UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Bora

Seifart, F.

DOI

[10.1086/695563](https://doi.org/10.1086/695563)

Publication date

2018

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

International Journal of American Linguistics

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Seifart, F. (2018). Bora. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 84(S1), S69–S94.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/695563>

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

BORA

FRANK SEIFART

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

Bora (ISO boa) is a language spoken in the areas of the northeast Yaguasyacu, Putumayo, and Ampiyuca rivers (in Colombia and Peru). This traditional story tells about how warfare among humans began. It is likely shared by Boras, Muinanes, and other ethnolinguistic groups belonging to the so-called “People of the Center,” a multilingual cultural complex sharing many cultural features (Echeverri 1997; Gasché 2009). One parent of the narrator, Victoria Vega, was Muinane, and this story is unknown to some, otherwise knowledgeable, Boras. On the other hand, one of the principal characters, Páábihó Iihyúné Tsíjcyátsotaáábe (“the one who raised the eggs of the hummingbird”), appears also in stories told by Boras as well as Resígaros (Andrade 2009), another group belonging to the “People of the Center.”

This text has been edited with respect to the original audio recording by an expert Bora speaker, removing repetitions and false starts, for the purpose of distribution as pedagogical material in Bora schools (Vega et al. 2009). That is why in some instances there is a slight mismatch between the audio recording and the text.

- (1) Tujkénúmevápe méénujcátsí íjcyáíñe.

tuhkenú-me=va=pe	meenu-hkatsi	ihkʲa-i-ne
beginning-PL=QUOT=REM.PST	hit-RECP	be-FUT-INAN

‘The fighting that would happen began like this.’

- (2) Tsaaté javáa íjcyájá hallútú mía múnaa pehíjcyá úmécohe píívyéíñe hájkímu.

tsa-te	ha=βa=pe	ihkʲa-ha	ʔadʒu-tu
one-PL	house=QUOT=REM.PST	be-CLF.cover	on-ABL

mia	múnaa	pee-ʔihkʲa	úmeko-ʔe
true	people	go-REPET	anger-CLF.tree

piíβe-i-ne	ʔahki-mu
origin-FUT-INAN	relative-PL

‘There was a house of some people, and around this house (other) people passed who were going to give rise to the war tree.’

- (3) Píichuhjcyámé íjtsiiménémukéré iámédú ipíívyetétsómeke.
 piičuu-ʔíhk'a-me i-tsíimene-muu-ke=re
 carry-REPET-PL 3POSS-child-PL-ACC=RES

iá-me-duu i-pííβiete-tso-me-ke
 animal-PL-COMP 3-turn.into-CAUS-PL-ACC

'They carried their children that were transformed into animals.'

- (4) Aanévápe tééja múnáajpi méwakye nééhií, "Aatye mahájkímú
 taabámú táumeípiwu ícyahjcyáhi."

aa-ne=βa=pe te-ha múnáa-pi
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.house people-CLF.man

meg^wa-ke nee-ʔi aátie me-ʔahki-muu
 wife-ACC say-PRED those 1PL.POSS-relative-PL

taába-muu táúmei-pi-g^wuuu íhk'a-ʔíhk'a-ʔi
 wife-PL ask.for-in.excess-DIM be-REPET-PRED

'And the chief of this house said to his wife, "These wives of our people, they like to ask for everything."'

- (5) "Aane ditye lléébotúmé diityéké táumeíhahjchíí ditye ájcune ditye
 dóócooca diityé élletu médohdíñe!" neebévápeé.

aa-ne di-te djeebo-tuu-me dii-te-ke
 COORD-INAN 3-PL listen-NEG-PL 3-PL-ACC

táúmei-ʔahčííh^wu di-te ahkuu-ne di-te
 ask.for-COND 3-PL give-INAN 3-PL

doo-koóka dii-te éʔdʒe-tuu
 eat.meat-when 3-PL there-ABL

me-doo-di-ne nee-Vbe=βa=pe
 PL.IMP-eat.meat-IMP.NEG-INAN say-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST

'"And if they ask you, don't answer back! And if they ask without listening, and if they eat, don't eat with them!" he said.' ¹

¹ The abbreviation V is included in the underlying form of some morphemes to indicate that they exhibit a vowel that undergoes harmony.

- (6) Aanévápe ihyájkímú taabámuke neélle, “Átyáji illu oke neéhií:
tsáhava ámuha metáúmeítyú aatye ítsíimekéreva iámédú
íípívyéjtsómeke tsatyéhiycyáme.”

aa-ne=βa=pe i-ʔahki-mu taába-mu-ke
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-relative-PL wife-PL-ACC

nee-dze átáhi ídzu ó-ke
say-FEM:SG my.husband so 1SG-ACC

nee-ʔi tsáʔa=βa ámuʔa me-táúmei-i-tu
say-PRED no=QUOT 2PL 1PL-ask.for-FUT-NEG

aátie i-tsíime-ke=re=βa iá-me-du
those 3POSS-children-ACC=RES=QUOT animal-PL-COMP

i-ípiʔie-tso-me-ke tsahie-ʔíhkia-me
3-create-CAUS-PL-ACC carry-REPET-PL

‘And she said to the wives of their people, “My husband told me that you are not supposed to ask them for anything, because they are carrying their children transformed into animals.”’

- (7) Áronáa idyé táumeípiwu néémeé.

aa-ró-ne idié táúmei-pi-g^wuu nee-me
COORD-FRUST-INAN also ask.for-in.excess-DIM seem-PL

‘But they very much liked to ask for things.’

- (8) Áánelli tsá múu dítyáábake íhvéjtsotú dille ityáúmeítyuki tsíjtye
májcho ímítyú níjkéváné teéne.

aa-ne-dziíʔie tsáʔa múuu di-taába-ke
COORD-INAN-BEN no suggestion 2SG.POSS-wife-ACC

iʔbehtso-tu di-dze i-táúmei-tu-ki tsi-te
let-NEG 3-FEM:SG 3-ask.for-NEG-PURP other-PL

mahčo ímí-tu nihke-βa-ne te-ne
food good-NEG end-VBZ-INAN 3-INAN

‘Therefore you should not let your wife ask for food from others, that can end badly!’

- (9) Aamévaa péémeke tsúúca lléébotúmé táúmeíhi.

aa-me=βa=pe pee-me-ke
COORD-PL=QUOT=REM.PST go-PL-ACC

tsúúúka dzebo-tu-me táúmei-ʔi
already listen-NEG-PL ask.for-PRED

‘When the people passed by, they did not obey anymore, they were asking.’

- (15) Aanéváa neélle, “ímiáánéjucóhaaca íjtsiiménémuré íjcyámeke
aatye tsáma lléébotúmé ityáúmeíne dóóhíí,” inééne íjtsiiméneke
téhí pañévúré cádsomároíñulle.

aa-ne=βa=pe nee-d3e
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST say-FEM:SG

ímiá-ne=huuko=?aáka i-tsíímene-muu=re ihk'a-me-ke
true-INAN=AFFIR=ascertainment 3POSS-child-PL=RES be-PL-ACC

aátie tsáma d3eebo-tui-me i-táúmei-ne
those careful listen-NEG-PL 3-ask.for-INAN

doo-ʔi i-nee-ne i-tsíímene-ke teéʔi
eat.meat-PRED 3-say-INAN 3POSS-child-ACC river

pape-βui=re kádzoomá-ro-ipui-d3e
inside-ALL=RES put-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.leave-FEM:SG

‘And she said “So it is true that they are asking for what are in fact children, not obeying, they are eating,” she said and she threw the child into the water and left.’

- (16) Áánéllíí tájcuke tsíímávalle dóócooca tsíímene lluhívatéhi.

aa-ne-d3iʔie tahku-ke tsííme-βa-d3e
COORD-INAN-BEN agouti-ACC children-VBZ.have-FEM:SG

doo-koóka tsíímene d3uuʔi-βa-te-ʔi
eat.meat-when child diarrhea-VBZ.have-VBZ.be-PRED

‘That is why when a pregnant woman eats agouti the child gets diarrhea.’

- (17) Aanéváa dífbyeke idyóóne íjyunújucóóme.

aa-ne=βa=pe di-Vbe-ke i-doo-ne
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG-ACC 3-eat.meat-INAN

ífh'uumu-huukoo-me
get.dark-PFV-PL

‘And then, after eating it was already getting dark.’

- (18) Aaméváa íjyunúmé íllure góócohíjcyá.

aa-me=βa=pe ífh'uumu-me íd3ui=re gooko-ʔíhk'a
COORD-PL=QUOT=REM.PST get.dark-PL SO=RES laugh-REPET

‘And in the evening they were laughing, they were laughing.’

- (19) Aanéváa igóócohíjcyáne tsúúca imíllémé icyúwájucóóne.

aa-ne=βa=pe i-gooko-ʔíhk'a-ne
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-laugh-REPET-INAN

tsúúúka imíd3e-me i-kuḡʷa-huuko-ne
already want-PL 3-sleep-PFV-INAN

‘And after laughing, they wanted to sleep.’

- (20) Aanéváa níjpatyéme áachíu, tsáápille níjpatyé chóa.
 aa-ne=βa=pe nihpa-té-me áachi-βu
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST urinate-ASSO.MOT.GO-PL outside-ALL
 tsa-hpidze nihpa-té čooo
 one-CLF.woman urinate-ASSO.MOT.go water.falling
 ‘And when they went outside to pee, one went to pee, choa.’
- (21) Tsíjpilléváa chóa tsíjpille chóa.
 tsi-hpidze=βa=pe čooo
 other-CLF.woman=QUOT=REM.PST water.falling
 tsi-hpidze čooo
 other-CLF.woman water.falling
 ‘Another one, choa; and another one, choa.’
- (22) Aanéváa eene nihñéré chóa chóa chima chima níjpalle diityéke
 neeráhi, “Ípyejco pijyúwámyúejte ámuhakye doóhi, diityéj
 tsiiménémuke ámuha medóóné hallútu.”
 aa-ne=βa=pe e-ne niʔné=re čooo
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST that-INAN last=RES water.falling
 čooo čímá čímá nihpa-dze
 water.falling chímá chímá urinate-FEM:SG
 dii-te-ke nee-ro-ʔi í-pehko
 3-PL-ACC say-FRUST-PRED this-CLF.night
 píhʔu-gʷa-mu-e-te ámuʔa-ke doo-i
 fishing-CLF.plank-PL-PERT-PL 2PL-ACC eat.meat-FUT
 dii-te-h tsíimene-mu-ke ámuʔa
 3-PL-POSS child-PL-ACC 2PL
 me-doo-ne ʔadzu-tu
 PL-eat.meat-INAN TOP-ABL
 ‘The last one who had peed “choa choa chima chima” said to the
 others, “Tonight the fishhook ants are going to eat you because
 you have eaten their children.”’
- (23) Aanéváa diityédíú goocótsówuúré nééneri goócohíjcyáme
 goócohíjcyámé, menéibóó tsá ditye íllityétúne.
 aa-ne=βa=pe dii-te-dí-βu gooko-tso-gʷuuu=re
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-PL-AN-ALL laugh-CAUS-DIM=RES
 nee-ne-ri gooko-ʔíhkʲa-me gooko-ʔíhkʲa-me
 seem-INAN-INST laugh-REPET-PL laugh-REPET-PL
 me-nee-ibóó tsáʔa di-te ídʒitʲe-tu-ne
 PL-say-ʔ no 3-PL be.afraid-NEG-PL
 ‘But that seemed to make them laugh even more, they laughed and
 laughed, so to speak, they were not afraid.’

- (24) Ááne ílluréjuco ditye cúwane.

aa-ne íd3u=re=huuko di-te kuɣ^wa-ne
COORD-INAN SO=RES=AFFIR 3-PL sleep-INAN

‘And then they went to sleep.’

- (25) Dityée cúwájúcoónáa diille eene ájyu nééne cáhcújtsolle nééhíí

íjtsiiménémuke ámíáábeke wálloolle ihjyá nihbáhovu.
di-te kuɣ^wa-huukoo-náa dii-d3e e-ne áh^hu
3-PL sleep-PFV-SIM 3-FEM:SG that-INAN husband

nee-ne kaʔkúh-tso-d3e nee-ʔi
say-INAN obey-CAUS-FEM:SG say-PRED

i-tsímene-mu-ke ámíá-Vbe-ke g^wad3oo-d3e
3POSS-child-PL-ACC elder-MASC:SG-ACC send-FEM:SG

i-ha níʔbaʔo-βu
3POSS-house rooftop-ALL

‘When they were sleeping the one who had obeyed her husband sent her oldest child to the top of the roof of their house.’

- (26) Ááne diibye bónétsike ájculle ítyohméuvu, tsíjpikye ájcullé ímajchówau.

aa-ne dii-Vbe bóónée-tsi-ke
COORD-INAN 3-MASC:SG younger-CLF.child-ACC

ahku-d3e i-tóómeé-u-βu tsi-pi-ke
give-FEM:SG 3POSS-almond-CLF.sphere-ALL other-CLF.man-ACC

ahku-d3e i-mahčóg^wa-βu
give-FEM:SG 3POSS-scissors-ALL

‘And she gave an almond to the youngest one, and to another one she gave scissors.’

- (27) Ááne diibye ítyohméúvúne iájcuúbeke uácolle ífbíí caanúcópáájí pañévu.

aa-ne dii-Vbe i-tóómeé-u-βu=néku
COORD-INAN 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-almond-CLF.sphere-ALL=RECT.PST

i-ahku-Vbe-ke úakó-d3e ífbíí
3-give-MASC:SG-ACC put.in-FEM:SG coca

káánui-ko-paáhi pape-βu
grind-CLF.pointed-CLF.hole inside-ALL

‘And she put the one to whom she had given the almond inside the coca mortar.’

- (28) Ááne idyé tsíjpikeye majchówavu iájcuúbeke uácolle cuumu
fayámupáájí pañévu tétsihdyu dityétsí ityéhmeki.

aa-ne id'é tsi-pi-ke mahčóg^wa-βu
COORD-INAN also other-CLF.man-ACC scissors-ALL

i-ahku-Vbe-ke úakó-dze kuuúmu
3-give-MASC:SG-ACC put.in-FEM:SG signal.drum

i-ájá-mu-paáhi pape-βu
3-little-CLF.signal.drum-CLF.hole inside-ALL

te-tsi?dju di-htétsi i-te?me-ki
3-after 3-MASC:DU 3-watch.out-PURP

'And she put the one to whom she had given the scissors inside the small hole of the signal drums, so the two would watch out from these places.'

- (29) Áánetúvaa diille úcaavé íkyemúúmú cúumupáájí pañévu
íwañúúwama.

aa-ne-tu=βa=pe dii-dze úka-Vβe
COORD-INAN-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST 3-FEM:SG go.inside-SG:INTR

i-kemuu-mu kuuúmu-paáhi
3-be.big-CLF.signal.drum signal.drum-CLF.hole

pape-βu i-g^wájtu-g^wa-ma
inside-ALL 3POSS-arrow-CLF.plank-COM

'And then she went inside the big hole of the signal drum with her arrow.'

- (30) Aabe caame íjcyaaabe diitye pijyúwámyuke nehíjcyá, "Tsúuca
ajkyéjucóome, tsúuca niityéjucóome, íllújucó diitye," cáámetu
úúbállehíjcyáabe.

aa-Vbe kaáme ihk'a-Vbe dii-te
COORD-MASC:SG top be-MASC:SG 3-PL

píh'w-g^wa-mu-ke nee-?íhk'a
fishing-CLF.plank-PL-ACC say-REPET

tsúúuka ahk'ie-huko-me tsúúuka niit'e-huko-me
already get.up-PFV-PL already come.down-PFV-PL

ídzu=huuko di-te kaáme-tu úúúbadze-?íhk'a-Vbe
SO=AFFIR 3-PL top-ABL tell-REPET-MASC:SG

'And the one who was above said to them, "The fish hook ants are already awake, they are already coming down, they are doing this and that," he was telling from above.'

- (31) Áámécobáváa tsááme tééjáene dóó úcaavémé diityéké dójucóó
cánújpetsóme teene áá áá cánújpetéhiycyáme.

aa-me-koba=βa=pe tsaa-me

COORD-PL-AUG=QUOT=REM.PST come-PL

te-ha-e-ne doo úka-Vβe-me
3-CLF.cover-PERT-INAN eat.meat go.inside-SG:INTR-PL

dii-te-ke doo-huko kánuhpe-tso-me tee-ne
3-PL-ACC eat.meat-PFV moan-CAUS-PL 3-INAN

ááá ááá kánuhpe-té-ʔihkʲa-me
aah aah moan-ASSO.MOT.go-REPET-PL

‘Very many of them came and they ate everything around the house, they entered and ate them and made them moan, “Aah, aah” they kept moaning.’

- (32) Áánéllií mía múnáajpi mecúwácooca mecánujpéné ímityúné ijcyá.

aa-ne-dʒiʔʲe mía múnaa-pi me-kugʷa-koóka
COORD-INAN-BEN true people-CLF.man 1PL-sleep-when

me-kánuhpe-ne ímí-tui-ne ihkʲa
PL-moan-INAN good-ABL-INAN be

‘Therefore when someone moans during his sleep that is bad.’

- (33) Átsihdyúváa tsúúca péémeé.

aa-tsiʔdʲu=βa=pe tsúúuka pee-me

COORD-after=QUOT=REM.PST already go-PL

‘And then they already went away.’

- (34) Aaméváa teene idyóóné coénéhjǵ tsajtyéme péjucóóme.

aa-me=βa=pe tee-ne i-doo-ne
COORD-PL=QUOT=REM.PST 3-INAN 3-eat.meat-INAN

kóe-ne-ʔhi tsáhtǵ-me pee-huko-me
remaining-INAN-PL take-PL go-PFV-PL

‘And they took what they had left over after eating, and went away.’

- (35) Ááné boonéváa cóejte ájkyeme iitécunú ihwáabyáané pañe
tsítsínéhjiúvú bájcunéréjuco íjcyane.

aa-ne boóne=βa=pe kóe-te ahkʲe-me
COORD-INAN after=QUOT=REM.PST remaining-PL get.up-PL

iite-kunui i-gʷaábʲa-ne pape
look-MULT:INTR 3POSS-hammock-PL inside

tsítsí-ne-ʔhi-úβu báhkui-ne=re=huko ihkʲa-ne
white-INAN-PL-intensively bone-PL=RES=AFFIR be-INAN

‘And after that the ones who remained got up and looked inside their hammocks: there were white things, only bones!’

- (36) Ábajcújivápe muhdú méénuímye.
 aa–bahku–?hi=βa=pe muʔdu meenu–i–me
 COORD–CLF.bone–PL=QUOT=REM.PST how do–FUT–PL
 ‘What would they do with these bones?’
- (37) Áánáacávaa tsúuca ájyu wájtsíbeke neéle, “Ínené okéne u nééne o
 neérone illéébótúné nǐjcaúvú tsúuca mécuwámeke ditye
 dójucóóné tébajcújiréjuco.”
 aa–ne=ka=βa=pe tsúúuka áhʔu
 COORD–INAN=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST already husband

 gʷahtsi–Vbe–ke nee–dʒe í–ne=néku
 arrive–MASC:SG–ACC say–FEM:SG this–INAN=RECT.PST

 ó–ke=néku u nee–ne ó
 1SG–ACC=RECT.PST 2SG say–INAN 1SG

 nee–ró–ne i–dʒeebo–tu–ne nǐhkaw–βu
 say–FRUST–INAN 3–listen–NEG–INAN consequence–ALL

 tsúúuka me–kuɡʷáábe–me–ke di–te
 already 1PL.POSS–people–PL–ACC 3–PL

 doo–huuko–ne te–bahku–?hi=re=huuko
 eat.meat–PFV–INAN 3–CLF.bone–PL=RES=AFFIR

 ‘And when the husband arrived, she said to him, “This is what
 happened as a consequence of not listening to what you had
 told me, despite me saying so. They ate our people – just bones
 left.”’
- (38) Ábajcújivápe cúúuhíjyaábe.
 aa–bahku–?hi=βa=pe kuwuu–?íhkʰa–Vbe
 COORD–CLF.bone–PL=QUOT=REM.PST bury–REPET–MASC:SG
 ‘Then he buried the bones.’
- (39) Ááne déícyuhíjyaábe.
 aa–ne déi–ku–?íhkʰa–Vbe
 COORD–INAN chew.coca–MULT:TR–REPET–MASC:SG
 ‘Then he chewed coca.’
- (40) “Muhdú nééne íveekí tácyuwámeke wajpíímuke íllu pajtyéhi.”
 muʔdu nee–ne íbeeki ta–kuɡʷáábe–me–ke
 how seem–INAN why 1SG.POSS–people–PL–ACC

 gʷahpi–mu–ke ídʒu pahtie–ʔi
 man–PL–ACC so occur–PRED

 “‘How is that? Why did this happen to my people, to my men?’”

- (41) “Mééi íhyálluúne bóhdómeke ó waagóojéhi aahi íñe íjcyámeke
 tsúuca diitye dóbajcúji ó cuú íñéeneri déicyuhíjcyáabe.
 mééhi i-ʔádzu-u-ne boʔdo-me-ke
 devil 3POSS-eye-CLF.sphere-PL take.out-PL-ACC
 ó gʷaagoo-he-ʔi aáʔi
 1SG throw.away-ASSO.MOT.return-PRED at.home
 í-ne ihkʲa-me-ke tsúúka
 this-INAN be-PL-ACC already
 dii-te doo-bahku-ʔhi ó
 3-PL eat.meat-CLF.bone-PL 1SG
 kuuuu i-nee-ne-ri déi-ku-ʔíhkʲa-Vbe
 bury 3-say-INAN-INST chew.coca-MULT:TR-REPET-MASC:SG
 “I went to defeat the devil who took out their eyes, and they ate
 the ones who were at home, and I buried their bones,” he said
 chewing coca.’

- (42) Áánáacávaa diityé matsájawááhyé aatsáriu májchóóbeke
 llihyánúíyoóbe.
 aa-náa=ka=βa=pe dii-te matsahka-gʷa=re
 COORD-SIM=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST 3-PL peanut-CLF.plank=RES
 aatsári-u mahčo-Vbe-ke dziiʔánw-i-ró-Vbe
 tree.rat-CLF.sphere eat-MASC:SG-ACC kill-FUT-FRUST-MASC:SG
 ‘And during that a tree rat was eating their peanuts, and he wanted
 to kill it.’

- (43) Áronáa néébe, “Oke llihyánudíñe dícyuwáábekéne méénúmeke u
 llíhyánúúbejírva, oke ú llihyánúiyáhi.”
 aa-ró-ne nee-Vbe ó-ke
 COORD-FRUST-INAN say-MASC:SG 1SG-ACC
 dziiʔánw-di-ne di-kuugʷáabe-ke=néku meenu-me-ke
 kill-IMP.NEG-INAN 2SG.POSS-people-ACC=RECT.PST hit-PL-ACC
 u dziiʔánw-Vbe-híβari ó-ke
 2SG kill-MASC:SG-NEG 1SG-ACC
 u dziiʔánw-i-ró-ʔi
 2SG kill-FUT-FRUST-PRED
 ‘But he said, “Don’t kill me, you did not kill the ones who have
 eaten your people, why would you kill me?”’

- (44) “Tééné uubállema o tsáá diéllevu” iñéénemáváa teene úúbálleebe,
 “Ééheréne pijyúwámyuhe íjcyahé dihájkímuke dóóhe
 pevétsihjídú íjcyáhi.”

tee-ne uuubád3e-ma ó tsaa di-éd3e-βu
 3-INAN story-COM 1SG come 2SG.POSS-there-ALL
 i-nee-ne-ma=βa=pe tee-ne úúúbad3e-Vbe
 3-say-INAN-COM=QUOT=REM.PST 3-INAN tell-MASC:SG
 e-ʔe=re=nékuu pííhʔu-g^wa-mu-ʔe
 that-CLF.tree=RES=RECT.PST fishing-CLF.plank-PL-CLF.tree
 ihkʔa-ʔe di-áhkʔ-mu-ke doo-ʔe
 be-CLF.tree 2SG.POSS-people-PL-ACC eat.meat-CLF.tree
 peβétsiʔhí-du ihkʔa-ʔi
 calm-COMP be-PRED

“‘I come to you with something to tell,’ he said, and he told him,
 ‘It was that tree of the fishhook ants that ate your people, but he
 is calm.’”

- (45) Áánélliihyéváa tééhe élleu peebe.

aa-ne-d3iʔe=βa=pe te-ʔe éd3e-βu
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.tree there-ALL
 pee-Vbe
 go-MASC:SG

‘And therefore he went to that tree.’

- (46) Ááne méénújcatsíbyé ílluréjuco díbye tééhé hallúú mámavyéne
 ááne méénúcatsíhijcyáme.

aa-ne meenu-hkatsi-Vbe íd3u=re=huuko di-Vbe
 COORD-INAN hit-RECP-MASC:SG SO=RES=AFFIR 3-MASC:SG
 te-ʔe ʔad3u-βu mámaβié-ne aa-ne
 3-CLF.tree top-ALL do.magic-INAN COORD-INAN
 meenu-hkatsi-ʔíhkʔa-me
 do-RECP-REPET-PL

‘And he fought, and he did magic to that tree, that is how they
 fought.’

- (47) Árohéváa táhjahíjcyá diityéke, páné comíñe múnáake dohíjcyahé
 tsánejcútúre.

aa-ró-ʔe=βa=pe taʔha-ʔíhkʔa dii-te-ke
 COORD-FRUST-CLF.tree=QUOT=REM.PST defeat-REPET 3-PL-ACC
 pa-ne kóómi-ne múnaa-ke
 all-INAN village-PL people-ACC
 doo-ʔíhkʔa-ʔe tsa-nehku-tu=re
 eat.meat-REPET-CLF.tree one-CLF.side-ABL=RES

‘But the tree defeated them, the tree ate the people from all
 villages, just from one side.’

- (48) Áánéllíihyéváa páábihó iihyúné tsíjcyátsotáábee nómjítúcojééuu
 íjcyámútsidi wáníjcyámeímye.
 aa-ne-d3iíʔe=βa=pe páábi-ʔo íʔuú-ne
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST hummingbird-CLF.oval egg-PL
 tsihkʲa-tso-ta-Vbe-V nómihtúkohéé-u
 burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG-and herb-CLF.sphere
 ihkʲa-mútsi-di gʷáníhkʲa-meí-me
 be-MASC:DU-AN scream.for.help-REFL-PL
 ‘And therefore they asked Páábihó Iihyúné Tsíjcyátsotáábe² and
 Nómjítúcojééu³ for help.’

- (49) Aamútsiváa núllfbake eenú.
 aa-mútsi=βa=pe núdzí-ba-ke eenu
 COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST armadillo-CLF.object-ACC breed
 ‘And these two had an armadillo as a pet.’

- (50) Áánemáváa ájjíjné díʔbyé míʔhe ééveri nuhíhcyamútsi,
 núhíhcyarómútsi úmívaábe.
 aa-ne-ma=βa=pe ahi-hi-ne di-Vbe
 COORD-INAN-COM=QUOT=REM.PST irapay-CLF.DISC-PL 3-MASC:SG
 míʔhe eʔbe-ri nuuú-ʔíhkʲa-mútsi
 carapace measure-LOC weave-REPET-MASC:DU
 nuuú-ʔíhkʲa-ró-mútsi úmíβa-Vbe
 weave-REPET-FRUST-MASC:DU flee-MASC:SG
 ‘And they were weaving palm fronds to the size of his carapace,
 they were weaving and weaving, but he escaped.’

- (51) Áábekéváa tséhdihíhcyamútsi wáhyéhúcóbari péébeke.
 aa-Vbe-ke=βa=pe tseʔdi-ʔíhkʲa-mútsi
 COORD-MASC:SG-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST dig-REPET-MASC:DU
 gʷáʔehur-koba-ri pee-Vbe-ke
 hole-AUG-LOC go-MASC:SG-ACC
 ‘And they dug out the big hole into which he had gone.’

² Lit. ‘The one who raised the eggs of the hummingbird’

³ Lit. ‘Herb-man’

- (52) Aamútsiváa tséhdihíjcyárónáa méénujcátsi múnáa ihjúcunúhijcyá,
 “Nómíjtúcojééumútsí múúhake tsúúca úmécohe
 pírujtsójucoóhíí, múúhake ijcyá méllíiñéváá” nehícyáme.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe tseʔdi-ʔíhkʲa-ró-náa

COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST dig-REPET-FRUST-SIM

meenw-hkatsi munáa iʔhʲú-kunw-ʔíhkʲa

do-RECP people cry-MULT:INTR-REPET

nómíhtúkohéé-w-mútsi muʔa-ke tsúúúka

herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU 1PL.EXCL-ACC already

úmeke-ʔe píru-tso-huko-ʔi muʔa-ke íhkʲa

anger-CLF.tree end-CAUS-PFV-PRED 1PL.EXCL-ACC be

me-dziipe-βa nee-ʔíhkʲa-me

PL.IMP-support-ASSO.MOT.come say-REPET-PL

‘And while they were digging, the people fighting were screaming
 “Nómíjtúcojééu, you two! The war-tree is already decimating
 us, come help us.” they said.’

- (53) Aanéváa páábihó íihyúné tsíhcyátsotáábé wáhyéhú pañétú
 íjchívyécooca lleebóvahíhcyá.

aa-ne=βa=pe páábi-ʔo ííʔú-ne

COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST hummingbird-CLF.oval egg-PL

tsíhkʲa-tso-ta-Vbe gʷáʔehw pape-tu

burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG hole inside-ABL

i-ihčíʔe-koóka dzebo-βa-ʔíhkʲa

3-go.outside-when listen-ASSO.MOT.come-REPET

‘And Páábihó Iihyúné Tsíjcyátsotáábe heard this when he came
 out of the hole.’

- (54) Áarónácáváa íñahbe tóónuhíjcyá dífbyedítyu, “Tsáhaá,”
 nehíjcyáábe, “muurá ihdyu muube bóhllahóré eene cho cho cho
 cho cho chabóco roróo nehíjcyáhi.”

aa-ró-ne=ka=βa=pe i-naʔbe

COORD-FRUST-INAN=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-brother

toonw-ʔíhkʲa di-Vbe-di-tu tsáʔa nee-ʔíhkʲa-Vbe

deceive-REPET 3-MASC:SG-AN-ABL no say-REPET-MASC:SG

muurá iʔdʲw muúúbe bóʔdʒa-ʔo=re e-ne

then like.this brother oriole-CLF.OVAL=RES that-INAN

čo čo čo čo

cho cho cho cho

čo čabóco roróo nee-ʔíhkʲa-ʔi

cho chabóco roróo say-REPET-PRED

‘But his friend deceived him, “No,” he said, “that is an oriole that
 is singing like cho cho cho cho cho cho chabóco roróo.”’

- (55) Tsííñé ijchívyeri tsiíñe illéébóne neébe, “Muurá meke keeváme.”
 tsi-ne ihčíβe-ri tsiíne i-d3eebo-ne
 other-INAN go.outside-INST again 3-listen-INAN

nee-Vbe muurá me-ke keeβa-me
 say-MASC:SG then 1PL-ACC call-PL

‘When he came out again, he listened again and said, “Hey, they are calling us.”’

- (56) “Tsáhaá muurá ihdyu ójcóóoco ójcóóoco roóu nehíjcyáabe.”
 tsáʔa muurá iʔdʲu óhkókóoko óhkókóoko
 no.then like this óhkókóoko óhkókóoko

roóu nee-ʔíhkʲa-Vbe
 dove say-REPET-MASC:SG

‘“No, it is a dove singing like óhkókóoko, óhkókóoko,” he said.’

- (57) Aane tsiíñe íñúbama íjchívyeebe ímíñéúvú botsí llééboobe ditye
 íhíjyucunúne ílluú, “Nómíjtúcojééumútsí múúhakye úmécohe
 pírujtsójucóóhíí, múúhakye íjcyá méllííñéwáá.”

aa-ne tsiíne íjɲu-ba-ma ihčíβe-Vbe
 COORD-INAN again earth-CLF.object-COM go.outside-MASC:SG

ímí-ne-úβu botsí d3eebo-Vbe di-te
 good-INAN-intensively finally listen-MASC:SG 3-PL

íʔhíu-kunw-ne íd3u nómíhtúkohéé-u-mútsi
 speak-MULT:INTR-INAN so herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU

muʔa-ke úmeko-ʔe píru-tso-huko-ʔi
 1PL.EXCL-ACC anger-CLF.tree end-CAUS-PFV-PRED

muʔa-ke íhkʲa me-d3iíne-βa
 1PL.EXCL-ACC be PL.IMP-support-ASSO.MOT.come

‘And when he came out again with a piece of earth, he finally heard properly what they said, “Nómíjtúcojééu, you two, the war tree is decimating us, come help us!”’

- (58) Áánéllí bōtsíyēí dífbyeke neébe, “íveekí oke ú állihíjcyá, muurá:
 ‘nómíjtúcojéémútsíí múúhakye íjcyá mélliinéváá tsúúca úmécohe
 múúhakye pírójtsoóhíí’ íllu muurá ditye nééne oke ú nehíjcyá.”

aa-ne-dziŋʔie bōtsí=re=iíkʔe di-Vbe-ke
 COORD-INAN-BEN finally=RES=yet 3-MASC:SG-ACC

nee-Vbe íḃeeki ó-ke uu adzi-ŋhíkʔa
 say-MASC:SG why 1SG-ACC 2SG lie-REPET

muurá nómíhúúkohéé-u-mútsi muŋa-ke íhkʔa
 then herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU 1PL.EXCL-ACC be

me-dziipe-ḃa tsúúka úmeko-ŋe
 PL.IMP-support-ASSO.MOT.come already anger-CLF.tree

muŋa-ke píru-tso-ŋi ídzu muurá di-te nee-ne
 1PL.EXCL-ACC end-CAUS-PRED so then 3-PL say-INAN

ó-ke uu nee-ŋhíkʔa
 1SG-ACC 2SG say-REPET

‘And so finally he said to him him “Why are you lying to me? It’s
 like ‘Nómíjtúcojééu, help us, the war tree is already decimating
 us!’ That is what they are saying, what are you telling me?”’

- (59) Néébere tsiíñe téhejú pañévú iúcaáveíñúne ílluréjuco diibye núllfba
 bówá dówáriúcujeñe.

nee-Vbe=re tsiíñe te-ŋehu pañe-ḃuu
 say-MASC:SG=RES again 3-CLF.hole inside-ALL

i-úka-Vḃe-íñuu-ne ídzu=re=huuko
 3-go.inside-SG:INTR-ASSO.MOT.leave-INAN SO=RES=AFFIR

di-Vbe núdzí-ba bógʷa
 3-MASC:SG armadillo-CLF.object tail

do-ḃarí-ukú-ñe-ne
 hand-break-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.return-INAN

‘He said that, and then went into the hole again and pulled out the
 tail of the armadillo.’

- (60) Ááne teewa rojróco imyéenune llijchújucoobe ílluréjuco.

aa-ne tee-gʷa rohróko i-meenu-ne
 COORD-INAN 3-CLF.plank flute 3-do-INAN

dʒíhčú-ñu-ko-Vbe ídzu=re=huuko
 blow-PFV-MASC:SG SO=RES=AFFIR

‘And from that he made a flute and began to play it.’

- (61) Ahdúu nééne tsúúcajámuúvú méénucátsivu ipyééki rojrócori
llíjchúcatsíhijcyámé tsúúca muha mepéjucóóhí méénucátsivu
iñééiyóne.

aa-du=pe nee-ne tsúúúkaha-mu-úβu
COORD-COMP=REM.PST be-INAN old.days-PL-deceased

meenw-hkatsi-βu i-pee-ki rohróko-ri
hit-RECP-ALL 3-go-PURP flute-INST

d3íhčúú-hkatsi-?íhk'a-me tsúúúka mu?a
blow-RECP-REPET-PL already 1PL.EXCL

me-pee-huuko-?i meenw-hkatsi-βu
1PL-go-PFV-PRED hit-RECP-ALL

i-nee-i-ró-ne
3-say-FUT-FRUST-INAN

‘That is why the forefathers, when they went to war, they played
the flute, like saying, “We are going to war.”’

- (62) Aamútsiváa ehdu llíjchumútsíyé péémutsi úújeté téhullévú mía
múnaa cállájáávetéíhijcyátsihvu.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe e?du d3íhčúú-mútsi=re
COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST like.that blow-MASC:DU=RES

pee-mútsi úhéte te-?ud3e-βu
go-MASC:DU reach 3-CLF.further.place-ALL

mia múnaa kád3aha-Vβe-té-?íhk'a-tsi-βu
true people gather-SG:INTR-ASSO.MOT.GO-REPET-CLF.place-ALL

‘And like that these two played the flute and went along and
reached the place where the people were gathered.’

- (63) Áámútsikyéváa picábaanúme.

aa-mútsi-ke=βa=pe
COORD-MASC:DU-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST

píka-ba-nu-me
sweet.manioc-CLF.drink-VBZ.do-PL

‘They gave them sweet manioc drink.’

- (64) Áronéváa ádotumútsíyé íllure túwáchuhcúhi.

aa-ró-ne=βa=pe ado-tu-mútsi=re
COORD-FRUST-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST drink-NEG-MASC:DU=RES

íd3u=re túg^wačúú-?ku-?i
SO=RES kick-MULT:TR-PRED

‘But they did not drink, they kicked it away.’

- (65) Aamútsiváa iitécunú teehe ímiáané úmécohe ávyetaré
úmécojkiymeíné diityédívu.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe iite-kunuu tee-ʔe
COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST look-MULT:INTR 3-CLF.tree

ímiá-ne úmeko-ʔe áβieta=re
true-INAN anger-CLF.tree very=RES

úmeko-hkímei-ne dii-te-di-βuu
anger-VBZ.behave-INAN 3-PL-AN-ALL

‘And they looked at the tree, truly, the war tree was fighting them terribly.’

- (66) Áánéllihyéváa néjcatsímútsi, “Májo méétaálle éllevu cuwáráji
mééwa éllevu icyúwá meújcuténema mecúwátsóné hallúrí
méétaáhi chíjchí umécó ballóowaa íumécó mīícúmí meújcuki.”

aa-ne-dzifʔe=βa=pe nee-hkatsi-mútsi
COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST say-RECP-MASC:DU

máho me-taad3éuu éd3e-βuu
let.us.go 1PL:POSS-grandmother there-ALL

kuw^wára-hi meg^wa éd3e-βuu
ñejilla.plant-CLF.DISC woman there-ALL

i-kuw^wa me-uhkuu-té-ne-ma
3POSS-sleep 1PL-get-ASSO.MOT.GO-INAN-BEN

me-kuw^wa-tso-ne ʔad3uu-ri me-táʔdií
1PL-sleep-CAUS-INAN top-INST 1PL.POSS-grandfather

čihči úmeko bád3o-g^wa-V
thunder anger club-CLF.plank-and

i-úmeko mīíkuumi me-uhkuu-ki
3POSS-war mirror 1PL-get-PURP

‘And they said, “Let’s go to our Grandmother Nejilla-woman⁴ to get her sleep, and then we make Grandfather Thunder-warfare sleep and get his club and his warfare mirror.”’

- (67) Néémutsíyé péémutsi ítyáálleke dílohjicyá cúwálleke.

nee-mútsi=re pee-mútsi i-taad3éuu-ke
say-MASC:DU=RES go-MASC:DU 3POSS-grandmother-ACC

did3o-ʔfhkʲa kuw^wa-d3e-ke
ask-REPET sleep-FEM:SG-ACC

‘They said that and they went away and called their grandmother who was sleeping.’

⁴ Nejilla is a *Bactris* palm species.

- (71) “Mu iʔtsuúbejǵ méétáhdí chǵjchi éllevu mepéé muhdú áteréénévú
meke ájculle,” inééne teene dilléne ájcune juuváú tsǵnaácotéébe.
mu iʔtsuú-Vbe-hǵǵari me-táʔdií

well weak-MASC:SG-NEG 1PL:POSS-grandfather

ǵihǵi édʒe-βu me-pee muʔdui
thunder there-ALL 1PL-go how

átere-e-ne-βu me-ke ahku-dʒe
worthless-PERT-INAN-ALL 1PL-ACC give-FEM:SG

i-nee-ne tee-ne di-dʒe=néku ahku-ne
3-say-INAN 3-INAN 3-FEM:SG=RECT.PST give-INAN

huuúβa-βu tsǵna-áko-té-Vbe
path-ALL untie-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.GO-MASC:SG

“‘Well, we are going to Grandfather Thunder, who is not a weakling, what a worthless thing she is giving us,’ he said, and on the way he opened the package.”’

- (72) Apáñéjcuvaá tódsi baavu tsúuca cuwájúcoomútsi.

apanehku=βa=pe todzi
right.away=QUOT=REM.PST lie.down

baá-βu tsúúka kuw^aa-huuko-mútsi
below-ALL already sleep-PFV-MASC:DU

‘Right away they fell down and fell asleep.’

- (73) Aabévaa íallíube ávyetá iñúǵí hallúvuré áákityé.

aa-Vbe=βa=pe i-ádʒíú-Vbe áβieta
COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG very

iǵu-hi ʔadʒu-βu=re áákitye
earth-CLF.disc on-ALL=RES fall

‘The cunning one had fallen on the ground.’

- (74) Áánetúvaa ímiáábe íjcyaa ítyuhémíhó pañéuré áákityé.

aa-ne-tu=βa=pe ímiáá-Vbe íhk'a-Vbe
COORD-INAN-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST good-MASC:SG be-MASC:SG

i-tuʔe-míʔo pañe-βu=re áákitye
3POSS-shield-CLF.sheet inside-ALL=RES fall

‘And the one who was good fell under his shield.’

- (75) Aamútsivaa cuwá, cuwá, cuwá, icyúwátsihdyu ájkyémútsí íallíube
nééhíí,

aa-mútsi=βa=pe kuw^aa kuw^aa kuw^aa
COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST sleep sleep sleep

i-kuw^aa-tsiʔd'u ahk'e-mútsi
3-sleep-after get.up-MASC:DU

i-ádʒíú-Vbe nee-ʔi
3POSS-liar-MASC:SG say-PRED

‘They were sleeping and sleeping, and after sleeping they got up and the cunning one said’

- (76) “Ó tuwá oke tóhjemu ádone.”

ó tug^{wa} ó-ke toʔhu-mu ado-ne
1SG dream 1SG-ACC earthworm-PL drink-INAN

“I dreamt that earthworms sucked my blood.”

- (77) “Ójtsívaco uubálle, ójtsívaco úhdityu wájtsííñé uubállé ú tuwáhi,”
neebe ímiáábe.

ʔóhtsiʔa-ko úúbadʒe ʔóhtsiʔa-ko
spear-CLF.pointed tell spear-CLF.pointed

u-di-tu g^{wa}htsi-i-ne úúbadʒe
2SG-AN-ABL arrive-FUT-INAN tell

u tug^{wa}-ʔi nee-Vbe ímiáá-Vbe
2SG dream-PRED say-MASC:SG good-MASC:SG

“‘This means a spear, what you dreamt means that a spear will strike you,’ the good one said.”

- (78) “Áánetu oké ihdyu naavémú ádone ó tuwáhi.”

aa-ne-tu ó-ke iʔd^{ju} naaʔé-mu
COORD-INAN-ABL 1SG-ACC like.this spirit-PL

ado-ne ó tug^{wa}-ʔi
drink-INAN 1SG dream-PRED

“‘And then I dreamt that spirits were sucking on me (my blood).’”

- (79) “Máát’yóba túwá ú meenúhi,” neebe íallíuúbe.

máát’o-ba tug^{wa} u meenu-ʔi nee-Vbe
crying-CLF.object dream 2SG do-PRED say-MASC:SG

i-ádʒíú-Vbe
3POSS-liar-MASC:SG

“‘You had a dream of weeping,’ said the cunning one.”

- (80) Aanée íñe túwá botsí waajácúmé tsúúcajámuúvú
imyéénújcatsíícyoooca dífbyeke ójtsívaco úújetéícyoooca tóhjemu
ádone ityúwáneri.

aa-ne=pe í-ne tug^{wa} botsí
COORD-INAN=REM.PST this-INAN dream finally

g^{wa}aaháku-me tsúúúkaha-mu-úβu
know-PL old.days-PL-deceased

i-meenu-hkatsi-i-koóka di-Vbe-ke ʔóhtsiʔa-ko
3-hit-RECP-FUT-when 3-MASC:SG-ACC spear-CLF.pointed

úhéte-i-koóka toʔhu-mu ado-ne
reach-FUT-when earthworm-PL drink-INAN

i-tug^{wa}-ne-ri
3-dream-INAN-INST

‘Since then the forefathers knew, that, when they were going to fight, they would be struck by a spear if they had dreamt that earthworms would suck on them.’

- (81) Máátyóba túwá naavémú diityéké ádone ityúwahíjcyáne tétsihjúú
teene wáhjácbáhi.

máát'ò-ba tug^wa naaβé-mu
crying-CLF.object dream spirit-PL

dii-te-ke ado-ne i-tug^wa-ʔfhk'ia-ne
3-PL-ACC drink-INAN 3-dream-REPET-INAN

te-tsi-ʔhi-βu tee-ne g^waaháku-ba-ʔi
3-CLF.place-PL-ALL 3-INAN know-MULT:INTR-PRED

'The dream of weeping is when the spirits are sucking on them,
from dreaming this they knew.'

- (82) Átsihdyúreváa óómimútsí tsiíñe táúmeítyé.

aa-tsiʔd'iu=re=βa=pe oomi-mútsi tsiíñe
COORD-after=RES=QUOT=REM.PST return-MASC:DU again

táúmei-té
ask.for-ASSO.MOT.go

'Then they returned to ask her again.'

- (83) Áánélli tsiíñe ájculle diityétsikye.

aa-ne-dzifʔ'ie tsiíñe ahku-dze dii-htétsi-ke
COORD-INAN-BEN again give-FEM:SG 3-MASC:DU-ACC

'And she gave them another.'

- (84) Áánema péemutsi diibye chíjchí lleeohówatu tsíñaácotéhi.

aa-ne-ma pee-mútsi dii-Vbe chíhči
COORD-INAN-BEN go-MASC:DU 3-MASC:SG thunder

dzééʔo-g^wa-tu tsíña-áko-té-ʔi
door-CLF.plank-ABL untie-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.go-PRED

'And then they went away with it, and at the door of Grandfather
Thunder they opened the package.'

- (85) Aanéváa diibye chíjchi íuménúhájtsiri íjcyaaabe cúwaíñú.

aa-ne=βa=pe dii-Vbe chíhči
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG thunder

i-úme-nu-ʔahtsi-ri ihk'ia-Vbe
3POSS-vegetal.salt-VBZ.do-CLF.clearing-LOC be-MASC:SG

kuug^wa-ípu
sleep-ASSO.MOT.leave

'Grandfather Thunder was in the place where he makes magic salt,
sleeping.'

- (86) Áané hallúrí dífbyé umécó újcumútsi, ímiicúmíí íniijhé ballóówaa
íjcyane.

aa-ne ʔadʒu-ri di-Vbe úmeko
COORD-INAN meanwhile-INST 3-MASC:SG anger

uhkuu-mútsi i-mííkuumi-V
get-MASC:DU 3POSS-mirror-and

i-nihi-ʔe bádʒo-g^wa-V
3POSS-chambira.palm-CLF.tree club-CLF.plank-and

ihk^ja-ne
be-INAN

‘And meanwhile they took his warefare magic, which was his mirror and his chambira palm club.’

- (87) Ááne cápáyoácomútsí maramáhé ballóówau ímiicúmí íujcune
cápáyoácomútsí ímaaní miicúmiu.

aa-ne kápájo-áko-mútsi marama-ʔe
COORD-INAN replace-SG:TR-MASC:DU cecropia.sp-CLF.tree

bádʒo-g^wa-βu i-mííkuumi i-uhkuu-ne
club-CLF.plank-ALL 3POSS-mirror 3-get-INAN

kápájo-áko-mútsi i-mááni mííkuumi-βu
replace-SG:TR-MASC:DU 3POSS-tar mirror-ALL

‘And they exchanged it for a cecropia tree club, and they exchanged the mirror they had taken for a mirror made from his tar.’

- (88) Aanévaa diibye íallíuube diille ídsi bádsíwáhéjuri ítyuukémí
núhíjcyállekérejuco mávaríjchori íjcyáábeke ímiáábé néé,

aa-ne=βa=pe dii-Vbe i-ádʒfú-Vbe
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG

dii-dʒe ídzi bádʒig^waʔéhu-ri i-túúúkemi
3-FEM:SG daughter back.door-LOC 3POSS-anklet

nuuú-ʔíhk^ja-dʒe-ke=re=huuko máβarí-hčo-ri
braid-REPET-FEM:SG-ACC=RES=AFFIR disturb-SG:TR-INST

ihk^ja-Vbe-ke ímiáá-Vbe nee
be-MASC:SG-ACC good-MASC:SG say

‘And then the cunning one was flirting with his daughter, who was at the back door braiding her anklet, so the good one said,’

- (89) “Tsáhané ééneu metsáátu walléému memávárijchoki, mehné metsáá meétáhdí umécó meújcuiki.”

tsáʔa=nékuu e-ne-βu me-tsaa-tu gʷadʒee-mu
no-RECT.PST that-INAN-ALL 1PL-come-NEG woman-PL

me-máβári-hčo-ki meʔne me-tsaa
1PL-disturb-SG:TR-PURP our 1PL-come

me-táʔdií úmeko me-uhku-ki
1PL.POSS-grandfather anger 1PL-get-PURP

“‘We did not come here to flirt with women, we came here to get our grandfather’s warfare.’”

- (90) Áánéllihyéváa péébe iitécunú táhdí mamáhyo dífbyé kéjtúhityu tóhjudíturé éjkeho.

aa-ne-dʒiʔiʔe=βa=pe pee-Vbe iite-kunu
COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST go-MASC:SG look-MULT:INTR

táʔdií mamá-ʔo di-Vbe kéhtuʔi-tu
grandfather magic-CLF.oval 3-MASC:SG neck-ABL

toʔhu-di-tu=re ehke-ʔo
earthworm-AN-ABL=RES hold-CLF.oval

‘And therefore he went and saw there that the grandfather’s magic was stuck on an earthworm that was hanging on his neck.’

- (91) “Kiátú ó tábahjýcuú?” iñééróne táhdí ífbúutu ityúvááne táváriúcuube dífbyé mamáhyo.

kiá-tu ó ta-ba-ʔhúku-V
where-ABL 1SG hand-pull.out-SG:TR-FUT

i-nee-ro-ne táʔdií ífbu-u-tu
3-say-FRUST-INAN grandfather heart-CLF.round-ABL

i-tuβaa-ne ta-βári-úku-Vbe
3-step.on-INAN foot-break-SG:TR-MASC:SG

di-Vbe mamá-ʔo
3-MASC:SG magic-CLF.oval

“‘Where am I going to pull it from?’” he said, and he stepped on the heart of the grandfather and pulled out his magic.’

- (92) Teeho māmáhyoma tsúúcajá múnááuvú méénucjátsí tsúúllémeke tsá ójtsívaco úújetéhíjcyatúne.

tee-ʔo mamá-ʔo-ma tsúúúkaha
3-CLF.oval magic-CLF.oval-COM old.days

múnaa-úβu meenu-hkatsi tsuudʒe-me-ke tsáʔa
people-deceased hit-RECP go.ahead-PL-ACC no

ʔóhtsiβa-ko úhété-ʔíhk'a-tu-ne
spear-CLF.pointed reach-REPET-NEG-INAN

‘With this magic, the forefathers would not be struck by a spear when they went to war.’

- (93) Átsihdyu wajtsijúcoomútsí tééhevu úmécohévu iwájtsíne
 ítyónúúbeke títihiyóké wáloomútsí tééheri íllu néémutsíye,
 aa-tsiʔdʷu gʷahtsi-huko-mútsi te-ʔe-βu
 COORD-after arrive-PFV-MASC:DU 3-CLF.tree-ALL
 úmeko-ʔe-βu i-gʷahtsi-ne
 anger-CLF.tree-ALL 3-arrive-INAN
 i-tónu-Vbe-ke títiʔíó-ke gʷad3oo-mútsi
 3POSS-in.law-MASC:SG-ACC squirrel-ACC send-MASC:DU
 te-ʔe-ri íd3u nee-mútsi=re
 3-CLF.tree-LOC so say-MASC:DU=RES
 ‘And then they arrived at the war tree, and when they arrived at the
 war tree they send their brother-in-law squirrel to the tree, telling
 him,’
- (94) “Éhne nǐkyéjitu tehe dóhǐnúmeíyú díhdahírote.”
 e-ne nǐhkʰe-hi-tu te-ʔe
 that-INAN sky-CLF.DISC-ABL 3-CLF.tree
 do-ʔhi-nu-meí-u
 hand-tie-MULT:TR-REFL-CLF.string
 di-daʔí-ro-té
 teeth-cut.up-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.go
 “‘Go and bite through the string that ties the tree to the sky!’”
- (95) Áánetúvápe aatsáruke neemútsí téhéhejúné dibye imáánínuki.
 aa-ne-tu=βa=pe aatsári-u-ke
 COORD-INAN-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST tree.rat-CLF.sphere-ACC
 nee-mútsi=iǐkʰe te-ʔe-ʔehu-ne di-Vbe
 say-MASC:DU=yet 3-CLF.tree-CLF.hole-PL 3-MASC:SG
 i-mááni-nu-ki
 3-tar-VBZ.do-PURP
 ‘And they told the tree rat to close the holes of the tree with tar.’
- (96) Téhejújítuváa téhé mǐa múnaa ítehǐjcyáhejúǐ.
 te-ʔehu-ʔhi-tu=βa=pe te-ʔe mǐa múnaa
 3-CLF.hole-PL-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.tree true people
 iite-ʔíhkʰa-ʔehu-ʔhi
 look-REPET-CLF.hole-PL
 ‘And the people of the tree were looking through those holes.’
- (97) Áánéllíhyéváa maanǐnuube téhejúǐ.
 aa-ne-d3íʔíe=βa=pe mááni-nu-Vbe
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST tar-VBZ.do-MASC:SG
 te-ʔehu-ʔhi
 3-CLF.hole-PL
 ‘And then he closed the holes with tar.’

- (98) Ááné boone botsíyéí ímiícúmíri dityétsí rórihjúúcénej tééveríváa
néríívyeebe títihiyo tééhé dohjúú dīhdahírójé.

aa-ne boóne botsí=re=ífké
COORD-INAN after finally=RES=yet

i-mííkuumi-ri di-htétsi róri-?húúku-ne
3POSS-mirror-INST 3-MASC:DU light-SG:TR-INAN

téépe-ri=βa=pe néri-Vβe-Vbe
intervention-INST=QUOT=REM.PST go.up-SG:INTR-MASC:SG

títí?íó te-?e do-?hi-u
squirrel 3-CLF.tree hand-tie-CLF.string

di-da?í-ro-he
teeth-cut.up-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.return

‘And after that they reflected the light with their mirror, and the squirrel went up and bit through the string of the tree.’

- (99) Aanéváa dibye dīhdahírójéné boone íballóówari méénújcatsímyé,
méénújcatsímye, tétsihyu teehe óuuvéhi.

aa-ne=βa=pe di-Vbe
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG

di-da?í-ro-he-ne boóne
teeth-cut.up-SG:TR-ASSO.MOT.return-INAN after

i-bádzo-g^wa-ri meenu-hkatsi-me
3POSS-club-CLF.plank-LOC hit-RECP-PL

meenu-hkatsi-me te-tsi?d^hu tee-?e
hit-RECP-PL 3-after 3-CLF.tree

ou-Vβe-?i
end-SG:INTR-PRED

‘After he had gone to bite through the string, they fought it with their club, they fought, until the tree was defeated.’

- (100) Aabéváa teehe óúúvétsihdyu tééhé íbbu tééhé ímítú íbbu
cátsíníívyeu píívyetéhí áácurúidívu.

aa-Vbe=βa=pe tee-?e ou-Vβe-tsi?d^hu
COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.tree end-SG:INTR-after

te-?e íbbu-u te-?e ímí-tu
3-CLF.tree heart-CLF.sphere 3-CLF.tree good-NEG

íbbu-u kátsíji-Vβe-u
heart-CLF.sphere jump-SG:INTR-CLF.sphere

pííβiete-?i áákurúí-di-βu
turn.into-PRED montete.bird-AN-ALL

‘When the tree was defeated, the tree’s heart, the evil heart of that tree, jumped out and transformed into a montete bird.’