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Texts in Indigenous Languages of the Americas: Texts in Three Varieties of Pesh

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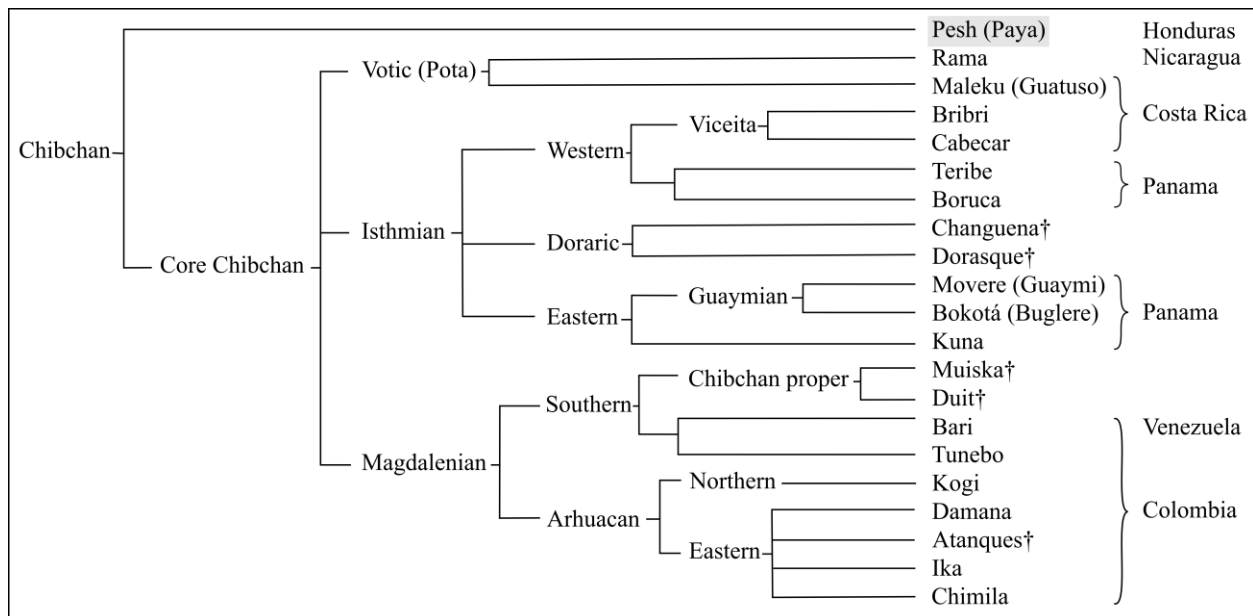
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INTRODUCTION

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU

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Pesh (Pech, Paya, ISO 639-3: [pay]) is a language spoken in Honduras, classified as an outlier within the Chibchan family. This family includes sixteen currently spoken languages extending from Central America to Colombia and Venezuela in South America (Willey 1971; Constenla Umaña 1991, 2012; Quesada 2007). Pesh, the northernmost language, constitutes its own branch of the family. The other languages belong to the Core Chibchan group and are genetically classified in three subgroups, Votic, also known as Pota (Rama and Maleku), Isthmian (Costa Rica and Panama, except Maleku) and Magdalenian (South America); see Figure 1 (Chamoreau 2021b adapted from Constenla Umaña 2012). Most of the languages in this family are severely endangered (the more critical cases being Maleku and Pesh with roughly 500 speakers and Rama with 24). Another language, Boruca, which could have been included in this list until recently, went extinct in 2013.



Pesh is traditionally characterized as the only language that does not belong to Core Chibchan (Constenla Umaña 2012). Nevertheless, the hypothesis of a relation among northern Pesh and southern Magdalenian Arhuacan languages, in particular Kogi and Ika, has been advanced by Holt (1986:190), Constenla Umaña (2012:417) and Pache (2023), based on phonological and lexical data. Recently, Chamoreau (2019:172-173, 2021a:535) demonstrates morphological and syntactic similarities between Pesh, Ika, Kogi and Damana. Further descriptive work is needed to refine this hypothesis as well as the internal organization of the Chibchan family.

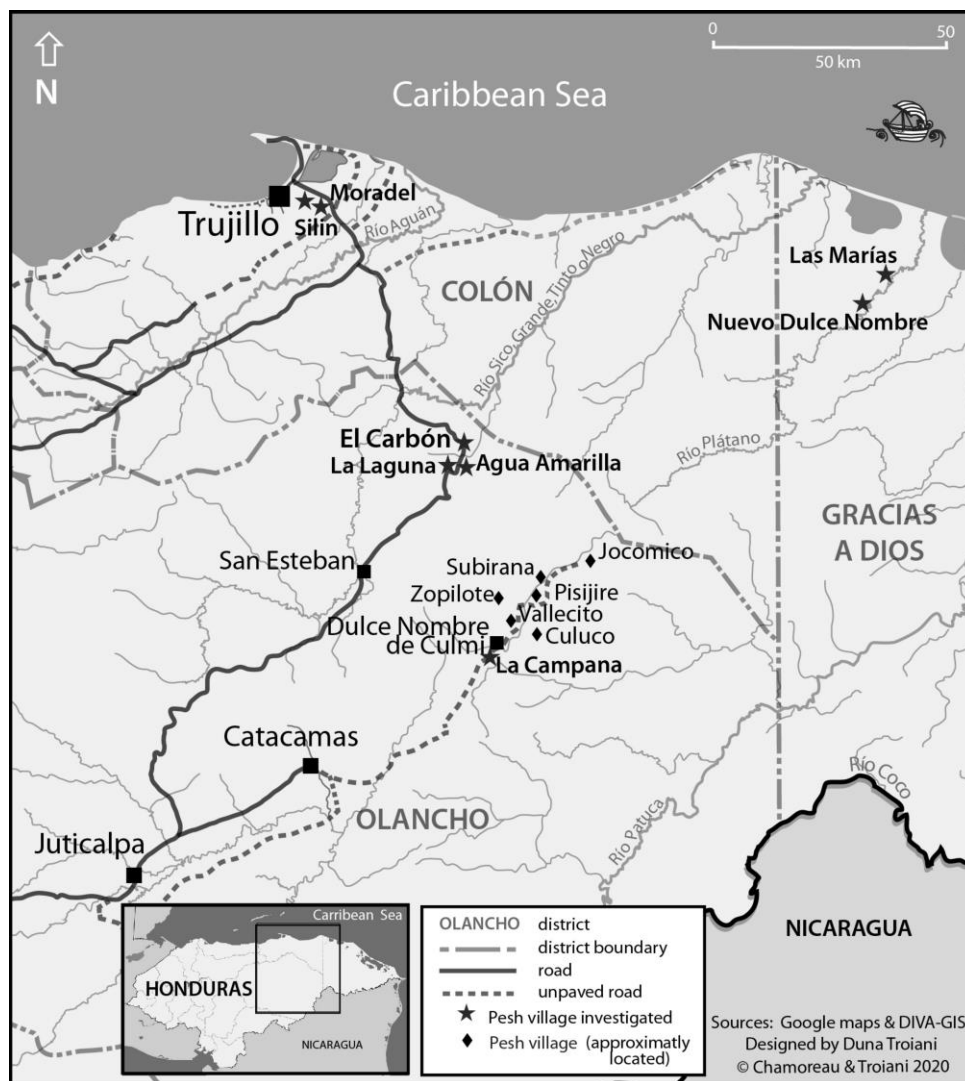
The Chibchan languages are under-documented and still poorly represented in current linguistic research. Serious advancements in the description of the languages of this family have been achieved over the last twenty years. These include grammars, grammatical sketches, or descriptions of particular languages: Boruca (Quesada 2000a), Buglere (2012), Cabécar (Verhoeven 2012; Lehmann and González Campos 2021), Ika (Bajorat 2014; Frank 1985, 1990; Landaburu 2000), Guaymi (Quesada Pacheco 2008), Kogi (Knuchel 2022), Maleku (Constenla Umaña 1998), Pesh (Holt 1999; Chamoreau 2017a, 2017b, 2019, 2020, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2022, in press), Rama (Craig 1991), and Teribe (2000b). Comparative studies dealing with the entire family have been published in Constenla Umaña (1991, 2012) and Quesada (1999, 2007). These languages share many structural features. They generally show head-final properties, with unmarked OV order and postpositions; they vary, nevertheless, in several respects relevant for comparative work, including alignment patterns. According to Quesada (1999:23) eight Chibchan languages have ergative features regarding the morphological properties of the clause: Bribri, Cabécar, Damana, Guaymi, Ika, Kogi, Maleku, and Tunebo. Pesh must be added to this list. Pesh is similar to Kogi and Ika in having a nominative-accusative system in its cross-reference marking and an ergative-absolutive system in case marking (Chamoreau 2021a). Maleku has been shown

to be the most pervasively ergative; it stands out within the Chibchan family as it shows strong similarities to Mayan languages, not only in cross-reference marking but also in having an antipassive construction (Constenla Umaña 1998). Most of these languages are reported to show ergativity splits based on several conditioning factors such as TAM categories, negation, verb semantics, and NP type (Quesada 1999). In some languages, ergative marking depends on information structure, either topic continuity (Bribri, Cabécar), or new or focused constituents usually linked to non-canonical constituent order (Ika and Pesh). Pesh presents the typologically rare case of optional marking of both core arguments, ergative and absolutive, whereby the occurrence of case marking may be motivated by focus or new information and topic persistence (Chamoreau 2022, in press). Other languages have nominative-accusative alignment, such as Bari, Buglere and Costa Rican Guaymi, and perhaps Bokota, Kuna and Rama (although the available descriptions are unclear on this point). Teribe also has nominative-accusative alignment as well as an inverse morpheme. Much less is known to date about the syntactic reflexes of ergativity in Chibchan. According to Quesada (2007:86), syntactic accusative alignment predominates in Chibchan languages, with the possible exception of Maleku. Nevertheless, Constenla Umaña's description of Maleku (1998:193-197) does not allow definite conclusions about the type of syntactic alignment in this language.

THREE VARIETIES OF PESH

In their own language, the term *Pesh* or *Pech* according to varietal differences ([peʃ], [petʃ]) means 'people, body'. Pesh is spoken in approximately fifteen villages in eastern Honduras in the Departments of Colón, Olancho and Gracias a Dios (Figure 2). This language is highly endangered. In the 2001 census, 3848 people identified themselves as Pesh but only 500 people spoke the Pesh language, 80% of whom are currently over sixty years old. In other words, less

than 12% of Pesh people speak the language. This number has probably decreased in the last twenty years because the language is mostly spoken by the older generation. Indeed, the transmission of Pesh to the new generations occurs only in two villages (La Laguna and Agua Amarilla, both representative of the Carbón variety).



Pesh has three varieties (see Table 1). They are clearly geographically identified because they are separated by mountains. The central Carbón variety is spoken in three villages (Carbón, La Laguna and Agua Amarilla, see Figure 2). This is a conservative variety in the sense that it is used as an

everyday language of communication by almost 160 people in La Laguna and Agua Amarilla and retains some pragmatic morphemes absent from the other varieties such as the mirative marker and the hearer's engagement marker (see the Chapter on Carbón variety). In contrast to La Laguna and Agua Amarilla, the village of Carbón is a large roadside village where Pesh is only spoken by the elders. This variety is spoken by 250 speakers, about half of all Pesh speakers. Note that according to Conzemius (1927:260), the number of inhabitants in Carbón in 1919 was between 375 and 390 people of whom 300 are Pesh. In other words, about 78% of the population were Pesh speakers.

TABLE 1

Location and number of speakers of Pesh

Variety	Location	Spread	Speakers	Age	Languages
Carbón	Central	3 villages: Agua Amarilla, Carbón, La Laguna	ca. 250	Younger adults	Bilingual
Culmí	Southern	11 villages: Culuco, Dulce Nombre de Culmí, Jocomico, La Campana, Las Marías, Pisijire, Subirana, Vallecito, Zopilote + Moradel and Silin to the North + Nuevo Dulce Nombre to the East	ca. 250	93% > 60 y.o.	Bilingual
Las Marías	Eastern	1 village: Las Marías	5	Adults	Trilingual

The southern Culmí variety encompasses eleven villages, eight of which are located one after the other along the road (Dulce Nombre de Culmí, La Campana, Culuco, Vallecito, Zopilote, Pisijire, Subirana and Jocomico, see Figure 2). This variety includes the northern villages of Moradel and Silin, close to the Caribbean Sea and the eastern village in Nuevo Dulce Nombre, located in the Department of Gracias a Dios. These last three villages are inhabited by people who migrated from different villages of the region of Dulce Nombre de Culmí. It is interesting to note that in Silin, some migrants came from Carbón. They have been living in the village since 1922 when they arrived to work in haciendas, but nowadays their way of speaking is that of the Culmí variety, probably due to contact with the more numerous migrants who came at the beginning of the 21st century from Culmí. The Culmí variety is spoken by almost half of Pesh speakers, but 93% of them are over 60 years old. In 1919, Conzemius (1927:257) mentioned that the population of Culmí was 450 people, of whom 300 spoke the Pesh language, representing more than 66% of the population.

The third variety is the eastern Las Marías variety, located in the Department of Gracias a Dios, in the region known as La Mosquitia (see Figure 2). It is only spoken in the village of Las Marías by five semi-speakers and is influenced by the Miskito language (Misumalpan family). These five semi-speakers of Pesh are adults and are all trilingual (Pesh-Spanish-Miskito). None of the speakers of Miskito speak Pesh as Miskito is the language of communication in this village. Conzemius (1927:261) mentioned a village named Puskira. Puskira seems to be the ancient name of Las Marías, as Puskira is located on the Rio Plátano, approximately 50 km from the Atlantic coast like Las Marías. Forty-five people lived in Puskira in 1919. About forty of them were Pesh. Conzemius (1927:264) indicated that the Pesh people of Puskira spoke Spanish and Miskito in addition to their own language, since all their relations were established with Miskito people.

They readily intermarried with the Miskito people and the children of such unions were generally reared outside Puskira, and preferred to consider themselves as Miskito and were even ashamed of their Pesh origin.

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON PESH

The history of the Pesh people is little known. Until the middle of the 19th century, the Pesh were confused with other people living in Honduras, the Jicaque (or Tol) and the Lenca. It is perhaps because of this that the Pesh language was more critically understudied than other languages in the family. The first three written sources about Pesh consist in bilingual Spanish-Pesh vocabularies: Membreño (1897), Díaz Estrada (1922) and Conzemius (1928). The first vocabulary *Los Payas* (Membreño 1897) written by Alberto Membreño begins with a short introduction about how little was known about the Pesh people at the time of the colonization of Honduras. The bilingual vocabulary contains a little over 300 words and is very irregular in its transcription. For example, nasalized vowels are not noted in a number of cases and glottal stops are consistently omitted. Membreño, a Honduran teacher who worked in Culmí, collected the data in this village. The second Spanish-Pesh vocabulary, titled *Apuntes generales del dialecto Paya*, was written by David Díaz Estrada (1922). Its introduction includes some general data about cultural traits of the Pesh people who lived in Carbón where the data were collected. Díaz Estrada was a Honduran teacher who worked in the village of Carbón. This vocabulary gathers slightly less than 550 words, accompanied by 250 sentences used in everyday life. This vocabulary is organized thematically, introducing about twenty words per topic (house, animals, plants, etc.) illustrated in sentences. The way this source is organized is very relevant at the pedagogical level, but the phonetic transcription is deficient. It is riddled with misprints, and, crucially, in many cases the Pesh translation does not faithfully correspond to the Spanish text. The third work on Pesh was

published in 1927 and 1928 by Eduard Conzemius. It consists of two complementary papers titled *Los Indios Payas de Honduras. Estudio Geográfico, histórico, etnográfico y lingüístico*. Conzemius was an ethnologist from Luxembourg. He lived in Honduras and Nicaragua from 1916 to 1921. He travelled around in La Mosquitia, a region in the east of Honduras (Department of Gracias a Dios, see Figure 2) on the border with Nicaragua. In this region, the Miskito and the Pesh people live in the same villages. The paper of 1927 is devoted to geographical, historical and ethnological aspects. The data described by Conzemius are very precise and critical of previous work, especially in relation to the historical information that was presented in older sources because they contain confusions and mix-ups between the different groups living in Honduras. The second part of his study from 1928 is devoted to the language. Conzemius compared the data he collected to the words of the vocabularies of his two predecessors. He introduced his work with some information about lexical structure and word-formation. Then he briefly described the parts of speech, especially the verbs and the different types of conjugation. His bilingual vocabulary took and corrected the two previous vocabularies and added many terms. This work contains about 1900 words and about 50 sentences at the end. It is quite reliable in transcription and translation. It constitutes a multidialectal compilation of information on Pesh that was revised by Culmí speakers, probably his main informants. Even if Conzemius's study is a rich source of information, it also provides a misleading representation of certain facts about the phonetics of the language, such as nasalized vowels, the glottal stop and the glottal fricative.

More recently, Dennis Holt published two volumes. His doctoral dissertation *The development of the Paya Sound-system* (1986) presents three types of data: a general description of Pesh phonology, a comparative phonological analysis of Pesh and five other Chibchan languages and an attempt to reconstruct Proto-Chibchan and some of the rules of sound change based on his

comparative analysis. His comparative phonological analysis validated the Pesh genetic affiliation with the Chibchan family. In 1999, he published a grammatical sketch titled *Pech (Paya)* based on data collected with questionnaires in some villages speaking the variety of Culmí in 1974–75. In this sketch, Holt covers different topics of the Pesh language on the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. This sketch is an introduction to the different morphemes of the language (in particular the nominal and verbal prefixes and suffixes). However, the syntactic analysis is superficial, and even erroneous in some aspects. He concludes, for example, that the language has a nominative-accusative alignment. Similarly, subordinate clauses are treated very briefly and Holt does not describe their complexity and diversity. During the last decade, I began documentation work on this language and collected more than 40 hours of narratives and conversations (Chamoreau 2017b). Based on this data, I wrote a preliminary sketch of Pesh (Chamoreau 2017a) and carried out different studies on simulative and equative constructions (2019), on topic marking (2020), alignment (2021a), relative clauses (2021b), headless relative clauses (2021c) and on the relation between optional case marking and information structure (Chamoreau 2022, in press). These studies focus on the morphology, syntax and information structure of Pesh.

TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Pesh shows many traits of polysynthetic languages such as a large inventory of bound morphemes, numerous morphological slots, holophrasis (or single word sentences), head marking and pronominal markers on verbs, as shown in example (1).

Culmí variety

(1) karwahroʃʃutwawikan

ka-r-wah-roʃk-tʃe-u-tV-wa=wi=kan

O3PL-APPL.P-call-PROG-TOT-S2-NEG-PFV=2PL=DBT

‘As if you_{PL} are not calling them all (people).’¹

Verb agreement in Pesh is compulsory. The sole argument of an intransitive verb is encoded by a suffix. The subject and the object of a transitive verb, like *wah* ‘call’ in (1), are obligatorily encoded on the verb. In this example, the second person subject is encoded with the suffix *-u*, and the third person plural object, with the prefix *ka-*. The finite verb is obligatorily inflected also for tense or aspect, in this example, *-wa* ‘perfective’. The verb *wah* ‘call’ is also inflected in (1) with the applicative for patient *r-*, the progressive aspect *-roʃk*, the totalitative *-tʃe*, the negative *-tV*, the plural for second person *=wi* and finally the subordinator *=kan* for doubt.

Complex verb formation is another polysynthetic feature present in Pesh. Verb serialization is very productive in the language. Example (2) illustrates this with a verb series formed with the verbs *nā* ‘go’, *weʔ* ‘collect’ and *teʔ* ‘come’.

Culmí variety

(2) arwāsīna nēūweʔerteʔkra

arwā sīna nā-er-ū-weʔ-er-teʔk-er-wa

man winkle go-S3PL-CAUS-collect-S3PL-come-S3PL-PFV

‘Men went to collect winkles and came back.’

In (2), each verb in the series is inflected with the same subject suffix, the third person plural *-er*. The transitive verb *weʔ* ‘collect’ is marked with the causative. Only one suffix of tense or aspect is used for this complex verb, the perfective *-wa*.

The position of each verb in this verb complex corresponds to an iconic representation of the event. Compare (3) and (4).

Culmí variety

(3) yohra nātiʃkar

yohra nã-a-Ø-tiʃk-a-ri

yucca go-S1SG-O3SG-sow-S1SG-PST

‘I went to sow yucca.’

(4) yohra tiʃkirmēri

yohra Ø-tiʃk-ir-nã-er-i

yucca O3SG-sow-S3PL-go-S3PL-PST

‘They sowed yucca and they went away.’

These two serial verbs are formed with the motion verb *nã* ‘go’ and the action verb *tiʃk* ‘sow’.

Each verb is inflected for person and number of subject, the first person singular in (3) and the third person plural in (4). The two serial verbs are marked with the past suffix *-ri* or *-i*. The difference between the serial verb in (3) and the serial verb in (4) is the order of the verbs. In (3), the verb of motion is used first, which indicates the action verb expresses the purpose of motion. On the other hand, in (4), the action verb is used first. In this context, this order indicates that the motion is performed once the action is completed.

The majority of serial verbs are formed with at least one motion verb as (2), (3) and (4), but many serial verbs are formed without a motion verb, as in (5) with the verbs *proh* ‘look for’ and *kuh* ‘buy’.

Culmí variety

(5) prohukuhpě

Ø-proh-u-Ø-kuh-u-pi=hã?

O3SG-look.for-S2-O3SG-buy-S2-FUT=FOC

‘You will look for it and buy it.’

Each verb is inflected with the subject suffix *-u* for the second person and with the object \emptyset - for third person singular. The serial verb is marked with the future suffix *-pi* and the focus enclitic *=hã?*.

Pesh is a head-marking language because it has an obligatory predicate agreement. A verb has up to two argument slots: the O of a transitive verb is indexed as a prefix and the A and the S of an intransitive verbs are indexed as a suffix. Compare examples (6) and (7).

Carbón variety

(6) *tasma akatĩ?tawa*

tas=ma akatĩ?-a-tV-wa

PRO1=TOP be.afraid-S1SG-NEG-PFV

‘I am not afraid.’

(7) *kaberska pehã?*

ka-beresk-a-wa pe=hã?

O3PL-rub-S1SG-PFV a.lot=FOC

‘I rub them a lot.’

The suffix *-a* for the first person singular S of an intransitive verb in (6) is the same as the suffix of the same person for A of the transitive verb in (7). In monotransitive verbs, the O is obligatorily marked, as shown with the third person plural prefix *ka-* in (7).

Pesh has nominative-accusative alignment for cross-reference expressed with two different sets of person markers, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Person markers in Pesh

	Accusative set (O)		Nominative set (S/A)
1SG		ta-	-a
1PL.INCL	pa-	ta-	-par
1PL.EXCL	un-	ta-	-bar / -ber
2SG		pi-	-u
			PROX.PST -i
2PL		pi- ... =wa	-u ... =wa
			PROX.PST -i ... =wa
			PFV -u ... =wi
3SG		a- / Ø-	-i / -Ø
			PROX.PST -u
3PL		ka-	-er / -ir

For O markers, the first person singular prefix is *ta-*, forming its plural with a clusivity distinction by adding the prefixes *un-* (exclusive) or *pa-* (inclusive). The second person plural O marker is distinguished from the corresponding singular by adding the enclitic *=wa* at the end of the verb. Some variation is noticeable for S/A markers. There is variation in vowel quality for first person plural exclusive and third person plural depending on the phonetic environment, and in

some cases depending on tense and aspect. For second person the default suffix is *-u* in the singular and *-u...* =*wa* or =*wi* in the plural. For example, in (1), the enclitic marker =*wi* is used with the perfective. The suffix *-i* for second person is only used with the proximate past. For third person singular the default suffix is *-i*, and *-u* is only used with the proximate past.

Although Pesh is a head-marking language, because of the obligatory predicate agreement, it also has dependent-marking features thanks to its seven case enclitics, listed in Table 3. Thus Pesh has to some extent a pattern of double-marking given that a role is obligatory marked in the predicate and may be also indicated in the noun phrase. However, as we will see below, argument case marking is optional. In example (8), the predicate *yāh* ‘say’ is inflected with the third person plural subject suffix *-ir* and with the third person singular object prefix \emptyset .

TABLE 3

Enclitic case markers in Pesh

= <i>ya</i>	Ergative
= <i>ma</i>	Nominative (only in relative clauses)
= <i>ra</i> / = <i>ro</i>	Accusative or Absolutive (= <i>ra</i> , in the Culmí and Las Marías varieties and = <i>ro</i> , in the Carbón variety)
= <i>yā</i>	Locative
= <i>yo</i>	Comitative / Instrumental
= <i>kan</i> / = <i>ken</i>	Similative / Locative (= <i>kan</i> , in the Culmí and Las Marías varieties and = <i>ken</i> , in the Carbón variety)
= <i>ri</i>	Temporal / Mediative

Culmí variety

(8) *ĩma nãhiri saraġitahya*

ĩ=ma *Ø-yãh-ir-i* *saraġitah=ya*

DEM.PROX=TOP O3SG-say-S3PL-PST evil.spirit=ERG

‘The evil spirits said this.’

In (8), the noun phrase *saraġitah* ‘evil spirit’ is marked with the ergative case marker =*ya*. The two markers, the suffix *-ir* and the case marker =*ya* refer to the A of the clause.

This list in Table 3 shows the case markers found in Pesh in different constructions and varieties. The case markers found in oblique and adjunct phrases are used in all the varieties. Case markers for arguments are used differently across constructions and varieties showing different types of alignment.

Pesh shows a bilevel split ergative pattern for morphological alignment (Chamoreau 2021a). On the first level of the system, Pesh has a split alignment that is conditioned by the way the arguments are expressed. It has a nominative-accusative alignment for the obligatory indexing of arguments on the verb, and three systems of alignment for flagging case. The distribution of these three systems shapes the second level depending on the types of clause and the varieties spoken: ergative-absolutive (in interrogative content clauses in all the varieties and in independent clauses in the variety of Carbón), tripartite (in independent clauses in the varieties of Culmí and Las Marías) and nominative-accusative (in relative clauses in all the varieties).

Pesh has nominative-accusative alignment for cross-reference as shown in (9) and (10). The suffix *-er* for the S of third person plural in an intransitive verb in (9) is the same as the suffix of

the same person for A in a transitive verb in (10). In monotransitive verbs, the O is obligatorily marked, as the prefix for first person plural *ta-* in (10).

Carbón variety

(9) nebohnerri

ne-boh-n-**er**-i

go-leave-DUR-S1PL-PST

‘They arrived.’

(10) ĩra tãyherpisa

ĩ=ra **ta**-ãyh-**er**-pi=sa

DEM.PROX=ABS O1-give:O1:2-S3PL-FUT=C.Q

‘What will they give me?’

In the case of a ditransitive verb, as in (11) and (12), Pesh has secundative alignment (or primary object alignment) for indexing: the participant that can be encoded is the addressee (or recipient), the first person for the object *ta-* in (11) and in (12), the object that is encoded is the third person plural *ka-* which refers to *a-kuk a-tfah-ta* ‘those of the ground’, while the patient cannot be encoded. In (11) and (12), the suffix for the subject is the second person *-u*.

Carbón variety

(11) akara takapñhũri

aka=ra **ta**-ka-yẽh-**u**-ri

DEM.DIST=PURP O1-APPL.R-say-S2-PST

‘For this, you told it to me.’

Culmí variety

(12) ãma kakapñherupiwa akuk atfahtara

ã=ma **ka**-ka-yěh-er-**u**-pi=wa
 DEM.DIST=TOP O3PL-APPL.R-say-CAP-S2-FUT=PL2

.

a-kuk a-tʃah-ta=ra
 POSS3SG-ground POSS3SG-be.there-AG=ACC

‘You_{PL} can say that to those of the ground.’

For case marking, Pesh has two different types of encoding. The use of a case marker is obligatory in interrogative and relative clauses and in passive-like constructions. In contrast, case-marking is optional in independent clauses.

In interrogative content clauses (see Chamoreau 2021a for interrogative polar clauses) Pesh makes use of two elements: the predicate enclitic marker =*sa* that occurs at the end of the clause and in the initial position, a *wh*-word that is usually formed by a demonstrative pronoun and a case marker, as *ta=ya* ‘distal demonstrative and ergative case marker’ in (13). The choice of the case marker depends on the function of the interrogated argument, the A in (13).

Culmí variety

(13) taya pikusisa

ta=**ya** pi-ka-u-si=**sa**
 DIST.DEM=ERG O2-make-S3SG-PROX.PST=C.Q

‘Who struck you?’

In (13), the *wh*-word that asks about the A is formed with the ergative case marker. In contrast, in (14) the *wh*-word that asks about the S is formed with the absolutive case marker =*ra*, like the *wh*-word that asks about the O, as in (15).

Culmí variety

(14) tara ani teʔkusisa

ta=**ra** ani teʔk-u-si=**sa**

DEM.DIST=ABS late come-S3SG-PROX.PST=C.Q

‘Who came late?’

(15) tara prohersa

ta=**ra** Ø-proh-er-wa=**sa**

DEM.DIST=ABS O3SG-look.for-S3PL-PFV=C.Q

‘Who are they looking for?’

Case markers on *wh*-words are obligatory in interrogative content clauses and the selection of the marker depends on the function of the argument in the clause and follows an ergative-absolutive pattern in all the varieties of Pesh. This requirement may be motivated by the fact that the *wh*-word introduces the focus of the clause. Initially, the use of these case markers in interrogative clauses was probably motivated by information structure which then became morphologized and mandatory. The mandatory use of the marker across varieties reveals a well-established morphological pattern in Pesh. This construction supports the hypothesis that ergative-absolutive is the original pattern of morphological alignment in this language (see Chamoreau 2021a).

In relative clauses, the use of a case marker is also mandatory, but it follows a nominative-accusative alignment pattern. Pesh has three relativization strategies: Internally-headed relative clauses, externally-headed relative clauses and relative clauses introduced by a relative marker. Internally-headed relative clauses are used when the head nominal is a core argument in the relative clause. This is the most frequent and primary strategy in Pesh, as it is used to relativize subjects. Externally-headed relative clauses are used when the head nominal has a peripheral role in the relative clause. Relative clauses introduced by a *wh*-word that functions as a relativizer are used

only when the locative *wh*-words *piah* ‘where’ and *pikan* ‘where, in which direction’ occur. The distribution of the three relative clauses in Pesh clearly responds to accessibility restrictions on specific functions (Chamoreau 2021b, 2021c).

In this introduction, I only focus on internally-headed relative clauses where the head nominal has the role of a core argument. In internally-headed relative clauses the head nominal of the relative clause is a core argument and occurs inside the relative clause. The enclitic that mandatorily occurs at the end of the relative clause may be one of the case markers or the topic marker. It corresponds to the syntactic role of the head nominal in the matrix clause. In example (16), the head nominal is the S in the matrix clause, so the relative clause is marked with the nominative marker, =*ma* regardless of its role in the relative clause. In (16), it is the O in the relative clause. The relative clause is indicated in square brackets.

Culmí variety

(16) toʔarwã kaproharima kekeri ñã tʃiri

[toʔ arwã ka-proh-a-ri]=**ma**

DEM.MED man O3PL-look.for-S1SG-PST=NOM

ke-ke=ri ñ=yã tʃa-ir-i

before-before=TEMP DEM.PROX=LOC be.there-S3PL-PST

‘Those men I was looking for, lived here before.’

The same strategy is used when the head nominal is the A in the matrix clause, as in (17), the nominative case marker =*ma* occurs at the end of the relative clause. In this example, the head nominal is the O in the relative clause.

Culmí variety

(17) aye korta tʃũrima tapurupiʃki

[a=ye korta Ø-tʃã-u-ri]=**ma**

POSS3SG=small woman O3SG-see-S2-PST=NOM

.

ta-puru-piʃk-i-i

O1-look.for-protect-S3SG-PST

‘The young girl you saw, helped me.’

In (16) and (17), it is impossible to find another marker at the end of the relative clause (that is, the ergative case marker or the absolutive case marker). In relative clauses, the morpheme =*ma* marks the function of the nominative and it is mandatorily used when the head nominal is the S or the A in the main clause. The enclitic =*ma* functions originally as the topic marker in Pesh (Chamoreau 2020). Its function has evolved from topic marking to subject marking. When the head nominal is the O in the matrix clause, the relative clause is usually marked by the accusative marker =*ra* regardless of its role in the relative clause. In (18), it is the S in the relative clause.

Culmí variety

(18) pefwakwa ðnira sukuri

[pefwakwa ð-n-Ø-i]=**ra**

animal sleep-DUR-S3SG-PST=ACC

.

Ø-sukuh-er-i

O3SG-grab-S3PL-PST

‘They grabbed the animal who died.’

In some examples, in which the nominal head is topicalized, the topic marker *=ma* is used instead, as illustrated in (19). The nominal head is the O in the matrix clause, so the *=ra* case marker is expected at the end of the relative clause. However, given that the nominal is topicalized, the topic marker may be used.

Las Marías variety

(19) ï tokna pikabriuma pãymaruwa

[ï tok-na pi-ka-ber-i=wa]=**ma**

DEM.PROX drink-NMLZ O2-make-S1PL.INCL-PST=PL2=TOP

.

pi-ãyh-bar-wa=wa

O2-give:O1:2-S1PL.INCL-PFV=PL2

‘“As for the drink we prepared for you, we give it to you.”’

The use of the accusative marker is the most frequent pattern, and in examples such as (19), collaborators always agree to substitute the topic marker *=ma* with the accusative marker *=ra*.

Since it is possible for speakers to choose between the case marker *=ra* and the topic *=ma*, in this context *=ma* is the topic marker rather than the nominative.

This nominative-accusative alignment pattern shown in relative clauses occurs in all the varieties (see Chamoreau 2021b, 2021c for a detailed study). A case marker or the topic marker is obligatorily used. Relativization of the S and the A is related to topicality, as the marker *=ma* has the same form as the topic marker and its function has evolved from topic marking to subject marking. For relativization of the O the accusative marker *=ra* or the topic marker *=ma* may be used.

The third context where case marking is obligatory is the passive-like construction. Pesh has no morphological marker for passive, and uses a specific construction for highlighting the patient through left-edge fronting. This O constituent is marked with the topic enclitic =*ma*. In (20), the two participants are accessible and well-known at that moment in the discourse. The A is obligatorily marked with the ergative marker =*ya*. It is postposed to the O resulting in an OAV constituent order (instead of the unmarked OV order).

Carbón variety

(20) taarkima wifã akaya paki tikina wifã akaki?

ta-arki=**ma** wifã aka=**ya** Ø-pak-Ø-i
 POSS1-brother=TOP fish big=ERG O3SG-take-S3SG-PST

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-i=na wifã a-kaki?
 say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=REP fish POSS3SG-mother

‘It is said that he said, “My brother was taken by the Big Fish, the Mother of the Fish.”’

In independent clauses, overt case marking of arguments is optional. Optional case marking means that the use of a case marker is not determined by morphological or syntactic constraints. However, it does not mean that choosing when to use case marking is completely free for the speaker (Chamoreau 2022, in press).

Pesh has an ergative-absolutive pattern for flagging overt argument noun phrases in the variety spoken in Carbón, but in the varieties spoken in Culmí and in Las Marías, in the same contexts, it shows a tripartite pattern. In the three varieties of Pesh, case marking is optional and its presence is usually motivated by information structure—case marking is frequently used to emphasize that the marked constituent functions as the contrastive participant or the focus (Chamoreau 2022, in

press). In the Carbón variety, the A of a monotransitive verb may be indicated with the ergative marker =*ya* as *wakaf* ‘cow’ in (21).

Carbón variety

(21) *pakihã ã wakafya*

Ø-pak-Ø-i=hã ã wakaf=**ya**

O3SG-take-S3SG-PST=FOC DEM.DIST cow=ERG

‘That cow took him.’

In contrast, the S *tikimi* ‘bat’ in (22) and the O *yuku* ‘meat’ in (23) may be marked with the absolutive case marker =*ro*.

Carbón variety

(22) *tikimiro takaskro akonã tokki*

tikimi=**ro** Takaskro a-ka?o=yã

bat=ABS Sasquatch POSS3SG-house=LOC

.

tokk-Ø-i

enter-S3SG-PST

‘The bat entered the Sasquatch’s house.’

(23) *ã paku pakuma awaharama ama yukuro amefki*

ã paku paku=ma a-wahara=ma ama

DEM.DIST coyote coyote=TOP POSS3SG-wild=TOP HES

.

yuku=**ro** Ø-amefk-Ø-i

meat=ABS O3SG-want-S3SG-PST

‘Wild Coyote wanted some meat.’

The absolutive marker =*ro* may be used with either the O argument of a monotransitive verb as in (21) or the O argument of a ditransitive verb, where it marks the benefactive or the theme (see Chamoreau 2021a).

In Culmí and in Las Marías varieties, three different case markings are attested: the ergative marker =*ya* with the A, the accusative marker =*ra* with the O, and the absence of marking for the S. This is a tripartite system in which the sole intransitive argument does not align with either of the transitive arguments. The S of an intransitive verbs is never marked, see *manih* ‘rabbit’ in (24). The absolutive marker =*ra* is ungrammatical with the subject of an intransitive clause in the Culmí and in the Las Marías varieties, even though it occurs in Carbón, as in (22).

Culmí variety

(24) *manih wahaṅã nĩ*

manih waha=*yã* *nã-∅-i*
 rabbit mountain=LOC go-S3SG-PST

‘Rabbit went to the mountain.’

The A may be marked with the ergative marker =*ya* as shown for *uʔ* ‘Tiger’ in (25).

Culmí variety

(25) *sukuhi sa uṅã*

∅-sukuh-∅-i *sa* ***uʔ=ya***
 O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST rock tiger=ERG

‘Tiger grabbed the rock.’

The accusative marker =*ra* is used with the O of a monotransitive verb, as shown for *manih* ‘rabbit’ in (26).

Culmí variety

(26) tahpã akore u? manihra artapuki

tah=yã a-kore u? manih=**ra**
 path=LOC POSS3SG-uncle tiger rabbit=ACC

a-r-tapuk-Ø-i

O3SG-APPL.P-find-S3SG-PST

‘Uncle Tiger found Rabbit on the way.’

The accusative marker =*ra* is also used with both O arguments of a ditransitive verb, the theme and the addressee (see Chamoreau 2021a). The situation found in Pesh for the case marking of argument noun phrases is uncommon: the alternation between zero and overt case marking concerns both the subject and the object of all grammatical persons. This alternation occurs in intransitive and transitive independent clauses and involves no tense or aspect splits. This optionality cannot be explained with morphological or syntactic environments. The motivation is usually related to information structure: Constituents in focus are more likely to be case marked if they are cataphorically persistent in the text following it (Chamoreau 2022, in press). These referents are usually contrastively given (Chamoreau 2022, in press). New referents are more likely to be marked if they are not topically persistent. So, case marking preferably occurs on discourse referents which are at the cross-road of contrastive focus and topic persistence—that is, contrastive references that “have a higher probability of persisting longer in the register after a relevant point” (Givón 1983:15). As the main motivation is linked to information structure, quantitative data show infrequent use. In the corpus studied, 13. of the argument noun phrases

are marked by a case marker—the O argument represents 8., the A argument, 4. and the S argument 1. (see Chamoreau 2022, in press).

Syntactically, Pesh also has nominative-accusative alignment. The behaviour across two clauses (the possibility of deleting the S or the A in the second clause when two clauses are conjoined with coreferential subjects; and control of coreference with core arguments in purpose clauses) shows an S/A pivot (see Chamoreau 2021a for a detailed study). This characteristic seems to be shared by the majority of Chibchan languages, although descriptive studies of each language are still needed to prove it (Quesada 2007:86).

In terms of word order in main clauses, Pesh, as the majority of the Chibchan languages, patterns as verb-final languages. In Pesh 79. of transitive clauses have an OV, AV or AOV constituent order, the most frequent orders are OV (61.) and AV (24.). The AOV constituent order is attested with a lesser frequency (12.). In this context the respective roles of the noun phrases preceding the verb are indicated by their position, as in (27) where the A *ta-kaki a-oʔk yeʔ māyh* ‘my mother’s three younger brothers’ precedes the O *wāta* ‘shaman’. Oblique and adjunct phrases usually appear before the verb and are marked by an enclitic marker such as the locative enclitic marker *=yā* in *ʃok=yā* ‘to the hill’ in (27).

Las Marías variety

(27) ʃokɲā takaki aoʔkyemēyh wāta pakri

ʃok=yā ta-kaki a-oʔk

hill=LOC POSS1–mother POSS3SG–female’s.brother

.

yeʔ māyh wāta Ø-pak-er-i

small three shaman O3SG–take–S3PL–PST

‘My mother's three younger brothers took the shaman to the hill.’

The properties of noun phrases are those typically associated with head-final features. The possessor occurs before the possessee, as in (27) where the possessor *ta-kaki* ‘my mother’ is preposed to the possessee *a-oʔk* ‘brother’ which is obligatorily marked by a third person possessor prefix. Numerals and the indefinite article are always postposed, such as the numeral *māyh* ‘three’ in (27).

Pesh has the copula *tʃa* ‘be.there’, used for locative predication, as in (28).

Carbón variety

(28) oo ãpã tʃaw

oo ã=yã tʃa-Ø-wa

yes DIST.DEM=LOC be.there-S3SG-PFV

‘Yes, it is there.’

The copula *tʃa* ‘be.there’ always inflects as any other intransitive verb. It may be used as an existential predicate, as shown in (29).

Culmí variety

(29) tʃoʔ uye-tah tʃa-i-wa

hill big-NMLZ.field be.there-S3SG-PFV

‘There is a big hill.’

For nominal and adjectival predication, speakers use predicative inflection, thanks to an enclitic =*r*. The enclitic =*r* is associated with nouns, as in (30), pronouns as in (31) or adjectives as in (32).

Culmí variety

(30) tas=ma a-aũna=r-a-wa

PRO1=TOP POSS3SG–woman’s.sister=COP–S1SG–PFV

‘I am her sister.’

The copulative marker =*r* is enclitized to the noun in (30) and is inflected with the suffix for subject, *-a* ‘first person singular’ and for aspect, *-wa* ‘perfective’ in (30).

When the subject is the third person singular in the perfective aspect, the form of the copulative marker is =*i* as in (31).

Culmí variety

(31) tas=ma=i Santos Isidro Duarte López

PRO1=TOP=COP:S3SG:PFV Santos Isidro Duarte López

‘I am Santos Isidro Duarte López.’

When the subject is the third person plural, the form of the copulative enclitic is always =*l*, whatever the tense, as in (32).

Culmí variety

(32) arwã ta-teʔ-tjã-ir-i=ma peʃ warki=l-ir-pi-ri

man O1–come–see–S3PL–PST=NOM people bad=COP–S3PL–FUT–PST

‘The men who came to see me were going to be bad people.’

Note that for some speakers from the Carbón variety, the third person plural subject form is *-ler* (or *-lir*) and not *-er* (or *-ir*) as is expected for verbal predicates. This form of the suffix of the third person plural is probably related to the form of the copulative enclitic for the third person plural presented above in (32). In example as in (33), the form *-ler* is considered as a variant of *-er*.

Carbón variety

(33) peʃri kaẽtʃe~~r~~lerwa

pef=ri ka-ã-tfe-er-wa
 people=MDT O3PL-eat-TOT-S3PL-PFV

‘They ate all the people.’

Two types of units must necessarily modify a predicate in Pesh: arguments (S, A and O, a predicate has up to two argument slots, see above) and tense. There is a five-way distinction for tense in Pesh: past, proximate past, present (expressed with the perfective), proximate future and future. The past inflection is the most frequent in narratives and conversations. It is marked with the suffix *-ri* (or its allomorphs *-i* and *-hi*) and it is used for an event that occurred a few days before the time of utterance as in (34).

Las Marías variety

(34) we-bar-**i** kitah
 wander-S1PL.EXCL-PST white.lipped.peccary

Ø-amas-na-bar-u-**ri**
 O3SG-kill-IT-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST

‘We wandered. We used to kill white lipped peccary.’

In (34), the first verb, *we* ‘wander’ is inflected with the allomorph *-i* of the past tense suffix, while the second verb, is inflected with the allomorph *-ri* because it is preceded by the habitual aspect form *-u* that may occur with the past. This sentence is taken from a personal story in which the narrator talks about her life during her husband’s lifetime, in years past.

Proximate past is expressed with the suffix *-si* (or its dialectal variant *-fi*). It is used to recount an event that has occurred earlier the same day or sometimes the day preceding the moment of utterance, as in (35).

Culmí variety

- (35) ah ĩ=yo ta-ka-i-**si**=sa tV~~k~~-Ø-i-i
 INTERJ PROX.DEM=INS O1-make-S2-PROX.PST=C.Q say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘ “What are you stabbing me with?,” he (Tiger) said. ’

When Tiger asks this question in (35), Rabbit has just stuck a sharp leaf into his buttocks. This is thus an action taken in the near past.

The suffix *-wa* glossed in this volume as ‘perfective’ is in contrast identified as ‘present and immediate past tense’ by Holt (1999:51-52). This morpheme is found in the slot for tense, which is why I have classified it with the other tense morphemes even though it also has aspectual uses. It may express the present, as in (36), the immediate past, as in (37), and the aspect of an unbounded state, presenting open situations, as in (38) and (39).

Culmí variety

- (36) ĩ=yo ta-ka-u-i=sa ta-ẽɲ-Ø-wa
 PROX.DEM=INS O1-make-S2-PST=C.Q O1-sting-S3SG-PFV

‘ “What did you put on me? It stings (me).” ’

In (36), the first verb *ka* ‘make’ indicates an action performed in the past by Rabbit (sticking a sharp leaf in Tiger’s buttocks). It contrasts with the second verb *ẽɲ* ‘sting’ which expresses what Tiger feels at the moment he is speaking. This second verb is therefore in the present tense.

Carbón variety

- (37) a-par-a ta-uk-Ø-**wa** ākēs ĩ=kan
 POSS3SG-tail-NMLZ MID-shatter-S3SG-PFV even PROX.DEM=SIM

wakaf=ma tɛʃk-Ø-i ĩ

cow=TOP get.away–S3SG–PST PROX.DEM

‘Coyote’s tail broke off. Even so, the cow got away.’

In (37), the action has just taken place. It is not the first mention of the action but a repetition to announce what will follow. In this context, the proximate past could be used instead of the perfective. The choice of the perfective indicates that the action has immediately preceded the event that follows. The verb *uk* ‘shatter’ references a proximate past tense. It is part of a narrative sequence in which the event is reported (background effect of the perfective aspect). The main foreground event is indicated by the verb *tefk* ‘get away’, that is in the past tense.

Culmí variety

(38) *nā-∅-i* *sa=s* *tʃa-∅-wa=yã*
 go–S3SG–PST rock=INDF.ART be.there–S3SG–PFV=LOC

‘He went to a rock that was there.’

The use of *-wa* in (38) with the verb *tʃa* ‘be there’ conveys two types of perfective meaning. The first aspectual meaning of this perfective corresponds to sequences of discrete events in which the situation is reported for its own sake, independently of its relevance to other situations. In (38), it indicates that a rock was at this location. The second excludes the end point of this state, presenting it as an unbounded state. It expresses in (38) a situation which persists in time.

Las Mariás variety

(39) *ka-piʃk-a-we-t-a-wa*
 INT–lay.down–S1SG–wander–DUR–S1SG–PFV

ã=kan *ĩ=kan* *arahna=yã=ma* *ã=kan*
 DIST.DEM=SIM PROX.DEM=SIM outside=LOC=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM

tapeh=r-a-wa=reke ũh=yã=ma nã-a-tV-wa
 mood=COP-S1SG-PFV=CONC far=LOC=TOP go-S1SG-NEG-PFV

‘I walk a little like that outside, even if I am in the mood, I don’t go far.’

In (39), both uses of the perfective aspect are also attested with the non-verbal predicate *tapeh* ‘mood’. The perfective is used for narrating discrete events or emotions. Since the perfective does not include an end point of this state, it presents a general emotion.

In (40), the example shows that past tense may be used in conjunction with perfective. Their combined use is infrequent and it indicates that the event takes place in the remote past. The use of the perfective indicates that it is a situation that persists.

Carbón variety

(40) kris ye korta pok tʃa-er-ri-wa eka
 time small woman two be.there-S3PL-PST-PFV PRO3

katʃara-ha a-tah=yã
 stream-NMLZ POSS3SG-foot=LOC

‘Once upon a time, two young women were at the foot of a stream of water.’

The future suffix is *-pi* as in (41) except with the first person singular, for which the suffix is *-pa*, a conflation of the future tense and the first person singular as in (42). The future tense expresses events in the future as in (41) and (42).

Carbón variety

(41) ũhũ? pi-pa-ber-tV-pi=hã
 no O2-take-S1PL.EXCL-NEG-FUT=FOC

pi-pa-ber-tV-pi=hã

O2-take-S1PL.EXCL-NEG-FUT=FOC

‘“No, we won’t take you, we won’t take you.”’

Carbón variety

(42) este=ma tas=ma tas=ya Ø-kapor-pa

this=TOP PRO1=TOP PRO1=ERG O3SG-spear-S1SG:FUT

Ø-yẽh-Ø-i=na

O3SG-say-S3SG-PST=REP

‘“This one, I will spear this one,” it is said that he said.’

Example (41) also illustrates a specificity of the future tense: the focus marker =hã is frequently used with the future tense.

The future tense may convey a modal meaning of necessity (or obligation) as in (43) with the verb *tʃuiʃk* ‘learn’.

Carbón variety

(43) peʃ akwa=l-er-i=kan tiʃ=na

people other=COP-S3PL-PST=SIM a.little=INDF

a-r-tʃuiʃk-u-pi=wa

O3SG-APPL.P-learn-S2-FUT=2PL

‘As if they were mestizos, at least you should learn.’

The future tense is used in conjunction with the past tense to express the future in the past, as in (44). The order is always the same: the suffix of the future tense precedes the suffix of the past tense.

Carbón variety

(44) paku=ma ïkata=mã na-oh-n-Ø-**pi-ri**=ras

Coyote=TOP now=TOP go-sleep-DUR-S3SG-FUT-PST=REAS

‘That is why Coyote was going to die.’

In Pesh, purpose clauses are obligatorily marked by the future tense and the marker =*ra* (or =*ro* in Carbón), which takes on the function of a purpose marker (Chamoreau 2021a). This clause is postposed to the matrix clause, as shown in (45).

Culmí variety

(45) Ø-ifpak-Ø-i Ø-pa-Ø-**pi-ra**

O3SG-pick.up-S3SG-PST O3SG-take-S3SG-FUT=PURP

‘It picked it up to take it.’

The proximate future is marked with the suffix *-h*. It is used to express actions that will take place immediately after the speaker has spoken as in (46). The second person suffix is frequently used to express commands and it is the only way of constructing an imperative marker in this language. It may be an affirmative imperative as in (47) or a negative imperative, as in (48).

Carbón variety

(46) tVʔ-ka-a-**h** ka-ʃa-u-**h**=wa

say-O3PL-S1SG-PROX.FUT O3PL-see-S2-PROX.FUT=2PL

.

yar=i ã kakapa

true=COP.S3SG.PFV DIST.DEM night

‘I will tell them, “You will truly see tonight.”’

In (46), the future suffix indicates two events that take place immediately. The temporary precision *kakana* ‘tonight’ indicates the time during which the event will take place. In direct speech, in (46), the second person singular with the future tense expresses an event that the addressee is going to experience during the night. On the contrary, in (47), the second person and the proximate future suffix refer to an order given to the addressee.

Carbón variety

(47) teʔk-u-h=hã tVk-Ø-Ø-tV-i=ro ta-tah
 come-S2-PROX.FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=ACCS POSS1-foot

a-nuʔa ak-u-h
 POSS3SG-point be.in.state-S2-PROX.FUT

ʃa-u-tV-h=here tVk-Ø-i-tV-i=ro
 be.there-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT=MIR say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=ACC

‘What he said, “Come, stand on my feet!,” what he said.’

In (48), the proximate future is used in conjunction with the second person singular and the negative suffix *-tV* and indicates a restriction.

Carbón variety

(48) pa ẽna to a-kaki tapeh-Ø-i=yã
 PRO2 well MED.DEM POSS3SG-mother swim-S3SG-PST=LOC

Ø-pork-u-tV-h

O3SG-sink.in-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT

‘“Be careful, don’t impale the mother where she swims.’

Pesh is a language that uses pragmatic enclitic markers to indicate how the information was obtained or to draw the attention of the addressee. These always occur at the end of the predicate, after the tense suffix. The most frequent is the reportative evidential marker =*na*. All varieties use this enclitic marker, as illustrated in (49) and (50). It is used to report a discourse or an event carried out by others.

Carbón variety

(49) ã=jã Ø-ij-Ø-tV-i=**na** ke

PROX.DEM=INDF O3SG-make-S3SG-NEG-PST=REP already

‘It is said that he (Kakao) couldn’t do a thing.’

Las Marías variety

(50) oo a-r-yěh-Ø-i a-r-o?k-Ø-ri=**na**

yes O3SG-APPL.P-say-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-bathe-S3SG-PST=REP

ã=hã

DIST.DEM=FOC

‘Yes, she prayed, it is said she bathed that one.’

In the Carbón variety, other pragmatic enclitic markers are used. They are used to draw the attention of the addressee and ensure that he is following the story. The most frequently used is the emphatic =*pra* as in (51) and (52). It can also appear, although not very frequently, in the

accounts of speakers of the Culmí and Las Marías varieties. The suffix =*pra* is used to emphasize an attribute as in (51) or a specific event, as in (52).

Culmí variety

- (51) enã=i=**pra** enẽ=i
 well=COP:S3SG:PFV=EMPH well=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘It is good, it is good.’

Carbón variety

- (52) pi-pa-Ø-pi=**pra** pi-toq-Ø-pi=**pra**
 O2-take-S3SG-FUT=EMPH O2-drink-S3SG-FUT=EMPH

.

- tVk-Ø-t-Ø-i a-yãh-a=pe=tVh
 say-O3SG-IT-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-say-NMLZ=only=NEG

‘“She will take you, she will swallow you,” he told him, it was not a joke.’

The hearer’s engagement marker =*fona* (and its variant =*fonwa*) is used to maintain the attention of the addressee. This enclitic is analyzable as *fa-u-tV-wa* ‘see-S2-NEG-PFV’, and means ‘You don’t see’ (the change of the negative suffix *-tV* to *-nV* suffix is a phonetic process that occurs in between some vowels). However, the speakers do not recognize the verb ‘see’ in its second person and negated form. They usually translate it as an affirmative statement ‘you see’, as in (53) and (54).

Carbón variety

- (53) ã=ma ãna Ø-ijk-er-wa=**fona**
 DIST.DEM=TOP well O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV=HEM

.

THE TEXTS

The twelve narratives gathered here consist of eight folk narratives and four personal narratives recorded and analyzed during my recent documentation project (Chamoreau 2017a, 2017b).

The volume is organized into three chapters, each chapter representing a variety of Pesh. The collection begins with five stories from the Carbón variety, four from the village of La Laguna and one from the village of Carbón. The first two stories tell the close relation of the Pesh people with water. A mermaid, living in rivers—or lakes depending on the version—seduced and caught an unsuspecting man who came to fish. The mermaid is never fully visible, only her tail is seen by men as it is her large tail that attracts them. The mermaid lured the man underwater where he became her husband. In the first version *Witfã akaki* ‘The Mother of the Fish’, two brothers went fishing in the river. One of the two men was caught, the one who was presented as the bravest. The second brother had to go and warn the wife of the brother caught by the mermaid. The mermaid who married the man is presented as the Mother of the Fish. The couple lived in the river and started a family. In the second version *Witfã akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’ which places the story near Carbón, in the lake that lies at the foot of Mount San Pablo, a prankster wanted to go fishing with his brothers. Despite the refusal of the other brothers, he followed them and went fishing too. He lied and explained that he would not be tempted by the big fish and would only take the small ones. Finally, he harpooned the big fish, the Mother of the Fish. He was taken by the Mother of the Fish to her house where they still live together.

The third text *Aso korta, Kās* ‘The Woman of the Water, Donkey-tiger’ combines two traditional narratives. The first story *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’ is another version of the story with the mermaid called here ‘The woman of the Water’. This story is also located in the lake next to the village of Carbón. Children and adults went there to bathe in the water by jumping

from a stone. They would get lost and disappear. A prankster decided to go on the stone to save the people, but while jumping in the water he met the Woman of the Water. The second story *Kās* ‘Donkey-tiger’ is a traditional narrative about bad spirits that are numerous in the Pesh tradition. This second story is linked to the first *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’ story as it happens in the same place, the stone by the lake. Next to the lake lived the bad spirit Donkey-tiger who ate the souls of people who went to the lake’s stone. He took their spirits, just by looking at them. A shaman came to save the people. After listening to the story of the worried villagers, he entered the lake by climbing on the stone. He fought against Donkey-tiger described as a demon. With the strength of his mind, the shaman chained down Donkey-tiger, but this entity representing evil, defeated the good, the shaman. Donkey-tiger won.

The fourth narrative *Takaskro* ‘The Sasquatch’ is also a story about a traditional entity, part human, part animal. This figure is famous in America (from Canada to South America) and occupies an important place in Pesh tradition. The Sasquatch was described as a hairy monster with manlike characteristics who kidnapped women to take them to his cave, and who had his feet turned backwards to outwit those who wanted to pursue him. This version shows how The Sasquatch was strong and fought against different animals to keep the two sisters he kidnapped. It was the women’s brother, taking the shape of these different animals, who saved them after a very hard fight. This narrative reflects Christian morality. Indeed, as the two women had been made pregnant by the Sasquatch, when they climbed on the man's feet to be taken away, they disappeared. The brother was described as brave because he fought for his sisters but did not hesitate to make them disappear because they were pregnant out of wedlock (interpreted through Christian tradition as a sin).

The last narrative *Manihri pakuri* ‘Rabbit and Coyote’ is a version of a folk narrative about the prankster rabbit, an animal having human characteristics. This story illustrates the popular notion of a prankster who uses cunning to triumph over a menacing opponent. Rabbit was cunning and a liar and taunted hungry Coyote, affectionately known as “Uncle Coyote”. Rabbit and Coyote decided to go kill a cow, but instead of catching the cow, Rabbit gets Coyote’s tail broken off by tying it to the running cows. This story leads to the conclusion that cunning (and even lies) can overcome strength.

The following chapter consists of four texts from the Culmí variety: Two from La Campana, one from Nuevo Dulce Nombre, and one from Moradel. The first narrative *Manihri u?ri* ‘Rabbit and Tiger’ is another version of the folk narrative about the prankster rabbit. In this story, Tiger—probably a jaguar or a puma, even if Tiger is the name used by Pesh people—affectionately referred to as “Uncle Tiger”, feeling strong, told the Rabbit that he would eat him. Rabbit pretended to be afraid and tricked Tiger by promising a big cheese. However, Rabbit lied because what appeared to be cheese was only the reflection of the moon. Rabbit tricked Tiger, laughed at him and even hurt him. At the end of the story, Rabbit disappeared forever and Tiger found himself immobilized supporting a stone for life. The morality is therefore clear, cunning is stronger than kindness and naivety.

The following two stories consist of traditional narratives about evil spirits. In *Wa sonkwa* ‘Black Eye’, the speaker’s grandfather was presented as the only one who could speak with evil spirits. This old man was a shaman and spoke the Pesh language understood by the spirits. Black Eye was the most harmful spirit. He lived in the mountains and came out at night to cause severe pain to the sick or even to kill them. The shaman knew how to organize the villagers to perform the Kesh ceremony, which would keep the evil spirits away and had the power to heal the sick.

The second traditional narrative about Evil Spirits is *Bolakfa* ‘Evil Spirit’. On the mountain called Birikon or Baltimor, located in the region of Las Marías, lived Evil Spirit. This Spirit and other evil spirits came out at night and attacked the people who were sleeping on their backs in the mountain. They trampled the people and killed them. The shaman of the village, with the help of an eagle, fought and chased an evil Spirit called Satan. This story refers both to Pesh traditional beliefs and to the Christian tradition where people should respect divinities or spiritual beings by not sleeping looking at the sky but on their side. Evil Spirit is equated with the devil, Satan, and the shaman represents Good and the eagle is seen as a mediator who helps the shaman.

The last narrative from the Culmí variety *Wa tfena* ‘The evil eye’ is a personal narrative. In this life story, the speaker, Juana Hernández, explains the different actions she undertakes to heal children who are victims of the evil eye. With her massages and a mixture of plants she prepares, egg yolks and holy water, she succeeds in warding off the evil eye and curing the children. The evil eye is a supernatural belief, a curse, caused by a malevolent look, usually given to a person without his knowledge. The evil eye is a well-known belief that dates back about 5,000 years, to as early as the Upper Paleolithic Age, particularly in the Mediterranean region. In the Pesh version, a local plant, rue—*Ruta graveolens*—is used. In this narrative, the Christian culture also intervenes because the plants are mixed with holy water.

The last chapter gathers three personal narratives from the variety of Las Marías. In the first personal narrative *Suwa wāta* ‘The elderly shaman woman’ the narrator is nostalgic and remembers the people she knew in her childhood. She begins by talking about her father who used to go hunting and fishing in the mountains to provide for the family. She also remembers her mother named María, who was a female shaman. Even as she grew elderly, she continued to heal people and was known as a very good shaman. She had inherited this knowledge from her mother,

who was a shaman herself and knew how to fight the evil spirits of the mountain. The next personal narrative titled *Wāta* ‘The shaman’ is also about the life of a shaman. The speaker explains the different moments of the ceremony organized by the shaman to heal a patient. The parents of the sick child prepared different dishes and the shaman spoke to the evil spirits and sang to drive them away. The speaker recounted that he attended several ceremonies performed by the female shaman María (also mentioned in the narrative *Suwa wāta* ‘The elderly shaman woman’).

In the last narrative titled *Apehitihi* ‘Paralysis’, the speaker explains her health problems, the paralysis of her legs. Thanks to injections, she could move around the village a bit, but she told the difficulty of finding the medication prescribed by the doctor.

The texts in this collection illustrate the cultural mix of elements from indigenous and mestizo cultures. For example in *Wa tʃena* ‘The evil eye’, the narrator talks about a belief that has been known for more than 5,000 years in the Mediterranean area but adapts the products used and the massages given to the Pesh culture and tradition. Christian morality is also very prevalent. Another example is revealed when evil spirits are compared to Satan, the devil, in the *Bolakʃa* narrative ‘Evil Spirit’ from the Culmí variety.

Characteristics of indigenous folk culture also prevail, such as the fact that many supernatural creatures are drawn from elements of the natural world. We see it in the three versions of the story where a half woman, half fish being (a mermaid) catches men to marry them: *Witʃã akaki* ‘The Mother of the Fish’, *Witʃã akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’ and *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’, all versions from Carbón. In these three versions, the characters are similar; the Mother of the Fish (or the Woman of the Water) is the main character. She is characterized as willing and strong enough to catch a man. Her only visible part is her tail, which attracts men. These three versions differ in the character of the man who is caught by the mermaid.

The men are brothers in two versions, in *Witfã akaki* ‘The Mother of the Fish’ and in *Witfã akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’ and they are children and men of the community in the third version of the story *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’. In the first version *Witfã akaki* ‘The Mother of the Fish’, the man is brave and fearless and in the other two stories, *Witfã akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’ and *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’, the man who gets caught is a prankster. The morality conveyed, which no doubt derives from Christian morality, is therefore very different. The man is caught by the mermaid because he is good in the first version while in the other two, his disobedient and mischievous character causes him to be caught. The prankster character is very present in the narratives. He is a chaotic character, both good and bad; he plays dirty tricks, has a disordered and incessant activity. He goes with ease from mockery of others to total seriousness. His powers are numerous (to die, to be reborn, to travel to the afterlife, to disappear). This character is present in two versions of the story of the mermaid, as a man who becomes a fish to live with the mermaid, *Witfã akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’ and *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’. The prankster is also attested as an anthropomorphized animal. This is illustrated in the narratives about the prankster rabbit: *Manihri pakuri* ‘Rabbit and Coyote’ from Carbón and *Manihri u?ri* ‘Rabbit and Tiger’ from Culmí. These two narratives show how Rabbit mocks and hurts the other characters, Coyote or Tiger according to the versions. In the end, the prankster rabbit wins and is superior. So the moral shows that cunning wins over strength, kindness and naivety. The other character frequently present in the narratives is the traditional shaman. The shaman appears in some traditional narratives about evil spirits as *Kãs* ‘Donkey-tiger’, *Wa sonkwa* ‘Black Eye’ and *Bolakfa* ‘Evil Spirit’, and in some personal narratives as *Suwa wãta* ‘The elderly shaman woman’ and *Wãta* ‘The shaman’. The figure of the shaman always supposes a good man

or woman who helps others. S/he is also presented as powerful, as s/he may provoke storm and thunderbolt as in *Kās* ‘Donkey-tiger’. S/he is a special member of the community because s/he knows how to organize the villagers for missions that improve the quality of life of the people. Her/his action is always positive, either to heal people by producing natural medicines, or to fight against evil spirits by talking to them and organizing the Kesh, the traditional Pesh ceremony that scares the evil spirits away. Her/his goodness and actions can lead her/him to her/his death if s/he meets an evil spirit as in *Kās* ‘Donkey-tiger’.

This collection brings together for the first time indigenous folk narratives from the three varieties of the Pesh language.

TRANSCRIPTION

The texts in this volume are presented in four-line interlinear format. The first line represents a simple phonetic transcription (the tilde indicates a nasal vowel). We do not use a practical orthography and prefer the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet. All sounds are represented in this line with their corresponding IPA symbol with the exception of [y] for the palatal approximant (instead of [j]). The second line is the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown (we use – for affix boundaries and = for clitic boundaries). The third line gives the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. The abbreviations throughout the texts are standardized. We use a colon (:) to indicate the presence of various morphemes in the same form (for example *-pa* ‘S1SG:FUT’) and a period (.) when it is necessary to use more than one word in English to translate a Pesh morpheme (for example *proh* ‘look.for’ or *as* INDF.ART). The fourth line provides the English translation. Brackets in this line include rectifications of erroneous references uttered by the narrator, while additional information needed to interpret the story (e.g. specific referents) is given in parentheses.

(codeswitching) are transcribed into Spanish orthography in the first line. Miskito language is not transcribed and the parts pronounced in Miskito are indicated by the mention (Miskito) in round brackets in the different lines.

CARBÓN VARIETY

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The central Carbón variety is spoken by 250 speakers in three villages, Carbón, La Laguna and Agua Amarilla. Carbón is a big village on the side of the road where young people do not learn or speak the language. In contrast, La Laguna and Agua Amarilla are two small and remote villages far from the road that have had electricity only since 2017. In these two villages, Pesh is used as an everyday language of communication by almost 160 people. This is a conservative variety, as evidenced by the preservation of ergative-absolutive alignment in independent clauses for case marking. The Carbón variety retains some pragmatic morphemes absent from the other varieties such as the mirative marker *=here*, the hearer's engagement marker *=fona* '(don't) you see' and the emphatic marker *=pra*. This last marker is also used in the Las Marías variety where, unlike in the Carbón variety, it is not frequent. The Carbón variety is also distinguished by the forms of the case enclitics. For example, it is the only variety where the absolutive case is marked by the enclitic marker *=ro* (*=ra* in the other two varieties) and the similative case usually takes the form *=ken* (*=kan* in the other varieties). Vowel nasalization is also widespread in this variety—for example, the ergative is usually pronounced [yã] and the topic marker [mã] whereas in other varieties the [a] in these morphemes is not nasal. This variety is also distinguishable from the other two through its lexicon. For example, 'fish' is said *witfã*—as in the title of the following narrative—while in Culmí and Las Marías, it is *utfa*. Speakers of the Carbón variety are understood by speakers of the other two varieties but are very easily distinguished by these particularities.

In this chapter, five traditional narratives are presented: *Witfã akaki* 'The Mother of the Fish', *Witfã akakiri seatusri* 'The Mother of the Fish and the prankster', *Aso korta – Kãs* 'The Woman

of the Water – Donkey-tiger’ and *Manihri pakuri* ‘Rabbit and Coyote’ from the village of La Laguna and *Takaskro* ‘The Sasquatch’, from Carbón.

WITJĀ AKAKI ‘THE MOTHER OF THE FISH’, TOLD BY DANILO LUGO

The story *Witjā akaki* ‘The Mother of the Fish’ was narrated by Danilo Lugo, a native speaker born in La Laguna in 1992. Pesh was his first language and he learned Spanish in school. Today he is a bilingual teacher in the school of Agua Amarilla and is an advocate for the teaching of the Pesh language. The story was recorded by Claudine Chamoreau, who transcribed and translated the text with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández, both speakers of the Culmí variety. This narrative tells the close relation of the Pesh people with water. In this version, the mermaid took a man because he was brave, so he turned into a fish to live with the mermaid.

(1) *kiris kiris arwā tʃiri*

ki=ri=s ki=ri=s arwā tʃa-i-ri
 before=TEMP=INDF.ART before=TEMP=INDF.ART man be.there-S3SG-PST

DL: ‘Once upon a time, there was a man.’

(2) *toʔ to arwāma wifā kaportaruri*

toʔ to arwā=ma wifā kapor-ta-ru=r-Ø-i
 MED.DEM MED.DEM man=TOP fish spear-AG.NMLZ-HAB=COP-S3SG-PST

‘That man was spearer of fish.’

(3) *wifā wifāpero nāprohteʔwaruri teʔer ārpiro tʃaʔyo*

wifā wifā=pero nā-proh-teʔ-wa-er-u-ri
 fish fish=only go-look.for-come-collect-S3PL-HAB-PST

teʔ-er-i Ø-ā-er-pi=ro tʃaʔ=yo
 come-S3PL-PST O3SG-eat-S3PL-FUT=PURP asal=INS

‘They went and came looking only for fish to eat with asal.’²

(4) toʔkarini toʔ arwãma ãʔ ãs ãʔ ãs sukuhera

toʔ=kari=ni toʔ arwã=ma ãʔ ãs ãʔ
 MED.DEM=ADVS=TEMP MED.DEM man=TOP day INDF.ART day

ãs Ø-sukuh-er-wa
 INDF.ART O3SG-grab-S3PL-PFV

‘For that reason, one day, they caught that man.’

(5) arwã asyo poklerri tah nãri wiʃã wiʃã kaporyã

arwã as=yo pok=l-er-ri ta-ha nã-er-i wiʃã
 man one=INS two=COP-S3PL-PST path-NMLZ go-S3PL-PST fish

wiʃã kapor=yã
 fish spear=LOC

‘There were two men with the other man, they went to spear fish.’

(6) toʔma asowawaŋã asowaŋã nãri

toʔ=ma aso-wa-wa=yã aso-wa=yã nã-er-i
 MED.DEM=TOP water-eye-eye=LOC water-eye=LOC go-S3PL-PST

‘They went to the source of the river.’

(7) toʔkari nãlerrimãpe wiʃã ak aspe ʃãri

toʔ=kari nã-er-ri=mã=pe wiʃã aka as=pe
 MED.DEM=ADVS go-S3PL-PST=when=only fish big one=only

Ø-ʃã-er-i

O3SG–see–S3PL–PST

‘But, going further, they only saw a big fish.’

(8) toʔma aparpero ʃĕrina

toʔ=ma a–par=pero Ø–ʃĕ–er–i=na

MED.DEM=TOP POSS3SG–tail=only O3SG–see–S3PL–PST=REP

‘It is said that they only saw the tail.’

(9) toʔ arwāmā jĕhina

toʔ arwā=ma Ø–yĕh–Ø–i=na

MED.DEM man=TOP O3SG–say–S3SG–PST=REP

‘That man said,’

(10) estema estema tasma tasya kaporpa jĕhina

este=ma este=ma tas=ma tas=ya Ø–kapor–pa

this=TOP this=TOP PRO1=TOP PRO1=ERG O3SG–spear–S1SG:FUT

.

Ø–yĕh–Ø–i=na

O3SG–say–S3SG–PST=REP

‘“This one, I will spear this one,” it is said that he said.’

(11) toʔkari nĕyna

toʔ=kari nĕ–Ø–i=na

MED.DEM=ADVS go–S3SG–PST=REP

‘But it is said that he went.’

(12) wiʃā kaporkayo nĕō nĕy

wiʃā kapor–ka=yo nĕ–Ø–wa nĕ–Ø–i

fish spear–NMLZ=INS go–S3SG–PFV go–S3SG–PST

‘The fish went with the harpoon.’

(13) kaporkina aparyã

Ø–kapork–Ø–i=na a–par=yã

O3SG–spear–S3SG–PST=REP POSS3SG–tail=LOC

‘It is said that he speared it in the tail.’

(14) ĩ to? a arwãsma jẽy akina to? arwã arkijkwaro

ĩ to? a arwã=s=ma Ø–jã–Ø–i

PROX.DEM MED.DEM HES man=INDF.ART=TOP O3SG–see–S3SG–PST

akina to? arwã a–r–ki–ijk–Ø–wa=ro

a.little MED.DEM man O3SG–APPL.P–make–DES–S3SG–PFV=ACC

‘The man quickly saw what she wanted to do to that man (his brother).’

(15) jãwamã tõjkw ãkenrina to to? arwã

Ø–jã–Ø–wa=mã ta–õjk–Ø–wa ã=ken=rina

O3SG–see–S3SG–PFV=when MID–lose–S3SG–PFV DIST.DEM=SIM=also

to to? arwã

MED.DEM MED.DEM man

‘When he saw him, that man seemed like he was also getting lost.’

(16) to? wijãma wijã êkatãhri

to? wijã=ma wijã êka=tVh=r–Ø–i

MED.DEM fish=TOP fish PRO3=NEG=COP–S3SG–PST

‘That fish was not an ordinary fish.’

(17) toʔma wiʃã wiʃã akakiriʔ patañãhyoma patas

toʔ=ma wiʃã wiʃã a-kaki=r-Ø-iʔ

MED.DEM=TOP fish fish POSS3SG-mother=COP-S3SG-PST

.

pa-ta-yãh-a=yo=ma pa-tas

INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=INS=TOP INCL-PRO1

‘That fish was the Mother of the Fish, in our language.’

(18) en español es sirena

‘In Spanish, it is a mermaid.’

(19) ï toʔkarini ʃëakumã

ï toʔ=kari=ni

PROX.DEM MED.DEM=ADVS=TEMP

.

Ø-ʃã-Ø-ak-Ø-wa=mã

O3SG-see-S3SG-be.in.state-S3SG-PFV=when

‘But, when he was watching,’

(20) tōʃkin arwãma

ta-ōʃk-Ø-i=na arwã=ma

MID-lose-S3SG-PST=REP man=TOP

‘It is said that he disappeared, the man.’

(21) pikë pakikë ʃãnina

pi=ken Ø-pak-Ø-i=ken Ø-ʃã-Ø-tV-i=na

place=LOC O3SG-take-S3SG-PST=LOC O3SG-see-S3SG-NEG-PST=REP

‘It is said that he didn’t see where she took him.’

(22) i toʔ arwãma teʔkina akoke aʔiʃpiro a akawa

i toʔ arwã=ma teʔk-Ø-i=na

PROX.DEM MED.DEM man=TOP come-S3SG-PST=REP

.

a-kaʔo=ken a-ʔiʃ-Ø-pi=ro a

POSS3SG-house=LOC O3SG-tell-S3SG-FUT=PURP HES

.

a-kawa

POSS3SG-spouse

‘That man came back to his house to tell the spouse (of the other man).’

(23) teʔaʔiʃkumã aʔiʃkina tasma aspe teʔkawa

teʔ-a-ʔiʃk-Ø-wa=mã a-ʔiʃk-Ø-i=na

come-O3SG-tell-S3SG-PFV=when O3SG-tell-S3SG-PST=REP

.

tas=ma as=pe teʔk-a-wa

PRO1=TOP one=only come-S1SG-PFV

‘When he arrived to tell her, it is said that he said, “I come alone.”’

(24) tikina ïken

tVk-Ø-Ø-i=na ï=ken

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=REP PROX.DEM=SIM

‘It is said that she said, “How?”’

(25) taarkima wifã akaya paki tikina wifã akaki? sirena

ta-arki=ma wifã aka=ya Ø-pak-Ø-i
 POSS1-brother=TOP fish big=ERG O3SG-take-S3SG-PST

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-i=na wifã a-kaki? sirena
 say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=REP fish POSS3SG-mother mermaid

‘It is said that he said, “My brother was taken by the Big Fish, the Mother of the Fish, the mermaid.”’

(26) a tikina nãprohapẽ tikina

a tVk-Ø-Ø-i=na nã-Ø-proh-pa=hã
 HES say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=REP go-O3SG-look.for-S1SG:FUT=FOC

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-i=na
 say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=REP

‘It is said that she said, “I have to go to look for him.”’

(27) nãproheri nãprohermã ã pãskerti

nã-Ø-proh-er-i nã-Ø-proh-er-i=mã
 go-O3SG-look.for-S3PL-PST go-O3SG-look.for-S3PL-PST=when

.

ã Ø-pãsk-er-tV-i
 PROX.DEM O3SG-take.out-S3PL-NEG-PST

‘When they went to look for him, they didn’t find him.’

(28) pero jāenkilerma to? arwāma

pero Ø-ǰā-ēṅ-ka-er-i=ma to? arwā=ma

but O3SG-see-well-make-S3PL-PST=NOM MED.DEM man=TOP

‘But they looked thoroughly for the man.’

(29) pakakina to? wiǰā akakija

Ø-pak-Ø-ak-Ø-i=na to? wiǰā

O3SG-take-S3SG-be.in.state-S3SG-PST=REP MED.DEM fish

.

a-kaki=ya

POSS3SG-mother=ERG

‘It is said that the Mother of the Fish had already taken him.’

(30) to? nēr nērproher nuṅka pāskertina

to? nā-er-i nā-er-proh-er-i nunca

MED.DEM go-S3PL-PST go-S3PL-look.for-S3PL-PST never

.

Ø-pāsk-er-tV-i=na

O3SG-find-S3PL-NEG-PST=REP

‘They went to look for him, they never found him, it is said.’

(31) i to?kari nēhina arwāṅa to?ma tasma takatǰtwi

i to?=kari Ø-yēh-Ø-i=na arwā=ya

PROX.DEM MED.DEM=ADVS O3SG-say-S3SG-PST=REP man=ERG

.

to?=ma tas=ma ta-ka-tǰa-Ø-tV-i

MED.DEM=TOP PRO1=TOP O1-APPL.R-be.there-S3SG-NEG-PST

‘But, it is said that the man said, “I do not have him.”’

(32) *tasma akatĩ?atawa apēhima*

tas=ma akatĩ?-a-tV-wa a-yēh-Ø-i=ma

PRO1=TOP be.afraid-S1SG-NEG-PFV O3SG-say-S3SG-PST=NOM

‘“I am not afraid,” this is what he said.’

(33) *to?riʃ pakina*

to?=riʃ Ø-pak-Ø-i=na

MED.DEM=REAS O3SG-take-S3SG-PST=REP

‘It is said that that is the reason why she took him.’

(34) *to? pēheruma ã arwã kina sirenaʒa*

to? Ø-yēh-er-wa=ma ã arwã

MED.DEM O3SG-say-S3PL-PFV=NOM DIST.DEM man

Ø-ka-Ø-i=na sirena=ya

O3SG-make-S3SG-PST=REP mermaid=ERG

‘What they told, it is said that the mermaid did it to this man.’

(35) *asowayã tʃuna*

aso-wa=yã tʃa-Ø-wa=na

water-eye=LOC be.there-S3SG-PFV=REP

‘It is said that she lives in the source of the river.’

(36) *to?yã nēy*

to?=yã nã-Ø-i

MED.DEM=LOC go-S3SG-PST

‘There, he went.’

(37) ke yarnĩma to? arwãma tʃuna tewata?

ke yar-n=ĩ=ma to? arwã=ma

already true-IT=COP:S3SG:PFV=NOM MED.DEM man=TOP

.

tʃa-Ø-wa=na tewata?

be.there-S3SG-PFV=REP still

‘It is said that it is true that that man is still alive.’

(38) to? akawaina

to? a-kawa=i=na

MED.DEM POSS3SG-spouse=COP:S3SG:PFV=REP

‘She is his spouse.’

(39) to?yã te?nabohna to? kwento

to?=yã te?-na-boh-n-Ø-wa to? cuento

MED.DEM=LOC come-go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PFV MED.DEM story

‘Here that story has ended.’

(40) hasta ahí no más

‘This is all.’

WITfĀ AKAKIRI SEATUSRI ‘THE MOTHER OF THE FISH AND THE PRANKSTER’,
TOLD BY VICENTE GARCÍA

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The story *Witfā akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’ was told by Vicente García, a native speaker of La Laguna who was over 80 years old in 2015 when this story was recorded. Vicente García passed away in 2022 and his wife, one of the last monolingual Pesh speakers, still lives in La Laguna. This story was recorded by Ángel Martínez, a Pesh collaborator on the documentation project. It was transcribed and translated by Claudine Chamoreau with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. This narrative is another version of the story of the mermaid. This story is located in the area of Carbón, in the lake that is close to the village. This version is interesting because the man who gets caught by the Mother of the Fish is a prankster. In this version, the moral is that prankster behavior can lead to the loss of men.

(1) *nāherma ākaŋ āri yāherma kekeri iŋkiri ferima*

Ø–yēh–er–wa=ma ā=kan ā=ri

O3SG–say–S3PL–PFV=NOM DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=MDT

.

Ø–yēh–er–wa=ma ke–ke=ri

O3SG–say–S3PL–PFV=NOM before–before=TEMP

.

Ø–iŋk–ir–i ŋa–ir–i=ma

O3SG–make–S3PL–PST be.there–S3PL–PST=NOM

VG: ‘Like those who tell about that, those who tell it did it, those who lived before.’

(2) nāhpapra to kakaḡi ika nāhhama peḡ akō ḡnāpe nēras

Ø-yēh-pa=pra to ka-ka-ḡa-Ø-i

O3SG-say-S1SG:FUT=EMPH MED.DEM O3PL-APPL.R-be.there-S3SG-PST

.

ika yēh-ha=ma peḡ akwa ḡ=yā=pe

and say-NMLZ=TOP people other PROX.DEM=LOC=only

.

Ø-yāh-er-wa=ras

O3SG-say-S3PL-PFV=REAS

‘I am going to tell, they had it, and the reason why here they only speak Spanish.’

(3) to as ḡḡa-ir-wa to=ma

to as ḡḡa-ir-wa to=ma

MED.DEM INDF.ART be.there-S3PL-PFV MED.DEM=TOP

.

Ø-ḡḡk-er-pi=kan ḡḡa-ir-wa

O3SG-make-S3PL-FUT=SIM be.there-S3PL-PFV

‘Some of those who go through that experience (are) seem like they are going to do something.’

(4) ḡḡk-er-pi=kan ḡḡa-ir-wa ā=ma

Ø-ḡḡk-er-pi=kan ḡḡa-ir-wa ā=ma

O3SG-make-S3PL-FUT=SIM be.there-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=TOP

‘It seems they will do something.’

(5) peḡ akwa=l-er-i=kan ḡḡ=na

peḡ akwa=l-er-i=kan ḡḡ=na

people other=COP-S3PL-PST=SIM a.little=INDF

.

a-r-tfuijk-u-pi=wa awikawa

O3SG-APPL.P-learn-S2-FUT=2PL book

.

a-r-ir-i-ri=reke

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST=CONC

‘As if they were mestizos. At least you should learn a little, despite them knowing the books.’

(6) bakapulerwa ã nã pa kekeri

bakapu=l-er-wa ã ã=yã pa?

in.vain=COP-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC lake

.

ke-ke=ri

before-before=TEMP

‘But it is in vain. Before, there used to be a lagoon here.’

(7) setus as tfii

setus as tfã-i-i

prankster INDF.ART be.there-S3SG-PST

‘And a prankster lived there.’

(8) tfii aarkipe tafleri

tfã-i-i a-arki=pe taf=l-er-i

be.there-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-brother=only nine=COP-S3PL-PST

‘He lived here only with his nine brothers.’

(9) ñnã tñileruri kãha usku?nã

ñ=yã tñã-er-u-ri kãha usku?=yã
 PROX.DEM=LOC be.there-S3PL-HAB-PST village charcoal=LOC

‘They lived here, in the village of “Carbón”.’

(10) tñira ã ãma kekeri to?kã neleruri kaseñkapiro

tñã-ir-wa ã ã=ma ke-ke=ri
 be.there-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM DIST.DEM=TOP before-before=TEMP

.

to?=kan na-er-u-ri Ø-cazar-ñk-er-pi=ro
 MED.DEM=LOC go-S3PL-HAB-PST O3SG-hunt-make-S3PL-FUT=PURP

‘They lived there before, they went hunting over there.’

(11) ani aye porkerpiro pẽh karayo

ani a-ye Ø-pork-er-pi=ro pẽh kara=yo
 there POSS3SG-small O3SG-sink.in-S3PL-FUT=PURP wood long=INS

‘There, to spear small ones, with a long stick.’

(12) ãri teñte?tewe te?tewe peñfamilyayo ne

ã=ri teñ-te?-teweh-er-wa
 DIST.DEM=MDT get.away-come-go.up-S3PL-PFV

.

te?-teweh-er-wa peñ-familia=yo na-ir-i
 come-go.up-S3PL-PFV POSS3PL-family=INS go-S3PL-PST

‘They go, come and go up like that. They come and go up with their families. They went.’

(13) wã amaskerwa oʔkera peʔ peʔ peʔkeruri ika ãro

wã a-mask-er-wa Ø-oʔk-er-wa

bobo.mullet O3SG-kill-S3PL-PFV O3SG-dry.with.heat-S3PL-PFV

peʔ peʔ peʔk-er-u-ri ika ãro

bring bring bring-S3PL-HAB-PST and HES

‘They killed bobo mullet, they dried it and they brought it.’³

(14) aarkyã setus as ʃii tasrina tawakutuwwawisa

a-arki=yã setus as tʃa-i-i

POSS3SG-brother=LOC prankster INDF.ART be.there-S3SG-PST

tas=rina ta-pa-u-tV-wa=wi=sa

PRO1=also O1-take-S2-NEG-PFV=2PL=C.Q

‘Among the brothers there was a prankster. (He told them), “Why don’t you take me too?”’

(15) pama nãya warku iʃkupẽ

pa=ma nã-ya warku Ø-iʃk-u-pe=hã

PRO2=TOP go-S2:PFV bad O3SG-make-S2-FUT=FOC

‘“If you go, you will do something bad.”’

(16) ũhũ?

ũhũ?

no

‘“No,” (he said).’

(17) ek awah pēh kara as akatʃi

eka awah pēh kara as a-ka-tʃa-i-i

PRO3 also wood long INDF.ART O3SG-APPL.R-be.there-S3SG-PST

‘He also had a long stick.’

(18) pēʔh kar as akatʃi tasma pibaknāteʔpawa

pēʔh kara as a-ka-tʃa-i-i tas=ma

wood long INDF.ART O3SG-APPL.R-be.there-S3SG-PST PRO1=TOP

.

pi-bak-nā-teʔ-pa=wa

O2-follow-go-come-S1SG:FUT=2PL

‘He had a long stick. (He told them), “I will follow you and go with you and come.”’

(19) pibaknāteʔpawa

pi-bak-nā-teʔ-pa=wa

O2-follow-go-come-S1SG:FUT=2PL

‘(He told them), “I will follow and go with you and come.”’

(20) ũhũʔ noʔti taarki pama warku iʃkupē iʃkanma

ũhũʔ na-u-tV-i ta-arki pa=ma

no go-S2-NEG-PST POSS1-brother PRO2=TOP

.

na-u-i=ma warku Ø-iʃk-u-pi=hã i=kan=ma

go-S2-PST=if bad O3SG-make-S2-FUT=FOC PROX.DEM=SIM=TOP

‘“No, no, don’t go my brother, if you go you will do bad things, like these ones below.”’

(21) okwa nate?barwa akiṅã akaki apar tapehiṅã tikiri

okwa na-te?-bar-wa a-ki=yã a-kaki
 down go-come-S1PL.EXCL-PFV POSS3SG-tooth=LOC POSS3SG-mother

a-par tapeh-Ø-i=yã tV_k-Ø-ir-i
 POSS3SG-tail swim-S3SG-PST=LOC say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘“We went under (water) and came back, to the source of the river, where the tail of the mother swims,” they told him.’

(22) faiṅa takaiwawĩ?

Ø-ṅa-iṅ-a-wa ta-ka-i-wa=wĩ?
 O3SG-see-DES-S1SG-PFV O1-make-S3SG-PFV=IMDP

‘“I want to see it immediately.”’

(23) ũhũ? pi-pa-ber-tV-pi=hã

ũhũ? pi-pa-ber-tV-pi=hã
 no O2-take-S1PL.EXCL-NEG-FUT=FOC

pi-pa-ber-tV-pi=hã tV_k-Ø-er-i=na
 O2-take-S1PL.EXCL-NEG-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=REP

‘“No, we won’t take you, we won’t take you,” it is said that they told him.’

(24) peṅ ñna sukura ṅa? sukura kira neri teruwã?

peṅ ñna Ø-sukuh-er-wa
 people PROX.DEM=INDF O3SG-grab-S3PL-PFV

tʃaʔ Ø-sukuh-er-wa Ø-ka-er-wa
 tomorrow O3SG-grab-S3PL-PFV O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV

na-er-i tV-Ø-er-wa=wãʔ
 go-S3PL-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=SIMT

‘The people grabbed their things, they did. They left the next day. They told him at the same time.’

(25) akipãhã ĩ asowa kii nei nēhii asowa ke

a-ki=yã=hã ĩ aso-wa Ø-ka-i-i
 POSS3SG-tooth=LOC=FOC PROX.DEM water-eye O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

na-i-i na-i-ēh-i-i aso-wa ke
 go-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-fall-S3SG-PST water-eye already

‘They arrived and they fell into the source of the river already.’

(26) ĩ as taperi ãñ akaki aparpera nēteʔi nēpeʔi

ĩ as tape-Ø-ri ãñ a-kaki
 PROX.DEM INDF.ART swim-S3SG-PST there POSS3SG-mother

a-par=pera nē-Ø-teʔ-Ø-i nē-Ø-peʔ-Ø-i
 POSS3SG-tail=only go-S3SG-come-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-bring-S3SG-PST

‘It swam there. Only the tail of the mother was coming and going.’

(27) ye uriama ʃomihã parkapeʃ perkapeʃ sa aʔayã

ye uria=ma Ø-ʃa-u-pi=hã

small a.lot=TOP O3SG-see-S2-FUT=FOC

Ø-pa-a-r-ka-pef

O3SG-take-O3SG-APPL.P-make-take.off

Ø-pe-a-r-ka-pef

sa aʔa=yã

O3SG-bring-O3SG-APPL.P-make-take.off rock top=LOC

‘“You will see a group of baby fish that were brought and taken on top of the rocks.”’

(28) tikelerti pẽʔh kãra pakri

tV-ka-er-t-i pẽʔh kãra Ø-pak-er-i

say-O3PL-S3PL-DUR-PST wood long O3SG-take-S3PL-PST

‘“They were taking long sticks,” they told them.’

(29) pa ẽna to akaki tapehejã porkutu

pa ẽna to a-kaki tapeh-Ø-i=yã

PRO2 well MED.DEM POSS3SG-mother swim-S3SG-PST=LOC

Ø-pork-u-tV-h

O3SG-sink.in-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT

‘“Be careful, don’t impale the mother where she swims.”’

(30) ayera porpara

a-ye=ra Ø-por-par-wa

POSS3SG-small=ABS O3SG-sink.in-S1SG.INCL-PFV

‘“We impale the small ones.”’

(31) hũ tasma to akakira porkpapahã tikati

hũ tas=ma to a-kaki=ra
no PRO1=TOP MED.DEM POSS3SG-mother=ABS

∅-pork-pa-pa=hã tV-ka-∅-t-i
O3SG-sink.in-take-S1SG:FUT=FOC say-O3PL-S3SG-DUR-PST

‘“No, I will impale and take the mother,” he told them.’

(32) oo

oo
yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(33) ĩriŋka porkupi yãhuisa tarki pama lokorya tir

ĩ=riŋ-ka ∅-pork-u-pi
PROX.DEM=REAS-make:S1:2 O3SG-sink.in-S2-FUT

∅-yẽh-u-i=sa ta-arki pa=ma
O3SG-say-S2-PST=C.Q POSS1-brother PRO2=TOP

loco=r-ya tV-∅-ir-i
crazy=COP-S2:PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

VG: ‘“Why do you say that you want to impale her? you are crazy my brother,” they told him.’

(34) ĩriŋka porku

ĩ=riŋ-ka ∅-pork-u-h

PROX.DEM=REAS–make:s1:2 O3SG–sink.in–s2–PROX.FUT

‘“Why will you impale her?”’

(35) ke ukoma paskeri terwa aarki uriama yero

ke ukwa=ma Ø–pask–er–i tV–Ø–er–wa
 already ten=TOP O3SG–take.out–S3PL–PST say–O3SG–S3PL–PFV

a–arki uria=ma ye=ro
 POSS3SG–brother a.lot=TOP small=ABS

‘The brothers, they say, had already taken out around ten, small ones.’

(36) ãma ěna iʃkerʃona ãma tokaʔpaima

ã=ma ěna Ø–iʃk–er–wa=ʃona
 DIST.DEM=TOP well O3SG–make–S3PL–PFV=HEM

ã=ma toʔk–a–pas–Ø–i=ma
 DIST.DEM=TOP enter–REFL–take.out–S3SG–PST=CRT

‘Those are tame, you see. So that he (the prankster) entered and came out.’

(37) iʃkanras tikalerti porpana porpana

iʃ=kan=ras tV–ka–er–t–i
 PROX.DEM=SIM=REAS say–O3PL–S3PL–DUR–PST

Ø–por–pa=na Ø–por–pa=na
 O3SG–sink.in–s1SG:FUT=REP O3SG–sink.in–s1SG:FUT=REP

‘He told them, “I will impale her, I will impale her.”’

(38) tʃas kyuma

tʃas Ø-ka-i-wa=ma

IDEO O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV=when

‘(It sounded,) “Chas” when he did it.’

(39) ã briki tera ã bara pẽʔh kãra patõʃi terumpra

ã Ø-brik-Ø-i tV-Ø-er-wa ã

DIST.DEM O3SG-cover-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM

.

vara pẽʔh kãra Ø-pa-ta-õf-Ø-i

rod wood long O3SG-take-MID-lose-S3SG-PST

.

tV-Ø-er-wa=pra

say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH

‘They say he covered her with his long rod and he got lost.’

(40) baya pakuʃonwa takabra weʃti

vaya Ø-pak-Ø-wa=ʃonwa tV-ka-ber-wa

wow O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV=HEM say-O3PL-S1PL.EXCL-PFV

.

Ø-weʃ-Ø-tV-i

O3SG-hear-S3SG-NEG-PST

‘“Wow, you see, she took him, we told them, he did not hear.”’

(41) troʔka teʃteʔkeri

ta-r-oʔk-er-wa

teʃ-teʔk-er-i

MID-APPL.P-run-S3PL-PFV get.away-come-S3PL-PST

‘They fled, they got away and came.’

(42) aarki uriama troʔki teʃteʔkeriʔ teʔteʔtwehnari māyhpe kiwa

a-arki uria=ma ta-r-oʔk-Ø-i

POSS3SG-brother a.lot=TOP MID-APPL.P-run-S3SG-PST

.

teʃ-teʔk-er-iʔ teʔ-teʔ-teweh-na-er-i

get.away-come-S3PL-PST come-come-go.up-go-S3PL-PST

.

māyh=pe Ø-ka-i-wa

three=only O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV

‘The group of brothers fled, they went, came and went up, just three of them.’

(43) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(44) teʔ tewerea nāhpukri toʔyā

teʔ-teweh-er-wa Ø-yēh-puk-er-i toʔ=yā

come-go.up-S3PL-PFV O3SG-say-spread-S3PL-PST MED.DEM=LOC

VG: ‘They came and went up and spread the news there.’

(45) taarkipero akakiri porkwaʔ asawa amastiʃkwa paʔtoʃkuʃiwa îreʃkan porkisa loko tikelerti

ta-arki=pero a-kaki=r-Ø-i

POSS1-brother=only POSS3SG-mother=COP-S3SG-PST

Ø-pork-Ø-i=wa? a-sawa a-mas-tiʃk-Ø-wa
 O3SG-sink.in-S3SG-PST=SIMT POSS3SG-hand O3SG-kill-almost-S3SG-PFV

Ø-peʔ-ta-ɔf-kuf-i-wa ã=ref=kan
 O3SG-bring-MID-lose-whistle-S3SG-PFV PROX.DEM=REAS=SIM

Ø-pork-Ø-i=sa loco tV-ka-er-t-i
 O3SG-sink.in-S3SG-PST=C.Q crazy say-O3PL-S3PL-DUR-PST

‘“While only my brother impaled the mother, his hand almost killed her and he became crazy.
 Because he impaled her, he became crazy”, they told them (the villagers).’

(46) seatusɔna ãpera tʃei toʔma pakwa

seatus=ɔna ã=pera
 prankster=HEM DIST.DEM=only

Ø-tʃa-Ø-i toʔ=ma Ø-pak-Ø-wa
 O3SG-see-S3SG-PST MED.DEM=TOP O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV

‘Only the prankster saw her. She took him.’

(47) akaʔo pakastokwawĩ tikelerti

a-kaʔo Ø-pa-a-kas-tok-Ø-wa=wĩ
 POSS3SG-house O3SG-take-O3SG-APPL.R-enter-S3SG-PFV=IMDP

tV-ka-er-t-i

say-O3PL-S3PL-DUR-PST

‘She took him, and she put him in her house immediately, it is said.’

(48) yartari ãma pakastoktiri

yar-ta=r-Ø-i ã=ma

true-IT=COP-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP

.

Ø-pa-a-kas-tok-t-i-ri

O3SG-take-O3SG-APPL.R-enter-DUR-S3SG-PST

‘That is true, she took him and put him away.’

(49) toyã tɕawa terumpra tɕo? atɕuyã saʔaŋã toy ɕwa

to=yã tɕa-Ø-wa tV-Ø-er-wa=pra tɕo?

MED.DEM=LOC be.there-S3SG-PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH hill

.

a-tɕa-Ø-wa=yã sa-ʔa=yã to=yã

REFL-sit-S3SG-PFV=LOC in-NMLZ=LOC MED.DEM=LOC

.

ɕa-Ø-wa

be.there-S3SG-PFV

‘They say he lives there, inside that hill.’

(50) peʔpokri wã akakiya tiki pama taye tɕanã tɕkupẽ tiki

Ø-peʔ-Ø-pok-i-ri wã a-kaki=ya

O3SG-bring-S3SG-put.in-S3SG-PST bobo.mullet POSS3SG-mother=ERG

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-i pa=ma ta-ye tʃa-na
 say-O3SG-S3SG-PST PRO2=TOP POSS1-small see-AG.NMLZ

ta-ɨʃk-u-pi=hã tVk-Ø-Ø-i
 MID-make-S2-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘She brought him to possess him. The mother of the bobo mullets said, “You, you will become the care taker of my children,” she said.’

(51) tikii terumpra

tVk-Ø-i-i tV-Ø-er-wa=pra
 say-O3SG-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH

‘She told him, they say.’

(52) enipra enëi

enã=i=pra enë=i
 well=COP:S3SG:PFV=EMPH well=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is good, it is good.’

(53) akeʃ akasteʃki ãnãma

a-keʃ a-kas-teʃk-Ø-i
 POSS3SG-kesh.ceremony O3SG-APPL.R-get.away-S3SG-PST

ã=yã=ma

DIST.DEM=LOC=TOP

VG: ‘He left the Kesh (ceremony), there.’

(54) eɲẽĩ

eɲẽ=i

well=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: 'It is good.'

ASO KORTA – KĀS ‘THE WOMAN OF THE WATER – DONKEY-TIGER’, TOLD BY

VICENTE GARCÍA

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SEDYL AND CNRS, SEDYL

This text consists of two narratives *Aso korta* ‘The Woman of the Water’ and *Kās* ‘Donkey-tiger’. They were told by the late Vicente García, a native speaker of La Laguna who was over 80 years old in 2015 when these stories were recorded by Ángel Martínez. They were transcribed and translated by Claudine Chamoreau with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. Both narratives in this recording are traditional stories. They are linked geographically as they both take place in the large stone by the lake near Carbón at the foot of Mount San Pablo and in terms of the risk of disappearance in this lake. The first narrative is another version of the Mother of the Fish, called in this version the “Woman of the Water”. As this version was narrated by the same narrator as the preceding *Witfã akakiri seatusri* ‘The Mother of the Fish and the prankster’, the man that is caught by the mermaid is also a prankster. In this narrative, the prankster is described as having good intentions because he wanted to find the people who disappeared although he had an individual goal, that of being chosen by the water woman. The second narrative, *Kās* ‘Donkey-tiger’ is about an evil spirit that has the shape of a half-donkey, half-tiger animal. He has the power to kill people by eating their souls. In this version, this evil spirit is very powerful: he defeats and kills the shaman who has come to rescue people.

(1) ãro jok as tʃihi ãñã ũrũwã akas ʃihu? ariruwa aʃema

ãro jok as tʃa-i-hi ã=yã

HES hill INDF.ART be.there-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=LOC

.

ũru-ha aka=s tʃa-i-u-hi
 deep-NMLZ big=INDF.ART be.there-S3SG-HAB-PST

a-r-ir-a-wa atʃema
 O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-PFV at.moment

VG: ‘That, there was a hill, there, there was a deep well. I currently know it.’

(2) ĩken patakiteʃtiras ũrũwã as ãpã toʔ sampablo

ĩ=ken pa-ta-ka-i-teʃ-Ø-tV-i=ras
 PROX.DEM=SIM INCL-O1-make-S3SG-get.away-S3SG-NEG-PST=REAS

ũru-ha as ã=yã toʔ San.Pablo
 deep-NMLZ INDF.ART DIST.DEM=LOC MED.DEM San.Pablo

‘Because a well had not been made for us like that, there in San Pablo.’

(3) kãhãʔ wyejo tikeleri tʃireuri yea toʔkẽ

kãhãʔ viejo tVk-Ø-er-i tʃa-ir-u-ri
 village old say-O3SG-S3PL-PST be.there-S3PL-HAB-PST

ye-a toʔ=ken
 small-NMLZ MED.DEM=SIM

‘“The old village,” as they call it. Children like those lived there.’

(4) nãlermã nẽrokermã tõʃ tõʃ akaler wah tõʃ tõʃ

nã-er-wa=mã nã-er-ok-er-wa=mã ta-õʃ
 go-S3PL-PFV=when go-S3PL-bathe-S3PL-PFV=when MID-lose

ta-õf aka=l-er-wa wah ta-õf ta-õf
 MID-lose big=COP-S3PL-PFV also MID-lose MID-lose

‘When they were going, when they were going to bathe, they got lost, they got lost (several times). It was the adults too. They got lost.’

(5) ikiki ãrĩ nãraokras tõf ãpã ãkro nasterurisa

ĩ=ken-ka-Ø-i ã=ra
 PROX.DEM=SIM-make-S3SG PROX.DEM=ABS

nã-er-ok-er-wa=sa ta-õf ã=yã
 go-S3PL-bathe-S3PL-PFV=C.Q MID-lose PROX.DEM=LOC

ã=kan=ro Ø-nas-t-er-u-ri=sa
 DIST.DEM=SIM=ABS O3SG-jump-IT-S3PL-HAB-PST=C.Q

‘How is it that they go bathe and get lost here? How did they jump like that?’

(6) sa? as a-tfãh-i-hi ã=yã

sa? as a-tfãh-i-hi ã=yã
 rock ART.INDF REFL-sit-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=LOC

Ø-nas-t-er-ri tfa-er-i Ø-tok-ir-i
 O3SG-jump-IT-S3PL-PST be.there-S3PL-PST O3SG-enter-S3PL-PST

nã-er-ri ã=mã

go-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM=TOP

‘There was a rock. They used to jump (there). They went in and they left, those ones.’

(7) teʔwolerturi ĩkā kaʃkwa ʃuwas nētihere

teʔ-bo-n-er-tV-ri ĩ=kan akaʃkwa

come-leave-DUR-S3PL-NEG-PST PROX.DEM=SIM then

.

ʃuwa=s nã-∅-tV-i=here

old.man=INDF.ART go-S3SG-NEG-PST-MIR

‘They didn’t come back. Thus, then an old man went (to the rock where children were getting lost).’

(8) otro seatuskan tasma tokaʃamawã

otro seatus=kan tas=ma

another.one prankster =SIM PRO1=TOP

.

∅-tok-a-ʃa-pa=hã

O3SG-enter-S1SG-see-S1SG:FUT=FOC

‘Another prankster-like (said), “I will go in to see her.”’

(9) ĩnã pirtoʔkwawikan tikakitiher nēi terũpra

ĩ=ya pi-r-tokk-∅-wa=wi=kan

PROX.DEM=ERG O2-APPL.P-drink-S3SG-PFV=2PL=DBT

.

tVk-ka-i-tV-i=here nã-i-i

say-O3PL-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR go-S3SG-PST

tV-Ø-er-wa=pra

say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH

‘“Who seems to be swallowing you?,” he told them. He went, they say.’

(10) tōʔy ʃiteri pama nōtiʔ toʔkima norer piwapē tikitiriʔ awah ā

toʔ=yā tʃa-i-teʔ-i-ri pa=ma

MED.DEM=LOC be.there-S3SG-come-S3SG-PST PRO2=TOP

nā-u-tV-iʔ Ø-tokk-Ø-i=ma nā-u-i=reru

go-S2-NEG-PST O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST=if go-S2-PST=if

pi-pa-Ø-pi=hā tVk-Ø-Ø-tV-i=here awah

O2-take-S3SG-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR also

ā

DIST.DEM

‘“It came from there. If you enter, if you go, she will take you,” he told that one too.’

(11) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(12) yar akre tʃuwa toka tʃeoma ānā apiʃkiri

yar akre tʃa-i-wa Ø-tok-Ø-wa

true but be.there-S3SG-PFV O3SG-enter-S3SG-PFV

Ø-fa-i-wa=ma

ã=yã

a-piʃk-ir-ri

O3SG-see-S3SG-PFV=when DIST.DEM=LOC REFL-lay.down-S3PL-PST

VG: ‘True, but she lives there. He entered when he saw her. She was lying down.’

(13) ãpã apiʃtiri ikê teʔkuh tikitiri aso sapã

ã=yã

a-piʃ-t-ir-i

ĩ=ken

DIST.DEM=LOC REFL-lay.down-DUR-S3PL-PST PROX.DEM=SIM

teʔk-u-h

tVk-Ø-t-ir-i

aso

sa=yã

come-S2-PROX.FUT say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PST water in=LOC

‘She was lying down. “Come!” she told him inside the water.’

(14) teʔkuh tikirtiri asawa manastihã? aso sapã

teʔk-u-h

tVk-Ø-t-eir-i

a-sawa

come-S2-PROX.FUT say-O3SG-DUR-S3PL-PST POSS3SG-hand

Ø-manas-t-Ø-i=hã?

aso

sa=yã

O3SG-shake-DUR-S3SG-PST=FOC water in=LOC

‘“Come!” she told him. She shook his hand in the water.’

(15) toʔki tʃewã warkteʔwa tuwẽw ãʔti? teʔwarʃi arkima

Ø-toʔk-Ø-i

Ø-tʃa-i-wa=hã

O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST O3SG-see-S3SG-PFV=FOC

tVk-Ø-t-Ø-i a-yāh-a=pe=tVh
 say-O3SG-IT-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-say-NMLZ=only=NEG

‘“She will take you, she will swallow you,” he told him. It was not a joke.’

(18) anipera akāsoh atoki akamisetah akāsohpera atoki

ani=pera a-kāsoh a-tok-Ø-i a-camiseta
 late=only POSS3SG-pants O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-shirt

a-kāsoh=pera a-tok-Ø-i
 POSS3SG-pants=only O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST

‘Late, he only put on his pants, he only put on his shirt and pants.’

(19) tʃeretoki terūpra ururii ākā ũpokw

tʃere-Ø-tok-Ø-i tV-Ø-er-wa=pra
 go.down-S3SG-enter-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH

uru=i ā=kan ũ-pok-Ø-wa
 deep=COP:S3SG:PFV DIST.DEM=SIM CAUS-put.in-S3SG-PFV

‘He dived, they say. It was deep. He gets possessed over this way.’

(20) nēwma ānā apijki kaʔtir artabriʔki

nā-i-wa=ma ā=yā a-pijki-Ø-i
 go-S3SG-PFV=when DIST.DEM=LOC REFL-lay.down-S3SG-PST

kaʔti=ri a-r-tabriʔk-Ø-i

quiet=MDT O3SG-APPL.P-hug-S3SG-PST

‘When he went, he was lying there quietly. He hugged her.’

(21) artabri?ki teʃki terũpra nẽferetoki

a-r-tabri?k-Ø-i teʃk-Ø-i

O3SG-APPL.P-hug-S3SG-PST get.away-S3SG-PST

.

tV-Ø-er-wa=pra nã-i-tʃere-Ø-tok-Ø-i

say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH go-S3SG-go.down-S3SG-enter-S3SG-PST

‘He hugged her, he left. They say (that the man) left and dived.’

(22) uh masbohitihã?

uh Ø-mas-boh-i-tV-i=hã?

no O3SG-hit-leave-S3SG-NEG-PST=FOC

‘No, he did not come out again.’

(23) pero ese

pero ese

but that

AM: ‘But that one (the man).’

(24) awah masbohti

awah Ø-mas-boh-Ø-tV-i

also O3SG-hit-leave-S3SG-NEG-PST

VG: ‘He did not come out again.’

(25) ãma patiri ãrisa asokortari?

ã=ma Ø-pa-t-i-ri ã=ra=sa

DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-take-DUR-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=ABS=C.Q

aso-korta=r-Ø-i?

water-woman=COP-S3SG-PST

‘That one had taken him, who was she? She was the Woman of the Water.’

(26) ārina asokortari?

ā=rina aso-korta=r-Ø-i?

DIST.DEM=also water-woman=COP-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘That one too is the Woman of the Water.’

(27) asokortari?

aso-korta=r-Ø-i?

water-woman=COP-S3SG-PST

VG: ‘She was the Woman of the Water.’

(28) āma arware ama kasukuhkapakwatʃona asokortari?

ā=ma arwa=ro ama ka-sukuh-ka-pak-Ø-wa=tʃona

DIST.DEM=TOP man=ABS HES O3PL-grab-O3PL-take-S3SG-PFV=HEM

aso-korta=r-Ø-i?

water-woman=COP-S3SG-PST

‘She grabbed the men and took them, you see. She was the Woman of the Water.’

(29) yepe uʔka tōʃkiri

ye=pe uʔka ta-ōʃk-ir-i

small=only ten MID-lose-S3PL-PST

‘Only children got lost, ten of them.’

(30) terēpra ã paʔma piyari nertewa ã paʔ takĩã ãñã was

tV-Ø-er-wa=pra ã paʔ=ma pi-ah=ra
 say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH DIST.DEM lake=TOP place-NMLZ=ACC

.

a-r-ir-Ø-tV-wa ã paʔ
 O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-NEG-PFV DIST.DEM lake

.

tVk-a-ya ã=yã wa as
 say-O3SG-S2:PFV DIST.DEM=LOC also one

‘That lake that they say I don’t know which it is. The lake that you say, there was also one.’

(31) wefma wefkari arirtõã ã paʔma

Ø-wef=ma Ø-wefk-a-ri a-r-ir-t-a-wa
 O3SG-hear=TOP O3SG-hear-S1-PST O3SG-APPL.P-know-IT-S1SG-PFV

.

ã paʔ=ma
 DIST.DEM lake=TOP

‘To hear (about), I heard (about), I know that lake.’

(32) epipra

epã=i=pra
 well=COP:S3SG:PFV=EMPH

AM: ‘It is ok.’

(33) ãñã ã awah pef tokka fii ãma ãñã kaētiri

ã=yã ã awah pej Ø-tokk-a
 DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM also people O3SG-drink-NMLZ

.

ʃa-i-i ã=ma ã=yã
 be.there-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP DIST.DEM=LOC

.

ka-ã-t-ir-i
 O3PL-eat-IT-S3PL-PST

VG: ‘There, there was a place to swallow people. They ate those ones.’

(34) kās nii

kās na-i-i
 Donkey.tiger go-S3SG-PST

‘It was the Donkey-tiger.’

(35) kās ãnari ãnari ã yãta

kās ã=na=r-Ø-i
 Donkey.tiger DIST.DEM=INDF=COP-S3SG-PST

.

ã=na=r-Ø-i ã Ø-yãh-a-wa
 DIST.DEM=INDF=COP-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV

AM: ‘The Donkey-tiger. It is that, it is that, I say.’

(36) kās

kās
 Donkey.tiger

VG: ‘It is the Donkey-tiger.’

(37) *ãma arirtawa toʔyãma ãnã kãs as ʃiruri ãyã*

ã=ma a-r-ir-a-tV-wa toʔ=yã=ma
 DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV MED.DEM=LOC=TOP

.

ã=yã kãs as ʃa-i-ru-ri
 DIST.DEM=LOC Donkey.tiger INDF.ART be.there-S3SG-HAB-PST

.

ã=yã
 DIST.DEM=LOC

‘I don’t know that. There lived a Donkey-tiger, there.’

(38) *ĩ takãbri kampo tikelerã*

ĩ tVk-Ø-ber-i campo tVk-Ø-er-i=yã
 PROX.DEM say-O3SG-S1PL.EXCL-PST field say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=LOC

‘We say this. “Field,” they call it.’

(39) *toʔri nãhpa toʔm yar arira toʔ paʔma*

toʔ=ri Ø-yãh-pa toʔ=ma yari
 MED.DEM=MDT O3SG-say-S1SG:FUT MED.DEM=TOP true

.

a-r-ir-a-wa toʔ paʔ=ma
 O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-PFV MED.DEM lake=TOP

‘I will talk about that. I know that lake for real.’

(40) *oo ãnã ʃaw*

oo ã=yã tʃa-Ø-wa
 yes DIST.DEM=LOC be.there-S3SG-PFV

AM: ‘Yes, it is there.’

(41) toʔ kampo tʃeraŋã toʔ familia wriha tʃereŋã

toʔ kampo tʃa-ir-wa=yã toʔ familia wriha
 MED.DEM field be.there-S3PL-PFV=LOC MED.DEM family various

tʃa-er-wa=yã
 be.there-S3PL-PFV=LOC

VG: ‘In that field where those family groups live.’

(42) kekeri nelermã sikitapaʔ arih ãŋã sikipawatapaʔ

ke-ke=ri na-er-wa=mã siki-tapaʔ arih
 before-before=TEMP go-S3PL-PFV=when thorn-field clear

ã=yã siki-pawa-tapaʔ
 DIST.DEM=LOC thorn-red-field

‘Before, when they went to the clean thorn field, there, to the red thorn field.’

(43) ãma naʔtartari ãmã karahri

ã=ma na-Ø-aʔ-t-er-tV-ri ã=mã karah=ri
 DIST.DEM=TOP go-O3SG-spy-IT-S3PL-NEG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP afar=MDT

‘They did not go to spy on that from afar.’

(44) ke ʃermã asora apãŋ tetwe kreseʃi kreseʃi kreseʃi

ke Ø-ʃe-er-wa=mã aso=ra a-pãh-Ø-i

already O3SG-see-S3PL-PFV=when water=ABS REFL-move-S3SG-PST

te-teweh-Ø-i crecer-ij-Ø-i

come-go.up-S3SG-PST grow-make-S3SG-PST

crecer-ij-Ø-i crecer-ij-Ø-i

grow-make-S3SG-PST grow-make-S3SG-PST

‘When they saw the water already, it moved, it went up, it grew and grew and grew.’

(45) ke ferumã twehtapohruri awa?kã to? karo awa?kã

ke Ø-fa-er-u-i=mã

already O3SG-see-S3PL-HAB-PST=when

teweh-Ø-ta-poh-ru-Ø-ri a-wa?=kan

go.up-S3SG-MID-extend-HAB-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-eye=SIM

to? carro a-wa?=kan

MED.DEM car POSS3SG-eye=SIM

‘Already when they were looking at him, he got on top with his eyes like the car (headlights), eyes like that.’

(46) atfeleryope ãma pefu to?ki kawakuri

a-tfa-er-i=yo=pe ã=ma pefu

O3SG-see-S3PL-PST=INS=only DIST.DEM=TOP soul

Ø-tokk-Ø-i ka-pak-Ø-u-ri
 O3SG-drink-S3SG-PST O3PL-take-S3SG-HAB-PST

‘Upon looking at him, it drank the soul (hypnotized), and took them.’

(47) peʃkwāsa

peʃ-kwāsa
 POSS3PL-spirit

AM: ‘Their spirit.’

(48) ðo kira kwerpo entero

oo Ø-ka-er-wa cuerpo entero
 yes O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV body whole

VG: ‘They made the whole body weak.’

(49) ãma peʃu toʔ troʔw teʔparmã meymey

ã=ma peʃu toʔ Ø-tokk-er-wa
 DIST.DEM=TOP soul MED.DEM O3SG-drink-S3PL-PFV

.

teʔ-par-i=mã meymey
 come-S1PL.INCL-PST=when weak

‘Those drank the soul when we came in a weak state.’

(50) para atras pakawoki katoʔkoruri

para atrás Ø-pa-ka-pok-Ø-i ka-tokk-er-u-ri
 for behind O3SG-take-O3PL-put.in-S3SG-PST O3PL-drink-S3PL-HAB-PST

‘From behind, it took them and possessed them and swallowed them.’

(51) akafkwa ã takai peʃ ãtai

akaʃkwa ã tV̥k-Ø-u-i peʃ
 then DIST.DEM say-O3SG-S2-PST people

ã-ta=i

eat-AG.NMLZ=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Then, you call that “people-eater.”’

(52) peʃ toqtai kontestaheri kiliruri

peʃ toq-ta=i Ø-contestar-er-i
 people drink-AG.NMLZ-COP.S3SG:PFV O3SG-reply-S3PL-PST

Ø-ka-ir-u-ri

O3SG-make-S3PL-HAB-PST

‘The “people-eaters” replied.’

(53) toʔnari ãtajã laguna tʃa pok tʃwa

toʔ=nari ã-ta=yã laguna tʃa-Ø-wa
 MED.DEM=also DIST.DEM-DIST.DEM=LOC lake be.there-S3SG-PFV

pok tʃa-i-wa

two be.there-S3SG-PFV

‘Over there, there is also a lake, there are two.’

(54) ãkã kãã brii ãkẽ

ã=kan kãã a-bri=i ã=ken

DIST.DEM=LOC village POSS3SG-edge=COP:S3SG:PFV PROX.DEM=LOC

‘Over there, it is at the edge of the village.’

(55) arirutwawī āpā to? wah kontestahkira

a-r-ir-u-tV-wa=wī ā=yā to? wah
 O3SG-APPL.P-know-S2-NEG-PFV=2PL DIST.DEM=LOC MED.DEM also

.

∅-contestar-ka-ir-wa

O3SG-reply-make-S3PL-PFV

‘“You don’t know,” they also replied there.’

(56) ñyā akakereruri su?isma awahkē

ñ=yā a-ka-er-ru-ri su?is=ma
 PROX.DEM=LOC O3SG-make-S3PL-HAB-PST donkey=TOP

.

a-wah-ha=ken

POSS3SG-call-NMLZ=SIM

‘There, they imitated the bray of the donkey.’

(57) iʃkiriruri

∅-iʃk-ir-ru-ri

O3SG-make-S3PL-HAB-PST

‘They produced it.’

(58) ākā kiruri

ā=kan ∅-ka-ir-u-ri

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S3PL-HAB-PST

AM: ‘They did like that.’

(59) oo toʔ awah kontestahkira

oo toʔ awah Ø-contestar-ka-ir-wa
 yes MED.DEM also O3SG-reply-make-S3PL-PFV

VG: ‘Yes, they also replied with that.’

(60) toʔkē onanaparmã pakra kaõʃkerma ã mismo notʃe

toʔ=ken õ-n-na-par-i=mã
 MED.DEM=SIM sleep-DUR-go-S1PL.INCL-PST=when

Ø-pak-er-wa ka-õʃk-er-i=ma ã misma
 O3SG-take-S3PL-PFV O3PL-bury-S3PL-PST=when DIST.DEM same

noche

night

‘When we were going to die, they took them and buried them that same night.’

(61) ã kakapa kaãfeiruri

ã kakapa ka-ã-fe-i-ru-ri
 DIST.DEM night O3PL-eat-TOT-S3SG-HAB-PST

‘That night, it ate them.’

(62) pokta yea pakaõʃkermã ã awahma asoro ãmustepe

pok-ta ye-a Ø-pa-ka-õʃk-er-i=mã
 two-up.to small-NMLZ O3SG-take-O3PL-bury-S3PL-PST=when

ã awah=ma aso=ro ã-mus-t-Ø-i=pe

DIST.DEM also=TOP water=ABS CAUS-fill.up-DUR-S3SG-PST=only

‘When they took up to two kids to bury them, he also made the water rise (fill up).’

(63) rebalsei|kuri ri to? tiwirai ũruũrunai

Ø-rebasar-ijk-Ø-u-ri=eri to?

O3SG-overflow-make-S3SG-HAB-PST=since MED.DEM

tiwi-ra=i

ũru-ũru-na=i

fodder-NMLZ.field=COP:S3SG:PFV deep-deep-ADJZ=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Since the time it was flooded, it is that field. It is very deep.’

(64) ah ũru

ah ũru=i

INTERJ deep=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘Ah, it is deep.’

(65) oo tʃoki ũrũnahi sa poki ãrama must teweruri ã kãs sokya

oo tʃo?=i ũru-ũru-na=hi sa

yes hill=COP:S3SG:PFV deep-deep-ADJZ=COP:S3SG:PFV rock

Ø-pok-Ø-i

ã=ra

ã=ma

O3SG-put.in-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=ABS DIST.DEM=TOP

Ø-mus-t-Ø-i

teweh-Ø-ru-ri

ã

O3SG-fill.up-DUR-S3SG-PST go.up-S3SG-HAB-PST DIST.DEM

kās sokya

Donkey.tiger beast

VG: ‘Yes, it is a hill, it is very deep. He put in a rock. He filled that up. That beast came up, the Donkey-tiger.’

(66) āṇāma kawaski kāturi āro

ā=yā=ma ka-pask-∅-i

DIST.DEM=LOC=TOP O3PL-take.out-S3SG-PST

.

ka-ā-t-∅-u-ri ā=ro

O3PL-eat-DUR-S3SG-HAB-PST DIST.DEM=ABS

‘There it took them out, it ate them, those ones.’

(67) āṇāra kās

ā=ṇā=ra kās

DIST.DEM=INDF=ABS Donkey.tiger

AM: ‘That Donkey-tiger.’

(68) āro

ā=ro

DIST.DEM=ABS

VG: ‘That one.’

(69) ka kās

ka kās

HES Donkey.tiger

AM: ‘The Donkey-tiger.’

(70) ã nãhferi

ã Ø-yãh-fe-ir-i

DIST.DEM O3SG-say-TOT-S3PL-PST

VG: 'Everyone told that one.'

(71) wula pef ëhema sukya

wula pef yëh-ha=ma sukia

foreign people say-NMLZ=TOP shaman

'In the Miskito language, he is the "sukia".'

(72) wãta

wãta

shaman

'The shaman.'

(73) ìkarawasa yeha

ì=kan-ka-Ø-wa=sa ye-ha

PROX.DEM=SIM-make-S3SG-PFV=C.Q small-NMLZ

'What did he do to the child?'

(74) yeha ùtaëfkwa to? iŋkerwa ãnã awah

ye-ha ù-ta-ã-iŋk-Ø-wa to?

small-NMLZ EXCL-O1-eat-make-S3SG-PFV MED.DEM

.

Ø-iŋk-er-wa ã=yã awah

O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC also

'The child (said), "They are eating us, they do that here also."'

(75) wāta teʔki

wāta teʔk-∅-i

shaman come-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘The shaman came.’

(76) oho wāta

oo wāta

yes shaman

VG: ‘Yes, the shaman.’

(77) wāta ākama ākanawī

wāta ā=kan=ma ā=kan=wa=hā

shaman DIST.DEM=SIM=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV=FOC

‘Then, he is like that, the shaman.’

(78) ūtatoʔtʃepakwa kāha ʃita

ū-ta-tok-tʃe-pak-∅-wa kāha ʃa-i-ta

EXCL-O1-drink-TOT-take-S3SG-PFV village be.there-S3SG-AG.NMLZ

‘“He is going to eat us all from the village.”’

(79) ākama ākanawī tis tawakupiwa naawa kaaʃtapa kaawa

ā=kan=ma ā=kan=wa=hā tis

DIST.DEM=SIM=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV=FOC a.little

.

ta-wak-u-pi=wa na-a-wa ka-aʃtapa-a-wa

O1-wait-S2-FUT=2PL go-S1SG-PFV O3PL-scold-S1SG-PFV

.

Ø-ka-a-wa

O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

‘Then it is like that, “You will wait a bit for me. I will go and scold them. I will do it.”’

(80) tori nāri kawapawa tikaki

to=ri ã=ri ka-ka-pa-a-wa

MED.DEM=MDT DIST.DEM=MDT O3PL-APPL.R-take-S1SG-PFV

tVk-ka-Ø-i

say-O3PL-S3SG-PST

‘From that and from that, “I will take them,” he told them.’

(81) tikakaƟona

tVk-ka-Ø-wa=Ɵona

say-O3PL-S3SG-PFV=HEM

‘He told them, you see.’

(82) tikakiti ke peƟra ke pataõƟepatiri

tVk-ka-i-tV-i ke peƟ=ra ke

say-O3PL-S3SG-NEG-PST already people=ABS already

pa-ta-õƟ-Ɵe-Ø-pa-t-i-ri

INCL-O1-lose-TOT-S3SG-take-IT-S3SG-PST

‘He told them already, “He lost us people, he took us all.”’

(83) ke awah meh kah ã wawakatora pataãƟe pataãƟe

ke awah meh kah ã wawakato=ra

already also three four DIST.DEM settler=ABS

pa-ta-ã-fe-Ø-wa

pa-ta-ã-fe-Ø-wa

INCL-O1-eat-TOT-S3SG-PFV INCL-O1-eat-TOT-S3SG-PFV

‘“He has eaten all the settlers, already three or four.”’

(84) nei terũpra toki

na-Ø-i

tV-Ø-er-wa=pra

Ø-tok-Ø-i

go-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST

‘He went, they say, he went in.’

(85) wātaha?

wāta=ha

shaman=FOC

AM: ‘The shaman.’

(86) oho wātai

oo wāta=i

yes shaman=COP:S3SG:PFV

VG: ‘Yes, it is the shaman.’

(87) toki nei kaʃabama newitʃii teʔboʃa

Ø-tok-Ø-i

na-Ø-i

ka-ʃa-bar-wa=ma

O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-PST O3PL-see-S1PL.EXCL-PFV=when

na-i-witʃ-i-i

teʔ-bo-n-Ø-wa

go-S3SG-return-S3SG-PST come-leave-DUR-S3SG-PFV

‘He went in, he left. When we saw him, he was leaving. He came back.’

(88) neya ã kakapa newifii ke arahka te?bohni ta? tʃok

na-∅-i=hã ã kakapa na-i-witʃ-i-i ke
 go-S3SG-PST=FOC DIST.DEM night go-S3SG-return-S3SG-PST already

arahk-a te?-boh-n-∅-i ta tʃo?
 dawn-NMLZ come-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM hill

‘He left that night and he came back. He returned already at dawn to that hill.’

(89) atañāma nebohtihī kortapa? korazal ti?kelera kortapa?

ata=yã=ma na-boh-t-i-hi kor-tapa?
 other.side=LOC=TOP go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST corozo.palm-field

korazal tVʔk-∅-er-wa kor-tapa?
 corozo.palm.field say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV corozo.palm-field

‘He went out to the other side, where they call it “Corozal,” the corozo palm field.’

(90) kortapa?

kor-tapa?
 corozo.palm-field

AM: ‘(It is) the corozo palm field.’

(91) oo kortapa?

oo kor-tapa?
 yes corozo.palm-field

VG: ‘Yes, (it is) the corozo palm field.’

(92) toyã tokturi toki nebohturi

to=yã Ø-tok-t-u-Ø-ri Ø-tok-Ø-i
 MED.DEM=LOC O3SG-enter-DUR-HAB-S3SG-PST O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST

.

na-boh-t-u-Ø-ri
 go-leave-DUR-HAB-S3SG-PST

‘There, he entered, he was going to leave.’

(93) ikatam yarwawã

ikata=ma yar=wa=hã
 now=TOP true=COP:S3SG:PFV=FOC

‘Now, that is true.’

(94) nakafa ke nakafarte?kawawi? akatiwuwuru

na-a-ka-fa-a-wa ke
 go-S1SG-O3PL-see-S1SG-PFV already

.

na-a-ka-fa-a-te?k-a-wa=ha
 go-S1SG-O3PL-see-S1SG-come-S1SG-PFV=FOC

.

akati-u-tV-h=wa
 be.afraid-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT=2PL

‘I already went to see them and came (back), “Don’t be afraid!” ’

(95) ĩ kakana ompifka wãwãha aso te?pihã?

ĩ kakana ompif-ka wãwã-ha aso

PROX.DEM night wind–NMLZ thunder–NMLZ water

.

teʔ–Ø–pi=hã?

come–S3SG–FUT=FOC

‘“Tonight there will be wind, thunder and water. It will come.’

(96) ãma akatiwuru ãma ĩ kãtepahã? tiʔktʃona ãma

ãma akati–u–tV–h=wa ãma ĩ

HES be.afraid–S2–NEG–PROX.FUT=2PL HES PROX.DEM

.

ka–ã–tV–pa=hã? tVʔk–ka–Ø–i=tʃona

O3PL–eat–NEG–S1SG:FUT=FOC say–O3PL–S3SG–PST=HEM

.

ã=ma

DIST.DEM=TOP

‘“Don’t be afraid! I won’t eat them,” he told them, you see.’

(97) ãma ari kawapariʃ

ã=ma ari ka–pa–pa=riʃ

DIST.DEM=TOP clear O3PL–take–S1SG:FUT=REAS

‘“Because I want to take them, of course.’

(98) ĩ warko wryaʔro tiʔkati ãkama ẽnepra

ĩ warko wriha=ro tVʔ–ka–t–Ø–i

PROX.DEM bad various=ABS say–O3PL–DUR–S3SG–PST

.

ã=kan=ma ěje=pra

DIST.DEM=SIM=TOP well=EMPH

‘“This group of demons,” he told them then. “It is good.”’

(99) tiʔka kafohwa yari ã kakaja

tVʔ-ka-a-h ka-ʃa-u-h=wa

say-O3PL-S1SG-PROX.FUT O3PL-see-S2-PROX.FUT=2PL

.

yar=i ã kakaja

true=COP.S3SG.PFV DIST.DEM night

‘“I will tell them, ‘You will truly see tonight.’”’

(100) yar arkatii terũpra

yar a-r-ka-t-i-i tV-Ø-er-wa=pra

true O3SG-APPL.P-make-DUR-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH

‘He truly did it, they say.’

(101) asori ompifiri awawãhri aranitwe aranitwe aranitwe

aso=ri ompifiri=ri a-wawãh=ri

water=COORD wind=COORD POSS3SG-thunder=COORD

.

ara-n-i-teweh-Ø-i

sound-DUR-S3SG-go.up-S3SG-PST

.

ara-n-i-teweh-Ø-i

sound-DUR-S3SG-go.up-S3SG-PST

ara-n-i-teweh-Ø-i

sound-DUR-S3SG-go.up-S3SG-PST

‘The water, the wind and the thunder made noise while going up.’

(102) kakirei tʃomihã ĩ apĩki takẽ arantape

kakirei Ø-tʃa-u-pi=hã ĩ

midnight O3SG-see-S2-FUT=FOC PROX.DEM

a-piʃk-Ø-i takẽ

REFL-lay.down-S3SG-PST sea

ara-n-Ø-tʃa-Ø-pi

sound-DUR-S3SG-be.there-S3SG-FUT

‘‘At night, you will see that one laying down. The sea will sound.’

(103) plom plom wahnitape terũpra

plom plom Ø-wah-n-i-tʃa-Ø-pi

IDEO IDEO O3SG-call-DUR-S3SG-be.there-S3SG-FUT

tV-Ø-er-wa=pra

say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=EMPH

‘‘It will call ‘‘plom, plom,’’ they say.’’

(104) ãma kaʃ kawahkan ãnã kapiʃkumã ãriʃki pum pum

ã=ma wakaf ka-wah-Ø-wa=kan ã=yã

DIST.DEM=TOP cow O3PL-call-S3SG-PFV=SIM DIST.DEM=LOC

ka-piʃk-∅-wa=mã a-r-iʃk-∅-i

O3PL-hit-S3SG-PFV=when O3SG-APPL.P-make-S3SG-PST

pum pum

IDEO IDEO

‘Like how one calls that livestock. There, when it hits that, it made “pum, pum,” on it.’

(105) as aʃihi as atʃihi as atʃihi ãma peʃparkẽ tʃeleri

as a-tʃah-i-hi as a-tʃah-i-hi as

one REFL-sit-S3SG-PST one REFL-sit-S3SG-PST one

a-tʃah-i-hi ã=ma peʃ-par=ken

REFL-sit-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP POSS3PL-tail=LOC

tʃere-er-i

go.down-S3PL-PST

‘He sat on one and another (bull). He went down their tails.’

(106) asãkama fereli todo ï warku tʃerma kawafẽ

a-sã=kan=ma tʃere-∅-i todo ï warku

POSS3SG-head=LOC=TOP go.down-S3SG-PST all PROX.DEM bad

tʃa-er-wa=ma ka-pa-ʃe-∅-i

be.there-S3PL-PFV=NOM O3PL-take-TOT-S3SG-PST

‘He went down the head of all those beasts that were there. He took them.’

(107) akaʃkwa piya kawaki sa takē takē sa pusti? tikeleri ĩkē

akaʃkwa pi-ah ka-pak-Ø-i sa takē takē sa
 then place-NMLZ O3PL-take-S3SG-PST rock sea sea rock

pust=ʔi tV̥k-Ø-er-i ĩ=ken

narrow=COP:S3SG:PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PST PROX.DEM=LOC

‘Then, he took them to the sea. It is the narrow rock, as they call it here.’

(108) sa pusti? piyasa

sa pust=ʔi pi-ah=sa
 rock narrow=COP:S3SG:PFV place-NMLZ=C.Q

AM: ‘Where is the narrow rock?’

(109) takē saṅã

takē sa=yã
 sea in=LOC

VG: ‘Inside the sea.’

(110) takē asaṅã toʔkēre piri tahkē asãṅã?

takē a-sa=yã toʔ=ken=re piri tah=ken
 sea POSS3SG-in=LOC MED.DEM=SIM=PURP sky path=LOC

a-sã=yã?

POSS3SG-head=LOC

‘Inside the sea, where the sun comes up, at the headwaters.’

(111) ãñã paka as toʔki kafaraha takẽ asañã

ã=yã Ø-pak-Ø-wa as Ø-tokk-Ø-i
 DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV one O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST

kafara-ha takẽ a-sa=yã
 stream-NMLZ sea POSS3SG-in=LOC

‘He took him there. He went into a stream, offshore.’

(112) ãñã kãs tiʔki kawijki kadenahyo

ã=yã kãs Ø-tiʔk-Ø-i
 DIST.DEM=LOC Donkey.tiger O3SG-tie-S3SG-PST

ka-wijki-Ø-i cadena=yo
 O3PL-give:O3-S3SG-PST chain=INS

‘There he tied the Donkey-tiger. He hit them with a chain.’

(113) ãma ïkitama ãñã atʃopiwa

ã=ma ïkita=ma ã=yã a-tʃah-u-pi=wa
 DIST.DEM=TOP now=TOP DIST.DEM=LOC REFL-sit-S2-FUT=2PL

‘“Here you will dwell now.”’

(114) tikakiti ti katiʔktʃehi

tVk-ka-t-Ø-i tV-Ø-Ø-i ka-tiʔk-tʃe-Ø-hi
 say-O3PL-DUR-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3SG-PST O3PL-tie-TOT-S3SG-PST

‘He told them. He said he tied up all of them.’

(115) ãtaʔma aiwa tiʔka toʔ hena

ã-taʔ=ma a-iwa tiʔk-a toʔ hena
 DIST.DEM-up.to=TOP POSS3SG-owner tie-PTCP MED.DEM careful

‘Up to there, (he told) the owner, “Careful with those tied up ones.’

(116) kartaʔkurutih tikiti aiwãutʃona

ka-r-taʔk-u-tV-h tVk-Ø-t-Ø-i
 O3PL-APPL.P-abandon-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT say-O3SG-IT-S3SG-PST

.

a-iwã=wa=tʃona
 POSS3SG-owner=COP:S3SG:PFV=HEM

‘“Don’t abandon them there,” he told him. They had an owner, you see.’

(117) ãna warkwa atayã wah wejbarwa

ã=na warkwa ata=yã wah
 PROX.DEM=INDF bad other.side=LOC also

.

Ø-wef-bar-wa
 O3SG-hear-S1PL.EXCL-PFV

‘We heard over there about the beast (evil thing).’

(118) oo

oo
 yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(119) ãka tiʔkawekisa

ĩ=kan ka-tiʔ-ka-pek-i-si=sa

PROX.DEM=SIM O3PL-tie-O3PL-bring-S2SG-PROX.PST=C.Q

VG: ‘“How did you tie them up and bring them in?”’

(120) ãma taʔrayope

ã=ma ta-ʔra=yo=pe

DIST.DEM=TOP POSS1-liver=INS=only

‘“With my thoughts only.”’⁴

(121) anihã weʃkerw kaka kawekawawi

ani=ha Ø-weʃk-er-wa Ø-kak-a-wa

there-FOC O3SG-hear-S3PL-PFV O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

ka-pek-a-wa=wi

O3PL-bring-S1SG-PFV=long.time

‘“(So that) they hear (what) I did, I bring them.”’

(122) peʃri kaētʃelerwa wiʃi tewēhti

peʃ=ri ka-ã-tʃe-er-wa wiʃi tewēh-Ø-tV-i

people=MDT O3PL-eat-TOT-S3PL-PFV snake go.up-S3SG-NEG-PST

‘They ate all the people. The snake did not go up.’

(123) ã wātama

ã wāta=ma

DIST.DEM shaman=TOP

AM: ‘The shaman.’

(124) ke tewēumã atyempoma

ke tewēh-∅-wa=mã a.tiempo=ma
 already go.up-S3SG-PFV=when on.time=TOP

VG: ‘When (the shaman) came up at the right time.’

(125) monoki monoki

∅-monok-∅-i ∅-monok-∅-i
 O3SG-put.down-S3SG-PST O3SG-put.down-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘He put it down (made it calm).’

(126) kaka? najẽĩ astĩ

kaka? na-∅-ja-∅-i astĩ=i
 quiet go-O3SG-see-S3SG-PST sad=COP:S3SG:PFV

VG: ‘He quietly went and saw. He was sad.’

(127) astĩ

astĩ
 quiet

AM: ‘Sad.’

(128) ãra jelerma asope

ã=ra ∅-ja-er-wa=ma aso=pe
 DIST.DEM=ABS O3SG-see-S3PL-PFV=when water=only

VG: ‘When they saw that, (there was) only water.’

(129) yarti ke ã? mono?kwa

yar-t=i ke ã? ∅-mono?k-∅-wa
 true-DUR=COP.S3SG.PFV already sun O3SG-put.down-S3SG-PFV

‘True, the sun already set.’

(130) epipra

epã=i=pra

well=COP:S3SG:PFV=EMPH

AM: 'It's good.'

(131) ãñã kãs ti?kteki

ã=yã kãs Ø-ti?k-Ø-tek-Ø-i

DIST.DEM=LOC Donkey.tiger 03SG-tie-s3SG-come-s3SG-PST

VG: 'He tied the Donkey-tiger there and came back.'

(132) epei epei

epe=i epe=i

well=COP:S3SG:PFV well=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: 'It's ok, it's ok.'

(133) ãma te?keri

ã=ma te?-Ø-i ke=ri

DIST.DEM=TOP come-s3SG-PST before=TEMP

VG: 'That one came before.'

(134) oo

oo

yes

AM: 'Yes.'

(135) kekeri

ke-ke=ri

before-before=TEMP

ã=ma a-waki=kan=pe

DIST.DEM=TOP POSS3SG-in.front=LOC=only

‘One should not go behind him, only in front of him.’

TAKASKRO ‘THE SASQUATCH’, TOLD BY JUAN ÁNGEL CRIMINIO

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The narrative *Takaskro* ‘The Sasquatch’ was told by Juan Ángel Criminio, a native speaker from Carbón who was born in 1978. This story was recorded by Claudine Chamoreau and Ángel Martínez, a Pesh collaborator of the Documentation project. Claudine Chamoreau transcribed this text with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. This narrative is the Pesh version of an important character in American Indigenous traditions, a part human, part animal figure, known as “Bigfoot” or “Sasquatch”. He was described as a hairy monster with manlike characteristics who kidnapped women to take them to his cave, and who had his feet turned backwards to outwit those who wanted to pursue him. In this version, the Sasquatch kidnaps two sisters called Jícara and takes them to his stone house (his cave). A man named Kakao, the brother of the two women, fights the Sasquatch by taking the shape of various animals to save the women: a wasp, a yellow tiger, a red tiger, and a bat or group of bats (there are inconsistencies in number reference to the bats and to the sisters). In the end, the man is able to kill the Sasquatch with a spear despite his thick hairy skin. Thus, Kakao saves his sisters. However, as they were made pregnant out of wedlock by the Sasquatch, he makes them disappear because it is not acceptable to him and to Christian morality.

(1) kris ye korta pok tʃiriwa eka katʃaraha atahyã

kris ye korta pok tʃa-er-ri-wa eka katʃara-ha

time small woman two be.there-S3PL-PST-PFV PRO3 stream-NMLZ

a-tah=yã

POSS3SG-foot=LOC

JC: ‘Once upon a time, two young women were at the foot of a stream of water.’

(2) takaskro as kawaski

takaskro as ka-pask-Ø-i

Sasquatch INDF.ART O3PL-take.out-S3SG-PST

‘A Sasquatch found them.’

(3) i to? korta pokma niri este ÿã kahku

i to? korta pok=ma na-i-ri este

HES MED.DEM woman two=TOP go-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM

.

ÿ=yã kahku

PROX.DEM=LOC cacao

‘Those two women went here, (they were) Kakao’s (sisters).’

(4) wileri pokro

wi=l-er-i pok=ro

gourd=COP-S3PL-PST two=ABS

‘The two were called “Jícara.”’

(5) apatfaleri pokro

a-patfa=l-er-i pok=ro

POSS3SG-woman’s.sister=COP-S3PL-PST two=ABS

‘The two were sisters.’

(6) ïk akēs as takaskro ũtrō?tihere

ï=kan akēs as takaskro ũ-trō?-Ø-tV-i=here

PROX.DEM=SIM thus one Sasquatch CAUS-kidnap-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

‘And, thus the Sasquatch kidnapped them.’

(7) ĭk akēs ũtroʔki paki saʔ akaʔoyã kakastoki

ĭ=kan akēs ũ-troʔk-∅-i ∅-pak-∅-i

PROX.DEM=SIM thus CAUS-kidnap-S3SG-PST O3SG-take-S3SG-PST

.

saʔ a-kaʔo=yã ka-kastok-∅-i

rock POSS3SG-house=LOC O3PL-put.in-S3SG-PST

‘Thus he kidnapped them, he took them, he put them in the cave.’

(8) kii toʔ takaskrohi

∅-ka-i-i toʔ takaskro=hi

O3SG-make-S3SG-PST MED.DEM Sasquatch=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘That is what the Sasquatch did to them.’

(9) ĭk akēs aska kũũ teʔki

ĭ=kan akēs aska kũũ teʔk-∅-i

PROX.DEM=SIM thus wasp IDEO come-S3SG-PST

‘And then the wasp came (to release the women).’

(10) arwã patere arwã tahpũkraas

arwã=s ∅-pa-∅-tV-i=here arwã

man=INDF.ART O3SG-take-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR man

.

tah-pũk=i=ras

foot-hairy=COP:S3SG:PFV=REAS

‘The man (Kakao) took the shape of it (the wasp) because the man (the Sasquatch) is hairy.’

(11) ĩk akēs paki

ĩ=kan akēs Ø-pak-Ø-i
 PROX.DEM=SIM thus O3SG-take-S3SG-PST

‘Thus, he took the shape of it (the wasp).’

(12) u? sewas patihere nebohnimã aso to? sã aka?oyãhi

u? sewa=s Ø-pa-Ø-tV-i=here
 tiger yellow=INDF.ART O3SG-take-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

.

ne-boh-n-Ø-i=mã aso to? sã
 go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST=when water MED.DEM rock

.

a-ka?o=yã=hi
 POSS3SG-house=LOC=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Then he took the shape of a yellow tiger when he arrived at the water, at the stone’s house.’

(13) u? sewa nebohni

u? sewa ne-boh-n-Ø-i
 tiger yellow go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST

‘The yellow tiger arrived.’

(14) aparha sukhii kamiski teri ÿã kabrĩñãhã

a-par-ha Ø-sukuh-i-i ka-misk-Ø-i
 POSS3SG-tail-NMLZ O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST O3PL-throw-S3SG-PST

.

tV-Ø-er-i ĩ=yã kabrĩ=yã=hã
 say-O3SG-S3PL-PST PROX.DEM=LOC ditch=LOC=FOC

‘He (the Sasquatch) caught him by his tail. He threw him here, into the ditch, they said.’

(15) ĩk akēs warkite?tihere aa te?ki papiro as

ĩ=kan akēs wark-i-te?-t-Ø-i=here aa
 PROX.DEM=SIM thus repeat-S3SG-come-DUR-S3SG-PST=MIR HES

te?k-Ø-i Ø-pa-Ø-pi=ro as
 come-S3SG-PST O3SG-take-S3SG-FUT=PURP one

‘And then, he came again to take another shape (a red tiger).’

(16) pokpakomã ã nētāhyere ĩñãhã u? pāwã tikleri

Ø-pok-Ø-pak-Ø-u-i=mã ã nē-Ø-tVh-i=here
 O3SG-put.in-O3SG-take-S3SG-HAB-PST=when DIST.DEM go-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

ĩ=yã=hã u? pāwã tVk-Ø-er-i
 PROX.DEM=LOC=FOC tiger red say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘When he possessed it and took the shape of it, he went here, as a red tiger (as) they call him.’

(17) ĩk akēs warkinetiri to sa ka?oyã to apatʃa paspiro

ĩ=kan akēs wark-i-ne-t-i-ri to sa
 PROX.DEM=SIM thus repeat-S3SG-go-IT-S3SG-PST MED.DEM rock

ka?o=yã to a-patʃa
 house=LOC MED.DEM POSS3SG-woman’s.sister

∅-pas-∅-pi=ro

O3SG-take.out-S3SG-FUT=PURP

‘Thus once again he (Kakao) went to the stone house to find his sister.’

(18) nebonamã warkyera a aparyã sukuhi

ne-bo-n-∅-wa=mã warkera a a-par=yã

go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PFV=when once.again HES POSS3SG-tail=LOC

∅-sukuh-i-i

O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST

‘When he arrived (as the red tiger), he (the Sasquatch) caught him once again by the tail.’

(19) akasnyere

a-ka-asne-∅-tV-i=here

O3SG-APPL.R-throw.out-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

‘He threw him out.’

(20) to? takaskro iʃtihere ãk akēs miski

to? takaskro ∅-iʃ-∅-tV-i=here

MED.DEM Sasquatch O3SG-make-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

ĩ=kan akēs ∅-misk-∅-i

PROX.DEM=SIM thus O3SG-throw-S3SG-PST

‘The Sasquatch did this in that way, he threw him.’

(21) ãnã iʃtina ke

ĩ=ɲã Ø-ɨf-Ø-tV-i=na ke
 PROX.DEM=INDF O3SG-make-S3SG-NEG-PST=REP already

‘It is said that he (Kakao) couldn’t do a thing.’

(22) ke ɨftina akēsri to ĩ ĩ tikileri ỹyã

ke Ø-ɨf-Ø-tV-i=na akēs=ri to
 already O3SG-make-S3SG-NEG-PST=REP thus=TEMP MED.DEM

ĩ ỹ tVɨ-Ø-er-i ỹ=yã
 PROX.DEM PROX.DEM say-O3SG-S3PL-PST PROX.DEM=LOC

‘He didn’t do anything until this point, they said here.’

(23) tikimi tikileri takaskro akaʔo akaʔo ũtrōhtipisre ã ỹyã

tikimi tVɨ-Ø-er-i takaskro a-kaʔo a-kaʔo
 bat say-O3SG-S3PL-PST Sasquatch POSS3SG-house POSS3SG-house

ũ-trōh-t-i-pi=sre ã ỹ=yã
 CAUS-kidnap-DUR-S3SG-FUT=UNCRT DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC

‘Then the bat, as they said, entered the house of the Sasquatch to steal something.’

(24) asaɲãɲĩ kaʔo asa kaʔo asa saɲãɲĩ saɲã

a-sa=yã=r-Ø-i kaʔo a-sa kaʔo
 POSS3SG-rock=LOC=COP-S3SG-PST house POSS3SG-rock house

a-sa sa=yã=r-Ø-i sa=yã
 POSS3SG-rock rock=LOC=COP-S3SG-PST rock=LOC

‘The house was in the stone, the stones of the house, the stones of the house. It was in the stone.’

(25) akaʃkwa tokkeri to tikimi

akaʃkwa Ø-tokk-er-i to tikimi
 then O3SG-enter-S3PL-PST MED.DEM bat

‘Thus, the bats entered.’

(26) āhī akawa ũtrōhtipiro akaʔo asai

ā=hī a-kawa
 DIST.DEM=FOC POSS3SG-spouse

ũ-trōh-t-i-pi=ro a-kaʔo
 CAUS-kidnap-DUR-S3SG-FUT=PURP POSS3SG-house

a-sa=i
 POSS3SG-rock=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘He (the bat) was about to kidnap his spouse, as well as the stones of the house.’

(27) akaʃkwa ũtrōhtihere

akaʃkwa ũ-trōh-Ø-tV-i=here
 then CAUS-kidnap-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

‘Thus he (the bat) kidnapped her.’

(28) ũtrōki peʔki ke

ũ-trōhk-Ø-i Ø-peʔk-Ø-i ke
 CAUS-kidnap-S3SG-PST O3SG-bring-S3SG-PST already

‘He kidnapped her, he already brought her.’

(29) ĭ takaskro prohpiroma pastitawa ke

ĭ takaskro Ø-proh-Ø-pi=ro=ma
 PROX.DEM Sasquatch O3SG-look.for-S3SG-FUT=PURP=TOP

Ø-pas-t-i-tV-wa ke
 O3SG-take.out-DUR-S3SG-NEG-PFV already

‘This Sasquatch will look for her, he didn’t find her.’

(30) toma ke ũtrõhkiri aspe tukirina to punsu ka?oro

to=ma ke ũ-trõhk-ir-i as=pe
 MED.DEM=TOP already CAUS-kidnap-S3PL-PST one=only

Ø-tuk-ir-i=na to punsu ka?o=ro
 O3SG-put-S3PL-PST=REP MED.DEM mahogany house=ABS

‘They (the bats) stole only one. They put her in this house of mahogany.’

(31) kekeri akes warkera ka?o sapa nētihere akes a takaskroma ke

ke-ke=ri akes warkera ka?o sapa
 before-before=TEMP thus once.again house mouth

nē-Ø-tV-i=here akes a takaskro=ma ke
 go-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR thus HES Sasquatch=TOP already

‘Before, thus once again the Sasquatch went to the house’s door.’

(32) arpaskertihere waskeri

a-r-pask-er-tV-i=here Ø-pask-er-i

O3SG-APPL.P-take.out-S3PL-NEG-PST=MIR O3SG-take.out-S3PL-PST

‘They found him. They took him out.’

(33) ūkaprilerā a akaii iŋtihi ke akes

ū-kapri-er-wa a a-kai-Ø-i

CAUS-fight-S3PL-PFV HES REFL-anger-S3SG-PST

.

Ø-ij-t-i-hi ke akes

O3SG-make-DUR-S3SG-PST already thus

‘They fought. He already did this. He got angry.’

(34) tikima ā nāawa tikina iŋā nāawa iŋā pirwakawa tikitihere

tVk-Ø-Ø-i=ma ā nā-a-wa

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=NOM DIST.DEM go-S1SG-PFV

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-i=na i=yā nā-a-wa

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=REP PROX.DEM=LOC go-S1SG-PFV

.

i=yā pi-r-wak-a-wa

PROX.DEM=LOC O2-APPL.P-wait-S1SG-PFV

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-tV-i=here

say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

‘What he said, “I am going,” it is said that he said, “I am going here, I am waiting for you,” he said.’

(35) ika akēs āyā asukuhertihere ī arosa tikeleryo

ika akēs ā=yā a-sukuh-er-tV-i=here ī
 and thus DIST.DEM=LOC RECP-grab-S3PL-NEG-PST=MIR PROX.DEM

arosa tVk-Ø-er-i=yo
 spear say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=INS

‘And thus they grabbed each other with the spear as they said.’

(36) arosa arosama ī kasurustaken anuʔa

arosa arosa=ma ī kasurusta=ken a-nuʔa
 spear spear=TOP PROX.DEM knife=SIM POSS3SG-point

‘The spear is like the point of the knife.’

(37) akes īnā naawa tikihere

akes ī=yā na-a-wa tVk-Ø-Ø-tV-i=here
 thus PROX.DEM=LOC go-S1SG-PFV say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

‘Thus, “Here, I am going,” he said.’

(38) pyahro araku tikiwa

pi-ah=ro a-ra-ka-ya tVk-Ø-i-wa
 place-NMLZ=ABS O3SG-APPL.P-make-S2:PFV say-O3SG-S3SG-PFV

‘“Who are you shooting at?,” he says.’

(39) tas titi to īyā taprohneri

tas tV-Ø-t-Ø-i to ī=yā
 PRO1 say-O3SG-IT-S3SG-PST MED.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC

ta-proh-na-er-i

O1-look.for-go-S3PL-PST

‘“Me,” he said to them, “here they looked for me and they went.”’

(40) ãã ãkēsri takaskroma ã ãpero peʔnēro ãyã ke

ãã ãkēs=ri takaskro=ma ã ã=pero

HES thus=TEMP Sasquatch=TOP PROX.DEM DIST.DEM=only

.

Ø-peʔ-nã-Ø-i-ro ã=yã ke

O3SG-bring-go-S3SG-PST=ACC PROX.DEM=LOC already

‘Thus the Sasquatch alone went here.’

(41) takaskro arkaterwamã artoktina to

takaskro a-r-ka-t-er-wa=mã

Sasquatch O3SG-APPL.P-make-DUR-S3PL-PFV=when

.

a-r-tok-Ø-tV-i=na to

O3SG-APPL.P-enter-S3SG-NEG-PST=REP MED.DEM

‘When they shot the Sasquatch, that (spear) did not enter.’

(42) kakina ã ãyã tikileri ã ãyã

ka-ka-Ø-i=na ã ã=yã

O3PL-make-S3SG-PST=REP DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC

.

tVk-Ø-er-i ã ã=yã

say-O3SG-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC

‘He fought them here, they said.’

(43) arosa tikii arosa artokktitahi

arosa tVk-Ø-i-i arosa

spear say-O3SG-S3SG-PST spear

.

a-r-tok-t-i-tVh-i

O3SG-APPL.P-enter-DUR-S3SG-NEG-PST

‘The spear did not enter.’

(44) ākanro ñkitama tas nāawa tiktii

ā=kan=ro ñkita=ma tas nā-a-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP now=TOP PRO1 go-S1SG-PFV

.

tVk-Ø-t-i-i

say-O3SG-DUR-S3SG-PST

‘“This is the reason why I am going now,” he said.’

(45) ā to kakuya paki to arwā atapunai

ā to kaku=ya Ø-pak-Ø-i to arwā

DIST.DEM MED.DEM cocoa=ERG O3SG-take-S3SG-PST MED.DEM man

.

a-tapuna=i

POSS3SG-strength=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Kakao took him, that man is strong (courageous).’

(46) ākanro te?tihere

ã=kan=ro teʔ-i-tV-i=here

DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP come-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR

‘This is the reason why he (Kakao) came.’

(47) arkatewama arkatewama arani nētoki nēhti to

a-r-ka-t-∅-wa=ma

O3SG-APPL.P-make-IT-S3SG-PFV=when

.

a-r-ka-t-∅-wa=ma

ara-n-∅-i

O3SG-appl.P-make-IT-S3SG-PFV=when sound-IT-S3SG-PST

.

nã-i-tok-∅-i

nã-i-ãh-t-∅-i

to

go-S3SG-enter-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-fall-IT-S3SG-PST MED.DEM

‘When he (Kakao) hit him, there was a sound and he (the Sasquatch) fell inside.’

(48) takaskrohi maski atani

takaskro=hi

∅-mask-∅-i

atani

Sasquatch=COP:S3SG:PFV O3SG-kill-S3SG-PST there

‘It is the Sasquatch. He (Kakao) killed him there.’

(49) tokkina to to sa akaʔoyã

∅-tok-∅-i=na

to

to

sa

O3SG-enter-S3SG-PST=REP MED.DEM MED.DEM rock

.

a-kaʔo=yã

POSS3SG-house=LOC

‘It is said that he (Kakao) entered the stone’s house.’

(50) nebohni toʔkwamã ãpã piʔtiri to to kortahã

ne-boh-n-Ø-i Ø-toʔk-Ø-wa=mã ã=yã
 go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST O3SG-enter-S3SG-PFV=when DIST.DEM=LOC

.

Ø-piʔ-t-ir-i to to korta=hã
 O3SG-lay.down-DUR-S3PL-PST MED.DEM MED.DEM woman=FOC

‘He arrived. When he went in, the women were lying down.’

(51) netʃãomã ke bokirina ke bokitina akirina to takaskroʔã

ne-tʃã-Ø-wa=mã ke boki=r-er-i=na ke
 go-see-S3SG-PFV=when already pregnant=COP-S3PL-PST=REP already

.

boki-t-i=na ak-ir-i=na to
 pregnant-DUR-PTCP=REP be.in.state-S3PL-PST=REP MED.DEM

.

takaskro=yã

Sasquatch=ERG

‘When he saw them, they were pregnant, pregnant, it is said, (by) that Sasquatch.’

(52) ãkês ama ãkanka piwapa tikitihere to to boktuitʃoni

ãkês ama ã=kan-ka pi-pa-pa
 thus HES PROX.DEM=SIM-make O2-take-S1SG:FUT

.

tVk-Ø-Ø-tV-i=here to to

say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=MIR MED.DEM MED.DEM

.

bok-t-u-i=tfoni

pregnant-DUR-S2-PST=HEM

‘“Thus, um, I will take you just like that.” He said, “You are pregnant, you see.”’

(53) teʔkuhhã tikitiro tatah anuʔa akuh ʃwere tikkitiro

teʔk-u-h=hã tV_k-∅-∅-_tV-i=ro ta-tah

come-S2-PROX.FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=ACC POSS1-foot

.

a-nuʔa ak-u-h

POSS3SG-point be.in.state-S2-PROX.FUT

.

ʃa-u-tV-h=here tV_k-∅-_i-_tV-i=ro

be.there-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT=MIR say-O3SG-S3SG-NEG-PST=ACC

‘What he said, “Come, stand on my feet!” what he said.’

(54) ta tatah tah anuʔa akina akaro ke miskiwama takrahtʃeina to kortahĩ

ta ta-tah tah a-nuʔa akina aka=ro ke

DIST.DEM POSS1-foot path POSS3SG-point a.little big=ABS already

.

∅-misk-i-wa=ma ta-krah-tʃe-∅-i=na

O3SG-throw-S3SG-PFV=when MID-break-TOT-S3SG-PST=REP

.

to korta=hĩ

MED.DEM woman=FOC

‘When he threw his big foot a little, it is said the woman disappeared.’

(55) takrahtjeina ãmã kãsi taããhã

ta-krah-tje-Ø-i=na ã=ma

MID-break-TOT-S3SG-PST=REP PROX.DEM=TOP

.

ãkãs=i ta-ẽh=hã

even=COP:S3SG:PFV POSS1-POSS.PRO=FOC

‘She completely disappeared. That’s as far as it goes for me.’

MANIHRI PAKURI ‘RABBIT AND COYOTE’, TOLD BY NATIVIDAD GARCÍA

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The narrative *Manihri pakuri* ‘Rabbit and Coyote’ was told by Natividad García from La Laguna. He was over 70 years old in 2015 when this story was recorded. Claudine Chamoreau and Ángel Martínez recorded this story. Claudine Chamoreau with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández transcribed and translated it. This is a version of a folk narrative about the prankster rabbit, an animal with human characteristics. A second version from the Culmí variety appears in the following chapter. This story illustrates the popular notion of a prankster who uses cunning to triumph over an opponent. Pretending to help Coyote get meat, Rabbit tied a rope made of leaves to his tail, then tied it around the neck of a cow. The cow left, pulling Coyote, whose tail was ripped off. Finally the cow left, they did not eat and Coyote was injured.

(1) ã to taarki yũjkẽ

ã to ta-arki Ø-yẽh-u-ji=ken

DIST.DEM MED.DEM POSS1-brother O3SG-say-S3SG-PROX.PST=SIM

NG: ‘That one, like my brother says.’

(2) krisma paku paku akore tikeleri

kris=ma paku paku a-kore tVk-Ø-er-i

day=TOP coyote coyote POSS3SG-uncle say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘One day Coyote, Uncle Coyote, they call him.’

(3) paku akore to akorema manihriras to tark iŋka

paku a-kore to a-kore=ma

coyote POSS3SG-uncle MED.DEM POSS3SG-uncle=TOP

manih=r-u-i=ras to ta-arki
 rabbit=COP-S2-PST=REAS MED.DEM POSS1-brother

Ø-ĩjk-a-wa
 O3SG-tell-S1SG-PFV

‘Uncle Coyote (says), “My brother, as you are Rabbit, I talk (to you).” ’

(4) ākaʃkwa pakuma ayāhweʃkri to manihyo ĩka to paku pakuyo

ākaʃkwa paku=ma a-yāh-weʃk-er-i to manih=yo
 then coyote=TOP RECP-say-hear-S3PL-PST MED.DEM rabbit=COM

ĩka to paku paku=yo
 and MED.DEM coyote coyote=COM

‘Then Rabbit and Coyote came to an agreement.’

(5) ã paku pakuma awaharama ama yukuro amejki

ã paku paku=ma a-wahara=ma ama
 HES coyote coyote=TOP POSS3SG-wild=TOP HES

yuku=ro Ø-ameʃk-Ø-i
 meat=ABS O3SG-want-S3SG-PST

‘Wild Coyote wanted some meat.’

(6) sukuhtu tiʃki

Ø-sukuh-Ø-tV-wa tiʃk-Ø-i

O3SG–grab–S3SG–NEG–PFV get.away–S3SG–PST

‘He had not caught it, he got away.’

(7) akarʃkwa to manihyo ayāhweʃkri

akarʃkwa to manih=yo a–yāh–weʃk–er–i

then MED.DEM rabbit=COM RECP–say–hear–S3PL–PST

‘Then Rabbit and Coyote agreed.’

(8) ikāro nāpra

ĩ=kan=ro nā–par–wa

PROX.DEM=SIM=PURP go–S1PL.INCL–PFV

‘“We will go for this reason.”’

(9) peʃwakwas sukuhamaspra

peʃwakwa=s Ø–sukuh–amas–par–wa

animal=INDF.ART O3SG–grab–kill–S1PL.INCL–PFV

‘“We are catching and killing an animal.”’

(10) āʔpartusa tiki to

Ø–āʔ–par–tV–wa=sa tVk–Ø–Ø–i to

O3SG–eat–S1PL.INCL–NEG–PFV=C.Q say–O3SG–S3SG–PST MED.DEM

‘“Won’t we be eating it?,” said that one.’

(11) manihyā ā korero tiki

manih=yā ā kore=ro

rabbit=ERG DIST.DEM uncle=ABS

.

tVk–Ø–Ø–i

say–O3SG–S3SG–PST

‘Rabbit asked that Uncle (Coyote).’

(12) ã pakuro paku wahara ã paku waharama aṇēhre

ã paku=ro paku wahara ã paku wahara=ma

DIST.DEM coyote=ABS coyote wild DIST.DEM coyote wild=TOP

a–r–yēh–er–wa

O3SG–APPL.P–say–S3PL–PFV

‘Coyote, they call him Wild Coyote, Wild Coyote.’

(13) koyotehri

coyote=r–Ø–i

coyote=COP–S3SG–PST

‘It was Coyote.’

(14) akaḷkwa yar neri

akaḷkwa yar na–er–i

then true go–S3PL–PST

‘Then, they truly went.’

(15) kaki as apaskra

kaki as a–pask–er–wa

night INDF.ART REFL–take.out–S3PL–PFV

‘They went out one night.’

(16) ãkē arkūsēṇkileri ĩkan to manihri ĩ kan to paku awaharari

ã=ken a–r–kūs–ēṇ–ka–er–i

PROX.DEM=SIM RECP-APPL.P-advise-well-make-S3PL-PST

ĩ=kan to manih=ri ĩ=kan

PROX.DEM=SIM MED.DEM rabbit=COORD PROX.DEM=SIM

to paku a-wahara=ri

MED.DEM coyote POSS3SG-wild=COORD

‘They consulted each other, Rabbit and Wild Coyote.’

(17) pama paku awaharama pama nēh

pa=ma paku a-wahara=ma pa=ma nã-i-h

PRO2=TOP coyote POSS3SG-wild=TOP PRO2=TOP go-S3SG-PROX.FUT

‘“You, Wild Coyote, you, go.”’

(18) pitfahakanãwa

pi-tfah-a-ak-a-nã-a-wa

O2-sit-S1SG-be.in.state-S1SG-go-S1SG-PFV

‘“I will go sitting on you.”’

(19) ohupēh

oh-u-pi=hã

run-S2-FUT=FOC

‘“Run!”’

(20) tiki ikã akaʃkwa ĩkan to manihma

tVk-Ø-Ø-i ĩ=kan akaʃkwa ĩ=kan

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=SIM then PROX.DEM=SIM

to manih=ma

MED.DEM rabbit=TOP

‘Rabbit says to him then.’

(21) kwe torʃka as paki

kwe torʃk-a as Ø-pak-Ø-i

agave.leaf twist-PTCP one O3SG-take-S3SG-PST

‘He took a twisted agave leaf.’

(22) ãyo terspiri terspirina wakaʃroh

ã=yo Ø-ters-Ø-pi-ri

DIST.DEM=INS O3SG-rope-S3SG-FUT-PST

Ø-ters-Ø-pi-ri=na wakaʃ=ro=hã

O3SG-rope-S3SG-FUT-PST=REP cow=ABS=FOC

‘He was going to rope it. It is said he was going to rope cows with that.’

(23) ãkã ayãhweʃkri yar neri ãkēs

ã=kan a-yãh-weʃk-er-i yar na-er-i ãkēs

DIST.DEM=SIM RECP-say-hear-S3PL-PST true go-S3PL-PST even

‘They truly came to an agreement in that way and they went.’

(24) nã pefwako wakaʃ as katʃārmana tasma pitʃahanãpa tiki ã manihya paku

nã-Ø-wa pefwako wakaʃ as ka-tʃã-bar-wa=ma=na

go-S3SG-PFV animal cow INDF.ART O3PL-see-S1PL-PFV=if=REP

tas=ma pi-tfah-a-nã-pa tVk-Ø-Ø-i
 PRO1=TOP O2-sit-S1SG-go-S1SG:FUT say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

ã manih=ya paku
 DIST.DEM rabbit=ERG coyote

‘“If we see a cow go by, I will go sitting on you,” said that Rabbit to Coyote.’

(25) paku awahara aya tjihi

paku a-wahara aya Ø-tfah-i-i
 coyote POSS3SG-wild atop O3SG-sit-S3SG-PST

‘He sat on top of Wild Coyote.’

(26) yar ãkã ãkã tirihã

yar ã=kan ã=kan tV-Ø-ir-i=hã
 true DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=FOC

‘Truly, they said, like that, like that.’

(27) nãri pyah pefwakwa fermã

nã-er-i pi-ah pefwakwa Ø-fe-er-wa=mã
 go-S3PL-PST place-NMLZ animal O3SG-see-S3PL-PFV=CRT

‘They went where they saw animals.’

(28) ãkas nãri

ãkas nã-er-i
 even go-S3PL-PST

‘They went over there.’

(29) kartapukri ã wakaƒ pyah akrima

ka-r-tapuk-er-i ã wakaƒ pi-ah
 O3PL-APPL.P-find-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM cow place-NMLZ

ak-ir-i=ma

be.in.state-S3PL-PST=CRT

‘They found those cows where they were.’

(30) ãkã nãri ãkã kapaƒkriras

ã=kan nã-er-i ã=kan Ø-kapaƒk-er-i=ras
 DIST.DEM=SIM go-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-speak-S3PL-PST=REAS

‘They went then as they planned it.’

(31) ã manih ã manihma yar ke kwe torƒkama apehi paki

ã manih ã manih=ma yar ke kwe
 DIST.DEM rabbit DIST.DEM rabbit=TOP true already agave.leaf

torƒk-a=ma a-peh-Ø-i Ø-pak-Ø-i
 twist-PTCP=TOP O3SG-hang-S3SG-PST O3SG-take-S3SG-PST

‘Rabbit truly took the twisted agave leaf that was hanging.’

(32) sukuhi terspiro a natiƒ nawabriyã

Ø-sukuh-Ø-i Ø-ters-Ø-pi=ro a
 O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST O3SG-rope-S3SG-FUT=PURP HES

na-t-i-ƒi na-wab-er-i=yã

go-DUR-S3SG-PROX.PST go-forehead-S3PL-PST=LOC

‘He grabbed it in order to rope it, when he was going to pass in front of it, the cow.’

(33) ākēs nēri ākā manihma

ākēs nā-er-i ā=kan manih=ma

even go-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM=SIM rabbit=TOP

‘Even there, they went, like that, Rabbit.’

(34) ākā ā kwe torʃka apehikān

ā=kan ā kwe torʃk-a

DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM agave.leaf twist-PTCP

.

a-peh-∅-i=kān

O3SG-hang-S3SG-PST=SIM

‘He hooked the twisted agave leaf (to Coyote’s tail).’

(35) pakuma īkātāmā naonpiriras pyah wakaʃ nēwma

paku=ma īkata=mā na-oh-n-∅-pi-ri=ras

coyote=TOP now=TOP go-sleep-DUR-S3SG-FUT-PST=REAS

.

pi-ah wakaʃ nē-i-wa=ma

place-NMLZ cow go-S3SG-PFV=CRT

‘That is why Coyote was going to die where the cow went’

(36) ākaʃkwa īkan ā kwe torʃkama ke ke ā paku awahara aparhayā tikkaʔi ke

ākaʃkwa ī=kan ā kwe torʃk-a=ma

then PROX.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM agave.leaf twist-PTCP=TOP

.

ke ke ã paku a-wahara
 already already DIST.DEM coyote POSS3SG-wild

.

a-par-ha=yã tikk-a=?i ke
 POSS3SG-tail-NMLZ=LOC tie-PTCP=COP:S3SG:PFV already

‘(Because) the twisted agave leaf was already tied to the tail of Wild Coyote.’

(37) ěka ohi

ěka oh-Ø-i
 and run-S3SG-PST

‘And he ran.’

(38) terskama pejku sakupě tiki to manihya

Ø-tersk-a-wa=ma pejku Ø-sak-u-pi=hã
 O3SG-rope-S1SG-PFV=NOM animal O3SG-stop-S2-FUT=FOC

.

tV_k-Ø-Ø-i to manih=ya
 say-O3SG-S3SG-PST MED.DEM rabbit=ERG

‘“When I throw and tie it, you will stop the animal!” said Rabbit.’

(39) pejku sakupě tiki hã ã paku awahararo

pejku Ø-sak-u-pi=hã tV_k-Ø-Ø-i=hã ã
 animal O3SG-stop-S2-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-PST=FOC DIST.DEM

.

paku a-wahara=ro

coyote POSS3SG-wild=ABS

‘“You will stop the animal!” he told Wild Coyote.’

(40) a piparyã tikaras pejkwakuwa ãhi õni piñwasri wakaf nñhi

a pi-par=yã Ø-tik-Ø-wa=rās pejkwakuwa

HES POSS2-tail=LOC O3SG-tie-S3SG-PFV=REAS animal

.

ãhi õ-n-Ø-i pi-ñh-Ø-wa=sri

there sleep-DUR-S3SG-PST O2-pull-S3SG-PFV=UNCRT

.

wakaf nñhi

cow here

‘“Since it is tied to your tail, the animal has to die. If the cow pulls you, be careful!”’

(41) artakuri artakima trokuma ã iʃkatipẽ tik ã

a-r-tak-u-ri a-r-tak-Ø-i=ma

O3SG-APPL.P-abandon-S2-PST O3SG-APPL.P-abandon-S3SG-PST=if

.

ta-r-ohk-Ø-wa=ma ã

MID-APPL.P-run-S3SG-PFV=if PROX.DEM

.

Ø-iʃk-a-tV-pi=hã tV-k-Ø-Ø-i ã

O3SG-make-S1SG-NEG-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM

‘“[If] you let it go it... If it is let go and it escapes, we won’t do anything,” that one told him.’

(42) ãʔtipě tiki to manihyã

Ø-ãʔ-a-tV-pi=hã tVk-Ø-Ø-i to
 O3SG-eat-S1PL.INCL-NEG-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S3SG-PST MED.DEM

manih=yã

rabbit=ERG

‘“We won’t eat,” Rabbit told him that.’

(43) akari yar nēka-kis-pir-ij̥k-Ø-wa=ma wakaʃ=ma

akari yar nē-ka-kis-pir-ij̥k-Ø-wa=ma wakaʃ=ma
 but true go-O3PL-get.close-INCP-DES-S3SG-PFV=when cow=TOP

‘But when he wanted to go get close to the cows.’

(44) ã wakwaleri yar

ã wakwa=l-er-i yar
 DIST.DEM clever=COP-S3PL-PST true

‘They were really clever.’

(45) nēkakiskama yar ohra

nē-ka-kisk-Ø-wa=ma yar oh-er-wa
 go-O3PL-get.close-S3SG-PFV=when true run-S3PL-PFV

‘When he went to get close they really ran (the cows).’

(46) teʃkri akaʃ

teʃk-er-i akaʃ
 get.away-S3PL-PST thus

‘They got away.’

(47) ika to paku waharama ohi nēiyāma pa pefbriyā

ika to paku wahara=ma oh-Ø-i
and MED.DEM coyote wild=TOP run-S3SG-PST

nē-Ø-i=yā=ma Ø-pa-Ø-wa pef-bri=yā
go-S3SG-PST=LOC=TOP O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV POSS3PL-close=LOC

‘And Wild Coyote ran, where he went, he brought it close to them.’

(48) wakaf pef sukē ama nakaŋkateŋpa tiki

wakaf pef su=ken ama
cow people hind=LOC HES

na-a-kaŋk-a-tef-pa tVk-Ø-Ø-i
go-S1SG-happen-S1SG-get.away-S1SG:FUT say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘“I will go past and get away behind the herd,” he said.’

(49) to paku wahara ohinē

to paku wahara oh-Ø-i=na
MED.DEM coyote wild run-S3SG-PST=REP

‘Wild Coyote ran, it is said.’

(50) ākēs īkan manihma kwe torŋka pakiras kwe torŋkama

ākēs ī=kan manih=ma kwe torŋk-a
even PROX.DEM=SIM rabbit=TOP agave.leaf twist-PTCP

Ø-pak-Ø-i=ras kwe torŋk-a=ma

O3SG–take–S3SG–PST=REAS agave.leaf twist–PTCP=TOP

‘Then, Rabbit took the twisted agave leaf, the twisted agave leaf.’

(51) mekateyo petʃ akwa yāha ākēs yar nekarʃki teʃkwa

mekate=yo petʃ akwa yāh–ha ākēs yar
 rope=INS people other say–NMLZ even true

ne–karʃk–Ø–i teʃk–Ø–wa

go–happen–S3SG–PST get.away–S3SG–PFV

‘With a rope, in the other people’s language (Spanish). Even (that) is truly what happened, he got away.’

(52) peʃwakwaihā wakaʃi

peʃwakwa=i=hā wakaʃ=i

animal=COP:S3SG:PFV=FOC cow=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘That is the animal, that is the cow.’

(53) yar terski to manihyā

yar Ø–tersk–Ø–i to manih=yā

true O3SG–rope–S3SG–PST MED.DEM rabbit=ERG

‘Rabbit truly tied it.’

(54) atawayā terski to wakaʃro

a–tawa=yā Ø–tersk–Ø–i to wakaʃ=ro

POSS3SG–neck=LOC O3SG–rope–S3SG–PST MED.DEM cow=ABS

‘He roped the cow at the neck.’

(55) terskwa

Ø–tersk–Ø–wa

O3SG–rope–S3SG–PFV

‘He roped it.’

(56) a pitʃirihi

a Ø–pitʃirih–Ø–i

HES O3SG–drag–S3SG–PST

‘He dragged it.’

(57) ākēs īkan manihma ēhipiʃki

ākēs ī=kan manih=ma ēh–i–piʃk–Ø–i

even PROX.DEM=SIM rabbit=TOP fall–S3SG–lay.down–S3SG–PST

‘Thus like this Rabbit fell lying down.’

(58) tʃerehi

tʃere–Ø–hi

go.down–S3SG–PST

‘He went down.’

(59) tʃerehi āpe am tʃerehi teʃki akī ākaʃkwa īkā paku awaharama pitʃirihi

tʃere–Ø–hi ā=pe am tʃere–Ø–hi

go.down–S3SG–PST DIST.DEM=only HES go.down–S3SG–PST

.

teʃk–Ø–i akī ākaʃkwa ī=kan paku

get.away–S3SG–PST and then PROX.DEM=SIM coyote

.

a-wahara=ma Ø-pitfirih-Ø-i

POSS3SG-wild=TOP O3SG-drag-S3SG-PST

‘He went down, only went down. He went, and then Wild Coyote was dragged.’

(60) pakihã ã wakaŷya ika tapõwõriras ã wakaŷhĩ

Ø-pak-Ø-i=hã ã wakaŷ=ya ika

O3SG-take-S3SG-PST=FOC DIST.DEM cow=ERG and

.

tapõwõ=r-Ø-i=ras ã wakaŷ=hĩ

strength=COP-S3SG-PST=REAS DIST.DEM cow=FOC

‘The cow took (Coyote) because it was strong, the cow.’

(61) ãri paki kawarkwa akastokki akaŷkwa kepe sakturas

ã=ri Ø-pak-Ø-i kawarkwa

DIST.DEM=TEMP O3SG-take-S3SG-PST tree.sp

.

a-kas-tok-Ø-i akaŷkwa ke=pe

O3SG-APPL.R-enter-S3SG-PST then already=only

.

Ø-sak-t-Ø-wa=ras

O3SG-stop-DUR-S3SG-PFV=REAS

‘Then it pulled him into a guindo tree, it put him in (the tree). Then it had already brought him to a stop.’

(62) aparpera ukihã to paku awaharaĩ

a-par=pera Ø-uk-Ø-i=hã to paku

POSS3SG–tail=only O3SG–shatter–S3SG–PST=FOC MED.DEM coyote

a–wahara=ĩ

POSS3SG–wild=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Only the tail broke. It is Wild Coyote.’

(63) apara taukwa ãkēs ikã wakafma tejki ĩ kitihĩ akafkwa

a–par–a ta–uk–Ø–wa ãkēs ĩ=kan

POSS3SG–tail–NMLZ MID–shatter–S3SG–PFV even PROX.DEM=SIM

wakaf=ma tejki–Ø–i ĩ

cow=TOP get.away–S3SG–PST PROX.DEM

Ø–ka–i–tV–hi akafkwa

O3SG–make–S3SG–NEG–PST then

‘Coyote’s tail broke off. Even so, the cow got away. He did not do anything to it then.’

(64) pakupera awahni tawarkina kuk akapri apar ukwahã

paku=pera a–r–wah–n–Ø–i

coyote=only O3SG–APPL.P–call–DUR–S3SG–PST

ta–wark–Ø–i=na kuk Ø–aka–prij–Ø–i

MID–remain–S3SG–PST=REP earth O3SG–INT–toss–S3SG–PST

a–par Ø–uk–Ø–wa=hã

POSS3SG–tail O3SG–shatter–S3SG–PFV=FOC

‘Only Coyote screamed. He remained on the ground, tossing around. His tail broke.’

(65) akēǰ nēkā amanihma troki teǰkina

akēǰ nēkā a–manih=ma ta–r–ohk–∅–i

even nothing POSS3SG–rabbit=TOP MID–APPL.P–run–S3SG–PST

.

teǰk–∅–i=na

get.away–S3SG–PST=REP

‘Even then, nothing. Rabbit ran, he got away, it is said.’

(66) akēǰ ākāra kippirina to manih ameǰkuma

akēǰ ā=kan=ra ∅–ka–i–pi–ri=na

even DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP O3SG–make–S3SG–FUT–PST=REP

.

to manih ∅–ameǰk–∅–wa=ma

MED.DEM rabbit O3SG–think–S3SG–PFV=NOM

‘Even then, that is why that Rabbit was going to do what he thought.’

(67) ēitipi kakasei tikina apar uhpiro to paku awahara

∅–ē–i–tV–pi ka–kase–∅–i tV_k–∅–∅–i=na

O3SG–eat–S3SG–NEG–FUT O3PL–lie–S3SG–PST say–O3SG–S3SG–PST=REP

.

a–par ∅–uh–∅–pi=ro to paku

POSS3SG–tail O3SG–shatter–S3SG–FUT=PURP MED.DEM coyote

.

a-wahara

POSS3SG-wild

‘He won’t eat it. He lied to him, he told him that to break Wild Coyote’s tail.’

(68) tʃatʃa kii

tʃatʃa Ø-ka-i-i

deviltry O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘He did a deviltry.’

(69) ãkãra aparnyõ tawarkina to nõi paku awaharahã to koyote tikileri

ã=kan=ra a-par-nu=yõ

DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP POSS3SG-tail-NMLZ.bad=COM

ta-wark-Ø-i=na to nã-Ø-i paku

MID-remain-S3SG-PST=REP MED.DEM go-S3SG-PST coyote

a-wahara=hã to coyote tʃk-Ø-er-i

POSS3SG-wild=FOC MED.DEM coyote say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

NG: ‘That is why he remained just without its tail. Wild Coyote left, they call that one

“Coyote.”’

(70) ehe ã

ehe ã

oh DIST.DEM

AM: ‘Oh, that one.’

(71) to kēsi to kayamawa

to kēsi to kaya=ma=wa

MED.DEM even MED.DEM history=TOP=COP:S3SG:PFV

NG: ‘Thus far goes that story.’

(72) oo ěnaipra yēhi

oo ěna=i=pra Ø-yēh-Ø-i

yes well=COP:S3SG:PFV=EMPH O3SG-say-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘Yes, it is good, he has told it.’

(73) tope

to=pe

MED.DEM=only

NG: ‘That’s all.’

CULMÍ VARIETY

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The southern Culmí variety is spoken by almost half of Pesh speakers, but 93. of them are over 60 years old. The Culmí variety extends over eleven villages, eight of which are located one after the other along a road (Dulce Nombre de Culmí, La Campana, Culuco, Vallecito, Zopilote, Pisijire, Subirana and Jocomico). This variety also includes the northern villages of Moradel and Silin, close to the Caribbean Sea, and the eastern village of Nuevo Dulce Nombre, located in the Department of Gracias a Dios (in the region called the Mosquitia). These last three villages are inhabited by people who migrated from different villages in the region of Dulce Nombre de Culmí. The Culmí variety shows a tripartite alignment for flagging case (intransitive subject is always unmarked, transitive subject is marked with the ergative case marker and the object is marked with the accusative case marker). This pattern is analyzed as an evolution of the ergative-absolutive pattern attested in the Carbón variety. The Culmí variety seems to be the variety that has lost several specific grammatical traits, like various pragmatic morphemes. It only preserves the reportative =*na*. In the Culmí variety, the polar interrogative marker =*re?* is no longer used in interrogatives.

In this chapter three traditional narratives and one personal narrative are presented: *Manihri u?ri* ‘Rabbit and Tiger’ from Nuevo Dulce Nombre, *Wa sonkwa* ‘Black Eye’ and *Bolakfa* ‘Evil Spirit’ from La Campana and the personal narrative *Wa tfena* ‘The evil eye’ from Moradel.

MANIHRI U?RI ‘RABBIT AND TIGER’, TOLD BY FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ

The narrative *Manihri u?ri* ‘Rabbit and Tiger’ was told by Francisco Hernández, a native speaker born in 1947 in Pueblo Viejo, a hamlet near Dulce Nombre de Culmí. Pesh was his first language and he learned Spanish communicating with others in the village. Due to the lack of land in Pueblo Viejo, he migrated with several members of his family in the early 1990s to the department of Gracias a Dios, where they founded the village of Nuevo Dulce Nombre. Today, he lives with his family in Moradel—including his sister, Juana Hernández—due to land conflicts in the area of Nuevo Dulce Nombre, which is occupied by foreigners. However, he sometimes returns to Nuevo Dulce Nombre when the situation is stable and safe. He was a bilingual teacher in the school of Nuevo Dulce Nombre and is an advocate for the teaching of the Pesh language. Ángel Martínez and Claudine Chamoreau recorded, transcribed and translated the text with the assistance of Juana Hernández. This narrative constitutes a second version of the narrative about the prankster rabbit. In this version, the second character is Tiger, he is hungry and wants to eat Rabbit. Rabbit promises Tiger a big cheese. However, Rabbit lies because what appears to be cheese is only the reflection of the moon. Tiger starts to drink the water from the lake, but gets sick and gets diarrhea. Rabbit then harms him further by sewing his buttocks together. He asks Tiger to support a stone and hold it for a long time, to immobilize him. At that moment, Rabbit takes the opportunity to escape. Rabbit outwits Tiger, and at the end of the story, Rabbit disappears forever. The moral is therefore clear, cunning is stronger than kindness and naivety.

(1) *ñēherma kayas ñēherma ã minihri manihri*

Ø–yēh–er–wa=ma kaya=s Ø–yēh–er–wa=ma

O3SG–say–S3PL–PFV=NOM history=INDF.ART O3SG–say–S3PL–PFV=NOM

.

ã manih=ri manih=ri

DIST.DEM rabbit=COORD rabbit=COORD

FH: ‘They told a story about Rabbit and Rabbit [Tiger].’

(2) akarʃkwa ïkan uʔri kris ã akwa tekii ï piãpa pyah pyah

akarʃkwa ï=kan uʔ=ri kris ã akwa

then PROX.DEM=SIM tiger=COORD time day other

tVk-Ø-i-i ï pi-ã-pa pi-ah

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM O2-eat-S1SG:FUT place-NMLZ

pi-ah

place-NMLZ

‘One day, Tiger told this one (Rabbit), “I’ll eat you wherever you are.”’

(3) ã atʃahii tahyã nẽwa atʃihi artapuki

ã a-tʃah-i-i tah=yã nẽ-Ø-wa

DIST.DEM REFL-sit-S3SG-PST path=LOC go-S3SG-PFV

a-tʃah-i-i a-r-tapuk-Ø-i

REFL-sit-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-find-S3SG-PST

‘Rabbit was sitting, he went, he was sitting. He (Tiger) found him on the way.’

(4) ãñihã ã akore akore uʔ ÿyã ah ïkatama takeka

ãñi=hã ã a-kore a-kore uʔ

there=FOC DIST.DEM POSS3SG-uncle POSS3SG-uncle tiger

ĩ=yã ah ĩkata=ma ta=keka
 PROX.DEM=LOC INTERJ now=TOP POSS1-nephew

‘There, Uncle Tiger (said), “Nephew, now.’

(5) manih ēketama pisukuhapiãpa

manih ēketa=ma pi=sukuh-a-pi-ã-pa
 rabbit now=TOP O2-grab-S1SG-O2-eat-S1SG:FUT

‘“Rabbit, now, I will catch you and eat you.” ’

(6) uhu tāutih tikii tāutih ĩkatape ĩyãma

uhu ta-ã-u-tV-h tV_k-Ø-i-i
 no O1-eat-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

ta-ã-u-tV-h ĩkata=pe ĩ=yã=ma
 O1-eat-S2-NEG-PROX.FUT now=only PROX.DEM=LOC=TOP

‘“No, don’t eat me!” he said. “Don’t eat me here yet!’

(7) ã wakaʃ atutu atiakan woriha akas atʃihi ãma

ã wakaʃ a=tutu a-tia=kan
 DIST.DEM cow POSS3SG-breast POSS3SG-liquid=SIM

wori-ha aka=s a-tʃah-i-hi
 be.round-NMLZ big=INDF.ART REFL-sit-S3SG-PST

ã=ma

DIST.DEM=TOP

‘“There is a big wheel of cheese.”⁵

(8) ã ra paspa pama ke akaʔiras teʔkuh tarwarkuh

ã=ra Ø-pas-pa pa=ma ke

DIST.DEM=PURP O3SG-take.out-S1SG:FUT PRO2=TOP already

.

aka=ʔi=ras teʔk-u-h

big=COP:S2:PST=REAS come-S2-PROX.FUT

.

ta-r-wark-u-h

O1-APPL.P-help-S2-PROX.FUT

‘“ I will take it out. Come help me because you are big.”

(9) aso akaspasprah sukuhpaskãprah tikii akaʔkwa

aso a-kas-pas-par-h

water O3SG-APPL.R-take.out-S1PL.INCL-PROX.FUT

.

Ø-sukuh-pask-ã-par-h

tʋk-Ø-i-i

O3SG-grab-take.out-eat-S1PL.INCL-PROX.FUT say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

.

akaʔkwa

then

‘“Let’s get it out of the water, we’ll catch it and we’ll eat it,” said (Rabbit).’

(10) pyahsa paki tʃẽuma to? ã ãyã yuiha kamasa kyakwa

pi-ah=sa Ø-pak-Ø-i Ø-tʃã-Ø-wa=ma
 place-NMLZ=C.Q O3SG-take-S3SG-PST O3SG-see-S3SG-PFV=NOM

.

to? ã ã=yã yui=ha kamasa
 MED.DEM DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC moon=FOC white

.

kia-Ø-wa
 be.tall-S3SG-PFV

‘“Where is it?” (said Tiger). Rabbit took him and what he saw was the shining moon.’

(11) ã aso awayã nẽwa ãñĩhã to? tutu ãyã wakaʃ atutu a wrihakan

ã aso a-wa=yã nẽ-Ø-wa ãñĩ=hã
 DIST.DEM water POSS3SG-eye=LOC go-S3SG-PFV there=FOC

.

to? tutu ã=yã wakaʃ a-tutu
 MED.DEM breast PROX.DEM=LOC cow POSS3SG-breast

.

a wriha=kan
 HES various=SIM

‘He went to the river, there were like various cheese wheels.’

(12) aka witʃiha atʃahii ãy ãrã

aka witʃi-ha a-tʃah-i-i ã=yã ã=ra
 big round-NMLZ REFL-sit-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM=ABS

then true DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV=UNCRT

.

Ø-pask-Ø-i

O3SG-take.out-S3SG-PST

‘“Let’s catch it and eat it,” then he really did it that way.’

(16) takeka ãkanisri pasprah ãpahã tikii

ta-keka ã=kan=i=sri

POSS1-nephew DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV=UNCRT

.

Ø-pas-par-h

Ø-ã-pa=hã

O3SG-take.out-S1PL.INCL-PROX.FUT O3SG-eat-S1SG:FUT=FOC

.

tVk-Ø-i-i

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘“Nephew, thus it is. Let’s grab it. I will eat it,” he said.’

(17) tokkriarin tokkriarin

Ø-tokk-ir-i=arin

Ø-tokk-ir-i=arin

O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST=also O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST=also

‘They drank and drank.’

(18) tokkriarin tokkriarin tokkriarin

Ø-tokk-ir-i=arin

Ø-tokk-ir-i=arin

O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST=also O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST=also

.

Ø-tokk-ir-i=arin

O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST=also

‘They drank and drank and drank.’

(19) ika ekama toqitiwa arkasaiƙwaras akarƙwa

ika eka=ma Ø-toq-i-tV-wa

and PRO3=TOP O3SG-drink-S3SG-NEG-PFV

a-r-kasa-iƙ-Ø-wa=ras

akarƙwa

O3SG-APPL.P-lie-DES-S3SG-PFV=REAS then

‘(Rabbit) did not drink because he was lying to Tiger at the time.’

(20) āma ā peƙ wa āma ā peƙ wa nāi u?mama

āma ā peƙ ƙuwa ā=ma ā peƙ

HES DIST.DEM people old.man HES DIST.DEM people

ƙuwa nā-Ø-i u?=ma=ma

old.man go-S3SG-PST tiger=TOP=TOP

‘That elderly Tiger left.’

(21) aso toqyope ke ānīhā nēherma keb?āē ānīhā asopera nābohni

aso Ø-toq-Ø-i=yo=pe ke ānī=hā

water O3SG-drink-S3SG-PST=INS=only already there=FOC

Ø-yēh-er-wa=ma keb?āē ānī=hā aso=pera

O3SG-say-S3PL-PFV=NOM HES there=FOC water=only

nã-boh-n-Ø-i

go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST

‘As he drank so much water, they say the water just came out.’

(22) toa ñĩhĩkan atʃiukan nãbohni ãkan

toa ñĩhĩ=kan a-tʃiukan nã-boh-n-Ø-i

HES here=LOC POSS3SG-behind=LOC go-leave-DUR-S3SG-PST

ã=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM

‘Through where, through the buttocks it came out.’

(23) aaii ah eka tata takore u? tigre

aaii ah eka tata ta-kore u? tigre

ouch INTERJ PRO3 HES POSS1-uncle tiger tiger

‘“Ah my Uncle Tiger!”’

(24) ãra kaurisa

ã=ra Ø-ka-u-ri=sa

PROX.DEM=ABS O3SG-make-S2-PST=C.Q

‘“What are you doing?” (said Tiger).’

(25) sukuhi nã pe?ki ãñĩhã sãpa aha sukuhi pe?ki

Ø-sukuh-Ø-i nã-Ø-i Ø-pe?k-Ø-i

O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-PST O3SG-bring-S3SG-PST

ãñĩ=hã sãpa a-ha Ø-sukuh-Ø-i
 there=FOC chichicaste POSS3SG-leaf O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST

Ø-peʔk-Ø-i

O3SG-bring-S3SG-PST

‘He (Rabbit) left, grabbed and brought a chichicaste leaf.’⁶

(26) ākan kai ãñĩhã ãñĩ hã asana

ã=kan Ø-ka-Ø-i ãñĩ=hã ãñĩ=hã asana
 DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S3SG-PST there=FOC there=FOC HES

‘That is what Rabbit did, there.’

(27) atʃiukan

a-tʃiukan

POSS3SG-behind=LOC

AM: ‘In the buttocks.’

(28) atʃiukan paski yo kahtiʃkwa

a-tʃiukan Ø-pask-Ø-i=yo
 POSS3SG-behind=LOC O3SG-take.out-S3SG-PST=INS

Ø-kah-tiʃk-Ø-wa

O3SG-cover-almost-S3SG-PFV

FH: ‘In the buttocks, with what he defecated, he almost sewed it (with the chichicaste leaf).’

(29) dise aaay tem ãyo takauisa taēnwa hēhkirʃ

dise aaay tem ãyo ta-ka-u-i=sa

says ouch HES PROX.DEM=INS O1–make–S2–PST=C.Q

ta-ẽp-Ø-wa hẽhkiɾf

O1–sting–S3SG–PFV HES

‘He says, “Ah, what did you put on me? It stings (me).”’

(30) uhu ãyã pefwakwas amaspariɟkawa

uhu ã=yã pefwakwa=s a–mas–par–iɟk–a–wa

no DIST.DEM=LOC animal=INDF.ART O3SG–kill–INCP–DES–S1SG–PFV

‘“No, there is an animal there. I want to kill it,” (says Rabbit).’

(31) ãma pama ayuira takaya

ã=ma pa=ma ayuira ta–ka–ya

DIST.DEM=TOP PRO2=TOP for.pleasure O1–make–S2:PFV

‘“You do it to me for pleasure,” (says Tiger).’

(32) akarɟki aũhkuti nãawa ates ãyã nãpeɟkawa pama tokkakuh

akarɟki a–ũhk–u–tV–i nã–a–wa ates ã=yã

then REFL–worry–S2–NEG–PST go–S1SG–PFV further DIST.DEM=LOC

nã–peɟk–a–wa pa=ma

go–bring–S1SG–PFV PRO2=TOP

Ø–tokk–u–ak–u–h

O3SG–drink–S2–be.in.state–S2–PROX.FUT

‘“Then don’t worry, I will go further, and bring (it). You keep drinking,” (says Rabbit).’

(33) tapuro nãpeʔkawa ãnã ates nãpeʔkawama

tapu=r-u-h nã-peʔk-a-wa ã=yã ates
 strong=COP-S2-PROX.FUT go-bring-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC further

nã-peʔk-a-wa=ma
 go-bring-S1SG-PFV=NOM

‘“Be strong, I am going to bring (it) further what I am going to bring (more leaves).”’

(34) apastipirahã pyah tʃaisi tikii akarʃkwa nẽpeʔki

a-pas-Ø-tV-pi=ra=hã pi-ah
 REFL-take.out-S3SG-NEG-FUT=PURP=FOC place-NMLZ

tʃa-i-si tʃk-Ø-i-i akarʃkwa
 be.there-S2-PROX.PST say-O3SG-S3SG-PST then

nã-peʔk-Ø-i
 go-bring-S3SG-PST

‘“So it does not come out where you excrete,” he said and went to bring it.’

(35) yar nẽy to nẽy peʔki awah peʔki sikira akaporki

yar nã-Ø-i to nã-Ø-i
 true go-S3SG-PST MED.DEM go-S3SG-PST

Ø-peʔk-Ø-i awah Ø-peʔk-Ø-i siki=ra
 O3SG-bring-S3SG-PST also O3SG-bring-S3SG-PST thorn=ACC

a-ka-pork-Ø-i

O3SG-APPL.R-sink.in-S3SG-PST

‘He really went, he brought it too. He brought a thorn and he sunk it in.’

(36) ah ãyo takaisisa tikii ãyo takaisisa warku pama

ah ã=yo ta-ka-i-si=sa

INTERJ PROX.DEM=INS O1-make-S2SG-PROX.PST=C.Q

tVk-Ø-i-i ã=yo

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=INS

ta-ka-i-si=sa warku pa=ma

O1-make-S2SG-PROX.PST=C.Q evil PRO2=TOP

‘“What are you stabbing me with?,” he (Tiger) said, “You are evil.’

(37) warkuiftarya

warku-ij-ta=r-ya

evil-make-AG.NMLZ=COP-S2:PFV

‘“You are evil.”’

(38) tawarkuh warpe naa tikii

ta-wark-u-h war-pe na-a-wa tVk-Ø-i-i

MID-remain-S2-PROX.FUT repeat-a.lot go-S1SG-PFV say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘“Stay, I will go again,” he said.’

(39) tokkuakuhpe tokuakuhpe tikii

Ø-tokk-u-ak-u-h=pe

03SG-drink-S2-be.in.state-S2-PROX.FUT=only

.

Ø-tokk-u-ak-u-h=pe

tVk-Ø-i-i

03SG-drink-S2-be.in.state-S2-PROX.FUT=only say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘“You carry on drinking, carry on drinking,” he (Rabbit) said.’

(40) nēy teʃki taõʃki teʔtihi akarʃkwa

nã-Ø-i teʃk-Ø-i ta-õʃk-Ø-i

go-S3SG-PST get.away-S3SG-PST MID-lose-S3SG-PST

.

teʔ-Ø-tV-hi akarʃkwa

come-S3SG-NEG-PST then

‘He went, he wandered, he got lost and then he did not come back.’

(41) kapanah nãartapuki aaa warki ïkata pama ïyã pisukuha

kapanah nã-a-r-tapuk-Ø-i ah warku ïkata

next.day go-O3SG-APPL.P-find-S3SG-PST INTERJ bad now

.

pa=ma ï=yã pi-sukuh-a-wa

PRO2=TOP PROX.DEM=LOC O2-grab-S1SG-PFV

‘The next day, he went to find him. “Ah, you are evil, now, here I will grab you.’

(42) piãpahã piãpahã kefa tarkasauriras warku as tarkoriras

pi-ã-pa=hã pi-ã-pa=hã kefa

O2–eat–S1SG:FUT=FOC O2–eat–S1SG:FUT=FOC yesterday

ta–r–kasa–u–ri=ras warku as

O1–APPL.P–lie–S2–PST=REAS bad one

ta–r–ka–u–ri=ras

O1–APPL.P–make–S2–PST=REAS

‘I will eat you, I will eat you, because you lied to me yesterday. Because you did me evil.’

(43) nēy sas tʃawayã ākanka kiaki amanihma

nã–Ø–i sa=s tʃa–Ø–wa=yã

go–S3SG–PST rock=INDF.ART be.there–S3SG–PFV=LOC

ã=kan–ka Ø–kiak–Ø–i

DIST.DEM=SIM–make O3SG–hold.up–S3SG–PST

a–manih=ma

POSS3SG–rabbit=TOP

‘He went to a rock that was there, and he pretended to hold it up, Rabbit.’

(44) tiyo tigre ēketa takure u? tigre tikii takure u? tikii

tio tigre ēketa ta–kure u? tigre tV̄k–Ø–i–i

uncle tiger now POSS1–uncle tiger tiger say–O3SG–S3SG–PST

ta–kure u? tV̄k–Ø–i–i

POSS1-uncle tiger say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

‘“Uncle Tiger, now, Uncle Tiger, Tiger,” he said. “My Uncle Tiger,” he said.’

(45) ãma êketa ï saa sukuhkaakari ãma ke wartiʃkawamã ïnara akasteʃko mã ï kukama wartiʃpihã

ãma êketa ï saʔa Ø-sukuhk-a-ak-a-ri

HES now PROX.DEM rock O3SG-grab-S1SG-be.in.state-S1SG-PST

.

ã=ma ke war-ta-ijf-k-a-wa=mã

DIST.DEM=TOP already CNTR-MID-make-S1SG-PFV=when

.

ï=na=ra a-kas-teʃk-a-wa=mã

PROX.DEM=INDF=ACC O3SG-APPL.R-get.away-S1SG-PFV=if

.

ï kuk-a=ma war-t-ijf-Ø-pi=hã

PROX.DEM earth-NMLZ=TOP CNTR-MID-make-S3SG-FUT=FOC

‘“Now this stone, I am holding it, when I am tired, if I let it fall, this earth won’t make it.”’

(46) tikii ãma ãhih patamastʃepihã

tVk-Ø-i-i ã=ma ãh-i-h

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP fall-S3SG-PROX.FUT

.

pa-ta-mas-tʃe-Ø-pi=hã

INCL-O1-kill-TOT-S3SG-FUT=FOC

‘He (Rabbit) said to him, “It will fall, it will kill us all.’

(47) ĩma tōʃtʃepihã tarwarkuh teʔsukuhuh

ĩ=ma ta-ōʃ-tʃe-Ø-pi=hã

PROX.DEM=TOP MID-lose-TOT-S3SG-FUT=FOC

ta-r-wark-u-h teʔ-Ø-sukuh-u-h

O1-APPL.P-help-S2-PROX.FUT come-O3SG-grab-S2-PROX.FUT

‘“Everything will be lost, help me, come grab it.”’

(48) tikii pama artʃawa pitapũnaryaras

tVk-Ø-i-i pa=ma a-r-tʃa-Ø-wa

say-O3SG-S3SG-PST PRO2=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-be.there-S3SG-PFV

pi-tapũna=r-ya=ras

POSS2-strength=COP-S2:PFV=REAS

‘He said, “Because you are stronger.”’

(49) yar nẽy sukuhi

yar nã-Ø-i Ø-sukuh-Ø-i

true go-S3SG-PST O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST

‘He (Tiger) really went. He grabbed it (the stone).’

(50) sukuhuh kiah kepe ĩketape nãawa ãyã mama

Ø-sukuh-u-h

O3SG-grab-S2-PROX.FUT

Ø-kia-u-h

ke=pe

ĩketa=pe

o3sg–hold.up–s2–PROX.FUT already=only now=only

.

nã–a–wa ã=yã mama

go–s1sg–pfv DIST.DEM=LOC HES

‘“Grab it. Hold it up, now. I’ll be back soon.’

(51) tasma ke akri tasahri tasah kaiiwaras ãkanra akonapara nãawa

tas=ma ke ak–a–ri tasah=ri tasah

PRO1=TOP already be.in.state–s1sg–pst a.while=TEMP a.while

.

Ø–ka–i–i–wa=ras ã=kan=ra

o3sg–make–s3sg–pst–pfv=reas DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP

.

akona–pa=ra nã–a–wa

urinate–s1sg:fut=purp go–s1sg–pfv

‘“Since I was here for a while, that is why I will go urinate.” (said Rabbit).’

(52) tikii ãyã sukuhi akaste]ki nãi te?tofi

tVk–Ø–i–i ã=yã Ø–sukuh–Ø–i

say–o3sg–s3sg–pst DIST.DEM=LOC o3sg–grab–s3sg–pst

.

a–kas–te]k–Ø–i nã–Ø–i

o3sg–appl.r–get.away–s3sg–pst go–s3sg–pst

.

te?–Ø–tV–fi

come-S3SG-NEG-PROX.PST

‘He (Rabbit) said to him. There he (Tiger) grabbed it. He (Rabbit) left him, he went and did not come (back).’

(53) akastejka arkasai akarjkwã ãyã kerĩ ãyã ki

a-kas-tejk-Ø-wa a-r-kasa-Ø-i akarjkwã
O3SG-APPL.R-get.away-S3SG-PFV O3SG-APPL.P-lie-S3SG-PST then

ã=yã ak-er-i ã=yã
DIST.DEM=LOC be.in.state-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM=LOC

ak-Ø-i
be.in.state-S3SG-PST

‘He left him, he lied to him, then. They were there. He was there.’

(54) akitejki arkasakwa takeikama

ak-i-tejk-Ø-i a-r-kasak-Ø-wa
be.in.state-S3SG-get.away-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-lie-S3SG-PFV

ta-keika=ma
POSS1-nephew=TOP

‘He (Tiger) stayed there. He (Rabbit) was lying to him, my nephew.’

(55) tikii tejki taõfi (laughter) kas yãhawa ãri

tVk-Ø-i-i tejk-Ø-i ta-õf-Ø-i
say-O3SG-S3SG-PST get.away-S3SG-PST MID-lose-S3SG-PST

kas Ø-yāh-a-wa ā=r-Ø-i

even O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=COP-S3SG-PST

‘He said, he wandered, he got lost. Even then that’s what it was, I say.’

(56) ates ates nēhwa

ates ates Ø-yēh-Ø-wa

further further O3SG-say-S3SG-PFV

‘(There is) more, he says.’

(57) ēnēy

ēnā=i

well=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘That’s good.’

WA SONKWA ‘BLACK EYE’, TOLD BY SANTO ISIDRO DUARTE

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The narrative *Wa sonkwa* ‘Black Eye’ was told by Santo Isidro Duarte, a native speaker born in 1970 in La Campana. Pesh was his first language and then he learned Spanish communicating with others in the village. The story was recorded by Ángel Martínez. Claudine Chamoreau transcribed and translated the text with the assistance of Ángel Martínez. This traditional narrative is about *Wa sonkwa*, the most harmful spirit. He lived in the mountains and went out at night to cause severe pain. In this story, he makes a young woman sick. The Evil Spirit is described as a black man sitting on a black horse. Thanks to the action of the shaman, the girl was healed and did not die. A noteworthy aspect of this narrative is the precise description of the activities, dishes and drinks that are employed in the traditional ceremony of Kesh. This narrative also shows the importance of the Pesh language spoken by the shaman. Only this language serves as a means of communication with the evil spirits.

(1) pipipipipi pipēntarisa

pipipipipi pi-pēnta=r-ya=sa

HES POSS2-name=COP-S2:PFV=C.Q

AM: ‘What is your name?’

(2) tasmai Santos Isidro Duarte López

tas=ma=i Santos Isidro Duarte López

PRO1=TOP=COP:S3SG:PFV Santos Isidro Duarte López

ID: ‘I am Santos Isidro Duarte López.’

(3) akarʃkwa tawāwāh teʃka tawāwāhma

akarʃkwa ta-wāwāh teʃk-Ø-wa

then POSS1-grandfather get.away-S3SG-PFV

ta-wāwāh=ma

POSS1-grandfather=TOP

‘Then, my grandfather wandered, my grandfather.’

(4) ekama akru ariririras

eka=ma akiru a-r-ir-i-ri=ras

PRO3=TOP a.lot O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST=REAS

‘Because he knew a lot.’

(5) ekama nīhā toʔo kapafʃtur ekama tasma arʃ teʃk

eka=ma nīhā todo Ø-kapaf-t-Ø-u-ri eka=ma

PRO3=TOP HES all O3SG-speak-DUR-S3SG-HAB-PST PRO3=TOP

tas=ma arʃki teʃk-Ø-i

PRO1=TOP afterwards get.away-S3SG-PST

‘He spoke with all (the spirits), him. Me... time went by.’

(6) ekayo dos aņos ʃa-a-ri=ras teʃk-Ø-i

eka=yo dos aņos ʃa-a-ri=ras teʃk-Ø-i

PRO3=COM two years be.there-S1SG-PST=REAS get.away-S3SG-PST

to nā-Ø-i a-ye korta as ʃena

MED.DEM go-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-small woman INDF.ART sick

ta-ɨʃk-∅-i=ras

MID-make-S3SG-PST=REAS

‘Because I lived two years with him, because there was a young woman who got sick.’

(7) tasma ãyã ʃaariras aye korta as tōʃki tōʃpiri pakerpiri

tas=ma ã=yã ʃa-a-ri=ras a-ye

PRO1=TOP DIST.DEM=LOC be.there-S1SG-PST=REAS POSS3SG-small

korta as ta-ōʃk-∅-i ta-ōʃ-∅-pi-ri

woman INDF.ART MID-lose-S3SG-PST MID-lose-S3SG-FUT-PST

∅-pak-er-pi-ri

O3SG-take-S3PL-FUT-PST

‘I lived there, a young woman got lost. She was going to get lost (to die). They were going to take her (the evil spirits).’

(8) nãhparʃikan wa sonkwar akarʃki ekama teʃk

∅-yãh-par-ʃi=kan wa sonkwa=r-∅-i akarʃki

O3SG-say-S1PL.INCL-PROX.PST=SIM eye black=COP-S3SG-PST then

eka=ma teʃk-∅-i

PRO3=TOP get.away-S3SG-PST

‘Like we say, it is the devil. She wandered then (her soul wandered, she was sick).’

(9) ke yui māyh kahni kiwa teſki ñhã yēhūma

ke yui māyh kah=ni Ø-ka-i-wa
 already moon three four=TEMP O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV

teſk-Ø-i ñ=yã Ø-yēh-Ø-wa=ma
 get.away-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=LOC O3SG-say-S3SG-PFV=NOM

‘Three or four months had already gone by, it is said.’

(10) ñma kaakirwa saraſitahya tasma ñ nã ariririkari ekape ariririras

ñma Ø-ka-ak-ir-wa saraſitah=ya tas=ma
 HES O3SG-make-be.in.state-S3PL-PFV evil.spirit=ERG PRO1=TOP

ñ=nã a-r-ir-i-ri=kari
 PROX.DEM=INDF O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST=ADVS

eka=pe a-r-ir-i-ri=ras
 PRO3=only O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST=REAS

‘The evil spirits were doing this, but I did not know things as my grandfather knew.’

(11) akarſ teſk ñnã

akarſki teſk-Ø-i ñ=yã
 then get.away-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=LOC

‘Time went by.’

(12) primeroma ñn as iſkapiwa atſa? wawa tſa? wawa tisma aye akira

primero=ma a-tſa? wawa tſa? wawa tis=ma

first=TOP POSS3SG=sasal small sasal small a.little=TOP

.

ĩ=na as Ø-ij̥k-a-pi=wa?

PROX.DEM=INDF INDF.ART O3SG-make-S1PL.INCL-FUT=SIMT

.

a-ye ak-ir-wa

POSS3SG=small be.in.state-S3PL-PFV

‘“We’ll do something first. (Make) small sasales. They should be a bit small,” (said my grandfather).’

(13) primeroma akar̥ʃki kira ke ākanra ar̥ñēherpirahā

primero=ma akar̥ʃki Ø-ka-er-wa ke

first=TOP then O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV already

.

ā=kan=ra a-r-yēh-er-pi=ra=hā

DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP O3SG-APPL.P-say-S3PL-FUT=PURP=FOC

‘Then, the first thing they did was something already for praying (during the ceremony).’

(14) ekape ka āma yārepihā tasma āyā jāari

eka=pe Ø-ka-Ø-wa āmā Ø-yāh-i-pi=rā

PRO3=only O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV HES O3SG-say-S3SG-FUT=PURP

.

tas=ma ā=yā Ø-ʃā-a-ri

PRO1=TOP DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-see-S1SG-PST

‘Only my grandfather did that to pray. I saw him there.’

(15) ã tatiãhã arwartukiras ãma pakerpiriyã

ã ta-tia=hã a-r-wartuk-Ø-i=ras

DIST.DEM POSS1-aunt=FOC O3SG-APPL.P-heal-S3SG-PST=REAS

ã=ma Ø-pak-er-pi-ri=yã

DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-take-S3PL-FUT-PST=LOC

‘He healed my aunt. There where they were going to take her (the evil spirits).’

(16) kaʔoyã peʔkaperʃkerpika kakirei las dose de la notʃe iʃtaki tawãwãh

kaʔo=yã Ø-peʔkaperʃk-er-pi=kan kakirei las.doce.de.la.noche

house=LOC O3SG-drop-S3PL-FUT=LOC midnight midnight

iʃtak-Ø-i ta-wãwãh

get.up-S3SG-PST POSS1-grandfather

‘They wanted to get (my aunt through the roof) out of the house. My grandfather got up at midnight.’

(17) ekãma eka yẽh ù ma kawayos tawakwa sonkwas desya

eka=ma eka Ø-yẽh-Ø-wa=ma caballos

PRO3=TOP PRO3 O3SG-say-S3SG-PFV=NOM horses

ta-pak-Ø-wa sonkwa=s decía

O1-take-S3SG-PFV black=INDF.ART said

‘She, what she said, “A black horse was taking me,” she said.’

(18) arwã sonkwas aṭf̣ihi tawaki tawaki kiwa

arwã sonkwa=s a-ṭf̣ah-i-i ta-pak-∅-i
 man black=INDF.ART REFL-sit-S3SG-PST O1-take-S3SG-PST

ta-pak-∅-i ∅-ka-i-wa
 O1-take-S3SG-PST O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV

‘‘A black man was sitting. He took me, he took me. He did.’’

(19) am akaṛfkwa n̄ēpastiri tawāwāhma

am akaṛfkwa n̄ā-a-pas-t-i-ri
 HES then go-REFL-take.out-IT-S3SG-PST

ta-wāwāh=ma
 POSS1-grandfather=TOP

‘Then, my grandfather came out.’

(20) ãhã sonkwa sonkwa ese sonkwari pef̣ pata wula ãhãhama ãhã ãhã sambo sambo roho

ãhã sonkwa sonkwa ese sonkwa=r-∅-i pef̣
 PROX.DEM=FOC black black that black=COP-S3SG-PST people

pata wula yãh-ha=r-∅-i=ma ãhã
 HES foreign say-NMLZ=COP-S3SG-PST=NOM PROX.DEM=FOC

ãhã zambo zambo rojo
 PROX.DEM=FOC banana banana red

‘ “In a red guineo bush that they call “red banana” in foreign language (Spanish).” ’

(21) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(22) tatah j̄en iʃtikkira ãyã aktiri papiririyãma

ta-tah j̄en Ø-iʃ-tikk-ir-wa ã=yã

POSS1-foot exact O3SG-make-tie-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC

.

ak-t-ir-i Ø-pa-pir-ir-i=yã=ma

be.in.state-DUR-S3PL-PST O3SG-take-INCP-S3PL-PST=LOC=TOP

ID: ‘ “They tied my foot, where they were (in that red guineo bush), where they were going to take me,” (says my aunt). ’

(23) pama òkupe iʃkyawĩ animal as istiʔkar akwa

pa=ma òk-ya=pe Ø-iʃk-ya=wĩ animal

PRO2=TOP sleep-S2:PFV=only O3SG-make-S2:PFV=2PL animal

.

as Ø-iʃ-tiʔk-Ø-wa=ra ak-Ø-wa

INDF.ART O3SG-make-tie-S3SG-PFV=ACC be.in.state-S3SG-PFV

‘ “You, you are only sleeping. (This is) an animal which is tied,” (said the grandfather). ’

(24) oorina iʃtaktwa a iʃtaki teʃtwa le diho

oo=rina iʃtak-Ø-tV-wa a iʃtak-Ø-i

yes=also get.up-S3SG-NEG-PFV HES get.up-S3SG-PST

tef-Ø-tV-wa le dijo

get.away-S3SG-NEG-PFV him said

‘“Not even does it (the animal) get up, it got up. It did not walk,” he told her.’

(25) akarŋki yar apaski myar animalma mab kaboh kaboh kaboh kaboh kaboh kaboh tʃre tōʃhi

akarŋki yar a-pask-Ø-i myar animal=ma mab kaboh

then true REFL-take.out-S3SG-PST HES animal=TOP HES in.herds

kaboh kaboh kaboh kaboh kaboh tʃer-Ø-i

in.herds in.herds in.herds in.herds in.herds go.down-S3SG-PST

ta-ōf-Ø-hi

MID-lose-S3SG-PST

‘Then, it is true, the (grandfather) went out. A herd of animals went down and got lost.’

(26) kapahni nãfãbermã yar to? ÿyã wakaŋ nēteŋnēwaki

kapahni nã-fã-ber-wa=mã yar to? ÿ=yã

morning go-see-S1PL.EXCL-PFV=when true MED.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC

wakaŋ nã-tef-nã-wak-Ø-i

cow go-get.away-go-wait-S3SG-PST

‘When we went to see in the morning, it is true, there some cows had gone through.’

(27) ãyãma todo serkadoras ÿ animal ʃi

ã=yã=ma todo cercado=ras ÿ animal

DIST.DEM=LOC=TOP all enclosed=REAS PROX.DEM animal

tʃa-∅-i

be.there-S3SG-PST

‘There, because everything (was) all enclosed, there were [no] animals.’

(28) sehnaaras arpakiruri ekama ya tatiam

sehna=ras a-r-pak-ir-u-ri eka=ma ya

spirit=REAS O3SG-APPL.P-take-S3PL-HAB-PST PRO3=TOP HES

ta-tia=ma

POSS1-aunt=TOP

‘This is what the spirits (did), they (wanted to) take my aunt.’

(29) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(30) akarʃ tɛʃ ãkan ariruriras ekape eka

akarʃkwa tɛʃ-∅-i ã=kan

then get.away-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=SIM

a-r-ir-∅-u-ri=ras eka=pe eka

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-HAB-PST=REAS PRO3=only PRO3

ID: ‘Time went by, since only he knew (how to perform the ceremony).’

(31) oo

oo

yes

AM: 'Yes.'

(32) yar arwartukipe ñã ñãhparwasri mūnya ki?ra

yari a-r-wartuk-∅-i=pe ñ=ñã

true O3SG-APPL.P-heal-S3SG-PST=only PROX.DEM=INDF

.

∅-yãh-par-wa=sri mūnia ∅-ka?-er-wa

O3SG-say-S1PL.INCL-PFV=UNCRT yucca.drink O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV

ID: 'True, he only healed her, things we say, they made the yucca drink.'⁷

(33) ja? ka?era nēr sīñ ũwe?erte?kra nēr patāw amaſte?kra

ja? ∅-ka?-er-wa nē-er-i sīña

sasal O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV go-S3PL-PST winkle

.

ũ-we?-er-te?k-er-wa nē-er-i patawã

CAUS-collect-S3PL-come-S3PL-PFV go-S3PL-PST armadillo

.

a-maſ-te?k-er-wa

O3SG-kill-come-S3PL-PFV

'They made sasales, they went and came to collect winkles, they went to hunt armadillo.'

(34) karne akarſka atewa atſehra akarſk ekama ñhã kortama

carne akarſka a-tewa ∅-atſeh-er-wa akarſka

meat then POSS3SG–chili O3SG–put.in–S3PL–PFV then

eka=ma ã=hã korta=ma

PRO3=TOP PROX.DEM=FOC woman=TOP

‘Then, they sprinkled chili on the meat, the women.’

(35) ãhã ã nã-yêherpijĩmã kortari ãhã kakaboyo ãpĩri pintarkakira

ã=hã ã nã–yêh–er–pi–jĩ=mã

PROX.DEM=FOC DIST.DEM go–say–S3PL–FUT–PROX.PST=when

korta=r-Ø-i ã=hã cacao=yo ãhĩ=ri

woman=COP–S3SG–PST PROX.DEM=FOC cacao=INS PROX.DEM=MDT

pintar–ka–ka–ir–wa

paint–O3PL–make–S3PL–PFV

‘There, when they are going to say (perform the ceremony), the women paint themselves with cacao.’

(36) kakuyo

kaku=yo

cacao=INS

AM: ‘With cacao.’

(37) kakuyo arkarjka ohtyari ãma ã ijpimã ya

kaku=yo arkarjka ohtia=ri ã=ma ã

cacao=INS then chicha=COORD DIST.DEM=TOP DIST.DEM

Ø-ɨf-Ø-pi=mã ya
 O3SG-make-S3SG-FUT=when already

ID: ‘With cacao. Then, when she will make chicha as well.’⁸

(38) ãma muɲarina kanoharina akas ãhã ãhã se kano puruhã

ã=ma munia=rina kanoha=rina aka=s
 DIST.DEM=TOP yucca.drink=also canoe=also big=INDF.ART

ĩ=hã ã=hã se kano puru=hã
 PROX.DEM=FOC PROX.DEM=FOC HES canoe canoe=FOC

‘The yucca drink too. They prepared it (in) a big elongated container.’⁹

(39) puru

puru
 canoe

AM: ‘An elongated container.’

(40) purukãn kira

puru=kan Ø-ka-er-wa
 canoe=SIM O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV

‘They made it in elongated containers (like canoes).’

(41) kira mhm

Ø-ka-er-wa mhm
 O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV INTERJ

ID: 'They made it, mhm.'

(42) akarʃkwa orkir peʔkirper arkehera

akarʃkwa Ø-ork-ir-i Ø-peʔk-er-pi=ra
 then O3SG-shake-S3PL-PST O3SG-bring-S3PL-FUT=PURP

.

a-r-keh-er-wa
 O3SG-APPL.P-cover-S3PL-PFV

'Then they stirred it, they brought it, they covered it.'

(43) piʃkri bri kahkan ãm ãrahã abuf abuf abuf abuf kai ãm ãrahã

Ø-piʃk-er-i bri kah=kan ãm ã=ra=hã
 O3SG-lay.down-S3PL-PST packet four=SIM HES DIST.DEM=ACC=FOC

.

abuf abuf abuf abuf Ø-ka-Ø-i ãm
 fizzing fizzing fizzing fizzing O3SG-make-S3SG-PST HES

.

ã=ra=hã
 DIST.DEM=ACC=FOC

'They left it, like four bongas, that became fermented.'¹⁰

(44) a la ora yegariʃkira mã teʃki ke a las syete a las dyes las dyes de la notʃe

a.la.hora llegar-iʃk-ir-wa=mã teʃk-Ø-i ke
 the.time arrive-make-S3PL-PFV=when get.away-S3SG-PST already

.

a.las.siete a.las.diez las.diez.de.la.noche

seven.o'clock ten.o'clock 10:00pm

‘When the time came, already past 7:00 pm, 10 in the evening.’

(45) ke senarihã pefma ekaras tarina teftipi ãma ãm nãwa tarina teftiwamã

ke tʃena=r-∅-i=hã pef=ma eka=ras

already sick=COP-S3SG-PST=FOC people=TOP PRO3=REAS

.

ta=rina tef-i-tV-pi ã=ma

DIST.DEM=also get.away-S3SG-NEG-FUT DIST.DEM=TOP

.

ãm nã-∅-wa ta=rina

HES go-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM=also

.

tef-i-tV-wa=mã

get.away-S3SG-NEG-PFV=when

‘People who are already sick should walk and leave. No one should walk.’

(46) am ekape akarʃkwa eka yẽhuma ekama wula yẽhwamã

am eka=pe akarʃkwa eka ∅-yẽh-∅-wa=ma

HES PRO3=only then PRO3 O3SG-say-S3SG-PFV=NOM

.

eka=ma wula ∅-yẽh-∅-wa=mã

PRO3=TOP foreign O3SG-say-S3SG-PFV=NOM

‘Only him (the grandfather) talks but what he says is in Spanish.’

(47) weʃtwa tuka ākan patapēhharihā nēhpermā yar ekamari karweʃkirwa

Ø-weʃ-Ø-tV-wa tVk-Ø-Ø-wa ā=kan

O3SG-hear-S3SG-NEG-PFV say-O3SG-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM

.

pa-ta-yēh-ha=ri=hā Ø-yēh-per-wa=mā yar

INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=MDT=FOC O3SG-say-S1PL.INCL-PFV=if true

.

eka=mari ka-r-weʃk-ir-wa

PRO3=COND O3PL-APPL.P-hear-S3PL-PFV

‘Spirits do not understand. If we truly speak in our language, they understand them.’

(48) poʃk mhm

poʃk mhm

so INTERJ

AM: ‘So, mhm.’

(49) ari weʃkirwa akarʃkira arpēhira arpēhira

ari Ø-weʃk-ir-wa akarʃkira a-r-yēh-ir-wa

clear O3SG-hear-S3PL-PFV then O3SG-APPL.P-say-S3PL-PFV

.

a-r-yēh-ir-wa

O3SG-APPL.P-say-S3PL-PFV

ID: ‘(Spirits) understand clearly. Then they (people of the community) pray (and) pray.’

(50) teʃ ĩkatama yari taūwōʃeprah tasma arpēhpara

teʃ-Ø-i ĩkata=ma yar=i

get.away-S3SG-PST now=TOP true=COP:S3SG:PFV

.

ta-ũ-wa-fe-par-ah tas=ma

MID-CAUS-collect-see-S1PL.INCL-PROX.FUT PRO1=TOP

.

a-r-yẽh-pa=ra

O3SG-APPL.P-say-S1SG:FUT=PURP

‘A while went by, it is true. Let’s get together here so that I talk,’ (said the grandfather).’

(51) teʃ aryẽhĩ arwartukiʃon tati

teʃ-Ø-i a-r-yẽh-ha=ĩ

get.away-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-say-NMLZ=COP:S3SG:PFV

.

a-r-wartuk-Ø-i=ʃona ta-tía

O3SG-APPL.P-heal-S3SG-PST=HEM POSS1-aunt

‘After the prayers, he cured my aunt, you see.’

(52) ẽnaiʃon

ẽna=i=ʃona

well=COP:S3SG:PFV=HEM

‘It is good, you see.’

BOLAKJA ‘EVIL SPIRIT’, TOLD BY CARLOS DUARTE

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SEDYL AND CNRS, SEDYL

The narrative *Bolakja* ‘Evil Spirit’ was told by Carlos Duarte, a native speaker born in La Campana who was over 90 years old in 2015 when this story was recorded. Carlos Duarte passed away in 2022. Pesh was his first language and then he learned Spanish from others in the village. The story was recorded by Ángel Martínez. Claudine Chamoreau transcribed and translated the text with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. This traditional narrative is about this Evil Spirit who lived in the mountain called Birikon or Baltimor, located in the region of Las Marías. This spirit named *Bolakja* and other evil spirits came out at night, attacked and killed the people who were sleeping on their backs on the mountain. Evil Spirit is very powerful and is described as Satan. The shaman fought and chased Evil Spirit and the other spirits. This narrative shows a mix of traditional Pesh beliefs (evil spirits and the saving powers of the shaman) and Christian beliefs. *Bolakja* is named Satan, and the Shaman represents good. He is assisted by an eagle who acts as his broker and helps him deliver the villagers from evil spirits.

(1) warku nãhuhs

wark-u-Ø-yãh-u-h=sa

repeat-S2-O3SG-say-S2-PROX.FUT=C.Q

AM: ‘Speak again.’

(2) ese es es los que no te digo pues que son gentes invisibles

CD: ‘This one is (of) the ones that —well, I have mentioned it— are invisible people.’

(3) to patatiŋt ìkã esa ãkan ŷãmarto ãkãlerwa tertw

to pa-ta-tiŋ-ta ì=kan esa

MED.DEM INCL-POSS1-sow-AG.NMLZ PROX.DEM=SIM HES

ã=kan Ø-tjã-par-tV-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-see-S1PL.INCL-NEG-PFV

ã=kan=l-er-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM=COP-S3PL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

‘Like our God that we don’t see. They (the spirits) are like that one, they say.’¹¹

(4) ekam patafẽrwa ter

eka=ma pa-ta-jã-er-wa tV-Ø-er-wa

PRO3=TOP INCL-O1-see-S3PL-PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

‘They see us, they say.’

(5) kwããlerwa

kwãã=l-er-wa

spirit=COP-S3PL-PFV

AM: ‘They are spirits.’

(6) pejkar ãma kwerpo i alma tjerwa tertu

pej-ka=r-Ø-i ã=ma cuerpo y alma

people-NMLZ=COP-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP body and soul

tja-er-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa

be.there-S3PL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

CD: ‘They (spirits) can also be living people with a body and soul, they say.’

(7) pero son peʃ warkilerwa tertur akrekya

pero son peʃ warki=l-er-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa akrekia

but are people bad=COP-S3PL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV but

‘Nevertheless, they are bad people, they say.’

(8) ãkan ãra patahtaʃkere peʃra

ã=kan ã=ra pa-ta-taʃk-er-wa peʃ=ra

DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=PURP INCL-O1-hate-S3PL-PFV people=ACC

‘That is why they hate us humans.’

(9) ãkan ãra waha napiʃko õparma

ã=kan ã=ra waha na-piʃk-Ø-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=PURP mountain go-lay.down-S3SG-PFV

.

õ-par-wa=ma

sleep-S1PL.INCL-PFV=TOP

‘So (when) we go to the mountains to lay down, to sleep.’

(10) pansa ariwa õparmã warkwa terw boka boka ariwalah

panza arriba õ-par-wa=mã warkwa tV-Ø-er-wa

belly up sleep-S1PL.INCL-PFV=if bad say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

.

boca boca arriba=l-a-hi

mouth mouth up=COP-S1SG-PST

‘If we sleep on our backs, (it is) bad, they say. I slept facing up.’

(11) ākarʃk teʔkere ke āma

akarʃkwa teʔk-er-wa ke āma

then come-S3PL-PFV already HES

‘Then they come already.’

(12) āma ke la orasyon teʔkomã ke ã? āma apasferw teʃkerwa titwa peʃ

āma ke la oración teʔk-Ø-wa=mã ke ã?

HES already the prayer come-S3SG-PFV=when already HES

.

āma a-pas-tʃe-er-wa teʃk-er-wa

HES REFL-take.out-TOT-S3PL-PFV get.away-S3PL-PFV

.

tV-Ø-t-er-wa peʃ

say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV HES

‘Um, when the time of prayer comes already (in the evening), all (the evil spirits) come out, go around, they say.’

(13) peʃtah peʃtah sukuh teʃkernerwa tertw

peʃ-tah peʃ-tah Ø-sukuh-er-wa

POSS3PL-path POSS3PL-path O3SG-grab-S3PL-PFV

.

teʃk-er-na-er-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa

get.away-S3PL-go-S3PL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

‘They take their path and they go around, they say.’

(14) ākarʃk patas peʃma anyuiras õparwa terteram

akarʃkwa pa-tas peʃ=ma aniwu=i=ras
 then INCL-PRO1 people=TOP night=COP:S3SG:PFV=REAS

õ-par-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa=ma
 sleep-S1PL.INCL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV=NOM

‘Then, because we people, we sleep when night comes, (that) is what they say.’

(15) ākara waha teʃõparwamã suruhp õparwa tertw

ã=kan=ra waha teʃ-õ-par-wa=mã
 DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP mountain get.away-sleep-S1PL.INCL-PFV=when

suruh=pe õ-par-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa
 side=only sleep-S1PL.INCL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

‘That is why, when we go sleep in the mountains, we sleep only on our side, they say.’

(16) patahkapiʃkerwa patayayã

pa-ta-aka-piʃk-er-wa pa-ta-aya=yã
 INCL-O1-INT-lay.down-S3PL-PFV INCL-POSS1-atop=LOC

‘They (the spirits) step on us.’

(17) patahakapiʃkermã ãyope õnparwa tertw

pa-ta-aka-piʃk-er-wa=mã ã=yo=pe
 INCL-O1-INT-lay.down-S3PL-PFV=if DIST.DEM=INS=only

õ-n-par-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa

sleep-DUR-S1PL.INCL-PFV say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

‘If they step on us, just with that we die, they say.’

(18) ãy ãhã bolakfa=l-er-t-wa ã tri

ã=yã ã=hã bolakfa=l-er-t-wa jok

DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM=FOC evil.spirit=COP-S3PL-DUR-PFV hill

.

tfa-tah ã tV-Ø-er-i

be.there-AG.NMLZ DIST.DEM say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘Those there are evil spirits, those from the hills, that’s what they said.’

(19) jokyã tferwĩ jok tfa-te?-er-wa

jok=yã tfa-er-wa=wĩ jok tfa-te?-er-wa

hill=LOC be.there-S3PL-PFV=IMDP hill be.there-come-S3PL-PFV

‘They lived in the hills, they come from the hills.’

(20) jokyãpe ferras ãma

jok=yã=pe tfa-er-wa=ras ã=ma

hill=LOC=only be.there-S3PL-PFV=REAS DIST.DEM=TOP

‘Because those ones only lived in the hills.’

(21) ãkarfkwa

akarfkwa

then

AM: ‘(And) then?’

(22) terĩpra ãyã wãtama

tV-Ø-er-i=pra ã=yã wãta=ma

say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=EMPH DIST.DEM=LOC shaman=TOP

CD: ‘There the shamans say,’

(23) wāta tiʃkupimã nope tepito waha asayã

wāta ta-iʃk-u-pi=mã na-u-pi tV-pi-t-a-wa

shaman MID-make-S2-FUT=if go-S2-FUT say-O2-IT-S1SG-PFV

waha a-sa=yã

mountain POSS3SG-in=LOC

‘“If you are going to become shaman, I tell you to go to the mountains.”’

(24) nã ãyã answa ayope aperʃk arwiʃeup

nã-u-h ã=yã answa ha=yo=pe

go-S2-PROX.FUT DIST.DEM=LOC palm leaf=INS=only

a-perʃk-a a-r-wi-ʃe-u-pi

REFL-cover-PTCP O3SG-APPL.P-surround-TOT-S2-FUT

‘“Go there loaded with the palm leaf and you will be surrounded by them (evils).”’

(25) kaʔo pari kupe

kaʔo pa=ri Ø-ka-u-pe

house PRO2=MED O3SG-hacer-S2-FUT

‘“You will make a house.”’

(26) answa ñisa

answa ñi=sa

palm PROX.DEM=COP:S3SG:PFV=C.Q

AM: ‘What is this palm?’

(27) ãyã òkuh

ã=yã òk-u-h

DIST.DEM=LOC sleep-S2-PROX.FUT

CD: ‘“Sleep there.’

(28) answayo hama òkopipera kama sakuh papeahma

answa=yo ha=ma òk-u-pi=pe=ra cama

palm=INS leaf=TOP sleep-S2-FUT=only=PURP bed

.

Ø-sak-u-h pa-pi-eh=ma

O3SG-stop-S2-PROX.FUT PRO2-POSS2-POSS.PRO=TOP

‘“With the palm leaf you make your bed to sleep (in it). You put this (bed) on and it becomes yours.’

(29) ãma ãyo òkupe ãma kama

ã=ma ã=yo òk-u-pi ã=ma cama

DIST.DEM=TOP DIST.DEM=INS sleep-S2-FUT DIST.DEM=TOP bed

‘“You will sleep with those ones (spirits), in the bed.”’

(30) distintos eh espíritus te?kerwa terw

distintos eh espíritus te?k-er-wa tV-Ø-er-wa

different HES spirits come-S3PL-PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

‘Different spirits come, they say.’

(31) allí anda el mero satanáas también

‘There wanders Satan himself too.’

(32) tara tara peʃkara artokki toʔ iʃkerkân ïketa

ta=ra ta=ra peʃ-ka=ra

DIST.DEM=ABS DIST.DEM=ABS people-NMLZ=ABS

.

a-r-toʔk-Ø-i toʔ Ø-iʃk-er-wa=kan

O3SG-APPL.P-enter-S3SG-PST MED.DEM O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV=DBT

.

ïketa

now

‘Any Pesh person who wants to go into (the mountain) has to do it now.’

(33) tasma ïkê nâteʔkari ʃokyã toʔkapaskri

tas=ma ï=ken nâ-teʔk-a-ri ʃok=yã

PRO1=TOP PROX.DEM=SIM go-come-S1SG-PST hill=LOC

.

toʔk-a-pask-a-ri

enter-REFL-take.out-S1SG-PST

‘I went and came to the hill. I entered and came back out.’

(34) patawiʔkri atiʔparhã ãyã kaʃãari

pa-ta-wiʔk-er-i atiʔpar=hã

INCL-O1-dance-S3PL-PST giant=FOC

.

ã=yã ka-ʃã-a-ri

DIST.DEM=LOC O3PL-see-S1SG-PST

‘The giants bothered us. I saw them there.’

(35) peʃ yã õneri ãyã kaʃãari

peʃ ã=yã õ-n-er-i ã=yã
 people PROX.DEM=LOC sleep-DUR-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM=LOC

.

ka-ʃã-a-ri

O3PL-see-S1SG-PST

‘There I saw the people (who) died there.’

(36) ʃok as paker tʃerw ãyã tʃerwa ãkitama trua

ʃok as Ø-pak-er-wa tʃa-er-wa ã=yã
 hill INDF.ART O3SG-take-S3PL-PFV be.there-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC

.

tʃa-er-wa ãkita=ma tV-Ø-er-wa

be.there-S3PL-PFV now=TOP say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

‘They took people to a hill, they are living there now, they say.’

(37) pero saber yo no acabo de creer eso

‘But who knows, I don’t think I believe that.’

(38) krispe alkanseʃka weʃkrihã?

kris=pe Ø-alcanzar-ĩʃk-a-wa Ø-weʃk-a-ri=hã?
 time=only O3SG-be.able.to-make-S1SG-PFV O3SG-hear-S1SG-PST=FOC

‘Only one time I was able to hear.’

(39) Fransisko ãkãn tĩ tʃokrina yetah tʃwa

Francisco ã=kãn tV-Ø-i-wa tʃoʔ=rina

Francisco DIST.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S3SG-PFV hill=also

uye-tah tʃa-i-wa

big-NMLZ.field be.there-S3SG-PFV

‘Francisco also said that there is a big hill.’

(40) ãyã tokapasbarwa

ã=yã tok-a-pas-bar-wa

DIST.DEM=LOC enter-REFL-take.out-S1PL.EXCL-PFV

‘There we came in and came out.’

(41) birikoṅã

Birikõ=yã

Birikon=LOC

AM: ‘In Birikon.’

(42) ãyã tẽ

ã=yã ta=i

DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM=COP:S3SG:PFV

CD: ‘That is there.’

(43) ìkã ìkẽ to? ewis aka pakwa pakerwa

ì=kan ì=ken to? ewis aka

PROX.DEM=SIM PROX.DEM=SIM MED.DEM snake big

Ø-pak-Ø-wa Ø-pak-er-wa

O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV O3SG-take-S3PL-PFV

‘There they take the mother of the snake.’

(44) nēy pekeʃki trwa ĩ tikirerus

nã-∅-i ∅-pegar-iʃk-∅-i tV-∅-er-wa
 go-S3SG-PST O3SG-hit-make-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

.

ĩ tVk-∅-er-wa=sa
 PROX.DEM say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=C.Q

‘It went to get hit, they say. What do they call it?’

(45) mm to? niha Baltimor

mm to? nĩhã Baltimor
 INTERJ MED.DEM here Baltimor

AM: ‘That Baltimor here.’

(46) patayãhyoh yãhtã

pa-ta-yãh-a=yo=hã ∅-yãh-tV-a-wa
 INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=INS=FOC O3SG-say-NEG-S1SG-PFV

CD: ‘I don’t say it in our language.’

(47) patayãhrima Baltimor tahtoʃki

pa-ta-yãh-a=r-∅-i=ma Baltimor
 INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=COP-S3SG-PST=TOP Baltimor

.

ta-r-ta-õʃk-∅-i
 O1-APPL-MID-lose-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘I forgot the name of Baltimor in our language.’

(48) tahtoʃkwa

ta-r-ta-õʃk-Ø-wa

O1-APPL-MID-lose-S3SG-PFV

‘I forgot it.’

(49) no me acuerdo como es Baltimor

‘I don’t remember what Baltimor is (in Pesh).’

(50) tʃotʃoh ãhi

Ø-tʃo-tʃo-u-h ã=hi

O3SG-see-see-S2-PROX.FUT DIST.DEM=COP:S3SG:PFV

CD: ‘Look what this is.’

(51) ïkan tersa

ï=kan tV-Ø-er-wa=sa

PROX.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=C.Q

AM: ‘What do they call it?’

(52) Leonorna

Leonor=na

Leonor=REP

CD: ‘It is called “Leonor”.’

(53) ïkan tersa Baltimor

ï=kan tV-Ø-er-wa=sa Baltimor

PROX.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV=C.Q Baltimor

AM: ‘What do they call Baltimor?’

(54) Baltimorma wula yāhtai

Baltimor=ma wula yāh-ta=i

Baltimor=TOP foreign say-AG.NMLZ=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘In Spanish it is “Baltimor”.’

(55) āhā yar ākani ek apīn

āhā yar ā=kan=i eka a-pīn

ah true DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV PRO3 POSS3SG-name

CD: ‘Ah, that is really its name.’

(56) oo Baltimor

oo Baltimor

yes Baltimor

AM: ‘Yes. Baltimor.’

(57) akreke patayāhrimā ko?

akreke pa-ta-yāh-a=r-∅-i=mā ko?

but INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=COP-S3SG-PST=TOP maybe

‘But I don’t know (its name) in our language maybe.’

(58) yīho tōwāh

∅-yēh-a-wa ta-wāhwā

O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV POSS1-grandchild

CD: ‘I say, my grandchild.’

(59) ika pikē tawarkwa tris āhā Leonorkan

ika pi=ken ta-wark-∅-wa tV-∅-er-i=sa

and place=LOC MID-remain-S3SG-PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=C.Q

ã=hã Leonor=kan

DIST.DEM=FOC Leonor=LOC

‘And where is that place that they call “Leonor” located?’

(60) Las Marías

AM: ‘Las Marías.’

(61) no es en Las Marías

CD: ‘It is not in Las Marías.’

(62) pyahsa

pi-ah=sa

place-NMLZ=C.Q

AM: ‘Where is it?’

(63) No

CD: ‘No.’

(64) arirya pa

a-r-ir-ya pa

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S2:PFV PRO2

AM: ‘Do you know?’

(65) pero no sé donde se encuentra pero lo sé que hay

CD: ‘I don’t know where it is located but I know it exists.’

(66) hay un cerro alto mitad en el mero fondo del mar

‘There is a high hill more or less really deep in the sea.’

(67) alla iba con ese animal, que era una un animal semejante

‘He used to go there with that animal (the one) that was a similar (type of) animal.’

(68) y un águila que era grande también dicen

‘And an eagle that was also big, so they say.’

(69) ãka yãhma

ã=kan yãh-a=ma

DIST.DEM=SIM say-NMLZ=TOP

AM: ‘Like that, the story.’

(70) ãka yãhma

ã=kan yãh-a=ma

DIST.DEM=SIM say-NMLZ=TOP

‘Like that, the story.’

(71) paki trw ãyã

Ø-pak-Ø-i tV-Ø-er-wa ã=yã

O3SG-take-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC

CD: ‘They take him there, they say.’

(72) patatiſta tiki tertur ãtahma

pa-ta-tiſ-ta tVk-Ø-Ø-i

INCL-POSS1-sow-AG.NMLZ say-O3SG-S3SG-PST

.

tV-Ø-t-er-wa ã=tVh=ma

say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=NEG=TOP

‘God said it, they say, “Not like that.”’

(73) ÿyã ʃateʔer ɲēher ÿ animal ãma pakuh

ÿ=yã tʃa-teʔ-er-wa Ø-yēh-er-wa
 PROX.DEM=LOC be.there-come-S3PL-PFV O3SG-say-S3PL-PFV

ÿ animal ã=ma Ø-pak-u-h
 PROX.DEM animal DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-take-S2-PROX.FUT

‘They are from here. They say, “This animal, take that one.’

(74) pakuh ãyã take akereyã natokku ãma

Ø-pak-u-h ã=yã take a-kere=yã
 O3SG-take-S2-PROX.FUT DIST.DEM=LOC sea POSS3SG-at.front=LOC

na-tokk-u-h ã=ma
 go-drink-S2-PROX.FUT DIST.DEM=TOP

‘“Take it there to the middle of the sea, go and swallow it.’

(75) pyah pyah pyah ãma take uʔteʃku ãyã toqtʃehu

pi-ah pi-ah pi-ah ã=ma take
 place-NMLZ place-NMLZ place-NMLZ DIST.DEM=TOP sea

uʔ-teʃk-u-h ã=yã
 CAUS-get.away-S2-PROX.FUT DIST.DEM=LOC

Ø-toq-tʃe-u-h
 O3SG-drink-TOT-S2-PROX.FUT

‘“Wherever, cross the sea. There, swallow everything.’

(76) *ãyã ãʔku ãma afafeh teʔkupe tikiri*

ã=yã Ø-ãʔk-u-h ã=ma

DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-eat-S2-PROX.FUT DIST.DEM=TOP

.

a-tʃa-tʃe-u-h teʔk-u-pe

REFL-defecate-TOT-S2-PROX.FUT come-S2-FUT

.

tVk-Ø-ir-i

say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘“There you swallow, you defecate all that, you will come,” they said.’

(77) *y va el gran el gran águila vieja, se fue ahí en ese, en ese...*

‘And the big old eagle goes, it left there, in that one...’

(78) *wako wako*

wako wako

eagle eagle

AM: ‘Eagle, eagle.’

(79) *Y se fue allí a encaramarse ya no no aguantaba dice*

CD: ‘And it went there to perch. And now, it couldn’t hang on, they say.’

(80) *ãyã twehi aʔki tertura ãnihã takeyã ãyã ãnihã*

ã=yã teweh-Ø-i aʔk-Ø-i

DIST.DEM=LOC go.up-S3SG-PST be.in.state-S3SG-PST

.

tV-Ø-t-er-wa ãni=hã take=yã ã=yã
 say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV there=FOC sea=LOC DIST.DEM=LOC

ãni=hã
 there=FOC

‘There it (the eagle) went up and stayed, they say, at the sea, there.’

(81) cerro de piedra cerrohi tru ãnyã twek

cerro de piedra cerro=hi tV-Ø-er-wa
 hill of stone hill=COP:S3SG:PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

ãni=yã taweh-Ø-i
 there=LOC go.up-S3SG-PST

‘It is the stone hill (Baltimor), they say. There it went up.’

(82) ãmpok iʃpak iʃtaʔkpira k iʃpak papira

ãm-pok Ø-iʃpak-Ø-i iʃtaʔk-Ø-pi=ra ke
 ORD-two O3SG-pick.up-S3SG-PST get.up-S3SG-FUT=PURP already

Ø-iʃpak-Ø-i Ø-pa-Ø-pi=ra
 O3SG-pick.up-S3SG-PST O3SG-take-S3SG-FUT=PURP

‘Secondly, it picked it up so that it stood up already. It picked it up to take it.’

(83) ãyã trabaki yã warkura

ã=yã Ø-trabar-ka-Ø-i ã=yã warku=ra
 DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-block-make-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=LOC bad=ACC

‘There he (the shaman) neutralized the devil.’

(84) ke amaskpaki tertwa

ke a-mask-Ø-pak-Ø-i tV-Ø-t-er-wa
 already O3SG-kill-O3SG-take-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

‘He (shaman) had already killed it (evil spirit) and taken it, they say.’

(85) pero era un animal que era grande dicen

‘But it (evil spirit) was an animal that was big, it is said.’

(86) ãra pos peʃki yar take atenyã tokʃeaki

ãra pues Ø-peʃk-Ø-i yar take aten=yã
 HES then O3SG-take.off-S3SG-PST true sea side=LOC

Ø-tokk-ʃe-ak-Ø-i

O3SG-drink-TOT-be.in.state-S3SG-PST

‘If it (the eagle) had crossed to the other side of the sea, he would have drunk everything.’

(87) teʔkirimã to peʃwakuma ʃiʃtwã tertura

teʔk-ir-i=mã to peʃwakwa=ma
 come-S3PL-PST=if MED.DEM animal=TOP

tʃa-iʃ-t-Ø-wa=hã

tV-Ø-t-er-wa

be.there-COND-DUR-S3SG-PFV=FOC say-O3SG-IT-S3PL-PFV

‘If that animal had come, they said.’

(88) ebiska

ewis-ka

snake=NMLZ

AM: ‘Snake.’

(89) ebisra

ewis=ra

snake=ACC

‘It is the snake.’

(90) ðhð

ðhð

yes

CD: ‘Yes.’

(91) am akreke sikiy ðnerpiri ter

am akreke siki=yo ð-n-er-pi-ri

HES but thorn=INS sleep-DUR-S3PL-FUT-PST

.

tV-Ø-er-i

say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘But with the thorn they would have died, they say.’

(92) sikir atokparm ãyope

siki=ra a-tok-par-i=mã ã=yo=pe

thorn=ACC REFL-enter-S1PL.INCL-PST=if DIST.DEM=INS=only

‘If we stick in the thorn, simply with that.’

(93) am to pefwako pataãëkãn artafarirpiri tre

am to pefwako pa-ta-ãë-Ø-i=kan

HES MED.DEM animal INCL-O1-bite-S3SG-PST=DBT

artaʃa=r-ir-pi-ri tV-Ø-er-wa

worse=COP-S3PL-FUT-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

‘It would have been as if that animal had bitten us, it was going to be worse, they say.’

(94) ākara tamākākii patatiʃta

ā=kan=ra ta-mākāk-i-i pa-ta-tiʃ-ta

DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP MID-change-S3SG-PST INCL-POSS1-sow-AG.NMLZ

‘That is why our god changed it.’

(95) patañahrima ā ññā warkwo takiftiʃtima

pa-ta-yāh-a=ri=ma ā ññā warkwa

INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=MDT=TOP DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=INDF bad

Ø-tekiʃ-tiʃ-t-Ø-i=ma

O3SG-get.stuck-almost-DUR-S3SG-PST=NOM

‘In our language that bad thing got stuck.’

(96) tikiʃtyāma el serro kaʔsaki tikiri

Ø-tikiʃ-t-Ø-i=yā=ma el cerro

O3SG-get.stuck-DUR-S3SG-PST=LOC=TOP the hill

kaʔsa-ka-Ø-i tVk-Ø-ir-i

branch-make-S3SG-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘Where it got stuck, they called it “the branching hill”.’

(97) patapñhyoma kaʔsaki tikiri

pa-ta-yãh-a=yo=ma kaʔsa-ka-Ø-i

INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=INS=TOP branch-make-S3SG-PST

tVk-Ø-ir-i

say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘In our language they say “branching (hill)”.’

(98) kaʔsaki

kaʔsa-ka-Ø-i

branch-make-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘Branching (hill).’

(99) ¿no es cerro Chachaguate?

‘Isn’t it the Chachaguate hill?’

(100) ¿cerro Chachaguate no es?

‘It is not the Chachaguate hill?’

(101) no

CD: ‘No.’

(102) kaʔsaki es como si fueran dos cerros iguales

kaʔsa-ka-Ø-i es como si fueran dos cerros iguales

branch-make-S3SG-PST is like if were two hills identical

AM: ‘The branching (hill) is as if there were two identical hills.’

(103) kaʔsakima es como un palo que sube ñrikã

kaʔsa-ka-Ø-i=ma es como un palo que sube

branch–make–S3SG–PST=NOM is like one tree that goes.up

ĩ=r-Ø-i=kan

PROX.DEM=COP–S3SG–PST=SIM

CD: ‘The branching (hill) is like a tree that goes up, it was like that.’

(104) twe asikān asikān ramas eso se yama kaʔsakwo

teweh-Ø-i asi=kān asi=kān ramas eso se.llama
go.up–S3SG–PST slingshot=SIM slingshot=SIM branches that is.called

kaʔsa-ka-Ø-wa

branch–make–S3SG–PFV

‘That is what it is called “the branching (hill)”, as it goes up like a slingshot.’

(105) kaʔsaki asi es dicen ese cerro es grande

kaʔsa-ka-Ø-i así es dicen ese cerro es grande
branch–make–S3SG–PST thus is they.say that hill is big

‘The branching (hill), it is like that, they say. That hill is big.’

(106) twe kaʔsakwa tertura

teweh-Ø-i kaʔsa-ka-Ø-wa tV-Ø-t-er-wa
go.up–S3SG–PST branch–make–S3SG–PFV say–O3SG–IT–S3PL–PFV

‘The branching (hill) goes up like a slingshot, they say.’

(107) pyahni arirtwo tasma

pi-ah=na=i a-r-ir-a-tV-wa
place–NMLZ=INDF=COP:S3SG:PFV O3SG–APPL.P–know–S1SG–NEG–PFV

tas=ma

PRO1=TOP

AM: ‘Me, I don’t know where it is.’

(108) arirtawa tasma

a-r-ir-a-tV-wa tas=ma

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV PRO1=TOP

‘I don’t know.’

(109) tasma wejkar ke

tas=ma Ø-wejkar-a-ri ke

PRO1=TOP O3SG-hear-S1SG-PST already

CD: ‘I had already heard (about this).’

(110) taparakawamã wãta feriras ãkanhã

ta-para-ka=r-a-wa=mã wãta

POSS1-youth-NMLZ=COP-S1SG-PFV=when shaman

ʃa-er-i=ras

ã=kan=hã

be.there-S3PL-PST=REAS DIST.DEM=SIM=FOC

‘When I was young, because there was a shaman like that one.’

(111) yẽhru wijkari takore juruwa

Ø-yẽh-er-wa Ø-wejkar-a-ri ta-kore

O3SG-say-S3PL-PFV O3SG-hear-S1SG-PST POSS1-uncle

ʃa-er-wa

be.there-S3PL-PFV

‘They say, “I hear my uncle, they (shamans) exist.”’

(112) ke aka tiʃtpe ðniw ãrina

ke aka ta-iʃ-t-Ø-pi ð-n-i-wa

already big MID-make-DUR-S3SG-FUT sleep-DUR-S3SG-PFV

.

ã=rina

DIST.DEM=also

‘He was already becoming old. That one also died.’

(113) a mí me contaban cosas todavía lo tengo presente

‘They used to tell me things. I still remember them.’

(114) yarpra

yar=pra

true=EMPH

AM: ‘It is true.’

WA *TJENA* ‘THE EVIL EYE’, TOLD BY JUANA HERNÁNDEZ

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The narrative *Wa tƒena* ‘The evil eye’ was told by Juana Hernández, a native speaker born in 1949 in Pueblo Viejo, a hamlet near Dulce Nombre de Culmí. She is the sister of Francisco Hernández and she migrated with several members of her family in the early 1990s to the department of Gracias a Dios, where they founded the village of Nuevo Dulce Nombre. She and her family migrated at the beginning of the 21st century to Moradel near the Caribbean sea so that her sons could study in Trujillo. Pesh was her first language and then she learned Spanish from others in the village. The story was recorded by Claudine Chamoreau and Ángel Martínez. This narrative was transcribed and translated by Claudine Chamoreau, Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. This is a personal narrative focused on the knowledge of the speaker about healing children who are victims of the evil eye. She explains how she prepares a mixture of plants with egg yolks and holy water. As she is a good healer, she always manages to heal children who are victims of this disease. To treat the children, she also asks parents to buy ingredients and help her treat the children. The action of the parents, especially the mothers, is also explained.

(1) aye ĩsi kakapama tas

a–ye ĩsi ka–ka–pa=ma tas
 POSS3SG–small medicine O3PL–make–S1SG:FUT=NOM PRO1

‘For the kids, for whom I make medicine.’

(2) ã wa wa tƒena terama

ã wa wa tƒena tV–Ø–er–wa=ma
 HES eye eye sick say–O3SG–S3PL–PFV=NOM

‘They call it the (evil) eye, the sick eye.’

(3) ãma pok tʃaawa aye apef tʃana yar waʔi a wa

ã=ma pok Ø-tʃa-a-wa a-ye

DIST.DEM=TOP two O3SG-see-S1SG-PFV POSS3SG-small

a-pef tʃana yar wa=ʔi a wa
POSS3SG-people sick true eye=COP:S3SG:PFV HES eye

‘I see two kids, their sick body, it is truly the (evil) eye.’

(4) watahã ãnara tʃaawa apef aye yas pahtʃeawa

wa=tVh=hã ã=na=ra Ø-tʃa-a-wa

eye=NEG=FOC DIST.DEM=INDF=ACC O3SG-see-S1SG-PFV

a-pef a-ye yas Ø-pah-tʃe-a-wa
POSS3SG-people POSS3SG-small all O3SG-touch-TOT-S1SG-PFV

‘(If) it is not the (evil) eye, it is something. I look at his body. I check the whole child.’

(5) yar wahã awatahã ãnara pahtʃeawa

yar wa=hã a-wa=tV=hã ã=na=ra

true eye=FOC POSS3SG-eye=NEG=FOC DIST.DEM=INDF=ACC

Ø-pah-tʃe-a-wa

O3SG-touch-TOT-S1SG-PFV

‘Whether it is truly the (evil) eye or not, it is something. I check all of him.’

(6) anĩʔa asawa ye yas toʔ apēha akiwakan iʃtakerwakan

anĩʔa a-sawa ye yas toʔ

HES POSS3SG-hand small all MED.DEM

.

a-pēh-a ak-i-wa=kan iʃtak-er-wa=kan

REFL-move-PTCP be.in.state-S3SG-PFV=SIM get.up-S3PL-PFV=SIM

‘His little hands, how they are moving, how they rise.’

(7) iʃkũmã wataʔi akarʃkwa ĩkan ãyã ĩra tʃãēnkawa

Ø-iʃk-i-wa=mã wa=tVh=ʔi akarʃkwa

O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV=if eye=NEG=COP:S3SG:PFV then

.

ĩ=kan ã=yã ĩ=ra

PROX.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=LOC PROX.DEM=ACC

.

Ø-tʃã-ēn-ka-a-wa

O3SG-see-well-make-S1SG-PFV

‘If it turns out it is not the (evil) eye, then like that there, I check him.’

(8) tʃãēnkawa awa yera as aye asri ã teʃkiã pataukwa kii aki

Ø-tʃã-ēn-ka-a-wa a-wa ye=ra as

O3SG-see-well-make-S1SG-PFV POSS3SG-eye small=ACC one

.

a-ye as=r-Ø-i ã teʃki=hã

POSS3SG-small one=COP-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM fever=FOC

pataukwa Ø-ka-i ak-Ø-i
 hot O3SG-make-S3SG-PST be.in.state-S3SG-PST

‘(When) I have checked him, (if) one eye is small, the fever is making (it) hot.’

(9) am yari ãma yar ãma ke wai ãma

am yar=i ã=ma yar ã=ma
 HES true=COP:S3SG:PFV DIST.DEM=TOP true DIST.DEM=TOP

ke wa=i ã=ma
 already eye=COP:S3SG:PFV DIST.DEM=TOP

‘Truly, that one, it is already the (evil) eye.’

(10) warahã sukuhi artukri ã awa warkukanhã? tãwa

wa=ra=hã Ø-sukuh-Ø-i a-r-tuk-er-i
 eye=ACC=FOC O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-put-S3PL-PST

ã a-wa warku=kan=hã? Ø-tã-a-wa
 HES POSS3SG-eye bad=SIM=FOC O3SG-see-S1SG-PFV

‘It grabbed the eye. Those (fever and sickness) put his eye like the evil (eye). I saw him.’

(11) ãyã yea artefki

ã=yã ye-a a-r-tefk-Ø-i
 DIST.DEM=LOC small-NMLZ O3SG-APPL.P-get.away-S3SG-PST

‘It happened to the child.’

(12) ākanras ke āma yari wai āma

ā=kan=ras ke ā=ma yari wa=i

DIST.DEM=SIM=REAS already DIST.DEM=TOP true eye=COP:S3SG:PFV

.

ā=ma

DIST.DEM=TOP

‘That is why truly, it is the (evil) eye.’

(13) tawa tasma āyā yēhawā?

tV-Ø-a-wa tas=ma ā=yā

say-O3SG-S1SG-PFV PRO1=TOP DIST.DEM=LOC

.

Ø-yēh-a-wa=hā?

O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV=FOC

‘I say it. There, it is what I say.’

(14) yēhma wa īsirahā? proha

Ø-yēh-a-wa=ma wa īsi=ra=hā?

O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV=NOM eye medicine=ACC=FOC

.

Ø-proh-a-wa

O3SG-look.for-S1SG-PFV

‘This is what I say, I search for the medicine (against) the (evil) eye.’

(15) prohukuhupihā? takakawa peʃtus ā peʃkaki

Ø-proh-u-kuh-u-pi=hā?

O3SG–look.for–S2–buy–S2–FUT=FOC

tVk–ka–a–wa pef–tus ã pef–kaki
 say–O3PL–S1SG–PFV POSS3PL–father DIST.DEM POSS3PL–mother

‘“It is the one you will look for and buy!” I told his father and his mother.’

(16) ã ã ãsi prohupima

ã ã ãsi Ø–proh–u–pi=ma
 DIST.DEM DIST.DEM medicine O3SG–look.for–S2–FUT=NOM

‘“The medicine you will look for.”’

(17) apono pok piʃikrahã? totoni

a–pono pok Ø–piʃik–er–wa=hã? totoni
 POSS3SG–egg two O3SG–lay.eggs–S3PL–PFV=FOC chicken

‘Two eggs (that) the chickens laid.’

(18) ã kaʔoyã tʃa-Ø-wa=kan=hã? pok ãkan ruda

ã kaʔoyã tʃa-Ø-wa=kan=hã? a–pono
 DIST.DEM house=LOC be.there–S3SG–PFV=LOC=FOC POSS3SG–egg

ã=kan=hã? pok ã=kan ruda
 DIST.DEM=SIM=FOC two PROX.DEM=SIM rue

‘Like a household where there are eggs like those two and rue.’

(19) ãma ãyã tʃwa ãma sirakoyã

ã=ma ã=yã tʃa–i–wa ã=ma
 DIST.DEM=TOP PROX.DEM=LOC be.there–S3SG–PFV DIST.DEM=TOP

sira-kaʔo=yã

food-house=LOC

‘That one, it is (found) in the market.’

(20) ãyã nukuhupẽ? taka katũhuhã? ãyã ãkan to?

ã=yã Ø-nã-u-kuh-u-pi=hã? tV_k-Ø-a-wa

DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-go-S2-buy-S2-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S1SG-PFV

ka-tũh-a-wa=hã? ã=yã ã=kan to?

O3PL-send-S1SG-PFV=FOC DIST.DEM=LOC PROX.DEM=SIM MED.DEM

‘“There, you are going to buy it,” I tell them. It is over there that I send them like this.’

(21) tokkna patewã as kakatfuyã to? ãyã

tokk-na patewã as ka-ka-tfa-i-wa=yã

drink-NMLZ spicy.hot INDF.ART O3PL-APPL.R-be.there-S3SG-PFV=LOC

to? ã=yã

MED.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC

‘A spicy drink that can be found here.’

(22) ã to? arahnã tokkri

ã to? arahnã Ø-tokk-er-i

PROX.DEM MED.DEM outside O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST

‘They drink outside.’

(23) peŋ akwalerkã tokkri wula tokkrikanhã? ãyã ãkan

peŋ akwa-ler=kan Ø-tokk-er-i wula
 people other-PL=SIM O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST foreign

Ø-tokk-er-i=kan=hã? ã=yã ã=kan
 O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST=SIM=FOC DIST.DEM=LOC PROX.DEM=SIM

‘Like other people drink. Like the foreigners drink over there.’

(24) ahraťẽ kuhupekwa

ahraťẽ Ø-kuh-u-Ø-pek-ya
 half O3SG-buy-S2-O3SG-bring-S2:PFV

‘“Half of it, you buy it and bring it.”’

(25) taãỹhupẽ? takawa ãkitari ãyã tikerẽ?

ta-ãỹh-u-pi=hã? tVk-Ø-a-wa ãkita=ri
 O1-give:O1:2-S2-FUT=FOC say-O3SG-S1SG-PFV now=TEMP

ã=yã tVk-Ø-er-i=hã?
 PROX.DEM=LOC say-O3SG-S3PL-PST=FOC

‘“You give it to me,” I tell them. “Now, here,” they say.’

(26) batan ayes tjuwa apĩma awa florida apĩma ãkã tikirwa

batan a-ye=s tja-i-wa
 container POSS3SG-small=INDF.ART be.there-S3SG-PFV

a-pin=ma agua florida a-pin=ma

POSS3SG–name=TOP water blossomed POSS3SG–name=TOP

ã=kan tVk-Ø-ir-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

‘It comes in a small container, its name is “Agua Florida”. It is called like that.’

(27) akarʃkwa ãyãhã? ãkãn batan ayesi

akarʃkwa ã=yã=hã? ã=kan batan

then DIST.DEM=LOC=FOC PROX.DEM=SIM container

a-ye=s=i

POSS3SG–small=INDF.ART=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Then, it is a small container like this.’

(28) pekya ãsi pikapahã? ã yea yawaqas was ware akatʃuras

Ø-pek-ya ãsi pi-ka-pa=hã?

O3SG–bring–S2:PFV medicine O2–make–S1SG:FUT=FOC

ã ye-a yawaqas wa=s wa=r-Ø-i

PROX.DEM small–NMLZ HES eye=INDF.ART eye=COP–S3SG–PST

a-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa=ras

O3SG–APPL.R–be.there–S3SG–PFV=REAS

‘“You bring the medicine, I will make (it for) you, because it is the (evil) eye this child has in an eye.’

(29) ãhã ã tʃenahã akatʃuras

ã=hã ã tʃena=hã

DIST.DEM=FOC DIST.DEM disease=FOC

.

a-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa=ras

O3SG-APPL.R-be.there-S3SG-PFV=REAS

‘“Because that is the disease he has.”’

(30) ïsi kapahã? takakawa peʃka

ïsi Ø-ka-pa=hã? tʃk-ka-a-wa peʃ-ka

medicine O3SG-make-S1SG:FUT=FOC say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV people-NMLZ

‘“I make him the medicine,” I tell the people.’

(31) yariʃki kuhpekerwã ïsi kakaawa

yar-iʃk=i Ø-kuh-Ø-pek-er-wa=hã

true-DES=COP:S3SG:PFV O3SG-buy-O3SG-bring-S3PL-PFV=FOC

.

ïsi ka-ka-a-wa

medicine O3PL-make-S1SG-PFV

‘It is true, they buy and bring the medicine, I make (it for) them.’

(32) ã aponoyo atatuh ãyo berskawa

ã a-pono=yo atatuh ã=yo

DIST.DEM POSS3SG-egg=INS in.the.beginning DIST.DEM=INS

.

Ø-bersk-a-wa

O3SG-rub-S1SG-PFV

‘First with the eggs, I rub him with that.’

(33) kaberska pehã? kakateſka

ka-beršk-a-wa pe=hã? ka-ka-teſk-a-wa

O3PL-rub-S1SG-PFV a.lot=FOC O3PL-APPL.R-get.away-S1SG-PFV

‘I rub them a lot, I leave them alone.’

(34) ãkan katari a pokleras as ãkan awasyo besk ãkãn kã

ã=kan kata=ri a pok=l-er-wa=ras

PROX.DEM=SIM today=TEMP HES two=COP-S3PL-PFV=REAS

.

as ã=kan a-wa=s=yo

one PROX.DEM=SIM POSS3SG-eye=INDF.ART=INS

.

Ø-beršk-a-wa ã=kãn Ø-ka-a-wa

O3SG-rub-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

‘Because today there are two, one like that, with his eye I rub him, I do it.’

(35) asã yeta berska monõkõ yari atah yeta pe monõka

a-sã yeta Ø-beršk-a-wa Ø-monõk-a-wa

POSS3SG-head until.now O3SG-rub-S1SG-PFV O3SG-put.down-S1SG-PFV

.

yar=i a-tah yeta pe

true=COP:S3SG:PFV POSS3SG-foot until.now a.lot

.

Ø-monōk-a-wa

O3SG-put.down-S1SG-PFV

‘I rub them up to the head, (and) down, truly, down to the feet. I put a lot on the lower part.’

(36) ka warka ka atah ye sukuhu ka pe?ka

ka wark-a-wa ka a-tah ye Ø-sukuh-a-wa

then repeat-S1SG-PFV then POSS3SG-foot small O3SG-grab-S1SG-PFV

ka Ø-pe?k-a-wa

then O3SG-bring-S1SG-PFV

‘Then I repeat it, then I grab his small foot, then I bring it.’

(37) asã yeta paka pahpahã? ã pono pokyo ãkan kakaawa

a-sã yeta paka pah-pa=hã?

POSS3SG-head until.now HES move-S1SG:FUT=FOC

ã pono pok=yo ã=kan ka-ka-a-wa

DIST.DEM egg two=INS DIST.DEM=SIM O3PL-make-S1SG-PFV

‘I go up to the head. I do that with the egg.’

(38) ãyã ãrahã? ãsi aka?kwa ãkan ariri ã ã rudayã takoi

ã=yã ã=ra=hã? ãsi aka?kwa ã=kan

DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM=ACC=FOC medicine then PROX.DEM=SIM

ari=ri ã ã ruda=yã

afterwards=TEMP HES DIST.DEM rue=LOC

tVk-Ø-a-i

say-O3SG-S1SG-PST

‘There is that medicine like that. Afterwards, that rue I told him.’

(39) ãma kriha atʃihi ke kriha pe kapape kapa

ã=ma kri-ha a-tʃah-i-hi ke

DIST.DEM=TOP crush-PTCP REFL-sit-S3SG-PST already

kri-ha pe kapa=pe kapa

crush-PTCP a.lot always=only always

‘It is crushed, already crushed, several times, several times.’

(40) torʃka pe kapa aso asoma ãmã ãmã ñãhõʃka

Ø-torʃk-a pe kapa aso aso=ma ã=ma

O3SG-twist-PTCP a.lot always water water=TOP DIST.DEM=TOP

ã=ma Ø-yãh-a-tʃi=kan

DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-say-S1SG-PROX.PST=SIM

‘I squeeze it several times, the water, that water like I said, that.’

(41) toqna patewã ãs waroh tikiri ãkã ãyã ãkã ãyo atʃahawa atʃaha

toq-na patewã ãs waroh tVk-Ø-ir-ri

drink-NMLZ spicy.hot INDF.ART guaro say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

ã=kan

ã=yã

ã=kan

ã=yo

DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=INS

Ø-atʃah-a-wa Ø-atʃah-a-wa
 O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV

‘A spicy drink, over there they call it guaro. Like that, I sprinkle it with that.’¹²

(42) katari tartõʃki ãma kaawa ãma

Ø-ka-a-tV-ri ta-r-ta-õʃk-Ø-i
 O3SG-make-S1SG-NEG-PST O1-APPL.P-MID-lose-S3SG-PST

ã=ma Ø-ka-a-wa ã=ma
 DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=TOP

‘I did not make it, I forgot that. I make that one.’

(43) awa wenditahã? tekiri ãri atʃahã?

agua bendita=hã? tVʃk-Ø-ir-ri ã=ri
 water holy=FOC say-O3SG-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM=MDT

Ø-atʃah-a-wa=hã?
 O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV=FOC

‘It is holy water they say. I sprinkle it with that.’

(44) pẽh ahayo torʃkawa awa wenditayo

pẽh a-ha=yo Ø-torʃk-a-wa agua bendita=yo
 wood POSS3SG-leaf=INS O3SG-twist-S1SG-PFV water holy=INS

‘With the leaf, I squeeze the stick, with holy water.’

(45) torʃka pe kapa pe kapa ãyo atʃaha aso masus kaa

Ø-torʃk-a-wa pe kapa pe kapa ã=yo
 O3SG-twist-S1SG-PFV a.lot always a.lot always DIST.DEM=INS

Ø-atʃah-a-wa aso masus Ø-ka-a-wa
 O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV water wet O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

‘I squeeze for a long time, I sprinkle it with that. I make it (stick) wet.’

(46) ãyã atʃaha tukwa ã waroh tis

ã=yã Ø-atʃah-a-wa Ø-tuk-a-wa
 DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV O3SG-put-S1SG-PFV

ã waroh tis
 DIST.DEM guaro a.little

‘I sprinkle it there. I put a little bit of guaro.’

(47) ãma ã ãhã? krus kaahã? ã wĩnĩ?ka ãhã? ã ãhã? berska kaberska yea arudayo

ã=ma ã ã=hã? cruz
 DIST.DEM=TOP DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=FOC cross

Ø-ka-a-wa=hã? ã wĩnĩ?ka ã=hã?
 O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV=FOC DIST.DEM often PROX.DEM=FOC

ã ã=hã? Ø-bersk-a-wa ka-bersk-a-wa
 DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=FOC O3SG-rub-S1SG-PFV O3PL-rub-S1SG-PFV

ye-a a-ruda=yo

small-NMLZ POSS3SG-rue=INS

‘To that one (child), I repeatedly make the sign of the cross. I rub them, I rub the kids with the rue.’

(48) akarjka ãyã kaberska pe kapa pe kapa akastejka

akarjka ã=yã ka-beršk-a-wa pe kapa pe kapa

then DIST.DEM=LOC O3PL-rub-S1SG-PFV a.lot always a.lot always

a-kas-tejka-a-wa

O3SG-APPL.R-get.away-S1SG-PFV

‘Then I rub them for a long time. I leave them.’

(49) apono ãkan kaosri kaa ã ãyo arudayo ãkan kaawa

a-pono ã=kan Ø-ka-a-wa=sri

POSS3SG-egg PROX.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV=UNCRT

Ø-ka-a-wa ã ã=yo

O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=INS

a-ruda=yo ã=kan Ø-ka-a-wa

POSS3SG-rue=INS DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

‘I would do it with an egg. I do it, with this one, with rue. I do it like that.’

(50) ãri katrua tikir

ã=ri katrua tV_k-Ø-ir-i
 DIST.DEM=MDT herb say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘With the herb that they say.’

(51) akarĵkwa ĩkan ããriri ãã waroha takoi apatewã tokkri peĵ akwa

akarĵkwa ĩ=kan ãã=ri=ri ãã waroh-ha
 then PROX.DEM=SIM day=TEMP=TEMP day guaro-NMLZ

tV_k-Ø-a-i a-patewã Ø-tokk-er-i
 say-O3SG-S1SG-PST POSS3SG-spicy.hot O3SG-drink-S3PL-PST

peĵ akwa
 people other

‘Then like this, the next day, the other people (foreigners) drink the spicy guaro, I say.’

(52) akarĵkwa awa floridari

akarĵkwa awa florida=r-Ø-i
 then water blossomed=COP-S3SG-PST

‘Then it was Agua Florida.’

(53) aka yes ãyo awarahkawa awarahka ãpã atĵahawa warohri

aka ye=s ã=yo a-warahk-a-wa
 plate small=INDF.ART DIST.DEM=INS O3SG-empty-S1SG-PFV

a-warahk-a-wa ã=yã Ø-atĵah-a-wa

O3SG-empty-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV

.

waroh=ri

guaro=MDT

‘A small plate, with that I empty it, I empty it there. I sprinkle it with guaro.’

(54) akarʃkwa ïkan awa floridari ãwãh ãma korska kaawa ãwãh ãma

akarʃkwa ï=kan agua florida=r-Ø-i ãwãh

then PROX.DEM=SIM water blossomed=COP-S3SG-PST also

.

ã=ma Ø-korsk-a-wa Ø-ka-a-wa

DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-write-S1SG-PFV O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

.

ãwãh ã=ma

also DIST.DEM=TOP

‘Then, like this, also with the Agua Florida, I write that. I also do that.’

(55) korska pak, korska peʔka kaa ãpã

Ø-korsk-a-wa Ø-pak-a-wa Ø-korsk-a-wa

O3SG-write-S1SG-PFV O3SG-take-S1SG-PFV O3SG-write-S1SG-PFV

.

Ø-peʔk-a-wa Ø-ka-a-wa ã=yã

O3SG-bring-S1SG-PFV O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC

‘I write it, I take it, I write it, I bring it, I do it there.’

(56) ñhã toʔ tẽwã pasparri fosforo ha takapri

ĩ=hã toʔ tẽwã Ø-pas-par-ri

PROX.DEM=FOC MED.DEM fire O3SG-take.out-S1PL.INCL-PST

.

fosforo-ha tV-ka-par-ri

match-NMLZ say-O3PL-S1PL.INCL-PST

‘It is that fire that we take out, the match as we call it.’

(57) ãkan ãyo paka ãpanawa, atukkaawa ã ãma

ã=kan ã=yo Ø-pak-a-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=INS O3SG-take-S1SG-PFV

.

ũ-pan-a-wa a-tuk-ka-a-wa ã

CAUS-light-S1SG-PFV O3SG-put-make-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM

.

ĩ=ma

PROX.DEM=TOP

‘With that I take it, I light it (guaro), I put and make (fire inside the plate with the guaro and the

Agua Florida).’

(58) ããĩ ñhã akayo atfaha tuka aso takoyã

ããĩ ñhã aka=yo Ø-atfah-a-wa

HES PROX.DEM=FOC plate=INS O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV

.

Ø-tuk-a-wa aso tVk-Ø-a-wa=yã

O3SG–put–S1SG–PFV water say–O3SG–S1SG–PFV=LOC

‘With the plate, I sprinkle it, I put it in water in the one I say.’

(59) ã ã warohri awa florida atfaha tuka

ã ã waroh=ri agua florida

DIST.DEM PROX.DEM guaro=MDT water blossomed

.

Ø–atfah–a–wa Ø–tuk–a–wa

O3SG–put.in–S1SG–PFV O3SG–put–S1SG–PFV

‘This one, with the guaro, the Agua Florida, I sprinkle it, I leave it.’

(60) ãyã ãyũkawahã? ãbrastawa ãpã

ã=yã ã–yũk–a–wa=hã? ã–brast–a–wa

DIST.DEM=LOC CAUS–mix–S1SG–PFV=FOC CAUS–light.fire–S1SG–PFV

.

ã=yã

DIST.DEM=LOC

‘There I mix it, I light it on fire there.’

(61) ãbrasto ãyã ãma to?

ã–brast–a–wa ã=yã ã=ma to?

CAUS–light.fire–S1SG–PFV DIST.DEM=LOC DIST.DEM=TOP MED.DEM

‘I burn it there that one.’

(62) ãhã nirsun kasi sukuha taparkã

ã=hã nirsun gas Ø–sukuh–Ø–wa

PROX.DEM=FOC HES gas O3SG–grab–S3SG–PFV

tV-∅-par-wa=kan

say-O3SG-S1PL.INCL-PFV=SIM

‘It is this gas that catches, like we say.’

(63) panipaskwa, panipaski ãm ãyã sehũwari sehũwari sehũwari sehũwari

∅-pan-i-pask-∅-wa

O3SG-light-S3SG-take.out-S3SG-PFV

∅-pan-i-pask-∅-i

ãm ã=yã

O3SG-light-S3SG-take.out-S3SG-PST HES DIST.DEM=LOC

sehũh-∅-wa=ri

sehũh-∅-wa=ri

get.burnt-S3SG-PFV=MDT get.burnt-S3SG-PFV=MDT

sehũh-∅-wa=ri

sehũh-∅-wa=ri

get.burnt-S3SG-PFV=MDT get.burnt-S3SG-PFV=MDT

‘It is lit and taken out, it was lit and taken along with what got burnt.’

(64) sehtfei nõi aso akini tis twarhkwa

sehũh-tje-∅-i

nã-∅-i

aso

akini

tis

get.burnt-TOT-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-PST water little a.little

ta-warahk-∅-wa

MID-empty-S3SG-PFV

‘Everything got burnt, there was no water for a little while, it got emptied to a low (level).’

(65) ãyo ãyã, arudayã atfahawa atfaha ãyo kaberskow yea

ã=yo ã=yã a-ruda=yã

DIST.DEM=INS DIST.DEM=LOC POSS3SG-rue=LOC

.

∅-atfah-a-wa ∅-atfah-a-wa ã=yo

O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=INS

.

ka-bersk-a-wa ye-a

O3PL-rub-S1SG-PFV small-NMLZ

‘With that, I sprinkle in the rue. I sprinkle it with that, I rub the children.’

(66) ãyo kaberska pe kapa

ã=yo ka-bersk-a-wa pe kapa

DIST.DEM=INS O3PL-rub-S1SG-PFV a.lot always

‘With that I rub them several times.’

(67) ãma ãkã karo?ka ke ãyo asoyo atfaha karo?kow

ã=ma ã=kan ka-r-o?k-a-wa ke

DIST.DEM=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM O3PL-APPL.P-bathe-S1SG-PFV already

.

ã=yo aso=yo ∅-atfah-a-wa

DIST.DEM=INS water=INS O3SG-put.in-S1SG-PFV

.

ka-r-o?k-a-wa

O3PL-APPL.P-bathe-S1SG-PFV

‘Those ones, I bathe them with that, I sprinkle them with water, and I bathe them.’

(68) aso we tawarkuras asehūrihã

aso we ta-wark-Ø-wa=ras

water a.lot MID-remain-S3SG-PFV=REAS

.

a-sehūh-Ø-ri=hã

REFL-get.burnt-S3SG-PST=FOC

‘Because a lot of water remained, (with what) got burnt.’

(69) ākãn kaa kakasteʃkwa yea ākã kaawa āyã ũtiʃtiʃkerwama

ā=kan Ø-ka-a-wa ka-kas-teʃk-a-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV O3PL-APPL.R-get.away-S1SG-PFV

.

ye-a ā=kan Ø-ka-a-wa ā=yã

small-NMLZ DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC

.

ũ-tiʃtiʃk-er-wa=ma

CAUS-be.sticky-S3PL-PFV=NOM

‘I do it like that, I leave the children, I do it like that, they sweat.’

(70) kabriēnki kapiʃpi kapiʃkerwa peʃkaki āyã ũtiʃtiʃkrama

ka-bri-ēn-ka-Ø-i ka-piʃ-Ø-pi

O3PL-cover-well-make-S3SG-PST O3PL-lay.down-S3SG-FUT

.

ka-piʃk-er-wa peʃ-kaki ã=yã
 O3PL-lay.down-S3PL-PFV POSS3PL-mother DIST.DEM=LOC

ũ-tiʃtiʃk-er-wa=ma
 CAUS-be.sticky-S3PL-PFV=NOM

‘She covers them well, she will lay them down, their mother lays them down. There they sweat.’

(71) ãyã kapaskwa ã ãma awama, akarʃkwa ã apono tootʃema

ã=yã ka-pask-∅-wa ã ã=ma
 DIST.DEM=LOC O3PL-take.out-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=TOP

a-wa=ma akarʃkwa ã a-pono
 POSS3SG-eye=TOP then DIST.DEM POSS3SG-egg

tV-∅-a-tʃi=ma
 say-O3SG-S1SG-PROX.PST=NOM

‘There it comes out of them, his (evil) eye, then (thanks to) the egg I said.’

(72) a ke kabersyahkaa akasteʃkoras

a ke ka-bers-yah-ka-a-wa
 HES already O3PL-rub-finish-make-S1SG-PFV

a-kas-teʃk-a-wa=ras
 O3SG-APPL.R-get.away-S1SG-PFV=REAS

‘I already finished rubbing them, I leave them.’

(73) ke kamukẽŋki kapiŋkeras takakawa peŋkakira

ke ka-muk-ẽŋ-ka-Ø-i

already O3PL-cover-well-make-S3SG-PST

ka-piŋk-er-wa=ras

tVk-ka-a-wa

O3PL-lay.down-S3PL-PFV=REAS say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV

peŋ-kaki=ra

POSS3PL-mother=ACC

‘Because they are already well covered, because they lay down, I tell their mother.’

(74) ã aponoma nãwa aso

ã a-pono=ma nã-Ø-wa aso

PROX.DEM POSS3SG-egg=TOP go-S3SG-PFV water

‘This egg is no longer in the water.’

(75) aso tokka aa ahraŋfẽ pekuh

aso tokk-a aa ahraŋfẽ Ø-pek-u-h

water drink-NMLZ HES half O3SG-bring-S2-PROX.FUT

‘“Bring half of a glass of water.’

(76) tis aso a[?] ã pesakyã

tis aso a[?] ã Ø-pe-sak-ya=hã

a.little water HES DIST.DEM O3SG-bring-stop-S2:PFV=FOC

‘“You bring it to put in some water.’

(77) aponoma krahuh atfahuhpě tekaw

a-pono=ma Ø-krah-u-h

POSS3SG-egg=TOP O3SG-break-S2-PROX.FUT

.

Ø-atfah-u-h=pe=hã tVk-ka-a-wa

O3SG-put.in-S2-PROX.FUT=only=FOC say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV

‘“The egg, break it, just splatter it,” I tell them.’

(78) krahuh atfahuh asã sakuhpehã ã ãñãhã

Ø-krah-u-h Ø-atfah-u-h a-sã

O3SG-break-S2-PROX.FUT O3SG-put.in-S2-PROX.FUT POSS3SG-head

.

Ø-sak-u-h=pe=hã ã

O3SG-stop-S2-PROX.FUT=only=FOC DIST.DEM

.

ĩ=yã=hã

PROX.DEM=LOC=FOC

‘“Break it, splatter it on, put it just here.’

(79) ã pyah ye okwasri ãyã pokusakupe awakyã

ã pi-ah ye ok-Ø-wa=sri

DIST.DEM place-NMLZ small sleep-S3SG-PFV=UNCRT

.

ã=yã Ø-pok-u-sak-u-pi=hã awak=yã

DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-put.in-S2-stop-S2-FUT=FOC below=LOC

‘ “Where the child sleeps there, you will put it in and put it under the child(’s pillow).’

(80) ã aponoma asoyo nãnnãñĩ ã aso toqayo

ã a-pono=ma aso=yo nãnnãñĩ ã
 DIST.DEM POSS3SG-egg=TOP water=INS HES PROX.DEM

.

aso toq-na=yo
 water drink-NMLZ=INS

‘ “That egg with the water, with the glass of water.” ’

(81) yar ãkã kirma ãyã apaskwa ke ã kapã, nãtfermã

yar ã=kan Ø-ka-ir-wa=ma ã=yã
 true DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV=NOM DIST.DEM=LOC

.

a-pask-Ø-wa ke ã kapa=yã
 REFL-take.out-S3SG-PFV already day always=LOC

.

nã-Ø-tja-er-wa=mã
 go-O3SG-see-S3PL-PFV=when

‘ Truly, they do it like that there. It comes out already, the next day when they go see them.’

(82) ãyã wa atuki wa apaski tjiwa ã ã wa aponoma tuha?kan tji?ko ke

ã=yã wa a-tuk-Ø-i wa a-pask-Ø-i
 DIST.DEM=LOC eye REFL-put-S3SG-PST eye REFL-take.out-S3SG-PST

.

tja-i-wa ã ã wa a-pono=ma

be.there-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM DIST.DEM eye POSS3SG-egg=TOP

∅-tuh-aʔ=kan ta-ɪʃk-∅-wa ke

O3SG-cook-PTCP=SIM MID-make-S3SG-PFV already

‘There the eye put itself (became healthy). It is as if the (evil) eye came out from the cooked egg.
It becomes healthy.’

(83) ãma toʔ tuhbronaãkan bohtʃehi ã kamasama

ã=ma toʔ ∅-tuh-brona-ã=kan

DIST.DEM=TOP MED.DEM O3SG-cook-half-PTCP=SIM

boh-tʃe-∅-hi ã kamasama

be.ashy-TOT-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM white=TOP

‘It is like half cooked, it is all ashy (rotten), the egg white.’

(84) ke ar bohtʃe kamasama tiʃki

ke ar boh-tʃe-∅-hi kamasama ta-ɪʃk-∅-i

already HES be.ashy-TOT-S3SG-PST white MID-make-S3SG-PST

‘The egg white became completely ashy.’

(85) asewaperã asewa ahraʃẽ atʃihi atʃihi ã wama

a-sewa=pera=hã a-sewa ahraʃẽ

POSS3SG-yellow=only=FOC POSS3SG-yellow half

a-tʃah-i-hi a-tʃah-i-hi ã wa=ma

REFL-sit-S3SG-PST REFL-sit-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM eye=TOP

‘Only the yolk, half of the yolk is that eye.’

(86) yar ãĩ patawa ãkã

yar ãĩ pa-ta-wa ã=kan
true HES INCL-POSS1-eye PROX.DEM=SIM

‘Truly, our eye is like that.’

(87) ã ãĩyã witfi aye tis atfihi asãyã

ã ã=yã witfi a-ye tis
DIST.DEM PROX.DEM=LOC round POSS3SG-small a.little

.

a-tfah-i-hi a-sã=yã
REFL-sit-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-head=LOC

‘That one, here, round and small, it is inside.’

(88) ãkã apask ãra wai

ã=kan a-pask-Ø-wa ã=ra
DIST.DEM=SIM REFL-take.out-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM=ACC

.

wa=i
eye=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘That comes out like that, it is the (evil) eye.’

(89) ãkã ẽn kakaawa ãnã karsiyã

ã=kan ẽn ka-ka-a-wa ã=yã
DIST.DEM=SIM well O3PL-make-S1SG-PFV PROX.DEM=LOC

.

karsi=yã

even=LOC

‘I heal them like that even now.’

LAS MARÍAS VARIETY

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The eastern Las Marías variety is located in the Department of Gracias a Dios. It is only spoken in the village of Las Marías by five semi-speakers. It shows evidence of influence from the Miskito language (Misumalpan family). These five Pesh speakers also speak Spanish and Miskito. By contrast, no Miskito person speaks Pesh, because Miskito is the language of communication. The variety of Las Marías is close to that of Culmí but presents a few phonetic differences and integrates vocabulary from the Miskito language. This close contact situation arose from marriages that have been going on for centuries between the people of the Culmí area and the inhabitants of Las Marías. The Las Marías variety shows a tripartite alignment for flagging case. Speakers of this variety use two pragmatic morphemes, the reportative =*na* and the emphatic =*pra*, the latter being infrequent. This variety is also recognizable in some of the phonetic traits of a few words. For example, the verb ‘see’ has the velar /k/ instead of the affricate postalveolar /tʃ/ used in the other two varieties: *ka/kā* ‘see’ and not *tʃa/tʃā* ‘see’ (for example, ‘He sees’ is therefore *kawa*, while it is usually *tʃāwa* in the other two varieties). Another difference occurs between the alveolar /s/ that is used instead of the postalveolar /ʃ/, as in the noun for ‘knee’: in Las Marías, it is *sīhri*, while it is *ʃīhri* in the two other varieties. Another example is attested in the noun for ‘cicada’: in Las Marías, it is *sere* while it is *tʃiri* in the other varieties. Note that the vocalic difference in this example is not systematic. However, a parallel vowel difference is also attested in the noun for ‘people’, usually pronounced *pef*. This noun can appear as *pef*, *pes* or *pis* in Las Marías, in which the higher vowel is characteristic of this dialect as opposed to the ‘cicada’ example in which it is

the lower vowel that is attested in Las Marías. This variety is also distinguishable from the others lexically since many words are borrowed from the Miskito language.

In this chapter three personal narratives are presented: *Suwa wāta* ‘The elderly shaman woman’, *Wāta* ‘The shaman’ and *Apehitihi* ‘Paralysis’.

SUWA WĀTA ‘THE ELDERLY SHAMAN WOMAN’, TOLD BY AGUSTINA LÓPEZ

The narrative *Suwa wāta* ‘The elderly shaman woman’ was told by Agustina López, a native speaker who was over 80 years old in 2014 when this story was recorded. Pesh was her first language and then she learned Spanish and Miskito from others in the village. Ángel Martínez recorded the story that was transcribed and translated by Claudine Chamoreau, Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. In this narrative, Agustina López recalls memories of when she was young and becomes nostalgic. She first talks about her grandfather and then about her husband who used to fish, hunt and farm to feed their families. Later in the narrative, she remembers her mother and grandmother who were shamans. The speaker tells how they healed people thanks to their knowledge.

(1) wahayã nãbarwa nãparwa eka sere ye as wahnwi sere kwihri

waha=yã nã-bar-wa nã-par-wa eka sere ye
 mountain=LOC go-S1PL.EXCL-PFV go-S1PL.INCL-PFV PRO3 cicada small

.

as Ø-wah-n-Ø-i=wi sere
 INDF.ART O3SG-call-DUR-S3SG-PST=long.time cicada

.

kwi-ha=r-Ø-i
 summer-NMLZ=COP-S3SG-PST

AL: ‘In the mountain, we go, we go. The small cicada used to sing a long time ago, the summer cicada.’

(2) wahnwi nãni nãni iskwa sere āhi āyã amefomã taarwã

Ø-wah-n-Ø-i nã-ani-Ø-i nã-ani-Ø-i

O3SG-call-DUR-S3SG-PST go-late-S3SG-PST go-late-S3SG-PST

Ø-isk-Ø-wa sere ã=hi

O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV cicada DIST.DEM=COP:S3SG:PFV

ã=yã Ø-amef-a-wa=mã ta-arwã

DIST.DEM=LOC O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV=when POSS1-man

‘It sang (when) the night comes, the night comes, the cicada does it. It is there, when I think about my husband.’

(3) takaki kayayas ama am amēys uya iskawa tahrarina bohtwikan bohtwi toma

ta-kaki kayayas ama am Ø-ames-a-wa uya

POSS1-mother everyone HES HES O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV big

Ø-isk-a-wa ta-hra=rina boh-Ø-tV-i=kan

O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV POSS1-liver=also leave-S3SG-NEG-PST=SIM

boh-Ø-tV-i to=ma

leave-S3SG-NEG-PST MED.DEM=TOP

‘I think a lot about my mother, about everyone, and I am sad, I am sad.’

(4) syempre ï kwih teʔkomã ãta amēysam tahraya bohtwikan am amēys uya iskawa

siempre ï kwih-teʔkomã ãta

always PROX.DEM summer-NMLZ come-S3SG-PFV=when first

Ø-ames-a-wa=mã ta-hra=ya
 O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV=when POSS1-liver=ERG

boh-Ø-tV-i=kan am Ø-ames-a-wa uya
 leave-S3SG-NEG-PST=SIM HES O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV big

Ø-isk-a-wa
 O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV

‘Always, first when this summer comes, when I think, I am sad. I think, I do it a lot.’

(5) ãhã ãkan tawa tayekama mãmã ãra amësysi tokan

ã=hã ã=kan tV-Ø-a-wa
 DIST.DEM=FOC DIST.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S1SG-PFV

ta-ye-ka=ma mamá ã=ra
 POSS1-small-NMLZ=TOP mother PROX.DEM=ABS

Ø-ames-i-si to=kan
 O3SG-think-S2-PROX.PST MED.DEM=SIM

‘My son says, “Mother, why do you think that?”’

(6) ñãhutihi tertaku tayekaya

Ø-yãh-u-tV-hi tV_k-er-ta-wa ta-ye-ka=ya
 O3SG-say-S2-NEG-PST say-S3PL-O1-PFV POSS1-small-NMLZ=ERG

‘“Don’t talk like that!” say my children.’

(7) tashã ã asri amẽysomã pituskayo webari wahayã webari

tas=hã ã as=ri Ø-ames-a-wa=mã

PRO1=FOC day INDF.ART=TEMP O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV=when

.

pi-tus-ka=yo we-bar-i waha=yã

POSS2-father-NMLZ=COM wander-S1PL.EXCL-PST mountain=LOC

.

we-bar-i

wander-S1PL.EXCL-PST

‘I think of one day when, with your father, we were on the mountain. We wandered.’

(8) kitah amasnabarur

kitah Ø-amas-na-bar-u-ri

white.lipped.peccary O3SG-kill-IT-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST

‘We used to kill white lipped peccary.’

(9) asowayã ũsa pruk nãbar ãkã wetawa wenara amẽysomã ãta tahraya bohtwa

aso-wa=yã ũsa Ø-purk-a nã-bar-i

water-eye=LOC fish O3SG-sink.in-INF go-S1PL.EXCL-PST

.

ã=kan we-t-a-wa wenara

DIST.DEM=SIM wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV then

.

Ø-ames-a-wa=mã ãta ta-hra=ya

O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV=when first POSS1-liver=ERG

boh-Ø-tV-wa

leave-S3SG-NEG-PFV

‘“We were going to spear fish in the river, he went then. When I first think about that, I am sad.”’

(10) takakawa tayeka ãkan takaki ã asri ãkan takak tas ã asrima amẽysom

tVk-ka-a-wa ta-ye-ka ã=kan

say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV POSS1-small-NMLZ DIST.DEM=SIM

ta-kaki ã as=ri ã=kan

POSS1-mother day INDF.ART=TEMP DIST.DEM=SIM

tVk-ka-a-wa tas ã as=ri=ma

say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV PRO1 day INDF.ART=TEMP=TOP

Ø-amesk-a-wa=mã

O3SG-think-S1SG-PFV=when

‘I tell my children, I told them like that, “One day...,” I tell them, “one day when I think...’

(11) akahni iskawa tahra titturi takakawa tey akaidirwa tayekaya

a-kah-n-Ø-i Ø-isk-a-wa ta-hra

REFL-cry-DUR-S3SG-PST O3SG-make-S1SG-PFV POSS1-liver

te?-i-tV-ri

tVk-ka-a-wa

come-S3SG-NEG-PST say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV

.

ta-ye a-kai-t-ir-wa ta-ye-ka=ya
 POSS1-small REFL-make.angry-IT-S3PL-PFV POSS1-small-NMLZ=ERG

‘“I cry. I do. I am sad,” I tell them. My children get angry.’

(12) mhm ākan takakaw ĩraskan ekakaya tasna ākanri ter amesutir ākan

mhm ā=kan tV_k-ka-a-wa ĩ=ras=kan
 INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM say-O3PL-S1SG-PFV PROX.DEM=REAS=SIM

.

ekaka=ya tas=ra ā=kan=r-Ø-i
 PRO3=ERG PRO1=ACC DIST.DEM=SIM=COP-S3SG-PST

.

tV-Ø-er-i Ø-ames-u-tV-ri ā=kan
 say-O3SG-S3PL-PST O3SG-think-S2-NEG-PST DIST.DEM=SIM

‘I tell them like that. Because of this, they tell me, “Do not think like that.”’

(13) ĩkitam akasteskari amefato ākan tapeha ākan wetawa ākan tertakirtaras

ĩkita=ma a-kas-tesk-a-ri Ø-amef-a-tV-wa
 now=TOP O3SG-APPL.R-get.away-S1SG-PST O3SG-think-S1SG-NEG-PFV

.

ā=kan ta-peh-a-wa ā=kan
 DIST.DEM=SIM MID-make.effort-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM

.

we-t-a-wa ā=kan

wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM

tVk-ta-t-ir-wa=ras

say-O1-IT-S3PL-PFV=REAS

‘Now I get away, I do not think like that. I make an effort. I wander because they tell me that.’

(14) akeilerwa ekak ãwahã tasri kres amesari akeiterwa

a-kei-er-wa ekaka ãwahã tas=ri kres

REFL-make.angry-S3PL-PFV PRO3 also PRO1=MDT more

Ø-ames-a-ri a-kei-t-er-wa

O3SG-think-S1SG-PST REFL-make.angry-DUR-S3PL-PFV

‘They get angry (with) me too. The more I think, the angrier they get.’

(15) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘True.’

(16) amesutir mãmã tertaki

Ø-ames-u-tV-ri mamá tVk-er-ta-i

O3SG-think-S2-NEG-PST mother say-S3PL-O1-PST

AL: ‘“Do not think mother,” they tell me.’

(17) patatuspema pekesipihã amẽysuri tertakirtwa oo

pa-ta-tus=pe=ma pi-ka-i-ã-i-pi=hã

INCL-POSS1-father=only=TOP O2-make-S3SG-see-S3SG-FUT=FOC

Ø-ames-u-tV-ri tVk-ta-t-ir-wa oo
 O3SG-think-S2-NEG-PST say-O1-IT-S3PL-PFV yes

‘“Our God only will be seeing you, do not think,” they tell me. “Yes,” (I reply).’

(18) suwa ika kekerima to

suwa ika ke-ke=ri=ma to
 old.woman and before-before=TEMP=TOP MED.DEM

AM: ‘Grandmother, and before, that.’

(19) tawāwā Justo ika nāhyakan ke ññā ññā tʃaroriras pamawāma

ta-wāwā Justo ika Ø-yāh-ya=kan ke
 POSS1-grandfather Justo and O3SG-say-S2:PFV=SIM already

ĩ=yã ã=yã tʃa-er-u-ri=ras
 PROX.DEM=LOC PROX.DEM=LOC be.there-S3PL-HAB-PST=REAS

pa=ma=wã=ma
 PRO2=TOP=2PL=TOP

‘My grandfather Justo, given you say you already lived here.’

(20) oo

oo
 yes

AL: ‘Yes.’

(21) ïkan tʃirurisah

ï=kan tʃa-er-u-ri=sah

PROX.DEM=SIM be.there-S3PL-HAB-PST=C.Q

AM: ‘How did you live?’

(22) ïri katûha ïri ïri ïri ïkra tʃirurisah

ï=ra katû-ha ï=ra ï=ra

PROX.DEM=ABS work-NMLZ PROX.DEM=ABS PROX.DEM=ABS

ï=ra Ø-ïʃk-er-wa tʃa-er-u-ri=sah

PROX.DEM=ABS O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV be.there-S3PL-HAB-PST=C.Q

‘What work... What did you do (for a) living?’

(23) ãma aa taarwã tōʃama katûh aka

ã=ma aa ta-arwã ta-õʃ-a=ma

DIST.DEM=TOP HES POSS1-man MID-lose-PTCP=TOP

katû-ha aka

work-NMLZ big

AL: ‘That one, my late husband (did) big work.’

(24) ïʃkuri ama kuk katûha ama ama tanto aþo teʔko ekama hm aros katûha

Ø-ïʃk-Ø-u-ri ama kuk katû-ha ama

O3SG-make-S3SG-HAB-PST HES earth work-NMLZ HES

ama tantos años teʔk-Ø-wa eka=ma hm arroz

HES many years come–S3SG–PFV PRO3=TOP hm rice

katũ–ha

work–NMLZ

‘He did farm work, so many years he came, he grew rice.’

(25) yohra katũha ika ãñĩ aũ katũhama ekama ãyope tsyuru to pa yãhuriwa pari

yohra katũ–ha ika ãñĩ aũ katũ–ha=ma eka=ma

yucca work–NMLZ and here corn work–NMLZ=TOP PRO3=TOP

ã=yo=pe tãa–i–ru–ri to pa

DIST.DEM=INS=only be.there–S3SG–HAB–PST MED.DEM PRO2

Ø–yãh–u–ri=wa pari

O3SG–say–S2–PST=2PL pineapple

‘He grew yucca, and here, he grew corn. He sustained himself with that only, that which you said, pineapple.’

(26) tiskera ãri tisbera ãkãñ ãberi sebaruri ekam arwãriri arki Emilyo as tori

Ø–tjãk–er–wa ã=ra Ø–tjã–ber–wa

O3SG–sow–S3PL–PFV PROX.DEM=ACC O3SG–sow–S1PL.EXCL–PFV

ã=kan Ø–ã–ber–i

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG–eat–S1PL.EXCL–PST

ʃa-bar-ru-ri eka=ma arwã=r-ir-i
 be.there-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST PRO3=TOP man=COP-S3PL-PST

a-arki Emilio as to=r-Ø-i
 POSS3SG-brother Emilio one MED.DEM=COP-S3SG-PST

‘They sowed. We sowed this, we used to eat that way. There were men, one of whom was his brother, Emilio.’

(27) ãyo wahayã nēdra amaskera teʔkera ãbarwa saberur aa ïkeketama ïkantãhri

ã=yo waha=yã nã-er-wa a-mask-er-wa
 DIST.DEM=INS mountain=LOC go-S3PL-PFV O3SG-kill-S3PL-PFV

teʔk-er-wa Ø-ã-bar-wa
 come-S3PL-PFV O3SG-eat-S1PL.EXCL-PFV

tʃa-ber-ru-ri aa ïkeketa=ma
 be.there-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST ah now=TOP

ĩ=kan=tVh=r-Ø-i
 PROX.DEM=SIM=NEG=COP-S3SG-PST

‘With him they went to the mountain. They killed (animals), they came back. We used to eat. Ah! Now, it was not like this.’

(28) yohra swomã ama ama tʃa isbera aa webaruri ãkãn ãbera tʃoboruri

yohra tʃa-Ø-wa=mã ama ama tʃaʔa

yucca be.there-S3SG-PFV=if HES HES sasal

.

Ø-is-ber-wa aa we=bar-ru-ri

O3SG-make-S1PL.EXCL-PFV ah a.lot=COP:S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST

.

ã=kan Ø-ã-ber-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-eat-S1PL.EXCL-PFV

.

tʃa-ber-ru-ri

be.there-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST

‘If there was yucca, we made sasales. Ah! there were many of us. We used to eat that way.’

(29) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(30) ïkita ãma sira awah tis ùwěra ïkakan aměysber ùtas ï tʃabar ï ora ʃabaru ãyã

ïkita ã=ma sira awah tis ù-we-er-wa ïkakan

now day=TOP food also a.little CAUS-collect-S3PL-PFV nothing

.

Ø-ames-ber-wa ù-tas ï

O3SG-think-S1PL.EXCL-PFV EXCL-PRO1 PROX.DEM

.

tʃa-bar-wa ï hora

be.there-S1PL.EXCL-PFV PROX.DEM time

tʃa-bar-ru-ri ã=yã

be.there-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST DIST.DEM=LOC

AL: ‘Nowadays they put together a small amount of food. We think that there is nothing. We lived like this, at this time, we lived there.’

(31) ãkanpra

ã=kan=pra

DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

‘Like that.’

(32) kekerima wã ãheka tʃuri wã suwa

ke-ke=ri=ma wã ãheka tʃa-Ø-u-ri

before-before=TEMP=TOP bobo.mullet a.lot be.there-S3SG-S2-PST

wã suwa

bobo.mullet old.woman

AM: ‘Before there used to be a lot of bobo mullet, grandmother.’

(33) aa ãketama wãma ãra kaprah wãma wero

ah ãketa=ma wã=ma ã=ra

INTERJ now=TOP bobo.mullet=TOP PROX.DEM=ACC

Ø-ka-par-h wã=ma

O3SG-make-S1PL.INCL-PROX.FUT bobo.mullet=TOP

we=r-Ø-wa

a.lot=COP-S3SG-PFV

AL: ‘Ah, now the bobo mullet, what are we going to do about lots of bobo mullet?’

(34) taye arwã Benjamin aa nãberwa kakapa prukte?barmã ama webaruri ee

ta-ye arwã Benjamín aa nã-ber-wa kakapa

POSS1-small man Benjamín HES go-S1PL.EXCL-PFV night

Ø-purk-te?-bar-wa=mã ama

O3SG-sink.in-come-S1PL.EXCL-PFV=when HES

we=bar-ru-ri ee

a.lot=COP:S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST HES

‘My son Benjamín, we used to go at night, when we came to spear, we were many.’

(35) tasya puru akataka ãyã webaru meyh tisbra taye arwã ama arwãri Benjamin

tas=ya puru a-ka-tak-a-wa ã=yã

PRO1=ERG canoe O3SG-APPL.R-hold-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC

we=bar-ru-ri meyh ta-is-bar-wa

wander-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST three MID-make-S1PL.EXCL-PFV

ta-ye arwã ama arwã=r-Ø-i Benjamín

POSS1-small man HES man=COP-S3SG-PST Benjamín

‘I held the canoe there, we wandered, the three of us, my male son was Benjamín.’

(36) arwã ìkarima ìkitama ausi tiski taye tʃana ãkan tiski ãkanpra

arwã ìkata=ri=ma ìkita=ma ausi ta-isk-Ø-i

man now=TEMP=TOP now=TOP poor MID-make-S3SG-PST

.

ta-ye tʃana ã=kan ta-isk-Ø-i

POSS1-small sick DIST.DEM=SIM MID-make-S3SG-PST

.

ã=kan=pra

DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

‘The man now, now, he became poor, my son. He became sick, like that.’

(37) kitãrina wãrekarina sarurina

kitã=rina wãreka=rina saru=rina

white.lipped.peccary=also collared.peccary=also guan=also

AM: ‘White lipped peccary, also collared peccary and also guan.’

(38) ay wãreka taye arwãma wãreka, see, saru amaskuri ãma

ay wãreka ta-ye arwã=ma wãreka

oh collared.peccary POSS1-small man=TOP collared.peccary

.

see saru a-mask-Ø-u-ri ã=ma

curassow guan O3SG-kill-S3SG-HAB-PST DIST.DEM=TOP

AL: ‘Oh my son killed collared peccary, collared peccary, curassow, guan.’

(39) toʔtāwah nābra āyā dos semanas ākan teʔbaruri āma yuku we peʔberi mhm

ĩra kapri ĩyā orahā ĩi

toʔ tāwah nā-bar-wa ā=yā dos semanas
 MED.DEM up go-S1PL.EXCL-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC two weeks

ā=kan teʔ-bar-ru-ri ā=ma yuku
 DIST.DEM=SIM come-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST DIST.DEM=TOP meat

we Ø-peʔ-ber-u-ri mhm ĩ=ra
 a.lot O3SG-bring-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST INTERJ PROX.DEM=ABS

Ø-ka-ber-ru-ri ĩ=yā hora=hā
 O3SG-make-S1PL.EXCL-HAB-PST PROX.DEM=LOC time=FOC

ĩ=i
 PROX.DEM=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘We went up there two weeks. We came back. Then, we brought a lot of meat, that we prepared

there. It is time.’

(40) semana santa bakrima ĩrĩ kaparh yukuma we teʔkuri kaoyā ĩkitama yuku

semana santa bakri=ma ĩ=ra Ø-ka-par-h
 week holy near=TOP PROX.DEM=ABS O3SG-make-S1PL.INCL-PROX.FUT

yuku=ma we teʔk-Ø-u-ri kaʔo=yā ĩkita=ma yuku

meat=TOP a.lot come-S3SG-HAB-PST house=LOC now=TOP meat

‘Holy Week (is) soon, we will do this. A lot of meat used to come home now, meat.’

(41) kamarno ausibarwa mhm

Ø-tʃa-bar-tV-wa ausi=bar-wa mhm
 O3SG-see-S1PL.EXCL-NEG-PFV poor=COP:S1PL.EXCL-PFV INTERJ

‘We never see any, we are poor.’

(42) tʃitwa ïkitama

tʃa-i-tV-wa ïkita=ma
 be.there-S3SG-NEG-PFV now=TOP

AM: ‘There is nothing now.’

(43) ïkitama tsitwa yuku

ïkita=ma tʃa-i-tV-wa yuku
 now=TOP be.there-S3SG-NEG-PFV meat

AL: ‘Now there is no meat.’

(44) pes nãirʃi ïkan teʔkerwa ïkani terwa

peʃ nã-ir-ʃi ï=kan teʔk-er-wa
 people go-S3PL-PROX.PST PROX.DEM=SIM come-S3PL-PFV

ï=kan=i tV-Ø-er-wa
 DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

‘“The people went (and) came like this (with nothing),” they say.’

(45) ãkan sabaru ãkanri ïkanbarpra yukuma

ã=kan tʃa-bar-wa ã=kan=r-Ø-i

DIST.DEM=SIM be.there-S 1PL.EXCL-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM=COP-S3SG-PST

.

ĩ=kan=bar-wa=pra yuku=ma

PROX.DEM=SIM=COP:S 1PL.EXCL-PFV=EMPH meat=TOP

‘We live like that, that is why we have no meat.’

(46) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘Really.’

(47) ika to nĩhã pef akaya tis arirya suwa

ika to nĩhã pef a-kaya tis

and MED.DEM here people POSS3SG-history a.little

.

a-r-ir-ya suwa

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S2:PFV old.woman

‘And that, people know his story a bit, grandmother.’

(48) ikan

ĩ=kan

PROX.DEM=SIM

AL: ‘How (like this)?’

(49) pef akaya to wãta kiri tjiuri kekeri

pef a-kaya to wãta ki=ri

people POSS3SG-history MED.DEM shaman before=TEMP

tʃa-i-u-ri ke-ke=ri
 be.there-S3SG-HAB-PST before-before=TEMP

AM: 'The people, his story, that shaman (who) lived before.'

(50) kekeri

ke-ke=ri
 before-before=TEMP

AL: 'Before.'

(51) oo

oo
 yes

AM: 'Yes.'

(52) wāta tʃiruri

wāta tʃa-er-u-ri
 shaman be.there-S3PL-HAB-PST

AL: 'Shamans used to live (here).'

(53) mhm arirya

mhm a-r-ir-ya
 INTERJ O3SG-APPL.P-know-S2:PFV

AM: 'Mhm, you know.'

(54) tas to wāta krehma yeis arirato yeys arirato

tas to wāta kreh=ma
 PRO1 MED.DEM shaman everything=TOP

yeis a-r-ir-a-tV-wa yeis

true O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV true

a-r-ir-a-tV-wa

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV

AL: 'I don't know (about how) that shaman (did), true, I don't know everything.'

(55) ika to tasuwa tasuwa tōjka Mariya pikakirihã

ika to ta-suwa ta-suwa

and MED.DEM POSS1-grandmother POSS1-grandmother

ta-ōjk-a María pi-kaki=r-Ø-i-hã

MID-lose-PTCP Maria POSS2-mother=COP-S3SG-PST=FOC

AM: 'And my grandmother, my late grandmother María, she was her mother.'

(56) takakima ama takakipema ākan wātarikan tʃururi ke

ta-kaki=ma ama ta-kaki=pe=ma ā=kan

POSS1-mother=TOP HES POSS1-mother=only=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM

wāta=r-Ø-i=kan tʃa-i-ru-ri ke

shaman=COP-S3SG-PST=SIM be.there-S3SG-HAB-PST before

AL: 'My mother, only my mother lived like a shaman.'

(57) pefya jana tiskwa ākan ĩriri ĩsiyo ēhkiruri

pef=ya jana ta-isk-Ø-wa ā=kan ĩriri

people=ERG sick MID–make–S3SG–PFV DIST.DEM=SIM any

ĩsi=yo Ø–ēhk–ir–ru–ri

medicine=INS O3SG–heal–S3PL–HAB–PST

‘People got sick, like that. (She) used any medicine to cure them.’

(58) riki pes suwa tiʃkeweyãma

riki peʃ suwa ta–iʃk–i–wa=yã=ma

but people old.woman MID–make–S3SG–PFV=LOC=TOP

‘But she became old.’

(59) ke artaki kãh kiwa ausi akii artakiri primerito mama kiweri pes ēhkiruri

ke a–r–tak–Ø–i kãh Ø–ka–i–wa

already O3SG–APPL.P–abandon–S3SG–PST time O3SG–make–S3SG–PFV

ausi a–ka–i–i a–r–tak–i–ri

poor REFL–make–S3SG–PST O3SG–APPL.P–abandon–S3SG–PST

primerito mamá Ø–ka–i–u–ri peʃ

first mother O3SG–make–S3SG–HAB–PST people

Ø–ēhk–ir–ru–ri

O3SG–heal–S3PL–HAB–PST

‘She had already left it (working as a shaman) some time ago. She became poor. First the mother left it, she healed people.’

(60) ĩsiyo ãkan aririyo ãkan

ĩsi=yo ã=kan a-r-ir-Ø-i=yo

medicine=INS DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST=INS

.

ã=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM

‘Like that with the medicine, like that with what she knew.’

(61) eka ekama wãta suwa tikiruri

eka eka=ma wãta suwa tV_k-Ø-ir-ru-ri

PRO3 PRO3=TOP shaman old.woman say-O3SG-S3PL-HAB-PST

AM: ‘Her, they named her “the old shaman woman”.’

(62) oo eka wãta tis wãtarii

oo eka wãta tis wãta=r-i-i

yes PRO3 shaman a.little shaman=COP-S3SG-PST

AL: ‘Yes, her, she was a bit of a shaman.’

(63) wãta suwa

wãta suwa

shaman old.woman

AM: ‘The old shaman woman.’

(64) to takaki akaki paroh wãtari eka

to ta-kaki a-kaki paroh

MED.DEM POSS1-mother POSS3SG-mother genuine

.

wãta=r-Ø-i eka

shaman=COP-S3SG-PST PRO3

AL: ‘My mother, her mother (Marias’s mother) was a genuine shaman.’

(65) ãhã eka apintarisa to pisuwa pikaki akakiri

ã=hã eka a-pinta=r-Ø-i=sa

DIST.DEM=FOC PRO3 POSS3SG-name=COP-S3SG-PST=C.Q

.

to pi-suwa pi-kaki

MED.DEM POSS2-grandmother POSS2-mother

.

a-kaki=r-Ø-i

POSS3SG-mother=COP-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘That one, her, what was her name? Your grandmother was the mother of your mother.’

(66) tasma ariratawa ïri ariratawa takakima Mariayari

tas=ma a-r-ir-a-tV-wa ï=ra

PRO1=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV PROX.DEM=ABS

.

a-r-ir-a-tV-wa ta-kaki=ma

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV POSS1-mother=TOP

.

María=r-Ø-i

Maria=COP-S3SG-PST

AL: ‘I don’t know what (her name was)? I don’t know. My mother was María.’

(67) mhm arirai tas

mhm a-r-ir-a-i tas

INTERJ O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-PST PRO1

AM: 'I knew her.'

(68) aha takakima Maryaririke ika eka akakima tas ariratawa

aha ta-kaki=ma María=r-Ø-i=rike ika eka

ah POSS1-mother=TOP Maria=COP-S3SG-PST=CONC and PRO3

.

a-kaki=ma tas a-r-ir-a-tV-wa

POSS3SG-mother=TOP PRO1 O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV

AL: 'Ah, my mother, even though (I know) she was María, I don't know her mother('s name).'

(69) mhm ãma ariratō

mhm ã=ma a-r-ir-a-tV-wa

INTERJ DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV

'I don't know.'

(70) ke ïketama wãta wereruri tere ke wãta apĩma ariratawa

ke ïketa=ma wãta we=r-er-ru-ri tV-Ø-er-i

already now=TOP shaman a.lot=COP-S3PL-HAB-PST say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

.

ke wãta a-pin=ma

already shaman POSS3SG-name=TOP

.

a-r-ir-a-tV-wa

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV

‘Already, there were many shamans, they say I don’t know the shamans’ names.’

(71) mhm ariratō ākanpra

mhm a-r-ir-a-tV-wa ā=kan=pra

INTERJ O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

‘I don’t know, it is like that.’

(72) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(73) ika to tasuwa tōjka pikakiri tasuwa Mariya

ika to ta-suwa ta-ōjk-a

and MED.DEM POSS1-old.woman MID-lose-PTCP

pi-kaki=r-Ø-i ta-suwa María

POSS2-mother=COP-S3SG-PST POSS1-old.woman Maria

‘And my late grandmother was your mother. My grandmother María.’

(74) ĩri ijkirisah to wāta suwa wāta tikiri

ĩ=ra Ø-ijk-ir-i=sah to wāta

PROX.DEM=ABS O3SG-make-S3PL-PST=C.Q MED.DEM shaman

suwa wāta tVk-Ø-ir-ri

old.woman shaman say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘What did she do? That “old shaman woman” like they called her.’

(75) ekama tis pes ïkan tʃena tʃikiri teski kwakwahana teʔkri ïkan waha aiwa kasukuhwa

eka=ma tis peʃ ï=kan tʃena ta-iʃk-ir-i

PRO3=TOP a.little people PROX.DEM=SIM sick MID-make-S3PL-PST

.

teski kwakwaha-na teʔk-er-i ï=kan waha

fever hard-ADJZ come-S3PL-PST PROX.DEM=SIM mountain

.

a-iwa ka-sukuh-Ø-wa

POSS3SG-owner O3PL-grab-S3SG-PFV

AL: ‘When people had a high fever, a very high fever, the mountain spirits came to them and caught them.’

(76) ãyo ïsi kiweri

ã=yo ïsi Ø-ka-i-u-ri

DIST.DEM=INS medicine O3SG-make-S3SG-HAB-PST

‘With that, she made medicine.’

(77) ïsi kihã ãyo ï yãhwa akwa ini asoyo ïkan

ïsi Ø-ka-Ø-i-hã ã=yo ï

medicine O3SG-make-S3SG-PST=FOC DIST.DEM=INS PROX.DEM

.

Ø-yãh-Ø-wa ak-Ø-wa ïhĩ aso=yo

O3SG-say-S3SG-PFV be.in.state-S3SG-PFV here water=INS

.

‘With medicine, like this.’

(81) aryēhi

a-r-yēh-Ø-i

O3SG-APPL.P-say-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘She prayed.’

(82) oo aryēhi arokrina āhã

oo a-r-yēh-Ø-i a-r-o?k-Ø-ri=na

yes O3SG-APPL.P-say-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-bathe-S3SG-PST=REP

.

ã=hã

DIST.DEM=FOC

AL: ‘Yes, she prayed, it is said she bathed that one.’

(83) pa teski kwakwahana pikiwasri

pa tiski kwakwaha-na pi-ka-i-wa=sri

PRO2 fever hard-ADJZ O2-make-S3SG-PFV=UNCRT

‘Whenever you would get a high fever.’

(84) ākan ki pirokwana ākan tis ātaawa

ã=kan Ø-ka-Ø-i pi-r-o?k-Ø-wa=na

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S3SG-PST O2-APPL.P-bathe-S3SG-PFV=REP

.

ã=kan tis a-ēh-ta-Ø-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM a.little REFL-heal-DUR-S3SG-PFV

‘She did it like that, she bathes you like that, a little, they would heal.’

(85) tisparwa teri

ta-is-par-wa tV-Ø-er-i
 MID-make-S1PL.INCL-PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PST

‘“We got cured,” they say.’

(86) mhm ãkan

mhm ã=kan
 INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM

‘It is like that.’

(87) ãpema ariri takaki mhm

ã=pe=ma a-r-ir-Ø-i ta-kaki
 DIST.DEM=only=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST POSS1-mother

.

mhm

INTERJ

‘My mother only knew that.’

(88) akwa

akwa

other

AM: ‘Another (shaman).’

(89) akwama akwa

akwa=ma akwa

other=TOP other

AL: ‘Another one.’

(90) arirturi

a-r-ir-Ø-tV-u-ri

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-NEG-HAB-PST

AM: ‘(Other shamans) did not know (as much).’

(91) ākaoras suwa wāta tikiruri eka suwa

ā=kan=ras suwa wāta tVk-Ø-ir-ru-ri

DIST.DEM=SIM=REAS old.woman shaman say-O3SG-S3PL-HAB-PST

.

eka suwa

PRO3 old.woman

‘That is why they called her “the old shaman woman”.’

(92) oo ākan kiweri pefyā wātama wāta

oo ā=kan Ø-ka-i-u-ri pef=yā

yes DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S3SG-HAB-PST people=LOC

.

wāta=ma wāta

shaman=TOP shaman

AL: ‘Yes, that is (how) she did it for people, the shaman (woman).’

(93) ā wāta ekamatারেके ākanri

ā wāta eka=ma=tV=r-Ø-i=reke

DIST.DEM shaman PRO3=TOP=NEG=COP-S3SG-PST=CONC

.

ā=kan=r-Ø-i

DIST.DEM=SIM=COP-S3SG-PST

‘Even though she was not the (legitimate) shaman, she was like that.’

(94) tis ariruri

tis a-r-ir-Ø-u-ri

a.little O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-HAB-PST

AM: ‘She knew a little bit.’

(95) oo tis ākan ariruri

oo tis ā=kan a-r-ir-Ø-u-ri

yes a.little DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-HAB-PST

AL: ‘Yes, she knew a little bit.’

(96) mhm ěpěi

mhm ěpe=i

INTERJ well=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘That’s good.’

(97) āma to peŋ to patakaya weŋkomā ama tahrari takiwa suwa

ā=ma to peŋ to pa-ta-kaya

DIST.DEM=TOP MED.DEM people MED.DEM INCL-POSS1-history

Ø-weŋk-a-wa=mā ama ta-hra-ri

O3SG-hear-S1SG-PFV=when HES POSS1-liver-clear

ta-ka-i-wa suwa

O1-make-S3SG-PFV old.woman

‘That is our history of the people, when I hear it, it makes me happy, grandmother.’

(98) yareka

yareka

true

AL: ‘True.’

(99) tas oo

tas oo

PRO1 yes

AM: ‘I do.’

(100) tahrari takiwa ika

ta-hra-ri ta-ka-i-wa ika

POSS1-liver-clear O1-make-S3SG-PFV and

‘It makes me happy and...’

(101) ah

ah

INTERJ

AL: ‘Ah!’

(102) to nāhōkan ïkitama tōja pakwa to

to Ø-yāh-a-wa=kan ïkita=ma ta-ōf-a

MED.DEM O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV=SIM now=TOP MID-lose-PTCP

.

Ø-pak-Ø-wa to

O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV MED.DEM

AM: ‘Like I say, now we are making that disappear.’

(103) patayāh patayāh

pa-ta-yāh-a pa-ta-yāh-a

INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ

AL: ‘Our language, our language.’

(104) oo

oo

yes

‘Yes.’

(105) ākani ēnei ēnei pikayama suwa

ā=kan=i ēnei=i ēnei=i

DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV well=COP:S3SG:PFV well=COP:S3SG:PFV

.

pi-kaya=ma suwa

POSS2-history=TOP old.woman

AM: ‘It is like that. That’s good, that’s good, your history, grandmother.’

(106) oo ākani

oo ā=kan=i

yes DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV

AL: ‘Yes, it is like that.’

(107) mhm ēnei mhm

mhm ēnei=i mhm

INTERJ well=COP:S3SG:PFV INTERJ

AM: 'Mhm, that's good.'

WĀTA ‘THE SHAMAN’, TOLD BY BONIFACIO MEJÍA

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The narrative *Wāta* ‘The shaman’ was told by Bonifacio Mejía, a native speaker who was born in 1955 in Las Marías. Pesh was his first language and then he learned Spanish and Miskito from others in the village. In his everyday life, he speaks Miskito and Spanish. This is why, while telling his story, he had to search for words from time to time. The story was recorded by Ángel Martínez in 2014. Claudine Chamoreau transcribed and translated it with the assistance of Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. In this narrative, Bonifacio Mejía told the life stories of the two shamans he knew. The first was a man who healed patients, especially children, with plants and with Pesh songs and ceremonies. The second was a woman, María, a well-known shaman who was a very good healer (also mentioned in the narrative *Suwa wāta* ‘The elderly shaman woman’).

(1) ar ye aparakan fana tɨjkwa akaki atusri

ar ye aparakan fana ta-ɨjk-Ø-wa

HES small youth=SIM sick MID-make-S3SG-PFV

.

a-kaki a-tus=ri

POSS3SG-mother POSS3SG-father=COORD

BM: ‘A teenager child gets sick, his mother and his father (call the shaman).’

(2) nāi awātaya kapaŋki aye fana kiwa ɨri kiwasa

nā-Ø-i a-wāta=ya Ø-kapaŋk-Ø-i

go-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-shaman=ERG O3SG-speak-S3SG-PST

.

a-ye jana Ø-ka-i-wa ã=ra
 POSS3SG-small disease O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV PROX.DEM=ABS

Ø-ka-i-wa=sa

O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV=C.Q

‘He went. The shaman said that the kid got sick. What does he (the shaman) do?’

(3) tis wãfti kēhã wãfti kēi a iski eka

tis Ø-wãf-t-Ø-i Ø-ã-Ø-i=hã
 a.little O3SG-change-IT-S3SG-PST O3SG-see-S3SG-PST=FOC

Ø-wãf-t-Ø-i Ø-ã-Ø-i a

O3SG-change-IT-S3SG-PST O3SG-see-S3SG-PST HES

Ø-isk-Ø-i eka

O3SG-make-S3SG-PST PRO3

‘He cured him a bit and saw him. He cured and saw him. He did it.’

(4) eka ã ãsi kēiri ãyo ãyo kii ayera ispakuri

eka ã ãsi Ø-ã-i-ri ã=yo
 PRO3 DIST.DEM medicine O3SG-see-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=INS

ã=yo Ø-ka-i-i a-ye=ra

DIST.DEM=INS O3SG-make-S3SG-PST POSS3SG-small=ACC

Ø-ispak-Ø-u-ri

O3SG-pick.up-S3SG-HAB-PST

‘Him, he saw the medicine. With that (medicine), he made the child recover.’

(5) ok awena atus kaʔoyã tikirwari

ok awena a-tus kaʔo=yã tV_k-Ø-ir-u-ri

ok then POSS3SG-father house=LOC say-O3SG-S3PL-HAB-PST

‘Ok then, at home they would tell his father.’

(6) kitã prohi ãhã ãhĩ wãkan prohi peʔtfarewa

kitã Ø-proh-Ø-i ãhã ãhĩ

white.lipped.peccary O3SG-look.for-S3SG-PST HES PROX.DEM

.

wã=kan Ø-proh-Ø-i

bobo.mullet=SIM O3SG-look.for-S3SG-PST

.

Ø-peʔ-tʃera-i-wa

O3SG-bring-go.down-S3SG-PFV

‘He looked for white lipped peccary, he looked for bobo mullet, he brought it and brought it

down.’

(7) tres diyasri ekakan atʃatisk tiski

tres dʃas=ri eka=kan atʃatisk ta-isk-Ø-i

three days=TEMP PRO3=SIM HES MID-make-S3SG-PST

‘For three days, they prepared themselves.’

(8) muniakan kiri

munia=kan Ø-ka-ir-i

yucca.drink=SIM O3SG-make-S3PL-PST

‘They made something similar to yucca drink.’

(9) ìhĩ kakao kakao ìkan patayãhari

ìhĩ cacao cacao ì=kan

PROX.DEM cacao cacao PROX.DEM=SIM

.

pa-ta-yãh-ha-r-Ø-i

INCL-POSS1-say-NMLZ=COP-S3SG-PST

‘This, cacao, cacao, how is it in our language?’

(10) kaku

kaku

cocoa

AM: ‘“Cacao.”’

(11) kaku

kaku

cocoa

BM: ‘“Cacao.”’

(12) kaku atya kii

kaku a-tia Ø-ki-i-i

cocoa POSS3SG-liquid O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

‘He made cacao soup.’

(13) ïka aũ ïkan taparsa pinol

ïka aũ ï=kan tV-Ø-par-wa=sa pinol
 and corn PROX.DEM=SIM say-O3SG-S1PL.INCL-PFV=C.Q pinole

‘And the corn, what is it called? Pinole.’

(14) mhm aũ oha

mhm aũ oh-a
 INTERJ corn grind-PTCP

AM: ‘Ground corn.’

(15) ãra kii

ã=ra Ø-ki-i-i
 DIST.DEM=ACC O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

BM: ‘He made that.’

(16) afatiskeri ani pakwa akaki ayeyo te?kwa

a-ʃa-tisk-er-i ani Ø-pak-Ø-wa
 REFL-sit-almost-S3PL-PST late O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV

a-kaki a-ye=yo te?k-Ø-wa
 POSS3SG-mother POSS3SG-small=COM come-S3SG-PFV

‘They prepared themselves almost late. She took him, the mother came with her son.’

(17) ïhĩ ïhĩkan awena a wãta afataiskii ïkan

ïhĩ ïhĩ=kan awena a wãta
 PROX.DEM PROX.DEM=SIM then HES shaman

a-ʃa-ta ta-isk-i-i ã=kan
 REFL-sit-AG.NMLZ MID-make-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM=SIM

‘Then, the shaman prepared himself like that.’

(18) arwãh ã kausi arwãh ã kausi arwãh ã kausi arwãh ã kiwa

arwãh ã Ø-ka-u-si arwãh ã
 man PROX.DEM O3SG-make-S3SG-PROX.PST man PROX.DEM

Ø-ka-u-si arwãh ã
 O3SG-make-S3SG-PROX.PST man PROX.DEM

Ø-ka-u-si arwãh ã Ø-ka-i-wa
 O3SG-make-S3SG-PROX.PST man PROX.DEM O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV

‘The man did it, the man did it, the man did it, the man did it.’

(19) a eka katũha iskwa a wãta ekayo katũha iskwa teʔkeri

a eka katũ-ha Ø-isk-Ø-wa a wãta
 HES PRO3 work-NMLZ O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV HES shaman

eka=yo katũ-ha Ø-isk-Ø-wa teʔk-er-i
 PRO3=COM work-NMLZ O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV come-S3PL-PST

‘He, he does the work, the shaman with him (child), he does the work. They came.’

(20) ãkan kapaskerwa ãkan iskerwa

ã=kan Ø-kapask-er-wa ã=kan
 PROX.DEM=SIM O3SG-speak-S3PL-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM

Ø-isk-er-wa

O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV

‘Like this, they speak. They do it like that.’

(21) ākan ākan ākan ākan ākan nēi ayeski pakwa a wātai

ā=kan ā=kan ā=kan ā=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=SIM

ā=kan nē-Ø-i Ø-ayesk-Ø-i

DIST.DEM=SIM go-S3SG-PST O3SG-sing-S3SG-PST

Ø-pak-Ø-wa a wāta=i

O3SG-take-S3SG-PFV HES shaman=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Like that, like that, like that, he went, he sang, he took him. It is the shaman.’

(22) ākan ayeski ayeski ayeski

ā=kan Ø-ayesk-Ø-i Ø-ayesk-Ø-i

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-sing-S3SG-PST O3SG-sing-S3SG-PST

Ø-ayesk-Ø-i

O3SG-sing-S3SG-PST

‘He sang like that, he sang, he sang.’

(23) nēiwa yeha sukuhui

nē-i-wa ye=ha Ø-sukuh-Ø-u-i

go-S3SG-PFV small=FOC O3SG-grab-S3SG-HAB-PST

‘He went, he grabbed the child.’

(24) asawayo ĩhĩ ĩkan arkĩski arkĩski arkĩski

a-sawa=yo ĩhĩ ĩ=kan

POSS3SG-hand=INS PROX.DEM PROX.DEM=SIM

.

a-r-kĩsk-Ø-i a-r-kĩsk-Ø-i

O3SG-APPL.P-press-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-press-S3SG-PST

.

a-r-kĩsk-Ø-i

O3SG-APPL.P-press-S3SG-PST

‘With his hand, he squeezed him like this, he squeezed him, he squeezed him.’

(25) ayeski arkĩski ayeski ĩ kĩski ãkan

Ø-ayesk-Ø-i a-r-kĩsk-Ø-i

O3SG-sing-S3SG-PST O3SG-APPL.P-press-S3SG-PST

.

Ø-ayesk-Ø-i ĩ Ø-kĩsk-Ø-i

O3SG-sing-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM O3SG-press-S3SG-PST

.

ã=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM

‘He sang, he squeezed, he sang, he squeezed him like this.’

(26) komo kwatro o sinko oras a wātahi āyo ayāha īhī saʔpa saʔpartahi

como cuatro o cinco horas a wāta=hi
like four or five hours HES shaman=COP:S3SG:PFV

ā=yo a-yāh-ha īhī saʔpa
DIST.DEM=INS POSS3SG-say-NMLZ PROX.DEM chichicaste

saʔpa=tVh=i
chichicaste=NEG=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Like four or five hours the shaman was speaking in his language. (He uses) this chichicaste, it was not a chichicaste.’

(27) īhī teleʔ teleʔ īhīkan sukuhi

īhī teleʔ teleʔ īhī=kan Ø-sukuh-Ø-i
PROX.DEM penknife penknife PROX.DEM=SIM O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST

‘He cut him with this, with a penknife, a penknife.’

(28) āyo ayāha īhīkan taski auriri ye ī yāha awa awata paki īhī kruskan kiirwa

ā=yo a-yāh-ha īhī=kan Ø-task-Ø-i
DIST.DEM=INS POSS3SG-say-NMLZ PROX.DEM=SIM O3SG-cut-S3SG-PST

a-uri=ri ye ī yāh-ha awa
POSS3SG-blood=MDT small PROX.DEM say-NMLZ HES

a-wata Ø-pak-Ø-i īhī cruz=kan

POSS3SG-forehead O3SG-take-S3SG-PST PROX.DEM cross=SIM

Ø-ki-ir-wa

O3SG-make-S3PL-PFV

‘He (prayed) in his language, and he cut him (on) his forehead. He took the child’s blood. They made the sign of the cross with it (blood).’

(29) taski

Ø-task-Ø-i

O3SG-cut-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘He cut him.’

(30) ãyo yeri iſtakuri

ã=yo ye=r-Ø-i iſtak-Ø-u-ri

DIST.DEM=INS small=COP-S3SG-PST get.up-S3SG-HAB-PST

BM: ‘With that, the child got up.’

(31) ama tas propyo tawayo kãari ã ìhĩ

ama tas propio ta-wa=yo Ø-ſã-a-ri

HES PRO1 own POSS1-eye=INS O3SG-see-S1SG-PST

ã ìhĩ

DIST.DEM PROX.DEM

‘I saw this one with my own eyes.’

(32) takawa asuwa eka wãta kortariras

ta-kawa a-suwa eka wãta

POSS1–spouse POSS3SG–old.woman PRO3 shaman

korta=r-Ø-i=ras

woman=COP–S3SG–PST=REAS

‘Because the mother of my wife she was the shaman woman.’

(33) suwa wāta

suwa wāta

old.woman shaman

AM: ‘The old shaman woman.’

(34) oo swa wātari

oo swa wāta=r-Ø-i

yes old.woman shaman=COP–S3SG–PST

BM: ‘Yes, she was the old shaman woman.’

(35) to? tata tasuwa taa tatferka doña María tikiri María Ramos

to? tata ta–suwa taa ta–tferka

MED.DEM HES POSS1–old.woman HES POSS1–great.grandparent

Doña María tVk-Ø-ir-ri María Ramos

Mrs. Maria say–O3SG–S3PL–PST Maria Ramos

AM: ‘My grandmother, my great grandmother, called Doña María Ramos.’

(36) doña María oo

Doña María oo

Mrs. Maria yes

BM: ‘Doña María, yes.’

(37) oo ãkan

oo ã=kan

yes DIST.DEM=SIM

‘Yes, like that.’

(38) arirari tas

a-r-ir-a-ri tas

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-PST PRO1

AM: ‘I met her.’

(39) oo doña María

oo Doña María

yes Mrs. Maria

BM: ‘Yes, Doña María.’

(40) ãkan ijkwa tas kyari

ã=kan Ø-ijk-Ø-wa tas Ø-fa-a-ri

DIST.DEM=SIM O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV PRO1 O3SG-be.there-S1SG-PST

‘She did it like that (like a shaman), I saw her.’

(41) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(42) oo

oo

yes

BM: 'Yes.'

(43) importante mwi bonito ãņei tiyo ãņe tisi

importante muy bonito ãņe=i tío ãņe

important very pretty well=COP:S3SG:PFV uncle well

.

tis=i

little=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: 'It is important, very pretty, it is a quite good.'

APEHITIHI ‘PARALYSIS’, TOLD BY AGUSTINA LÓPEZ

CLAUDINE CHAMOREAU AND NATALIA CÁCERES ARANDIA

CNRS-IRD, SeDYL AND CNRS, SeDYL

The narrative *Apehitihi* ‘Paralysis’ was narrated by Agustina López. This story was recorded by Ángel Martínez. The text was transcribed and translated by Claudine Chamoreau, Ángel Martínez and Juana Hernández. Another woman intervenes during the recording. This is Teresa, Agustina’s daughter who always speaks to her in Miskito, the language she uses with her children. In this narrative, Agustina López explains her health problems, the paralysis of her legs. She had received injections that allowed her to walk. Nevertheless, the doctor had prescribed medication that she could not find in Las Marías.

(1) ãma ariratuwã

ã=ma a-r-ir-a-tV-wã

DIST.DEM=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV

AL: ‘I don’t know it.’

(2) mhm fanama mhm patapejha yas tas tapejhai

mhm fana=ma mhm pa-ta-pej-ha yas tas

INTERJ disease=TOP INTERJ INCL-POSS1-body-NMLZ all PRO1

ta-pej-ha=i

POSS1-body-NMLZ=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘That disease, all of our body, it is my body.’

(3) de wyahe sekartiski yã de wyahe taweso mhm sekartiskeri apahtahari

de.viaje secar-ta-isk-Ø-i=yã de.viaje ta-hueso

traveling dry-MID-make-S3SG-PST=LOC traveling POSS1-bone

mhm secar-ta-isk-er-i a-pah-a-tVh-ri

INTERJ dry-MID-make-S3PL-PST MID-move-S1SG-NEG-PST

‘Traveling, (that is) where it (my body) became stiff, my joints became stiff, traveling, I did not move.’

(4) mhm sekartiski taweso mh ika tiski titaki doktorkã, tayema arirerwa

mhm secar-ta-isk-Ø-i ta-hueso mh ika

INTERJ dry-MID-make-S3SG-PST POSS1-bone INTERJ and

ta-isk-Ø-i tVk-ta-Ø-i doctor-kã

MID-make-S3SG-PST say-O1-S3SG-PST doctor-NMLZ

ta-ye=ma a-r-ir-er-wa

POSS1-small=TOP O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3PL-PFV

‘My joints became stiff, and the doctor told me. My children know.’

(5) ïkanpe wetawa (Miskito) tertakeri wena ãkan teʔkari ãwenama

ï=kan=pe we-t-a-wa (Miskito) tVk-ta-er-i

PROX.DEM=SIM=only wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV (Miskito) say-O1-S3PL-PST

wena ã=kan teʔk-a-ri ãwena=ma

then DIST.DEM=SIM come-S1SG-PST then=TOP

‘(As) I go around like this alone. They told me to come since then.’

(6) fwersa de indiksyon tas ñhĩ kapijkwetawahã

fuerza de inyección tas ñhĩ

force of injection PRO1 PROX.DEM

.

ka-piʃk-a-we-t-a-wa=hã

INT-lay.down-S1SG-wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV=FOC

‘(With) the strength of the injection (they put into me), I (can) walk.’

(7) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is true.’

(8) indiksyon akwakwahnayo

inyección a-kwakwah-na=yo

injection POSS3SG-hard-NMLZ=INS

AL: ‘With the strength of the injection.’

(9) tasi tapeʃha ãkan ãrikan tiʃkawa ñhĩkan atʃahari peʃ takeertpiri

tas=i ta-peʃ-ha ã=kan

PRO1=COP:S3SG:PFV POSS1-body-NMLZ DIST.DEM=SIM

.

ã=r-Ø-i=kan ta-iʃk-a-wa ñhĩ=kan

DIST.DEM=COP-S3SG-PST=SIM MID-make-S1SG-PFV PROX.DEM=SIM

.

a-tʃah-a-ri peʃ ta-tʃe-er-tV-pi-ri

REFL-sit-s1SG-PST people O1-see-s3PL-NEG-FUT-PST

‘Me, my body was like that, I got better. (Without the injection), people would not had seen me.’

(10) ātahrimã yar tas tapinpe weŋiŋkirwa mm kasi kasi iŋkanari

ã=tVh=r-Ø-i=mã yar tas ta-pin=pe

DIST.DEM=NEG=COP-S3SG-PST=if true PRO1 POSS1-name=only

.

Ø-weŋ-iŋk-ir-wa mm casi casi iŋkanari

O3SG-hear-DES-S3PL-PFV INTERJ almost almost nothing

‘If it were not true, they would hear my name only, barely anything else (they would not have recognized me).’

(11) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is true.’

(12) tayekan iŋkanpe teskiri ama arirertawa iŋkanpe tapakiri iŋkan iŋkan

ta-ye=kan iŋ=kan=pe tesk-ir-i ama

POSS1-small=SIM PROX.DEM=SIM=only get.away-S3PL-PST HES

.

a-r-ir-er-tV-wa iŋ=kan=pe

O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3PL-NEG-PFV PROX.DEM=SIM=only

.

ta-pak-ir-i iŋ=kan iŋ=kan

O1-take-S3PL-PST PROX.DEM=SIM PROX.DEM=SIM

AL: ‘My children did things just like this. I don’t know (how) they took me (to the doctor).’

(13) iʃkeri ariratowa ekape ariri

Ø-iʃk-er-i a-r-ir-a-tV-wa eka=pe
 O3SG-make-S3PL-PST O3SG-APPL.P-know-S1SG-NEG-PFV PRO3=only

a-r-ir-Ø-i
 O3SG-APPL.P-know-S3SG-PST

‘They did it. I don’t know. Only they know it (that I was sick).’

(14) ākan tiʃkari

ā=kan ta-iʃk-a-ri
 DIST.DEM=SIM MID-make-S1SG-PST

‘I became like that.’

(15) ākan tiʃkariraskan ĩhĩ oraha

ā=kan ta-iʃk-a-ri=ras=kan ĩhĩ hora=ha
 DIST.DEM=SIM MID-make-S1SG-PST=REAS=SIM PROX.DEM time-NMLZ

‘That is why I became like that now.’

(16) wa āĩnaratawa ĩhĩ kapiʃkawetawa ĩhĩyā tapaki ākan

wa āĩna=r-a-tV-wa ĩhĩ
 also well=COP-S1SG-NEG-PFV PROX.DEM

ka-piʃk-a-we-t-a-wa ĩhĩ=yā
 INT-lay.down-S1SG-wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV PROX.DEM=LOC

ta-pak-Ø-i ã=kan

O1-take-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=SIM

‘I am also not well. I can take a few steps. They bring me here like that.’

(17) fwersayo ãkan tejfawa pēh kirima pēhyope wetawareke? ãkan as as ãkan

fuerza=yo ã=kan tejf-a-wa pēh

strength=INS DIST.DEM=SIM get.away-S1SG-PFV wood

ki=ri=ma pēh=yo=pe we-t-a-wa=reke?

before=TEMP=TOP wood=INS=only wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV=CONC

ã=kan as as ã=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM one one DIST.DEM=SIM

‘With the strength (of the injection), I walk, like that, even though I walk like before (with) a stick, step (by) step.’

(18) kapijka ãkan patatus ãkan taãyhwa ãkan kapijka,

ka-pijf-a-wa ã=kan pa-ta-tus

INT-lay.down-S1SG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM INCL-POSS1-father

ã=kan ta-ãyh-Ø-wa ã=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM O1-give:O1:2-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM=SIM

ka-pijf-a-wa

INT-lay.down-S1SG-PFV

‘I walk like this, our father (God) gives me (strength), I walk like this.’

(19) ðhĩ tatʃĩnkayãrikeh kasi mwerto mwerto ðhĩma apehtihi apehtihi kwakwahna tʃĩkiri ðhĩ

takiʃtai takapuk

ðhĩ ta-tʃĩnka=yã=rikeh casi muerto muerto

PROX.DEM POSS1-knee=LOC=CONC almost dead dead

.

ðhĩ=ma a-peh-i-tV-hi

PROX.DEM=TOP REFL-move-S3SG-NEG-PST

.

a-peh-i-tV-hi kwakwah-na ta-ĩk-ir-i

REFL-move-S3SG-NEG-PST hard-NMLZ MID-make-S3PL-PST

.

ðhĩ ta-ka-ĩf-Ø-tV-i ta-kapuk

PROX.DEM MID-make-DES-S3SG-NEG-PST POSS1-leg

‘This, however, inside my knees (is) almost dead. This did not move, it did not move. They became hard. My leg did not want to work.’

(20) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is true.’

(21) ðhĩ tasuk kawa apiskawamã ãma apehituhiriki indiksyon akwakwahnayoy

ðhĩ ta-suk Ø-ka-Ø-wa

PROX.DEM POSS1-hind O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV

a-pisk-a-wa=mã ã=ma
 REFL-lay.down-S1SG-PFV=when DIST.DEM=TOP

a-peh-i-tV-hi=riki inyección a-kwakwah-na=yo
 REFL-move-S3SG-NEG-PST=CONC injection POSS3SG-hard-NMLZ=INS

AL: ‘He (doctor) touched my back. When I laid down, even though that one (one leg) did not move, with the strength of the injection (the leg began to move).’

(22) yãhawa teʔkawa indiksyon taporkkeri ãyãhã sentro ãyãhã wah indiksyon

Ø-yãh-a-wa teʔk-a-wa inyección ta-porkk-er-i
 O3SG-say-S1SG-PFV come-S1SG-PFV injection O1-sink.in-S3PL-PST

ã=yã=hã centro ã=yã=hã wah inyección
 DIST.DEM=LOC=FOC center DIST.DEM=LOC=FOC also injection

‘I say, I come (for) the injection. They injected me here in the (health) center too, (they gave me) the injection.’

(23) taporkkri ika pef wena ãkan indiksyonpe taãylerwa taye taporkkerwa

ta-porkk-er-i ika pef wena ã=kan inyección=pe
 O1-sink.in-S3PL-PST and people also DIST.DEM=SIM injection=only

ta-ãyãh-er-wa ta-ye ta-porkk-er-wa
 O1-give:O1:2-S3PL-PFV POSS1-small O1-sink.in-S3PL-PFV

‘They injected me, and the people (who were in the center gave me) the injection. My children

give me (money). They (people in the center) inject me.’

(24) *ãkan peʃ wena ayuda we takidri ã wena ðhĩ peʃkan aʃahari*

ã=kan peʃ wena ayuda we ta-ka-ir-i ã
 DIST.DEM=SIM people also help a.lot O1-make-S3PL-PST DIST.DEM

wena ðhĩ peʃ=kan a-ʃa-a-ri
 also PROX.DEM people=SIM REFL-sit-S1SG-PST

‘People helped me a lot. I live here like these people.’

(25) *yari suwa*

yar=i suwa
 true=COP:S3SG:PFV old.woman

AM: ‘It is true, grandmother.’

(26) *oo ãkan atʃahari ãtahrĩmã ãma tasma ðkanarikan mhm tʃana*

oo ã=kan a-tʃah-a-ri
 yes DIST.DEM=SIM REFL-sit-S1SG-PST

ã=tVh=r-Ø-i=mã ã=ma tas=ma
 DIST.DEM=NEG=COP-S3SG-PST=if DIST.DEM=TOP PRO1=TOP

ðkanari=kan mhm tʃana
 nothing=SIM INTERJ disease

AL: ‘Yes, I am like this. If there had been nothing, me, I would have no disease.’

(27) ¡Qué barbaridad!

AM: ‘That’s awful!’

(28) warki as tasukuhi

warki as ta-sukuh-Ø-i

bad INDF.ART O1-grab-S3SG-PST

AL: ‘An evil got a hold of me.’

(29) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is true.’

(30) tʃanas ïkani terwa apin tartõsewa

tʃana=s ï=kan=i tV-Ø-er-wa

disease=INDF.ART PROX.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV

.

a-pin ta-r-ta-õf-fe-Ø-wa

POSS3SG-name O1-APPL.P-MID-lose-TOT-S3SG-PFV

AL: ‘A disease, it is like this, they say its name, I forgot everything.’

(31) ã tʃana ï ïkani terwa oo

ã tʃana ï ï=kan=i

DIST.DEM disease PROX.DEM PROX.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV

.

tV-Ø-er-wa oo

say-O3SG-S3PL-PFV yes

‘That disease, they say it is like this. Yes...’

(32) ã fanari tasukuhiri teʔkri mhm

ã fana=r-Ø-i ta-sukuh-ir-i teʔkri mhm

DIST.DEM disease=COP-S3SG-PST O1-grab-S3PL-PST fever INTERJ

‘It is that disease, the fever got me.’

(33) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is true.’

(34) yektari peskanrawa kirima mhm puro tawesope tiʃkaririke

yeta=ri peʃ=kan=r-a-wa ki=ri=ma mhm

until.now=TEMP people=SIM=COP-S1SG-PFV before=TEMP=TOP INTERJ

.

puro ta-hueso=pe ta-iʃk-a-ri=rike

only POSS1-bone=only MID-make-S1SG-PST=CONC

AL: ‘Until now I was like anyone else, even though I had bone problems.’

(35) ïkita ma ke peskanrawa

ïkita=ma ke peʃ=kan=r-a-wa

now=TOP already people=SIM=COP-S1SG-PFV

‘Now I feel like a person.’

(36) ¡Qué barbaridad!

AM: ‘That’s awful!’

(37) oo ãkanra mhm

oo ã=kan=ra mhm

yes DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP INTERJ

AL: 'Yes, it is because of that.'

(38) ay dyos ama

ay Dios ama

oh God HES

AM: 'Oh God.'

.

(39) takatfauõfutiiwa

ta-ka-tfa-u-õf-u-tV-i-wa

O1-APPL.R-see-S2-lose-S2-NEG-PST-PFV

AL: 'You would have not recognized me.'

(40) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: 'It is true.'

(41) takyawõsutiwa pes wa takernãrtireke ãkan ãkan tespekkawa

ta-tfa-u-õf-u-tV-i-wa pef wa

O1-see-S2-lose-S2-NEG-PST-PFV people also

.

ta-tfa-er-nã-er-tV-i=reke ã=kan

O1-see-S3PL-go-S3PL-NEG-PST=CONC DIST.DEM=SIM

ĩ=kan tɛf-pekk-a-wa
 PROX.DEM=SIM get.away-bring-S1SG-PFV

AL: ‘You would have not recognized me. Even though people too would not have recognized me, like this, like this, I went walking.’

(42) mhm ākanpra pikakima teʔtakei nāiwa ārima tewa warkurari

mhm ā=kan=pra pi-kaki=ma
 INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH POSS2-mother=TOP

teʔ-ta-tʃa-Ø-i nā-i-wa ā=ri=ma tewa
 come-O1-see-S3SG-PST go-S3SG-PFV day=TEMP=TOP still

warku=r-a-ri
 bad=COP-S1SG-PST

‘It is like that. Your mother came to see me, she went one day. I was still bad.’

(43) tapeʃha ẽnataʔri pikaki teʔkimã teʔtakanãi

ta-peʃ-ha ẽna=tVʔ=r-Ø-i pi-kaki
 POSS1-body-NMLZ well=NEG=COP-S3SG-PST POSS2-mother

teʔk-Ø-i=mã teʔ-ta-tʃa-nã-Ø-i
 come-S3SG-PST=when come-O1-see-go-S3SG-PST

‘My body was not good. When your mother came, she came, she saw me and left.’

(44) mhm piiḡtiwa

mhm pi-ij-∅-tV-i=wa

INTERJ O2-tell-S3SG-NEG-PST=2PL

‘She did not tell you.’

(45) oo ākan tiḡi eka

oo ā=kan ta-ij-∅-i eka

yes DIST.DEM=SIM O1-tell-S3SG-PST PRO3

AM: ‘Yes, she told me.’

(46) ākan terstakii eka

ā=kan tVk-ta-i-i eka

DIST.DEM=SIM say-O1-S3SG-PST PRO3

AL: ‘She talked to me.’

(47) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(48) āma takomare Agustinama tis arḡinawa

ā=ma ta-comadre Agustina=ma tis

DIST.DEM=TOP POSS1-child.godmother Agustina=TOP a.little

.

a-r-ḡina-∅-wa

O3SG-APPL.P-get.sick-S3SG-PFV

‘“This one, my child’s godmother Agustina is a bit sick.”’

(49) warkwai tatakufi tasra

warkwa=i tV_k-ta-u-t_fi tas=ra

bad=COP:S3SG:PFV say-O1-S3SG-PROX.PST PRO1=ACC

‘“She is ill,” she said to me.’

(50) mhm ākanri

mhm ā=kan=r-Ø-i

INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM=COP-S3SG-PST

AL: ‘It was like that.’

(51) puchica

AM: ‘Damn!’

(52) mhm ākanpra

mhm ā=kan=pra

INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

AL: ‘Yes, it is like that.’

(53) ākanma patati_fta ame_fkwa tis ke nĩ warkunĩ warkuti_fkuri keā=kan=ma pa-ta-ti_f-ta Ø-ame_fk-Ø-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM=TOP INCL-POSS1-sow-AG.NMLZ O3SG-want-S3SG-PFV

.

tis ke nã-u-i wark-u-nã-u-i

a.little already go-S2-PST repeat-S2-go-S2-PST

.

wark-u-ta-i_fk-u-ri ke

repeat-S2-MID-make-S2-PST already

AM: ‘Then our God wanted it, already a bit. You walk again, you recovered already.’

(54) oo ākan takii patatista ika taiʃpaki ākan

oo ā=kan ta-ka-i-i pa-ta-tiʃ-ta
 yes DIST.DEM=SIM O1-make-S3SG-PST INCL-POSS1-sow-AG.NMLZ

.

ika ta-iʃpak-Ø-i ā=kan
 and O1-pick.up-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM=SIM

AL: ‘Yes, God made me like that and he took me like that.’

(55) ākan titakitiiras ika taispaki tapeʔki

ā=kan tV_k-ta-i-tV-i=ras ika
 DIST.DEM=SIM say-O1-S3SG-NEG-PST=REAS and

.

ta-iʃpak-Ø-i ta-peʔk-Ø-i
 O1-pick.up-S3SG-PST O1-bring-S3SG-PST

‘He did not tell me like that and he took me, he brought me.’

(56) mhm taispaki tapeʔki

mhm ta-iʃpak-Ø-i ta-peʔk-Ø-i
 INTERJ O1-pick.up-S3SG-PST O1-bring-S3SG-PST

‘He took me, he brought me.’

(57) yari

yar=i
 true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: ‘It is true.’

(58) oo mhm ãkanpra mhm

oo mhm ã=kan=pra mhm
 yes INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH INTERJ

AL: ‘Yes, it is like that.’

(59) ke lastima akrekeĩ yãates ma astĩ akwaãyã

qué lástima akreke ã=yã ates=ma astĩ
 what.a.pity but PROX.DEM=LOC besides=TOP quiet

.

ak-Ø-wa ã=yã=hã
 be.in.state-S3SG-PFV DIST.DEM=LOC=FOC

AM: ‘What a pity! But everything else is peaceful here.’

(60) ah

ah
 INTERJ

AL: ‘Ah!’

(61) as atesma astĩ akwa

as ates=ma astĩ ak-Ø-wa
 one besides=TOP quiet be.in.state-S3SG-PFV

AM: ‘Everything else is peaceful.’

(62) oo awenama ãkan tapehã mhm

oo awena=ma ã=kan ta=pe=hã mhm
 yes then=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM DIST.DEM=only=FOC INTERJ

AL: ‘Yes, it has been like that since that time.’

(63) mhm awenama ākan atfaharireki nēiwa īkan takipi ā jana wikatak

mhm awena=ma ā=kan a-tfah-a-ri=reki

INTERJ then=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM REFL-sit-S1SG-PST=CONC

.

nē-i-wa ī=kan ta-ka-i-pi ā

go-S3SG-PFV PROX.DEM=SIM MID-make-S3SG-FUT DIST.DEM

.

jana wikatak

disease HES

‘Since then, even though I was (sick), (I don’t know) how this disease will evolve.’

(64) aen īhā tapaskuri ā pastiyaha taāyhi ā pastiyahai doktor wena taāyhi ā pastiyahai

aen ī=hā ta-pask-u-ri ā pastilla-ha

HES PROX.DEM=FOC O1-take.out-S2-PST DIST.DEM pill-NMLZ

.

ta-āyh-Ø-i ā pastilla-ha=i doctor

O1-give:O1:2-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM pill-NMLZ=COP:S3SG:PFV doctor

.

wena ta-āyh-Ø-i ā pastilla-ha=i

then O1-give:O1:2-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM pill-NMLZ=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘You found me here, the doctor gave me the pill, then he gave me that pill.’

(65) seis meses tratamiento taāyhira pastiya tasi tfen tokksehari ke kaki we

seis meses tratamiento ta-āyh-Ø-i=ra pastilla

six months treatment O1-give:O1:2-S3SG-PST=ACC pill

tas=i tʃen Ø–tokk–ʃeh–a–ri ke
 PRO1=COP:S3SG:PFV a.lot O3SG–drink–TOT–S1SG–PST already

Ø–kak–Ø–i we
 O3SG–make–S3SG–PST a.lot

‘He had given me six months of treatment. I took everything already long ago.’

(66) āraskan ã pastiya pyah paspama arirato

ā=ras=kan ã pastilla pi–ah
 DIST.DEM=REAS=SIM PROX.DEM pill place–NMLZ

Ø–pas–pa=ma a–r–ir–a–tV–wa
 O3SG–take.out–S1SG:FUT=NOM O3SG–APPL.P–know–S1SG–NEG–PFV

‘That is why, I don’t know where I will get this pill.’

(67) sentroyã ãyãrina tʃitwa

centro=yã ã=yã=rina tʃa–i–tV–wa
 middle=LOC PROX.DEM=LOC=also be.there–S3SG–NEG–PFV

‘There aren’t any downtown, either.’

(68) tʃitwa

tʃa–i–tV–wa
 be.there–S3SG–NEG–PFV

AM: ‘There are none.’

(69) pastiyama ãma pastiya akwari pastiya

pastilla=ma ã=ma pastilla akwa=r-Ø-i pastilla

pill=TOP DIST.DEM=TOP pill other=COP-S3SG-PST pill

AL: ‘That pill, that pill is a different pill (to the one I usually take).’

(70) doktor wena

doctor wena

doctor then

‘Since then, the doctor...’

(71) taiski taãyhiri ika ãyã hawa pe?kertwa ã pastiya mhm ãkani ãkanpra

ta-?iʃk-Ø-i ta-ãyh-i-ri ika ã=yã hawa

O1-tell-S3SG-PST O1-give:O1:2-S3SG-PST and PROX.DEM=LOC also

.

Ø-pe?k-er-tV-wa ã pastilla mhm

O3SG-bring-S3PL-NEG-PFV DIST.DEM pill INTERJ

.

ã=kan=i ã=kan=pra

PROX.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

‘He told me, he gave it to me and they don’t bring that pill here (in our village) either. There are none. It is like that.’

(72) oo

oo

yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(73) ìhĩ turko teʔkerwa òèzòũḍĩyĩ peʔkertupra

ìhĩ turco teʔk-er-wa òèzòũḍĩyĩ

PROX.DEM oriental come-S3PL-PFV HES

.

∅-peʔk-er-tV-wa=pra

O3SG-bring-S3PL-NEG-PFV=EMPH

AL: 'These merchants they come (but) they don't bring it here.'

(74) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: 'It is true.'

(75) mhm pastiya akwape akwape

mhm pastilla akwa=pe akwa=pe

INTERJ pill other=only other=only

AL: '(They have) pills, just different ones, only different ones.'

(76) peʔkerwa kuhpara we sari mhm ikai ã pastiyama akwape akwape

∅-peʔk-er-wa ∅-kuh-pa=ra we

O3SG-bring-S3PL-PFV O3SG-buy-S1SG:FUT=PURP a.lot

.

tʃa-∅-ri mhm ikai ã pastilla=ma

be.there-S3SG-PST INTERJ there.isn't DIST.DEM pill=TOP

.

akwa=pe akwa=pe

other=only other=only

‘They bring so I buy it, there is a lot, mhm, they don’t have that pill, only different ones, only different ones.’

(77) peʔkerwa mhm ākanpra mhm

Ø-peʔk-er-wa mhm ā=kan=pra mhm

O3SG-bring-S3PL-PFV INTERJ DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH INTERJ

‘They bring it, it is like that.’

(78) mira

AM: ‘Look.’

(79) āma tis warkupra yar ākanpra

ā=ma tis warku=pra yar ā=kan=pra

DIST.DEM=TOP a.little bad=EMPH true DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

‘That (is) a bit bad, but it is true.’

(80) āma warkwarari āma

ā=ma warkwa=r-a-ri ā=ma

DIST.DEM=TOP bad=COP-S1SG-PST DIST.DEM=TOP

AL: ‘(Because of) that I was (feeling) bad.’

(81) oo warkwa warkwarari

oo warkwa warkwa=r-a-ri

yes bad bad=COP-S1SG-PST

‘Yes, bad, I was (feeling) bad.’

(82) āyārina ākan tasuwa tasuwa Paulinama t̄jinas sukuhi

ā=yā=rina ā=kan ta-suwa

DIST.DEM=LOC=also DIST.DEM=SIM POSS1-old.woman

.

ta-suwa Paulina=ma tʃina=s

POSS1-old.woman Paulina=TOP disease=INDF.ART

.

∅-sukuh-∅-i

O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST

AM: 'My grandmother Paulina also caught a disease.'

(83) oo

oo

yes

AL: 'Yes.'

(84) ah

ah

INTERJ

'Ah!'

.

(85) āma ɪ̃na kauʃi toʔ nĩhã teʃki sã pahnu nĩhã aʔti

ā=ma ɪ̃=na ∅-ka-u-ʃi toʔ

DIST.DEM=TOP PROX.DEM=INDF O3SG-make-S3SG-PROX.PST MED.DEM

.

nĩhã teʃki sã pah-nu nĩhã aʔt-∅-i

here fever head hurt-NMLZ.bad here vomit-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘Something hurt her, here, (she had) a fever, headaches, here, she vomited.’

(86) ah mhm

ah mhm

INTERJ INTERJ

AL: ‘Ah, mm.’

(87) aya aya pahnu kii ãma

a-ya a-ya pah-nu Ø-ka-i-i

POSS3SG-belly POSS3SG-belly hurt-NMLZ.bad O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

.

ã=ma

DIST.DEM=TOP

AM: ‘The belly, the belly ache, it got her.’

(88) ah ah ah

ah ah ah

INTERJ INTERJ INTERJ

AL: ‘Ah, ah, ah!’

(89) ayarakan pahnu kii

a-ya=ra=kan pah-nu Ø-ka-i-i

POSS3SG-belly=PURP=SIM hurt-NMLZ.bad O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

‘Her belly hurt.’

(90) oo

oo

yes

AM: 'Yes.'

(91) ika ã ãrina

ika ã ã=rina

and PROX.DEM PROX.DEM=also

'And also this one.'

(92) tejki tejki ùheka kii ke yuwi mãyh yuwi kah nowyembre

tejki tejki ùheka Ø-ka-i-i ke yuwi mãyh

fever fever a.lot O3SG-make-S3SG-PST already moon three

.

yuwi kah noviembre

moon four November

'The fever, the fever, she had a lot of fever already on the third and fourth of the month of November.'

(93) disyembre enero fewreroma iftaktawa ekama

diciembre enero febrero=ma iftak-Ø-tV-wa eka=ma

December January February=TOP get.up-S3SG-NEG-PFV PRO3=TOP

'She did not get up in December, January, February.'

(94) ah ah

ah ah

INTERJ INTERJ

AL: 'Ah, ah!'

(95) oo

oo

yes

‘Yes.’

(96) yareka

yareka

true

‘True.’

(97) to? detfa tʃana oo

to? detfa tʃana oo

MED.DEM HES disease yes

AM: ‘That disease, yes.’

(98) tʃana ãyo apiʃki ã naiwa

tʃana ã=yo a-piʃk-Ø-i ã

disease DIST.DEM=INS REFL-lying.down-S3SG-PST DIST.DEM

.

na-i-wa

go-S3SG-PFV

AL: ‘With that disease, she goes lying down.’

(99) akreke ïkita=ma to ï ospitalyã pakawa

akreke ïkita=ma to ï hospital=yã

but now=TOP MED.DEM PROX.DEM hospital=LOC

.

Ø-pak-a-wa

O3SG-take-S1SG-PFV

AM: ‘But now I took her to the hospital.’

(100) ika tis ke kurikuri kiwa ñhã ñsi tis sukuhiras

ika tis ke kurikuri Ø-ka-i-wa ñhã
and a.little already better O3SG-make-S3SG-PFV PROX.DEM

ñsi tis Ø-sukuh-Ø-i=ras
medicine a.little O3SG-grab-S3SG-PST=REAS

‘She already feels a little better, because she has been taking the medicine for a little while.’

(101) yareka

yareka
true

AL: ‘True.’

(102) tis

tis
a.little

‘A little.’

(103) oo

oo
yes

‘Yes.’

(104) oo

oo
yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(105) ākanpra ũtas edad ũtas ʃanarina ũtas sukuhwama āma ũwayari

ā=kan=pra ũ-tas edad ũ-tas ʃana=rina
DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH EXCL-PRO1 age EXCL-PRO1 disease=also

ũ-tas Ø-sukuh-Ø-wa=ma ā=ma ũwaya=ri
EXCL-PRO1 O3SG-grab-S3SG-PFV=CRT DIST.DEM=TOP soon=MDT

AL: ‘It is like that, (with) us, old age. Disease catches up with us so quickly.’

(106) is ũwayama ēhaparto āma kāhri ĩkan apisparwa

is ũwaya=ma ēh-par-tV-wa ā=ma
HES soon=TOP heal-S1PL.INCL-NEG-PFV DIST.DEM=TOP

kāh=ri ĩ=kan a-piʃ-par-wa
time=TEMP PROX.DEM=SIM REFL-lay.down-S1PL.INCL-PFV

‘We did not get well soon, we have been like this for a while.’

(107) oo

oo
yes

AM: ‘Yes.’

(108) kāh apisparwa āma ũwayama ēñā tispawā āma

kāh a-piʃ-par-wa ā=ma ũwaya=ma ēñā
time REFL-lay.down-S1PL.INCL-PFV DIST.DEM=TOP fast=TOP well

ta-ij-par-tV-wa ã=ma

MID-make-S1PL.INCL-NEG-PFV DIST.DEM=TOP

AL: 'We were lying down for a long time. We did not get well fast.'

(109) ãma patasukuhuma patasukuhu

ã=ma pa-ta-sukuh-Ø-wa=ma pa-ta-sukuh-Ø-wa

DIST.DEM=TOP INCL-O1-grab-S3SG-PFV=when INCL-O1-grab-S3SG-PFV

'When it catches us, it catches us.'

(110) yari

yar=i

true=COP:S3SG:PFV

AM: 'It is true.'

(111) ùtaskan edad

ù-tas=kan edad

EXCL-PRO1=SIM age

AL: 'Like us, old age.'

(112) treberwa fana êhê ùtasukuhuma un momento mal pataki

tV-Ø-ber-wa fana êhê

say-O3SG-S1PL.EXCL-PFV disease PROX.DEM

.

ù-ta-sukuh-Ø-wa=ma un momento mal

EXCL-O1-grab-S3SG-PFV=when one moment bad

.

pa-ta-ka-Ø-i

INCL-O1-make-S3SG-PST

‘We say the disease, when it catches us, it hurts us for a moment.’

(113) oo ãma ãkani

oo ã=ma ã=kan=i

yes DIST.DEM=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV

‘Yes, it is like that.’

(114) ãkanra tas wahayã nãatawa awa o?ktawa ï weftawa

ã=kan=ra tas waha=yã nã-a-tV-wa awa

DIST.DEM=SIM=PURP PRO1 mountain=LOC go-S1SG-NEG-PFV then

o?k-a-tV-wa ï Ø-wef-a-tV-wa

bathe-S1SG-NEG-PFV PROX.DEM O3SG-understand-S1SG-NEG-PFV

‘That is why I do not go to the mountain, then I don’t bathe. I don’t hear (correctly).’

(115) ãkani tayeyo saawu mhm nãawa kapijkwetawa

ã=kan=i ta-ye=yo tʃa-a-wa

DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV POSS1-small=COM be.there-S1SG-PFV

mhm nã-a-wa ka-pijkw-a-we-t-a-wa

INTERJ go-S1SG-PFV INT-lay.down-S1SG-wander-DUR-S1SG-PFV

‘It is like that, I live with my children, I walk a little.’

(116) ãkan ïkan arahnayãma ãkan tapehrureke ühyãma nãataa

ã=kan ï=kan arahna=yã=ma ã=kan

DIST.DEM=SIM PROX.DEM=SIM outside=LOC=TOP DIST.DEM=SIM

tapeh=r-a-wa=reke ãh=yã=ma nã-a-tV-wa
 mood=COP-S1SG-PFV=CONC far=LOC=TOP go-S1SG-NEG-PFV

‘Like that outside, even if I am in the mood, I don’t go far.’

(117) ãkanpra

ã=kan=pra
 DIST.DEM=SIM=EMPH

‘It is like that.’

(118) ãka ke pipejha tis artjinauma ãkan kaii

ãka ke pi-pej-ha tis
 and already POSS2-body-NMLZ a.little

a-r-tjina-Ø-wa=ma ã=kan
 O3SG-APPL.P-sick-S3SG-PFV=NOM PROX.DEM=SIM

Ø-ka-i-i
 O3SG-make-S3SG-PST

AM: ‘And now your body that is a little less sick, this is how it got.’

(119) nãu tejkupisa arahnãma

nã-u-wa tejk-u-pi=sa arahna=yã=ma
 go-S2-PFV get.away-S2-FUT=C.Q outside=LOC=TOP

‘You are going to stay outside (on the patio).’

(120) oo ã ãkani oo

oo ã ã=kan=i oo

yes DIST.DEM DIST.DEM=SIM=COP:S3SG:PFV yes

AL: 'Yes, it is like that, yes.'

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FIGURE 2. Pesh in Honduras

TABLE 1. Location and number of speakers of Pesh

TABLE 2. Person markers in Pesh

TABLE 3. Enclitic case markers in Pesh

ABBREVIATIONS

–	morpheme boundary
=	clitic
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	transitive subject
ABS	absolutive case
ACC	accusative case
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADVS	adversative
ADVZ	adverbializer
AFF	affirmative
AG	agentive (nominalizer)
APPL.P	applicative for patient
APPL.R	applicative for recipient
ART	article
CAP	capacitative
CAR	Carbón (variety)
CAUS	causative
CNTR	contrary
COM	comitative
CONC	concessive

CONDconditional
CONTcontainer (nominalizer)
COORD coordination
COP copula
C.Q constituent question
CRT certainty subordinate
CUL Culmí (variety)
DAT dative
DBT dubitative subordinator
DEM demonstrative
DES desiderative
DIST distal
DUR durative
EMPHemphatic
ERG ergative case
EXCLexclusive
FOC focus
HAB habitual
HES hesitation
HEM hearer's engagement marker
HORTHortative
HYP hypothetical subordinator
IDEO ideophone

IMDF immediately in future

IMDP immediately in past

INCL inclusive

INCP inceptive

INDF indefinite

INF infinitive

INS instrumental

INSC insecure (speculative)

INT intensive

INTERJ interjection

IT iterative

LOC locative

MAN manner

MAR Las Marías (variety)

MC main clause

MDT mediative

MED medial

MID middle

MIR mirative

NEG negation

NMLZnominalizer

O object

ORD ordinal

PERS personal

PFV perfective

PL plural

POSS possessive

P.Q polar question

PRB probability

PRO pronoun

PROG progressive

PROX proximal

PSB possibility

PST past

PTCP participle

PURP purpose

QLT quality

QUANT quantifier

RC relative clause

REAS reason

RECP reciprocal

REFL reflexive

REP reportative

S subject

SG singular

SIM simulative

SIMT simultaneity

TEMP temporal

TOP topic

TOT totalitative

UNCRT uncertainty subordinator

V vowel

NOTES

¹ All the examples presented in the introduction to this volume come from a corpus of natural speech recordings in Pesh collected as part of two projects (see acknowledgments).

² A *sasal* is a typical dish made by the Pesh with crushed yucca wrapped and cooked in a banana leaf.

³ The bobo mullet (*Joturus pichardi*) is a species of ray-finned fish of the mullet family *Mugilidae*. It is a fish which lives in warm parts of large mountain streams, but migrates downstream to breed in estuaries.

⁴ In Pesh, many emotional expressions refer to liver states, as the liver is considered the seat of emotions.

⁵ Literally, he says “a big circular thing like the liquid of the cow's breast”.

⁶ *Chichicaste* (Fam. *Loasaceae*) is a very prickly plant, heavily used for medicinal purposes. *Chichicaste* leaves and stems have urticating hairs that will attach to the skin at the slightest of contacts causing an immediate burning sensation.

⁷ *Munia* is a yucca drink that is initially prepared as a paste before being mixed with water and stirred to become liquid.

⁸ Chicha is a fermented drink made from corn.

⁹ Both *puru* and *kanoha* can designate either a literal canoe or an elongated container used for the yucca drink.

¹⁰ A bonga is a container (barrel type) made from ceiba bark.

¹¹ The word used to refer to God is formed with the verb 'to sow'. Literally, God is the one who sows. At the beginning of this story, the speaker compares the spirits to God.

¹² *Guaro* is a type of liquor.