Texts

Texts 1-4 are in the Tariana dialect of Santa Rosa. Text 1 is Leonardo Brito's account of the Yanomami (whom he calls 'Howler Monkey People'). Text 2 is a traditional legend about the origin of tobacco, snuff and fire told by Cândido Brito. Text 3 is about children who turned into guans (a story widespread in the Upper Rio Negro area); it is told by Olivia Brito. Text 4 is a nostalgic story about the good old days, by Américo Brito, the oldest living speaker of the language. Text 5 is in the Tariana dialect of Periquitos; it is a story about a running competition between a deer and a turtle, and was told by Marino Muniz. Further Tariana stories are in Aikhenvald and the Brito family (in prep.).

Text 1  THE YANOMAMI, by Leonardo Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

1. aĩ-mha    paita-pita
   here-PRES.NONVIS  one+NUM.CL:INAN-AGAIN
kuita-peni    i<i
   INTER+CL:INAN-PL:ANIM  howler.monkey  people  I
nu-ka-nipe-de  nu-kalite-de
   1sg-see-NOM-FUT.CERT  1sg-tell-FUT.CERT
'Here is another (story) again. I will tell about what's their name, Howler Monkey people, what I saw myself.'

2. nu-siwa  nu-ka-nipe-de  nu-kalite
   1sg-do.together  1sg-see-NOM-FUT.CERT  1sg-tell
'I will tell (about) what I saw myself.'

3. nese-na  kwaka  Venezuela-se  nese-na
   then-REM.P.VIS  what  Venezuela-LOC  then-REM.P.VIS
kwaka  rio  Orinoco-naku  di-wa
   what  river  Orinoco-TOP.NON.A/S  3sgnf-enter
pa:-pua  Kunukunuma  kepitana-pua
   one-CL:RIVER  Kunukunuma  REL+name-CL:RIVER
'There, in Venezuela, what's its name, out of the Orinoco river, comes out another (river) called Kunukunuma.'

4. nese-na  wha  wa-yalanata  ne  wesa-ka
   then-REM.P.VIS  we  1pl-boss  then  1pl+go.upstream-SUB
wa-nu  ne-na  diha  wa-patu-na
   1pl-come  then-REM.P.VIS  ART  1pl-arrive-REM.P.VIS
The Yanomami, by Leonardo Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

diha-pua numan
ART-CL:RIVER mouth
'Then our boss was (there), then we went upstream, and arrived at the mouth of that river.'

5. diha-nhe ai-mha nu-na ka-mawita
he-FOC.A/S here-PRES.NONVIS 1sg-OBJ REL-owe
i<.i-nawiki di-na sipi-pidana
howler.monkey-people 3sgnf-say-REM.P.VIS gun-REM.P.REP
dhita nheta-daka nha-nhe neite professor
3plnf+take 3pl+take-YET they-FOC.A/S there+NCL:ANIM teacher
'He said, "There are Howler Monkey People (Yanomami) who owe me," they say he took a gun, and they took a teacher from there.'

6. kaika kawhi pi-na nu-kawita di-a-na
thus manioc.flour 2sg-OBJ 1sg-pay 3sgnf-say-REM.P.VIS
nu-na di-a di-kalite-na kaika nese
1sg-OBJ 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.VIS thus then
i-a hita di-a-na
2pl-go 2pl+take 3sgnf-say-REM.P.VIS
"So I will pay you with manioc flour," he said to me, "so go and get (what they owe me)".

7. haw wa:-na wha-nhe wha kehpunipe-na
OK 1pl+say-REM.P.VIS we-FOC.A/S we four-REM.P.VIS
wa:-na diha-pua numanite
1pl+go-REM.P.VIS ART-CL:RIVER mouth+NCL:ANIM
paita na-ya|upe ka-sape wa:-na
one+NUM.CL:ANIM 3pl-language REL-speak 1pl+go-REM.P.VIS
<o! nese-na wa:-ha te wyaka-nhina
Oh! then-REM.P.VIS 1pl+go-PAUS until far-ANT+REM.P.VIS
"OK," we said, four of us went, (including) one from the mouth of this river, who spoke the language, we went. Oh! Then we went far.'

8. halitee quatro ora-ka-na wa:-na
early:PAUS four o'clock-DECL-REM.P.VIS 1pl+go-REM.P.VIS
wa-wa wa:-na wha te hekwa
1pl-enter 1pl+go-REM.P.VIS we until midday
di-kapuku-na nese-naku waka-na
3sgnf-turn-REM.P.VIS then-TOP.NON.A/S 1pl+arriv-REM.P.VIS
'It was very early, four o'clock. We went and entered (the river) and went until it was midday, then we arrived.'

9. wakaa kajuna-pu-nhina-niki
1pl+arriv-PAUS dangerous-AUG-ANT+REM.P.VIS-COMPL
ma<a-wani-ka-se-na ne
good/proper-CL:NAT.PHEN-DECL-LOC-REM.P.VIS then
ma<a-kwana diha hyapa-na waka-na
good/proper-CL:PLAIN ART hill-CL:VERT 1pl+arriv-REM.P.VIS
We arrived, it was very dangerous, in the nice area, then we arrived at a real plain at the hill, said to be "Descent of a Hill of a deer and an evil spirit" called "Peak", then, if one looks up, there was a green lofty mountain standing (there).

'We arrived close to this mountain.'

'We arrived. When we came close, they finished blowing their flutes.'

'Then they came down to meet us, they arrived. The boss had told (them), "The teacher (lit. the teacher of children) will come to get my payment," so they knew (that we were coming).'

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The Yanomami, by Leonardo Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

Then they got together and went down (to the port), took us and went up, they made it fearsome (for us).

They had their bows, what else?, their spears, pieces of wood; and so did the women.

They had them, they ran to us and turned around, and stood; we stood among them, and then their chief ordered them to stop (it) with respect to us.

They almost shot us with arrows, almost shot us. They were standing with bows drawn, they pointed at us, and there was no place to run away.

Poor us, we were very scared, I am saying, so after we did this, he (the chief) spoke a little and ordered (them) to leave us.
18. ne-na nha kaya-na
then-REM.P.VIS they thus-REM.P.VIS
nhematha-na-niki na-ya|upe-ne
3pl+shout-REM.P.VIS-COMPL 3pl-language-INS
ma:nhina-ma-na nha alia-na nha
be.difficult-EXC-REM.P.VIS they EXIST-REM.P.VIS they
kasina-misini kaya-na-niki nha
now-TOO:PART.CONTR thus-REM.P.VIS-COMPL they

'Then they shouted in such a way, in their language, it was difficult (to understand). This is how they exist, now, too, they are like this.'

19. ya|u-maka-si sede mêda
thing-CL:CLOTHING-NPOSS NEG.EX COUNTEREX
kwaka ne-na na-pita-na
what then-REM.P.VIS 3pl-paint-REM.P.VIS
nha na-kwa-nipe-tupe-mia
they 3pl-hang-NOM-DIM:PL-ONLY
kwaka philimapha ka-pita ka-ni nha
what achiote REL-paint REL-do they
ma<a i|i-peni-mia-ka-na nha
good/proper red-PL:ANIM-ONLY-DECL-REM.P.VIS they
nha na-daki-nuku philimapha-ne na-pita-na
they 3pl-body-TOP.NON.A/S achiote-INS 3pl-paint-REM.P.VIS
nha-ne kwaka ina-misini kaya
they-FOC.A/S what woman:PL-TOO:PART.CONTR also

'They do not have clothing, what's its name, they paint themselves, they (have) their little adornments (hanging things), they paint themselves with achiote, so they are really red, they paint their bodies with achiote, and women do, too.'

20. nha kwaka ya|u-maka-si
they what thing-CL:CLOTHING-NPOSS
ma-yâ-kade-na-daka nha
NEG-wear-NEG-REM.P.VIS-YET they
dihá-khi-na na-ni alia-na nha
ART-CL:LINE-REM.P.VIS 3pl-do EXIST-REM.P.VIS they
alia-pidana pa-na nawiki-naku diha
EXIST-REM.P.REP IMP-OBJ people-TOP.NON.A/S ART
nawikya-kade-pidana kenani
people+EMPH-NEG-REM.P.REP REL+speedy

'They do not wear clothes, this is their custom, the way they exist. We the people, we also were like this; they (the Yanomami) did not become like (real) people quickly (i.e. they did not get 'civilised' quickly).'

21. hi-kayu apale nu-a-ka nhua nha
DEM:ANIM-like differently 1sg-say-SUB I they
na-whe-|i-nipe na-de-|i-pidana na-na
3pl-grandparent-MASC-PL 3pl-have-CONV-REM.P.REP 3pl-OBJ
'So, I am saying, just like that they have what their grandfathers used to have.'

22. hiku  i-ni  pa:-ka-nuku
be.like.this  2pl-do  IMP+say-SUB-TOP.NON.A/S
ma-na-kade-pidana  na-hema  hiku
NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP  3pl+hear  be.like.this
nhe-naka  ma<a-ha  nawikya-naka
3pl+enter-PRES.VIS  good/proper-PAUS  people+EMPH-PRES.VIS
pa:-|i-nuku  ma-na-kade-pidana
IMP+say-CONV-TOP.NON.A/S  NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP
na-mata|a-hã  upitha  nha
3pl-leave-PAUS  long.ago  they
na-yã-nipe-se-nuku
3pl-live-NOM-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S
'When they were told, "Do like this," they did not want to hear; when they were
told, "This is how it is appropriate (lit. enters) for proper people," they did not
want to leave the ways they used to live a long time ago.'

23. kaika-pidana  nha  ne-naku  hiku
thus-REM.P.REP they  then-TOP.NON.A/S  be.like.this
wha  kiya  ma-na-kade-pidana  na-yã
we  like+EMPH  NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP  3pl-live
'So this is how they are, they did not want to live like we do.'

24. nha  nawiki-nuku  na-inu-ka-misini
they  people-TOP.NON.A/S  3pl-kill-SUB-TOO:PART.CONTR
kaya-pidana  na-inu  sie  nheta
thus-REM.P.REP  3pl-kill  firewood  3pl+take
hanu-wina  na-ni  syawa  na-kuka  nese-pidana
big-CL:HILL  3pl-do fire  3pl-light  then-TOP.NON.A/S
ka-yami-naku  na-swe-ta
REL-die-REM.P.REP  3pl-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2
'When they killed people, they killed them for nothing, they would bring
firewood, make a little hill, light the fire, then they would put the dead person
there.'

25. diha-wina  sie  kwana  syawa  wika-se  ne lama
ART-CL:HILL  firewood who  fire  on.top-LOC  then burn
di-siwa  lama  we|i  di|uku  di-a
3sgnf-do.together  burn  crush  3sgnf-go.down  3sgnf-go
te  diha  ŋapi-pe-se-pidana  nheta-na  nheta
until ART  bone-PL-LOC-REM.P.REP  3pl+take-REM.P.VIS  3pl+take
na-siwa  na-sape  hiku  wa-ni  ikasu-nuku
3pl-do.together  3pl-speak like.this  1pl-do  now-TOP.NON.A/S
na:  diha-da  yeda-se  nheta  na-pala
3pl+say  ART-CL:ROUND  mortar-LOC  3pl+take  3pl-put
They make fire out of firewood, then the fire burns by itself and crushes down, then they take these bones, and speak to each other, "this is how we will do now," they put it (all) into a mortar and crush, they take really ripe bananas, they take a large pan and cook (this), they make a mash, mix it up and drink, all of them, men, women, children, babies, all.'

26. kwana diha   yaphini   ma-i|a-kadite-naku
   who   ART   thing   NEG-drink-NEG+NCL:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S
na-na   na-inu   na-pe-pidana-niki
3pl-OBJ   3pl-kill 3pl-throw-REM.P.REP-COMPL
'Who does not drink this thing, they kill them.'

27. diha   ki:-naka   wa-ya-khi   na-na
   ART   like.this-PRES.VIS 1pl-POSS-CL:LINE 3pl-OBJ
na-kalite   ne-naku
3pl-tell then-TOP.NON.A/S
"'This is what our custom (lit. our line) is like,' they said then.'

28. wha-ne   wa-kesi-pe-naku   hipay
   we-FOC.A/S 1pl-relative-PL-TOP.NON.A/S ground
yapise-se-naku   ma-pe-kade-naka
under-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S  NEG-throw-NEG-PRES.VIS
na:-na   wha-naka   wa-siwa-naka
3pl+say-REM.P.VIS we-PRES.VIS 1sg-do.together-PRES.VIS
wa-ñale-ta-niki   na:-na
1pl-disappear+CAUS1-CAUS2-COMPL 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS
"'We don't want to throw our relatives under the ground," they said, "we die (disappear) together," they said.'

29. mēda   hī   kwaka
   COUNTEREX   DEM:ANIM what
di-pe-wya-nuku   ma-ñha-kade-naka
3sgnf-meat-EXTRAL-TOP.NON.A/S  NEG-eat-NEG-PRES.VIS
nawiki   i-pe-naku   na:-na
people   INDF-meat-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS
'They said, "We do not eat just this meat, people's meat".'
"They said, 'We eat (human) flesh in a different way, when people fight and die, then we burn them this way, we take the bones, we make a mash and drink (it), we make a mash and drink (it),' they said.'

"So this is how it is, it is different for us, our grandparents were like this, we are the grandchildren of those who did like this,' they said.'

"You are the only ones who want to drop (your customs)," they said.'

"We do not want to abandon our customs, our different way of doing (things)," they said. This is how they are. It (the story) is finished.'
Text 2  THE ORIGIN OF TOBACCO, SNUFF AND FIRE, by Cândido Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

1. hĩ-nhina pedalia-pe na-pupani
dem:anim-ant+rem.p.vis old-pl 3pl-arms
na-de-nhina khida-nhina na-na
3pl-have-ant+rem.p.vis ready-ant+rem.p.vis 3pl-obj
hiku-nhi wali-kasu naha hiku-ka
appear-ant new-int they appear-sub
'The old people had arms. This is how it appeared to them, in the beginning, when they came into being.'

2. hĩ-nuku waha thuya-nhina
dem:anim-top.non.a/s we all:one.kind-ant+rem.p.vis
wa-de-nhi yawi-na tu|ipupani-na yema-pu
1pl-have-ant jaguar-cl:vert spear-cl:vert cigar-cl:hollow
wa-de-nhina waha wa-|ada-sina
1pl-have-ant+rem.p.vis we 1pl-power-rem.p.infr
waha-sawa-sini wa-|ada-sina
we-cl:group-too:act.contr 1pl-power-rem.p.infr
khida-mha wa-ka|e wa-de-mha waha
ready-pres.nonvis 1pl-heart 1pl-have-pres.nonvis we
'Then we had everything, (ritual objects), cigar-holder, it was our power, it was the power of our group. OK, we have power in our heart (lit. we have heart).' 

3. hĩ yema sede-sina walikasu
dem:anim tobacco neg.ex-rem.p.infr beginning
yema sede-ka di-ka hĩ
tobacco neg.ex-sub 3sgnf-see dem:anim
kuite enu-naku wanali yapi|iku|i
inter+ncl:anim thunder-top.non.a/s wanali yapi|iku|i
di-ñhawe-ri di-de-sina di-de
3sgnf-parent.in.law-masc 3sgnf-have-rem.p.infr 3sgnf-have
'This tobacco did not exist in the beginning. This one what's-his-name saw that there was no tobacco. Wanali Yapi|iku|i had thunder as his father-in-law.'

4. yema sede-ka pana-phe-pidana
tobacco neg.ex-sub leaf-cl:leaf.like-rem.p.rep
di-sita di-a-nhi pana-phe di-sita-ka
3sgnf-smoke 3sgnf-go-ant leaf-cl:leaf.like 3sgnf-smoke-sub
du-ka di-sa-do du-a-pidana
3sgf-see 3sgnf-spouse-fem 3sgf-say-rem.p.rep
<o! nuha nu-sa-ni|i ma:<i-pu-naka pi-|ena phia
oh! I 1sg-spouse-masc bad-aug-pres.vis 2sg-feel you
yema pi-na-ka pi-sita du-a-pidana
tobacco 2sg-want-sub 2sg-smoke 3sgf-say-rem.p.rep
'Having no tobacco, he was smoking leaves. His wife saw him smoke leaves, and wife said, "My husband, you are in a bad way when you want to smoke tobacco".'
5. nuha kwe-nha nuha di-a-pidana
I what-PRES.VIS.INTER I 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
phia yapi[i]ka-naka kay pi-[enana
you Yapi[i]DECL-PRES.VIS so 2sg-feel-PRES.VIS
du-a-pidana nu-ha-ni]i puaya-na
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 1sg-parent-MASC elsewhere-REM.P.VIS
yema di-de di-na-nhi du-a-pidana
3sgf-have 3sgf-stay-ANT 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
"What's wrong with me?" he said. "You are Yapi[i] (traditional god), and you
are feeling this way," she said, "My father had tobacco elsewhere," she said.'

6. haw diwese-whya pi-a phita
yes then-EXTRAL 2sg-go 2sg+bring
di-a-pidana diha-ne-nha
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP he-FOC.A/S-PAUS
di-sa-do-nuku phia-ni]i dalipa-se
3sgf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg+parent-MASC near-LOC
pi-a phita di-a-pidana
2sg-go 2sg+bring 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
"Then go and get (it)," he said to his wife, "Go to your father and get (it)," he
said.'

7. haw du-a-pidana dusa du-a
yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go
yenu-ni-se-pidana diha enu
sky-AFF-LOC-REM.P.REP ART thunder
waha diha-tha wa: wa-sape-tha-da
we he-FR 1pl+say 1pl-speak-FR-UNCERT
waha wa-yeka-naka diha-naku
we 1pl-know-PRES.VIS he-TOP.NON.A/S
"Yes," she said, and went up. The Thunder is up in the sky. We are saying this,
(yet) we do know this.'

8. dusa du-a du-si]i-ne du-a-pidana
3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go 3sgf-husband's.brother-INS 3sgf-go-REM.P.REP
du-si]i-tiki alia-pidana
3sgf-husband's.brother-DIM EXIST-REM.P.REP
di-na-pidana dhuta dusa du-a
3sgf-OBJ-REM.P.REP 3sgf+bring 3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go
'She went with her husband's brother, there was a small husband's brother. She
brought him up there.'

9. dusa du-a du-ka-pidana ha-ni]i
3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go 3sgf-see-REM.P.REP parent-MASC
dalipa-se kwaka-nikha pi-na-ka
near-LOC what-PRES.VIS.INTER 2sg-want-SUB
'She climbed towards her father. "Why did you come, daughter (lit. you came wanting what)?" he said. "Dad, I came, your son-in-law is in a very bad way, wanting to smoke tobacco."'

''This is why I came here," she said, "give (it to me) on my husband's order," she said. "Yes, there is (tobacco)," he said.'

'There was a smoking grid for fish, something like a smoking grid for fish.'

'He said, "OK," he took (it), broke (in two halves) and put it (down) acting as if offering a pepperpot.'

'When he did it, for him (her husband's brother) looking it was fish. He ate, "Eat!" she said, "Yes," he said and ate.'
14. di-ñha thuy ma<َا-naka di-a-pidana
3sgnf-eat all good/proper-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
i-[uku i-a-pita di-a-pidana
2pl-go.down 2pl-go-AGAIN 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
pi-[uku pi-uka hĩ
2sg-go.down 2sg-arrive DEM:ANIM
panisa|u-miki-|i-naku pi|a
abandoned.village-NOM.PAST-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg+order
pi-katha-nha di-a-pidana diha enu
2sg-vomit-IMPV 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP ART thunder
'The boy ate it all, he (thunder) said, "Good. Go down again," he said, "You will
arrive at an old abandoned village, you order (him) to vomit," said Thunder.'

15. diha di-[uku di-nu diha-tiki
he 3sgnf-go.down 3sgnf-come he-DIM
aĩ-ka n乎ua-ni|i di|eta
here-DECL I+parent-MASC 3sgnf+order+CAUS
di-a-pidana di-uka di-khata
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-vomit
'The little one came down. "Here my father ordered you to vomit," (she said).'

16. di-khata pa:-da-yamina-pidana hipole di-nu
3sgnf-vomit one-CL:ROUND-later-REM.P.REP green 3sgnf-
come
diha yema di-tawina hiku di-nu-pidana
ART tobacco 3sgnf-grow appear 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP
'He vomited, the next day it (tobacco) came up green. The tobacco started
growing.'

17. di-khata-mi diha yema di-keta-pidana
3sgnf-vomit-LOC.NOM he tobacco 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP
ne-pidana hĩ myaka-na-pe neta
then-REM.P.REP DEM:ANIM ancient-AFF-PL 3pl+take
diha-naku hĩ yema-pu-nuku
he-TOP.NON.A/S DEM:ANIM tobacco-CL:HOLLOW-TOP.NON.A/S
na-sita-pidana yema sede-wani-nuku
3pl-smoke-REM.P.REP tobacco NEG.EX-CL:NAT.PHEN-TOP.NON.A/S
na-keta na-sita-pidana wa-na ketemi-naka
3pl-meet 3pl-smoke-REM.P.REP 1pl-OBJ rest-PRES.VIS
kasina na:-pidana-ta diha-pidana
now 3pl+say-REM.P.REP-AGAIN he-REM.P.REP
hipatu-nuku di-de
snuff-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-have
'Where he vomited, he (Wanali Yapi[iku]) found tobacco. Then the ancient ones
took the cigar-holder (and) smoked; while there was no tobacco, they found (it)
and smoked. Now one thing remains, they said, "He (Thunder) has snuff".'
'There was fish snuff on top of the water, and the fish were eating small pieces (of it).'

"You are having a bad time, my father used to have different (kind of snuff)," she said once again.'

'Yes, go and bring (it), in this case your father is said to have it for nothing (and) orders it around," he said.'

'He (Thunder) did not give the snuff in a way open to all, there is no him saying, "Here it is".'

'Again, he brought smoked fish, broke (it in two) and put it down.'
24. **haw** | **di-a-pidana** | **di-ňha-pidana** | **di-ňha**
---|---|---|---
**yes** | **3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP** | **3sgnf-eat-REM.P.REP** | **3sgnf-eat**
**di-sita** | **i-uku-ya** | **di-a-pidana**
**3sgnf-finish** | **2pl-come.down-EMPH** | **3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP**
**di-uku** | **di-nu** | **upi-mia-pidana** | **di-ni-pita**
**3sgnf-come.down** | **3sgnf-come** | **old-only-REM.P.REP** | **3sgnf-do-AGAIN**

"Yes," he (the boy) said, he ate it up (lit. eat-finish); "Go down," said he (Thunder). He (the boy) came down, he did the same thing as before.'

25. **pani-si** | **i-thi ikuna** | **pi|a** | **pi-khatha**
---|---|---|---
**house-NPOSS** | **INDF-near** | **2sg+order** | **2sg-vomit**
**di-a-pidana** | **ne-ya-pidana** | **di-uka**
**3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP** | **then-EMPH-REM.P.REP** | **3sgnf-arrive**
**di-katha** | **diha-misini**
**3sgnf-vomit** | **he-TOO:PART.CONTR**

"Order him to vomit in the back of the house," (Thunder) said (to his daughter). Then he (the boy) arrived and vomited in the very same place, too.'

26. **ne-ya-pidana** | **hiku** | **diha-nha** | **heku**
---|---|---|---
**then-EMPH-REM.P.REP** | **appear** | **he-PAUS** | **tree**
**hipatu-ni** | **hema|i** | **hipatu-ni** | **hiku-pidana**
**snuff-POSS** | **abiu.palm** | **snuff-POSS** | **appear-REM.P.REP**

'Then it appeared, (it was) (seed of) snuff of tree, snuff of abiu-palm.'

27. **yama-na-se|i** | **dhita**
---|---
**two-CL:VERT-SINGL** | **3sgnf+bring**
**di-nu-pidana** | **ketemi-pidana** | **kasina**
**3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP** | **rest-REM.P.REP** | **now**

'He brought two types of snuff trees; there was something still missing.'

28. **syawa-pidana** | **sede-pita** | **di-na** | **syawa**
---|---|---|---
**fire-REM.P.REP** | **NEG.EX-AGAIN** | **3sgnf-OBJ** | **fire**
**sede** | **hi** | **ke|i-ne-pidana** | **di-me|jita**
**NEG.EX** | **DEM:ANIM** | **sun-INS-REM.P.REP** | **3sgnf-fry**
**kuphe-nuku** | **di-ňha** | **di-ňha-nhi**
**fish-TOP.NON.A/S** | **3sgnf-eat** | **3sgnf-eat-ANT**

'He did not have fire, there was no fire; he fried fish in the sun and used to eat.'

29. **duha** | **dhumeta-ka** | **puésani-ma-pidana**
---|---|---
**she** | **3sgf+feel-SUB** | **bad.smell.of.fish-EXC-REM.P.REP**
**di-yã-nhi** | **phia ma:<i-pu-naka** | **pi-ni** | **nu-api**
**3sgnf-stay-ANT** | **you** | **bad-AUG-PRES.VIS** | **2sg-do** | **1sg-with**
**pi-ňha-naka** | **phia** | **du-a-pidana** | **duha-ya-pita**
**2sg-eat-PRES.VIS** | **you** | **3sgf-say-REM.P.REP** | **she-EMPH-AGAIN**

'She felt (that) there was a bad smell of fish, (and) said again,"You are eating with me in a bad way".'
30. kwe-nha nuha nu-ni nu-de
what-PRES.VIS.INTER I 1sg-do 1sg-have
nuha pi-na di-a-pidana
I 2sg-OBJ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
"What could I do for you?" he said.

31. syawa-na di-de di-yã-ka
fire-REM.P.VIS 3sgnf-have 3sgnf-stay-DECL
du-a-pidana duha-ne diwese-wya
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP she-FOC.A/S then-EXTRAL
pi-a phita di-a-pidana
2sg-go 2sg+bring 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
"My father has fire," she said. "Then go and bring (it)," he said.

32. du-a-pidana-pita dusa du-a
3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP-AGAIN 3sgf+go.up 3sgnf-go
nese-pita dusa du-a
then-AGAIN 3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go
'Then she went up again, up she went again.'

33. hĩ pi-<ima|i syawa-ka di-na diha
DEM:ANIM 2sg-son.in.law fire-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-want he
du-a-pidana nu-api ma:<i-pu-ka
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 1sg-with bad-AUG-REC.P.VIS
di-ni di-ňha diha du-a-pidana
3sgnf-do 3sgnf-eat he 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
"This son-in-law of yours, it is fire that he wants," she said, "he is eating badly
(lit. he is doing bad things in how he eats)," she said.'

34. haw nuitõ nuha ma:<i nu-ni nu-api
yes daughter:VOC I bad 1sg-do 1sg-with
nu-ňha-nite-kade-ka phia
1sg-eat-TOP.ADV+NCL:ANIM-NEG-REC.P.VIS you
di-a-pidana ma<a nu-ni nu-api
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP good/proper 1sg-do 1sg-with
nu-ňha-nite-ka phia di-a-pidana
1sg-eat-TOP.ADV+NCL:ANIM-REC.P.VIS you 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
nu-a-de pi-na di-a-pidana
1sg-give-FUT.CERT 2sg-OBJ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
"Yes, my daughter, you have never been the one badly fed with me," he said,
"you have been well fed with me," he said, "I'll give (it) to you," he said.'

35. hiku-pana ma:-kade-pidana
appear-ALL NEG+give-NEG-REM.P.REP
diwese-wya pi|-uku pi-a di-a-pidana
then-EXTRAL 2sg-go.down 2sg-go 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
pi|-uku pi-a ma|isi-nuku pi|a
2sg-go.down 2sg-go grass-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg+order
pi-ña    pi-swe-ta    di-a-pidana
2sg-clear  2sg-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2  3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
'He did not give (it) in an apparent way. "Then go down," he said, "go down (and)
order (people) to clear the grass," he said.'

36. ma|isi    pi-ña    pi-swe-ta    pi-wapa-nha
grass  2sg-clear.garden  2sg-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2  2sg-wait-IMPV
di-a-pidana    hekwa-ka    pi-wapa-mhade    phia
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP  midday-SUB  2sg-wait-FUT  you
di-a-pidana    ne-mhade    pi-kisi-pe    na:
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP  then-FUT  2sg-relative-PL  3pl+go
hi  syawa-nuku  na:-mhade  na-whanipa
DEM:ANIM  fire-TOP.NON.A/S  3pl+go-FUT  3pl-deposit
"'Arrange the clearing of the grass and wait," he said, "wait until it is midday, then
your relatives will go and deposit this fire'."

37. di-a-pidana    diha    di-anihta-tha-pidana
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP  he  3sgnf-think-FR-REM.P.REP
nu-a-ka    di-wapa-nikhe  amaku-se
1sg-say-SUB  3sgnf-wait-WHILE:SS  hammock-LOC
di-ñu    di-kwa    di-a-pidana
3sgnf-be.up  3sgnf-hang  3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
dihmeta    di-kwa-pidana
3sgnf+think  3sgnf-lie.in.hammock-REM.P.REP
'He said (thus), and he was "aware" (i.e. worried) while he was lying in his
hammock, he was up there hanging and thinking (having presentiments).'

38. ya:piku    kamuy    di-eme-ta-pidana
some.time  summer.heat  3sgnf-put+CAUS1-CAUS2-REM.P.REP
peme-kapi-da-pe    kamuy
one+SIDE-HAND-CL:ROUND-PL  summer.heat
di-eme-ta-pidana
3sgnf-put+CAUS1-CAUS2-REM.P.REP
'He (Thunder) created summer heat for some time, he created summer heat for
five days.'

39. peme-kapi-da-pe-pidana
one+SIDE+INDF-HAND-CL:ROUND-PL-REM.P.REP
alio  ma-a-maka|a  dihmita-kasu-pidana
EXIST  well-dry  3sgnf+burn-INT-REM.P.REP
'There were five days of summer heat, to burn (the gardens) really dry.'

40. ya:piku-pidana    pi:ma-nha    pima    na-[juku
some.time-REM.P.REP  sound-PAUS  sound  3pl-come.down
na-nu    hu:li  te:pana  alia-pidana
3pl-come  swallow  swallow  EXIST-REM.P.REP
du-weni-ne    madalipa-pidana
3sgf-younger.brother-INS  three+NUM.CL:ANIM-REM.P.REP
For some time there was a sound, they (relatives) were coming. There were two types of swallows, there were three of them, counting a younger brother, there was a small swallow.'

They were coming down, he (the boy) did not realise (this).

'He (the boy) left the fire and ran away. The future wind, the wind appeared all of a sudden (lit. run-go), the flame was everywhere, when there was flame, he (the boy) realised (what was happening).'

'It was extremely difficult to see, the pieces of wood were (running) in flames, (the fire) took all.'

'He went to look for the fire, he did not find it at all. A lizard and a small crocodile took little bits of smoke, they were walking while the fire was burning.'
The origin of tobacco, snuff and fire, by Cândido Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

khepa-pena naha ma-keta-kade-pidana
REL+take-NOM.FUT they NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP
'He left a lot for the fire to get (and so) they did not find (the original piece).'

46. i:sa-tupe haiku-pada-pe-tupe na-whâ
na-ma|e-ta-tha-pidana
3pl-go.down+CAUS1-CAUS2-FR-REM.P.REP
'They bit and swallowed bits of smoke (and) little pieces of wood (in vain).'

47. na:-nite na-ñha
3pl+make-TOP.ADV+NCL:ANIM 3pl-eat
ka:siryana di-swa-pidana
croc+PEJ 3sgnf-lie-REM.P.REP
'The bad crocodile, the one whom they fed, was there lying down.'

48. diha di-swa-pidana diha kada|u
he 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP he hat
dhita di-swa-pidana di-eku di-musu
3sgnf+take 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go.out
di-a diha-pada dyuka di-whâ-pidana
3sgnf-go ART-CL:PIECE 3sgnf+arrive 3sgnf-bite-REM.P.REP
'He was lying down, he took the hat (made of clay), put it (on his head), ran out, took the very piece of wood (from which the original fire had come).'

49. isa-tupe haiku-pada-pe-tupe na-whâ
na-ma|e-ta-tha-pidana
3pl-go.down+CAUS1-CAUS2-FR-REM.P.REP
'They (the lizard and the small crocodile) bit and swallowed bits of smoke (and) little pieces of wood (in vain).'

50. niwhâ-ta-tha di-eku di-a mayakani-pidana
3sgnf+bite-AGAIN-FR 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go right-REM.P.REP
di-]uku-kha di-a te uni-se
3sgnf-come.down-AWAY 3sgnf-go until water-LOC
di-wha thepi di-a-pidana
3sgnf-fall/stay TO.WATER 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
di-wha-thepi na:ma-tha-pidana
3sgnf-fall-TO.WATER 3pl+look.for-FR-REM.P.REP
'He bit (the piece), ran straight up to the water and fell into the water, they tried to look for him in vain.'

51. di-pumi-se na-kuka-nikhe di-a-ka-kha
3sgnf-after-LOC 3pl-lit-IN.SPITE 3sgnf-go-SUB-AWAY
'After that in spite of them lighting (the fire), it went away by going, it was always going away.'

"Who has it?" they asked (in vain). They could only show the little bits of smoke.'

"Who could have taken it?" They went to look for it.'

'They were sitting like we are sitting here, only they were all familiar to him (to Wanali Yapi|iku|i).'

"He is not here," they said. They knew who stole it, (it was) the crocodile, "it is him," (they said).'

'In the afternoon there appeared flames on the water.'

'He stole, stole and hid the piece, and this is how they knew.'
58. kwe-mhade   wa-ni   wheta  hĩ
how-FUT.UNCERT 1pl-do 1pl+get DEM:ANIM
ma:site-nuku diha  hĩ-nuku
bad+NCL:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S he  DEM:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S
na-pidana  na-sape-nha  na-siwa-kaka
3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl-speak-PAUS 3pl-do.together-REC
"How are we going to take this?" they said; they spoke among themselves.'

59. kwe  pheta-ka[u]  mahyũna-ma-pidana  haw
how  IMP+take-PURP.VIS difficult-EXC-REM.P.REP  yes
diha  di-yeka  kuite  di-yeka-pidana
he  3sgnf-know INTER+NCL:ANIM 3sgnf-know-REM.P.REP
diha-nha  na:pi  ka-yã-ne  wana]i|ana
he-PAUS 3pl+with REL-live-FOC.A/S Wana|i+PEJ
'It was very difficult to get. Yes, he knew, what's his name, he knew, the old
Wanali who lived with them.'

60. dapi-nuku   dhita   di-ma<iketa-pidana
vine-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-bad+TH+CAUS-REM.P.REP
dapi-puku-pe  dhita  di-ma<iketa-pidana
vine-CL:BUNDLE-PL 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-bad+TH+CAUS-REM.P.REP
awakada  pai<i-pina  na:-ka[u-nuku
jungle  frog-CL:SWAMP 3pl+go-PURP.VIS-TOP.NON.A/S
la:pe-se-pidana  di-swe-ta
swampy.area-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2
'He took bundles of vine and transformed the jungle into a swamp full of frogs, he
put them onto swampy area.'

61. ne-se-pidana  na:  na-sa-nha
then-LOC-REM.P.REP3pl+go 3pl-sing-PAUS
pai<i  na-sa-pidana
frog  3pl-sing-REM.P.REP
'Then the frogs started singing.'

62. diha-mhade-di  di-ňha  di-a-ka-pidana
he-FUT 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-eat 3sgnf-go-SUB-REM.P.REP
di-swe-ta  di-mata[a]   diha-pidana,
3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2 3sgnf-leave he-REM.P.REP
di-a  dhita  diha
3sgnf-go  3sgnf+take  he
'He (the crocodile) was going to eat them, after (Wanali) left (them), and so he
went.'

63. kasi|i  ma:<ite  di-dukunia-pidana
crocodile  bad+NCL:ANIM  3sgnf-lit-REM.P.REP
di-ňu  di-a  ke|ape-da  di-ňu  di-
3sgnf-go.up 3sgnf-go flame-CL:ROUND 3sgnf-go.up 3sgnf-go
'The bad crocodile lit up (with fire). The flame was going up.'
"Then this is what we are going to do, we will tear (it) away from the bad one," he (Wanali) said and went up.'

"While the crocodile was coming downstream, they took him, they took him and searched his body.'

'It was not there, they did not find (it). He had (the fire) in his brain, this place in which we think.'

'He still had the piece of fire in his brain, in his head, he was letting it out; they looked in vain, the one who was fed by them.'

'There was an oropendola bird, he knew (where the fire was). "Here it is," he said.'

'He split his head, split it open, made it open, opened it completely.'
70. ne-se-pidana   diha-pada   nheta-pidana
then-LOC-REM.P.REPART-CL:PIECE 3pl+get-REM.P.REP
diha-pada  nheta  syawa  na-de-nhina
ART-CL:PIECE 3pl+take fire 3pl-have-ANT+REM.P.VIS
'Then they took the piece (of wood with fire) out, they got the piece out and they had fire.'

71. syawa  sede-ka-na     sede-nisawa
fire  NEG.EX-DECL-REM.P.VIS  NEG.EX-AFTER:DS
hiku-nhina  syawa  na-ni  na-de-nhina
so-ANT+REM.P.VIS fire 3pl-do 3pl-have-ANT+REM.P.VIS
'They had seen that there was no fire, after there was none, this is what they – apparently – did to have fire.'

72. hĩ    na:   na-kalite  pedalia-pe
DEM:ANIM 3pl+say 3pl-tell old-PL
hiku-nhina  na:  wa-na
appear-ANT+REM.P.VIS 3pl+say 1pl-OBJ
wa-than-na-se-nuku  na:  na-kalite-na
1pl-start-AFF-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl+say 3pl-tell-REM.P.VIS
kaida-naka
ready-PRES.VIS
'This is what old people tell, this is how it appeared to us in the beginning, they tell us. This is all.'

TEXT 3  HOW CHILDREN TURNED INTO GUANS, by Olívia Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

1. aĩ-tuki  nu-kalite  kalisi
here-DIM 1sg-tell story
ya:<i>i    naha  na-masika-mi-pidana
guan  they 3pl-turn-NOM-REM.P.REP
'I will tell a small story about how they turned into guans.'

2. duha  paite-pidana     uphe-do
she   one+NUM.CL:ANIM-REM.P.REP long.ago+parent-FEM
uphe-do-pidana  duha
long.ago+parent-FEM-REM.P.REP  she
'There was a widow.'

3. mada|ipa-pidana     kenipe  ā<a
three+NUM.CL:ANIM-REM.P.REP REL+child man:PL
ũhamepa  ina|u  pa:-ma-pidana
two+NUM.CL:ANIM woman  one-CL:FEM-REM.P.REP
'She had three children, two boys and one girl.'
4. ke:nipe  duha  ne-pidana  ne:|i-ne
REL+child  she  then-REM.P.REP  deer-INS
ne:|i-ne-pidana  du-henita
deer-INS-REM.P.REP  3sgf-remarry
uphe-do-miki-|u
long.ago+parent-FEM-NOM.PAST-FEM
'She had children with a deer, this old widow had remarried a deer.'

5. diha  ne:|i  ñaki-pidana  ñaki-pidana  diha  ne:|i
ART  deer  ghost-REM.P.REP  ghost-REM.P.REP  ART  deer
'This deer was an evil spirit.'

6. diha  depi-mia-pidana  di:ma  di-yā-nhi  duha-ne
he  night-ONLY-REM.P.REP  3sgnfall  3sgnstay-ANT  she-INS
'He slept with her only at night.'

7. depi-ilha-tiki  di-a-khani  di-yā-nhi  awakada-se
night-APPROX-DIM  3sgnngo-AWAY  3sgnstay-ANT  jungle-LOC
ma:mi  dinu-ka  di-emhani  nese  di-emhani
tinamou  3sgnkill-SUB  3sgnwalk  then  3sgnwalk
'When it was still dark he used to go to the jungle. He was walking around killing
tinamou birds.'

8. daikina  kada-wa  di-wha  di-swa-pidana
afternoon  black-AFF  3sgnfall  3sgnstay-REM.P.REP
di-dia  di-uka  di-yā-nhi
3sgnreturn  3sgnarrive  3sgnstay-ANT
hanupe-pidana  ma:mi  dinu  di-yā-nhi
many-REM.P.REP  tinamou  3sgnkill  3sgnstay-ANT
'In the afternoon when it was getting dark he came back after having killed many
tinamou birds.'

9. naha-yana-pe-tupe-nuku  di-dia-ka|u
they-PEJ-PL-DIM:PL-TOP.NON.A/S  3sgnreturn-PURP.VIS
i-peya-pidana  duha  i-ma-kada  ihya
INDF-before-REM.P.REP  she  2pl-sleep-DIST.IMPV  you
amaku-pe-se  du-a-pidana
hammock-PL-LOC  3sgfsay-REM.P.REP
du-yā-nhi  du-yenipe-nuku
3sgnstay-ANT  3sgfchild-TOP.NON.A/S
'Before he came home she said to her poor little ones, "Go and sleep over there in
your hammocks".'

10. kayu  na-ni  naha-tupe  neyu  na-kwa  naha
so  3pldo  they-DIM:PL  3plgo.up  3plhang  they
amaku-pe  tewida-ku-pe-pidana  na-yā-nhi
hammock-PL  muriti-CL:HAMMOCK-PL-REM.P.REP3plstay-ANT
'So (lit. after they did so) they climbed into their hammocks made of muriti.'
11. ne-se-pidana na-dawa na-ka na-yã-nhi
then-LOC-REM.P.REP 3pl-hide 3pl-see 3pl-stay-ANT
'Then they were looking from their hiding.'

12. diha ne:|i iñe di-dia-ka di-uka na-ka
he deer devil 3sgnf-return-SUB 3sgnf-arrive 3pl-see
duha du-sa-n|i di-dia-ka di-uka-pidana
she 3sgf-spouse-MASC 3sgnf-return-SUB 3sgnf-arrive-REM.P.REP
'They saw that the deer-devil came back, that her husband came back.'

13. naha ſhha-ka-si du-ni naha ma:mi-pa-nuku
they eat-TH-NOM 3sgf-do they tinamou-ALL-TOP.NON.A/S
ſhha-ka-si du-ni-pidana du-ſhha thuy du-yã-nhi
eat-TH-NOM 3sgf-do-REM.P.REP 3sgf-eat all 3sgf-stay-ANT
'She made their food, big tinamous, she made the food to eat, and ate everything.'

14. diha ne:|i di-a-pidana di-yã-nhi
ART deer 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT
pi-enipe-nuku pi-a-nikka pi-ſhha
2sg-children-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-give-PRES.VIS.INTER 2sg-eat
phia di-a-pidana di-yã-nhi
you 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT
'The deer was asking, 'Did you give food to your children?' he was asking.'

15. nu-a-ka nu-ſhha-sita pi-ka-tha|a
1sg-give-DECL 1sg-eat-PERF 2sg-see-PREC
ſhapi-pe-pana-ka di-swa naha amaku yapi-se
bone-PL-ALL-DECL 3sgf-stay they hammock under-LOC
na-ſhha-nipe du-a-pidana du-yã-nhi
3pl-eat-NOM 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT
"I have given them (food) to eat, you may look, all the bones are under their hammocks, this is what they ate," she said.'

16. kayu-ka-pidana du-a du-yã-nhi
so-DECL-REM.P.REP 3sgf-say 3sgf-stay-ANT
naha-tupe duha-misini hinipuku du-a
they-DIM:PL she-TOO:PART.CONTR garden 3sgf-go
kaini du-nitu du-dia duka
manioc 3sgf-tear.out 3sgf-return 3sgf+arrive
kaini du-ni-sita-pidana
manioc 3sgf-do-AFTER:SS-REM.P.REP
'This is what she was saying. The little ones and her went to the garden, she tore out the manioc, and returned home after she prepared the manioc.'

17. kainiki di-ape-mia-pidana du-nua du-pala
manioc 3sgf-juice-ONLY-REM.P.REP 3sgf-draw 3sgf-put
'She drew the juice of manioc, put it (down) to make a manioc drink, she cooked it, and left it to stand.'

'It would get cool by itself only, the deer would drink it when he returned at night.'

'One day she stayed with him for a long time. She had a little deer, the son of this deer-devil.'

'After their mother went away, they the naughty ones – and she tied him up, her little son the deer – after their mother went away, the bad ones untied him and took him down playing with the little deer.'

ART door sweet potato-CL:HEAP 3sgfnf+stay-REM.P.REP
diha di-phe-nuku diha ne:i-tiki
ART 3sgfnf-leaf-TOP.NON.A/S ART deer-DIM
'Near the door there was a heap of sweet potato. The little deer was eating the leaves.'

'Then they left him stand, they were watching him eat the leaves of potato.'

'After they did so, one day the little deer rushed off quickly into the jungle.'

'Then their mother came. She said to them, "Why did you leave my son, you bad children?" she scolded them.'

'Hearing her scold them, they went away, they went down to the port to bathe at the port.'

'"When you go up, you must give me a 'whistle' about what you are going to do," she said.'
27. neyu-kasu na-nu na-phya-pidana na-yã-nhi
3pl+go.up-INT 3pl-come 3pl-breathe-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay-ANT
kayu payape-se-nuku pu|epu|e
so/as long.ago-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S [ideophone]
a: na-yã-nhi na-kapi-da-pe-ne
3pl+say 3pl-stay-ANT 3pl-hand-CL:ROUND-PL-INS
'They were going to go up, and they were breathing, like in the old days, pu|e-pu|e, with their hands.'

28. kay-na-ni neñu-ka na-nu
so-3pl-do 3pl+go.up-SUB 3pl-come
du-ñha-kasu pidana du-yã-nhi duha
3sgf-eat-INT-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT she
'While they did so and were going up, she was eating.'

29. phepa du-ñha-kasu
one+NUM.CL:ANIM 3sgf-eat-INT
na:-na du|a du-pita du-yã-nhi
3pl-OBJ 3sgf-order 3sgf-bathe 3pl-stay-ANT
'She was going to eat alone, she ordered them to bathe.'

30. kayu na-ni-ka dhuma du-ñha thuy
so 3pl-do-SUB 3sgf+hear all
3sgf-eat du-yake-ta thuy-niki duha
3sgf-join+CAUS1-CAUS2 all-COMPL she
i-ñha-ka-si-nuku
INDF-eat-TH-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S
'When she heard them do it while she was eating, she put away all her food.'

31. kayu du-ni pa:-da-pidana na:
so 3sgf-do one-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP 3pl+say
hi ma:<ite-nuku wa-inu-niki
DEM:ANIM bad+NCL:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S 1pl-kill-COMPL
na:-pidana na:wada na:-nha yanape-nha
3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl+remember/think 3pl+say-PAUS children-PAUS
'She doing so, one day they said, "Let's kill this bad one (the deer)," they thought, the children.'

32. kay na-ni-pidana ku:na na:
so 3pl-do-REM.P.REP timbó 3pl+go
nheta ku:na na: nheta-pidana
3pl+draw timbó 3pl+go 3pl+draw-REM.P.REP
na-ña-wejí na-pisu diha ku:na
3pl-hit-SMASH 3pl-squeeze ART timbó
yape-mia-pidana diha kaniki-se-nuku
juice-ONLY-REM.P.REP ART manioc-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S
33. kay  di-ni  diha  ne|i  di-dia  di-uka
so  3sgnf-do  ART  deer  3sgnf-return  3sgnf-arrive
di:|a-kasu  dhimeta-pidana  kesani-ma-mha
3sgnf+drink-INT  3sgnf+think-REM.P.REP  smell-EXC-PRES.NONVIS
diha  phimaka-kade-sika  diha  di-a-pidana
he  ready-NEG-REC.P.INFR  he  3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
'So he did, the deer, he returned to have a drink. He felt a strong smell. "It is not ready," he said.'

34. kay  di-a-ka  nu-ni-ka|u-wani
so  3sgnf-say-SUB  1sg-do-PURP.VIS-REALLY
kayu-ka  nu-ni  nhua
so-SUB  1sg-do  I
du-a-pidana  dhuepa  di-sa-do-ne
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP  3sgf+answer  3sgnf-spouse-FEM-FOC.A/S
'After he said so, "I made as I really always do," said his wife in response.'

35. kay  di-a-sita-pidana    di:
|  a  diha  ne:i
|  3sgnf-say-AFTER-REM.P.REP  3sgnf+drink  ART  deer
di-ñami-pidana  di-a-nha  ñaki-nha
3sgnf-die-REM.P.REP  3sgnf-go-PAUS  ghost-PAUS
'After he said so, the deer drank and died, the ghost.'

36. di-ñami-ka  duha  du-kwisa  du-enipe-nuku
3sgnf-die-SUB  she  3sgf-scold  3sgf-child-TOP.NON.A/S
ihya  ma:<i-peni-sika  hĩ  kayu
you  bad-PL:ANIM-REC.P.INFR  DEM:ANIM  so
i-ni  du-a-pidana  du-kwisa
2pl-do  3sgf-say-REM.P.REP  3sgf-scold
'After he died, she scolded her children, "You bad ones, you did like this," she scolded them.'

37. kayu  na-ni  nha  kawa|ikupeda  nemhani-pidana
so  3pl-do  they  sadness  3pl+walk-REM.P.REP
hipe-thiwa-se-pidana  na:  maka-yawa-pe
ground-CL:DITCH-LOC-REM.P.REP  3pl+go  entire-CL:HOLE-PL
nheka  na:-kasu-hã  nheka  nheka
3pl+dig  3pl+go-INT-PAUS  3pl+dig  3pl+dig
nemhani  depiha-tiki  na:  te
3pl+walk  night+APPROX-DIM  3pl+go  until
'After they did so, they were going around sad. They went to a ditch (slope), they were digging a hole for them to go, digging, digging, they went out in the morning early and came back in the afternoon.'

'They the small ones, with their little relative (i.e. sister), were digging a hole each.'

'After they did so, when they returned home in the afternoon. "My children, where are you coming from?" said their mother.'

'After she said so, "We have arrived, we were playing at catching shrimp," they said.'

'So she said, she took her youngest (lit. remaining) daughter by her hand to see.'

'Then there was mud sticking to her hands.'
du-a-pidana  du-sata  dhuma
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP  3sgf-greet  3sgf+hear
"What have you been doing?" she asked.

44. kayu-ka  nu-phe-ne-ne  nha  ya:ka
so-REC.P.VIS  1sg-elder.brother-PL-COM  they  shrimp
nhepa-ka  nu-ita-ka  nu-manika-ka
3pl+take-SUB  1sg-close-REC.P.VIS  1sg-play-REC.P.VIS
du-a-pidana  du-yâ-nhi  duha-tiki
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP  3sgf-stay-ANT  she-DIM
"While my elder brothers were catching shrimp, I was playing at 'closing' (a
spring)," said the little one.'

45. kay-na-ni  nha  diha-yawa-pe-se
so-3pl-do  they  ART-CL:HOLE-PL-LOC
pa:-da-pidana  hyukade
one-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP  not.appear
'So they did, and one day they "disappeared" in the holes.'

46. kayu  na-ni-ka  kwe-nihka  iha
so  3pl-do-SUB  how-PRES.VIS.INTER  you
du-a-pidana  du-yâ-nhi  naha  ha-do-ne
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP  3sgf-stay-ANT  they  parent-FEM-FOC.A/S
'After they did so, "What are you doing?" said their mother.'

47. kayu na-ni  pa:-da  daikina-pidana  na:
so  3pl-do  one-CL:ROUND  afternoon-REM.P.REP  3pl+talk
'So they did, they talked (to each other) one day in the afternoon.'

48. na-nu  na|a  na-swa-pidana  hawaya-na
3pl-come  3pl+fly  3pl-stay-REM.P.REP  ingá-CL:VERT
wika-se-nha  ya:tsi|i  na-ma<ika-pidana-sita-nha
top-PL-PAUS  guan  3pl-transform-REM.P.REP-PERF-PAUS
'They arrived flying onto an ingá-tree, they have already turned into guans.'

49. kayu na-ni  naha  ha-do  du-a-pidana  i-juku
so  3pl-do  they  parent-FEM  3sgf-say-REM.P.REP  2pl-go.down
i-nu  nu-inipe-ka  ihia  du-a-tha-pidana
2pl-come  1sg-children-DECL  you  3sgf-say-FR-REM.P.REP
'So they did, their mother said, "Come down, you are my children," she said in
vain.'

50. mhema-kade-pidana  na-dia-tha-pidana
NEG+hear-NEG-REM.P.REP  3pl-return-FR-REM.P.REP
pa:-da  pa:-da-pi|ena
one-CL:ROUND  one-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP
'They did not listen, one day they came back in vain, another day they went away.'


52. du-kwisa-nipe-nuku na-ka-pidana kayu na: 3sgf-scold-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl+say-DECL-REM.P.REP so 3pl+say 'They repeated how she had scolded them, so they spoke.'

53. kay du-ni duha in al u du-ya-khe so 3sgf-do she woman 3sgf-cry-IN.SPITE SS du-a-ka-pidana iñõkoro etereka e 3sgf-say-DECL-REM.P.REP she scolded me (Guanano) nu-na du-kwisa-ka du-a-pidana 1sg-OBJ 3sgf-scold- REC.P.VIS 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 'In spite of crying, the daughter was saying (in Guanano), "She scolded me".'

54. duha in al u du-ya-ka-pidana kayu duhme ik u she woman 3sgf-cry-SUB-REM.P.REP so 3sgf+mutter 'The woman was crying while she (the daughter) was muttering (it).'

55. kay-na-ni-pidana na:a-khani-nha so-3pl-do-REM.P.REP 3pl+fly-AWAY-PAUS na:-khani nha-nha 3pl+go-AWAY they-PAUS 'So they did, they flew away.'

56. du-dana-miki-îi-mha ha-ne 3sgf-shadow-NOM.PAST-MASC-PRES.NONVIS DEM-DIST kwaka sikyami-se-nuku kepi a what swamps-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S bird ni[i-ni[i-ni[i di-a-thana di-ni ideophone 3sgnf-say-FR+REM.P.VIS 3sgnf-do du-dana-miki-îi-mha 3sgf-shadow-NOM.PAST-MASC-PRES.NONVIS kida di-sisa hi kalisi ready 3sgnf-finish DEM:ANIM story 'Her poor old shadow there, what's her name, in swamps, a bird, doesn't it still go: "ni[i-ni[i-ni[i," her poor old shadow. This is the end of the story.'
Text 4  HOW PEOPLE LIVED IN THE OLD DAYS, by Américo Brito (dialect of Santa Rosa)

1. hĩ kwaka pi-na nu-ki:te-de\(^1\)
   DEM:ANIM what 2sg-OBJ 1sg-tell-FUT.CERT
   'I will tell you this, what's its name.'

2. hĩ ma<a nha na-wha-ka nha
   DEM:ANIM proper/good they 3pl-live-SUB ART:PL
   nu-whe-[i-nipe nhua-nil\(i\)-nipe na-siwa-kaka
   1sg-grandparent-MASC-PL 1sg+parent-MASC-PL 3pl-do.to.each.other-REC
   nhepa na-de na-na na-ni-ka
   1sg-grandparent-MASC-PL 1sg+parent-MASC-PL 3pl-do.SUB
   nu-whe-[i-nipe se hĩ
   3pl-live-TOP.ADV-CL:HAB one-CL:HAB large-ANT+REM.P.VIS
   nhepa na-de na-na nhe-da-dapana
   3pl+answer 3pl-have 3pl-OBJ 3pl-do.SUB
   nhepa na-de na-na
   big-CL:HAB they spirit-CL:HAB 3pl+call-TOP.ADV-CL:HAB
   'This (is how) they lived well, my grandparents (lit. grandfathers), my parents (lit. fathers), they had respect for each other, the house where they lived was large, a big house, called by them "house of spirit".'

3. nha nu-whe-[i-nipe-se hĩ
   ART:PL 1sg-grandparent-MASC-PL-CONTR DEM:ANIM
   wa-whe-[i-nipe hĩ
   1pl-grandparent-MASC-PL 1sg-grandparent-MASC-PL
   nhepa nha-se
   proper/good-EXC-ANT+REM.P.VIS they-CONTR
   'My grandfathers, these grandfathers of ours, these people were extremely good.'

4. nha-se na-siwa pa:-dapana na-yã-nhina
   they-CONTR 3pl-do.together one-CL:HAB 3pl-live-ANT+REM.P.VIS
   nhe-a-ka
   1sg-say-SUB I one-CL:HAB-EMPH
   'They (not anyone else) lived in one house, I am saying, in one house indeed.'

5. pa:weya nama na-ñha-nhina-pita pa:weya
   together 3pl+look.for 3pl-eat-ANT+REM.P.VIS-AGAIN together
   na-uku na: na-pita neyu na-nu
   3pl-go.down 3pl+go 3pl-bathe 3pl+go.up 3pl-come
   depiihya asyapi na-ñha
   night+APPROX+EMPH pepperpot 3pl-eat

\(^1\) Here Américo used the form -ki:te 'tell', similar to the one used in the Periquitos dialect (see text 5). The Santa Rosa form is -kalite.
Together they looked for food, together they went down to the port to bathe, came back (up), early in the morning woke up and ate pepperpot again.'

'They formed a, what's its name, community.'

'They never ever scolded each other, or did not give each other food – this did not happen, did not happen, I saw it.'

'I saw it as an adult, big like this (showing) I saw it.'

'When I was this size (showing), when I did understand things, I am the one who sees (i.e. knows) it all.'

'While they were living well in one house, they respected each other properly, their wives too, men too.'
diha maloca iñe-dapana-minâli nu-a-ka nhua
ART longhouse spirit-CL:HAB-master 1sg-say-SUB I
'Their chief also existed, the master of the house, the master of the longhouse, I am saying.'

12. diha na:pi ma<a di-yã-ka-na diha he 3pl+with proper/good 3sgnf-live-DECL-REM.P.VIS he 'As for him, he lived well with them.'

13. di-a, di-kama na-na di-kwisa 3sgnf-drink 3sgnf-get.drunk 3pl-OBJ 3sgnf-scold di-we ma-ni-kade-na 3sgnf-enter+CAUS NEG-do-NEG-REM.P.VIS 'He never drank, got drunk and scolded them.'

14. ma<a na:pi di-uma di-ña ha hinipuku proper/good 3pl+with 3sgnf-look.for 3sgnf-eat garden ka:ka kehpani-misini di-a, REL+arrive REL+work-TOO:PART:CONTR 3sgnf-go na:pi di-a, deikina di-dia dyuka, 3pl+with 3sgnf-go afternoon+AFF 3sgnf-return 3sgnf+arrive na:pi asyapi-nuku di-kamu, 3pl+with pepperpot-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-warm.up na-musu-ita na-ña ha hanupe 3pl-go.out-CAUS1-CAUS2 3pl-eat-REM.P.VIS many nu-a-ka nhua, waliki-peni, pedale-pe, thuya 1sg-say-SUB I young.person-PL old-PL all:ONE.KIND 'He looked for food together with them properly, he also went to work in the garden, he went with them, in the afternoon he would come home, warm up the pepperpot with them, they would make everyone come out and eat (together), many people, I am saying, youngsters, old people, everyone.'

15. na:ma, na-ña ha na:ma na-ña ha pa-i|a-nipe-tupe 3pl+look.for 3pl-eat 3pl+look.for 3pl-eat IMP-drink-NOM na-ja-sita nefu nema, kaida na, 3pl-drink-PERF 3pl+go.up 3pl+stand ready-REM.P.VIS na-sa-do-nipe na-ña ha na-pita, thuya 3pl-spouse-FEM-PL 3pl-eat-REM.P.VIS-AGAIN all:ONE.KIND 'They provided food, provided food (lit. looked for food), they drank their drink, they went up, finally their spouses all ate.'

16. hiku na-ni, na-yã na nha pedale-pe-se thus 3pl-do 3pl-live-REM.P.VIS ART:PL old-PL-CONTR 'This is how they did, how the old people lived.'

17. ma<a, nu-a-ka nhua proper/good 1sg-say-SUB I 'Properly, I am saying.'
'Manioc bread, too, they made it big, manioc breads big like this (showing), large manioc bread, no one lacked food, no one was miserable.'

19. hiku-na na-ni na-yâ-na, nu-kesi-do, like.this-REM.P.VIS 3pl-do 3pl-live-REM.P.VIS 1sg-relative-FEM pedale-pe-se, nhua-ni|i-pe-se old-PL-CONTR 1sg+father-MASC-PL-CONTR
'This is how they lived, my female relative, the old people, my parents (lit. fathers).'

20. nha kayu na-ni-ka, nu-ka-na nhua, they thus 3pl-do-SUB 1sg-see-REM.P.VIS I yanape-ka nu-ka-na mèda child-SUB 1sg-see-REM.P.VIS COUNTEREX 'I saw them do this (i.e. be like this), when I was a child, I saw (it).'</p>

21. pedale khidite-se nu-ka-ka, kwe na-ni-ka old like.this+NCL:ANIM-LOC 1sg-see-SUB how 3pl-do-SUB nu-ka, nu-yâ-[i]-na mèda 1sg-see 1sg-live-REL-REM.P.VIS COUNTEREX ma<a-pe|i-pu-nuku kwe na-ni proper/good-COLL-AUG-TOP.A/S how 3pl-do nha nama na-ñha-nipe-pu-nuku they 3pl+look.for 3pl-eat-NOM-AUG-TOP.A/S nu-yâ-[i]-na kaida-naka 1sg-live-REL-REM.P.VIS ready-PRES.VIS 'When I was old like this (showing) I saw, I saw how they did it, this was indeed how I lived, with respect to all the appropriate things, how they really used to provide food, this was how I lived. Finished.'
Text 5  A DEER AND A TURTLE, by Marino Muniz (dialect of Periquitos)

1. ikasu makatu\textsuperscript{1} wa-dia wa-nu-ka-pita
today again 1pl-return 1pl-come-DECL-AGAIN
wahs\textsuperscript{3} wa-ka dainu wha wa:-ka
let's.go 1pl-see sleep we 1pl+say-SUB
we\textsuperscript{2} wa-nu hi nu-idoa-ne-nhe
1pl+go.up 1pl-come DEM:ANIM 1sg-nephew-PL-COM
'Today we came back again, having said "let's go and see, (then) we go to sleep,"
we came up, together with my nephews.'

2. kaimaka\textsuperscript{4} wha hi-nuku wha
so we DEM:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S we
waka-naka ha-kada-pe-nuku
1pl+arrive-PRES.VIS DEM:INAN-CL:DAY-PL-TOP.NON.A/S
'So we arrived here during these days.'

3. wha waka-the\textsuperscript{5}-ba\textsuperscript{6} hihi\textsuperscript{7} wha
we 1pl+arrive-FR+REC.P.VIS-OBVIOUS DEM.EMPH we
wa-bueta-nipe hisa-the\textsuperscript{5} dhe-ba
1pl-teach-NOM ready-FR+REC.P.VIS 3sgf+enter-OBVIOUS
kali<\textsuperscript{i} misini pa-na-the\textsuperscript{5}
story-TOO:PART.CONTR IMP-want-FR+REC.P.VIS
kali<\textsuperscript{i} pe-hina\textsuperscript{8}-ba
story-PL-ALREADY-OBVIOUS
'We have indeed arrived here, our learning comes in here. One also wants story,
stories.'

4. kaimaka tukituki\textsuperscript{10} kali<\textsuperscript{i} nu-kite-kha tukituki
so a.little story 1sg-tell-AWAY a.little
hanipa-maka-mha
big+CL:OPEN.SPACE-NEG-PRES.NONVIS
'So I am telling a story, just a little bit, there is really not much.'

\textsuperscript{2} This is a hybrid formation involving a morpheme borrowed from Tucano: see §25.5.3 and §26.1.3; this form is not accepted by speakers of the Santa Rosa dialect.
\textsuperscript{3} The Santa Rosa equivalent is \textit{wast\textsuperscript{a}}; the Periquitos form is said to be influenced by Guanano \textit{[bahsa]} 'let's go'.
\textsuperscript{4} The Santa Rosa equivalent is \textit{kayumaka}.
\textsuperscript{5} The Santa Rosa equivalent is \textit{-thaka}.
\textsuperscript{6} This morpheme is borrowed from Tucano (§25.5.3 and §26.1.3), and is not accepted in the Santa Rosa dialect.
\textsuperscript{7} The emphatic demonstrative is used more frequently in the Periquitos dialect than in Santa Rosa.
\textsuperscript{8} Santa Rosa \textit{kalisi} 'story'.
\textsuperscript{9} This morpheme does not exist in the Santa Rosa dialect.
\textsuperscript{10} In Santa Rosa dialect, \textit{tukitiki} would be more appropriate here.
5. alia-pi|ena diha kuite ne|i i<ida-nhe
EXIST-REM.P.REP ART INTER+NCL:ANIM deer turtle-
COM
'There was, what's his name, a deer with a turtle.'

6. ne|i i<ida alia-ka hamarape|iku-se
deer turtle EXIST-SUB swamp-LOC
nha alia hamarape|iku-se-wya
they EXIST swamp-LOC-EXTRAL
hamarape|iku-pi|ena diha-hamarape|iku ne|i-nhe
swamp-REM.P.REP ART-CL:SWAMP deer-COM
'So while there were a deer and a turtle, they were just in the swamps, there was a
swamp, (they were) in the swamp, with the deer.'

7. ne|i-nuku i<ida-nhe-pi|ena di-sata dhima
deer-TOP.NON.A/S turtle-FOC.A/S-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear
'The turtle said to the deer.'

8. kade11 di-a-pi|ena nhua-ne-nuka hamarape|iku
no 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP I-FOC.A/S-PRES.VIS swamp
alite-pu di-a-pi|ena diha i<ida-nhe
EXIST-AUG 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP ART turtle-FOC.A/S
"'No," he said, "I am the one who really belongs to the swamp (lit. the one who is
in the swamp)," said the turtle.'

9. ne|i-nhe hiku-pi|ena di-a
deer-FOC.A/S like.this-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-say
diwese-wya-nuku nai
then-EXTRAL-TOP.NON.A/S marriageable.cousin:VOC
di-a-pi|ena di-duwheri-ta12-pi|ena
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-mother's.sister's.son-AGAIN-REM.P.REP
ma! weku-ta-khani wa-wa wha
come.on! 1pl+run-AGAIN-AWAY 1pl-try we
ki:da-pu-nha wya ha-hamarape|iku di-a
ready-AUG-PRES.VIS.INTER far DEM:INAN-CL:SWAMP 3sgnf-go
'The deer answered like this: "Then, marriageable cousin," he said, (the turtle) was
also his mother's sister's son, come on, 'let's try and run again, (to see) how far
this (swamp) is," he said.'

10. nu-ka-sida13-kha ikasu piaka-de nu-dia nu-nu
1sg-see-YET-AWAY now immediately-FUT.CERT 1sg-return 1sg-come
di-a-pi|ena hí i<ida ne|i-nuku
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP DEM:ANIM turtle deer-TOP.NON.A/S
"I will yet see right now, I will come back," said the turtle to the deer.'

11 This is unacceptable in the Santa Rosa dialect (hyukade 'not appear' would be used).
12 Santa Rosa -pita.
13 Santa Rosa speakers would use -daka here.
11. haw phia-tha|a pi-ka-ba
OK you-PREC 2pl-see-OBVIOUS
"OK, you please see then," (said the deer).

12. diha i<ida di-eki-kha di-a-pi|ena diha i<ida
ART turtle 3sgnf-run-AWAY 3sgnf-do-REM.P.REP ART turtle
'The turtle ran, the turtle.'

13. di-eki di-a pa-pulikuda paite\textsuperscript{14} yaphini
3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go one-CL:HILL one+NUM.CL:ANIM thing
di-swe di-a te kewhida-na
3sgnf-put+CAUS 3sgnf-go until REL+head-AFF
'He ran (and) put one thing (i.e. a turtle) on each hill until the end (of the swampy area).'

14. di-dia di-ka-pi|ena diwese-wya-nuku
3sgnf-return 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP then-EXTRAL-TOP.NON.A/S
wahsã weku wa-wa wha di-a-pi|ena
let's.go 1pl+run 1pl-try we 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
'He returned and looked, and said, "Then let's go and try and run".'

15. haw di-a-pi|ena diha-misini ma-tha|a
OK 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he TOO:PART.CONTR come.on-PREC
weku wa-wa wha kwana-nha kiaku
1pl+run 1pl-try we who-PRES.VIS.INTER strong
kiaku-mhade di-a-pi|ena o phia-nhe kiaku
strong-FUT 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP or you-FOC.A/S
strong
o nhua-nhe kiaku-ka kiaku-mhade di-a-pi|ena
or I-FOC.A/S strong-SUB strong-FUT 3sgnf-say-
REM.P.REP
"OK," said he (the deer) too, "come on, please, let's try and run, (we will see) who will be stronger, or you are stronger, or I will be stronger," he said.'

16. nha āhamepa-pi|ena neiũ
they two+NUM.CL:HUM-REM.P.REP 3pl+go.up
nema-hina diha ne:|i-nhe
3pl+stand-ALREADY ART deer-COM
'The two of them got up, with the deer.'

17. ma-tha|a\textsuperscript{15} kwana-nhe i-eku-ka\textsuperscript{16} i-eku
come.on-PREC who-FOC.A/S INDF-run-SUB INDF-run

\textsuperscript{14} Santa Rosa paite.
\textsuperscript{15} The precative combines with the interjection ma only in the Periquitos dialect.
\textsuperscript{16} This is an instance of an archaic usage of the indefinite prefix on a verb lost in the Santa Rosa dialect.
"Please, come on, (to see) who will be the strongest in running," he said, simultaneously they lay down and stood up.'

The turtle, (though) they went out (running) simultaneously, was going to cheat (the deer), he fell down and lay.'

The poor deer went on and on, he ran up to the hill, he finished (running), and then he called: "marriageable cousin, marriageable cousin!"

From there another (turtle) saw (him) and answered, "Oh! Wou! My mother's sister's son has spoken," he said and went again, he ran in vain, until the hill finished.'
paite-se  
dika  
one+NUM.CL:ANIM-CONTR  3sgnf+laugh  
dhepa-pi|ena-pita  
Hee!  
3sgnf+answer-REM.P.REP-AGAIN  
Hey  
"While he was finishing (the running), he laughed and cried out, "Marriageable cousin!" and another one (turtle) laughed and answered again, "Hey!"

22.  
kuite  
ha-ne  
ka:-mha  
di-eku  
INTER+NCL:ANIM  DEM-DIST  like.this-PRES.NONVIS  3sgnf-run  
kiaku-nuki19  
di-a-pi|ena  
di-eku-pita  
strong-COMPL  3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP  3sgnf-run-AGAIN  
te  
pa:-pulikuda  
i-whida-na  
until  
one-CL:HILL  
INDF-head-AFF  
"'Who could this be that one (sounding) this way?' he ran quickly, ran again, up to the end of the hill.'

23.  
de!  
meyakude-pi|ena-nha  
ne:|i-hina  
de!  
NEG+strength+NEG-REM.P.REP-PAUS  deer-ALREADY  
dhienenena<20  
hi-ki|a-pu-pi|ena  
3sgnf+tongue-AUG  DEM:ANIM-like.this-AUG-REM.P.REP  
di-musu-hina  
di-enena21  
3sgnf-go.out-ALREADY  3sgnf-tongue  
'De! The deer lost his strength, his tongue is hanging (out of his mouth) like this.'

24.  
pa!  
ne-pi|ena  
di-eku  
di-a  
di-eku  
di-a  
pa!  
then-REM.P.REP  
3sgnf-run  
3sgnf-go  
3sgnf-run  
3sgnf-go  
te  
diha-hama|ape|iku  
diha-pulikuda  
di-sisa-j  
until  
ART-CL:SWAMP  
ART-CL:HILL  
3sgnf-finish-CONV  
dika  
di-wana-pita  
nayee!  
3sgnf+laugh  
3sgnf-call-AGAIN  
marriageable.cousin:VOC:PAUS  
'Pa! Then he ran, he ran, up to the swamp, to the end of the hill, he laughed and called again, "Marriageable cousin!"'

25.  
hėse-pi|ena  
dika  
dhepa-pita  
haa!  
there-REM.P.REP  
3sgnf+laugh  
3sgnf+answer-AGAIN  
Haa!  
wyaka-thema  
di-a  
ha-ne  
far-FR+PRES.NONVIS  
3sgnf-go  
DEM-DIST  
di-eku-de-ma  
kiaku-pu  
diha  
3sgnf-run-UNCERT-PRES.NONVIS  
strong-AUG  
he  
'There (another turtle) laughed and answered, "Haa!" (the deer thought), "That one went far, he is probably strong in running.'"

26.  
kida-tha-pi|ena  
di-eku  
di-a  
ne:|i-pita  
te  
ready-FR-REM.P.REP  
3sgnf-run  
3sgnf-go  
deer-AGAIN  
until

19 Santa Rosa -niki.
20 Santa Rosa -si or -pasi.
21 Santa Rosa di-enene.
'It is finished, the deer ran again until he ran out of strength. The hill finished, and the poor deer fell down and lay.'

'Old people told (this). His tongue went straight out (of his mouth), saliva was coming out.'

'Then this very turtle stuck (to the deer), and ate him up, ate him up completely. This is it. Let's go.'