



Bora

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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 knowledgable, 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.
tuhkenw-me=va=pe meenw-hkatsi ihk̃a-i-ne
beginning-PL=QUOT=REM.PST hit-RECP be-FUT-INAN
‘The fighting that would happen began like this.’
- (2) Tsaaté javáá íjcyájá hallútú mía múnaa pehíjcyá úmecohe píívyéíñe hájkímu.
tsa-te ha=βa=pe ihk̃a-ha ?adʒw=tu
one-PL house=QUOT=REM.PST be-CLF.cover on-ABL
mía múnaa pee-?ihk̃a túmeko-?e
true people go-REPET anger-CLF.tree
piíβ̃e-i-ne ?ahki-mw
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) Píchuhíjcyámé íjtsiiménémukéré iámédú ipíívyetétsómeke.
 piiču-?íhk'a-me i-tsíimene-mu-ke=re
 carry-REPET-PL 3POSS-child-PL-ACC=RES

iá-me-du i-pííβiете-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 taúmeípíwu ícyahíjcyáhi."

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

megʷa-ke nee-?i aáti'e me-?ahki-mu
 wife-ACC say-PRED those 1PL.POSS-relative-PL

taába-mu taúumei-pi-gʷuu ihk̡a-?íhk̡a-?i
 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 lléébotúmē diityéké táúmeíhajchíí ditye ájcune ditye dóócooca diityé élletu médohdíñe!" neebévápeé.

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

táúumei-?ahčííh̡u di-te ahkuu-ne di-te
 ask.for-COND 3-PL give-INAN 3-PL

doo-koóka dii-te é?dʒe-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, “Átyájí illu oke neéhií:
 tsáhava ámuha metáúmeítiyú aatyé íítsíímekéreva iámédú
 iípíívyéjtsómeke tsatyéhijcyáme.”
- aa-ne=βa=pe i-?ahki-muu taába-muu-ke
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-relative-PL wife-PL-ACC
- nee-dʒe át̪áhi ídʒw ó-ke
 say-FEM:SG my.husband so 1SG-ACC
- nee-?i tsá?a=βa ámu?a me-táúmei-i-tu
 say-PRED no=QUOT 2PL 1PL-ask.for-FUT-NEG
- aát̪ie i-tsíime-ke=re=βa iá-me-dw
 those 3POSS-children-ACC=RES=QUOT animal-PL-COMP
- i-ípíβ̪e-tso-me-ke tsaht̪ie-?íhk̪a-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) Áróñáa idyé taúmeípíwu néémeé.
 aa-ró-ne idyé tát̪umei-pi-gʷuu 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 fhwéjtsotú dille ityáúmeítyuki tsíjtye
 májcho ímítýú nijkéváné teéne.
- aa-ne-dʒií?e tsá?a múu di-taába-ke
 COORD-INAN-BEN no suggestion 2SG.POSS-wife-ACC
- i?þehtso-tu di-dʒe i-táúmei-tu-ki tsi-te
 let-NEG 3-FEM:SG 3-ask.for-NEG-PURP other-PL
- mahčo ímí-tuu 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) Aaméváa péémeke tsúúca lléébotúmé táúmeíhi.
 aa-me=βa=pe pee-me-ke
 COORD-PL=QUOT=REM.PST go-PL-ACC
- tsúúka dʒeebo-tu-me tát̪umei-?i
 already listen-NEG-PL ask.for-PRED
- ‘When the people passed by, they did not obey anymore, they were
 asking.’

- (10) Áámekéváa ajcúmē íjtsiiménekéré tájcuďívú ipíívyetétsóóbedívu.
 aa-me-ke=βa=pe ahkwi-me i-tsíimene-ke=re
 COORD-PL-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST give-PL 3POSS-child-ACC=RES

tahkwi-di-βw i-pííβjete-tso-Vbe-di-βw
 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, tsóómeé ááne dóómeé.
 aa-Vbe-ke=βa=pe i-uhkwi-ne tsáhtié-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 bóiçyulle nééhií, "Oke íhbáuvúré méájcuco."
 aa-ne=βa=pe dii-dʒe e-ne=pe
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-FEM:SG that-INAN=REM.PST
- bói-kw-dʒe nee-?i ó-ke
 warn-SG:TR-FEM:SG say-PRED 1SG-ACC
- í-bau-βw=re me-ahkwi-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) Áánéllihiyéváa íhbáuvúré iújcúnema ajcúmē díllege.
 aa-ne-dʒiʃ?i=βa=pe í-bau-βw=re
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST this-CLF.intestines-ALL=RES
- i-uhkwi-ne-ma ahkwi-me di-dʒe-ke
 3-take-INAN-COM give-PL 3-FEM:SG-ACC

'So they took the intestines and gave them to her.'

- (14) Aane mójcojúvú itsájtyene, íhbáu iúúné paňe ájtyúmille
 mahmáúháwuúne, áájíwuúne, díjíwuúné íjcyane.
 aa-ne muhkohw-βw i-tsáhtié-ne í-bau
 COORD-INAN harbor-ALL 3-take-INAN this-CLF.intestines
- i-úúú-ne pape áhtiumi-dʒe
 3-gut-INAN inside see-FEM:SG
- máá?oó-?a-gʷuuu-ne aa-hi-gʷuuu-ne
 casabe-CLF.group-DIM-PL macambo-CLF.DISC-DIM-PL
- dií-hi-gʷuuu-ne ihkjá-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.'

- (15) Aanéváa neéelle, “Ímiáánéjucóhaaca íjtsiiménémúré íjcyámeke
 aatyé tsáma lléébotúmé ityáúmeíñe dóóhií,” iñééne íjtsiiméneke
 téhí pañévúré cássoomároíñulle.
 aa-ne=βa=pe nee-dʒe
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST say-FEM:SG
 ímiá-ne=huko=?aáka i-tsíimene-mui=re ihk̡ia-me-ke
 true-INAN=AFFIR=ascertainment 3POSS-child-PL=RES be-PL-ACC
 aát̡e tsáma dʒeebo-tui-me i-táúmei-ne
 those careful listen-NEG-PL 3-ask.for-INAN
 doo-?i i-nee-ne i-tsíimene-ke teé?i
 eat.meat-PRED 3-say-INAN 3POSS-child-ACC river
 pape-βw=re kádzoomá-ro-ijnw-dʒe
 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) Áánéllií tájcuke tsíimávalle dóócooca tsíimene lluuhívatéhi.
 aa-ne=dʒi?e tahkuu-ke tsíime-βa-dʒe
 COORD-INAN-BEN agouti-ACC children-VBZ.have-FEM:SG
 doo-koóka tsíimene dʒuuw?í-βa-te-?i
 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 díbyeke idyóóne ííjyunújucóóme.
 aa-ne=βa=pe di-Vbe-ke i-doo-ne
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG-ACC 3-eat.meat-INAN
 ííhunuw-hukoo-me
 get.dark-PFV-PL
 ‘And then, after eating it was already getting dark.’
- (18) Aaméváa ííjyunúmé llure góócohíjcyá.
 aa-me=βa=pe ííhunuw-me ídʒw=re gooko-?íhk̡ja
 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-?íhk̡ja-ne
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-laugh-REPET-INAN
 tsúúka imídʒe-me i-kw̡gʷa-huko-ne
 already want-PL 3-sleep-PFV-INAN
 ‘And after laughing, they wanted to sleep.’

- (20) Aanéváá níjpatyémé áachíú, tsáápille níjpatyé chóa.
 aa-ne=βa=pe nihpa-té-me áači-βw
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST urinate-ASSO.MOT.go-PL outside-ALL
 tsa-hpidže 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) Tsíjpilléváá chóa tsíjpille chóa.
 tsí-hpidže=βa=pe čooo
 other-CLF.woman=QUOT=REM.PST water.falling
 tsí-hpidže čooo
 other-CLF.woman water.falling

'Another one, choa; and another one, choa.'

- (22) Aanéváá eene nihñéré chóa chóa chima chima níjpalle diityéke
 neeráhi, "Ípyejco piijyúwámyúeje ámúhakye doóhi, diityéj
 tsíiménémuke ámuha medóóné hallútú."
 aa-ne=βa=pe e-ne ni?nē=re čooo
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST that-INAN last=RES water.falling
 čooo čímá čímá nihpa-dže
 water.falling chímá chímá urinate-FEM:SG
 dii-te-ke nee-ro-?i í-pehko
 3-PL-ACC say-FRUST-PRED this-CLF.night
 pílhjw-gʷa-mw-e-te ámu?a-ke doo-i
 fishing-CLF.plank-PL-PERT-PL 2PL-ACC eat.meat-FUT
 dii-te-h tsíimene-mw-ke ámu?a
 3-PL-POSS child-PL-ACC 2PL
 me-doo-ne ?adʒw-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) Aanéváá diityédú goocótsówuúré nééneri góócohíjcyáme
 góócohíjcyámé, menéibóó tsá ditye llityétúne.
 aa-ne=βa=pe dii-te-di-βw gooko-tso-gʷuuw=re
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-PL-AN-ALL laugh-CAUS-DIM=RES
 nee-ne-ri gooko-?fhk̡a-me gooko-?fhk̡a-me
 seem-INAN-INST laugh-REPET-PL laugh-REPET-PL
 me-nee-ibóó tsá?a di-te ídʒit̡e-tui-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 cùwane.
 aa-ne ídʒw=re=huko di-te kwugʷa-ne
 COORD-INAN SO=RES=AFFIR 3-PL sleep-INAN
 'And then they went to sleep.'
- (25) Dityée cùwájúcóónáa diille eene ájyu nééne cáhcújtsolle nééhií
 j̄tsiiménémuke ámíáábeke wálloolle ihjyá nihbáhovu.
 di-te kwugʷa-hukoo-náa dii-dʒe e-ne áh̄w
 3-PL sleep-PFV-SIM 3-FEM:SG that-INAN husband
 nee-ne ka?kúh-tso-dʒe nee-?i
 say-INAN obey-CAUS-FEM:SG say-PRED
 i-tsítmene-muw-ke ámía-Vbe-ke gʷadʒoo-dʒe
 3POSS-child-PL-ACC elder-MASC:SG-ACC send-FEM:SG
 i-ha ní?ba?o-βw
 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
 ahkw-dʒe i-tóómeé-w-βw tsi-pi-ke
 give-FEM:SG 3POSS-almond-CLF.sphere-ALL other-CLF.man-ACC
 ahkw-dʒe i-mahčogʷa-βw
 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 ítyohméuvúne iájcúúbeke uácolle ííbíí caanúcópáájí
 pañévu.
 aa-ne dii-Vbe i-tóómeé-w-βw=nékw
 COORD-INAN 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-almond-CLF.sphere-ALL=RECT.PST
 i-ahkw-Vbe-ke úakó-dʒe ííbii
 3-give-MASC:SG-ACC put.in-FEM:SG coca
 káánw-ko-paáhi paje-βw
 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 tsíjpikye majchówavyu iájcúúbeke uácolle cuumu
 íayámupáájí pañévu tétsihdyu dityétsí ityéhmeki.

aa-ne idyé tsi–pi–ke mahčogʷa–βw
 COORD–INAN also other–CLF.man–ACC scissors–ALL

i–ahkuu–Vbe–ke túakó–dʒe kuuúmuu
 3–give–MASC:SG–ACC put.in–FEM:SG signal.drum

i–ájá–muu–paáhi pape–βw
 3–little–CLF.signal.drum–CLF.hole inside–ALL

te–tsi?dʒw 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) Áánetúváá diille úcaavé íkyemúumú cíumupáájí pañévú
 íwañúuwama.

aa–ne–tuu=βa=pe dii–dʒe túka–Vβe
 COORD–INAN–ABL=QUOT=REM.PST 3–FEM:SG go.inside–SG:INTR

i–kemaw–mw kuuúmuu–paáhi
 3–be.big–CLF.signal.drum signal.drum–CLF.hole

pape–βw i–gʷáŋw–gʷa–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, “Tsúúca
 ajkyéjucóome, tsúúca niityéjucóome, íllújuco diitye,” cáámetu
 úúbállehíjcyaaabe.

aa–Vbe kaáme ihkia–Vbe dii–te
 COORD–MASC:SG top be–MASC:SG 3–PL

pílhjw–gʷa–muu–ke nee–?fhkjá
 fishing–CLF.plank–PL–ACC say–REPET

tsúúuka ahkjé–huko–me tsúúuka niitjé–huko–me
 already get.up–PFV–PL already come.down–PFV–PL

ídʒw=huko di–te kaáme–tuu úúúbadʒe–?fhkjá–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 dőó úcaavémé diityéké dójucóó
cánújpetsóme teene áá áá cánújjpetéhijcyáme.

aa-me-koba=βa=pe tsaa-me
COORD-PL-AUG=QUOT=REM.PST come-PL
te-ha-e-ne doo túka-Vβe-me
3-CLF.cover-PERT-INAN eat.meat go.inside-SG:INTR-PL
dii-te-ke doo-huiko kánuhpe-tso-me tee-ne
3-PL-ACC eat.meat-PFV moan-CAUS-PL 3-INAN
ááá kánuhpe-té-?íhk'a-me
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-dʒiʃ?le mía múnaa-pi me-kuigʷa-koóka
COORD-INAN-BEN true people-CLF.man 1PL-sleep-when
me-kánuhpe-ne ímí-tuu-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?dʒiʃ=βa=pe tsúúka 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 tsáhtjé-me pee-huiko-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 cőeje ájkyeme iitécunú ihwáábyááné pañe

tsítsínéhjíúvú bájcunéréjuco fjcyane.
aa-ne boóne=βa=pe kóe-te ahkjé-me
COORD-INAN after=QUOT=REM.PST remaining-PL get.up-PL
iite-kunuw i-gʷaabja-ne pape
look-MULT:INTR 3POSS-hammock-PL inside

tsítsí-ne-?hi-úβw báhkʷu-ne=re=huko 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) Áabajcújivápe muhdú méénuímye.
 aa–bahkuw–?hi=βa=pe muʔduw meenui–i–me
 COORD–CLF.bone–PL=QUOT=REM.PST how do–FUT–PL
 ‘What would they do with these bones?’
- (37) Áánáacáváa tsúúca ájyu wájtsíibeke neélle, “Íñené okéne u nééne o
 néérone illéebótúné níjcaúvú tsúúca mécuwámeke ditye
 dójucóóné tébajcújiréjuco.”
 aa–ne=ka=βa=pe tsúúka áhjuw
 COORD–INAN=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST already husband
 gʷahtsi–Vbe–ke nee–dʒe í–ne=nékuw
 arrive–MASC:SG–ACC say–FEM:SG this–INAN=RECT.PST
 ó–ke=nékuw uu nee–ne ó
 1SG–ACC=RECT.PST 2SG say–INAN 1SG
 nee–ró–ne i–dʒeebo–tuu–ne níhkauw–βuu
 say–FRUST–INAN 3–listen–NEG–INAN consequence–ALL
 tsúúka me–kugʷáábe–me–ke di–te
 already 1PL:POSS–people–PL–ACC 3–PL
 doo–huiko–ne te–bahkuw–?hi=re=huiko
 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) Áabajcújivápe cúúuhíjcyaaábe.
 aa–bahkuw–?hi=βa=pe kuuuw–?íhk̥ja–Vbe
 COORD–CLF.bone–PL=QUOT=REM.PST bury–REPET–MASC:SG
 ‘Then he buried the bones.’
- (39) Ááne déícyuhíjcyaaábe.
 aa–ne déi–kuu–?íhk̥ja–Vbe
 COORD–INAN chew.coca–MULT:TR–REPET–MASC:SG
 ‘Then he chewed coca.’
- (40) “Muhdú nééne íveekí tacyuwámeke wajpíimuke illu pajtyéhi.”
 muʔduw nee–ne íßeeki ta–kugʷáábe–me–ke
 how seem–INAN why 1SG.POSS–people–PL–ACC
 gʷahpi–mu–ke ídʒw paht̥e–?i
 man–PL–ACC so occur–PRED
 ‘“How is that? Why did this happen to my people, to my men?”’

- (41) “Mééí ihyálluúne bóhdómeke ó waagóojéhi aahi íñe íjcyámeke
 tsúúca diitye dóbjcújí ó cuú iñééneri déicyuhíjcyáabe.
 mééhí i-?ádʒw-u-ne bo?do-me-ke
 devil 3POSS-eye-CLF.sphere-PL take.out-PL-ACC
 ó gʷaagoo-he-?i aá?í
 1SG throw.away-ASSO.MOT.return-PRED at.home
 í-ne ihkⱩ-a-me-ke tsúúka
 this-INAN be-PL-ACC already
 dii-te doo-bahku-?hi ó
 3-PL eat.meat-CLF.bone-PL 1SG
 kuuuw i-nee-ne-ri déi-kui-?ihkⱩ-a-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) Áánáacáváá diityé matsájawááhyé aatsáriu májchóóbeke
 lliihyánúíyoóbe.
 aa-náa=ka=βa=pe dii-te matsahka-gʷa=re
 COORD-SIM=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST 3-PL peanut-CLF.plank=RES
 aatsári-w mahčo-Vbe-ke dʒii?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) Áróńáa néébe, “Oke lliihyánudíñe dícyuwáábekéne méénúmeke u
 llííhyánúúbejííva, oke ú lliihyánúiyáhi.”
 aa-ró-ne nee-Vbe ó-ke
 COORD-FRUST-INAN say-MASC:SG 1SG-ACC
 dʒii?ánu-di-ne di-kwḡáábe-ke=nékuu meenu-me-ke
 kill-IMP.NEG-INAN 2SG.POSS-people-ACC=RECT.PST hit-PL-ACC
 u dʒii?ánu-Vbe-hííβari ó-ke
 2SG kill-MASC:SG-NEG 1SG-ACC
 u dʒii?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” iñéénemáváa teene úúbálleebe,
 “Ééheréne piyuwámyuhe ijcyahé dihákímuke dóóhe
 pevetsihjídú ijcyáhi.”

tee-ne wuwabádze-ma ó tsaa di-édze-βw
 3-INAN story-COM 1SG come 2SG.POSS-there-ALL
 i-nee-ne-ma=βa=pe tee-ne úuwabádze-Vbe
 3-say-INAN-COM=QUOT=REM.PST 3-INAN tell-MASC:SG
 e-?e=re=néku pííhíw-gʷa-mu-?e
 that-CLF.tree=RES=RECT.PST fishing-CLF.plank-PL-CLF.tree
 ihk̡a-?e di-áhkí-mu-ke doo-?e
 be-CLF.tree 2SG.POSS-people-PL-ACC eat.meat-CLF.tree
 peβétsí?hí-duw ihk̡a-?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) Áánelliihyéváa tééhe élleu peébe.

aa-ne-džif?ü=βa=pe te-?e édze-βw
 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 ídʒw=re=huwo di-Vbe
 COORD-INAN hit-RECP-MASC:SG SO=RES=AFFIR 3-MASC:SG
 te-?e ?adʒw-βw mámaβié-ne aa-ne
 3-CLF.tree top-ALL do.magic-INAN COORD-INAN
 meenu-hkatsi-?ihk̡a-me
 do-RECP-REPET-PL

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

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

aa-ró-?e=βa=pe ta?ha-?ihk̡a 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-?ihk̡a-?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) Áánélliihyéváá páábihó iihyúné tsíjcyátsotáábee nómíjtúcojééuu
 íjcyámútsidi wáníjcyámeímye.
 aa-ne-dzíiʃʃe=βa=pe páábi-?o íʃʃju-
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST hummingbird-CLF.oval ne
 tsihk̥ja-tso-ta-Vbe-V nómíhtúkohéé-wi
 burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG-and herb-CLF.sphere
 ihk̥ja-mútsi-di gʷáníhk̥ja-meí-me
 be-MASC:DU-AN scream.for.help-REFL-PL
- ‘And therefore they asked Páábihó Iihyúné Tsíjcyátsotaáábe² and
 Nómíjtúcojééu³ for help.’
- (49) Aamútsiváá nállíbake eenú.
 aa-mútsi=βa=pe núdʒi-ba-ke eenu
 COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST armadillo-CLF.object-ACC breed
- ‘And these two had an armadillo as a pet.’
- (50) Áánemáváá ájijíiné díbyé mííhe 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
 míʃʃe e?βe-ri nuwú-?íhk̥ja-mútsi
 carapace measure-LOC weave-REPET-MASC:DU
 nuwú-?íhk̥ja-ró-mútsi túmiβa-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) Áábekéváá tséhdihíhcyamútsí wáhyéhúcóbari péébeke.
 aa-Vbe-ke=βa=pe tse?di-?íhk̥ja-mútsi
 COORD-MASC:SG-ACC=QUOT=REM.PST dig-REPET-MASC:DU
 gʷá?íehu-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 múnaa ihjyúcunúhijcyá,
“Nómíjtúcojéumútsíí múúhakye tsúúca úmecohe
pírujtsójucóohíí, múúhake ijcyá mélliiñéváá” nehícyáme.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe tse?di=?fhk̥a-ró-náa
COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST dig=REPET-FRUST-SIM
meenu-hkatsi munáa i?h̥iú-kwunü-?fhk̥a
do-RECP people cry-MULT:INTR-REPET
nómíftukohéé-u-mútsi mu?a-ke tsúúka
herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU 1PL.EXCL-ACC already
úmeko-?e píru-tso-huko-?i mu?a-ke ihk̥a
anger-CLF.tree end-CAUS-PFV-PRED 1PL.EXCL-ACC be
me-dziije-βa nee-?fhk̥a-me
PL.IMP-support-ASSO.MOT.come say-REPET-PL

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

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

aa-ne=βa=pe páábi-?o íí?íú-ne
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST hummingbird-CLF.oval egg-PL
tsihk̥a-tso-ta-Vbe gʷá?lehü pape-tw
burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG hole inside-ABL
i-ihčíþe-koóka dzeebo-βa-?fhk̥a
3-go.outside-when listen-ASSO.MOT.come-REPET

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

- (54) Áárónáacáváá íñahbe tóónuhíjcyá dííbyedítyu, “Tsáhaá,”
nehíjcyáábe, “muurá ihdyu muube bóllahóré eene cho cho
cho cho chabóco roróo nehíjcyáhi.”

aa-ró-ne=ka=βa=pe i-na?be
COORD-FRUST-INAN=AFFIR=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-brother
toonü-?fhk̥a di-Vbe-di-tw tsá?a nee-?fhk̥a-Vbe
deceive-REPET 3-MASC:SG-AN-ABL no say-REPET-MASC:SG
muuwá i?d̥iúw muuwébe bó?dža-?o=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-?fhk̥a-?i
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 chabóco roróo.”’

- (55) Tsíñé ijchívyeri tsiiñe illéébóne neébe, "Muurá meke keeváme."
 tsi-ne ihčíþe-ri tsiiñe i-dzeebo-ne
 other-INAN go.outside-INST again 3-listen-INAN
 nee-Vbe muurá me-ke keeþa-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 ihdu ójcóccoco ójcóccoco roóu nehíjcyáábe."
 tsá'a muurá i?dúu óhkókóoko óhkókóoko
 no.then like this óhkókóoko óhkókóoko
 roów nee-?ihkia-Vbe
 dove say-REPET-MASC:SG

"No, it is a dove singing like óhkókóoko, óhkókóoko," he said.'

- (57) Aane tsiiñe ífñúbama ijchívyeebe ímíñeúvú botsí llééboobe ditye
 íhjyúcunúne ílluú, "Nómíjtúcojéumútsíí múa hakye úmecohe
 pírujtsójucóohíí, múa hakye ijcyá melliiñéváá."
 aa-ne tsiiñe iíñuu-ba-ma ihčíþe-Vbe
 COORD-INAN again earth-CLF.object-COM go.outside-MASC:SG
 ímí-ne-úþu botsí dzeebo-Vbe di-te
 good-INAN-intensively finally listen-MASC:SG 3-PL
 í?húu-kunuu-ne ídžuu nómíhtúkohéé-u-mútsi
 speak-MULT:INTR-INAN so herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU
 mu?a-ke úmeko-?e píru-tso-huko-?i
 1PL.EXCL-ACC anger-CLF.tree end-CAUS-PFV-PRED
 mu?a-ke ihkia me-džiijne-þa
 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, "Nómíjtúcojéeu, you two, the war tree is decimating us, come help us!"'

- (58) Áánélli botsíyéí dííbyeke neébe, “íveekí oke ú állihíjcyá, muurá:
 ‘nómíjtúcojéumútsíí müúhakye ijcyá mélliinéváá tsúúca úmécóhe
 müúhakye pírújtsoóhíí’ illu muurá ditye nééne oke ú nehíjcyá.”
- aa-ne-dzif³e botsí=re=iík³e di-Vbe-ke
 COORD-INAN-BEN finally=RES=yet 3-MASC:SG-ACC

nee-Vbe iíbetaaki ó-ke w adži-?íhk³a
 say-MASC:SG why 1SG-ACC 2SG lie-REPET

muurá nómíhúkohéé-w-mútsi mw?a-ke íhk³a
 then herb-CLF.sphere-MASC:DU 1PL.EXCL-ACC be

me-džiipe-βa tsúúka úmeko-?e
 PL.IMP-support-ASSO.MOT.come already anger-CLF.tree

mw?a-ke pírw-tso-?i ídžw muurá di-te nee-ne
 1PL.EXCL-ACC end-CAUS-PRED so then 3-PL say-INAN

ó-ke w nee-?íhk³a
 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 tsiiñe téhejú pañevú iúcááveíñúne ílluréjuco diibye núllíba

bówá dóváriúcujéne.

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

i-úka-Vβe-ijw-ne ídžw=re=huko
 3-go.inside-SG:INTR-ASSO.MOT.leave-INAN SO=RES=AFFIR

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

do-βári-uukú-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 rojróóc imyéénune llíjchújúcoobe ílluréjuco.

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

džlhčú-huko-Vbe ídžw=re=huko
 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 llíjchúcatsfhijcyámé tsúúca muha mepéjucóohí méénujcátsivu iñééiyóne.

aa-dw=pe nee-ne tsúúkaha-mw-túβw
 COORD-COMP=REM.PST be-INAN old.days-PL-deceased
 meenu-hkatsi-βw i-peeki rohróko-ri
 hit-RECP-ALL 3-go-PURP flute-INST
 dʒíhčtú-hkatsi-?lhk̡a-me tsúúka mw?a
 blow-RECP-REPET-PL already 1PL.EXCL
 me-peehuko-?i meenu-hkatsi-βw
 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 múnnaa cállájáávetéhíjcyátsihvu.

aa-mútsi=βa=pe e?dw dʒíhčtú-mútsi=re
 COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST like.that blow-MASC:DU=RES
 pee-mútsi túhéte te-?wdʒe-βw
 go-MASC:DU reach 3-CLF.further.place-ALL
 mía múnnaa kádžaha-Vβe-té-?lhk̡a-tsi-βw
 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

pííka-ba-nw-me
 sweet.manioc-CLF.drink-vbz.do-PL

'They gave them sweet manioc drink.'

- (64) Áronéváá ádótumútsíyé íllure túwáchuhcúhi.

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

ídʒw=re tūgʷačú-?kw-?i
 so=RES kick-MULT:TR-PRED

'But they did not drink, they kicked it away.'

- (65) Aamútsiváa iitécunú teehe ímiááné úmecohe ávyetáré
 úmécójkímyeíñé diityédívu.
 aa-mútsi=βa=pe iite-kunuw tee-?e
 COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST look-MULT:INTR 3-CLF.tree
 ímiá-ne túmeko-?e áþieta=re
 true-INAN anger-CLF.tree very=RES
 túmeko-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) Áánelliihyéváa néjcatsímútsi, "Májo méétáalle éllevu cuwáráji
 méewa éllevu icyuwá meújcuténema mecúwátsóné hallúríf
 méétáhdi chíjhí umécó ballóowaa íumécó miicúmí meújcuki."
 aa-ne-dʒif?j=e=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
 kwugʷára-hi megʷa édze-βu
 ñejilla.plant-CLF.DISC woman there-ALL
 i-kwugʷa me-uhkwu-té-ne-ma
 3POSS-sleep 1PL-get-ASSO.MOT.go-INAN-BEN
 me-kwugʷa-tso-ne ?adzui-ri me-tá?dií
 1PL-sleep-CAUS-INAN top-INST 1PL.POSS-grandfather
 čihči úmeko bádzo-gʷa-V
 thunder anger club-CLF.plank-and
 i-úmeko mífkumi me-uhkwu-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 íítyáálleke díllohíjcyá cùwálleke.
 nee-mútsi=re pee-mútsi i-taadzéu=ke
 say-MASC:DU=RES go-MASC:DU 3POSS-grandmother-ACC
 didzo-?íhkja kwugʷa-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 íbííjínúne ájculle.

aa=dʒe=βa=pe i-?ádʒw-miʃo-ne-tuu
 COORD-FEM:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-eye-CLF.sheet-PL-ABL
 i-kwɪgʷa-tso i-uhkw-ne dii-htétsi-ma
 3-sleep-CAUS 3-get-INAN 3-MASC:DU-BEN
 i-bííhi-nu-ne ahkwi-dʒe
 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 íallíuube páábihó iihyúné tsíjcyátsotáábé,
 “Mémihchúúve!” diille néénáa míhchúúvétuube íítehíjcyá.

aa-ne=βa=pe dii-Vbe i-ádʒíú-Vbe
 COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG
 páábi-?o ííʔjú-ne tsihk̥a-tso-ta-Vbe
 hummingbird-CLF.oval egg-PL burst-CAUS-NMZ-MASC:SG
 me-míʔču-Vβe dii-dʒe nee-náa
 PL.IMP-close.eyes-SG:INTR 3-FEM:SG say-SIM
 míʔču-Vβe-tu-Vbe iite-?íhk̥a
 close.eyes-SG:INTR-NEG-MASC:SG look-REPET

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

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

aa-Vbe=βa=pe nee-?i aa-ne
 COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST say-PRED COORD-INAN
 muʃduw tsi-dw=re nee-tu-ne-βw
 how other-COMP=RES seem-NEG-INAN-ALL
 me-ke ahkwi-dʒe ídʒw=re=uβa me-ke
 1PL-ACC give-FEM:SG SO=RES=PROB 1PL-ACC
 adʒi-dʒe
 lie-FEM:SG

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

- (71) "Mu īhtsúúbejíí méétáhdi chíjchi éllevu mepéé muhdú átéreénévú
meke ájculle," iñééne teene dilléne ájcune juuváú tsínaácotéébe.
mu i?tsu-Vbe-hííβari me-tá?dií
well weak-MASC:SG-NEG 1PL:POSS-grandfather

čihči éd3e-βu me-peee mu?du
thunder there-ALL 1PL-go how
átere-e-ne-βu me-ke ahkuu-d3e
worthless-PERT-INAN-ALL 1PL-ACC give-FEM:SG
i-nee-ne tee-ne di-d3e=nékuu ahkuu-ne
3-say-INAN 3-INAN 3-FEM:SG=RECT.PST give-INAN
huwúβa-βu tsína-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) Apáñéjcuváa tódsi baavu tsúúca cuwájúcoomútsi.
apanehkwa=βa=pe todzí
right.away=QUOT=REM.PST lie.down

baá-βu tsúúka kugʷa-huko-mútsi
below-ALL already sleep-PFV-MASC:DU

'Right away they fell down and fell asleep.'

- (73) Aabéváá íallíuube ávyétá iiñújí hallúvúré áákityé.
aa-Vbe=βa=pe i-ád3íú-Vbe áβ̥eta
COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG very

iíñw-hi ?adʒw-βu=re áákite
earth-CLF.disc on-ALL=RES fall

'The cunning one had fallen on the ground.'

- (74) Áánetúváá ímiáábe íjcyáabe ítyuhémíího pañéúré áákityé.
aa-ne-tu=βa=pe ímiáá-Vbe ihk̥a-Vbe
COORD-INAN-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST good-MASC:SG be-MASC:SG

i-tu?e-míʃo paje-βu=re áákite
3POSS-shield-CLF.sheet inside-ALL=RES fall

'And the one who was good fell under his shield.'

- (75) Aamútsiváá cuwá, cuwá, cuwá, icyúwátsihdyu ákyémútsí fallíuube
nééhií,
aa-mútsi=βa=pe kwugʷa kwugʷa kwugʷa
COORD-MASC:DU=QUOT=REM.PST sleep sleep sleep

i-kwugʷa-tsi?d̥u ahk̥e-mútsi
3-sleep-after get.up-MASC:DU
i-ád3íú-Vbe nee-?i
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 tóhjumu ádone.”
 ó tugʷa ó-ke toʔhwu-mu ́ ado-ne
 1SG dream 1SG-ACC earthworm-PL drink-INAN
 ‘I dreamt that earthworms sucked my blood.’
- (77) “Ójtsíváco uubálle, ójtsívaco úhdityu wájtsíñé uubállé ú tuwáhi,”
 neebe ímiáábe.
 ?óhtsiβa-ko túúbadze ?óhtsiβa-ko
 spear-CLF.pointed tell spear-CLF.pointed
 w-di-tuu gʷahtsi-i-ne túúbadze
 2SG-AN-ABL arrive-FUT-INAN tell
 w tugʷa-?i 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-tuu ó-ke iʔd̩uu naaβé-mu
 COORD-INAN-ABL 1SG-ACC like.this spirit-PL
 ado-ne ó tugʷa-?i
 drink-INAN 1SG dream-PRED
 ‘‘And then I dreamt that spirits were sucking on me (my blood).’’
- (79) “Máátyóba túwá ú meenúhi,” neebe fállíuúbe.
 máátiøo-ba tugʷa w meenu-?i 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 botsíí waajácumé tsúúcajámuúvú
 imyéénújcatsíícyooca díbyeke ójtsívaco újetéícyooca tóhjumu
 ádone ityúwáneri.
 aa-ne=pe í-ne tugʷa botsí
 coord-INAN=REM.PST this-INAN dream finally
 gʷaahákwi-me tsúúkaha-mu-úβw
 know-PL old.days-PL-deceased
 i-meenu-hkatsi-i-koóka di-Vbe-ke ?óhtsiβa-ko
 3-hit-RECP-FUT-when 3-MASC:SG-ACC spear-CLF.pointed
 úhéte-i-koóka toʔhwu-mu ado-ne
 reach-FUT-when earthworm-PL drink-INAN
 i-tugʷa-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 ityúwahíjeyáne tétsihjíú
 teene wáhjácubáhi.
 mááti-o–ba twug^wa naaβé–muu
 crying–CLF.object dream spirit–PL
 dii–te–ke ado–ne i–twug^wa–?lhkjá–ne
 3–PL–ACC drink–INAN 3–dream–REPET–INAN
 te–tsi–?hi–βu tee–ne g^waahákw–ba–?i
 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) Átsihdyúreváá óómimútsí tsiiñe táúmeítyé.
 aa–tsi?d^hu=re=βa=pe oomi–mútsi tsiiñe
 COORD–after=RES=QUOT=REM.PST return–MASC:DU again
 tátúmei–té
 ask.for–ASSO.MOT.go

'Then they returned to ask her again.'

- (83) Áánélli tsiiñe ájculle diityétsikye.
 aa–ne–dʒiʃ?e tsiiñe ahkuu–dʒe dii–htétsi–ke
 COORD–INAN–BEN again give–FEM:SG 3–MASC:DU–ACC
 'And she gave them another.'

- (84) Áánema péémutsi diibye chíjchí lleehówatu tsíñaaítéhi.
 aa–ne–ma pee–mútsi dii–Vbe čihči
 COORD–INAN–BEN go–MASC:DU 3–MASC:SG thunder
 dʒéé?o–g^wa–tu tsíñaa–áko–té–?i
 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) Aanéváá diibye chijchi íuménúhájtsiri íjcyabé cùwaíñú.
 aa–ne=βa=pe dii–Vbe čihči
 COORD–INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3–MASC:SG thunder
 i–túme–nu–?ahtsi–ri ihkjá–Vbe
 3POSS–vegetal.salt–VBZ.do–CLF.clearing–LOC be–MASC:SG
 kuug^wa–iŋw
 sleep–ASSO.MOT.leave

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

(86) Ááné hallúrí dííbyé umécó újcumútsi, ímiicúmii íníjíhē ballóowaa
íjcyane.

aa-ne ?adʒw-ri di-Vbe túmeko
COORD-INAN meanwhile-INST 3-MASC:SG anger
uhkw-mútsi i-mííkumi-V
get-MASC:DU 3POSS-mirror-and
i-nihi-?e bádʒo-gʷa-V
3POSS-chambira.palm-CLF.tree club-CLF.plank-and
ihkʷa-ne
be-INAN

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

(87) Ááne cápáyoácomútsí márámáhē ballóowau ímiicúmí iújcune
cápáyoácomútsí ímaaní miicúmíu.

aa-ne kápájo-áko-mútsi márama-?e
COORD-INAN replace-SG:TR-MASC:DU cecropia.sp-CLF.tree
bádʒo-gʷa-βw i-mííkumi i-uhkw-ne
club-CLF.plank-ALL 3POSS-mirror 3-get-INAN
kápájo-áko-mútsi i-mááni mííkumi-βw
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) Aanéváa diibye fállíuube diille ídsi bádsíwáhéjuri ítyuukémí
núhíjcyállekéréjuco mávaríjchori íjcyáábeke ímiáábé néé,
aa-ne=βa=pe dii-Vbe i-ádʒítú-Vbe
COORD-INAN=QUOT=REM.PST 3-MASC:SG 3POSS-liar-MASC:SG

dii-dʒe ídži bádžigʷaʔéhwi-ri i-túúkemí
3-FEM:SG daughter back.door-LOC 3POSS-anklet
nurú-ʔíhkia-dʒe-ke=re=huko máβarí-hčo-ri
braid-REPET-FEM:SG-ACC=RES=AFFIR disturb-SG:TR-INST
ihkʷa-Vbe-ke ímiáá-Vbe nee
be-MASC:SG-ACC good-MASC:SG say

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

- (89) “Tsáhané ééneu metsáátu walléému memávárfíchoki, mehné metsáá
métáhdí umécó meújcuki.”

tsá?a=néku e-ne-βw me-tsaa-tu gʷadʒee-mu
no-RECT.PST that-INAN-ALL 1PL-come-NEG woman-PL
me-máþári-hčo-ki me?ne me-tsaa
1PL-disturb-SG:TR-PURP our 1PL-come
me-tá?dií túmeko me-uhkwu-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) Áánelliihyéváá péébe iitécunú táhdí mamáhyo dífyé kéjtúhityu
tóhjudítúré éjkeho.

aa-ne-džif?e=βa=pe pee-Vbe iiite-kunu
COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST go-MASC:SG look-MULT:INTR
tá?dií mamá-?o di-Vbe kéhtw?i-tu
grandfather magic-CLF.oval 3-MASC:SG neck-ABL
to?huu-di-tu=re ehke-?o
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 tábahyúcuú?” iñééróne táhdí ífbútu ityúvááne
táváriúcuube dífyé mamáhyo.

kiá-tu ó ta-ba-?húku-V
where-ABL 1SG hand-pull.out-SG:TR-FUT
i-nee-ro-ne tá?dií ífbu-w-tu
3-say-FRUST-INAN grandfather heart-CLF.round-ABL
i-tuþaa-ne ta-þári-úku-Vbe
3-step.ON-INAN foot-break-SG:TR-MASC:SG
di-Vbe mamá-?o
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 mámáhyoma tsúúcajá múnáaúvú méenujcátsí tsúullémeke
tsá ójtsívaco úújetéhíjcyatúne.

tee-?o mamá-?o-ma tsúúkaha
3-CLF.oval magic-CLF.oval-COM old.days
múnaa-úþw meenw-hkatsi tsuwadže-me-ke tsá?a
people-deceased hit-RECP go.ahead-PL-ACC no
?óhtsiþa-ko túhéte-?íhkja-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) Átsihdu wajtsíjúcoomútsí tééhevú úmécöhévu iwájtsíne
 ítyónúubeke tíítihyóké wálloomútsí tééheri íllu néémutsíye,
 aa-tsiʔd̪w gʷahtsi-huko-mútsi te-ʔe-βw
 COORD-after arrive-PFV-MASC:DU 3-CLF.tree-ALL
 úmeko-ʔe-βw i-gʷahtsi-ne
 anger-CLF.tree-ALL 3-arrive-INAN
 i-tónw-Vbe-ke tíítiʔiό-ke gʷadʒoo-mútsi
 3POSS-in.law-MASC:SG-ACC squirrel-ACC send-MASC:DU
 te-ʔe-ri ídʒw 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 dóhjínúmeíyú díhdahírote."
 e-ne níhk̪e-hi-tw te-ʔe
 that-INAN sky-CLF.DISC-ABL 3-CLF.tree
 do-ʔhi-nur-meí-w
 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 aatsáriuke neemútsií téhéhejúné dibye imááníñuki.
 aa-ne-tw=βa=pe aatsári-wi-ke
 COORD-INAN-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST tree.rat-CLF.sphere-ACC
 nee-mútsi=iík̪e te-ʔe-ʔehw-ne di-Vbe
 say-MASC:DU=yet 3-CLF.tree-CLF.hole-PL 3-MASC:SG
 i-mááni-nw-ki
 3-tar-VBZ.do-PURP
 'And they told the tree rat to close the holes of the tree with tar.'
- (96) Téhejújítuváá tééhé mía múnaa ńtēhíjcyáhejúji.
 te-ʔehw-ʔhi-tw=βa=pe te-ʔe mía múnaa
 3-CLF.hole-PL-ABL=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.tree true people
 iite-ʔíhk̪a-ʔehw-ʔhi
 look-REPET-CLF.hole-PL
 'And the people of the tree were looking through those holes.'
- (97) Áánéllihiyéváá maaníñuube téhejúji.
 aa-ne-dʒiʔe=βa=pe mááni-nw-Vbe
 COORD-INAN-BEN=QUOT=REM.PST tar-VBZ.do-MASC:SG
 te-ʔehw-ʔhi
 3-CLF.hole-PL
 'And then he closed the holes with tar.'

- (98) Ááné boone botsyéí ímiicúmiri dityétsí rórihjyúcúnej tééveríváá
nérívyeebe títihyo tééhé dohjíú díhdahírojé.

aa-ne boóne botsí=re=iík=e
COORD-INAN after finally=RES=yet
i-mííkumi-ri di-htétsi róri-?huúkw-ne
3POSS-mirror-INST 3-MASC:DU light-SG:TR-INAN
tééþe-ri=þa=pe néri-Vþe-Vbe
intervention-INST=QUOT=REM.PST go.up-SG:INTR-MASC:SG
títi?i-o te-?e do-?hi-w
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) Aanéváá dibye díhdahírójéné boone íballóowari méenújcatsímyé,
méenújcatsímye, tétsihu teehe óuuvéhi.

aa-ne=þa=pe di-Vþe
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-gʷa-ri meenu-hkatsi-me
3POSS-club-CLF.plank-LOC hit-RECP-PL
meenu-hkatsi-me te-tsi?d̪i-w tee-?e
hit-RECP-PL 3-after 3-CLF.tree
ou-Vþe-?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) Aabéváá teehe óuuvétsihdu tééhé ííbuu tééhé imítyú ííbuu
cátsíñívyeu pívyetéhí áácurúidívu.

aa-Vþe=þa=pe tee-?e ou-Vþe-tsi?d̪i-w
COORD-MASC:SG=QUOT=REM.PST 3-CLF.tree end-SG:INTR-after
te-?e ííbuu-w te-?e ímí-tu
3-CLF.tree heart-CLF.sphere 3-CLF.tree good-NEG
ííbuu-w kátsíñi-Vþe-w
heart-CLF.sphere jump-SG:INTR-CLF.sphere
pííþíete-?i áákurúí-di-þw
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.'