

diha-pua numana
ART-CL:RIVER mouth

'Then our boss was (there), then we went upstream, and arrived at the mouth of that river.'

5. diha-nhe aĩ-mha nu-na ka-mawĩta
he-FOC.A/S here-PRES.NONVIS 1sg-OBJ REL-owe
i<i-nawiki di-a-na sĩpi-pidana
howler.monkey-people 3sgnf-say-REM.P.VIS gun-REM.P.REP
dhita nheta-daka nha-nhe neite professor
3sgnf+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-kawĩta 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:-hã 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+arrive-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 ka|una-pu-nhina-niki
1pl+arrive: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+arrive-REM.P.VIS

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 mēda
 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 phi|imapha 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 phi|imapha-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-yā-kade-na-daka nha
 NEG-wear-NEG-REM.P.VIS-YET they
 diha-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. hĩ-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

na-de-ka-pidana-hã
 3pl-have-SUB-REM.P.REP-PAUS
 '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 nhema hiku
 NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP 3pl+hear be.like.this
 nhe-naka ma<a-nha 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.REPthey 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.REP3pl-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 ñapi-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

ma<a	na-tuda-we i	diha kwaka	de i	
good/proper	3pl-crush-BY.CRUSHING	ART what	banana	
ma<a	i i-pe i	nheta	hanu-phi	na-yana diha
good/proper	red-COLL	3pl+take	big-CL:HOLLOW	3pl-cook ART
kwaka	ñumuku	na-ni-pidana	diha-se	na-ñamu a
what	mash	3pl-do-REM.P.REP	ART-LOC	3pl-mix
na-i a-pidana	nha	thuya	a<a	
3pl-drink-REM.P.REP	they	all:ONE.KIND	man:PL	
ina	emi-peni	yanape	thuya	
woman:PL	young-PL:ANIM	children	all:ONE.KIND	

'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".'

30. wha di-pe wa-ñha-ka apale-pidana nawiki
 we 3sgnf-meat 1pl-eat-SUB differently-REM.P.REP people
 pa-sisa pa: pa-inu-kaka pa-na
 IMP-finish IMP+go IMP-kill-REC IMP-OBJ
 pa-ñale-pidana na-na ne-naku
 IMP-disappear-REM.P.REP 3pl-OBJ then-TOP.NON.A/S
 kayu-ka-naka wha whamita ñapi-pe-se
 like.this-DECL-PRES.VIS we 1pl+burn bone-PL-CONTR
 wheta kwaka ñumuku wa-ni wa-i|a-naka
 1pl+take what mash 1pl-do 1pl-drink-PRES.VIS
 na:-na ñumuku wa-ni
 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS mash 1pl-do
 wa-i|a-naka na:-na
 1pl-drink-PRES.VIS 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS
 '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.'
31. ne-naku hiku-naka wa-na
 then-TOP.NON.A/S be.like.this-PRES.VIS 1pl-OBJ
 apale-nhina wa-whe-|i-nipe-se
 differently-ANT+REM.P.VIS 1pl-grandparent-MASC-PL-CONTR
 hiku-nhina ka-ni-kani
 be.like.this-ANT+REM.P.VIS REL-do-P.REL.PL
 i-daki-ni-ka-naka wha na:-na
 INDF-grandchild-PL-DECL-PRES.VIS we 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS
 "So this is how it is, it is different for us, our grandfathers were like this, we are the grandchildren of those who did like this," they said.'
32. hya-wya-naka i-na i-mata|a-naka
 2pl-EXTRAL-PRES.VIS 2pl-want 2pl-leave-PRES.VIS
 na:-na
 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS
 "You are the only ones who want to drop (your customs)," they said.'
33. wha wa-daki-nuku wha apale wha
 we 1pl-body/custom-TOP.NON.A/S we different we
 wa-ni-mi-nuku ma-na-kade-mha
 1pl-do-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S NEG-want-NEG-PRES.NONVIS
 wa-mata|a wha na:-na kayu-ka-pidana
 1pl-leave we 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS thus-DECL-REM.P.REP
 kayu nha kaida-mha di-sisa
 thus they ready-PRES.NONVIS 3sgnf-finish
 "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.'

5. nuha kwe-nha nuha di-a-pidana
 I what-PRES.VIS.INTER I 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
 phia yapi|iku|i-ka-naka kay pi-|ena-naka
 you Yapi|iku|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-ña-nhi du-a-pidana
 tobacco 3sgnf-have 3sgnf-stay-ANT 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
 "What's wrong with me?" he said. "You are Yapi|iku|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
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he-FOC.A/S-PAUS
 di-sa-do-nuku phia-ni|i dalipa-se
 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg+parent-MASC near-LOC
 pi-a phita di-a-pidana
 2sg-go 2sg+bring 3sgnf-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
 3sgnf-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

pi-nu	phia	nuitō	di-a-pidana
2sg-come	you	daughter.VOC	3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
pai	nuha	nu-nu-ka	hī
Dad:VOC	I	1sg-come-REC.P.VIS	DEM:ANIM
pi-<ima i	yema	di-na-ka	di-sita
2sg-son.in.law	tobacco	3sgnf-want-SUB	3sgnf-smoke
ma:si-pu-ka	di-a-niki		
bad-AUG-REC.P.VIS	3sgnf-go-COMPL		

'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.'

10. kayu-maka nu-nu-ka nhuta nuha
 so-AFF 1sg-come-REC.P.VIS 1sg+bring I
 du-a-pidana pi-a-pida di-a-ka
 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 2sg-give-IMP.SEC 3sgnf-say-REC.P.VIS
 hī nu-sa-ni|i du-a-pidana haw
 DEM:ANIM 1sg-spouse-MASC 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP yes
 di-a-pidana alia-mha di-a-pidana
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP EXIST-PRES.NONVIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
 "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.'

11. di-mita-ni-kayama-|e
 3sgnf-smoke-TOP.ADV-CL:SMOKING.GRID-POSS
 di-swa-pidana diha kuphe kayu
 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP ART fish as
 di-mita-ni-kayama-|e di-swa-pidana
 3sgnf-smoke-TOP.ADV-SMOKING.GRID-POSS 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP
 'There was a smoking grid for fish, something like a smoking grid for fish.'

12. haw di-a dhita di-musu di-nu
 yes 3sgnf-say 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-go.out 3sgnf-come
 di-tuka di-whe-ta asyapi
 3sgnf-break 3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2 pepperpot
 di-whe-ta-|i kayu di-ni-ka-pidana
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2-CONV as 3sgnf-do-DECL-REM.P.REP
 'He said, "OK," he took (it), broke (in two halves) and put it (down) acting as if offering a pepperpot.'

13. kay di-ni diha-ne di-ka-ka kuphe-pidana
 so 3sgnf-do he-FOC.A/S 3sgnf-see-SUB fish-REM.P.REP
 diha di-ñha-pidana pi-ñha du-a-pidana
 he 3sgnf-eat-REM.P.REP 2sg-eat 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
 haw di-a-pidana diha-tiki di-ñha-nha
 yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he-DIM 3sgnf-eat-PAUS
 '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<a-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 nuhua-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 nheta
 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|i) 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".'

18. kuphe hipatu-ni na:-nipe hĩ
 fish snuff-POSS 3pl+go-HAB DEM:ANIM
 uni wika-nuku alia-mha
 water over-TOP.NON.A/S EXIST-PRES.NONVIS
 diha-tupe-pidana na-ñha na-yã-nhina
 he-DIM:PL-REM.P.REP 3pl-eat 3pl-stay-ANT+REM.P.VIS
 'There was fish snuff on top of the water, and the fish were eating small pieces (of it).'
19. ma:<i-pu-naka i-|ena puaya-pe|i-na
 bad-AUG-PRES.VIS 2pl-feel different-COLL-REM.P.VIS
 di-de nuha ha-ni|i du-a-pidana
 3sgnf-have I parent-MASC 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
 duha-ya-pita
 she-EMPH-AGAIN
 "'You are having a bad time, my father used to have different (kind of snuff)," she said once again.'
20. haw pi-a phita diwese-wya-nuku
 yes 2sg-go 2sg+bring then-EXTRAL-TOP.NON.A/S
 phia ha-ni|i-tha-sika di-de-pada
 you parent-MASC-FR-REC.P.INFR 3sgnf-have-COUNTEREX
 direta-sika di-a-pidana diha
 3sgnf+order+CAUS-REC.P.INFR 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he
 "'Yes, go and bring (it), in this case your father is said to have it for nothing (and) orders it around," he said.'
21. haw du-a-pidana dusa du-a-pita
 yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+climb 3sgf-go-AGAIN
 te ne-se enu dalipa-se duka-pidana
 up to then-LOC thunder near-LOC 3sgf+arrive-REM.P.REP
 "'Yes," she said, she climbed up to the thunder, (and) arrived.'
22. diha diha hipatu hiku-pana ma:-kade-pidana
 he ART snuff appear-ALL NEG+give-NEG-REM.P.REP
 hĩ-naka di-a-|i sede-pidana
 here-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-CONV NEG.EX-REM.P.REP
 'He (Thunder) did not give the snuff in a way open to all, there is no him saying, "Here it is".'
23. diha-pidana kuphe-nuku dhita
 he-REM.P.REP fish-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf+bring
 di-nu-pidana di-thuka
 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-break
 di-whe-ta-pidana-pita
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2-REM.P.REP-AGAIN
 'Again, he brought smoked fish, broke (it in two) and put it down.'

24. haw di-a-pidana di-ñha-pidana di-ñha
 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 hĩ ke|i-ne-pidana di-me|ita
 NEG.EX DEM:ANIM sun-INS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-fry
 kuphe-nuku di-ñha di-ñha-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 puisani-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-ñha-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".'

- 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
hĩ 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 kamuy
one+SIDE+INDF-HAND-CL:ROUND-PL-REM.P.REP summer.heat
alia 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-|uku
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

- alia tsuite-tiki hu:li alia-pidana
 EXIST small+NCL:ANIM-DIM swallow EXIST-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.'
41. na-|uku na-nu-pidana
 3pl-come.down 3pl-come-REM.P.REP
 ma:nihta-kade-pidana diha di-mata|a
 NEG+realise-NEG-REM.P.REP he 3sgnf-leave
 di-swe-ta di-eku di-a-pidana
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
 'They were coming down, he (the boy) did not realise (this).'
42. kale-pena-ne hī kale kale
 wind-FUT.NOM-FOC.A/S DEM:ANIM wind wind
 di-eku di-a lama di-eku di-swa-nha
 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go flame 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-stay-PAUS
 di-eku di-a-pidana diha
 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP he
 lama-ka-se-pidana di-uka di-anihta-nha
 flame-SUB-CONTR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-realise-PAUS
 '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).'
43. pa-ka-ka|u mahyuna-ma-pidana diha-pada
 IMP-see-PURP.VIS difficult-EXC-REM.P.REP ART-CL:PIECE
 sie-pada thuya-pidana lama
 firewood-CL:PIECE all:ONE.KIND-REM.P.REP flame
 di-eku di-a haiku-pada-pe lama-pidana
 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go tree-CL:PIECE-PL flame-REM.P.REP
 thuy dhipa di-a-pidana
 all 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
 'It was extremely difficult to see, the pieces of wood were (running) in flames, (the fire) took all.'
44. di-uma-tha-pidana diha ne-ma-keta-de-pidana
 3sgnf-look.for-FR-REM.P.REP he NEG-NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP
 hiwe ka:siwa isa-tupe-pidana nhepa
 lizard small.crocodile smoke-DIM:PL-REM.P.REP 3pl+take
 nemhani-pidana syawa di-a-ka-pidana
 3pl+walk-REM.P.REP fire 3sgnf-go-SUB-REM.P.REP
 '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.'
45. hanupe-tha-pidana di-swe-ta syawa
 many-FR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2 fire

- di-a-pidana di-a-nipe-pidana
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go-HAB-REM.P.REP
 'After that in spite of them lighting (the fire), it went away by going, it was always going away.'
52. kwana-nha na-de na:-tha-pidana
 who-PRES.VIS.INTER 3pl-have 3pl+say-FR-REM.P.REP
 isa-tupe-mia-pidana na-ñhe-ta
 smoke-DIM:PL-ONLY-REM.P.REP 3pl-show+CAUS1-CAUS2
 "'Who has it?" they asked (in vain). They could only show the little bits of smoke.'
53. kwana-pu-tha-sika ntheta-nha
 who-AUG-FR-PAST.INFR.INTER 3pl+take-PRES.VIS.INTER
 na:-pidana na:ma
 3pl+go-REM.P.REP 3pl+look.for
 "'Who could have taken it?" They went to look for it.'
54. hĩku waha wa-waha-|i kayu na-waha-pidana
 so we 1pl-sit-CONV as 3pl-sit-REM.P.REP
 di-yeka-nipe-mia-pidana
 3sgnf-know-NOM-ONLY-REM.P.REP
 'They were sitting like we are sitting here, only they were all familiar to him (to Wanali Yapi|iku|i).'
55. diha-naka sede na:-pidana
 he-PRES.VIS NEG.EX 3pl+say-REM.P.REP
 hĩ kasi|i-nuku diha-sika di-nitu
 DEM:ANIM crocodile-TOP.NON.A/S he-REC.P.INFR 3sgnf-steal
 na:-pidana na-yeka
 3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl-know
 "'He is not here," they said. They knew who stole it, (it was) the crocodile, "it is him," (they said).'
56. pa:-da daikina-pidana uni-se-pidana
 one-CL:PIECE afternoon-REM.P.REP water-LOC-REM.P.REP
 ke|aphe-da hiku-nha
 flame-CL:ROUND appear-PAUS
 'In the afternoon there appeared flames on the water.'
57. diha-pada di-nitu di-nitu di-dawa
 ART-CL:PIECE 3sgnf-steal 3sgnf-steal 3sgnf-escape
 di-a-pidana diha-pada-nuku
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP ART-CL:PIECE-TOP.NON.A/S
 ne-pidana na-yeka-nha
 then-REM.P.REP 3pl-know-PAUS
 '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
bad+NCL:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S diha hĩ-nuku
na-pidana na-sape-nha he DEM:ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S
3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl-speak-PAUS na-siwa-kaka
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|iana
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.REP 3pl+go 3pl-sing-PAUS
pai<i na-sa-pidana
frog 3pl-sing-REM.P.REP
'Then the frogs started singing.'
62. diha-mhadedi-a di-ñha 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-ñu di-a ke|aphe-da di-ñu di-a
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.'

64. diwese-whya hiku wa-ni wa-panisa diha-yana-nuku
 then-EXTRAL thus 1pl-do 1pl-tear he-PEJ-TOP.NON.A/S
 wasã whepa di-a-pidana di-ñu di-a-nha
 let's 1pl-take 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go.up 3sgnf-go-PAUS
 'Then this is what we are going to do, we will tear (it) away from the bad one,'
 he (Wanali) said and went up.'
65. di-|uku di-nu-ka-pidana
 3sgnf-come.down 3sgnf-come-SUB-REM.P.REP
 di-na nhepa-pidana nhepa di-na
 3sgnf-OBJ 3pl+take-REM.P.REP 3pl+take 3sgnf-OBJ
 na:ma-pidana hĩ di-daki-nuku
 3pl+look.for-REM.P.REP DEM:ANIM 3sgnf-body-TOP.NON.A/S
 'While the crocodile was coming downstream, they took him, they took him and
 searched his body.'
66. ne-sede-pidana ma-keta-kade-pidana
 then-NEG.EX-REM.P.REP NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP
 di-whida-iki-se-pidana di-de
 3sgnf-head-brain-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-have
 hĩ wanihta-ni-da-se
 DEM:ANIM 1pl+think/reason-TOP.ADV-CL:ROUND-LOC
 'It was not there, they did not find (it). He had (the fire) in his brain, this place in
 which we think.'
67. diki-se di-whida-iki-se-pidana di-de
 3sgnf+brain-LOC 3sgnf-head-brain-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-have
 syawa-pada-nuku ne-se-pidana ke|aphe-daka
 fire-CL:PIECE-TOP.NON.A/S then-LOC-REM.P.REP flame-YET
 di-musu-i-ta diha na:ma-tha-pidana
 3sgnf-go.out-CAUS1-CAUS2 he 3pl+look.for-FR-REM.P.REP
 na:-nite na-ñha
 3pl+give-TOP.ADV+NCL:ANIM 3pl-eat
 '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.'
68. tui|i alia-pidana diha-pidana di-yeka
 oropendola EXIST-REM.P.REP he-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-
 know
 hĩ-se-naka di-yã di-a diha
 DEM:ANIM-LOC-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-stay 3sgnf-say he
 'There was an oropendola bird, he knew (where the fire was). "Here it is," he said.'
69. di-tuda diwhida-naku di-tuda-bosa
 3sgnf-split 3sgnf+head-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-split-BREAK.BY.SPLITTING
 di-pe-pidana di-ku di-ni di-pe-niki
 3sgnf-leave-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-open 3sgnf-do 3sgnf-leave-COMPL
 '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-thani-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 paita-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 ã<a
 three+NUM.CL:ANIM-REM.P.REP REL+child man:PL
 ñhamepa 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-yã-nhi duha-ne
he night-ONLY-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+sleep 3sgnf-stay-ANT she-INS
'He slept with her only at night.'
7. depi-ih-tiki di-a-khani di-yã-nhi awakada-se
night-APPROX-DIM 3sgnf-go-AWAY 3sgnf-stay-ANT jungle-LOC
ma:mi dinu-ka di-emhani nese di-emhani
tinamou 3sgnf+kill-SUB 3sgnf-walk then 3sgnf-walk
'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 3sgnf-fall 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP
di-dia di-uka di-yã-nhi
3sgnf-return 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-stay-ANT
hanupe-pidana ma:mi dinu di-yã-nhi
many-REM.P.REP tinamou 3sgnf+kill 3sgnf-stay-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 3sgnf-return-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 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
du-yã-nhi du-yenipe-nuku
3sgf-stay-ANT 3sgf-child-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 3pl-do they-DIM:PL 3pl+go.up 3pl-hang they
amaku-pe tewida-ku-pe-pidana na-yã-nhi
hammock-Pl muriti-CL:HAMMOCK-PL-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay-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.REP3pl-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-ni|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 ñha-ka-si du-ni naha ma:mi-pa-nuku
 they eat-TH-NOM 3sgf-do they tinamou-ALL-TOP.NON.A/S
 ñha-ka-si du-ni-pidana du-ñha 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 3sgnf-stay-ANT
 pi-enipe-nuku pi-a-nihka pi-ñha
 2sg-children-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-give-PRES.VIS.INTER 2sg-eat
 phia di-a-pidana di-yã-nhi
 you 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay-ANT
 'The deer was asking, "Did you give food to your children?" he was asking.'
15. nu-a-ka nu-ñha-sita pi-ka-tha|a
 1sg-give-DECL 1sg-eat-PERF 2sg-see-PREC
 ñapi-pe-pana-ka di-swa naha amaku yapi-se
 bone-PL-ALL-DECL 3sgnf-stay they hammock under-LOC
 na-ñha-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 3sgnf-juice-ONLY-REM.P.REP 3sgf-draw 3sgf-put

- di-ñha di-yã-nhi
3sgnf-eat 3sgnf-stay-ANT
'Near the door there was a heap of sweet potato. The little deer was eating the leaves.'
22. ne-se na-mata|a neme-ta-pidana
then-LOC 3pl-leave 3pl+stand+CAUS1-CAUS2-REM.P.REP
diha-tiki na-wapa na-yã-nhi diha
he-DIM 3pl-wait 3pl-stay-ANT ART
kali|i i-phe di-ñha-ka
sweet.potato INDF-leaf 3sgnf-eat-SUB
'Then they left him stand, they were watching him eat the leaves of potato.'
23. kayu na-ni pa:-da diha
so 3pl-do one-CL:ROUND ART
ne:|i-tiki di-dawa-niki di-eku-hu
deer-DIM 3sgnf-hide-COMPL 3sgnf-run-AWAY
di-wa di-a-pidana awakada-se
3sgnf-enter 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP jungle-LOC
'After they did so, one day the little deer rushed off quickly into the jungle.'
24. kayu na-ni-|i-pidana du-dia duka
so 3pl-do-CONV-REM.P.REP 3sgf-return 3sgf+arrive
nha ha-do du-a-pidana na-na
they parent-FEM 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3pl-OBJ
kweka-nihka nu|i-nuku i-mata|a ihya
why-PRES.VIS.INTER 1sg+son-TOP.NON.A/S 2pl-leave you
ma:<i-peni yanape du-a-pidana du-kwisa
bad-PL:ANIM children 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-scold
'Then their mother came. She said to them, "Why did you leave my son, you bad children?" she scolded them.'
25. na-na du-kwisa-ka nhema na-|uku-kha
3pl-OBJ 3sgf-scold-SUB 3pl+hear 3pl-go.down-AWAY
na: na-yã-nhi na: na-pita
3pl+go 3pl-stay-ANT 3pl+go 3pl-bathe
uĩ-se na-pita
port-LOC 3pl-bathe
'Hearing her scold them, they went away, they went down to the port to bathe at the port.'
26. ã-yũ-ka i-nu kwaka i-ni-mhade ihya
2pl-go.up-SUB 2pl-come how 2pl-do-FUT you
i-phyã-mhade ihya du-a-pidana du-yã-nhi
2pl-whistle-FUT you 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT
'"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-phyá-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]
 na: 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 3sgf-eat all
 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
 hĩ 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-we|i 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

- na-ñamu|a na-whe-ta-pidana
3pl-mix 3pl-stay+CAUS1-CAUS2-REM.P.REP
'So they did, they went and drew fish-poison (timbó), they smashed and squeezed the fish-poison, and mixed its juice into the manioc drink.'
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
so 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 dheka dheka
3pl+dig 3pl+go-INT-PAUS 3pl+dig 3pl+dig
nemhani depiha-tiki na: te
3pl+walk night+APPROX-DIM 3pl+go until

- daikina na-dia na-yã-nhi
 afternoon 3pl-return 3pl-stay-ANT
 '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.'
38. nha-tupe nha na-kesi-du-tiki-se
 they-DIM:PL they 3pl-relative-FEM-DIM-CONTR
 pa:-yawa nha-misini nha
 one-CL:HOLE they-TOO:PART.CONTR they
 hinda-pada-yawa-pe-pidana nheka-hã
 each-AFF-CL:HOLE-PL-REM.P.REP 3pl+dig-PAUS
 'They the small ones, with their little relative (i.e. sister), were digging a hole each.'
39. kay na-ni daikina na-dia-ka naka
 so 3pl-do afternoon 3pl-return-SUB 3pl+arrive
 nu-yenipe kani-se-nihka i-uka ihia
 1sg-children where-LOC-PRES.VIS.INTER 2pl-arrive you
 du-a-pidana du-yã-nhi naha ha-do
 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT they parent-FEM
 'After they did so, when they returned home in the afternoon. "My children, where are you coming from?" said their mother.'
40. kayu du-a-ka waha waka-ka ya:ka whepa
 so 3sgf-say-SUB we 1pl+arrive-SUB shrimp 1pl+catch
 wama-nikha na:-pidana na-yã-nhi
 1pl+look.for-ANT+REC.P.VIS 3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay-ANT
 'After she said so, "We have arrived, we were playing at catching shrimp," they said.'
41. kay du-a du-itu-nuku
 so 3sgf-say 3sgf-daughter-TOP.NON.A/S
 ketemi-ma-tiki-nuku du-kapi
 rest-EXC-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgf-hand
 dhuta du-ka du-yã-nhi-pidana
 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-see 3sgf-stay-ANT-REM.P.REP
 'So she said, she took her youngest (lit. remaining) daughter by her hand to see.'
42. ne-se-pidana hipe di-e|u di-yã-nhi
 then-LOC-REM.P.REPmud 3sgnf-stick 3sgnf-stay-ANT
 duha du-kapi-pe-se
 she 3sgf-hand-PL-LOC
 'Then there was mud sticking to her hands.'
43. kwe pi-ni-ka-nihka phia
 what 2sg-do-DECL-PRES.VIS.INTER you

- 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-yã-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-yã-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-|uku
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

- na:-khani nha na:
3pl+go-AWAY they 3pl+go
'They did not listen, one day they came back in vain, another day they went away.'
51. te hawaya-na wika-se na-nu na-waha
until ingá-CL:VERT top-LOC 3pl-come 3pl-sit
na-waha-pidana iñōkoro tut,ri na:ka-pe|u
3pl-sit-REM.P.REP Our mother scolded us (Piratapuya) mummy-OLD.FEM
du-kwisa-ka na:-pidana ã<a-tupe
3sgf-scold-REC.P.VIS 3pl+say-REM.P.REP man:PL-DIM:PL
'They came and sat on the ingá tree. "Our old mother scolded us," said the small men (in Piratapuya).'
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 ina|u du-ya-khe
so 3sgf-do she woman 3sgf-cry-IN.SPITE SS
du-a-ka-pidana iñōkoro 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 ina|u du-ya-ka-pidana kayu duhme|iku
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-|i-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-|i-mha
3sgf-shadow-NOM.PAST-MASC-PRES.NONVIS
kida di-sisa hĩ 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-de¹
 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-ni|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
 3pl+answer 3pl-have 3pl-OBJ 3pl-do-SUB
 na-yã-ni-dapana pa:-dapana khesada-nhina
 3pl-live-TOP.ADV-CL:HAB one-CL:HAB large-ANT+REM.P.VIS
 hanu-dapana nha iñe-dapana na:-ni-dapana
 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 nawiki
 1pl-grandparent-MASC-PL DEM:ANIM people
 ma<a-ma-nhina 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
 nu-a-ka nhua pa:-dapana-ya
 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
 depihya 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*.

ka:whi-nhina-pita

wake.up-ANT+REM.P.VIS-AGAIN

'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.'

6. nha-nina kwaka comunidade na:-nipe
 they-ANT+REM.P.VIS what community 3pl+go-HABIT
 'They formed a, what's its name, community.'
7. ne na-siwa-kaka na-kwisa-kaka
 NEG 3pl-be.together-REC 3pl-scold-REC
 na-siwa-kaka ñhakasi ma:-kade
 3pl-be.together-REC food NEG+give-NEG
 ma-ni-kade-nhina ma-ni-kade-na
 NEG-do-NEG-ANT+REM.P.VIS NEG-do-NEG-REM.P.VIS
 nhua nu-ka-na
 I 1sg-see-REM.P.VIS
 'They never ever scolded each other, or did not give each other food – this did not happen, did not happen, I saw it.'
8. nhua pedale-se nu-ka-na
 I old-CONTR 1sg-see-REM.P.VIS
 khidite-se nu-ka-na
 like.this+NCL:ANIM-CONTR 1sg-see-REM.P.VIS
 'I saw it as an adult, big like this (showing) I saw it.'
9. nhua pedale khidite-ka, kanihta-sina-ka
 I old like.this+NCL:ANIM-SUB REL+thing-REM.P.INFR-SUB
 mēda, ka-ka-thui-se-naka diha
 COUNTEREX REL-see-ALL-LOC-PRES.VIS it
 'When I was this size (showing), when I did understand things, I am the one who sees (i.e. knows) it all.'
10. ma<a nha pa:-dapana na-yã-ka
 proper/good they one-CL:HAB 3pl-live-SUB
 ma<a na-siwa-kaka nhepa na-de-na
 proper/good 3pl-do.together-REC 3pl+answer 3pl-have-REM.P.VIS
 nha nha na-sa-do-nipe-misini
 they ART:PL 3pl-spouse-FEM-PL-TOO:PART.CONTR
 kaya nha a<a-sini kaya
 thus ART:PL man-ACT.CONTR thus
 'While they were living well in one house, they respected each other properly, their wives too, men too.'
11. nha napiwali alia-na panisi-mina|i
 they 3pl+chief EX-REM.P.VIS house-master

- diha maloca iñe-dapana-mina|i 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-ñha 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-ñha-na, hanupe
 3pl-go.out-CAUS1-CAUS2 3pl-eat-REM.P.VIS many
 nu-a-ka nhua, waliki-peni, pedalie-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-ñha, na:ma na-ñha pa-i|a-nipe-tupe
 3pl+look.for 3pl.eat 3pl+look.for 3pl.eat IMP-drink-NOM
 na-i|a-sita neñu nema, kaida-na,
 3pl-drink-PERF 3pl+go.up 3pl+stand ready-REM.P.VIS
 na-sa-do-nipe na-ñha-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.'

18. pethe-misini, male-da na-ni-na,
 manioc.bread-TOO:PART.CONTR big-CL:ROUND 3pl-do-REM.P.VIS
 pethe-misini kihpe-pukwi-pe
 manioc.bread like.this+PL-CL:ROUND.HOLLOW-PL
 kesama pethe-misini
 large manioc.bread-TOO:PART.CONTR
 ne khe|unikana-kade-na
 NEG be.miserable/lack-NEG-REM.P.VIS
 ñhakasi-misini ne khe|unikana-kade-na
 food-TOO:PART.CONTR NEG be.miserable/lack-NEG-REM.P.VIS
 '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-yã-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 mēda
 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).'
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-yã-|i-na mēda
 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-yã-|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|ina² wa-dia wa-nu-ka-pita
 today again 1pl-return 1pl-come-DECL-AGAIN
 wahsã³ wa-ka dainu wha wa:-ka
 let's.go 1pl-see sleep we 1pl+say-SUB
 weñu wa-nu hĩ 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. kaimaka⁴ wha hĩ-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-theka⁵-ba⁶ hĩhĩ⁷ wha
 we 1pl+arrive-FR+REC.P.VIS-OBVIOUS DEM.EMPH we
 wa-bueta-nipe hisa-theka dhe-ba
 1pl-teach-NOM ready-FR+REC.P.VIS 3sgnf+enter-OBVIOUS
 kali<i⁸-misini pa-na-theka
 story-TOO:PART.CONTR IMP-want-FR+REC.P.VIS
 kali<i-pe-hina⁹-ba
 story-PL-ALREADY-OBVIOUS
 'We have indeed arrived here, our learning comes in here. One also wants story,
 stories.'
4. kaimaka tukituki¹⁰ kali<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.'

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.

³ The Santa Rosa equivalent is *wasã*; the Periquitos form is said to be influenced by Guanano [bahsa] 'let's go'.

⁴ The Santa Rosa equivalent is *kayumaka*.

⁵ The Santa Rosa equivalent is *-thaka*.

⁶ This morpheme is borrowed from Tucano (§25.5.3 and §26.1.3), and is not accepted in the Santa Rosa dialect.

⁷ The emphatic demonstrative is used more frequently in the Periquitos dialect than in Santa Rosa.

⁸ Santa Rosa *kalisi* 'story'.

⁹ This morpheme does not exist in the Santa Rosa dialect.

¹⁰ In Santa Rosa dialect, *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 naí
 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 hĩ 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-eku-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-eku di-a pa-pulikuda paite¹⁴ 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 ñhamepa-pi|ena neñu
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|a¹⁵ kwana-nhe i-eku-ka¹⁶ i-eku
come.on-PREC who-FOC.A/S INDF-run-SUB INDF-run

¹⁴ Santa Rosa *paita*.

¹⁵ The precative combines with the interjection *ma* only in the Periquitos dialect.

¹⁶ This is an instance of an archaic usage of the indefinite prefix on a verb lost in the Santa Rosa dialect.

kiaku-mhade di-a pa:thida-pi|ena na-waha naka
 strong-FUT 3sgnf-go equal-REM.P.REP 3pl-lie
 3pl+arrive
 nema-hina
 3pl+stand-ALREADY

"Please, come on, (to see) who will be the strongest in running," he said, simultaneously they lay down and stood up.'

18. diha i<ida pa:thida na-musu-ka di-a
 ART turtle equal 3pl-go.out-SUB 3sgnf-go
 di-mayãna di-waha-kha di-swa
 3sgnf-cheat 3sgnf-fall-AWAY 3sgnf-lie
 'The turtle, (though) they went out (running) simultaneously, was going to cheat (the deer), he fell down and lay.'

19. ne:|i-miki-|i-pi|ena di-yena di-a-hina
 deer-NOM.PAST-MASC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-pass 3sgnf-go-ALREADY
 di-eku di-a-pi|ena-hina te
 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP-ALREADY until
 diha-pulikuda di-duwa¹⁷-pi|ena ne-a-tha-pi|ena
 ART-CL:HILL 3sgnf-finish-REM.P.REP then-EMPH-FR-REM.P.REP
 di-wana naye naye
 3sgnf-call marriageable.cousin:VOC:PAUS marriageable.cousin:VOC:PAUS
 'The poor deer went on and on, he ran up to the hill, he finished (running), and then he called: "marriageable cousin, marriageable cousin!"'

20. hẽse¹⁸-pi|ena paite di-ka dhepa
 there+LOC-REM.P.REP one+NUM.CL:ANIM 3sgnf-see 3sgnf+answer
 hee <a kwe! nu-duwhe|i
 Hey! Oh! Wou! 1sg-mother's.sister's.son
 di-a-mha-sita di-a-pi|ena
 3sgnf-say-PRES.NONVIS-PERF 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
 di-a-pita di-eku-the-pi|ena di-a te
 3sgnf-go-AGAIN 3sgnf-run-FR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go until
 diha-pulikuda di-duwa-pi|ena
 ART-CL:HILL 3sgnf-finish-REM.P.REP
 '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.'

21. di-duwa-ka-maãa-pi|ena dika
 3sgnf-end-SUB-AMIDST-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+laugh
 di-wana-pi|ena-pita naye!
 3sgnf-call-REM.P.REP-AGAIN marriageable.cousin:VOC:PAUS

¹⁷ Santa Rosa -*sisa* 'finish'.

¹⁸ Santa Rosa *nese*.

