  
 ati na-hene karima-himata-mona yima fana soo  
 say AUX-IRR.F suffer\_from-FP.N.M-REP.M Yima(M) female(F) urinate\_on  
 hi-na-haari  
 OC-AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘She squatted, urinating on him.’
- (14) *Faya me tokiyomamemetemone.*  
 faya me to-ka-yoma-ma-hemete-mone  
 so 3PL.S away-go-through-back-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘Then they went back inside.’

(15) *Me tokiyomama me, yima me me, yima me me amo tonihamemetemoneni, yama we kamaki ya.*

me to-ka-yoma-ma me yima me me yima me me  
 3PL.S away-go-through-back.F 3PL.S Yima(M) 3PL 3PL Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 amo to-niha-ma-hemete-mone-ni yama wehe  
 sleep CH-CAUS-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F thing(F) light.F  
 ka-maki ya  
 come-following.NOM ADJU

‘They went back inside. They made the Yimas go back to sleep before dawn.’

(16) *Tokiyomamake yima me ye hone iso ne, yima me ye hone nawatawamematamona.*

to-ka-yoma-make yima me yehe hone iso  
 away-go-through-following Yima(M) 3PL.POSS hand weapon.F carry\_off  
 ne yima me yehe hone  
 AUX.M Yima(M) 3PL.POSS hand weapon.F  
 na-wata-waha-ma-himata-mona  
 CAUS-be\_located-change-back-FP.N.M-REP.M

‘He went inside. He carried away the weapons of the Yimas. He piled up the weapons of the Yimas.’

(17) *Yima me ye hone nawatawame, me one haha ne he one me, E tokomibeya me ati nemetemoneni, yima me me wati kana mati.*

yima me yehe hone na-wata-waha-me me  
 Yima(M) 3PL.POSS hand weapon.F CAUS-be\_located-change-back.M 3PL  
 one ha-haa ne hee one me ee to-ka-ma-be-ya  
 other.F DUP-call AUX.M 3SG other.F 3PL 1IN.S away-go-back-IMMED.F-now  
 me ati na-hemete-mone-ni yima me me wati  
 3PL.S say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S plan\_against  
 ka-na mati  
 COMMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S

‘He piled up the weapons of the Yimas. He called to the others. “Let’s go home,” they said. They were going to attack the Yimas.’<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The string *he one me* is a false start.

- (18) *Yima me me wati kana yima me me mowa nabone me... yima me me mowa nabone, ya hona iso ne yima me ye hone nawatawame.*  
yima me me wati ka-na yima me me  
Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S plan\_against COMIT-AUX.F Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
mowa na-habone me yima me me mowa na-habone ya\_hona  
fight AUX-INT.F 3PL Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX-INT.F weapon(F)  
iso ne yima me yehe hone  
carry\_off AUX.M Yima(M) 3PL.POSS hand weapon.F  
na-wata-waha-me  
CAUS-be\_located-change-back.M  
‘So that they could fight against the Yimas, he carried away the weapons,  
and piled them up at another place.’
- (19) *Iti.*  
iti  
grandfather(M)  
‘Grandpa.’
- (20) *Haa?*  
haa  
huh?  
‘What?’
- (21) *Yima me me mowa nawemetemoneheni.*  
yima me me mowa na-waha-hemete-mone-he-ni  
Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX-change-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP-BKG.F  
‘Then they fought against the Yimas.’
- (22) *Yima fati takoreno, itawematamonaka.*  
yima fati takora-hino  
Yima(M) 3SG.POSS.wife(F) be\_in\_hammock\_with-IP.N.M  
ita-waha-himata-mona-ka  
pierce-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘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-bone  
Yima(M) 2SG.O fight 1SG.S-INT.F  
‘“Yima, I am going to fight you.”’

- (24) *Tiwa mowa obonehe.*  
 tiwa mowa o-bone-he  
 2SG.O fight 1SG.S-INT.F-DUP  
 ‘‘I am going to fight you.’’
- (25) *Yima tafimatamona amane ahi.*  
 yima tafi-himata-mona ama-ne ahi  
 Yima(M) wake\_up-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M then  
 ‘The Yima woke up.’
- (26) *Yima tiwa mowa obonehe.*  
 yima tiwa mowa o-bone-he  
 Yima(M) 2SG.O fight 1SG.S-INT.F-DUP  
 ‘‘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(M) yell COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘*Tiihii*, the Yima cried out.’
- (28) *Me ye kawemetemone ahi.*  
 me yee ka-waha-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMMIT-change-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They yelled.’
- (29) *Me hiihii kana nemetemone.*  
 me hiihii ka-na na-hemete-mone  
 3PL.S yell\_hiihii COMMIT-AUX AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They yelled, ‘‘*Hiihii*.’’
- (30) *Yima mera katome moni saihimatamona ahi, yima me mowa nari.*  
 yima mera katome moni sai-himata-mona ahi yima me  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O attack.M sound be\_heard-FP.N.M-REP.M then Yima(M) 3PL.O  
 mowa na-haari  
 fight AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘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 nabiani.*  
 yima me mowa ne moni sai-himata-mona yima mera  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O fight AUX.M sound be\_heard-FP.N.M-REP.M Yima(M) 3PL.O  
 naahabiha-haari  
 kill-IP.E.M  
 ‘The sound of him fighting with Yimas could be heard, as he was killing  
 the Yimas.’
- (32) *Yima mera nabi me yima me me nabimetemoneke.*  
 yima mera naahabi me yima me me  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O kill.M 3PL Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 naahabiha-hemete-mone-ke  
 kill-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He was killing the Yimas. They were killing the Yimas.’
- (33) *Yima me me nabi me, me me me me were hinemetemone ahi.*  
 yima me me naahabiha me me me me me were  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S kill.F 3PL.S 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S throw  
 hi-na-hemete-mone ahi  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They were killing the Yimas. They were throwing them in a pile.’
- (34) *Yima fana, yima fana, yima fana me hinahabiha me, yima me me nabi  
 me me me ati yana tonemetemonehe.*  
 yima fana yima fana yima fana me  
 Yima(M) female(F) Yima(M) female(F) Yima(M) female(F) 3PL.S  
 hi-naahabiha me yima me me naahabiha me me me  
 OC-kill.F 3PL.O Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S kill.F 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.POSS  
 ati yana to-na-hemete-mone-he  
 voice start CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘They killed a Yima woman. They killed Yimas. They spoke.’<sup>2</sup>
- (35) *E tokoma.*  
 ee to-ka-ma  
 1IN.S away-go-back  
 ‘‘Let’s go home.’’

<sup>2</sup>Since the meaning was a single Yima woman, the verb should have been *nabia* as in the second clause, and in this case the *me* after the verb would refer to the subject.

- (36) *E tokomahi.*  
 ee to-ka-ma-hi  
 1IN.S away-go-back-IMP.F  
 “Let’s go.”
- (37) *Yima me one watara me awine.*  
 yima me one wata-ra me awine  
 Yima(M) 3PL other.F exist-NEG.F 3PL.S seem.F  
 “There aren’t any more Yimas.”
- (38) *Yama e siba nene ere.*  
 yama ee siba na-hene ere  
 thing(F) 1IN.S look\_for AUX-IRR.F 1IN.S  
 “Let’s not look anymore.”
- (39) *Me one winarini?*  
 me one wina-ra-ni  
 3PL other.F live-NEG-IP.N.F  
 “Aren’t there any others living here?”
- (40) *Me one winara me awineke.*  
 me one wina-ra me awine-ke  
 3PL other.F live-NEG.F 3PL.S seem.F-DECL.F  
 “Apparently there aren’t any others living here.”
- (41) *E tokomahi.*  
 ee to-ka-ma-hi  
 1IN.S away-go-back-IMP.F  
 “Let’s go home.”
- (42) *Ee.*  
 ee  
 yes  
 “Yes.”
- (43) *Faya me kamemetemone fahi.*  
 faya me ka-ma-hemete-mone fahi  
 so 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘So they came back.’

- (44) *Me kama me, me kamehemetemoneni.*  
 me ka-ma me me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They came back.’
- (45) *Me kama me hiyaramemetemonehe.*  
 me ka-ma me hiyara-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S speak-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘They came back. They talked back home.’
- (46) *Yima otara me waka nine, me mowa ni ini hiri ona mati.*  
 yima otara me waka na-ne me mowa ni ini hiri  
 Yima(M) 1EX.O 3PL.S kill AUX-CONT.F 3PL.O fight AUX.NFIN name.F say  
 o-na mati  
 1SG.S-AUX.F 3PL.POSS  
 ‘‘The Yimas couldn’t kill us, because I called the others to fight against them.’’
- (47) *Me abarake me nafi.*  
 me ahaba-hara-ke me nafi  
 3PL.S die-IP.E.F-DECL.F 3PL.POSS all  
 ‘‘They all died.’’
- (48) *Me ota nabiarani, Saba ati nematamona, hiyaramahari.*  
 me otaa naahabiha-hara-ni Saba ati na-himata-mona  
 3PL.O 1EX.S kill-IP.E.F-BKG.F Saba(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 hiyara-ma-haari  
 speak-back-IP.E.M  
 ‘‘We killed them,’’ Saba said back at the village.’
- (49) *Saba hiyara kaminame me hiyara me ati saihemetemone me ama.*  
 Saba hiyara kamina-me me hiyara me ati  
 Saba(M) story(F) tell-back.M 3PL.S speak.F 3PL.POSS voice  
 sai-hemete-mone me ama  
 be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.POSS SEC  
 ‘Saba told the news back home. They spoke, and their voices could be heard.’

- (50) *Me hiyara me me ati saia me, me banawemetemoneni.*  
 me hiyara me me ati saia me me  
 3PL.S speak.F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS voice be\_heard.F 3PL.POSS 3PL.S  
 bana-waha-hemete-mone-ni  
 move\_away-change-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They spoke, and their voices could be heard. Then they moved away to another place.’
- (51) *Me towinawawitiemetemoneke me ihi itiha mati.*  
 me to-wina-waha-witi-hemete-mone-ke me ihi  
 3PL.S away-live-change-out-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.POSS victim\_of.F  
 itiha mati  
 exist.F 3PL.POSS  
 ‘They went and lived somewhere else, because they had killed people.’
- (52) *Yima me me nonoki toemetemoneni.*  
 yima me me no-noki to-ha-hemete-mone-ni  
 Yima(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP-wait\_for CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They waited for the Yimas a long time.’
- (53) *Me, me mari nabone me, me mari nabone me ebe ha na me me ha hina me, Ee e mari naba ereni.*  
 me me mari na-habone me me mari na-habone me ebe haa  
 3PL 3PL.S feast AUX-INT.F 3PL 3PL.S feast AUX-INT.F 3PL.POSS RECIP call  
 na me me haa hi-na me ee ee mari na-haba  
 AUX.F 3PL.O 3PL.S call OC-AUX.F 3PL.O yes 1IN.S feast AUX-FUT.F  
 ere-ni  
 1IN.S-BKG.F  
 ‘They wanted to have a feast, so they invited each other. They invited the others. “Yes, we will have a feast.”’
- (54) *Me me ha hina me yana tonemetemone.*  
 me me haa hi-na me yana to-na-hemete-mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S call OC-AUX.F 3PL.S start CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They invited them, and they were ready.’
- (55) *Te tai toama.*  
 tee tai to-ha-ma  
 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
 ‘“You go on ahead.”’

- (56) *Ota tokomakeminaba ota.*  
 otaa to-ka-make-mina-haba otaa  
 1EX.S away-go-following-morning-FUT.F 1EX.S  
 “We will follow tomorrow.”
- (57) *Faya, me yana tonamina, Abi tiwitibana?*  
 faya me yana to-na-mina abi ti-ita-bana  
 so 3PL.S start CH-AUX-morning.F father(M) 2SG.S-stay.F-FUT  
 ‘The next day they were ready to leave. “Father, are you going to stay here?”’
- (58) *Okomakeba owa awine o.*  
 o-ka-make-haba owa awine o  
 1SG.S-go-following-FUT.F 1SG.S seem.F 1SG.S  
 “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  
 “I will come after you.”
- (60) *Kamakikabote tinahi.*  
 ka-maki-kabote ti-na-hi  
 come-following-quickly 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 “Come quickly.”
- (61) *E totabamakibeya.*  
 ee to-taba-maki-be-ya  
 1IN.S away-be\_together-following-IMMED.F-now  
 “Let’s go there together.”
- (62) *Okomakeba owa awine o.*  
 o-ka-make-haba owa awine o  
 1SG.S-go-following-FUT.F 1SG.S seem.F 1SG.S  
 “I will go.”
- (63) *Yifo tikatisahi.*  
 yifo ti-ka-tisa-hi  
 hammock(M) 2SG.S-COMIT-undo-IMP.F  
 “Take down the hammock.”

- (64) *Era me hima ni.*  
 era me hima ni  
 1IN.O 3PL.S call\_to\_go BKG.F  
 ‘‘They called us to go.’’
- (65) *Ota tai toamakiba.*  
 otaa tai to-ha-maki-baha  
 1EX.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-following-before  
 ‘‘We are going on ahead.’’
- (66) *Ee te tai toamake.*  
 ee tee tai to-ha-make  
 yes 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-following  
 ‘‘Right, you go on ahead.’’
- (67) *Me tai toamakemetemone me mari nabone mati.*  
 me tai to-ha-make-hemete-mone me mari na-habone  
 3PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S feast AUX-INT.F  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 ‘They went on ahead, to participate in the feast.’
- (68) *Me ka abi kamaki, me ka abi kamaki, me ka abi kamakimatamonaka.*  
 me ka abi ka-maki me ka abi  
 3PL POSS father(M) come-following.M 3PL POSS father(M)  
 ka-maki me ka abi  
 come-following.M 3PL POSS father(M)  
 ka-maki-himata-mona-ka  
 come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘Their father came afterwards.’
- (69) *Me ka abi yotohimatamonane.*  
 me ka abi yoto-himata-mona-ne  
 3PL POSS father(M) follow-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘Their father came behind.’

- (70) *Me tai toamake hibati me kobo tonamakemetemoneke faro, me ka abi tabiyo me awabani mati.*  
 me tai to-ha-make hibati me kobo  
 3PL.S be\_ ahead CH-AUX-following right\_away 3PL.S arrive  
 to-na-make-hemete-mone-ke faaro me ka abi  
 away-AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F that.F 3PL POSS father(M)  
 tabiyo me awa-haba-ni mati  
 absence 3PL.S feel-FUT.F-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They went ahead. Soon they arrived. Then they missed their father.’
- (71) *Bai yabomako kama namata bati tabiyo.*  
 bahi yabo-mako ka-ma na-mata  
 sun(M) be\_far-for\_this\_reason.M come-back.CONT.M AUX.NOM.M-FP.N.M  
 bati tabiyo  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) absence  
 ‘It was late in the day, so he came back looking for his father.’
- (72) *Okobi kamakibona kakamaki ra.*  
 okobi ka-maki-hibona ka-ka-maki  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) come-following-INT.M DUP-come-following  
 ra  
 NEG.CONT.M  
 ‘‘My father was going to come, but he didn’t come.’’
- (73) *Abi kamakibona ati nano?*  
 abi ka-maki-hibona ati na-no  
 2SG.POSS.father(M) come-following-INT.M say AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M  
 ‘‘Did your father said he would come?’’
- (74) *Ee, okobi kamakibona kamakira.*  
 ee okobi ka-maki-hibona  
 yes 1SG.POSS.father(M) come-following-INT.M  
 ka-maki-ra  
 come-following-NEG.CONT.M  
 ‘‘Yes, my father was going to come, but he hasn’t come.’’
- (75) *Totowama tinaho.*  
 to-to-awa-ma ti-na-ho  
 DUP-away-see-back 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.M  
 ‘‘Go back to see him.’’

- (76) *Okobi totowama omatibe.*  
 okobi to-to-awa-ma o-mata-be  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-away-see-back 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 ‘‘I will go back to see my father.’’
- (77) *Fa moni nafike hiba.*  
 faha moni nafi-ke hiba  
 water(F) sound be\_big-DECL.F wait  
 ‘The sound of the rain is loud, wait.’
- (78) *Kamematamonaka, bati nakamari.*  
 ka-ma-himata-mona-ka bati  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 na-ka-ma-haari  
 CAUS-come-back-IP.E.M  
 ‘He came back after his father.’
- (79) *Bati nakame kamematamonaka.*  
 bati na-ka-me ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) CAUS-come-back.M come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He came back after his father.’
- (80) *Me anoti kakosematamonane.*  
 me anoti ka-kana-kosa-himata-mona-ne  
 3PL 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) COMIT-leave-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He left his older brother behind.’
- (81) *Kamematamona, bati yima me wete hinenoho.*  
 ka-ma-himata-mona bati yima me wete  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M 3SG.POSS.father(M) Yima(M) 3PL.S tie  
 hi-na-hino-ho  
 OC-AUX-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He came back. The Yimas had tied his father up.’
- (82) *Bati yima me wete hineno, bati ene wasimematamonaka.*  
 bati yima me wete hi-na-hino bati  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) Yima(M) 3PL.S tie OC-AUX-IP.N.M 3SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ehene wasi-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 result\_of.M find-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The Yimas had tied up his father, and he came upon the signs of violence.’

- (83) *Bati ene wasime Okobi me inamati watani awineke.*  
 bati ehene wasi-me okobi me\_inamati  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) result\_of.M find-back.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) people(F)  
 wata-hani awine-ke  
 catch-IP.N.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He came upon the signs of violence. “Someone has caught my father.”’
- (84) *Okomi okobi ene nari ha.*  
 okomi okobi ehene naa-haari haa  
 1SG.POSS.mother(F) 1SG.POSS.father(M) result\_of.M exist-look.M DEM  
 “‘There are signs of my father.’”
- (85) *E namako kamakira nano.*  
 ee na-mako ka-maki-ra  
 be\_similar AUX-for\_this\_reason.M come-following-NEG.CONT.M  
 na-no  
 AUX.NOM.M-IP.N.M  
 “‘So that’s why he didn’t come.’”
- (86) *Okobi me inamati, wete nani i ama ha.*  
 o-ka abi me\_inamati wete na-hani ihi ama haa  
 1SG.POSS-POSS father(M) people(F) tie AUX-IP.N.F result\_of.F be DEM  
 “‘There are signs of someone having tied up my father.’”
- (87) *Me namoni okomamatibe.*  
 me namoni o-ka-ma-mata-be  
 3PL.POSS report 1SG.S-go-back-short\_time-IMMED.F  
 “‘I’m going back to tell the others about them.’”
- (88) *Kana ni tokomematamonaka.*  
 kana ni to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went running back.’
- (89) *Kana ni tokome, Ayo okobi e namako okobi kamakirenoho.*  
 kana ni to-ka-me ayo okobi  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go-back.M older\_brother(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 ee na-mako okobi  
 be\_similar AUX-for\_this\_reason.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)

ka-maki-ra-hino-ho

come-following-NEG-IP.N.M-DUP

‘He went running back. “Brother, this is why my father didn’t come.”’

- (90) *Okobi me inamati hekameinoho.*

okobi me\_inamati hi-ka-ka-ma-hino-ho

1SG.POSS.father(M) people(F) OC-COMIT-go-back-IP.N.M-DUP

“Someone took my father away.”

- (91) *Okobi e towamamatahi ati nematamonane.*

okobi ee to-awa-ma-mata-hi ati

1SG.POSS.father(M) 1IN.S away-see-back-short\_time-IMP.F say

na-himata-mona-ne

AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M

“Let’s go back and look at my father,” he said.’

- (92) *Ee okobi me inamati towakama me awineke.*

ee okobi me\_inamati to-ka-ka-ma me

yes 1SG.POSS.father(M) spirits(F) away-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S

awine-ke

seem.F-DECL.F

“Right, someone has taken away my father.”

- (93) *Me one hima nematamona fara marina me itiha mati.*

me one hima na-himata-mona fara marina me itiha

3PL other.F call\_to\_go AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M same.F feast(F) 3PL.S begin.F

mati

3PL.S

‘He called the others to go, who were sponsoring the feast.’

- (94) *Me me mari namataremetemonehe.*

me me mari na-mata-ra-hemetemone-he

3PL 3PL.S feast AUX-short\_time-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP

‘They stopped the feast.’

- (95) *Me kama me, me kama me ihi me wasima me, yama me siba nemetemone.*

me ka-ma me me ka-ma me ihi me

3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.POSS result\_of.F 3PL.S

wasi-ma me yama me siba na-hemete-mone  
 find-back.F 3PL.POSS thing(F) 3PL.S look\_for AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They came back. They came upon the signs of them. They looked  
 around.’

- (96) *Yama me siba na me, Okobi me inamati hekameno awaka.*  
 yama me siba na me okobi me\_inamati  
 thing(F) 3PL.S look\_for AUX.F 3PL.S 1SG.POSS.father(M) people(F)  
 hi-ka-ka-ma-hino awa-ka  
 OC-COMIT-go-back-IP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They looked around. “Someone took away my father.”’

- (97) *Me hawi tokomaro ha.*  
 me hawi to-ka-ma-haaro haa  
 3PL.POSS trail.F away-go-back-look.F DEM  
 ‘‘There is their trail going that way.’’

- (98) *Me e towamakemata.*  
 me ee to-awa-make-mata  
 3PL.O 1IN.S away-see-following-short\_time  
 ‘‘Let’s go look at them.’’

- (99) *Tokomakematamonaka.*  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went.’

- (100) *Tokomake me tokomaketemone.*  
 to-ka-make me to-ka-make-hemete-mone  
 away-go-following 3PL.S away-go-following-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘He went. They went.’

- (101) *Wati hinama me ye hone tohemetemone ama ahi.*  
 wati hinama me yehe hone to-ha-hemete-mone ama  
 arrow(M) all 3PL.POSS hand weapon.F CH-be-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘Their weapons were all arrows.’

- (102) *Tokomakematamona ahi.*  
to-ka-make-himata-mona            ahi  
away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
‘He went there.’
- (103) *Tokomake, me ihi me hikiyoemetemoneni, me hawi.*  
to-ka-make            me            ihi            me  
away-go-following 3PL.POSS result\_of.F 3PL.S  
hi-kiyo-hemete-mone-ni    me            hawi  
OC-chase-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL.POSS trail.F  
‘He went. They followed their trail.’
- (104) *Me hawi me hikiyoha me me me hinakamakiemetemoneni.*  
me            hawi me hi-kiyoha me            me me  
3PL.POSS trail.F 3PL.S OC-follow.F 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S  
hi-na-ka-maki-hemete-mone-ni  
OC-CAUS-go-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
‘They followed their trail. They went after them.’
- (105) *Me me hinakamakia me, me ati me himitamakiemetemoneni me, me  
hiyara mati.*  
me me hi-na-ka-makia            me me            ati me  
3PL.O 3PL.S OC-CAUS-go-following.F 3PL.O 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S  
hi-mita-maki-hemete-mone-ni            me me            hiyara mati  
OC-hear-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL 3PL.S speak.F 3PL.S  
‘They went after them. They heard their voices as they were talking.’
- (106) *Faya me ma tonamakemetemoneke fahi.*  
faya me    maa to-na-make-hemete-mone-ke            fahi  
so    3PL.S stop away-AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
‘Then they stopped.’
- (107) *Faya yima kamematamona amaka me nao me tonomakia me nokosi ya.*  
faya yima    ka-ma-himata-mona    ama-ka    me    naho me  
so    Yima(M) come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-DECL.M 3PL.S stand 3PL.S  
to-naho-makia            me            nokosi    ya  
away-stand-following.F 3PL.POSS in\_front\_of ADJU  
‘A Yima man came right facing where they were standing.’<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>The verb *me nao* is a false start.

- (108) *Kifewame, kifewamematamonane.*  
 ka-fe-waha-me  
 come-water-change-back.M  
 ka-fe-waha-ma-himata-mona-ne  
 come-water-change-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He came to the water.’
- (109) *Kifewame, kanatafo katise tokifiwawiti, iyawa itimatamonaha.*  
 ka-fe-waha-me                      kanatafo              ka-tise  
 come-water-change-back.M breechcloth(F) COMMIT-undo.M  
 to-ka-fi-waha-witi                      iyawa  
 away-go-water-change-out.M grated\_mash(F)  
 iti-himata-mona-ha  
 take\_out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘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 kimisame iyawa towakematamona ahi.*  
 iyawa                      iti                      iyawa                      tiwa ni  
 grated\_mash(F) take\_out.M grated\_mash(F) carry AUX.NFIN  
 ka-misa-me              iyawa                      to-ka-ka-himata-mona              ahi  
 come-up-back.M grated\_mash(F) away-COMIT-go-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘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-wite-himata-mona-ka  
 grated\_mash(F) away-CAUS-stand-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He set the basket of manioc mash down.’
- (112) *Iyawa tonawawite, iyawa hokowabone ra tonawawitematamonane, hehe  
 me hekame kakawibonaha.*  
 iyawa                      to-na-waa-wite                      iyawa  
 grated\_mash(F) away-CAUS-stand-out grated\_mash(F)  
 hoko-waha-habone ra to-na-waa-wite-himata-mona-ne  
 be\_dry-change-INT.F O away-CAUS-stand-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 hehe              me              hi-ka-ka-me                      kakawi-bona-ha  
 this\_one.M 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back.M starch-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘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 tokome nowati ya me tokomaketemoneke.*  
 faya faya afi ne afi ne hawa to-he  
 so so bathe AUX.M bathe AUX.M be\_finished CH-AUX.M  
 to-ka-me nowati ya me  
 away-go-back.M behind ADJU 3PL.S  
 to-ka-make-hemete-mone-ke  
 away-go-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He bathed. He finished bathing. He went, and they went behind him.’
- (114) *Tokomakematamonaha.*  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona-ha  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘He followed.’
- (115) *Tokomake kori kasematamona.*  
 to-ka-make kori ka-kosa-himata-mona  
 away-go-following be\_afraid COMMIT-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He followed. He wasn’t afraid.’
- (116) *Tokomake, me one tokobasawawitemetemone ai yobe bari ya.*  
 to-ka-make me one to-ka-basa-waha-wite-hemete-mone  
 away-go-following 3PL other.F away-go-edge-change-out-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ahi yobe bari ya  
 there house(M) outer\_surface ADJU  
 ‘He followed. The others surrounded the longhouse.’
- (117) *Me towakiyomamakiemetemoneni.*  
 me to-ka-ka-yoma-maki-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S away-COMIT-go-through-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘Two of them went in.’
- (118) *Inamate ohi nematamona amane nisorinoho.*  
 inamate ohi na-himata-mona ama-ne  
 child(M) cry AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 nisori-no-ho  
 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M)-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘A child cried. It was his younger brother.’

- (119) *Okobi e raya? ati nematamona.*  
 okobi ee ra-ya ati na-himata-mona  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) (question) CQ.M-NOW say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 “‘Where is my father?’ he said.’”
- (120) *Okobi okobi te kakameno onakamakine o.*  
 okobi okobi tee ka-ka-ma-hino  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) 2PL.S COMIT-come-back-IP.N.M  
 o-na-ka-maki-ne o  
 1SG.S-CAUS-come-following-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 “‘I have come to get my father, who you brought here.’”
- (121) *Abi homa ha.*  
 abi homa haa  
 2SG.POSS.father(M) lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M DEM  
 “‘Your father is lying there on the ground.’”
- (122) *Abi abi nahore.*  
 abi abi naho-re  
 2SG.POSS.father(M) 2SG.POSS.father(M) be\_touched-NEG.M  
 “‘Your father has not been touched.’”
- (123) *Abi homa hari me ati nemetemone yima mati.*  
 abi homa haari me ati  
 2SG.POSS.father(M) lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M that\_one.M 3PL.S say  
 na-hemete-mone yima mati  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F Yima(M) 3PL  
 “‘Your father is lying there,’ they said, the Yimas.’”
- (124) *Okobi te tisa.*  
 okobi tee tisa  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 2PL.S undo  
 “‘Unbind my father.’”
- (125) *Okobi owakamibeya.*  
 okobi o-ka-ka-ma-be-ya  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back-IMMED.F-NOW  
 “‘I’m going to take my father home.’”

- (126) *Faya me, yima me hitisematamonane.*  
 faya me yima me hi-tisa-himata-mona-ne  
 so 3PL Yima(M) 3PL.S OC-undo-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘So the Yimas unbound him.’
- (127) *Me hitise, inamatewe me tisa nemetemone ahi.*  
 me hi-tise inamatewe me tisa na-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S OC-undo.M child(M) 3PL.S undo.LIST AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They unbound him. They also unbound the child.’
- (128) *Mati me hitisa hinemetemoneni me wete hinanihi.*  
 mati me hi-tisa hi-na-hemete-mone-ni me  
 3SG.POSS.mother(F) 3PL.S OC-undo.LIST OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL.S  
 wete hi-na-hani-hi  
 tie OC-AUX-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘They also unbound his mother, who they had bound.’
- (129) *Mera hihiyara kawematamonaka ahi.*  
 mera hi-hiyara ka-waha-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 3PL.O OC-speak\_to COMIT-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He continued to speak to them.’
- (130) *Yima ati me hikamitematamona me naoa mati.*  
 yima ati me hi-ka-mita-himata-mona me nahoha mati  
 Yima(M) voice 3PL.S OC-COMIT-hear-FP.N.M-REP.M 3PL.S stand.F 3PL.S  
 ‘The Yimas listened to him as they stood there.’
- (131) *Me naoa ati me hikamite ati yana tonematamonane.*  
 me nahoha ati me hi-ka-mite ati yana  
 3PL.S stand.F voice 3PL.S OC-COMIT-hear.M voice start  
 to-na-himata-mona-ne  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘They stood listening to him. He spoke.’
- (132) *Okobi te towakama.*  
 okobi tee to-ka-ka-ma  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 2PL.S away-COMIT-go-back  
 ‘“Take my father away.”’

- (133) *Okobi te towakama.*  
 okobi                      tee    to-ka-ka-ma  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 2PL.S away-COMIT-go-back  
 ‘‘Take my father away.’’
- (134) *Me ati omiti forimamatibeya.*  
 me        ati    o-miti                      forima-mata-be-ya  
 3PL.POSS voice 1SG.S-hear.NFIN do\_properly-short\_time-IMMED.F-now  
 ‘‘I’m going to finish listening to them.’’
- (135) *Me ati mitehibona, bati iseme bati me hekamematamonane.*  
 me        ati    mita-hibona bati                                      ise-me  
 3PL.POSS voice hear-INT.M 3SG.POSS.father(M) drop\_off-back.M  
 bati                      me    hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ne  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He wanted to listen to them, and he handed off his father. They took his  
 father away.’
- (136) *Bati me hekame, bati me hekamematamonaha.*  
 bati                      me    hi-ka-ka-me                      bati                      me  
 3SG.POSS.father(M) 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back.M 3SG.POSS.father(M) 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ha  
 OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘They took his father away.’
- (137) *Faya tokiyomamatasematamonaha.*  
 faya to-ka-yoma-ma-tasa-himata-mona-ha  
 so    away-go-through-back-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘Then he went back inside.’
- (138) *Wabori towakose, tokiyomamematamona ahi.*  
 wabori                                      to-waa-kose  
 3SG.POSS.brother\_in\_law(M) CH-stand-middle.M  
 to-ka-yoma-ma-himata-mona                      ahi  
 away-go-through-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘His brother-in-law stayed outside, while he went inside.’
- (139) *Te winibana?*  
 tee    wini-bana  
 2PL.S live.F-FUT  
 ‘‘Are you going to stay here?’’

- (140) *Ota mari nabone ota ama.*  
 otaa mari na-habone otaa ama  
 1EX.S feast AUX-INT.F 1EX.S SEC  
 ‘‘We are going to have a feast.’’
- (141) *Ee ee yima me ati nemetemone me amani ahi.*  
 ee ee yima me ati na-hemete-mone me ama-ni ahi  
 yes yes Yima(M) 3PL.S say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S SEC-BKG.F then  
 ‘‘Right,’’ the Yimas said.’
- (142) *Ota ota winineni.*  
 otaa otaa wina-ne-ni  
 1EX 1EX.S live-CONT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘We are living here.’’
- (143) *Te winiyahi.*  
 tee wina-yahi  
 2PL.S live-DIST.IMP.F  
 ‘‘Live here.’’
- (144) *Faya wati soba nakematamona fahi.*  
 faya wati soba na-ke-himata-mona fahi  
 so arrow(M) pull\_out AUX-coming-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘Then he took an arrow out of the sheath.’
- (145) *Wati soba nake, wati yori tomisematamona neme ka ya.*  
 wati soba na-ke wati yori to-misa-himata-mona  
 arrow(M) pull\_out AUX-coming arrow(M) insert away-up-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 neme ka ya  
 up(F) LOC ADJU  
 ‘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  
 ‘He pulled back on the arrow.’

- (147) *Te ka yobe bako sa okani toe o, yima bako sa kanebanoho wati weo nisahari.*  
 tee ka yobe bako saa o-ka-na  
 2PL POSS house(M) inner\_surface.M shoot\_with\_arrow 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX  
 to-ha o yima bako saa  
 CH-AUX 1SG.S Yima(M) chest.M shoot\_with\_arrow  
 ka-na-hiba-no-ho wati weho na-risa-haari  
 COMIT-AUX-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP arrow(M) drop\_down AUX-down-IP.E.M  
 ‘‘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 kanematamona ahi.*  
 ayata saa hi-ka-ne rama kiya  
 near(F) shoot\_with\_arrow OC-COMIT-AUX.M unusual yell  
 ka-na-himata-mona ahi  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He shot him from very close by, and he cried out.’
- (149) *Me ye kawemetemone ahi.*  
 me yee ka-waha-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S yell COMIT-change-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They yelled.’
- (150) *Yima fana, yima fana kana ni yana torawemetemone amani.*  
 yima fana yima fana kana ni yana  
 Yima(M) female(F) Yima(M) female(F) run AUX.NFIN start  
 to-rawa-hemete-mone ama-ni  
 CH-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-BKG.F  
 ‘The Yima women ran away.’
- (151) *Yima fana tokiyomarawemetemone ahi.*  
 yima fana to-ka-yoma-rawa-hemete-mone ahi  
 Yima(M) female(F) away-go-through-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘The Yima women went out.’



- (158) *Yima fana naba koro, kana ni tokifiwawitia bokemetemoneke faro.*  
yima fana naba\_koro kana ni  
Yima(M) female(F) pregnant run AUX.NFIN  
to-ka-fi-waha-witia boka-hemete-mone-ke faaro  
away-go-water-change-out.F enter\_water-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F that.F  
‘A pregnant Yima woman went running to the water, and went in the water.’
- (159) *One me sa hikanemetemoneni tame baki.*  
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  
baki  
inside\_surface.F  
‘They shot one of the women in the sole of her foot.’
- (160) *Tame baki me sa hikanemetemonehe.*  
tame baki me saa  
foot.F inside\_surface.F 3PL.S shoot\_with\_arrow  
hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-he  
OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
‘They shot her in the sole of her foot.’
- (161) *Tame baki me sa hikana, abemetemoneke faro.*  
tame baki me saa hi-ka-na  
foot.F inside\_surface.F 3PL.S shoot\_with\_arrow OC-COMIT-AUX.F  
ahaba-hemete-mone-ke faaro  
die-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F that.F  
‘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  
‘The other woman didn’t come to the surface.’
- (163) *Fe bokimetemone ka fa itamaro ita awineke.*  
fehe boki-mete-mone ka faha  
water.F enter\_water.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F which water(F)  
ita-hamaro ita awine-ke  
be\_located-FP.E.F be\_located.F seem.F-DECL.F  
‘Long ago I saw the lake where she went into the water. It must still be there.’

# N Mayawari

## Introduction

The story *Mayawari* was told by Siko in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-mayawari2.mp3>.

A Jarawara man named Mayawari set out with his young son to spend the night waiting for monkeys to come to eat fruits of a *ko* tree. A group of enemy Yimas ambushed them on the way, and killed them with spears. They draped the boy's intestines on sticks stuck in the ground, so the other Jarawaras would see them.

When Mayawari and his son didn't come back, his son-in-law went out after him. When he cried out in the forest and a Yima answered him, he came running home. After that, two men went out after the Yimas, but they were gone.

## English translation

Those were the ones I told you about, the ones who planned to attack again, who cut up Mayawari.

Mayawari was going to wait [for game] at a *ko* tree.

"Mayawari."

"Huh?"

"Are you going to wait for game at the *ko* tree?"

"Yes, I am going to wait for game at the *ko* tree."

They went out to find them, and this is what the Yimas wanted. Mayawari set out to wait for game at the *ko* tree. He came singing. He was with his son. His son sang with him.

"Sing the song."

Mayawari's son sang with him. He came singing. He was going to wait for game at the *ko* tree, and he sang late in the afternoon. It's good to look at what is far ahead, but he was absorbed in the song.

The Yima was probably aiming [his spear] at him. “If I wanted to, I could spear you,” he probably said. He was on the one side. His spear point is in the *wakaro* tree.<sup>1</sup> There was another Yima on the other side.

There was a Yima woman lying there. Her vagina was open.

“*Fiko, fiko, fiko*. [Mayawari imitated the call of alarm of a brown capuchin as he fled off the trail into the forest.] Boy, there is something lying there.”

The boy cried out. “Father, father.”

He came back quickly. He came running back. He grabbed his son’s arm. He ran with his son. He went running off into the forest with his son.

The point of the spear is stuck in the tree. *Koro* it went as he threw it, but he missed him. It went *karo* as it hit the *wakaro* tree.

“Oh no, I missed the game.”

He went running up the hill, but there was another one waiting with a spear. He was aiming at him. He hit him.

“*Aya*.”

He laughed at him. Mayawari cried out. He also killed Mayawari’s son.

They left. They took him.

“Shall we cut him up?”

“Yes, you cut him up. We will carry him in pieces.”

“You gut his son. Drape his son’s intestines along a pole. Let them see his intestines.”

So they took out his intestines. His intestines were extended along some sticks. His son’s intestines were stuffed in the openings of split sticks.

When he came, he had been carrying arrows, but wasn’t thinking. I don’t know.

“Mayawari didn’t come back. Go look for Mayawari. He said he was going to wait for game at the *ko* tree. He said he was going to come back right away. He disappeared with his boy.”

He went. He apparently didn’t take any arrows.

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<sup>1</sup>There used to be a *wakaro* tree that had a knot in the trunk, that the Jarawaras said was the place where the Yima’s spear hit the tree. The tree was still standing within the lifetime of currently living Jarawaras.

“If he would have been alert, the enemy wouldn’t have speared him,” they always said.

He went. “They ate my son-in-law.”

“Yoohoo,” he said.

“Yoohoo,” answered the Yima.

“I’m here, Mayawari’s son-in-law. I want to die now that my father-in-law Mayawari is dead.” The Yima appeared right away.

Mayawari’s son-in-law looked. He stood for a bit. After he stood for a bit, the Yima, who had come into the area, spoke.

“He called out. Where is he?”

He ran really fast. He had arrows, he should have shot him. He came running back.

“Where are you?” The Yima called out, but no one was there.

He kept on running. He came on. When he got back, “Mayawari ... Mayawari was speared by the Yimas. His son died with him.”

Mayawari’s son’s father-in-law got right up. He grabbed some arrows. He went out. The two of them went running. They didn’t find them.

They came back during the night. They appeared.

“He ate my nephew and left.”

The ones who killed disappeared.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Me ati yama wati kanamani afa memetemone me okominaro me amake ahi, Mayawari me bobi nemetemone mati.*

me    ati    yama    wati            ka-na-ma-hani            afa  
3PL.POSS voice thing(F) plan\_against COMIT-AUX-back-IP.N.F this.F  
me-mete-mone me    o-kamina-haro me    ama-ke    ahi  
3PL-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.O 1SG.S-tell-RP.E.F 3PL.O SEC-DECL.F then  
Mayawari    me    bobi na-hemete-mone mati  
Mayawari(M) 3PL.S slit    AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S

‘Those were the ones I told you about, the ones who planned to attack again, who cut up Mayawari.’

- (2) *Hoo, Mayawari ko karayawahebona, Mayawari.*  
 hoo Mayawari koo karayawaha-hibona Mayawari  
 whew Mayawari(M) tree.sp(F) wait\_at-INT.M Mayawari(M)  
 ‘Mayawari was going to wait [for game] at a ko tree. “Mayawari.”’
- (3) *Hoo.*  
 hoo  
 huh?  
 “‘Huh?’”
- (4) *Ko tikarawayibana?*  
 koo ti-karayawi-bana  
 tree.sp(F) 2SG.S-wait\_at.F-FUT  
 “‘Are you going to wait for game at the ko tree?’”
- (5) *Ee, ko okarayawabone okene.*  
 ee koo o-karayawaha-habone o-ke-ne  
 yes tree.sp(F) 1SG.S-wait\_at-INT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F-IRR.F  
 “‘Yes, I am going to wait for game at the ko tree.’”
- (6) *Me atinihi ya me atinihi ya me me yobi hikana me, Mayawari ko karayawahebona yana tonematamona.*  
 me ati-ni-hi ya me ati-ni-hi ya me  
 3PL.POSS voice-IP.N.F-DUP ADJU 3PL.POSS voice-IP.N.F-DUP ADJU 3PL.O  
 me yobi hi-ka-na me Mayawari koo  
 3PL.S go\_back\_and\_forth OC-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.O Mayawari(M) tree.sp(F)  
 karayawaha-hibona yana to-na-himata-mona  
 wait\_at-INT.M start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘They went out to find them, and this is what the Yimas wanted.  
 Mayawari set out to wait for game at the ko tree.’
- (7) *Ayaki kame ayaki yana tone, biti fame biti ayaki wara tona hine, biti ayaki wara tona hinematamonaka.*  
 ayaki ka-me ayaki yana to-ne biti  
 sing.NFIN come-back.M sing.NFIN start CH-AUX.M 3SG.POSS.son(M)  
 fame biti ayaka wara to-na hi-ne  
 be\_with.M 3SG.POSS.son(M) sing.NFIN respond\_to CH-AUX.LIST OC-AUX.M  
 biti ayaka wara to-na  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) sing.NFIN respond\_to CH-AUX.LIST

hi-na-himata-mona-ka

OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He came singing. He was with his son. His son sang with him.’

- (8) *Biti fame, biti, Ayaka wara tinahi.*

biti fame biti ayaka wara  
3SG.POSS.son(M) be\_with.M 3SG.POSS.son(M) song(F) respond\_to  
ti-na-hi  
2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F

‘He was with his son. “Sing the song.”’

- (9) *Mayawari biti ayaki wara tona hine ayaki kame ko karayawahebona bai toke ya ayaka hiri ne, hikehike ya e noko fiya tokasamate, ayaka noko tonihamako.*

Mayawari biti ayaka wara to-na  
Mayawari(M) 3SG.POSS.son(M) sing.NFIN respond\_to CH-AUX.LIST  
hi-ne ayaka ka-me koo karayawahebona bahi  
OC-AUX.M sing.NFIN come-back.M tree.sp(F) wait\_at-INT.M sun(M)  
to-ke ya ayaka hiri ne hike-hike ya ee noko  
away-go.NOM.M ADJU song(F) sing AUX.M DUP-far ADJU 1IN.POSS eye  
fiya to-ka-kosa-ma-tee ayaka noko  
pass away-COMIT-middle-back-HAB song(F) attraction  
to-niha-mako  
CH-CAUS-for\_this\_reason.M

‘Mayawari’s son sang with him. He came singing. He was going to wait for game at the ko tree, and he sang late in the afternoon. It’s good to look at what is far ahead, but he was absorbed in the song.’

- (10) *Boke hinemata awaka ahi.*

boke hi-na-himata awa-ka ahi  
threaten OC-AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M then

‘He was probably aiming [his spear] at him.’

- (11) *Tiwa otibote onene ama oke ati nemata awane.*

tiwa o-ita-bote o-na-hene ama o-ke ati  
2SG.O 1SG.S-pierce-quickly 1SG.S-AUX-IRR.F SEC 1SG.S-DECL.F say  
na-himata awa-ne  
AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M

‘“If I wanted to, I could spear you,” he probably said.’

- (12) *Ha ya, ha ya wematamonaka.*  
 haa ya haa ya waa-himata-mona-ka  
 DEM ADJU DEM ADJU stand-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was on the other side.’
- (13) *Hinaka wabise ini waineke wakaro ya.*  
 hinaka wabise ini waa-ne-ke wakaro ya  
 3SG.POSS spear(F) point.F be\_located-CONT.F-DECL.F tree.sp(M) ADJU  
 ‘His spear point is in the wakaro tree.’
- (14) *Ha ya owa wa.*  
 haa ya owa waa  
 DEM ADJU other.M stand.LIST  
 ‘There was another Yima on the other side.’
- (15) *Yama homemetemoneke.*  
 yama homa-hemete-mone-ke  
 thing(F) lie\_on\_ground-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘There was [a Yima woman] lying there.’
- (16) *Yama awa nakemetemoneke hinaka yama noko.*  
 yama awa na-ki-hemete-mone-ke hinaka yama noko  
 thing(F) be\_open AUX-coming-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3SG.POSS vagina(M)  
 ‘Her vagina was open.’
- (17) *Fiko fiko fiko inamate yama homini.*  
 fiko fiko fiko inamate yama  
 (cry\_of\_capuchin) (cry\_of\_capuchin) (cry\_of\_capuchin) child(M) thing(F)  
 homa-ni  
 lie\_on\_ground-BKG.F  
 ‘“Fiko, fiko, fiko. Boy, there is something lying there.”’
- (18) *Inamate e kanematamonane.*  
 inamate ee ka-na-himata-mona-ne  
 child(M) yell COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The boy cried out.’
- (19) *Inamate e kanematamona amane.*  
 inamate ee ka-na-himata-mona ama-ne  
 child(M) yell COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘The boy cried out.’

- (20) *Ee abi abi abi abi.*  
 ee abi abi abi abi  
 (crying\_out) father(M) father(M) father(M) father(M)  
 ‘‘Father, father.’’
- (21) *Wete kabote nematamonaka ahi.*  
 wete kabote na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 return quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He came back quickly.’
- (22) *Kana ni kame biti mano wara tone biti, bete kawahematamonaka.*  
 kana na ka-me biti mano wara to-ne  
 run AUX.NFIN come-back.M 3SG.POSS.son(M) arm.M grab CH-AUX.M  
 biti bete ka-waha-himata-mona-ka  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) run COMMIT-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He came running back. He grabbed his son’s arm. He ran with his son.’
- (23) *Biti bete kawe waha tonematamonaka.*  
 biti bete ka-wahe waha  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) run COMMIT-change.M turn  
 to-na-himata-mona-ka  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He went running off into the forest with his son.’
- (24) *Wabise ini waineke.*  
 wabise ini waa-ne-ke  
 spear(F) point.F be\_located-CONT.F-DECL.F  
 ‘The point of the spear is stuck in the tree.’
- (25) *Koro hani hinihe rama ahi.*  
 koro hani hi-nihe rama ahi  
 (sound\_of\_something\_being\_thrown) miss OC-CAUS.M unusual then  
 ‘Koro it went as he threw it, but he missed him.’
- (26) *Karo wakaro.*  
 karo wakaro  
 (sound\_of\_spear\_hitting\_tree) tree.sp(M)  
 ‘It went *karo* as it hit the *wakaro* tree.’

- (27) *Haha oko bani hasi neba amakara.*  
 haha o-ka bani hasi na-hiba ama-kara  
 yikes 1SG.POSS-POSS animal(M) escape AUX-FUT.M SEC-MOOD.M  
 ‘‘Oh no, I missed the game.’’
- (28) *Bete ni tokomisame wabise rama ahi.*  
 bete na to-ka-misa-me wabise rama ahi  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go-up-back.M spear(F) unusual there  
 ‘He went running up the hill, but there was another one waiting with a spear.’
- (29) *Ma hikane rama ahi.*  
 maa hi-ka-ne rama ahi  
 stop OC-COMIT-AUX.M unusual then  
 ‘He was aiming at him.’
- (30) *Hitehimatamonaka ahi.*  
 hi-ita-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 OC-pierce-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He hit him.’
- (31) *Aya.*  
 aya  
 (expression\_of\_pain)  
 ‘‘Aya.’’
- (32) *Faya haha hikanematamonaka ahi.*  
 faya haahaa hi-ka-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 so laugh OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He laughed at him.’
- (33) *Mayawari kiya kane Mayawari biti nabowa nematamonaka ahi.*  
 Mayawari kiya ka-ne Mayawari biti naabowa  
 Mayawari(M) yell COMIT-AUX.M Mayawari(M) 3SG.POSS.son(M) kill.LIST  
 na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Mayawari cried out. He also killed Mayawari’s son.’

- (34) *Faya me tokoma me, me hiwakame, Bobi naba?*  
 faya me to-ka-ma me me hi-ka-ka-me bobi  
 so 3PL.S away-go-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back.M slit  
 na-ba  
 AUX-IMMED.M  
 ‘They left. They took him. “Shall we cut him up?”’
- (35) *Ee, bobi tinaho.*  
 ee bobi ti-na-ho  
 yes slit 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.M  
 “Yes, you cut him up.”
- (36) *E ibori nebanaka.*  
 ee ibori na-hibana-ka  
 1IN.S carry AUX-FUT.M-DECL.M  
 “We will carry him in pieces.”
- (37) *Biti yoto titiho.*  
 biti yoto ti-iti-ho  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) intestines.M 2SG.S-take\_out-IMP.M  
 “You gut his son.”
- (38) *Biti yoto sawi tikanisa ahi.*  
 biti yoto sawi ti-ka-na-risa ahi  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) intestines.M drape 2SG.S-COMIT-AUX-down there  
 “Drape his son’s intestines along a pole.”
- (39) *Yoto me hiwabaya.*  
 yoto me hi-awa-ba-ya  
 intestines.M 3PL.S OC-see-IMMED.M-now  
 “Let them see his intestines.”
- (40) *Faya yoto me hiti yoto me, awa baka na ya yoto fito nawa tonamakehitematamonaka ahi.*  
 faya yoto me hi-iti yoto me awa baka  
 so intestines.M 3PL.S OC-take\_out.M intestines.M 3PL tree(F) be\_broken  
 na ya yoto fito na-waha  
 AUX.F ADJU intestines.M run AUX-change

to-na-make-hiti-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 away-AUX-following-along\_the\_way-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘So they took out his intestines. His intestines were extended along some sticks.’

- (41) *Biti yoto hete kanisa faya kame wati tama kane hiwa awaremata awaka.*

biti yoto hete ka-na-risa faya  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) intestines.M be\_stuck\_in COMIT-AUX-down.LIST so  
 ka-me wati tama ka-ne hiwa  
 come-back.M arrow(M) hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.M 3SG.REFL.M  
 awa-ra-himata awa-ka  
 see-NEG-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M

‘His son’s intestines were stuffed in the openings of split sticks. When he came, he had been carrying arrows, but wasn’t thinking.’

- (42) *E awakere.*

ee awa-ke-re  
 1IN.S see-DECL.F-NEG.F

‘I don’t know.’

- (43) *Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari kakama re Mayawari totowamake tinahi ko yete kanebona ati ne kamakabote nebona ati ne inamate fame fawa naka.*

Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari ka-ka-ma  
 Mayawari(M) Mayawari(M) Mayawari(M) Mayawari(M) DUP-come-back  
 re Mayawari to-to-awa-make ti-na-hi koo  
 NEG.M Mayawari(M) DUP-away-see-following 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F tree.sp(F)  
 yete ka-na-hibona ati ne ka-ma-kabote na-hibona ati  
 hunt COMIT-AUX-INT.M say AUX.M come-back-quickly AUX-INT.M say  
 ne inamate fame fawa na-ka  
 AUX.M child(M) be\_with.M disappear AUX.CONT.M-DECL.M

‘‘Mayawari didn’t come back. Go look for Mayawari. He said he was going to wait for game at the ko tree. He said he was going to come back right away. He disappeared with his boy.’’

- (44) *Tokomake wati tama karemata awaka.*

to-ka-make wati tama ka-ra-himata  
 away-go-following arrow(M) hold\_onto COMIT-NEG-FP.N.M

awa-ka

seem.M-DECL.M

‘He went. He apparently didn’t take any arrows.’

- (45) *Hine kabanamine rama hinamati sa hikaremeteni, me aati toimaro amani.*

hine ka-habana-mi-ne rama  
3.REFL COMIT-order\_someone\_against-back.NOM.F-IRR.F unusual  
hinamati saa hi-ka-ra-hemete-ni me  
someone(M) shoot\_with\_arrow OC-COMIT-NEG-FP.N.F-BKG.F 3PL.S  
a-ati to-hi-marō ama-ni  
DUP-say CH-AUX.NOM.F-FP.E.F be-BKG.F

‘‘If he would have been alert, the enemy wouldn’t have speared him,’’  
they always said.’

- (46) *Faya tokomakematamonaka.*

faya to-ka-make-himata-mona-ka  
so away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘He went.’

- (47) *Tokomake, Oko koma me, oko koma me kabakeni.*

to-ka-make o-ka koma me o-ka  
away-go-following 1SG.POSS-POSS son\_in\_law(M) 3PL 1SG.POSS-POSS  
koma me kaba-ke-ni  
son\_in\_law(M) 3PL.S eat-DECL.F-IP.N.F

‘He went. ‘‘They ate my son-in-law.’’

- (48) *Hee ati nematamonaka.*

hee ati na-himata-mona-ka  
hey say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

‘‘Yoohoo,’’ he said.’

- (49) *Hee.*

hee  
hey  
‘‘Yoohoo.’’

- (50) *Mayawari ka koma owa naro haro.*

Mayawari ka koma o-waa na-haaro haro  
Mayawari(M) POSS son\_in\_law(M) 1SG.S-stand.LIST AUX-look.F that\_one.F

‘‘I’m here, Mayawari’s son-in-law.’’

- (51) *Mayawari ka koma hasi one oni.*  
 mayawari ka koma hasi o-ne o-ni  
 titi POSS son\_in\_law(M) escape 1SG.S-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I want to die now that my father-in-law Mayawari is dead.”
- (52) *Hibati ya tasi namematamona amane.*  
 hibati ya tasi na-ma-himata-mona ama-ne  
 long\_time\_ago ADJU emerge AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘He appeared right away.’
- (53) *Yama kakatome wawa kawahe wawa kawahe ya faya tasi nameno ati yana tonematamonaka ahi.*  
 yama ka-katome wa-waa ka-wahe wa-waa  
 thing(F) COMIT-look\_at.M DUP-stand COMIT-change.M DUP-stand  
 ka-wahe ya faya tasi na-ma-hino ati yana  
 COMIT-change.NOM.M ADJU so emerge AUX-back-IP.N.M voice start  
 to-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He looked. He stood for a bit. After he stood for a bit, [the Yima], who had come into the area, spoke.’
- (54) *Ha nareka ahi.*  
 haa na-hare-ka ahi  
 call AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 “He called out.”
- (55) *Hibaka toarani ha.*  
 hibaka to-ha-rani haa  
 where CH-be.M-? DEM  
 “Where is he?”
- (56) *Hiwa katomematamonaka ahi.*  
 hiwa katoma-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 3SG.REFL.M kill\_many-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He ran really fast.’
- (57) *Wati inamati tama kane osomemata ahi.*  
 wati inamati tama ka-ne o-soma-himata ahi  
 arrow(M) someone(M) hold\_onto COMIT-AUX.M 1SG.S-let\_go-FP.N.M then  
 ‘He had arrows, he should have shot him.’

- (58) *Faya kana ni kame, Hibaka tihariya?*  
 faya kana na ka-me hibaka ti-ha-ri-ya  
 so run AUX.NFIN come-back.M where 2SG.S-be-CQ.F-now  
 ‘He came running back. “Where are you?”’
- (59) *Ha tonakosematamonaka.*  
 haa to-na-kosa-himata-mona-ka  
 call CH-AUX-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He called out, but no one was there.’
- (60) *Kana nasa nematamonaka ahi.*  
 kana na-saa na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 run AUX-still AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He kept on running.’
- (61) *Faya kana nasa ne kame kobo name ya Mayawari ee Mayawari yima me itini yamani.*  
 faya kana na-saa ne ka-me kobo na-me ya  
 so run AUX-still AUX.M come-back.M arrive AUX-back.NOM.M ADJU  
 Mayawari ee Mayawari yima me iti-ni  
 Mayawari(M) (pause) Mayawari(M) Yima(M) 3PL.S pierce.NOM.F-IP.N.F  
 yamani  
 telling  
 ‘He kept on running. He came on. When he got back, “Mayawari ... mayawari was speared by the Yimas.”’
- (62) *Biti fawa tokanenoka.*  
 biti fawa to-ka-na-hino-ka  
 3SG.POSS.son(M) disappear CH-COMIT-AUX-IP.N.M-DECL.M  
 “His son died with him.”
- (63) *Kokori yana kabote nematamonaka ahi.*  
 kokori yana kabote na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) get\_up quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘[Mayawari’s son’s] father-in-law got right up.’
- (64) *Wati kakitikabote.*  
 wati ka-iti-kabote  
 arrow(M) COMIT-pick\_up-quickly  
 ‘He grabbed some arrows.’

- (65) *Kokori yana ne tokomake me kana ni towakamakia me, me me hiwasimakiremetemoneke.*  
 kokori yana ne to-ka-make me kana  
 3SG.POSS.father\_in\_law(M) get\_up AUX.M away-go-following 3PL.S run  
 na to-ka-ka-makia me me me  
 AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-following.F 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hi-wasi-maki-ra-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-find-following-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘His father-in-law got up. He went out. The two of them went running. They didn’t find them.’
- (66) *Me kakama naba me me kakama naba me kafotomimetemone ama.*  
 me ka-ka-ma na nahaba me me ka-ka-ma na  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back AUX at\_night.F 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT-come-back AUX  
 nahaba me ka-foto-mi-mete-mone ama  
 at\_night.F 3PL.S COMIT-appear-back.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F be  
 ‘They came back during the night. They appeared.’
- (67) *Oko bitimi kabeno tokoma.*  
 o-ka bitimi kaba-hino to-ka-ma  
 1SG.POSS-POSS nephew(M) eat-IP.N.M away-go-back.CONT.M  
 ‘‘He ate my nephew and left.’’
- (68) *Faya me ihi itiha me fafawa toa me.*  
 faya me ihi itiha me fa-fawa to-ha me  
 so 3PL.POSS victim\_of.F exist.F 3PL.S DUP-disappear CH-AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘The ones who killed disappeared.’

# O Kamabira

## Introduction

The story *Kamabira* was told by Yowao in 1992. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-kamabira.mp3>.

The events of this story happened during the lifetime of Yowao's (and Siko's) grandfather, probably before Yowao's father was born. A man named Kamabira became sick after he ate meat of a woolly monkey that still had blood in it, and he started acting strangely. After a short time he died. His companions concluded that he had been attacked by a *maka* monster, which had taken the form of a woolly monkey.

Siko also told a version of this story. The details are similar, except that in his version, Kamabira was attacked when he killed some howler monkeys with his blowgun. The Jarawaras don't consider howlers very good for food. It was concluded that the howlers were *maka* monsters in disguise.

## English 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 village.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Yowao’s grandfather, Bono Wiyo, was also Siko’s grandfather.

“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 *maka* 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>2</sup> My grandfather came before the others to Siro Wari. They came and lived over here. They came upstream in the dry season.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Me tokometemoneke, bato ya.*  
 me to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke bato ya  
 3PL.S away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F downstream(F) ADJU  
 ‘They went downstream.’
- (2) *Yobe me hiri na, yobe me hiri na, yama me yete nemetemoneke.*  
 yobe me hiri na yobe me hiri na yama me  
 house(M) 3PL.S make AUX.F house(M) 3PL.S make AUX.F thing(F) 3PL.S  
 yete na-hemete-mone-ke  
 hunt AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They built a house. They built a house, and then went hunting.’
- (3) *Yama me yete na wafa me me kobo nemetemoneke, wafa mera fora nebanoho.*  
 yama me yete na wafa me me kobo  
 thing(F) 3PL.S hunt AUX.F woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 na-hemete-mone-ke wafa mera fora  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F woolly\_monkey(M) 3PL.O shoot\_with\_blowgun  
 na-hiba-no-ho  
 AUX-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘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(M) 3PL.S die-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘No monkeys died.’

<sup>2</sup>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 Cainã River.

- (5) *Wafa biti oharimatamonaka hekamahari.*  
wafa                      biti              ohari-himata-mona-ka  
woolly\_monkey(M) young.M be\_one-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
hi-ka-ka-ma-haari  
OC-COMIT-come-back-IP.E.M  
‘He only took home one little monkey.’
- (6) *Mati yifo afo hikana ya, wafa tokamematamonaka.*  
mati                      yifo afo hi-ka-na              ya wafa  
3SG.POSS.mother(F) fire(F) light OC-COMIT-AUX.F ADJU woolly\_monkey(M)  
toka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
partially\_burn-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He burned the hair off the monkey back in the village, in the fire his  
mother lit.’
- (7) *Wafa tokame, wafa bobi ne wafa yokematamonane, yifo ya.*  
wafa                      toka-me                      wafa                      bobi  
woolly\_monkey(M) partially\_burn-back.M woolly\_monkey(M) slit  
ne wafa                      yoka-himata-mona-ne                      yifo  
AUX.M woolly\_monkey(M) roast\_on\_coals-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M fire(F)  
ya  
ADJU  
‘He burned the hair off the monkey, then cut up the monkey, and roasted  
the monkey on the fire.’
- (8) *Faya iyawa sire, wafa yamama nimatamonane.*  
faya iyawa                      sire wafa                      yama-ma  
so grated\_mash(F) toast.M woolly\_monkey(M) remove\_from\_fire-DUP  
niha-himata-mona-ne  
CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘He toasted some manioc mash, and took the monkey off the fire.’
- (9) *Wafa yamama ni wafa kabawematamonaka wafa amehinoho.*  
wafa                      yama-ma                      niha wafa  
woolly\_monkey(M) remove\_from\_fire-DUP CAUS.M woolly\_monkey(M)  
kaba-waha-himata-mona-ka wafa  
eat-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M woolly\_monkey(M)  
ama-hino-ho  
be\_bloody-IP.N.M-DUP  
‘He took the monkey off the fire. Then he ate the monkey, not noticing it  
still had blood in it.’

- (10) *Bani ame tikabine tini? mati ati nemetemoneni.*  
 bani ame ti-kaba-ne ti-ni mati  
 animal(M) be\_bloody.M 2SG.S-eat-CONT.F 2SG.S-BKG.F 3SG.POSS.mother(F)  
 ati na-hemete-mone-ni  
 say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘Are you eating bloody meat?’’ his mother said.’
- (11) *Bani amakara.*  
 bani ama-ka-ra  
 animal(M) be\_bloody-DECL.M-NEG.M  
 ‘‘The meat doesn’t have blood in it.’’
- (12) *Bani siba kara.*  
 bani siba ka-ra  
 animal(M) be\_all\_right DECL.M-NEG.M  
 ‘‘The meat isn’t bloody.’’
- (13) *Ofimimakoni ama oke ati nematamonaka.*  
 o-fimi-makoni ama o-ke ati  
 1SG.S-be\_hungry-for\_this\_reason.F SEC 1SG.S-DECL.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘I’m really hungry,’’ he said.’
- (14) *Ofimimakoni, wafa okobine o.*  
 o-fimi-makoni wafa o-kaba-ne  
 1SG.S-be\_hungry-for\_this\_reason.F woolly\_monkey(M) 1SG.S-eat-CONT.F  
 o  
 1SG.S  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘He got up.’
- (16) *Fa fawematamonane.*  
 faha fawa-himata-mona-ne  
 water(F) drink-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He drank some water.’

- (17) *Sina, sina hisi nematamonaka.*  
sina sina hisi na-himata-mona-ka  
snuff(F) snuff(F) sniff AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'He took some snuff.'
- (18) *Sina hisi ne tokawematamonaha, mi nebonaha.*  
sina hisi ne to-ka-waha-himata-mona-ha mii  
snuff(F) sniff AUX.M away-go-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP defecate  
na-hibona-ha  
AUX-INT.M-DUP  
'He took some snuff, and then went out to defecate.'
- (19) *Toke kamematamonaha.*  
to-ke ka-ma-himata-mona-ha  
away-go.M come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
'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  
'The house was in the middle of a large clearing.'
- (21) *Tabora tabora nafimetemoneni.*  
tabora tabora nafi-hemete-mone-ni  
village(F) village(F) be\_big-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
'The village plaza was very big.'
- (22) *Me winakosa me, ni ya hiwa yana kanematamonaka.*  
me wina-kosa me ni ya hiwa yana  
3PL.S live-middle.F 3PL to ADJU 3SG.REFL.M start  
ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'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  
'"My thighs are really hurting a lot," he said.'

- (24) *Otati kome nafini, ati nematamonane, no tonenoho, Oto Wari ya.*  
 o-tati kome nafi-ni ati na-himata-mona-ne noho  
 1SG.POSS-head pain.F be\_big-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M be\_hurt  
 to-na-hino-ho Oto\_Wari ya  
 CH-AUX-IP.N.M-DUP Oto\_Wari(M) ADJU  
 ‘“My head is hurting a lot,” he said. He had been hurt by a monster, at Oto Wari village.’
- (25) *Oto Wari ya no toneno, yama sokimetemone amake.*  
 Oto\_Wari ya noho to-na-hino yama  
 Oto\_Wari(M) ADJU be\_hurt CH-AUX-IP.N.M thing(F)  
 soki-mete-mone ama-ke  
 be\_dark.NOM-FP.N.F-REP.F be-DECL.F  
 ‘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  
 ‘They slept.’
- (27) *Me amo na, me amo na me ni ya, ati tafimatamonane.*  
 me amo na me amo na me ni ya ati  
 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL to ADJU voice  
 tafi-himata-mona-ne  
 wake\_up-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘As they slept, he woke up talking [because of his fever].’<sup>3</sup>
- (28) *Yasi, yasi tebere bono ati nematamonaka.*  
 bono ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 beak.M say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘“Yasi, yasi tebere,” he was whistling, like a bird.’
- (29) *Yasi, yasi tebere bono ati nematamonane.*  
 bono ati na-himata-mona-ne  
 beak.M say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘“Yasi, yasi tebere,” he was whistling, like a bird.’

<sup>3</sup>The clause *ati tafimatamonane* is an example of an interesting phenomenon in Jarawara, whereby an inalienably possessed noun is treated as if it were a complement clause. If we were to translate the clause in the most literal way possible, it would be ‘his voice woke up’. In this case, the inalienably possessed noun is treated as if it were a complement clause such as *hiyari* ‘speaking’.

- (30) *Kamabira no toneno bono ati saika hari, ee, batise ati nematamonaha.*  
 Kamabira noho to-na-hino bono ati sai-ka  
 Kamabira(M) be\_hurt CH-AUX-IP.N.M beak.M voice be\_heard-DECL.M  
 haari ee batise ati na-himata-mona-ha  
 that\_one.M (pause) 3SG.POSS.uncle(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘‘That’s Kamabira whistling, he was hurt by a monster,’’ his uncle said.’
- (31) *Noho okare.*  
 noho o-ka-re  
 be\_hurt 1SG.S-DECL-NEG.F  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘I’m fine,’’ he said.’
- (33) *Faya me hikawine, kiya ni nafiwematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya me hi-ka-wine kiya ni  
 so 3PL.S OC-COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock.M have\_a\_fever AUX.NFIN  
 nafi-waha-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 be\_big-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘They stayed with him. His fever got worse.’
- (34) *Me toma hine, toma ni me fawa hinematamonaka.*  
 me toma hi-ne toma ni me fawa  
 3PL.S suck OC-AUX.M suck AUX.NFIN 3PL.S stop  
 hi-na-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘Then they moved to another place.’
- (36) *Ee, Nami Abono, Nami Abono, Te tai toama.*  
 ee Nami\_Abono Nami\_Abono tee tai to-ha-ma  
 (pause) Nami\_Abono(F) Nami\_Abono(F) 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back  
 ‘‘You and the others go on ahead.’’ Nami Abono said.’

- (37) *Yama aawa obe, okiti ati nematamonaha.*  
 yama a-awa o-be okiti ati  
 thing(F) DUP-see 1SG.S-IMMED.F 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) say  
 na-himata-mona-ha  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘‘I want to find out what hurt him,’’ my grandfather said.’
- (38) *Nami Abono, Te tai toamahi ha, ha te ta.*  
 Nami\_Abono tee tai to-ha-ma-hi haa haa tee  
 Nami\_Abono(F) 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-back-IMP.F DEM DEM 2PL  
 taa  
 contrast  
 ‘‘No, you go on ahead,’’ said Nami Abono.’
- (39) *Owa te noki karima nahi Nami Abono fana ati nemetemoneke.*  
 owa tee noki ka-rima na-hi Nami\_Abono  
 1SG.O 2PL.S wait\_for COMIT-NEG.IMP.F AUX-IMP.F Nami\_Abono(F)  
 fana ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
 female(F) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘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  
 ‘‘All right,’’ he said in anger. ‘‘You come on later.’’
- (41) *Okomibone, okiti ati nematamonaha.*  
 o-ka-mi-bone okiti ati  
 1SG.S-go-back.NOM.F-INT.F 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) say  
 na-himata-mona-ha  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘‘I’m leaving,’’ my grandfather said.’
- (42) *Faya okiti yifo katise, banematamonaka.*  
 faya okiti yifo ka-tise  
 so 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) hammock(M) COMIT-undo.M  
 bana-himata-mona-ka  
 move\_away-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘So my grandfather took down his hammock, and moved out.’

- (43) *Me tokomemetemonehe.*  
 me to-ka-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 3PL.S away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘They left.’
- (44) *Faya Ye Yome, rabike, Ye Yome rabike Bato Wene me hikayotomatamonaka.*  
 faya Yee\_Yome rabike Yee\_Yome rabike Bato\_Wene me  
 so Yee\_Yome(M) be\_sick.M Yee\_Yome(M) be\_sick.M Bato\_Wene(M) 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-yoto-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-COMIT-follow-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘Ye Yome was sick, and Bato Wene and his companion went with him  
 after the others.’
- (45) *Me hikayoto, me hekamaki, hawi enoki ya, me hiwatarisematamonaha.*  
 me hi-ka-yoto me hi-ka-ka-maki hawi eenoki  
 3PL.S OC-COMIT-follow.M 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-following.M trail(F) middle  
 ya me hi-wata-risa-himata-mona-ha  
 ADJU 3PL.S OC-exist-down-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘They were taking him on their backs, and halfway they put him on the  
 ground.’
- (46) *Otara nonoki timata.*  
 otara no-noki ti-mata  
 1EX.O DUP-wait\_for 2SG.S-short\_time  
 ‘‘Wait a little for us.’’
- (47) *Ota mi kamatibe me ati nemetemoneke.*  
 otaa mii ka-mata-be me ati  
 1EX.S defecate COMIT-short\_time-IMMED.F 3PL.S say  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘We are going to defecate,’’ the two of them said.’
- (48) *Faya me towaka, me mi kanani me kakamemetemonehe.*  
 faya me to-ka-ka me mii ka-na-hani me  
 so 3PL.S away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S defecate COMIT-AUX-IP.N.F 3PL.S  
 ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘The two of them went off and defecated, and then came back.’

- (49) *Me kakama me, bono ati saimatamonaka.*  
 me ka-ka-ma me bono ati  
 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F 3PL.S beak.M voice  
 sai-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_heard-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘As they came back, they heard a bird.’
- (50) *Yasi, yasi tebere ati nematamonaka.*  
 ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘Yasi, yasi tebere,’’ he was whistling.’
- (51) *Mano ka ya yaka nawarematamona yama kabani ya ahi.*  
 mano ka ya yaka na-wahare-himata-mona yama\_kabani ya ahi  
 arm.M LOC ADJU walk AUX-all\_over-FP.N.M-REP.M forest(F) ADJU then  
 ‘He was crawling on all fours all around in the forest.’
- (52) *Momoto nawa nematamonaka.*  
 mo-moto na-waha na-himata-mona-ka  
 DUP-loop AUX-change AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was going in circles.’
- (53) *Tiwa ota towakamakiabone tiwehene hiyarineke, me ati nemetemoneke.*  
 tiwa otaa to-ka-ka-maki-habone ti-ehene  
 2SG.O 1EX.S away-COMIT-go-following-INT.F 2SG.POSS-deed  
 hiya-ra-ne-ke me ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
 be\_bad-NEG-CONT.F-DECL.F 3PL.S say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘We are taking you and you are not behaving,’’ they said.’
- (54) *Orabika okare.*  
 o-rabika o-ka-re  
 1SG.S-be\_sick 1SG.S-DECL-NEG.F  
 ‘‘I’m not sick.’’
- (55) *Orabikara oko rabiki te tonihine ati nematamonaha.*  
 o-rabika-ra o-ka rabiki tee to-niha-ne  
 1SG.S-be\_sick-NEG.F 1SG.POSS-POSS be\_sick.NFIN 2PL.S CH-CAUS-CONT.F  
 ati na-himata-mona-ha  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘‘I’m not sick, you are just making it up,’’ he said.’

- (56) *Hima e tokomakibe.*  
hima ee to-ka-maki-be  
let's\_go 1IN.S away-go-following-IMMED.F  
“Come on, let’s go.”
- (57) *Tiwa tiwa weye omisamibe, ati nematamonaka.*  
tiwa tiwa weye o-misa-ma-be ati na-himata-mona-ka  
2SG.O 2SG.O carry 1SG.S-up-back-IMMED.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
“I’m going to lift you onto my back again,” he said.’
- (58) *Faya weye himisame, me tokomake, moni yana tonematamonaka, bari.*  
faya weye hi-misa-me me to-ka-make moni yana  
so carry OC-up-back.M 3PL.S away-go-following sound start  
to-na-himata-mona-ka bari  
CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M back  
‘He lifted him onto his back. They went on. They heard someone hitting  
on his back.’
- (59) *Bari inamati hinabowematamonane.*  
bari inamati hi-naabowa-himata-mona-ne  
back spirit(M) OC-hit-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘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  
‘He fell off his back to the ground.’
- (61) *Ye Yome ahabaka.*  
Yee\_Yome ahaba-ka  
Yee\_Yome(M) die-DECL.M  
“Ye Yome has died.”
- (62) *Ye Yome mati tokomake ahaba, hibaka temene iteba?*  
Yee\_Yome mati to-ka-make ahaba hibaka  
Yee\_Yome(M) 3SG.POSS.mother(F) away-go-following die.LIST where  
temene ita-hiba  
grave.M sit-FUT.M  
“Ye Yome has died and his mother went on ahead. Where will his grave  
be?”

- (63) *Temene itebanaka ahi, hawi beri ya, me ati nemetemoneke.*  
 temene ita-hibana-ka ahi hawi beheri ya me ati  
 grave.M sit-FUT.M-DECL.M here trail(F) side ADJU 3PL.S say  
 na-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘‘His grave will be right here beside the trail,’’ they said.’
- (64) *Maka hitimakematamonaka.*  
 maka hi-iti-make-himata-mona-ka  
 monster(M) OC-take\_out-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The monster took away his soul.’
- (65) *Maka hinabowematamonane.*  
 maka hi-naabowa-himata-mona-ne  
 monster(M) OC-kill-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The monster killed him.’
- (66) *Faya me, faya me me hinakamakia me, hikamomatamonaka.*  
 faya me faya me me hi-na-ka-makia me  
 so 3PL so 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-CAUS-go-following.F 3PL.S  
 hi-kamo-himata-mona-ka  
 OC-bury-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They got the others, and buried him.’
- (67) *Hotonebona me wi hine me hikamomatamonaha.*  
 hotone-bona me wii hi-ne me hi-kamo-himata-mona-ha  
 hole.M-INT.M 3PL.S dig OC-AUX.M 3PL.S OC-bury-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘They dug the hole for him and buried him.’
- (68) *Faya me kamimetemone amake ahi.*  
 faya me ka-mi-mete-mone ama-ke ahi  
 so 3PL.S come-back.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F be-DECL.F here  
 ‘Then they came back this way.’
- (69) *Me kama, me kobo namimetemone amake Siro Wari ya.*  
 me ka-ma me kobo na-mi-mete-mone ama-ke  
 3PL.S come-back.F 3PL.S arrive AUX-back.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F be-DECL.F  
 Siro\_Wari ya  
 Siro\_Wari(M) ADJU  
 ‘They came and arrived at Siro Wari.’

- (70) *Maka Wari toineke ahi.*

Maka\_Wari to-ha-ne-ke ahi  
Maka\_Wari(F) CH-be-CONT.F-DECL.F there  
'Now it is Maka Wari.'

- (71) *Okiti ta kamematamona ama ahi, Siro Wari ka tabora ya.*

okiti taa ka-ma-himata-mona ama ahi  
1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) contrast come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC there  
Siro\_Wari ka tabora ya  
Siro\_Wari(M) POSS village(F) ADJU  
'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  
'They came and lived over here.'

- (73) *Yama hiwe ya me kamemetemoneni.*

yama hiwe ya me ka-ma-hemete-mone-ni  
dry\_season(F) ADJU 3PL.S come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
'They came upstream in the dry season.'

# P The poison root song

## Introduction

The story *The poison root song* was told by Siko in 1987. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-poisonroot.mp3>.

This story references the time when Siko's father was a young boy. It is about a man named Aifa, who composed songs that were sung at the feast they would have when they poisoned fish in the streams. This is still one of the ways the Jarawaras fish today, but without the singing and dancing. In the dry season when the water level is low, they put mashed roots of the *kona* plant in the stream, to slow down the fish and make it easier to spear them. The *kona* is a cultivated plant, and the Jarawaras find it in the secondary forest at the locations of old abandoned villages.

## English translation

That's what they were singing about, *kona* poison roots. It was *kona*, a big pile. His name has gone away quickly from my memory. Don't you know, Boroko? The one I used to talk about, who sang about *kona*. Oh, Aifa, yes, Aifa. They dug up *kona* roots. They started into the forest to the place where they would beat the *kona*. My father was small. He was very small. Aifa was thinking about the *kona*. They were thinking about the *kona*. "You beat *kona*. You go on ahead. You beat *kona*," Aifa said. "You go on ahead. You put the poles for beating *kona* on the ground. I'll come later. I'm going to take snuff now." He took snuff. He went into the forest to defecate. He went and defecated. He came back.

"We are going to beat *kona* for a while," he said [to his wife, in the village]. He came to the others. He had painted his face red with annatto. He came.

"Well? Have you begun the *kona* song?" he said.

"We haven't begun the song yet."

“They are taking a long time. Sit in two rows.” They sat in two rows on the poles, facing each other. One group sat on one side, and the other group sat on the other side, and he started the song.

He sat down on one of the poles. He grabbed a baton, to beat the *kona* with. The baton went, *teioo*, as he beat the *kona*. He started the E Onira song, the *kona* song. “My younger sister doesn’t know how to take out fish gall bladder. My younger sister doesn’t know how to take out fish gall bladder,” he said, singing the *kona* song. They sang the E Onira song. The sound of them beating the *kona* went, *baro, baro*. They were in lines beating the *kona*, my father and the others used to say. The E Onira song could be heard. They kept bending their heads down as they beat the *kona*.

He came to start the E Onira song, and all of a sudden he started the E Onira song. “They never sang this song a long time ago,” he said. “Our adolescent boys are beating to the song that was never sung a long time ago. They will learn it.”

*Baro, baro*. It was the *kona* song. They beat the *kona*.

As they beat the *kona*, he sang the E Onira song, the *kona* song. He sang about it, the *bahama* catfish. “When the *bahama* fish hear the enemy Indians [i.e. the Jarawaras], they ‘talk’ to warn each other,” he sang. They beat the *kona* really fast, by the E Onira song. They beat the *kona* by the E Onira song. “The *bahama* fish has a white moustache,” he sang. He composed the E Onira song, my father said. This is what he was like: he had painted his face red, and his knees went up over his head as he sat, and he was between two others. They kept moving their heads up and down as they beat the *kona*. The *bahama* song didn’t exist before. That *kona* song didn’t exist before.

He started another right after that one. “A piece of a *tawi* fish goes around and around in the water as it hits the enemies’ fish weir,” he sang. [The *tawi* fish was cut in half by piranhas.] “E Onira, E Onira,” he sang. They walked around to the song, wearing toucan feather ornaments.

They sang, singing the *kona* song. “The *wasa* fish blows to keep the fever of the enemy Indians away,” he said, singing the *kona* song, which they had composed and taught. I am telling what I heard my father say long ago.

He started another right after that one. “The *base* fish turns its anus up when it hits the enemy Indians’ fish weir,” he sang.

They took turns starting songs. They took turns starting other songs about animals and fish. “The *wisi* tamarin goes, ‘*Sisibarara*’. The *wisi* tamarin goes, ‘*Sisibarara*,’ on the fork in the *awa sawa* tree,” he sang. That’s what he was like.

He started the *kiso* capuchin song right away. “The pregnant *kiso* capuchin says, ‘*Hao*,’” he sang. “The pregnant *kiso* capuchin says, ‘*Hao*.’ ” They sang it all very fast and loudly, and it was good, my father used to say.

“The *kabobo* lizard, the *yifoma* lizard; it is pregnant, and just hits the water repeatedly [instead of running on the surface]. E Onira, E Onira,” they sang.

There were songs about both fish and animals. “The *bobo* owl hoots on the tree branch,” he sang.

When one was over, he started another. He started it. “I swam to get the fat of the *aba* fish,” he sang. “I swam to get the fat of the *aba* fish.”

When the beating of the *kona* was done, they left to go on the trail singing the E Onira, decorated. They went back. The women got them all wet with mud. They got mud all over them with leaves. They wet them with mud and leaves. The women’s fire went out because there were so many of them. [The men came back to the village and went over the fire, and the mud that was dripping off them put out the fire. This was symbolic of the *aba* that comes to the surface because of the *kona* poison.] The fire went out. The women had burned them with brands [which they touched to their skin], and now the fire went out. [The men are upset at being burned by the women, and they put the fire out, so they couldn’t burn them anymore.] They had burned them. They were burned because of the women. They were burned, because they burned them. They got mud on them so they could eat, so they could eat fish. They got mud on them and they were burned, they burned them, they were hurt. They put out their fire, so they could shoot fish the next day, and kill many fish.

They got up early and put the *kona* in the water. They killed lots of fish in a trap. They brought the fish that had been caught by the fish weir, my father used to say. They carried lots of fish in the fish trap. [Several men carried one trap full of fish.]

Back at the village, they decided to start preparing the fish, and they wrapped the fish in leaves. They roasted the fish on racks. “Aren’t they going to light the feast?” They danced after they ate. They were still dancing at dawn. They slept during the day. They ate in the morning and then slept, when it was day.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Hahi, tani me hihiri hiematamona.*  
haahi tani me hi-hiri hi-ha-himata-mona  
this\_one.M song\_about 3PL.S DUP-sing OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
'That's what they were singing about.'
- (2) *Kona, kona amaka hari kona, ehebote.*  
kona kona ama-ka haari kona ehebote  
plant.sp(M) plant.sp(M) be-DECL.M that\_one.M plant.sp(M) big  
'It was *kona*, a big pile.'
- (3) *Ee, ino fawa ni kekerewe re.*  
ee ino fawa ni ke-kerewe re  
(pause) name.M disappear AUX.NFIN DUP-be\_slow NEG.M  
'His name went away quickly.'
- (4) *Me te watore Boroko, aya ino hihiri oehirihi, kona tani hiri nematamonaha.*  
me tee wato-re Boroko aya ino hi-hiri  
3PL 2PL.S know-NEG.M Boroko(M) this name.M DUP-say  
o-ha-hiri-hi kona tani hiri  
1SG.S-AUX-RP.E.M-DUP plant.sp(M) song\_about sing  
na-himata-mona-ha  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
'Don't you know, Boroko? The one I used to talk about, who sang about  
*kona*.'
- (5) *Aa, Aifa, ee, Aifa.*  
aa Aifa ee Aifa  
oh\_yes Aifa(M) yes Aifa(M)  
'Oh, Aifa. Yes, Aifa.'
- (6) *Kona, kona me wi nemetemoneke.*  
kona kona me wii na-hemete-mone-ke  
plant.sp(M) plant.sp(M) 3PL.S dig AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'They dug up *kona*.'

- (7) *Kona me wi na me, kona me, kona me wi na me, kona me baro nabone me yana tonemetemone.*  
 kona me wii na me kona me kona me wii  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL.S dig AUX.F 3PL.S plant.sp(M) 3PL plant.sp(M) 3PL.S dig  
 na me kona me baro na-habone me yana  
 AUX.F 3PL.S plant.sp(M) 3PL.S beat AUX-INT.F 3PL.S start  
 to-na-hemete-mone  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘They dug up *kona*. They dug up *kona*. They started out to beat the *kona*.’
- (8) *Okobi okobi okobi okobi nafirematamonaka.*  
 okobi okobi okobi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 okobi nafi-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) be\_big-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘My father was small.’
- (9) *Okobi iisi kabote ne, faya okobi nafire ni ya, Aifa kona wati kanahi, kona wati kanematamonaka.*  
 okobi i-isi kabote ne faya okobi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-be\_small quickly AUX.M so 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 nafi-re ni ya Aifa kona wati ka-nahi  
 be\_big-NEG.M to ADJU Aifa(M) plant.sp(M) think\_about COMIT-AUX.M  
 kona wati ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 plant.sp(M) think\_about COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘My father was very small. Aifa was thinking about *kona*.’
- (10) *Kona me wati kana me, kona me wati kana me, Kona te, kona te baro nibe.*  
 kona me wati ka-na me kona me  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL.S think\_about COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S plant.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 wati ka-na me kona tee kona tee baro  
 think\_about COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S plant.sp(M) 2PL plant.sp(M) 2PL.S beat  
 na-be  
 AUX-IMMED.F  
 ‘They were thinking about *kona*. “You beat *kona*.”’
- (11) *Te tai toahi.*  
 tee tai to-ha-hi  
 2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘“You go on ahead.”’

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- (12) *Te tai toahi.*  
tee tai to-ha-hi  
2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX-IMP.F  
‘‘You go on ahead.’’
- (13) *Kona te baro nibeya, ati nematamonaka.*  
kona tee baro na-be-ya ati na-himata-mona-ka  
plant.sp(M) 2PL.S beat AUX-IMMED.F-now say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘‘You beat *kona*,’’ he said.’
- (14) *Te tai toa.*  
tee tai to-ha  
2PL.S be\_ahead CH-AUX  
‘‘You go on ahead.’’
- (15) *Kona ewene te kakiba, na.*  
kona ewene tee ka-iba na  
plant.sp(M) wood.M 2PL.S COMIT-set\_down.LIST AUX  
‘‘You put the poles for *kona* on the ground, too.’’
- (16) *Okomakebana o.*  
o-ka-make-habana o  
1SG.S-go-following-FUT.F 1SG.S  
‘‘I will come later.’’
- (17) *Sina hisi omate sina.*  
sina hisi o-mate sina  
snuff(F) sniff 1SG.S-short\_time.IMP.F snuff(F)  
‘‘I’m going to take snuff now.’’
- (18) *Sina hisi ne, faya sina hisi ne, mi nebona tokematamonaka.*  
sina hisi ne faya sina hisi ne mii na-hibona  
snuff(F) sniff AUX.M so snuff(F) sniff AUX.M defecate AUX-INT.M  
to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘He took snuff. He went to defecate.’

- (19) *Toke, toke mi towiti, kame kobo name, Kona ota baro namate.*  
 to-ke to-ke mii to-witi ka-me kobo  
 away-go.M away-go.M defecate away-out.M come-back.M arrive  
 na-me kona otaa baro na-mate  
 AUX-back.M plant.sp(M) 1EX.S beat AUX-short\_time.IMP.F  
 ‘He went. He went and defecated. He came back and arrived. “We are  
 going to beat *kona* for a while.”’
- (20) *Kona ota baro namateya.*  
 kona otaa baro na-mate-ya  
 plant.sp(M) 1EX.S beat AUX-short\_time.IMP.F-now  
 “‘We’re going to beat *kona* for a while.”’
- (21) *Kamakimatamonaka.*  
 ka-maki-himata-mona-ka  
 come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He came to the others.’
- (22) *Kamaki, noko mawa kanematamonaka ahi, ate ya.*  
 ka-maki noko mawa ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 come-following.M face.M paint\_red COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ahi atehe ya  
 then annatto(F) ADJU  
 ‘He came. He had painted his face red with annatto.’
- (23) *Ate ya noko mawa kanematamonaka.*  
 atehe ya noko mawa ka-na-himata-mona-ka  
 annatto(F) ADJU face.M paint\_red COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He had painted his face red with annatto.’
- (24) *Noko mawa kane kamaki, Faira?*  
 noko mawa ka-ne ka-maki fahi-ra  
 face.M paint\_red COMIT-AUX.M come-following.M that-NPQ  
 ‘He painted his face red and came. “Well?”’
- (25) *Tani te iti? ati nematamonaka.*  
 tani tee iti ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 song\_about 2PL.S begin say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “‘Have you begun the *kona* song?’ he said.’

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- (26) *Tani ota itikara.*

tani otaa iti-ka-ra  
 song\_about 1EX.S begin-DECL.M-NEG.M  
 ‘‘We haven’t begun the *kona* song.’’

- (27) *Me ki hine awane.*

me kii hi-ne awa-ne  
 3PL.S look\_at OC-AUX.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘They are taking a long time.’’

- (28) *Te bere kanahi.*

tee bere ka-na-hi  
 2PL.S be\_in\_a\_line COMIT-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Sit in rows.’’

- (29) *Me bere kanemetemone ahi.*

me bere ka-na-hemete-mone ahi  
 3PL.S be\_in\_a\_line COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘They sat in rows.’

- (30) *Ha me kaya kana ha me kaya kana nemetemoneke, kona kona tani me, itihibanoho.*

haa me kaya ka-na haa me kaya  
 DEM 3PL.S be\_on\_one\_side COMIT-AUX.LIST DEM 3PL.S be\_on\_one\_side  
 ka-na na-hemete-mone-ke kona kona  
 COMIT-AUX.LIST AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F plant.sp(M) plant.sp(M)  
 tani me iti-hiba-no-ho  
 song\_about 3PL begin-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘One group sat on one side, and the other group sat on the other side, and he started the *kona* song.’<sup>1</sup>

- (31) *Itaririsematamonaka ahi.*

ita-ri-risa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 sit-raised\_surface-down-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He sat down on a pole.’

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<sup>1</sup>The last occurrence of *me* is a mistake.

- (32) *Itaririse, itaririsematamona.*  
 ita-ri-rise                      ita-ri-risa-himata-mona  
 sit-raised\_surface-down.M sit-raised\_surface-down-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He sat down. He sat down.’
- (33) *Itaririse, awa itimatamonaka ahi, kona babarobonaha.*  
 ita-ri-rise                      awa      iti-himata-mona-ka                      ahi  
 sit-raised\_surface-down.M wood(F) pick\_up-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 kona              babaro-bona-ha  
 plant.sp(M) thing\_for\_beating-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘He sat down and grabbed a stick, to beat the *kona* with.’
- (34) *Awa itimatamona ahi.*  
 awa      iti-himata-mona                      ahi  
 wood(F) pick\_up-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He grabbed a stick.’
- (35) *Teioo ati nematamonaka ahi.*  
 teioo                                      ati na-himata-mona-ka                      ahi  
 (sound\_of\_hitting\_on\_wood) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘*Teioo* he went.’
- (36) *Teioo ati ne ee, E Onira itimatamonane, kona tani.*  
 teioo                                      ati ne      ee      Ee\_Onira  
 (sound\_of\_hitting\_on\_wood) say AUX.M (pause) Ee\_Onira(F)  
 iti-himata-mona-ne                      kona              tani  
 begin-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M plant.sp(M) song\_about  
 ‘*Teioo* he went. He started the E Onira, the *kona* song.’
- (37) *Kona tani itimatamonaka ahi.*  
 kona              tani                      iti-himata-mona-ka                      ahi  
 plant.sp(M) song\_about begin-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He started the *kona* song.’
- (38) *Okasima, okasima, aba, aba sitakari iti, okasima watomonerani ha, monerani ha ati nematamonane.*  
 okasima                                      okasima                                      aba      aba  
 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) fish(M) fish(M)  
 sitakari      iti                                      okasima                                      wato-mone-rani  
 gall\_bladder take\_out.NFIN 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) know-REP.F-?

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haa mone-rani haa ati na-himata-mona-ne

DEM REP.F-? DEM say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M

‘‘My younger sister doesn’t know how to take out fish gall bladder,’’ he said.’

- (39) *Okasima, okasima, aba sitakari iti, okasima watomonerani ha, monerani ha ati nematamonaka ahi, kona tani itihari.*

okasima okasima aba  
 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) fish(M)  
 sitakari iti okasima wato-mone-rani  
 gall\_bladder take\_out.NFIN 1SG.POSS.younger\_sister(F) know-REP.F-?  
 haa mone-rani haa ati na-himata-mona-ka ahi kona  
 DEM REP.F-? DEM say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then plant.sp(M)  
 tani iti-haari  
 song\_about begin-IP.E.M

‘‘My younger sister doesn’t know how to take out fish gall bladder,’’ he said, singing the *kona* song.’

- (40) *E Onira me hiri na me, hiri nemetemoneke ahi.*

Ee\_Onira me hiri na me hiri na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 Ee\_Onira(F) 3PL.S sing AUX.F 3PL.S sing AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘The sang the E Onira.’

- (41) *Baro baro baro baro baro baro me, me yowaba nemetemone ahi, okobi me ati toamaroke.*

baro baro baro  
 (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating)  
 baro baro baro  
 (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating)  
 baro me me yowaba na-hemete-mone ahi  
 (sound\_of\_beating) 3PL 3PL.S be\_in\_a\_line AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 okobi me ati to-ha-hamaro-ke  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) 3PL.S say CH-AUX-FP.E.F-DECL.F

‘*Baro, baro.* They were in lines, my father and the others used to say.’

- (42) *E Onira saihemetemone amake ahi.*

Ee\_Onira sai-hemete-mone ama-ke ahi  
 Ee\_Onira(F) be\_heard-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-DECL.F then  
 ‘The E Onira could be heard.’

- (43) *Me mowimowi kana nemetemoneke, kona me baro na mati ahi.*  
 me mowi-mowi ka-na na-hemete-mone-ke kona me  
 3PL.S DUP-bend COMIT-AUX AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F plant.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 baro na mati ahi  
 beat AUX.F 3PL.S then  
 ‘They kept bending their heads down as they beat the *kona*.’
- (44) *E Onira itihiba, kamaki E Onira ki nematamona.*  
 Ee\_Onira iti-hiba ka-maki Ee\_Onira kii  
 Ee\_Onira(F) begin-FUT.M come-following.M Ee\_Onira(F) start\_suddenly  
 na-himata-mona  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He came to start the E Onira, and all of a sudden he started the E Onira.’
- (45) *Ota, e ka yama wasini amaremetemone.*  
 otaa ee ka yama wasi-ni ama-ra-hemete-mone  
 1EX 1IN POSS thing(F) be\_composed.NFIN-IP.N.F be-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘‘Our people never sang this song a long time ago.’’
- (46) *E ka yama wasini amari, amarimetemone, me ati ninetini, ati nematamona.*  
 ee ka yama wasi-ni ama-ri  
 1IN POSS thing(F) be\_composed.NFIN-IP.N.F be-NEG.NOM.F  
 ama-ri-mete-mone me ati na-ne-ti-ni ati  
 be-NEG.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S say AUX-CONT.F-HAB.NOM-IP.N.F say  
 na-himata-mona  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘‘Our people never sang this song a long time ago,’’ he said.’
- (47) *E ka yama wasini, e ka yama wasini amaremetemone, metemonehe, ati nematamonaka.*  
 ee ka yama wasi-ni ee ka yama  
 1IN POSS thing(F) be\_composed.NFIN-IP.N.F 1IN POSS thing(F)  
 wasi-ni ama-ra-hemete-mone mete-mone-he ati  
 be\_composed.NFIN-IP.N.F be-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP say  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘Our people never sang this song a long time ago,’’ he said.’

- (48) *E ka yama wasini amarametemonera e yetene baro tokini, baro tokini ati nematamonaka ahi.*  
 ee ka yama wasi-ni ama-ra-mete-mone-ra  
 1IN POSS thing(F) be\_composed.NFIN-IP.N.F be-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F-NEG  
 ee\_yetene baro to-ka-ni baro to-ka-ni ati  
 our\_teenage\_boys beat CH-COMIT-BKG.F beat CH-COMIT-BKG.F say  
 na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘‘Our adolescent boys are beating to the song that our people never sang a long time ago,’’ he said.’
- (49) *Me hiwatoaba amake.*  
 me hi-wato-haba ama-ke  
 3PL.S OC-know-FUT.F SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘‘They will learn it.’’
- (50) *Baro baro baro baro baro baro baro, kona tanimatamona kona.*  
 baro baro baro  
 (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating)  
 baro baro baro  
 (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating) (sound\_of\_beating)  
 baro kona tani-mata-mona kona  
 (sound\_of\_beating) plant.sp(M) song\_about-FP.N.M-REP.M plant.sp(M)  
 ‘*Baro, baro.* It was the *kona* song.’
- (51) *Kona me kona me baro nemetemoneke.*  
 kona me kona me baro na-hemete-mone-ke  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL plant.sp(M) 3PL.S beat AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They beat the *kona*.’
- (52) *Kona me baro na me, E Onira hiri nematamonaka ahi, kona tani hiri nari ahi.*  
 kona me baro na me Ee\_Onira hiri  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL.S beat AUX.F 3PL.S Ee\_Onira(F) sing  
 na-himata-mona-ka ahi kona tani hiri na-haari  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then plant.sp(M) song\_about sing AUX-IP.E.M  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘As they beat the *kona*, he sang the E Onira, the *kona* song.’

- (53) *Tani hiri hinehimatamona.*  
 tani hiri hi-na-himata-mona  
 song\_about sing OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He sang the *bahama* song.’
- (54) *Bahama amane bahama.*  
 bahama ama-ne bahama  
 fish.sp(M) be-BKG.M fish.sp(M)  
 ‘It was the *bahama* fish.’
- (55) *Yawa atimonehe ya, yawa atimonehe ya, aba bahama ati ihihimonarani ha, monarani ha, ati nematamonane.*  
 yawa ati-mone-he ya yawa ati-mone-he ya  
 enemies(F) voice-REP.F-DUP ADJU enemies(F) voice-REP.F-DUP ADJU  
 aba bahama ati ihihimona-rani haa mona-rani haa ati  
 fish(M) fish.sp(M) voice talk-REP.M-? DEM REP.M-? DEM say  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘When the *bahama* fish hear the enemy Indians, they ‘talk’,’’ he said.’
- (56) *Kona me baro tokanametemone E Onira ya.*  
 kona me baro to-ka-na-hemete-mone Ee\_Onira ya  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL.S beat CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F Ee\_Onira(F) ADJU  
 ‘They beat the *kona* really fast, by the E Onira.’
- (57) *E Onira ya kona me baro nemetemoneke, kona.*  
 Ee\_Onira ya kona me baro na-hemete-mone-ke  
 Ee\_Onira(F) ADJU plant.sp(M) 3PL.S beat AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 kona  
 plant.sp(M)  
 ‘They beat the *kona* by the E Onira.’
- (58) *Aba bahama bono kone sawaro nawi ni, nawi ni, ati nematamonaka ahi.*  
 aba bahama bono kone sawa-ro  
 fish(M) fish.sp(M) snout.M hair be\_white.M-without\_stopping  
 na-wi ni na-wi ni ati  
 AUX-steadily AUX.NFIN AUX-steadily AUX.NFIN say  
 na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘‘The *bahama* has a white moustache,’’ he said.’

- (59) *E Onira siba nematamona, okobi na hiehimari ama.*  
 Ee\_Onira siba na-himata-mona okobi na  
 Ee\_Onira(F) look\_for AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say  
 hi-ha-himari ama  
 OC-AUX-FP.E.M SEC  
 ‘He composed the E Onira, my father always said.’
- (60) *Ee toemata.*  
 e-ee to-ha-himata  
 DUP-be\_similar CH-AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘That’s what he was like.’
- (61) *Noko mawa kanikima kane iso witi fiya tokomisa kane ahi, hete tonahari.*  
 noko mawa kanikima ka-ne iso witi fiya to-ka-misa  
 face.M paint\_red scattered COMMIT-AUX.M leg.M edge pass away-COMIT-up  
 ka-ne ahi hete to-na-haari  
 COMMIT-AUX.M then stick.in CH-AUX-IP.E.M  
 ‘He had painted his face red, and his knees went up over his head, and he was between two others.’
- (62) *Me mowimowi kana nemetemoneke ahi, kona me baro na mati.*  
 me mowi-mowi ka-na na-hemete-mone-ke ahi kona  
 3PL.S DUP-bend COMMIT-AUX AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then plant.sp(M)  
 me baro na mati  
 3PL.S beat AUX.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They kept moving their heads up and down as they beat the *kona*.’
- (63) *Tani watatere amaka hari.*  
 tani wata-tee-re ama-ka haari  
 song\_about exist-HAB-NEG.M SEC-DECL.M that\_one.M  
 ‘The *bahama* song didn’t exist before.’
- (64) *Kona tani watatere amaka.*  
 kona tani wata-tee-re ama-ka  
 plant.sp(M) song\_about exist-HAB-NEG.M SEC-DECL.M  
 ‘The *kona* song didn’t exist before.’
- (65) *Itiwa tohitimatamonaka ahi.*  
 iti-waha to-hiti-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 begin-change CH-along\_the\_way-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He started another right after that one.’

- (66) *Aba, aba tawi, yawa ka serima baki ya, aba tawi kote tawi monarani ha, monarani ha, ati nematamonane.*  
 aba aba tawi yawa ka serima baki  
 fish(M) fish(M) fish.sp(F) enemies(F) POSS fish\_weir(F) inside\_surface.F  
 ya aba tawi kote tawi mona-rani haa mona-rani haa ati  
 ADJU fish(M) fish.sp(F) piece spin REP.M-? DEM REP.M-? DEM say  
 na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘‘A piece of a *tawi* fish goes around and around at the enemies’ fish weir,’’  
 he said.’
- (67) *E Onira, E Onira, ati nematamonaka ahi.*  
 Ee\_Onira Ee\_Onira ati na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 Ee\_Onira(F) Ee\_Onira(F) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘‘E Onira, E Onira,’’ he said.’
- (68) *Me yaka hikimetemone yaki me weyeri na mati ahi.*  
 me yaka hi-ka-ni-mete-mone yaki me  
 3PL.S walk OC-COMIT-AUX.NOM.F-FP.N.F-REP.F headdress(M) 3PL.S  
 weye-ri na mati ahi  
 carry-DISTR AUX.F 3PL.S then  
 ‘They walked around to it, wearing toucan feather ornaments.’
- (69) *Me ayakemetemoneke ahi kona tani me hiri na mati ahi.*  
 me ayaka-hemete-mone-ke ahi kona tani me hiri  
 3PL.S sing-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then plant.sp(M) song\_about 3PL.S sing  
 na mati ahi  
 AUX.F 3PL.S then  
 ‘They sang, singing the *kona* song.’
- (70) *Yawa ka yama, yawa ka yama komemonehe ya, aba wasa yama wiso monarani ha, monarani ha, ati nematamonane, wasa tani hiri nari, fara me hiwasiemete, fara me hikanawanemete, hirihiri toemete.*  
 yawa ka yama yawa ka yama kome-mone-he ya  
 enemies(F) POSS thing(F) enemies(F) POSS thing(F) fever.F-REP.F-DUP ADJU  
 aba wasa yama wiso mona-rani haa mona-rani haa ati  
 fish(M) fish.sp(M) thing(F) blow REP.M-? DEM REP.M-? DEM say  
 na-himata-mona-ne wasa tani hiri na-haari fara  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M fish.sp(M) song\_about sing AUX-IP.E.M same.F

P *The poison root song*

me hi-wasi-hemete fara me hi-kanawana-hemete hiri-hiri  
 3PL.S OC-compose-FP.N.F same.F 3PL.S OC-teach-FP.N.F DUP-sing  
 to-ha-hemete  
 CH-AUX-FP.N.F

“The *was* fish blows to keep the fever of the enemy Indians away,” he said, singing the *kona* song, which they had composed and taught.’

- (71) *Mimita ohemete okobi hihiri hiamaro, hiri one o.*  
 mi-mita o-ha-hemete okobi hi-hiri hi-ha-hamaro hiri  
 DUP-hear 1SG.S-AUX-FP.N.F 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-sing OC-AUX-FP.E.F say  
 o-ne o  
 1SG.S-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 ‘I am telling what I heard my father say long ago.’
- (72) *Ati itiwa hitiometemoneke ahi.*  
 ati iti-waha hi-hiti-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 voice begin-change OC-along\_the\_way-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘He started another right after that one.’
- (73) *Yawa ka serima baki ya, aba, aba base te kanama, te kanama ati nematamonaka.*  
 yawa ka serima baki ya aba aba  
 enemies(F) POSS fish\_weir(F) inside\_surface.F ADJU fish(M) fish(M)  
 base tee ka-na-ma tee ka-na-ma  
 pacu.sp(F) bend\_over COMIT-AUX-back.F bend\_over COMIT-AUX-back.F  
 ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 “The *base* fish turns its anus up at the enemy Indians’ fish weir,” he said.’
- (74) *Me wara kanikima hinemetemoneke ahi.*  
 me wara kanikima hi-na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 3PL.S grab scattered OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They took turns.’
- (75) *Me wara kanikima hina me, bara ihawakani hinemetemoneke ahi, bani me tani, aba me tani.*  
 me wara kanikima hi-na me bara iha-waha-kani  
 3PL.S grab scattered OC-AUX.F 3PL other.F put-change-one\_at\_a\_time  
 hi-na-hemete-mone-ke ahi bani me tani aba  
 OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then animal(M) 3PL.POSS song\_about fish(M)

me tani  
3PL.POSS song\_about

'They took turns starting other songs about animals and fish.'

- (76) *Aba bani, bani wisi ati sisibararamonarani ha, monarani ha.*

aba bani bani wisi ati  
fish(M) animal(M) animal(M) tamarin voice  
sisibarara-mona-rani haa mona-rani haa  
(call\_of\_wisi\_tamarin)-REP.M-? DEM REP.M-? DEM

“The *wisi* goes, ‘*Sisibarara*.’”

- (77) *Awa sawa, awa sawa ino batori ya, bani wisi ati sisibararamonarani ha, monarani ha ati nematamonaka.*

awa\_sawa awa\_sawa ino batori ya bani wisi ati  
tree.sp(M) tree.sp(M) branch.M junction ADJU animal(M) tamarin voice  
sisibarara-mona-rani haa mona-rani haa ati  
(call\_of\_wisi\_tamarin)-REP.M-? DEM REP.M-? DEM say

na-himata-mona-ka

AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M

“The *wisi* goes, ‘*Sisibarara*,’ on the fork in the *awa sawa* tree,” he said.’

- (78) *Ee toemata, kiso tani itikiwakabote.*

e-ee to-ha-himata kiso tani  
DUP-be\_similar CH-AUX-FP.N.M white\_fronted\_capuchin(F) song\_about  
iti-ki-waha-kabote  
begin-coming-change-quickly

‘That’s what he was like. He started the *kiso* song right away.’

- (79) *Bani kiso, bani kiso naba koro, bani kiso naba koro ati haomonerani ha, monerani ha ati nematamonaka ahi.*

bani kiso bani  
animal(M) white\_fronted\_capuchin(F) animal(M)

kiso naba\_koro bani  
white\_fronted\_capuchin(F) pregnant animal(M)

kiso naba\_koro ati  
white\_fronted\_capuchin(F) pregnant voice

hao-mone-rani haa mone-rani haa ati  
(call\_of\_white\_fronted\_capuchin)-REP.F-? DEM REP.F-? DEM say

na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then

‘‘The pregnant kiso capuchin says, ‘Hao,’’ he said.’

- (80) *Bani bani kiso, naba koro ati haomonerani ha, monerani ha.*  
 bani bani kiso naba\_koro ati  
 animal(M) animal(M) white\_fronted\_capuchin(F) pregnant voice  
 hao-mone-rani haa mone-rani haa  
 (call\_of\_white\_fronted\_capuchin)-REP.F-? DEM REP.F-? DEM  
 ‘‘The pregnant kiso capuchin says, ‘Hao.’’’
- (81) *Me hiri hikanisa rama amosemetemone okobi na hiamaro amake, nafi.*  
 me hiri hi-ka-na-risa rama amosa-hemete-mone  
 3PL.S sing OC-COMIT-AUX-down.F unusual be\_good-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 okobi na hi-ha-hamaro ama-ke nafi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) say OC-AUX-FP.E.F SEC-DECL.F all  
 ‘They sang it all very fast and loudly, and it was good, my father used to say.’
- (82) *Hari kabobo, kabobo, Yifoma, yifoma naba koro, yifoma naba koro, kabobomonerani ha, monerani ha.*  
 haari kabobo kabobo yifoma yifoma naba\_koro  
 that\_one.M lizard.sp(M) lizard.sp(M) lizard.sp(M) lizard.sp(M) pregnant  
 yifoma naba\_koro kabobo-mone-rani haa  
 lizard.sp(M) pregnant (sound\_of\_kabobo\_lizard\_on\_water)-REP.F-? DEM  
 mone-rani haa  
 REP.F-? DEM  
 ‘‘The kabobo lizard, the yifoma lizard: it is pregnant, and goes kabobo when it hits the water.’’
- (83) *Ee E Onira, E Onira me ati nemetemoneke ahi.*  
 ee Ee\_Onira Ee\_Onira me ati na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 (pause) Ee\_Onira(F) Ee\_Onira(F) 3PL.S say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘‘E Onira, E Onira,’’ they said.’
- (84) *Aba me tani ya me tani yoro tokanemetemone me amake ahi, bani mati.*  
 aba me tani ya me tani yoro  
 fish(M) 3PL.POSS song\_about ADJU 3PL.POSS song\_about be\_together  
 to-ka-na-hemete-mone me ama-ke ahi bani mati  
 CH-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.POSS SEC-DECL.F then animal(M) 3PL  
 ‘The songs about the animals were joined to the songs about the fish.’

- (85) *Bani bobo, bani bobo, awa ini batori ya bani bobo ati fo nariwa, fo nariwa, fo nariwa, fo nariwa ati nematamonane.*  
 bani bobo bani bobo awa ini batori ya  
 animal(M) owl.sp(M) animal(M) owl.sp(M) tree(F) branch.F junction ADJU  
 bani bobo ati fo na-riwaha fo na-riwaha fo  
 animal(M) owl.sp(M) voice hoot AUX-across.F hoot AUX-across.F hoot  
 na-riwaha fo na-riwaha ati na-himata-mona-ne  
 AUX-across.F hoot AUX-across.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘“The *bobo* owl hoots on the tree branch,” he said.’
- (86) *Faya fawa toni ya yana hikanemetemone, one.*  
 faya fawa to-ni ya yana hi-ka-na-hemete-mone one  
 so stop CH-AUX.NOM.F ADJU start OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F other.F  
 ‘When one was over, he started another.’
- (87) *Yana hikana, Aba, aba, aba sobori, aba sobori, tone tibo nama oni, tibo nama oni ati nematamonaka.*  
 yana hi-ka-na aba aba aba sobo-ri  
 start OC-COMIT-AUX.F fish.sp(M) fish.sp(M) fish.sp(M) belly(F)-PN  
 aba sobo-ri tone tibo na-ma o-ni tibo na-ma  
 fish.sp(M) belly(F)-PN bone swim AUX-back 1SG.S-BKG.F swim AUX-back  
 o-ni ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 1SG.S-BKG.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He started it. “I swam to get the fat of the *aba* fish,” he said.’<sup>2</sup>
- (88) *Aba sobori, aba sobori tone tibo nama oni, tibo nama oni.*  
 aba sobo-ri aba sobo-ri tone tibo na-ma  
 fish.sp(M) belly(F)-PN fish.sp(M) belly(F)-PN bone swim AUX-back  
 o-ni tibo na-ma o-ni  
 1SG.S-BKG.F swim AUX-back 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I swam to get the fat of the *aba*.”
- (89) *Faya me, me, faya kona baro ni ahabe ya, me yana tonemetemoneke, E Onira me towakamaba mati ahi, me atoha mati, ahi hawi ya.*  
 faya me me faya kona baro ni ahabe ya me  
 so 3PL 3PL so plant.sp(M) be\_beaten AUX.NFIN end.NOM.M ADJU 3PL.S  
 yana to-na-hemete-mone-ke Ee\_Onira me  
 start CH-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F Ee\_Onira(F) 3PL.S

<sup>2</sup>It is unclear how *tone* ‘bone’ fits in here.

to-ka-ka-ma-haba                    mati ahi me atoha                    mati ahi  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FUT.F 3PL.S then 3PL.S be\_decorated.F 3PL.S then  
 hawi ya  
 trail(F) ADJU

‘When the beating of the *kona* was done, they left to go on the trail with the E Onira, decorated.’

- (90) *Tokometemone ahi, tokoma me, me me foto nemetemoneke ahi atabo ya.*

to-ka-ma-hemete-mone    ahi to-ka-ma            me me me foto  
 away-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F then away-go-back.F 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S wet  
 na-hemete-mone-ke    ahi atabo ya  
 AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then mud(F) ADJU

‘They went back. They got them all wet with mud.’

- (91) *Atabo ya me me foto nemetemoneni, waso ya.*

atabo ya    me me foto na-hemete-mone-ni    waso ya  
 mud(F) ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S wet AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F leaf(F) ADJU

‘They got mud all over them with leaves.’

- (92) *Atabo waso kihaha ya me me foto hinemetemone.*

atabo waso kihaha ya    me me foto hi-na-hemete-mone  
 mud(F) leaf(F) have.F ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S wet OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F

‘They wet them with mud and leaves.’

- (93) *Me fanawi ka yifo witi owihemetemoneke me tama me ihi ahi.*

me fanawi ka    yifo witi owi-hemete-mone-ke            me tama  
 3PL woman POSS fire(F) coal go\_out-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.S be\_many.F  
 me            ihi            ahi  
 3PL.POSS because\_of.F then

‘The women’s fire went out because there were so many of them.’

- (94) *Yifo witi owihemetemone amake.*

yifo witi owi-hemete-mone ama-ke  
 fire(F) coal go\_out-FP.N.F-REP.F SEC-DECL.F

‘The fire went out.’

- (95) *Yifo witi owiha me me me sari hinemetemoneke ahi.*  
 yifo witi owiha me me me sari hi-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 fire(F) coal go\_out.F 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘They had burned them, and now the fire went out.’
- (96) *Me me sari hina me, me hatihemetemoneke, me fanawi ihi.*  
 me me sari hi-na me me hati-hemete-mone-ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC-AUX.F 3PL.O 3PL.S be\_burnt-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 me fanawi ihi  
 3PL.POSS woman because\_of.F  
 ‘They had burned them. They were burned because of the women.’
- (97) *Me hatihemetemoneni, me me sari hina mati.*  
 me hati-hemete-mone-ni me me sari hi-na mati  
 3PL.S be\_burnt-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F 3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC-AUX.F 3PL.O  
 ‘They were burned, because they burned them.’
- (98) *Me tafibonemakoni, me me foto nemetemoneni, aba me me kababone mati.*  
 me tafa-bone-makoni me me foto na-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.S eat-INT.F-for\_this\_reason.F 3PL.O 3PL.S wet AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 aba me me kaba-habone mati  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-INT.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They got mud on them so they could eat, so they could eat the fish.’
- (99) *Aba me me kababone, me me foto hina me, me hatiha me, me me hinahatiha me, me hiyayaya kawahemetemoneke ahi.*  
 aba me me kaba-habone me me foto hi-na me me  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S eat-INT.F 3PL.O 3PL.S wet OC-AUX.F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hatiha me me me hi-na-hatiha me me  
 be\_burnt.F 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S OC-CAUS-be\_burnt.F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 hiya-ya-ya ka-waha-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 be\_hurt-DUP-DUP COMIT-change-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They got mud on them and they were burned, they burned them, they were hurt.’

P *The poison root song*

- (100) *Me ka yifo witi me nawiemetemoneni, kona me, kona me sa naminaba  
mati aba me me, katomaba mati.*  
 me ka yifo witi me na-owi-hemete-mone-ni kona  
 3PL POSS fire(F) coal 3PL.S CAUS-go\_out-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F plant.sp(M)  
 me kona me saa na-mina-haba mati aba me  
 3PL plant.sp(M) 3PL.S release AUX-morning-FUT.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.O  
 me katoma-haba mati  
 3PL.S kill\_many-FUT.F 3PL.S  
 ‘They put out their [the women’s] fires, they who would shoot fish the  
 next day, and kill many fish.’
- (101) *Kona me sa namina me, kona me bosa kana kona me sa  
naminemetemoneke.*  
 kona me saa na-mina me kona me  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL.S release AUX-morning.F 3PL.S plant.sp(M) 3PL.S  
 bosa ka-na kona me saa  
 get\_up\_early COMMIT-AUX.F plant.sp(M) 3PL.S release  
 na-mina-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-morning-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They got up early and put the *kona* in the water.’
- (102) *Kona me sa namina me, kona me sa naminemetemoneke.*  
 kona me saa na-mina me kona me saa  
 plant.sp(M) 3PL.S release AUX-morning.F 3PL.S plant.sp(M) 3PL.S release  
 na-mina-hemete-mone-ke  
 AUX-morning-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They put the *kona* in the water in the morning.’
- (103) *Aba me me katomemetemoneni, wawasi ka mati.*  
 aba me me katoma-hemete-mone-ni wawasi  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S kill\_many-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F fish\_trap(F)  
 ka mati  
 pertaining\_to 3PL  
 ‘They killed lots of fish in a trap.’
- (104) *Serima baki ka aba me wasiha me me kakamemetemone okobi aati  
toemarika.*  
 serima baki ka aba me wasiha  
 fish\_weir(F) inside\_surface.F pertaining\_to fish(M) 3PL.S get\_caught.F

me me ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone okobi a-ati  
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-say  
 to-ha-himari-ka  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M

‘They brought the fish that had been caught by the fish weir, my father used to say.’

- (105) *Aba tamabote me me tiwari kanemetemone wawasi ya.*  
 aba tama-bote me me tiwa-ri ka-na-hemete-mone  
 fish(M) be\_many-very 3PL.O 3PL.S carry-DISTR COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 wa-wasi ya  
 DUP-get\_caught ADJU

‘They carried lots of fish in the fish trap.’

- (106) *Afore.*  
 Afore  
 Afore(F)  
 ‘Afore.’

- (107) *Faya me yana tona me, aba me me tafehemetemone ahi.*  
 faya me yana to-na me aba me me tafa-hemete-mone  
 so 3PL.S start CH-AUX.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S wrap-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ahi  
 then

‘They decided to start, and they wrapped the fish in leaves.’

- (108) *Aba me me tafa me, aba me me tafa me, aba me me tabasi nemetemoneke ahi.*

aba me me tafa me aba me me tafa me aba  
 fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S wrap.F 3PL.S fish(M) 3PL.O 3PL.S wrap.F 3PL.S fish(M)  
 me me tabasi na-hemete-mone-ke ahi  
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast\_on\_rack AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then

‘They wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish on racks.’

- (109) *Me firi hikaraba ama ayaka?*  
 me firi hi-ka-ra-haba ama ayaka  
 3PL.S shine\_light\_on OC-COMIT-NEG-FUT.F SEC feast(F)  
 ‘‘Aren’t they going to light the feast?’’

*P The poison root song*

- (110) *Faya me ayakemetemoneke, me tafa mati.*  
faya me ayaka-hemete-mone-ke me tafa mati  
so 3PL.S dance-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S  
'They danced after they ate.'
- (111) *Me tafa me ayakemetemoneke.*  
me tafa me ayaka-hemete-mone-ke  
3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S dance-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'They ate and danced.'
- (112) *Me ayaka me kawaha me, me kawahemetemoneke.*  
me ayaka me ka-waha me me  
3PL.S dance.F 3PL.S COMIT-dawn.F 3PL.S 3PL.S  
ka-waha-hemete-mone-ke  
COMIT-dawn-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'They were still dancing at dawn.'
- (113) *Faya me amo natiemetemoneke fahi.*  
faya me amo nahati-hemete-mone-ke fahi  
so 3PL.S sleep daytime-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then  
'They slept during the day.'
- (114) *Me amo na, me tafamina me tafa, me amo nawahemetemoneke fahi, me kawaha mati.*  
me amo na me tafa-mina me tafa me amo  
3PL.S sleep AUX.F 3PL.S eat-morning.F 3PL.S eat.F 3PL.S sleep  
na-waha-hemete-mone-ke fahi me ka-waha mati  
AUX-change-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F then 3PL.S COMIT-dawn.F 3PL.S  
'They ate in the morning and then slept, when it was day.'
- (115) *Karayati.*  
karayati  
fly.sp(M)  
'A karayati fly.'
- (116) *Hima.*  
hima  
let's\_go  
'Come on.'

- (117) *Faya amake.*  
faya ama-ke  
enough be-DECL.F  
'That's all.'



# Q My father fought a cougar

## Introduction

The story *My father fought a cougar* was told by Siko in 1991. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/siko-cougar.mp3>.

Siko's father, Botehefo, was attacked one day in the forest by a cougar. When this happened Botehefo was an adult, but the non-eyewitness tense that Siko uses indicates that this occurred before Siko was born. A cougar can kill a man, to be sure, but cougars are not as dangerous as jaguars. Siko's father struggled with the cougar and managed to make it run away. An indication of the stage of the contact of the Jarawaras with Brazilians is the fact that Siko's father had a rifle with him. Nowadays shotguns have replaced rifles.

## English translation

My father went out into the forest. He didn't see any game. He came back a ways. His rifle was setting against a tree. There was a miriti palm in the swamp. My father felt with his feet in the mud for miriti fruits, making them come to the surface. He picked the miriti fruits up and set them on dry ground. He picked the fruits up one at a time. The fruits were in a pile. He was waving his leg back and forth, then picking up the fruits and throwing them. "I don't have a basket for the miriti fruits, there are some *hawa* palm leaves for making a makeshift basket."

As he was looking at the leaves and thinking about making the basket, a cougar came at him. It came and attacked him. It wanted to knock my father over. He grabbed its front paws. "Oh," my father said, struggling to stay up. My father was kneeling in the mud. The cougar was trying to bite him in the face. He was holding it as far away as he could. He stood up. "You are messing with me." He got up with it, and turned toward the miriti palm. He moved it over, and pushed it against the miriti palm. *Tee*, went its head.

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He ran off and got his rifle, and came right back. He put a bullet in the rifle, and looked around for the cougar. It was gone. After having its head hit on the miriti palm, it went away. It didn't come back. It went away, hurt. "Why did you run away? Come back, you fierce animal," my father said.

He weaved a makeshift basket, and put the miriti fruits in it. He lifted the basket on his back. "That fierce animal who fought with me has disappeared. I didn't have my weapon, and I would have shot it, but it disappeared."

My father left and came back. He arrived. "Whew! You almost didn't have a father. The miriti fruits I'm bringing almost brought disaster on me. As I was getting the fruits, an animal attacked me. A cougar attacked me. I grabbed it, and it made me go down in the mud. I stood up with the cougar and pushed it, and it hit the back of its head. I went running and quickly got the rifle and came right back. I thought it was still around, but it was gone. I looked for it, and finally came on home."

The others laughed at him as he spoke back home. "Did it attack you?"

"Yes, it attacked me. The women go there all the time [to get miriti fruits. It would have killed them if it had been them.] It came at me lifting up its paws, and wanted to knock me down. I lifted up its paws, holding on. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared. It went away. It wanted to mess me up, but I held onto its paws. I was kneeling in the mud. I almost couldn't get back up with it. I stood back up with it. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared."

## Glossed text

- (1) *Okobi, okobi tokematamonaka.*

okobi                      okobi                      to-ka-himata-mona-ka  
1SG.POSS.father(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
'My father went out.'

- (2) *Okobi toke, okobi toke noko honare kame, okobi ka taokana wemetemone.*

okobi                      to-ke                      okobi                      to-ke                      noko  
1SG.POSS.father(M) away-go.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) away-go.M eye.M  
hona-re                      ka-me                      okobi                      ka                      taokana  
have\_something-NEG.M come-back.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) POSS rifle(F)  
waa-hemete-mone  
stand-FP.N.F-REP.F

'My father went out. He didn't see any game. He came back. His rifle was setting against a tree.'

- (3) *Yifo waifimatamonaka ahi.*  
 yifo waa-fi-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 miriti(M) stand-water-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘There was a miriti palm in the swamp.’
- (4) *Okobi yifo tebo kanematamona ahi.*  
 okobi yifo tebo ka-na-himata-mona ahi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) miriti(M) feel\_in\_water COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘My father felt with his feet for miriti fruits, making them come to the surface.’
- (5) *Yifo okobi yabe, yifo so tonihematamonaka.*  
 yifo okobi yabe yifo soo  
 miriti(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) pick\_up.M miriti(M) lie  
 to-niha-himata-mona-ka  
 CH-CAUS-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘My father picked the miriti fruits up and set them on dry ground.’
- (6) *Yifo yabe yifo so tonihe, okobi yifo itikani nematamonaka.*  
 yifo yabe yifo soo to-nihe okobi yifo  
 miriti(M) pick\_up.M miriti(M) lie CH-CAUS.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) miriti(M)  
 iti-kani na-himata-mona-ka  
 pick\_up-one\_at\_a\_time AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He picked up the miriti fruits and set them on the ground. My father was picking the miriti fruits up one at a time.’
- (7) *Yifo ta torematamona ahi.*  
 yifo taa to-re-himata-mona ahi  
 miriti(M) be\_piled\_up CH-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘The miriti fruits were in a pile.’
- (8) *Yifo ta tore, yifo tebo kanematamonaka ahi.*  
 yifo taa to-re yifo tebo  
 miriti(M) be\_piled\_up CH-raised\_surface miriti(M) feel\_in\_water  
 ka-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 COMMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The miriti fruits were in a pile. He was feeling them with his feet in the mud, making them come to the surface.’

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- (9) *Iso weo ne, yifo yabe, yifo were nematamonaka.*  
 iso weho ne yifo yabe yifo were  
 leg.M wave AUX.M miriti(M) pick\_up.M miriti(M) throw  
 na-himata-mona-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was waving his leg back and forth. He was picking up the miriti  
 fruits and throwing them.’
- (10) *Yifo were nematamona ahi.*  
 yifo were na-himata-mona ahi  
 miriti(M) throw AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He was throwing the miriti fruits.’
- (11) *Yifo were ne, yifo were nematamonaka.*  
 yifo were ne yifo were na-himata-mona-ka  
 miriti(M) throw AUX.M miriti(M) throw AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He was throwing the miriti fruits.’
- (12) *Yifo were ne ya, yifo ta torematamonaka ahi.*  
 yifo were ne ya yifo taa  
 miriti(M) throw AUX.NOM.M ADJU miriti(M) be\_piled\_up  
 to-re-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 CH-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He was throwing the miriti fruits. The miriti fruits were in a pile.’
- (13) *Yifo wiyene kikiha ora, tabasi kawariani ha.*  
 yifo wiyene ki-kiha o-ra tabasi  
 miriti(M) container.M DUP-have 1SG.S-NEG.F makeshift\_basket(F)  
 ka-waa-ri-hani haa  
 COMIT-stand-raised\_surface-IP.N.F DEM  
 ‘‘I don’t have a basket for the miriti fruits, there are some *hawa* leaves for  
 a makeshift basket.’’
- (14) *Okobi tabasi wati kaneno ni ya bani, yome kamakimatamonaka.*  
 okobi tabasi wati ka-na-hino ni  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) makeshift\_basket(F) think\_about COMIT-AUX-IP.N.M to  
 ya bani yomee ka-maki-himata-mona-ka  
 ADJU animal(M) cougar(M) come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘As my father was thinking about making the basket, a cougar came at  
 him.’

- (15) *Yome kamaki okobi fito kanematamona ahi.*  
 yomee ka-maki okobi fito  
 cougar(M) come-following.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) rush  
 ka-na-himata-mona ahi  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘The cougar came and attacked my father.’
- (16) *Okobi nabowematamonaha ahi.*  
 okobi naabowa-himata-mona-ha ahi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) knock\_over-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP then  
 ‘It wanted to knock my father over.’
- (17) *Mano okobi wara hikanematamona ahi.*  
 mano okobi wara hi-ka-na-himata-mona ahi  
 arm.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) grab OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘My father grabbed its front paws.’
- (18) *Okobi Oo okobi ati nematamona.*  
 okobi oo okobi ati na-himata-mona  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) oh\_no 1SG.POSS.father(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘“Oh,” my father said.’
- (19) *Okobi, atabo ya okobi itifi, iso witi ka ya itifi, fe, noko taboro kose ne, ta toba hinematamonaka ahi.*  
 okobi atabo ya okobi ita-fi iso witi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) mud(F) ADJU 1SG.POSS.father(M) sit-water.M leg.M edge  
 ka ya ita-fi fee noko taboro kose ne  
 LOC ADJU sit-water.M 3SG.POSS face place bite\_many\_times AUX.M  
 taa to-baa hi-na-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 extend CH-at\_a\_distance OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘My father was kneeling in the mud. The cougar was trying to bite him in the face. He was holding it far away.’
- (20) *Ta toba hine, okobi wamisamematamonaka ahi.*  
 taa to-baa hi-ne okobi  
 extend CH-at\_a\_distance OC-AUX.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 waa-misa-ma-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 stand-up-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He was holding it as far away as he could. My father stood up.’

*Q My father fought a cougar*

- (21) *Owa ahi tina ama tini.*  
owa ahi ti-na ama ti-ni  
1SG.O mess\_with 2SG.S-AUX.F SEC 2SG.S-BKG.F  
“You are messing with me.”
- (22) *Owa ahi tina ama ti.*  
owa ahi ti-na ama ti  
1SG.O mess\_with 2SG.S-AUX.F SEC 2SG.S  
“You are messing with me.”
- (23) *Faya okobi yana hikane, hinawawamematamonaka yifo wai ka ya ahi.*  
faya okobi yana hi-ka-ne  
so 1SG.POSS.father(M) get\_up OC-COMIT-AUX.M  
hi-na-waa-waha-ma-himata-mona-ka yifo wai  
OC-CAUS-stand-change-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M miriti(M) stand.NOM  
ka ya ahi  
LOC ADJU then  
‘My father got up with it, and turned it toward the miriti palm.’
- (24) *Hinawawame, fata hiwitimatamonaka ahi, tee.*  
hi-na-waa-waha-me fata hi-witi-himata-mona-ka ahi  
OC-CAUS-stand-change-back.M push OC-out-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
tee  
(sound\_of\_hitting)  
‘He moved it over, and pushed it away. Tee.’
- (25) *Okobi fata hiwiti okobi kana ni tokome, hifi itikabote wete kabote nematamonaka.*  
okobi fata hi-witi okobi kana ni  
1SG.POSS.father(M) push OC-out.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) run AUX.NFIN  
to-ka-me hifi iti-kabote wete kabote  
away-go-back.M rifle(F) pick\_up-quickly return quickly  
na-himata-mona-ka  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘My father pushed it, and then ran off and got his rifle, and came right back.’

- (26) *Faya okobi kame, bara ibewame yama ki tonikimematamonaka.*  
 faya okobi ka-me bara ibe-waha-me  
 so 1SG.POSS.father(M) come-back.M bullet(F) put\_inside-change-back.M  
 yama kii to-na-kima-himata-mona-ka  
 thing(F) look\_at CH-AUX-TWO-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘My father came back. He put a bullet in the rifle, and looked around.’
- (27) *Watarematamonaka.*  
 wata-ra-himata-mona-ka  
 exist-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It wasn’t there.’
- (28) *Tokomematamonaka, tati karimari ahi yifo ya.*  
 to-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka tati karima-haari ahi yifo  
 away-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M head hit-IP.E.M there miriti(M)  
 ya  
 ADJU  
 ‘After hitting its head on the miriti palm, it went away.’
- (29) *Faya tati karime kamarematamonane.*  
 faya tati karime ka-ma-ra-himata-mona-ne  
 so head hit.M come-back-NEG-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘After hitting its head on the miriti palm, it didn’t come back.’
- (30) *Towakamematamona.*  
 to-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona  
 away-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘It went away, hurt.’
- (31) *Fawafawa raba re kamamatatare hamahari, okobi ati nematamonaka.*  
 fawa-fawa raba re ka-ma-mata-re  
 DUP-disappear a\_bit NEG.M come-back-short\_time-NEG.M  
 hama-haari okobi ati na-himata-mona-ka  
 be\_fierce-IP.E.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘It disappeared. The fierce animal didn’t come back,’’ my father said.’

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- (32) *Faya okobi, tabasi kowawe yifo te nematamona fahi.*  
 faya okobi tabasi kowa-wahe yifo  
 so 1SG.POSS.father(M) makeshift\_basket(F) weave-change.M miriti(M)  
 tee na-himata-mona fahi  
 put\_inside AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘My father weaved a makeshift basket, and put the miriti fruits in it.’
- (33) *Yifo te ne, yifo te ne, yifo te nematamonaka.*  
 yifo tee ne yifo tee ne yifo  
 miriti(M) put\_inside AUX.M miriti(M) put\_inside AUX.M miriti(M)  
 tee na-himata-mona-ka  
 put\_inside AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He put the miriti fruits in.’
- (34) *Yifo te ne yifo, weye kamise, Hamahama raba re owa mono ne fawa na, oye hone tama okara rama, tao okanena fawa nane.*  
 yifo tee ne yifo weye ka-mise hama-hama  
 miriti(M) put\_inside AUX.M miriti(M) carry COMIT-up.M DUP-be\_fierce  
 raba re owa mono ne fawa na  
 a\_bit NEG.M 1SG.O struggle\_with AUX.M disappear AUX.CONT.M  
 o-yehe hone tama o-ka-ra rama tao  
 1SG.POSS-hand weapon.F hold\_onto 1SG.S-COMIT-NEG.F unusual shoot  
 o-ka-na-hina fawa na-ne  
 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-IRR.M disappear AUX.CONT.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He put the miriti fruits in. He lifted the basket on his back. “That fierce animal who fought with me has disappeared. I didn’t have my weapon, and I would have shot it, but it disappeared.”’
- (35) *Faya okobi yana ne kame kamematamonaka.*  
 faya okobi yana ne ka-me  
 so 1SG.POSS.father(M) get\_up AUX.M come-back.M  
 ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
 come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘My father started out and came back.’
- (36) *Kame kame kobo name, Oo, owa abi tina, yifo owa yokohina owakamine oke.*  
 ka-me ka-me kobo na-me oo owa abi  
 come-back.M come-back.M arrive AUX-back.M whew 1SG.O call\_father

ti-na yifo owa yoko-hina  
 2SG.S-AUX.F miriti(M) 1SG.O bring\_misfortune\_on-IRR.M  
 o-ka-ka-ma-ne o-ke  
 1SG.S-COMIT-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-DECL.F

‘He came, and arrived. “Whew! You called me father. The miriti fruits I’m bringing almost brought disaster on me.”’

(37) *Yifo oyaba yama owa fito kini.*

yifo o-yaba yama owa fito ka-ni  
 miriti(M) 1SG.S-pick\_up.F thing(F) 1SG.O rush COMIT-BKG.F

‘“As I was getting the miriti fruits, an animal attacked me.”’

(38) *Bani hata bani hata, bani hata owa fito kane, wara omise atabo owa watifrise, okowamisame, okowamisamareka.*

bani\_hata bani\_hata bani\_hata owa fito ka-ne wara o-mise  
 cougar(M) cougar(M) cougar(M) 1SG.O rush COMIT-AUX.M grab 1SG.S-up.M  
 atabo owa wata-fi-rise o-ka-waa-misa-me  
 mud(F) 1SG.O put-water-down.M 1SG.S-COMIT-stand-up-back.M  
 o-ka-waa-misa-ma-hare-ka  
 1SG.S-COMIT-stand-up-back-IP.E.M-DECL.M

‘“A cougar attacked me. I grabbed it, and it made me go down in the mud. I stood up with it.”’

(39) *Winaka ahi, namiti kari.*

wina-ka ahi namiti kari  
 hang-DECL.M there neck LOC.M

‘[The microphone] is hanging there on his neck.’

(40) *Faya okobi kamematamona fahi.*

faya okobi ka-ma-himata-mona fahi  
 so 1SG.POSS.father(M) come-back-FP.N.M-REP.M then

‘My father came back.’

(41) *Okobi kame kobo name, Bani hata okowamise fata owiti tati karimareka tati mete haro.*

okobi ka-me kobo na-me bani\_hata  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) come-back.M arrive AUX-back.M cougar(M)  
 o-ka-waa-mise fata o-witi tati karima-hare-ka tati  
 1SG.S-COMIT-stand-up.M push 1SG.S-out.M head hit-IP.E.M-DECL.M head

Q *My father fought a cougar*

mete haaro

rear.M that\_one.F

‘My father came back and arrived. “I stood up with the cougar and pushed it, and it hit its head, the back of its head.”’

- (42) *Faya kakamare hifi oko bete ni tokoma hifi itikabote wete kabote, wabakani one fawa nareka.*

faya ka-ka-ma-re hifi o-ka bete ni  
so COMIT-come-back-NEG.M rifle(F) 1SG.POSS-POSS run AUX.NFIN  
to-ka-ma hifi iti-kabote wete kabote  
away-go-back.F rifle(F) pick\_up-quickly return quickly  
waa-ba-kani o-ne fawa na-hare-ka  
stand-FUT-CNTRFACT 1SG.S-say.M disappear AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M

“I went running and quickly got the rifle and came right back. I thought it was still around, but it was gone.”<sup>1</sup>

- (43) *Fawa ne tabiyo yama siba ona okomawahine o waha.*

fawa ne tabiyo yama siba o-na  
disappear AUX.M wanting thing(F) look\_for 1SG.S-AUX.F  
o-ka-ma-waha-ne o waha  
1SG.S-come-back-change-CONT.F 1SG.S now

“It was gone. I looked for it, and finally came on home.”

- (44) *Faya okobi yana ne kame, hiyaramé, ati me haha kanemetemone fahi.*

faya okobi yana ne ka-me hiyara-me ati  
so 1SG.POSS.father(M) get\_up AUX.M come-back.M speak-back.M voice  
me haahaa ka-na-hemete-mone fahi  
3PL.S laugh COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then

‘My father started out and came home. The others laughed at him as he spoke back home.’

- (45) *Tiwa fito kano?*

tiwa fito ka-no  
2SG.O rush COMIT.NOM.M-IP.N.M

“Did it attack you?”

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<sup>1</sup>*Kakamare* is obscure. It may be an incorrect transcription, or a mistake; in any case, the meaning does not fit in the context.

- (46) *Owa fito kanarene.*  
 owa fito ka-na-hare-ne  
 1SG.O rush COMIT-AUX-IP.E.M-BKG.M  
 “It attacked me.”
- (47) *Me fanawi yoyobi toha, yama mani tiwa kani kamakiha owa nabowareka ahi.*  
 me fanawi yo-yobi to-ha yama mani tiwa  
 3PL.S woman DUP-go\_back\_and\_forth CH-AUX.F thing(F) arm.F carry  
 ka-ni ka-makiha owa naabowa-hare-ka ahi  
 COMIT-AUX.NFIN come-following.F 1SG.O knock\_over-IP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 “The women are always going. It came at me lifting up its paws, and wanted to knock me down.”
- (48) *Mano wara okomisareka ahi.*  
 mano wara o-ka-misa-hare-ka ahi  
 arm.M grab 1SG.S-COMIT-up-IP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 “I lifted up its paws, holding on.”
- (49) *Mano wara okomise, mano wara okomise ya, mano wara okomise, tao okanebona one fawa nareka, tokaraba ranoho.*  
 mano wara o-ka-mise mano wara o-ka-mise ya  
 arm.M grab 1SG.S-COMIT-up.M arm.M grab 1SG.S-COMIT-up.NOM.M ADJU  
 mano wara o-ka-mise tao o-ka-na-hibona o-ne  
 arm.M grab 1SG.S-COMIT-up.M shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-INT.M 1SG.S-say.M  
 fawa na-hare-ka to-ka-raba ra-no-ho  
 disappear AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M away-go-a\_bit NEG.NOM.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 “I lifted up its paws, holding on. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared. It went away.”
- (50) *Owa aahi nare owa aahi re mano wara okanareka.*  
 owa a-ahi na-re owa a-ahi re mano  
 1SG.O DUP-mess\_with AUX-NEG.M 1SG.O DUP-mess\_with NEG.M arm.M  
 wara o-ka-na-hare-ka  
 grab 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “It wanted to mess me up, but I held onto its paws.”

*Q My father fought a cougar*

(51) *Atabo owitifehara oni.*

atabo o-ita-fe-hara o-ni  
mud(F) 1SG.S-sit-water-IP.E.F 1SG.S-BKG.F

“I was kneeling in the mud.”

(52) *Kawamisamare okowamisamarene.*

ka-waa-misa-ma-re o-ka-waa-misa-ma-hare-ne  
COMIT-stand-up-back-NEG.M 1SG.S-COMIT-stand-up-back-IP.E.M-BKG.M

“I almost couldn’t get back up with it.”

(53) *Okawamisame, tao okanebona, fawa nawahareka waha.*

o-ka-waa-misa-me tao o-ka-na-hibona fawa  
1SG.S-COMIT-stand-up-back.M shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-INT.M disappear  
na-waha-hare-ka waha  
AUX-change-IP.E.M-DECL.M now

“I stood back up with it. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared.”

# R My father and his familiar spirit

## Introduction

The story *My father and his familiar spirit* was told by Yowao in 1994. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-fatherspirit.mp3>.

Yowao's father told him about a violent encounter he and his familiar spirit had with another spirit that wanted to kill them. His familiar spirit was victorious, and Yowao's father said he felt sad as he watched the other spirit dying.

I have left off the transcription of the last few minutes of the recording, in which Yowao spoke about various other subjects after he finished the story.

## English translation

I am telling another story, about when my father fought along with 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.

*R My father and his familiar spirit*

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 [coming after them].

"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 arms, my father used to say.

"*Fofo fofo fofoo*," the spirit said [as he tried to free his arms].

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 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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Inamati okobi mono kanematamona okominatasine o.*

inamati okobi                      mono                      ka-na-himata-mona  
spirit(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) struggle\_with COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
o-kamina-tasa-ne                      o  
1SG.S-tell-again-CONT.F 1SG.S

'I am telling another story, about when my father fought along with a spirit.'

- (2) *Himata ebe tinaba tiwine tiriya? ati nematamona hinemarine.*

himata ebe              ti-na-haba              ti-waa-ne                      ti-ri-ya                      ati  
what purpose 2SG.S-AUX-FUT.F 2SG.S-stand-CONT.F 2SG.S-CQ.F-now say  
na-himata-mona hi-na-himari-ne  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M

""'Why are you standing there?' he said," he said."

- (3) *Yama me mowa na me owabone okine o.*

yama me mowa na me o-awa-habone o-ki-ne  
thing(F) 3PL.S fight AUX.F 3PL.O 1SG.S-see-INT.F 1SG.S-coming-CONT.F  
o  
1SG.S

"I have come to see them fighting."

*R My father and his familiar spirit*

- (4) *Me tiwibe.*  
me ti-awa-be  
3PL.O 2SG.S-see-IMMED.F  
“You will see them.”
- (5) *Me tiwibe.*  
me ti-awa-be  
3PL.O 2SG.S-see-IMMED.F  
“You will see them.”
- (6) *Me e towamamata.*  
me ee to-awa-ma-mata  
3PL.O 1IN.S away-see-back-short\_time  
“Let’s go see them.”
- (7) *Me mowa hinemete wainetini Yima Wa.*  
me mowa hi-na-hemete waa-ne-ti-ni Yima\_Waa  
3PL.S fight OC-AUX-FP.N.F stand-CONT.F-HAB.NOM-IP.N.F Yima\_Waa(F)  
‘The Yima Wa house, which they fought against, is still there today.’
- (8) *E me na me inamati fito tonehino ra me inamati kiyohemetemone ati nemarkine.*  
ee me na me\_inamati fito to-na-hino ra me\_inamati  
like\_this 3PL.S AUX.F spirits(F) rush CH-AUX-IP.N.M O spirits(F)  
kiyo-hemete-mone ati na-himari-ne  
follow-FP.N.F-REP.F say AUX-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
‘He said that a spirit came out of the house, and other spirits chased him.’
- (9) *Hasi rayaho.*  
hasi ra-yaho  
escape NEG-DIST.IMP.M  
“Don’t let him get away.”
- (10) *Hasi rayaho me ati nemetemone ahi.*  
hasi ra-yaho me ati na-hemete-mone ahi  
escape NEG-DIST.IMP.M 3PL.S say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
“Don’t let him get away,” they said.’

- (11) *Me fitori tonamakemetemone ahi, ene itibanoho.*  
 me fito-ri to-na-make-hemete-mone ahi ehene  
 3PL.S rush-DISTR away-AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F then victim\_of.M  
 iti-hiba-no-ho  
 exist-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘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  
 ‘They chased him.’
- (13) *Me hora nemetemone me ka owa nabino rama ahi.*  
 me hora na-hemete-mone me ka owa na-ahaba-hino  
 3PL.S exclaim AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL POSS companion(M) CAUS-die-IP.N.M  
 rama ahi  
 unusual then  
 ‘They complained because he killed one of them.’
- (14) *Kana ni tokematamonaka fari, ene itinoho.*  
 kana ni to-ka-himata-mona-ka faari ehene  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M that\_one.M victim\_of.M  
 iti-hino-ho  
 exist-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He went running away after killing someone.’
- (15) *Me me kakatoma me yoro nemetemone aati toemarine.*  
 me me ka-katoma me yoro na-hemete-mone a-ati  
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT-look\_at.F 3PL.S stand AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F DUP-say  
 to-ha-himari-ne  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The two of them were standing there watching them, he used to say.’
- (16) *Me yoro na me, Inamati inamati ene iti inamati kaki inamati ati  
 nematamonane.*  
 me yoro na me inamati inamati ehene iti inamati  
 3PL.S stand AUX.F 3PL.S spirit(M) spirit(M) victim\_of.M exist.M spirit(M)  
 ka-ki inamati ati na-himata-mona-ne  
 come-coming.NOM spirit(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The two of them were standing there. “The spirit that killed someone is  
 coming,” he said.’

R My father and his familiar spirit

- (17) *Okobi yana kabote nematamona amaka ahi.*  
 okobi yana kabote na-himata-mona ama-ka ahi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) get\_up quickly AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-DECL.M then  
 ‘My father got up quickly.’
- (18) *Me ebe towaka me ebe towaka me kana ni towakemetemone ahi.*  
 me ebe to-ka-ka me ebe to-ka-ka me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.POSS RECIP away-COMIT-go.F 3PL.S  
 kana ni to-ka-ka-hemete-mone ahi  
 run AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘He took him. The two of them went running away.’
- (19) *Me ebe tonabowawitemetemoneni.*  
 me ebe to-na-aboha-wite-hemete-mone-ni  
 3PL.POSS RECIP away-CAUS-die-out-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
 ‘One killed another.’
- (20) *Ene iti tokome me hekatomematamona.*  
 ehene iti to-ka-me me  
 victim\_of.M exist.M away-go-back.M 3PL.S  
 hi-ka-katoma-himata-mona  
 OC-COMIT-look\_at-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He killed the other one, and went away. They watched him.’
- (21) *Inamati hehe inamati towakeno awareno, kamabano ya.*  
 inamati hehe inamati to-ka-ka-hino awa-ra-hino  
 spirit(M) this\_one.M spirit(M) away-COMIT-go-IP.N.M be\_seen-NEG-IP.N.M  
 ka-ma-ba-no ya  
 come-back.NOM.M-FUT-IP.N.M ADJU  
 ‘The spirit came back after taking the other spirit away. They didn’t see him doing this.’
- (22) *Inamati ki kawamematamona okobi aati toemarika.*  
 inamati kii ka-waha-ma-himata-mona okobi  
 spirit(M) look\_at COMIT-change-back-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 a-ati to-ha-himari-ka  
 DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘My father said that he looked back at the spirit.’

- (23) *Inamati kame okobi ati nematamona.*  
inamati ka-me o-ka abi ati na-himata-mona  
spirit(M) come-back.M 1SG.POSS-POSS father(M) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
‘‘The spirit is coming,’’ my father said.’
- (24) *Ki kabote nabisematamonaka ahi.*  
kii kabote na-bisa-himata-mona-ka ahi  
look quickly AUX-also-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
‘He looked, too.’
- (25) *Inamati kame.*  
inamati ka-me  
spirit(M) come-back.M  
‘‘The spirit is coming.’’
- (26) *Tai tiahi.*  
tai ti-ha-hi  
be\_ahead 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
‘‘Go on ahead.’’
- (27) *Me kana ni towaketemone ahi.*  
me kana ni to-ka-ka-hemete-mone ahi  
3PL.S run AUX.NFIN away-COMIT-go-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
‘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  
‘‘Haahaa,’’ he said.’
- (29) *Tiwanamisahi.*  
ti-wana-misa-hi  
2SG.S-be\_attached-up-IMP.F  
‘‘Hold on my back.’’
- (30) *Inamati era fawa tokaniba amane.*  
inamati era fawa to-ka-niha-hiba ama-ne  
spirit(M) 1IN.O disappear CH-COMIT-CAUS-FUT.M SEC-BKG.M  
‘‘The spirit is going to kill us.’’

*R My father and his familiar spirit*

- (31) *Inamati, inamati mano oharimatamona okobi na hiemari.*  
 inamati inamati mano ohari-himata-mona okobi na  
 spirit(M) spirit(M) arm.M be\_one-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say  
 hi-ha-himari  
 OC-AUX-FP.E.M  
 ‘My father used to say that the spirit’s arms were together.’
- (32) *Mano famawematamona na hiwemari ahi.*  
 mano fama-waha-himata-mona na hi-ha-himari ahi  
 arm.M be\_two-change-FP.N.M-REP.M say OC-AUX-FP.E.M then  
 ‘His arms were together, he said.’
- (33) *Mata mata ta tomisi kamakimatamona ahi kana ni.*  
 mata mata taa to-misi ka-maki-himata-mona ahi  
 club(M) club(M) extend CH-up.NFIN come-following-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 kana ni  
 run AUX.NFIN  
 ‘He came holding a club high.’
- (34) *Inamati nokowakabote nabisematamona okobi aati toemari.*  
 inamati noko-waha-kabote na-bisa-himata-mona okobi  
 spirit(M) point-change-quickly AUX-also-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 a-ati to-ha-himari  
 DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.E.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘He yelled.’
- (36) *Okobi wane Inamati owa, kanabowebe amane.*  
 o-ka abi wane inamati owa  
 1SG.POSS-POSS father(M) be\_attached.M spirit(M) 1SG.O  
 ka-na-aboha-hiba ama-ne  
 COMMIT-CAUS-die-FUT.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘My father held on. “The spirit is going to kill me along with the spirit.”’

- (37) *Inamati mano hinamati wara tonemata awane okobi aati toemarika ahi.*  
 inamati mano hinamati wara to-na-himata awa-ne  
 spirit(M) arm.M spirit(M) grab CH-AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M  
 okobi a-ati to-ha-himari-ka ahi  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-say CH-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The spirit grabbed the spirit’s arms, my father used to say.’
- (38) *Fofo fofo fofoo ati kawematamona.*  
 fofo fofo  
 (expression\_of\_exertion) (expression\_of\_exertion)  
 fofoo ati ka-waha-himata-mona  
 (expression\_of\_exertion) say COMIT-change-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘“Fofo fofo fofoo,” he said.’
- (39) *Okobi inamati koro hikawitematamona aati toemari amaka ahi.*  
 okobi inamati koro hi-ka-wite-himata-mona a-ati  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) spirit(M) throw OC-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M DUP-say  
 to-ha-himari ama-ka ahi  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M SEC-DECL.M then  
 ‘The spirit threw my father down along with the spirit, my father used to say.’
- (40) *Inamati iso witi tihitokowitematamona amane ehene ahi.*  
 inamati iso witi tihitoka-wite-himata-mona ama-ne  
 spirit(M) leg.M edge hit away-COMIT-out-FP.N.M-REP.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ehene ahi  
 because\_of.M then  
 ‘The spirit fell on his knees because of him.’
- (41) *Wamisamatase ye tonakosatasematamona ahi.*  
 waa-misa-ma-tase yee to-na-kosa-tasa-himata-mona ahi  
 stand-up-back-again.M yell CH-AUX-middle-again-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘He got back up, and yelled.’
- (42) *Mano wara hitasematamona ahi ya.*  
 mano wara hi-tasa-himata-mona ahi ya  
 arm.M grab OC-again-FP.N.M-REP.M then ADJU  
 ‘He grabbed his arm.’

*R My father and his familiar spirit*

- (43) *He mono he fata nematamona na hiemari ahi tosehibonaha.*  
 hee mono hee fata na-himata-mona na  
 3SG.O struggle\_with.LIST 3SG.O push AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M say  
 hi-ha-himari ahi to-sona-hibona-ha  
 OC-AUX-FP.E.M then CH-fall-INT.M-DUP  
 ‘He struggled with him, and pushed him, so he would fall down.’
- (44) *Wawana karama tinahi.*  
 wa-wana karahama ti-na-hi  
 DUP-be\_attached only\_do 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 ‘‘Don’t let go.’’
- (45) *Era owakatomba 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  
 ‘‘I will take care of us.’’
- (46) *Inamati kamonimatamona okobi na hiemari wati owahine oni.*  
 inamati kamoni-himata-mona okobi na  
 spirit(M) cause\_sadness-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say  
 hi-ha-himari wati o-waha-ne o-ni  
 OC-AUX-FP.E.M remember 1SG.S-change-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 ‘The spirit made him feel sad, my father said. I am remembering him.’
- (47) *Inamati noko amo kanisemata awane aati toemarika ahi.*  
 inamati noko amo ka-na-risa-himata awa-ne a-ati  
 spirit(M) eye.M sleep COMIT-AUX-down-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M DUP-say  
 to-ha-himari-ka ahi  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘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  
 ‘He yelled.’

- (49) *Inamati inamati katome, hikatome mera kakatomematamona okobi na hiemari.*  
 inamati inamati katome hi-katome mera  
 spirit(M) spirit(M) attack.M OC-attack.M 3PL.O  
 ka-katoma-himata-mona okobi na hi-ha-himari  
 COMIT-look\_at-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say OC-AUX-FP.E.M  
 ‘The spirit hit the spirit. He protected them, my father said.’
- (50) *Moni Nai toa.*  
 Moni\_Nai to-ha  
 Moni\_Nai(M) CH-AUX.CONT.M  
 ‘He was Moni Nai.’
- (51) *Ye honene hose hiwiti rama ahi.*  
 yehe honene hose hi-witi rama ahi  
 hand weapon.M pull\_out OC-out.M unusual then  
 ‘He took away his weapon.’
- (52) *Yana tonematamona.*  
 yana to-na-himata-mona  
 start CH-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘He came at them.’
- (53) *Ya hona totimakebona mera katomematamona ahi, manako hiebanoho.*  
 ya\_hona to-iti-make-hibona mera katoma-himata-mona  
 weapon(F) away-take\_out-following-INT.M 3PL.O attack-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ahi manako hi-ha-hiba-no-ho  
 then revenge OC-pay\_back-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He attacked them, in order to take back the weapon. But he got him back.’
- (54) *Wawana karama tina.*  
 wa-wana karahama ti-na  
 DUP-be\_attached only\_do 2SG.S-AUX  
 ‘‘Hold on.’’
- (55) *Inamati inamati wati kanematamona ahi.*  
 inamati inamati wati ka-na-himata-mona ahi  
 spirit(M) spirit(M) go\_after COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M then  
 ‘The spirit went after the spirit.’

*R My father and his familiar spirit*

- (56) *Fatafata tori hinematamona.*  
 fata-fata to-ri hi-na-himata-mona  
 DUP-push CH-right\_away OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘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  
 ‘‘It’s my turn,’’ he said.’
- (58) *Okobi wana nemata awane aati toemarika ahi.*  
 okobi wana na-himata awa-ne a-ati  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) be\_attached.LIST AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-BKG.M DUP-say  
 to-ha-himari-ka ahi  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘My father was holding on, he used to say.’
- (59) *Me ibe katometememone okobi me na hiamaro ahi.*  
 me ibe katoma-hemete-mone okobi me na  
 3PL.POSS RECIP attack-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.father(M) 3PL.O say  
 hi-ha-hamaro ahi  
 OC-AUX-FP.E.F then  
 ‘They were hitting each other.’
- (60) *Yoko hiwiti rama kasiro ya.*  
 yoko hi-witi rama kasiro ya  
 push OC-out.M unusual a\_lot ADJU  
 ‘He pushed him hard.’
- (61) *Namiti wari ka hirematamona ahi.*  
 namiti waa-ri kaa hi-re-himata-mona  
 neck stand-raised\_surface.NFIN chop OC-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ahi  
 then  
 ‘He slashed him on the back of the neck.’

- (62) *Ye tonakosematamonaka ahi, okobi oi nibanoho.*  
 yee to-na-kosa-himata-mona-ka ahi okobi ohi  
 yell CH-AUX-middle-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then 1SG.POSS.father(M) cry  
 niha-hiba-no-ho  
 CAUS-FUT.M-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘He yelled. He made my father cry.’
- (63) *Inamati okobi oi nibano mera mono kanematamona okobi na hiwemari hinamati ka hirehari.*  
 inamati okobi ohi niha-hiba-no mera mono  
 spirit(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) cry CAUS-FUT.M-IP.N.M 3PL.O struggle\_with  
 ka-na-himata-mona okobi na hi-ha-himari hinamati  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say OC-AUX-FP.E.M spirit(M)  
 kaa hi-re-haari  
 chop OC-raised\_surface-IP.E.M  
 ‘He made my father cry. The spirit slashed him, and he struggled with them, my father said.’
- (64) *Awakabote hinematamona hinemarine.*  
 awa-kabote hi-na-himata-mona hi-na-himari-ne  
 see-quickly OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He took quick looks at him, he said.’
- (65) *Hiwa homa na.*  
 hiwa homa na  
 only.M lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M AUX  
 ‘‘Let him lie there.’’
- (66) *Kamonimatamona okobi na hiemarine.*  
 kamoni-himata-mona okobi na hi-ha-himari-ne  
 cause\_sadness-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) say OC-AUX-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He made my father feel sad, he used to say.’
- (67) *Hasara kanematamona hinemarika ahi.*  
 hasara ka-na-himata-mona  
 have\_difficulty\_breathing COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 hi-na-himari-ka ahi  
 OC-say-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘He had difficulty breathing, he said.’

*R My father and his familiar spirit*

- (68) *Moni Nai ka hirematamonane iyori bari.*

Moni\_Nai kaa hi-re-himata-mona-ne iyori bari  
Moni\_Nai(M) chop OC-raised\_surface-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M shoulder back  
'Moni Nai slashed him on the back of his shoulder.'

- (69) *Faya me kakama inamati me hiwasimakiani hinamati hinamati  
hikiyotasemataka fari.*

faya me ka-ka-ma inamati me hi-wasi-maki-hani  
so 3PL.S COMIT-come-back.F spirit(M) 3PL.O OC-find-following-IP.N.F  
hinamati hinamati hi-kiyo-tasa-himata-ka faari  
spirit(M) spirit(M) OC-chase-again-FP.N.M-DECL.M that\_one.M  
'As they were coming back, a spirit came upon them. A spirit was chasing  
the spirit.'

# S A pair of monsters

## Introduction

The story *A pair of monsters* was told by Yowao in 1994. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-pairmonsters.mp3>.

This is actually two stories, the main one being about a pair of monsters. Yowao's father encountered the pair in the forest, and he killed the female first, and then the male, with his rifle. Yowao indicates that he was alive when this happened. He and his friends wanted to go look at the monsters, but the others would not let them.

The second story is shorter, and it is about a spirit that Yowao's father encountered, which was crying, apparently because it was cold. Other spirits came and killed it and carried it off to eat it, while Yowao's father watched. The other spirits undoubtedly were Yowao's father's familiar spirits, who had come to deliver him from the crying spirit.

## English 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, hoood*."

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.

*S A pair of monsters*

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 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. Their hands are 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. The spirit 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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Ati yana namakietemoneke, yama ati.*  
ati yana na-maki-hemete-mone-ke yama ati  
voice start AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F thing(F) voice  
'Its voice started up.'
- (2) *Ati yana namakietemonehe.*  
ati yana na-maki-hemete-mone-he  
voice start AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
'Its voice started up.'
- (3) *Hao hao hao hao hao ati nemetemoneke.*  
hao hao hao  
(sound\_of\_barking) (sound\_of\_barking) (sound\_of\_barking)  
hao hao ati na-hemete-mone-ke  
(sound\_of\_barking) (sound\_of\_barking) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'“Hao, hao, hao,” it went.'
- (4) *Okobi ati himitemetemonehe.*  
okobi ati hi-mita-hemete-mone-he  
1SG.POSS.father(M) voice OC-hear-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
'My father heard its voice.'
- (5) *Kamakiani ati yana namakietemoneke.*  
ka-maki-hani ati yana na-maki-hemete-mone-ke  
come-following-IP.N.F voice start AUX-following-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
'It was coming, and its voice was starting up.'
- (6) *Heeee ati nemetemonehe, Heeee.*  
heeee ati na-hemete-mone-he heeee  
(yell\_of\_monster) say AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP (yell\_of\_monster)  
'“Heeee,” it said.'
- (7) *Yama atinekira.*  
yama ati-ne-kira  
monster(F) make\_noise-CONT.F-MOOD.F  
'“It's the sound of a monster.”'

- (8) *Okahabone yama owa kiyohaba awineke.*  
 o-ka-habone yama owa kiyo-haba awine-ke  
 1SG.S-go-INT.F thing(F) 1SG.O chase-FUT.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 “I want to go hunting, but something is chasing me.”
- (9) *Yama atine.*  
 yama ati-ne  
 monster(F) make\_noise-CONT.F  
 “It’s the sound of a monster.”
- (10) *Ati omitara.*  
 ati o-mita-hara  
 voice 1SG.S-hear-IP.E.F  
 “I heard its voice.”
- (11) *Kana nemetemoneke.*  
 kana na-hemete-mone-ke  
 run AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘It was running.’
- (12) *Kana ni kamakietemone ahi.*  
 kana ni ka-maki-hemete-mone ahi  
 run AUX.NFIN come-following-FP.N.F-REP.F then  
 ‘It was coming toward him running.’
- (13) *Rifi ka bara tei namaroke ahi.*  
 rifi ka bara tei na-hamaro-ke ahi  
 rifle(F) POSS bullet(F) ten AUX-FP.E.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘There were ten bullets for the rifle.’
- (14) *Aaya aaya hahohohohoo, hoouooo.*  
 “Aaya, aaya, hahohohoo, hoouoo,” (yelled the monster as it came).’
- (15) *Yara yara me ati owatobisa okere.*  
 yara yara me ati o-wato-bisa o-ke-re  
 Brazilian Brazilian 3PL.POSS voice 1SG.S-know-also 1SG.S-DECL.F-NEG.F  
 ‘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  
 ‘I don’t like Portuguese.’

*S A pair of monsters*

- (17) *Me yama kamakietemetemone okobi aati toemarika.*  
 me yama ka-maki-hemete-mone okobi a-ati  
 3PL monster(F) come-following-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.father(M) DUP-say  
 to-ha-himari-ka  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘The monster was coming, my father used to say.’
- (18) *Yama kamakia okobi watabone ahi.*  
 yama ka-makia o-ka abi wata-habone ahi  
 monster(F) come-following.F 1SG.POSS-POSS father(M) catch-INT.F then  
 ‘It was coming to catch my father.’
- (19) *Okobi watabone tao hikanemetemoneke baaaa rifi ya.*  
 okobi wata-habone tao hi-ka-na-hemete-mone-ke  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) catch-INT.F shoot OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 rifi ya  
 rifle(F) ADJU  
 ‘It was going to catch my father, but he shot it with the rifle, baaaa.’
- (20) *Tao hikanametemetemoneke.*  
 tao hi-ka-na-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 shoot OC-COMIT-AUX-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He shot it again.’
- (21) *Tao hikanama, tosawitemetemone.*  
 tao hi-ka-na-ma to-sona-wite-hemete-mone  
 shoot OC-COMIT-AUX-back.F away-fall-out-FP.N.F-REP.F  
 ‘When he shot it again, it fell.’
- (22) *One kana ni kamakia, kana ni kamaki, okobi kana ni tokematamonaka ahi.*  
 one kana ni ka-makia kana ni  
 other.F run AUX.NFIN come-following.F run AUX.NFIN  
 ka-maki okobi kana ni  
 come-following.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) run AUX.NFIN  
 to-ka-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 away-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Another one came running. My father went running.’

- (23) *Kana ni toke kiyohemetemoneni maki.*  
 kana ni to-ke kiyo-hemete-mone-ni maki  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go.M chase-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F male(M)  
 ‘He went running away, and it came after him, the male.’
- (24) *Makimatamonane.*  
 maki-mata-mona-ne  
 male(M)-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘It was a male.’
- (25) *Makimatamonaka okobi kiyohari.*  
 maki-mata-mona-ka okobi kiyo-haari  
 male(M)-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) chase-IP.E.M  
 ‘It was a male that ran after my father.’
- (26) *Maki, okobi tao hikatasematamona bako.*  
 maki okobi tao hi-ka-tasa-himata-mona bako  
 male(M) 1SG.POSS.father(M) shoot OC-COMIT-again-FP.N.M-REP.M chest.M  
 ‘My father shot the male, too, in the chest.’
- (27) *Bako tao hikatasematamonane.*  
 bako tao hi-ka-tasa-himata-mona-ne  
 chest.M shoot OC-COMIT-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He shot it in the chest.’
- (28) *Kasawi he kiyo tao hikanamatasematamonaka, fariboti.*  
 ka-sawi hee kiyo tao  
 COMIT-be\_present.M 3SG.O chase.M shoot  
 hi-ka-na-ma-tasa-himata-mona-ka fariboti  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-back-again-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M armpit  
 ‘As it ran after him, he shot it in the side.’
- (29) *Tao hikaname, tomakose kana ni kamawematamonane.*  
 tao hi-ka-na-me to-homa-kose kana ni  
 shoot OC-COMIT-AUX-back.M CH-lie\_on\_ground-middle.M run AUX.NFIN  
 ka-ma-waha-himata-mona-ne  
 come-back-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘He shot it, and it was lying on the ground. He came back running.’

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- (30) *Faya nisori kana ni tokomakematamonaha.*  
 faya nisori kana ni  
 so 3SG.POSS.younger\_brother(M) run AUX.NFIN  
 to-ka-make-himata-mona-ha  
 away-go-following-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 ‘His younger brother went running there.’
- (31) *Kana ni tokomake, Ayo himata tao tine tiriya?*  
 kana ni to-ka-make ayo himata tao  
 run AUX.NFIN away-go-following older\_brother(M) what shoot  
 ti-ne ti-ri-ya  
 2SG.S-CONT.F 2SG.S-CQ.F-NOW  
 ‘He went running there. “Older brother, what did you shoot?”’
- (32) *Botehefo yama kamaki ahi.*  
 Botehefo yama ka-maki ahi  
 Botehefo(M) monster(F) come-following.NOM there  
 “Botehefo, a monster came here.”
- (33) *Yama owa kiyoha okomine oni.*  
 yama owa kiyoha o-ka-ma-ne o-ni  
 monster(F) 1SG.O chase.F 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S-BKG.F  
 “I came here because the monster was chasing me.”
- (34) *Okobise kana ni wete namematamona.*  
 okobise kana ni wete na-ma-himata-mona  
 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) run AUX.NFIN return AUX-back-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ‘My uncle came running back.’
- (35) *Me kana ni kakamemetemoneheni.*  
 me kana ni ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-he-ni  
 3PL.S run AUX.NFIN COMIT-come-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP-BKG.F  
 ‘They came running back.’
- (36) *Bai nokorisemarika.*  
 bahi noko-risa-himari-ka  
 sun(M) point-down-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It was noon.’

- (37) *Faya me kafotoma me, okobi tanakone, okobise ati kawinamemari.*  
 faya me ka-foto-ma me okobi tanakone  
 so 3PL.S COMIT-appear-back.F 3PL.S 1SG.POSS.father(M) sweat  
 okobise ati ka-wina-ma-himari  
 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) voice COMIT-lie\_in\_hammock-back-FP.E.M  
 ‘They appeared at the village. My father was sweaty. My uncle was in his  
 hammock talking.’
- (38) *Okoyo awi tao nemonara.*  
 okoyo awi tao na-himona-ra  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) tapir(M) shoot AUX-REP.M-MOOD  
 “I thought my brother had shot a tapir.”
- (39) *Okoyo yama tao narawenoho, yama aberawaha.*  
 o-ka ayo yama tao na-rawa-hino-ho  
 1SG.POSS-POSS older\_brother(M) monster(F) shoot AUX-FPL-IP.N.M-DUP  
 yama abe-rawa-ha  
 thing(F) creature.F-FPL-DUP  
 “My brother had shot a monster, a creature.”
- (40) *Homahara ahi.*  
 homa-hara ahi  
 lie\_on\_ground-IP.E.F there  
 “It is lying out there on the ground.”
- (41) *E kabibana?*  
 ee kaba-bana  
 1IN.S eat-FUT  
 “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  
 “I don’t know, I guess we shouldn’t eat it.”
- (43) *Awi amakara.*  
 awi ama-ka-ra  
 tapir(M) be-DECL.M-NEG.M  
 “It is not a tapir.”

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- (44) *Awi ama.*  
 awi ama  
 tapir(M) be  
 “It’s not a tapir.”
- (45) *Yama mai kitarawarake.*  
 yama mahi kita-rawa-hara-ke  
 monster(F) smell.F be\_strong-FPL-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “The monsters had a strong odor.”
- (46) *Yama mai kitarawarani.*  
 yama mahi kita-rawa-hara-ni  
 monster(F) smell.F be\_strong-FPL-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “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  
 “They had long tails.”
- (48) *Yama imararake okoyo tao hinanihi.*  
 yama ima-ra-hara-ke okoyo tao  
 monster(F) be\_fat-NEG-IP.E.F-DECL.F 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) shoot  
 hi-na-hani-hi  
 OC-AUX-IP.N.F-DUP  
 “The monster that my brother shot was skinny.”
- (49) *Okoyo tao hinani homa te awi toerara.*  
 okoyo tao hi-na-hani homa tee  
 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M) shoot OC-AUX-IP.N.F lie\_on\_ground.F 2PL.S  
 awa to-ha-ra-hara  
 see CH-AUX-NEG-IP.E.F  
 “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 era kakaba amani.*  
 ee to-to-ka to-ha yama\_kabani abe yama era  
 1IN.S DUP-away-go CH-AUX.F forest(F) creature.F thing(F) 1IN.O  
 kakaba ama-ni  
 eater be-BKG.F  
 “If we go into the forest, the creature will eat us.”

- (51) *E na toemata awaka hari mera iso nabari, yama soki ya.*  
 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  
 iso nahaba-haari yama soki ya  
 carry\_off at\_night-IP.E.M thing(F) be\_dark.NOM ADJU  
 ‘The jaguar was like that long ago. It carried off people during the night.’
- (52) *Yama yofinarawa okoyo karimaraweno amane.*  
 yama yofina-rawa okoyo  
 thing(F) cause\_fear-FPL.F 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M)  
 karima-rawa-hino ama-ne  
 suffer\_from-FPL-IP.N.M SEC-BKG.M  
 “My brother had a hard time.”
- (53) *Mata narawahara okoyo hinafamarawanihi, okobise hiyari ati nemarika.*  
 mata na-rawa-hara okoyo  
 lie AUX-FPL-IP.E.F 1SG.POSS.older\_brother(M)  
 hi-na-fama-rawa-hani-hi okobise hiyari ati  
 OC-CAUS-be\_two-FPL-IP.N.F-DUP 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) speak.NFIN say  
 na-himari-ka  
 AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “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(M) be\_fat-NEG-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “The male was not fat.”
- (55) *Fana ta imahara, okobise hiyari ati nemari.*  
 fana taa ima-hara okobise hiyari ati  
 female(F) contrast be\_fat-IP.E.F 1SG.POSS.uncle(M) speak.NFIN say  
 na-himari  
 AUX-FP.E.M  
 “But the female was fat,” my uncle said, speaking.’
- (56) *E tonakamarawene.*  
 ee to-na-ka-ma-rawa-hene  
 1IN.S away-CAUS-go-back-FPL-IRR.F  
 “We shouldn’t go after them.”

*S A pair of monsters*

- (57) *Yama kabaterawara ama.*  
 yama kaba-tee-rawa-ra ama  
 thing(F) be\_eaten-HAB-FPL-NEG.F SEC  
 “They aren’t good for eating.”
- (58) *Yama hine abarawi.*  
 yama hine ahaba-rawi  
 thing(F) only die-FPL.NOM.F  
 “Let them just die.”
- (59) *Ee, hine homake.*  
 ee hine homa-ke  
 yes only lie\_on\_ground-DECL.F  
 “Yes, let them just lie there.”
- (60) *Me hikabarawaba awine, me hinofarawaramaroho, awi amaramonamako.*  
 me hi-kaba-rawa-haba awine me hi-nofa-rawa-ra-hamaro-ho  
 3PL.S OC-eat-FPL-FUT.F seem.F 3PL.S OC-want-FPL-NEG-FP.E.F-DUP  
 awi ama-ra-mona-mako  
 tapir(M) be-NEG-REP.M-for\_this\_reason.M  
 “The spirits will eat them.” They didn’t want them, because they weren’t  
 tapirs.’
- (61) *Ota towamarawabone me hikayawarawamaroni, ota tonakamarawabonehe.*  
 otaa to-awa-ma-rawa-habone me hi-ka-yawa-rawa-hamaro-ni  
 1EX.S away-see-back-FPL-INT.F 3PL.S OC-COMIT-be\_upset-FPL-FP.E.F-BKG.F  
 otaa to-na-ka-ma-rawa-habone-he  
 1EX.S away-CAUS-go-back-FPL-INT.F-DUP  
 ‘We wanted to go and see them, but they didn’t let us.’
- (62) *Mai kitemetemone me hinamaroni.*  
 mahi kita-hemete-mone me hi-na-hamaro-ni  
 smell.F be\_strong-FP.N.F-REP.F 3PL.S OC-say-FP.E.F-BKG.F  
 ‘They said they had a strong odor.’
- (63) *Bara siko na abemeteke ahi, maki ehene.*  
 bara siko na ahaba-hemete-ke ahi maki ehene  
 bullet(F) five AUX.F end-FP.N.F-DECL.F then male(M) because\_of.M  
 ‘Five bullets were spent on the male.’

- (64) *One, one hiwasirawa one hiwasitasemeteni.*  
 one one hi-wasi-rawa one hi-wasi-tasa-hemete-ni  
 other.F other.F OC-find-FPL.F other.F OC-find-again-FP.N.F-BKG.F  
 ‘He came upon one, and then came upon another.’
- (65) *Tao hikatasemeteke faoro.*  
 tao hi-ka-tasa-hemete-ke faoro  
 shoot OC-COMIT-again-FP.N.F-DECL.F that.F  
 ‘He shot that one, too.’
- (66) *Tao hikatasemete faoro.*  
 tao hi-ka-tasa-hemete faoro  
 shoot OC-COMIT-again-FP.N.F that.F  
 ‘He shot that one, too.’
- (67) *Kafamemeteke faoro bara ya.*  
 ka-fama-hemete-ke faoro bara ya  
 COMMIT-be\_two-FP.N.F-DECL.F that.F bullet(F) ADJU  
 ‘He shot the two of them with bullets.’
- (68) *Taokanamaro faoro.*  
 taokana-maroro faoro  
 shotgun-FP.E.F that.F  
 ‘Now it is shotguns, not rifles.’
- (69) *Watari hiwarawamone hirawamarohoni.*  
 wata-ri hi-awa-rawa-hamone hi-rawa-hamaro-ho-ni  
 dream-PN OC-see-FPL-REP.F OC-FPL-FP.E.F-DUP-BKG.F  
 ‘He said he dreamed about them.’
- (70) *Kobo hirawani, tao hirawemeteni.*  
 kobo hi-rawa-hani tao hi-rawa-hemete-ni  
 meet OC-FPL-IP.N.F shoot OC-FPL-FP.N.F-BKG.F  
 ‘He met up with them, and shot them.’
- (71) *Abarawamaro abarawemetemoneke.*  
 ahaba-rawa-hamaro ahaba-rawa-hemete-mone-ke  
 die-FPL-FP.E.F die-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They died.’

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- (72) *Hinamati hekamara hekamemetemone faro, okobi tao hikanaro.*  
 hinamati hi-ka-ka-ma-ra hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone faaro  
 spirit(M) OC-COMIT-go-back-NEG.F OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F that.F  
 okobi tao hi-ka-na-haaro  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) shoot OC-COMIT-AUX-IP.E.F  
 ‘They took them away after my father shot them.’
- (73) *Hinamati yama weye nematamona okobi hinemarine.*  
 hinamati yama weye na-himata-mona okobi  
 spirit(M) thing(F) carry AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 hi-na-himari-ne  
 OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The spirit carried the creature on its back, my father said.’
- (74) *Kabibana ama, tinahabihanihi?*  
 kaba-bana ama ti-naahabiha-hani-hi  
 be\_eaten.F-FUT SEC 2SG.S-kill-IP.N.F-DUP  
 ‘‘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 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.F say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘I will eat the creature that you killed,’’ the spirit said.’
- (76) *Ee, tekama.*  
 ee ti-ka-ka-ma  
 yes 2SG.S-COMIT-go-back  
 ‘‘All right, go ahead and take it.’’
- (77) *Owa kabene tao okana ama.*  
 owa kaba-hene tao o-ka-na ama  
 1SG.O eat-IRR.F shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.F SEC  
 ‘‘I shot it because it was going to eat me.’’
- (78) *Okobabanani.*  
 o-kaba-habana-ni  
 1SG.S-eat-FUT.F-BKG.F  
 ‘‘I will eat it.’’

- (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  
 ‘‘I don’t want it to go to waste.’’
- (80) *Yama wete ne noki hine, mato tore nise yama wete nawematamonane.*  
 yama wete ne    noki    hi-ne    mato    tore na-rise    yama  
 thing(F) tie    AUX.M wait\_for OC-AUX.M vine(F) pull AUX-down.M thing(F)  
 wete na-waha-himata-mona-ne  
 tie    AUX-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘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 hinemarine.*  
 yama wete ne    yama    weye na-misa-himata-mona  
 thing(F) tie    AUX.M thing(F) carry AUX-up-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 hi-na-himari-ne  
 OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘It tied it up. It put it on its back, he said.’
- (82) *Hekamemetemoneke.*  
 hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-ke  
 OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DECL.F  
 ‘It took it away.’
- (83) *Hikabamemete awineni.*  
 hi-kaba-ma-hemete awine-ni  
 OC-eat-back-FP.N.F seem.F-BKG.F  
 ‘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-come-back-FPL-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘Then they came back for the other one.’
- (85) *Me hekamarawemete awineke.*  
 me    hi-ka-ka-ma-rawa-hemete    awine-ke  
 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back-FPL-FP.N.F seem.F-DECL.F  
 ‘They took them away.’

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- (86) *Wakana oyababone yama owa kiyorawa okomine o.*  
 wakana o-yaba-habone yama owa kiyo-rawa  
 crabwood(F) 1SG.S-pick\_up-INT.F monster(F) 1SG.O chase-FPL.F  
 o-ka-ma-ne o  
 1SG.S-come-back-CONT.F 1SG.S  
 “I wanted to pick up crabwood fruits, but some creatures chased me, and I have come back.”
- (87) *Fa koro onabone fa koro orara o, yama owa kiyorawa owa.*  
 faha koro o-na-habone faha  
 water(F) throw\_something\_on 1SG.S-AUX-INT.F water(F)  
 koro o-ra-hara o yama owa kiyo-rawa  
 throw\_something\_on 1SG.S-NEG-IP.E.F 1SG.S monster(F) 1SG.O chase-FPL.F  
 owa  
 1SG.O  
 “I was going to fish, but I didn’t fish, because the creatures chased me.”
- (88) *Tao orawahara.*  
 tao o-rawa-hara  
 shoot 1SG.S-FPL-IP.E.F  
 “I shot them.”
- (89) *So tosarawarake.*  
 soo to-kosa-rawa-hara-ke  
 lie CH-middle-FPL-IP.E.F-DECL.F  
 “They are lying there on the ground.”
- (90) *Yama noki imararake, e teme nima tame naro.*  
 yama noki ima-ra-hara-ke ee teme ni-ma  
 monster(F) face.F be\_fat-NEG-IP.E.F-DECL.F 1IN.POSS foot AUX.NOM-like  
 tame na-haaro  
 foot.F AUX-IP.E.F  
 “Their faces are not fat. Their feet are like people’s feet.”
- (91) *Yehe yome ye toarani.*  
 yehe yomee yehe to-ha-hara-ni  
 hand jaguar(M) hand CH-be-IP.E.F-BKG.F  
 “Their hands are the paws of jaguars.”

- (92) *Watakaremetemone hinamaroke.*  
 wataka-ra-hemete-mone hi-na-hamaro-ke  
 be\_fatty-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F OC-say-FP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘He said they were not fat.’
- (93) *Imaremetemone hinamaroni.*  
 ima-ra-hemete-mone hi-na-hamaro-ni  
 be\_fat-NEG-FP.N.F-REP.F OC-AUX-FP.E.F-BKG.F  
 ‘He said they were skinny.’
- (94) *Fana ta fana ta iima nemetemone faro.*  
 fana taa fana taa i-ima na-hemete-mone faaro  
 female(F) contrast female(F) contrast DUP-be\_fat AUX-FP.N.F-REP.F that.F  
 ‘Only the female was somewhat fat.’
- (95) *Me hekama me hekamemetemonehe.*  
 me hi-ka-ka-ma me hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone-he  
 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back.F 3PL.S OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F-DUP  
 ‘They took them away.’
- (96) *Inamati hekamemetemone okobi hinamaroke.*  
 inamati hi-ka-ka-ma-hemete-mone okobi  
 spirit(M) OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.F-REP.F 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 hi-na-hamaro-ke  
 OC-say-FP.E.F-DECL.F  
 ‘A spirit took them away, my father said.’
- (97) *Faya okobi tokatasahi, okobi tokatase, hinamati oi ni tomitawitimatamona  
 ati nemarkine.*  
 faya okobi to-ka-tasahi okobi  
 so 1SG.POSS.father(M) away-go-again.M 1SG.POSS.father(M)  
 to-ka-tase hinamati ohi ni to-mita-witi-himata-mona  
 away-go-again.M spirit(M) cry AUX.NFIN away-hear-out-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 ati na-himari-ne  
 say AUX-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘Then my father went into the forest again, and he heard a spirit crying,  
 he said.’

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- (98) *Hinamati awa awa webote wa habi tori, inamati ohi nematamona okobi hinemarika.*  
 hinamati awa awa webote waa habi tori inamati ohi  
 spirit(M) tree(F) tree(F) big stand.F root.F inside.F spirit(M) cry  
 na-himata-mona okobi hi-na-himari-ka  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) OC-say-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘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 hinemarine.*  
 oooooo oooooo ati na-himata-mona  
 (sound\_of\_crying) (sound\_of\_crying) say AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 okobi hi-na-himari-ne  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘“Oooo, oooo,” it said, my father said.’
- (100) *Hinamati ohi nakara.*  
 hinamati ohi na-kara  
 spirit(M) cry AUX.CONT.M-MOOD.M  
 ‘“The spirit is crying.”’
- (101) *Hinamati itematamona okobi hinemarine.*  
 hinamati ita-himata-mona okobi hi-na-himari-ne  
 spirit(M) sit-FP.N.M-REP.M 1SG.POSS.father(M) OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘The spirit was sitting on the ground, my father said.’
- (102) *Oohi nawahare tohane.*  
 o-ohi na-wahare to-ha-ne  
 DUP-cry AUX-all\_over CH-AUX.CONT.M-BKG.M  
 ‘It was crying all over.’
- (103) *Hinamati itematamonaka ahi.*  
 hinamati ita-himata-mona-ka ahi  
 spirit(M) sit-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘The spirit was sitting.’
- (104) *Sirisiri nematamonane.*  
 siri-siri na-himata-mona-ne  
 DUP-be\_cold AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘It was cold.’

- (105) *Owa awaraba tina.*  
 owa awaraba ti-na  
 1SG.O leave\_something\_alone 2SG.S-AUX  
 “Leave me alone.”
- (106) *Tiwa owi.*  
 tiwa o-awi  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-see.NOM.F  
 “I see you.”
- (107) *Tiwa owini.*  
 tiwa o-awa-ni  
 2SG.O 1SG.S-see-BKG.F  
 “I see you.”
- (108) *Owa awaraba tinahi.*  
 owa awaraba ti-na-hi  
 1SG.O leave\_something\_alone 2SG.S-AUX-IMP.F  
 “Leave me alone.”
- (109) *Tiwa, tiwa okatomari, okobi ati nematamonaha.*  
 tiwa tiwa o-katoma-ri okobi ati  
 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S-attack-NEG.NOM.F 1SG.POSS.father(M) say  
 na-himata-mona-ha  
 AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DUP  
 “I didn’t hurt you,” my father said.’
- (110) *Tikiya.*  
 ti-ka-yahi  
 2SG.S-go-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Go away.”
- (111) *Tikiyahi.*  
 ti-ka-yahi  
 2SG.S-go-DIST.IMP.F  
 “Go away.”
- (112) *Okabisabone ama o.*  
 o-ka-bisa-habone ama o  
 1SG.S-go-also-INT.F SEC 1SG.S  
 “I am going, too.”

- (113) *Faya namoni okobi hikematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya namoni okobi hi-ka-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 so report 1SG.POSS.father(M) OC-go-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Then my father went away and told about it.’<sup>1</sup>
- (114) *Me hinakame, inamati hinabowematamonane, okobi hinemarika.*  
 me hi-na-ka-me inamati hi-naabowa-himata-mona-ne  
 3PL.S OC-CAUS-come-back.M spirit(M) OC-kill-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 okobi hi-na-himari-ka  
 1SG.POSS.father(M) OC-say-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘They came after it, and one of them killed the spirit, my father said.’
- (115) *Faya hekamatamonaka fahi.*  
 faya hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 so OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘It took it away.’
- (116) *Hekame, tiwa hinematamonane.*  
 hi-ka-ka-me tiwa hi-na-himata-mona-ne  
 OC-COMIT-go-back.M carry OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
 ‘It took it away. It carried it over its shoulder.’
- (117) *Tati kone tabo winematamona hinemarika ahi.*  
 tati kone tabo wina-himata-mona hi-na-himari-ka ahi  
 head hair bunch.M hang-FP.N.M-REP.M OC-say-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Its hair hung down, he said.’
- (118) *Oohi naware tohane yama kabani ya.*  
 o-ohi na-wahare to-ha-ne yama\_kabani ya  
 DUP-cry AUX-all\_over CH-AUX.CONT.M-BKG.M forest(F) ADJU  
 ‘It cried all over the forest.’
- (119) *Hiwarena hiwematamona hinemarika.*  
 hi-awa-ra-hina hi-awa-himata-mona hi-na-himari-ka  
 OC-see-NEG-IRR.M OC-see-FP.N.M-REP.M OC-say-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘He wouldn’t have seen it otherwise, he said.’

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<sup>1</sup>In a peculiar construction involving the postposition *namoni* (Vogel 2015: 46f), the O-construction marker *hi-* occurs on an intransitive verb.

- (120) *Fiya hiwitino oi ni yana nematamona hinemarine, he nowati ka ya.*  
 fiya hi-witi-hino ohi ni yana na-himata-mona  
 pass OC-out-IP.N.M cry AUX.NFIN start AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
 hi-na-himari-ne hee nowati ka ya  
 OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M 3SG.POSS behind LOC ADJU  
 ‘He went by it, and it started crying, he said, after he had passed.’
- (121) *Owa kanakomeharebana hine hinakame hiwasimematamona hinemarika.*  
 owa ka-na-komeha-ra-hibana hi-ne  
 1SG.O COMIT-CAUS-be\_fearsome-NEG-FUT.M OC-say.M  
 hi-na-ka-me hi-wasi-ma-himata-mona hi-na-himari-ka  
 OC-CAUS-come-back.M OC-find-back-FP.N.M-REP.M OC-say-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
 ‘‘It won’t make me afraid,’’ he said. He came back after it, and came upon it, he said.’
- (122) *Faya tokawematamonaka fahi.*  
 faya to-ka-waha-himata-mona-ka fahi  
 so away-go-change-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Then he went on.’
- (123) *Inamati hekamematamona hinemarine.*  
 inamati hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona hi-na-himari-ne  
 spirit(M) OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M OC-say-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘A spirit took it away, he said.’
- (124) *Tiwa kanakome tiwa kanakomeharayaho.*  
 tiwa ka-na-komeha tiwa  
 2SG.O COMIT-CAUS-be\_fearsome 2SG.O  
 ka-na-komeha-ra-yaho  
 COMIT-CAUS-be\_fearsome-NEG-DIST.IMP.M  
 ‘‘It scared you, but it won’t scare you anymore.’’
- (125) *Owakamaba.*  
 o-ka-ka-ma-ba  
 1SG.S-COMIT-go-back.NOM.M-FUT  
 ‘‘I am going to take it away.’’
- (126) *Okobabaya.*  
 o-kaba-ba-ya  
 1SG.S-eat-IMMED.M-NOW  
 ‘‘I will eat it.’’

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- (127) *Tekamaya.*  
ti-ka-ka-ma-yaho  
2SG.S-COMIT-go-back-DIST.IMP.M  
“Go ahead and take it away.”
- (128) *Owa kiyoraya.*  
owa kiyō-ra-yaho  
1SG.O chase-NEG-DIST.IMP.M  
“I don’t want it to chase me.”
- (129) *Hekamematamonaka.*  
hi-ka-ka-ma-himata-mona-ka  
OC-COMIT-go-back-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M  
‘It took it away.’
- (130) *Tiwa hinematamonane.*  
tiwa hi-na-himata-mona-ne  
carry OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-BKG.M  
‘It carried it on its shoulder.’
- (131) *Taibona tama hinematamonaka wabise.*  
tahi-bona                    tama            hi-na-himata-mona-ka            wabise  
weapon\_against-INT.M hold\_onto OC-AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M-DECL.M spear(F)  
‘It had a weapon to kill it with, a spear.’
- (132) *Wabisemetemoneni.*  
wabise-mete-mone-ni  
spear(F)-FP.N.F-REP.F-BKG.F  
‘It was a spear.’

# T White-lipped peccaries and a jaguar

## Introduction

The story *White-lipped Peccaries and a Jaguar* was told by Yowao in 1994. The corresponding audio file can be downloaded at: <https://www.silbrazil.org/sites/brazil/files/yowao-peccaryjaguar.mp3>.

This is the only story in this volume in which the author was a main participant in the events. Some villagers saw signs of white-lipped peccaries as they were in the forest, and so when they came home, and Yowao went out the next day after the peccaries. White-lipped peccaries move through the forest in large bands, and they are dangerous. Yowao found the band of peccaries, and killed several. He brought one back, and went out again the next day with a group of men to bring the rest of the dead peccaries back to the village. They came across the band again, and this time there was a jaguar after the peccaries, making them even more excited and noisy.

## English translation

The white-lipped peccaries were fierce, and we killed them with rifles. The people 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.”

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“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 the jaguar, but I went past it. *Tatiwi* was running behind me, and he shot it. 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 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 feast. 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 feasts, 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.

## Glossed text

- (1) *Hiyama yawa me hiri na me ota tao namaro.*  
 hiyama                                yawa    me    hiri    na    me    otaa    tao  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) anger(F) 3PL.S make AUX.F 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot  
 na-hamaro  
 AUX-FP.E.F  
 'The white-lipped peccaries were fierce, and we killed them with rifles.'
- (2) *Me, me me hiyaramaro me ama.*  
 me    me    me    hiyara-hamaro    me    ama  
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S tell-FP.E.F        3PL.S SEC  
 'They were telling about them.'
- (3) *Awa hiri ni moni nima ahi, hiyama me ati namaro mati.*  
 awa    hiri            ni            moni    ni-ma            ahi  
 tree(F) catch\_fire AUX.NFIN sound AUX.NOM-like this  
 hiyama                                me            ati    na-hamaro    mati  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.POSS voice AUX-FP.E.F 3PL.POSS  
 'Their voices were like a garden burning.'
- (4) *Yama, me makitiri ya me taba me tao onamaro ahi owatino.*  
 yama    me    makitiri    ya    me    taba                    me    tao  
 thing(F) 3PL man    ADJU 3PL.S be\_together.F 3PL.O shoot  
 o-na-hamaro    ahi    owatino  
 1SG.S-AUX-FP.E.F then exclamation  
 'I was with the men, and I shot some of them.'

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- (5) *Sawi nofani tao okana me kabamaro me ama hiyama.*  
 sawi nofa-hani tao o-ka-na me kaba-hamaro  
 be\_present recently-IP.N.F shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.F 3PL.S eat-FP.E.F  
 me ama hiyama  
 3PL.S SEC white\_lipped\_peccary(M)  
 ‘There was a female peccary that I shot, and they ate it.’
- (6) *Bani me kanaha me iso onahatemaro ama oni, owahariha owa.*  
 bani me kanaha me iso o-nahate-hamaro ama  
 animal(M) 3PL.S be\_heavy.F 3PL.O carry\_off 1SG.S-daytime-FP.E.F SEC  
 o-ni o-ohariha owa  
 1SG.S-BKG.F 1SG.S-be\_alone.F 1SG.S  
 ‘I carried heavy animals all day long, by myself.’
- (7) *Hiyama me so onihakosa me bosa okatasa me onakamakimina me, hiyama me kamani me kobo onamakitasimaro ama.*  
 hiyama me soo o-niha-kosa me  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O lie 1SG.S-CAUS-middle.F 3PL.O  
 bosa o-ka-tasa me  
 get\_up\_early 1SG.S-COMIT-again.F 3PL.O  
 o-na-ka-maki-mina me hiyama me  
 1SG.S-CAUS-go-following-morning.F 3PL.O white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.S  
 ka-ma-hani me kobo o-na-maki-tasi-marō  
 come-back-IP.N.F 3PL.O meet 1SG.S-AUX-following-again.NOM.F-FP.E.F  
 ama  
 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  
 ‘Then I shot two more peccaries.’
- (9) *Yome hiyama me mowa ne yome yama kabani kari.*  
 yomee hiyama me mowa ne yomee  
 jaguar(M) white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O fight AUX.M jaguar(M)

yama\_kabani kari  
forest(F) which.M

‘There was a jaguar that was after the peccaries.’

- (10) *Yome hiyama me mowa hineno mowa neno, ehene ati yofinemari amane.*

yomee hiyama me mowa hi-na-hino mowa  
jaguar(M) white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O fight OC-AUX-IP.N.M fight  
na-hino ehene ati yofina-himari ama-ne  
AUX-IP.N.M result\_of.M voice cause\_fear-FP.E.M SEC-BKG.M

‘When the jaguar was after the peccaries, their sound was fearsome.’

- (11) *Yome ene ati ama?*

yomee ehene ati ama  
jaguar(M) result\_of.M voice be

‘‘Is that the sound of peccaries that have a jaguar after them?’’<sup>1</sup>

- (12) *Yama ihi ati amake.*

yama ihi ati ama-ke  
thing(F) result\_of.F voice be-DECL.F

‘‘It is the sound of peccaries that have a jaguar after them.’’

- (13) *Tera te kakatoma, hiyama me te tonakabone te Noko Wene.*

tera tee ka-katoma hiyama me tee  
2PL.O 2PL.S COMIT-look\_at white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 2PL.S  
to-na-ka-habone tee Noko\_Wene  
away-CAUS-go-INT.F 2PL.S Noko\_Wene(M)

‘‘You be careful when you are going after the peccaries, Noko Wene.’’

- (14) *Hiyama me ota tonakamatibe.*

hiyama me otaa to-na-ka-mata-be  
white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S away-CAUS-go-short\_time-IMMED.F

‘‘We are going after the peccaries.’’

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<sup>1</sup>The NP *ehene ati* in this sentence and the previous, and *ihi ati* in the following sentence, are examples of the ‘‘impersonal construction’’ discussed in Vogel (2021). The full NP in this sentence is *yome ene ati*, and it consists of a masculine noun followed by two inalienably possessed nouns. *Yome* is the possessor of *ene*, and *yome ene* is the possessor of *ati*. But *ati* actually refers to the voices of the peccaries. The reason is that *ehene* means ‘the one/ones affected by’ the possessor, the jaguar. That is, the NP means the voices of the ones affected by the jaguar, i.e. the peccaries. In (12) *yama* is used instead of *yome* to refer to the jaguar, and since *yama* is feminine, the feminine *ihi* is used instead of the masculine *ehene*; but the meaning is the same.

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- (15) *Me, me ati wawamisamaroke ahi.*  
 me me ati waa-waha-misa-hamaro-ke ahi  
 3PL 3PL.POSS voice be\_located-change-up-FP.E.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘They were making a lot of noise.’
- (16) *Hiyama me, ati ita me Noko Wene me me tonaka me ota noki na me, moni yana tonemarine.*  
 hiyama me ati ita me Noko\_Wene  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.POSS voice exist.F 3PL.POSS Noko\_Wene(M)  
 me me to-na-ka me otaa noki na me moni yana  
 3PL.O 3PL.S away-CAUS-go.F 3PL.O 1EX.S wait\_for AUX.F 3PL.O sound start  
 to-na-himari-ne  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘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) *Teeeee rifi moni tonakosamaroke ahi.*  
 rifi moni to-na-kosa-hamaro-ke ahi  
 rifle(F) make\_sound CH-AUX-middle-FP.E.F-DECL.F then  
 ‘Tei went the sound of a rifle.’
- (18) *Yee Noko Wene ati nemari amaka ahi.*  
 yee Noko\_Wene ati na-himari ama-ka ahi  
 yee Noko\_Wene(M) say AUX-FP.E.M SEC-DECL.M then  
 ‘“Yee,” Noko Wene said.’
- (19) *Noko Wene yeye ba nemari ama ahi.*  
 Noko\_Wene ye-yee ba na-himari ama ahi  
 Noko\_Wene(M) DUP-yell without\_stopping AUX-FP.E.M SEC then  
 ‘Noko Wene yelled many times.’
- (20) *Hiyama me kana ni ya kana ni tabemataka.*  
 hiyama me kana ni ya kana ni  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.S run AUX.NOM.F ADJU run AUX.NFIN  
 taba-himata-ka  
 be\_together-FP.N.M-DECL.M  
 ‘It was running with the peccaries as they ran.’

- (21) *Sawimataka hiyama me ni ya.*  
 sawi-himata-ka                      hiyama                                      me ni ya  
 be\_present-FP.N.M-DECL.M white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL to ADJU  
 ‘It was with the peccaries.’
- (22) *Tao okanena fiya onamakeno Tatiwi onowati kana ni yoto, yome tao kanemari amaka.*  
 tao o-ka-na-hina                      fiya o-na-make-hino                      Tatiwi  
 shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-IRR.M pass 1SG.S-AUX-following-IP.N.M Tatiwi(M)  
 o-nowati              kana ni              yoto              yomee              tao  
 1SG.POSS-behind run    AUX.NFIN follow.M jaguar(M) shoot  
 ka-na-himari              ama-ka  
 COMIT-AUX-FP.E.M SEC-DECL.M  
 ‘I could have shot it, but I went past it. Tatiwi was running behind me, and he shot the jaguar.’
- (23) *Hiyama tao kana nakani onemari amane.*  
 hiyama                                      tao ka-na                                      na-kani  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) shoot COMIT-AUX.CONT.M AUX.M-CNTRFACT  
 o-na-himari              ama-ne  
 1SG.S-say-FP.E.M SEC-BKG.M  
 ‘I thought he had shot a peccary.’
- (24) *Oko kana ni tokomake hiyama tao okanamakimaro amake ahi.*  
 o-ka                      kana ni                                      to-ka-make  
 1SG.POSS-POSS run    AUX.NFIN away-go-following  
 hiyama                                      tao o-ka-na-maki-marō  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX-following.NOM-FP.E.F  
 ama-ke              ahi  
 be-DECL.F then  
 ‘I went running, and I shot a peccary.’
- (25) *Maneo Rowi tao hikana hinemarika ahi.*  
 Maneo\_Rowi              tao hi-ka-na                                      hi-na-himari-ka                      ahi  
 Maneo\_Rowi(M) shoot OC-COMIT-AUX.LIST OC-AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Maneo Rowi shot one, too.’

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- (26) *Hiyama me ota tao na me ota iso na, kamemarika yome tao kanenoho.*  
 hiyama me otaa tao na me otaa iso  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot AUX.F 3PL.O 1EX.S carry\_off  
 na ka-ma-himari-ka yomee tao ka-na-hino-ho  
 AUX.F come-back-FP.E.M-DECL.M jaguar(M) shoot COMMIT-AUX-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘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  
 Efe(M) Efe(M)  
 ‘‘Efe, Efe.’’
- (28) *Haa?*  
 haa  
 huh?  
 ‘‘Huh?’’
- (29) *Hiyama tao tikini?*  
 hiyama tao ti-ka-ni  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) shoot 2SG.S-COMIT-BKG.F  
 ‘‘Did you kill a peccary?’’
- (30) *Hiyama tao okane homa ha.*  
 hiyama tao o-ka-ne  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.M  
 homa haa  
 lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M DEM  
 ‘‘I did kill a peccary, it is lying there.’’
- (31) *Hiyama tao okobise home ama ahi, ati nemarika yome tao kanenoho.*  
 hiyama tao o-ka-bise home ama  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-also.M lie\_on\_ground.M SEC  
 ahi ati na-himari-ka yomee tao ka-na-hino-ho  
 there say AUX-FP.E.M-DECL.M jaguar(M) shoot COMMIT-AUX-IP.N.M-DUP  
 ‘‘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-mata-ba  
 DUP-away-see-back 1SG.S-short\_time-IMMED.M  
 “I will go look at it.”
- (33) *Tokomemarihine.*  
 to-ka-ma-himari-hi-ne  
 away-go-back-FP.E.M-DUP-BKG.M  
 ‘He went.’
- (34) *Tokome hiyama me ota iso na me ota so tonihama, hiyama me tori ota itiha, hiyama me ota wete namaro.*  
 to-ka-me hiyama me otaa iso na  
 away-go-back.M white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S carry\_off AUX.F  
 me otaa soo to-niha-ma hiyama me  
 3PL.O 1EX.S lie CH-CAUS-back.F white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.POSS  
 tori otaa itiha hiyama me otaa wete  
 inside.F 1EX.S take\_out.F white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S tie  
 na-hamaro  
 AUX-FP.E.F  
 ‘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 ni yana to-na-himari-ne  
 1EX to ADJU call AUX.NFIN start CH-AUX-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
 ‘We heard him start calling.’
- (36) *Hee hee.*  
 hee hee  
 hey hey  
 “Hey, hey.”
- (37) *Tatiwi ha ka, Tatiwi hiyama tao kanemona ati nari.*  
 Tatiwi haa ka Tatiwi hiyama tao  
 Tatiwi(M) call DECL.M Tatiwi(M) white\_lipped\_peccary(M) shoot  
 ka-na-himona ati na-haari  
 COMMIT-AUX-REP.M say AUX-IP.E.M  
 “Tatiwi is calling, Tatiwi said he shot a peccary.”

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- (38) *Hiyama homa hari ati nematamona.*  
hiyama                      homa                      haari              ati  
white\_lipped\_peccary(M) lie\_on\_ground.CONT.M that\_one.M say  
na-himata-mona  
AUX-FP.N.M-REP.M  
“‘The peccary is lying there,’ he said.’
- (39) *Hiyama tekamahi.*  
hiyama                      ti-ka-ka-ma-hi  
white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 2SG.S-COMIT-come-back-IMP.F  
“‘Bring the peccary here.’”
- (40) *Hiyama tiwa hinare.*  
hiyama                      tiwa    na-hina-re  
white\_lipped\_peccary(M) carry AUX-can-NEG.M  
“‘The peccary can’t be carried.’”
- (41) *Hekanakosemataka.*  
hi-ka-kana-kosa-himata-ka  
OC-COMIT-leave-middle-FP.N.M-DECL.M  
‘He left it there.’
- (42) *Kamemarine.*  
ka-ma-himari-ne  
come-back-FP.E.M-BKG.M  
‘He came.’
- (43) *Kame, kamemarika.*  
ka-me              ka-ma-himari-ka  
come-back.M come-back-FP.E.M-DECL.M  
‘He came.’
- (44) *Hoo ati nemari.*  
hoo    ati    na-himari  
whew say AUX-FP.E.M  
“‘Whew,’ he said.’
- (45) *Ta amari?*  
himata ama-ri  
what    be-CQ.F  
“‘What is it?’”

- (46) *Hiyama home ahi.*  
 hiyama home ahi  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) lie\_on\_ground.NOM.M there  
 “The peccary is lying there.”
- (47) *Yama i ati saihani tao okana homake ahi.*  
 yama ihi ati sai-hani tao o-ka-na  
 thing(F) result\_of.F voice be\_heard-IP.N.F shoot 1SG.S-COMIT-AUX.F  
 homa-ke ahi  
 lie\_on\_ground-DECL.F there  
 “I shot the jaguar that was causing the commotion of the peccaries, and it is lying there.”
- (48) *Yome tiwa hinarareka.*  
 yomee tiwa na-hina-ra-hare-ka  
 jaguar(M) carry AUX-can-NEG-IP.E.M-DECL.M  
 “The jaguar can’t be carried.”
- (49) *Yome homaka ahi.*  
 yomee homa-ka ahi  
 jaguar(M) lie\_on\_ground-DECL.M there  
 “The jaguar is there on the ground.”
- (50) *Hima e tonakamaho.*  
 hima ee to-na-ka-ma-ho  
 let’s\_go 1IN.S away-CAUS-go-back-IMP.M  
 “Come on, let’s go get it.”
- (51) *Yome iti yome itihinemari ama.*  
 yomee iti yomee iti-hina-himari ama  
 jaguar(M) pick\_up.M jaguar(M) pick\_up-can-FP.E.M SEC  
 ‘He tried to pick up the jaguar, but the jaguar couldn’t be picked up.’
- (52) *Yome, Noko Mora tiwa hine ota kakame, me hitemarika fahi.*  
 yomee Noko\_Mora tiwa hi-ne otaa ka-ka-me me  
 jaguar(M) Noko\_Mora(M) carry OC-AUX.M 1EX.S COMIT-come-back.M 3PL.S  
 hi-ite-himari-ka fahi  
 OC-skin-FP.E.M-DECL.M then  
 ‘Noko Mora carried the jaguar. We brought it, and they skinned it.’

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- (53) *Ataro Tatiwi ta hinemata awaka.*  
 ataro Tatiwi taa hi-na-himata awa-ka  
 skin.M Tatiwi(M) sell OC-AUX-FP.N.M seem.M-DECL.M  
 ‘I guess Tatiwi sold its skin.’
- (54) *Yome okiti mono nemata, bono ya sobo si tomaroni noko tao hikanemata.*  
 yomee okiti mono na-himata bono  
 jaguar(M) 1SG.POSS.grandfather(M) struggle\_with AUX-FP.N.M upper\_lip.M  
 ya sobo sii to-marono noko tao hi-ka-na-himata  
 ADJU lead sit CH-FP.E.F-BKG.F face.M shoot OC-COMIT-AUX-FP.N.M  
 ‘One time when a jaguar attacked my grandfather, he shot it in the face  
 and the shot was embedded in its snout.’<sup>2</sup>
- (55) *Faya ota kama hiyama me ota kakama, hiyama me ota kakama yama,  
 hiyama me ota ahi nama, yama me kawariamaro me amake fahi.*  
 faya otaa ka-ma hiyama me otaa  
 so 1EX.S come-back.F white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 ka-ka-ma hiyama me otaa  
 COMIT-come-back.F white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 ka-ka-ma yama hiyama me otaa  
 COMIT-come-back.F thing(F) white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S  
 ahi na-ma yama me ka-waa-ri-hamaro  
 work\_on AUX-back.F thing(F) 3PL.S COMIT-cook-raised\_surface-FP.E.F  
 me ama-ke fahi  
 3PL.S SEC-DECL.F then  
 ‘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 ota hiri nawamaroho.*  
 faya otaa ayaka-waha-hamaro otaa-ke me tahi otaa  
 so 1EX.S dance-change-FP.E.F 1EX.S-DECL.F 3PL.POSS song\_about 1EX.S  
 hiri na-waha-hamaro-ho  
 sing AUX-change-FP.E.F-DUP  
 ‘Then we had a feast. We sang songs about them.’

<sup>2</sup>There is nominalization in the verb *si tomaroni*; the finite form would be *si tonahamaroni*. That is, the auxiliary *na* would appear, and the tense *-hamaro* would have the initial *-hV* syllable (see Dixon 2004: 484).

- (57) *Sani iseni ka yamani anoti koro hikanamakia kaforineke haro.*  
 Sani iseni ka yama-ni anoti koro  
 Jane daughter POSS thing(F)-IP.N.F 3SG.POSS\_older\_brother(M) throw  
 hi-ka-na-makia ka-fori-ne-ke haaro  
 OC-COMIT-AUX-following.F COMIT-lie\_on\_top-CONT.F-DECL.F that\_one.F  
 ‘Sani, your daughter’s thing is there on the floor, that her older brother  
 threw here.’
- (58) *Yome kiyomamatase.*  
 yomee ka-yoma-ma-tase  
 dog come-through-back-again.M  
 ‘The dog is coming in the house again.’
- (59) *Yome, yaka.*  
 yomee yaka  
 dog walk  
 ‘Dog, go away.’
- (60) *Tokomaka.*  
 to-ka-ma-ka  
 away-go-back-DECL.M  
 ‘It went away.’
- (61) *Bani me ota mari na, bani otara ota mamari tohamaro ota amake bani me  
 ota nabihā ota hiyama mati.*  
 bani me otaa mari na bani otara otaa ma-mari  
 animal(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S feast\_on AUX.F animal(M) 1EX.O 1EX.S DUP-feast\_on  
 to-ha-hamaro otaa ama-ke bani me otaa naahabiha otaa  
 CH-AUX-FP.E.F 1EX.S SEC-DECL.F animal(M) 3PL.O 1EX.S kill.F 1EX.S  
 hiyama mati  
 white\_lipped\_peccary(M) 3PL  
 ‘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 toamaro me amake.*  
 bani mati awi awi me kaba-waha na to-ha-hamaro  
 animal(M) 3PL tapir(M) tapir(M) 3PL.S eat-change.LIST AUX CH-AUX-FP.E.F  
 me ama-ke  
 3PL.S SEC-DECL.F  
 ‘Animals, tapir, they ate a tapir, too.’

*T White-lipped peccaries and a jaguar*

- (63) *Ayaka ota hiri ni ka, yawita, yawita me mari nawaha, na toimaro amani.*  
 ayaka otaa hiri ni ka yawita yawita  
 feast(F) 1EX.S make AUX.NOM.F because peach\_palm(M) peach\_palm(M)  
 me mari na-waha na to-hi-marō ama-ni  
 3PL.S feast\_on AUX-change.LIST AUX CH-AUX.NOM.F-FP.E.F be-BKG.F  
 ‘When we had feasts, they ate peach palm nuts, too.’
- (64) *Amane ka yawita me fawimaro yawita yoro kanikimari.*  
 Amane ka yawita me fawi-marō yawita  
 Amane(M) POSS peach\_palm(M) 3PL.S drink.NOM.F-FP.E.F peach\_palm(M)  
 yoro ka-na-kima-haari  
 stand COMIT-AUX-two-IP.E.M  
 ‘They drank Amane’s peach palm porridge. There were two large pots of  
 peach palm porridge.’
- (65) *Marimari nofaraba na tohare mari mari tonamakewati.*  
 mari-mari nofa-raba na to-ha-ra-himari mari  
 DUP-feast recently-a\_bit AUX CH-AUX-NEG-FP.E.M feast  
 to-na-make-waha-ti  
 away-AUX-following-change-HAB.NOM  
 ‘He feasted a lot, and now he is feasting somewhere else.’

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# The Stories of Siko and Yowao

The Jarawaras are a small Amerindian community in lowland Amazonia, in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. Their language is one of half a dozen languages of the Arawan family. Yowao and Siko, both now deceased, were elderly Jarawara storytellers. Their stories are valuable from several points of view. First is their literary value – some of the stories are quite humorous, for example. Secondly, they are a window into the life of the Jarawaras – their social relations, history, and traditional religion. Finally, the interlinear presentation of the texts will be of interest to linguists. The volume contains an introduction which gives some background on the language and the culture. This volume has English translations, but a version with translations in Portuguese for Brazilian readers is also being planned.