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BORA

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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 méénucátsí íjcyáiñe.
tuhkenu-me=va=pe meenu-hkatsi ihk'a-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 mfa múnaa pehíjcyá úmécohe píívyéíñe
hájkímu.
tsa-te ha=βa=pe ihk'a-ha ?ad3uu-tuu
one-PL house=QUOT=REM.PST be-CLF.cover on-ABL

mia múnaa pee-?ihk'a úmeko-?e
true people go-REPET anger-CLF.tree

piíβe-i-ne ?ahki-muu
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 ĩtsiiménémukéré iámédú ipíivyetétsómeke.
 piičtu-ʔihkʷa-me i-tsímene-mu-ke=re
 carry-REPET-PL 3POSS-child-PL-ACC=RES
 iá-me-du i-pííβete-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 nééhíí, “Aatye mahájkímú
 taabámú taúmeípíwu 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-mu
 wife-ACC say-PRED those 1PL.POSS-relative-PL
 taába-mu táúmei-pi-g^wuu ihkʷa-ʔihkʷa-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 táúmeñhajhíí ditye ájcune ditye
 dóócooca diityé élletu médohdíñe!” neebévápeé.
 aa-ne di-te dzeebo-tu-me dii-te-ke
 COORD-INAN 3-PL listen-NEG-PL 3-PL-ACC
 táúmei-ʔahčíñh^u di-te ahku-ne di-te
 ask.for-COND 3-PL give-INAN 3-PL
 doo-koóka dii-te éʔdze-tu
 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!’’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 neéle, “Átyáji íllu oke neéhií: tsáhava ámuha metáúmeítyú aatyé ítsímekéreva íámédú ípíívyéjtsómeke tsatyéhiycyáme.”

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

nee-d3e átáhi íd3uu ó-ke
say-FEM:SG my.husband so 1SG-ACC

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

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

i-ípíβie-tso-me-ke tsahtie-ʔíhkiá-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 táúmeípiwu néémeé.

aa-ró-ne idié táúmei-pi-g^{wuuu} 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-d3íʔie tsáʔa múuu di-taába-ke
COORD-INAN-BEN no suggestion 2SG.POSS-wife-ACC

íʔβehtso-tuu di-d3e i-táúmei-tuu-ki tsi-te
let-NEG 3-FEM:SG 3-ask.for-NEG-PURP other-PL

mahčo ímí-tuu níhke-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) Aaméváa péémeke tsúúca lléébotúmé táúmeíhi.

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

tsúúúka d3eebo-tuu-me táúmei-ʔi
already listen-NEG-PL ask.for-PRED

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

- (10) Áámekevéáa ajcúme íjtsiiménekeré tájcudivú ipíívyetétsoóbedívu.
 aa-me-ke=βa=pe ahku-me i-tsiimene-ke=re
 COORD-PL-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST give-PL 3POSS-child-ACC=RES

tahku-di-βu i-pííβiete-tso-Vbe-di-βu
 agouti-AN-ALL 3-turn.into-CAUS-MASC:SG-AN-ALL

‘And they gave them an agouti, it was a transformed child.’

- (11) Áábekéváa iújcúne tsajtyéme, tsóoméé ááne dóoméé.
 aa-Vbe-ke=βa=pe i-uhku-ne tsáhté-me
 COORD-MASC:SG-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST 3-take-INAN take-PL

tso-me aa-ne doo-me
 smoke-PL COORD-INAN eat.meat-PL

‘They received him and took him home and smoked him and ate him.’

- (12) Aanéváa diille eenée bójcyulle nééhíí, “Oke íhbáuvúré méájcuco.”
 aa-ne=βa=pe dii-d3e e-ne=pe
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-FEM:SG that-INAN=REM.PST

bói-ku-d3e nee-ʔi ó-ke
 warn-SG:TR-FEM:SG say-PRED 1SG-ACC

í-bau-βu=re me-ahku-ko
 this-CLF.intestines-ALL=RES PL.IMP-give-IMP

‘And the woman who told them not to do that said “Just give me the intestines.”’

- (13) Áánéllihyéváa íhbáuvúré iújcúnema ajcúme dílleke.
 aa-ne-d3iʔe=βa=pe í-bau-βu=re
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST this-CLF.intestines-ALL=RES

i-uhku-ne-ma ahku-me di-d3e-ke
 3-take-INAN-COM give-PL 3-FEM:SG-ACC

‘So they took the intestines and gave them to her.’

- (14) Aane mújcojívú itsájtyene, íhbáu iúúné pañe ájtyúmille
 mahmáuháwuúne, áájíwuúne, díjíwuúne íjcyane.
 aa-ne múhkohu-βu i-tsáhté-ne í-bau
 COORD-INAN harbor-ALL 3-take-INAN this-CLF.intestines

i-úúú-ne pape áhtúumi-d3e
 3-gut-INAN inside see-FEM:SG

mááʔoó-ʔa-g^wuuu-ne aa-hi-g^wuuu-ne
 casabe-CLF.group-DIM-PL macambo-CLF.DISC-DIM-PL

dií-hi-g^wuuu-ne ihk'a-ne
 pepper-CLF.DISC-DIM-PL be-INAN

‘And she took them down to the harbour and after gutting she found inside the intestines pieces of manioc bread, macambo seeds, and chili peppers.’

- (20) Aanéváa níjpatyéme áachú, tsáápille níjpatyé chóa.
 aa-ne=βa=pe nihpa-té-me áači-βtu
 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 tsíjpile 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 piijyúwámyúejte ámuhákye doóhi, diityéj
 tsíiménémuke ámuha medóóné hallútu.”

aa-ne=βa=pe e-ne ní?né=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-?i í-pehko
 3-PL-ACC say-FRUST-PRED this-CLF.night

pífh'u-g^wa-mu-e-te ámu?a-ke doo-i
 fishing-CLF.plank-PL-PERT-PL 2PL-ACC eat.meat-FUT

dii-te-h tsíimene-mu-ke ámu?a
 3-PL-POSS child-PL-ACC 2PL

me-doo-ne ?adzu-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 góócohíjcyáme
 góócohíjcyámé, menéibóó tsá ditye íllityétúne.
 aa-ne=βa=pe dii-te-di-βtu gooko-tso-g^wuuu=re
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-PL-AN-ALL laugh-CAUS-DIM=RES

nee-ne-ri gooko-?íhk'a-me gooko-?íhk'a-me
 seem-INAN-INST laugh-REPET-PL laugh-REPET-PL

me-nee-ibóó tsá?a di-te ídžit'e-tu-ne
 PL-say-? 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 ku^wa-ne
 COORD-INAN SO=RES=AFFIR 3-PL sleep-INAN
 ‘And then they went to sleep.’
- (25) Dityée cúwájúcóónáa diille eene ájyu nééne cáhcújtsolle nééhií
 íjtsiiménémuke ámíáábeke wálloolle ihjyá nihbáhovu.
 di-te ku^wa-huukoo-náa dii-d3e e-ne áh^wu
 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-tshímene-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 dii^wbye bónétsike ájculle ítyohméuvu, tsíjpikye ájcullé
 ímajchówau.
 aa-ne dii-Vbe bónéé-tsi-ke
 COORD-INAN 3-MASC:SG younger-CLF.child-ACC
 ahku-d3e i-tóoméé-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 dii^wbye ítyohméuvúne íájcúúbeke uácolle íbii caanúcopáájí
 pañévu.
 aa-ne dii-Vbe i-tóoméé-u-βu=néku
 COORD-INAN 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-almond-CLF.sphere-ALL=RECT.PST
 i-ahku-Vbe-ke úakó-d3e íbii
 3-give-MASC:SG-ACC put.in-FEM:SG coca
 káánu-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 tsíjpike majchówavu iájcuúbeke uácolle cuumu
íayámúpáájí 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 kurúmu
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?d'u 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) Áánetúvára diille úcaavé íkyemúúmú cúúmúpáájí 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 kurúmu-paáhi
3-be.big-CLF.signal.drum signal.drum-CLF.hole

pape-βu i-g^wájnu-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 íjcyabe diitye pijyúwámyuke nehíjcyá, "Tsúuca
ajkyéjucóóme, tsúuca niityéjucóóme, íllújuco díitye," cáámetu
úúbállehíjcyáabe.

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

pífh'u-g^wa-mu-ke nee-?fhk'a
fishing-CLF.plank-PL-ACC say-REPET

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

ídzu=huko di-te kaáme-tu úúbadze-?fhk'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 tsáame 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-?fhk'a-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 mecánújpéné ímityúné ijcyá.

aa-ne-dzií?e mía múnáa-pi me-kug^wa-koóka
COORD-INAN-BEN true people-CLF.man 1PL-sleep-when

me-kánuhpe-ne ímí-tu-ne ihk'a
PL-moan-INAN good-ABL-INAN be

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

- (33) Átsihdyúváa tsúúca péémeé.

aa-tsi?d^wu=βa=pe tsúúúka pee-me
COORD-after=QUOT=REM.PST already go-PL

‘And then they already went away.’

- (34) Aaméváa teene idyóóné coénéhjí tsajtyéme péjucóóme.

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

kóe-ne-?hi tsáhtíé-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 ihwáábyáané pañe
tsítsínéhiúvú bájcunéréjuco íjcyane.

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

iíte-kunwu i-g^waáb'a-ne pape
look-MULT:INTR 3POSS-hammock-PL inside

tsítsí-ne-?hi-úβu báhku-ne=re=huuko ihk'a-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–ʔhi=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) Áánáacáváa tsúúca ájyu wájtsíbeke neélle, “Íñené okéne u nééne o
 néérone illéébótúné nǐjcaúvú tsúúca mécuwámeke ditye
 dójucóóné tébajcújiréjucó.”
 aa–ne=ka=βa=pe tsúúúka áhʷu
 COORD–INAN=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST already husband
 gʷahsi–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 nǐhkau–βu
 say–FRUST–INAN 3–listen–NEG–INAN consequence–ALL
 tsúúúka me–kuɡʷáábe–me–ke di–te
 already 1PL:POSS–people–PL–ACC 3–PL
 doo–huuko–ne te–bahku–ʔhi=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–ʔhi=βa=pe kuuuu–ʔhíkʷa–Vbe
 COORD–CLF.bone–PL=QUOT=REM.PST bury–REPET–MASC:SG
 ‘Then he buried the bones.’
- (39) Ááne déicyuhíjyaábe.
 aa–ne déi–ku–ʔhíkʷa–Vbe
 COORD–INAN chew.coca–MULT:TR–REPET–MASC:SG
 ‘Then he chewed coca.’
- (40) “Muhdú nééne íveekí tácyuwámeke wajpímuke íllu pajtyéhi.”
 muʔdu nee–ne íβeeki ta–kuɡʷáábe–me–ke
 how seem–INAN why 1SG.POSS–people–PL–ACC
 gʷahpi–mu–ke ídʒu pahtʷe–ʔi
 man–PL–ACC so occur–PRED
 ‘‘How is that? Why did this happen to my people, to my men?’’

- (41) “Mééi fhyálluúne bóhdómeke ó waagóojéhi aahi íñe íjcyámeke
 tsúuca diitye dóbajcújí ó cuú íñéneri déicyuhíjcyaaábe.
 mééhí i-?ádzu-u-ne bo?do-me-ke
 devil 3POSS-eye-CLF.sphere-PL take.out-PL-ACC
 ó g^waagoo-he-?i aá?i
 1SG throw.away-ASSO.MOT.return-PRED at.home
 í-ne ihk^ha-me-ke tsúúuka
 this-INAN be-PL-ACC already
 dii-te doo-bahku-?hi ó
 3-PL eat.meat-CLF.bone-PL 1SG
 kuruuu i-nee-ne-ri déi-ku-?íhk^ha-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) Áánáacáváa diityé matsájawááhyé aatsáriu májchóóbeke
 llihyánúíyoóbe.
 aa-náa=ka=βa=pe dii-te matsahka-g^wa=re
 COORD-SIM=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST 3-PL peanut-CLF.plank=RES
 aatsári-u mahčo-Vbe-ke dzii?ánu-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
 llihyánúbejíva, oke ú llihyánúiyáhi.”
 aa-ró-ne nee-Vbe ó-ke
 COORD-FRUST-INAN say-MASC:SG 1SG-ACC
 dzii?ánu-di-ne di-ku^wg^wáabe-ke=néku meenu-me-ke
 kill-IMP.NEG-INAN 2SG.POSS-people-ACC=RECT.PST hit-PL-ACC
 u dzii?ánu-Vbe-híβari ó-ke
 2SG kill-MASC:SG-NEG 1SG-ACC
 u dzii?ánu-i-ró-?i
 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” inéénemáváa teene úúbáleebe,
 “Ééheréne pijyúwámyuhe íjcyaha 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-?e=re=néku píh^hu-g^wa-mu-?e
 that-CLF.tree=RES=RECT.PST fishing-CLF.plank-PL-CLF.tree
 ihk'a-?e di-áhkí-mu-ke doo-?e
 be-CLF.tree 2SG.POSS-people-PL-ACC eat.meat-CLF.tree
 peβétsí?hí-du ihk'a-?i
 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 peébe.

aa-ne-d3i?e=βa=pe te-?e 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 dibye 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-?e ?ad3u-βu mámaβié-ne aa-ne
 3-CLF.tree top-ALL do.magic-INAN COORD-INAN
 meenu-hkatsi-?íhk'a-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 dohíjcyaha
 tsánejcútúre.

aa-ró-?e=βa=pe ta?ha-?íhk'a dii-te-ke
 COORD-FRUST-CLF.tree=QUOT=REM.PST defeat-REPET 3-PL-ACC
 pa-ne kóómi-ne múnáa-ke
 all-INAN village-PL people-ACC
 doo-?íhk'a-?e 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) Áánélliihyéváa páábihó iihyúné tsíjcyátsotáábee nómíjtúcojééuu
 íjcyámútsidi wáníjcyámeímye.
 aa-ne-dzif?e=βa=pe páábi-?o íí?úú-ne
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST hummingbird-CLF.OVAL egg-PL
 tsihk'a-tso-ta-Vbe-V nómíhtúkohéé-u
 burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG-and herb-CLF.sphere
 ihk'a-mútsi-di g^wáníhk'á-meí-me
 be-MASC:DU-AN scream.for.help-REFL-PL
 'And therefore they asked Páábihó Iihyúné Tsíjcyátsotáábe² and
 Nómíjtúcojééu³ for help.'
- (49) Aamútsiváa núllíbbake eenú.
 aa-mútsi=βa=pe núdži-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 ájjíjíné dífbyé mífhe ééveri nuhíhcyamútsi,
 núhíhcyárómútsí úmívaábe.
 aa-ne-ma=βa=pe ahi-hi-ne di-Vbe
 COORD-INAN-COM=QUOT=REM.PST irapay-CLF.DISC-PL 3-MASC:SG
 míf?e e?βe-ri nuúú-?íhk'a-mútsi
 carapace measure-LOC weave-REPET-MASC:DU
 nuúú-?íhk'a-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 tséhdíhíhcyamútsí wáhyéhúcóbari péébeke.
 aa-Vbe-ke=βa=pe tse?di-?íhk'a-mútsi
 COORD-MASC:SG-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST dig-REPET-MASC:DU
 g^wá?íehw-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 tséhdihjcyáronáa méenujcaátsi múnaa ihjyúcunúhijcyá,
 “Nómíjtúcojéumútsíí múúhake tsúúca úmécohe
 pírujtsójucoóhíí, múúhake ijcyá méllíiñévváá” nehícyáme.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe tseʔdi-ʔíhkʲa-ró-náa
 COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST dig-REPET-FRUST-SIM

meenu-hkatsi munáa iʔhʲú-kunuu-ʔíhkʲa
 do-RECP people cry-MULT:INTR-REPET

nómíhtúkohéé-u-mútsi muʔa-ke tsúúka
 herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU 1PL.EXCL-ACC already

úmeko-ʔe píru-tso-huuko-ʔi muʔa-ke ihkʲa
 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
 “Nómíjtúcojéú, you two! The war-tree is already decimating
 us, come help us.” they said.’

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

aa-ne=βa=pe páábi-ʔo íʔhʲú-ne
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST hummingbird-CLF.Oval egg-PL

tsíhkʲa-tso-ta-Vbe gʷáʔehu pape-tu
 burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG hole inside-ABL

i-ihčíβe-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) Ááronácacáváa íñahbe tóónuhjcyá dífbyedítyu, “Tsáhaá,”
 nehíjcyáabe, “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

toonuu-ʔíhkʲa di-Vbe-di-tu tsáʔa nee-ʔíhkʲa-Vbe
 deceive-REPET 3-MASC:SG-AN-ABL no say-REPET-MASC:SG

muurá iʔdʲu muúbe bóʔdʒa-ʔo=re e-ne
 then like.this brother oriole-CLF.Oval=RES that-INAN

čo čo čo čo
 cho cho cho cho

čo čabóko 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 tsiíñe i-dzeebo-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 nehíjyaábe.”
 tsáʔa muurá iʔdʰu óhkókóoko óhkókóoko
 no.then like this óhkókóoko óhkókóoko

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

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

- (57) Aane tsiíñe íñúbama íjchívyeebe ímíñeúvú botsí llééboobe ditye
 ihjýcunúne ílluú, “Nómíjtúcojéúmútsí múúhakye úmécohe
 pírujtsójucóóhíí, múúhakye ijcyá méllíñévéá.”
 aa-ne tsiíñe íñu-ba-ma ihčíβe-Vbe
 COORD-INAN again earth-CLF.object-COM go.outside-MASC:SG

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

íʔhʷu-kunuu-ne ídzu nómíhtúkohéé-u-mútsi
 speak-MULT:INTR-INAN so herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU

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

muʔa-ke ihkʲa me-dziíñe-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, “Nómíjtúcojéú, you two, the war tree is decimating us, come help us!”’

- (58) Áánélli botsíyéi dííbyeke neébe, “íveekí oke ú állihjcyá, muurá:
‘nómíjtúcojééumútsíí múúhake ijcyá mélliinéváá tsúúca úmécohe
múúhake pírujtsoóhíí’ íllu muurá ditye neéne oke ú nehjcyá.”

aa-ne-dziŋʔe botsí=re=ifkʲe di-Vbe-ke
COORD-INAN-BEN finally=RES=yet 3-MASC:SG-ACC

nee-Vbe íβeeki ó-ke u adzi-ʔíhkʲa
say-MASC:SG why 1SG-ACC 2SG lie-REPET

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

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

muʔa-ke píru-tso-ʔi ídʒu muurá di-te nee-ne
1PL.EXCL-ACC end-CAUS-PRED so then 3-PL say-INAN

ó-ke u nee-ʔíhkʲa
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 tsiíne téhejú pañéví iúcaáveíñúne ílluréjuco diibye núllíba
bówá dówáriúcujeéne.

nee-Vbe=re tsiipe te-ʔehu pape-βu
say-MASC:SG=RES again 3-CLF.hole inside-ALL

i-úka-Vbe-ijru-ne ídʒu=re=huuko
3-go.inside-SG:INTR-ASSO.MOT.leave-INAN SO=RES=AFFIR

di-Vbe núdʒi-ba bóg^wa
3-MASC:SG armadillo-CLF.object tail

do-βárí-uktú-he-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 rojrócó imyéénune llijchújúcoobe ílluréjuco.

aa-ne tee-g^wa rohróko i-meenu-ne
COORD-INAN 3-CLF.plank flute 3-do-INAN

dʒíhčúú-huko-Vbe ídʒu=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 méénujcátsivu ipyééki rojrócori
 lljchúcatsihjcyámé tsúúca muha mepéjucóóhí méénujcátsivu
 iñééiyóne.

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

meenu-hkatsi-βtu i-pee-ki rohróko-ri
 hit-RECP-ALL 3-go-PURP flute-INST

d3hčúú-hkatsi-ʔfhkʲa-me tsúúka muʔa
 blow-RECP-REPET-PL already 1PL.EXCL

me-pee-huuko-ʔi meenu-hkatsi-βtu
 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 lljchumútsíyé péémutsi úújeté téhullévú mía
 múnaa cállájáávetéhjcyátsihvu.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe eʔdu d3hčúú-mútsi=re
 COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST like.that blow-MASC:DU=RES

pee-mútsi úhéte te-ʔud3e-βtu
 go-MASC:DU reach 3-CLF.further.place-ALL

mía múnaa kád3aha-Vβe-té-ʔfhkʲa-tsi-βtu
 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

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

‘They gave them sweet manioc drink.’

- (64) Áronéváa ádotumútsíyé illure 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-ʔku-ʔi
 so=RES kick-MULT:TR-PRED

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

- (65) Aamútsiváa iitécunú teehe ímiááné úmécohe ávyetáré
 úmécójkímeyeíñé 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-βu
 anger-VBZ.behave-INAN 3-PL-AN-ALL
 ‘And they looked at the tree, truly, the war tree was fighting them
 terribly.’

- (66) Áánélliihyéváa néjcatsímútsi, “Májo méétáalle éllevu cuwáráji
 mééwa éllevu icyúwá meújcuténema mecúwátsóné hallúrí
 méétáhdi chíjchí umécó ballóowaa íumécó miícúmí meújcuki.”
 aa-ne-dziʔe=βa=pe nee-hkatsi-mútsi
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST say-RECP-MASC:DU
 máho me-taadzéu édze-βu
 let.us.go 1PL:POSS-grandmother there-ALL
 kug^wára-hi meg^wa édze-βu
 nejilla.plant-CLF.DISC woman there-ALL
 i-kug^wa me-uhku-té-ne-ma
 3POSS-sleep 1PL-get-ASSO.MOT.GO-INAN-BEN
 me-kug^wa-tso-ne ʔadzú-ri me-táʔdíí
 1PL-sleep-CAUS-INAN top-INST 1PL.POSS-grandfather
 čihči úmeko bádzo-g^wa-V
 thunder anger club-CLF.plank-and
 i-úmeko míkumi me-uhku-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 ítyáalleke dílohíjcyá cúwáalleke.
 nee-mútsi=re pee-mútsi i-taadzéu-ke
 say-MASC:DU=RES go-MASC:DU 3POSS-grandmother-ACC
 didzo-ʔíhkia kug^wa-dze-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.

- (68) Aalléváa íhyállúmíihónetu ícyuwátsó iújcúne diityétsima íbíjínúne ájculle.

aa-d3e=βa=pe i-ʔád3u-míʔo-ne-tu
COORD-FEM:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-eye-CLF.sheet-PL-ABL

i-kuw^wa-tso i-uhku-ne dii-htétsi-ma
3-sleep-CAUS 3-get-INAN 3-MASC:DU-BEN

i-bíhi-nu-ne ahku-d3e
3-wrap-MULT:TR-INAN give-FEM:SG

‘She took her magic to make people sleep from her eyelids, wrapped it up for them and gave it (to them).’

- (69) Aanéváa diibye íallúube páábihó íihyúné tsíjcyátsotáábé, “Mémihchúúve!” diille néénáa míhchúúvétuube íítehíjcyá.

aa-ne=βa=pe dii-Vbe i-ád3íú-Vbe
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG

páábi-ʔo íʔíú-ne tsihk^ʰa-tso-ta-Vbe
hummingbird-CLF.oval egg-PL burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG

me-míʔču-Vβe dii-d3e nee-náa
PL.IMP-close.eyes-SG:INTR 3-FEM:SG say-SIM

míʔču-Vβe-tu-Vbe íite-ʔíhk^ʰa
close.eyes-SG:INTR-NEG-MASC:SG look-REPET

‘And when she said “Close your eyes!” one of them, the cunning one, Páábihó Iihyúné Tsíjcyátsotáábé, did not close his eyes, he looked.’

- (70) Aabéváa nééhií, “Aane muhdú tsíhdyure néétunévú meke ájculle ílluréubá meke állille!”

aa-Vbe=βa=pe nee-ʔi aa-ne
COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST say-PRED COORD-INAN

muʔdu tsi-du=re nee-tu-ne-βu
how other-COMP=RES seem-NEG-INAN-ALL

me-ke ahku-d3e íd3u=re=uba me-ke
1PL-ACC give-FEM:SG SO=RES=PROB 1PL-ACC

ad3i-d3e
lie-FEM:SG

‘He said “Why does she give us this strange thing? She is cheating us!”’

- (71) “Mu íhtsúubejí méetáhdi chíjchi éllevu mepéé muhdú áteréénévú
meke ájculle,” inééne teene dilléne ájcune juuváú tsíñaácotéébe.
mu íʔtsu-Vbe-híʔbari me-táʔdíí
well weak-MASC:SG-NEG 1PL:POSS-grandfather
čihči édzé-βu me-pee muʔdu
thunder there-ALL 1PL-go how
átere-e-ne-βu me-ke ahku-dze
worthless-PERT-INAN-ALL 1PL-ACC give-FEM:SG
i-nee-ne tee-ne di-dze=néku ahku-ne
3-say-INAN 3-INAN 3-FEM:SG=RECT.PST give-INAN
huúʔa-βu tsíña-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) Apáñéjcváa tódsi baavu tsúuca cuwájúoomútsi.
apanehku=βa=pe todzi
right.away=QUOT=REM.PST lie.down
baá-βu tsúúka kuɡ^wa-huko-mútsi
below-ALL already sleep-PFV-MASC:DU
‘Right away they fell down and fell asleep.’
- (73) Aabévaa íallíuube ávyetá iinújí hallúvuré áákityé.
aa-Vbe=βa=pe i-ádzíú-Vbe áβieta
COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG very
íjw-hi ʔadzú-βu=re áákité
earth-CLF.disc on-ALL=RES fall
‘The cunning one had fallen on the ground.’
- (74) Áánétuváa ímiáábe íjyaabe 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 pape-βu=re áákité
3POSS-shield-CLF.sheet inside-ALL=RES fall
‘And the one who was good fell under his shield.’
- (75) Aamútsiváa cuwá, cuwá, cuwá, icyúwátsihdyu ájkyémútsí íallíuube
nééhíí,
aa-mútsi=βa=pe kuɡ^wa kuɡ^wa kuɡ^wa
COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST sleep sleep sleep
i-kuɡ^wa-tsiʔdʷu ahk’ie-mútsi
3-sleep-after get.up-MASC:DU
i-ádzíú-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) “Ójtsívácó uubállé, ójtsívaco úhdityu wájtsíñé uubállé ú tuwáhi,”
 neebe ímiáábe.
 ʔóhtsiβa-ko úúúbadze ʔóhtsiβa-ko
 spear-CLF.pointed tell spear-CLF.pointed
 u-di-tu g^wahtsi-i-ne úúúbadze
 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^hu naaβé-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) “Máatyóba túwá ú meenuhi,” neebe íallíuúbe.
 máát^o-ba tug^wa u meenu-ʔi nee-Vbe
 crying-CLF.object dream 2SG do-PRED say-MASC:SG
 i-ádžíú-Vbe
 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG
 “‘You had a dream of weeping,’ said the cunning one.’”
- (80) Aanée ñne túwá botsí waajácúmé tsúúcajámuúvú
 imyéénújcatsícyoooca dífbyeke ójtsívaco úújetéícyoooca tóhjemu
 ádone ityúwáneri.
 aa-ne=pe í-ne tug^wa botsí
 coord-INAN=REM.PST this-INAN dream finally
 g^waaháku-me tsúúúkaha-mu-úβu
 know-PL old.days-PL-deceased
 i-meenu-hkatsi-i-koóka di-Vbe-ke ʔóhtsiβa-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 ityúwahjcyáne tétsihjú
teene wáhjácubáhi.

máát'o-ba tuɣ^wa naaβé-muu
crying-CLF.object dream spirit-PL

dii-te-ke ado-ne i-tuɣ^wa-ʔihk'ja-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 tsiíne táúmeítyé.

aa-tsiʔd'u=re=βa=pe oomi-mútsi tsiije
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 tsiíne ájculle diityétsikye.

aa-ne-dʒiʔ'e tsiije ahku-dʒe dii-htétsi-ke
COORD-INAN-BEN again give-FEM:SG 3-MASC:DU-ACC

'And she gave them another.'

- (84) Áánema péemutsi diibye chíjchí lleehówatu tsíñaacotéhi.

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

dʒééʔo-g^wa-tu tsíɲa-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 čihči
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG thunder

i-úme-nuu-ʔahsi-ri ihk'ja-Vbe
3POSS-vegetal.salt-VBZ.do-CLF.clearing-LOC be-MASC:SG

kuɣ^wa-ijnú
sleep-ASSO.MOT.leave

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

- (86) Ááné hallúrí dífbyé umécó újcumútsi, ímiícúmii ínijíhé ballóówaa íjcyane.

aa-ne ʔadʒuu-ri di-Vbe úmeke
COORD-INAN meanwhile-INST 3-MASC:SG anger

uhku-mútsi i-mííkumi-V
get-MASC:DU 3POSS-mirror-and

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

ihk'a-ne
be-INAN

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

- (87) Ááne cápáyoácomútsí maramáhé ballóówau ímiícúmí íujcune cápáyoácomútsí ímaaní miícúmíu.

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

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

kápájo-áko-mútsi i-mááni mííkumi-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 íallfuube diille ídsi bádʒíwáhéjuri ítyuukémí núhíjcyállekéréjuco mávaríjchori íjcyáabeke ímiáábé néé,

aa-ne=βa=pe dii-Vbe i-ádʒíú-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

nuú-ʔíhk'a-dʒe-ke=re=huuko máβarí-hčo-ri
braid-REPET-FEM:SG-ACC=RES=AFFIR disturb-SG:TR-INST

ihk'a-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 walléemu memávárijchoki, mehné metsáá meétáhdí umécó meújçuki.”

tsáʔa=néku e-ne-βtu me-tsaa-tuu g^wad3ee-muu
 no-RECT.PST that-INAN-ALL 1PL-come-NEG woman-PL

me-máβári-hço-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-d3iʔe=βa=pe pee-Vbe iite-kunuu
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST go-MASC:SG look-MULT:INTR

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

toʔhu-di-tuu=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 tábahjyúcuú?” iñééróne táhdí íbúutu ityúvááne táváriúcuube dífbyé mamáhyo.

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

i-nee-ro-ne táʔdií íbui-u-tuu
 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 tsúucajá múnááuvú méenujçátsí tsúúllémeke tsá ójtsívaco úújetéhjçyatúne.

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

múnaa-úβtu meenu-hkatsi tsuuud3e-me-ke tsáʔa
 people-deceased hit-RECP go.ahead-PL-ACC no

ʔóhtsiβa-ko úhété-ʔíhkʼa-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 wajtsíjúcoomútsí tééhevu úmécohévu iwájtsíne
 ítyónúúbeke tíftihyóké wáloomútsí tééheri íllu néémutsíye,
 aa-tsi?dʰu g^wahtsi-huuko-mútsi te-ʔe-βu
 COORD-after arrive-PFV-MASC:DU 3-CLF.tree-ALL
 úmeko-ʔe-βu i-g^wahtsi-ne
 anger-CLF.tree-ALL 3-arrive-INAN
 i-tónu-Vbe-ke tíftiʔó-ke g^wad3oo-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 níjkyéjitu tehe dóhjinúmeíyú díhdahírote.”
 e-ne níhkʰe-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) Áánétuvápe aatsáruke neemútsií téhéhejúné dibye imááníñuki.
 aa-ne-tu=βa=pe aatsári-u-ke
 COORD-INAN-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST tree.rat-CLF.sphere-ACC
 nee-mútsi=iífkʰe 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 mia múnaa ítehíjcyáhejúji.
 te-ʔehu-ʔhi-tu=βa=pe te-ʔe mia múnaa
 3-CLF.hole-PL-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.tree true people
 iíte-ʔíhkʰa-ʔehu-ʔhi
 look-REPET-CLF.hole-PL
 ‘And the people of the tree were looking through those holes.’
- (97) Áánéllíhyéváa maaníñuube téhejúji.
 aa-ne-d3ifʔe=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 ímíicúmíri dityétsí rórihjúcúnej tééveríváa
néríívyeebe tííthyo tééhé dohjúú díhdahírojé.

aa-ne boóne botsí=re=ífkje
COORD-INAN after finally=RES=yet
i-mííkumi-ri di-htétsi róri-?húku-ne
3POSS-mirror-INST 3-MASC:DU light-SG:TR-INAN
tééβe-ri=βa=pe néri-Vβe-Vbe
intervention-INST=QUOT=REM.PST go.up-SG:INTR-MASC:SG
tííti?ó 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 díhdahírójéné boone íballóowari méénújcatsímýé,
méénújcatsímýe, 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-bádʒo-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 ífbuu tééhé imítýú ífbuu
cátsííívyeyu 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 ífbuu-u te-?e ímí-tu
3-CLF.tree heart-CLF.sphere 3-CLF.tree good-NEG
ífbuu-u kátsíni-Vβe-u
heart-CLF.sphere jump-SG:INTR-CLF.sphere
pííβete-?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.’