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Magdalena Lemus-Serrano. Pervasive nominalization in Yukuna: An Arawak language of Colombian Amazonia. Linguistics. Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2020. English. NNT : . tel-04626444

HAL Id: tel-04626444

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Université Lumière Lyon 2

**École doctorale en Lettres, Langues, Linguistique et
Arts (3LA)**

**Département de Sciences du Langage
Laboratoire Dynamique Du Langage UMR 5596**

**Pervasive nominalization
in Yukuna:**

An Arawak language of Colombian Amazonia

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Sciences du langage

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PERVASIVE NOMINALIZATION IN YUKUNA: AN ARAWAK LANGUAGE OF COLOMBIAN AMAZONIA

MAGDALENA LEMUS SERRANO



Abstract

This dissertation focuses on Yukuna (ISO 693-3: ycn, Glottocode: yucu1253), an Arawak language of Colombian Amazonia. Yukuna is a definitely endangered, understudied language, spoken by under one thousand speakers in various communities along the Mirití-Paraná River in North-Western Amazonia. This dissertation is organized in two parts. Part I provides a grammar sketch of the language (119pp.), on the basis of a first hand corpus of texts (25000 words, 4,5 hours of recording). Part II provides an in-depth description and discussion of nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions in Yukuna.

Nominalizations in Yukuna are pervasive in discourse, and versatile in their functions. Indeed, there are eight different nominalization markers in Yukuna, used with ambiguous verb forms that display both verbal and nominal features. These verb forms are incredibly frequent, found in average in 80% of sentences in the corpus of texts. Verb forms carrying these markers are found in a variety of syntactic positions, and with different functions, from the prototypical referential use of nominalizations as arguments within verbal clauses, to other, less prototypical uses such as in relative clauses, adverbial clauses, clause-chaining, and even as TAM and discourse markers in main clauses. Describing the complexity of Yukuna nominalizations in terms of their internal structure, external distribution and corpus frequency represents a major methodological challenge. This dissertation aims to present the complexities of Yukuna nominalizations in a way that is both thorough and systematic.

In this study, I adopt a form to function methodology that establishes the prototype of Noun Phrases as the main tool to identify, categorize and describe nominalizations. Individual constructions are described in terms of the degree to which they match or differ from the language specific features of the NP prototype, in terms of both its internal morphosyntax and external distribution. This method is particularly reliable to identify the distributional and functional expansion of nominalizations, by distinguishing the use of verb forms marked with nominalizing morphology in syntactic positions of NPs (nominalization constructions), from

their use in syntactic positions that are not those of NPs. I refer to this latter type of use as nominalization-based constructions, following Post (2011).

The results of this methodology applied to Yukuna show that the versatility of Yukuna nominalizations in fact largely conforms to the patterns of functional expansion of nominalizations reported in the literature. The most salient fact about the Yukuna nominalizations is that so many of the cross-linguistically attested uses of nominalizations are simultaneously attested in a single language.

Keywords

nominalization, finiteness, subordination, Arawak languages, Amazonian languages, corpus linguistics

Résumé

Cette thèse porte sur la langue yukuna (ISO 693-3: ycn, Glottocode: yucu1253), une langue arawak de l'Amazonie colombienne. Le yukuna est une langue sous-étudiée et menacée de disparition, parlée par environ mille locuteurs dans des communautés situées le long du fleuve Mirití-Paraná dans le nord-ouest de l'Amazonie. Cette thèse est structurée en deux parties. La partie I présente une esquisse grammaticale de la langue (119pp.), basée sur un corpus de textes de première main (25000 mots, 4,5 heures d'enregistrements). La partie II présente une description et une discussion approfondie sur la nominalisation et les constructions basées sur la nominalisation dans la langue.

La nominalisation en yukuna est omniprésente dans le corpus, et elle est versatile dans ses fonctions. En effet, le yukuna a huit marques de nominalisation différentes, employées avec des formes verbales ambiguës qui montrent des propriétés verbales ainsi que nominales. Ces formes verbales sont extrêmement fréquentes, se trouvant dans environ 80% des phrases du corpus. Les formes verbales portant ces marques occupent des nombreuses positions syntaxiques, avec des fonctions très variées. Au-delà de la fonction référentielle typique des nominalisations dans des positions syntaxiques nominales telles que argument d'un prédicat verbal, ces formes verbales se trouvent également dans les propositions relatives, les propositions adverbiales, des constructions de type *clause-chaining*, voire même dans des propositions principales comme marques discursives ou de TAM. La description de ces constructions sur la base d'un corpus oral représente ainsi un défi méthodologique considérable. L'objectif de cette thèse a été d'appliquer une méthodologie rigoureuse et systématique qui rend compte de la complexité des données.

Cette étude adopte une approche qui part de la forme pour décrire la fonction. La méthodologie adoptée positionne le prototype du groupe nominal (GN) comme l'outil principal pour identifier, catégoriser et décrire les nominalisations. Chaque construction d'intérêt est donc décrite selon le degré auquel ses traits correspondent au prototype du GN ou s'en écartent, du point de vue tant de sa morphosyntaxe interne que de sa distribution externe. Cette méthode est particulièrement adaptée pour identifier les trajets d'expansion fonctionnelle des nominalisations, en séparant leurs usages dans des positions syntaxiques nominales, de leurs usages dans des positions syntaxiques exclues des GN. J'emploie le terme 'construction basée

sur la nominalisation' pour décrire ces usages novateurs des nominalisations, en suivant la terminologie proposée par Post (2011).

Les résultats de l'application de cette méthode aux données du yukuna révèlent que les fonctions des nominalisations du yukuna sont comparables à celles décrites dans la littérature sur les nominalisations versatiles. Le yukuna est remarquable sur la co-existence de tant d'usages des nominalisations en synchronie.

Mots clés

nominalisation, finitude, subordination, langues arawak, langues amazoniennes, linguistique de corpus.

Acknowledgements

I wish to send my deepest thanks to the people and institutions who made this project possible.

To my advisor, Françoise Rose, for her continuous guidance from before the inception of this project to this date. I will never thank her enough.

To my main collaborator, Virgelina Matapí Yucuna, whose linguistic talent and incredible patience made this project possible.

To Spike Gildea, whose insights helped shape this study, and to the University of Oregon Linguistics Department, for welcoming me in 2018.

To all Yukuna speakers who participated in this project, and to the communities in La Pedrera (Barrio Nuevo), Quebrada Negra and Puerto Lago, for their hospitality. In particular, I wish to thank Monica Tanimuca for her support and charisma during my stay in La Pedrera.

To the GAIA Amazonas NGO and the CITMA indigenous council, in particular, to Rodrigo Yucuna, for having supported this project and welcomed me in the Mirití-Paraná.

To the colleagues whose work in the Mirití-Paraná helped pave the way for this project: Natalia Eraso, Camilo Robayo, and Laurent Fontaine.

To the Dynamique du Langage research unit for having provided me with the institutional support and ideal work environment to carry out this project. To the main funding institution, the LabEx Aslan, and to ELDP for a Small Grant (SG0358) that allowed me to set the bases for this doctoral project.

To the Dynamique du Langage members, in particular, Antoine Guillaume, Denis Creissels, Brigitte Pakendorf, Anetta Kopecka, Gérard Philippon, Colette Grinevald, Michel Bert, Egidio Marsico, Marc Tang, Dan Dediu, as well as former DDL members, Natalia Chousou-Polydouri, Shelece Easterday and Adam Tallman.

To my colleagues and friends: Denis Bertet, for many interesting conversations on tone and phonology, and to Marie-Caroline Pons, for having introduced me to the world of nominalizations in Tibeto-Burman languages.

To my family in Colombia and especially my sisters: Aura, Alejandra, Adriana, and Liliana, *por la hermandad*.

And to Coline, for being there.

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Introduction

This dissertation provides an in-depth description of nominalizations in Yukuna (ISO 693-3: ycn, Glottocode: yucu1253). Yukuna is an Arawak language of the Japurá-Colombia branch (Ramirez 2001), spoken by under one thousand speakers in various communities along the Mirití-Paraná River in North-Western Amazonia. The Arawak language family is the most geographically widespread in Latin America, with some 40 extant languages spoken throughout six countries in South America and four countries in Central America (Aikhenvald 2001). The most widely spoken Arawak language is Wayuunaiki (Colombia, Venezuela), with some 400.000 speakers. The largest concentration of languages of the family is found in the region between the Rio Negro and the Orinoco, a region which has been argued to be the location of the proto-home of the family, although it is likely that the number of Arawak languages in other regions was greater in the past (Aikhenvald 2012, 33). Indeed, around 50% of languages of the family became extinct upon the arrival of Europeans (Ramirez 2001, 1).

The Yukuna language is spoken by the Yukuna and Matapí ethnic groups, who are in intense, longterm contact with the Tanimuka (Tukanoan) speaking groups Tanimuka and Letuama. In addition to the Yukuna and Tanimuka speaking groups, which make up most of the population in the Mirití-Paraná indigenous reservation, we find in minor proportion individuals belonging to the Kubeo (Tukanoan), Miraña (Boran), Witoto (Witotoan), and Makuna (Tukanoan) groups. Similarly to other contact settings in Amazonia such as the one in the nearby Vaupés river basin (Aikhenvald 2002), in the Mirití-Paraná language is tightly intertwined with ethnic identity. The riverine ethnic groups of this region practice exogamy, patrilocality, and patrilineal transmission of ethnic and linguistic identity. However, ethnic and linguistic identity are not perfectly isomorphic as two different exogamic units may share the same identity language. This is the case of the Yukuna, Matapi, Tanimuka and Letuama, all of whom can freely intermarry. This leads to households where spouses from distinct exogamic units share the same identity language (Yukuna/Matapi, Tanimuka/Letuama), and households where spouses belong to exogamic units with different identity languages. In this latter case,

individuals often speak multiple languages including their father-lect, their mother-lect, and other locally spoken languages.

In terms of vitality, Yukuna continues to be transmitted to new generations within the Mirití-Paraná. However, it is classified as definitely endangered by the UNESCO. My work in settler towns near the Mirití-Paraná reservation showed a rather striking image: outside the reservation, intergenerational transmission of indigenous languages is almost immediately interrupted. With mobility towards urban areas in constant rise in Colombia according to the last 2005 census, the apparent current vitality of Yukuna is certainly threatened. I provide a more detailed account of my fieldwork experience, as well of the vitality of the Yukuna language in Lemus Serrano (2015).

Yukuna is an understudied language. However, my work on Yukuna greatly benefited from prior studies on the language. In particular, the grammar sketch and dictionary by Schauer et al. (2005), which has been an essential tool in my research. The work of Laurent Fontaine (2001) has also been fundamental for my Yukuna work. In addition to his studies in anthropology, Fontaine's corpus of Yukuna narratives¹ which is fully transcribed in the Yukuna alphabet, translated into French, and accessible online on his website, has also been of help. However, since this corpus is not interlinearized, I did not exploit it for the description of nominalizations in Yukuna. In the domain of phonology, we find the work of Camilo Robayo (2018), whose analysis of the prosodic system of Yukuna was fundamental in my understanding of the tonal system of the language. Besides linguistic and ethnolinguistic work on Yukuna, we also find the work of linguists and anthropologists focusing on the Mirití-Paraná region. In particular, the work of Natalia Eraso (2015) on the neighbor Tanimuka, and the work of anthropologist Diana Rosas Riaño (2008). Also worth of mention here is the literature on closely related Arawak languages: the reconstruction work on northern Arawak by Ramirez (2001), the numerous studies by Aikhenvald in language description, areal and contact linguistics of the northern Arawak languages (1999, 2003, 2002), the comparative morphosyntax work of Durand (2016), and descriptive work on closely related languages such as Kurripako (Danielsen and Granadillo 2008), Piapoco (Mosonyi 2000), and Achagua (Meléndez Lozano 2000).

¹ <http://site.laurentfontaine.free.fr/Presentation.html>

The results presented in this dissertation are based on firsthand data, collected during three fieldtrips of a total of seven months between 2015 and 2018, funded by an ELDP (SG0358) and two Labex Aslan grants. The fieldtrips took place in three different locations: the village of La Pedrera (2015), the Quebrada Negra community in the Mirití-Paraná reservation (2015), and the town of Leticia (2015, 2017, and 2018). During these fieldtrips, I worked in collaboration with more than 30 Yukuna speakers of different ethnicities (Yukuna, Matapí, and Tanimuka), and collected data of a variety of genres (mostly monological storytelling). I collected most of the data in my corpus during my first fieldtrip in La Pedrera and the Mirití-Paraná reservation, which I then translated and annotated with the help of my main collaborator Virgelina Matapí Yucuna in Leticia in 2017 and 2018. The main result of this project in terms of language documentation is the archived Yukuna corpus on ELAR.²

This dissertation presents the results of my doctoral project on Yukuna, funded by a Labex Aslan grant, and carried out under the supervision of Françoise Rose at the Dynamique du Langage research unit of the Université de Lyon 2. Initially conceived with the aim of writing a descriptive grammar of the language, I decided to narrow the scope of the project to one phenomenon of interest, namely, nominalization. This decision came about shortly after my three-month stay at the University of Oregon advised by Spike Gildea in 2018, where I developed the basis for the analyses presented in this dissertation. The reason behind this choice is obvious: nominalization related markers are found, in average, in almost 80% of sentences in Yukuna texts. Indeed, Yukuna has a set of incredibly frequent markers, used with ambiguous verb forms with both verbal and nominal properties, found in a large variety of contexts and with a wide array of different functions. These verb forms permeate many levels of the Yukuna grammar: relativization, complementation, adverbial modification, clause-chaining, focus marking, and even TAM distinctions. Nominalizations in Yukuna are thus pervasive and incredibly versatile. Consider the uses of the suffix *-ka* in (1) to (4), where the *-ka* marked verb form is used as the possessor of a noun (1), argument of a postposition (2), as an argument in a cleft construction (3) and as a main clause predicate in (4).

- (1) [kéleé ri=makápo'-ka ri=ikhá] wemí
 MED 3SG.NF=revive-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO price
 ‘that price of his having saved him.’ (ycn0092,96)

² <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971099>

- (2) *Eyá* [ri=to'-chá-ka=o] *kétána...*
 then 3SG.NF=lie-PST-NZ=MID **during**
 'then while he was lying down...' (ycn0186,29)
- (3) *kajrú* [na=wajla'-ká].
 a_lot 3PL=dance-NZ
 'a lot is their dancing' (ycn0059,50)
- (4) *Nu=i'ma-jí-ká* *Kanumá* *yukú-ná.*
 1SG=tell-FUT-NZ K. story-ALIEN3
 'I'm telling Kanuma's story.' (ycn0068,1).

This dissertation aims precisely at showing that the distribution and functions of verb forms such as in (4) defy a unitary synchronic analysis, either as strictly nominal or as strictly verbal.

This dissertation is organized in two parts. Part I provides a Yukuna grammar sketch, structured into eight chapters describing the main features of Yukuna morphosyntax. Chapters 3-5 on the NP, the verbal complex and verbal clauses, constitute the central chapters of the grammar sketch, as they lay out the basis for the remainder of the dissertation. Part II presents an in-depth description and discussion of nominalizations in Yukuna, with six chapters dedicated to the definition of nominalization (Ch.9), methods and databases (Ch.10), the formal strategies used in the encoding of nominalization (Ch.11), their semantic features (Ch.12), the internal finiteness of nominalizations (Ch.13) and lastly, their external distribution (Ch.14). Each chapter ends with a summary of attested patterns in the language and some typological remarks. The two central chapters of Part II are 13-14 on the internal degree of finiteness of nominalizations and their syntactic distribution.

Part I

Yukuna grammar sketch

Part I of the dissertation provides a summary of the main domains of the Yukuna grammar. The goal of this part is to introduce the basic elements of the Yukuna language as a basis for the description of nominalizations in Part II. The section on phonology (Ch.1) provides the phonology behind the writing conventions used in the examples throughout the dissertation. The chapter on parts of speech (Ch.2) focuses on the distinction across word classes, specifically the verb/noun distinction, and the adjective/adverb distinction. The chapter on the noun and the NP (Ch.3) presents nominal morphosyntax at the level of the noun and of the NP. This section provides the essential elements to establish a language-specific prototype of nonfiniteness, used in the identification and description of nominalizations in Yukuna. Chapters 4-5 describe the morphosyntax of verbs and verbal clauses. These sections describe the main features used to establish the prototype of finiteness in Yukuna, another crucial element in the study of nominalizations in the language. Chapter 6 presents the morphosyntax of non-verbal clauses. Then, in chapter 7, I present speech act distinctions. Finally, I briefly present complex sentences in chapter 8. This section provides an overview of the main clause linkage strategies in Yukuna, and focuses on the specific strategies that do not involve nominalization, as the use of nominalization in complex sentences is the main focus of part II.

1. Phonology

This section provides a brief overview of the phonological system of Yukuna. The system presented here differs significantly from the phonology in previous studies on Yukuna (Schauer et al. 2005), including my own (Lemus Serrano 2016). The main differences between both of these studies and my current analysis concern the status of voiceless sonorants /ç/ (analyzed

previously as a sequence of /hC/), creaky /V̤/ and nasal /Ṽ/ vowels (previously analyzed as features independent from the vowel), and the tonal system (previously analyzed as a stress system). For the purposes of this dissertation, I do not provide an in-depth phonological description, as phonological phenomena does not directly interfere with the analysis of nominalizations in the language. This sections thus mainly aims at presenting the phonological and alphabetical conventions adopted in the examples presented in this study.

1.1 Segmental phonology and phonotactics

The consonant inventory of Yukuna consists of 22 phonemes, distributed across two large groups; obstruents and sonorants (Table 1). The obstruent category contains only voiceless phonemes, and distinguishes two subtypes of plosives; aspirated and plain. The sonorant category is much larger, and contains two subsets of consonants, voiced and voiceless sonorants. All voiced sonorants have a voiceless counterpart.

Table 1 Consonant inventory of Yukuna

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obs.	Plosive	p	t		k	
	Asp. Plosive	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
	Fricative					h
	Affricate			tʃ		
Voiced Son.	Nasal	m	n	ɲ		
	Tap		r			
	Lateral		l			
	Approximant			j	w	
Voiceless Son.	Nasal	m̥	n̥	ɲ̥		
	Tap		r̥			
	Lateral		l̥			
	Approximant			j̥	w̥	

The consonantal segments in Yukuna show little allophony but a lot of free variation. The only systematic processes of allophony concern consonants placed before vowel /i/, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 Consonantal allophony in Yukuna

Segment	Allomorph	Environment	Process
/t/	tʃ	_i	palatalization
/ŋ/	hṼ	_i	nasal elision + progressive vowel nasalization
/ɲ/	hṼ	_i	nasal elision + progressive vowel nasalization
ɲ	Ṽ	_i	nasal elision + progressive vowel nasalization

The vowel inventory of Yukuna consists of five different vowel qualities (/a, e, i, o, u/), and two vowel features (creakiness, nasality). All vowels can be either plain (modal, oral), creaky (Ṿ), or nasal (Ṽ), with additionally a single vowel combining both features; creaky nasal /ạ̃/. This leads to a total of 16 vowels, making the vowel inventory of Yukuna fairly large. It is important to note that nasal vowels are only phonemically attested in a small number of lexical items. The most robust phonemic distinction is thus between modal and creaky vowels.

Table 3 Vowel inventory of Yukuna

		Front	Central	back
Close	plain	i		u
	creaky	ɨ		ɯ
	nasal	(ĩ)		(ũ)
Mid	plain		e	o
	creaky		ɛ	ɔ
	nasal		(ẽ)	(õ)
Open	plain		a	
	creaky		ɶ	
	nasal		(ã)	
	creaky nasal		(ạ̃)	

The syllable structure of Yukuna is strictly (C)V, with no complex onsets and no codas with the exception of negative word *unká* (syllabified as *un.ká*). Vowel length is not phonemically distinctive, and diphthongs are analyzed as sequences of two syllable nuclei. There are thus no heavy syllables in Yukuna, and no syllable versus mora distinction.

1.2 Prosody

In Yukuna, pitch variations are lexically distinctive, that is to say, there are pairs of segmentally identical words that can be distinguished through their respective pitch patterns. Phonetically, there are three pitch levels at play: low, mid and high, whilst phonemically, only two levels are contrastive: low (L) and high (H). Not all possible combinations of H and L tones within words are attested (Table 4).

Table 4 Attested tonal patterns in roots

1σ	2σ	3σ
H	HH	* HHH
*L	HL	HHL
	LH	* HLH
	*LL	LHH
		HLL
		LLH
		LHL
		*LLL

Because of the many restrictions in the combination of tones, as well as the low number of tonal contrasts or tonal density, Yukuna’s word prosodic system can be described as a ‘restricted’ tonal system, or what is commonly called a ‘pitch accent’ system. We avoid the latter term, following the property-driven typological phonology approach (Hyman 2009). The tonal system of Yukuna has two different phonemic H tones: /H/ (spreading) and /HL/ (non-spreading), and no phonemic /L/ but underlyingly toneless syllables /Ø/ instead. Both phonemic H tones can be either bound or floating, and floating tones are associated rightward to toneless syllables. Toneless syllables are by default produced as L, but they can surface as H due to floating tones and H tone spreading. Later, at the phonetic level, L tones in pre-H position are raised to Mid, and the second H tone in a HLH sequence is lowered to mid through downdrift.

Morphemes may be either lexically specified for tone or toneless. All roots are specified for tone, while most affixes are toneless. Despite the fact that most affixes are toneless, affixation, and more specifically, suffixation interacts in complex ways with tone, so that underlyingly toneless suffixes may surface with a H tone.

Tonal specification and tonal processes are at the basis of the categorization of forms into roots, affixes, clitics and particles in Yukuna adopted in this study. In sum, roots are lexical elements with inherent tone, affixes (marked with a hyphen -) are grammatical elements that can carry floating tones, clitics (marked with the equal sign =) are grammatical elements that are phonologically bound but do not carry floating tones, and particles (marked as free morphemes) are grammatical elements that similarly to roots, have their own tonal specification.

1.3 Alphabetic conventions and glosses

In this dissertation, examples are transcribed alphabetically. I use a slightly modified version of the alphabet proposed by Schauer et al. (2005), as follows:

- Aspirated consonants /p^h, t^h, k^h/ are transcribed as <ph, th, kh> respectively.
- The glottal fricative /h/ is transcribed as <j>.
- The affricate /tʃ/ is transcribed as <ch>.
- Voiceless sonorants /Ç/ are transcribed as <jC>, i.e. /ʃ/ <jl>.
- Creaky vowels /ʋ/ are transcribed as <V'>, i.e. /a/ <a'>.
- Nasal vowels /Ṽ/ are transcribed as they are phonologically, i.e. /ũ/ <ũ>.
- Obligatorily nasalized vowels resulting from nasal deletion are transcribed as they are produced, i.e. /aɲí/ → [ahí] <ajĩ>.
- Surface H tones are transcribed on the corresponding vowel, i.e. /hápa/ [hápa] <jápá>.
- Some morphophonological processes are not transcribed in the gloss line (e.g. vowel fusion and coalescence across morpheme boundaries).
- Other allophones are transcribed as they are produced.

2. Parts of speech

This section describes parts of speech in Yukuna. A major feature of the word class system of Yukuna is the low lexical flexibility of nouns and verbs, which contrasts with the multicategoriality found in other classes, a common scenario in many Amazonian languages (Krasnoukhova 2012, 28). By lexical flexibility, I refer to the mapping of individual lexemes onto one or several word classes (François 2017, 296). Indeed, verbal roots are strictly mapped onto the verb word class, and need to undergo nominalization to function grammatically as

nouns, and vice-versa. On the contrary, the distinction between lexical categories becomes much less clear-cut in other instances, with many words showing multicategoriality. Some instances of this phenomenon concern multifunctional adjectival/adverbial roots (§2.1.4), and postpositions also functioning as subordinating and coordinating conjunctions (§2.2.6).

Given the methodological issue raised by the lexical flexibility of many words, I define parts of speech on the basis of their *syntactic distribution*. As such, the same root *é* will be categorized as a postposition ‘at’ in some cases (head of PostP, with an obligatory argument), and as a coordinating conjunction ‘then’ in some others (strict clause initial position, without argument). Additionally, I distinguish two subgroups of parts of speech with regards to their relative size: major (§2.1) and minor classes (§2.2). Major classes include nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives, and minor classes include person indexes/pronouns, postpositions, demonstratives, conjunctions, and others.

2.1 Major classes

This group comprises the four largest lexical classes in the language, namely, nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. Each class forms a distinct group, defined on the basis of morphological and syntactic criteria, as summarized in Table 5.

Table 5 Features of major word classes in Yukuna

		V	N	ADV	ADJ
Markers	G/N	n	y	n	y
	Alien	n	y	n	n
	TAM	y	n	n	n
	COMP	n	n	n	y
	Person	y	y	n	n
Syntax	Arg of V	n	y	n	n
	Arg of Postp	n	y	n*	n
	N Modifier	n	y	n	y
	2nd predicate	n	n	n	y
	NV pred	n	y	y	y
	V pred	y	n	n	n

On the basis of these features, a major distinction for Yukuna grammar can be drawn: the verb/non-verb distinction. This distinction delimits the two main predication types in Yukuna,

verbal and non-verbal predication (§5-6). Indeed, verbs are the only word class to receive TAM marking, as well as the only class to head verbal predicates. The remaining classes lack all TAM, head non-verbal predicates, and share a single non-verbal negation strategy.

In terms of lexical flexibility, another important distinction can be drawn: on one hand, both verbs and nouns display lexical rigidity, and require derivation to function syntactically as words from other classes. In sum, the lexical categorization of individual lexemes within the verb or noun classes is unproblematic.³ On the other hand, adverbs and adjectives show a high degree of lexical flexibility, with many multifunctional roots functioning both as adjectives and as adverbs, without derivation. In these cases, assigning individual lexemes to either word class is far less straightforward.

The categorization provided here is thus based on morphosyntax: each word class has a defined set of syntactic functions and morphological features associated with that function. Lexemes that can adopt syntactic functions and morphological features associated with different word classes are thus considered multicategorical, belonging to both classes at once.

The following sections provide an overview of each word class, focusing on the noun/verb distinction on one hand, and the adverb/adjective distinction on the other. The discussion on sub-types of nouns and verbs, as well as the structure of the syntactic phrases that they head is not dealt with in this chapter, as it constitutes the focus of chapters 3-5.

2.1.1 Nouns

The members of this class have morphological and syntactic properties distinct from other open classes. In terms of the morphological marking they receive, nouns and verbs are radically different. Indeed, gender, number and alienability suffixes are features of nouns (5) to the exclusion of *finite* verbs, and inversely, verbal categories such as TAM cannot combine with nouns.

- (5) *pi=iñewi-té-ru-na*
2SG=otter-ALIEN₁-F-PL
'his female otters' (elicited, GAMY).

³ Note that although the noun/verb distinction is lexically robust, ambiguity arises from clausal nominalization strategies whereby entire verbal clauses are used syntactically as NPs. This issue constitutes a major focus of this dissertation, discussed at length in Part II.

Despite these marked differences with other classes, morphological criteria alone do not suffice to define the class of nouns. Indeed, there are various markers that may combine with multiple word classes, such as the paradigm of proclitic person indexes, shared by nouns, verbs and postpositions as exemplified in (6).

- (6) *Ru=ki'-chá* *ru=a'umaká* *ru=nakú=eyá*
3SG.F=throw_out-PST **3SG.F=clothes** **3SG.F=top=from**
 'She took her clothes off herself (lit. from on top of her).' (ycn0041,46)

Additionally, there is no single morphological feature shared by all members of the noun class. As discussed in further detail in Ch.3, gender and number are features of animate nouns only, and possession marking morphology, although shared by most nouns, excludes a small number of nouns that cannot be directly marked for possession. Indeed, alienability class suffixes (*-te*, *-ne*, *-re*, see (5)) are used only with optionally possessed nouns, unpossessed suffix *-ji* is exclusive to obligatorily possessed nouns, and non-directly possessed nouns cannot have a possessor argument.

In terms of their syntactic properties, all members of the noun class can head NPs and be modified by noun adjuncts such as demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, as well as by other nouns (7). This is unlike verbs, which cannot be modified in such a way when used as heads of verbal predicates. NPs can take the syntactic roles of verb arguments, postposition arguments, and non-verbal predicates in non-verbal clauses. Nouns can be pronominalized, and in general, substituted by modifiers in NPs without nouns. They are negated through a distinct strategy from verbal predicates (see §6.1).

- (7) *kéelé* *kamu'jú-ni* *ri=aphú* *chuwá* *ri=jácho'=o ...*
MED **small-NF** **3SG.NF=hole** **in** **3SG.NF=go_out=MID**
 'He went out from within that small hole...' (ycn0186,50)

Lastly, an important difference between nouns and verbs concerns their derivational morphology. Synchronically, nouns can be derived into multifunctional adverbs/adjectives (see §3.1.1.2), but there is no productive process of verbalization. Inversely, verbs can be nominalized through a myriad of different strategies, which constitute the focus of this dissertation. The internal structure and external syntax of NPs are further described in Ch.3.

2.1.2 Verbs

Yukuna's verbs form a very morphosyntactically homogeneous class, distinct from that of nouns. All members of the verb class can be marked for person, TAM, and negation (8).

- (8) *Unka pi=amá-la-je o' wé.*
 NEG 2SG=see-V.NEG-FUT brother
 'You will not see (my) brother.' (ycn0041,86)

The only morphology-based distinction within this class concerns transitive and intransitive verbs, as different valency-changing morphemes have different combination restrictions depending on the transitivity of the verb root/stem (see §4.2.1). There are no verbal serialization nor compounding processes. While valency, TAM and negation (with *unká...-la*) are exclusive to the verb class, verbs share other categories with other classes, such as person indexes, middle voice marker =*o*, and perfective aspect marker =*mi*. The use of transcategorial markers is illustrated in (9), where both the verbal root *jero'* 'pull out' and pronominal root *ikhá* PRO are marked with a person index, and with middle voice enclitic =*o*.

- (9) *É ri=ikhá=o ri=jero'-chá=o "trúuun"*
 Then 3SG.NF=PRO=MID 3SG.NF=pull_out-PST=MID IDEO
 'Then it pulled itself out *trúuun*.' (ycn0092,194).

Syntactically, verbs require the expression of the subject argument, similarly to possessors for inalienable nouns and to the argument of postpositions. Indeed, verbs in finite clauses require the presence of either a subject NP (10) or a subject person index (11). In addition to subjects, verbs have additional arguments (objects, obliques), and adverbial modifiers (see Ch.5).

- (10) *Kája ri=pirá nó-cha ri=ikhá.*
 already 3SG.NF=pet kill-PST 3SG.NF=PRO
 'His pet already killed him'. (ycn0053,33)

- (11) *É ri=nó-cha ri=ikhá tâ.*
 then 3SG.NF=kill-PST 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH
 'Then he killed it'. (ycn0079,54)

Verbal roots can be derived into nouns through lexical nominalization, and into adjectives with the participle *-keja* PTCP. Additionally, verbal clauses can form NPs through grammatical nominalization. The intricacies of various nominalized forms, their finite as well

as non-finite morphology is discussed in depth throughout this entire dissertation. Verbal markers and the structure of verbal clauses are further described in Ch.4 and Ch.5 respectively.

2.1.3 Adverbs

The category of adverbs includes a variety of underived roots whose syntactic function is to modify constituents other than NPs. Although the exact number of items that belong to this class is unclear, I have identified roughly 50 items in my corpus, and the dictionary by Schauer et al. (2005) lists many more.⁴ Roots that have been identified as belonging to this class are all morphologically simple. They differ in terms of their semantics (place, time and aspectuality, manner, epistemicity), in terms of scope (from verbal predicates to entire clauses), and in terms of syntactic placement (clause initial, pre-predicate, post-predicate, etc.). Different types of adverbs are illustrated in (12)-(14).

- (12) *Muní ké jlapiyámí ri=ímí-cha: “nu=laké, chúwa.”*
 next_day morning 3SG.NF=say-pst 1SG=grandchild now
 ‘The next day in the morning he said: “Grandchild, now”.’ (ycn0092,93)

- (13) *É kája wa=iphá píño jlapí.*
 then 1PL=arrive again night
 ‘Then we arrive again at night.’ (ycn0041,30)

- (14) *Apála nu=ajñá tâ pi=liyá ri=ikhá.*
 maybe 1SG=eat EMPH 2SG=from 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Maybe I will eat your part. (lit. eat it from you)’ (ycn00068,150)

Adverbial demonstratives, interrogatives and pro-forms are not included here as they form their own minor word classes (§2.2.4-2.2.5), although they obviously have adverbial functions (15).

- (15) *Maáré pi=yá’=o nu=wajlé chú.*
 PROX.LOC 2SG=sit=MID 1SG=back on
 ‘Sit here on my back.’ (ycn0068,193)

⁴ I have additionally identified 50 more adverbial roots in (Schauer et al. 2005) so far, but many of the words listed as adverbs in the dictionary are either multifunctional adjectives, or derived forms through synchronically productive processes. Former derived forms that have lexicalized were included as adverbial roots in my counts.

Adverbs head adverbial phrases, which only require an adverbial root optionally followed by various particles (*wáni* EMPH, *tâ* EMPH, *ka'jné* DUB, etc.). Adverbial phrases can also head non-verbal predicates in non-verbal clauses. Some place and time adverbs like *ya'jné* ‘far’ (16) can occasionally take the role of arguments of postpositions, as illustrated in (17).

(16) *Na=i'jĩ-chá ya'jné apú pají chú=éjé.*
 3PL=go-PST **far** other maloca in=towards
 ‘They went far away to another maloca.’ (ycn0108,71)

(17) *Wa=i'jné jana'-jé ya'jné=éjé.*
 1PL=go fish-PURP.MOT **far**=towards
 ‘We go fishing far away.’ (ycn0042,25)

Lastly, adverbs lack any productive derivational morphology. Some instances of the adjectivizing suffix *-i'ké* used on adverbs have been obtained through elicitation (e.g. *jlapi-i'ké* night-ADJZ ‘nocturnal’), but no clear instance of this marker is found in my corpus of texts.

2.1.4 Adjectives

The class of adjectives in Yukuna includes roots that only modify nouns, as well as roots that may modify nouns or other constituents. All roots in this category may additionally be used pronominally in NPs without nouns (§3.2.1.2.5). Demonstrative pronouns have not been included in this category, as they constitute a separate class (§2.2.4).

There are more than 60 roots in this class, out of which only two roots found thus far function uniquely as attributive adnominal modifiers and attributive predicates. These roots are *phiyu'ke* ‘old’ and *ñópo'jlo* ‘fat’. By far, the majority of roots in this class are multifunctional, used either as attributive adnominal modifiers and attributive predicates (18), or as modifiers of verbs (19) and even of other adjectives. The majority of these multifunctional roots form a quite homogeneous group that shares the same gender and number paradigm as well as their syntactic distribution. Typically, when used as nominal modifiers these roots carry gender and number suffixes (*-ni* NF, *-ru* F, *-runa* PL), and when used as verbal modifiers they have no morphology, although this cannot be generalized to the entire adjective class.⁵

(18) *Tu'jné-ní ri=ikhá.*
 quick-NF 3SG.NF=PRO

⁵ This class includes roots that show no gender marking, roots with fossilized gender in both adverbial and adjectival function, roots with different paradigms of gender markers, etc.

‘He is quick.’ (elicited with VIMY, field notebook 5:333)

- (19) *Tu'jné pi=ajñá jíña*
 quick 2SG=eat fish
 ‘Eat your fish quickly!’ (elicited with VIMY, field notebook 5:333)

Note that the same multifunctionality is not found in the adverb class, as roots in this class never take gender marking nor can they function as attributive adnominal modifiers or attributive predicates (20)-(21). While *tu'jné* ‘quick’ is analyzed as a multifunctional adjective, *kiñája* ‘quickly’ is analyzed as an adverb.

- (20) **Kiñája ri=ikhá.*
 quickly 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘*He is quick.’ (elicited with VIMY, field notebook 5:333)

- (21) *Ru=ti'-yá ri=ikhá kiñája.*
 3SG.F=grate-PST 3SG.NF quickly
 ‘She grated it quickly.’ (ycn0089,42)

The analysis of multifunctional roots is determinant for the delimitation of word classes in Yukuna. Indeed, the size of the adjective class of words, either as a semi-open class or as a closed class of only two elements, depends entirely whether we adopt an analysis of these roots either as:

- i. A sub-class of adverbs, adjectivized with gender/number markers (one lexical class, one function per class).
- ii. A sub-class of adjectives that behave as modifiers of various types of constituents (one lexical class, multiple functions per class).
- iii. A group of roots that belong to both the adverb and adjective categories (multiple lexical classes, one function per class).

The decision is not straightforward, and one could conceive multiple advantages and disadvantages for each one of the options. I have, however, opted for the second option, on the basis of the shared morphological features of multifunctional roots and adjectival only roots, as Table 6 summarizes.

Table 6 Adverbs and adjectives: shared features

Gender/Number	Comparative	Verbalizer	Adverbializer	Adjectivizer
---------------	-------------	------------	---------------	--------------

		<i>-ka</i>	<i>-'</i>	<i>-cha</i>	<i>-i'ké</i>
Adv	n	?	n	n	y
Adv/Adj	y	y	y	y	y
Adj	y	y	y	y	n

Note that all of these classes have little to no inflectional morphology, and are most often used bare. Additionally, derivational morphemes (*-'* VZ; *-cha* ADVZ; *-i'ké* ADJZ) have limited productivity, and are practically absent from my corpus of texts. Among the morphemes listed above, the gender and number markers are the only productive ones, whereas all the rest are restricted to a couple of lexical items. Despite the limited use of these markers, their distribution across classes reveal that multifunctional roots certainly share a higher number of features with adjectives than with adverbs. As a result, I have included these roots among adjectives, and analyzed gender and number markers as an inflectional feature of the adjective class as a whole. This synchronic analysis is not very usual from an Arawakan perspective, where property concepts (semantic adjectives) are often nominalized forms derived from a class of stative verbs precisely through the use of gender and number markers, as Durand (2016, 161)⁶ points out:

The overwhelming majority of predicates considered as adjectives are truly deverbal predicates. It is thus unnecessary to put forth an additional lexical class. As such, I will henceforth use the label participle to refer to nominalized verbs with a half-nominal half-verbal morphosyntax.

I want to emphasize that the description of property concepts as half-way between nouns and verbs does not apply to Yukuna. Synchronically at least, the group of roots I have labeled as adjectives do not share any positive feature with verbs (see ‘y’ marked features in Table 5).⁷ In terms of morphology, adjectives lack the inflectional features of finite verbs.⁸ In terms of syntax, adjectives are negated through the same negation strategy as other non-verbal

⁶ “Si la grande majorité des prédicats considérés comme adjectifs sont en réalité des prédicats dérivés de verbes, alors il apparaît superflu de créer une nouvelle classe lexicale. En conséquence, je qualifierai dorénavant de participes les verbes nominalisés dont les propriétés morphosyntaxiques sont à mi-chemin entre celle des noms et celles de verbes.”

⁷ Diachronically, it is very likely that adjectives in Yukuna do come from a former class of stative verbs, as argued in Lemus Serrano and Durand (2018).

⁸ The only possible exception concerns the adverbializing suffix *-cha* whose semantics are very similar to the recent past tense suffix *-cha* on verbs. Although a diachronic relationship between the two is undeniable, synchronically at least I analyze them separately. The *-cha* marker on adjectives derives adverbs with all the typical features of this class.

constituents, and when used as predicates, they show the same properties as any other non-verbal predicate (Ch.6). Instead of adding a sub-class of verbs that shares no features with verbs and shares multiple properties with non-verbal classes like adverbs and nouns, I have chosen to propose a separate adjective word-class.

From a typological perspective, it is not rare for languages to have a very small class of adjectives, or to lack this class altogether, in which case, property concepts are often expressed through either nouns or verbs (Schachter and Shopen 2007, 15). Typological discussions on this issue often deal with the noun-like versus verb-like features of these words. A perhaps less frequently discussed case concerns languages where both functions of nominal and verbal modification are done by a single word class, either adverbs or adjectives. Languages of the Cariban family are said to lack a class of adjectives, and property concepts are encoded through either adverbs or nouns (Meira and Gildea 2009), and inversely, other languages like Hup (Nadahup) (Epps 2008, 446) are said to lack a class of adverbs, and verbal modification is done mostly by adjectives. Similar situations are reported in a variety of other languages, usually concerning a minor group of multifunctional roots, like the word ‘fast’ both in German and English. Yukuna data can be placed among languages where attributive nominal modification and adverbial modification are tightly intertwined functional domains.

To summarize, the adjective word class in Yukuna can be characterized as a non-verbal class, with some features shared with the noun and adverb classes, as well as some unique features, as described below:

- Inflectional morphology: gender and number (shared with nouns), comparative *-ka* (unique to this class).
- Syntactic functions: Noun modification, verbal modification, attributive and adverbial predication, elliptical NPs.
- Derivational morphology:
 - Adjective to other classes: no synchronic productive processes.
 - Other classes to adjectives: various productive processes
 - Deverbal adjectivizers (participle): *-keja*
 - Denominal adjectivizers: ‘attributive’ *ka-*; ‘privative’ *ma-...-(ru)*

2.2 Minor classes

2.2.1 Person indexes and pronouns

Yukuna has a set of eight person indexes, or bound person forms, whose function is to encode arguments of nouns, verbs and postpositions (Table 7). The same paradigm is shared by verbs, nouns, and postpositions, with the exception of impersonal index *pa=* which is only used on the two latter, and only in specific constructions. Indeed, unlike other Arawak languages like Kurripako (Granadillo 2008, 79), generic and indefinite subjects are not encoded with the index *pa=* IMPRS.

Table 7 Person indexes in Yukuna

1SG	<i>nu=</i>
2SG	<i>pi=</i>
3SG.NF	<i>ri=</i>
3SG.F	<i>ru=</i>
1PL	<i>wa=</i>
2PL	<i>i=</i>
3PL	<i>na=</i>
IMPRS	<i>pa=</i>

These indexes are phonologically bound, through a variety of processes, to the following root. Syntactically, these bound person markers show features of pronominal forms rather than of agreement markers. In other words, these person indexes do not co-occur with coreferential NPs within the same clause, and hence can be described as ‘pro-indexes’ following Haspelmath (Haspelmath 2013, 206).

(22) *S Argument of Verb*

- a. *É ri=i'rí iphí-cha.*
 then **3SG.NF=son** arrive-PST
 ‘Then his son arrived’. (ycn0189,104)
- b. *É ri=iphí-cha.*
 then **3SG.NF=arrive-PST**
 ‘Then he arrived’. (ycn0063,128).

As shown in the examples above, the overt S NP in (22)a is the equivalent of the third person singular non-feminine index *ri=* on the verb in (22)b. Note that the overt S NP is rigidly placed immediately before the verb, with no free element placed between the two. In other terms, they are *contiguous* (Croft 2001, 190). The same rules apply for the encoding of possessors of nouns and arguments of postpositions, and the three cases can be considered as syntactically identical, with a Possessor + Head structure. Contrast (22) with (23) and (24).

(23) *Argument of Noun (Possessor)*

- a. ***pi=jara'pá*** *mawirú-né*
2SG=father pineapple-ALIEN3
 ‘your father’s pineapple’ (ycn0068,301)
- b. ***Ri=mawirú-né***
3SG.NF=pineapple-ALIEN3
 ‘his pineapple’ (ycn0068,324)

(24) *Argument of Postposition (Obliques)*

- a. ***Yúchi*** *nakú* *na=jápá*
plant_sp on 3PL=work
 ‘They work on the *huansoco* plant (latex producer plant)’ (ycn0117,18)
- b. ***Kája*** ***ri=náku*** *wa=jápá.*
 then 3SG.NF=on 1PL=work
 ‘Then we work on that’. (ycn0042,106)

Independent personal pronouns are formed in Yukuna by adding a person index to the pronominal root *ikhá* (Table 8). The impersonal index *pa=* is not used on this pronoun to form an independent indefinite pronoun. The set of person indexes used to create personal pronouns is the same used on verbs, nouns and postpositions. The resulting pronominal forms have the same syntactic distribution as NPs (see §3.2.2), and as such, they can substitute arguments of verbs, postpositions, and nouns.

Table 8 *Person indexes and personal pronouns*

1SG	<i>nu=</i>	<i>nukhá</i>
2SG	<i>pi=</i>	<i>pikhá</i>
3SG.NF	<i>ri=</i>	<i>rikhá</i>
3SG.F	<i>ru=</i>	<i>rukhá</i>
1PL	<i>wa=</i>	<i>wekhá</i>

2PL	<i>i=</i>	<i>ikhá</i>
3PL	<i>na=</i>	<i>nekhá</i>
IMPRS	<i>pa=</i>	

Independent pronouns cannot co-occur with coreferential person indexes. When there is both an independent pronoun and a verb marked with a person index as in (25), the person index on the verb encodes the subject, and the independent pronoun is obligatorily understood as encoding a non-coreferential object.

- (25) [*Ri=ikhá*]_o *ri=li'-chá*.
 3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=do-PST
 ‘He did it’. (ycn0041,10)

Although independent pronouns are compatible with all syntactic positions of NPs, their distribution differs in terms of the frequency with which they occur as subject arguments in verbal clauses. Indeed, personal pronouns are rarely ever used as subject arguments, as the preferred ‘unmarked’ strategies are verbal indexation, or pre-verbal subject NPs.

Yukuna has no additional set of personal pronouns, neither possessive nor reflexive or reciprocal. Reflexive-like meanings can be achieved through a variety of strategies (see §4.2.1), most frequently by adding ‘middle voice’ enclitic =*o* to the personal pronoun, with a semantics close to ‘by oneself’.

- (26) *Eyá* *ri=kámo'-je=o* *ri=ikhá=o*
 Then 3SG.NF=ripen-FUT=MID 3SG.NF=PRO=MID
 ‘Then it will ripen by itself.’ (ycn0108,230)

2.2.2 Generic pronoun *iná*

Yukuna has the generic pronoun *iná* ‘one’, which functions exactly like the preceding forms, and is morphologically simple. This pronoun refers to a generic participant, often the community of the speaker, and it can be used in any syntactic position of an independent pronoun (27). The only difference between *iná* and pronouns formed with *ikhá*, is that the reflexive form of *iná* ‘by oneself’ cannot be formed by adding directly =*o* to *iná*. Instead, *iná* is used instead of a person index on the pronominal root *ikhá* carrying =*o* MID (28).

- (27) *É kája iná* *iphá* *pñño*.
 Then GNR.PRO arrive again

- ‘Then one arrives again.’ (ycn0117,58)
- (28) *Kája iná ikhá=o iná matha'-ká káru.*
 Then GNR.PRO PRO=MID GNR.PRO cut-NZ bush_sp
 ‘Then one cuts *pui* bush by oneself. (Lit.one’s cutting of *pui* is by oneself.)’ (ycn0119,29)

2.2.3 Postpositions

Typologically, adpositions are a subtype of role marker whose function is to encode the semantic role of a noun phrase in relation with the predicate (Schachter and Shopen 2007, 81–82). Adpositions in Yukuna require an argument, encoded either with a person index or an overt NP placed immediately before the adposition. This makes Yukuna a strictly postpositional language with a predominant SVO word order,⁹ a feature considered to be relatively uncommon cross-linguistically (Dryer 2013).

The inventory of postpositions in Yukuna contains roughly 30 synchronically unsegmentable forms, plus many complex forms created through the stacking of two postpositions, where the latter is cliticized.¹⁰ Some examples are given in Table 9.

Table 9 Simple and complex postpositions

Form	Gloss	Postposition stacking	
<i>aú</i>	with (instrumental) because		
<i>awa'á</i>	side		
<i>chá</i>	at	<i>chájě</i> <i>cháyá</i>	<i>chá=ějě</i> ‘at=toward’ <i>chá=eyá</i> ‘on=from’
<i>chú</i>	in	<i>chojě</i> <i>chiyá</i> <i>chuwá</i>	<i>chú=ějě</i> ‘in=toward’ <i>chú=eyá</i> ‘in=from’ <i>chú=ewá</i> ‘in.around’
<i>é</i>	on		
<i>ějě</i>	toward		
<i>ewá</i>	around		

⁹ In Yukuna, the O NP is typically placed after the verb, but it need not be adjacent to it, and for certain pragmatic purposes, it can even precede it.

¹⁰ Note that the semantics of these complex forms is largely compositional, which allows us to easily identify the merged roots. However, the surface form of the complex postposition cannot be predicted by phonological rules of the language. This suggests an on-going process of lexicalization.

<i>eyá</i>	from		
<i>e'iyá</i>	in		
<i>jakú</i>	in	<i>jakoǰé</i>	jakú=éǰé 'in=toward'
<i>ja'pí</i>	under	<i>ja'peǰé</i> <i>ja'piyá</i>	ja'pí=éǰé 'under=toward' ja'pí=eyá 'under=from'
<i>jló</i>	for		
<i>ké</i>	like		
<i>nakú</i>	on	<i>nakoǰé</i> <i>nakiyá</i>	nakú=éǰé 'on=toward' nakú=eyá 'on=from'
<i>penáje</i>	for		
<i>jwa'té</i>	with (comitative)		

The analysis of these forms as postpositions instead of case markers or bound inalienable nouns is based on a variety of factors, phonological, as well as morphosyntactic.

Unlike case markers, typically defined as a category of inflectional morphology (Anderson 1999, 58; Creissels 2006a, 50), postpositions in Yukuna constitute independent phonological words on their own, and their position is entirely determined by syntax, not by morphology. Indeed, phonologically, postpositions have their own tone, they are often plurisyllabic, and easily identified as separate items by speakers in word by word translations. Syntactically, they do not attach to a nominal root, but rather, they are placed immediately after NPs. Example (29) shows how the postposition *jwa'té* 'with' is placed after an entire NP containing a demonstrative, a possessor noun, a possessed noun (the NP head) and a nominalization used in adnominal modification function.

- (29) *Ri=éǰómi* *ri=i'jĩ-chá* [*kéelé* *ri=pirá*]_{NP} ***jwa'té***,
3SG=after 3SG.NF=go-PST MED 3SG.NF with
[*kéelé* *yáwi* *i'rí* *ri=lamáí'-chaje*]_{NP} ***jwa'té***.
MED tiger son 3SG.NF=raise-ARG.NZ with
'After that he went with his pet, with the tiger's son that he had raised.' (ycn0053,20)

Note that the relation of postpositions and NPs is morphologically and structurally identical to attributive possession and subject marking on verbs. The 'argument' of the postposition needs to be expressed, either by an overt NP or by a person index on the postposition, exactly like possessors of inalienable nouns and subjects of finite verbs. The sequences in all of these cases show a strict word order, possessor+possessed, subject+verb, argument+postposition. I assume

that in all of these sequences, the former element is an argument of the latter, and the latter determines the syntactic properties of the entire constituent. As such, it is the second element that can be considered as the head (Creissels 2006a, 20). In this analysis, postpositions head their own phrases, just like nouns head NPs, and verbs head verbal predicates.¹¹

There are no affixes or clitics specific to this word class only. Postpositions share person indexes, as well as middle voice =*o* and perfective =*mi* with both nouns and verbs, and they share ‘impersonal’ index *pa=* (2.2.3) and reflexive =*wa* with nouns. Note, however, that beyond person indexes, the use of these markers among postpositions is very restricted. Example (30) with impersonal *pa=* is idiomatic. As for =*o* ‘MID’ and =*mi* ‘PFV’, their use appears to be very lexicalized (*éjǒmi* ‘later’ corresponds to *éjé=o=mi* ‘toward=MID=PFV’), and lastly, the reflexive =*wa* has only been found on a couple of postpositions (31).

- (30) *É ri=jĩ'-chá pa=náku na=ikhá tá.*
 Then 3SG.NF=take-PST IMPRS=on 3PL=PRO EMPH
 ‘Then he put up with them.’ (ycn0545,26)
- (31) *É ri=a'-chá ri=a'umaká ri=naku=wá.*
 Then 3SG.NF=give-PST 3SG.NF=clothes 3SG.NF=on=REFL
 ‘Then he put the clothes on himself.’ (ycn0058,63)

Given that postpositions are independent phonological words, whose behavior is reminiscent of the structure of a possessive noun phrase, an alternative analysis of these words would be as relational nouns. After all, postpositions share some morphology with nouns, and as noted earlier in Table 9 with the case of ‘postposition stacking’, postpositions may themselves be arguments of other postpositions.¹² While it is very likely that most postpositions do in fact come from relational nouns, I analyze them as a distinct word class that, unlike nouns, cannot be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, and adjectives, nor function as a core verb argument. The similarities and differences between nouns and postpositions are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10 Morphosyntactic features of nouns vs. postpositions

	Nouns	Postpositions
Core argument of V	y	n

¹¹ There is some disagreement on the status of adpositions, see for instance Dixon (2010, 127), who considers that adpositions, like case markers, are “an indicator of the function of an NP, [...] not a lexical component of it.”

¹² Although there is a parallel between Noun + Postposition and Postposition + Postposition sequences, it is important to note that the latter is a very restricted phenomenon where only three postpositions can take another postposition as their argument (*éjé* ‘towards’, *ewá* ‘around’ and *eyá* ‘from’).

Modifiers (DEM, ADJ, NUM)	y	n
Argument of postp	y	y (restricted)
Person indexes	y	y
Impersonal index <i>pa=</i>	y	y
Middle <i>=o</i>	y	y (restricted)
Perfective <i>=mi</i>	y	y (restricted)
Reflexive <i>=wa</i>	y	y
Unpossessed <i>-ji</i>	y	n
Gender/number	y	n

Certainly, postpositions in Yukuna can only be defined negatively, as words that lack most of the features of nouns, an issue that is certainly not uncommon in the world’s languages (Creissels 2006a, 235). Lastly, many postpositional roots are multifunctional and are often used as conjunctions (§2.2.6).

2.2.4 Demonstrative roots

In Yukuna, we can identify four different demonstrative roots that distinguish three degrees of distance: proximal, medial and distal (Table 11). The proximal pair (*ma* and *aji*) is very similar in terms of semantics, the medial root *ilé* ‘that/there’ seems to imply distance from speaker and closeness to hearer, whereas the distal root *a’jné* ‘that/there far away’ encodes distance from both. In all cases, distance may refer either to spatial location, or communicative context.

Table 11 Demonstrative roots in Yukuna

Proximal	Medial	Distal
<i>ma</i>	<i>ilé</i>	<i>a’jné</i>
<i>aji</i> ¹³		

These roots are most frequently used with additional morphological material, and rarely –if ever– on their own. Among morphologically complex forms involving these roots we

¹³ The form *aji* is very likely derived from the distal form *a’jné*, certainly through a phonological change from a word final vowel /a/ to /i/, as attested in verbal roots synchronically. For ease and clarity of presentation, however, I will present them separately here.

distinguish forms that can be synchronically segmented and forms that cannot. The attested forms cover a wide array of pro-functions, from pronominal to proadverbial, with semantics ranging from manner, location and quantity to distance. Some of the demonstratives are restricted to one functional domain, while others allow multifunctionality. Table 12 provides a non-exhaustive list of some of these complex demonstratives attested in my corpus.

Table 12 Demonstrative pro-forms in Yukuna

	Root	Form	Gloss	Translation
PROX	<i>ma</i>	<i>marí</i>	<i>marí</i> ¹⁴ PROX	this
		<i>maáré</i>	<i>maáré</i> PROX.LOC	here
		<i>majǒ</i>	<i>ma=éjǒ</i> PROX=towards	to here
		<i>máawá</i>	<i>ma=ewá</i> PROX=around	around here
	<i>ajǐ</i>	<i>kháajǐ</i>	<i>kháajǐ</i> PROX	this
		<i>ajǐ ké</i>	<i>ajǐ ké</i> PROX like	like this
<i>ajǐño 'jǒ</i>		<i>ajǐño'=éjǒ</i> PROX.?=toward	here and there	
MED	<i>ilé</i>	<i>ilé</i>	<i>ilé</i> MED	that
		<i>iléré</i>	<i>iléré</i> MED.LOC	there
		<i>iléewá</i>	<i>ilé=ewá</i> MED=around	around there
		<i>iléjená</i>	<i>ilé=ejená</i> MED=until	until there
DIST	<i>a'jǎná</i>	<i>kháa'jǎná</i>	<i>kháa'jǎná</i> DIST	that
		<i>a'jǎnáré</i>	<i>a'jǎnáré</i> DIST.LOC	there
		<i>a'jǎnjé</i>	<i>a'jǎná=éjé</i> DIST=toward	until there
		<i>a'jǎnawá</i>	<i>a'jǎná=ewá</i> DIST=around	around there
		<i>a'jǎnáño'jǒ</i>	<i>a'jǎnáño'=éjǒ</i> 'dist.?=toward'	over there

As can be seen from the segmentation of markers provided in Table 12, the individual parts of the complex forms are in some cases easily identifiable, and in other cases, less so. Most of the synchronically segmentable forms are created by the combination of a demonstrative root with

¹⁴ The final *ri* in *marí* 'this' is identical to the non-feminine gender suffix found on nominalized verbs *-ri*. I have opted not to analyze them as the same marker, and consider *marí* as an unsegmentable form, because it can be followed by the feminine gender suffix as well *marí-rú* 'this (f)'.

gender markers (for pronominal demonstratives), or with phonologically cliticized postpositions¹⁵ (for adverbial demonstratives). The less straightforward cases concern formal sub-units which can be identified on several complex demonstratives with somewhat similar semantics, like *ré* in *maaré* (here), *iléré* (there), *a'jnáré* (over there) as well as in the interrogative *méré* (where), but which do not constitute independent morphemes on their own. Given the large number of possible combinations found with these roots, I will discuss different sub-groups independently on the basis of their function, with pronominal demonstratives on the one hand, and adverbial demonstratives on the other.

2.2.4.1 Pronominal demonstratives

These forms of the demonstrative roots are used as adnominal modifiers in noun phrases, or pronominally, in NPs without nouns (see §3.2.1.2.5). The list of forms attested in my corpus is given in Table 13.

Table 13 Pronominal demonstratives in Yukuna

		NF	F	PL
PROX	<i>marí</i>	<i>marí</i>	<i>mari-rú</i>	<i>marirúná</i>
	<i>ajĩ</i>	<i>kháajĩ</i>	<i>kháajĩru</i>	<i>kháajúna</i>
MED	<i>ilé</i>	<i>ilé</i>	<i>ile-rú</i>	<i>ilerúná</i>
		<i>kéelé</i>	<i>kéele-rú</i>	<i>kéelerúná</i>
DIST ¹⁶	<i>a'jná</i>	<i>kháa'jná</i>	<i>kháa'jnáru</i>	

These demonstrative words share most of their features. In terms of morphology, all of these words are only optionally marked for gender and number when used as adnominal modifiers. In terms of syntax, these words form a single distributional class, as they are all placed in a single position within the NP (NP initial) when in presence of a head noun. The use of pronominal demonstratives in noun modification and pronominal functions is illustrated with examples (32)-(33) respectively.

¹⁵ This phenomenon is part of a broader issue in Yukuna of stacking of adverbial words, demonstratives and postpositions (§2.2.3)

¹⁶ This root is barely ever used in pronominal function.

(32) *Noun modification function*

a. *kája jĩná tá nó-cha marí nu=e'wé michú*
already devil EMPH kill-PST PROX 1SG=brother deceased
'The devil has already killed this deceased brother of mine.' (ycn0545,66)

b. *Majó nu=waícha kháájĩ pi=lakéjnú*
PROX.towards 1SG=bring PROX 2SG=son_in_law
'I brought your son in law here.' (ycn0063,123)

c. *ri=éjǒmi ri=i'jĩ-chá kéelé ri=pirá jwa'té*
3SG.NF=after 3SG.NF=go-PST MED 3SG.NF=pet with
'Afterwards he went with this pet of his.' (ycn0053,20)

(33) *Pronominal function*

a. *É ri=a'-chá nu=jló kháájĩ.*
Then 3SG.NF=give-PST 1SG=to PROX
'Then he gave me this (one).' (ycn0092,112)

b. *Wa=tajná-ta phiyúké kéelé.*
1PL=finish-CAUS all MED
'We finished this all.' (ycn0042,119)

c. *kháa'jné pi=le'jé.*
DIST 2SG=POSS
'That one is yours.' (ycn0041,101)

It is important to note that although all demonstrative roots can be found in pronominal or pro-adverbial function, they may be more frequently used in one of these functions. Indeed, the root *ajĩ* is more frequently used in the pronominal domain with its derived form *kháájĩ*, than in the locative domain, where it is rarely used. Inversely, the root *a'jné* is almost never used in the pronominal domain with its derived form *kháa'jné*, but it is very frequently found in locative demonstratives. The demonstratives *marí* and *ilé* have the additional specificity to be used either as pronominal or proadverbial demonstratives.

2.2.4.2 Adverbial demonstratives

The same roots described earlier are used in the expression of spatial location and manner, in combination with other markers, more importantly, cliticized postpositions.

2.2.4.2.1 Locative

The demonstrative roots used to encode location are *ma* PROX, *ilé* MED and *a'jná* DIST, as listed in Table 14. Their use is illustrated in examples (34)-(36). The proximal root *ají* is not used in this function, although it is found in the complex form *ajíño'jǒ* ‘back and forth’ that encodes trajectory.

Table 14 Locative demonstratives

PROX	MED	DIST
<i>marí</i>	<i>ilé</i>	<i>a'jná</i>
<i>maáré</i>	<i>iléré</i>	<i>a'jné</i>

(34)

- a. *Marí nu=jí'-chá kujnú i=jló*
PROX 1SG=take-PST cassava 2PL=to
 ‘Here I brought cassava for you.’ (ycn0189,176)

- b. *Maáré=ja pi=i'má, nu=pirá*
PROX.LOC=LIM 2SG=COP 1SG=pet
 ‘Stay right here, my pet.’ (ycn0041,33)

(35)

- a. *Ilé=ja pi=yá'=o*
MED=LIM 2SG=sit=MID
 ‘Sit right there.’ (ycn0041,67)

- b. *Iléré ri=ikhá*
MED.LOC 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘He is there.’ (ycn0108,193)

(36)

- a. *Aú ri=wá'a nu=ikhá a'jná ri=ñakaré=éjǒ*
 so 3SG.NF=lead 1SG=PRO **DIST** 3SG.NF=house=toward
 ‘So he took me over there to his house.’

- b. *É ru=tári'-cha=o jú'ká a'jné*
 Then 3SG.F=stand_up-PST=MID far **DIST.LOC**
 ‘Then she stood up far away over there.’ (ycn0151,100)

Demonstrative roots often combine with phonologically cliticized postpositions to create complex forms that encode trajectory, such as *máawá* ‘around here’, *iléewá* ‘around there’,

a'jnąawá ‘around there’, which result from the roots *ma* PROX, *ilé* MED, and *a'jną* DIST plus postposition *ewá* ‘around’.

2.2.4.2.2 Manner

Finally, the proximal and medial demonstrative roots are also often used with the postposition *ké* ‘like’ to form manner pro-adverbs: *mari ké* ‘like this’, *ají ké* ‘like this’, *ilé ké* ‘like that’. In addition to these forms, we also find the lexicalized *ñaké* ‘like that’, whose initial *ña* is not synchronically found as a demonstrative root.¹⁷ This use of demonstrative roots is illustrated in (37)-(38).

(37) *É ri=yakái'-cha=o* *ají ké*
 Then 3SG.NF=look-PST=MID PROX like
 ‘Then he looked like this (speaker’s gesture).’ (ycn0545,9)

(38) *É ri=iphí-cha* *píño ñaké=ja*
 Then 3SG.NF=arrive-PST again DIST.like=LIM
 ‘Then he arrived again just like that.’ (ycn0063,73).

2.2.5 Indefinites/Interrogatives

There are two indefinite/interrogative pro-adverbial roots, and one pronominal root: *mé* (where, when, how), *náje* ‘why’, and *ná* ‘what, who’. All other interrogative/indefinite forms are obtained through a combination of *mé* and additional markers, which may or may not be synchronically segmentable, similarly to demonstrative roots as described in §2.2.4. A list of interrogative forms, both morphologically simple and complex, is given in Table 15.

Table 15 Indefinite/interrogative pro-forms

Form	Meaning
<i>ná</i> INDF	what
<i>náje</i> INDF.reason	why
<i>méré</i> INDF.LOC	where
<i>méño'jǒ</i> INDF.toward	towards where
<i>méké</i> INDF.like	how

¹⁷ A further particularity of *ñaké* is that the same form is found as a sentence connector with the meaning of ‘for this reason’. (see §2.2.6 on conjunctions).

<i>mékelé</i> INDF.QUANT	how much
<i>mékéchami</i> INDF.after	when
<i>méeyá</i> INDF.from	from where

In terms of their syntactic distribution, indefinite pro-forms are typically used as interrogatives in clause initial position in verbal clauses (39)(40), and in non-verbal clauses with an embedded nominalization as in the pseudo-cleft construction in (42).

(39) *Náje pi=takha'á me'píjí nakú?*
 INDF.reason 2SG=die hunger on
 ‘Why are you starving to death? (lit. Why are you dying on hunger).’ (ycn0068,105)

(40) *Méño'jo pi=i'jĩ-chá?*
 INDF.toward 2SG=go-PST
 ‘Where did you go?’ (ycn0058,11)

(41) *Ná pi=la'á?*
 INDF 2SG=do
 ‘What are you doing?’

(42) *Méké pi=ki'-chá-ka ri=ikhá?*
 INDF.like 2SG=throw-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘How did you throw that? (Lit. how is your throwing that?).’

In addition to this function, indefinite/interrogative roots are also used with negative polarity, either with verbal negation *unká...-la* (43), or with non-verbal negation *unká...kalé* (44) (see §6)¹⁸. These roots may also have an exclamative use just like *how* in English, as shown in (45).

(43) *unká ná ja'-lá-cha=o=nó ri=chú=éjě*
 NEG INDF fall-V.NEG-PST=MID=HAB 3SG.NF=in=towards
 ‘Nothing fell into it. (lit. A thing did not fall into it).’ (ycn0041,12)

(44) ... *unká mére=ewá kalé nu=tajná-ta pi=éjéna*
 NEG INT.LOC=around NV.NEG 1SG=finish-CAUS 2SG=siblings
 ‘Nowhere did I kill your siblings.’ (ycn0063,39-40)

¹⁸ In this dissertation I only briefly describe negation in verbal clauses in §4.2.5 and in non-verbal zero copula clauses in §6.1. For a more comprehensive description of negation encoding strategies in Yukuna see Lemus Serrano and Rose (Accepted).

- (45) *Méké* *kamu'jí* *wani* *nu=yakáa'-ka=o* *pi=cháje!*
INDF.like pityful EMPH 1SG=see-NZ=MID 2SG=at
 ‘How poorly I see you!’ (ycn0089,72)

2.2.6 Conjunctions

The class of conjunctions includes subordinating as well as coordinating conjunctions. There are roughly 15 simple items in this word class, although delimiting class membership can prove to be quite problematic due to homonymy and polysemy, a pervasive feature of Yukuna. Indeed, postpositional roots used in subordination with nominalized clauses are often formally identical to both subordinating and coordinating conjunctions. This is illustrated with postpositional root *é* ‘at’ (46), subordinating conjunction *é* TEMP/COND (47), and coordinating conjunction *é* ‘then’ (48).¹⁹

- (46) [*Pi=ñapá-ta-jĩ-ka* *ri=ikhá*] *é* *pi=apó-ta* *nu=ikhá.*
 2SG=finish-CAUS-FUT-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO at 2SG=wake_up-CAUS 1SG=PRO
 ‘Wake me up when you finish it (Lit. at your finishing it, wake me up.) (ycn0129,11)

- (47) *Pi=ka'-jĩ-ka* *é* *kajrú* *ri=ikhá...*
 2SG=throw-FUT-NZ COND a_lot 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘if you throw a lot of it...’ (ycn0058,101)

- (48) *É* *ru=apó-chi-ya* *ri=ikhá.*
 Then 3SG.F=wake_up-CAUS-PST 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Then she woke him up.’ (ycn0189,35)

As suggested by the glosses, I analyze these markers as synchronically distinct on the basis of their distributional features. The postposition *é* ‘at’ in (46) requires the presence of an argument, either an overt NP (including nominalizations) or a person index, and it is not restricted to a position within the clause. When used with a grammatical nominalization as in (46), it is placed immediately after the entire nominalized clause, which functions exactly like an NP. In contrast, the adverbial subordinating marker *é* in (47) is obligatorily placed after the non-finite verb, and the sentence connector *é* ‘then’ in (48) does not have an argument, and it is restricted to the clause initial position. On this basis, I have only included in the class of conjunctions words

¹⁹ There is yet an additional homonymous form *é* Q which functions as an interrogative particle in polar interrogative sentences (see §7.1 on interrogatives).

whose distribution differs from that of postpositions, even if they are formally identical with a postposition. Table 16 provides a list of attested conjunctions.

Table 16 Subordinating and coordinating conjunctions

Form	gloss	function	Homonymous postposition
<i>lojé ... (penáje)</i>	PURP	sub	n
<i>piyá</i>	NEGPURP	sub	y
<i>chú</i>	cond	sub	y
<i>é</i>	then	sub, coord	y
<i>aú</i>	so	sub, coord	y
<i>ñaké</i>	so	coord	n
<i>pachá</i>	so	coord	y
<i>yámona</i>	meanwhile	coord	y
<i>kétána</i>	meanwhile	coord	y
<i>eyonáje</i>	however	coord	n
<i>unkákéla</i>	otherwise	coord	n
<i>wakajé</i>	that day	coord	y
<i>yámojō</i>	afterward	coord	y
<i>éjé</i>	afterward	coord	y
<i>éjōmi</i>	afterward	coord	y
<i>eyá</i>	afterward	coord	y
<i>ewá</i>	then	coord	y
<i>kéchami</i>	afterward	coord	n
<i>e'yá</i>	then	coord	y
<i>é, é kája, éja, éko, éta</i>	then	coord	y

The preceding list reveals that coordinating conjunctions make up the majority of forms in this class. Indeed, there are few dedicated subordinators in Yukuna, and most members of this class are synchronically homonymous with a postposition. Dedicated subordinating conjunctions are very clearly not the main subordination strategy in the language.

2.2.6.1 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are markers that link a dependent clause and a main clause into a single sentence.

All subordinating conjunctions in Yukuna can be considered as *particles*, as they constitute full phonological words (they have inherent tone). In terms of their specific function, they can be classified as adverbial subordinators, since they introduce adverbial clauses of various types (purposive, negative purposive, conditional, reason, temporal).

Subordinating conjunctions are functionally grouped with other subordination strategies in Yukuna (see §4.1.2, Ch.8), but constitute a distinct group on the basis of their specific syntactic distribution: they are placed immediately after the subordinate verb nominalized with suffix *-ka*, and cannot be separated from it neither by a free element nor a pause. This is shown in (49)-(51) with *lojé* PURP, *piyá* NEGPURP and *chú* COND respectively.

(49) ...*ri=ajñá-ká* **lojé** *ri=wajwé.*
 3SG.NF=eat-NZ PURP 3SG.NF=heart
 ‘(He wanted to open his chest) for him to eat his heart.’ (ycn0041,112)

(50) ...*karená* *ka'-ká* **piyá** *ka'jnó* *ri=ikhá*
 wind throw-NZ NEGPURP DUB 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘So that the wind does not throw it down.’ (ycn0119,8)

(51) *Palá-ni* *ri=a'jne-ná* *pi=iphá-ta-ka* **chú**...
 good-NF 3SG.NF=food-? 2SG=arrive-CAUS-NZ COND
 ‘If you find good food...’ (ycn0119,27)

The distribution of these subordinating particles is very similar to the use of postpositions with nominalized clauses discussed earlier. Subordinating particles and postpositions are thus similar in terms of their form, meaning, function and distribution, to the point where the distinction between homonymous postpositions and subordinating conjunctions is sometimes quite blurry. The diachronic link between the two is undeniable; subordinating conjunctions appear to be grammaticalized or *grammaticalizing* forms of postpositions used in the subordination of nominalized clauses. Subordinating particles that lack a formally identical postposition counterpart have certainly completed their grammaticalization process (*lojé* PURP), whereas those that can be used either as particles or as postpositions can be said to either have very recently grammaticalized, or be currently in the process of grammaticalization (*é* TEMP/COND, *chú* COND, *piyá* NEGPURP, *aí* CAUSE)

2.2.6.2 Coordinating conjunctions

In this category, I include markers that link hierarchically equal elements together. Connectors are phonologically free words. All elements in this class share the same syntactic distribution,

placed in clause initial position. Semantically, many words in this class are used to indicate temporal sequences, and seem to be largely interchangeable. However, in terms of frequency, the most widely used connector is clearly *é* ‘then’. Examples (52) and (54) illustrate the use of sentence connectors.

(52) *Yámona* *na=witúka'-chi-ya* *kéelé* *yuwa-jí* *yenú=eyá*
meanwhile 1PL=go_down-CAUS-PST PROX unripe-NF above=from
‘Meanwhile they brought down that child from above.’ (ycn0189,133)

(53) *Kéchami* *ru=a'-chá* *po'rí ja'pí*
later 3SG.F=give-PST stove under
‘Later she put (it) under the stove.’ (ycn0041,47)

(54) *Eyá* *nu=ñapa-ta* *jewíña'-kaje=o*
Then 1SG=form-CAUS study-EV.NZ=MID
‘Then I finished my studies.’ (ycn0018,5)

Interestingly, although some of these markers obviously come from postpositions, they clearly differ from subordinating constructions in that they are prosodically parsed together with the following clause, and not the preceding one, as is the case with subordinating conjunctions and postpositions. In fact, it is common for there to be a pause before the coordinating conjunction as indicated by the use of a comma before the conjunction *aú* in (55).

(55) *kamachá-ni* *wáni* *ri=i'mi-chá,* ***aú*** *wa=yurí-cha* *ri=ikhá*
hard-NF EMPH 3SG.NF=COP-PST **so** 1PL=leave-PST 3SG.NF=PRO
‘It was hard, so we left him.’(ycn0041,133)

2.2.7 Other closed classes

2.2.7.1 Pro-sentences

This class includes the words for ‘yes’ *á'a*, ‘no’ *unká*, and the word *yúka'a* which can roughly be translated as ‘it’s done’. All of these words can be produced in isolation as elliptical utterances, and when followed by a sentence, they may be considered to be outside of its syntactic organization.

(56) *á'a,* *ilé* *ké* *ri=ikhá* *tá.*
yes MED like 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH
‘Yes, it is like that.’

(57) *Unká,* *wejápa* *ñáni* *ru=ají-cha-ka.*
NEG, little DIM 3SG.F=eat-PST-NZ

No, she ate a little bit (lit. Her eating was a little bit.) (ycn0053,68)

(58) "Yúka'a?" ké rú=ími-cha-ka.

done like 3SG.F=say-PST-NZ

“(is it) done?” she said. (Lit. Her saying was like “is it done?”) (ycn0068,276)

Note that this use of *unká* is not to be confused with the use of this form in verbal and non-verbal negation, where it is an obligatory element of the construction, as detailed in in §4.2.5 and §6.1.

2.2.7.2 Interjections

Similarly to the class of pro-sentences, interjections in Yukuna are words that can constitute utterances by themselves, and that are not syntactically connected to the surrounding elements. So far, I have identified roughly eight members of this class, the most frequent of which are *nákarí* ~ *nákei* ‘uh’ (hesitation), *ái*, *yée* ‘oh’ (negative surprise), *jé* ‘okay’, *úu*, *óo* ‘hey’ (calling someone), and the pejorative *tí'teta* ‘idiot’. Examples (59)-(61) illustrate their use.

(59) "yéé nu=jmerémi" ké ri=ími-cha-ka.

oh 1SG=younger_sibling like 3SG.NF=say-PST-NZ

““Oh my brother” he said. (Lit. His saying was like...)’ (ycn0108,304)

(60) "úu" ké ru=a'jipi-chá-ka.

““hey” like 3SG.F=reply-PST-NZ

““Hey” she replied. (Lit. her saying was like...)’ (ycn0068,97)

(61) *ri=le'jé* fa... , *ri=le'jé* **nákarí**... *ri=iká'na* *jwa'té*...

3SG.NF=POSS *fa* 3SG.NF=POSS **uh** 3SG.NF=family with

‘His *fa*, his uh... with his family...’ (ycn0053,18)

Interjections differ from pro-sentences in that they cannot be used as answers to a question, their function being more of an exclamation.

2.2.7.3 Ideophones

Ideophones are described as “members of an open lexical class of marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse 2019). In Yukuna, this class is formed by around 20 words, some of which are listed in Table 17.

Table 17 Ideophones

Form	Approximate semantics
<i>pulupulú</i>	falling into water

<i>mojló</i>	breaking
<i>tapujlú</i>	falling into water
<i>chúu</i>	swimming or moving silently
<i>chí' (chí')</i>	sound of a bell
<i>thúu</i>	laying down
<i>thupi</i>	dripping drops
<i>khú (khú)</i>	rowing
<i>thá (thá)</i>	?
<i>pítu (pítu)</i>	dripping drops
<i>pherú</i>	quickly
<i>kha'rá</i>	hanging

These forms tend to show some phonological peculiarities, most importantly, reduplication. Their semantics are very complex and difficult to elicitate. Speakers tend to either fully omit them from translations, or repeat the Yukuna form in the Spanish translation. Morphologically, all of these forms are simplex, and syntactically, they function exclusively in adverbial phrases followed by postposition *ké* 'like' (62)-(63).

- (62) *Kájawája* *ri=i'jĩ-chá* *pĩño* *thúu ké*
 finally 3SG.NF=go-PST again IDEO like
ri=jetá *chú=éjé.*
 3SG.NF=hammock in=toward
 'Finally, he went into his hammock again like *thúu*.' (ycn0041,162)

- (63) *Kajrú kája* *pítu pítu pítu pítu ké* *ri=ja'pí-cha-ka.*
 a_lot EMPH IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO like 3SG.NF=pass-PST-NZ
 'It dripped a lot very thickly. (Lit. Its dripping was a lot like *pítu pítu pítu*). (ycn0089,56).

In addition to their adverbial function, Schauer et. al (2005) mention in their dictionary that these roots may function as attributive modifiers of nouns, using the same paradigm of gender and number found in multifunctional adjectives. Although this suggests that these words could be analyzed as a subclass of adjectives that function as either nominal or verbal modifiers (see §2.1.4), I have opted not to do this on the basis of their syntactic distribution in the Flex corpus, as their use differs significantly from the use of actual adverbs and multifunctional adjectives. Indeed, as noted earlier, ideophones require the presence of the postposition *ké* 'like'

(62)-(63), a form used with nouns, demonstratives and speech verb complements to create oblique phrases (64). In other words, ideophones are used in postpositional phrases, but they do not head adverbial phrases. Ideophones with postposition *ké* ‘like’ are also incompatible with the position of adnominal modification, as postpositional phrases in general are excluded from the NP structure (see §3.2)

(64) Postpositional phrase formed by NP + postposition *ké*
Pakoró-ná mejé ké na=mejé i'mi-chá-ká...
 parrot-PL noise **like** 3PL=noise COP-PST-NZ
 ‘Their noise was like parrots’ noise.’ (ycn0108,297).

(65) Adverbial phrase headed by lexical adverb
É ri=jíl'-chá kñája ri=jupá aũ
 then 3SG.NF=take-PST **quickly** 3SG.NF=nail with
 ‘Then he took (it) quickly with his nail.’ (ycn0053,67)

2.2.7.4 Numerals

Numerals are defined as “spoken normed expressions that are used to denote the exact number of objects for an open class of objects in an open class of social situations with the whole speech community in question.” (Hammarström 2010). On the basis of this definition, we can recognize a set of items (from small units to larger combinations) that can be said to form a numeral *system*. According to Fontaine (2001, 447–48) the system includes numerals up to at least 200, although, as explained below, traditional Yukuna numbers beyond five are seldom used in spontaneous speech.

Yukuna’s system includes basic lexical items, either simple as for numbers 1 and 2, or complex as for numbers 3 and 4.

Table 18 Yukuna’s numeral system

Num	Form	Literal translation
1	<i>pajlúwá</i> pa=jlú=wa IMPRS=for-REFL	for one self
2	<i>iyamá</i> iyamá two	two
3	<i>wéji kéelé</i> wéji ké=ilé pot_stand like=MED	that is like a pot stand

4	<i>pa'ú kéelé</i>	that is like the maloca's stands
	pa'ú like=ilé	
	stand like=MED	

From 5 onward, the system creates numerals through a complex combination of basic numerals, body part terms, together with additional elements such as verbs and postpositions. The body part terms used are the words for hand, feet, and humans, in that order, to create multiples of 5 until 20. The system starts with one hand (5), crosses over to the second (6-10), reaches toward one foot (11-15), crosses over to the second (16-19), and finally, ends in an entire person (20). Table 19 provides a list of numbers from 5 up to 20, adapted from Fontaine (2001, 447).

Table 19 Complex numerals in Yukuna (5-20)

5	<i>pajlúwá te'la kéelé</i>	that is like one hand
	pajlúwá te'la kéelé	
	one hand like=MED	
6	<i>pajlúwá kuwá'ta kéelé</i>	that is like crossing one
	pajlúwá kuwá'-ta ké=ilé	
	one cross like=MED	
7	<i>iyamá kuwá'ta kéelé</i>	that is like crossing two
8	<i>wéji kéelé kuwá'ta kéelé</i>	that is like crossing three
9	<i>pa'ú kéelé kuwá'ta kéelé</i>	that is like crossing four
10	<i>iyamá te'la kéelé</i>	that is like two hands
	iyamá te'la ké=ilé	
	two hand like=MED	
11	<i>pajlúwá rijña'ká jri'má nakojě kéelé</i>	that is like grabbing one toward the foot
	pajlúwá ri=jña'-ká ri=ji'má nakú=ějě ké=ilé	
	one 3SG.NF=grab-NZ 3SG.NF=foot on=toward like=MED	
12	<i>iyamá rijña'ká jri'má nakojě kéelé</i>	that is like grabbing two toward the foot
13	<i>wéji kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakojě kéelé</i>	that is like grabbing three toward the foot
14	<i>pa'ú kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakojě kéelé</i>	that is like grabbing four toward the foot
15	<i>pajlúwá te'la kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakojě kéelé</i>	that is like grabbing five toward the foot
16	<i>pajlúwá kuwá'ta kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakojě kéelé</i>	that is like crossing one toward the foot
	pajlúwá kuwá'-ta ké=ilé ri=jña'ká nakú=ějě ké=ilé	that is like crossing one like grabbing toward the foot
	one cross-CAUS like=MED 3SG.NF=grab-NZ 3SG.NF=foot on=toward like=MED	

17	<i>iyamá kuwá'ta kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakoǰé kéelé</i>	that is like crossing two like grabbing toward the foot
18	<i>wéji kéelé kuwá'ta kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakoǰé kéelé</i>	that is like crossing three like grabbing toward the foot
19	<i>pa'ú kéelé kuwá'ta kéelé rijña'ká jri'má nakoǰé kéelé</i>	that is like crossing four like grabbing toward the foot
20	<i>pajlúwája inau'ké le'jé kéelé</i>	that is like that of one human
	<i>pajlúwá-ja inau'ké le'jé ké=ilé</i>	
	one-CLS:HUM person POSS like=MED	

As clear from (Table 18) and (Table 19), most numerals in Yukuna show morphosyntactic complexity. The word for the numeral one *pajlúwá* can be segmented into *pa=jlú=wá* IMPRS=for=REFL ‘for one self’. The word for two *iyamá* seems to be the only unsegmentable one.²⁰ From three onwards, the complexity increases, as numerals are created through clausal structures, using a noun and the postposition *ké* ‘like’ as non-verbal predicates, and a demonstrative as the non-verbal argument ([N *ké*]_{PRED} [*ilé*]_{ARG} ‘that is like N’).²¹ The words for three and four, *wéji kéelé* and *pa'ú kéelé*, literally translate to ‘that is like a pot stand’ and ‘that is like *maloca*’s posts’, as these items come in three and four respectively in the speaker’s culture. The numeral five *pajlúwá te'la kéelé* translates to ‘that is like one hand’. To count from 6 to 9, the verb root *kuwá'ta* ‘cross’ is used, and from 11 to 19, the verb root *jña'* ‘grab’ is used.

This type of morphologically complex system with few lexical numerals is common in Amazonian languages (Epps et al. 2012; Aikhenvald 1999, 85). In fact, Yukuna’s system shows remarkable similarities with the numeral system of neighbor Tucanoan language Tanimuka, described in great detail by Eraso (2015). The similarities in structure of numerals in both languages suggest that the systems were calqued (Rose et al. 2017), although the directionality of the calque is unknown.²²

The complex numeral system of Yukuna is falling out of use, a common scenario in many Amazonian languages. Numerals beyond five are now considered to be part of elders’ knowledge. Few speakers under 30 can count up to 20. Speakers have shifted to Spanish numerals instead. The attrition of the numeral system, combined with a low degree of

²⁰ These numerals can be reconstructed into proto-arawak **pa-* ‘one’ and **yama* ‘two’ (D. Payne 1991; Aikhenvald 1999). I have maintained the hyphen in Payne’s reconstruction of the index, although in Yukuna I synchronically analyze all person indexes as proclitics.

²¹ Note that the postposition *ké* and demonstrative *ilé*, although originally phonologically independent, have phonologically fused into *kéelé* synchronically. This form is synchronically also used as a medial demonstrative.

²² Tracing the origin of complex structures diffused through language contact raises a lot of issues, as discussed in Epps (2013, 335). Eraso (2015) explains that older speakers report having had the need to innovate a counting system during the period of rubber plantations, as they did not speak Spanish and they needed to count rubber tree trunks.

standardization of these complex forms lead to a lot of interspeaker variation in this domain. Indeed, speakers vary in their choice of specific verbal form, or even verbal root itself. Some speakers use a finite verb form, others use a verb form with a nominalizer, some use a person index on the verb, and others do not. Example (66) lists the various forms obtained for the numeral eleven from different sources.

(66)

- a. *Pajlúwá iphá-ta jimá-ji nakú=éjé ké=ilé.*
 one arrive-CAUS foot-UNPOSS on=toward like=MED
 ‘Lit. That is like finding one towards the foot’ (ycn0106, speaker: GRML)
- b. *Pajlúwá kuwá'-ta pajlúwá jimá-ji nakú=éjé ké=ilé.*
 one cross-CAUS one foot-UNPOSS on=toward like=MED
 ‘Lit. That is like crossing one towards one foot.’ (ycn0061, speaker: EUYM)
- c. *Pajlúwá ri=jña'-ká ri=ji'má nakú=éjé ké=ilé*
 one 3SG.NF=grab-NZ 3SG.NF=foot on=toward like=MED
 ‘Lit. That is like him taking one toward his foot.’ (Fontaine 2001, 447)²³

In sum, the domain of numerals in Yukuna displays a fascinating mix of inherited features, contact induced innovations, and lastly, language shift.

In addition to their complex internal clause-like structure, numerals also share a number of morphosyntactic features as a word class. Morphologically, numerals can be marked for gender and number with suffixes *-ru* F, *-na* PL, similarly to nouns. Additionally, numerals can be marked with numeral classifiers, as in (67) and (68). The inventory and functions of classifiers is described in (§3.2.1.2.2.1).

(67) *pajlúwá-ja-ru*
 one-CLS:HUM-F
 ‘one (f)’

(68) *iyáme-thá*
 two-CLS:basket
 ‘two (baskets).

In terms of their syntactic distribution, numerals mainly function as adnominal modifiers placed immediately before the head noun, as in (69) (see §3.2.1.2.2). Like other adnominal modifiers, numerals can also optionally function pronominally in NPs without nouns, as in (70) (see §3.2.1.2.5). Lastly, some numerals can also display an ‘adverbial’ function as in (71).

²³ I modified the glosses in this example.

- (69) *É kája wája pajlúwa yuwa-jí ñáni kémí-cha: ...*
 then finally one unripe-NF DIM say-PST
 ‘Then finally one little boy said: ...’ (ycn0189,42)
- (70) *É ri=patí-ya pajlúwa=ja.*
 Then 3SG.NF=take-PST one=LIM
 ‘Then he took one (of them)’ (ycn0089,190)
- (71) *Júpi na=i'mi-chá iyamá*
 longtime 3PL=live-PST two
 ‘They lived together for a long time.’ (ycn0041,76).

Numerals share most of their morphosyntactic properties with the adnominal modifier *apú* ‘other’, which is placed in the same syntactic slot as numerals (after demonstratives and before head nouns), and can also be marked with classifiers (Schauer et al. 2005, 305).

2.2.7.5 Discourse markers

Yukuna has a number of discourse markers, some prosodically bound (clitics), others free (particles). This category includes roughly 10 markers, whose semantics and distributions are listed in Table 20.

Table 20 Features of discourse markers in Yukuna

Form	Prosody	Gloss	Syntax
= <i>jle</i>	bound	AUG	NP
= <i>ja</i>	bound	LIM	various constituents
<i>tâ</i>	free	EMPH	various constituents
<i>ñáni</i>	free	DIM	NP
<i>kalé</i>	free	EMPH	NP
<i>chí</i>	free	EMPH	NV pred, ADVPs
<i>wáni ~ kuwáni</i>	free	EMPH	various constituents
<i>pajá</i>	free	EMPH	NPs, ADVPs,
<i>ka'jné ~ ka'jné</i>	free	DUB	various constituents

These markers clearly vary in terms of their specific syntactic distribution, with some markers being restricted to some constituent (NPs) or syntactic slots (NV predicates), and other markers showing a much wider distribution. Examples (72) and (73) illustrate the use of emphatic markers *chí*, *tâ* and *ka'jné*.

- (72) *Ná chí pi=ikhá?*
 INDF.PRO EMPH 2SG=PRO
 ‘Who are you?’ (ycn0068,99)

(73) *Jiñá tâ ka'jné nákei apíro'-yo chuchú michólo*
 devil EMPH DUB uh suck-F grandparent deceased.F
 'Maybe it was that devil (the one who) devoured my late grandmother.' (ycn0151,84)

The use of discourse markers in specific syntactic positions is further discussed in §3.2.1.3 for NPs, and §5.3 for verbal clauses.

3. The noun and the NP

This section describes the morphology of nominal words, as well as the internal and external features of NPs.

3.1 Nouns

At the morphological level, nouns in Yukuna are only inflected for three categories: gender, number, and possession. Among these categories, gender and number are marked on nouns independently of construction type, whereas possession affixes are used in nominal (attributive) possession constructions. For this reason, I describe the system of gender and number marking next in §3.1.1, and describe possession related morphology under NP morphosyntax (§3.2.1.1).

In addition to inflectional morphology, nouns can be derived into adverbs and adjectives through the attributive *ka-* and privative *ma-*. Their uses are described in §3.1.1.2.

Nouns also host clitics, prosodically bound grammatical words. These various markers fall beyond the limits of nominal words and are thus described as part of the NP structure (§3.2.1.3).

3.1.1 Nominal morphology

This section deals with the internal structure of nominal words. Nouns in Yukuna have little morphology: inflectional morphology includes gender, number and alienability class suffixes. Derivational morphology includes the adverbializers *ka-* ATTR and *ma-* PRIV. The placement of affixes within nominal words is provided in Table 21.

Table 21 Ordering of nominal morphology

ADVZ	Root	Alienability 1	Gender	Alienability 2	Number
------	------	----------------	--------	----------------	--------

<i>ma-</i> PRIV	<i>-te</i> ALIEN1	∅ NF	<i>-ji</i> UNPOSS	<i>-na</i> PL
<i>ka-</i> ATTR	<i>-re</i> ALIEN2	<i>-ru, -lo</i> F		
	<i>-ne</i> ALIEN3			

Table 21 only shows the relative ordering of affixes within nouns, but it does not specify the restrictions of use of the morphological categories involved. Indeed, as mentioned previously, gender and number marking on nouns is not restricted to specific morphosyntactic constructions²⁴, while the use of possession related morphology is restricted to specific constructions. Additionally, the derivational prefixes *ma-* and *ka-* are incompatible with alienability suffixes.

This section deals with gender and number marking (§3.1.1.1), and derivational morphology (§3.1.1.2). All remaining nominal markers are discussed under the section on NP morphosyntax (§3.2).

3.1.1.1 Gender and number

Gender in Yukuna consists of two classes, feminine (F) and non-feminine (NF). The encoding of these categories is transparently based on physical features of the referents: female animates are in the feminine class, while animate males and inanimates are grouped together in the default non-feminine class. The assignment of lexical items into gender classes is thus certainly not arbitrary.

The number marking system of Yukuna distinguishes two values: singular and plural. Both gender and number are heavily influenced by animacy. Inanimate nouns are always rigidly NF, and they cannot be marked for number. All non-human animates and many human nouns lack any inherent gender and number value, and are compatible with any marking (NF, F, PL) depending on their referent.²⁵ Only some human nouns may be inherently either NF (male referents), F (female referents), or PL (plural referents), in which case, they cannot receive overt gender and number marking (Table 22)

²⁴ This does not apply to gender and number marking on other loci besides nouns themselves, which is affected by morphosyntactic context (see §3.2.1.2.5).

²⁵ Note that F gender is rarely marked on non-human animates (absent from my corpus), and even in elicitation, speakers vary in their grammaticality judgment of animal nouns marked with F gender.

Table 22 Inherent gender and gender encoding on animate nouns

Noun	Gloss	Animacy	Lexical G/N	Gender marking
<i>aló</i>	mother	Human	F	n
<i>inanáru</i>	woman	Human	F	n
<i>jara'pá</i>	father	Human	NF	n
<i>achiñá</i>	man	Human	NF	n
<i>éjéna</i>	siblings	Animate	PL	n
<i>chi'ná</i>	parents	Animate	PL	n
<i>e'wé</i>	sibling	Human	n	<i>e'wé</i> 'brother' <i>e'we-ló</i> 'sister'
<i>to'jmá</i>	child	Human	n	<i>to'jmá</i> 'boy' <i>to'jma-ru</i> 'girl'
<i>yáwi</i>	jaguar	Animate	n	<i>yáwi</i> 'jaguar' (male or unspecified) <i>yáwi-ru</i> 'female jaguar'
<i>ja'á</i>	tribe member	Animate	n	<i>ja'á</i> 'tribe member' <i>ja'-ló</i> 'female tribe member'
<i>laké</i>	grandchild	Animate	n	<i>laké</i> 'grandson' <i>laké-lo</i> 'granddaughter'

In order to specify the gender and number value of animate nouns that are not inherently classified in these categories (all animal and some human nouns), different sets of gender/number suffixes are used (Table 23).

Table 23 Nominal Gender/Number suffixes

	SG	PL
NF	∅	-na
F	-ru -lo	-ru-na -lo-na

As shown in Table 23, the NF and SG values are unmarked, whereas the F and the PL values are overtly marked. Additionally, there are two different suffixes that encode the F value, *-ru* and *-lo*. The distribution of these suffixes is lexically determined for each noun (e.g. *ri=e'we-ló* his sister, *ri=puláa'pe-ru* 'his sister in law'), but *-lo* is restricted to kinship terms only. Lastly, nouns can be marked for both gender and number simultaneously (e.g. *e'we-lo-jí-ná* sibling-F-UNPOSS-PL 'sisters'), a feature that distinguishes gender/number marking on nouns from other word classes.

Besides nouns, gender and number distinctions are marked on other parts of speech such as demonstratives, adjectives, the numeral one, participant nominalizations, person indexes and pronouns. Each part of speech has a distinct paradigm of gender and number markers, and in the case of adjectives, there are different sub-class of adjectives with a different G/N paradigm each (Table 24). Note that unlike nouns, gender and number on other parts of speech form a single paradigm with gender neutralization in the plural, so that feminine marking do not co-occur with plural marking. Likewise, gender distinctions are neutralized on person indexes in the plural (see §2.2.1).

Table 24 G/N markers per part of speech

	NF	F	PL
Nouns	∅	-ru -lo	-na
Dem	∅	-ru	-runa
Adj1	-ni	-ru	-runa
Adj2	∅	-ru	-runa
Adj3	-ji	-lo	-na
Agentive G/N nominalizations	-ri	-yo	-ño

The obligatoriness of gender marking is affected by a variety of factors, from animacy, to part of speech of locus, and encoding type. On nouns, gender marking is obligatory in human nouns with no inherent gender, and optional on animate nouns. Among adnominal modifiers, only adjectives are obligatorily marked for gender, whether used alongside a head noun or in an NP without a noun (Dryer 2004), see §3.2.1.2.5. Demonstratives and the numeral ‘one’ optionally agree for gender when used alongside a head noun (74), but seem to be obligatorily marked for gender when used in an NP without a noun (75). This suggests that gender and number are used in discourse mainly as a reference-tracking device, encoding salient information about referents in discourse rather than redundant features, unlike canonical gender and agreement (Corbett and Fedden 2016, 498).

(74) *kéélé ri=yajálo jwa'té*
 MED 3SG.NF=wife with
 ‘with that wife of his’ (ycn0089,196)

(75) *É kája kéele-rú witúki'-cha*
 then MED-F go_down-PST
 ‘Then that one(f) went down.’ (ycn0151,100)

Lastly, gender and number markers play a major role in nominalization strategies, and are discussed at length in Part II of this dissertation.

3.1.1.2 Attributive *ka-* and privative *ma-* derivation

The only derivational morphology found with nouns are the attributive *ka-* ('with N'), and the privative *ma-* ('N-less'), both of which derive multifunctional adjectives/adverbs. They are mostly used with obligatorily possessed nouns such as body parts. However, it is unclear whether these markers are compatible with all alienability classes of nouns or not, given that they are both infrequent in my corpus (about 10 occurrences in sum).

Derived forms with *ka-* and *ma-* are used either as adjectives or as adverbs. When used as adjectives, the derived form requires the use of gender/number marking as in (76) and (77). Note, however, that the set of G/N markers differ for *ka-* and *ma-* derivations: adjectives with *ka-* are marked with the same set as other *-ni* adjectives (*-ni* NF, *-ru* F, *-runa* PL, see §2.1.4), while adjectives with *ma-* are marked for number only, with *-ru* SG in the singular, and *-runa* PL and in the plural.

(76) *ka-tejmú-ni* *yáwi nó-ri* *jéma (n3:167)*
 ATTR-strength-NF jaguar kill-NF tapir
 'the one(nf) who killed the tapir is the strong jaguar.' (elicited, notebook 3:167)

(77) ...*amí-cha-ri ma-iji-rú* *ri=jáo'-cha-ka=o*
 see-pst-NF PRIV-seed-SG 3SG.NF=fall-PST-NZ=MID
 '...then (he) saw that it fell seedlessly.' (ycn0186,25)

Forms derived with *ka-* ATTR can be used adverbially without any additional marking (78), while forms derived with *ma-* PRIV require the use of additional marking with the suffix *-wa'ká* (ADVZ) (79).

(78) *Ka-tejmú* *ri=tára'-ka=o*
 ATTR-strength 3SG.NF=stand_up-NZ=MID
 'It stands up firmly (with strength).' (elicited, notebook 3:169)

(79) *É kája Yewákumi jáo'-cha=o ma=ijlu-wa'ká.*
 Then EMPH Y. go_out-PST=MID PRIV=eye-ADVZ
 'Then Yewákumi walked out eyelessly.' (ycn0041,165)

3.2 The NP

This section deals with the internal morphosyntax of the NP and its external syntactic distribution. While nouns in Yukuna are morphologically heterogeneous, their syntactic behavior is very homogeneous: all nouns can head NPs, be modified by adnominal modifiers, function as arguments in verbal and non-verbal clauses, as well as predicates in non-verbal clauses.

3.2.1 Internal features of the NP

The internal structure of the NP is depicted in the template in Table 25. Table 25 is organized as follows: the first row marks the status of the element within the NP, dependent ‘Dep’ or Head for lexical elements, and Clitics and particles for grammatical and discourse elements. The second row indicates the type of position in which these elements occur. Rigidly placed elements occur in *slots*; positions whose elements are in a paradigmatic relation, and mutually exclude one another. Variably ordered dependents occur in *zones*; positions that allow multiple elements to be used without a rigid order. Lastly, the third row numbers the elements that can fill each position within the template.

Table 25 Template of the NP

Dep	Dep	Dep	Dep	Clitics	Head	Clitics and particles			Dep
Slot	Slot	Zone	Slot	Slot	Slot	Slot	Slot	Zone	Zone
DEM	NUM	ADJ	PSSR NP	Person	N	MID	PFV	DISC	ADJ
		NMLZ		index		= <i>o</i>	= <i>mi</i>		NMLZ
		NP				= <i>wa</i>			NP

The template in (Table 25) visually represents the relative ordering of the various dependents and markers that can be added to a head noun in order to form a NP. The template reveals the rigid position of certain elements with regard to the head noun as well as to one another (demonstratives, numerals, possessors), in contrast with the variable positioning of other elements (adjectives, nominalizations, other nouns, discourse markers). However, the template

Table 25 does not show the restrictions of co-occurrence, nor the obligatoriness of the elements. These restrictions are discussed next.

3.2.1.1 Noun arguments: possession

Within the NP, there is a distinct slot dedicated to the single argument of a head noun, or possessor. Nominal arguments in Yukuna are expressed through a rigid construction whereby the argument immediately precedes the head noun. Just like with postpositions and verbs, the argument of a head noun may appear in the form of an overt NP (80), free pronoun (81), or bound person index (82).²⁶ Attributive possession in Yukuna is thus of the head-marking type.

(80) *yáwi i'ri*
tiger son
'tiger's son' (ycn0053,10)

(81) *iná yaní*
GNR.PRO child
'one's children' (ycn0114,18)

(82) *ri=i'ri*
3SG.NF=son
'his son' (ycn0053,38)

Beyond this general rule of possession encoding, there are important morphosyntactic differences that depend on the lexical class of the possessed noun. Indeed, nominal roots can be divided into three distinct possession classes: obligatorily possessed nouns, optionally possessed nouns, and non-directly possessible nouns. The two former classes allow the expression of a nominal argument, whilst the latter disallows it and requires a completely different possessive construction. This alienability based distinction and the morphosyntactic features involved (person indexes, possession suffixes) are a widespread and ancient feature of the Arawakan family, reconstructed for proto-Arawak by Payne (1987). The specificities of each class are described in §3.2.1.1.1-3.2.1.1.3.

3.2.1.1.1 Obligatorily possessed nouns

²⁶ I use the term argument to refer to possessors following the work of Queixalós (2005), whereby formal distinctions in the encoding of alienability classes are analyzed as differences in the inherent valency of nouns. This term also intends to highlight the structural parallel in the encoding of the core argument of nouns, postpositions and verbs.

This class includes semantically inalienable nouns, mostly comprised of body parts and kinship terms, but also many others such as illnesses, food, as shown in Table 26. Some notable exceptions include *chu'chu* ‘breast’ and *chuchú* ‘grandparent’, both alienable nouns according to Schauer et al. (2005, 37).

Table 26 Examples of obligatorily possessed nouns in Yukuna

Item	Translation
<i>aló</i>	mother
<i>ara'pá</i>	father
<i>i'rí</i>	son
<i>a'napitá</i>	arm
<i>támi</i>	sickness
<i>a'jné</i>	food
<i>numapá</i>	festival food
<i>ñakaré</i>	house
<i>tejmú</i>	strength
<i>jená</i>	time, date

Nouns in this class are syntactically bound as they require the presence of a possessor, whether as an overt NP (83), a free pronoun (84) or a person index (85). Note that the use of free pronouns instead of bound person indexes as in (81) is very pragmatically marked.

(83) *yuwa-ná* *a'jné*
unripe-PL food
 ‘children’s food’ (ycn0189,17)

(84) **Ri=ikhá** *yukúná* *nu=i'ma-jé.*
3SG.NF=PRO story 1SG=tell-FUT
 ‘I will tell *his* story.’ (ycn0068,4)

(85) **na=a'jné**
3PL=food
 ‘their food.’ (ycn0189,32)

In order to use these nouns without a possessor, the noun must carry the unpossessed suffix *-ji* (86), also sometimes referred to as ‘absolute’ in the Arawak family (D. Payne 1987).

- (86) *A'jne-jí tá ri=ikhá.*
 food-UNPOSS EMPH 3SG.NF=PRO
 'It is food.' (ycn0063,143)

The 'absolute' form of obligatorily possessed nouns is rarely used in discourse, precisely because these nouns are most frequently used with an overt possessor. There are less than 20 occurrences of suffix *-ji* in my corpus of texts, out of which, the majority of instances are from the same noun *a'jne-jí* 'food-UNPOSS'.

The unpossessed suffix *-ji* appears in a paradigm with three other nominal suffixes used in possessive constructions, namely, the markers of inflectional classes of alienable nouns *-te* ALIEN1, *-re* ALIEN2, and *-ne* ALIEN3, whose distribution is discussed next.

3.2.1.1.2 Optionally possessed nouns

This class includes semantically alienable nouns. Syntactically, these nouns differ from the obligatorily possessed class as they may head NPs on their own without the need of a possessor argument. Optionally possessed nouns also differ from non-directly possessible nouns in that they allow the presence of a possessor argument encoded just like obligatorily possessed nouns, with either an overt NP immediately before the head noun, or a proclitic person index. Interestingly, the presence of a possessor argument reveals three inflectional sub-classes of optionally possessed nouns, marked with suffixes *-te* (87), *-re* (88) and *-ne* (89) respectively.

- (87) *nu=yawi-té-na*
 1SG=dog-ALIEN1-PL
 'my dogs' (ycn0117,79)

- (88) *ri=wapa'ná-re*
 3SG.NF=blowgun-ALIEN2
 'my blowgun' (ycn0092,10)

- (89) *ru=kajírú-ne*
 3SG.F=manioc-ALIEN3
 'her manioc' (ycn0089,41)

Nouns are quite rigidly assigned to one of these inflectional classes, although there are instances of oscillation between the *-re* ALIEN2 and *-ne* ALIEN3 for certain nouns, as pointed out by Schauer et al. (2005). The categorization of nouns into these classes is largely arbitrary, as there does not seem to be an obvious semantic criterion for the distribution of these classes. Generally, however, animate nouns are in the *-te* ALIEN1 class, while the *-re* ALIEN2 and *-ne*

ALIEN3 classes mostly comprise inanimate nouns and lower animates such as insects. The lack of a clear semantic distinctions between *-te*, *-ne*, and *-re* is unsurprising from an Arawak perspective, as these suffixes are widespread in the family, and have been analyzed as suppletive forms of a single alienable possession suffix, whose various forms have been reconstructed for the proto-language as **-ni*, **-te*, and **-re*, along a fourth form **-V#* > **-e#* (D. Payne 1987, 66).

In terms of the size of each class, the *-re* ALIEN2 class seems to comprise the largest number of nouns, followed by the *-ne* ALIEN3 class, and lastly, the *-te* ALIEN1 class. Table 27 lists some optionally possessed nouns and their inflectional sub-classes, adapted from Schauer et al. (2005).

Table 27 Examples of optionally possessed nouns in Yukuna

Item	Gloss	3SG.NF=root-ALIEN
<i>kawarú</i>	horse (< Sp. <i>caballo</i>)	<i>rikawarúte</i>
<i>i'chí</i>	pot	<i>ri'té</i>
<i>je'ró</i>	pig	<i>jre'rúte</i>
<i>jimíchi</i>	grass	<i>jrimíte</i>
<i>mari'chú</i>	sorcerer	<i>rimari'chúte</i>
<i>cha'wí</i>	animal trap	<i>richa'wíre</i>
<i>pipirí</i>	<i>chontaduro</i> (plant sp)	<i>ripipiré</i>
<i>kamícha</i>	shirt (< Sp. <i>camisa</i>)	<i>rikamicháre</i>
<i>kewirí</i>	flute	<i>rikewiré</i>
<i>kujnú</i>	cassava	<i>rikujnúre</i>
<i>jíta</i>	canoe	<i>jritáne</i>
<i>kajírú</i>	bitter manioc	<i>rikajírúne</i>
<i>lápi</i>	pencil (spa. <i>lápiz</i>)	<i>rilapiné</i>
<i>mawíru</i>	pineapple	<i>rimawírúne</i>
<i>kúya</i>	cup	<i>rikuyané</i>

The list in Table 27 reveals some particularities of these suffixes. First, there is no default class into which items from Spanish (phonologically adapted into Yukuna) are integrated (*ri=kawarú-te* ‘his horse’, *ri=kamichá-re* ‘his shirt’, *ri=lapi-né* ‘his pencil’). Second, these suffixes trigger several morphophonological idiosyncracies, such as haplology with roots ending in *chi* and *ri* with suffixes *-te* and *-re* respectively (*ri=i'chí-te* → *ri'té* ‘his pot’; *ri=pipirí-re* → *ripipiré*), as well as many cases of unpredictable tonal alternations (e.g. *lápi* ‘pencil’, *rilapiné* ‘his pencil’). Lastly, nouns with animate referents in this class may also receive gender and number marking in addition to the alienable suffixes (e.g. *nu=jema-té-na* 1SG=tapir-ALIEN1-PL ‘my tapirs’).

The use of additional morphology for optionally possessed nouns when they are possessed perfectly mirrors the use of suffix *-ji* for obligatorily possessed nouns when they lack a possessor. Next, I discuss the case of a subset of nouns that lack a slot for possessor arguments, as well as any possession morphology.

3.2.1.1.3 Non-directly possessed nouns

This class includes nouns that are semantically ‘unpossessible’ such as astronomical objects, natural phenomena, proper nouns, and culturally salient items, as found elsewhere in Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald 2012, 169). In Yukuna, this class includes words like *jéwa* ‘clay’, *pají* ‘traditional house’, *kamú* ‘sun’, *lukamá* ‘rainy season (june/july)’, and others. At the morphosyntactic level, these nouns form a distinct sub-class as they are the only nouns that cannot carry person indexes, nor be immediately preceded by a possessor. In other words, nouns in this class disallow the Possessor Possessed juxtaposition construction described in (§3.2.1.1). However, although semantically ‘unpossessible’, these nouns may participate in a different possessive construction with the *le'jé* POSS placed before the possessed noun (90).

- (90) *ri=le'jé* *pají*
 3SG.NF=POSS house
 ‘his *maloca* (traditional house)’ (ycn0108,121)

The possessive construction with *le'jé* is not restricted to non-directly possessed nouns, as nouns from other classes can appear in this construction as well, such as the optionally possessed noun *yáwi* in (91). It is also interesting to note that other parts of speech select this strategy to encode possession, such as adjectives (92), inserted words from Spanish (93), and exceptionally, some deverbal nominalizations (94).

- (91) *nu=le'jé* *yáwi* *ñáni*

- 1SG=POSS dog DIM
 ‘my little dog’ (ycn0118,37)
- (92) *nu=le'jé* *pu'je=ní*
 1SG=POSS hot=NF
 ‘my hot (one)’ (elicited, vimy)
- (93) *ri=le'jé* *sangre*
 3SG.NF=POSS blood
 ‘his blood’ (ycn0151,145)
- (94) *ri=le'jé* *pura'-kaje=o*
 3SG.NF=POSS speak-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘its dialogue’ (ycn0091,58)

The marker *le'jé* is better analyzed as a relational noun rather than a genitive marker. In fact, the morphosyntactic features *le'jé* are very similar to those of obligatorily possessed nouns. Indeed, this word is prosodically free (has its own tone), and it requires the presence of a possessor encoded with a person index or an overt possessor NP (95). According to Schauer et al. (2005, 300), *le'jé* can also inflect for gender and number with *-ru* F and *-na* PL. Additionally, it can be used pronominally to refer to a possessor mentioned in discourse (96), with the meaning of ‘possession’.

- (95) *Achiñá-ná* *le'jé*
man-PL POSS.
 ‘It belongs to men. (lit. It is men’s possession) (ycn0091,37)
- (96) *Wa=le'jé* *ri=ikhá.*
1PL=POSS 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘It (is) ours.’ (ycn0091,37)

The syntactic structure of the possessive construction with *le'jé* POSS marked for the person of the *semantic* possessor, followed by another noun (the *semantic* possessed) illustrated from (91) through (94) (e.g. my possessed dogs) is clearly not the same as the possessor construction with a syntactic possessor encoded with a person index or overt NP followed by the syntactic possessed noun (e.g. my dogs) described in §3.2.1.1. Indeed, in the possessive construction with *le'jé* POSS, the relational noun *le'jé* is not in the syntactic slot of the possessor argument, rather, it is itself a possessed noun. Further evidence of this is the fact that optionally possessed nouns used in this construction do not receive possession suffixes, as they do in the juxtaposition construction, reflecting that their possessor slot is unfilled (contrast *yáwi* in (91) and (87)). The structure of the *le'jé* construction is thus identical to an N+N construction that could be paraphrased as ‘his possession the house’ (see §3.2.1.2.4).

3.2.1.2 Adnominal modifiers

This section discusses different parts of speech which accompany a head noun within an NP, and that unlike the possessor, may also be used pronominally, substituting an NP (see §3.2.1.2.5). This group includes demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns and nominalizations. Modifiers can be divided into two subgroups on the basis of their syntactic distribution: demonstratives and numerals, which have a dedicated fixed slot before the head noun, and other adnominal modifiers, which are canonically placed after the head noun, but may also be placed before (Table 25). I describe demonstratives in §3.2.1.2.1, numerals in §3.2.1.2.2, and adjectives, nouns and nominalizations in §3.2.1.2.3.

3.2.1.2.1 Demonstratives

Yukuna has a set of demonstrative roots which inflect for gender/number and function both adnominally and pronominally, as described in §2.2.4. Here, I describe the behavior of demonstratives used as adnominal modifiers within NPs.

Demonstratives are markers that provide cues about the spatial or contextual ‘distance’ of a referent, and as such, they participate in the encoding of definiteness. However, their use is optional, even in cases with definite NPs as in (97)a.

(97)

- a. *É kawayá iphí-cha pñño*
 then deer arrive-PST again
 ‘Then the deer arrived again.’ (ycn0041,162)
- b. *Mé=eyá ka'jné ri=iphá-chi-ya tâ kéelé kawayá?*
 INDF=from DUB 3SG.NF=arrive-CAUS EMPH MED deer
 ‘From where did he find that deer?’ (ycn0545,24)

Demonstratives in adnominal position show optional gender/number agreement with the head noun, marked with *-ru* and *-runa* for F and PL controllers respectively, and zero marked for NF controllers (98). Note that overt agreement on adnominal demonstratives is very rarely marked.

- (98) *marí-(rú) nu=e'we-ló i'jna-jé-yó pajímila e'yajé*
 PROX-F 1SG=sibling-F go-FUT-F city toward
 ‘The one(f) who will go to the city is this(f) sister of mine.’ (field notebook 3:129)

Syntactically, demonstratives have one dedicated slot at the left edge of the NP, distinct from the possessor slot, and the adjective/noun slot. There may thus only be one adnominal demonstrative per NP, but there no restrictions against the co-occurrence of demonstratives and

possessors within the same NP, whether the possessor is a person index as in (98), or an overt NP as in (99).

- (99) *kéelé* *yáwi i'rí* *ri=lamáí'-chaje* *jwa'té*
 MED **tiger son** 3SG.NF=raise-ARG.NZ with
 ‘with that son of a tiger that he had raised.’ (ycn0053,21)

In addition to possessors, demonstratives also occupy a distinct slot from numerals, which are placed immediately after the demonstratives, and before the possessor slot, as explained next.

3.2.1.2.2 Numerals

Numerals and the pronoun *apú* ‘other’ share one single slot within the NP after demonstratives and before possessors as in (100) and (101). There are no instances of co-occurrence of a numeral and *apú* within the same NP in my corpus, and there is no mention of this issue on the dictionary and grammar sketch by Schauer et al. (2005).

- (100) *kéelé* *wéji kéelé* *jimá*
 MED **three** fruit_sp
 ‘those three *caimo* fruits’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:170)
- (101) *kéelé* *apú* *ri=e'wé*
 MED **other** 3SG.NF=sibling
 ‘That other brother of his.’ (ycn0108,97)

In terms of encoding of morphological categories, the numeral one and *apú* show optional gender/number agreement when used as adnominal modifiers. The numeral one shows feminine agreement (*pajlúwá* ‘one(NF)’, *pajlúwá-ru* ‘one-F’), but quite obviously no plural marking, whereas the pronoun *apú* has irregular forms for both gender and number (*apú* NF, *apuwélo* F, *ajúpána* PL). Similarly to adnominal demonstratives, gender/number agreement is optional and rare in adnominal numerals (102) and *apú* (103).

- (102) *pajlúwa=ja* *na=e'we-ló* *ñáni*
one=LIM 3PL=sibling-F DIM
 ‘their one little sister’ (ycn0189,4)
- (103) *kéelé* *apú* *ri=éjéna*
 MED **other** 3SG.NF=siblings
 ‘those other siblings of his’ (ycn0189,58)

In addition to gender/number, numerals are optionally marked with numeral classifiers. The inventory and use of numeral classifiers is described in §3.2.1.2.2.1. The use of numerals in a pronominal function is discussed in §3.2.1.2.5.

3.2.1.2.2.1 Classifiers

Yukuna has a set of numeral classifiers that form a single paradigm of roughly 15 bound markers. The inventory of Yukuna's classifiers is given in Table 28, based on the work by Schauer et al. (2005) and my own corpus.

Table 28 Numeral classifiers in Yukuna

	Form	Meaning	Examples	# of tokens
Sortal	<i>-a'jlu</i>	round recipient		
	<i>-a'ku</i>	concave		
	<i>-a'la</i>	round, whole	eggs, coconuts, seeds, fruit	2
	<i>-ja</i>	human		3
	<i>-na</i>	big		
	<i>-ta</i>	flat	smoked fish, cassava tortillas, paper, trees	8
	<i>-hila</i>	long	trees, forest, plantain, sugar cane	2
	<i>-ipi</i>	pack		
	<i>-thá</i>	basket		3
	Mensural	<i>-i'lá</i>	string	
<i>-a'pa</i>		part of a whole		
<i>-i'jñe</i>		pack		
<i>-a'ma</i>		whole		
<i>-nachi</i>		animal separated from pack		

In terms of their semantics, classifiers in Yukuna are divided into sortal (shape, form) and mensural (quantity). They encode physical features of inanimate nouns, but there is one classifier for humans *-ja* CLS:HUM. They are optionally marked on numerals, once at most per NP. According to Schauer et al. (2005, 305), classifiers are also found on the pronoun *apú*, as well as on other word classes. Similarly, Fontaine (2013) reports that classifiers are quite

systematically used on nouns and adverbs/adjectives in incantations. This use however is unattested in my corpus.²⁷

Classifiers in Yukuna are optional, and in fact, very rarely used in my corpus. Out of the 15 classifiers listed by Schauer et al. (2005), only 5 were attested in my corpus of texts, and from more than 150 instances of numerals, only 20 were marked with classifiers, and almost half of those instances concerned the classifier *-ta* CLS:FLAT. The last column of Table 28 accounts for the number of tokens of classifiers attested in my corpus. Examples (104) and (105) illustrate the use of classifiers *-ta* and *-hila*²⁸ from elicited data.

(104) *-ta* CLS:FLAT

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>pajlúwá(-ta)</i> | <i>jarechí</i> | | |
| | one-CLS:FLAT | year | | |
| | ‘one year’ | | | |
| b. | <i>iyamá(-ta)</i> | <i>a'waná</i> | | |
| | two-CLS:FLAT | tree | | |
| | ‘two trees’ | | | |
| c. | <i>wéji kéelé /</i> | <i>wéji ké-ta</i> | <i>jíña</i> | <i>a'mita-kéja</i> |
| | three | three-CLS:FLAT | fish | smoke-PTCP |
| | ‘three smoked fishes’ | | | |
| d. | <i>pa'ú kéelé / pa'ú ké-ta</i> | <i>jirú</i> | | |
| | four | four-CLS:FLAT | strainer | |
| | ‘four strainers’ | | | |

(105) *-hila* CLS:LONG

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|
| a. | <i>pajlúwa(-hila)</i> | <i>mená</i> | | |
| | one-CLS:LONG | cropland | | |
| | ‘one cropland’ | | | |
| b. | <i>iyamá(-hila)</i> | <i>kujnú</i> | | |
| | two-CLS:LONG | cassava | | |
| | ‘two cassava tortillas’ | | | |
| c. | <i>wéji kéelé /</i> | <i>wéji ké-hilá</i> | <i>a'napitá</i> | |
| | three | three-CLS:LONG | arm | |
| | ‘three arms’ | | | |
| d. | <i>pa'ú kéelé /</i> | <i>pa'ú ké-hilá</i> | <i>páru</i> | |
| | four | four-CLS:LONG | plantain | |
| | ‘four plantain plants’ | | | |

²⁷ Fontaine (2013) explains that classifiers are used on nouns in order to provide cues about the appearance of a body part (e.g. the round shape classifier is used on the noun ‘thing’ to denote the jaguar’s head without naming the sacred animal or item in question).

²⁸ This classifier undergoes a process of /h/ metathesis also attested at the person index-root frontier, whereby the initial consonant /h/ of the suffix shifts to the onset of the preceding syllable, turning it into an aspirated/voiceless consonant, and allowing vowel fusion (e.g. /iyamá-hila/ → /iyamha-ila/ → [iyáméla]).

Note that classifiers are not restricted to simple numerals, and have been found in combination with complex numerals as well, as can be seen from (104)c, (104)d, (105)c and (105)d. In these cases, the classifier suffix is added onto the *kéelé* form (*ké=ilé* like=MED ‘like that’), replacing the final part corresponding to demonstrative *ilé* MED (see §2.2.7.4 for a description of the morphosyntax of complex numerals).

3.2.1.2.3 Adjectives, nouns and nominalizations

Adjectives in Yukuna differ from other word classes within the structure of the NP in their relative freedom of placement. Indeed, unlike demonstratives, numerals and possessors, adjectives can be placed before (106) or after (107) the head noun. If placed before the head noun, adjectives follow demonstratives and numerals, but they cannot be placed between the possessor and the head noun.

(106) *Kamu'jí wa=la'-ká [kháãjĩ ijá-ni wa=a'umaká] jwa'té.*
 poorly 1PL=do-NZ PROX **wet-NF** 1PL=clothes with
 ‘we are pitiful with these wet clothes of ours (Lit. our doing is pitiful...).’ (ycn0118,52)

(107) *A'jné [apú na=ñakaré wajé] chu=éjé na=pi'-chá=o*
 DIST other 3PL=house **new** in=toward 3PL=return-PST=MID
 ‘They returned to that other new house over there.’ (ycn0151,151)

Nominalizations can also function as adnominal modifiers within NPs, in which case, they tend to follow the head noun as in (108). Similarly to adjectives, nouns and nominalizations can also be used on their own in pronominal function. The properties of nominalizations used in the adnominal modification function (the equivalent of relativization) are described in further detail in §14.

(108) *É ri=ji'má jepo'tí-ya=o wená ri=li'-cháje chú=éjé*
 then 3SG.NF=foot tangle-PST=MID trap **3SG.NF=do-ARG.NZ** in=toward
 ‘Then his feet got entangled into the trap that he had made.’ (ycn0041,163)

The similar behavior of adjectives and nominalizations used as relative clauses classes Yukuna among languages that groups together these adnominal modifiers to the exclusion of possessors, which are encoded through a different strategy, or ‘Moderately differentiated, with adjectives and relative clauses collapsed’ languages (Gil 2013b).

There are very few instances in my corpus of texts of NPs with a lexical noun modified by both an adjective and a nominalization. There are also no attested cases with several adjectives or nominalizations as adnominal modifiers. It is thus uncertain whether there are restrictions concerning the relative placement of these modifiers. The attested examples suggest that in this case, adjectives precede relative clauses (109), but this might be due to the relative length of modifiers.

(109) *Nu=amí-cha* [*tiyéla kerá-ní* *yái'-chaje=o* mesa *nakú*]
 1SG=see-PST cup red-NF sit-NZ=MID table on
 ‘I saw the red cup that is on the table.’ (elicited, field notebook 6:169).

(110) *ri=wakajé* *na=jñá'-khé* *tâ* *inau'ké* *aí*
 3SG.NF=time 3pl=grab-FAR.PST.NZ EMPH person tooth
palá-nojě *na=amá-jĩkare=nó*
 good-? 3PL=see-FAR.PST=HAB
 ‘at that time, they used to grab people’s good teeth that they used to look at.’ (ycn0092,25)

An additional shared particularity of adjectives and nominalizations in adnominal modification function is that they do not seem to be selected for the position of the subject of a verb. Indeed, there are no attested instances of N+Adj or N+NZ in the position of verbal subject NP in my corpus. Note that in the examples (109) and (110) the NP containing the adnominal modifier was placed in the position of the object argument, and in (106) and (108) as an argument of a postposition. In the remainder of this dissertation, I will discuss the various restrictions concerning nominalizations and the syntactic position of the S NP.

Lastly, both adjectives and nominalizations share the possibility of participating in what looks like a ‘discontinuous’ NP, whereby the modifier and the noun are not contiguous. This configuration is illustrated with an adjective in (111) and a nominalization in (112). In (111) the adjective *kajúni* ‘big’ is separated from the noun *pokó* ‘backwater’ by a postposition. Similarly in (112), the nominalization (in brackets) is separated from the noun *jipú* ‘turtle’ by a demonstrative. Note that there is no intonation break between these elements.

(111) *É* *na=iphí-cha* *pajlúwa=ja* *ri=pokó*
 then 3PL=arrive-PST one=LIM 3SG.NF=backwater
chu=ějě *kajú-ni.*
 in=toward big-NF
 ‘Lit. then they arrived into one zone of backwater a big one’ (ycn0063,102)

(112) ...*pajlúwa=ja* *jipú* *kéelé* [*nu=warúwa'-káre*]
 one=LIM turtle_sp MED 1SG=buy-ARG.NZ

má=eyá *i'maká*].

PROX=from FAR.PST

‘Lit. one *charapa* turtle that one I had bought here a long time ago’ (ycn0101,11).

These examples suggest that adjectives and nominalizations have a looser syntactic link with regard to the head noun in contrast to other modifiers. Indeed, they are variably ordered, they are not necessarily adjacent to a lexical noun that they (semantically) modify, and they may be simply used on their own with a referential function. The use of adjectives and nominalizations in adnominal modification function may in fact be syntactically analyzed as appositional NPs, in other words, sets of juxtaposed co-referential NPs (Rijkhoff 2004, 22). This question is directly related to cases where lexical nouns themselves appear to modify other nouns, as discussed next.

3.2.1.2.4 Noun_i + Noun_i constructions: Adnominal modifiers or appositive NPs?:

This construction is characterized by the use of nouns as modifiers of other nouns. Unlike possessors and possessed nouns, nouns in this construction are coreferential. Additionally, similarly to adjectives and nominalizations, the relative order of the coreferential nouns varies (113)-(116).

(113) *pi=jiwaká* *tâ* *Kanumá*
2SG=boss EMPH Kanumá.
‘your boss Kanumá’ (0068,113)

(114) *Kanumá* *na=yajná*
Kanumá 3PL=husband
‘Kanumá their husband’ (0068,12)

(115) *kéelé* *ri=i'rí* *phe'jí*
MED 3SG.NF=son eldest.offspring
‘that son of his the eldest’ (ycn0108,240)

(116) *kéelé* *phe'jí* *ru=i'rí*
MED eldest.offspring 3SG.F=son
‘that eldest one her son.’ (ycn0189,122)

There are two possible analyses for this construction, either as i. a single NP containing one head noun with a noun as adnominal modifier or ii. two ‘appositive’ NPs with coreferential head nouns. There is no evidence that could favor one analysis over the other. The first analysis raises the question of which of the two nouns is the head and how we can demonstrate that. The

second analysis raises the question of why not to extend the appositive analysis to other modifiers, such as adjectives and nominalizations, because they have the capacity to form NPs without nouns.

3.2.1.2.5 NPs without nouns

Yukuna shows many instances of what could be called noun phrases without nouns, following the terminology by Dryer (2007).²⁹ These constituents share the same distributional features as noun phrases and pronouns, but do not contain a lexical noun. In Yukuna, these constituents are formed by all parts of speech that can modify a noun within a NP, namely, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and nominalizations of various types.

Although all adnominal modifiers can participate in constructions without a lexical noun there are some differences in their morphosyntactic features. Once more, demonstratives and numerals differ from adjectives and nominalizations.

Demonstratives and numerals are both used in NPs without nouns, but unlike their behavior in adnominal function (see §3.2.1.2.1-3.2.1.2.2), they appear to require gender/number agreement when used without an overt lexical noun. This is only visible with female referents, as in (117)-(119), as non-feminine gender is unmarked on both word classes.

(117) *É kája kéele-rú witúki'-cha*
 then MED-F go_down-PST
 ‘Then that one(f) went down.’ (ycn0151,100)

(118) ...*nu=wá'-ka lojé wa=jlú=wa pajlúwá-ja-ru*
 ...1SG=take-NZ PURP 1PL=for=REFL one-CLS:HUM-F
 ‘...so that I take one(f) for us.’ (ycn0068,183)

(119) *ajúpána yakái'-cha=o na=i'jñí e'yajé.*
 other.PL look-PST=MID 3PL=shit toward
 ‘The others looked at their shit.’ (189,53)

Most adjectives (of the *-ni* class, see §2.1.4) require gender and number marking in all contexts, whether used in adnominal modification function as in (106), or on their own in NPs without nouns (120). There is thus no additional marking required for adjectives to function in

²⁹ Other labels used for these types of constituents are headless NPs or elliptical NPs (Creissels 2006a, 67). Here, I will not address the question of whether this terminological choice is the most adequate to refer to the constituents described in this section. However, it is interesting to note that the semantics of these constituents is always definite, as they refer to a previously mentioned participant. Creissels considers this as evidence of an elided head noun.

NPs without nouns in comparison to their function as modifiers. This is in fact the most typologically frequent case in the world's languages (Gil 2013a), as well as in other Arawak languages like Bare (Aikhenvald 1995, 40).

- (120) *É pu'waré-ní tâ ja'-chá=o yenú=eyá*
 then ugly-NF EMPH fall-PST=MID above=from
 'Then the ugly (one) fell from above.' (ycn0545,34)

Nominalizations of various types, including ones with an internal clause-like structure, may also function on their own without a lexical noun with no additional marking from their use as adnominal modifiers. The specific rules of gender/number marking in this case depends on a variety of factors, from nominalization type, to the animacy of the referent. This issue is addressed in detail in §14.

3.2.1.3 Other grammatical markers: clitics and particles of the NP

This section discusses various other grammatical markers used within the NP. These markers vary in terms of their specific functions, ordering, and phonological boundedness. I describe their morphosyntactic behavior per functional domain: reflexivity and nominal aspect.

=o MID and =wa REFL

These two markers are used to encode reflexivity on nouns and postpositions, with a meaning close to 'one's own' (121)-(122). They are optional (123), and relatively infrequent, so it is difficult to distinguish the specific semantics of each. Among the two, however, the marker =o is also used with pronouns to form reflexive pronouns (see §2.2.1), as well as in verb phrases to mark the middle voice (see §4.2.1.3). I use the same gloss MID for all instances of this marker.

- (121) ...*iná* *la'-ká lojé* *iná* *ñakaré=o*
 GNR.PRO do-NZ PURP INDF.PRO house=MID
 '...for one to do one's own house.' (ycn0119,2)

- (122) *I=itá* *i=ijlu=wá!*
 2PL=close 2PL=eye=REFL
 'Close your own eyes!' (ycn0058,19)

- (123) *Chúwa pi=jme'tá* *pi=ijlú!*
 now 2SG=open 2SG=eye
 'Now open your eyes!' (ycn0058,21).

=mi PFV

The marker =*mi*, used on verbs to encode perfective aspect, is found on nouns as well to encode the end of possession (formerly possessed item, old/abandoned object) (124). When used with kinship terms, it usually refers to instances where the possessor has passed away (125), but in the case of spouses, it may simply refer to the end of the relationship (126), as had been mentioned already by Schauer et al. (2005, 301). Note that although =*mi* is most often associated with obligatorily possessed nouns, it can be used with any noun, including non-directly possessed nouns such as *pají* ‘traditional house’ (124).

(124) *pají=mi*

house=PFV
‘the old house.’ (ycn0079,18)

(125) *ri=e'wé=mi*

3SG.NF=sibling=PFV
‘his brother (of the deceased)’ (ycn0186,39)

(126) *ri=yajálo=mi* *tâ*

3SG.NF=wife=PFV EMPH
‘his former wife.’ (ycn0108,276)

The marker =*mi* is not to be confused with the noun *michú* ‘deceased one’ (*michólo* F, *michúna* PL), used when the referent of the possessed noun has passed away (127).

(127) *wa=chi'ná* *michú-ná*

1PL=parents deceased-PL
‘our deceased parents’ (ycn0058,86)

3.2.2 External features of NPs

Lastly, in addition to having a distinct internal morphosyntax, NPs also have a broad external syntax. As briefly presented in §2.1.1, NPs are compatible with multiple syntactic positions in different clause types. They are also compatible with positions within other NPs, as they can function as possessors and modifiers within NPs headed by another noun. The distribution of NPs per syntactic domain is summarized in Table 29.

Table 29 Grid of syntactic positions of NPs

Within NPs	Arg of N (PSSR) Adnominal mod
Verbal clauses	S of V

	O of V
	Arg of Postp
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause
	Pred of NV clause
Other	Dislocated NPs

The use of nouns within NPs as arguments and modifiers of the head was described previously in this section in the internal structure of the NP §3.2.1. Externally, NPs are compatible with the syntactic positions of arguments of verbs, subjects (128), objects (129) (see §5.1 on verbal clause structure), and arguments of postpositions (130) (see §5.2).

(128) *É [ru=jara'pá] jĩ'-chá ri=ikhá.*
 then 3SG.F=father grab-PST 3SG.NF=PRO
 'Then her father grabbed it.' (ycn0108,154)

(129) [*Pajlúwa yáwi i'ri*] *nu=wái'-cha.*
 one jaguar son 1SG=bring-PRS
 'I've brought one jaguar cub.' (ycn0053,10)

(130) *A'jná [apú na=ñakaré wajé] chojé na=pi'-chá=o.*
 DIST other 3PL=house new in.toward 3PL=return-PST=MID
 'They returned over there to their new house.' (ycn0151,151)

Note that NPs are not only by definition compatible with all of these syntactic positions, but within each syntactic position, they are also compatible with any lexical item in the noun, verb and postposition categories. That is to say, syntactically at least, nouns can be a possessor of any other noun, arguments of any verb, and arguments of any postposition. The tendencies and restrictions in the combination of elements is a result of their semantics.

In addition to verbal clauses, NPs are also compatible with the positions of arguments and predicates of zero copula non-verbal clauses, as the two noun phrases in (131) exemplify.

(131) *Itewí wa=jló kéelé piyuté*
 palm_sp 1PL=to MED boa
 'That boa is a *moriche* palm for us.' (ycn0108,141)

Lastly, NPs are also often used in an extra-syntactic position, dislocated to the right or to the left of a clause. This use of NPs participates in providing cues for referent identification, as with the sequence in (132). In (132)a, the speaker introduces an NP with a pronominal possessor, then further specifies the identity of this possessor with the dislocated NP in (132)b.

(132)

- a. *muní ké* *na=i'jĩ-chá,* *ri=keñóti-ya* [*ri=janajũ*],
next_day 3PL=go-PST 3SG.NF=make-PST 3SG.NF=hook
The next day he left, he made his hook,
- b. *Kanumá* *janajú,*
Kanumá hook
Kanuma's hook,
- c. *ri=ikhá* *ri=keñóti-ya.*
3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=make-PST
he made it.' (ycn0068,185)

4. The verb and the verb complex

This section introduces verbs and verbal markers of all types, with a particular focus on main clause verbal markers. Verbs in Yukuna are - unsurprisingly- the most complex among parts of speech in terms of the number of categories that they can be encoded for. The categories include valency, tense, aspect, modality, negation, as well as a variety of different deranking markers (derivational and subordinating). Other elements (Subject NPs/person indexes, objects, obliques, modifiers,) are described in Ch.5 on the verbal clause morphosyntax.

The full template of verbal clauses, including the markers described in this chapter, and the elements described in Ch.5, is given in Table 30. This template includes all elements of main verbal clauses, including declarative and interrogatives clauses. Elements such as subordinating suffixes and nominalizers are excluded from this template. The main aim of this template is to illustrate the relative ordering of elements within main verbal clauses, and in order to account for word order flexibility, some elements appear multiple times in different positions (e.g. objects may be pre-verbal in position 3, or post-verbal in position 17). Of course, this template does not attempt to represent restrictions in co-occurrence (e.g. S NPs in position 5 cannot co-occur with person indexes in position 7). These restrictions are described in each section individually.

Table 30 Verbal clause template

Position	Type	Element
1	slot	Connector
2	slot	Adverbial interrogatives
3	zone	Negation, O NP, OBL, ADVP
4	slot	Indefinite pro-forms (O, ADV)

5	slot	NP(S)
6	slot	Negation <i>unká</i>
7	slot	Person index
8	slot	Verb root
9	slot	Valency (<i>-ta</i> CAUS, <i>-ka</i> ASS, <i>-ñaa</i> APPL)
10	slot	Negation suffix <i>-la</i>
11	slot	Tense
12	slot	Valency (=o MID)
13	slot	Aspect (=mi PFV)
14	slot	Discourse markers
15	zone	Modality (<i>jlá</i> FRUST), Aspect (=no HAB)
16	slot	Discourse Markers
17	zone	O NP, OBL, ADVP, tense (far past <i>i'maka</i>)

4.1 Verbs

This section presents verb transitivity classes, as well as all verbal markers regardless of their type (affix, clitic, particle), and regardless of whether they are restricted to main or subordinate clauses.

4.1.1 Transitivity classes

In terms of transitivity, verbs in Yukuna can be categorized into three syntactic classes: transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive. The distinction between these classes simply depends on the total number of core arguments: two for transitives, one for intransitives, or both possibilities for ambitransitives. Since Yukuna is a strictly nominative-accusative language, I use the labels subject and object for the A/S and P arguments respectively.

4.1.1.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Yukuna have two core arguments, one subject and one object. The encoding features of each of these arguments are described in §5.1. Examples (133) et (134) illustrate some prototypical transitive verbs, with an overt NP subject and a pronominal subject (person index) respectively.

- (133) *Kája* [ri=pirá]s *nó-cha* *nákai* [pi=jara'pá]o.
 already 3SG.NF=pet kill-PST uh 2SG=father
 ‘The pet already killed your father.’ (ycn0053,37)

- (134) *ri=ikhá* *chojě* *na=motho'-chá* [*jíña-na* *majá-runá*]_O.
 3SG.NF=PRO into 3PL=cook-PST fish-PL rotten-PL
 ‘They cooked the rotten fish into it.’ (ycn0041,96)

Note that although transitive verbs require two core arguments, the object need not be overtly expressed when recoverable from context as with the sequence in (135).

- (135) *É* *ru=nó-cha* *tâ* [Ø]_O, *é* *ru=apíro'-chá* *tâ* [Ø]_O,
 then 3SG.F=kill-PST EMPH then 3SG.F=suck-PST EMPH
ru=ajĩ-cha *tâ* [*ru=ikhá*]_O.
 3SG.F=eat-PST EMPH 3SG.F=PRO
 ‘Then she killed (her), then she sucked (her), she ate her.’ (ycn0151,59)

Semantically, the participants encoded as subject and object need not be agentive and patientive respectively. Indeed, the class of transitive verbs includes many verbs that lack a patient argument as with the perception verb ‘see’ in (136). With perception verbs, the experiencer is encoded as the subject, and the stimulus as the object.

- (136) *É* *ri=amí-cha* *tâ* [*ru=ikhá*]_O.
 then 3SG.NF=see-PST EMPH 3SG.F=PRO
 ‘Then he saw her.’ (ycn0079,37)

Some verbs have, in addition of a subject and an object, an obligatory argument marked with a postposition. This is the case of ditransitive verbs such as ‘give’ in (137), and ‘send’ in (138).

- (137) *na=a'-chá* *píño* [*ri=jló*]_{OBL} [*kujnú*]_O.
 3PL=give-PST again 3SG.NF=to cassava
 ‘They gave cassava to him again.’ (ycn0068,53)

- (138) [*Nu=ikhá*]_O [*pa'yús* *wakára'a* *majó* [*pi=cháje*]_{OBL}.
 1SG=PRO father send PROX.toward 2SG=at
 ‘My father sent me here to your place.’ (ycn0063,34)

4.1.1.2 Intransitive verbs

Verbs in this category only have one core argument, a subject. This argument may be either semantically human or non-human, volitional or not. This is illustrated with the human and volitional subject in (139), and the non-human and non-volitional subject in (140). All

intransitive verbs regardless of semantics show the same argument encoding pattern, so the language does not display an active/stative distinction in this class. The only syntactic distinction among intransitive predicates lies between *verbal* and *non-verbal* predicates (see Ch.6).

(139) *kája na=ja'pícha píño*
 then 3PL=pass-PST again
 'then they passed by again' (ycn0068,75)

(140) *Jíña-na taji'-chá.*
 fish-PL die-PST
 'The fish died.' (ycn0041,93)

Intransitive verbs also include verbs with an obligatory oblique, such as motion verbs (141).

(141) *chúwajá pi=i'jna-jé nu=jwa'té [nu=ñakaré=éjǒ]OBL*
 today 2SG=go-FUT 1SG=with 1SG=house=toward
 'today you will come to my house with me' (ycn0092,76)

I also include within intransitive verbs speech verbs such as *kémá* 'say' in (142). Speech verbs in Yukuna include a dative participant (encoded with postposition *jló*), and the message is expressed as reported speech. However, since I do not analyze the inserted reported speech as an object, these verbs do not qualify as transitive.

(142) *É [ri=yajálo]s kémí-cha [ri=jló]OBL: "é pi=i'mi-chá-ká?"*
 Then 3SG.NF=wife say-PST 3SG.NF=to Q 2SG=go-PST-NZ
 'Then his wife said to him: "did you go?".' (ycn0092,29)

4.1.1.3 Ambitransitive verbs

Lastly, there are a few cases of ambitransitive verbs: polysemous verbs that can be used as either intransitive or transitive verbs. This is the case of the root *pata*, used with the meaning of 'shine' as an intransitive verb in (143), and with the meaning of 'shed light on' as a transitive verb in (144).

(143) *kéri pata-ká.*
 moon shine-NZ
 'the moon is shining' (elicited)

(144) *nu=pata-ká iñepú kamaré.*

1SG=shine-NZ path light
 ‘I’m shedding light on the path.’ (lit. I’m lighting the path’s light.’) (elicited)

4.1.2 Verbal markers

This section introduces all the grammatical markers (affixes, clitics, particles) that combine with verbs, listed in Table 31. I categorize verbal markers into main clause markers vs. deranking markers. That is, in the former category, we find all markers which are used in main verbal clauses, and in the latter, we find all markers which are used on dependent verb forms of various types. Deranking morphology includes derivational markers (nominalizers, adjectivizers), as well as markers that simply encode the subordinate status of a verb (subordinating markers). Main clause markers are described in §4.2, subordinating markers are presented in Ch.8, and nominalizers are the focus of Part II. As far as deranking markers are concerned, I now focus on the subordinating markers, which are not discussed in the nominalization description.

Table 31 Main clause and deranking markers in Yukuna

Type	Functions	Markers	Gloss	
Main	Valency	<i>-ta</i>	CAUS	
		<i>-ñaá</i>	APPL	
		<i>=o</i>	MID	
	Tense		<i>-ka</i>	ASS
			<i>-je</i>	FUT
			<i>-cha</i>	PRS
			<i>-cha</i>	PST
			<i>-khe</i>	FAR.PST
			<i>-jika</i>	FAR.PST
			<i>i'maka</i>	FAR.PST
	Aspect		<i>=mi</i>	PFV
			<i>=no</i>	HAB
	Modality		<i>-niña</i>	PROH
			<i>-chí</i>	PURP
			<i>-ré</i>	PURP
<i>-kare</i>			ARG.NZ	
<i>jlá</i>			FRUST	
	Negation	<i>unká...-la</i>	NEG ... V.NEG	
Deranking	Nominalizations	<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	
		<i>-kana</i>	EV.NZ	
		<i>-kaje</i>	EV.NZ	

	<i>-jona</i>	INSTR.NZ
	<i>-ka</i>	NZ
	<i>-kare</i>	PART.NZ
	<i>-chaje</i>	PART.NZ
	<i>-ri/yo/ño</i>	NF/F/PL
Subordinating markers	<i>lojé</i>	PURP
	<i>piyá</i>	NEGPURP
	<i>é</i>	TEMP/COND
	<i>chú</i>	COND
	<i>aú</i>	CAUSE
	<i>lé</i>	CAUSE
	<i>-keja</i>	PTCP
	<i>-chí</i>	PURP
	<i>-ré</i>	PURP
	<i>-noja</i>	CONC

I distinguish two types of deranking markers in Yukuna: deranking markers that build nominalizations, and deranking markers that encode dependency status (subordinating markers).³⁰ The markers used in nominalizations are described at length in Ch.11-14. Subordinating markers are listed in Table 32, with additional information on whether they are particles or suffixes, their possible combination with nominalizers and their function.

Table 32 Subordinating markers in Yukuna

Type	Marker	Gloss	Combines with NMLZ	Function
particle	<i>lojé</i>	PURP	y	Purposive adverbial clauses
particle	<i>piyá</i>	NEGPURP	y	Negative purposive clauses
particle	<i>é</i>	TEMP/COND	y	Temporal/conditional clauses
particle	<i>chú</i>	COND	y	Conditional clauses
particle	<i>aú</i>	CAUSE	y	Causal clauses
particle	<i>lé</i>	CAUSE	y	Causal clauses
suffix	<i>-keja</i>	PTCP	n	adnominal modification, secondary predicates
suffix	<i>-chí</i>	PURP	n	purposive clauses
suffix	<i>-ré</i>	PURP	n	purposive clauses
suffix	<i>-noja</i>	CONC	n	concessive clauses

³⁰ Note that technically, markers used in nominalizations are also used in subordinate clauses. However, the markers categorized as subordinating markers are not nominalizers. See Ch.9-10 for a working definition of these terms, and the language-specific definitions of nominalization vs. subordination

There are at least 10 subordinating markers in Yukuna, split into two categories: subordinating particles, all of which combine with nominalizations, and subordinating affixes, which do not combine with nominalizations. Subordinating particles are phonologically free morphemes placed after deranked verb forms marked with nominalizer *-ka* as in (145). Their role is to encode the semantic link between the adverbial subordinate clause and the main clause, as in (145), where the purposive meaning of the adverbial clause is marked with a dedicated purposive marker, the subordinating particle *lojé*. Adverbial subordinate clauses with subordinating particles are briefly discussed in §8, and further discussed in §14.2.4.6.1.

- (145) *ri=moto'-chá* *ri=jlú=wa* *ri=ikhá* *ri=ajñá-ká* **lojé**
 3SG.NF=cook-PST 3SG.NF=to=REFL 3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=eat-NZ **PURP**
 ‘He cooked it for himself for him to eat.’ (ycn0108,41)

In addition to subordinating particles, Yukuna has four dedicated subordinating affixes. These markers are phonologically bound to the verbal stem, which is not marked with any additional deranking morphology. Unlike subordinating particles, these markers encode both the dependent status of the verb form, and the specific semantic link between the subordinate and the main clause. The four subordinating affixes in Yukuna are the purposive subordinators *-chí* and *-ré*, the concessive suffix *-noja*, and the participle *-keja*. These markers are used on verb forms that lack most verbal features, in adverbial subordinate clauses mainly. Among these markers, the participle *-keja* is the only derivational one, as it creates deverbal adjectives used in adnominal modification (146) and secondary predication (147).

- (146) *matha'-kéja* *na=jwíla'ro*
 cut-PTCP 3PL=head
 ‘their cut heads’ (ycn0092,25)

- (147) *Nu=jña'-khé* *weja-kéja.*
 1SG=grab-FAR.PST poison-PTCP
 ‘I used to grab (them) poisoned.’ (ycn0117,78)

The uses of subordinating suffixes *-keja* PTCP, *-chí* PURP, *-ré* PURP and *-noja* CONC are further discussed in Ch.8.

4.2 The verbal complex

This section describes all verbal markers of main verbal clauses per functional domain: valency, tense, aspect, modality and negation. This section includes many markers that are synchronically considered as deranking morphology (subordinators and nominalizers). The choice to include these markers is mostly practical, as this grammar sketch aims to follow a function to form structure. However, this decision is also meant to highlight how the multifunctionality of deranking morphology, and in particular nominalizers, affects all grammatical domains in the language. If we were to carefully remove these markers from the description of verbal categories, there would be little left to say about TAM in Yukuna.

4.2.1 Valency changing mechanisms

Yukuna has four main valency changing mechanisms: causative, applicative, middle and associative, listed in Table 33. These markers either produce transitive verbal stems (causatives and applicatives), or intransitive verbal stems (middle and associative). The analysis and many of the examples in this section were based on the results of the “realization of the causative alternation” questionnaire by Nichols (2017).

Table 33 Valency changing markers in Yukuna

Function	Marker	Position in verb complex
Causative	<i>-ta ~ -chi</i>	9
Applicative	<i>-ñãa ~ -ñãi</i>	9
Middle	<i>=o</i>	12
Associative	<i>-ka ~ -ki ... =o</i>	9, 12

4.2.1.1 Causative *-ta ~ -chi*

The suffix *-ta ~ -chi* (/ti/ [tʃi] ~ [ti]) is a valency marker that produces transitive verbs, with an agentive participant encoded as the grammatical subject, and a patient participant (inanimate and/or non-volitional) encoded as the object as with the pairs in (148)-(149).

(148)

- a. *Jiña puyúká-ri.*
 fish boil-NF
 ‘The fish is boiling.’ (elicited, notebook 9:25)

- b. *Nu=puyúká-ta jíña.*
 1SG=boil-CAUS fish
 ‘I boil the fish.’ (elicited,notebook 9:26)

(149)

- a. *Nu=apó-cha jlapiyámí.*
 1SG=wake_up-PST morning
 ‘I woke up in the morning.’ (elicited,notebook 9:19)
- b. *Nu=apó-chi-ya ri=ikhá jlapiyámí.*
 1SG=wake_up-CAUS-PST 3SG.NF=PRO morning
 ‘I woke him up in the morning.’ (elicited,notebook 9:20)

Similarly to all valency suffixes in this position, suffix *-ta* has an allomorph that replaces the final *a* for vowel *i* (/ta/ ~ /ti/ produced as [tʃi], or more rarely as [ti]) when used with past tense suffix *-cha*, which in turn is produced as its allomorph *-ya* (149)b.

In elicitation, this marker can easily combine with different intransitive verbal roots to produce a meaning of direct causation (150). However, this marker cannot be used on transitive verbal roots in order to add an external agent participant.

(150)

- a. *nu=i'cha-ká*
 1SG=laugh-NZ
 ‘I am laughing.’ (elicited,notebook 9:1)
- b. *nu=i'cha-tú-ká ri=ikhá*
 1SG=laugh-CAUS-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘I am making him laugh.’ (elicited,notebook 9:2)

In order to causativize transitive verbs, a periphrastic construction with the verb ‘send/order’ is used as in (151).

- (151) *Chúwa pi=wakára'a pi=jwa'téje-na jña'-ká kajírú.*
 now 2SG=order 2SG=worker-PL grab-NZ manioc
 ‘Order your workers to go grab manioc now!’ (ycn0068,288)

Although the suffix *-ta* is not used to causativize transitive verbs, it is in fact compatible with transitive verbs, as a marker that encodes fully completed actions and fully affected patients as in (152) and (153).

- (152) *Kája na=jero'-tí-ya tâ ri=chijné phiyúké.*
 already 3PL=pull_out-CAUS-PST EMPH 3SG.NF=hair entirely
 ‘They already pulled out his hair entirely.’ (ycn0041,125)

- (153) *phiyúké na=nó-tí-ya-ka na=ikhá*

entirely 3PL=kill-CAUS-PST-NZ 3PL=PRO
 ‘they killed them all’ (ycn0058,38)

Concerning its placement within the verb complex, as all valency markers except for enclitic =o, the causative suffix *-ta* is placed immediately after the verbal root, and before all inflectional suffixes, in position 9 of the verb complex (see Table 30).

Lastly, as all verbal suffixes, causative *-ta* is only used as a marker of valency with verbs, and does not combine with other word classes, unlike the enclitic =o MID (§4.2.1.3).

4.2.1.2 Applicative *-ñaa ~ -ñai ~ -ña*

The applicative suffix *-ñaa ~ -ñai ~ -ña* is also a valency marker that produces transitive verbs with an agentive participant encoded as the nominative argument, and a patientive participant encoded as the accusative argument (154).

(154)

- a. *É* *ri=i'jĩ-chá.*
 then 3SG.NF=go-PST
 ‘Then he left.’ (ycn0041,24)
- b. *Chúwa* *tá* *kája* *wa=i'jna-ñáa* *pi=ikhá.*
 now EMPH already 1PL=go-APPL 2SG=PRO
 ‘We’re leaving you now.’ (ycn0189,163)

Despite the similarities between this marker and the causative *-ta*, as both are valency increasing markers, there are important semantic differences between the two. Consider the intransitive, causative and applicative verbal forms in (155). The intransitive form of the verb root *ja'pá ~ ja'pí* ‘pass by’ in (155)a has a single participant that voluntarily moves in space, encoded as the subject. In the case of the causative ‘pass (something)’ with *-ta* in (155)b there is an external agent (the subject) causing an inanimate patient (the object) to move. With the applicative form ‘pass beyond/leave’ in (155)c, it is the argument encoded as the subject that is moving, similarly to the intransitive form in (155)a, but in this case, there is a participant encoded as the object which is left behind, defeated, or simply negatively affected by the action. The construction encoded with this marker is thus a type of detrimental applicative.

(155)

- a. *Kája* *ru=ja'pí-cha* *ri=jwa'té.*
 already 3SG.NF=pass-PST 3SG.NF=with
 ‘She passed by with him.’ (ycn0058,29)
- b. *Palá* *ru=ja'pá-chi-ya-ka* *ru=nakojé* *ri=ikhá.*

- good 3SG.F=pass-CAUS-PST-NZ 3SG.F=on.toward 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘She passed it on her well.’ (ycn0089,78)
- c. *É* *na=ja'pá-ñá-cha* *ri=ikhá.*
 then 3PL=pass-APPL-PST 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Then they left him behind. (Lit. they passed him)’ (ycn0108,68)

This valency increasing mechanism is restricted to intransitive verbs. The intransitive roots carrying this marker are often motion verbs with volitional participants as in (155)a, but not necessarily (156). In fact, it is possible that the participant encoded as the subject be semantically patientive, as in (157).

(156)

- a. *Kája* *ri=taji'-chá* *me'píj* *nakú*
 already 3SG.NF=die-PST hunger on
 ‘He already died of starvation.’ (ycn0186,99)
- b. *Kája* *wá=ja* *ri=taja'-ñái-cha* *na=ikhá*
 Then EMPH=LIM 3SG.NF=die-APPL-PST 3PL=PRO
 ‘Then he died on them.’ (ycn0189,6)

(157)

- a. *Kája* *kháãjĩ* *kujnú* *anó'o=o.*
 already PROX cassava wet=MID
 ‘This cassava already got wet.’ (ycn0068,71)
- b. *Ri=éjě* *kujnú* *anó'-ñá-cha* *na=i'michá.*
 3SG.NF=toward cassava wet-APPL-PST 3PL=FAR.PST
 ‘Then their cassava got wet (lit. the cassava got wet on them.) (ycn0068,70)
 68,70

This marker is placed in position 9 of the verb complex immediately after the verb root and before all inflectional morphology (see Table 30).

In terms of morphophonology, *-ñaa* has multiple variants: an allomorph *-ñai* conditioned by the use of past tense *-cha* (156)b, and a free, shorter variant *-ña* that can be used in any context regardless of tense (157)b. Phonetically, the variants *-ñaa* and *-ña* are almost indistinguishable, however the second /a/ in *-ñaa* has to be posited to account for the form *-ñai*. This analysis is also compatible with the diachronic hypothesis of suffix *-ñaa* as coming from the transitive verbal root *ñáa* ~ *ñái* ‘escape from’ and illustrated in (158).

- (158) *apála* *ri=ñáa* *na=ikhá*
 maybe 3SG.NF=escape 3PL=PRO
 ‘maybe he will escape from them’ (ycn0189,136)

4.2.1.3 Middle voice =o

The enclitic =o is used as a valency marker that produces intransitive verbs, the unique argument of which is encoded as a subject. The semantic role of the subject of =o marked verbs is not that of a prototypical agent nor patient. Typically, this argument acts on itself (159)b, or undergoes an event without the participation of an external, volitional agent (160)b.

(159)

- a. *Pi=káa'ta jimíchi*
2SG=burn grass
'you burn grass.' (elicited, notebook 9:28)
- b. *Nu=káa'chi-ya=o*
1SG=burn-PST=MID
'I burned myself.' (elicited, notebook 9:27)

(160)

- a. *Nu=yuphi'-chá a'waná*
1SG=break-PST stick
'I broke the stick.' (elicited, notebook 9:30)
- b. *A'waná yuphi'-cha-ri=o*
stick break-PST-NF=MID
'The stick broke (Lit.it is the stick that was broken.)' (elicited, notebook 9:29)

In terms of productivity, the use of marker =o with verbal roots is strictly lexically determined. Indeed, while the pairs in (159)-(160) show an alternation between a bare transitive verbal root, and its intransitive equivalent marked with =o, it is also often the case that the bare verbal root without valency markers is not attested at all. Some transitive/intransitive pairs are each marked with either the causative -ta or the middle =o (161). In some cases, only the =o form is attested (e.g. *yakáa'=o* 'look at', *káta=o* 'play with'). The restricted productivity of the marker =o is also clear from the fact that some of the =o marked verbs have idiosyncratic semantics (e.g. *ja'* 'bury' vs. *ja'=o* 'fall', *la'* 'do' vs. *la'=o* 'adorn oneself').

(161)

- a. *Nu=e'wé yáa'-ri=o*
1SG=sibling sit-NF=MID
'My brother is seated.' (elicited, notebook 9:5)
- b. *Nu=yáa'-ta yuwají*
1SG=sit-CAUS child
'I made the child sit.' (elicited, notebook 9:6).

In terms of its placement within the verb complex, the middle enclitic =*o* is placed after all inflectional and derivational verbal morphology (position 12 of the verb complex, see Table 30), and before perfective aspect enclitic =*mi* (§4.2.3.1). Phonologically, this enclitic is peculiar in that it replaces the vowel of the preceding syllable, regardless of what element precedes it (a suffix, the bare verbal root). This is illustrated with the different forms of *kamáta=o* ‘sleep’ in Table 34.

Table 34 Morphophonological features of middle voice enclitic =*o*

3SG.NF=V=MID	<i>ri=kamáta-o</i>	rikamáto
3SG.NF=V-FUT=MID	<i>ri=kamáta-je=o</i>	rikamátaho
3SG.NF=V-NZ=MID	<i>ri=kamáta-ka=o</i>	rikamátako
3SG.NF=V-V.NEG-FUT=MID	<i>ri=kamáta-la-je=o</i>	rikamátalaho
3SG.NF=V-PST=MID	<i>ri=kamáchi-ya=o</i>	rikamátj̃iyo
3SG.NF=V-PST-NZ=MID	<i>ri=kamáchi-ya-ka=o</i>	rikamátj̃iyako
V-PST-NF=MID	<i>kamáchi-ya-ri=o</i>	kamátj̃ijaro

Lastly, as most markers included in the clitic category, the middle marker =*o* combines with hosts from various word classes. On nouns and on postpositions, this marker is used to encode reflexivity (162)-(163). When used on person pronouns, it produces forms with the meaning of ‘by oneself/all alone’ (164).

(162) *iná* *la'á* *iná* *ñakaré=o*
 GNR.PRO do GNR.PRO house=MID
 ‘one builds one’s own house’ (ycn0119,37)

(163) *É* *Yawotí* *ako'-chá* *ri=chá=o* *júni*
 then Y. pour-PST 3SG.NF=on=MID water
 ‘Then Yawotí (a wise turtle) poured water onto himself.’ (ycn0186,147)

(164) *Kája* *ri=yurí-cha=o* *ri=ikhá=o=ja*
 already 3SG.Nf=stay-PST=MID 3SG.NF=PRO=MID=LIM
 ‘He stayed all on his own.’ (ycn0041,170)

Note that the pronoun carrying =*o* MID as in (164) functions as an adverbial modifier, and not as a core verbal argument. Other adverbial forms carrying =*o* MID are found in the associative construction described next.

4.2.1.4 Associative *-ka ~ -ki... =o*

Yukuna has an ‘associative’ valency changing mechanism double marked with suffix *-ka ~ -ki* and enclitic =*o* MID. This construction is used on both transitive (165) and intransitive (166) verb roots to produce intransitive verbs with an additional oblique marked with postposition *jwa'té* ‘with’.

(165) *wa=wáa'-ka=o* *ri=jwa'té*
 1PL=take-ASS=MID 3SG.NF=with
 ‘We got married.’ (lit. we got married with him.)’ (ycn0114,12)

(166) *wa=iphá-ka-je=o* *pi=e'wé* *jwa'té*
 1PL=arrive-ASS-FUT=MID 2SG=sibling with
 ‘we will run into your brother’ (ycn0041,85)

The use of this valency encoding strategy *ka ~ -ki ... =o* differs from that of prototypical reciprocals as defined in Nedjalkov and Geniušienė (2007, 396–97). Certainly, when used with a plural subject on a transitive root, the resulting form with *-ka ~ -ki ... =o* looks like a reciprocal as the two *co-reciprocants* are encoded as the agents of the verb as in (167) and (168). However, unlike prototypical reciprocals, the participant encoded as the subject in this construction is not necessarily a plural as in (169). Indeed, the pattern illustrated in (169) would correspond to what Nedjalkov calls a ‘discontinuous reciprocal’. Additionally, the general meaning of the *-ka~-ki...=o* marked construction is not necessarily reciprocal, and the comitative marked argument is not even necessarily an active participant in the event (166). There are very few instances of marking with *-ka~-ki...=o* in the Flex corpus (13 identified occurrences, with five different verbal roots). Clearly, further work is required to grasp the function of this construction in Yukuna. For practical purposes, here I simply gloss the marker *-ka ~-ki* as ‘associative’.

(167) *Muní* *wa=chíra'-ka-jĩ-ka=o*.
 tomorrow 1PL=pull-ASS-FUT-NZ=MID
 ‘Tomorrow we will pull each other.’ (ycn0186,138)

(168) *é* *na=nó-ki-cha=o* “*té té*” *ké*

then 3PL=kill-ASS-PST=MID IDEO IDEO like
 ‘Then they fought like “té té”.’ (ycn0068,343)

(169) *muni nu=atáã'-ka-ka=o júni chi'náikana jwa'té.*
 tomorrow 1SG=try-ASS-NZ=MID water owner with
 ‘Tomorrow I will go challenge the water owner.’ (ycn0186,137)

The suffix *-ka ~ -ki* is placed in the same position as other valency suffixes (*-ta* CAUS, and *-ñaa* APPL). Similarly to these markers, *-ka* also has an allomorph ending in vowel /i/, *-ki*, used with the past tense suffix *-cha* (170).

(170) ...*iphá-ki-cha-ri=o píño ichirí jwa'té*
 arrive-ASS-PST-NF=MID again opossum with
 ‘...and (he) ran again into the opossum’ (ycn0186,76)

Yukuna uses a lexical strategy to express reciprocal semantics, using adverbs *pekhówáka* and *pajlokáka*, both meaning ‘to one another’ (171)-(172).³¹

(171) *Na=i'mi-chá yúku pajlokáka phiyúké*
 3PL=tell-PST story each_other all
 ‘They told each other stories and all.’ (ycn0063,56)

(172) *Na=ajaláki-cha pekhówáka*
 3PL=greet-PST each_other
 ‘They greeted each other.’ (ycn0186,77)

4.2.2 Tense

This section describes the main grammatical markers of the verb complex used to encode tense categories. Lexical elements such as temporal adverbs are not included here although they play an important role in specifying temporal distinctions, in particular with verb forms unmarked for tense.

³¹ These elements are clearly morphologically complex, although the exact morphological segmentation of these elements is unsure. It is likely that they include the impersonal index *pa=* IMPERS, with the pronominal form *ikhá* PRO in *pekhówáka*, and the postposition *jló* ‘to’ in *pajlokáka*.

Yukuna’s tense system is rather small, with four tense suffixes and one tense particle, all of which are optional. This system encodes the future, present and past, with a remoteness distinction in the past (indeterminate past and far past). Several of these tense markers have inherent aspectual semantics (present perfect *-cha*, far past habitual suffixes *-khe* and *-jĩka*). These forms are summarized in Table 35.

Table 35 Tense markers in Yukuna

Tense	Value	Marker	Position in verb complex
Future		<i>-je ~ -jĩ</i>	11
Present	Imperfective	unmarked	
	Perfect	<i>-cha ~ -ya</i> (conversations)	11
Past	General	unmarked (conversations)	
		<i>-cha ~ -ya</i> (narratives)	
	Far, habitual	<i>-khe</i>	11
	Far, habitual	<i>-jĩka</i>	11
	Far	<i>i'maká ~ i'micháká ~ i'majĩká</i>	17

This table includes all markers with inherent tense semantics, including cases where the markers are synchronically or diachronically related to nominalizers. This is due to the fact that most tense marking strategies are related in one way or another to nominalizations and it would not be possible to talk about tense in Yukuna without including these markers. The various links between tense and nominalization are further discussed in §14.

4.2.2.1 Future *-je ~ -jĩ*

The standard future marker in Yukuna is the suffix *-je ~ -jĩ*. It is used to encode future events of any type, whether in the near (173) or indeterminate future (174).

(173) *Atíri yukú-ná nu=i'ma-jé.*
 turkey_sp story-ALIEN3 1SG=tell-FUT
 ‘I will tell the wild turkey’s story.’ (ycn0189,1)

(174) *Eyá ri=kámo'-je=o ri=ikhá=o*
 Then 3SG.NF=ripen-FUT=MID 3SG.NF=PRO=MID
 ‘Then it will ripen on its own.’ (ycn0108,230)

This marker is placed in position 11 of the verbal complex template (see Table 30), after negation suffix *-la* and before grammatical nominalizers *-ka*, *-kare*. This suffix has an allomorph *-jĩ* when followed by nominalizer *-ka*. The sequence of *-jĩ* and *-ka* is very frequently used as a recent future/hortative construction (175) with very similar semantics to those with purposive marker *-chĩ* (see §7.2).

- (175) *Wa=ja'pá-jĩ-ka máayá, wa=yuí-ta-chĩ ri=ikhá tã.*
 1PL=walk-FUT-NZ PROX.from 1PL=leave-CAUS-PURP 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH
 ‘Let’s leave from here, let’s abandon him.’ (ycn0108,67)

Lastly, the future marker *-je ~ -jĩ* is very likely diachronically related to the agent nominalizer *-je*, and the purpose of motion suffix *-je*, as I discuss in §14.1.4.2.

4.2.2.2 Present

4.2.2.2.1 Present imperfective

Present imperfective events are unmarked in Yukuna. These unmarked verb forms often receive a present habitual interpretation as in (176), but they may also have a punctual interpretation (177).

- (176) *Wa=jme'tá lapiyámi, é wa=i'jná a'pita-jé*
 1PL=wake_up morning then 1PL=go bathe-PURP.MOT
 ‘We wake up in the morning and go shower.’ (ycn0042,3)

- (177) *Kháajĩ nu=a'á pi=jló kujnú.*
 PROX 1SG=give 2SG=to cassava
 ‘Here, have some cassava (lit. Here I give you cassava).’ (ycn0068,111)

Verb forms unmarked for tense also have a past tense interpretation (§4.2.2.3.2). The two interpretations can only be teased apart by context. Typically, in procedural texts the tenseless verb form is understood as present habitual, and in conversations it is understood as past.

4.2.2.2.2 Present perfect *-cha ~ -ya* (conversations)

The suffix *-cha* ~ *-ya* is used to encode the present perfect in conversations. Usually, the action has just been accomplished at the moment of the utterance as in (178)(179).

(178) *maáré nu=i'mi-chá ri=le'jé numeración tâ kulá-je*
 PROX.LOC 1SG=go-PRS 3SG.NF=POSS number EMPH search-PURP.MOT
 ‘Here, I just went to get his number’ (meaning: and came back) (ycn0504,9)

(179) *máare=ejená=ja ri=yukú-ná tají-cha=o*
 PROX.LOC=until=LIMIT 3SG.NF=story-ALIEN3 end-PRS=MID
 ‘Here his story just ended.’ (ycn0041,173)

This marker is placed in position 11 of the verbal complex (see Table 30) along with all other tense suffixes in the language. This marker participates in multiple types of allomorphy. It has an allomorph *-ya* [ja], produced after roots ending in /ti/ [t̃i ~ ti], or after the causative suffix *-ta* ~ *-chi*. Additionally, the use of this marker triggers the use of /i/ allomorphs of roots ending in /a/. Indeed, note that in (178) the form *i'mi* of the copula *i'ma* is used, and likewise in (179), the form *tají* of the verb *tajná* is used.

This marker had previously been described as a recent past marker (Schauer et al. 2005), but its semantics certainly correspond more to a present perfect. Indeed, the time window for the use of *-cha* is limited to events having taken place on the same day of the moment of utterance, often emphasized by adverbs such as ‘here’, ‘now’, and ‘just now’. In elicitation, speakers systematically reject *-cha* used with events taking place one day prior to the moment of utterance (180). In fact, they often explain their grammaticality judgments by adding that *-cha* cannot be used in these cases because it is “meant for the present time”.

(180) **Jlálémi nu=amí-cha pi=e'wé.*
 yesterday 1SG=see-PRS 2SG=sibling
 ‘*I saw your brother yesterday.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:30)

The suffix *-cha* has a very complex distribution and serves multiple functions. As a present perfect, *-cha* is sometimes used with speech act participants with hortative/imperative meanings as in (181) and (182). However, I consider this use of *-cha* to be context and person dependent, and thus, I keep the gloss PRS for these ‘modal’ like uses. The modal use of markers

describing a completed event is not entirely unusual. Colloquial Spanish uses the simple past to form hortatives and imperatives as in *nos fuimos* ‘we’re leaving!’, *te fuiste* ‘you left!’.

(181) *Pi=amí-cha.*

2SG=see-PRS

‘Come look’ (ycn0041,123)

(182) *Nu=i'jĩ-chá wa=jlú=wa kamejé-ri-na nó-je.*

1SG=go-PRS 1PL=to=REFL animal-PL kill-PURP.MOT

‘I’m going to go hunt animals for us.’ (ycn0041,34)

More interestingly, in addition to encoding present perfect in conversations, *-cha* is also the default past tense marker used in storytelling (§4.2.2.3.1). I use different glosses for the past tense use of this marker in narratives, and the present perfect use in conversations. In all of these functions, the marker is identical in terms of position in the verbal template and allomorphy.

4.2.2.3 Past

Past tense in Yukuna can be split into two broad categories: a general/indeterminate past and a far past. The encoding of the general past depends on genre, with no tense marking in conversations, and *-cha* PST in storytelling. Far past is encoded with three different markers, with very similar semantics: the far past habitual suffixes *-khe* and *-jĩka*, and the far past particle *i'maká*.

4.2.2.3.1 General past with *-cha* ~ *-ya* (storytelling)

This marker is used as the default past tense marker in storytelling. As such, it is one of the most frequent markers in my corpus, found in almost every sentence as in (183).

(183)

a. *ru=ñapáchi-ya na=motho'-kána,*

3SG.F=finish-PST 3PL=cook-EV.NZ

She finished cooking it,

b. *é ru-apó-chi-ya ri=ikhá,*

then 3SG.F=wake_up-CAUS-PST 3SG.NF=PRO

- then she woke him up,
 c. *é ru=ími-cha: “kája tâ chúwa nu=ñapáchi-ya”*
 then 3SG.F=say-PST already EMPH now 1SG=finish-PRS
 then she said: “I just finished”.’ (ycn0189,20)

An interesting feature about *-cha* is that while its use in storytelling is as a default past tense marker as in (183)a and (183)b, its use as a present perfect can be seen in storytelling when speakers insert reported speech (183)c.

4.2.2.3.2 General past (unmarked, conversations)

In conversations, events taking place in the past are not overtly marked with a dedicated tense marker as in (184) and (185).

- (184) *jlálémi nu=i'má ri=kulá-je*
 yesterday 1SG=go 3SG.NF=search-PURP.MOT
 ‘yesterday I went to look for it’ (ycn0504,1)

- (185) *Jlálémi nu=amá pe'wé.*
 yesterday 1SG=see 2SG=sibling
 ‘I saw your brother yesterday’

This tenseless verb form interpreted as a general past tense contrasts with the present perfect tense *-cha*, which cannot be used in conversations to mark events taking place the day before the time of utterance.

4.2.2.3.3 Far past habitual -jĩka

This marker is used to encode habitual events taking place in the far past, often in reference to the customs of ancestors, or to events in the life of the speaker dating back to several years (186).

- (186) *Marí ké wa=i'ma-jĩká ri=ewá jápá-kaje nakú.*
 PROX like 1PL=COP-FAR.PST 3SG.NF=around work-EV.NZ on
 ‘We used to live like this working over there.’ (ycn0117,57)

This suffix is very similar to the habitual far past suffix *-khe*. Both seem to be used rather interchangeably in the same contexts (187). Both *-jĩka* and *-khe* can be used in combination with the far past particle *i'maká* with its many variants that tend to replicate the tense marking

on the verb as in (188). The habitual semantics of *-jĩka* and *-khe* can also be emphasized with habitual aspect enclitic *=no* as in (189).

(187) *Nu=wejá-jĩka jíña-na, nu=jña'-khé weja-kéja.*
 1SG=poison-FAR.PST fish-PL 1SG=grab-FAR.PST poison-PTCP
 ‘I used to poison the fish, and I used to grab (them) poisoned.’ (ycn0117,78)

(188) *chápú ru=amá-jĩka wa=i'majĩká*
 badly 3SG.F=see-FAR.PST 1PL=FAR.PST
 ‘she used to look at us badly’ (ycn0189,171)

(189) *wa'jĩni wa=pura'-jĩka=o=no*
 always 1PL=speak-FAR.PST=MID=HAB
 ‘we used to talk all the time’ (ycn0063,70)

The suffix *-jĩka* is placed in the same position of the verbal template as all other tense suffixes, after negation *-la*. This marker does not display any allomorphy. This marker is also not to be confused with the homophonous sequence *-jĩ-ka* FUT-NZ used to encode future events as in (175).

All far past markers *-jĩka*, *-khe* and *i'maká* are synchronically ambiguous to analyze either as tense markers in finite clauses, or as tensed variants of nominalizer *-ka*. Their link to nominalizations is discussed in §14.2.4.6.4.

4.2.2.3.4 Far past habitual *-khe*

This marker has very similar semantics to far past habitual *-jĩka*, for habitual events of the past that no longer hold true for the present (190).

(190) *ri=wakajé na=jña'-khé tâ inau'ké aĩ*
 3SG.NF=time 3PL=grab-FAR.PST EMPH person tooth
palá-nojé na=amá-jĩka-re=no
 good-? 3PL=see-FAR.PST-ARG.NZ=HAB
 ‘In those times they used to grab people’s good teeth that they used to see.’ (ycn0092,25)

Similarly to *-jĩka*, *-khe* can be reinforced with the far past particle *i'maká* (191) or with the habitual enclitic *=no* (192).

(191) *ijo'pá na=arápa'-khe jupejé i'majĩká.*
 ijo'pá 3PL=dance-FAR.PST long_time FAR.PST

‘They used to dance the *ijo'pá* dance (pineapple season) a long long time ago.’
(ycn0091,19)

- (192) *Kajú pi=aka'-khé=no wa=ikhá.*
a_lot 2SG=scold-FAR.PST=HAB 1PL=PRO
‘You always used to scold us.’ (ycn0189,159)

The far past habitual suffix *-khe* is placed in position 11 of the verbal template with all tense suffixes. However, this marker appears to be the only one among tense markers to be incompatible with negation suffix *-la*. To encode far past habitual events in negative polarity (‘never used to’), negation is encoded only with the pre-verbal negation particle *unká*, and the verbal negation suffix *-la* is omitted (193) (see also §4.2.5). It is uncertain whether far past suffix *-jika* also displays similar interactions with negation marking.

- (193) *unká na=amá-khe kéelé kájé itewí ri=wakajé.*
NEG 3PL=see-FAR.PST MED type palm_sp 3SG.NF=time
‘In that time they didn’t used to see that type of *chontaduro* palm.’ (ycn0108,149)

4.2.2.3.5 Far past *i'maká*

The last tense marker in Yukuna is *i'maká* (free variant *ã'ká*), used with verbs unmarked for tense (194), or with verbs marked with any past tense suffix (195) to encode events in the far past.

- (194) *Aú ri=ya'tá nu=jló i'maká gasoline.*
so 3SG.NF=lend 1SG=to FAR.PST gas
‘So he lent me some gas.’ (ycn0101,9)

- (195) *kája ri=jewí'-cha=o=mi i'maká piyuté penáje*
already 3SG.NF=transform-PST=MID=PFV FAR.PST boa into
‘He had already transformed into a boa.’ (ycn0108,108)

The synchronic status of this element is highly ambiguous, due to its inflection-like features related to its origin in the verbal copula *i'ma*. Indeed, this marker appears to be segmentable into the root *i'ma*, optionally a tense suffix (often the same as the one on the main verb), and nominalizer *-ka* (196)-(197). Note that these variations in the far past particle are not systematic, but rather tendencies.

- (196) *kája me'jwikájé keño'-chá=o ri=eyá i'micháká*
already chaos start-PST=MID 3SG.NF=from FAR.PST

‘The chaos started from there.’ (ycn0108,256)

(197) *Na=ñakaré ké na=la'-jǐka i'majǐka*
 3PL=house like 3PL=do-FAR.PST FAR.PST
 ‘They used to do (it) like a house.’ (ycn0108,14)

This marker can also be indexed for the person of the object argument, as in (198) where the object of the verb is encoded with the 3PL index *na=* on the far past marker.

(198) *ri=éjé kujnú anó'-ña-cha na=i'michá*
 3SG.NF=toward cassava get_wet=APPL-PST 3PL=FAR.PST
 ‘There their cassava got wet on them.’ (ycn0068,70)

Despite these verb-like features, I avoid an analysis of the marker *i'maká* as an auxiliary. Indeed, unlike auxiliary constructions where the auxiliary carries all finite inflectional morphology and the lexical verb is in a non-finite form, in the case of the Yukuna far past *i'maká* marker, the lexical verb remains finite. It is also clear that this marker has grammaticalized as a dedicated far past marker distinct from the copula *i'ma*, as it can be used to encode far past in clauses with the verbal copula as in (199).

(199) *Maáré nu=i'má i'maká.*
 PROX.LOC 1SG=COP FAR.PST
 ‘I was here.’ (ycn0101,1)

In terms of placement, this marker also differs from other tense marking strategies, as it is placed in position 17 of the verbal template (Table 30), in a zone where multiple free elements can be placed in variable order. This marker can be placed either before or after objects and obliques. Lastly, this marker can be used repeatedly for emphasis as in (200).

(200) *Kája maáré ri=jewíña'-ta na=i'maká i'maká.*
 then PROX.LOC 3SG.NF=transform-CAUS 3PL=FAR.PST FAR.PST
 ‘Then he transformed them.’ (ycn0108,282)

Precisely because of its ambiguous features, previous studies had described this marker as a “temporal adverb/auxiliary” (Schauer et al. 2005, 311). An analysis of this marker as an adverbial element is undesired synchronically, but certainly, we can note the similarities between *i'maká* FAR.PST, and adverbs with fossilized verbal morphology such as *júpi*, *júpimi*, *júpichami*, all of which mean ‘a long time ago’. The status of this marker requires further study.

In this dissertation, I have simply opted to label this marker as a particle with multiple variants, and included it among the verbal tense markers.

4.2.3 Aspect

In Yukuna, there are only two dedicated aspect markers, the perfective enclitic *=mi* (position 15), and the habitual enclitic *=no* (Table 36). In addition to these two markers, various tense markers have inherent aspectual semantics as described in §4.2.2. Previous descriptions of Yukuna (Schauer et al. 2005) also describe the nominalizer *-ka* as being used as a progressive aspect marker. In this study, I reject such an analysis of *-ka*, arguing that its progressive-like interpretations are either context dependent or a bias of translation. I provide a brief discussion on this issue in §4.2.3.3.

Table 36 Aspect markers in Yukuna

Aspect	Marker	Position in verb complex
Perfective	<i>=mi</i>	13
Habitual	<i>=no</i>	15

4.2.3.1 Perfective aspect *=mi*

The enclitic *=mi* encodes perfective aspect when used on verbs (201).

- (201) *Kája yáwi tâ nó-cha=**mi** kéelé nu=yajná michú.*
 Already jaguar EMPH kill-PST=**PFV** MED 1SG=husband deceased
 ‘The jaguar has already killed my late husband.’ (ycn0053,88)

In main verbal clauses, perfective aspect is only attested in past tense with verbs marked with past tense *-cha* as in (201), sometimes in presence of the far past tense as well, as in (202). Interestingly, perfective *=mi* can combine with frustrative *jlá* in which case, the event is interpreted as not having occurred (202).

- (202) *unkákéla júpimi ri=takhi'-chá=**mi** jlá ā'ká junápejě*
 otherwise long_time 3SG.NF=die-PST=**PFV** FRUST FAR.PST water.into
 ‘Otherwise he would have died in the water a long time ago.’

This marker can also be used on non-finite verb forms in purpose of motion clauses as in (203) to mark the fact that the purpose of the motion has been completed.

- (203) *É kája ri=éjéna iphí-cha jiyá jña'-jé=mi*
 Then 3SG.NF=siblings arrive-PST wood grab-PURP.MOT=**PFV**
 ‘Then his siblings came back from bringing wood.’ (ycn0189,126)

This marker is placed on the position 13 of the verbal template, after middle voice enclitic =*o*, and before emphatic particles, frustrative *jlá*, and the habitual enclitic =*no*. As most markers described with the ‘clitic’ label in this study, =*mi* combines with multiple hosts, and it is also used to encode end of possession on nouns (see §3.2.1.3).

4.2.3.2 Habitual aspect =*no*

The enclitic =*no* encodes ongoing activities, whether habitual or iterative. The interpretation depends on the aspectual lexical category of the verb. Atelic (states, processes, activities) verbs marked with =*no* are interpreted as habitual (204), and telic (cyclic, liminal) (Timberlake 2007) verbs as iterative (205).

- (204) *ri=ikhá=o=ja ri=i'mi-chá-ká=no*
 3SG.NF=PRO=MID=LIM 3SG.NF=COP-PST-NZ=**HAB**
 ‘He used to live all by himself.’ (Lit. All by himself was his living.) (ycn0041,3)

- (205) *ri=i'jĩ-chá=no ri=amá-jě*
 3SG.NF=go-PST=**HAB** 3SG.NF=see-PURP.MOT
 ‘He kept going to see it.’ (ycn0041,12)

This enclitic =*no* appears to be compatible with multiple tenses, as with the present in (206) and the far past in (207). There are no attested examples of this marker with future tense -*je*.

- (206) *Ná pi=amá=no?*
 INDF.PRO 2SG=see=**HAB**
 ‘Who have you been seeing?’ (ycn0068,165)

- (207) *wa'jini wa=pura'-jĩka=o=no*
 always 1PL=speak-FAR.PST=MID=**HAB**
 ‘we were always talking.’ (ycn0063,70)

The habitual enclitic =*no* is also compatible with negative polarity as in (208), to encode actions that habitually or repeatedly did not occur.

(208) *Unká ná ja'-lá-cha=o=nó ri=chojě*
 NEG INDF.PRO fall-V.NEG-PST=MID=HAB 3SG.NF=into
 ‘Nothing would fall into it.’ (ycn0041,12)

Lastly, this enclitic is placed in position 15 of the verbal template, after most grammatical markers of the verbal complex, including even emphatic particle *tâ* (209). I label it as an enclitic due to its phonological features, as its surface tone is the opposite of the preceding element.

(209) *jlapiyámí ri=iphí-cha tâ=nó*
 morning 3SG.NF=arrive-PST EMPH=HAB
 ‘he kept coming in the morning’ (ycn0079,16)

4.2.3.3 Progressive aspect? A note on suffix *-ka* NZ

There is no dedicated progressive aspect marker in Yukuna. However, previous descriptions mention suffix *-ka* as a progressive aspect marker in main verbal clauses (Schauer et al. 2005). Indeed, in direct elicitation, *-ka* is rather systematically used to translate present progressive clauses from Spanish as in (210).

(210) *Na=jácho'=ka=o ri=eyá.*
 3PL=go_out-NZ=MID 3SG.NF=from
 ‘They’re going out from there.’
 Spa: ellos están saliendo de ahí. (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:440)

However, I argue that an analysis of *-ka* as a progressive marker is due to a translation-induced bias. A closer look at the functions of this suffix in the corpus reveals that when it is used in main clauses, it yields a variety of interpretations, including modal (211), progressive (212), or discourse-related, for instance, as a topic-shift marker as in (213) and (212). All of these interpretations are context and genre dependent.

(211) *Wa=ja'pá-jĩ-ka máayá!*
 1PL=walk-FUT-NZ PROX.from
 ‘Let’s go away from here!’ (ycn0108,67)

(212) *na=kulí-cha-ka na=a'jne=wá eja'wá e'yowá*

3PL=search-PST-NZ 3PL=food=REFL forest in.around
 ‘they were looking for their food in the forest’ (ycn0089,162)

(213) *Kétána* *wayú* *chi'náikana* *witúki'-cha-ka*.
 meanwhile animal_sp boss go-down-PST-NZ
 ‘Meanwhile, the boss of the black vultures came down.’ (ycn0041,150)

The main clause uses of nominalizer *-ka* are discussed at length in §14.2.4.6.

4.2.4 Modality

Yukuna has multiple modality markers, listed in Table 37. These markers are mainly used in directives of different kinds (negative imperatives or prohibitives, first person imperatives or hortatives, third person imperatives or jussives). Most modality markers (except for the frustrative) in Yukuna are clearly instances of insubordination that come from subordinate clauses with subordinating markers and/or nominalizers. Indeed, both *-chí* and *-ré* are used in purposive clauses (see §8.1.3.2), and *-kare* is an argument nominalizer (see §11.1.2.1, 12.2.3). In all cases, I retain the subordinating gloss for these markers, except for *-niña* PROH which is now almost exclusively used in main clauses as a prohibitive.

Table 37 Modality markers in Yukuna

Modality	Marker	Gloss
Imperative	unmarked	
Prohibitive	<i>-niña</i>	PROH
Hortative	<i>-chí</i>	PURP
Jussive	<i>-ré</i>	PURP
Potential	<i>-kare</i>	ARG.NZ
Frustrative	<i>jlá</i>	FRUST

4.2.4.1 Directives

This section describes the verbal encoding mechanisms used to mark imperatives for all persons, as well as the negative imperative.

4.2.4.1.1 Second person directives: Imperative

Yukuna does not have a dedicated second person imperative morpheme, as is frequent within the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999, 94). Second person imperatives are simply expressed with a verb unmarked for tense and aspect as in (214) and (215).

(214) *Chúwa pi=la'á kujnú!*
 now 2SG=do cassava
 'Prepare cassava now!' (ycn0068,145)

(215) *i=itá i=ijlu=wá*
 2PL=close 2PL=eye=REFL
 'Close your eyes!' (ycn0058,19)

4.2.4.1.2 First person directives: Hortative

Yukuna has a marker *-chí* used in first person imperatives, whether in the singular (216) or plural (217).

(216) *Nu=ya'tá-chí i=jló ri=ikhá!*
 1SG=show-PURP 2PL=to 3SG.NF=PRO
 'I'm going to show it to you' (ycn0089,130)

(217) *Wa=pa'-chí=o*
 1PL=return-PURP=MID
 'Let's return!' (ycn0058,81)

Unlike other second person imperatives and prohibitives, hortatives can combine with TAM, most often with the modal use of present perfect *-cha* (218), as well as with frustrative *jlá* (219).

(218) *Nu=jĩ'-chá-chí kajíru.*
 1SG=grab-PRS-PURP manioc
 'I'm going to go grab some manioc' (ycn0089,22)

(219) *nu=amá-chí jlá náje-ká unká pi=ejo'-lá*
 1SG=see-PURP FRUST INDF.reason-SUB NEG 2SG=shit-V.NEG
 'I'm going to go see why is it that you don't shit.' (ycn0189,49)

Similarly to other modal markers, *-chí* is also a subordinating marker used in purposive clauses (see §8.1.3.2). In subordinate clauses, however, it can be used with any person in the subject position, including the second person as in (220).

(220) *marí na=a'-chá nu=jló,*
 PROX 3PL=give-PRS 1sg=to

pi=wáa'-chí ri=jló tá me'tení ilé=eyá
 2SG=call-**PURP** 3SG.NF=to EMPH now MED=FROM
 ‘Here they’ve just given me (his number), for you to call him now from there.’
 (ycn0504,9)

4.2.4.1.3 Third person directives: Jussive

Third person directives are encoded with suffix *-ré*. The third person command is often reinforced with emphatic particles, such as *=ja* as in (221). There are very few instances of this marker in my corpus but its behavior seems similar to *-niña*, as it does not co-occur with TAM marking on the verb.

(221) *Ri=i'jná-ré=ja majó, nu=lakéjnu.*
 3SG.NF=go-**PURP**=LIM PROX.toward 1SG=son_in_law
 ‘May he come over here, my son in law.’ (ycn0063,125)

This suffix is also used in purposive subordinate clauses similarly to *-chí*, but *-ré* clauses are always restricted to third person subjects (222).

(222) *Aí pi=ímá ri=jló ri=keño'-ré*
 so 2SG=say 3SG.NF=to 3SG.NF=start-**PURP**
nu=ií nakiyá-ná ri=ikhá.
 1SG=name on.from-? 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘So tell him for him to start it from my name.’ (ycn0108,251)

4.2.4.1.4 Negative imperative: Prohibitive

Negative imperatives, also called prohibitives, are encoded with suffix *-niña* (short free variant *-ña*). Similarly to imperatives, prohibitives marked with *-niña* cannot be marked for tense or aspect, and they seem to require pronominal subjects encoded with person indexes on the verb, as in (223) and (224).

(223) *Pi=ajñá-niña ri=ikhá!*
 2SG=eat-**PROH** 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Don’t eat it!’ (ycn0108,41)

(224) *ilé=ja pi=i'má, pi=ña=niña=o*
 MED=LIM 2SG=COP 2SG=escape=**PROH**=MID
 ‘Stay right there, don’t escape!’ (ycn0041,28)

However, this suffix is not restricted to second person subjects. In elicitation, speakers produce *-niña* marked verb forms with any person, and in my corpus, there is one occurrence of this marker with a third person subject in a subordinate clause. Diachronically, this suggests

that *-niña* was likely a negative purposive subordinator that could be used with any person, but synchronically, it is almost exclusively used in main clauses with second person subjects as a prohibitive.

- (225) *ri=wakára'-je* *ri=thupatá-kana*
 3SG.NF=order-fut 3SG.NF=crumble-EV.NZ
 pero *ri=maja'tá-niña* *tâ* *ri=ikhá*
 but 3SG.NF=cut-PROH EMPH 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘he will order its crumbling but he may not cut it’ (ycn0108,188)

4.2.4.2 Potential

Potential modality is encoded with the use of argument nominalizer *-kare*, as in (226) and (227). There are very few attested cases of this use of marker *-kare*, so it is unclear whether the verb form in this particular use can be marked for tense and aspect. I provide further details on this function in §14.2.1.

- (226) *iná* *i'jra-káre* *jlá* *ri=ikhá*
 GNR.PRO go_up-ARG.NZ FRUST 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘one can try to take it up’ (ycn0108,191)

- (227) *iná* *kámo'-kare* *ri=ikhá*
 GNR.PRO ripen-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘One can make it ripen.’ (ycn0108,233)

Potential modality is only expressed with *-kare* in the affirmative. Negative potential modality is simply expressed with standard negation and an indefinite proform as in (228).

- (228) *Unká* *méla'jé* *wa=yurí-la* *ri=ikhá*
 NEG INDF.manner 1PL=leave-V.NEG 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘We cannot leave it.’ (ycn0042,103)

4.2.4.3 Frustrative *jlá* ~ *ijlá*

Lastly, Yukuna has a dedicated frustrative modality marker *jlá* ~ *ijlá*. Unlike directives, frustrative modality can be used with first (229), second (230), and third person (231).

- (229) *nu=amá-chí* *jlá* *náje-ká* *unká* *pi=ejo'-lá*
 1SG=see-PURP FRUST INDF.REASON-SUB NEG 2SG=shit-V.NEG
 ‘I’m going to go see why it is that you don’t shit.’ (ycn0189,49)

(230) *Pi=la'á jlá* leer *ri=ikhá* *tâ*.
 2SG=do **FRUST** read.INF 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH
 ‘Try to read it’ (ycn00504,49)

(231) *É=ja* *ru=ají-cha jlá,* *unká méla'jě* *ru=ajá-lá-cha*
 then=LIM 3SG.F=fly-PST **FRUST** NEG INDF.manner 3SG.F=fly-V.NEG-PST
 ‘Then she tried to fly, but she could not fly.’ (ycn00041,26)

This marker can also co-occur with multiple tense, aspect and even other modality markers (as with the potential use of *-kare* in (226)). In past tense, the use of *jlá* ~ *ijlá* is interpreted as an event that failed to take place (231), whilst in present tense, *jlá* ~ *ijlá* is interpreted as an attempt at achieving a desired goal (229)-(230). In fact, this marker can even be used in the negative polarity together with standard negation as in (232).

(232) *Unká nu=i'ma-lá jlá méla'jě pi=jwa'té*.
 NEG 1SG=COP-V.NEG **FRUST** INDF.manner 2SG=with
 ‘I cannot live with you.’ (ycn0068,220)

The marker *jlá* has a longer variant *ijlá*, found when adjacent to the verb *amá* ‘see’, as in (233).

(233) *Wa=amá ijlá*.
 1PL=see **FRUST**
 ‘Let’s go see.’ (ycn0545,61)

4.2.5 Negation *unká...-la*

Standard negation (negation in main declarative verbal clauses, (Miestamo 2005) is encoded with a pre-verbal negation particle *unká*, and a verbal negation suffix *-la*. The pre-verbal particle is prototypically placed before the S NP (in position 3), and the suffix *-la* is placed after valency markers and before tense (position 10) (234).

(234) *Unká kalapíchí-na i'ma-lá-cha ri=pa'-tá-je*
 NEG monkey_sp-PL go-V.NEG-PST 3SG.NF=return-CAUS-PURP.MOT
 ‘The capuchin monkeys did not go return it.’ (ycn0186,15)

Standard negation is symmetrical with respect to affirmative declarative verbal clauses in Yukuna. Indeed, negative polarity does not affect word order, nor does it affect the marking of

TAM. However, inversely, tense does affect the encoding of negation, as far past habitual suffix *-khe* is incompatible with *-la*, in which case, negation is only encoded via the pre-verbal particle *unká* as in (235).

(235) *unká na=amá-khe kéelé kájé itewí ri=wakajé.*
 NEG 3PL=see-FAR.PST MED type palm_sp 3SG.NF=time
 ‘In that time they didn’t used to see that type of *chontaduro* palm.’ (ycn0108,149)

The encoding of negation is different for zero copula non-verbal clauses, as well as in many subordinate clauses. For an in-depth, typologically-informed description of negation in Yukuna, see Lemus Serrano and Rose (Accepted).

5. Verbal clause morphosyntax

Typologically, verbal clauses in Yukuna have a nominative-accusative alignment, with a canonical SVO constituent order. In addition to a verb in the position of the predicate, verbal clauses include a variety of additional elements, mainly, core arguments, obliques, and adverbial modifiers. Core arguments are not case-marked, and obliques (henceforth OBL) are marked with postpositions. The nominative argument of verbs (henceforth subject) is obligatorily encoded in finite clauses either with a bound person index on the verb, or by an overt NP rigidly placed immediately before the verb, whether intransitive or transitive. This marking strategy is formally identical to the encoding of possessors of nouns (see §3.2.1.1), and arguments of postpositions (see §2.2.3). The accusative argument of verbs (henceforth object) is neither obligatorily encoded, nor indexed on the verb, and its placement within the clause is flexible.

The relative placement of these elements is summarized in the template provided previously in Table 30. This section complements the description on the verb complex in Ch.4, which focuses on grammatical markers of the verb, but which do not include arguments and modifiers of various types.

5.1 Core arguments

This section presents the main encoding features of subjects and objects, summarized in Table 38.

Table 38 Encoding features of core arguments

	Indexation	Case marking	Word order	Zero anaphora
Subject	Yes	No	S V	No
Object	No	No	V O ~ O V	Yes

5.1.1 Subject (S NP/Person)

Verbs in finite verbal clauses require the subject argument to be encoded in Yukuna. Subjects may be encoded either with a pre-verbal subject NP (position 5 of the verbal template) as in (236), or with person indexes (position 7) as in (237).

(236) *É* [ru=jara'pá]_s *jĩ'-chá* *ri=ikhá*
 then 3SG.F=father grab-PST 3SG.NF=PRO
 'Then her father grabbed it.' (ycn0108,154)

(237) *Ri=jĩ'-chá* *ri=ikhá* *tâ*.
 3SG.NF=grab-PST 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH
 'He grabbed it.' (ycn0079,57)

Only a rare minority of cases allow an independent person pronoun in this position. Independent person pronouns are typically in focus, whether as subjects of verbal clauses as in (238) and (239), or as predicates in Agent clefts (see §14.2.5.5).

(238) *Chúwa* [nu=ikhá]_s *ja'pá-je*
 now 1SG=PRO walk-FUT
 'I am leaving now.' (ycn0108,304)

(239) *Unká* [nu=ikhá]_s *ajñá-lá-je*
 NEG 1SG=PRO eat-V.NEG-FUT
 'I won't eat.' (ycn0189,68)

The most frequent strategy to encode subjects in texts is with person indexes instead of overt subject NPs. Person indexes are not compatible with overt subject NPs, as the two are mutually exclusive strategies. Note that in (240), the independent pronoun placed before the verb is obligatorily understood as encoding the object argument, as it cannot be coreferential with the subject person index. However, it is possible to add a dislocated constituent coreferential with the subject argument encoded with a person index as with the nominalization in brackets in (241). The dislocated constituent is in an extra-syntactic position, and although it denotes the S argument, it is not in the grammatical role of the subject.

(240) [Ri=ikhá]_O ri=li'-chá
 3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=do-PST
 'He did it.' (ycn0041,10)

(241) Méño'jô ri=ií'-cha=o, [kéele nó-cha-ri pi=ikhá]?
 INDF.LOC.toward 3SG.NF=escape-PST=MID MED kill-PST-NF 2SG=PRO
 'Where did he escape to, that one who killed you?' (ycn0183,31)

The set of person indexes used to encode the subject is the same as that used on nouns and postpositions, as Yukuna only has one set of person indexes (see §2.2.1). Despite the fact that these markers are found on multiple parts of speech as well as on non-finite verb forms, the use of person indexes to encode the subject argument is a definitional feature of finite verbal clauses, crucial for the description of nominalization.

5.1.2 Objects

Object arguments in Yukuna have encoding features which are entirely different from those of subjects. They are encoded with an overt NP as in (242). This NP is not marked for case, and although it is canonically placed after the verb, it is neither obligatorily post verbal (243), nor necessarily adjacent to the verb (242).

(242) Na=a'-chá pñño ri=jló [kujnú]_O.
 3PL=give-PST again 3SG.NF=to cassava
 'They gave cassava to him again.' (ycn0068,153)

(243) [pajlúwa yáwi i'ri]_O nu=wái'-cha

one jaguar son 1SG=bring-PRS
 ‘I’ve brought one jaguar cub.’ (ycn0053,10)

When the referent has already been introduced in the discourse, an independent pronoun is frequently used instead of an NP (244). In fact, when recoverable through the context, the O argument may even be entirely omitted (245).

(244) [Phirí]_O na=jña'-khé, [ri=ikhá]_O na=a'-khé na=jimá chuwá
 fruit_sp 3PL=grab-FAR.PST 3SG.NF=PRO 3PL=give-FAR.PST 3PL=face on.around
 ‘They used to grab achiote, and rub it onto their faces.’ (ycn0151,46)

(245) É ru=nó-cha tâ, é ru=apíro'-chá tâ,
 then 3SG.F=kill-PST EMPH then 3SG.F=suck-PST EMPH
 ru=ají'-cha tâ [ru=ikhá]_O.
 3SG.F=eat-PST EMPH 3SG.F=PRO
 ‘Then she killed (her), then she sucked (her), she ate her.’ (ycn0151,59)

Note that despite this flexibility, in terms of frequency in the corpus, pre-verbal O NPs are much less common than post-verbal O NPs.

5.2 Obliques and adverbs

Oblique arguments are those marked with postpositions. A non-exhaustive list of postpositions is provided in §2.2.3 (Table 9). I syntactically parse this structure as postpositional phrases headed by the postposition and containing an obligatory argument. This obligatory argument is encoded with the same strategies as subjects of verbs, and possessors of nouns. Indeed, arguments of postpositions are encoded either with an overt NP (full NP or independent pronoun) placed immediately before the postposition as in (246) and (247), or with a person index on the postposition (248).

(246) ri=yajálo jwa'té
 3SG.NF=wife with
 ‘with his wife’ (ycn0089,146)

(247) ri=ikhá jwa'té
 3SG.NF=PRO with
 ‘with him’ (ycn0063,54)

(248) *ru=jwa'té*
 3SG.F=with
 'with her' (ycn0041,70)

Obliques, or postpositional phrases, have a distribution that is quite similar to that of objects. Indeed, postpositional phrases may be placed variably with regards to both objects and verbs. In (249), the oblique is placed after the verb, whilst the oblique in (250) is placed before the verb.

(249) *na=yurí-khe* [*pají támijimi chú*]_{OBL} *na=ikhá* *na=ikhá=o=ja*
 3PL=leave-FAR.PST house old in 3PL=PRO 3PL=PRO=MID=LIM
 'they used to leave them by themselves in the old house.' (ycn0079,4)

(250) *a'jná* [*apú na=ñakaré waje chojé*]_{OBL} *na=pi'-chá=o*
 DIST other 3PL=house new in.toward 3PL=return-PST=MID
 'They returned over there to their new house.' (ycn0151,151)

Interestingly, postpositional phrases with an independent pronoun in the argument position show a clear tendency to be placed in pre-verbal position (251). This is not surprising given the fact that the use of independent pronouns in cases where person indexes may be used instead is a focus strategy.

(251) *É* *pají* *numanájě* *ri=li'cha* *ru=jló* *kuwelá* *ñáni,*
 then house entry.toward 3SG.NF=do-PST 3SG.F=to grill DIM
 [*ri=ikhá* *chojé*]_{OBL} *ri=táa'-ti-ya* *ru=ikhá.*
 3SG.NF=PRO in.toward 3SG.NF=stand-CAUS-PST 3SG.F=PRO
 'Then towards the house entry he built a little grill for her, and into *that* he placed her.'
 (ycn0041,32)

Lastly, verbal clauses also contain adverbial modifiers, phrases headed by elements from the adverb lexical class. These elements are also variably placed with respect to the verb in the clause. However, there are tendencies in the placement of adverbial phrases depending on their semantics: manner and quantity adverbs tend to be post-verbal (252), and time and modal adverbs tend to be pre-verbal (253). In order to place manner and quantity adverbs in pre-verbal position, often a pseudo-cleft structure is used with the adverb in the position of the predicate, followed by a verb form with nominalizer *-ka* (254), as described in §14.2.4.5.

(252) *Ru=ti'-yá* *ri=ikhá* ***kiñája.***
 3SG.F=grate 3SG.NF=PRO **quickly**
 'She grated it quickly.' (ycn0089,42)

(253) *Apála nu=ajñá tâ pi=liyá ri=ikhá.*
maybe 1SG=eat EMPH 2SG=from 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Maybe I will eat your part (Lit. eat it from you) (ycn0068,150)

(254) *kajú ru=i'rí iĭ-cha-ka*
a_lot 3SG.F=son cry-PST-NZ
 ‘a lot cried her son (Lit. a lot is her son’s crying)’ (ycn0053,80)

5.3 Other elements of verbal clauses

In addition to verbs and their markers described in Ch.4, and to arguments and adverbial modifiers described in §5.1-5.2, there are two main additional elements within verbal clauses: coordinating conjunctions and discourse markers.

A non-exhaustive list of conjunctions is given in §2.2.6. These elements are optional, but very frequent in narratives, and they are systematically placed in clause initial position, and as such, they naturally mark the beginning of a new clause.

(255) *É=ja na=iĭ-cha=o.*
then=LIM 3PL=escape-PST=MID
 ‘Then they escaped.’ (ycn0068,24)

(256) *Kétána Kanumá tâ achi'-yá na=pirá*
meanwhile K. EMPH steal-PST 3PL=pet
 ‘Meanwhile Kanumá stole their pet.’ (ycn0068,24)

The category of discourse markers includes a variety of highly variable particles and clitics (§2.2.7.5), which may be placed in a variety of positions within clauses: after coordinating conjunctions as with =*ja* in (255), after indefinite/interrogative pro-forms as with *chí* in (257), after the subject NP as with *tâ* in (256), after the negator *unká* as with *ka'jné* in (258), and in short, after any phonologically free element.

(257) *Náje chí ri=wakára'á pi=ikhá nu=cháje?*
 INDF.reason EMPH 3SG.NF=send 2SG=PRO 1SG=at
 ‘Why did he send you to me?’ (ycn0063,34)

(258) *Unká ka'jné señal tâ i'ma-lá ri=éjǒ tâ.*
 NEG DUB signal EMPH cop-V.NEG 3SG.NF=toward EMPH
 ‘Maybe there is no signal there.’ (ycn0504,66)

In fact, when used with verbs, the particle *tâ* EMPH precedes some grammatical markers such as the frustrative *jlá* and habitual aspect =*no*. It is also possible for emphatic particles to accumulate in the same position as in (260) and (261).

(259) *jlapiyámí ri=iphí-cha tâ =nó*
 morning 3SG.NF=arrive-PST EMPH=HAB
 ‘he kept coming in the morning’ (ycn0079,16)

(260) *Nupirá, maáré=ja tâ pi=i'má*
 1SG=pet PROX.LOC=LIM EMPH 2SG=COP
 ‘My pet, stay right here.’ (ycn0041,44)

(261) *Unká wáni chí pi=pa'-tá-la-je wa=pirá wa=jló!*
 NEG EMPH EMPH 2SG=return-CAUS-V.NEG-FUT 1PL=pet 1PL=to
 ‘You just won’t return our pet to us!’

Despite the relative freedom of placement and number of possible combinations of discourse markers, not all markers can be placed in all positions, and not all marker combinations are possible. For instance, in finite verbal clauses, particles such as *ka'jná* DUB, *chí* EMPH, and *kalé* EMPH appear to easily combine with obliques and adverbial modifiers, but do not appear to be placed between the subject NP and the verb. It is beyond the scope of this grammar sketch provide a detailed description of the distributional constraints of discourse markers in Yukuna.

6. Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are defined here as those in which the semantic predicate is not a verb. This definition is meant to encompass clauses in which there is no verbal element whatsoever, as well as those in which there is a semantically reduced verb (a copula), following Overall et al. (2018).

In Yukuna, non-verbal predicates are encoded through two distinct, alternating morphosyntactic strategies: a zero copula construction, and a verbal copula construction, following the terminology of Stassen (1997). Zero copula and verbal copula clauses have largely distinct morphosyntactic structures, and differ on all grounds. I first describe the morphosyntactic features of each strategy, and then describe their distributional tendencies per functional subtype of non-verbal predication.

6.1 Zero copula clauses

The zero copula strategy simply contains a non-verbal constituent in the predicate position and a constituent in the argument position, with no finite verbal element at all. The canonical word order in this construction is PRED ARG (262), although some variation is attested (263).

(262) [A'jne-jí]_{PRED} *tâ* [ri=ikhá]_{ARG}
 food-UNPOSS EMPH 3SG.NF=PRO
 'It is food.' (ycn0063,144)

(263) *É* [nu=ikhá]_{ARG} [maáré]_{PRED} *me'tení*.
 then 1SG=PRO PROX.LOC now
 'And now I am here.' (ycn0018,10)

The predicate and its unique argument are often adjacent, but may also be separated by a variety of elements including discourse particles, and even postpositional phrases as in (264). The only obligatory element in zero copula non-verbal clauses is the predicate, especially in equation and inclusion predicates, where the argument is often omitted when recoverable from context (265).

(264) *Itewí* [wa=jló]_{OBL} *kéelé* *piyuté*
 palm_sp 1PL=to MED boa
 'That boa is a *moriche* palm for us.' (ycn0108,141)

(265) *paláni*, *jewá-ní*, *pu'mé-ni*
 good-NF yellow-NF sweet-NF
 'it is good, it is yellow, it is sweet' (ycn0068,300)

Zero copula clauses have their own negation encoding strategy, double marked with negative particle *unká* at the left edge of the predicate, and particle *kalé* at the right edge of the non-verbal predicate.

(266) *Unká* *yáwi* *kalé* *wa=jló* *kháājí*
 NEG jaguar NV.NEG 1PL=to PROX
 'This is not a jaguar to us.' (ycn0053,74)

In addition to encoding negation in zero copula non-verbal clauses, the non-verbal negation strategy with *unká...kalé* is also used as a constituent negation strategy in verbal clauses, as in (267).

(267) *unká* *ya'jnáje* *kalé* *kháaj-úna* *i'jná*
 NEG far.toward NV.NEG PROX.PL go

‘These ones did not go far. (lit. These ones went not far.)’ (ycn0108,87)

6.2 Verbal copula clauses

Non-verbal predicates are alternatively encoded with a verbal copula construction, with an inflecting copula *i'ma ~i'mi* as the finite verbal element of the clause. This copula is, on all grounds, identical in morphosyntactic behavior to other verbal roots in Yukuna, as it can be marked for the same categories described in Ch.4. In this construction, the unique argument is encoded as the subject argument of the copula (either as a pre-verbal NP as in (268) or as a person index as in (269), and the non-verbal predicate occupies the position of copula complement, placed either before (268) or after the copula (269).

(268) [Pu'jí] *ri=péchu* *i'michá* *ri=ítu* *jwa'té*.
 happy 3SG.NF=thought COP-PST 3SG.NF=daughter with
 ‘He was happy with his daughter. (Lit. his thought was happy)’ (ycn0089,8)

(269) *Eyonája* *ri=jló* *ri=i'mi-chá* [itu'ru].
 However 3SG.NF=to 3SG.NF=COP-PST starch
 ‘However, for him it was starch.’ (ycn0089,84)

The verbal features of the copula *i'ma ~i'mi* are not surprising, given that synchronically this form is homonymous with lexical verbs such as *i'ma ~i'mi* ‘tell’ (270), *i'ma ~i'mi* ‘go’ (271).

(270) *ri=ikhá* *yukú-ná* *nu=i'ma-jé*
 3SG.NF=PRO story-ALIEN3 1SG=tell-FUT
 ‘I will tell *his* story.’ (ycn0068,4)

(271) *ru=i'mi-chá* *a'pita-jé*
 3SG.F=go-PST bathe-PURP.MOT
 ‘she went to bathe’ (ycn0041,47)

Precisely because of these verbal features, negation in the verbal copula construction is encoded just like in verbal clauses, with *unká...-la* (272).

(272) *Unká* *na=pirá* *i'ma-lá-cha*
 NEG 3PL=pet COP-V.NEG-PST
 ‘Their pet was not there.’ (ycn0068,31)

6.3 Distribution of encoding strategies

The two strategies have strong tendencies in their distribution according to several criteria: time of reference, polarity and functional subcategory of non-verbal predication. I adopt the categorization of non-verbal predication types by Payne (1997, 111) with equation, proper inclusion, attribution, location, existence and possession. The preferred encoding strategy (Cop for verbal copula, and Zero for the zero copula constructions) per functional type of non-verbal predication and polarity are summarized in Table 39.

Table 39 Preferred encoding strategy for non-verbal predicates

	Affirmative		Negative	
	Present	Npresent	Present	Npresent
Equation	Zero	Cop	Zero	Cop
Inclusion				
Attributive				
Location			Cop	
Existential				
Possessive				

In terms of distribution, the zero copula strategy is the preferred encoding mechanism in the affirmative polarity in present tense. For all all six functional types of non-verbal predication, namely, equation (273), proper inclusion (264), attributive (265), locative (263), existential (274), and possessive predication (275).

(273) *Pa'yú michú ñakámí=ko kháãjĩ.*
 father deceased shadow=EMPH PROX
 'This is my late father's ghost (ycn0189,62)

(274) *Ri=é=ko inau'ké.*
 3SG.NF=at=EMPH person
 'There are people there (lit. at it)' (ycn0108,101)

(275) *Ri=é nu=ména.*

3SG.NF=at 1SG=cropland
 ‘I have a cropland. (lit. my cropland is at it.)’ (ycn0068,283)

The zero copula construction is also the preferred strategy in the negative polarity (with *unká...kalé*) for present tense equation (276), inclusion (277) and attributive predicates (278).

(276) *Unká o'wé kalé.*
 NEG sibling NV.NEG
 ‘(He is) not my brother.’ (ycn0041,83)

(277) *Unká yáwi kalé wa=jló kháãjí.*
 NEG jaguar NV.NEG 1PL=to PROX
 ‘This is not a jaguar to us.’ (ycn0053,74)

(278) *Unká pu'waré-ni tâ kalé.*
 NEG ugly-NF EMPH NV.NEG
 ‘(He is) not ugly.’ (ycn0041,83)

The verbal copula construction is used in affirmative polarity non-present tenses across all six functional types of non-verbal predication: equation/proper inclusion (279), attributive (280), locative (281), existential (274), and possessive predication (275).

(279) *Eyonája ri=jló ri=i'mi-chá itu'ru.*
 However 3SG.NF=to 3SG.NF=COP-PST starch
 ‘However, for him it was starch.’ (ycn0089,84)

(280) *Kamacháni wáni ri=i'mi-chá.*
 hard-NF EMPH 3SG.NF=COP-PST
 ‘It is very hard.’ (ycn0041,133)

(281) *Pajéláje chú ru=i'mi-chá.*
 room in 3SG.NF=COP-PST
 ‘She was in the room.’ (ycn0063,64)

(282) *Inau'ké i'mi-chá*
 person COP-PST
 ‘There were people.’ (ycn0151,2)

(283) *ri=é ri=aphú i'mi-chá*
 3SG.NF=at 3SG.NF=hole COP-PST
 ‘It had a hole.’ (ycn0053,6)

It is important to note however that in the affirmative polarity, the verbal copula is more likely to be used in focus constructions carrying non-finite morphology than as the syntactic predicate of a finite verbal clause as in the preceding examples. I discuss the case of constructions containing a non-finite form of the verbal copula carrying nominalizers in §14.2.4.5.1.2-, 14.2.5.5. For instance, it is very common for equative and proper inclusion predicates to be encoded with such a construction as in (284) and (285) with a G/N marked nominalization, and in (286) with a *-ka* marked nominalization.

(284) *Ri=ií* *i'mi-chá-ri* *Yewákumi*
 3SG.NF=name COP-PST-NF Y.
 'His name was Yewákumi.' (ycn0041,2)

(285) *ri=napóna* *kalé* *i'mi-chá-rí* *inau'ké* *ké.*
 3SG.NF=body EMPH COP-PST-NF person like
 'His body was like a person's.' (ycn0189,114)

(286) *kawayá* *ji'má* *ké* *ri=ji'má* *i'mi-chá-ká*
 deer feet like 3SG.NF=feet COP-PST-NZ
 'like deer hooves were his feet' (ycn0189,114)

In the negative polarity, the verbal copula strategy is used with equation, inclusion and attributive predicates in non-present tenses, as illustrated with the attributive predicate in past tense in (287). The verbal copula is also the only strategy available for existential (288), locative (289) and possessive (290) predicates in negative polarity regardless of tense.

(287) *unká* *líchi* *i'ma-lá-cha* *palá*
 NEG tobacco COP-V.NEG-PST well
 'the tobacco was not well' (ycn0108,134)

(288) *eyá* *unká* *kája* *jápá-kaje* *i'ma-lá*
 then NEG EMPH work-EV.NZ COP-V.NEG
 'there is no work' (ycn0018,13)

(289) *unká* *nu=i'ma-lá-je* *máaruwá*
 NEG 1SG=COP-V.NEG-FUT PROX.around
 'I will not be around here' (ycn0089,108)

(290) *Unká* *ri=ijlú* *i'ma-lá-cha.*
 NEG 3SG.NF=eye COP-V.NEG-PST
 'He didn't have eyes.' (ycn0041,153)

Lastly, the verbal copula is also used for non-declarative non-verbal predicates, as with the imperative and potential clauses in (291) to (293).

(291) *Ilé=ja pi=i'má!*
 MED=LIM 2SG=COP
 ‘Stay right there!’ (ycn0041,28)

(292) *Méla'jě ri=i'má kejá-ni?*
 INDF.manner 3SG.NF=COP venomous-NF
 ‘How can that be venomous?’ (ycn0189,91)

(293) *Unká méla'jé nu=i'ma-lá jlá pi=jwa'té*
 NEG INDF.manner 1SG=COP-V.NEG FRUST 2SG=with
 ‘I cannot be with you.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:296)

In sum, and quite unsurprisingly, the verbal copula strategy is associated with predicates marked for TAM distinctions, as well as non-declarative, while the zero copula strategy (in both affirmative and negative polarities) is associated with semantically stative predicates, unmarked for TAM distinctions.

7. Speech acts

Traditionally, three main types of speech acts are distinguished in the typological literature: declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses (König and Siemund 2007). The structure of declarative verbal clauses was described in §5. Here, I describe interrogative and directive sentences.

7.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are “conventionally associated with the speech act of requesting information” (König and Siemund 2007, 291). Next I describe the strategies used to encode polar and constituent interrogatives.

7.1.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives (or yes/no questions) are typically used to inquire about the truth or falsity of the proposition they express (König and Siemund 2007, 291). Affirmative polar questions in Yukuna are encoded with a construction using an interrogative particle *é* plus a nominalization with a verb form carrying nominalizer suffix *-ka* (294)-(295).

(294) *Nu=eje'rí=mi, é pi=jĩ'-chá-ka jíña?*
 1SG=nephew=PFV Q 2SG=grab-PRS-NZ fish
 'My nephew (of my late brother), have you grabbed any fish?' (ycn0108,139)

(295) *É ka'jná pi=amá-ka inaá-na?*
 Q DUB 2SG=see-NZ woman-PL
 'Have you perhaps seen any women?' (ycn0068,165)

In this construction, the verb is marked similarly to verbs in declarative verbal clauses, as it retains the categories of subject/person, tense, and obliques. However, since the verb is carrying the nominalizer *-ka*, it has some non-finite features. The internal finiteness of nominalizations with *-ka* are described in detail in §13.2.4, but here we can simply note that polar interrogatives display a slight reduction in word order flexibility for objects and obliques (restricted to post-verbal position), unlike adverbial modifiers which can be placed pre-verbally as in (296).

(296) *É palá i=jĩ'-chá-ka ri=ikhá o'wé kema-ká ké?*
 Q well 2PL=grab-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO sibling say-NZ like
 'Did you grab it well like my brother said?' (ycn0108,207)

Another important feature of polar interrogatives is that in the negative polarity, they are simply expressed with a finite verbal clause marked with standard negation, as in (297). The only cue to distinguish these polar interrogatives from declarative clauses in negative polarity is through intonation.

(297) *Unká pi=ajñá-la pi=jiwaká Kanumá jwa'té pi=a'jne=wá?*
 NEG 2SG=eat-V.NEG 2SG=boss K. with 2SG=food=REFL
 'Do you not eat your food with your boss Kanumá?' (ycn0068,106)

Polar interrogatives with zero copula non-verbal predicates are also encoded with the interrogative particle *é*, as in (298)-(299). Note that the syntactic structure of polar interrogatives in zero copula clauses is similar to that of polar interrogatives with *é ... -ka*.

Indeed, in (296), the nominalization with *-ka* follows the particle *é*, just like the non-verbal predicates in (298)(299).

(298) *É palá-ni?*
 Q good-NF
 ‘Is it good?’ (ycn0504,51)

(299) *É ri=é pi=ména?*
 Q 3SG.NF=at 2SG=cropland
 ‘Do you have a cropland?’ (ycn0068,281)

Note also that the interrogative particle *é* is homonymous with multiple items in Yukuna, the postposition *é* ‘at’, and the clause connector *é* ‘then’, the temporal adverbial subordinator *é* ‘when/if’. In (299), we clearly see that the interrogative *é* has a different function from the postposition *é* ‘at’ (see §2.2.3).

7.1.2 Constituent interrogatives

‘Constituent interrogatives’ request information about an element of the event specified by an interrogative word (König and Siemund 2007, 291). In Yukuna, constituent interrogatives are formed by using indefinite/interrogative pro-forms. As described in §2.2.5, indefinite/interrogative pro-forms are mainly used in declaratives with negative polarity and in constituent interrogatives. Interestingly, in terms of structure, constituent interrogatives differ according to the semantics of the constituent in question: the interrogative sentence may be either a fully finite verbal clause, or it may be a cleft clause with an embedded nominalization. The choice of an interrogative structure depending on interrogative pro-form and constituent is summarized in Table 40. In sum, only subjects, stative location and manner require the use of a non-finite verb form. I describe each of these structures, with special attention to finite interrogatives. Cleft interrogatives are described in detail in §14.2.4.5.1.1 and §14.2.5.5.1.1.

Table 40 Constituent interrogative constructions

Form	Gloss	Meaning	Constituent	Construction
<i>ná</i>	INDF.PRO	what	S	Cleft
<i>ná</i>	INDF.PRO	what	O	Finite
<i>ná</i>	INDF.PRO	what	OBL	Finite
<i>náje</i>	INDF.REASON	why	OBL	Finite
<i>méré</i>	INDF.LOC	where (stative)	OBL	Cleft
<i>méño'jǒ</i>	INDF.TOWARD	where to	OBL	Finite

<i>méké</i>	INDF.LIKE	how	OBL	Cleft
<i>méeyá</i>	INDF.FROM	where from	OBL	Finite

7.1.2.1 Finite interrogatives

Finite interrogatives are similar in terms of general structure to declarative clauses, with the addition of an interrogative pro-form: the pronoun *ná*, and the pro-adverbs *náje* ‘why’, *méño’jǒ* ‘where to’, and *méeyá* ‘where from’. All of these pro-forms are obligatorily placed in pre-verbal position, before the S NP. The pronominal interrogative *ná* replicates the marking of the corresponding constituent, so it is unmarked in object interrogatives (300), and marked with a postposition in oblique interrogatives (301). Pro-adverbs are used as such, without any additional marking, as they diachronically result from the fusion of an indefinite root and a postposition (302)(304). In some cases, the morphological segmentation of these complex forms is quite transparent, as in *méeyá mé=eyá* INDF=from.

(300) Object interrogative with *ná*

Ná pi=la’á ?
INDF 2SG=do
 ‘What are you doing?’ (ycn0053,61)

(301) Oblique interrogative with *ná* + postposition.

Ná penáje i=i’jna-ñá nu=ikhá?
INDF for 2PL=go-APPL 1SG=PRO
 ‘What did they abandon me for?’ (ycn0068,57)

(302) Reason interrogative with *náje*

Náje pi=taja’á me’píjí nakú?
INDF.reason 2SG=die hunger on
 ‘Why are you starving to death? (lit. dying on hunger)’ (ycn0068,105)

(303) Locative interrogative with *méño’jǒ*

Yawotí, méño’jǒ pi=i’jné?
Y. INDF.toward 2SG=go
 ‘Yawotí (wise turtle), where are you going?’ (ycn0186,155)

(304) Locative interrogative with *méeyá*

Méeyá ka’jné ri=iphá-chi-ya tâ kéelé kawayá?
INDF.from DUB 3SG.NF=arrive-CAUS-PST EMPH MED deer
 ‘From where did he find that deer?’ (ycn0545,24)

The interrogative pro-form is often emphasized with a discourse particle, as in (305) and (306).

(305) *Ná pajá nu=amí-cha?*
 INDF EMPH 1SG=see-PST
 ‘What did I see?’ (ycn0092,30)

(306) *Náje chí ri=wakára'á pi=ikhá nu=cháje?*
 INDF.reason EMPH 3SG.NF=send 2SG=PRO 1SG=at
 ‘Why did he send you to me?’ (ycn0063,34)

Lastly, some interrogatives also allow negation to be marked, in which case the interrogative precedes the negative particle *unká* as in (307). This is perhaps related to the scope of the constituent in question, with ‘why’ corresponding to a sentential adverbial modifier.

(307) *Ná penáje unká pi=jepo'-la palá ri=ikhá?*
 INDF for NEG 2SG=tie-V.NEG well 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Why did you not tie it up well?’ (ycn0068,403)

7.1.2.2 Non-verbal interrogatives with pseudo-clefts

Some constituent interrogatives require the use of a pseudo-cleft, a construction containing an interrogative pro-form as the predicate and a grammatical nominalization in the position of the argument of a zero copula non-verbal predicate (see §6.1 on zero copula clauses). Pseudo-clefts of this type are the standard ‘who’ (308), ‘how’ (309), and ‘where’ (310) interrogatives in Yukuna, formed with pro-forms *ná* INDF, *méké* INDF.manner, and *méré* INDF.LOC respectively. These interrogatives are discussed in §14.2.4.5.1.1 and §14.2.5.5.1.1., which describe the functions of nominalizations with *-ka* NZ and with G/N markers.

(308) [*Ná*]_{PRED} *ka'jné* [*kéelé amá-ri=o* *junápeje*]_{ARG?}
 INDF.PRO DUB MED see-NF=MID water.into
 ‘Who is it that appears into the water? (Lit. The one appears in the water is who?)’
 (ycn0063,26)

(309) [*Méké*]_{PRED} [*pi=ki'-chá-ka* *ri=ikhá*]_{ARG?}
 INDF.manner 2SG=throw-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘How did you throw it? (lit. How is your throwing it?)’ (ycn0058,105)

(310) [*Méré*]_{PRED} *chí* [*nu=tajnáta-ka* *pi=éjéna*]_{ARG?}
 INDF.LOC EMPH 1SG=finish-NZ 2SG=siblings

‘Where am I killing (lit. finishing) your siblings?’ (ycn0053,11)

Note that the structure of these clefts is identical to that of the corresponding interrogatives with zero copula clauses that have a simple NP as their argument, as in (311) to (313).

(311) [Ná]_{PRED} *chí* [kélél]_{ARG?}
 INDF EMPH MED
 ‘What is that?’ (ycn0545,8)

(312) [Méké]_{PRED} *chí* [kháǎjǐ]_{ARG ?}
 INDF.manner EMPH PROX
 ‘How is this?’ (ycn108,150)

(313) [Méré]_{PRED} [ri=ikhá]_{ARG?}
 INDF.LOC 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Where is he?’ (ycn0053,11)

In addition to these clefts, there are a few instances of object interrogatives and object focus sentences that are ambiguous to categorize either among finite verbal clauses or clefts. These instances are similar to finite object interrogatives as described in §7.1.2.1 in that the verb is not marked with any overt nominalizing or subordinating morphology. However, they differ from fully finite verb clauses in that the verb is preceded by a demonstrative. It is unclear what the role of the demonstrative is in this construction, and whether this structure is a main verbal clause, or a cleft construction with no deranking morphology on the verb.

(314) *Ná* *pája* **kháǎjǐ** *nu=iphá-chi-ya?*
 INDF EMPH **PROX** 1SG=arrive-CAUS-PST
 ‘What is this I found?’

7.2 Directives

Directive constructions in Yukuna differ in encoding and structure according to the person and polarity. As described previously in §4.2.4.1, imperatives are unmarked, hortatives are marked

with *-chí* PURP, jussives with *-ré* PURP, and prohibitives with *-niña* PROH. Here, I briefly describe some features of directives at the sentence level.

Besides for the morphological encoding, directives have a sentence structure that is very similar to declarative clauses. However, corpus data reveals two important tendencies in these sentences: First, subjects are always expressed with a person index (singular or plural) on the verb, and not with independent pronouns. Second, objects and obliques are always placed in post verbal position as in (315) to (318).

(315) *Chúwa pi=la'á kujnú!*
 now 2SG=do cassava
 'Prepare cassava now!' (ycn0068,145)

(316) *Nu=amí-cha-chí ka'jné nu=pirá.*
 1SG=see-PRS-PURP DUB 1SG=pet
 'I'm going to go see my pet.' (ycn0041,40)

(317) *É ri=yáa'-ta-ré ri=ikhá iléré=éjé.*
 then 3SG.NF=sit-caus-PURP 3SG.NF=PRO MED.LOC=toward
 'May he place it there.' (ycn0108,230)

(318) *Pi=a'-ñá ri=jló tâ liñéru, mamá!*
 2SG=give-PROH 3SG.NF=to EMPH money mom
 'Don't give money to him, mom!' (ycn0504,82)

These tendencies hold true for all directive constructions, but only grammaticality judgments from speakers would confirm whether these tendencies are in fact obligatory rules of directive constructions or not. Note that both of these tendencies are not entirely unexpected. Independent pronouns for speech act participants are very rare in discourse, and are restricted to focus or interrogative constructions. As for the reduction in word order flexibility, this may be partly due to the strong link between directives with various types of subordinate constructions, which typically show a decrease in word order.

8. Complex sentences

This section discusses all mechanisms of complex sentence formation. I adopt the tripartite typology of complex sentences by Foley and Van Valin (1984) into: subordination, cosubordination, and coordination. A more in-depth discussion of the definition of these terms

is provided in Ch.9. In this chapter, I only briefly provide a list of constructions per type of complex sentence, as the remainder of this dissertation focuses greatly on complex sentences with nominalizations.

In terms of encoding mechanisms used for different complex sentences, Yukuna certainly prefers dependent verb forms, and post-verbal subordinating markers (postpositions, post-verbal subordinating ‘particles’) as shown in Table 41. Among dependent verb forms, nominalizations are by far the most frequent and versatile in terms of functions, although other types of dependent verb forms are found as well.

Table 41 Encodings strategy per type of complex sentence

Type		Encoding strategy
Subordination	Relative	Nominalization
		Subordinate marker
	Complement	Nominalization Finite verbal clause
	Adverbial	Nominalization + Postposition
		Nominalization + Subordinate marker
		Subordinate marker
Cosubordination	Clause-chaining	Nominalization
Coordination		Coordinator + finite verbal clause

8.1 Subordination

I follow the definition of subordination as the use of a clause as a constituent within a matrix clause (Creissels 2006b, 189). Here, I include any type of verbal form used as a constituent of another predicate, regardless of whether the form is derived (nominalization, adjectivization), or not (dependent verb forms, finite verb forms).

I adopt the classic categorization of subordinate clauses into three sub-types: relative, complement and adverbial clauses. The main encoding strategies and markers used per type of subordinate clause are summarized in Table 42.

Table 42 Encoding strategy per subordinate clause type

Subordinate	Encoding strategy	Markers
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Relative	Nominalization	-kare ARG.NZ
		-chaje ARG.NZ
		-ka NZ
Complement	Subordinate marker	Agent nominalizations with G/N
		-keja PTCP
		Nominalization
Adverbial	Nominalization + Postposition	-kana EV.NZ
		-kaje EV.NZ
		-ka NZ
Complement	Finite verbal clause	Ø
		Nominalization + Subordinate marker
		Nominalization
Adverbial	Nominalization + Subordinate marker	-ka NZ
		Nominalization
		Subordinate marker
Complement	Subordinate marker	-je PURP.MOT
		-chí PURP
		-ré PURP
Adverbial	Nominalization + Subordinate marker	-noja CONC

8.1.1 Relativization

The function of relative clauses is mainly encoded in Yukuna via grammatical nominalizations of various types. There are no relativizers nor relative pronouns in Yukuna, the nominalization used as a relative clause is simply placed next to a head noun and functions as an adnominal modifier, or it may be used on its own without a lexical head noun (i.e. headless relative clauses), and function as a referring expression. When an overt head noun is expressed, the nominalization is most often placed after it, as in (319).

- (319) *kéelé kujnú [ri=a'-chajé ri=jló].*
 MED cassava 3SG.NF=give-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=to
 'the cassava (that) he had given to him (lit. That cassava the one which he had given to him.)' (ycn0068,155).

The 'relativized' participant is omitted from the nominalized clause. Indeed, although the grammatical nominalization has an internal clause like structure, there is a 'gap' in the position of the participant that the nominalization denotes, in the case of (319), the theme argument of the verb 'give' (the cassava). Lastly, there does not appear to be any restrictions in terms of the roles which can be 'relativized'. There are multiple semantic types of nominalizations, covering all participant types, as illustrated with the locative nominalization with *-chaje* ARG.NZ in (320). The adnominal modification use of nominalizations is described in depth in Ch.14.

(320) *kéelé* *pají* [*na=i'mi-cháje* *chú*]
 MED house 3PL=COP-ARG.NZ in
 ‘the house in which they live (lit. that house that one in which they live)’ (ycn0058,75)

In addition to relative clauses with grammatical nominalizations, Yukuna also has a dedicated adjectivization strategy with the participle *-keja*. Deverbal adjectives with *-keja* lack all verbal features (TAM, core arguments, obliques, etc.). When used in adnominal modification function, they show the same features as adjectives, as they may either precede (321) or follow (322) the head noun.

(321) *matha'-kéja* *na=jwíla'ro*
 cut-PTCP 3PL=head
 ‘their cut heads’ (ycn0092,25)

(322) *jíña* *motho'-kéja*
 fish cook-PTCP
 ‘cooked fish’ (ycn0118,36)

Deverbal adjectives with *-keja* are used in all syntactic positions available to adjectives, namely, adnominal modification, attributive predication, and secondary predication. Contrast the use of the participle as a secondary predicate in (323), with the use of an adjective in the same position in (324).

(323) *Nu=jña'-khé* *weja-kéja*.
 1SG=grab-FAR.PST poison-PTCP
 ‘I used to grab (them) poisoned.’ (ycn0117,78)

(324) *Kája* *na=la'á=o* *upe'jlú*.
 already 3pl=do=mid fierce
 ‘They already got angry.’ (ycn0063,67)

8.1.2 Complementation

Yukuna’s main complementation strategy is via nominalization, by placing nominalizations in the syntactic position of the object argument of a predicate. The structure is roughly the same for the different semantic sub-types of complement taking predicates, such as desiderative (325), manipulative (326), or phasal (or aspectual) predicates (327).

(325) *Nu=wáta* [ri=a'-ká pi=wemí nu=jló].
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=give-NZ 2SG=price 1SG=to
 'I want him to give me your price.' (ycn0063,170)

(326) *É kája ri=wakái'-cha* [ri=jwa'téje-na jña'-ká a'jne-jí].
 then 3SG.NF=order-PST 3SG.NF=worker-pl grab-NZ food-UNPOSS
 'Then he ordered his workers to grab food.' (ycn0068,289)

(327) *É kája ri=keño'-chá* [jewíña'-kaje=o].
 then 3SG.NF=start-PST transform-EV.NZ=MID
 'then he began to transform.' (ycn00563,147)

Complements of perception and knowledge predicates may be encoded either via nominalization, or the use of a finite verbal clause - without the addition of any complementizer as in (328).

(328) *Mékétanjémi ri=amí'-cha* [kája yáwi to'-chá=o mátámi]o.
 later 3SG.NF=see-PST already jaguar lie-PST=MID profoundly
 'Later he saw (that) the jaguar was sleeping profoundly.' (ycn0186,52)

Finite complement clauses of perception and knowledge predicates can be marked for negative polarity, as with the complement in brackets in (329)b.

- (329)
- a. *é ri=i'jĩ'-chá ru=chájé yaká'-je=o,*
 then 3SG.NF=go-PST 3SG.F=at look-PURP.MOT=MID
 'Then he went to her place to look,
- b. *amá-ri [unká méké ru=la'-lá-cha*
 see-NF NEG INDF.like 3SG.F=do-V.NEG-PST
 and (he) saw (that) she could not do anything.' (ycn00053,67)

For a more in-depth description of complement clauses in Yukuna involving nominalization, see Ch.14.

8.1.3 Adverbial modification

Adverbial clauses are encoded via three main strategies, which employ either nominalizations, suffixal or post-verbal subordinating markers, or both nominalizations and subordinating markers. The three strategies and the markers used are listed in Table 43. Here, I briefly

introduce each of the strategies, focusing on the ones that do not involve nominalizations. The use of nominalizations in adverbial subordinate clauses of various types is described in Ch.14.

Table 43 Encoding strategies of adverbial subordinate clauses

Encoding strategy	Nominalizers	Subordinate marker
Nominalization + Postposition	-kana EV.NZ	
	-kaje EV.NZ	
	-ka NZ	
Nominalization + Subordinate marker	-ka NZ	lojé PURP
	-ka NZ	piyá NEGPURP
	-ka NZ	é TEMP/COND
	-ka NZ	chú COND
	-ka NZ	aú CAUSE
	-ka NZ	lé CAUSE
Nominalization	-je PURP.MOT	
Subordinate marker		-chí PURP
		-ré PURP
		-noja CONC

8.1.3.1 Adverbial clauses with nominalizations

A common strategy to form adverbial clauses is to use nominalizations introduced by postpositions. The postpositions signals the semantic link between the main and the subordinate clause as in examples (330) to (332).

(330) [ri=to'-chá-ka=o] **kétána**
 3SG.NF=lie-PST-NZ=MID **during**
 'while he was asleep...'

(331) [ri=iphá-ká] **ejená.**
 3SG.NF=arrive-NZ **until**
 ...'until he arrives' (ycn0117,92)

(332) [ilé ké ri=e'wé li'=cha-ká] **aú**
 MED like 3SG.NF=sibling do-PST-NZ **for**
 'because of his brother having acted like that' (ycn0108,70)

A second, very similar encoding strategy for adverbial clauses is with a verb form nominalized with *-ka*, followed by a subordinating particle. There are at least six different

subordinating particles used for this strategy, such as *lojé* PURP (333), *piyá* NEG.PURP (334), or yet *chú* COND (335). Some of these subordinating particles are synchronically homophonous with postpositions, but when used as subordinating particles, they are placed strictly after the verb as in (336) (see §14.2.4.3 and 14.2.4.6.1 NMLZ syntax).

(333) *ri=ajñá-ká lojé ri=wajwé*
 3SG.NF=eat-NZ PURP 3SG.NF=heart
 ‘for him to eat his heart’ (ycn0041,112)

(334) *ima'-ní nó-ka piyá na=ikhá*
 hot-NF kill-NZ NEG.PURP 3PL=PRO
 ‘for the heat not to kill them’ (ycn0151,47)

(335) *palá-ni ri=a'jne-ná pi=iphá-ta-ka chú*
 good-NF 3SG.NF=food-? 2SG=arrive-CAUS-NZ COND
 ‘if you give them good food’ (ycn0119,27)

(336) *na=we'pí-ka aú ri=yále phiyúké=ja*
 3PL=know-NZ CAUSE 3SG.NF=dance all=LIM
 ‘because they know all of his dances’ (ycn0091,57)

It is also possible for some nominalizations to be used directly as adverbial clauses without any postpositions or subordinating markers. This is the case of purpose of motion clauses, which are encoded with suffix *-je* PURP.MOT, as in (337). I analyze this marker as an adverbial subordinating suffix synchronically, but in fact, this marker is diachronically related to agent nominalizer *-je*, as well as future tense marker *-je* (see §14.1.4.2)

(337) *É ri=i'jĩ-chá kéelé yáwi tá nó-je.*
 Then 3SG.NF=go-PST MED jaguar EMPH kill-PURP.MOT
 ‘Then he went to kill that jaguar.’ (ycn0053,72)

8.1.3.2 Adverbial clauses without nominalizations

Lastly, there are three dedicated subordinate clause constructions that do not involve nominalizations in Yukuna: purposive clauses with *chí* PURP, purposive clauses with *-ré* PURP, and concessive clauses with *-noja* CONC. In these constructions, verbs are non-finite in the sense that they lack many of the features of declarative main verbal clauses. Additionally, they are overtly marked as dependent with subordinating suffixes. Verbs in adverbial subordinate

clauses encoded with these markers lack most TAM marking, but retain finite features at the clause level (subjects, objects, obliques and adverbials).

Purposive clauses with *-chí* are used to encode the purpose with which an event took place. They are rather strictly placed after the main clause, as in (338). There are no restrictions as for the person number of the subject argument of subordinate clauses marked with *-chí*. Purposive clauses with this marker are also the only ones to accept tense marking, with present tense *-cha* as in (339).

- (338) *Marí na=a'-chá nu=jló,*
 PROX 3PL=give-PRS 1SG=to
pi=wáa'-chí ri=jló tâ me'tení ilé=eyá.
 2SG=call-PURP 3SG.NF=to EMPH now MED=FROM
 'Here they've just given me (his number), for you to call him now from there.'
 (ycn0504,9)

- (339) *Pi=ímí-cha pi=éjéna jló na=janapí-cha-chí kéelé kamejéri.*
 2SG=say-PRS 2SG=siblings to 3PL=carry-PRS-PURP MED animal
 'tell your siblings for them to carry that animal.' (ycn0053,83)

Purposive clauses with *-ré* also encode the purpose of an event, similarly to *-chí* (340). Purposive clauses with *-ré* and *-chí* are semantically very similar, but differ in a few respects: *-ré* PURP clauses do not appear to allow any TAM at all, they also appear to be restricted to third person subjects, and lastly, they are far less frequent in my corpus than *-chí* purposive clauses. Interestingly, both purposive markers *-chí* and *-ré* are also used in main clauses as first and third person directives respectively (§4.2.4.1).

- (340) *Aú pi=ímá ri=jló ri=keño'-ré*
 so 2SG=say 3SG.NF=to 3SG.NF=start-PURP
nu=ií nakiyá-ná ri=ikhá.
 1SG=name on.from-? 3SG.NF=PRO
 'So tell him for him to start it from my name.' (ycn0108,251)

Lastly, concessive adverbial clauses with *-noja* CONC encode a contrast between two simultaneous events, as in (341). Similarly to purposive clauses with *-ré*, verbs marked with *-noja* seem to lack any TAM marking. Finally, this marker is very infrequent, with only three occurrences in my corpus.

- (341) *Ri=motho'-chá* *ri=jlú=wa* *ri=ikhá ...*
 3SG.NF=cook-pst 3SG.NF=to=REFL 3SG.NF=PRO
ri=e'wé *kema-nója* *ri=jló :* *“pi=ajñá-niña* *ri=ikhá!”.*
 3SG.NF=sibling say-CONC 3SG.NF=to 2SG=eat-PROH 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘He cooked it for himself ... while his brother was telling him: “do not eat it!”.’
 (ycn0108,41)

8.2 Cosubordination

Cosubordination is a clause-linkage strategy that unlike subordination, does not involve embedding, and unlike coordination, does not link hierarchically equal elements (see Ch.9 for a more in-depth discussion of these terms). Typically, clause-chaining constructions are placed in this category. Yukuna has two cosubordinate constructions, both of which are used for encoding sequences of events, as with (342) and (343).

- (342) *ru=ñapá-ti-ya-ka,* *é* *ru=ímí-cha* *ru=pulá'pe-ru* *jló...*
 3SG.F=form-CAUS-PST-NZ then 3SG.NF=say-PST 3SG.F=in_law-F to
 ‘(when) she finished, then she told to her sister in law....’ (ycn0089,43)

- (343)
 a. *é* *ri=iphí-cha,* *amá-ri,*
 then 3SG.NF=arrive-PST see-NF
 Then he arrived (and) looked,
 b. *kája* *unká* *inau'ké* *i'ma-lá-cha*
 already NEG person COP-V.NEG-PST
 no one was there anymore (ycn0108,77)

Cosubordinate clauses with *-ka* NZ are described in §14.2.4.6.2, and cosubordinate clauses with agentive G/N nominalizations are described in §14.2.5.6.1.

8.3 Coordination

Coordination is the combination of hierarchically symmetrical clauses that are not in a dependency relationship with one another (Haspelmath 2007, 46). In Yukuna, coordination is simply encoded by joining two fully finite clauses with a coordinating conjunction, placed at the very beginning of the second clause. A non-exhaustive list of conjunctions is given in §2.2.6.

(344)

- a. *ru=i'mi-chá a'pita-jě,*
3SG.F=go-PST bathe-PURP.MOT
'She went to bathe,
- b. **kéchami** *ru=a'-chá po'rí ja'pí*
later 3SG.F=give-PST stove under
later she put (it) under the stove.' (ycn0041,47)

(345) *júpi nu=jápá-ka, eyá nu=ja'pá i'maká*
long_time 1SG=work-NZ then 1SG=pass FAR.PST
'for a long time I worked, then I lef' (ycn0018,7)

Coordinating conjunctions may be optionally marked with discourse particles. The very frequent connector *é* 'then' can be followed by =*ko* EMPH, =*ja* LIM, and *kája* EMPH.

(346) **É=ja** *na=ií'-cha=o*
then=LIM 3PL=escape-PST=MID
'Then they escaped.' (ycn0068,24)

As explained in §2.2.6.2, coordinated clauses vary in terms of how prosodically bound they are. While in some cases there is no intonation break between multiple coordinated clauses, in some cases, the two may be separated by a pause. It is also perfectly possible to simply use multiple finite verbal clauses in a temporal sequence without any type of conjunction (347).

(347)

- a. *ri=ikhá ri=jí'-chá,*
3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=grab-PST
'he grabbed it,
- b. **é** *ri=iphí-cha ri=ímí-cha ri=e'wé jló*
then 3SG.NF=arrive-PST 3SG.NF=say-PST 3SG.NF=sibling to
then he arrived, (and) he said to his brother...' (ycn0108,32-33)

Part II

Nominalization in Yukuna

This second part of the dissertation is dedicated to the description of nominalizations in Yukuna. The choice of this topic was motivated by their abnormally high frequency in the corpus. Nominalizing morphology is found in average, in almost 80% of sentences in Yukuna texts (see Appendices). In addition to their frequency, nominalizations in Yukuna are used in a large variety of contexts and permeate every level of the Yukuna grammar: relativization, complementation, adverbial modification, clause-chaining, focus marking, and even TAM distinctions. Nominalizations in Yukuna are thus pervasive and incredibly versatile.

The aim of Part II is to provide a thorough and systematic description of the features of nominalizations in Yukuna, from a form-to-function perspective. This part of the dissertation includes six different chapters. The first two chapters 9-10 are dedicated to establishing the terminological and methodological bases for the description of Yukuna nominalizations in the four remaining chapters 11 to 14. Ch.9 introduces the working definitions of the key terms of this dissertation, namely, nominalization, (non)finiteness and subordination, and presents the typological parameters to be used in the following chapters. Ch.10 provides the nominal and verbal prototypes in Yukuna, used to identify the repertoire of nominalizations in the language. Chapter 10 also presents the corpus and databases used for the description of Yukuna nominalizations, all of which are additionally found in the appendices. The four remaining chapters describe the features of nominalizations in terms of typological strategies used in the encoding of nominalization 11, semantics 12, internal degree of finiteness 13 and lastly, external distribution 14. Each chapter ends with a summary of attested patterns in the language and some typological remarks. The two central chapters of Part II are 13 and 14 on the internal degree of finiteness of nominalizations and their syntactic distribution.

9. Nominalization: definitions and parameters

Nominalization is an extremely diverse and widely discussed phenomenon in the world's languages. It has been addressed from a wide range of approaches, synchronic, diachronic, language-specific, areal, cross-linguistic, etc. It is not the purpose of this study to provide an overview of the vast literature on the topic, but rather, to introduce the perspective on nominalization that is adopted in this study.

In order to provide a working definition of nominalization, it is important to first define the framework used in this dissertation. Functional-oriented linguistic literature often splits into two approaches: a function-based approach, and a form-based approach.

A function-based approach allows for cross-linguistic comparability, given that *functions* are assumed to be universal. On the basis of a universal function, identified through universal tests, linguists can search the ways in which individual languages encode said function, and then compare the results obtained. In a form-based approach, linguists seek to describe the functions of a given form. This approach starts from individual forms in languages (often grammatical markers), to describe their functions, semantics and the morphosyntax of the constructions in which they are used, and later contrast them with other forms in the same language, or functionally similar forms in other languages. Both approaches are applicable for language comparison and language description. For instance, one may focus on describing infinitives in a specific language, or compare the forms classified as infinitives across multiple languages (form-based approach). Inversely, one may seek to explore the function of complementation, and then explore the morphosyntactic means of encoding this function in a single language, or from a comparative perspective (function-based approach). The former approach is very useful in exploring the features of individual markers, and shed light on functional expansion, patterns of multifunctionality and grammaticalization. The latter approach is useful to capture the diversity of morphosyntactic means used to encode a single function, and from a cross-linguistic perspective, identify patterns of the distribution of particular encoding mechanisms. This dissertation adopts a form-based approach to nominalization, as a central question in the description of Yukuna concerns the versatility of forms associated to nominalizations.

In this chapter, I focus on the definition of key terms within and around the domain of nominalization, and the parameters useful to delimit and describe nominalizations. This chapter thus sets the bases for chapter 10, in which I apply the definitions and parameters adopted here to the identify nominalizations in Yukuna.

9.1 Defining key terms

In this section, I introduce the key concepts used in this dissertation for the description of Yukuna nominalizations, namely: nominalization, (non)finiteness and subordination. For each concept, I provide a working definition, explore the areas of overlap with the other concepts, and provide some practical answers to methodological and theoretical questions that arise from these definitions.

9.1.1 Nominalization

Nominalization is not an easy to define phenomenon, even from a strictly form-based perspective. Very intuitively, we conceive nominalization as a process whose input are non-nominal elements,³² and whose output are elements that function as nouns, and nouns denote things (i.e. objects, persons). Unsurprisingly, widespread definitions of nominalizations often describe it as a process that creates nominal structures, as in the following citations:

“This is a re-categorization process, the creation of a nominal constituent that fulfills the most essential nominal function; that is, the referring expression.” (Chamoreau and Estrada-Fernández 2016, 6)

“...operations that allow a verb to function as a noun ...are called nominalizations, and can be described with a simple formula: $V \rightarrow N$.” (T. E. Payne 1997, 223)

“The term *nominalization* means ‘turning something into a noun.’ (Comrie and Thompson 2007, 334)

As products, nominalizations are like nouns (hence the term “nominalization”) by virtue of their association with an *entity-concept*

³² Despite this widespread idea, nominal-based nominalizations do exist (e.g. ‘New Yorker’) as Shibatani (2019) pointed out.

denotation, a property that provides a basis for the referential function of a noun phrase headed by such nominalizations. (Shibatani 2019)

These definitions share important common features but also differ in some important respects. Indeed, a common feature is that nominalization is described as a process or operation that transforms an input element into an output result. These definitions differ in what the transformed elements are (verbs, other things), and what the resulting element is (a ‘nominal constituent’, a noun, a noun phrase). These definitions are also purposefully vague about the resulting features of the nominal element that is produced, but often, nominalization is said to be associated with the presence of nominal morphosyntax (case markers, determiners, etc.). This is one of the central aspects in the definition of nominalization by Malchukov (2004, 6), as a process involving both the loss of verbal properties and the acquisition of nominal features, two independent processes that he refers to as ‘deategorization’ (following Hopper and Thompson (1984)), and recategorization, respectively.

In this study, I focus on verb-based nominalizations only, and put forth the *working*, structure-based definition of nominalization in (348), heavily influenced by the previously cited studies.

(348) *Nominalization is an operation the output of which is an NP. The resulting constituent of this operation differs from the verbal prototype, and instead displays features similar to those of NPs headed by prototypical lexical nouns, in terms of their internal morphosyntax and external distribution.*

This definition is very similar to the ones usually mentioned in the literature. With this definition, I clearly posit the NP and not the noun as the basic unit resulting from the process of nominalization. By placing a concrete unit at the center of the definition of this process, it can then be assessed on the basis of a set of clear and straightforward criteria, according to the defining features of NPs in individual languages. In other words, in order to prove the nominal status of a nominalization, the constituent should differ from verbal clauses, and show nominal features in terms of its internal morphosyntax and external syntactic distribution in a given language. Note that this definition is very vague concerning the actual formal features of nominalizations, in order to make room for formal diversity. For instance, consider the forms in brackets in examples (349) and (350), taken from Malchukov et al. (2008, 1).

(349) [*John’s refusal*] *came as no surprise*

(350) [*John’s winning the race*] *came as no surprise*

There are considerable formal differences internal to the forms in brackets in (349) and (350). It is clear that in (349) the form ‘refusal’ lacks any type of verbal feature, while the gerund form in (350) is more ambiguous (partial but incomplete loss of verbal features). Despite these formal differences, both of these forms match in principle the definition of nominalization in (348). Indeed, they internally show the presence of some nominal features (genitive marking), and externally, they fill the position of the S NP of the verb *come*. However, if we assume that both (349) and (350) can be categorized as nominalizations, the question that arises is where do we draw the line? Indeed, our working definition remains very vague about exactly the *degree* to which a given construction should differ from verbal clauses and match NPs in terms of internal and external distribution. Should nominalizations show all internal features of NPs and combine with all the syntactic positions of NPs? Or can it show just a few? If so, how many? Let us consider the element in brackets in examples (351) (invented) and (352) taken from Malchukov et al. (2008).

(351) *I know [that John won the race].*

(352) *[That John won the race] came as no surprise.*

These examples show what looks like a verbal clause preceded by a demonstrative in the positions of object and subject argument of the verbs *know* and *come* respectively. We could rightly wonder whether this type of construction would fit the definition of nominalization in (348). This type of construction is not traditionally considered as a nominalization, but what are the fundamental differences between (351) and (352) on one hand, and (349) and (350) on the other? The existence of these types of constructions raises questions about the limits between nominalization and two tightly intertwined concepts: (non)finiteness and subordination. Each of these terms is closely related to the internal features of nominalizations, and the external distribution of nominalizations, respectively.

These key concepts are crucial, not only to provide clear cut-off points to our working definition of nominalization, but also, to apply to in the description and categorization of individual nominalization constructions. In this dissertation, I argue that these three concepts overlap considerably but not entirely, and that the areas of non-convergence can be identified on a language-specific basis.

9.1.2 Finiteness

In this dissertation, I argue that the examples in (349) and (350) are both nominalizations, albeit of two different categories: lexical and grammatical (also known as clausal). The examples in (351) and (352), however, are not instances of nominalization. In order to distinguish the examples in (349) and (350) from those in (351) and (352) as well as to explain the differences in the subtypes of nominalizations in (349) and (350), the working definition of nominalization provided in (348) has to be complemented by two, closely related and partially overlapping concepts: finiteness and subordination.

The first key term to the description of nominalization is *finiteness*. This term is very problematic, yet widespread in discussions about nominalization within functional typological linguistics. Here, I aim to provide a working definition of finiteness, and then contrast this definition with the working definition of nominalization adopted in this study.

9.1.2.1 Defining finiteness

There are (at least) two main formal approaches to finiteness: the binary approach and the scalar approach. In the binary approach of Bisang (2007); finiteness is considered as a binary feature based on the prototype of declarative main verbal clauses. In this view, main clauses are characterized by a set of criteria, and clauses that meet these criteria are finite, and those that do not are non-finite, regardless of how formally different they are. In the scalar approach of Givón (2001), finiteness is a scalar phenomenon that measures the degree to which a given construction matches or deviates from the prototype of declarative main verbal clauses, and the prototype of NPs. Both of these approaches share the fact that the definition of finiteness is based on a set of prototypical features of main declarative verbal clauses, but differ in the way in which they ‘measure’ and delimitate finiteness and non-finiteness.

From a functional perspective, the concept of (non)finiteness has been strongly questioned by Cristofaro (2003, 53–54, 2007), as she argues that the morphological parameters that define finite and nonfinite clauses do not necessarily combine in a consistent manner across nor within languages. Indeed, taking the tense inflection as an example of a key feature in defining finiteness, we know that not all languages may have verb forms that inflect for tense, which leads to cross-linguistic inconsistencies. We also know that within a single language, it is possible for verb forms to lack tense inflection to be found in main clauses (e.g. imperatives),

and vice-versa, leading to a language internal inconsistency in the distribution of this parameter. In sum, the absence or presence of certain morphological parameters associated with main verbal clauses does not neatly correlate with main/dependent clause status (Rose 2016). These inconsistencies in the distribution of the individual parameters that are associated with (non)finiteness led Cristofaro to deconstruct this concept, as -she argues-, (non)finiteness does not correspond to an internally coherent phenomenon, and fails to be a cross-linguistically valid grammatical category.

Despite the valid issues raised by the functional approach of Cristofaro to finiteness, I adopt this term in this dissertation following Givón's (2001) scalar approach, as a practical descriptive tool to identify nominalizations, and measure the degree to which various nominalization constructions deviate from the prototype of main declarative verbal clauses. This approach makes room for a multiplicity of forms and degrees of deviation from this prototype.

Indeed, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1999, 147) explains that forms that deviate from the finite prototype may be defined negatively, as they lack some features from this prototype, and positively, if they additionally display features which are absent from this prototype and which may be typical of non-verbal word classes. Indeed, what is commonly referred to as participles are deverbal forms which are non-finite as they both lack the features of finite verbal clauses, and show features of adjectives. This question is tightly related with the issue of *deranked* vs. *balanced* verb forms presented in Stassen (1985). Cristofaro (2003, 55) summarizes the main features of deranked verb forms in terms of two parameters: i. partial/total lack of categorial distinctions relevant to verbs in a language and ii. use of special marking not allowed in main clauses. All remaining verb forms are balanced. Note that traditionally, non-finite and deranked verb forms are not conflated. For instance, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1999, 147) classifies infinitives, participles and gerunds as non-finite, whilst classifying subjunctives and dependent verb moods among deranked verb forms. In this study, I do not make a distinction between non-finite and deranked verb forms, so that both subjunctives and infinitives are considered here as being non-finite, in different ways.

I adopt a working definition of (non)finiteness as a multi-layered, scalar phenomenon as follows:

(353)

- a. *Finiteness is defined on the basis of the prototype (sum of features) of declarative main verbal clauses.*

- b. *Non-finiteness is defined as any partial or total deviation from the finite prototype. Deviations from this prototype include:*
 - i. *Partial or total absence of verbal features.*
 - ii. *Partial or total presence of features from other word-classes*
 - iii. *Presence of any special marking absent from the finite prototype, and from any other word class.*

It is clear that the definition of (non)finiteness in (353) is closely related to the definition of nominalization in (348). Indeed, the definitions in (348) and (353) imply a partial overlap between nominalizations and non-finiteness, as all nominalizations are internally non-finite insofar as they deviate, to varying degrees, from the finite prototype in both the absence of verbal features and presence of nominal features. However, the opposite does not apply, as not all non-finite constructions are nominalizations. That is to say, among non-finite constructions (which display partial or total absence of verbal features), some are nominalizations (as they additionally display nominal features), and some are non-finite and non-nominalized (as they do not display nominal features). I adopt this distinction throughout the remainder of this dissertation.

9.1.2.2 Finiteness vs. nominalization

The definitions of nominalization and (non-)finiteness raise -at least- two practical issues with theoretical implications. The first issue concerns the minimal degree of nominality for nominalizations. Indeed, if we posit that all nominalizations deviate from the finite prototype to varying degrees, where are the cutting points? Why is ‘John’s winning the race’ in (350) a nominalization and ‘That John won the race’ in (352) not? In other words, if we accept that nominalizations need not perfectly match the features of underived nouns, what is the minimal degree of nominality that they need to display in order to be categorized as nominalizations? The second issue concerns the problem of headedness. If we accept that some nominalizations only display a low degree of nominality in their internal structure, but that they still function externally as NPs, then what -if anything- is the lexical head of these nominalizations? Of course, both of these issues mostly concern the most problematic instances of nominalizations. In this section, I discuss each of these questions separately.

9.1.2.2.1 Minimal degree of nominal features

Let us return to example (352) ‘That John won the race came as no surprise’, an instance of so-called English *that* clauses. In this example, we find what looks like a finite clause (i.e. ‘John won the race’), preceded by what looks like a demonstrative (i.e. ‘that’), occupying the syntactic position of the subject argument of the verb ‘come’. In cases where a given construction only appears to display one nominal feature, one could wonder whether this meets the definition of nominalization in (348), or whether this single nominal feature could in fact be alternatively analyzed as a conjunction.

Indeed, structures that combine one nominal marker (determiners, case markers, etc.) with a highly clause-like element are analyzed as nominalizations in many languages, and there might be good reasons for doing so. Consider nominalizations without nominalizers in Mojeño Trinitario (Arawak). Rose (2011) describes these structures as nominalizations without dedicated nominalizers, containing a highly finite verbal clause and introduced by a determiner, as in examples (354) and (355) from (Rose 2011, 3, 2016, 365).³³

(354) *ñi-kepripo* [**ñi** *t(y)-ve-’-yo* *to* *ta-chuti*]
 3M-arrive **ART.M** 3-take-ACT-FUT ART.NH 3NH.head
 ‘The one who was going to take the head arrived.’

(355) *na-kopa-ko* [**to** *na-ni-ko* *eno* ‘*chañ-ono*]
 3PL-kill-ACT **ART.NH** 3PL-eat-ACT PRO.PL person-PL
 ‘They killed it for the people to eat (lit. they killed the one the people eat)’.

Rose contrasts the features of this construction to the prototypes of verbal clauses and NPs, and summarizes these features as in Table 44.

Table 44 Nominalizations without nominalizers on the finiteness scale in Mojeño Trinitario (Rose 2011)

	Finite V	NMLZ without nominalizers	Noun
Head	V	V	N
Plural	verbal	verbal	nominal
TAM	verbal	verbal	nominal
Person prefixes	verbal	verbal (with a particular distribution)	nominal

³³ I kept the glosses from the original examples, but added the brackets and bold.

Order of arguments	generally SVO	ART V S/O	Npossessee Npossessor
Determiners	∅	(DET)	(DET)

There are multiple ways in which the Mojeño Trinitario nominalizations without nominalizers differ from English *that* clauses. First, the determiner used in nominalizations without nominalizers displays the same inflectional features as prototypical determiners in the language. This can be seen in the fact that the determiner inflects for gender according to the referent of the nominalization, masculine in (354) and non-human in (355). This is not the case for *that* clauses in English, where the marker does not inflect as demonstratives do (**This John won the race came as no surprise*). Based on these features, the determiner in Mojeño Trinitario nominalizations can be analyzed as a real nominal feature, whereas the marker *that* in English *that* clauses cannot. Second, the nominalized structure in Mojeño Trinitario, although very similar to finite verbal clauses, does show some features that are not prototypical of finite clauses (peculiar distribution of verbal person prefixes and word order).

A similar case is found in Mongsen Ao (Tibeto-Burman) taken from Genetti (2011, 165) in (356). This example shows a nominalization (in brackets) with a demonstrative, used as the argument of the predicate ‘be good’. The demonstrative *i* DEM.PROX still inflects for proximity, and the structure contains a specific feature absent from both the verbal and nominal prototypes, namely, the overt nominalizer *pàʔ* NMLZ.

(356) [tsəhji ku hwaŋ-əkə mən-pàʔ i] a.u-ə.uʔ
sun LOC roast-like sit-NMLZ DEM.PROX good-PRS-DECL
‘This sitting and bathing in the sun is good.’

In sum, despite showing only one nominal feature, both the Mojeño Trinitario nominalizations in (354) and (355), and the Mongsen-Ao nominalization in (356) fit the definition in (348) as their internal structure differs from the finite verb prototype (subject marking in Mojeño Trinitario, and presence of nominalizer in Mongsen-Ao), and they also display one overt nominal feature. Externally, both of these structures display the distribution of an NP. Structures that fail to meet these criteria internally and externally, such as English *that* clauses in (351) and (352), are excluded from the definition of nominalization adopted in this study.

9.1.2.2.2 Headedness in non-derivational nominalizations

Previously, I introduced the examples in (349) and (350) as both pertaining to different subtypes of nominalizations: lexical and grammatical. Grammatical nominalizations are often considered to differ from lexical nominalizations as the latter are category changing (they create lexical nouns), while grammatical nominalizations are not (Genetti 2011, 164). If grammatical nominalizations create NPs without creating nouns, then one could question what exactly is heading these NPs? This is part of a broader issue in the analysis of NPs that do not contain an overtly expressed lexical noun that could be considered as the head, or ‘NPs without nouns’ in Dryer’s (2004) terminology. Indeed, as Dryer explains, in many languages, words that are described as adnominal modifiers can be used on their own, with a referential function, in the place of an NP, such as adjectives, numerals, possessors, but even larger elements such as relative clauses. Consider the examples from Spanish invented for illustrative purposes in (357) to (360).

(357) *El (vestido) rosado me gusta más que el azul.*

‘I like the pink (dress/one) over the blue (one).’

(358) *Los dos (niños) llegaron a la casa.*

‘The two (kids) arrived home.’

(359) *El (televisor) de Adriana no funciona.*

‘Adriana’s (TV) does not work.’

(360) *La (mujer) que me lo dijo tiene razón.*

‘The (woman/one) who said it to me is right.’

Based on the features of phrases such as those in in (357) to (360), Dryer argues that nouns do not have a privileged status within NPs, and that the very label *Noun Phrase* is misleading, as this constituent type does not in fact require an overt noun. Clearly, the discussion in Dryer (2004) highlights the importance of function and external distribution in the definition of NPs. Indeed, by analyzing that the elements in brackets in (357) to (360) are NPs even if they lack an overt head noun, we highlight that NPs have specific features beyond their internal structure, and that whilst the examples in (357) to (360) do not match the prototypical internal features of NPs, they do match the expected external features of NPs. This is a fundamental part of the definition of nominalization adopted in this dissertation, whereby nominalizations are expected to show nominal features both in their internal structure and in their external distribution.

Dryer goes on to question the very relevance of the notion of ‘head’ for NPs in general, even those containing a noun that denotes the referent of the constituent although he admits that alternative analyses (head noun ellipsis, determiners as heads) may be more adequate for

specific languages. I adopt this perspective to describe the pronominal use of adnominal modifiers (demonstratives, numerals, adjectives) in Yukuna §3.2.1.2.5, and consider as ‘NPs without heads’ the NPs formed by grammatical nominalizations.

9.1.3 Subordination

The second key term that requires some discussion before moving on to the description of nominalizations is *subordination*. Once more, this section does not aim at summarizing the literature on this incredibly vast topic, but rather, to set the working definition used in this study. Then, I contrast this definition with the definition of nominalization.

9.1.3.1 Defining subordination

Subordination has been defined from two main perspectives in the functional typological literature: a functional perspective, and a formal perspective.

Functionally, Cristofaro (2003, 33) argues for a definition of subordination based on the notion of *assertion*, where two states of affairs are linked in an asymmetrical relation in which the main one is pragmatically asserted, while the dependent one is pragmatically non-asserted. Crucially, assertiveness is said to be universal, and can be tested in all languages with sentential negation (‘it is not the case that...’), sentential questions (‘is it the case that...?’), and tag questions, no matter which structures are used in individual languages for the tests.

Formally, definitions of subordination aim to provide the main criteria to situate subordination within the typologies of clause linkage. These typologies often distinguish subordination from coordination, and within subordination, they distinguish three subtypes: relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses, based very broadly on the type of constituent that they are functionally ‘equivalent’ to: adjectival, nominal and adverbial. These typologies are often based on two main morphosyntactic criteria: dependency and embedding. In very simple terms, dependency refers to the impossibility for a given clause to stand in isolation as a main clause, and embedding refers to the integration of a clause into the position of a constituent of the main clause (Haspelmath 1995). In practice, however, there are disagreements concerning the criteria that identify both dependency and embedding, as well as disagreements about which of these criteria is definitional of subordination.

Dependency on its own has been described as a non-reliable feature to identify subordination. As Cristofaro (2003, 16) argues, in the case of complement clauses in particular (e.g. ‘that John won the race came as no surprise’), neither the subordinate nor the main clause can stand in isolation without one another. As for embedding, Haspelmath (1995, 12) put forth the following diagnostic criteria: a. clause-internal word order (when the embedded element is not at the margins of the main clause but within it), b. variable position (when the embedded element can be placed after or before the main clause), c. possibility of backwards pronominal anaphora (obligatory co-referentiality of arguments), d. semantic restrictiveness (embedded clauses may undergo clefting) and e. possibility of extraction (subordinate structures fall under the scope of *wh* interrogatives, while coordinate structures do not). However, as Cristofaro (2003, 18) points out, and Haspelmath (1995) himself concedes, not all of these criteria are applicable to all languages. For instance, many languages may have fixed word order and not allow variable positioning of subordinate clauses. There are also many subordinate clause types that do not require argument co-referentiality between the main and the subordinate clause.

Another point of disagreement concerns the choice of the main criterion to define subordination. For instance, Lehmann (1989) includes clause-chaining and serial verb constructions among subordination, despite their lack of embeddedness, on the basis of the dependency criterion (i.e. clause-chaining constructions cannot stand in isolation). In contrast, Foley and Van Valin (1984) propose a tripartite typology, with subordination as showing both embedding and dependency, coordination as lacking both, and clause-chaining type constructions that show dependency but no embedding as a third type called cosubordination. These three types can be seen as forming a continuum, with cosubordination placed in an intermediate position.

The functional definition proposed by Cristofaro (2003) is meant to avoid the problems of applicability of formal definitions of subordination, that inevitably exclude languages where the functional domain of subordination is encoded through different formal features that do not involve dependent verb forms nor embedding, leading to incomplete and biased typologies. However, because of the prominence precisely of nominalization and non-finite verb forms used in subordinate structures in Yukuna, I follow a formal approach to subordination in this study, and adopt the very simple definition in (361), following Creissels (2006b, 189).

(361) *Subordination consists in the use of a clause as a constituent of a hierarchically superordinate clause.*

I also adopt the traditional categorization of subordination into relativization, complementation and adverbialization. The identification of these subcategories in each language should at least partially follow from the comparison between subordinate clauses and the semantically equivalent constituent in simplex clauses, typically, adjectives for relative clauses, NPs for completives, and adverbial and oblique phrases for adverbial clauses.

The definition of subordination in (361) is closely related to the definition of nominalization in (348). Indeed, definitions of nominalizations often bring up the fact that the resulting element of the process should in principle show an external distribution similar to that of NPs headed by underived nouns. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993, 5) describes nominalizations (action nominals in specific) as “nouns [...] capable of declining or taking prepositions or postpositions in the same way as non-derived nouns”. Givón (2001, II:24) explains that “a verbal clause is nominalized most commonly when it occupies a prototypical nominal position/function—subject, direct object, indirect object or nominal predicate—within another clause.”, and Lehmann (1989, 198) explains that the “increasing nominality of a subordinate construction also endows it with the *distributional properties* (emphasis in original) of a noun or NP. One such property [...] is the combinability with adpositions and case affixes”. Clearly, it is not enough for a nominalization to have the internal features of nominals, but it should also have an external distribution comparable to that of NPs in the language.

9.1.3.2 Subordination vs. nominalization

Subordination and nominalization are certainly two closely intertwined phenomena. The close link between these concepts can be clearly seen in the growing body of language-specific descriptions and areal studies stating that relativization specifically, and subordination in general, are encoded via nominalization. This is the case in many descriptive and areal studies on South American languages (Epps 2008; van Gijn, Haude, and Muysken 2011; Comrie and Estrada-Fernández 2012), as well as on Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1999; Noonan 1997; Genetti 2011), just to cite a few.

Here, I argue that although tightly intertwined, subordination and nominalization remain distinct. Based on the definitions in (348) and (361), I consider that all nominalizations are by default subordinate based on their external distribution (as they occupy syntactic positions of NPs), but inversely, not all subordinate constructions are nominalizations, as internally,

subordinate clauses need not display nominal features, and externally, subordinate clauses also occupy the positions of other constituent types besides NPs (adjectives and adverbial phrases).

Here, I focus on two main issues raised by the definitions of nominalization and subordination in (348) and (361). First, I discuss the case of clausal complements in NP positions. The question is, are all subordinate structures occupying NP positions nominalizations? Second, I discuss the case of nominalized verb forms in non-NP positions. The question is, how to account for cases where an element looks like a nominalization internally, but externally, it does not appear to behave as one externally? I discuss each of these issues next.

9.1.3.2.1 Complementation vs. nominalization

Nominalizations of all types are by definition, expected to behave like NPs in terms of their external distribution. The question that arises is if it is enough for any clausal complement to occupy the position of an NP for it to be considered as a nominalization.

In his paper on NPs without nouns, Dryer (2004, 48) brings up the case of English *that*-clauses, as in (362), and argues that they are “...elements [that] can be analysed as noun phrases, not in the sense of having the internal structure of noun phrases but in having the external distributional properties of noun phrases.”

(362) *That Mary had left suddenly was very upsetting*

Shibatani (2019) takes this argument one step further and questions the distinction between nominalization and subordination in general. He shows abundant data to illustrate the synchronic parallels between nominalization and subordination, as well as the diachronic links between the two, and argues that the distinction between the two concepts should be done away with, in favor of an analysis of subordination in terms of nominalization only. His proposal, he argues, would be compatible with the theoretical premise according to which only structures equal or lower in status can be embedded within a given structure (e.g. NPs within NPs), whilst the traditional understanding of subordination allows the embedding of clauses into NPs and VPs (2019, 159).

In this dissertation, I differ with the analysis suggested in Dryer (2004) and in Shibatani (2019) in this specific respect. I thus maintain the concepts of subordination and nominalization as closely connected but distinct. I argue that the main distinction between subordination and

nominalization in terms of external syntactic distribution lies in the possibility to occupy one, or multiple NP positions. This distinction is based on the premise according to which NPs have a broad syntactic distribution including several positions. Returning to Givón's (2001, II:24) statement whereby "a verbal clause is nominalized most commonly when it occupies a prototypical nominal position/function—subject, direct object, indirect object or nominal predicate—within another clause.", I would further specify here that an element is nominalized when -in addition to displaying internal nominal features- it can occupy *any* of these positions. An element is subordinate but not nominalized, if -in addition to lacking internal nominal features-, it is only compatible with one/few of these positions. Applying these parameters English *that* clause as the one in (362), we note that in addition to lacking the internal features expected of nominalizations (as discussed in §9.1.2.2.1), they do not have a distribution comparable to that of an NP. Crucially, they cannot combine with prepositions. They thus fail to meet the definition of nominalizations both in terms of their internal features and external distribution.

This distinction between subordination and nominalization in terms of syntactic distribution can thus be easily assessed on a language-specific basis, by establishing whether a given construction is compatible with one or multiple syntactic positions of prototypical NPs in the language.

9.1.3.2.2 Nominalizations in non-NP positions

As discussed in the previous section, nominalizations are expected to have broad syntactic distributions similarly to prototypical NPs in simplex clauses. However, the literature on nominalization, in particular in Asian languages, often describes nominalizations as being *versatile* (Noonan 1997), and distinguishes among 'standard' and 'non-standard' (also called 'extended' or 'non-referential') uses of nominalizations (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011a). Indeed, some uses of nominalizations in these languages does not appear to conform to expectations about the distribution and functions of nominalizations, and are thus deemed as non-standard. The question that arises is whether we can analyze all 'standard' and 'non-standard' uses as nominalizations. In other words, in cases where *markers* associated with nominalization are found in a variety of different syntactic positions and with different functions, where do we place the cutoff point beyond which a syntactic position and a given function cannot be considered to be a nominalization? I illustrate this issue with three common patterns: the use of markers associated with nominalization in relativization, in adverbial modification, and in main clauses.

A very common issue is when nominalization markers are found both in nominalizations (as NPs on their own), as well as in the position of adnominal modification, a position/function traditionally associated with adjectives and relative clauses. I illustrate this pattern with the Kakataibo (Panoan) examples in (363) and (364), originally from Zariquiey (2011, 634–42), and presented in Shibatani (2019, 56). Example (363) illustrates the use of a nominalization encoded with nominalizer *-kë* as the object argument of the verb ‘eat’, and example (364) shows an internally identical element to the one in (363) used as the adnominal modifier of the noun ‘fish’.

- (363) [*Maria-nën* \emptyset *'aku-kë*]_{NMLZ} *a* *kana* *pi-a-n*
 Maria-ERG cook-NMLZR 3SG.O NAR.SG eat-PERF1/2P
 ‘I ate what Maria cooked.’
- (364) [*ain* *bënë=n* \emptyset *'a-kë*]_{NMLZ} *buë*
 3.GEN husband=ERG do-NMLZR fish.esp
 ‘the fish that her husband fished’

One does not have to go as far as to look for Amazonian or Asian languages to find instances of this phenomenon. Similar instances are found in many languages that allow so-called ‘headless’ relative clauses, where the relative clause can either be used on its own, or in modification function, as Shibatani (2019, 54–55) points out with the English examples in (365) and (366). Similar examples are also easily found in many other European languages as well (e.g. Spanish ‘headless’ relatives).

- (365) *(The man) who gets there first defines the truth*
 (366) *You should marry (a man) who you love.*

The question of whether the form used on its own with a referential function and the form used in adnominal modification function can both be analyzed as instances of nominalizations is closely related to the discussion on the noun/adjective distinction in individual languages. Indeed, in many languages, there is no noun/adjective distinction, in which case, there is little to no formal distinction in the encoding of the reference and modification functional domains. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993, 43) brings up this issue in reference to Quechua, where the lack of a language-specific adjective/noun distinction also leads to a lack of distinction between the domain of nominalizations and participles (deverbal adnominal modifiers).

A second scenario, also cross-linguistically common, is the use of verb forms associated with nominalizations used in the position of adverbial modification. In this function, it is very common for these verb forms to occur with conjunctions/role markers, although it is also

possible for them to be used directly as adverbial modifiers. A case in point concerns the Kakataibo verb forms with *-kë* presented in (363) (in reference function) and in (364) (in adnominal modification function). In addition to these uses, they may also be used in adverbial modification function as illustrated in (367), originally from Zariquiey (2011), cited in Shibatani (2019, 65)

(367) [*xu* *'i-kë*] *kana* *'ë=x* *Lima=nu* *kwan-akë-n*
 small be-NMLZR NAR.1SG 1SG=S Lima=LOC go-REM.PST-1/2
 ‘I went to Lima when I was small.’

Shibatani (2019, 64–69) groups together this use of verb forms associated with nominalizations under the ‘modification’ function of nominalizations. Similar patterns are reported in a variety of languages, however, linguists differ in their synchronic analysis of these patterns. For instance, Epps (2009) presents the case of Hup (Nadahup), where the same verb form marked with *-Vp* is used in referential, adnominal modification and adverbial modification functions. She argues that synchronically, the referential and adnominal modification functions can be grouped together under a single analysis (nominalizations/relative clauses), but that the adverbial modification function, although diachronically related to the former, displays additional features which led her to analyze it as converbial construction, synchronically distinct from the nominalization/relativization construction.³⁴

A third, more surprising pattern, concerns the cases where a verb form associated with nominalizations is found in what looks like the position of the predicate of a main clause. These uses are often referred to as ‘stand-alone’ or ‘non-embedded’ instances of nominalizations, and they are widespread in Tibeto-Burman languages (Noonan 1997; Genetti 2011; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011a) ; Genetti (Genetti 2011, 163) explains that:

“One of the most frequently noted syntactic characteristics of Tibeto-Burman languages is the presence of nominalized clauses which are used in a range of syntactic structures. These include attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and free-standing independent clauses.”

³⁴ I discuss the case of Hup’s relative clauses and converbs in §14.2.5.6.1, where I describe similar phenomena in Yukuna.

So-called stand-alone uses of nominalizations are associated with a variety of functions, such as contrastive focus, TAM, evidentiality, and more (so-called ‘stance-marking’ constructions) (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011a).

The question that arises for all of the three patterns described is the same: where do we place the cut-off point beyond which an element can no longer be classified as a nominalization? I do not aim to provide a universal answer to this question. However, in this dissertation, I adopt a practical solution to this issue following the same logic as in the preceding section. That is, if nominalizations are defined as having the external distribution of an NP (in addition to internal nominal features), then constructions that match this definition internally and externally are considered as nominalizations, regardless of whether their functions differ slightly in one NP position to another. Inversely, if a form that appears to have internal nominal features is used externally in syntactic positions that are not included within the range of positions accessible to NPs in a given language, then this use of this form is excluded from the domain of nominalization, regardless of whether the same form is also used in NP positions, as a nominalization. I refer to constructions using forms associated with nominalizations in non-NP positions as *nominalization-based* constructions, a term I borrow from Post (2011).

9.1.4 Summary

In this chapter, I provided the working definitions of nominalization (348), (non)finiteness (353) and subordination (361). Each concept was defined on the basis of morphosyntactic unit: NPs for nominalizations, declarative main verbal clauses for (non)finiteness, and NPs/ADJPs/ADVPs for subordination. According to these definitions, nominalization implies both nonfiniteness (to varying degrees), and subordination, but the opposite does not apply. Indeed, I argued that all nominalizations have an internal structure that differs from the finite prototype in both the partial or total absence of verbal features, and the partial or total presence of nominal features. However, deviations from the finite prototype are not restricted to the presence of nominal features, as they may simply involve reduction of verbal features, and the presence of special marking absent from finite verbal clauses. Likewise, all nominalizations have the external distribution of an NP, and as such they are subordinate. However, subordination includes constructions restricted to one or few NP positions that cannot be said to have an NP distribution, as well as constructions occupying positions of other constituent types. The internal and external features of nominalization, (non)finiteness and subordination

are summarized in Table 45. Rows indicate each concept defined here, nominalization (NMLZ), nonfiniteness (NFIN), and subordination (SUB). Columns indicate the morphosyntactic internal and external features for each. Internal features list the main parameters used to define finiteness, namely, reduction of verbal features (V), presence of nominal features (N), and special features absent in main clauses (Other). Each cell is marked with either ‘y’ (reduction of verbal features, presence of nominal features, whether total or partial), ‘n’ (no reduction, no presence of verbal features, at all), or ‘y/n’ when the parameter may or may not apply. The external column only includes the syntactic position in which these constructions are used.

Table 45 Summary of internal and external features of nominalization, nonfinite and subordinate constructions

	Internal features			External features
	Reduced V features	Presence of N features	Other	Position
NMLZ	y	y	y/n	NP
NFIN	y	y/n	y/n	dependent, main
SUB	y/n	y/n	y/n	NP, ADJ, ADV

Since these concepts are based on specific morphosyntactic structures, namely, NPs, constituents of verbal clauses, and declarative main verbal clauses, they can be transparently defined according to a set of language-specific features. In other words, once the prototypes of NPs, verbal clauses, and other verbal constituents have been established in a given language, we can apply the working definitions, and identify which constructions are categorized as nonfinite, which are subordinate, and among those, which are nominalizations. I apply this methodology to identify Yukuna nominalizations in Ch.10. Once the repertoire of nominalizations has been established, we can describe its internal features in terms of internal degree of finiteness, its external distribution in terms of range of NP positions, and its functional expansion to non-NP positions in nominalization and nominalization-based constructions. This is the focus of chapters 11-14 for nominalizations in Yukuna.

Despite the fact that all syntactic positions of NPs are lumped together within the domain of nominalization, one should carefully observe potential structural differences in nominalizations across different syntactic positions. Specifically in cases where a formally identical marker participates in a large number of constructions, it is important to observe whether the internal features of the nominalization (at the construction level) display differences depending on the syntactic context in which it is used. The main question underlying this quest is whether there is any evidence in favor of considering the multiple functions of a form as

synchronically distinct markers having grammaticalized, or not. Here, it is assumed that the directionality of grammaticalization in various synchronically attested uses of forms used in both nominalization and nominalization-based constructions departs from nominalization into new functions.

The methodology adopted here is inspired by work in diachronic syntax (Barðdal and Gildea 2015). One of the main mechanisms of language change, reanalysis, is said to be motivated by surface ambiguity (Harris and Campbell 1995, 51). That is, what initially constitutes a single construction undergoes restructuring due to its ambiguous surface that allows multiple analyses, leading to a new formally identical construction that overtime may or not develop formal differences or *actualizations* that overtly distinguish it from its source. This idea is also clearly construction-based, and insists on the importance of context and function for grammaticalization. A marker that grammaticalizes into a new function always does so in the context of a specific construction, and it is the structure and ambiguity of the construction as a whole that allow for reanalysis. The idea that reanalysis is behind the non-NP uses of nominalizations is not at all new. It is particularly present in studies of nominalization in Asian languages (Yap and Grunow-Hårsta 2010; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011b). The approach that I adopt in this study is inspired from these studies, with some differences in the categorization of standard and non-standard uses of nominalizations, which I classify into NP versus non-NP uses.

While this approach might not be ideal for a cross-linguistic perspective seeking to know the formal ways to encode a specific function, it is convenient for a language-specific description, in both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, as it sheds light on the functional evolution and expansion of nominalization constructions through time. As such, it contributes to the question of whether “these extensions from referential to non-referential functions are common crosslinguistically” as stated in Yap and Grunow-Hårsta (2010, 2).

This description thus starts from form but provides careful attention to function. This is meant to make this description as accessible to the field of descriptive and typological linguistics as possible.

9.2 Parameters used in the description of nominalizations

Having laid out the working definitions of key terms, and the criteria used to identify nominalizations among nonfinite and subordinate constructions, I now introduce the parameters according to which nominalizations are described. As explained previously, even from a language internal perspective, nominalizations are extremely diverse. The differences among nominalizations pertain to two levels: their internal features §9.2.1, and their external distribution §9.2.2.

9.2.1 Internal features

In this section, I present the parameters and typological categories adopted in this study for the description of Yukuna nominalizations in subsequent chapters. Cross-linguistically, the internal structure of nominalizations is traditionally described along three parameters: the type of formal means used in the encoding of nominalization (§9.2.1.1), the semantics of the nominalization in terms of the type of element it denotes (§9.2.1.2), and its internal degree of finiteness (§9.2.1.3).

9.2.1.1 Nominalization strategies

I use the term ‘nominalization strategy’ to refer to the formal devices used to encode nominalization. Three commonly distinguished nominalization encoding strategies are i. dedicated nominalizers, ii. NP markers, iii. zero nominalization (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011a, 9).

The first nominalization strategy are dedicated nominalizers. This strategy groups together all markers, regardless of form and type (affix, clitic, particle) whose main function is to encode nominalization (e.g. *-er* in English *singer*). Crucially, these markers do not encode grammatical categories of NPs and of course, they are markers that are not found in finite verbal clauses.

The second strategy are NP markers, i.e. markers associated with the internal structure of NPs headed by underived nouns. The presence of these markers signals the nominal status of the output of the nominalization, but unlike the markers in the first strategy, the markers used in this instance are not dedicated nominalizers. Precisely because of this, the use of NP markers

is cumulative, with other NP markers as well as with dedicated nominalizers. Indeed, the degree to which a nominalization displays nominal features is an indicator of its internal nonfiniteness. The types of markers used are diverse, from demonstratives or determiners, to gender/number and classifiers. This is illustrated with the example of a grammatical nominalization encoded with a determiner (glossed as DD) in Toba (Guaicuruan) in (368). The example was taken from Shibatani (2019, 87), based on the work of Cristina Messineo.³⁵

(368) *ajem si-kjen [so fijaGawa]_{NP} [so Ø-neta-ge da cako]_{NP}*
 I 1A-greet DD man DD 3-be-DIR DD Chaco
 ‘I greeted the man, the one who lives in Chaco.’

Gerner (2012, 810) includes case markers among the NP markers used in encoding nominalizations. However, I have opted to consider all role markers, case markers and adpositions combined, among features pertaining to the external syntactic distribution of nominalizations, as they signal the syntactic role of the nominalization within the clause.

Lastly, the third strategy are zero nominalizations, that is to say, nominalizations that do not involve any overt formal marking. This is the case of English ‘work’ as a noun from the verb ‘work’. Note that descriptions differ as to whether they posit a zero nominalizing morpheme, or simply consider this type of nominalization as the absence of overt marking.

Note that languages may use multiple nominalization strategies, and that there is no strict correlation in terms of strategy type and semantics, internal finiteness, or external distribution) of nominalizations. Indeed, semantically similar nominalizations can be obtained through different means, just like in English agent nominalizations ‘a cook’ and ‘a singer’, derived through zero nominalization and a dedicated nominalizer respectively. Likewise, different nominalization types in terms of finiteness (lexical and grammatical) nominalizations can be achieved with the same nominalization strategies and in fact, have been reported to be marked by the same morphology in some languages (Shibatani 2019, 31).

9.2.1.2 Semantic features

It is widely assumed, although not always explicitly mentioned in the definitions of nominalization -as pointed out by Shibatani (2019, 18)- that there is a deep semantic association

³⁵ These particular examples are cited as personal communication.

between the input and the output of the nominalization process. In the case of deverbal nominalizations, the semantics of the resulting nominal element are divided into two major categories: those that denote participants of the event designated by the verb, and those that denote the event. This binary distinction is proposed by Comrie and Thompson for lexical nominalizations (2007), but it is also used in studies on grammatical nominalizations, such as Shibatani (2019, 23). There are minor terminological variations from one study to the other. Comrie and Thompson use *argument* versus *action/state*. Shibatani uses *argument* vs. *event*. A slightly different typology of the semantics of nominalizations was proposed by Gerner (2012, 827), who distinguishes *participant* and *situation* nominalizations from a third subtype that he labels ‘non-physical properties’ which includes manner, reason, and purpose. I adopt the binary distinction, and use the labels ‘argument’ and ‘event’ to refer to the two types.

These broad categories are further subdivided into smaller subcategories. Argument nominalizations are thus distinguished on the basis of the different thematic roles that the nominal output denotes: agent, instrument, manner, location, patient, and reason (Comrie and Thompson 2007, 334). Note that despite the fact that these labels are thematic, these nominalizations might cover a wider array of thematic roles than what their labels indicate, so that for instance, agent nominalizations may also denote participants that are not semantic agents per se, such as the English agentive nominalizer *-er* in ‘hearer’, which refers to the experiencer thematic role of the verb ‘hear’ (Comrie and Thompson 2007, 336). I maintain the terminology in terms of the thematic role, although in some cases, the thematic roles covered by a nominalization strategy may map onto a grammatical role. Maintaining a semantic terminology for describing the denotation of individual nominalizations is also a practical matter. Indeed, in addition to denoting an argument or an event, nominalizations have an internal structure that includes arguments, and they have an external distribution where they themselves can occupy the position of arguments. In order to avoid any confusion, I use semantic roles for the arguments *denoted* by a nominalization, I use the labels A/S/P for the arguments *within* the nominalization, and use grammatical roles (subject, object, oblique), for the syntactic positions occupied by nominalizations within a main clause.

Event nominalizations may make finer grained distinctions based on the aktionsart of the input, or even aspectual features, such as the ‘process’ and ‘non-process’ distinction in Thai nominalizations (Comrie and Thompson 2007, 334). Event nominalizations are described typologically as retaining more verbal properties than argument nominalizations. Even in the case of lexical event nominalizations used in *action nominals* (NPs headed by a lexical event

nominalization), they are often described as occupying an intermediate position between nouns and verbs in terms of their semantics and discourse features which is reflected on their morphology (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, 3; Comrie and Thompson 2007, 344).

9.2.1.3 Finiteness

As discussed in §9.1.2.2, nominalizations vary in terms of their internal finiteness, displaying a wide array of different degrees of verbal and nominal morphosyntax, both at a crosslinguistic and language-specific level.

Despite the array of possible combinations of verbal and nominal features, nominalizations are often divided into two broad types, namely, lexical and grammatical (also known as clausal) nominalizations. These types can be seen as two opposing ends in terms of their distribution of verbal and nominal features, from more NP like to more verbal clause-like. Typically, the term lexical nominalization is strictly reserved for fully nominalized structures, whereas the grammatical nominalization covers all remaining stages. I also adopt this practical binary distinction to describe the degree of finiteness of nominalizations in Yukuna (Ch.13).

The differences in terms of the finiteness of the outputs of nominalizations are said to correspond to the input of the nominalization process: lexical nominalizations apply at the level of verbal roots and derive lexical nouns with all the morphosyntactic features of nouns in a given language; while grammatical nominalizations apply at the level of the clause and derive NPs (Genetti 2011, 164). Hence, Genetti uses the terms ‘derivational’ and ‘clausal’ for these two types respectively. The key issue here is that the verbal element within grammatical nominalizations does not show evidence of recategorialization, and thus, the NP containing the grammatical nominalization lacks an overt lexical head noun (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1999:49) (about the issue of headedness see §9.1.2.2.2).

The distinction between lexical and grammatical nominalizations entails much more than just their degree of finiteness. For instance, because lexical nominalization is a category changing derivational process, it is also described as showing idiosyncrasies in productivity and semantics. In contrast, grammatical nominalizations are seen as productive and semantically compositional. This has an impact on the denotation of nominalizations, with lexical nominalizations being associated with more general meanings (e.g. *reader*), and grammatical nominalizations being more specific, created to fit the needs of a particular speech context (e.g. *the person who is currently reading a comic book in the hall*). This distinction correlates with the degree to which nominalizations have *lexicalized*. Note that despite the labels used, lexical

nominalizations are not necessarily lexicalized, but they do tend to lexicalize more easily than grammatical nominalizations (Shibatani 2019, 24).³⁶

Beyond these differences, lexical and grammatical nominalizations do show similarities. Most importantly, they share the same formal markers in some languages. This reveals that despite the fact that they constitute vastly distinct structures in terms of their finiteness, they can be diachronically connected. In her study of the typology of nominalizations in Tibeto-Burman languages, Genetti (2011) argues that both types of nominalizations can arise from the other, in a cyclic process that crucially involves relativization.

In sum, the internal features of nominalizations described here, namely, type of nominalization strategy, semantics and degree of finiteness, can combine rather freely. In other words, both lexical and grammatical nominalizations can be used to obtain argument and event nominalizations, and both lexical and grammatical nominalizations can be obtained with the same nominalization strategy, sometimes even sharing the same formal marking. Shibatani (2019, 24) and Gerner (2012, 805) suggest an association between grammatical nominalizations and zero marking. However, it is unclear to me whether the structures that they include among zero marked grammatical nominalizations actually correspond to the working definition of nominalization in this study. For instance, both authors bring up clause-chaining constructions, which I have opted to exclude from the range of uses of nominalizations proper, and included instead among nominalization-based constructions.

9.2.2 External features

External features refer to the syntactic integration of nominalizations as NPs. Indeed, as expected from the working definition of nominalization adopted here, all nominalizations should show an external distribution similar to that of prototypical NPs in a given language. Individual nominalizations can thus be described in terms of their full range of syntactic positions. I distinguish two main types of syntactic positions of nominalizations: NP uses, and non-NP uses. I suggest the categorization in Table 46.

³⁶ Although one could assume that the size of the nominalization (one word vs. larger chunks) explains the fact that lexical nominalizations lexicalize more, Shibatani (2019, 24) brings up the interesting case of idioms, which are lexicalized elements that are larger than words.

Table 46 Categorization of NP and non-NP uses of nominalizations

Type	Position
NP uses	
Within NP	Possessor (Adnominal modifier)
In verbal clauses	Core argument Oblique
In non-verbal clauses	Argument of non-verbal clause Predicate of non-verbal clause
Non-NP uses	Adverbial clause Cosubordinate clause Main clause

Of course, the exhaustive list of positions, and the categorization into NP and non-NP uses is entirely language specific. For instance, more positions may be needed in some languages, to include different types of possessors, for example. Additionally, in some languages, some positions listed among NP uses may be better categorized among non-NP uses and vice-versa. A case in point is the adnominal modification position, which I classed among NP uses, but which is more traditionally more often associated with adjectives rather than nouns.

In addition to listing the range of syntactic positions in which nominalizations are used, it is important to describe the behavior of the nominalization in each of these positions, according to four parameters which I introduce below: the functions, restrictions, variations in finiteness, and the relative frequency of nominalizations when occupying a specific syntactic position.

Functions of nominalizations include the standard referential use of nominalizations but also functions traditionally associated with subordination such as adnominal modification, complementation, and adverbial modification. A given nominalization may be used with one to several of these functions depending on its syntactic position.

Restrictions in use of nominalizations include limitations in the integration of a nominalization within a specific syntactic position. A case in point concerns for instance, the O syntactic position, as nominalizations tend to only have access to this position with a specific semantic subset of verbs (complement-taking predicates). Another type of restriction concerns shared-argument rules among the main clause and the nominalization.

Variations in finiteness concern all changes in the verbal and nominal features of a nominalization which are specific to a syntactic position. For instance, Turkish has nominalizations with suffix *-DIK* that can be used to encode complement clauses and adverbial clauses. However, the encoding of the A/S argument differs in the two positions, as complement clauses require the A/S argument to be encoded as a genitive (a nominal feature), and temporal adverbial clauses require the A/S to be encoded as nominative (a finite verbal feature) (A. Malchukov et al. 2008, 10).

Lastly, in terms of frequency, it is important to observe whether the distribution of nominalizations across different syntactic positions is highly skewed towards one specific set of positions, or in contrast, whether the distribution does not display any tendency.

All of these parameters are particularly important when we take into account the uses of nominalizing morphology in nominalization-based constructions. In these constructions, the same deranked verb form used in NP slots is found in a syntactic position different to those of NPs, including adverbial clauses, clause-chaining and so called ‘stand-alone’ constructions. When observing the morphosyntactic features of these constructions, the central question that emerges is whether nominalization-based constructions display any variations in their internal features in contrast with nominalization constructions in NP positions, or whether despite their function and external distribution, these constructions remain internally identical to nominalization constructions.

10. Towards describing nominalizations in Yukuna: preliminary steps

In the preceding chapter I provided a working, form-based definition of nominalization. This definition used the NP as the basic unit, and took into account both its internal morphosyntax and its external syntactic distribution. According to this definition, nominalizations should minimally show some evidence of NP morphosyntax in their internal structure, and additionally, show an external distribution comparable to that of prototypical NPs in a given language. I also explained that these two parameters, internal morphosyntax and external distribution, are connected to the broader phenomena of finiteness and subordination respectively. Finiteness was defined as a multi-layered scale whose finite endpoint is the

prototype of declarative main verbal clauses (see §9.1.2.1). Subordination was defined a clause linkage strategy that places a clause as a constituent within a matrix clause (see §9.1.3.1). Nominalizations, following the working definition adopted here, are thus expected to be non-finite, in the sense that presence of nominal morphosyntax places nominalizations closer to the nominal end of the finiteness scale, and they are also expected to be subordinate, in the sense that they are by definition used as nominal constituents of a main clause.

This chapter provides the methodological basis for the remainder of this dissertation. In 10.1, I delimitates the concepts of nominalization, non-finiteness and subordination in Yukuna, before the actual description of nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions in Yukuna (Ch.11-14). In addition to this issue, in §10.2 I discuss a variety of methodological points pertaining to the corpus, databases on which this dissertation is based, and the conventions used in the presentation of examples.

10.1 Untangling nominalization from nonfiniteness and subordination in Yukuna

This section summarizes the set of features that defines the nominal versus verbal prototypes on the basis of NPs and verbal clauses (chapters 3-5). These language-specific features are listed under two grids, the nominal and the verbal grid, which are then used as the main methodological tool to identify and classify non-finite and subordinate constructions in the language. In particular, in this chapter, I use these grids to identify which non-finite and subordinate constructions are nominalized and which are not, in order to clearly delimitate and tease apart the areas of overlap and of divergence between nominalization, non-finiteness and subordination in Yukuna. Since this chapter is purely methodological, there is little discussion on the constructions mentioned. Nominalization constructions are described in detail in the following chapters, and other non-nominalized constructions mentioned here are described at different points of the Yukuna grammar sketch.

10.1.1 The nominal and verbal prototypes in Yukuna

In order to clearly define and delimitate the domains of nominalization, subordination and finiteness in Yukuna, it is necessary to first define the language-specific nominal and verbal prototypes on which these domains are based. The nominal prototype is based on the

assumption that NPs, in addition to having their own internal structure, typically fill syntactic positions as dependents within clauses (arguments of verbs, arguments of postpositions). The verbal prototype is based on the assumption that the standard use of verbs is as heads of verbal predicates in main clauses, specifically, declarative clauses. The choice of declarative clauses as the standard of comparison is based on the typological assessment of this clause type as being less ‘marked’ (in terms of frequency, inflectional potential) with respect to non-declarative clauses (Croft 1990, chap. 4; Cristofaro 2003, 58).

10.1.1.1 The nominal prototype: Nouns and NPs

The nominal prototype is defined on the basis of NPs headed by lexical nouns. NPs can be described at (at least) two levels: internally, in terms of their specific word order and morphosyntax, and externally, in terms of their syntactic integration into clauses. The internal and external features of NPs have already been described in Ch.3. Here, I only briefly summarize these features as they define the nominal endpoint of the finiteness scale with which nominalization constructions will be measured.

Internally, NPs have their own distinct morphosyntax. Very briefly, NPs are formed by a head (a lexical noun), with its modifiers and possessors. Morphologically, lexical nouns only inflect for alienability class, and Gender/Number (only for nouns with animate referents). Beyond the level of the morphological word, the head noun may combine with other words and clitics within the NP, most importantly, possessors and modifiers. Possessors are encoded with an overt NP placed immediately before the head noun, or with a person index (proclitic) placed on the head noun. Modifiers include a wide array of elements: demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns and nominalizations. All modifiers may be used pronominally, without an overt head noun, in what I refer to as ‘NPs without nouns’. Lastly, NPs may be negated with a specific non-verbal negation strategy *unká...kalé*, with the particle *unká* placed at the left edge of the NP, and the particle *kalé* at its right edge.

All of the aforementioned features were schematized in the template in Table 25. Here, I group these features together as a list, to form the nominal prototype grid in Table 47. Unlike a template schematization, the grid does not take into account the relative placement of elements, it simply lists each position of the template as a binary feature (present or absent). I separate the features that concern nominal morphology at the level of the head noun, and the features of the NP as a whole. Throughout the rest of this dissertation, I use this grid as the standard way to measure the degree to which the internal structure of a constituent matches or deviates from

the nominal prototype. A given construction can thus be said to be *more* or *less* nominal than another one, on the basis of how many features from this grid they display.

Table 47 Prototypical internal features of NPs

N root + markers	ALIEN
	G/N
	MID
	PFV
NP	PSSR NP/ person index
	DEM
	NUM
	ADJ
	NV NEG

These features are cumulative, and even NPs headed by lexical nouns may not fill all cases (unpossessible nouns do not have possessors, nouns with inanimate referents do not inflect for G/N). These features are also not exclusive to NPs, so non-NP constituents may show some features of this grid. G/N markers are found on adjectives, person indexes are found on verbs and postpositions, middle voice and perfective markers *=o* and *=mi* are shared with verbs and postpositions as well. The areas of overlap between the internal nominal and verbal prototypes are considered as neutral features.

Externally, NPs have a unique distribution summarized in Table 48. In sum, NPs are arguments by excellence, either of verbs, postpositions or even other nouns (as possessors), and this neatly distinguishes them from other constituent types.

Table 48 Prototypical external distribution of NPs

Within NPs	Arg of N (PSSR)
	Adnominal mod
Verbal clauses	S of V
	O of V
	Arg of Postp
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause
	Pred of NV clause
Other	Dislocated constituent

Note that just like some internal features of NPs are not exclusive to the NP prototype, some of the positions available to NPs are also available to other constituent types. Table 49 shows the syntactic distribution of NPs compared to other major constituent types, where accessible positions to each constituent are marked with ‘y’ and shaded in gray.

Table 49 External distribution of constituent types

	NP	AdjP	PostpP	AdvP	VP
Arg of N (PSSR)	y	n	n	n	n
Adnominal mod	y	y	n	n	n
Arg of V	y	n	y	n	n ^{*37}
Arg of Postp	y	n	n ^{*38}	n	n
Arg of NV clause	y	n	n	n	n
Pred of NV clause	y	y	y	y	n
Adverbial mod	n	n	y	y	n
Secondary predicate	n	y	n	n	n
V predicate	n	n	n	n	y

Table 49 reveals an interesting fact about the external distribution of verbal versus non-verbal constituents in Yukuna. Indeed, there is no overlap between (finite) verbs and non-verbs, while there are several points of overlap among all non-verbal constituents. NPs share some syntactic positions with all other non-verbal constituent types. In particular, NPs and AdjPs are very difficult to tease apart because the overlapping areas concern the ‘prototypical’ uses of each constituent type: nouns can function as adnominal modifiers and adjectives can be used as arguments (which I analyze as adjectives used in NPs without nouns). However, while there is also some overlap between NPs and AdvPs, this overlap does not concern the prototypical uses of these constituent types: nouns are not used in adverbial modification, and adverbs are not

³⁷ The only exception being cases of fully finite embedded subordinate clauses as with the complement taking verbs *see* and *hear*.

³⁸ One possible exception is the cases of postposition stacking discussed in §Postpositions. However, this is not a productive mechanism (not all combinations are possible), and the various combinations are phonologically produced as a single word.

used as arguments.³⁹ On the basis of these distributional features, I have included adnominal modification within the prototypical distribution of NPs, but excluded adverbial modification from it. Henceforth, I use the labels NP and non-NP positions to refer to syntactic positions available and excluded to NPs respectively.

10.1.1.2 The verbal prototype: Verbs and verbal clauses

The verbal prototype is based on the domain of the clause, specifically, finite verbal clauses. Finite verbal clauses are described in terms of their internal morphosyntax only, which is described in detail in Ch.4-5.

Very briefly, finite verbal clauses are headed by a finite verb in the position of the predicate. Finite verbs are marked for a variety of categories including valency, negation, tense, aspect and mood. These categories are encoded either via suffixes, or via a variety of clitics and particles. While suffixes are ciscategorial (exclusive to verbs), many clitics and particles also combine with other word classes, such as perfective/former possession =*mi*, and middle voice/reflexive =*o*. In addition to these categories, verbal clauses have an internal syntax that contains core arguments (subjects and objects), obliques and adverbial modifiers. Among these elements, the subject argument is the only one which is obligatorily encoded in finite verbal clauses. This argument is encoded via a strictly pre-verbal NP, or via a person index (proclitic) on the verb in the absence of an overt S NP. Unlike subject NPs, objects, obliques and adverbial modifiers may be variably ordered with regards to the verb and to each other. Any type of structure containing a verb form that does not conform to this prototype is not fully finite. The template of main declarative verbal clauses is presented in Table 30.

Similarly to the NP prototype, I group together the features of finite verbal clauses into a list, in order to form the verbal prototype grid (Table 50). Once more, I keep a distinction in terms of the word (plus bound grammatical markers), and the verbal clause at large.

Table 50 Internal features of finite verbal clauses

V root + bound markers	Valency	- <i>ta</i> CAUS, - <i>ñaa</i> APPL, - <i>ka</i> ASS, = <i>o</i> MID
	Tense	- <i>cha</i> PST, - <i>je</i> FUT, - <i>khe</i> , - <i>j̄ika</i> , <i>i'maká</i> FAR.PST
	Aspect	= <i>no</i> HAB, = <i>mi</i> PERF
	Mood	<i>jlá</i> FRUST

³⁹ Perhaps the only exception concerns the word *jlapi* ‘night’ which mostly functions adverbially, but which shows some nominal features (unlike *jlapiyámi* ‘morning’ which is an adverb).

V clause	NEG	<i>unká...-la</i>
	Subject	(S NP/person indexes)
	Object	O NP
	Obliques	POSTPs
	Modifiers	ADVPs

Table 50 groups together all markers used within the same grammatical domain, irrespective of the type of marker (suffix, clitic, particle), and their position on the verbal template. For instance, the Tense category includes multiple suffixes, but also the far past particle *i'maká*. Note also that Table 50 does not include all mood markers, as it excludes markers used in non-declarative speech-acts (hortatives, imperatives, prohibitives) (for all mood markers see §4.2.4), and also mood markers whose synchronic analysis is ambiguous (*-kare* argument nominalizer/potential mood, see §14.2.1.5). Although these markers are indeed found in some main clause uses, they are excluded from the finite verbal prototype. Henceforth, I use this grid as the basis to measure the degree to which a given construction matches or deviates from the finite verbal clause prototype. Again, the method I use consists in listing how many features from this grid are present in individual constructions.

To summarize, I defined the endpoints of the finiteness scale, which can be further decomposed into the nominal prototype grids, based on the standard internal and external features of NPs in (Table 47) and (Table 48), and a the verbal prototype grid, based on the features of declarative main verbal clauses (Table 50). I showed that both prototypes have their distinctive features, with some zones of overlap. These features will be used, first, as the basis to identify nominalizations and distinguish them from other non-finite constructions §10.1.2, as well as from other subordinate constructions in §10.1.3, and second, as the basis to describe the degree to which nominalizations deviate from the verbal prototype and conform to the nominal prototype in Ch.13-14.

10.1.2 Nominalization vs. nonfiniteness in Yukuna

Finiteness was defined as a multi-layered scale containing a verbal scale based prototype of a declarative main verbal clause, and a nominal scale based on the prototype of NPs. All elements that deviate from the finite prototype are thus (more or less) non-finite. Deviations from the finite prototype can be categorized in three different groups: i) presence of nominal features, ii)

reduction of prototypical verbal features and iii) presence of features absent from both the nominal and verbal prototypes (e.g. nominalizers, subordinators). Following the working definition of nominalization in Yukuna, all nominalizations are by definition nonfinite (to varying degrees), as they are expected to have an internal structure that overtly deviates from the finite verbal prototype. However, not all deviations from the prototype of finiteness constitute instances of nominalization. This section aims precisely at distinguishing these two groups (non-finite nominalized vs. non-finite non-nominalized), before actually describing nominalizations in Yukuna.

I identified all verbal forms that do not conform to the Yukuna verbal prototype defined in §10.1.1.2, and listed them in Table 51. There are at least 15 different non-finite verb forms, most of which are used in multiple constructions with different functions. The different non-finite forms include all the directive forms (the unmarked imperative and the prohibitive *-niña*, see §4.2.4.1), adverbial subordinating suffixes *-chí* PURP, *-ré* PURP and *-noja* CONC (§8.1.3.2), the participle *-keja* (§8.1.1), nominalizers and gender and number markers (described next in §11-14). For each of these non-finite forms, Table 51 indicates which type of deviations from finiteness they display, namely: reduction in verbal features, presence of nominal features, and presence of features absent from both verbal and nominal prototypes. For each of these parameters, cells are marked with either ‘y’ or ‘n’. Note that in the first column (reduction of verbal features), the ‘y’ signals the *absence* of features, whereas in the last two columns, the ‘y’ signals the *presence* of features.

Table 51 Non-finite constructions in Yukuna: nominalized vs. non-nominalized

Marking	Gloss	Reduction of V features	Presence of N features	Presence of Non-v, non-n features
∅	IMP	y	n	n
<i>-niña</i>	PROH	y	n	n
<i>-chí</i>	PURP	y	n	y
<i>-ré</i>	PURP	y	n	y
<i>-noja</i>	CONC	y	n	y
<i>-keja</i>	PTCP	y	n	y
<i>-je</i>	PURP.MOT	y	n	y
<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	y	y	y
<i>-kana</i>	EV.NZ	y	y	y
<i>-kaje</i>	EV.NZ	y	y	y
<i>-jona</i>	INSTR.NZ	y	y	y
<i>-ka</i>	NZ	y	y	y

<i>-kare</i>	PART.NZ	y	y	y
<i>-chaje</i>	PART.NZ	y	y	y
<i>-ri/yo/ño</i>	NF/F/PL	y	y	n

Table 51 suggests three important generalizations about finiteness and nominalization in Yukuna. First, non-finiteness tends to be overtly marked with deranking morphology on verbs. The only exception are verbs in the imperative mood, characterized by a reduction in verbal features but no overt mood marking. Second, non-finiteness in Yukuna always implies a reduction in verbal features, whereas it does not always involve the addition of nominal features. The distinction between nominalized and non-nominalized non-finite structures lies precisely in this point, as all nominalized structures imply the presence of nominal features, following the working definition of nominalization adopted here. However, despite the binary presentation of nominal features here, nominalizations differ in terms of their respective degrees of nominality. This issue is the focus of §13. Third, non-finiteness is closely related to, but does not imply dependent clause status. This point is further discussed next.

10.1.3 Nominalization vs. subordination in Yukuna

Subordination was defined in §9.1.3.1 as a clause linkage strategy that places a clause in the position of a constituent of a matrix clause. Three types of subordinate clauses are traditionally distinguished, based on their position with respect to a matrix clause: relative clauses (adnominal modifier position), complement clauses (core argument positions), and adverbial clauses (adverbial modifier position). Following the definition of nominalization provided in §9.1.1, nominalizations are expected to have an internal structure that deviates from the finite prototype, and an external distribution comparable to that of an NP. Since NPs are constituents within clauses, all nominalizations in this definition are subordinate. However, not all subordinate clauses are nominalizations. The aim of this section is to distinguish nominalized subordinates, from non-nominalized subordinate clauses.

In order to distinguish the domains of nominalization and subordination, I begin by identifying constructions that conform to the definition of subordination, and then identifying the structures among this group that correspond to the definition of nominalization.⁴⁰ Table 52

⁴⁰ Note that I include among the list of subordinate constructions all nominalizations, including those which I consider to be category changing (lexical nominalizations), despite the fact that these cases are often not considered as subordination in the sense that the embedded element is not a verbal clause.

provides a non-exhaustive list of verb forms used in subordinate clauses in Yukuna: unmarked complement clauses (§8.1.2), adverbial clauses with *-chí* PURP, *-ré* PURP and *-noja* CONC §8.1.3.2, participles with *-keja* §8.1.1, purpose of motion clauses with *-je* PURP.MOT, nominalizers and G/N markers. For practical purposes, this table only lists each verb form once, regardless of whether the same verb form is used in multiple positions with different functions. The forms included in Table 52 are limited to the domain of subordination, so this excludes deranked verb forms used in cosubordination (i.e clause-chaining), as well non-finite verb forms used in main clauses (e.g. imperatives). Each subordinate verb form in Table 52 is categorized according to the syntactic position it fulfills within a main clause, whether this position is a position available to NPs, and whether the verb form in this position shows nominal features.

Table 52 Subordinate constructions in Yukuna: nominalized vs. non nominalized

Marking	Gloss	Syntactic position	NP position	NP internal features
∅		O of V	y	n
<i>-chí</i>	PURP	Adverb	n	n
<i>-ré</i>	PURP	Adverb	n	n
<i>-noja</i>	CONC	Adverb	n	n
<i>-keja</i>	PTCP	Adnominal, Secondary pred	y	n
<i>-je</i>	PURP.MOT	Adverb	n	y
<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-kana</i>	EV.NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-kaje</i>	EV.NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-jona</i>	INSTR.NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-ka</i>	NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-kare</i>	PART.NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-chaje</i>	PART.NZ	NP (various)	y	y
<i>-ri/yo/ño</i>	NF/F/PL	NP (various)	y	y

On the basis of the features summarized in Table 52, the listed subordinate constructions can be categorized in two groups: non-nominalized subordinates and nominalized subordinates. Nominalized subordinate structures are those with ‘y’ in both the NP position and internal NP features columns. That is to say, these structures are not only used syntactically as NPs, but they also display internal nominal features. Non-nominalized subordinate clauses include all

constructions which fail to meet the criteria for nominalized subordinates, either because they are embedded into a syntactic position that is not available to NPs in Yukuna ('n' in the NP position column), or because they lack internal nominal features ('n' in the NP internal features column), or both ('n' on both NP position and NP internal features columns). This point is crucial because it shows that the two main criteria used to define nominalizations are rather independent: non-nominalized structures are compatible with NP positions, and nominal features are found in structures which are placed in non-NP positions. Indeed, among non-nominalized subordinate clauses we find constructions which are embedded into non-NP positions (with or without internal nominal features), and inversely, constructions which are embedded into NP positions, but that lack internal nominal features.

Among constructions embedded into non-NP positions we find adverbial subordinate clauses, which are used in the syntactic position of adverbial modifiers, a position that is excluded from the grid of NP positions in Yukuna. A case in point concerns *-noja* CONC clauses, which internally lack any overt nominal feature, and are restricted to the position of adverbial modification (the same marker is not found in other embedded positions).

- (369) *Ri=motho'-chá* *ri=jlú=wa* *ri=ikhá ...*
 3SG.NF=cook-pst 3sG.NF=to=REFL 3SG.NF=PRO
ri=e'wé *kema-nója* *ri=jló :* “*pi=ajñá-níña* *ri=ikhá*”.
 3SG.NF=sibling say-CONC 3SG.NF=to 2SG=eat-PROH 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘He cooked it for himself ... even though his brother kept telling him: “do not eat it!”.’
 (ycn0108,41)

Additionally, and more interestingly, non-nominalized subordinate clauses also include constructions which do show nominal features internally, and even share the same deranking morphology as nominalizations, but which are not analyzed as nominalizations due to their syntactic placement in a non-NP position. I use the term **nominalization-based** taken from (Post 2011) to refer to these constructions, as I assume that they originate from nominalizations that have undergone functional and syntactic expansion. This is the case of purpose of motion clauses with *-je* PURP.MOT, a marker which is related to the agent nominalizer *-je* A.NZ. The verb form in purpose of motion clauses shows similar features to that of lexical nominalizations, most importantly, the encoding of the patient participant as the possessor as in (337). There are many more cases of nominalization-based constructions not listed in Table 52. This phenomenon is pervasive in Yukuna, and is described in depth in Ch.14.

(370) *É ri=i'jĩ-chá kéelé yáwi tâ nó-je.*
 Then 3SG.NF=go-PST MED jaguar EMPH kill-PURP.MOT
 'Then he went to kill that jaguar. (Lit. Then he went jaguar killing' (ycn0053,72)

Lastly, non-nominalized subordinate clauses also include constructions which are embedded into NP positions but which lack internal nominal features. This concerns the case of finite complement clauses, which are embedded into the position of O argument of complement taking verbs as in (371).

(371) *Mékétanjémi ri=amí-cha [kája yáwi to'-chá=o mátámi]o.*
 later 3SG.NF=see-PST already jaguar lie-PST=MID profoundly
 'Later he saw (that) the jaguar was sleeping profoundly.' (ycn0186,52)

All remaining cases, used both in NP positions and with internal NP features ('y' on both columns in Table 52), match the working definition of nominalization. In this dissertation, I focus precisely on nominalization constructions, as well as on constructions that share the same morphology as nominalizations but which do not meet the definition of nominalization (nominalization-based constructions).

To summarize, in this chapter I set the methodological bases for identifying nominalizations, and distinguishing them from non-finite and subordinate structures, in order to delimitate the set of structures described in the following chapters. The definitions of the domains of finiteness and subordination are not only helpful in identifying nominalization constructions but also in their categorization and description. Indeed, finiteness is crucial to describe the two major groups of nominalizations on this scale, namely, lexical vs. grammatical nominalizations (Ch.13). Defining the domain of subordination is also crucial to identify nominalization from nominalization-based constructions (Ch.14).

Before turning to the actual description of nominalization constructions in terms of their nominalization strategies, semantics, degree of internal finiteness and external distribution, I address the corpus and databases used in this study.

10.2 Corpus and conventions

Before describing nominalization constructions in Yukuna, it is necessary to present two important methodological issues pertaining to, first, the corpus on which this dissertation is based, and second, the conventions used in the examples.

10.2.1 Corpus and databases

This study is based on my firsthand corpus of texts on Fieldworks (henceforth “Flex corpus”)⁴¹, and two databases, all with distinct, complementary purposes: a database of selected examples extracted from the Flex corpus (henceforth “selected examples database”), and a database of 100 sentences from 10 different texts (henceforth “100-sentence database”). This section presents the corpus and the databases. The appendices of this dissertation include the full Flex corpus as well as both of these databases (§Appendices).

The **Flex corpus** (Appendix 3) contains transcribed and translated texts, time-aligned on ELAN, and exported to Flex for interlinearization. The texts in this corpus are mostly single-speaker narratives of a variety of genres, and only a couple of conversations, most of which are accessible on the ELAR website.⁴² Elicitation of lexical items and recordings of working sessions with consultants are not included in the Flex corpus. In terms of recording time, the translated corpus corresponds to roughly 4,5 hours of audio recordings, and in terms of word count, the corpus contains roughly 25000 words. This corpus was exploited to build the other two databases, and also to obtain ‘absolute’ morpheme counts. However, this corpus is only partially interlinearized; some texts are fully glossed, and others are only partially so.⁴³ Because of this, the Flex corpus has some limitations. For instance, for markers that are not too frequent, it is relatively simple to find all of their instances in the corpus through a form-based search and manually gloss each instance individually. In these cases, a gloss-based corpus search and a form-based corpus search often coincide in numbers, and the estimate number of instances in the corpus is reliable. However, for markers that are extremely frequent, often due to homonymy and polysemy, a form-based corpus search will conflate all different functions of the same form. In these cases, the estimate number of instances of a marker based on (manually

⁴¹ <https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/>

⁴² <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971099>

⁴³ The glosses for texts which are not yet fully glossed will be gradually updated in ELAN format to the Yukuna deposit on ELAR once curated.

curated) gloss-based research will be more reliable than that of a form-based research, but the number will not be exact since not all occurrences of extremely frequent markers have been manually verified and so, there may be errors in the automatic glosses.

The **selected examples database** (Appendix 1) was put together on an Excel spreadsheet containing a large number of examples extracted mostly from the Flex corpus, but also from field notebooks. As its name suggests, this database only contains a handpicked portion of all occurrences of nominalizations in my corpus, meant to avoid some repetitive and extremely frequent patterns. The aim of this database was to provide careful annotation on the internal and external features of nominalizations, and to facilitate in-depth, complex queries. The database has almost 1000 entries, each annotated for the following parameters: unique identifier, source type (text, elicitation), source code (Flex line, notebook page), semantics of the nominalization, marker used to encode the nominalization, the presence of nominal features such as demonstratives and G/N, and the syntactic role of the nominalization in a main clause. Additionally, a number of additional columns annotate secondary parameters such as: which postpositions and conjunctions are used, and the presence of aspect, mood and polarity markers within the nominalization. This allowed fine-grained queries by combining multiple parameters through the use of filters (e.g. among entries with a given marker, and in a given syntactic position, how many have demonstratives). This database was the main tool used in the description of the internal features and external distribution of nominalizations. Because it includes elicited data, this is the only database that contains ungrammatical examples, which are extremely helpful in the description of the internal features of nominalizations. Ungrammatical examples are signaled with an asterisk (*), but they are annotated for all parameters similarly to grammatical examples (e.g. an ungrammatical example with *-ka* NZ is coded as a *-ka* nominalization in the marker column). Additionally, this database provided a reliable estimate of the total number of instances in which a given nominalization construction combined with a given feature, for most nominalization constructions. However, this database presented a number of shortcomings: First, the entries are not glossed, only the Flex corpus contains glosses so one has to use the code of the database entry to retrieve the gloss within the Flex corpus. Second, while it included all instances of most nominalization constructions, it only included a portion of the instances of the most frequently used nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions. Because some of these frequent constructions are very repetitive, the examples added to the database were handpicked, often because they showed interesting features. In this particular case, the selected example database does not in any way

provide a reliable estimation of the absolute number of occurrences of frequent constructions in my corpus, nor of the absolute number of times that a construction displays a particular feature. This gap is filled by the 100-clause database.

The **100-sentence database** (Appendix 2) was compiled on an Excel spreadsheet, and aimed at providing a more accurate frequency estimate for individual nominalization constructions. As its name suggests, this database was made on the basis of a set of 100 sentences: 10 sentences taken from 10 different texts. The texts were selected from my Flex corpus, and included a variety of different genres and speakers. In each selected text, I chose a sequence of 10 sentences in the text. Complex sentences including subordinate clauses, cosubordinate clauses and inserted reported speech counted as one sentence in the database. Coordinated clauses were only counted as one sentence when produced in the same utterance, in order to avoid overly long sentences. The starting line was chosen randomly, but in all cases, I avoided both narrative beginnings and endings. Every sentence in the 10-sentence sequence per text was entered into the database. Each occurrence of nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions were given a distinct entry in the database. Sentences without nominalizations of any type were also given distinct entries. Each entry was coded for a variety of parameters and given a unique identifier. Because there are cases where a single sentence contains multiple nominalizations, and because fully finite sentences were included as well, the database in fact contains more than 100 entries. This database provides a clear estimate of the overall frequency of nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions in texts, as well as the overall frequency of the most commonly used constructions. However, precisely because this database reflects the frequency tendencies in my Flex corpus, not all nominalization constructions are attested: rare constructions are absent from this sample.

10.2.2 Conventions and example presentation

In this dissertation, I make extensive use of illustrative examples from my corpus in order to describe the behavior of nominalizations. Here, I briefly present the general conventions adopted for the presentation of Yukuna examples, and in particular, the use of brackets to highlight the edges of nominalizations.

10.2.2.1 Examples

As for the general conventions adopted, in this dissertation, all examples from Yukuna are glossed according to my most recent analysis, and following the Leipzig glossing rules. The first line provides the Yukuna text alphabetically transcribed and morphemically segmented. The second line provides the glosses in English, and the third line provides a translation in English. The first line begins with a capital letter and ends with a period only when the example corresponds to a full clause. The free translation into English is my own, and it is meant to convey the semantics of the original example in English. This translation is sometimes very close, and sometimes very different, from the original translation into Spanish provided by consultants, which is accessible in my Flex corpus. Free translations are often accompanied by a literal translation in parenthesis, in English as well, meant to be as representative of the grammatical structure of the example, regardless of the English grammar. Each example contains a reference at the end of the translation line. The reference corresponds either to a Flex text line in the format (ycn0000,000) (the first part refers to the recording/text, and the second part to the Flex line), or to a field notebook in the format (AAAA NB0:00), with the letters indicating the consultant code (four letters), followed by the notebook number (all my fieldwork notebooks have been numbered), and notebook page. The presentation of examples is schematized in (372).

(372) *Segmented clause in Yukuna.*

glosses in English

‘Free translation in English. (Literal translation.)’ (Flex code)/(Notebook code)

10.2.2.2 Brackets

I use brackets to illustrate the syntactic parsing of the examples in the dissertation, and I use them systematically with examples containing nominalizations. Following the working definition of nominalization adopted here, I consider nominalizations of any type as NP-like structures, with internal nominal features and an external nominal distribution. This includes all types of nominalizations, even those with many verbal features or grammatical nominalizations. Brackets, then, are used on the first line of examples to mark the left and right edges of the NP structure containing the nominalization, as a visual cue of the syntactic parsing of the clause into which the nominalization is embedded. There are two cases in which brackets are not used in examples illustrating the behavior of nominalizations: first, when the example only contains the NP of the nominalization without any context, and second, when the example

illustrates a nominalization-based construction, or an instance where what looks like a nominalization is used in a non-NP syntactic position. The three cases described are illustrated with the invented English sentences in (373)-(375). In (373), the nominalization is used as the O NP of a finite verb, in (374), the nominalization is given without any context, and in (375), a verb form carrying nominalizing morphology (V-*ing*) is used in a position and with internal features that are not those of nominalizations.

(373) *The first line in examples shows [the morphemic segmenting of a Yukuna clause].*

(374) *the morphemic segmenting of a Yukuna clause*

(375) *I am morphologically segmenting a Yukuna clause.*

Example (373) shows the basic logic in the placement of brackets in this dissertation. Clearly, the brackets identify a structure much larger than just the verbal root carrying the nominalizer (i.e. ‘segmenting’), as it includes all other elements within the NP, the basic unity on which the analysis of nominalizations is based here. As such, the brackets also include the adjectival modifier, the genitive, and the determiner ‘the’, just like one would consider ‘the big book of lies’ as a single NP. In principle this is a very simple convention, however, in reality, it raises a number of tricky issues pertaining to the position of the nominalization within the NP, and the analysis of demonstratives.

By the position of nominalization within NPs, I refer to cases of NPs embedded within other NPs in the functions of possessors and adnominal modifiers. Consider the invented English examples in (376) and (377).

(376) *I want to be [a wanderer of forests].*

(377) *She is the mother of [the wanderer].*

In both (376) and (377) the nominalization *wanderer* is used within a complex NP containing a dependent (possessor) and a head noun (possessed). However, in (376) the brackets include both the possessor (*forests*), and the possessed (*wanderer*), whereas in (377), the brackets only include the possessor (*wanderer*). This choice of bracket placement is based on both syntactic and semantic factors. Syntactically, the nominalization *wanderer* is the possessed element, and head of the NP in (376), while in (377), the nominalization *wanderer* is an argument of the head noun ‘mother’. Semantically, in (376), the element encoded as a possessor (i.e. *forests*) corresponds to the locative oblique argument of the verb *wander* (hence, it is included within the brackets), whereas in (377), the head noun *mother* does not refer in any way to an argument of the verb *wander* and thus, it is placed outside of the nominalization brackets.

A yet more complex situation concerns the use of demonstratives with nominalizations. The difficulty in analyzing demonstratives is due to the fact that in Yukuna, there are no articles, demonstratives are optionally expressed, and they may also be used pronominally without an overt lexical noun (see §3.2.1.2.5). Generally, I have opted to include most instances of demonstratives with nominalizations within the brackets, as I analyze them as modifiers within an NP that contains a nominalization. This analysis applies to all cases of demonstratives with nominalizations, regardless of nominalization type, whether lexical or grammatical. The formal differences between lexical and grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna in terms of their internal finiteness are described in detail in Ch.13, but here it is worth recalling that lexical nominalizations (e.g. *dancer*) are defined here as operations of transcategorial derivation that create nouns, while grammatical nominalizations (e.g. *Her arriving late*) are not: they create NPs without a head noun. Consider the examples in (378) and (379).

(378) *kéelé* *nákájé* *jña'-jóna*
 MED.DEM something grab-INSTR.NZ
 ‘that grabber of things’ (ycn0092,147)

(379) *kéelé* *ru=jara'pá* *michú* *i'ma-káre*
 MED 3SG.F=father deceased COP-ARG.NZ
 ‘where her late father was’ (ycn0058,113)

As such, in the lexical nominalization in (378), the demonstrative is analyzed as a modifier of a head noun (the nominalized verb stem *grabber*), and in (379), the demonstrative is considered as a modifier within an NP containing the grammatical nominalization ‘that (place where) they live’, where neither the demonstrative nor the nominalization can be said to be the ‘head noun’. In this latter case, the NP containing a grammatical nominalization is a type of NP without a head noun, with an internally mixed verbal/nominal morphosyntax. Based on this methodological choice, I include demonstratives as a modifier *within* the NP containing the nominalization, whether lexical or grammatical, and include it within the brackets when the nominalization is used as an NP within a clause.

Beyond nominalizations, I have consistently avoided to use the term ‘head’ to refer to demonstratives altogether, even those which are used on their own pronominally. This choice contrasts with the alternative, perhaps more commonly adopted choice to consider demonstratives and other determiners as ‘heads’ of NPs where the nominalization functions as a modifier. This marked choice is meant to account for the Yukuna data only, and it is not to be

interpreted as a general statement about the syntactic structure of NPs cross-linguistically. As Dryer (2004) argues, the analysis of headedness in NPs is complex, and different analytical choices may fit different languages.

Despite the general rule whereby demonstratives are included within the brackets as modifiers within NPs containing nominalizations, there are two exceptional cases. First, when the demonstrative is used in an NP containing a nominalization used as a possessor of another noun (similarly to the logic in (377)), as in the Yukuna example in (380) with the noun *wemí* ‘price’ as the possessee, the demonstrative is not included in the brackets because it modifies the noun *wemí* ‘price’ and not the nominalization. Second, the demonstrative is not included in the brackets when it is adjacent to the nominalization, but is in fact used pronominally and not as an adnominal modifier, as in (381), where the demonstrative *kéelérú* ‘that one(f)’ is in fact in the position of the predicate.

(380) *kéelé* [ri=*makápo'-ka* ri=*ikhá*] *wemí*
 MED 3SG.NF=revive NZ 3SG.NF=PRO price
 ‘the price of his having revived him’

(381) *kéele-rú tá* [*waícha-yo*]
 MED-F EMPH come-F
 ‘the one who comes is that one’ (ycn0068,193)

The various rules of bracket placement discussed here can be summarized in three different points as follows:

- i. NMLZ as dependent of a lexical noun:
 - a. As possessor: [NMLZ]_{NP} N
 - b. As modifier: N [NMLZ]_{NP}
- ii. NMLZ without lexical head noun, with demonstrative:
 - a. [DEM NMLZ]_{NP}
 - b. Unless demonstrative is pronominal:
 - i. [DEM]_{NP} [NMLZ]_{NP}
- iii. NMLZ without DEM/N:
 - a. [NMLZ]_{NP}

In sum, in all cases where nominalizations function as possessors or modifiers of an overt lexical noun that can be considered as the head of a larger NP, the brackets indicate the possessor or modifier NP only. Inversely, if the nominalization itself contains possessors and modifiers, these are included within the brackets.

11. Nominalization strategies

This chapter describes the nominalization strategies used in Yukuna. By nominalization strategy I refer to the type of encoding devices that signal the nominal status of a nominalization. The typological classification of nominalization strategies adopted here distinguishes three different strategies: dedicated nominalizers, NP markers, and zero marked nominalizations (see §9.2.1.1). In Yukuna, only the two former strategies are attested. The different encoding devices used in nominalization constructions in Yukuna and their classification by typological strategy, semantics and finiteness are listed in Table 53.

Table 53 Nominalization encoding device per nominalization strategy in Yukuna

Encoding device	Gloss	Strategy type	Semantics	Finiteness
<i>-kana</i>	EV.NZ	Nominalizer	Event	Lexical
<i>-kaje</i>	EV.NZ	Nominalizer	Event	Lexical
<i>-jona ~ -jowa</i>	INSTR.NZ	Nominalizer	Argument	Lexical
<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	Nominalizer	Argument	Lexical
<i>-kare ~ -re</i>	ARG.NZ	Nominalizer	Argument	Grammatical
<i>-chaje ~ yaje</i>	ARG.NZ	Nominalizer	Argument	Grammatical
<i>-ka (-khe, -jika)</i>	NZ (FAR.PST.NZ)	Nominalizer	Both	Grammatical
<i>-ri/yo/ño</i>	NF/F/PL	NP marker	Argument	Grammatical

Table 53 also provides a broad categorization of nominalization constructions in terms of their typological classification, semantic features and internal finiteness. This categorization is simply meant to give a global overview of the types of nominalization constructions used in the language, without exploring their features in detail. For instance, Table 53 does not make explicit whether a nominalizer has very narrow (e.g. agent nominalization only) or broad

semantics (e.g. multiple argument nominalizations), unless the marker is used across broad types (both in event and argument nominalizations). The semantics and finiteness of each nominalization strategy are the focus of Ch.12 and Ch.13 respectively. Yet another important feature of nominalizations that was left out of this table is their syntactic distribution, which is only briefly mentioned here, but is discussed in detail in Ch.14.

In terms of the typological categorization on the nominalization strategies, Table 53 reveals that among the three broad typological categories of nominalization strategies, only two are attested in Yukuna: dedicated nominalizers and nominalizations with NP markers. Zero nominalizations (as in English *a cook* vs. *cook*) are not attested. This is in fact part of a general tendency in Yukuna to overtly mark verbs that are not used as predicates of main clauses. Among the two strategy types attested in Yukuna, there is certainly a preference (in terms of absolute number of strategies) for dedicated nominalizers, as in fact, only one strategy can be considered as being encoded through NP markers only.

The table raises a number of questions pertaining to how exactly we can “count” the total number of nominalization constructions: i. how to distinguish the use NP markers as a nominalization encoding device from the expected use of NP markers in nominalizations precisely because of their nominal nature?; ii. how to treat formally similar but not quite identical markers? and iii. how to treat markers with broad semantics?

The first question concerns the use of NP markers as a nominalization encoding device. Indeed, positing the use of NP markers as one of the three typological strategies used in nominalization encoding may seem redundant considering that, as discussed previously in §9.1.1, nominalizations by definition should be able to combine with NP markers to varying degrees. However, I only include NP markers among nominalization encoding devices when these markers are not used in combination with dedicated nominalizers, so their presence is the only formal cue to identify a nominalization construction. Consider the use of gender marker *-ri* NF in (382) and (383).

(382)

- a. *na=aki'-cháje-ri*
3PL=scold-ARG.NZ-NF
'the one(NF) who was scolded by them.' (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:189)
- b. *kája_penáje ri=nó-chaje*
last 3SG.NF=kill-ARG.NZ
'the one killed last' (ycn0092,183)

(383) *la'-rí=no kujnú nu=jló*

do-NF=HAB cassava 1SG=for
'the one(NF) who always prepares cassava tortillas for me' (ycn0041,50)

In (382)a, the gender/number marker is used in addition to the dedicated nominalizer *-chaje* ARG.NZ. Its presence of course contributes to the degree of non-finiteness of the construction, but it is not itself nominalizing. This is clear from the fact that the semantics of the nominalization denoting the patient role results from the use of nominalizer *-chaje* ARG.NZ in combination with a transitive verb root indexed for subject (see §13). The use of Gender/Number markers in nominalizations with *-chaje* ARG.NZ such as in (382)a does not determine the semantics of the nominalization. In fact, their use is entirely optional, as illustrated in (382)b, with a *-chaje* ARG.NZ nominalization denoting the patient participant, and without any G/N marking. In contrast, in example (383), the verb is not marked with any dedicated nominalizer, the G/N marker *-ri* NF is the only formal cue of the nominal status of the construction, and in this specific context, the denotation of the nominalization is necessarily the agent participant. Hence, despite the fact that G/N markers are not dedicated nominalizers themselves, they can be considered as the overt cues of nominalization in this case. Note that these cases where NP markers are used to signal the nominal status of a nominalization as in (383) are not analyzed as involving zero nominalization, or a zero dedicated nominalizer, but as a distinct nominalization strategy.

The second question raised by Table 53 concerns the issue of separating formally *similar* markers. Indeed, there are important formal similarities between various nominalization strategies listed, most obviously: *-kaje* EV.NZ, *-kana* EV.NZ, *-kare* ARG.NZ, and *-ka* NZ. We could conceive that these markers are all morphologically complex forms combining the semantically broad nominalizer *-ka* with an additional marker (e.g. *-ka-je*, *-ka-na*, *-ka-re*). In this case, the morphologically complex forms could simply be classed as subcategories of *-ka* instead of being classed as different nominalization encoding devices on their own. One possible alternative analysis of these forms would be to consider that these forms involve the nominalizer *-ka* plus a possession suffix (see §3.2.1.1 on possession suffixes *-ji* ~ *-je* UNPOSS, *-te* ALIEN1, *-re* ALIEN2, *-ne* ~ *-na* ALIEN3). This segmentation seems to be very plausible from a diachronic and genealogical perspective (Aikhenvald, n.d.), and it is also reflected synchronically in Yukuna the different possession marking features of each of these nominalizations. For instance, the fact that *-kana* nominalizations can be marked for possessor, while *-kaje* nominalizations cannot is likely related to the fact that when semantically alienable nouns are marked with alienability class suffixes they require a possessor, while semantically

inalienable nouns marked with unpossessed suffix *-ji ~ -je* UNPOSS obligatorily lack a possessor⁴⁴. However, the synchronic semantics and internal finiteness of these nominalizations do not transparently correspond to the sum of these subparts (*-ka* plus possession suffixes). Indeed, the fact that *-ka* NZ plus *-na* ALIEN3 is used in lexical, event nominalizations, while *-ka* NZ plus *-re* ALIEN2 is used in grammatical, argument nominalizations, is entirely arbitrary. Although diachronically, the combination of nominalizer *-ka* NZ with possession suffixes is the most likely source of these nominalizers, I synchronically analyze *-kana* EV.NZ, *-kaje* EV.NZ and *-kare* ARG.NZ as distinct unitary nominalization encoding devices.

The list of nominalization strategies in Table 53 raises a final, third question, concerning the analysis of markers with broad semantics. Of course, semantics are hard to quantify and delimit, but when I refer to markers with broad semantics, I refer to cases where the marker covers two or more of the semantic domains from the typology presented in §9.2.1.2, namely event vs. argument, and within argument, agents, patients, instruments, recipients, etc. When the same form (in terms of its phonology, allomorphy, and its position with respect to the verbal root) covers several semantic categories, they could be analyzed either as a single polysemous morpheme, or several homonymous morphemes. Following the form-to-function structure of this dissertation, and the pervasiveness of forms associated with multiple functions in Yukuna, I adopt the former of these analyses here. However, a single polysemous marker, listed only once in Table 53, can be considered as participating in multiple nominalization *constructions*. I identify two distinct constructions containing the same polysemous marker when different meanings are associated with systematic structural differences beyond the marker itself, as opposed to cases where the differences in meaning are entirely context-dependent. A case in point concerns the form *-ka*, which I identify as a single dedicated nominalizer, covering three semantic domains (agent, location, event), and participating in two nominalization constructions; agent nominalizations and location/event nominalizations.

The overall number of markers provided here and their analyses is overall similar to what we find in previous work in Yukuna by Schauer et al. (2005). Despite terminological differences, all of these markers are mentioned at different points in their grammar sketch, and most of them are in fact analyzed as deranking morphology although with different labels than the ones adopted here. The only marker among the ones that I include among nominalization encoding devices in Table 53 that is explicitly described as a nominalizer by Schauer et al.

⁴⁴ see §3.2.1.1 on possession suffixes in the NP, and Ch.13 on possession marking in nominalizations.

is *-kaje* (2005, 316), while *-kana* EV.NZ is described as a participle along with *-keja* PTCP (2005, 303), and *-chaje* ARG.NZ and *-kare* ARG.NZ as relativizers (2005, 323). They mention instrumental nominalizer *-jona* as a marker that signals ‘the purpose of an instrument’ -which I agree with- but include it among classifiers without showing any evidence that it actually behaves as a classifier (Schauer et al. 2005, 306). The most important differences between the work of Schauer et al. (2005) and my own concerns the analysis of *-ka* and G/N markers. I include both as nominalization encoding devices that have undergone a major functional expansion beyond NP positions and uses, while Schauer et al. (2005) mostly focus on their uses in nominalization-based constructions. Regarding *-ka*, while implicitly acknowledging that the marker participates in multiple nominalization constructions, they analyze it as an inflectional marker whose function is to “signal the presence of an [adverbial] modifier” (Schauer et al. 2005, 316)(2005: 316). Similarly for G/N markers, they provide examples of nominalizing structures with these markers, but analyze them as agreement suffixes used “when the S NP is expressed separately from the verb”. The ways in which the various encoding devices presented in this chapter meet the working definition of nominalization adopted in this dissertation are not addressed in this section, but are the focus of chapters 13-14.

In this chapter, I focus on formally describing the different nominalization encoding devices, per strategy type (dedicated nominalizers and nominalization with NP markers). For each encoding device, I provide a detailed description of the formal features of the markers involved (type of morpheme, placement of the morpheme with regards to the verbal complex, allomorphs and free variants), and lastly, I present their frequency in the Flex corpus and the 100-sentence sample. I begin by describing dedicated nominalizers in §11.1 and nominalizations with NP markers in §11.2.

11.1 Dedicated nominalizers

The standard nominalization strategy in Yukuna are dedicated nominalizers. There are seven dedicated nominalizers attested in the Flex corpus of Yukuna texts. Semantically, there are two event nominalizers (*-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ), four argument nominalizers (*-jona* INSTR.NZ, *-je* A.NZ, *-kare* ARG.NZ and *-chaje* ARG.NZ), and one nominalizer used in both argument and event nominalizations (*-ka* NZ). In terms of their categorization per internal degree of finiteness, there are four lexical nominalizers (*-kana* EV.NZ, *-kaje* EV.NZ, *-jona* INSTR.NZ, and *-je* A.NZ), and three grammatical nominalizers (*-kare* ARG.NZ and *-chaje* ARG.NZ and *-ka* NZ). All dedicated nominalizers in Yukuna -across semantic and finiteness subtypes- are suffixes placed

exclusively on verbs. As suffixes, they are phonologically bound, participate in suffix-only tonal processes, and in terms of their relative placement, they precede all other verbal categories encoded with clitics and particles (see Table 30 for the verbal template). Next I describe each dedicated nominalizer, according to their finiteness category.

11.1.1 Lexical nominalizers

There are four lexical nominalizers attested in the Yukuna Flex corpus; two event nominalizers with extremely similar semantics (*-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ), and two argument nominalizers (*-jona* INSTR.NZ and *-je* A.NZ). All lexical nominalizers are incompatible with most main clause verbal markers, as discussed in §13.1. They are all placed in the same position with respect to the verb root, which is immediately after the verbal root or stem (root + valency suffixes). The only markers that can follow lexical nominalizers are G/N markers for *-je* nominalizations, as well as middle voice enclitic *=o* which is also a valency marker. Because they are suffixes, these markers share the same features as most other suffixes in the language in terms of phonological interactions with the verbal stem, namely, they are inherently toneless, but they are placed within the domain of floating tone placement and tonal spreading so depending on the tonal features of the stem, they may surface with high tone. The placement of lexical nominalizers is summarized in the template in Table 54. The internal structure of lexical nominalizations is not discussed in depth in this section as it is the focus of §13.1.

Table 54 Position of lexical nominalizers in Yukuna

V Root	Valency	NZ	G/N	Valency
	<i>-ta</i> CAUS	<i>-kaje</i> EV.NZ	<i>-ri</i> NF	<i>=o</i> MID
	<i>-ña</i> APPL	<i>-kana</i> EV.NZ	<i>-yo</i> F	
	<i>-ka</i> ASS	<i>-je</i> A.NZ	<i>-ño</i> PL	
		<i>-jona</i> INSTR.NZ		

11.1.1.1 Event nominalizer *-kana*

The suffix *-kana* EV.NZ is a lexical nominalizer that derives deverbal nouns with eventive semantics, similarly to nominalizer *-kaje* EV.NZ described next. The use of deverbal nouns derived with *-kana* is illustrated with examples (384) and (385), where the nominalization is placed in the position of the argument of a postposition and of the O NP of a verb respectively.

(384) *É nu=yurí=o Leticia é [jápá-kana] nakú.*
 then 1SG=stay=MID Leticia at work-EV.NZ on
 quince *jarechí kétána.*
 fifteen year during
 ‘Then I stayed in Leticia working (Lit. on work) during 15 years.’ (ycn0018,8)

(385) *Ru=ñapáchi-ya [na=motho'-kána].*
 3SG.F=finish-PST 3PL=cook-EV.NZ
 ‘She finished cooking them (Lit. ‘the cooking of them.’) (ycn0189,20)

In terms of productivity, similarly to most dedicated nominalizers in Yukuna, *-kana* EV.NZ is highly productive and can rather freely combine with verbal roots, although it is most commonly used with transitive verbs. Precisely because of the high productivity of the nominalizer, deverbal nouns with *-kana* show rather transparent compositional semantics, as in (384) and (385). However, some instances of *-kana* EV.NZ seem to show a higher degree of lexicalization with less transparent semantics, as in (386) where the expected semantics would be closer to ‘the piling of two’ (event) instead of two piles (result of the event).

(386) *iyamá jawaká-kana*
 two pile_up-EV.NZ
 ‘two piles’ (ycn0119,21)

Other instances are even less semantically transparent, such as the pair of homonyms *i'makána* ‘captain’, and *i'ma-kána* COP-EV.NZ ‘be’. These homonyms can be distinguished by the fact that ‘captain’ requires a possessor encoded with a person index or an NP immediately after the noun, while the event nominalization ‘to be’ cannot be marked with a person index at all.⁴⁵ Yet other cases are not synchronically segmentable, such as *chi'nárikana* ‘owner’, which cannot be segmented into its parts, although it clearly is a lexicalized form containing nominalizer *-kana*, as evidenced from the fact that there is a variant ending in *kaje* (*chi'narikaje*) as well (although not accepted by all speakers).

Lastly, in terms of overall frequency, I have identified 75 instances of this morpheme in the Flex corpus, without including the highly lexicalized cases. This marker appears six times in the 100-sentence sample (Appendix 2), just like its equivalent *-kaje* EV.NZ, presented next.

⁴⁵ Deverbal nouns with *-kana* encode the P argument as the possessor, while the A/S argument is not expressed at all. Since the copula does not have a P argument, *i'ma-kana* cannot have a possessor at all. The issue of argument marking in lexical nominalizations is discussed in detail in Ch.13.

11.1.1.2 Event nominalizer *-kaje*

Similarly to *-kana*, *-kaje* EV.NZ is a verbal suffix, and a lexical nominalizer that derives deverbal nouns. Deverbal nouns derived with *-kaje* can be used in multiple syntactic positions of NPs, as illustrated with examples (387) and (388), with a *-kaje* nominalization in the S NP and O NP positions respectively.

(387) *Eyá unká kája [jápá-kaje] i'ma-lá.*
Then NEG EMPH work-EV.NZ COP-V.NEG
'There is no work.' (ycn0018,13)

(388) *É kája wa=kulá [jápá-kaje] ilé=ewá kariwa-na jwa'té.*
then 1PL=search work-EV.NZ MED=around white_people-PL with
'Then we look for work around there with the white people.' (ycn0042,121)

In terms of productivity and frequency, this suffix is somewhat more restricted in its productivity than *-kana*. I have identified 60 instances of this nominalizer in the Flex corpus (as opposed to 82 of *-kana*), and six instances in the 100-sentence sample. The majority of these instances are with intransitive verb stems (whether semantically active or stative). Additionally, among its occurrences in the Flex corpus, about half are only with two verbal roots, namely, *arápa* 'dance' and *pura*'=*o* 'speak', both of which show signs of lexicalization as I discuss in Ch.12.

In sum, event nominalizers *-kana* and *-kaje* are both verbal suffixes, placed on the same position in the template, with nearly identical semantics. However, they do show some differences concerning the transitivity of the verbs they combine with (Ch.12), and in their internal finiteness (Ch.13).

11.1.1.3 Instrumental nominalizer *-jona ~ -jowa*

The marker *-jona ~ -jowa* is also a verbal suffix that derives deverbal nouns. In terms of its semantics, it is an instrumental argument nominalizer: the nouns derived with this marker denote the object with which an event takes place. It is in fact the only nominalizer identified thus far that is dedicated to a non-core verbal argument, as most other argument nominalizers are either exclusively agentive or non-agentive. It is a very infrequent marker, with only three, very similar occurrences in the Flex corpus, produced in the same narrative, and denoting the same item (an inanimate object, used as a traditional hunting instrument) (389).

(389)
a. *kéelé nákáje jña'-jóna*

MED something grab-INSTR.NZ
 ‘a grabber of things’ (ycn0092,165)

b. *kamejéri nó-jona*

animal kill-INSTR.NZ
 ‘a killer of animals’ (ycn0092,165)

In elicitation, my main consultant produces a free variant *-jowa* as in (390).

(390) *Na=ki'-chá nu=liyá [a'umakajé ipa-jówá].*
 3PL=take_away-PST 1SG=from clothe wash-INSTR.NZ
 ‘they took away the washer of clothes from me.’ (elicited, notebook 5:315)

In direct elicitation, it is quite easy to obtain new forms with *-jona* INSTR.NZ used on transitive verb stems, and these resulting forms are semantically transparent. However, with so few naturalistic occurrences in the Flex corpus, it is difficult to assess the real productivity of this marker.

11.1.1.4 Agent nominalizer *-je*

The marker *-je* A.NZ is yet again a verbal suffix. The deverbal nouns created with this marker denote the agent argument of an event. They are systematically followed by G/N markers, the same set used in G/N nominalizations (*-ri* NF, *-yo* F, *-ño* PL) agreeing with the denoted participant (see Table 54). Example (391) illustrates the use of a deverbal noun with *-je* A.NZ as an oblique argument of the subordinate purposive clause.

(391) *Pi=kuwá kujnú kájémaka jíña kajémaka*
 2SG=cook cassava type fish type
 [*wajla'-jé-ño*] *jló iná a'-ká lojé*
 invade-A.NZ-PL to GNR.PRO give-NZ PURP
 ‘You prepare cassava, fish, etc., for one to give to the dancers. (Lit. to the invaders)’
 (ycn0059,44)

In terms of productivity, on the basis of the Flex corpus and elicited data, it appears that this marker can easily combine with different verbal roots and stems to obtain new semantically transparent forms. However, this marker shows some semantic restrictions as discussed in (§12.2.1).

This marker shows no evidence of allomorphy, nor of free variation. However, it is important to note that this marker is homonymous with *-je* future marker, and *-je* purpose of

motion subordinator. These markers are analyzed as synchronically distinct, as the constructions in which they are used are rather easily identifiable in terms of semantics and structure (further discussed in §14.1.4.2). Note that although I analyze the three *-je* suffixes (agent nominalizer, purpose of motion and future tense) as synchronically distinct, I consider them as diachronically related, and include the latter two functions among nominalization-based constructions, that is to say, constructions in which a nominalization encoding device is used without a nominalizing function.

In terms of frequency, the agent nominalizer *-je* is not frequently used, with only eight identified occurrences in the Flex corpus, and no occurrences in the 100-sentence sample. These numbers contrast with the frequency of the nominalization-based uses of *-je* as a future tense marker and as a purpose of motion subordinator, both of which are robustly attested in the Flex corpus.

11.1.2 Grammatical nominalizers

Next, I introduce the dedicated grammatical nominalizers in Yukuna: *-kare* ARG.NZ, *-chaje* ARG.NZ and *-ka* NZ. It is interesting to note that grammatical nominalizers in Yukuna are very similar to lexical nominalizers in their formal features, as both are verbal suffixes, and as all suffixes, are phonologically bound to the root and participate in total processes. However, unlike lexical nominalizers, grammatical nominalizers are not placed immediately after the verb stem, but right after tense markers. Note that grammatical nominalizers are also compatible with G/N markers, which immediately follow them. Table 55 shows schematizes the position of the grammatical nominalizers with respect to other bound markers (affixes and clitics) of verbs. Note that this template only illustrates a portion of the clause (the verb stem and its closest bound markers), although grammatical nominalizations apply to the level of the clause. The entire structure of grammatical nominalizations is discussed in §13.2.

Table 55 Position of grammatical nominalizers in Yukuna

Root	Val	Negation	Tense	NZ	G/N	Valency	Aspect
------	-----	----------	-------	----	-----	---------	--------

-ta CAUS	-la	-je FUT	-kare ARG.NZ	-ri NF	=o MID	=mi PFV
-ñaa APPL		-cha PRS/PST	-chaje ARG.NZ	-yo F		
-ka		(-khe	-ka NZ	-ño PL		
ASS		FAR.PST				
		-jĩka				
		FAR.PST)				

The placement of markers within the template represents markers that are in a paradigmatic position with regards to one another, so that clearly, nominalizers cannot co-occur, just like future tense *-je* and past tense *-cha* cannot co-occur either. However, note that templates like these do not take into account the individual nominalizer's restrictions, for instance, event nominalizations with *-ka* are incompatible with G/N marking. A more detailed discussion about grammatical nominalizations and their internal features is provided in §13.2.

Two of the markers presented in this section present interesting cases of allomorphy: *-kare* ARG.NZ which is realized either as *-kare* or as *-re*, and *-chaje* ARG.NZ, realized as *-chaje* or *-yaje*. These instances of allomorphy suggest a link between each of these markers and nominalizer *-ka* and past tense *-cha* respectively. This allomorphy raises questions concerning the diachrony and synchronic analyses of these markers. I further discuss this issue in §11.1.2.1 and §11.1.2.2 respectively.

The three markers presented in this section have broad semantics and a very large external distribution. These issues are not discussed in depth here, as they are the focus of §14.2. In this section, I only briefly describe their formal properties, the patterns of allomorphy, their productivity and overall frequency.

11.1.2.1 Argument nominalizer *-kare* ~ *-re*

This suffix is used as a general argument nominalizer in grammatical nominalizations. The semantics of this nominalizer cover all argument types in the language, although in terms of actual use in the Flex corpus, this marker is most often used in patient and locative nominalizations. Example (392) shows its use in a patient nominalization used as an adnominal modifier of a noun in the O NP slot, and example (393) shows *-kare* in a locative nominalization used on their own as the argument of a postposition.

(392) <i>unká</i>	<i>ri=ajñá-lá=no</i>	<i>kéelé</i>	<i>kujnú</i>
NEG	3SG.NF=eat-V.NEG=HAB	MED	cassava
[<i>nu=a'-karé=no</i>	<i>ri=jló</i>]		

1SG=give-ARG.NZ=HAB 3SG.NF=to
 ‘He never eats that cassava (that) I always give him.’ (ycn0068,160)

(393) *é ru=yakái'-cha=o [kéelé ru=jara'pá michú i'ma-káre] ewá*
 then 3SG.F=look-PST=MID MED 3SG.F=father late COP-ARG.NZ around
 ‘then she looked around (where) her late father was’ (ycn0058,113)

There are multiple cues to infer which participant is denoted by the nominalization, but typically, it corresponds to the gapped argument (see §13.2.1). Nominalizations with *-kare*, as all argument nominalizations in Yukuna, are compatible with G/N marking agreeing with the referent of the nominalization. However, G/N is optional in the case of *-kare* nominalizations, and in fact, the only examples of *-kare* with G/N are elicited.

The nominalizer *-kare* has an allomorph *-re* used in two specific contexts: when the nominalization contains verbal negation *unká...-la* (394), and when the far past habitual suffix *-jika* is used (395).

(394) *yuwa-ló [unká na=aka'-lá-re i'maká]*
 child-F NEG 3PL=scold-V.NEG-ARG.NZ FAR.PST
 ‘the girl that they did not scold’ (elicited, notebook 5:210)

(395) *na=amá-jika-re=nó*
 3PL=see-FAR.PST-ARG.NZ=HAB
 ‘(the ones) they used to see’ (ycn0092,25)

Examples (394) and (395) raise questions about the analysis of *-kare* ARG.NZ either as a single marker or as a morphologically complex form involving nominalizer *-ka* NZ. Indeed, the combinatory restrictions of *-kare* are identical to that of nominalizer *-ka*: in (394) we could consider that *ka* is omitted because verbal negation *-la* is incompatible with *-ka* NZ (see §13.2.4). In (395), the absence of *ka* in *-kare* could be explained by positing that the far past habitual suffix *-jika* FAR.PST is itself another complex form involving *-ka*.⁴⁶ Diachronically, it is very likely that *-kare* is in fact a complex nominalizer containing *-ka*. However, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, a synchronic analysis of *-kare* as a complex form involving two distinct markers (*-ka-re*) would require for their semantics when combined to correspond to the sum of the individual parts. While the form *ka* does in fact correspond to a distinct morpheme

⁴⁶ The synchronic analysis of the far past suffixes *-khe* and *-jika* is problematic. I consider both of them as tense markers that have grammaticalized from an erstwhile nominalization involving nominalizer *-ka*. I discuss this in detail in §14.2.4.6.4.

in the language (nominalizer *-ka*), the semantics of the *-re* ALIEN3 suffix can hardly synchronically account for the semantic and structural features of nominalizations with *-kare* ARG.NZ. I have opted to synchronically consider *-kare* as a unitary strategy, and consider the form *-re* as an allomorph of *-kare* in these specific contexts. Again, because of the semantic ideosyncrasies of *-kare* (but also of *-kaje* EV.NZ, *-kana* EV.NZ, *-jika* FAR.PST, and *-khe* FAR.PST), I consider these co-occurrence restrictions as traces of their diachronic source, rather than as evidence that they are still synchronically segmentable into subparts containing nominalizer *-ka*. Similar questions of synchronic segmentability apply to the case of argument nominalizer *-chaje* ARG.NZ.

In terms of its frequency, I have identified 53 instances of *-kare* in nominalization constructions in the Flex corpus, and 6 instances in the 100-sentence sample. The suffix *-kare* is very similar to the grammatical nominalizer *-chaje* ARG.NZ. They differ, however, in their interaction with tense, as *-kare* nominalizations do not have an inherent temporal interpretation so they can combine with some tense markers (*-je* FUT, *-jika* FAR.PST), while *-chaje* nominalizations are inherently tensed, as discussed next.

11.1.2.2 Argument nominalizer *-chaje* ~ *-yaje*

The nominalizer *-chaje* ~ *-yaje* is a verbal suffix used in grammatical nominalizations denoting all argument types. The semantic features and internal finiteness of nominalizations with *-chaje* are very similar to those with *-kare* ARG.NZ. Indeed, nominalizations with *-chaje* ARG.NZ denote the same set of participants as nominalizations with *-kare*, and they are both optionally marked for G/N in agreement with the denoted participant. However, *-chaje* ARG.NZ is an inherently tensed nominalizer, restricted to past tense and present perfective. As such, nominalizations with *-chaje* ARG.NZ do not combine with any tense marking. The use of this marker is illustrated with examples (396) and (397). In (396), the nominalization with *-chaje* is an adnominal modifier within an NP that is placed in the position of O NP, while in (397), the nominalization is a modifier within an NP that is an argument of a postposition.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ As an argument of a postposition, the nominalization is used instead of a possessor NP or person index. Note that the postposition *jwa'té* 'with' within the nominalized clause in (396) has a person index encoding its argument, while the postposition *chojé* in (397) does not, which clearly indicates that it is the preceding nominalization that is filling the position of its argument. The use of nominalizations as arguments of postpositions is described in §14.

(396) *É na=ajĩ-cha apiyá [ri=nó-**chaje** ri=jwa'té].*
 then 3PL=eat-PST wild_pig 3SG.NF=kill-**ARG.NZ** 3SG.NF=with
 ‘Then they ate the wild pig that he had killed with him.’ (ycn0053,28)

(397) *É ri=ji'má japo'ti-ya=o wená [ri=li'-**cháje**] chojé*
 then 3SG.NF=foot tie_up-PST=MID trap 3SG.NF=do-**ARG.NZ** in.toward
 ‘Then his foot got tied up in the trap that he had made.’ (ycn0041,163)

The nominalizer *-chaje* ARG.NZ has an allomorph *-yaje*, used when the preceding syllable is underlyingly /ti/ (produced variably as [tʃi] or [ti]), as shown in example (398), where *-chaje* is produced as *-yaje* after the allomorph *chi* [tʃi] of causative suffix *-ta* CAUS.

(398) *É ru=i'jĩ-chá ri=jló kéelé ji'chí ja'piyá*
 then 3SG.NF=go-PST 3SG.NF=to MED pot under.from
*keñá [ru=yáa'-**chi-yaje** ri=jló] jña'-jé.*
 manioc_drink 3SG.NF=sit-CAUS-**ARG.NZ** 3SG.NF=to grab-PURP.MOT
 ‘Then she went to grab under the pot the manioc drink that she had kept for him.’
 (ycn0189,86)

The tense values and allomorphy pattern of *-chaje* very clearly reveal a link between this marker and past/present perfective suffix *-cha* ~ *-ya* (see §4.2.2). Diachronically it is undeniable that the nominalizer *-chaje* is a morphologically complex form involving this tense suffix. However, synchronically, in order to adopt this analysis one would have to posit the existence of a *-je* nominalizer used in grammatical, argument nominalizations, only with past tense *-cha*. This would raise multiple issues regarding the distinction between this *-je* from all other formally identical suffixes in the language (lexical, agent nominalizer *-je*, purpose of motion adverbializer *-je*, future tense *-je*), and perhaps even the *je* in *-kaje*. Once more, I avoid these issues of segmentation and adopt a synchronic analysis of *-chaje* as a single unitary nominalization encoding device.

Lastly, in terms of frequency, this marker is not very frequent, and in fact is much less frequently attested than its close equivalent *-kare*, with 16 occurrences in the Flex corpus, and only one occurrence in my 100-sentence sample.

11.1.2.3 Nominalizer *-ka*

Next is *-ka* NZ, the most frequent marker among nominalization encoding devices in Yukuna. This verbal suffix functions as a grammatical nominalizer, and its semantics cover agent, event, and location nominalizations. The semantics of this nominalizer are examined in more detail in §12.3. Example (399) shows *-ka* used as an agent nominalizer in a NP used as the argument of postposition *jló* ‘to’. Example (400) illustrates the use of *-ka* in an event nominalization used in the slot of the possessor argument of obligatorily possessed noun *wemí* ‘price’, and example (401) shows the use of *-ka* in a locative nominalization used as the complement of the postposition *éjǒ* ‘toward’.

(399) [ri=é i'ma-**ká**-ñó] jló iná kémá ...
 3SG.NF=at COP-NZ-PL to GNR.PRO say
 ‘one says... to those who are there’ (ycn0059,20)

(400) ri=a'-chá ri=jló kéelé [ri=makápo'-**ka** ri=ikhá] wemí.
 3SG.NF=give-PST 3SG.NF=to MED 3SG.NF=revive-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO price
 ‘He paid him for having brought him back to life. (Lit. he gave him the price of his having brought him back to life.’ (ycn0092,106).

(401) É ru=i'jǐ-chá a'jná [na=i'mi-chá-**ká**] éjǒ.
 then 3SG.NF=go-PST DIST 3PL=COP-PST-NZ toward
 ‘Then she went over there to where they were.’ (ycn0063,50)

The nominalizer *-ka* appears to be synchronically and diachronically related to a variety of forms. Indeed, this nominalizer clearly shares a formal and historical link with lexical nominalizers *-kaje* EV.NZ and *-kana* EV.NZ, as well as with grammatical nominalizer *-kare*. Additionally, this nominalizer is associated to complex far past marking forms. Synchronically, it has two inherently tensed allomorphs (*-khe* FAR.PST.NZ and *-jǐka* FAR.PST.NZ), and diachronically, this marker is found on the far past inflecting particle *i'maká* FAR.PST (see §14.2.4.6.4). Nominalizer *-ka* is also found in at least one lexicalized nominalization, *pura'-ka=o* ‘language’, based on the verb *pura=o* ‘speak’, making *-ka* the only marker among grammatical nominalizers found in a lexicalized form.⁴⁸

The suffix *-ka*, in all of its nominalization and nominalization-based uses, is extremely pervasive in the language. So far, I have identified at least 1000 instances of this marker used in nominalization constructions in the Flex corpus, and at least 500 more instances in

⁴⁸ The middle enclitic *=o* obligatorily occurs with all inflectional and derivational forms of this verb, there is synchronically no root *pura'* without the final enclitic.

nominalization-based constructions. However, since the Flex corpus is not thoroughly glossed, it is certain that there are in fact many more instances of this marker that have not been glossed yet. The frequency of this marker is reflected by its number of occurrences in the 100-sentence sample (Appendix 2): among the 130 entries, corresponding to 100 sentences, 36 entries contain the marker *-ka* NZ used in nominalization constructions. Taking into account the uses of this marker in nominalization-based constructions, the number of instances of *-ka* in the sample rises to 59. That is to say, this marker is used almost once every two sentences. This makes it by far the most frequent marker among the nominalization encoding devices listed in Table 53. The second most frequent nominalization strategy are gender and number markers, discussed next.

11.2 Nominalization with NP markers

As shown previously, among the three typological categories of nominalization strategies presented in §9.2.1.1, only two are attested in Yukuna: dedicated nominalizers, presented in §11.1, and nominalization by NP markers. By NP markers, I refer to elements that are an integral part of the nominal prototype, either at the word level (nominal inflectional morphology), or at the level of the NP. In Yukuna, this category only includes one nominalization construction: grammatical nominalizations with G/N markers. Note that all nominalizations in Yukuna involve the use of NP markers, however, only those in which a specific NP marker is systematically used to encode a specific type of nominalization construction are classified as a nominalization encoding device.

11.2.1 Gender and number markers

Yukuna uses a set of gender and number (G/N) suffixes *-ri* NF, *-yo* F, *-ño* PL as an encoding device used in grammatical nominalizations denoting the agent participant. As all other nominalization encoding devices, these markers are suffixes placed on verb roots, and phonologically bound to them. In terms of their relative placement with respect to the verb root, G/N markers are placed after dedicated nominalizers, and before clitics and particles, as shown in Table 55. This set of G/N markers is exclusively used on deranked verb forms, in different argument nominalization constructions, as in *-je* A.NZ nominalizations (see §13.1.4). In all of these constructions, these suffixes index the gender and number value of the referent denoted by the nominalization. However, unlike other argument nominalization constructions, in this

specific nominalization construction, G/N markers are obligatory, and used without any dedicated nominalizers, as illustrated in (402) with *-ri* NF, and (403) with *-ño* PL.

(402) *Ri=ikhá kalé [nó-ri kéelé to'jmá jló*
 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH kill-NF MED child to
kéelé kamejé-ri-na].
 MED animal-PL
 'He is the one who killed those animals for that child.' (ycn0053,91).

(403) *Na=ikhá [li'-cha-ño kujnú ri=jló].*
 3PL=PRO do-PST-PL cassava 3SG.NF=to
 'They are the ones who prepared cassava for him.' (ycn0068,147)

Nominalizations with G/N markers differ from all other nominalizations precisely because they are not encoded with dedicated nominalizers. Indeed, while G/N markers can combine with overt nominalizers, overt nominalizers do not co-occur with each other, which further shows that G/N markers used in nominalization are not nominalizers themselves. To avoid all ambiguity, I refer to nominalization constructions with dedicated nominalizers by the marker itself (e.g. *-je* nominalizations), and to nominalizations with G/N markers as the nominalization encoding device as agentive G/N nominalizations, although technically G/N marking is not restricted to this nominalization construction.

Lastly, in terms of frequency, G/N markers (nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions combined), are the second most frequently used nominalization strategy, after *-ka*, although far behind it. There are approximately 256 instances of G/N nominalizations (without including their use in nominalization-based constructions) in the Flex corpus, and they are found in 12 instances in the 100-sentence sample.

11.3 Conclusion

In summary, the list of nominalization encoding devices provides a succinct but revealing overview of the domain of nominalization in Yukuna: typologically, nominalization is mostly encoded with dedicated nominalizers, and through verbal suffixes. Even when nominalization is not encoded with dedicated nominalizers, the verb form is overtly marked as deranked with suffixes.

This preference for overt marking of nominalization holds true across all subtypes of nominalizations: from argument to event, and from lexical to grammatical. The fact that grammatical nominalizations are also overtly marked, and with the same type of marking as lexical nominalizations, is of cross-linguistic interest given that this type of nominalizations have been associated with zero marking. Shibatani (2019, 24) explains that “Lexical nominalizations are often associated with specific morphology, [...] but grammatical nominalizations may, in many languages, show no morphological marker at all [...]”.

As for nominalization through NP markers, it is also important to highlight the role of G/N markers in argument nominalizations in general, with or without dedicated nominalizers. This is a feature of argument nominalizations that further proves the role of gender and number in Yukuna as a reference-tracking device, instead of as a redundant agreement mechanism. This is somewhat similar to the use of classifiers in nominalizations in other languages, in the sense that they provide information about the physical features of the entity denoted by the nominalization (Shibatani 2019, 50). Note that although classifiers are reported to play an important role in nominalization in Amazonian languages (Overall and Wojtylak 2018, 3), this is not the case in Yukuna.

In terms of frequency, nominalization strategies vary a lot, but generally, grammatical nominalizations are more frequent than lexical nominalizations, and per semantic domain, event nominalizations are more frequent than argument nominalizations. The total number of occurrences of each nominalization encoding device per sample (Flex corpus and 100-sentence sample) used are summarized in Table 56. The numbers provided in this table correspond to the number of attested instances of each nominalization encoding device in nominalization constructions only. The use of nominalization encoding devices in nominalization-based constructions is excluded from this table. Despite the fact that some of the uses of the markers listed in Table 56 are excluded, if we sum together their respective number of occurrences in both samples, we obtain more than 1400 instances in the Flex corpus, and a striking total of 67 entries among the 130 entries in the 100-sentence sample.⁴⁹ In other words, in terms of frequency, nominalization is truly pervasive in Yukuna.

⁴⁹ Note that there are more entries (130) than sentences (100) in this sample simply because there are sentences that contain more than one occurrence of a nominalization or nominalization-based construction. The structure of the 100-sentence sample is described in (§10.2.1), and the sample itself is found in p.440

Table 56 Total number of occurrences of nominalization encoding devices per sample type

Marker	Gloss	Finiteness	Flex corpus	100-sentence sample
<i>-kana</i>	EV.NZ	Lexical	75	6
<i>-kaje</i>	EV.NZ	Lexical	60	6
<i>-jona ~ -jowa</i>	INSTR.NZ	Lexical	3	0
<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	Lexical	8	0
<i>-kare ~ -re</i>	ARG.NZ	Grammatical	53	6
<i>-chaje ~ -yaje</i>	ARG.NZ	Grammatical	18	1
<i>-ka</i>	NZ	Grammatical	~1000	36
<i>-ri/yo/ño</i>	NF/F/PL	Grammatical	250	12
Total			~1469	67

Lastly, it is interesting to highlight that although the inventory contains eight nominalization encoding devices, it is not the case that each device is dedicated to one semantic domain, so there is in fact a lot of semantic overlap, as further discussed next.

12. Semantics of nominalizations

The previous section provided a list of the nominalization encoding devices in Yukuna (Table 57), described their morphological features and categorized them in terms of the typology of nominalization strategies (dedicated nominalizers, NP markers, zero nominalization). This section explores the semantic features of each nominalization encoding device, in terms of the typological subcategorization of semantic domains in §9.2.1.2. I use semantic labels to describe the type of denotation of individual nominalization construction, and use the labels A/S and P to describe the arguments expressed within nominalizations, following Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993, 12). Table 57 lists each nominalization encoding device in Yukuna and the semantic domains they cover. This table shows which markers are associated with which semantic domains (rows x columns), but also which semantic domains are encoded with which markers (columns x rows).

Table 57 Semantic features of nominalization constructions in Yukuna

	Semantics

Marker	Gloss	Finiteness	NZ constructions	Ag	Pat	Obl	Possr	Loc	Event
<i>-kana</i>	EV.NZ	lexical	Event						y
<i>-kaje</i>	EV.NZ	lexical	Event						y
<i>-jona</i>	INSTR.NZ	lexical	Instrument			y			
<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	lexical	Agent	y					
<i>-kare</i>	ARG.NZ	grammatical	Argument	y	y	y	y	y	
<i>-chaje</i>	ARG.NZ	grammatical	Argument	y	y	y	y	y	
<i>-ka</i>	NZ	grammatical	Agent, Event/Locative	y				y	y
G/N	NF/F/PL	grammatical	Agent	y					

Three observations stem from Table 57. First, from a form-to-meaning perspective, we note that there are six nominalization encoding devices restricted to one semantic domain (e.g. *-kaje* EV.NZ), and three nominalization strategies that cover multiple semantic domains (e.g. *-ka* NZ). I refer to these types of markers as displaying specialized vs. broad semantics respectively. Second, from a meaning-to-form perspective, we note that each semantic domain can be expressed with multiple nominalization encoding devices. In other words, there is a lot of overlap in the semantics of nominalization encoding devices. Third, nominalization encoding devices with broad semantics may be used in one nominalization construction (identical structure) with multiple context-dependent meanings (e.g. *-kare* ARG.NZ and *-chaje* ARG.NZ), or in multiple nominalization constructions (different structures), each with a dedicated meaning (e.g. *-ka* NZ).

In this chapter, I describe the range of semantic domains covered by a single nominalization construction. For each semantic domain, I focus on the semantics-to-syntax mapping, and describe how the semantic denotations of nominalizations align or misalign with syntactic classes of verbs (transitivity classes), and grammatical roles (subject, object, obliques). I also provide an approximate number of occurrences in the Flex corpus per nominalization construction. In this chapter, I only briefly make reference to the internal finiteness and external distribution of each nominalization construction, but these issues are the focus of chapters 13 and 14 respectively.

This chapter is structured around the main semantic dichotomy adopted in this dissertation, namely, event §12.1 and argument §12.2 nominalizations. I describe the features of the only nominalizer used in both event and argument nominalization constructions in §12.3.

12.1 Event nominalizations

There are three event nominalization constructions, in contrast with the six strategies used in argument nominalizations. Event nominalizations are encoded with dedicated nominalizers *-kaje* EV.NZ, *-kana* EV.NZ and *-ka* NZ, the two former being lexical nominalizers, and the latter being of the grammatical type. I describe nominalization constructions with *-kaje* EV.NZ and *-kana* EV.NZ in this section, and describe event nominalizations with *-ka* in §12.3. Event nominalizations with *-kaje* EV.NZ and *-kana* EV.NZ are extremely similar semantically, but they show some minor semantic differences that I describe next.

12.1.1 *-kana*

This lexical nominalizer is used to create deverbal nouns that denote events. It is a rather productive marker, found with 40 different verbal roots in the Flex corpus, for a total of 82 occurrences. The distribution of this marker is highly skewed towards transitive verbs, that is to say, action and process predicates (404). As such, nouns obtained with this nominalizer can be described semantically as action nominals (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993).

(404) *Pi=keño'ó* *[a'waná* *i'ka-kána]*.
 2SG=begin tree knock-EV.NZ
 ‘You begin knocking down trees. (Lit. you begin tree knocking)’ (ycn0119,4)

However, this marker is not restricted to syntactically transitive verbs, nor semantic actions and process predicates. Indeed, there are a few instances of nominalizer *-kana* with intransitive verbs in the Flex corpus, including semantically stative predicates encoded with the verbal copula *i'ma-kana* COP-EV.NZ. The fact that the use of *-kana* is not restricted to transitive verbs is confirmed by the fact that it is found with verb stems marked with the middle voice marker *=o* (405), a detransitivizing morpheme (see §4.2.1.3). I have thus opted for ‘event’ as a broad label for this marker that encompasses its uses with various semantic types of predicates.

(405) *Nu=wáta* *ri=jwa'té* *[pura'-kána=o]*.
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=with speak-EV.NZ=MID

‘I want to speak with him. (Lit. I want speaking with him.)’ (ycn0053,23)

I have not systematically elicited it with various semantic types of verbs to test whether some combinations were considered agrammatical by consultants, but given its total number of occurrences in the Flex corpus, the distributional preference of this marker for transitive verbs is certainly robust.

The core semantics of nominalizations with *-kana* is very clear. However, as mentioned previously, some instances seem to show a higher degree of lexicalization, with more or less transparent semantics. One such example is *jawaká-kana* pile_up-EV.NZ ‘(a) pile’. The resultative semantics of *jawaká-kana* differ from prototypical *-kana* nominalizations and these slight semantic differences in fact lead to differences in their morphosyntactic structure, as I discuss in §13.1.1.

Despite a few semantically atypical cases, most occurrences of nominalizations with *-kana* are semantically transparent. Previous work labeled this marker as a ‘participle’, similarly to suffix *-keja* (Schauer et al. 2005, 303), but on the basis of the Flex corpus, the core semantics of the two markers are certainly distinct, as *-kana* nominalizations denote *events*, while deverbal adjectives with *-keja* refer to the *result* or the *manner* of an event as described in §8.1.1.

The behavior of nominalizing suffix *-kana* EV.NZ mirrors that of suffix *-kaje* EV.NZ, discussed next.

12.1.2 *-kaje*

This marker is also an event lexical nominalizer. It is less frequently used in the Flex corpus than *-kana* EV.NZ, with 62 identified occurrences. In contrast to the preceding marker, *-kaje* is overwhelmingly used with syntactically intransitive verbs, and very often, with verbs carrying middle voice enclitic =*o* as in (406).

(406) *É_kája ri=keño'-chá* [jewíña'-**kaje**=*o*].
then 3SG.NF=begin-PST transform=EV.NZ=MID
‘Then he began to transform.’ (ycn0063,147)

Nominalizations with *-kaje* EV.NZ hardly ever combine with transitive verbal roots. There are very few instances of this in the Flex corpus, but even then, the root does not seem to be used with its prototypical transitive meaning. A case in point is shown in (407), where *-kaje* is

used with transitive root *la'* ‘do’ but in the idiomatic expression *kamu'jí la'-kajé* ‘do poorly’, in which the verb ‘do’ lacks a patient argument.

(407) *É na=yurí-cha=o píño ñaké=ja kája [kamu'jí la'-kajé] nakú.*
 then 3PL=leave-PST=MID again DIST.SIMIL=LIM poorly do-EV.NZ on
 ‘Then they stayed again just like that doing poorly.’ (Lit. ‘on doing poorly.’)
 (ycn0089,182)

A very likely diachronic explanation behind the distributional tendencies of *-kaje* with intransitive verb stems, and *-kana* with transitive verb stems, is that they are originally a combination of nominalizer *-ka* with alienability class suffixes *-ji ~ -je* UNPOSS and *-ne ~ -na* ALIEN respectively. As further discussed in §13.1, in lexical nominalization constructions, the patient argument is encoded as the possessor in an NP. This scenario would explain why *-kaje* nominalizations mostly combine with intransitive, as they cannot be marked for possessors (just like inalienable nouns marked with *-ji*), and why *-kana* nominalizations mostly combine with transitive verbs, as they can be marked for possession (just like alienable nouns with *-ne*). Note, however, that prototypical alienable nouns require the presence of a possessor when they are marked with *-ne* ALIEN, while *-kana* EV.NZ nominalizations only optionally express the possessor (semantic patient).

Nominalizations with the event nominalizer *-kaje* have a distinct semantic core, with some instances of idiosyncratic semantics. For instance, the deverbal noun *arápa'-kaje* dance-EV.NZ is conventionally used to refer specifically to the dancing ceremonies during traditional celebrations, and by extension to those traditional celebrations as well, as in (408). Similarly with *pura'=o* ‘speak’, one of its uses with *-kaje* is semantically transparent ‘to speak’ (409), while another use shows idiosyncratic semantics, with a meaning similar to ‘message’, as illustrated in (410).

(408) *Eyá [arápa'-kaje] wakajé ñaké kája.*
 then dance-EV.NZ time DIST.like EMPH
 ‘Then on the day of the dancing, similarly.’ (ycn0059,21).

(409) *Ri=wáchi-ya [ri=jwa'té pura'-káje=o].*
 3SG.NF=want-PST 3SG.NF=with speak-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘He wanted to speak to him.’ (ycn0108,109).

(410) *nu=wakára'a ri=jló [pura'-káje=o]*
 1SG=send 3SG.NF=to speak-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘I send a message to him’ (ycn0068,371)

Lexicalization appears to be tightly related to nominalization type, in terms of internal degree of finiteness (lexical vs. grammatical), as all identified cases of lexicalization result from lexical nominalization constructions. Despite the interest of this phenomenon, I do not explore this issue in detail in this dissertation.

12.2 Argument nominalizations

There are six encoding devices used in argument nominalization constructions in Yukuna, listed in Table 57. For each nominalization construction in this section, I explore four main questions:

- i. Does the marker show broad or specialized semantics?
- ii. Is the marker used in nominalizations that denote a core argument or an oblique?
- iii. Do the participants denoted by the nominalizer map onto a *grammatical* role (S, O, role marked oblique?), or do they correspond to a specific *semantic* role (agent, patient, instrument, etc.)?
- iv. Does the marker show any additional semantic nuances?

The semantic features of the six argument nominalizations in Yukuna in terms of the four main questions listed above are summarized in Table 58.

Table 58 Semantic features of argument nominalization constructions

Marker	Gloss	Finiteness	Specialized vs. Broad semantics	Core vs. Adjunct	Grammatical vs. Semantic roles	Other semantic features
<i>-je</i>	A.NZ	Lexical	Specialized	Core	Semantic (agent)	Profession
<i>-jona</i>	INSTR.NZ	Lexical	Specialized	Adjunct	Semantic (instrument)	
<i>-kare</i>	ARG.NZ	Grammatical	Broad	Both	Grammatical (several)	Non-recent past tense
<i>-chaje</i>	ARG.NZ	Grammatical	Broad	Both	Grammatical (several)	Recent past tense
<i>-ri/-yo/-ño</i>	NF/F/PL	Grammatical	Specialized	Core	Grammatical (Subject)	

-ka	NZ	Grammatical	Broad	Both	Grammatical role (Subject), Semantic (Locative)
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The six nominalization constructions can thus be classified as follows, along the four axes listed above: in terms of semantic specialization, three strategies are dedicated to one specific semantic domain (*-je* A.NZ, *-jona* INSTR.NZ, G/N markers), while the remaining three have broad semantics (*-kare* ARG.NZ, *-chaje* ARG.NZ, *-ka* NZ). In terms of the type of participant denoted by the nominalization strategy, two nominalization strategies are used to denote core arguments only (*-je* A.NZ, G/N markers), three are used to denote both core arguments and obliques (*-kare* ARG.NZ, *-chaje* ARG.NZ, *-ka* NZ), and only one nominalization strategy is used exclusively to denote an oblique participant (*-jona* INSTR.NZ). In terms of the mapping of the semantic domain of the nominalization unto grammatical roles in verbal clauses, four nominalization strategies show semantic domain/grammatical role mapping (e.g. G/N markers are used in nominalizations that denote participants encoded as subjects in verbal clauses); while two nominalization strategies apply only to a specific semantic domain that does not entirely cover a grammatical role (e.g. *-je* A.NZ is only used to denote a subset of participants encoded as a subject in verbal clauses, and *-jona* INSTR.NZ is only used to denote a subset of participants marked with postpositions in verbal clauses). Lastly, in terms of additional semantic features, some nominalizations show tense distinctions (*-kare* ARG.NZ and *-chaje* ARG.NZ), and the agent nominalizer *-je* additionally implies a profession interpretation, similarly to English nominalizer *-er*.

In this section, I explore the semantic features of argument nominalizations with *-je* A.NZ, *-jona* INSTR.NZ, *-kare* ARG.NZ and *-chaje* ARG.NZ. Argument nominalizations with *-ka* NZ are described in §12.3.2.

12.2.1 Agent nominalizer *-je*

This marker is a dedicated, lexical nominalizer, used in agent nominalizations. There are only eight identified occurrences of this marker in the Flex corpus, and only 4 distinct forms: *nó-je-ri* kill-A.NZ-NF ‘killer’, *makápo'-je-ri* revive-A.NZ-NF ‘a reviver’ (ritual instrument used to bring people back to life), *wajla'-jé-ño* invade-A.NZ-PL ‘invaders/dancers’ and *ja'pá-je-ri* walk-A.NZ-NF ‘walker’.

Certainly, the data is too scarce to put forth strong generalizations about this marker. However, two observations stem from these examples: the first one concerns the type of participant denoted, and the second one concerns the transitivity of the verbs. Indeed, in terms of nominalizations with *-je* mostly have animate referents (a human agent in ‘killer’, ‘invader’ ‘walker’) but in one case, also refer to an inanimate instrument (e.g. the tool used to bring people back to life). In terms of the transitivity of the verbal stems used in *-je* A.NZ nominalizations, we note a preference for transitive verb stems, with the form *ja'pá-je-ri* ‘walker’ being the only exception. In elicitation, my main consultant tends to reject forms of *-je* A.NZ with intransitive verb stems, and instead, used another nominalizer, *-kachi* (411), which seems to be the semantic counterpart of *-je* used with intransitive verbs. However, I do not describe the marker *-kachi* in this study as it is unattested in the Flex corpus.

(411)

- a. **[Ajá-je-ri]* *nu=jara'pá.*
fly-A.NZ-NF 1SG=father
‘*my father is a flier.’
- b. *[Ajá-káchi]* *nu=jara'pá.*
fly-NZ 1SG=father
‘My father is a flier.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:221)

Both spontaneous and elicitation data suggest that *-je* A.NZ nominalizations display a strong preference for transitive verb stems, and mostly denote human, agentive, or at least volitional participants. Elicitation data also suggests that the instrument reading of *-je* nominalizations is not common, as it appears to be restricted to the one case of *makápo'-je-ri* revive-A.NZ-NF ‘a reviving instrument’. This may be due to the argument selection specificities of each verb, as the verb root *makápo'* ‘revive’ allows inanimate participants (semantic instruments) to be encoded as subjects. Verbs that typically require animate participants as subjects do not allow this ambiguity, so for instance, when inquiring about the form *ipa-jé-ri* wash-A.NZ-NF ‘washer’, my main consultant considers that it necessarily denotes a human participant, and in order to obtain an instrument interpretation (the thing with which one washes), the instrument nominalizer *-jona* is used instead. I have adopted the label ‘agent’ for *-je* nominalizations, as it is the closest to the semantics of the arguments denoted by this nominalization construction, which clearly do not match entirely all argument types encoded as subjects in verbal clauses.

These semantic specificities of *-je* A.NZ, in addition to its internal finiteness and external distribution, are crucial to distinguish it from future marker *-je* (*-je* ~ *-jĩ*), and from purpose of motion adverbializer *-je*.

12.2.2 Instrument nominalizer *-jona*

This marker is used as a dedicated nominalizer in lexical nominalizations denoting the instrument. Similarly to *-je* A.NZ this is a very infrequent marker, found only three times in the Flex corpus, in a text by the same consultant. The two instances are *nó-jona* kill-INSTR.NZ ‘killer (instrument)’, and *jña'-jóna* grab-INSTR.NZ ‘grabber (instrument)’. These two instances are used to refer to the same item in the text, a mythological instrument used for hunting.

Although it is not frequent, the two instances suffice to classify it as a nominalizer, and specifically as a lexical one, as described in (§13.1.3). Additionally, the example with *nó-jona* ‘killer’ (instrument) is very revealing as it allows direct comparison with *nó-je-ri* ‘killer’ (agent). This pair proves that when combined with verbal roots that require animate subjects, *-je* nominalizations necessarily denote a human agent, while *-jona* nominalizations denote an instrument.

12.2.3 Argument nominalizers *-kare* and *-chaje*

These markers are dedicated nominalizers used in grammatical nominalizations. In terms of the types of participants denoted by nominalizations with these markers, both *-kare* and *-chaje* are identical. Indeed, both participate in nominalizations denoting mainly the patient, locative and possessor arguments. In elicitation, both have been found to additionally denote instruments, and lastly, the unique argument of the copula. The semantic type of denotation of the nominalization is signaled by the omission (or gap) of the denoted participant, as can be seen below with examples of patient nominalizations in (412) and (413), locative nominalizations in (414) and (415), possessor nominalizations in (416) and (417), instrument nominalizations in (418) and (419), and copula argument nominalizations in (420) and (421).

(412) Patient nominalization with *-chaje*

<i>é</i>	<i>ri=ji'má</i>	<i>jepo'tí-ya=o</i>	<i>wená</i>	[<i>ri=li'-cháje</i>]	<i>chojé</i>
then	3SG.NF=foot	tangle-PST=MID	trap	3SG.F=do-ARG.NZ	in.toward
‘then his feet got tangled up in the trap that he had built.’ (ycn0041,163)					

(413) Patient nominalization with *-kare*

unká ri=ajñá-lá=no kéelé kujnú
NEG 3SG.NF=eat-V.NEG=HAB MED.DEM cassava

[*nu=a'-karé=no ri=jló*]

1SG=give-ARG.NZ=HAB 3SG.NF=to

'he never eats the cassava that I always give to him' (ycn0068,160)

(414) Locative nominalization with *-chaje*

na=iphí-cha kéelé pají [na=i'mi-cháje chú] éjé
3PL=arrive-PST MED.DEM house 3PL=COP-ARG.NZ in toward

'they arrived to that house in which they lived' (ycn0058,75)

(415) Locative nominalization with *-kare*

é ru=yakái'-cha=o [kéelé ru=jara'pá michú i'ma-káre] ewá
then 3SG.F=look-PST=MID MED.DEM 3SG.F=father late COP-ARG.NZ around

'then she looked around where her late father was' (ycn0058,113)

(416) Possessor nominalization with *-chaje*

kéelé nu=i'jĩ-cháje támi amá-je
MED.DEM 1SG=go-ARG.NZ body see-PURP.MOT

'the one whose body I just went to see.' (elicited, notebook5:448)

(417) Possessor nominalization with *-kare*

kéelé nu=i'jna-káre támi amá-je
MED.DEM 1SG=go-ARG.NZ body see-PURP.MOT

'the one whose body I went to see.' (ycn0092,109)

(418) Instrument nominalization with *-chaje*

Ajálu [wa=mathi'-yáje aũ a'waná] na=ata'á nu=liyá
machete 1PL=cut-ARG.NZ with tree 3PL=steal 1SG=from

'They stole from me the machete with which we just cut the tree.' (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:339)

(419) Instrument nominalization with *-kare*

Ajálu [wa=matha'-káre aũ a'waná] na=ata'á nu=liyá
machete 1PL=cut-ARG.NZ with tree 3PL=steal 1SG=from

'They stole from me the machete with which we cut the tree.' (elicited, VIMY? notebook 5:339)

(420) Copula argument nominalization with *-chaje*

Ru=a'-chá ri=jló keñá [ji'chí ja'pí i'mi-cháje]
3SG.F=give-PST 3SG.NF=to manioc_drink pot under COP-ARG.NZ

'She gave him the manioc drink that was under the pot.' (elicited, VIMY, notebook5:92)

(421) Copula argument nominalization with *-kare*

i'ma-káre *wa=ména* *e'yá*
 COP-ARG.NZ 1PL=cropland in
 ‘that which is in our cropland’ (ycn0042,9)

As explained above, each different denotation of nominalizations with *-kare* and *-chaje* is formed by omitting the denoted participant from the internal structure of the nominalization construction. In the case of possessor and instrument nominalizations, this involves omitting the possessor of a noun, or the argument of a postposition, leaving behind a ‘stranded’ possessor-less noun as with *támi* ‘body’ in (416) and (417), and an argument-less postposition as with *aiú* ‘with’ in (418) and (419). This does not seem to be automatically the case for locative nominalizations. Note how in example (414) the type of denoted argument is signaled by the presence of an argument-less or stranded postposition *chú* ‘in’. In example (415), in contrast, the type of denoted participant (the location) is not overtly signaled by a stranded postposition, but it is simply inferred. There are so few attested examples of locative nominalization with these markers in the Flex corpus (2 with *-kare*, 1 with *-chaje*), that it is unclear whether the presence of stranded postpositions in locative nominalizations is optional with both *-chaje* and *-kare*, or whether it is obligatory with *-chaje* and disallowed with *-kare*. It is nevertheless important to highlight that this pattern is unlike that of locative nominalizations with *-ka* NZ discussed in the next section, which disallow stranded postpositions altogether.

So far, I have shown how the semantics of *-chaje* and *-kare* are identical in terms of types of participants denoted. However, these markers differ with respect to tense: *-chaje* ARG.NZ has inherent tense, and it is restricted to recent past tense and present perfective, while *-kare* does not have inherent tense, and it can combine with multiple tense markers, except for past/present perfect *-cha*. The rules of tense marking of nominalizations with *-kare* are identical to that of finite verbs: tense is not obligatorily marked, and when the verb is not marked for tense, then it can be read either as present habitual, or far past, and only the context can disambiguate these two readings.

In terms of distribution in the Flex corpus, as mentioned before, *-kare* is more frequently used than *-chaje* with roughly 58 and 16 occurrences respectively. However, if we look at the frequency of each marker across semantic type, we note that there is a strong distinction between the semantic domains potentially covered by a single nominalization strategy, versus the semantic domains that each nominalization construction is actually most frequently used to encode in speech. The number of occurrences of each nominalization in each semantic domain are summarized in Table 59.

Table 59 Distribution of *-kare* and *-chaje* per argument denotation

	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	Total
Patient (O NP)	32	14	46
Location	2	1	3
Copula argument	1	0	1
Possessor	1	0	1
Other (non-locative oblique)	17	1	18
Total	53	16	69

12.2.4 Agent nominalizations with G/N markers

This nominalization strategy does not make use of dedicated nominalizers, and instead, uses G/N suffixes on the verb in agreement with the gender and number value of the participant denoted by the nominalization. Similarly to agent nominalizations with *-je* A.NZ, G/N nominalizations are semantically restricted to one type of participant, but unlike agent nominalizations with *-je* A.NZ, G/N nominalizations can combine with all sorts of verbs denoting their nominative-encoded argument, regardless of whether the argument is in fact semantically agentive (422) or not (423).

(422) *nó-ri kéelé to'jmá jló kéelé náke ... kamejéri-na.*
 kill-NF MED child to MED uh animal-PL
 ‘the one who killed those animals for that child’ (ycn0053,91)

(423) *kháajǐ pitá-ri=o*
 PROX pile_up-NF=MID
 ‘this (one that is) piled up.’ (ycn0058,53)

Agent nominalizations with G/N markers clearly cover a broader semantic domain than *-je* A.NZ nominalizations. This difference between the two nominalization strategies seems to be directly related to the grammatical vs. lexical nominalization distinction. Indeed, as a general rule, grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna are more productive, they have less combinatory restrictions, and ultimately, they tend to have broader semantics than lexical nominalizations. G/N nominalizations are still classified as a semantically ‘specialized’ nominalization strategy, as they are restricted to participants that correspond to one grammatical role (the subject). I still

retain the label ‘agent’ for nominalizations with G/N marking, to avoid using the term ‘subject’ in reference to the denoted participant of a nominalization construction.

12.3 Event and argument nominalizer *-ka*

The last marker is *-ka*, a nominalizer with complex semantics covering event, location and agent nominalizations. Due to its semantic features that defy the bipartite categorization of argument vs. event nominalizations, I present this marker separately here.

I analyze this grammatical nominalizer as a single morpheme with broad semantics that participates in two nominalization constructions: event and locative nominalizations on one hand, and agent nominalizations on the other. I present each of constructions next.

12.3.1 Event/locative nominalizations with *-ka*

Event and locative nominalizations marked with *-ka* are structurally identical in their internal features, and they can thus only be disambiguated by the context. Semantically, event nominalizations with *-ka* refer to the situation denoted by the nominalized clause as in (424), while locative nominalizations with *-ka* refer to the concrete location where the situation denoted by the clause takes place, as in (425).

(424) Event nominalization with *-ka*

<i>Kája</i>	<i>na=ka'á</i>	<i>ri=ikhá</i>	<i>leyuná</i>	<i>chojé,</i>
then	3pl=throw	3sg.nf=pro	pot	in.toward
<i>a'jné</i>	<i>[na=ñapáta-ka</i>	<i>ri=ikhá]</i>	<i>ejená.</i>	
DIST	3PL=finish-NZ	3SG.F=PRO	until	

‘Then they throw it into the pot up until they finish it.’ (ycn0059,30)

(425) Locative nominalization with *-ka*

<i>Ri=eyá</i>	<i>kalé</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>iná</i>	<i>wá'a</i>	<i>jlá</i>	<i>ri=éjǒ,</i>
3SG.NF=from	EMPH	EMPH	GNR.PRO	call	TRY	3SG.NF=toward
<i>kéelé</i>	<i>[ri=jewiña'-ka=o]</i>	<i>eyá?</i>				
MED.DEM	3SG.NF=study-NZ=MID	from				

‘Can one try to make a call from there, from that (place where) he studies?’ (ycn0504,68)

In many cases, the two interpretations of *-ka* nominalizations -eventive and locative- are possible. This ambiguity is enhanced by the fact that some postpositions naturally allow both

interpretations, such as with the event and locative nominalizations marked with postposition *ewá* ‘around’ in (426) and (427).

(426) [*na=awíyo'-cha-ka*] *ewá*
 3PL=scream-PST-NZ around
 around (where) they were screaming’ (ycn0092,137)

(427) [*kapére apó-ka*] *ewá*
 rooster wake_up-NZ around
 ‘around (when) the rooster awakens’ (ycn0108,46)

Note that the ambiguous temporal/locative interpretation of postpositions is possible even with prototypical NPs such as in (428) and (429).

(428) quince *jarechí* ***kétána***
 fifteen year **long**
 ‘during fifteen years.’ (ycn0018,8)

(429) *pajlúwa iná* *a'napitá* ***kétána***
 one GNR.PRO arm **long**
 ‘an arm’s long’ (ycn0119,8)

Despite their many similarities, event and locative nominalizations with *-ka* differ greatly in terms of their frequency, as locative nominalizations with *-ka* (but also in general) are not very frequent. I have thus far identified some 12 instances locative nominalizations with *-ka*, as opposed to hundreds of instances of event nominalizations, which are by far the most frequent use of *-ka* NZ.

12.3.2 Agent nominalizations with *-ka*

The second semantic type of nominalization with *-ka* are agent nominalizations. This nominalization construction uses the same grammatical nominalizer *-ka* as event/locative nominalizations described before. However, agent nominalizations with *-ka* differ from event/locative nominalizations in both semantic and structural terms. Indeed, agent nominalizations with *-ka* are similar to other argument nominalization constructions, in that they show a gap in the place of the denoted participant, and they use (optional) G/N marking in agreement with the G/N value of the denoted participant (430).

(430) [*Ri=é* *i'ma-ká-ñó*] *jló* *iné* *kémá* ...
 3SG.NF=at COP-NZ-PL to GNR.PRO say
 ‘to those who are there one says...’ (ycn0059,20)

Note that despite the use of the term ‘agent’, typically used to refer to the semantic role of agents, agent nominalizations with *-ka* in Yukuna also cover all the semantic roles that map onto the grammatical role of Subject in verbal clauses, similarly to agent G/N nominalizations. This is clear from the use of *-ka* nominalizations to denote participants that are certainly not agentive, as the argument of the copula in (430). Once more, I retain the label ‘agent’ despite the fact that the semantics of the participants denoted by this nominalization is broader than the semantic category of agents, to avoid using the term subject, which I strictly use for the subject grammatical role in verbal clauses.

Although the semantics of agent nominalizations with *-ka* are extremely similar to those of agent nominalizations with G/N markers, in terms of frequency there is no doubt that the preferred agent nominalization strategy are G/N markers alone, without *-ka*. So indeed, despite the overlapping semantics of some nominalization strategies, corpus frequencies certainly reveal strong tendencies associated with each nominalization construction. This issue is further discussed in Ch.14.

12.4 Conclusion: typological remarks

This section presented the semantic features of nominalization constructions in Yukuna. The first striking feature of the semantics of nominalizations in Yukuna is that the inventory as a whole shows a high degree of overlap. Indeed, as seen in Table 57, each semantic domain is covered by two and sometimes three different nominalization strategies. This fact about Yukuna nominalizations is in contradiction with the patterns in the inventories of nominalization strategies in other languages. As noted by Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona in (2011a, 4), usually individual languages in their sample tend to have either few very semantically broad nominalizers, or several highly specialized nominalizers.

With respect to the semantic domains covered by a single nominalization, as explained before, the markers used in nominalizations in Yukuna can be divided into those with specialized semantics versus those with broad semantics, in terms of the number of semantic domains (arguments vs. event) covered. There is no strong preference for semantic broadness across the two major semantic types of nominalizations, however, there is a strong preference for semantic broadness among grammatical nominalizations. Indeed, all lexical nominalizers

are specialized for specific semantic domains. It is unclear to me whether this preference has been noted and quantified cross-linguistically. While Shibatani (2019) discusses some distinctions between lexical and grammatical nominalizations in terms of the presence or absence of morphological marking and meaning compositionality, he does not comment on the issue of lexical and grammatical nominalizations being more or less limited to specific semantic domains.

The presence of nominalization strategies with broad semantics raises the question of which semantic domains are encoded by the same markers, and which patterns of polysemy we can observe. In Yukuna, there are cases of expected patterns of polysemy, when the same marker encodes semantic domains that form a rather homogeneous group, as is the case of *-chaje* ARG.NZ and *-kare* ARG.NZ both used in argument nominalizations mostly with non-agentive arguments (patients, possessors, locations). However, there are two additional patterns of polysemy that form less homogenous groupings: the case of nominalizer *-ka* NZ used in agent, event and location nominalizations; and the case of *-je* A.NZ, which is normally limited to the agent argument, but may in some cases refer to the instrument argument. There is, to the best of my knowledge, no systematic study on the patterns of polysemy of nominalizations, but similar cases to the ones attested in Yukuna have been reported in the literature. With respect to the location/event polysemy, it has been reported that elements with locative semantics have expanded their semantic core to include more abstract notions. For instance, Comrie and Thompson (2007, 355) mention that infinitives in *-ti* in most Slavic languages historically derive from the locative case of verbal nouns. Yap and Wang (2011, 86) explain that the patient nominalizer *suo* in Old Chinese, originally a locative noun, developed into an adverbial subordinator through a semantic expansion that allowed it to refer to the abstract notion of ‘time’. Heine and Kuteva (2002, 214) explain that there appears to be a general diachronic process “whereby spatial concepts are also used to express temporal concepts”. With respect to the agent/instrument polysemy, Comrie and Thompson (2007, 339) note that “in some languages, the form that yields instrumental nouns is indistinguishable from that which forms agentive nouns”, with some examples being Diola (Atlantic) nominalizations with *-a* (Sapir 1965), and of course, English nominalizations with *-er*.

Lastly, in this section I discussed the differences between the ranges of semantic domains potentially covered by each nominalization construction, versus the semantic domains that nominalization constructions are actually used to encode. Table 60 summarizes the occurrence of each nominalization strategy with each semantic domain in the Flex corpus. Again, the

numbers for G/N and nominalizations with *-ka* do not reflect the exact number of occurrences in the Flex corpus, and there are probably far more than the ones reported in this table.

Table 60 Distribution of nominalizations per semantic domain

	Lexical NMLZ				Grammatical NMLZ			G/N	Total
	<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i>		
Event	82	62					~1000		~1144
Locative					2	1	12		15
Patient (O)					32	14			46
Agent (S/A)				6	1		17	250	274
Possessor					1				1
Instrument			3	2	1				6
Non-locative oblique					16	1			17
Total	82	62	3	8	53	16	1029	250	

Table 60 shows, in addition to the overall number of occurrences per nominalization construction (the total line at the bottom), the number of attested instances of each construction within each semantic domain, as well as the overall number of attested examples of nominalizations per semantic domain (the total column at the right). The table obviously shows that grammatical nominalizations show broader semantics, and are much more frequent than lexical nominalizations. However, despite the overlap in the semantics of nominalization strategies, ultimately, within semantic domain there is always a ‘preferred’ strategy in terms of absolute number of occurrences. Looking only at grammatical nominalizations, we see that locative nominalizations can be encoded with three different strategies, but they are most often encoded with *-ka*. Similarly, agentive nominalizations are encoded with both *-ka* or G/N, but again, they are most often encoded only through G/N markers only. Clearly, although *-ka* is used in several domains, its main use in terms of frequency are event nominalizations.

13. Finiteness

In Ch.9, I provided a definition of (non)finiteness as multi-layered scale whose finite endpoint is the verbal prototype, based on main declarative clauses, and whose nonfinite endpoint is the nominal prototype based on the NP. I explained that the finiteness scale is not a unitary continuum, but that in fact, it splits into two sub-scales and one binary parameter: the i. the reduction (degree) of verbal features, ii. the presence (degree) of nominal features, and iii) the presence (binary) of features absent from both the nominal and verbal prototypes (deranking morphology, e.g. nominalizers, subordinators). I explained that, based on this definition of finiteness, as well as on the working definitions of nominalization and subordination adopted in this study, nominalizations imply both non-finiteness at the level of their internal structure, and subordination at the level of their external distribution. At the internal level, nominalizations require both the reduction in verbal features and the presence of nominal features -although to varying degrees-. At the external level, nominalizations are embedded into the position of an NP within a matrix clause, and as such, they are included within the domain of subordination, defined broadly as the use of any verb-based structure used as a constituent of a matrix clause. Lastly, in that chapter I presented the case of markers used as nominalization encoding devices in nominalization constructions having other uses in constructions that do not meet the working definition of nominalization, and adopted the term ‘nominalization-based’ for these constructions.

In Ch.10, I provided the language specific features that define the verbal and nominal prototypes, and listed them under two grids. I showed that these two grids have distinct features, but also some shared *neutral* features. I then combined these two grids, taking into account neutral features, as well as presence of features absent from both the verbal and nominal prototypes, to form the standard basis on which to evaluate the degree of finiteness of individual constructions in Yukuna. I first used this standard way of evaluating finiteness in Yukuna to identify which constructions deviate from the verbal prototype in the language (reduction of verbal features, presence of features absent from the nominal and verbal prototype), and among those, which classify as nominalizations (presence of nominal features) and which do not (lack of nominal features).

In this chapter, I describe the degree of finiteness of each nominalization construction in Yukuna based on the set of criteria presented previously §10. I group together the features of the verbal prototype and the nominal prototypes (Table 47, Table 48, Table 50), and add a

separate category for neutral features (V + N prototypes), and for features absent from both prototypes (absent from both the verbal and nominal prototypes) as in Table 61.

Table 61 Finiteness measuring features in Yukuna

	Level	Feature
V prototype	V root + bound markers	Valency
		TAM
		NEG
	V clause	S NP/Index
		O NP
		POSTPs
		ADVPs
N prototype	N root + markers	ALIEN
		G/N
	NP	PSSR NP/index
		DEM
		NUM
		ADJ
+V +N features		S/PSSR Indexes
		MID
		PFV
-V -N features		nominalizers
		subordinating markers

The features listed under Table 61 raise two main issues regarding their applicability to measure the finiteness of individual nominalization constructions, namely, the number of attested instances of each feature, and the analysis of ‘neutral’ features. Indeed, concerning the number of attested instances, some of the features in Table 61 were not found in any of the instances of nominalizations in the language (alienability markers, perfective =*mi*), and some were only scarcely attested (adjectives, numerals, non-verbal negation). Scarcely attested features include cases with a very low number of occurrences in the corpus, as well as features which are only attested in elicited data. In order to circumvent these issues, I do not take into account unattested

features (alienability, perfective =*mi*), as they cannot be of use in the description of nominalizations. I maintain scarcely attested features but I overtly signal them as such for each nominalization construction.

Concerning the case of ‘neutral’ features, we note that there are three categories shared between the verbal and nominal prototypes with slightly different functions per prototype (Subject/Possessor, middle voice/reflexive =*o*, and perfective aspect/former possession =*mi*), which raises questions about how to analyze their use in nominalizations. To illustrate this issue, consider the semantic roles encoded by person indexes in (431) to (82).

(431) ***ri=jĩ'-chá*** *ri=ikhá* *tâ.*
3SG.NF=grab-PST 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH
‘He grabbed it.’ (ycn0079,57)

(432) ***ri=nó-chaje*** *ri=jwa'té*
3SG.NF=kill-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=with
‘the one whom he had killed’ (ycn0053,28)

(433) ***ri=motho'-kána***
3SG.NF=cook-EV.NZ
‘its cooking (cooking of it)’ (ycn0129,27)

(434) ***ri=i'ri***
3SG.NF=son
‘his son’ (ycn0053,38)

Example (431) shows a prototypical finite verbal clause, example (82) shows a prototypical NP with a pronominal possessor, and examples (432) and (433) show instances of nominalizations containing person indexes. However, when we contrast the semantics of the roles encoded with person indexes, we note an important distinction in the two nominalizations. In example (432), the person index encodes the notional subject of the verb root ‘kill’ (the A/S argument), similarly to verbal clauses as in (431). However, in (433), the person index encodes the notional object argument of the verb root ‘cook’ (the P argument). The practical question that arises from this is whether the use of person indexes is truly a neutral feature that cannot be used to measure the degree of finiteness of a construction, or if they have sufficiently distinct functions in each prototype to keep this feature as a strong indicator of the degree of finiteness of individual nominalization constructions. I opt for the latter option here. I thus include Subject/Possessor marking twice, as both a prototypical verbal and nominal feature. I include

it among prototypical verbal features when the participant encoded as a possessor semantically aligns with the participant encoded as a subject in verbal clauses (A/S). I describe constructions with this pattern as displaying *sentential* A/S encoding. I include possessor marking among prototypical nominal features of a nominalization construction, when the participant encoded as the possessor semantically aligns with the participant encoded as an object in verbal clauses (P). I describe nominalizations with this pattern as displaying *nominal* P encoding, following the terminology by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993).

I follow a similar logic for the use of middle/reflexive enclitic =*o* in nominalizations. I have opted to group it together with other valency markers among verbal features, due to the fact that the use of this marker in nominalizations is identical to that of the valency changing suffix described in §4.2.1.3. Indeed, the use of this marker on nouns is entirely grammatical, as it is only used on nouns in the object position when their possessor is co-referential with the subject, e.g. ‘he built his own house’). On verbs, the use of this marker is lexically determined, as it is the only way to express certain intransitive verb stems (e.g. *kamáta* ‘make sleep’ vs. *kamáta=o* ‘sleep’). The use of =*o* MID in nominalizations has the same effect on the meaning of the verb stem as the middle marker with finite verbs.

Lastly, I also do away with the parameter concerning features absent from both verbal and nominal prototypes (nominalizers and subordinators), simply because almost all nominalization constructions in Yukuna are overtly encoded with dedicated nominalizers. With these modifications, the criteria used for the description of nominalizations boil down to two groups: criteria pertaining to the verbal prototype, and criteria pertaining to the nominal prototype, as illustrated in Table 62, which I use as the basis to describe each nominalization construction in the remainder of this chapter.

This chapter adopts a binary distinction of nominalizations into lexical and grammatical based on their degree of internal finiteness. Indeed, despite the fact that finiteness is a scalar phenomenon (degree of verbal vs. nominal features), I argue that nominalization constructions cluster into two distinct groups: one characterized by the near total absence of verbal features, and the other characterized by a far greater presence of verbal features. The features of these groups in Yukuna, which mostly depend on degree of reduction of verbal features, correspond to the traditional lexical vs. grammatical nominalization distinction in the literature on nominalization as described in §9.2.1.3. Table 62 summarizes the features of these two types of nominalizations in Yukuna. Features marked with ‘y’ are robustly attested in the Flex corpus,

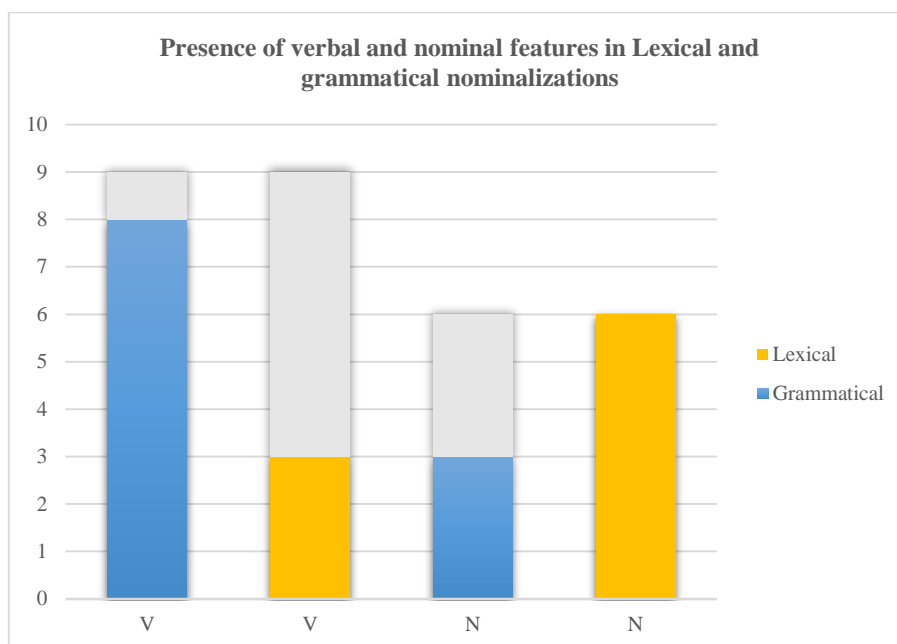
features marked with ‘y?’ are only scarcely attested in the Flex corpus, and features marked with ‘y*’ are attested in elicited data only.

Table 62 Finiteness measuring features in Yukuna in Lexical vs. Grammatical nominalizations

	Level	Feature	Lexical	Grammatical
V prototype	V root +	Valency	y	y
	bound markers	Tense	n	y
		Aspect	n	y
		Mood	n	n
		NEG	n	y*
	V clause	S/A = S NP	n	y
		P = O NP	n	y
		POSTPs	y	y
		ADVPs	y	y
	N prototype	N root + bound markers	G/N	y	y
NP			P = Possessor	y	n
		DEM	y	y
		NUM	y?	n
		ADJ	y?	n
		NV NEG	y*	y*

Table 62 succinctly reveals the main differences between lexical and grammatical nominalizations. Following the cells in grey (attested features of various types), we clearly see that the distribution of verbal and nominal features across nominalization types are almost complementary: verbal features are concentrated in grammatical nominalizations, and nominal features are concentrated in lexical nominalizations. This difference between lexical and grammatical nominalizations is schematized in Table 63, where each nominalization type is placed on a scale according to their number of retained verbal and nominal features (following the list of features in Table 62).

Table 63 Presence of verbal (V) and nominal (N) features in lexical and grammatical nominalizations



There are two aspects of the internal finiteness of Yukuna’s nominalization constructions that are not captured by Table 62. The first one concerns the internal variation within each subgroup, i.e. lexical and grammatical nominalizations. This is precisely the aim of this chapter. To do so, I present each individual nominalization construction, and describe their degree of reduction of verbal features, and presence of nominal features, following the parameters presented in Table 62. For each verbal or nominal feature addressed, I additionally explore whether its use in nominalizations corresponds in terms of semantics and productivity to the use of the same feature outside of nominalizations, in verbal clauses and NPs respectively. The second type of information missing from Table 62 concerns the differences in the internal finiteness of each nominalization construction depending on its syntactic integration within the clause. This is discussed in chapter 14 on the syntactic distribution of nominalizations.

13.1 Lexical nominalizations

Following the definition in §9.2.1.3, lexical nominalization is an operation that creates deverbal nouns. In other words, the verb stem undergoes word-class changing derivation.

Yukuna has four different lexical nominalization encoding devices, all of which are dedicated nominalizing suffixes: *-kana* EV.NZ, *-kaje* EV.NZ, *-jona* ~ *-jowa* INSTR.NZ and *-je* A.NZ.

Each of these markers is specialized in a specific semantic domain; event nominalizations for the former two, and argument nominalizations for the latter two.

In terms of their internal finiteness, nominalization constructions encoded with lexical nominalizers form a rather coherent group; very broadly, they all lack most of the verbal features from the verbal prototype. However, there is some variation within this group concerning the expression of adverbial modifiers, and of nominal features such as G/N marking, demonstratives, and possessors. The variation concerning these features depends mostly on the event vs. argument semantics of the nominalization as well as on the transitivity of the verb stem. Very broadly speaking, event nominalizations are compatible with adverbial modifiers but not with G/N marking, inversely, (animate denoting) argument nominalizations receive G/N marking but are not compatible with adverbial modifiers. Additionally, only nominalizations with transitive verb stems receive possessor marking encoding the patient argument. The features of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna are summarized in Table 64.

Table 64 Verbal and nominal features of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna

	Level	Feature	-kana	-kaje	-jona	-je
V prototype	V root + bound markers	Valency	y	y	y	y*
		Tense	n	n	n	n
		Aspect	n	n	n	n
		Mood	n	n	n	n
		NEG	n	n	n	n
	V clause	A/S = PSSR	n	n	n	n
		P = O NP	n	n	n	n
		POSTPs	y	y	?	y
		ADVPs	y	y	?	?
	N prototype	N root + bound markers	G/N	n	n	?	y
NP		P = PSSR	y	n	y	y
		DEM	?	y	y	y
		NUM	y?	?	?	y
		ADJ	?	y?	?	y*
		NV NEG	?	?	?	y*

Transposing the features in Table 64 onto a templatic configuration that additionally takes into account word order constraints, we obtain the template in Table 65.

Table 65 Template of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna

N	N	N	V	N		V		N	V	
DEM	NUM	ADJ	ADV/ POSTP	(P)PSSR	(P)Index-	root	-VAL	-NZ	-G/N	ADV

Table 65 shows the relative placement of elements in lexical nominalizations. The first line signals whether the feature pertains to the nominal prototype or the verbal prototype. There are several things to note about the way this template is organized: first, this template includes both lexical elements (demonstratives, numerals, etc.) with grammatical bound markers (person indexes, valency markers). Second, this is a joint template that groups together the features of all four lexical nominalization markers, so individual nominalization constructions with these markers do not in fact allow every single one of the features in the table. Third, precisely because not all of these features are attested at once in my corpus, the relative ordering of elements is not always clear. Third, since various combinations of elements in this template are not attested, we do not know whether each combination is possible at all.

Table 65 illustrates several interesting aspects of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna. The first point concerns the fact that lexical nominalizations, which are the least verbal ones by definition, still show a number of verbal features, leading to a mixed type of constituent where elements from the verbal and nominal prototypes intersperse. The most unexpected verbal feature is the possibility to include adverbial modifiers and postpositional phrases, both of which are excluded from the nominal prototype.

In sum, while Table 64 and the template in Table 65 provide a succinct overview of the internal structure of lexical nominalizations, revealing their overall degree of finiteness in terms of verbal and nominal features, they do not display the specific constraints of specific nominalization constructions. Following the same form-to-function structure of this dissertation, next I describe the finiteness of nominalization constructions per nominalizer. For each construction, I address their verbal features first, then continue with their nominal features, and conclude with an overview of the interaction between these two scales within each nominalization construction.

13.1.1 Event nominalizations with *-kana*

Nominalizations with *-kana* broadly conform to the general features of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna. I describe the degree of finiteness of nominalizations with *-kana* in contrast to the verbal prototype first, and then to the nominal prototype.

With respect to their verbal features, *-kana* nominalizations lack all TAM, verbal negation marking, and sentential core argument encoding (A/S and P). However, despite lacking most of the features of the verbal prototype, they display the following features: valency markers, as well as postpositional phrases, adverbial phrases and other complements such as direct speech. Interestingly these features pertain to two different levels of the verbal prototype, the verbal word (valency markers), as well as the verbal clause (adverbials and obliques).

The first verbal feature of *-kana* nominalizations are valency markers. The function of valency changing devices in nominalizations is identical to their function in finite verbal clauses. For instance, without the causative *-ta* in (435), the root *pa'* would be intransitive and its meaning would be ‘return’ rather than ‘give something back’. The same rule applies for other valency markers, including enclitic *=o* MID, as in example (436). While this enclitic follows the nominalizing suffix, its presence is required for distinguishing pairs of intransitive/transitive verbs, or even just lexically required altogether as for the verb stem *pura'=o* ‘speak=MID’.

(435) *Majó* *pi=wakára'a* [*ri=la'jówa* *pa'-tá-kana* *phiyúké*]
 PROX.toward 2SG=order 3SG.NF=decoration return-CAUS-EV.NZ fully
 'Order the return of his decoration entirely back here.' (ycn0041,130)

(436) *Nu=wáta* [*ri=jwa'té* *pura'-kána=o*]
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=want speak-EV.NZ=MID
 'I want to speak with him.' (ycn0504,74).

Second, we find the use of obliques and adverbs in *-kana* nominalizations. Indeed, these nominalizations are compatible with the expression of postpositional phrases (437), adverbial phrases (438), and also interestingly, the complements of speech verbs (439), which are syntactically distinct from core arguments and obliques.

- (437) [*Jéchi nakú jápá-kana*] *yukú-ná marí.*
 rubber on work-EV.NZ story-ALIEN3 PROX
 ‘This is the story of working on rubber.’ (ycn0117,1)
- (438) *pi=ñapáta-jĩ-ka* [*na=kelo'-kána phiyúké*]...
 2SG=finish-FUT-NZ 3PL=thicken-EV.NZ entirely
 ‘when you finish thickening them entirely’ (ycn0189,17)
- (439) [*“pi=jewaká tâ Kanumá” kema-kána*] *nakú...*
 2SG=boss EMPH Kanumá say-EV.NZ on
 ‘while saying “your boss Kanumá”.’ (ycn0068,107)

While all of these types of elements (adverbials, obliques and direct speech) clearly belong to the verbal prototype, the placement of these elements with respect to the verb root within the nominalization is not quite like their placement in verbal clauses. Indeed, although discourse-motivated word order variation of non-subject constituents is possible in Yukuna, the placement of postpositional, adverbial phrases and speech complements in finite clauses is typically after the verb, whereas in lexical nominalizations it is most often before the nominalized verb stem as in (437) and (439). The placement of these complements is very similar to that of overt possessors preceding the noun in the nominal prototype (see §3.2.1.1). If there are both an overt possessor and an oblique or adverbial, then the oblique/adverbial is placed either before the possessor (440), or after the nominalized verb (441).

- (440) *Pi=wáti-ya ka'jné* [*phiyúké ri=chijné jero'-kána*].
 2SG=want-PST DUB entirely 3SG.NF=hair pull_out-EV.NZ
 ‘You wanted to pull out his hair entirely.’
- (441) *Ri=keño'-chá* [*pú'ju-na nó-kana ri=jló*].
 3SG.NF=start-PST rodent_sp-PL kill-EV.NZ 3SG.NF=to
 ‘Then he started killing *tintin* rodents (green acouchi) for him.’ (ycn0053,15)

Nominalizations with *-kana* seem to show a preference for the overt expression of obliques, adverbial phrases and possessors. In fact, out of the 82 instances of *-kana* in my corpus, 75 show either a possessor (NP or index), an oblique or an adverb. The exceptions in fact only concern a few uses of *-kana* nominalizations that are highly lexicalized. These uses differ from typical *-kana* nominalizations in their semantics (as discussed in §12.1.1), but also in their nominal features, as I discuss below.

With respect to their nominal features, nominalizations with *-kana* only display one feature from the nominal prototype. Indeed, among the three most frequent and reliable nominal

features found in nominalizations (G/N marking, possessor encoding and demonstratives), *-kana* nominalizations only clearly show possessor marking. The possessor in this construction denotes the P argument corresponding to the object of a finite verbal clause. Possessors in this construction are encoded either with an overt NP preceding the nominalized verb carrying *-kana* EV.NZ as in (441) or with a person index (442). The set of person indexes used to encode the possessor in nominalizations with *-kana* EV.NZ is formally identical to the one used to encode the subject argument in main clauses, and the possessor in NPs headed by lexical nouns.⁵⁰

(442) *chúwa pi=wakára'a [ri=tha'-kána]*.
 now 2SG=order 3SG.NF=grate-EV.NZ
 'Now order its grating!' (ycn0068,336)

This strategy of argument encoding in nominalizations is quite common, and in particular it is very similar to the English *-ing* nominalizations (e.g. 'truck-driving') (Comrie and Thompson 2007, 335). Note that in the case of both English *-ing* nominalizations and Yukuna *-kana* nominalizations, the verbal root displays valency reduction, as the P argument occupies the position that is typically filled by the A/S argument, as subjects are encoded as possessors in main verbal clauses.

Nominalizations with *-kana* do not display any additional nominal features. Indeed, they lack G/N marking and demonstratives. Their lack of G/N marking can be easily attributed to the semantics of *-kana* nominalizations, as G/N marking is a feature of argument nominalizations. However, the absence of demonstratives does not have a clearcut explanation. Note that for a demonstrative used with a nominalization to be considered as a nominal feature, the demonstrative itself cannot function as a pronominal argument of the nominalized verb (e.g. her doing *that*), but it should function just an adnominal modifier of the nominalization as a whole (e.g. that Marie won the race came as no surprise).⁵¹ While the difference between the various functions of demonstratives is sometimes clear-cut, in some instances, the function of the demonstrative vis-à-vis the nominalization is not very clear. Let us consider example (443).

(443) *pi=ñapáta-ka kéelé kájé, [kéelé la'-kaná phiyúké]*
 2SG=finish-NZ MED type MED do-EV.NZ entirely

⁵⁰ Indeed, there is only one set of person indexes in Yukuna, used in a variety of contexts. See §2.2.1 of the grammar sketch on word classes.

⁵¹ Note that in the case of argument nominalizations, the demonstrative can be co-referential with the argument denoted by the nominalization (e.g. that which she did). In which case, such use of the demonstrative still classifies as a nominal feature because the demonstrative can be seen as an adnominal modifier of the whole nominalization, and it is not itself filling the syntactic slot of an argument of the verb.

‘(when) you finish that, the doing of that fully.’ (ycn0119,14)

In (443), the speaker hesitates about the structure of the sentence, and uses the demonstrative twice. Semantically, it is clear that the demonstrative refers to the P argument of the verb ‘do’, and structurally, it is placed immediately before the nominalized verb stem which lacks any person index. Semantically and formally then, the most likely analysis of this demonstrative is as a pronominal element, denoting the patient argument, in the position of the possessor argument of the nominalized verb. As such, I classify the use of this demonstrative as an instance of possessor marking and not as an instance of adnominal modification. In the absence of any clear evidence, I consider that *-kana* nominalizations are not compatible with demonstratives as adnominal modifiers and are thus the least nominal among lexical nominalizations.

Beyond the main three nominal features that we can reliably use to describe the internal finiteness of nominalization constructions, it is interesting to note that lexicalized nominalizations with *-kana* show additional nominal features, such as the presence of numeral modifiers as adnominal modifiers. One such example is the case of *jawaká-kana* pile_up-EV.NZ ‘pile’, introduced in §12.1.1. The semantic features of this deverbal noun with *-kana* are atypical, and this is further highlighted by the fact that this deverbal noun can combine with numeral modifiers as in *iyamá jawaká-kana* two pile_up-EV.NZ ‘two piles’. However, the use of numerals in these instances does not seem to be a feature shared by all *-kana* based nominalizations.

To summarize, nominalizations with *-kana* lack most verbal features. Crucially this means that they lack sentential encoding of both core verbal arguments (subjects and objects), as well as all TAM marking. The only verbal features of *-kana* nominalizations are valency markers as well as obliques and adverbs. The form, semantics, placement and obligatoriness of valency markers in nominalizations corresponds perfectly to the matching values of the verbal prototype. However, the placement of postpositional and adverbial phrases with regard to the nominalized verb shows particularities that cannot be explained following the verbal prototype only. In terms of their nominal features, *-kana* nominalizations only show possessor encoding for the P argument. It is unclear whether other features such as adnominal modifiers are truly incompatible with this nominalization construction, but in all cases, the attested data suggests that they are not. The features of *-kana* nominalizations in contrast to the verbal and nominal prototypes are summarized in the reduced template in Table 66.

Table 66 Template of *-kana* nominalizations

N	N		V	V
NUM?	(O)PSSR NP	(O)PSSR- Index	Root	-VAL
				<i>-kana</i>
				ADV COMPL

Table 66 displays the structure of *-kana* nominalizations, showing the relative ordering of nominal and verbal features. Features with a question mark (numerals) represent cases where the feature only combines with semantically atypical (lexicalized ~ lexicalizing) instances of *-kana*. All remaining finiteness measuring features from the verbal and nominal prototypes (Table 62) are absent from *-kana* nominalizations. The structure of nominalizations with *-kana* is very similar to that of other lexical nominalizations, in particular of nominalizations with *-kaje* discussed next.

13.1.2 Event nominalizations with *-kaje*

Next are event nominalizations with *-kaje*. Similarly to the preceding section, I describe the degree of finiteness of nominalizations with *-kaje* by exploring their verbal and nominal features respectively.

In terms of their verbal features, *-kaje* nominalizations lack all TAM, verbal negation marking, score argument encoding (subjects and objects). In (444), we can see the verbal root *iyá* ‘cry’ immediately followed by the nominalizer, without any TAM morphology nor any subject marking.⁵²

- (444) [*Iyá-káje*] *nakú ru=yái'-cha=o*
 cry-EV.NZ on 3SG.F=sit-PST=MID
 ‘She sat to cry.’ (ycn0053,57).

Despite the absence of most verbal features, *-kaje* nominalizations also display a few verbal features similarly to *-kana* nominalizations, namely, valency markers, postpositional phrases, adverbial phrases and other complements. The use of valency changing morphology in *-kaje* nominalizations also matches the functions of these markers in finite verbal clauses. As

⁵² In this specific construction, the event denoted by the nominalization is understood to be carried out by an argument coreferential with that of the main clause as discussed in §14.1.2.3.

discussed previously in §12.1.2, the nominalizer *-kaje* is predominantly used with intransitive verb stems, so there are no attested instances of nominalizations with *-kaje* and valency increasing suffixes *-ta* CAUS and *-ña* APPL. However, it is perfectly possible to combine it with middle voice enclitic *=o* (445), as well as with associative *-ka...=o* (446).

(445) *Aú kája unká nu=wáta-la [ru=cháje pa'-kájé=o].*
 so EMPH NEG 1SG=want-V.NEG 3SG.F=at return-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘So I do not want to return to her place.’ (ycn0189,170)

(446) *Nu=wáta [pi=jwa'té atáã-ka-kaje=o].*
 1SG=want 2SG=with try-ASS-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘I want to compete with you (lit. try myself with you.) (ycn0186,134).

Clearly, nominalizations with *-kaje* are compatible with postpositional phrases as evident from examples (445) and (446), but also with adverbial modifiers as in (447) with *kamu'jí* ‘poorly’⁵³, direct speech as in (448), and the clausal complement of complement taking verbs as in (449).

(447) *É na=yurí-cha=o piño ñaké=ja kája*
 then 3PL=stay-PST=MID again DIST.like=LIM EMPH
 [*kamu'jí la'-kajé nakú*].
 poorly do-EV.NZ on
 ‘Then they stayed again just like that doing poorly.’ (ycn0089,182)

(448) [*"yúka'a?" ké kema-kájé] nakú, yéwíhaja*
 INTERJ like say-EV.NZ on almost
jiñá kawáchi-ya jlá nu=ikhá.
 devil kill-PST FRUST 1SG=PRO
 ‘asking like “back already?” although the devil almost killed me.’ (ycn0545,30)

(449) *Na=wáti-ya [we'pí-kaje mékajé-ka i'ma-jé-ri*
 3PL=want-PST know-EV.NZ INDF-SUB COP-FUT-NF
na=nakiyá-ná achiñá wáni].
 3PL=among-? man EMPH
 ‘They wanted to know who among them will be the bravest one.’ (ycn0169,3)

The placement of these various complements in *-kaje* nominalizations follows the same rules as in nominalizations with *-kana* EV.NZ, with a strong preference for obliques and adverbs to be

⁵³ The placement of the left boundary of this nominalization is unclear, as it could be that the two additional adverbial modifiers *piño* ‘again’ and *ñaké* ‘like that’ are also placed within the nominalization with *-kaje* (i.e. then they stayed doing poorly just like that again). There are no formal cues that could help clarify this issue, except perhaps that *piño* ‘again’ is usually strictly post verbal, so here it is likely a modifier of the finite verb ‘stay’.

placed before the nominalized verb. However, example (449) suggests that larger complements are placed rightward.

The case of the complement of the verb ‘know’ in (449) is interesting as it raises questions about the syntactic status of the complement with respect to the nominalized verb. The verb root *we’pi* ‘know’ is syntactically transitive, and similarly to other cognition and perception verbs, it has a stimulus argument encoded as an object (NPs and pronouns), as well as clausal complements which fill the position of the object. However, the fact that the clausal complement is retained in the *-kaje* nominalization in (449), although *-kaje* nominalizations typically lose sentential object encoding suggests either that i. complement clauses are not syntactically equivalent to objects, so they may be maintained in nominalizations; or ii. that lexical nominalizations may exceptionally maintain objects arguments in specific contexts (clausal complements). I do not have an answer for this.

In terms of their nominal features, *-kaje* nominalizations entirely lack G/N marking similarly to *-kana* nominalizations and all other event nominalizations in Yukuna. However, unlike *-kana* nominalizations, they also entirely lack possessor encoding. The absence of possessor marking in *-kaje* nominalizations is related to the fact that in lexical nominalizations, it is the P argument that is encoded as the possessor, while the A/S argument is unexpressed, and *-kaje* nominalizations are strongly associated with intransitive verb roots. Note that the absence of possessor marking is also perfectly common among lexical nouns as well, and that this particularity of *-kaje* would be a natural result from a diachronic scenario involving nominalizer *-ka* plus suffix *-ji* used with unpossessed inalienable nouns.

Despite the absence of possessor marking, *-kaje* nominalizations seem to allow the presence of multiple types of adnominal modifiers, but it is unclear whether this is a feature of specific lexicalized nominalizations with *-kaje* only. Consider example (450) with a demonstrative, example (451) with pronoun *apú* ‘another’, example (452) with both a demonstrative and an adjective, and even more surprisingly, example (453) with the ‘indirect’ possession construction with *le’jé*, different from the typical ‘direct’ possession construction which is incompatible with *-kaje* nominalizations (see §3.2.1.1).

(450) *Inau’ké a’-ñó iná ñathé [kéelé arápa’-kaje]*
 person give-PL GNR.PRO help MED dance-EV.NZ
iná la’-ká lojé penáje.
 GNR.PRO do-NZ PURP for
 ‘People help us for us to organize that dance.’ (ycn0059,23)

(451) [apú jápá-kaje] wa=la'á
 other work-EV.NZ 1PL=do
 ‘we do another work.’ (ycn0042,32)

(452) pi=la'-jǐ-ka é [kéelé kajú-ní arápa'-kaje]
 2SG=do-FUT-NZ COND MED big-NF dance-EV.NZ
 ‘if you do that big dance....’ (ycn0092,16)

(453) Ri=é ri=le'jé [pura'-káje=o]
 3SG.NF=at 3SG.NF=POSS speak-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘It has a speech. (Lit. the speaking of it is there) (ycn0091,51).

Example (453) is uttered in a very specific context; a narrative where the speaker describes the traditional ceremony of the pineapple season. Culturally salient crops have dedicated ceremonies, dances and ritual speeches. The deverbal noun *pura'kajo* is used here to refer to a ritual speech, and the possessor is the seasonal crop of the ceremony, in this context, the pineapple fruit (‘the traditional speech of the pineapple fruit’). The structure of this example with the indirect possession construction with *le'jé* is very revealing. First, it confirms the similarities between deverbal nouns with *-kaje* and unpossessed nouns, which cannot be directly marked with possession (person index, possessor NP immediately before possessed noun), but can optionally have an overt possessor encoded with *le'jé*. Second, it shows that when a possessor is added, it does not semantically correspond to a core argument of the nominalized ‘speak’ verb, if anything it would be an oblique (e.g. to speak about, or of the pineapple).

There are a few additional instances of *-kaje* nominalizations with adnominal modifiers in my corpus, but examples (450) to (453) contain all deverbal nouns with which these occur: *jápákaje* ‘work’, *arápa'kaje* ‘dance’, and *pura'kajo* ‘speech’. The semantics of these particular deverbal nouns show specificities that suggest a higher degree of lexicalization as prototypical *-kaje* nominalizations are interpreted as a process (e.g. ‘to speak’), while these instances are interpreted as a compact unit (e.g. ‘speech’). Without enough data to know whether adnominal modifiers and genitive possessors are features available to most *-kaje* nominalizations, I consider that the uses in (450) to (453) are specific to lexicalized forms only. Additional work is also necessary to know whether there are any tendencies in patterns of semantic expansion/bleaching as well as relative frequencies of lexicalized/lexicalizing nominalizations per nominalization marker. For instance, at first glance it appears that there are more lexicalized forms with *-kaje* than with *-kana*, and altogether, it appears that lexicalizing forms are grouped under lexical nominalizations.

The features of *-kaje* forms with respect to the nominal and verbal prototypes are summarized in the template in Table 67. The first line refers to the prototype to which the feature belongs (Nominal or Verbal), and features with question marks are those that are associated with lexicalized forms.

Table 67 Template of *-kaje* nominalizations

N	N	N	N	V		V		V
DEM?	NUM?	ADJ?	le'jé PSSR	ADV/ POSTP/ COMPL	Root	-VAL	<i>-kaje</i>	COMPL

13.1.3 Instrument nominalizations with *-jona*

As stated previously, the dedicated lexical nominalizer *-jona* (free variant *-jowa*) used in instrument nominalizations is only attested three times in my corpus, combined with the roots *jña'* 'grab' and *nó* 'kill' (454).

(454)

- a. *marí kájé penáje nu=i'jĩ-chá pi=chájé, nu=teló ...*
 PROX type for 1SG=go-PST 2SG=at 1SG=friend
 'For this I came to your place, my friend ...'
- b. [*kéelé nákáje jña'-jóna*] *iná la'-ká lojé*
 MED something grab-INSTR.NZ GNR.PRO do-NZ PURP
arápa'-káje ... [kamejéri nó-jóna], Ta'píku'were,
 dance-EV.NZ animal kill-INTR.NZ T.
 for that grabber of things for one to prepare the ceremony, the killer of animals, the *Ta'píku'were*,
- c. *pi=ya'tá-ka lojé nu=jló ri=ikhá.*
 2SG=lend-NZ PURP 1SG=to 3SG.NF=PRO
 for you to lend it to me.' (ycn0092,163-166).

The three instances from my corpus, as well as a few elicited ones do not suffice for an in-depth description of the internal finiteness of nominalizations with this marker, but they do provide enough material to portrait an overview of this nominalization construction.

In terms of verbal features, nominalizations with *-jona* correspond to the general prototype of lexical nominalizations: lack of TAM and lack of sentential argument encoding, as clear from

(454). The presence of other verbal features is more difficult to assess although we can hypothesize that similarly to other lexical nominalizations, *-jona* nominalizations may entirely lack verbal negation, and retain valency, and postpositional phrases.

With respect to their nominal features, the instances of *-jona* clearly show that the P argument (the participant that would correspond to the object of a verbal clause) is encoded as the possessor: *nákájé* ‘thing’ with *jña'-jóna* grab-INSTR.NZ (the instrument for thing grabbing), and *kamejéri* ‘animal’ with *nó-jona* kill-INSTR.NZ (the instrument for animal killing). The argument encoding pattern is identical to that of transitive verb stem nominalizations with *-kana* EV.NZ, and *-je* A.NZ as well (see next section §13.1.4).

In addition to possessor marking of the P argument, *-jona* nominalizations also seem to be able to combine with demonstratives, as suggested by the use of *kéelé* with ‘grabber of things’ in (454)b. This instance is interesting because unlike other instances where the demonstrative could be considered as a modifier of the possessor noun and not of the nominalization, here the use of indefinite pronoun *nákájé* ‘something’ rules out this possibility, because pronouns are not modified by demonstratives in Yukuna. Because of this, I rule out the bracketing in (455)a, and adopt the bracketing in (455)b.

(455)

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. | *[[<i>kéelé</i> | <i>nákájé</i>] | <i>jña'-jóna</i>] |
| | MED | something | grab-INSTR.NZ |
| | | ‘*a grabber of those things’ | |
| b. | [<i>kéelé</i> | [<i>nákájé</i> | <i>jña'-jóna</i>]] |
| | MED | something | grab-INSTR.NZ |
| | | ‘that grabber of things.’ | |

As for other nominal features, although we lack positive evidence, it is likely that *-jona* nominalizations are incompatible with G/N marking as they denote inanimate referents and G/N are prototypical features of animate referents. However, precisely because *-jona* nominalizations denote concrete entities, we could also assume that they can easily combine with numerals and adjectives. In the absence of any positive evidence to prove these postulations, I simply do not include these features in the internal structure of *-jona* nominalizations, presented in the template in Table 68.

Table 68 Template of *-jona* nominalizations

N	N		
DEM	(P) PSSR	Root	<i>-jona</i>

13.1.4 Agent nominalizations with *-je*

The agent nominalizer *-je* is the last of the four nominalizers among lexical nominalization constructions. As mentioned before, *-je* A.NZ is found in a small number of occurrences in my corpus. There are eight attested occurrences of this morpheme in my corpus of texts, where nominalizer *-je* combines with four different verb stems. As usual, I base my description of the nominalization construction on the attested data, and use elicited data to fill in blanks when possible.

Concerning their verbal features, *-je* nominalizations lack most features from the verbal prototype, similarly to other lexical nominalizations: TAM, sentential argument encoding, and verbal negation. As for the verbal features that they display, textual data shows that *-je* nominalizations can combine with postpositional phrases as in (456) with *eja'wá e'yowá ja'pá-je-ri* ‘the walker around the forest’, and elicited data additionally reveals that *-je* nominalizations also retain valency markers, as in (457) with *jewiña'-ta-je-ri* ‘teacher’.

- (456) *Aú [eja'wá e'yowá ja'pá-je-ri] keño'-chá-ri*
 so forest in.around walk-A.NZ-NF begin-PST-NF
ri=payéta-ne wicho'-kána ri=nakiyá.
 3SG.NF=blanket-ALIEN3 remove-EV.NZ 3SG.NF=on.from
 ‘So the traveler began to to remove his blanket (lit. the walker around the forest)’
 (ycn0169,13)

- (457) *ri=jewiña'-ta-je-ri-=mi*
 3SG.NF=transform-CAUS-A.NZ-NF=PFV
 ‘his former teacher (lit. the former transformer of him.)’ (elicited, notebook 5:445)

Example (456) shows that the postpositional phrase within the nominalization is placed before the nominalized verb with *-je* A.NZ. This placement is similar to the pattern of other lexical nominalizations whereby postpositional phrases, but also adverbial phrases and complements of speech verbs are preferably placed before the nominalized verb. However, there is no positive

nor negative evidence concerning whether adverbial phrases and other complements can be used with *-je* nominalizations. Based on attested occurrences only, it would appear that among lexical nominalizations, the use of adverbial phrases is a feature of event nominalizations only.

Example (457) shows a *-je* nominalization with valency increasing suffix *-ta* CAUS. This example was obtained through elicitation, during a task that was meant for another purpose, namely, whether lexical nominalizations were compatible with possessor indexes. This form constitutes a highly conventionalized use of the causative suffix on the verb root ‘transform’ that means ‘teach’. I also obtained a few additional instances of *-je* with valency markers, again in elicitation tasks carried out with other purposes. For instance, the forms in (458) and (459) were obtained during the elicitation of verbal paradigms for the analysis of tonal patterns.

(458) *ri=ajá-ta-je-ri*

3SG.NF=fly-CAUS-A.NZ-NF

‘the flier of him (the one who makes him fly)’ (ycn0476)

(459) *ri=ajá-ñaa-je-ri*

3SG.NF=fly-APPL-A.NZ-NF

‘the flier of him (the one who flies past him)’ (ycn0485)

The examples in (458) and (459) are interesting for two main reasons. First, unlike *jewíñaa'-ta-je-ri* ‘teacher’, the meaning of the stem with the valency marker is transparent, so it is a robust indicator that valency is in fact a feature of *-je* nominalizations in general and not just a feature restricted to a few lexicalized items. Second, we note that the root *ajá* ‘fly’ can freely combine with *-je* A.NZ when it carries valency increasing morphology. This contrasts with the form **ajá-je-ri* fly-A.NZ-NF ‘flier’, judged as agrammatical by the same consultant who had accepted the forms in (458) and (459). Lastly, there are no attested nor elicited instances of *-je* A.NZ on intransitive verb stems carrying middle voice enclitic =*o*. This certainly supports the discussion in (§12.2.1) concerning the tendency of *-je* A.NZ to combine with transitive verbs.

In terms of their nominal features, nominalizations with *-je* are the ones for which we have the most positive evidence of nominal features. Textual data reveals that they show obligatory G/N marking in agreement with the G/N value of the denoted agent participant, that they encode the P argument as a possessor, and that they are compatible with demonstratives and numerals as well. Additionally, elicited data reveals that they are compatible with adjectives and non-verbal negation.

The most salient nominal feature of *-je* nominalizations is G/N marking. In this nominalization construction, G/N is obligatorily marked, with suffixes *-ri* NF, *-yo* F, *-ño* PL

placed immediately after the nominalizer *-je* (Table 65). The choice of the suffix depends on the gender (feminine/non-feminine) and number (singular/plural) value of the referent of the nominalization: in the singular, there is a feminine vs. non-feminine distinction, and in the plural there is gender neutralization. The only suffix that actually includes inanimate referents is *-ri* NF, as the non-feminine category includes animate males as well as inanimates (see §3.1.1.1 on gender and number in Yukuna). Unsurprisingly, *-ri* is the most frequent of the G/N suffixes, as it is found in seven out of the eight occurrences of *-je* A.NZ in my corpus. The remaining case is marked with *-ño* PL (460), and the feminine form with *-yo* F was unattested in my corpus but obtained in elicitation (461).

(460) [wajla'-jé-ño] jló iná a'-ká lojé
 dance-A.NZ-PL to GNR.PRO give-NZ PURP
 ‘for one to give to the dancers’ (ycn0059,44)

(461) jíña motho'-jé-yo
 fish cook-A.NZ-F
 ‘fish cooker (f)’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5: 161)

In addition to G/N marking, *-je* nominalizations are similar to *-kana* and *-jona* nominalizations in their encoding of the P argument as the possessor, with an NP placed immediately before the nominalized verb (461), or with a person index as in (458) and (459). Of course, if the nominalized verb is intransitive, then no possessor is expressed as in (460) with ‘dancers’ and (462) with ‘walker’. In addition to possessor marking, there is one attested instance of *-je* nominalization with a numeral (462), and one with a demonstrative (463).

(462) e'yá [pajlúwa=ja eja'wá e'yowá ja'pá-je-ri]
 then one=LIM forest in.around walk-A.NZ-NF
 ja'pí-cha-ka ri=ewá
 walk-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=around
 ‘...then one traveler passed by (Lit. one forest wanderer)’ (ycn0169,4)

(463) Mékajé-ka wa=nakiyá-na ka'-jé-ri payéta
 which-SUB 1PL=among-? remove-FUT-NF blanket
 [kéelé eja'wá e'yowá ja'pá-je-ri] liyá,
 MED forest in.around walk-A.NZ-NF from
 ri=ikhá i'ma-jé-ri achiñá wáni.
 3SG.NF=PRO COP-FUT-NF man EMPH
 ‘the one among us (that) will remove the blanket from the traveler, *He* will be the bravest.’
 (ycn0169,7)

Example (463) is particularly interesting because, in addition to showing the nominal features of *-je* A.NZ nominalizations, it also highlights the homonymy between *-je* A.NZ (*ja'pá-je-ri* ‘the walker’) and *-je* FUT, especially since the latter can actually be followed by the same set of G/N markers in grammatical nominalizations with G/N (§13.2.5). Indeed, the agent nominalizer *-je* A.NZ, has two diachronically related homonymous forms, purpose of motion subordinating suffix *-je* PURP.MOT, and future tense suffix *-je* FUT. Although I analyze these three markers as synchronically distinct, I include the purpose of motion and future tense markers among nominalization-based constructions, that is to say, constructions where nominalization encoding devices are used with different functions. I explore the variations in terms of internal degrees of finiteness for each of these uses of *-je* (A.NZ, PURP.MOT, FUT) in §14.1.4.2.

Lastly, elicited data also reveals that *-je* nominalizations are compatible with adjectives (464) and with non-verbal negation (465). As a reminder, non-verbal negation is obligatorily double marked with particles *unká ... kalé* placed immediately before and after the negated constituent in the position of non-verbal predicate of a zero copula clause (see Ch.6 on non-verbal predication).

(464) [*Palá-ni wáni makápo'-je-ri*] *ri=ikhá.*
 good-NF EMPH revive-A.NZ-NF 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘It is a good reviver.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:428)

(465) *Unká [jíña pata-jé-ri] kalé ri=ikhá.*
 NEG fish grab-A.NZ-NF NV.NEG 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘He is not a fish grabber.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:167)

In sum, combining textual and elicited data shows that agent nominalizations with *-je* A.NZ show the most features from the nominal prototype among lexical nominalizations: G/N marking, possessor encoding of the object argument, adnominal modifiers (demonstratives, numerals, adjectives), and even non-verbal negation. In contrast, the only retained verbal feature of this nominalization construction are postpositional phrases. Table 69 summarizes the features of *-je* nominalizations.

Table 69 Template of *-je* nominalizations

N	N	N	N	V	N	N	V	N
NEG	DEM	NUM	ADJ	POSTP	(P) PSSR NP	(P) PSSR INDEX	Root -VAL	<i>-je</i> NEG

13.2 Grammatical nominalizations

Following the definition in §9.2.1.3, grammatical nominalizations are those that apply at the level of the verbal clause to produce NPs. In other words, in grammatical nominalizations the verbal element does not undergo word-class changing derivation, so they are internally clause-like, while externally, they have the distribution of an NP.

Grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna are encoded through four different markers: three dedicated nominalizers (*-kare* ~ *-re* ARG.NZ, *-chaje* ~ *-yaje* ARG.NZ, *-ka* NZ) and one set of NP markers used in nominalization (G/N markers). The internal finiteness of this group of nominalizations is rather coherent. In terms of their verbal features, the picture is very clear: grammatical nominalizations display most of the features of the verbal prototype, most importantly sentential argument encoding for A/S, P and obliques, as well as tense and aspect. However, they all lack mood, and they also show a few constraints that distinguish them from fully finite clauses, such as argument gaps in the case of argument nominalizations as well as various combinatory restrictions (e.g. tense restrictions, word order of core arguments, verbal negation). Following the definition and requirements for nominalizations adopted in this study (see §9.1.1), grammatical nominalizations also display some internal nominal features, albeit to a lesser degree than lexical nominalizations. Indeed, the only clearly attested nominal features are G/N markers and demonstratives. Most other nominal features are either clearly absent from grammatical nominalizations, or their status is uncertain. Table 70 summarizes the features of grammatical nominalizations with respect to the verbal and nominal prototypes.

Table 70 Verbal and nominal features of grammatical nominalizations

	Level	Feature	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i> (EV)	<i>-ka</i> (A)	G/N
V prototype	V root + bound markers	Valency	y	y	y	y	y
		Tense	y	n	y	y	y
		Aspect	y	n	y	y	y
		Mood	n	n	n	n	n
		NEG	y*	y*	n	n	y
	V clause	A/S = PSSR	y	y	y	n	n
		P = O NP	y	y	y	y	y
		POSTPs	y	y	y	y	y
		ADVPs	y	y*	y	y	y

N prototype	N root + bound markers	G/N	y*	y	n	y	y
	NP	P = PSSR	n	n	n	n	n
		DEM	y	y	y	y	y
		NUM	n	n	?	?	y?
		ADJ	n	n	?	?	y?
		NV NEG	y*	n	y*	?	n

Placing the features from Table 70 into a templatic configuration, we obtain the template in Table 71. Both tables reveal that indeed, the internal structure of grammatical nominalizations is almost exactly that of finite clauses, except for the presence of deranking morphology (dedicated nominalizers), and the optional use of demonstratives and G/N markers.

Table 71 Template of grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna

N	V	V	V	V		V	V	V		N	V
DEM	O NP ADV POSTP	NEG	S NP	(A/S) INDEX	root	VAL	T/A	NEG	NZ	G/N	O NP ADV POSTP

Similarly to the template of lexical nominalizations in Table 65, the template of grammatical nominalizations in Table 71 combines the features of all nominalization constructions in this category. Thus, Table 71 does not capture the restrictions of specific nominalization constructions, nor does it distinguish between optional and obligatorily marked features. Indeed, the two main internal nominal features of grammatical nominalizations (demonstratives and G/N) are optional, except of course for G/N marking in agent G/N nominalizations. This results in many occurrences of grammatical nominalizations without any overt nominal features. Because of this, grammatical nominalizations are particularly ambiguous to classify, and in some cases, we could even bring into question their status as nominalizations. The aim of this section is precisely to shed light on this problematic group of constructions, showing how they differ from lexical nominalizations but also, crucially, from non-nominalized subordinate structures.

Note again that among internal features of nominalizations I do not include postpositions, as I consider postpositions to be part of the external distribution of nominalizations. All

constructions included among grammatical nominalizations do in fact combine with postpositions as I discuss in length in §14.2.

13.2.1 Argument nominalizations with *-kare* ~ *-re*

The suffix *-kare* ~ *-re* ARG.NZ is a dedicated nominalizer, the semantics of which cover patient, location, possessor and event intransitive S nominalizations. The range of participants denoted by *-kare* is identical to that of *-chaje* nominalizations, but these markers are complementary in tense, as *-chaje* nominalizations have inherent tense. This nominalizer is used to encode multiple nominalization constructions, each characterized by the omission (or gap) of the denoted argument. Because there are no major differences in terms of the internal degree of finiteness of *-kare* marked nominalization constructions beyond the gapping of different participants, I discuss them jointly in this section. Similarly to the description of lexical nominalizations in §13.1, I describe verbal features first, and nominal features second.

In terms of their verbal features, nominalizations with *-kare* correspond to the overall prototype of grammatical nominalizations, as they display most features from the verbal prototype with only a few minor restrictions. Indeed, textual data reveal that *-kare* nominalizations display valency markers, most tense and aspect markers, sentential A/S and P encoding, and adverbial and postpositional phrases.

Concerning valency markers, examples (466) and (467) show *-kare* with valency markers *-ta* CAUS and *=o* MID respectively.

(466) *kajú-ní ikéelé mawíru, [na=pura'á-ta-kare].*
 big-NF MED pineapple 3PL=speak-CAUS-ARG.NZ
 ‘That pineapple is important (lit. big), that which they name.’ (ycn0091,32)

(467) *pi=ímá ri=jló ri=a'-chí pi=jló*
 3SG.NF=say 3SG.NF=to 3SG.NF=give-PURP 2SG=to
 número [ri=jewíña'-kare=o] eyá
 number 3SG.NF=study-ARG.NZ=MID from
 ‘Tell him to give you the number of where he studies.’

As for tense and aspect, nominalizations with *-kare* ~ *-re* are attested with the following markers; future *-je* ~ *-jĩ* (468), far past suffix *-jĩka* (469), habitual enclitic *=no* (469), and far past particle *i'maká* (470). Note that the sequence of future tense plus argument

nominalization *-jĩ-kare* is identical to the sequence of far past suffix plus argument nominalizer *-jĩka-re*, the two segmentations can only be distinguished through context.

(468) *i=itá-jĩ-kare* *kéelé* *cha'wí* *aũ*
 2PL=close-FUT-ARG.NZ MED trap with
 ‘that which you will catch with that trap’ (ycn0063,187)

(469) *inau'ké* *aĩ* *palá-nojé* [*na=amá-jĩka-re=nó*]
 person tooth good-? 3PL=see-FAR.PST-ARG.NZ=HAB
 ‘good people’s teeth that they used to see’ (ycn0092,25)

(470) *pajlúwa=ja* *jipú* [*kéelé* *nu=warúwa'-káre* *máayá* *i'maká*]
 ONE=LIM tortoise MED 1SG=buy-ARG.NZ PROX.from FAR.PST
 ‘one tortoise that I had bought here a long time ago’ (ycn0101,11)

Nominalizations with *-kare* ARG.NZ are incompatible with past tense suffix *-cha* (471), and it is uncertain whether they are compatible with far past suffix *-khe*, as this specific combination is neither attested in my Flex corpus nor in elicitation.

(471) **i=ajñá* *jĩña-na* [*nu=motho'-chá-kare*].
 2PL=eat fish-PL 1SG=cook-PST-ARG.NZ
 ‘*eat the fishes that I cooked.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:207)

As for the mood category, there are no occurrences of *-kare* nominalizations with mood marking in the Flex corpus. This is unlike nominalization-based constructions with *-kare* which are in fact attested in combination with mood marking (see §14.2.1.5). Based on spontaneous data, *-kare* nominalizations are thus incompatible with mood marking like all other grammatical nominalizations. However, in elicitation, my main consultant accepted the use of *jlá* with *-kare* as in (472).

(472) *jíta* [*nu=la'-káre* *jlá*]
 canoe 1SG=do-ARG.NZ FRUST
 ‘the canoe that I tried to do’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:99)

Additional verbal features of *-kare* nominalizations attested in texts are the sentential encoding of core arguments (473), and the presence of postpositional phrases (474). Elicited data shows that adverbial modifiers too are compatible with *-kare* nominalizations as in (475).

(473) [*kamejéri* *iná* *nó-kare* *aũ*]
 animal GNR.PRO kill-ARG.NZ with
 ‘that with which one kills animals’ (ycn0092,115)

(474) *Ilé kamejéí [nu=nó-kare pi=i'rí jló].*
 MED animal 1SG=kill-ARG.NZ 2SG=son to
 ‘There is the animal that I killed for your son.’ (ycn0053,77)

(475) *Ri=ajñá jíña-na [nu=kelo'-káre palá].*
 3SG.NF=eat fish-PL 1SG=thicken-ARG.NZ well
 ‘He ate the fishes that I cooked well.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:459)

In example (477), the nominalization contains a P argument encoded as the O NP (*kamejéí* ‘animal’) and an independent pronoun (generic pronoun *iná*) encoded as the S NP. In example (474), the nominalization contains a postpositional phrase marked with *jló* ‘to’; and in (475), the nominalization contains an adverbial modifier *palá* ‘well’. In terms of word order, the placement of arguments, obliques and modifiers in *-kare* ARG.NZ nominalizations correspond to the verbal prototype as well: the A/S argument is rigidly placed before the verb, while the P argument, adverbial and postpositional phrases seem to allow variable ordering with respect to the verb.

Despite the very clause-like internal structure of *-kare* nominalizations, all instances of argument nominalizations with *-kare* require the gapping of the denoted argument. In example (473), the nominalization denotes the instrument participant, which is the argument of postposition *añ* ‘with’. This is clear from the fact that the argument of the postposition is gapped, and the postposition is left ‘stranded’. In contrast, the nominalizations in (474) and (475) denote the patient participant, so only the subject argument is encoded within the nominalization. Note that in both (474) and (475), the nominalization with *-kare* is used as an adnominal modifier of a lexical noun (*kamejéí* ‘animal’ and *jíñana* ‘fishes’ respectively). This lexical noun is co-referential with the participant denoted by the nominalization, but it is not an argument within the nominalization. I base this analysis on two main features of this lexical noun. First, this noun need not be adjacent to the verb carrying *-kare*, as in (476)a where the two are separated by a demonstrative. Second, this lexical noun is not obligatory, as in (476)b where the *-kare* nominalization is used on its own as referential NP.

(476)

- a. *kéelé kamejéí [kéelé pi=jña'-káre],*
 MED animal MED 2SG=grab-ARG.NZ
 ‘that animal that which you grabbed’
- b. *[no=nó-kare kéelé yuwa-jí jló]*
 1SG=kill-ARG.NZ MED child-NF to
 ‘the one I killed for that child.’ (ycn0053,83)

Nominalizations with *-kare* are not attested with any type of negation marking in the Flex corpus, and in elicitation, my main consultant accepts the use of both verbal (*unká...-la*) and non-verbal negation (*unká...kalé*) with *-kare* as in (477) and (478) respectively. Note that the use of verbal negation strategy requires the allomorph *-re* of *-kare*. Whatever the interpretation of these examples, it is clear that they highlight the ambiguous, mixed status of grammatical nominalizations with *-kare*.

(477) *Nu=payáki-cha* [*kéelé unká pi=kulá-jĩ-kare* *kalé*] *chá.*
 1SG=step-PST MED NEG 2SG=search-FUT-ARG.NZ NV.NEG on
 ‘I stepped on that one that you will not look for.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:75)

(478) *yuwa-ló* [*unká na=aka'-lá-re* *i'maká*]
 child-F NEG 3PL=scold-NEG-ARG.NZ FAR.PST
 ‘the girl that they did not scold a long time ago’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:210)

Additional evidence of the ambiguous nature of *-kare* nominalizations come from their nominal features. Indeed, textual data reveals that *-kare* nominalizations are compatible with demonstratives (479), and in elicitation, they also combine with gender and number marking (480).

(479) [*kéelé* *nu=i'jna-káre* *támi amá-je*]
 MED 1SG=go-ARG.NZ body see-PURP.MOT
 ‘the one whose body I went to see.’ (ycn0092,109)

(480) [*ru=e'wé* *nó-kare-ru*] *ñaká=mi*
 3SG.F=sibling kill-ARG.NZ-F reflection=PFV
 ‘the ghost of the one (f) her brother killed’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:166)

There are 11 instances of *-kare* nominalizations with a demonstrative in my corpus, and in all cases the demonstrative is *kéelé* MED. This is not at all surprising given that the medial demonstrative *kéelé* is by far the most frequently used among adnominal/pronominal demonstratives. The use of this demonstrative with *-kare* nominalizations is optional (481), similarly to demonstratives in adnominal modification function in prototypical NPs.

(481) [*i=itá-jĩ-kare* *kéelé* *cha'wí aũ*]
 2PL=close-FUT-ARG.NZ MED trap with
 ‘that which you will capture with that trap.’ (ycn0063,19)

Among instances of *-kare* nominalizations with a demonstrative, I have not included the cases where there is a lexical noun between the demonstrative and the verb stem marked with *-kare*

as in (482), as the demonstrative could be analyzed as modifying the noun ‘her father’ instead of the whole nominalization (the place where her father was). However, I did include cases with two demonstratives, one modifying a lexical noun, and one before the *-kare* nominalization as in (483).

(482) *é ru=yakái'-cha=o [kéelé ru=jara'pá michú i'ma-káre] ewá*
 Then 3SG.F=look-PST=MID MED 3SG.NF=father late COP-ARG.NZ around
 ‘then she looked at the place where her late father was’ (ycn0058,113)

(483) *na=janapí-cha-chí [kéelé kamejérí] [kéelé pi=jña'-káre]*
 3PL=carry-PRS-PURP MED animal MED 2SG=grab-ARG.NZ
 ‘for them to carry that animal that I took’ (ycn0053,83)

The encoding of G/N in *-kare* nominalizations roughly follows the same principle as with other argument nominalizations, as the G/N marker agrees with the gender and number value of the denoted referent. However, in the case of *-kare* nominalizations, G/N marking is not required.

Lastly, *-kare* nominalizations do not seem to be compatible with numerals and adjectives as adnominal modifiers. There are a few instances in my corpus where *-kare* nominalizations are used with numerals and adjectives, but in cases where there is an overt lexical noun as in (484), so it is unclear whether the adjective (*palá-nojé* ‘good’) is modifying the lexical noun (*aí* ‘tooth’) or the nominalization (‘that which they used to see’). When I tried to obtain instances of *-kare* nominalizations with adjectives in elicitation, speakers interpret the adjective as an attributive predicate instead of an adnominal modifier as in (485).

(484) *Ri=wakajé na=jña'-khé tá inau'ké aí*
 3SG.NF=time 3PL=grab-FAR.PST EMPH person tooth
palá-nojé [na=amá-jíka-re=nó].
 good-? 3PL=see-FAR.PST-ARG.NZ=HAB
 ‘In those days, they used to grab the good teeth that they used to see.’ (ycn0092,25)

(485) *Palá-ni [nu=kelo'-káre].*
 good-NF 1SG=thicken-ARG.NZ
 ‘That which I thickened is good.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:460).

To summarize, *-kare* nominalizations display most features from the verbal prototype, with a few restrictions, such as argument gapping, incompatibility with past/present perfective *-cha*, absence of mood marking. Simultaneously, they also display two internal nominal features, namely, demonstratives and G/N marking, both of which are optional. The

ambiguous status of this nominalization construction is highlighted by the possibility for it to combine with either verbal or non-verbal negation. The internal finiteness of *-kare* nominalizations is very similar to that of their close *-chaje* counterparts as described next.

13.2.2 Argument nominalizations with *-chaje*

The suffix *-chaje* is a dedicated nominalizer used in patient, location, possessor and event intransitive S nominalizations. As stated previously, the range of participants denoted by *-chaje* and *-kare* nominalizations is identical, but these markers are complementary in tense, as *-chaje* nominalizations are restricted to past/present perfective.

In terms of their verbal features, nominalizations with *-chaje* display most features from the verbal prototype as expected of grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna. However, these nominalizations lack TAM marking, and they additionally differ from finite verbal clauses as the denoted argument may be gapped.

Based on textual data, *-chaje* nominalizations display valency markers, sentential core argument encoding for A/S and P, as well as for postpositional phrases (when these arguments are not themselves gapped). Elicited data further shows that *-chaje* nominalizations are also compatible with adverbial phrases and verbal negation. Example (486) shows a *-chaje* nominalization with causative suffix *-ta* ~ *-chi*.

(486) *É ru=i'jĩ-chá ri=jló [kéelé ji'chí ja'piyá*
 then 3SG=go-PST 3SG.NF=to MED pot under.from
keñá ru=yáa'-chi-yaje ri=jló] jña'-jě
 drink 3SG.F=sit-CAUS-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=to grab-PURP.MOT
 ‘Then she went to grab the manioc drink that she had placed (lit. made sit) for him under the pot.’ (ycn0189,86)

As clear from the previous example, the verb stem marked with *-chaje* carries a person proclitic indexing the A/S argument. Example (487) additionally shows how *-chaje* nominalizations show sentential marking of the P argument (*kamejéri-na* ‘animals’) and obliques (‘to that child’).

(487) *É jlapí ri=a'michí-yá kéelé [ri=nó-chaje-na*
 Then night 3SG.NF=smoke-PST MED 3SG.NF=kill-ARG.NZ-PL
kamejéri-na kéelé yuwa-jí jló].
 animal-PL MED child-NF to
 ‘Then at night he smoked that animal that he had killed for that child.’ (ycn0053,78)

Example (487) is interesting because it shows a P argument encoded exactly as in the verbal prototype despite the fact that the nominalization denotes the patient argument, and argument nominalizations in Yukuna typically use the gapping strategy. Nominalizations with *-chaje* are the only argument nominalization construction that allow the denoted participant to be overtly expressed within the nominalization.⁵⁴ Note that *-chaje* nominalizations do gap the denoted participant in some cases, as in (488) where the denoted argument (location) is gapped and this is clear from the use of an argumentless stranded postposition (*chú* ‘in’). As made explicit by the brackets, the stranded postposition *chú* ‘in’ states the role of the denoted participant with respect to the verb in the nominalization (the house in which they live), while the postposition *éjě* ‘toward’ marks the complement of the main verb ‘arrive’.

(488) *na=iphí-cha kéelé pají [na=i'mi-cháje chú] éjě*
 3PL=arrive-PST MED house 3PL=live-ARG.NZ in toward
 ‘they arrived at that house where they lived’ (ycn0058,75)

However, cases where the denoted argument is not gapped are not rare. In fact, out of all patient denoting uses of *-chaje* nominalizations, roughly half encode the patient argument as an object within the nominalized clause. The same speaker can use both strategies in the same narrative, as shown by examples (489) and (490).

(489) *Éko pi=kelo'ó yuwa-ná jló [kéelé nu=jĩ'-cháje jíña-na].*
 EMPH 2SG=thicken child-PL to MED 1SG=grab-ARG.NZ fish-PL
 ‘Prepare for the children those fishes that I brought.’ (ycn0189,16)

(490) *Pi=motho'ó kéelé jíña-na [nu=jĩ'-cháje].*
 2SG=cook MED fish-PL 1SG=grab-ARG.NZ
 ‘Cook those fishes that I brought.’ (ycn0189,32)

In addition to these features of *-chaje* nominalizations, elicitation data suggests that nominalizations with *-chaje* are compatible with adverbial phrases (491) and with verbal negation (492).

(491) [*palá nu=kelo'-cháje*]
 well 1SG=thicken-ARG.NZ
 ‘that which I thickened well’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:459)

⁵⁴ An alternative analysis for this structure would be to consider that the noun ‘animal’ is not the P argument within the nominalization but that it is the ‘head’ modified by the *-chaje* nominalization. I discard this analysis for this particular example because of the presence of the oblique ‘for that child’, which suggests that all elements that follow the *-chaje* marked verb are its arguments.

(492) *Iléré kéelé a'umakajé [unká nu=ipa-lá-chaje].*
 MED.LOC MED clothe NEG 1SG=wash-V.NEG-ARG.NZ
 ‘Those clothes that I did not wash are there.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:103)

The only features from the verbal prototype absent in *-chaje* nominalizations are TAM, and in some instances, sentential argument encoding when the denoted participant is gapped. Indeed, because of their inherent past/present perfective semantics, *-chaje* nominalizations disallow tense marking. There are no attested nor elicited examples of *-chaje* and aspect marker *=no*, nor with frustrative mood particle *jlá*.

In addition to these reduced set of verbal features with respect to finite clauses, *-chaje* nominalizations also show some nominal features. Similarly to most argument nominalizations, *-chaje* nominalizations combine with medial demonstrative *kéelé* as in (489) and with G/N marking (487). However, they do not allow adnominal modifiers such as adjectives. This restriction is illustrated with (493) where the adjective before the nominalization is syntactically an attributive predicate and not a modifier. They also do not combine with non-verbal negation (494). Contrast the use of an adjective in (493) with the use of an adverbial modifier in (491), and the ungrammatical use of non-verbal negation in (494), with the use of verbal negation in (492).

(493) *Palá-ni [nu=kelo'-chájé].*
 good-NF 1SG=thicken-ARG.NZ
 ‘that which I thickened is good.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:459)

(494) **Iléré kéelé a'umakajé [unká nu=ipí-chaje kalé].*
 MED.ADV MED clothe NEG 1SG=wash-ARG.NZ NV.NEG
 ‘*Those clothes that I did not wash are there.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:103)

To summarize, *-chaje* nominalizations display most features from the verbal prototype except for TAM, and they additionally combine with G/N marking and demonstratives. One important feature of *-chaje* nominalizations is that, based on elicited data, it appears that they disallow the use of non-verbal negation. This in particular distinguishes *-chaje* ARG.NZ nominalizations from *-kare* ARG.NZ nominalizations which allow both verbal and non-verbal negation as stated previously.

13.2.3 Agent *-ka* nominalizations

The nominalizer *-ka* (tensed allomorphs *-khe* FAR.PST.NZ and *-jika* FAR.PST.NZ) is used in two different grammatical nominalization constructions, one used for agent nominalizations, and a different one used for event/location nominalizations. I describe each of these constructions separately as they have important differences pertaining to their internal finiteness.

Agent nominalizations with *-ka* are not very frequent in contrast to event nominalizations with the same marker or even in contrast with agent nominalizations with G/N markers. On the basis of attested, textual data, agent nominalizations with *-ka* are similar to other argument grammatical nominalizations, as they display most verbal features with only some minor restrictions (argument gapping), and in parallel, optionally combine with demonstratives and G/N markers.

Agent nominalizations with *-ka* are compatible with valency markers, as in (495) with middle voice enclitic *=o*. Note that there are three different non-finite constructions in example (495), all of which have valency markers: an agent G/N nominalization (*pi'-cha-ri=o* ‘the one who returns’), a purpose of motion clause (*pa'-ta-je* ‘in order to go find’), and an agent *-ka* marked nominalization (*yurí-cha-ka=o* ‘that which had stayed’).

(495) *ilé tâ pi'-chá-ri=o piño ri=le'jé wachapíla*
 MED EMPH return-PST-NF=MID again 3SG.NF=POSS belt
pa'-tá-je, [kéelé itewí ja'pí yurí-cha-ka=o].
 return-CAUS-PURP.MOT MED palm_sp under stay-PST-NZ=MID
 ‘That one returned again to find his belt, that which had stayed under the *canangucho* palm tree.’ (ycn0108,213)

As for T/A marking, agent *-ka* nominalizations allow the encoding of both categories. Example (495) included past tense suffix *-cha*, and example (496) shows both past tense marking *-cha* with habitual aspect enclitic *=no*.

(496) *na=ikhá [i'mi-chá-ka-ño=no Chi'nárikana miná].*
 3PL=PRO COP-PST-NZ-PL=HAB Yurupari owner
 ‘They are the ones who used to be the owners of the Yurupari.’ (ycn0068,9)

In addition to past tense *-cha*, I include among agent nominalizations with *-ka* cases where the complex far past tense markers *-khe* and *-jika* are used followed by G/N markers as in (497) and (498). These tense markers do not co-occur with *-ka* synchronically, but their syntactic

distribution suggests that they are diachronically related. I have opted to include all uses of *-khe* FAR.PST and *-jika* FAR.PST as nominalization-based constructions related to nominalizer *-ka* NZ.

(497) *Eyá kéelé nu=yáni jara'pá [nó-khe-ri=nó*
 Then MED 1SG=children father kill-FAR.PST.NZ-NF=HAB
atírí-na jlapí]
 bird_sp night
 ‘Then the father of my children is the one who used to hunt wild turkeys at night.’
 (ycn0117,53)

(498) *É na=tamáa'-ta-khe phiyúké*
 Then 3PL=spread-CAUS-FAR.PST all
 [*kéelé jápá-jika-ño na=jwa'té] jló*
 MED work-FAR.PST.NZ-PL 3PL=with to
 ‘Then they used to distribute it all to those who used to work with them.’ (ycn0117,7)

Agent nominalizations with *-ka* very clearly allow tense and aspect marking, but as all grammatical nominalizations, they lack mood marking. Beyond TAM, agent nominalizations with *-ka* allow the sentential marking of postpositional and adverbial phrases, as clear from examples (495) (with the postpositional phrase headed by *ja'pi* ‘under’), (497) (with the sentential P *atírína* ‘birds’, and the adverbial modifier *jlapí* ‘night’) and (498) (with the postpositional phrase headed by *jwa'té* ‘with’). Interestingly, there are word order variations in the placement of obliques and adverbial modifiers in these nominalizations depending on whether G/N markers are expressed. The general tendency is that *-ka* nominalizations without G/N markers have a preferential pre-verbal placement for obliques and adverbial modifiers as in (499) and (500), whereas agent *-ka* nominalizations with G/N markers tend to display post-verbal obliques and adverbs as in (497) and (498). This holds true for all *-ka* marked and G/N marked grammatical nominalizations. These word order tendencies per nominalization construction were not explored in detail, so further work is needed to explain these patterns.

(499) [*Piyuté penáje jewí'-cha-ka=o* *i'micháká]* *pi'-cha-ri=o*
 boa into transform-PST-NZ=MID FAR.PST return-PST-NF=MID
 ‘The one who transformed into a boa a longtime ago returned.’ (ync0108,76)

(500) *Unká iná ajñá-lá kéelé kájé [mapéja to'-ká=o].*
 NEG GNR.PRO eat-V.NEG MED type casually lay-NZ=MID
 ‘One does not eat that which is casually laying around.’

Concerning features from the verbal prototype which are absent from this nominalization construction, agent nominalizations with *-ka* systematically gap the A/S argument, and as such, they lack sentential A/S encoding. There are instances in which it appears that agent *-ka* nominalizations actually have a sententially encoded A/S argument, when they are preceded by a lexical noun which is co-referential with the denoted participant as in (497) ('the father of my children'), and when they are modified by a demonstrative as in (498). In both cases, I consider that these elements (lexical noun and demonstrative) do not occupy the position of a sententially encoded A/S participant within the nominalized clause. Supporting evidence for this analysis comes from examples such as (499), in which the verb stem is unmarked for person, but there is no possible lexical noun or demonstrative in the nominalization that can be seen as the A/S argument. Additionally, in (500), there is an adverbial modifier between the NP that is co-referential with the *-ka* nominalization ('that type') and the *-ka* marked verb ('that one casually laying'). In finite clauses, adverbs do not ever separate the subject NP from the verb. In addition to this reduced set of verbal features, agent nominalizations with *-ka* also display internal nominal features similarly to all other grammatical nominalization constructions. Indeed, these nominalizations optionally combine with demonstratives (495) and G/N suffixes (496). Other nominal features such as adjectives, numerals, and non-verbal negation are difficult to assess based on the current corpus.

13.2.4 Event/location *-ka* nominalizations

The second construction in which the nominalizer *-ka* (tensed allomorphs *-khe* FAR.PST.NZ and *-jika* FAR.PST.NZ) is used are event/location grammatical nominalizations. As mentioned previously in §12.3, event and location nominalizations are structurally identical, and are only distinguished by the context. In terms of frequency, however, event nominalizations with *-ka* are by far the most frequent among *-ka* marked nominalizations, and among all nominalizations in general (see §14.2.4).

The internal structure of event/location nominalizations with *-ka* is very much like that of other grammatical nominalizations. In terms of their degree of finiteness with respect to verbal features, these nominalizations are compatible with most features of the verbal prototype except for mood and verbal negation. In terms of their nominal features, this is the least nominal among all nominalization constructions in Yukuna. The only nominal feature they combine with in the Flex corpus are demonstratives used as adnominal modifiers.

With respect to their verbal features, unsurprisingly, event/location nominalizations with *-ka* are compatible with valency markers. Examples (501) and (502) show middle enclitic *=o* with an event and a location *-ka* nominalization respectively.

(501) [*iná* *ijlú* *ita-ka=o*] *é* *nu=ja'pí-cha* *i'micháká*
 GNR.PRO eye close-NZ=MID at 1SG=walk-PST FAR.PST
 ‘I walked by at (the moment when) one’s eyes close’ (ycn0545,32)

(502) *ri=eyá* *kalé* *tá* *iná* *wá'a* *jlá* *ri=éjõ*,
 3SG.NF=from EMPH EMPH GNR.PRO call FRUST 3SG.NF=toward
 [*kéelé* *ri=jewiña'-ka=o*] *eyá*.
 MED 3SG.NF=transform-NZ=MID from
 ‘Maybe one can call him from there, from where he studies. (Lit. where he transforms himself)’ (ycn0504,68)

In terms of T/A marking, both categories are encoded in event/location nominalizations. This is illustrated with examples (503) and (504) with an event and a location *-ka* nominalization respectively.

(503) *Kája_ewája* *ru=amí-cha* [*kamu'jí* *ri=li'-chá-ka=nó*].
 then 3SG.F=see-PST poorly 3SG.NF=do-PST-NZ=HAB
 ‘Then she saw him doing poorly.’ (ycn0068,361)

(504) *Ri=ikhá* *ri=jepo'-chá* [*kéelé* *kawayá* *tá*
 3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=tie_up PST MED deer EMPH
jeño'-chá-ka=nó] *chojé*.
 jump-PST-NZ=HAB in.toward
 ‘He tied him up where that deer kept jumping.’ (ycn0041,161)

The far past category is expressed with the inherently tensed allomorphs *-khe* FAR.PST.NZ and *-jĩka* FAR.PST.NZ⁵⁵, both of which encode far past habitual events, and both of which participate in the same nominalization constructions as *-ka* NZ.⁵⁶ Example (505) illustrates the use of inherently tensed *-ka* allomorphs, with an event far past nominalization with *-khe* in the position of the argument of a postposition.

(505) *phíyu'ke-ru* *na=ya'jnéru* *i'ma-khé*] *é*

⁵⁵ In addition to these two tensed allomorphs, the nominalizer *-ka* is found on another far past marker, the far past inflecting particle *i'maká*. I do not include this marker as an allomorph of *-ka*, but I include it among forms diachronically related to *-ka* used in nominalization-based constructions. See §14.2.4.6.4.

⁵⁶ However, note that these allomorphs appear both to have grammaticalized as tense markers in main clauses, and their main clause use is more frequent than their use in nominalization constructions. See §14.2.4.6.4

old-F 3PL=mother_in_law COP-FAR.PST.NZ at
 ‘when their mother in law was old (Lit. at their mother in law being old)’ (ycn0079,4)

In addition to tense and aspect, event/location nominalizations with *-ka* retain all of their sentential argument encoding for all A/S and P, adverbial and postpositional phrases. This is unsurprising given that they do not denote an argument of the verb, but the entire situation and location of the nominalized clause. Examples (503) and (504) show that *-ka* nominalizations have A/S arguments encoded sententially, either as a pre-verbal NP or with a person index on the verb, as well as P arguments encoded as objects. Examples (506) and (507) additionally show *-ka* marked event/location nominalizations with a postpositional and an adverbial phrase respectively.

(506) *Nu=wáta [ri=a'-ká pi=wemí nu=jló].*
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=give-NZ 2SG=price 1SG=to
 ‘I want him to give me the payment for you.’ (ycn0063,170)

(507) *ri=atáĩ'-cha jlá [ri=ara'-ká=o kaphí] eyonáje unká*
 3SG.NF=try-PST FRUST 3SG.NF=push-NZ=MID strongly but NEG
 ‘He tried pushing hard but nothing.’ (ycn0189,48)

Event/location nominalizations with *-ka* only show restrictions in their verbal features concerning mood marking and verbal negation. Indeed, nominalizer *-ka* is only used with mood markers in nominalization-based constructions where the marker itself acquires a modal function (§14.2.4.6.3), but not in nominalization constructions properly. Additionally, nominalizer *-ka* cannot co-occur with verbal negation suffix *-la*.⁵⁷ This is illustrated with the ungrammatical example in (508). In elicitation, when suggesting nominalizations with *-ka* with negation markers, consultants either remove the nominalizer and use a finite verbal clause with standard negation as in (509), or keep the nominalizer and use non-verbal negation with *unká...kalé* instead as in (510).

(508) **unká nu=káta-la-ka=o*
 NEG 1SG=play-V.NEG-NZ=MID
 ‘*my not playing’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:102)

(509) *Unká nu=káta-la-je=o.*
 NEG 1SG=play-V.NEG-FUT=MID
 ‘I won’t play.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:102)

⁵⁷ The impossibility for nominalizer *-ka* to co-occur with verbal negation suffix *-la* is reminiscent of the restrictions concerning verbal negation in related markers such as *-kare* ARG.NZ, *-khe* FAR.PST, *-jika* FAR.PST.

(510) *unká nu=káta-ka=o kalé*
 NEG 1SG=play-NZ=MID NV.NEG
 ‘my not playing’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:101)

The use of event/locative *-ka* nominalizations with non-verbal negation takes us to the issue of the nominal features of this nominalization construction. As expected of nominalizations that do not denote an animate participant, there is no G/N marking in event/location *-ka* nominalizations. The only nominal feature of event/locative nominalizations with *-ka* beyond non-verbal negation with *unká...kalé* is the optional use of demonstrative *kéelé* MED as in (511). Note that unlike non-verbal negation, the use of this demonstrative with *-ka* nominalizations is in fact attested in the Flex corpus.

(511) *Ri=a'-chá ri=jló kéelé [ri=makápo'-ka ri=ikhá] wemí.*
 3SG.NF=give-PST 3SG.NF=to MED 3SG.NF=revive-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO price
 ‘He rewarded him for having revived him. (Lit. He give him the price of his having revived him.)’ (ycn0092,106).

In example (511), there is no doubt that the demonstrative is a modifier of the *-ka* marked nominalization, and not a modifier of the subject argument of the verb, given that the A/S argument is not encoded with an overt noun, but with a person index. Contrast this example with (504) where it is unclear whether the demonstrative is modifying the noun *kawayá* ‘deer’ or the entire nominalized clause. Additionally, the use of demonstratives with *-ka* nominalizations is constrained by their external syntactic distribution. Indeed, there are certain syntactic positions in which *-ka* nominalizations do not seem to allow the use of demonstratives, as I discuss in §14.2.4. Lastly, there is no attested nor elicited data concerning the use of adjectives and numerals.

To summarize, event/location nominalizations with *-ka* display most features from the verbal prototype, and unlike argument nominalizations, they show neither argument gapping nor G/N marking. However, despite their highly clause-like internal structure, they combine with non-verbal negation and demonstratives.

13.2.5 Agent G/N nominalizations

The last nominalization construction described in this chapter are G/N nominalizations; grammatical nominalizations denoting the agent argument that are not encoded with dedicated nominalizers, but with gender and number markers.

In terms of their verbal features, G/N nominalizations display most features from the verbal prototype: valency, tense, aspect, verbal negation, sententially encoded P arguments, postpositional and adverbial phrases. Like all other grammatical (and lexical) nominalizations, G/N nominalizations do not combine with mood markers, and like most argument nominalizations they systematically gap the denoted argument, so they lack sentential A/S encoding.

Examples (512) and (513) illustrate the use of G/N nominalizations with valency markers.

(512) *Na=ikhá tâ [kéelé jaya'á-ti-ya-ño inau'ké tâ yenú]*
 3PL=PRO EMPH MED bore-CAUS-PST-PL person EMPH above
 ‘They are those ones who annoyed the people above.’ (ycn0108,200)

(513) *Ná ka'jné [kéelé amá-ri=o junápeje]?*
 INDF.PRO DUB MED see-NF=MID water.into
 ‘What is it that shows through the water?’ (ycn63,26)

More interestingly so, G/N nominalizations also retain an aspectual use of causative suffix *-ta*, used with transitive verbs to mean that an event has been entirely achieved, or that a patient has been entirely affected, as in (514) (see §4.2.1.1).

(514) *inau'ké tâ [nó-ta-ño i=i'maká i'maká]*
 person EMPH kill-CAUS-PL 2PL=FAR.PST FAR.PST
 ‘It was those people who had killed you all a long time ago.’ (ycn0058,11)

G/N nominalizations also do not show any restrictions in terms of T/A marking, both categories are maintained as shown with past tense in (512), far past with *i'maká* in (514), and habitual aspect in (515).

(515) *na=ikhá [i'jĩ-chá-ño=nó chi'náikana nakú wajá-je=o]*
 3PL=PRO go-PST-PL=HAB Yurupari on punish-PURP.MOT=MID
 ‘They are the ones who used to go perform the Yurupari ritual.’ (ycn0068,11)

G/N nominalizations are also the only ones to have textual data show that they allow verbal negation. However, there is only one identified occurrence of G/N with negation, shown in (516).

(516) *e'yá ijnu-rúna tâ [unká la'-la-ñó méké]*
 then lazy-PL EMPH NEG do-V.NEG-PL INDF.manner
 'then the lazy ones are the ones who do not do anything' (ycn0117,93)

G/N nominalizations also maintain sentential encoding of P arguments (512), postpositional (515) and adverbial phrases (512). However, the placement of these arguments and obliques is strictly restricted to the post-verbal position, unlike in finite verbal clauses, but also unlike other nominalization constructions. Contrast the positioning of a postpositional phrase in an agent nominalization with *-ka* in example (517) extracted from a text, versus the placement of the same postposition in a G/N nominalization in example (518), obtained through elicitation.

(517) [*ri=é i'ma-ká-ñó*] *jló iná kémá*
 3SG.NF=at COP-NZ-PL to GNR.PRO say
 'to those who are at it one says...' (ycn0059,20)

(518) [*i'má-ñó ri=é*] *jló iná kémá*
 COP-PL 3SG.NF=at to GNR.PRO say
 'to those who are there one says...' (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:126)

In terms of the absence of prototypical verbal features, this nominalization construction does not encode the A/S argument given that the denoted argument is systematically elided. The most important evidence in support of this is the absolute impossibility for these nominalizations to carry person indexes. Because these nominalizations are used in syntactic structures preceded by an NP that is co-referential with the denoted argument, this adjacent NP may at first glance appear to be a sententially encoded A/S argument within the nominalization. Indeed, contrast the G/N nominalization in the cleft construction in (519) with the finite clause in (520).

(519) [*Yewákumi*]_{PRED} *tâ [yurí-cha-ri=o ma=ijlu-rú]*_{ARG.}
 Y. EMPH stay-PST-NF=MID PRIV-eye-NF.
 'The one who stayed eyeless is Yewákumi.' (ycn0041,153)

(520) *É kája [Yewákumi]_s jáo'-cha=o ma=ijlu-wa'ká*
 then Y. go_out-PST=MID PRIV=eye-ADVZ
 'Then Yewákumi got out while blind.' (ycn0041,164)

While the two are almost identical on the surface structure, with an NP preceding the verb carrying G/N markers, the structure of the construction containing the G/N nominalization in (519) differs crucially from the finite clause in (520). This distinction is due to the different

underlying syntactic structures of these two constructions: a PRED ARG structure in (519) and an S NP V structure in (520). Because of these distinct syntactic structures, the features of the NP with *Yewákumi* in (519) differ from those of the NP with *Yewákumi* in (520) in various respects. First, the NP in the position of non-verbal predicate in (519) cannot be pronominalized and encoded as a person index on the verb stem. In contrast, the S NP in (520) can be encoded with a person index on the finite verb. Second, the NP in the predicate position can be separated from the G/N nominalization in the argument position by a number of elements such as demonstratives, any discourse particle, as in (512) and (513). In contrast, the S NP in (520) can only be separated from the verbal root in very limited and specific constructions.⁵⁸

Concerning the nominal features of G/N nominalizations, besides the obvious fact that they require the presence of G/N marking, they also allow the use of demonstratives as in (521) and (522)

(521) *Apála jíña-na náchána ka'jná, [kháãjì-ru kémá-yo no=jló].*
 maybe fish-PL tribe.member DUB PROX-F say-F 1SG=to
 ‘Maybe it is a fish tribe woman, this one who is talking to me.’ (ycn0063,47)

(522) *ri=jápá-niña kháãjì wa=a'rumaká [kháajì pitá-ri=o]*
 3SG.NF=touch-PROH PROX 1PL=clothe PROX pile-NF=MID
 ‘so that he does not touch these clothes of ours that are piled up’ (ycn0058,53)

There are a few instances in which G/N nominalizations are preceded by a numeral or an adjective. In order to maintain a coherent analysis of adnominal modifiers, I analyze this use of numerals and adjectives similarly to that of demonstratives with nominalizations, in which they are not heads, but modifiers of the nominalized clause. This is in line with the choice adopted in this study to avoid positing an adnominal modifier as head of NPs, and instead assuming that NPs do not require overtly expressed heads (see §3.2.1.2.5 for a discussion). Note that the use of these modifiers differs drastically from the cases with an adjective as an attributive predicate in a non-verbal clause as in (485) .

(523) *É maáré [kéelé pajlúwá=ja iphí-cha-ri aquí]?*
 Q PROX.LOC MED one=LIM arrive-PST-NF here
 ‘Is the one who arrived here here?’ (ycn0504,2)

⁵⁸ Indeed, S NPs can only be separated from the finite verb by two markers in the language: emphatic *tâ* and negation marker *unká* NEG. See §5.1.1.

(524) *É* [k^héelé *phíyu'ke* *i'mi-chá-ri* *pají* *chú*],
 then MED **old** COP-PST-NF house in
ri=ikhá *jwa'té* *na=ají-cha* *na=kakú=wá*
 3SG.NF=PRO with 3PL=eat-PST 3PL=coca=REFL
 'Then that old one who was in the house, they ate their coca with him.' (ycn0063,54)

Lastly, G/N nominalizations do not combine with non-verbal negation. As stated previously, they encode negation in the verbal way as in (516). To summarize, G/N nominalizations show all verbal features except for mood marking and sentential A/S encoding. Interestingly, among the verbal features that they display we find verbal negation, a feature that is not shared by all grammatical nominalizations. G/N nominalizations also differ from main verbal clauses as well as from other nominalizations in their word order placement restrictions regarding O NPs, postpositional and adverbial phrases. As for their nominal features, they freely combine with demonstratives, and some attested examples suggest that they also allow adjectives and numeral modifiers.

13.3 Finiteness in Yukuna's nominalizations: tendencies and generalizations

In this chapter, I provided a detailed description of the internal finiteness of all nominalization constructions in Yukuna. The description of finiteness is based on a language specific grid that lists all features pertaining to the prototype of main declarative verbal clauses on one hand, and the prototype of NPs on the other. I described each nominalization construction in terms of the degree to which their features match or deviate from these two prototypes. The main features of all nominalization constructions described in this chapter are summarized in Table 72.

Table 72 Verbal and nominal features of lexical and grammatical nominalizations

		Lexical				Grammatical				
		<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i> (EV)	<i>-ka</i> (A)	G/N
V prototype	Semantics	Ev	Ev	Arg	Arg	Arg	Arg	Ev	Arg	Arg
	Valency	y	y	y	y*	y	y	y	y	y
	Tense	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	y
	Aspect	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	y
	Mood	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n

N prototype	NEG	n	n	n	n	y*	y*	n	n	y
	A/S=PSSR	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n
	P = O NP	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	y
	POSTPs	y	y	?	y	y	y	y	y	y
	ADVPs	y	y	?	?	y	y*	y	y	y
	G/N	n	n	?	y	y*	y	n	y	y
	P = PSSR	y	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n
	DEM	?	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
	NUM	y?	?	?	y	n	n	?	?	y?
	ADJ	?	y?	?	y*	n	n	?	?	y?
NV NEG	?	?	?	y*	y*	n	y*	?	n	

Table 72 repeats the same information provided in the introduction of subsections §13.1-13.2. Based on this table we can make general observations about the distribution of features in Yukuna nominalizations: i. features that are present in all nominalizations, ii. features that depend on the finiteness category (lexical vs. grammatical) and iii. features that depend on the semantic category (argument vs. event). In addition, we can also observe the features that do not seem to cluster in a meaningful way.

First, Table 72 shows a clear picture: all nominalization constructions in Yukuna, both lexical and grammatical, and regardless of semantics, retain valency markers, postpositional and adverbial phrases, lack mood marking and are compatible with demonstratives. The common features of nominalization constructions in Yukuna are summarized in Table 73 below extracted from Table 72. The shared features of nominalizations in Yukuna are in line with the definition of nominalization adopted in this study, according to which all nominalizations should deviate from the finite prototype and display both a reduced set of verbal features as well as some internal nominal features. However, it is interesting to note that even in the case of lexical nominalizations, nominalizations in Yukuna all display some verbal features. Not only do lexical nominalizations display verbal morphology (valency) but some of its syntax (postpositional and adverbial phrases).

Table 73 Shared internal features of all nominalizations in Yukuna

	Type	Valency	Mood	Postps	Advps	DEM
-kana	Lexical	y	n	y	y	?
-kaje	Lexical	y	n	y	y	y
-jona	Lexical	y	n	?	?	y

<i>-je</i>	Lexical	y	n	y	?	y
<i>-kare</i>	Gram	y	n	y	y	y
<i>-chaje</i>	Gram	y	n	y	y	y
<i>-ka (A)</i>	Gram	y	n	y	y	y
<i>-ka (EV/LOC)</i>	Gram	y	n	y	y	y
G/N	Gram	y	n	y	y	y

Second, the presence of certain features is directly correlated with the finiteness category of the nominalization (lexical vs. grammatical). In fact, only one feature suffices to account for the distinction between lexical and grammatical nominalizations: P argument encoding. Grammatical nominalizations show sentential P argument encoding, and lexical nominalizations show nominal (possessor) P argument encoding. The presence of sentential P encoding entails the presence of additional verbal features. The correlation between P argument encoding and verbal features can be framed in the opposite sense as well: nominal P argument encoding excludes the presence of most verbal features. Table 74 illustrates the correlations in terms of possibility of co-occurrence of verbal (columns) and nominal (rows) features. Features that can co-occur are marked with ‘y’, while features that cannot co-occur are marked with ‘n’.

Table 74 Possible combinations of nominal and verbal features in nominalizations

	G/N	O = PSSR	DEM
Valency	y	y	y
Tense	y	n	y
Aspect	y	n	y
V NEG	y	n	y
S = NOM	y	n	y
O = ACC	y		y
POSTPs	y	y	y
ADVPs	y	y	y

Clearly, Table 74 shows that while verbal features can freely combine with nominal features such as G/N and demonstratives, they cannot freely combine with the nominal encoding of the P argument: tense, aspect, verbal negation, and sentential A/S encoding cannot be used in a nominalization with nominal P encoding.

Third, the only feature with a semantically-based distribution is G/N marking, as shown in Table 75. Indeed, G/N is only marked in argument nominalizations. However, note that G/N is a feature tightly linked to the category of animacy in the language, so beyond the semantic

type of nominalization, an important criterion that determines G/N marking is the animacy of the referent denoted by the nominalization. It is important to highlight the fact that besides for G/N marking, event and argument nominalizations do not differ drastically in terms of their internal finiteness (when comparing semantic types that belong to the same finiteness type). That is to say, lexical event nominalizations are not significantly more verbal than lexical argument nominalizations, and likewise for grammatical event and argument nominalizations. This particularity of Yukuna's nominalizations is typologically interesting, as often only *action nominals* (NPs headed by lexical event-denoting nominalizations) are associated with verbal features (Comrie and Thompson 2007, 344).

Table 75 Distribution of G/N marking per nominalization type

Construction	Semantics	G/N	Animacy
<i>-kana</i>	Event	n	
<i>-kaje</i>	Event	n	
<i>-jona</i>	Argument	?	Inanimates
<i>-je</i>	Argument	y	Animates
<i>-kare</i>	Argument	y	Both
<i>-chaje</i>	Argument	y	Both
<i>-ka</i> (EV)	Event	n	
<i>-ka</i> (A)	Argument	y	Animates
G/N	Argument	y	Both

Lastly, we find features for which we lack a clear picture of their distribution based on attested occurrences in the data. This is the case of adnominal modifiers (numerals and adjectives) as well as non-verbal negation, the distribution of which is illustrated in Table 76. We can tentatively suggest that numerals and adjectives tend to occur with argument nominalizations, and that non-verbal negation occurs with lexical nominalizations as well as *-kare* ARG.NZ and *-ka* NZ nominalizations.

Table 76 Distribution of numerals, adjectives and non-verbal negation per nominalization type

	Construction	Semantics	NUM	ADJ	NV NEG
Lexical	<i>-kana</i>	Event	y	?	?
	<i>-kaje</i>	Event	?	y	?
	<i>-jona</i>	Argument	?	?	?

Grammatical	<i>-je</i>	Argument	y	y	y
	<i>-kare</i>	Argument	n	n	y
	<i>-chaje</i>	Argument	n	n	n
	<i>-ka</i> (EV)	Event	?	?	y*
	<i>-ka</i> (A)	Argument	?	?	?
	G/N	Argument	y	y	n

In sum, despite the fact that finiteness is a scale, the distribution of features from the verbal and nominal prototypes across nominalization constructions is not chaotic, nor does it lead to endless combinatory possibilities. Indeed, among the diversity, consistent patterns of feature combinations emerge. Next, I contrast the distributional patterns of Yukuna's nominalizations with correlations found in the typological literature.

13.4 Typological overview

This chapter described the internal features of individual nominalization constructions, and their distribution in the language. In this section, I aim to ascertain whether the internal finiteness of Yukuna nominalizations corresponds to expected patterns in non-finite constructions cross-linguistically.

Among the typological studies concerning finiteness and nominalizations, I focus on the correlations and hierarchies put forth by Cristofaro (2003, 2007) and Malchukov (2004). Cristofaro's (2003, 2007) studies were dedicated to subordination and finiteness, and Malchukov's (2004) study was specifically dedicated to nominalizations. The former thus provides more insights on the loss of verbal features, and the latter focuses on the correlations between loss of verbal features and acquisition of nominal features.

Cristofaro (2007, 98) proposes the following implicational correlations concerning TAM marking:

- i. Case marking/adpositions on the verb → T/A/M not expressed OR special T/A/M forms
- ii. Arguments expressed as possessors → T/A/M not expressed OR special T/A/M forms
- iii. Person agreement not expressed → T/A/M not expressed OR special T/A/M forms
- iv. Special person agreement forms → T/A/M not expressed OR special T/A/M forms
- v. Arguments not expressed → T/A/M not expressed

Out of the preceding correlations, i. is not addressed in this section but is the focus of Ch.14, and iv. is not applicable to Yukuna (which shows no special person agreement forms). Correlations ii., iii., and v. hold true in Yukuna. Note that I combine argument expression with person agreement under one feature (sentential A/S and P encoding), because finite verbs do not agree with core arguments in Yukuna. As stated previously, lack of sentential argument encoding, either because P is encoded as a possessor, or because no argument is expressed at all, implies complete lack of Tense and Aspect. In this sense, the finiteness of Yukuna’s nominalizations conforms to most of Cristofaro’s implicational correlations, as well as to Croft’s (1991, 83–84) deverbalization hierarchy.

Malchukov (2004) puts forth a theory of nominalization that accounts for the correlations in the presence of verbal and nominal features in terms of two simultaneous processes: a process of ‘deverbalization’ (loss of verbal features) and a process of ‘substantivization’ (acquisition of nominal features) in nominalizations. He posits the hierarchy of verbal and nominal features presented in Table 77, and explains that deverbalization and substantivization start from the outer layers of this hierarchy inwards.

Table 77 Malchukov’s (2004) Generalized Scale Model

Substantivization	N - Classifiers/Gender - Number - Possessor - Determiners - Case ←
Deverbalization	V - Valency - Aspect -Tense -Mood - Agreement -Illocutionary force →

We can adapt this hierarchy to Yukuna’s categories as in Table 78, where ‘internal’ features are the closest to the root. Note that I follow Malchukov’s (2004) decision to include role markers and determiners in the substantivization scale, while excluding arguments, obliques and modifiers from the deverbalization scale, despite the fact that throughout this chapter I based my description of nominal and verbal features on the NP and verbal clause prototypes.

Table 78 Malchukov (2004) Generalized scale model adapted to Yukuna

Substantivization	N - G/N - (P) PSSR - DEM - Postpositions
Deverbalization	V - Valency - Tense - Aspect - Mood - (A/S) Person index

I apply this model to the features of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna in Table 79, where present features are in grey. The model appears to predict well the distribution of verbal and nominal features in this type of nominalization construction. Indeed, lexical nominalizations display all nominal features in the substantivization scale, while lacking most features from the deverbalization scale except for valency.

Table 79 Adjusted Generalized scale model applied to lexical nominalizations in Yukuna

Substantivization	G/N	PSSR	Demonstratives	Postpositions	
Deverbalization	Valency	Tense	Aspect	Mood	(A/S) Person index

I apply this model to grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna in Table 80. The distribution of the features of grammatical nominalizations does not follow the pattern predicted by the model. Indeed, in terms of their degree of substantivization, grammatical nominalizations are compatible with demonstratives and postpositions, but do not show possessor marking of the P argument. Likewise, in terms of their degree of verbalization, grammatical nominalizations lack mood but show A/S person indexes.⁵⁹

Table 80 Adjusted Generalized scale applied to grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna

Substantivization	G/N	(P) PSSR	Demonstratives	Postpositions	
Deverbalization	Valency	Tense	Aspect	Mood	(A/S) Person index

In sum, the hierarchy by Malchukov manages to capture the features of lexical nominalizations, but is less easily applicable to grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna. This is because they simultaneously show many features from both the substantivization and verbalization scale but their distribution does not follow the pattern predicted by the model, with ‘unexpected’ gaps such as the absence of possessor encoding on the nominal side, or the absence of mood marking on the verbal side. Grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna thus

⁵⁹ Recall that A/S argument encoding in finite verbal clauses is formally identical to possessor encoding in NPs, so nominalizations that retain this feature and encode the subject argument as a possessor are classified as showing subject encoding anyway, as opposed to nominalizations where P is encoded as a possessor.

show an interesting mix of verbal and nominal features in terms of their internal structure, while still showing an NP-like external distribution. This latter issue is the topic of the next chapter.

14. External features - Syntactic distribution

This chapter describes the syntactic distribution of each nominalization construction in Yukuna. Our departing hypothesis is that nominalizations should display features of NPs both internally, at the level of the NP in which they are used, and externally, in terms of their syntactic integration. The list of syntactic positions of NPs in Yukuna is given in Table 81.

Table 81 Grid of syntactic positions of NPs

Within NPs	Arg of N (PSSR)
	Adnominal mod
Verbal clauses	S of V
	O of V
	Arg of Postp
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause
	Pred of NV clause
Other	Dislocated NPs

The methodology adopted in this chapter thus consists in evaluating the distribution of each nominalization construction with respect to the grid of syntactic positions of NPs, on the basis of textual data. To do so, each identified instance of a nominalization is categorized according to the syntactic position in which it is used, and whether it corresponds to an NP position in the grid in Table 81 or not. The syntactic position and features of most identified instances of a nominalization were coded in the selected examples database (Appendix 1), which was used to establish the composite range of syntactic positions available to all nominalization constructions. The results show that while nominalizations in Yukuna are used in many syntactic positions of NPs, they are also found in additional positions which I refer to as ‘non-NP uses’. These non-NP uses fall outside of the domain of nominalization proper, and thus constitute instances of nominalization-based constructions. I further categorize these non-NP uses into three structural subcategories depending on their degree of embeddedness within a matrix clause: adverbial subordinate clauses, cosubordinate clauses and main clauses.

The full list of syntactic positions available to all nominalizations in Yukuna is given in Table 82.

Table 82 Syntactic distribution of nominalizations in Yukuna

		<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i> (A)	<i>-ka</i> (EV/LOC)	G/N
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)	y				y			y	
	Adnominal mod					y	y	y		y
Verbal clauses	S of V		y*							
	O of V	y	y			y	y	y	y	
	Arg of Postp	y	y		y	y	y	y	y	
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	y	y			y		y	y	y
	Pred of NV clause	y	y		y	y		y	y	y
Other	Dislocated NPs	y		y	y	y	y	y		y
Non-NP uses	adverbial subordinate	y			y				y	
	cosubordinate								y	y
	main clause				y	y			y	

Table 82 provides an overview of the distribution of nominalizations in Yukuna, and highlights the compatibility of individual nominalization constructions with multiple syntactic positions. This table does not show, however, a number of features of nominalizations in specific syntactic positions: the functional domains they encode (relativization, complementation, adverbial modification), the restrictions that apply in their combination with a main finite clause (complement taking verbs, co-referentiality restrictions), the variations in their degree of internal finiteness (increased verbal features, loss of nominal features), and the frequency with which they are used. These questions are crucial to understanding the functional range and grammaticalization pathways of nominalizations into nominalization-based constructions in Yukuna, and they are described in detail throughout this chapter. This chapter is structured around the two main types of nominalizations in terms of their finiteness: lexical, and grammatical nominalizations.

14.1 Lexical nominalizations

This section describes in detail the syntactic distribution of lexical nominalizations in Yukuna. Syntactic positions were categorized into NP uses, such as NP internal, verbal clauses, and non-verbal clauses on one hand, and non-NP uses. For each syntactic position, I describe its functions, restrictions of use, variations in terms of internal finiteness, and lastly, its number of identified occurrences in the Flex corpus. The description of nominalizations is entirely based on textual data, and hence, the detail of description of each syntactic position depends on how robustly attested it is. Each identified instance of lexical nominalizations were included in the selected examples database (Appendix 1), and annotated according to its syntactic position. Elicited examples are sometimes used for illustrative purposes but are not taken into account for frequency counts nor included in the list of syntactic positions of nominalizations if the pattern is unattested in texts. Table 83 summarizes the range of syntactic positions in which lexical nominalizations are attested.

Table 83 Syntactic distribution of lexical nominalizations

		<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)	y			
	Adnominal mod				
Verbal clauses	S of V		y*		
	O of V	y	y		
	Arg of Postp	y	y		y
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	y	y		
	Pred of NV clause	y	y		y
Other	Dislocated NPs	y		y	y
Non-NP uses	adverbial subordination	y			y
	cosubordination				
	main clause				y

Table 83 shows that for the most part, the distribution of lexical nominalizations corresponds to the expected positions of NPs in the language. There are a number of empty cases which

correspond to unattested positions in my data. I do not interpret these empty cases within NP positions as being positions excluded to nominalizations, but rather as revealing of distributional tendencies among nominalizations. Three major distributional tendencies are identified for lexical nominalizations:

- i. Lexical nominalizations are more often used as NPs of their own than as possessors or modifiers of another noun.
- ii. Lexical nominalizations are more often used as O of verbs or arguments of postpositions than as S of verbs.
- iii. Lexical nominalizations are almost never found in non-NP positions.

Table 83 only states which positions are attested ('y' for attested in texts, and 'y*' for attested only with lexicalized forms), but does not describe the frequency associated with each position, nor the freedom to combine with multiple lexical elements in each position, nor the possible morphosyntactic variations specific to each syntactic position. These issues are the focus of this section.

14.1.1 Event *-kana* nominalizations

Lexical event nominalizer *-kana* is used in most syntactic positions available to NPs as well as in one nominalization-based construction (adverbial clauses without case-marking). However, in terms of frequency, this marker is overwhelmingly found in the position of the O argument of complement taking verbs (completive subordinate clauses), as well as in the position of argument of postposition (adverbial subordinate clauses).

Next, I describe each NP and non-NP use of *-kana*, with special attention to the most frequent constructions.

14.1.1.1 Possessor within an NP

There is only one instance of a *-kana* nominalization in the role of possessor, within a NP in the position of non-verbal predicate as in (525).

- (525) [[*Jéchi nakú jápá-kana*] *yukú-ná*]_{PRED} [*marí*]_{ARG}
 rubber on work-EV.NZ story-ALIEN3 PROX
 ‘This is the story of the work on rubber.’ (ycn117,1)

In this example, the nominalization with *-kana* is the possessor of the noun ‘story’, as suggested by several factors: the position of the nominalization with respect to the possessed noun *yukú-ná* ‘story’, the absence of a possessor index on the possessed noun, and most importantly, the fact that the possessed noun is marked by alienable possession suffix *-ne ~ -na*, which is only used when the noun is possessed (the unpossessed form of *yukú-ná* is *yúku*). The use of nominalizations in the possessor position is not very frequent, and for event nominalizations it seems to be restricted to a few lexical items in the position of possessed noun, such as ‘story’ and ‘price’.

14.1.1.2 S of verbs

There are no examples of *-kana* nominalizations in the position of Subject of a finite verb. There is however one example with a *-kana* nominalization used in the position of the subject argument of a verbal form given in (526), but the verbal form itself is carrying nominalizer *-ka* NZ. The *-ka* nominalization is in turn used as argument of a zero copula non-verbal clause (see §6.1). I thus opted not to include this example as evidence of compatibility of *-kana* nominalizations with the subject position.

(526) [*marí kéchámi*]_{PRED} [*ri=i'ra-kána i'ma-jí-ká*]_{ARG}
 PROX after 3SG.NF=drink-EV.NZ COP-FUT-NZ
 ‘the drinking will be after this (Lit. the drinking’s existing is after this)’ (ycn0059,32)

Cases of nominalizations in the position of subject of finite verbs are almost entirely absent from my corpus of texts. This applies to both lexical and grammatical nominalizations alike.

14.1.1.3 O of verbs

The far most frequent use of *-kana* nominalizations is as O arguments of verbs, with more than half of occurrences of this morpheme being in this position. Functionally, this use of *-kana* nominalizations corresponds to complement clauses. Structurally, the nominalization in the O position is always placed after the main verb, in the canonical position of O NPs. The types of verbs that most often take *-kana* nominalizations as O arguments are aspectual verbs such as begin (325) and finish (528), as well as desiderative (529) and manipulative verbs (530).

(527) *Pi=keño'ó* [*a'waná i'ka-kána*].
 2SG=start tree throw_down-EV.NZ
 ‘you start throwing down trees.’ (ycn0119,4)

(528) *Ru=ñapáchi-ya* [na=motho'-kána].
 3SG.F=finish-PST 3PL=cook-EV.NZ
 'She finished cooking them.' (ycn0189,20)

(529) *Nu=wáta* [ri=jwa'té pura'-kána=o].
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=with speak-EV.NZ=MID
 'I want to speak with you.' (ycn0504,74)

(530) *Chúwa* pi=wakára'a [ri=tha'-kána]
 now 2SG=order 3SG.NF=grate-EV.NZ
 'order it's grating now!' (ycn0068,336)

Nominalizations with *-kana* in O argument position are subject to co-referentiality restrictions that depend on the main verb of the clause. For instance, complements of verbs 'start' (325), 'finish' (528) and 'want' (529) require an interpretation where the notional subject argument of the complement (the A/S argument) is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. However, there are exceptions to this pattern, such as complement clauses of the verb 'order' (530). In general, O complement clauses use event lexical nominalizations when there is S co-referentiality, and event grammatical nominalizations with *-ka* when there is no S co-referentiality, as further discussed in §14.2.4.2.

14.1.1.4 Argument of postpositions

The second most frequent syntactic position for *-kana* nominalizations is as arguments of postpositions. Functionally, the postpositional phrase containing the nominalization is an adverbial modifier of the main predicate, and is typically used to encode ongoing activities as in (531) and (532).

(531) *é* na=i'mi-chá [nákájé kulá-kana] nakú eja'wá e'yowá
 then 3PL=go-PST something search-EV.NZ on forest in.around
 'then they went looking for something in the forest' (ycn0089,117).

(532) *é* na=yurí-cha=o píño ñaké=ja kája
 then 3PL=stay-PST=MID again DIST.like=LIM EMPH
kamu'jí la'-kajé nakú, [me'píjí nakú takha'-kána] nakú.
 poorly do-EV.NZ on hunger on die-EV.NZ on
 'Then they stayed there again just like that suffering and starving to death.' (ycn0089,117)

Structurally, the use of *-kana* with postpositions is identical to postpositional phrases with NPs headed by lexical nouns. As shown in (533), the main verb has two obliques marked with

the same postposition, one with a lexical noun as an argument, and another with a *-kana* nominalization as an argument.

(533) *Kája wa=jápá pño [wa=ména] nakú, [nákájé la'-kaná] nakú.*
 then 1PL=work again 1PL=field **on** something do-EV.NZ **on**
 ‘Then we work again on our fields, on doing something.’ (ycn0042,127)

The range of postpositions used with *-kana* nominalizations is very restricted. Most examples are with *nakú* ‘on’ and only a few additional examples were found with semantically similar postposition *chú* ‘on’.

(534) *na=la'á na=maná [jíwi la'-kaná] chú*
 3PL=do 3PL=spell salt do-EV.NZ **on**
 ‘they do their spell using ceremonial salt (Lit. on doing salt)’ (ycn0114,43)

Unlike *-kana* nominalizations used in the position of O of verbs, *-kana* nominalizations used as arguments of postpositions do not have restrictions pertaining to the semantic type of predicate in the main clause. However, similarly to *-kana* nominalizations in O argument position, *-kana* nominalizations with postpositions show S co-referentiality with the main clause.

14.1.1.5 Non-verbal clauses

Lastly, there are a few identified instances of *-kana* nominalizations in non-verbal clauses. In (535), the *-kana* nominalization occupies the position of the single argument of a non-verbal predicate in a PRED ARG structure. Interestingly, both elements in this non-verbal clause are deverbal forms: the predicate (a participial form with *-keja* PTCP), and the argument (a deverbal noun with *-kana* EV.NZ).

(535) [*I'jra-keja*]_{PRED} [*ri=jña'-kána*]_{ARG}.
 go_up-PTCP 3SG.NF=grab-EV.NZ
 ‘you grab it by going up (Lit. its grabbing is going up).’ (ycn0108,191).

A yet more problematic example is found in the non-verbal clause in (536). Once more, this is a non-verbal clause with a PRED ARG structure. However, both the predicate and argument positions are occupied by nominalizations of different types, an event lexical nominalization with *-kana* in the predicate position, and an event grammatical nominalization with *-ka* in the argument position.

(536) [to'-**kána**=o]_{PRED} [ri=i'mi-**chá-ká**]_{ARG.}
 lie-EV.NZ=MID 3SG.NF=COP-PST-NZ
 'it was lying down.' (ycn0578,95)

Functionally, they appear to emphasize the element in the non-verbal element position, similarly to other uses of nominalizations in non-verbal clauses. I refer to this type of structures as pseudo-clefts, and they are pervasive in Yukuna, as further described in §14.2.4.5 and §14.2.5.5.

14.1.1.6 Non-NP uses

There are a few instances in which the nominalizer *-kana* appears in syntactic positions that are not available to NPs, suggesting that it has undergone functional expansion. Among the main three types of non-NP uses of nominalization markers in Yukuna (adverbial subordinate, cosubordinate, and main clause uses), *-kana* is found in subordinate adverbial clauses. This use is functionally similar to nominalizations used as arguments of postpositions, but the key structural difference is that in the non-NP use there is no postposition, as in (537).

(537) wa=jápá wajló, [mená matha'-**kána**],
 1PL=work 1PL=to field cut-EV.NZ
 [nákájé ejáta-**kána**], páru
 something sow-EV.NZ banana
 'we work for us, cutting the field, sowing something, bananas...' (ycn0042,44)

Note that the semantics of this use of *-kana* are very similar to that with postposition *nakú* 'on'. In addition to being functionally similar, the few examples of *-kana* in this position do not seem to show any differences in terms of their internal degree of finiteness with respect to uses of *-kana* in NP positions. Indeed, in this non-NP use, the verb root still lacks TAM, sentential A/S encoding, and still displays nominal P encoding as expected of *-kana* nominalizations (§13.1.1). The functional expansion of *-kana* nominalizations from role-marked oblique to adverbial clause without role marking is also seen in event grammatical nominalizations with *-ka* (§14.2.4.6.2).

In sum, the distribution of *-kana* nominalizations corresponds for the most part to the expected distribution of prototypical NPs in Yukuna, with a preference for the positions of O NP and argument of postposition. These positions functionally correspond to the domains of complementation and adverbialization. Besides these uses, a few rare examples do not correspond to the expected behavior of NPs, as the *-kana* nominalization is placed as an adverbial modifier of a main predicate without any postposition. These instances suggest that

event nominalizations with *-kana* may have developed additional uses beyond the domain of nominalization proper. The distribution of *-kana* nominalizations is summarized in Table 84.

Table 84 Syntactic distribution of *-kana* nominalizations

	Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NPs	Arg of N (PSSR)			1
	Adnominal mod			0
Verbal clauses	S of V			0
	O of V	Complementation	Restrictions: S co-referentiality; Complement taking Verbs	43
	Arg of Postp	Temporal adverbial modification	Restrictions: S co-referentiality; Postposition <i>nakú</i>	21
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause			1
	Pred of NV clause			2
Other	Dislocated NPs		Restrictions: Highly lexicalized form	2
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate	Temporal adverbial modification		5
	Cosubordinate			0
	Main clause			0
Total				75

14.1.2 Event *-kaje* nominalizations

Lexical event nominalizer *-kaje* has an external distribution very similar to that of its close synonym *-kana* EV.NZ. Indeed, *-kaje* is compatible with most syntactic positions available to NPs, and in terms of frequency, this marker is overwhelmingly found in the position of the O argument of complement taking verbs (completive subordinate clauses), as well as in the position of argument of postposition (adverbial subordinate clauses). However, *-kaje* is restricted to syntactic positions of NPs, unlike *-kana*, which participates in one

nominalization-based construction. Next, I describe each NP use of *-kaje*, with special attention to the most frequent constructions.

14.1.2.1 S of verbs

There is only one instance of a *-kaje* nominalization in the position of the S argument of a finite verb (538). In addition to this instance, the same nominalized form ‘work’ is found in the position of the S argument within a grammatical nominalization marked with *-ka* NZ (539).

(538) *eyá unká kája [jápá-kaje] i'ma-lá*
 then NEG EMPH work-EV.NZ COP-V.NEG
 ‘then there is no work’ (ycn0018,13)

(539) *apú [jápá-kaje] i'ma-ká chú, kája apú nakú píño wa=jápá*
 other work-EV.NZ COP-NZ COND then another on again 1PL=work
 ‘If there is another work, then we work on another one again.’ (ycn0042,92)

Example (538) is in fact the only identified instance in my Flex corpus of a nominalization in the position of the Subject argument of a finite verb. This is most likely due to the high degree of lexicalization of some deverbal nouns with *-kaje* EV.NZ, so it is uncertain whether any *-kaje* EV.NZ form could be used in this position regardless of degree of lexicalization.

14.1.2.2 O of verbs

Similarly to *-kana* EV.NZ nominalizations, nominalizations with *-kaje* EV.NZ are most often used in the position of the O argument of transitive verbs.

In this position, the nominalized form is placed to the right of the main verb, as a prototypical O NP. The verbs used in the main predicate are complement taking verbs, or verbs that often require clausal complements, such as begin/finish (327), and want (541). With these verbs, similarly to *-kana* complements, the *-kaje* complement is understood as having an A/S argument (not overt) which is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Different subject complements of desiderative verbs such as ‘want’ require the use of grammatical event nominalizations marked with *-ka* (§14.2.4.2).

(540) *É kája ri=keño'-chá [jewíña'-kaje=o].*
 then 3SG.NF=start-PST transform-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘then he began to transform.’ (ycn00563,147)

(541) *añ kája unká nu=wáta-la [ru=cháje pa'-kaje=o]*
 so EMPH NEG 1SG=want-V.NEG 3SG.F=at return-EV.NZ=MID
 ‘so I do not want to return to her place’ (ycn0189,170)

In addition to these verbs, there are a few occurrences of *-kaje* nominalizations as O of verbs that do not classify as complement-taking (they do not combine with clausal complements, including grammatical nominalizations), as *kulá* ‘search’ in (542), or *la' ~ li'* ‘do’ in (543). The use of these *-kaje* forms with these verbs perhaps correlates with their higher degree of lexicalization, as mentioned in §12.1.2.

(542) *É kája wa=kulá [jápá-kaje] ilé ewá kariwa-na jwa'té.*
 then 1PL=search work-EV.NZ MED around White_people-PL with
 ‘Then we search for another job around there with the White people.’

(543) *Ri=ikhá aú ri=li'-chá [arápa'-kájé] i'micháká.*
 3SG.NF=PRO with 3SG.NF=do-PST dance-EV.NZ FAR.PST
 ‘With *that* they used to prepare dancing ceremonies.’ (ycn0092,140)

14.1.2.3 Argument of postpositions

The second most frequent syntactic position for *-kaje* nominalizations is as arguments of postpositions. In terms of their function, the *-kaje* marked nominalization is identical to the use of *-kana* in this position. Both markers are used to encode adverbial clauses, typically with the semantics of ongoing events that are either simultaneous to, or immediately follow the event of the main predicate. The similarities between *-kaje* obliques and *-kana* obliques are highlighted in example (544) where both constructions are used in the same sentence, and are all understood as having S co-referentiality with each other and with the main clause.

(544) *é na=yurí-cha=o píño ñaké=ja kája*
 then 3PL=stay-PST=MID again DIST.like=LIM EMPH
 [*kamu'jí la'-kajé*] *nakú,* [*me'píjí nakú takha'-kána*] *nakú.*
 poorly do-EV.NZ **on** hunger on die-EV.NZ **on**
 ‘Then they stayed there again just like that suffering and starving to death.’ (ycn0089,117)

Structurally, postpositional phrases containing a *-kaje* nominalization are identical to postpositional phrases with underived nouns. In fact, the oblique phrase containing a *-kaje* nominalization in the argument position displays word order variations similarly to other postpositional phrases. Indeed, postpositional phrases are canonically placed after the main verb, but can also precede it (545), and this holds true for obliques with *-kaje* nominalizations as well (546).

- (545) *Ri=ikhá nakú wa=jápá.*
 3SG.NF=PRO on 1PL=work
 ‘We work on it.’ (ycn0018,13)
- (546) [*Iyá-káje*] *nakú ru=yái'-cha=o.*
 cry-EV.NZ on 3SG.F=sit-PST=MID
 ‘She sat crying.’ (ycn0053,57).

Again, the most frequently used postposition with *-kaje* nominalizations is *nakú* ‘on’. Indeed, out of 14 instances of *-kaje* with postpositions, 11 are with this postposition. Only two other postpositions were found with *-kaje*, *wakajé* ‘time’⁶⁰ as in (547), and *penáje* ‘for’ as in (548). In both cases, the *-kaje* forms are highly lexicalized, and used to refer to traditional celebrations. This is clear from the fact that in (548), the obtained *-kaje* form with the root *kajmo* ‘ripen’ has an idiosyncratic meaning ‘celebration’.

- (547) *Eyá [arápa'-kaje] wakajé ñaké kája na=a'á iná ñathé*
 Then dance-EV.NZ **time** DIST.like EMPH 3PL=give GNR.PRO help
 ‘Then on the day of the dance they help us out like that.’ (ycn0059,21)

- (548) [*kajmo'-káje=o*] *penáje,* [*arápa'-kaje*] *penáje,*
 ripen-EV.NZ=MID **for** dance-EV.NZ **for**
nákájé keñóta=o wa=jló eja'wá chú i'maká.
 something begin=MID 1PL=to forest on FAR.PST
 ‘For the celebrations, for the dances, things began for us on earth a long time ago.’
 (ycn0091,4)

14.1.2.4 Non-verbal clauses

Lastly, there are a few instances where *-kaje* nominalizations are used in non-verbal clauses. In (549), the *-kaje* nominalization is placed within an NP with an indirect possessor marked with *le'jé*, and this NP occupies the position of the argument in a PRED ARG structure. This syntactic position is certainly not the main use of *-kaje* nominalizations but the few attested examples show that they are at least compatible with this syntactic position.

- (549) [*Ri=é*]_{PRED} [*ri=le'jé* [*pura'-káje=o*]]_{ARG}
 3SG.NF=at 3SG.NF=possession speak-EV.NZ=MID

⁶⁰ However, *wakajé* is a rather multifunctional element, used as a coordinating conjunction, as well as a subordinating conjunction with finite subordinates, in addition to its use as a postposition with NPs and with nominalizations of various types.

‘It has a speech. (Lit. the speaking of it is there)’ (ycn0091,51).

The external distribution of nominalizations with *-kaje* EV.NZ is summarized in Table 85. Clearly, *-kaje* nominalizations show similar distributional tendencies as *-kana* EV.NZ, with a preference for the positions of O of verbs and argument of postposition. However, *-kaje* nominalizations are less frequent, and they are also not attested in any non-NP position.

Table 85 Syntactic distribution of *-kaje* nominalizations

	Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			0
	Adnominal mod			0
Verbal clauses	S of V		Restrictions: Highly lexicalized form	1
	O of V	Complementation	Restrictions: S co-referentiality; complement taking verbs	36
	Arg of Postp	Temporal adverbial modification	Restrictions: S co-referentiality; Postposition <i>nakú</i>	14
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause			2
	Pred of NV clause			1
	Other			6
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate			0
	Cosubordinate			0
	Main clause			0
Total				60

14.1.3 Instrumental *-jona* nominalizations

There are only three attested instances of the instrumental nominalizer *-jona* in my corpus. They are very similar, as they are all used in the same text, with the same referent, and in the same syntactic context. The sequence in (550) shows two of the occurrences of *-jona* INSTR.NZ.

(550)

- a. *marí kájé penáje nu=i'jĩ-chá pi=chájé, nu=teló ...*
PROX type for 1SG=go-PST 2SG=at 1SG=friend
'For this I came to your place, my friend
- b. [*kéelé nákáje jñá'-jóna*] *iná la'-ká lojé*
MED something grab-INSTR.NZ GNR.PRO do-NZ PURP
arápa'-káje ...
dance-EV.NZ
... for that grabber of things for one to prepare the ceremony
- c. [*kamejéri nó-jona*], *Ta'píku'were*,
animal kill-INTR.NZ T.
the killer of animals, the *Ta'píku'were*
- d. *pi=ya'tá-ka lojé nu=jló ri=ikhá*
2SG=lend-NZ PURP 1SG=to 3SG.NF=PRO
for you to lend it to me.' (ycn0092,163-166).

In all occurrences of *-jona*, the nominalization is used as a dislocated constituent co-referential with the pronoun in the position of the object argument of the verb. Elicited data on this marker is very scarce as well. Example (551) shows an elicited example where the *-jona* nominalization (in brackets) is used as an adnominal modifier of a lexical noun (*japámu* 'soap'), used in an NP placed in the O argument position.

- (551) *Na=ki'-chá nu=liyá japámu [a'umakajé ipa-jóná]*
3PL=remove-PST 1SG=from soap clothe wash-INSTR.NZ
'They took from me the soap washer of clothes.' (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:315).

Very little can be said about the distribution and frequency across syntactic positions for nominalizations with this marker (Table 86), except perhaps that there appears to be a correlation between argument nominalizations and the extra-syntactic use as dislocated NPs as a way to provide additional clarification on a participant (see §14.2.5.3 on G/N nominalizations in this use).

Table 86 Syntactic distribution of *-jona* nominalizations

	Syntactic position	Function	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)		0
	Adnominal mod		0

Verbal clauses	S of V		0
	O of V		0
	Arg of Postp		0
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause		0
	Pred of NV clause		0
Other	dislocated NPs	Referent identification	3
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate		0
	Cosubordinate		0
	Main clause		0
Total			3

14.1.4 Agent *-je* nominalizations

The distribution of *-je* nominalizations is very skewed in the corpus, with only a handful of identified occurrences in NP positions, and hundreds of occurrences in non-NP positions. In this section, I describe both NP and non-NP positions, and focus on the issue of position/function based finiteness variations.

14.1.4.1 NP uses

Among NP positions, *-je* A.NZ nominalizations can be used as arguments of postpositions as in (552) with *jló* ‘to’ and in (553) with *liyá* ‘from’. Note that despite the fact that there are only three attested examples of *-je* nominalizations in this position, in each case a different postposition is used, suggesting that postpositions in general can freely combine with *-je* nominalizations.

(552) *Pi=kuwá* *kujnú* *kájémaka* *jíña* *kájémaka*
 2sg=prepare cassava etcetera fish etcetera
 [*wajla'-jé-ño*] *jló* *iná* *a'-ká* *lojé*.
 dance-A.NZ-PL **to** GNR.PRO give-NZ PURP
 ‘You prepare stuff like cassava, fish, for one to give to the dancers.’ (ycn0059,44)

(553) *Mékajé-ka* *wa=nakiyá-na* *ka'-jé-ri* *payéta*
 which-SUB 1PL=among-? remove-FUT-NF blanket

[<i>kéelé</i>	<i>eja'wá</i>	<i>e'yowá</i>	<i>ja'pá-je-ri</i>	<i>liyá,</i>
MED	forest	in.around	walk-A.NZ-NF	from
<i>ri=ikhá</i>	<i>i'ma-jé-ri</i>	<i>achiñá</i>	<i>wáni.</i>	
3SG.NF=PRO	COP-FUT-NF	man	EMPH	

‘the one among us (that) will remove the blanket from the traveler, *He* will be the bravest. (Lit. the walker around the forest)’ (ycn0169,7)

Nominalizations with *-je* are also attested in the position of non-verbal predicate in non-verbal clauses with a PRED ARG structure, as in (554), where a *-je* A.NZ nominalization occupies the predicate position, and a grammatical agent nominalization with G/N markers occupies the position of the argument.

(554) <i>Aú</i>	[<i>eja'wá</i>	<i>e'yowá</i>	<i>ja'pá-je-ri</i>] _{PRED}	[<i>keño'-chá-ri</i>
so	forest	in.around	walk-A.NZ-NF	begin-PST-NF
<i>ri=payéta-ne</i>		<i>wicho'-kána</i>		<i>ri=nakiyá</i>] _{ARG.}
3SG.NF=blanket-ALIEN3		remove-EV.NZ		3SG.NF=on.from

‘So the traveler began to remove his blanket (Lit. The one who began removing his blanket from himself is the forest wanderer.’) (ycn0169,13)

Despite the fact that I analyze the sentence in (554) as a non-verbal structure, the synchronic analysis of this construction is in fact ambiguous. As further discussed in §14.2.5.5, the structure in (554) can be analyzed in at least two ways: i. as a zero copula identificational non-verbal predicate, or ii. as an innovative verbal clause with the G/N marked verb root as verbal predicate. In option i. the *-je* marked agent nominalization is the predicate, and the G/N marked nominalization is the argument (i.e. a literal translation would be ‘the one who started removing the blanket is the traveler’). In option ii. the *-je* marked nominalization is the subject argument, and the verb ‘begin’ marked with G/N is the main predicate and constitutes an instance of the main-clause use of G/N markers. I opt for the conservative analysis in i. as it maintains the functions of both of the markers involved as nominalization encoding devices. I thus include the example (554) as an instance of *-je* nominalizations in the position of non-verbal predicate.

In sum, based on textual data, *-je* nominalizations are attested in the positions of argument of postposition and non-verbal predicate. Elicited data further shows that the positions of O argument and of adnominal modifiers too are accessible to *-je* nominalizations.

(555) <i>Nu=amí-cha</i>	<i>motho'-jé-ri.</i>
1SG=see-PST	cook-A.NZ-NF

‘I saw the cooker.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 3:117)

- (556) *yuwa-jí* *na=aká'-je-ri*
 child-NF 3PL=scold-A.NZ-NF
 ‘the child who scolds them (Lit. the child scolder of them)’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:211)

14.1.4.2 Non-NP uses

There are two major nominalization constructions based on *-je* A.NZ: adverbial purpose of motion clauses with *-je* PURP.MOT, and future tense in main clauses with *-je* FUT. As suggested by their inclusion among nominalization-based constructions, I consider all three uses (agent nominalizer, purpose of motion subordinator, future tense) to be diachronically related. However, the three constructions show radically different features, both in terms of their internal degree of finiteness, as well as in their external syntax. The different features in terms of internal finiteness of these three constructions are summarized in Table 87.

Table 87 Comparative overview of Agent *-je* nominalizations, purpose of motion *-je*, and future tense *-je*

	Feature	A.NZ	PURP.MOT	FUT
Internal finiteness	Valency	y	y	y
	Tense	n	n	N/A
	Aspect	n	y	y
	Mood	n	?	y
	NEG	n	n	y
	A/S = PSSR	n	n	y
	P = O NP	y	y	n
	POSTPs	y	y	y
	ADVPs	y	y	y
	G/N	y	n	n
	P = PSSR	y	y	n
	DEM	y	n	n
	NUM	y	n	n
	ADJ	y*	n	n
	NV NEG	y*	y	n
External distribution	NP	y	n	n
	ADVP	n	y	n

14.1.4.2.1 Adverbial purpose of motion clauses

Yukuna has a dedicated purpose of motion adverbial subordination construction marked with suffix *-je* PURP.MOT. The *-je* marked adverbial clause is very formally similar to agent nominalizations with *-je* A.NZ, but they also display enough differences to consider them as synchronically distinct. Let us consider examples (557) and (337).

(557) [*Kamejé-ri-na nó-je-ri*] *ri=i'mi-chá-ká*
 animal-PL kill-A.NZ-NF 3SG.NF=COP-PST-NZ
 ‘He was a hunter (Lit. a killer of animals).’ (ycn0041,6)

(558) *É ri=i'jĩ-chá kéelé yáwi tá nó-je.*
 Then 3SG.NF=go-PST MED jaguar EMPH kill-PURP.MOT
 ‘Then he went to kill that jaguar. (Lit. he went to the killing of that jaguar.)’ (ycn0053,72)

Clearly, both markers are identical, and the verb forms are non-finite. Indeed, both lack tense, sentential core argument encoding, and they display nominal features such as the encoding of the P argument as the possessor, and use the non-verbal negation with *unká...kalé*. However, there are significant differences among these constructions beyond their respective NP and non-NP positions: i. G/N marking, ii. the transitivity of the verbal root, iii. aspect marking.

First, an obvious difference among these constructions is that the purpose of motion construction lacks G/N marking (558), as opposed to *-je* agent nominalizations, which require G/N marking, such as the non-feminine *-ri* suffix in (557). This obvious formal distinction reveals a substantial semantic and functional distinction between these two constructions. Indeed, agent nominalizations denote a participant, and the G/N markers agree with the G/N value of said participant. Purpose of motion clauses do not denote a participant.

Second, the purpose of motion construction can be used with all verbs regardless of transitivity, as in (559) where the verb in purpose of motion clause with *-je* is intransitive. This differs from *-je* agent nominalizations, which preferably combine with transitive verb roots.

(559) *ri=i'jĩ-chá piño chira'-jé=o ri=ewá mapéja*
 3SG.NF=go-PST again wander-PURP.MOT=MID 3SG.NF=around casually
 ‘He went again to wander over there casually.’ (ycn0108,127)

Third, and crucially, although the purpose of motion construction lacks tense, similarly to agent *-je* nominalizations (and to all lexical nominalizations in general), it allows the encoding of aspect, both with habitual enclitic *=no* as in (560), and with perfective *=mi* as in (561).

(560) *Ru=i'jĩ-chá chiláa'ka-je=no kéelé na=jne're chojé.*
 3SG.F=go-PST vomit-PURP.MOT=HAB MED 3PL=port-ALIEN2 into
 'she always went to their port to vomit.' (ycn0108,146)

(561) *É_kája ri=éjéna iphí-cha jiyá jña'-jé=mi.*
 then 3SG.NF=siblings arrive-PST wood grab-PURP.MOT=PFV
 'Then his siblings arrived from grabbing wood.' (ycn0189,126)

In addition to these features, *-je* nominalizations and *-je* purpose of motion clauses radically differ in terms of their overall number of occurrences in the Flex corpus. Indeed, the latter are much more frequent, with at least 213 identified instances, as opposed to eight occurrences of *-je* A.NZ in NP positions.

A second nominalization-based construction with *-je* is future tense marking finite clauses, as I describe next.

14.1.4.2.2 Future tense marking

The last nominalization-based construction related to agent nominalizations with *-je* is future marking with *-je* in main clauses. Verbs marked with future tense have all the features of finite verbs. Example (562) shows the use of *-je* with a subject (person index) and object argument (post-verbal NP), and (563) shows this tense marker with verbal negation *unká...-la*.

(562) *Nu=amá-je ri=ikhá.*
 1SG=see-FUT 3SG.NF=PRO
 'I will see him.' (ycn0041,87)

(563) *pero unká ri=kamáta-la-je=o maáré*
 but NEG 3SG.NF=sleep-V.NEG-FUT=MID PROX.LOC
 'but he will not sleep here' (ycn0504,3)

In addition to these features, *-je* nominalizations and *-je* as a future tense marker also differ in terms of their overall number of occurrences in the Flex corpus. Indeed, the future tense marker *-je* is much more frequent than agent nominalizations with *-je* FUT (242 vs. 8

instances), and also slightly more frequent than purpose of motion clauses with *-je* PURP.MOT (242 vs. 213 instances).

An interesting fact about future tense marker *-je* is that, as a fully grammaticalized tense marker in finite verbal clauses, it can actually be used in grammatical nominalizations. In fact, future tense *-je* can be followed by G/N markers in agent grammatical nominalizations. In these specific cases, agent nominalizer *-je* A.NZ and future tense marker *-je* FUT are much more formally similar. Consider (564) and (565).

(564) [yuwa-ló wáa'-je-ri] jló nu=ími-cha
 child-F bring-A.NZ-NF to 1SG=say-PST
 ‘I said to the girl bringer’ (elicited, notebook 5:206)

(565) [wáa'-je-ri yuwa-ló] jló nu=ími-cha...
 bring-FUT-NF child-F to 1SG=say-PST
 ‘I said to (that one who) will bring the girl’ (elicited, notebook 5:206)

The form *wáa'-je-ri* is identical in both (564) and (565), and could, in isolation, be interpreted either as a lexical nominalization ‘the bringer’ marked with agent nominalize *-je*, or as a grammatical nominalization ‘the one who will bring’, marked with future tense suffix *-je* followed by a G/N marker. It is when looking beyond the level of the verbal element itself that the two constructions can be distinguished: in (564), the P argument of ‘bring’ is encoded as a possessor, while in (565), the P argument is encoded as an object in finite verbal clauses.

In sum, future tense *-je* is classified among nominalization-based constructions, due to its diachronic link with agent nominalizations with *-je*, and purpose of motion clauses with *-je* PURP.MOT. However, because of its verbal features, this marker is also classified among main clause markers, and as such, it is in fact part of the finite verbal prototype. While this decision might seem counter-intuitive at first, it is in line with the form-to-function approach adopted in this study to capture the functional expansion of nominalizers (and subordinators in general) as inflectional main clause marker, a pervasive phenomenon in Yukuna.

The external distribution of nominalizations with *-je* in NP positions as an agent nominalizer, and in non-NP positions, as a purpose of motion subordinator, and a future tense marker is summarized in Table 88.

Table 88 Syntactic distribution of *-je* nominalizations

	Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			0
	Adnominal mod			0
Verbal clauses	S of V			0
	O of V			0
	Arg of Postp	Referent identification		3
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause			0
	Pred of NV clause	Referent identification		2
Other	Dislocated NPs			2
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate	Purposive adverbial modification	Finiteness: Aspect, no gender marking	165
	Cosubordinate			0
	Main clause	Future tense	Finiteness: Fully finitized verb form	220
Total				393

14.2 Grammatical nominalizations

This section describes in detail the syntactic distribution of grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna. Like before, the distribution of each nominalization is based entirely on textual data. Syntactic positions were categorized into NP uses, such as NP internal, verbal clauses, and non-verbal clauses on one hand, and non-NP uses. Table 89 summarizes the range of syntactic positions in which grammatical nominalizations are attested.

Table 89 Syntactic distribution of grammatical nominalizations

		<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i> (A)	<i>-ka</i> (EV/LOC)	G/N
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)	y			y	

	Adnominal mod	y	y	y		y
Verbal clauses	S of V					
	O of V	y	y	y	y	
	Arg of Postp	y	y	y	y	
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	y		y	y	y
	Pred of NV clause	y		y	y	y
Other	Dislocated NP's	y	y	y		y
Non-NP uses	adverbial subordination				y	
	cosubordination				y	y
	main clause (mood, focus)	y			y	?
	main clause (tense)				y	

Table 89 shows that while grammatical nominalizations are indeed compatible with the expected positions of NPs in the language, they are certainly used in more non-NP positions than lexical nominalizations. The distributional tendencies of grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna

- i. No grammatical nominalization is ever used in the position of Subject of a finite verb.
- ii. Grammatical nominalizations are used in both verbal clauses and zero copula non-verbal clauses.
- iii. Grammatical nominalizations are compatible with multiple non-NP positions, showing functional expansion beyond the domain of nominalization proper.

Table 89 only states which positions are attested but does not describe the functions, restrictions in use, variations in internal finiteness nor the frequency associated with each syntactic position. These issues are the focus of this section.

14.2.1 Argument *-kare* nominalizations

Nominalizations with *-kare* ~ *-re* are compatible with multiple NP positions, as modifiers within NPs, and as NPs on their own in both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Additionally, they are found in a few instances in non-NP uses with a modal function.

14.2.1.1 Possessor and modifier within an NP

Within NPs, *-kare* nominalizations can be both possessors and modifiers. A very clear instance of the versatility of *-kare* nominalizations as compatible with the positions of possessors and modifiers within an NP is given in (566). In this example, the NP is headed by the noun *yajálo mi* ‘wife (of a deceased)’, which is possessed by a *-kare* nominalization (i.e. the person who was eaten by his pet). Additionally, the head noun *yajálo mi* ‘wife (of a deceased)’ is also modified by *-kare* nominalization (i.e. the person about whom they talk). The NP containing both nominalizations in (566) is in turn occupying the position of the argument of a zero-copula identificational non-verbal sentence. The syntactic structure of this complex sentence is made explicit with brackets.⁶¹

(566) <i>pi=ikhá</i>	<i>chí</i>	[<i>kéelé ri=pirá</i>	<i>ajñá-káre</i>] _{PSSR}	[<i>yajálo=mi</i>] _{PSSD}	
2SG=PRO	EMPH	MED	3SG.NF=pet	eat-ARG.NZ	wife=PFV
[<i>na=ima-káre</i>	<i>nakú</i>] _{MOD}] _{NP} ?				
3PL=say-ARG.NZ	on				
‘Are you the wife of the one who his pet ate that they talk about?’ (ycn0053,62)					
(Context: a man was eaten by the jaguar that he had adopted as his pet.)					

The *-kare* nominalization in the position of possessor is semantically a patient nominalization, referring to the object of the verb ‘eat’. The *-kare* nominalization in the position of adnominal modifier is semantically an oblique nominalization, referring to the argument of the postposition *nakú* ‘on’. We can infer which participant is being referred to from the fact that the postposition *nakú* does not have a person index encoding the possessor. I rule out a parsing of this sequence where the postposition *nakú* is external to the nominalization, and has the nominalization with *-kare* as its argument (*[na=ima-káre] nakú*). The main reason for ruling out this option, is that the verb ‘say’ within the *-kare* nominalization requires an oblique

⁶¹ The syntactic parsing of the demonstrative in the NP in (566) is not entirely clear. Indeed, this demonstrative could be either a modifier of the noun immediately to its right ‘his pet’, or a modifier of the head noun ‘wife’. Since demonstratives only show optional G/N agreement when used as modifiers, the fact that this demonstrative is not marked for gender cannot be used as evidence in favor of either one of these options. I have opted to include it as a modifier of the immediately adjacent noun ‘pet’, but in reality, both options are possible.

argument marked with *nakú* in the expression ‘to talk about’, which suggests that *nakú* is placed within the nominalization. This analysis is also coherent with the semantics of this instance of a *-kare* nominalization, which refers to the participant about whom people are talking (i.e. the wife).

Among uses of *-kare* nominalizations within NPs as dependents of another noun, the position of adnominal modifier is certainly the preferred one in terms of frequency. In this position, the *-kare* nominalization is functionally a relative clause. Structurally, the position of the *-kare* nominalization with respect to the head noun is identical to the adnominal modification use of other nouns and adjectives. Adnominal modification, whether by a lexical noun as in (567), an adjective/participle as in (568), or a nominalization as in (566), is achieved by simple juxtaposition of the head and the modifier (see §3.2.1.2.4).

(567) *pi=jiwaká tá Kanumá*
 2SG=boss EMPH Kanumá
 ‘your boss Kanumá’ (0068,113)

(568) *Ri=ikhá chojě na=motho'-chá [jĩña-na majá-runá].*
 3SG.NF=PRO in.toward 3PL=cook-PST fish-PL rotten-PL
 ‘In there they cooked the rotten fish.’ (ycn0041,96)

The only difference between the use of *-kare* nominalizations as adnominal modifiers and other adnominal modifiers is that *-kare* nominalizations obligatorily follow the head noun, as opposed to nominal or adjectival modifiers, which can either precede or follow the head noun.

In addition to the uses of *-kare* in adnominal modification it is also possible for *-kare* nominalizations to be used on their own as NPs. Both structures are found in very similar contexts, such as in (569) and (570).

(569) *Pi=ikhá chí [na=ima-káre nakú “achiñá wáni!”]?*
 2SG=PRO EMPH 3PL=say-ARG.NZ on man EMPH
 ‘Are you that one about whom they say “what a man!”?’ (ycn0186,56)

(570) *Nu=ikhá kéelé atiná [na=ima-káre nakú].*
 1SG=PRO MED man 3PL=say-ARG.NZ on
 ‘The one about whom they talk is me.’ (ycn0186,78)

As NPs, *-kare* nominalizations can in turn be used directly as arguments in verbal clauses, as discussed next.

14.2.1.2 Argument in verbal clauses

NPs with *-kare* nominalizations and without any ‘head’ nouns may in turn occupy different syntactic positions within a clause, whether verbal or non-verbal. However, instances of *-kare* nominalizations in NPs on their own within verbal clauses are rare. Example (571) illustrates a locative *-kare* nominalization used as the argument of postposition *ewá* ‘around’.

(571) *É ru=yakái'-cha=o [kéelé ru=jara'pá michú i'ma-káre] ewá*
 Then 3SG.F=look-pst=MID MED 3SG.F=father deceased COP-ARG.NZ around
ru=yakái'-cha=o
 3SG.NF=look-PST=MID
 ‘Then she looked around (the place) where her late father was she looked.’ (ycn0058,113)

In terms of syntactic parsing, we know that the nominalization with *-kare* is the argument of the postposition *ewá* ‘around’ because the main verb of the clause ‘look’ requires an oblique with *ewá*. In other words, we know that the postposition *ewá* ‘around’ is external to the nominalization, because it links the NP with *-kare* to the main predicate, as opposed to (566), where the ‘stranded’ argument-less postposition is part of the nominalization.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that there appears to be a tendency for the locative interpretation of nominalizations to depend on the syntactic position of the nominalization as an argument of a postposition. This is also discussed for locative/eventive *-ka* nominalizations in §14.2.4.3.

14.2.1.3 Appositional and dislocated NPs

In addition to strict adnominal modification, *-kare* nominalizations can also be used in appositional NPs. Unlike adnominal modification, in appositional NPs, there is an element between a lexical noun and the nominalization, which signals that the two elements constitute different NPs. A case in point is shown in (572). In (572)a, the *-kare* nominalization is used in an NP juxtaposed to another NP. Syntactically, the fact that these elements form two different NPs is clear from the presence of two demonstratives, each indicating the left boundary of an NPs. Semantically, however, the juxtaposed NPs are similar to adnominal modifiers within a single NP. The semantic link between the juxtaposed NPs is also clear from the intonational features of these juxtaposed NPs, produced in a single intonation contour. Note that appositional NPs need not be prosodically bound, as illustrated with (572)b, which is separated from the preceding (co-referential) NPs by an intonation break (signaled with a comma).

(572)

- a. *pi=ímí-cha pi=éjéna jló na=janapí-cha-chí*
 2SG=say-PRS 2SG=siblings to 3PL=carry-PRS-PURP
kéelé kamejéri [kéelé pi=jña'-káre],
 MED animal MED 2SG=grab-ARG.NZ
 ‘Tell your brothers to go carry that animal that which you grabbed,
- b. [*nu=nó-kare kéelé yuwa-jí jló*].
 1SG=kill-ARG.NZ MED child-NF to
 that which I killed for that kid.’ (ycn0053,83)

Although functionally, the two instances of *-kare* nominalizations in (572) could be argued to be adnominal modifiers of the noun *kamejéri* ‘animal’, I categorize these structures as appositional NPs and thus, do not include them among the adnominal modifier uses of *-kare* but as instances of *-kare* nominalizations in NPs of their own (as dislocated NPs).

Argument grammatical nominalizations with *-kare* are also often used as dislocated NPs, without any lexical noun that they could be seen as functionally modifying. In (573)a(573), the *-kare* nominalization is used as a dislocated NP to introduce a topic, which is referred to with the anaphoric pronoun *ri=ikhá* ‘he/it’ in the following clause (573)b. Similarly, in (574)a, the *-kare* nominalization is used as a left dislocated NP, which is then anaphorically referred to by the pronominal forms in (574)b and (574)c.

(573)

- a. [*Kéelé nu=i'jna-kare támi amá-je*],
 MED 1SG=go-ARG.NZ body see-PURP.MOT
 ‘That one whose body I had gone to see,
- b. *ri=ikhá waá'-ri nu=ikhá ri=jwa'té=o*
 3SG.NF=PRO call-NF 1SG=PRO 3SG.NF=with=MID
a'jné ri=ñakaré=éjõ
 DIST 3SG.NF=house=toward
he is the one who took me with him over there to his house.’ (ycn0092,109)

(574)

- a. *é [i=itá-jĩ-kare kéelé cha'wí aũ]*,
 Then 2PL=close-FUT-ARG.NZ MED trap with
 ‘Then what you will close with that trap,
- b. *ri=ikhá, puwa'ká wa=iphá-jĩ-ka ri=jimáje*,
 3SG.NF=PRO TEMP 3PL=arrive-FUT-NZ 3SG.NF=front
 that, when you arrive in front of it,
- c. *é i=akúwa'-ta wáya ri=nakojé*,
 then 2PL=hang-CAUS bell 3SG.NF=on.into
 ‘then you will hang the bell on top of it.’ (ycn0063,19)

These extra-syntactic uses of *-kare* nominalizations facilitate referent identification. It is important to highlight that in terms of frequency, this is the second most frequent use of *-kare* nominalizations after adnominal modification.

14.2.1.4 Argument and predicate in non-verbal clauses

NPs containing nominalizations with *-kare* are also compatible with the positions of argument or predicate of a non-verbal zero copula clause with the PRED ARG structure. Examples (569) and (570) show the use of a *-kare* nominalization in the argument position of a clause where the predicate is the second person pronoun. The structure in example (569) is found in several very similar examples, all including the expression ‘to talk about’, in the very same narrative, as in (575). Functionally, this cleft structure with a non-verbal constituent in the position of the predicate and a nominalization in the position of the argument is a recurrent focalization strategy in the language, with *-kare* nominalizations and beyond (see similar structures in §14.2.4.5, 14.2.5.5).

(575) *Nu=ikhá* [na=ima-káre nakú "atiñá wáni!"]
 1SG=PRO 3PL=say-ARG.NZ on man EMPH
 ‘The one about whom they say “what a man!” is me.’ (ycn0186,111)

In other cases, the *-kare* nominalization is used in the position of the predicate. In (576), the *-kare* nominalization is used in a sequence of non-verbal predicates without an overt argument. Each predicate provides additional, new information about a topic that has been previously established and which is omitted (a type of seed). Note that the predicates include adjectives, a nominalization and an NP.

(576)
 a. *Palá-ni, jewá-ní, pu'mé-ni, [iná i'ra-káre],*
 well-NF yellow-NF sweet-NF GNR.PRO drink-ARG.NZ
 ‘(It is) good, yellow, sweet, it can be drunk,
 b. *unká pupúyo ícha tá kalé.*
 NEG palm.sp seed EMPH NV.NEG
 (and it is) not the seed of a *pupúyo* palm tree.’ (ycn0068,301)

The translation in this example hints at a ‘potential’ mood interpretation of this use of *-kare*, where the nominalization expresses the possibility of the patient participant to be affected by an event. This use is closely related to the non-NP use of *-kare* nominalizations described next.

14.2.1.5 Non-NP uses

Finally, some uses of *-kare* nominalizations cannot be analyzed as filling a syntactic position of an NP, as in (226) and (227).

(577) *iná* *i'jra-káre* *jlá* *ri=ikhá*
 GNR.PRO go_up-ARG.NZ FRUST 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘one can try to take it up’ (ycn0108,191)

(578) *iná* *kámo'-kare* *ri=ikhá*
 GNR.PRO ripen-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘One can make it ripen.’ (ycn0108,233)

Functionally, this use of *-kare* appears to encode potential modality. Structurally, it is important to note that this use of *-kare* shows a canonical SVO word order, no gapped argument, and very importantly, it allows the use of the frustrative mood marker *ijlá ~ jlá* (226). Additionally, in elicitation, when providing a potential clause in Spanish, my main consultant systematically uses a *-kare* marked verb form with *jlá* FRUST. Example (579) was provided when asked for the translation of ‘I can return’.

(579) *Nu=pa'-káre=o* *jlá.*
 1SG=return-ARG.NZ=MID FRUST
 ‘I can return.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:100)

Example (579) is particularly interesting because it shows *-kare* used with an intransitive verb marked for person. As described in §13.2.1, as an argument nominalizer, *-kare* is used on transitive verbs to refer to the patient, or with intransitive verbs without a person index to refer to the single copula argument. In (579), the verb stem is intransitive but the A/S argument is encoded as a subject in finite clauses. These morphosyntactic cues suggest an analysis of this particular use of *-kare* as a grammaticalized potential mood construction (with *-kare* and optionally frustrative *jlá ~ jlá*) is rather strong. However, this use of *-kare* is less frequent than its standard uses in NP positions (with 8 occurrences out of 58 instances of this marker), so this could suggest that the potential mood function of this marker is an emergent construction.

	Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			2

	Adnominal mod	Relativization		21
Verbal clauses	S of V			0
	O of V			0
	Arg of Postp			1
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause			4
	Pred of NV clause			5
Other	dislocated NP	Referent identification		17
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate			0
	Cosubordinate			0
	Main clause	Potential mood	Finiteness: Frustrative <i>jlá</i> Postverbal O NP, S index on intransitive verbs	8
Total				58

14.2.2 Argument *-chaje* nominalizations

Argument nominalizations with *-chaje* ~ *-yaje* are mostly found in one syntactic position, that of adnominal modification, as in (580) and (581).

(580) *É na=ají'-cha apiyá [ri=nó-chaje ri=jwa'té].*
 then 3PL=eat-PST peccary 3SG.NF=kill-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=with
 'Then they ate the peccary that he had killed with him.' (ycn0053,28)

(581) *É ri=ji'má jepo'tí-ya=o wená [ri=li'-cháje] chojé.*
 then 3SG.NF=foot tie_up-PST=MID trap 3SG.NF=do-ARG.NZ in.toward
 'Then his feet got stuck into the trap that he had made.' (ycn0041,163)

Note that as adnominal modifiers, they are used within NPs that occupy in turn other syntactic positions within a clause. In (580), the NP containing the *-chaje* nominalization as an adnominal modifier is used in the position of the O argument of the verb, and in (581), as the argument of a postposition. However, I assume that it is the head noun which determines the syntactic position of the NP, and do not include these as instances of *-chaje* nominalizations in these syntactic positions.

The only cases where I have classified *-chaje* nominalizations as occupying other syntactic positions, is when they are used on their own as NPs without nouns (see discussion on §3.2.1.2.5). For instance, example (582) is classified as an instance of a *-chaje* nominalization in the position of the argument of a postposition.

(582) [kája penáje ri=nó-chaje] e'yá ri=tári'-cha=o
 last 3SG.NF=kill-ARG.NZ in 3SG.NF=stand-PST=MID
 'He stood on (the one that) he had killed last.' (ycn0092,183)

As discussed in §13.2.2, there are a few instances of 'internally-headed' *-chaje* nominalizations, that is to say, cases in which the referent denoted by the nominalization is not gapped, but it is actually expressed as an argument within the nominalization. A case in point is shown in (583), where the referent of the nominalization in brackets (i.e. the animals that were killed for the child) are encoded just like an object in a finite clause, after the verbal root. I exclude an analysis of the noun 'animals' as an external head noun modified by the *-chaje* nominalization in an MOD HEAD structure (e.g. the killed animals), because of the presence of yet another argument within this nominalization, the dative postpositional phrase with *jló*. Such instances of *-chaje* nominalizations were not counted as adnominal modification uses, and were instead categorized as NPs on their own. As such, example (583) is classified as an instance of a *-chaje* nominalization in the position of the O argument of a verb.

(583) É jlapí ri=a'michí-yá [kéelé ri=nó-chaje-na kamejéri-na
 Then night 3SG.NF=smoke-PST MED 3SG.NF=kill-ARG.NZ-PL animal-PL
 kéelé yuwa-jí jló].
 MED child-NF to
 'Then at night he smoked the animals that he had killed for that child.' (ycn0053,78).

In addition to these positions, textual data shows that *-chaje* nominalizations can be used in dislocated NPs which help identifying referents, as in (584) .

(584)
 a. Kanumá tá i'jĩ-chá,
 K EMPH go-PST
 'Kanumá went,
 b. amí-cha-ri kajú ri=aúki'-cha káru chojé,
 see-PST-NF a_lot 3SG.NF=put-PST plant in.toward
 and saw that he had put a lot (of it) into the palm leaf,'
 c. kéelé kujnú [ri=a'-chajé ri=jló].
 MED cassava 3SG.NF=give-ARG.NZ 3SG.NF=to
 the cassava that he had given to him.' (ycn0068,155).

In addition to textual data, some elicited examples suggest that *-chaje* nominalizations are compatible with the positions of argument and predicate in zero copula non-verbal clauses. Example (585) shows the *-chaje* nominalization as the argument of a non-verbal clause where the adjective ‘good’ is the predicate.

(585) *Palá-ni* [nu=kelo'-**cháje**].
 well-NF 1SG=thicken-ARG.NZ
 ‘What I thickened is good.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:459)

While argument nominalizations with share important similarities in terms of their syntactic distribution with *-kare* ARG.NZ nominalizations in particular, and argument nominalizations in general, its distribution differs in the absence of any non-NP uses. The distribution of *-chaje* nominalizations is summarized in Table 90.

Table 90 Syntactic distribution of *-chaje* nominalizations

	Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			0
	Adnominal mod	Relative clauses		10
Verbal clauses	S of V			0
	O of V			3
	Arg of Postp			2
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause			0
	Pred of NV clause			0
Other	dislocated NPs	Referent identification		1
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate			0
	Cosubordinate			0
	Main clause			0
Total				16

14.2.3 Agent *-ka* nominalizations

In terms of its syntactic distribution, agent nominalizations with *-ka* are found in a variety of NP positions such as adnominal modification (586), O of V (587), and argument of postpositions (588).

(586) *Unká iná ajñá-lá [kéelé kajé mapéja to'-ká=o].*
 NEG GNR.PRO eat-V.NEG MED type casually lie-NZ=MID
 ‘One does not eat that type of things that are lying (on the floor) just like that.’
 (ycn0108,37)

(587) *Na=kapichá-chi-ya [kéelé atiñá wáni i'mi-chá-ká eja'wá chú].*
 3PL=disappear-CAUS-PST MED man EMPH COP-PST-NZ forest in
 ‘They killed that one who was the greatest man on earth.’ (ycn0186,156)

(588) [*ri=é i'ma-ká-ño*] *jló iná kémá...*
 3SG.NF=at COP-NZ-PL to GNR.PRO say
 ‘to those who are there one says...’ (ycn0059,20)

As I explained in §13.2.3, this nominalization construction, similarly to most argument nominalization constructions, involves the gapping of the argument that is referred to. Note that, indeed, neither of the verbs within the grammatical nominalizations in (586) to (588) have a subject argument. Example (587) is particularly interesting because the element before the root carrying *-ka* is an NP (‘that great man’). However, this element is not in the position of subject of the verbal copula, but is in fact the predicate complement of the copula. Even when there is a demonstrative in the NP containing the nominalization, the demonstrative cannot be analyzed as the A/S of the verb with *-ka* because it can be separated from it by an adverb as in (589).

(589) *kéelé kajú jña'-ká-ño*
 MED a_lot grab-NZ-PL
 ‘those who grab a lot’ (ycn0117,95)

In terms of frequency, agent nominalizations with *-ka* are most often used as arguments in non-verbal clauses with the function of Agent focalization (590), and as dislocated NPs used to facilitate referent identification (495).

(590) *na=ikhá [i'mi-chá-ka-ño=no* *Chi'nárikana miná].*
 3PL=PRO COP-PST-NZ-PL=HAB Yurupari owner
 ‘They are the ones who used to be the owners of the Yurupari.’ (ycn0068,9)

(591) *ilé tá pi'-chá-ri=o píño ri=le'jé wachapílá*
 MED EMPH return-PST-NF=MID again 3SG.NF=POSS belt
pa'-tá-je, [kéelé itewí ja'pí yurí-cha-ka=o].
 return-CAUS-PURP.MOT MED.DEM palm_sp under stay-PST-NZ=MID
 'That one returned again to find his belt, that which had stayed under the *canangucho*
 palm tree.' (ycn0108,213)

In terms of their syntactic distribution and functions, agent nominalizations with *-ka* are thus extremely similar to agent nominalizations with G/N §14.2.5. Both are only occasionally found embedded within verbal clauses, while their main uses are in non-verbal clauses and dislocated NPs. However, despite these similarities, agent nominalizations with *-ka* differ strikingly from agent nominalizations with G/N in two main respects. First, the former is restricted to syntactic NP positions while the latter has developed non-NP uses, and second, G/N nominalizations are far more frequent in my corpus (some 350 identified instances), while agent *-ka* nominalizations are not very frequent (22 instances, 14 of which produced by the same speaker). The distribution of agent *-ka* nominalizations is summarized in Table 91.

Table 91 Syntactic distribution of agent nominalizations with *-ka*

	Syntactic position	Functions	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			0
	Adnominal mod	Relativization		1
Verbal clauses	S of V			0
	O of V			1
	Arg of Postp			3
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	Topic in Subject focalization clauses		9
	Pred of NV clause			1
Other	Dislocated NP	Referent identification		7

Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate		0
	Cosubordinate		0
	Main clause		0
Total			22

14.2.4 Event/location *-ka* nominalizations

Event/location nominalizations with *-ka* are used in a wide range of syntactic positions. Their syntactic distribution shows important similarities with that of event nominalizations with event lexical nominalizers *-kaje* EV.NZ and *-kana* EV.NZ; most importantly, all three event nominalizers are compatible with the positions of O NP and argument of postposition, which cover the functional domains of complement and adverbial clauses respectively.

However, unlike event nominalization constructions with lexical nominalizers, event/location nominalizations with *-ka* are also found in other syntactic positions such as non-verbal zero copula clauses and beyond the domain of nominalization, in various non-NP positions (adverbial clauses, main-clause uses). These positions show interesting specificities in terms of discourse functions and frequency, and they are also the most problematic and ambiguous in terms of synchronic analysis.

The aim of this section is to explore this wide range of uses of event/location nominalizations with *-ka*, focusing on the most frequent and problematic cases. For each syntactic position, I specify which semantic denotations of the *-ka* nominalization are used, whether eventive, locative, or both. The syntactic distribution, function, morphosyntactic restrictions, variation and lastly the number of occurrences of event/location *-ka* nominalizations per syntactic position are detailed in Table 95 at the end of this section. Note that there are approximately 1800 identified instances of event/location *-ka* nominalizations and nominalization-based constructions in the Flex corpus, which make this marker the most pervasive among nominalization encoding devices.

14.2.4.1 Possessor within an NP

In this use, nominalizations with *-ka* (only those with event semantics) are embedded within an NP as possessors of another noun, which is the head of the NP as with *wemí* ‘price’ in (592), and *yukúná* ‘story’ in (593).

(592) *ri=a'-chá* *ri=jló* [*kéleé ri=makápo'-ka* *ri=ikhá*] ***wemí***
 3SG.NF=give-PST 3SG.NF=to MED 3SG.NF=revive-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO **price**
 ‘He gave him the price of his having saved him.’ (ycn0092,96)

(593) *Chúwa nu=i'ma-jǐ-ka* *méké-ka*
 now 1SG=tell-FUT-NZ INDF.MANNER-SUB
 [*iná* *la'-ká* *iná* *ñakare=o*] ***yukú-ná***
 GNR.PRO do-NZ GNR.PRO house=MID **story-ALIEN3**
 ‘Now is my telling of the story of how one builds one’s own house.’ (ycn0119,1)

Example (592) is interesting because although there is an independent pronoun before the head noun (*rikhá* ‘he/it’), this pronoun is not semantically the possessor of the head noun *wemí* ‘price’ but in fact, this pronoun denotes the P argument of the verb in the nominalization. Indeed, it is the entire nominalization (the event of his having saved him) that functions as a possessor.

Structurally, the fact that the event *-ka* nominalizations in (592) and (593) are filling the position of the nominal possessors is clear from the absence of a person index on the possessed nouns. Indeed, in both of these examples, the entire nominalization (in brackets) occupies the possessor position. The behavior of possessed nouns can be seen clearly in (594) where the possessor is encoded with a person index, and in (595) where the possessor is encoded with an overt NP.

(594) *Nu=wáta* *ri=a'-ká* ***pi=wemí*** *nu=jló*
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=give-NZ **2SG=price** 1SG=to
 ‘I want him to give me your price.’ (63,170)

(595) *Yewákumi* *yukú-ná* *nu=i'ma-jé*
 Y. story-ALIEN3 1SG=tell-FUT
 ‘I will tell the story of Yewákumi.’ (41,1)

In terms of the freedom of combination with lexical items in this syntactic position, we note that only two different nouns are used with *-ka* nominalizations as possessors in my corpus: *wemí* ‘price’ and *yúku* ‘story’. This could be due to a combination of factors, from the eventive semantics of the *-ka* nominalization to the overall low frequency of *-ka* nominalizations in this position (only 10 identified instances in my corpus).

14.2.4.2 O of verbs

Event *-ka* nominalizations can fill the position of the O argument of a verb. Functionally this use of *-ka* nominalizations corresponds to complement clauses, very similarly to the use of lexical nominalizations with *-kaje* EV.NZ and *-kana* EV.NZ in the same position. Structurally, however, the use of *-ka* nominalizations in this position differs from that of *-kaje* and *-kana* in three main ways: the type and number of lexical verbs used in the main predicate, in the restrictions concerning S co-referentiality, and the variation in the expression of T/A.

Concerning the types of verbs that take *-ka* as complements placed in the O position, we find desire (325), command (326), perception (598), (599) cognitive predicates (600). Complement taking verbs that do not take event *-ka* nominalizations as O arguments are aspectual predicates such as ‘begin’ and ‘finish’.

(596) *Nu=wáta* [*ri=a'-ká* *pi=wemí* *nu=jló*].
 1SG=want 3SG.NF=give-NZ 2SG=price 1SG=to
 ‘I want him to give me your price.’ (ycn0063,170)

(597) *É kája* *ri=wakái'-cha* [*ri=jwa'téje-na* *jña'-ká* *a'jne-jí*].
 then 3SG.NF=order-PST 3SG.NF=worker-pl grab-NZ food-UNPOSS
 ‘Then he ordered his workers to grab food.’ (ycn0068,289)

(598) *Kája* *ri=amí-cha* [*júni* *iphí-cha-ka* *phá* *chójō*].
 Already 3SG.NF=see-PST wáter arrive-PST-NZ house in.toward
 ‘He saw the water entering into the house.’ (ycn108,302)

(599) *É* *ri=e'wé=mí* *jemi'-chá* [*ri=apho'-ká* *ri=e'wé*
 Then 3SG.NF=sibling=PFV hear-PST 3SG.NF=blow-PST 3SG.NF=sibling
aphíná=mi *chojé*].
 bone=PFV in.toward
 ‘Then his brother (of a deceased) heard him blowing into his brother’s bone.’
 (ycn0186,39)

(600) *Unká* *wa=we'pí-la* [*méké* *ru=la'-ká=o*].
 NEG 1PL=know-V.NEG INDF.manner 3SG.F=do-NZ=MID
 ‘We do not know how she’s doing.’ (ycn0058,35)

The use of event *-ka* nominalizations in this syntactic position shows restrictions of co-referentiality that entirely depend on the semantic type of complement taking predicate they combine with. The complements of desire predicates (‘want’) encoded with *-ka* are obligatorily

understood as having an A/S argument that is not co-referential with the subject of the main clause as in (325). The reverse pattern is used in clauses with the verb ‘try’, which require an event *-ka* nominalization as the complement, and which are obligatorily understood as having S co-referentiality (601). Lastly, perception and cognition verbs do not show any restrictions in terms of shared arguments between the main and the subordinate verbs, as in (598) to (600).

(601) *ru=atáĩ-cha jlá ru=motho'-ká*
 3SG.F=try-PST FRUST 3SG.F=cook-NZ
 ‘she tried to cook’ (ycn0053,66)

Lastly, another important fact about *-ka* nominalizations is that their degree of internal finiteness may be affected by the main predicate. Indeed, some verbs allow their complements to be marked for tense and aspect (perception and cognition), whilst other verbs (want, order, try) require their complements to be unmarked for these categories. The various restrictions and variations in event *-ka* nominalizations used as O NPs of complement-taking verbs are summarized in Table 92.

Table 92 Restrictions and variation of event *-ka* nominalizations in O position

Main predicate	Co-referentiality restrictions	T/A encoding
Want	Different A/S	n
Order	Different A/S	n
Try	Same A/S	n
See	None	y
Hear	None	y
Know	None	y

Table 92 suggests that complement-taking predicates group into two categories: complement-taking predicates with main/subordinate co-referentiality restrictions, and complement-taking predicates with no main/subordinate co-referentiality restrictions. In the former group, the encoding of T/A is disallowed, and in the latter, the encoding of T/A is allowed.

The use of event *-ka* nominalizations as O NPs of complement-taking verbs is very similar to the use of event, lexical nominalizations with *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ in the same position, as described in §14.1.1.3-14.1.2.2. These different nominalization constructions in the

O NP position display some distributional tendencies. Event/location *-ka* nominalizations are not used with verbs like ‘begin’ and ‘finish’ while these verbs were some of the most frequently used with *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ. Inversely, *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ nominalizations are not used as complements of the verb ‘see’, which is very often used with *-ka* complements. Both event/location *-ka* nominalizations, as well as *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ nominalizations can be used as complements of desire and command verbs ‘want’ and ‘order’, but the former is obligatorily interpreted as different A/S, while the latter are interpreted as same A/S.

14.2.4.3 Argument of postpositions

Nominalizations with *-ka*, both eventive and locative, are often used in the position of the argument of a postposition. Functionally, event/location *-ka* nominalizations used as oblique arguments are the equivalents of adverbial clauses. The type of semantic relation between the main and the embedded nominalization is encoded by the postposition: ‘when’ clauses may be expressed by postposition *é* ‘at’ (602), ‘while’ clauses use *kétána* ‘during’ (603), because clauses use postposition *aú* ‘for/with’ (604) or *pachá* ‘due to’ (605), until clauses with *ejená* ‘until’, and so on.

(602) *kája* [*iná* *ijlú* *ita-ká=o*] *é* *nu=ja'pí-cha* *i'micháká*
 already GNR.PRO eye close-NZ=MID **at** 1SG=pass-PST FAR.PST
 ‘I passed by at the moment when one’s eyes close’ (ycn0545,32)

(603) *Eyá* [*ri=to'-chá-ka=o*] *kétána* *jiyári*
 then 3SG.NF=lie-PST-NZ=MID **during** turtle_sp
pajno'-chá-ka=o *ri=i'wá* *aú.*
 turn-PST-NZ=MID 3SG.NF=rear with
 ‘Then the turtle turned around with its rear while he was lying down (ycn0186,29)

(604) *eyonáje* *na=yurí-cha* *ri=i'micháká,*
 however 3PL=leave-PST 3SG.NF=FAR.PST
 [*ilé* *ké* *ri=e'wé* *li'=cha-ká*] **aú**
 MED like 3SG.NF=sibling do-PST-NZ **for**
 ‘however they left it, because of his brother having acted like that.’ (ycn0108,70)

(605) *Ri=ikhá* *unká* *na=wá'-la-cha* *na=jwa'té=o*
 3SG.NF=PRO NEG 3PL=take-V.NEG-PST 3PL=with=MID
 [*kawale'ké* *wáni* *ri=i'ma-ká*] *pachá.*
 big_eater EMPH 3SG.NF=COP-NZ **fault**
 ‘They did not take him with them because he ate too much. (Lit. because of his being a big eater). (ycn0063,207)

(606) *Iná* *wáta iná* *kariwá-te* *a'jné*
 GNR.PRO wait GNR.PRO white_person-ALIEN1 DIST
 [*ri=iphá-ká*] *ejená.*
 3SG.NF=arrive-NZ **until**
 ‘One waits for one’s boss until he arrives.’ (ycn0117,92)

Structurally, this use of event/location *-ka* nominalizations is analogous to the use of NPs headed by underived nouns as arguments of postpositions in simplex clauses, and to the use of *-kana/-kaje* nominalizations in this very position. Indeed, the nominalization with *-ka* immediately precedes the postposition, which does not carry any person index, showing that the preceding NP is in the possessor slot. Contrast the structure of the embedded nominalization with postposition *pachá* ‘because of’ in (605), with the use of the same postposition in a simplex clause in (607).

(607) *cháwa-ni* *nu=la'-ká* *nu=i'rí,* [*ri=yajálo* *wejána tá*] *pachá*
 pity-NF 1SG=do-NZ 1SG=son 3SG.NF=wife idiot EMPH because
 ‘I have treated my son very poorly, because of his stupid wife.’ (ycn0089,119)

In terms of the placement of the postpositional phrase containing the event/location *-ka* nominalization vis-à-vis the main predicate, there are some tendencies across functional domains; temporal clauses tend to precede the main predicate, and reason clauses tend to follow it, but their placement allows variation in discourse, a feature of postpositional phrases in simplex clauses as well.

An additional feature of event/location *-ka* nominalizations in this position is their flexibility to combine with multiple postpositions. While *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ nominalizations are almost exclusively attested with a single postposition (*nakú* ‘on’), event/location *-ka* nominalizations are attested in combination with at least 20 different postpositions (Table 93). However, the difference in number of different postpositions attested with these nominalizations is not necessarily a result of restrictions inherent to these markers, but rather a product of their frequency of use. Indeed, there are at least 100 identified examples in my corpus of texts of *-ka* nominalizations as arguments of postpositions, as opposed to the roughly 20 instances of *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ nominalizations in the same position.

In terms of semantics, as discussed previously in §12.3, *-ka* nominalizations expressing either event or locations are internally identical and they are only distinguished through their external distribution and contextual cues. Most importantly, the locative interpretation is only

attested with *-ka* nominalizations in the position of an argument of a postposition only. However, the opposite is not true, as *-ka* nominalizations in the position of the argument of a postposition are not necessarily locative. Contrast example (605) of an eventive *-ka* nominalization with a postposition, with (608), where the *-ka* nominalization used as an argument of a postposition has a locative interpretation. Note that once more, the syntactic structure in (608) is identical to a simplex clause with a locative postpositional phrase (609).

(608) *é ru=i'jĩ-chá a'jną [na=i'mi-chá-ká] éjǒ*
 then 3SG.F=go-PST dist 3PL=COP-PST-NZ toward
 'then she went over there toward where they were' (ycn0063,50)

(609) *Aũ ri=wá'a nu=ikhá a'jną [ri=ñakarē] éjǒ.*
 so 3SG.NF=take 1SG=PRO DIST 3SG.NF=house toward
 'So he took me over there to his house.' (ycn0092,111)

Despite the fact that both event and location interpretations are available with postpositions, the data suggest that there are tendencies concerning which postpositions allow which interpretation(s): whether locative only, eventive only, or both (Table 93).

Table 93 Postpositions used with *-ka* nominalizations

Form	Function	Loc	Ev
<i>chiyá</i>	from	y	n
<i>chojě</i>	into	y	n
<i>ějǒ</i>	toward	y	n
<i>eyá</i>	from	y	n
<i>e'yá</i>	in	y	n
<i>é</i>	when	y	y
<i>ějě</i>	until	y	y
<i>ewá</i>	around	y	y
<i>aũ</i>	because	n	y
<i>cháyami</i>	while	n	y
<i>ějěchami</i>	when	n	y
<i>ejená</i>	until	n	y
<i>jwa'té</i>	with	n	y
<i>ké</i>	like	n	y
<i>kétána</i>	during	n	y
<i>nakú</i>	while	n	y
<i>pachá</i>	because	n	y
<i>wakajé</i>	when	n	y
<i>yámona</i>	after	n	y

Lastly, unlike *-ka* nominalizations in the position of O argument, *-ka* nominalizations used in the position of arguments of postpositions do not show any restrictions in terms of argument co-referentiality, nor of T/A marking.

14.2.4.4 Predicate of non-verbal clause

In this use of event *-ka* nominalizations, the nominalized clause is embedded within the position of a non-verbal predicate, preceded by the interrogative non-inflecting particle *é* Q. Functionally, this construction is the dedicated yes/no interrogative strategy, as in (610).

- (610) *Nu=eje'rí=mi, é [pi=jĩ'-chá-ka jíña]?*
 1SG=nephew=PFV Q 2SG=grab-PST-NZ fish
 ‘My nephew (of my deceased brother), did you grab any fish?’ (ycn0063,66)

This structure is identical to yes/no interrogatives with underived non-verbal predicates like (611). Note that in Yukuna, it is perfectly possible to omit the argument of non-verbal predicates, especially in impersonal clauses or with topical referents that are clearly identifiable in context (§6.1).

- (611) *É palá-ni?*
 Q well-NF
 ‘Is it good?’ (ycn0504,51)

Despite the structural similarities with simplex non-verbal yes/no interrogatives, this construction could alternatively be analyzed as a main clause use of *-ka* nominalizations. There is one instance of this type of interrogative with frustrative mood marker *jlá*, a feature that is absent from clearly subordinate nominalizations.

- (612) *é kája⁶² iná witúka'-ta-ka jlá kéelé a'waná?*
 Q EMPH GNR.PRO go_down-CAUS-NZ FRUST MED tree
 ‘Can one try to take down that tree?’ (ycn0108,180)

⁶² The forms *é* and *kája* are both highly versatile, and can be associated with a variety of different functions. In this position clause initially, the sequence *é kája* often functions as a sentence connector, but *kája* is also used as an emphatic marker, and the adverb ‘already’. I adopted the interrogative and emphatic glosses for these markers in this particular example because of its interrogative interpretation.

There are, however, only 17 instances of this construction identified so far in my corpus of texts, so more data is needed to explore this use of event nominalizations with *-ka*. On the basis of the available data, I adopt a conservative analysis of yes/no interrogatives as non-verbal clauses with an embedded *-ka* nominalization, while admitting that similarly to many other uses of *-ka* nominalizations, this construction may be grammaticalizing as a main verbal clause interrogative construction, and as such, be in the process of acquiring finite verbal features.

14.2.4.5 Argument of non-verbal clause

In this use of *-ka* nominalizations (only those with eventive semantics), the nominalized clause is embedded into the position of the unique argument of a non-verbal zero copula clause. I use the label **adverbial pseudo-cleft** to describe this structure.

Cross-linguistically, cleft constructions are structurally defined as a type of non-verbal predication construction, where the clefted element "...is a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP_i) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is correferential with NP_i" (T. E. Payne 1997, 278). Two structural types of clefts are commonly distinguished in the literature: cleft sentences properly (also known as *it*-clefts in English, as in the invented sentence 'it was Marie who won the prize'), and pseudo-clefts (or *wh*-clefts in English, as in 'a prize is what Marie won'). Typically, pseudo-clefts have the same structure as identificational non-verbal predicates, where the two elements in the sentence (e.g. 'a prize', and 'what Marie won') are nominal constituents (Creissels 2006b, 124).

Functionally, clefts of all types are described as focus-marking devices. I do not aim to provide a discussion of this term that lives up to its complexity. Here, I simply adopt the broad definition of focus as information that is missing, filling a gap, or which *contrasts* with another piece of information, whether explicitly stated or simply presupposed (Creissels 2006b, 121).

In Yukuna, pseudo-clefts with an embedded event *-ka* nominalization broadly correspond to the cross-linguistic structural and functional definition of pseudo-clefts. Structurally, pseudo-clefts with *-ka* are identical to any simplex non-verbal zero copula clause with a PRED ARG structure as shown in (613) and (614). However, note that in this case, the non-verbal predication is not equating two co-referential nominal constituents, but instead, has an adverbial phrase as the predicate.

(613) [Mapéja]_{PRED} [na=pajla-ka tá wa=jwa'té]_{ARG}.
 casually 3PL=lie-NZ EMPH 1PL=with
 'Just like that they are lying to us.' (ycn0108,201)

(614) [Mapéja]_{PRED} [nu=ikhá]_{ARG}.
 casually 1SG=PRO
 ‘I am unbothered.’ (ycn0079,13)

The function of this structure is to place contrastive emphasis on a non-verbal predicate, typically an adverb, describing the manner in which an event took place as in (615).

(615)

- a. “*chúwa tá pi=ajñá pi=a'jne=wá!*”,
 now EMPH 2SG=eat 2SG=food=REFL
 “Eat your food now!”,
- b. *unká, wejápa ñáni [ru=ají-cha-ka]*.
 NEG little DIM 3SG.F=eat-PST-NZ
 ‘no, very little she ate. (Lit. Little was her eating.) (ycn0053,68)

However, despite the apparent straightforward analysis of this construction, it displays a number of problematic features. First, it is the single most frequent construction of *-ka* nominalizations and of all nominalizations in the language, with more than 800 identified instances in my corpus of texts. As a reminder, there are roughly 160 identified instances of *-ka* nominalizations used as objects of verbs, and approximately 100 as arguments of postpositions. The fact that the non-verbal clause use of *-ka* nominalizations is much more frequent than its uses as arguments in verbal clauses is remarkable given that event lexical nominalizations show the reverse tendency (more often as arguments in verbal clauses, only in a few rare examples in non-verbal clauses). Even more surprising than its frequency with respect to other uses of *-ka* nominalizations is the frequency of adverbial pseudo-clefts with *-ka* with respect to finite verbal clauses. Indeed, this construction is attested 22 times in the 100-sentence sample (Appendix 2). This rather high discourse frequency is rather unexpected for a construction type that is cross-linguistically associated with ‘marked’ pragmatics.⁶³

In addition to its high discourse frequency, adverbial pseudo-clefts with *-ka* also show striking surface similarities with finite verbal clauses. Contrast (613) and (616).

(616) *Mapéja nu=jara'pá pajlá nu=jwa'té.*
 casually 1SG=father lie 1SG=with
 ‘Just like that my father lied to me.’ (ycn0108,107)

⁶³ To put this number in perspective, consider the numbers given by Haude (2018) in her study a specific type of cleft construction in Movima (isolate). She describes this construction as having a relatively low discourse frequency, making up approximately 9% of all sentences with 3rd person arguments (2018, 17).

The only apparent difference between the structure with the pseudo-clef containing an event nominalization with *-ka* in (613) and the finite verbal clause in (616) is in fact the presence of the nominalizer *-ka*. The surface similarities are due to a number of factors relative to the Yukuna morphosyntax, namely, the absence of copula in this type of non-verbal predication construction, the clause-like internal structure of grammatical, event nominalizations with *-ka* (see Ch.13), and word order flexibility of adverbs and obliques in finite clauses which allows adverbs to be placed pre-verbally.

Taking into account the exceptional high frequency of this construction and its uncanny formal similarities with finite verbal clauses, a reasonable question to ask is whether this use of *-ka* in fact corresponds to a nominalization embedded into a non-verbal clause, or whether this construction has been reanalyzed as a main-clause. As a general rule, whenever an analysis of a construction with the standard function of the morphemes involved is available, I adopt this analysis synchronically, instead of positing an analysis that involves grammaticalization. Due to the evidence in favor of analyzing *-ka* as a grammatical nominalizer (its internal non-finite features described in Ch.13, and its NP-like distribution described in this chapter), I adopt a conservative analysis for pseudo-clefts with *-ka*.

This section describes in detail the functional and structural subtypes of pseudo-clefts with *-ka* found in texts, and explores some possible hints at grammaticalization.

14.2.4.5.1 Functional/Structural subtypes

All instances of this construction have the same overarching structure; that of a non-verbal zero copula predicate (PRED ARG), where the predicate is a non-verbal constituent in clause initial position, and the *-ka* nominalization is placed in the position of the unique argument, juxtaposed to the right of the non-verbal predicate. I refer to this structure as a pseudo-cleft.

Functionally, this structure can be seen as a focalization strategy where the constituent in predicate position corresponds to ‘new’ information. This is of course a generalization based on many prototypical instances of focalization, but certainly there are many instances where the ‘emphasis’ of the initial constituent is not as striking.

Despite these structural and functional similarities, two subcategories can be identified: interrogative vs. declarative pseudo-clefts with *-ka*. The main structural difference between the two is that in the former, an indefinite/interrogative pro-form (in particular pro-adverbs) is used

as the predicate, while in the latter, a wider array of constituents can be used in predicative position.

14.2.4.5.1.1 Interrogative pseudo-clefts

In this construction, the *-ka* nominalization is systematically placed in the position of the unique argument of a non-verbal zero copula clause, and the predicate position is filled by an indefinite pro-form, most often a pro-adverb. Indefinite pro-forms in Yukuna are used in two main syntactic contexts, in negation and in interrogatives (see §2.2.5).

Interrogative pseudo-clefts with *-ka* function as content interrogatives for obliques and adverbials. This strategy is thus complementary with other interrogative constructions such as A/S interrogatives with G/N pseudo-clefts (see §14.2.5.5.1.1), y/n questions with *-ka* (see §14.2.4.4), and finite interrogatives (O interrogatives, and others) (see §7.1.2.1). Contrast the oblique interrogative with a *-ka* cleft in (309), the A/S interrogative with a G/N cleft in (618) and the O interrogative with a verbal clause in (619). These three strategies parallel the focalization strategies for obliques, subjects and objects respectively.

(617) *Méké* *[pi=ki'-chá-ka ri=ikhá]?*
 INDF.manner 2SG=throw-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘how did you throw it? (Lit. How is your throwing it?)’ (ycn0058,105)

(618) *Ná* *[kéelé wáa'-ri]?*
 INDF MED call-NF
 ‘Who is calling? (Lit. who is that one calling?)’ (ycn0068,123)

(619) *Ná* *pi=la'á ?*
 INDF 2SG=do
 ‘What are you doing?’ (ycn0063,31)

Structurally, interrogative pseudo-clefts with *-ka* show the same PRED ARG pattern of non-verbal zero copula interrogatives, as in (312) to (310).

(620) *Méké* *chí* *kháãjĩ?*
 INDF.manner EMPH PROX
 ‘How is this?’ (ycn108,150)

(621) *Méké* *chí* *[pi=wáta-ka ri=ikhá]?*
 INDF.manner EMPH 2SG=want-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘How do you want it (Lit. How is your wanting it.)?’ (ycn0186,36)

(622) *Méré* *ri=ikhá?*
 INDF.LOC 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘Where is he?’ (ycn0053,11)

(623) *Méré* *chí* [*nu=tajnáta-ka* *pi=éjéna*]?
 INDF.LOC EMPH 1SG=finish-NZ 2SG=siblings
 ‘Where am I killing (Lit. finishing) your siblings?’ (ycn0053,11)

Among indefinite pro-adverbs, there is a strict distinction between those used in interrogatives with nominalizations, and those used in interrogatives with a finite verb form. While *méké* ‘how’ and *mére* ‘where’ (LOC) are used with *-ka* clefts, forms like *náje* ‘why’ and *méño’jõ* ‘where to’ require a finite verb form (624).

(624) *Náje* *chí* *ri=wakára’á* *pi=ikhá* *nu=chájé?*
 INDF.reason EMPH 3SG.NF=send 2SG=PRO 1SG=at
 ‘Why did he send you to me?’ (ycn0063,34)

Note that in verbal clauses, indefinite pro-forms are placed pre-verbally, so that verbal interrogatives show striking formal similarities with *-ka* clefts. If we compare the verbal interrogative in (624) with clefts interrogatives in (621) and (310), then the only apparent difference is the presence of the marker *-ka*. The same striking similarities are found between verbal clauses and the second subtype of pseudo-cleft with *-ka*, as discussed next.

14.2.4.5.1.2 Declarative pseudo-clefts

In this construction, the *-ka* nominalization is systematically placed in the position of the unique argument of a non-verbal zero copula clause, and the predicate position is filled by a non-verbal constituent different from an indefinite pro-form. In structural terms strictly, these clefts are not different from simplex non-verbal clauses. Contrast (625) with (626), both of which have the pro-adverb *rikhó* (*ri=ikhá=o* 3SG.NF=PRO=MID ‘by it/himself’) as the predicate.

(625) [*ri=ikhá=o*]_{PRED} [*ri=kámo’-ka=o*]_{ARG}, *kéelé*
 3SG.NF=PRO=MID 3SG.NF=ripen-NZ=MID MED
 ‘it ripens by itself, that one (Lit. its ripening is by itself)’ (ycn0108,230)

(626) [*Ri=ikhá=o=ja*]_{PRED} *wáni kája* [*ri=ikhá*]_{ARG}.
 3SG.NF=PRO=MID=LIM EMPH EMPH 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘He was all by himself.’ (ycn0041,17).

In terms of function, this construction is very often used as an oblique focalization strategy (adverbials, postpositional phrases), exploiting the predicate initial word order of non-verbal zero copula clauses. Very often, this construction is used after a verbal clause, repeating the same lexical verb and adding information about the event. Examples of this verbal clause/cleft alternation are aplenty in the corpus, as illustrated with the sequences from (627) to (630).

(627) *É kája na=wajla'á, kajrú* [na=wajla'-ká].

then 3PL=dance a_lot 3PL=dance-NZ

'Then they dance, *a lot* they dance. (Lit. a lot is their dancing).' (ycn0059,50)

(628) *Ri=ikhá na=thuli'-chá, patá* [na=thuli'-chá-ka kúna].

3SG.NF=PRO 3PL=mash-PST well 3PL=mash-PST-NZ barbasco

'*that* they mashed, *very well* they mashed the barbasco plant. (Lit. very well is their mashing...).' (ycn0189,51)

(629) *É ri=iphá-chi-ya, kajú* [ri=iphá-chi-ya-ka jež-ná].

Then 3SG.NF=arrive-CAUS-PST a_lot 3SG.NF=arrive-CAUS-PST-NZ snake-PL

'Then he brings, he brings *a lot* of snakes. (Lit. a lot is his bringing snakes).'

(ycn0189,14)

(630) *Na=wái'-cha júni, kajú* [na=wái'-cha-ka júni].

3PL=call-PST water a_lot 3PL=call-PST-NZ water

'They called for the rain, they called for the rain *a lot* (Lit. a lot is their calling the rain).'

(ycn0189,183)

This construction is complementary to focalization strategies for other constituent types, mainly A/S focalization and O focalization. A/S focalization (see §14.2.5.5.1.2) is achieved yet again with another pseudo-cleft structure with agent G/N nominalizations in the argument position (285). O focalization is achieved by fronting the O NP in a finite verbal clause, simply by placing it before the verb, as in (632)b ('*his story* I will tell'). These strategies are often used in sequences, as a narrative device in storytelling. (631) shows an alternation between an oblique focalization with a *-ka* pseudo-cleft, and an A/S focalization with a G/N pseudo-cleft. Example (632) shows an alternation between a predicate emphasis construction in (632)a, where the speaker introduces the narrative he is about to tell, and the finite clause in (632)b, where the speaker places the object under contrastive focus. The structure in (632)a is a main clause use of nominalizer *-ka* (see §14.2.4.6.3).

(631)

a. *Kawayá ji'má ké* [ri=ji'má i'mi-chá-ká],

- deer feet like 3SG.NF=feet COP-PST-NZ
 ‘Like deer hooves were his feet,
 b. *ri=napóna kalé [i'mi-chá-rí inau'ké ké].*
 3SG.NF=body EMPH COP-PST-NF person like
 while his body was like a person's.’ (ycn0189,114)

(632)

- a. *Nu=i'ma-jí-ká Kanumá yukú-ná.*
 1SG=tell-FUT-NZ K. story-ALIEN3
 ‘I’m telling Kanuma’s story.
 b. *Ri=ikhá yukú-ná nu=i'ma-jé.*
 3SG.NF=PRO story-ALIEN3 1SG=tell-FUT
 His story I will tell.’ (ycn0068,1-2).

In terms of the structure, we note that the position of the non-verbal predicate is most often filled by an adverbial phrase (633) or a postpositional phrase (634), but in some cases, it can also be an adjective phrase (635) or even an NP (636).

- (633) *Palá wáni [kháǎjǐ Yewákumi la'-ká=no wa=náku].*
 well EMPH PROX Y. do-NZ=HAB 1PL=on
 ‘How well is this Yewákumi treating us.’ (ycn0041,16)

- (634) *É na=arápa'a, jlapí kétána [na=arápa'-ka muní ké píño].*
 then 3PL=dance night during 3PL=dance-NZ next_day again
 ‘then they dance, all night long is their dancing again the next day.’ (ycn0059,61)

- (635) *Ri=ikhá ru=i'jǐ-chá kulá-je ru=e'wé ñani jwa'té,*
 3SG.NF=PRO 3SG.NF=GO-PST search-PURP.MOT 3SG.F=sibling DIM with
yuwa-jí [ru=e'wé i'mi-chá-ká].
 child-NF 3SG.F=sibling COP-PST-NZ
 ‘That she went to look for with her little brother, it was a young child her brother.’
 (ycn0058,8)

- (636) *ru=joilá [ri'=imi-chá-ká]*
 3SG.F=uncle 3SG.NF=COP-PST-NZ
 ‘it was her uncle’ (ycn0058,10)

Examples (635) and (636) are interesting because the root carrying *-ka* is the verbal copula. These clefts could thus be alternatively encoded with a simplex zero copula construction or a finite verbal copula construction in which the clefted constituent (i.e. ‘child’, ‘her uncle’) would still be the semantic predicate. However, the interpretation would not be the same (‘he was her uncle’ instead of ‘it was her uncle’). The discourse ‘markedness’ of the cleft comes not only

from placing a non-verbal element in the predicate position, but also from placing a non-finite verbal element in the argument position.

In addition to the aforementioned constituent types that can be used as predicates in the *-ka* pseudo-clefts, we find also other *-ka* nominalizations in postpositional phrases (637), or embedded direct speech used as the argument of postposition *ké* ‘like’ (638). These structures involve the embedding of elements with internal clausal structure into both, the position of the non-verbal predicate and of that of the unique argument.

(637) *Pi=wáta-ka ké=ja [pi=la'-ká ri=ikhá].*
 2SG=want-NZ like=LIM 2SG=do-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘You do it however you want to. (Lit. Your doing it is just like your wanting.)
 (ycn0119,35)

(638) *"I=iyá-níña" ké [ri=ímí-cha-ka].*
 2PL=cry-PROH like 3SG.NF=say-PST-NZ
 ‘He said like “don’t cry!”.’ (ycn0058,27)

Note that all these various complements (adverbial modifiers, direct speech with *ké*, postpositional phrases) are also attested in pre-verbal position in finite verbal clauses, making the surface ambiguity between *-ka* clefts and verbal clauses even more striking. Contrast the use of *kajú* ‘a lot’ in (254) where it is the non-verbal predicate of a cleft with a nominalized verb form, from *kajú* in (640) where it is a pre-verbal modifier in a fully finite clause. Such surface similarities are certainly the motivation behind the analysis in Schauer et al. (2005, 316), where *-ka* is argued to function as a mark that an adverbial modifier is used before the verb.

(639) [*kajú*]_{PRED} [*ru=i'rí íi-cha-ka*]_{ARG}
 a_lot 3SG.F=son cry-PST-NZ
 ‘a lot cried her son (Lit. a lot is her son’s crying)’ (ycn0053,80)

(640) *kajú ri=a'miti-yá na=ikhá*
 a_lot 3SG.NF=smoke-PST 3PL=PRO
 ‘he smoked them (the dead animals) a lot’ (ycn0053,91)

In addition to the surface ambiguity between these two structures, some instances of *-ka* clefts do not really show the prototypical pattern of pseudo-clefts whereby the clefted constituent in the predicate position is under focus (new information), and the embedded nominalization with *-ka* in the argument position encodes given information. Instead, in these instances, the entire sentence appears to be emphasized as in (641) to (644).

(641) *Ri=ějěchami kája [ru=yurí-cha-ka=o kanupá*
 3SG.NF=after already 3SG.F=stay-PST-NZ=MID pregnant
ru=yajná ñaká=mi le'jé].
 3SG.NF=husband reflection=PFV possession
 ‘After that, she got pregnant by her husband’s ghost.’ (ycn0189,110)

(642) *Chúwa [nu=ikhá yuré-jĩ-ka=o pají numaná].*
 now 1SG=PRO stay-FUT-NZ=MID house door
 ‘Now I will stay (by) the house door.’ (ycn0189,118)

(643) *Jlapichámí [ri=jemi'-chá-ka [kéelé ri=jara'pá*
 night 3SG.NF=hear-PST-NZ MED 3SG.NF=father
ñaká=mi iphí-cha-ka]]
 reflection=PFV arrive-PST-NZ
 ‘At night he heard that the ghost of his father arrived.’ (ycn0189,58)

(644) *Méré ka'jné cura tá? me'tení [nu=kulá-jĩ-ka]*
 IND.F.LOC DUB priest EMPH now 1SG=search-FUT-NZ
 ‘Where would the priest be? I’m going to look for him now.’ (ycn0504,79)

I refer to the clear adverbial focus instances as ‘standard’ *-ka* pseudo-clefts, and to all variations of this pragmatic configuration as ‘atypical’. Of course, there is a lot of intuition in the interpretation of these discourse-related nuances, but there are some cues that can help tease apart the more standard vs. atypical instances of *-ka* clefts. The first and most obvious cue is whether the main event has already been ‘set’ with a finite verbal clause, then restated with a *-ka* cleft as in examples (627) to (630) (e.g. ‘they danced, a lot they danced’). These instances clearly show a new-given configuration, where the salient information is the ‘added’ clefted constituent. In examples (641) and (642), on the contrary, the *-ka* marked element has not been introduced beforehand and in fact, corresponds to new information (e.g. no one expected the main character in (641) to get pregnant by her late husband’s ghost). A second important cue concerns the semantics of the adverb used in the predicate position before the *-ka* nominalization. In the standard uses of *-ka* clefts, the clefted element in the predicate position is most often a manner or quantity adverb (e.g. a lot, well, badly, quickly, entirely, etc.), but in the more atypical instances, it is often a time adverb. Note that I still analyze pragmatically atypical instances of *-ka* clefts as clefts in terms of their structure, even when they do not appear to function as focalization devices. However, despite this structural analysis, I believe that this functional versatility of *-ka* clefts is closely related to the innovative, non-NP uses of *-ka* (see §14.2.4.6).

14.2.4.5.2 Variations in finiteness

Having presented the cleft structures with *-ka*, their functions and their striking surface similarities with finite verbal clauses, a question that emerges is whether *-ka* nominalizations in this construction show the same non-finite features as *-ka* nominalizations in other syntactic positions, or whether they show unexpected, finite-like features. As a recall, in §13.2.4, I had shown that *-ka* nominalizations show only two of the nominal features that define prototypical NPs (demonstratives and non-verbal negation), and lack only two of the verbal features that define finite clauses (verbal negation and mood).

Concerning the nominal features of *-ka* nominalizations, positive data is very scarce. Indeed, non-verbal negation with *-ka* nominalizations is only attested in elicitation, and there are only eight instances of demonstratives with *-ka* nominalizations in the corpus, none of which are in a cleft construction. Given the high frequency of *-ka* clefts in the corpus, the absence of demonstratives in this construction could be interpreted as evidence that *-ka* nominalizations in this position have lost this nominal feature. After all, if no demonstratives are found in over 800 instances of *-ka* clefts, then it is likely that they cannot occur in this position at all. However, the low frequency of demonstratives with *-ka* nominalizations has to be taken with a grain of salt, when we take into consideration the low frequency of demonstratives with event nominalizations in general. Indeed, as argued in §13.1, demonstratives are just not commonly used with nominalizations with eventive semantics, even in the case of lexical nominalizations with *-kana* EV.NZ and *-kaje* EV.NZ.

Turning to the verbal features of *-ka* nominalizations in pseudo-clefts, there might be some evidence showing that the verb form with *-ka* in pseudo-clefts has in fact acquired additional verbal features in contrast to *-ka* nominalizations in more prototypical NP syntactic positions. I have identified four instances of *-ka* pseudo-clefts with frustrative mood marker *jlá* ~ *ijlá* ‘try’ as in (645) and (646). The only other attested instances of frustrative *jlá* with nominalizing or deranking morphology in general are in in subordinate constructions.

(645) *nu=ikhá=o ka'jná nu=i'jna-ká jlá ... na=jló*
 1SG=PRO=MID DUB 1SG=go-NZ FRUST 3PL=to
kamejéri nó-je ri=aú
 animal kill-PURP.MOT 3SG.NF=with
 ‘I will try to go by myself I guess to hunt animals with it for them’ (ycn0092,17)

(646) *Méké iná witúka'-ta-ka jlá?*
 how GNR.PRO go_down-CAUS-NZ FRUST
 ‘How can one try to bring it down?’ (ycn0108,181)

In addition to the presence of *jlá ~ ijlá* in *-ka* clefts, there are some additional hints that this constructions could have acquired finite features concerning illocutionary force. Indeed, nominalizations specifically, but subordinate clauses in general are expected to show restrictions in sentential features such as mood, topic/focus marking and word order, as subordinate clauses are said to lack their own illocutionary force (Foley and Van Valin 1984, 239; Lehmann 1989, 193–95; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, 103). In Yukuna, the expression of focus distinctions can also be included among illocutionary force related features of finite verbal clauses. A frequent focalization device in finite clauses is the use of independent pronouns instead of person indexes, as with the focused first person pronoun in (647). Interestingly, this use of independent pronouns is also found in some *-ka* marked clauses in a structure that appears to be a pseudo-cleft as in (648). This is particularly compelling since in a pseudo-cleft, the argument position filled by an eventive *-ka* nominalization is typically associated with given information.

(647) *Chúwa nu=ikhá ja'pá-je, nu=ikhá tarápa'-je nu=wajlé chúwa*
 now 1SG=PRO pass-FUT 1SG=PRO bend-FUT 1SG=back now
 ‘Now I will pass by, I will dance (Lit. bend my back)’ (ycn0108,304)

(648) [*Chúwa*]_{PRED} [*nu=ikhá yuré-jĩ-ka=o pají numaná*]_{ARG}.
 now 1SG=PRO stay-FUT-NZ=MID house door
 ‘Now I will stay (by) the house door.’ (ycn0189,118)

Since I have not proceeded to systematically examine the use of independent pronouns in finite versus non-finite clauses, I cannot affirm that these features are evidence that a formerly bi-clausal cleft construction with an embedded *-ka* nominalization has been reanalyzed as a simplex verbal clause. Even if they constituted sufficient evidence, it is not certain whether this would hold true for all instances of so-called *-ka* clefts or only for a few.

In sum, despite the very fragmented presentation of this section into NP vs. Non-NP uses of *-ka* nominalizations, I consider that pseudo-clefts constitute an intermediate position between the embedded and non-embedded, subordinate and insubordinate uses of *-ka*. A very likely scenario is that among *-ka* pseudo-clefts some instances are in fact true clefts, while some others are verbal clauses used for oblique focalization. The reanalysis of clefts into simplex verbal clauses with specialized discourse functions is robustly documented in the literature on grammaticalization (Harris and Campbell 1995; Bisang 2016). The ambiguity of this

construction is certainly a key factor in the diachronic expansion of nominalizer *-ka* beyond syntactic positions of NPs, which I discuss next.

14.2.4.6 Non-NP uses

Beyond their use in standard NP positions such as O argument and argument of postpositions, nominalizations with *-ka* (exclusively those with eventive semantics) also participate in constructions where their syntactic position does not correspond to an NP position. I have identified four main non-NP *-ka* nominalizations: in adverbial subordinate clauses, in sequential events, in main-clauses as a contrastive discourse marker and in main clauses fused with tense. These uses range from fully subordinate (adverbial subordinate clauses) to fully insubordinate (contrastive main-clauses), going through an intermediate cosubordinate stage (converbial/sequential events). I maintain the same gloss for *-ka* in these uses, and refer to the *-ka* marked clause as a *-ka* nominalization in order to emphasize the functional expansion of this marker. However, these uses cannot be synchronically analyzed as nominalizations proper.

14.2.4.6.1 Adverbial clauses with adverbial subordinators

In this construction, the *-ka* clause functions as an adverbial modifier of a main verbal predicate, just like *-ka* nominalizations used as arguments of postpositions. However, instead of being embedded into the position of an argument of a postposition, *-ka* clauses are used as adverbial subordinate clauses marked with a dedicated adverbial subordinating conjunction such as *lojé* PURP in (649). Since conjunctions are not used with NPs, this syntactic position is not considered as an NP position, and thus, this use of *-ka* clauses constitutes a type of nominalization-based construction.

(649) *É kája iná kulá kamejé, iná nó-ka lojé.*
 then GNR.PRO search animal GNR.PRO kill-NZ PURP
 ‘Then one looks for animals, for one to kill.’ (ycn0119,25)

Functionally, adverbial subordinators and postpositions used with nominalizations are very similar, as they both determine the semantic relation of the embedded clause vis-à-vis the predicate (Rose 2006). In (649), it is the adverbial subordinator *lojé* PURP that determines the semantic link between the subordinate clause and the main clause.

Formally, most adverbial subordinators are homonymous with postpositions. However, I even in cases of homonymy, I distinguish these two functions based on their placement with respect to the embedded clause: postpositions are placed after the right edge of an NP, and subordinators are placed immediately after the embedded verb marked with *-ka*. In the case of postpositions used with *-ka* nominalizations (see §14.2.4.3), the postposition is placed right after the entire embedded nominalized clause. For instance, if the embedded clause has an object NP or an oblique placed after the verb, the postposition is placed *after* all of these elements as with the postposition *é* ‘at’ in (650). Adverbial subordinators, however, are placed directly after the verb carrying *-ka* and before any object NP, postpositional phrase or adverbial modifier as with the conditional subordinator *é* COND in (651).

(650) [*ri=iphí-cha-ka* *ri=éjě*] *é*...
 3SG.NF=arrive-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=toward **at**
 ‘when he arrives there...(Lit. at his arriving towards it) (ycn0041,25)

(651) *pi=ka'-jǐ-ka* *é* *kajrú* *ri=ikhá*...
 2SG=throw-FUT-NZ COND a_lot 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘if you throw a lot of it...’ (ycn0058,101)

The difference between adverbial subordinators and postpositions becomes blurry when the embedded clause has no additional material after the verb (object, adverbs, obliques). In such cases, both adverbial subordinators and postpositions appear to be structurally identical. This is not an issue when the adverbial subordinator does not have a homonymous postposition, as *lojé* PURP in (652), or viceversa, when the postposition does not have a homonymous subordinator as *ejená* ‘until’ in (653).

(652) *pi=moto'ó* *kéelé* *yuwa-ná* *jló,* *na=ajñá-ká* *lojé*
 2SG=cook MED child-PL to 3PL=eat-NZ PURP
 ‘Cook for those kids, for them to eat!’ (ycn0129,8)

(653) *Iná* *wáta* *iná* *kariwá-te* *a'jné*
 GNR.PRO wait GNR.PRO white_person-ALIEN1 DIST
 [*ri=iphá-ká*] *ejená*
 3SG.NF=arrive-NZ **until**
 ‘One waits for one’s boss until he arrives.’ (ycn0117,92)

However, in the cases cases where the same form is used as a postposition with NPs/nominalizations, and as an adverbializer, the two functions cannot be distinguished if no element follows the *-ka* marked verb. Given the fact that even in these embedded clauses there

is some word order freedom, verbal complements can be placed before or after the verb, leading to cases where the *-ka* marked verb is immediately followed by the postposition/adverbializer, and additional complements are placed before. In (654), the object NP precedes the *-ka* marked verb, which is immediately followed by the form *é* at/COND.

- (654) *inaá-na pi=amá-jĩ-ka é,*
 woman-PL 2SG=see-FUT-NZ **at/COND**
pi=ímá nu=jló nu=wáa'-ka lojé wa=jlú=wa
 2SG=say 1SG=to 1SG=call-NZ PURP 1PL=to=REFL
 ‘If you see women, tell me so that I can take (them) for us.’ (ycn0068,171)

All instances such as the one in (654) are ambiguous between an analysis as grammatical nominalizations used as arguments of postpositions, and an analysis as grammatical nominalizations in a non-NP use with an adverbializer. All ambiguous cases have been categorized as arguments of postpositions, but it is likely that many of these instances are on-going cases of grammaticalization from postposition into adverbializer. The question of the functional expansion of *-ka* nominalizations beyond NP positions is thus tightly linked to the issue of the functional expansion of postpositions and their grammaticalization into subordinating conjunctions and coordinating conjunctions. Table 94 lists all forms used as adverbial subordinators with *-ka* marked clauses and their different homonymous forms as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions⁶⁴. This table does not include adverbial subordinators used on verbs without any nominalizing morphology (such as *-chí* PURP, *-je* PURP.MOT, *-noja* CONC see §8.1.3.2).⁶⁵

Table 94 Adverbializers, postpositions and coordinators

	Gloss	Postposition	Coordinator	Subordinator
<i>lojé</i>	PURP	n	n	y
<i>piyá</i>	NEG.PURP	n	n	y
<i>é</i>	at/TEMP/COND	y	y	y
<i>chú</i>	in/COND	y	n	y
<i>aũ</i>	with/so/CAUSE	y	y	y

⁶⁴ This table does not take into account postpositions that do not function as subordinating conjunctions as the focus is on adverbial subordinators that combine with *-ka* marked clauses in this section. See §2.2.6 for a discussion on postpositions and conjunctions in Yukuna.

⁶⁵ An interesting distinction to make between adverbial subordinators that combine with *-ka* marked clauses and subordinators used on verb forms without any nominalization morphology is that the subordinator/postposition homonymy is only found for the former and not the latter.

lé⁶⁶ | CAUSE | n | n | y

In terms of frequency, the total number of instances of *-ka* nominalizations in adverbial clauses with adverbial subordinators is altogether higher (about 200 in the Flex corpus) than the number of *-ka* nominalizations with postpositions (about 100 in the Flex corpus), mostly because adverbializer *lojé* PURP is very frequent (approximately 150 identified instances in the Flex corpus). Adverbial clauses with adverbializers are thus the most widespread non-NP use of *-ka* nominalizations, even more so than the functionally similar *-ka* adverbial clauses without subordinating conjunctions described next.

14.2.4.6.2 Cosubordinate clauses (temporal/conditional)

In Yukuna, this use of *-ka* nominalizations (semantically eventive only) encodes background events in a temporal sequence. The semantics of the *-ka* nominalization in this construction corresponds to temporal (342) and conditional (656) adverbial clauses with postposition/subordinator *é* (see §14.2.4.3).

(655) *ru=ñapá-ti-ya-ka,* *é* *ru=ími-cha* *ru=pulá'pe-ru* *jló...*
 3SG.F=form-CAUS-PST-NZ then 3SG.NF=say-PST 3SG.F=in_law-F to
 ‘(when) she finished, then she told to her sister in law....’ (ycn0089,43)

(656) *nu=ikhá* *chíra'-jĩ-ka* *pi=ikhá* *junápejé,*
 1SG=PRO pull-FUT-NZ 2SG=PRO water.toward
é *nu=cháata-je* *pi=ikhá*
 then 1SG=defeat-FUT 2SG=PRO
 ‘(if) I pull you into the water, then I will defeat you.’ (ycn0186,134)

Structurally, two main cues distinguish *-ka* nominalizations in this cosubordinate use from *-ka* nominalizations used with postpositions and with subordinating conjunctions. Indeed, in the cosubordinate use of *-ka* nominalizations, the *-ka* nominalization is not itself marked with a postposition or subordinating conjunction specifying the semantic link between the events. More interestingly so, the clause placed after the *-ka* nominalization often starts with a coordinating conjunction. In both (342) and (656), the *-ka* nominalization is followed by a finite

⁶⁶ The segmentation of this marker (either as *lé* or as *Vlé*) is not entirely clear as it is only found in a few instances. What is clear is that this marker is not found in other functions, so it is an adverbial subordinator without a formally equivalent postposition.

clause introduced by the coordinating conjunction *é* ‘then’. However, once more, the distinction between these various syntactic positions and functions of *-ka* nominalizations is not always easy to pinpoint, due to the pervasive homonymy among postpositions, subordinating and coordinating conjunctions. In some cases, the main cue to distinguish among these various functions of *-ka* nominalizations is intonation.

It is interesting to note that this strategy to place the *-ka* nominalization in the background, separating it from the ‘main event’ by intonation and a coordinating conjunction is found even in cases where the *-ka* nominalization is marked with a postposition or subordinating conjunction, leading to a postposition-plus-coordinator pairing as in (657), or a subordinator-plus-coordinator pairing as in (658).

(657) *[jlapiyámi wa=ja'pá-ka] é, é ri=ímá nu=jló*
 morning 1PL=walk-NZ **at then** 3SG.NF=say 1SG=to
 ‘in the morning when we were leaving, then he told me....’ (ycn0101,17)

(658) *Wa=amá-ka chú palá ri=ikhá,*
 1PL=see-NZ **COND** well 3SG.NF=PRO
é kája wa=jero'ó ri=ja'piyá.
 then 1PL=pull_out 3SG.NF=under.from
 ‘If we see (that) it is well, then we pull it out from underneath.’ (ycn0042,10-11)

This configuration is not at all uncommon, and is reminiscent of the if/then conditional clauses in English. However, in Yukuna, these postposition/subordinator-plus-coordinator structures allow multiple combinations of postposition/subordinator and coordinators. Contrast example (658) with the *chú COND/é kája* ‘then’ pair, with example (659) with the *chú COND/kéchámi* ‘afterward’ pair. I thus do not analyze these pairings as complex conjunctions.

(659) *eja'wá jená ipha-ká chú, kéchámi wa=kára'a*
 forest time arrive-NZ **COND afterward** 1PL=burn
 ‘When the time of the forest arrives, afterward we burn it.’ (ycn0042,55-56)

What is clear is that in general, all ‘adverbial’ uses of *-ka* nominalizations display great variation in the presence and choice of conjunctions, leading to all possible +/-subordinator, +/-coordinator combinations: +subordinator/-coordinator (presented in §14.2.4.6.1), -subordinator/+coordinator structures as in (342) and (656), +subordinator/+coordinator as in (657) and (659), and in some very rare cases, -subordinator/-coordinator structures as in (660) and (661).

(660) *nu=iphá-ká nu=ta'á ri=ikhá.*

1SG=arrive-NZ 1SG=grate 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘When I arrive I grate it.’ (ycn0059,15)

(661) *kája kamú iyamá chojé kamú to'-chá-ka=o,*
 already sun two into sun lie-PST-NZ=MID
unká ná iphá-lá-cha.
 NEG INDF arrive-V.NEG-PST
 ‘When the sun laid at two in the afternoon, no one arrived.’ (ycn0053,36)

In terms of frequency, I have identified approximately 40 instances of *-ka* adverbial clauses without a subordinating element (postpositions and adverbial subordinators) in the Flex corpus. This category contains both *-subordinator/+coordinator* sequences as well as *-subordinator/-coordinator* sequences, although the latter are far less frequent. Altogether, *-ka* adverbial clauses without subordinators are far less frequent than the ones with a subordinating element (both *+subordinator/-coordinator* and *+subordinator/+coordinator* sequences).

14.2.4.6.3 Topic shift clauses

In this construction, the *-ka* nominalization (event semantics only) is used on its own without any other predicative element. I tentatively adopt the term “topic shift” to describe the function of this use of *-ka* nominalizations, as they switch to a new stage in discourse.⁶⁷ Example (662) shows a very clear context of use of this strategy, where the speaker uses a *-ka* nominalization to begin his narrative.

(662) *Nu=i'ma-jĩ-ká Kanumá yukú-ná.*
 1SG=tell-FUT-NZ K. story-ALIEN3
 ‘I’m telling Kanuma’s story.’ (ycn0068,1).

Many instances of *-ka* in this strategy have a directive interpretation similarly to (662), most often used with first person subjects - singular (662) or plural (211) -, but also with second person subjects (664).

(663) *Wa=ja'pá-jĩ-ka máayá!*
 1PL=walk-FUT-NZ PROX.from
 ‘Let’s go away from here!’ (ycn0108,67)

⁶⁷ This use of *-ka* nominalizations is similar to left dislocations, which are commonly described as topicalization devices that introduce new topics, as opposed to foregrounding devices that indicate the maintenance of a topic across multiple sentences. (Lambrecht 1994; Foley 2007, 443)

(664) *I=amá-ka jlá wa=mawirú-té!*
 2PL=see-NZ FRUST 1PL=pineapple-ALIEN1
 ‘Go look at our pineapple!’ (ycn0068,293)

Note that in this function, *-ka* marked clauses can in fact combine with frustrative mood *jlá* (664), a feature associated with finite clauses. Similarly, other uses of *-ka* also seem to have acquired this finite feature, such as some oblique interrogatives §14.2.4.5.2 and yes/no interrogatives §14.2.4.4.

When the subject is a third person singular or plural, the clause does not have a directive interpretation, but it still functions as a topic shift device, introducing a narrative ‘twist’, often with sentence connectors such as *kétána* ‘meanwhile’, *kécha(mi)* ‘afterward’, *kája rikája* ‘at that point’ as in (213) and (666).

(665) *Kétána wayú chi'náikana witúki'-cha-ka.*
 meanwhile animal_sp boss go-down-PST-NZ
 ‘Meanwhile, the boss of the black vultures came down.’ (ycn0041,150)

(666) *kája rikhája na=i'jř-chá-ká ri=pirá jwa'té*
 then EMPH 3PL=go-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=pet with
 ‘At that point, they left with his pet.’ (ycn0053,35)

Since the directive and non-directive interpretations depend on the person of the subject, I consider both to be possibilities allowed by a single construction, namely, topic shift clause with *-ka*. Indeed, the construction is identical in both cases, with an optional clause initial connector, followed by the *-ka* nominalization. This construction is both formally and functionally almost identical to some instances of oblique pseudo-clefts with *-ka* described in (§14.2.4.5). Compare (667) with (662).

(667) *Chúwa nu=i'jna-jř-ka pa'yú chájě*
 now 1SG=go-FUT-NZ father at
 ‘Now I’m going to my father’s! (Lit. Now is my going to my father’s)’ (ycn0063,106)

The only difference between the pseudo-cleft in (667) and the main clause use of a *-ka* clause in (662) is that in the former, there is an adverbial element that can be analyzed as the predicate of a pseudo-cleft (*chúwa* ‘now’), whereas in the latter, no such analysis is possible, since the *-ka* nominalization is used on its own. As discussed previously, it is likely that these two structures are in fact synchronically the same, both corresponding to main-clause uses of a *-ka*

nominalization grammaticalized into a topic marker (either with an overt focused constituent as in the so-called oblique pseudo-clefts in §14.2.4.5, or without a focused constituent as in the topic shift clauses with *-ka* described in this section).

Lastly, in terms of frequency, I have identified some 80 instances of this *-ka* construction in my corpus of texts. Again, this number might be an underrepresentation of the actual use of this construction in my corpus, given that all cases with clause initial adverbs were categorized as pseudo-clefts. Even with these highly conservative estimations, the number of identified cases is enough to consider this as a legitimate use of *-ka* nominalizations along with the other categories.

14.2.4.6.4 Far past tense marking

Nominalizer *-ka* is synchronically found in several complex tense/aspect forms: far past habitual suffixes *-khe* and *-jĩka*, as well as on the far past inflecting particle *i'maká*. Semantically, they are all very similar. The two suffixes are often interchangeable, and the particle is often used in addition to the suffixes. These markers are discussed in §4.2.2.3.

I analyze *-khe* and *-jĩka* as portmanteau tense/nominalizing forms (glossed as FAR.PST.NZ), that have additionally been grammaticalized into tense markers in main clauses (glossed as FAR.PST). These forms show the exact same nominalizing behavior as nominalizer *-ka*, used in agent *-ka* nominalizations (§13.2.3), as well as in event/location nominalizations in various NP positions such as adnominal possessor (668),⁶⁸ argument of a postposition (669), and argument of a non-verbal clause or pseudo-cleft as in (670) and (671).

(668) *nu=i'ma-jé yúku, [kéelé júpimi wa=i'ma-jĩká*
 1SG=tell-FUT story MED long_time 1PL=COP-FAR.PST.NZ
eja'wá chuwá i'majĩká] yukú-ná.
 forest in.around FAR.PST story-ALIEN3
 'I will tell a story, that story of how we used to live on earth a very long time ago.'
 (ycn0118,1)

(669) [*Phíyu'ke-ru na=ya'jnéru i'ma-khé*] *é na=i'jna-ñáa=nó na=ikhá.*
 old-F 3PL=wife COP-FAR.PST.NZ at 3PL=go-APPL=HAB 3PL=PRO
 'When their wives were old, they used to abandon them.' (ycn0079,4)

(670) *kajmuyá=ja [na=matha'-khé inau'ké jwíla'ro ri=wakajé].*

⁶⁸ In (668), the root *i'ma* is found with three different uses, the lexical verb 'tell', the verbal copula, and the far past inflecting particle.

alive=LIM 3PL=cut-FAR.PST.NZ person head 3SG.NF=time
 ‘while still alive they used to cut people’s heads at that time.’ (ycn0092,25)

(671) *kajú* [*pi=aka'-jǐka* *nu=i'maká*]
 a_lot 2SG=scold-FAR.PST.NZ 1SG=FAR.PST
 ‘A lot you used to scold me.’ (ycn0108,278)

Evidence from texts suggests that *-khe* FAR.PST has fully grammaticalized as a far past habitual marker in finite clauses. Indeed, *-khe* can combine with verbal negation (672) (albeit without verbal suffix *-la*, see discussion in §4.2.5. Combination with verbal negation is crucial, since this feature is clearly absent in *-ka* nominalizations used in NP positions (see §13.2.4).

(672) *Unká* *ri=i'ma-khé* *ri=wakajé*.
 NEG 3SG.NF=COP-FAR.PST 3SG.NF=time
 ‘It didn’t used to exist at that time.’ (ycn0053,66)

As for *i'maká* FAR.PST, while its source is unquestionably the verbal copula *i'ma ~ i'mi* COP, the most important evidence suggesting that it has fully grammaticalized is that it can in fact be used as a far past marker in copular clauses (673). An additional salient feature of the far past particle *i'maká* is its very lexical semantics, always translated as *tiempo* ‘a long time ago’ in the regional Spanish. Despite its lexical semantics, *i'maká* as a tense marker does show some auxiliary-like features. Most importantly, it is inflecting, as the particle often replicates the same tense marking as the lexical verb, such as with *-jǐka* in (668), and it can even take person indexes encoding the object argument, as in (671). This leads to a variety of different forms of the far past marker (*i'micháká*, *i'majǐká*, *i'maká* among the most frequent), a feature that highlights its verbal origin. The ambiguous status of this element had already been pointed out by Schauer et al., who analyze it as a “temporal adverb and/or a stative auxiliary verb” (2005, 311)

(673) *nu=i'ma-jǐ-ká* *kanumá* *yukú-ná*,
 1SG=tell-FUT-NZ K. story-ALIEN3
méké-ka *ri=i'ma-ká* *i'maká*
 INDF.like-INDF.SUB 3SG.NF=COP-NZ FAR.PST
 ‘I’m telling the story of Kanumá, of how is it that he used to live a long time ago.’
 (ycn0068,2-3)

As for *-jǐka* FAR.PST, there are much fewer examples in my corpus of texts, so its synchronic analysis is less clear. However, it is still clear that in terms of semantics, it is distinct

from the identical sequence *jĩka* with the *-jĩ* allomorph of future tense suffix *-je ~ -jĩ* plus nominalizer *-ka*, since it is used to encode past tense. It is also clear that in some cases, this marker can be used in structures that cannot be analyzed as embedded in any way, such as in (674).

(674) *Nu=wejá-jĩka* *jĩña-na*, *nu=jñá'-khé* *weja-kéja*.
 1SG=poison-FAR.PST fish-PL 1SG=grab-FAR.PST poison-PTCP
 ‘I used to poison fish, I used to grab (them) poisoned.’ (ycn0117,78)

Because of their clearly distinct features, I have adopted an analysis of these forms as distinct from the far past nominalizers used in NP positions, as to avoid a unified analysis of all uses of these forms (both embedded in NP positions and not) as nominalizers, or all uses as tense markers. The former option leads to an inconsistency in the expected internal finiteness of nominalizations with *-ka*, described as lacking some features present in the main clause uses of these tense markers. The latter option would imply that embedded clauses with *-khe* and *-jĩka* are fully finite and lack any deranking morphology, which would not be consistent with the assumptions concerning the pathway of diachronic evolution of these markers.

To conclude this section on the syntactic distribution of event/location *-ka* nominalizations, I list the different positions, functions, morphosyntactic restrictions, variation and lastly the number of occurrences of event/location *-ka* nominalizations per syntactic position in Table 95. The numbers listed in Table 95 are extracted from the Flex corpus, which is not entirely glossed and curated, so they are not exact but they still provide a very realistic image of the use of event/location nominalizations with *-ka*, as well as of the non-NP uses of this marker. This table neatly shows the contrast in the number of occurrences of event/location *-ka* nominalizations in prototypical NP positions (as arguments in verbal clauses) versus its uses in non-verbal clauses and non-NP uses. The distributional pattern that emerges is clear: *-ka* nominalizations are mostly associated with non-verbal clauses and non-NP uses, and in these uses, *-ka* nominalizations tend to display verbal features that appear to be absent from other uses of *-ka* nominalizations as described in §13.2.4, most importantly, verbal negation and mood marking.

Table 95 Syntactic distribution of event/location *-ka* nominalizations

Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
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Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			10
	Adnominal mod			0
Verbal clauses	S of V			0
	O of V	Complementation	Restrictions: Different S; no T/A; complement taking Verbs	160
	Arg of Postp	Temporal/conditional adverbial modification		100
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	Topic in Oblique focus clauses	Finiteness: Compatible with mood <i>jlá</i>	880
	Pred of NV clause	Yes/no interrogatives	Finiteness: Compatible with mood <i>jlá</i>	17
Other	Dislocated NPs			0
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate	Temporal/conditional adverbial modification	Restrictions: no T/A	220
	Cosubordinate	Temporal/conditional adverbial modification		47
	Main clause	Discourse (hortative and contrastive clauses)	Finiteness: Compatible with mood <i>jlá</i>	80
	Main clause	Tense marking (- <i>khe</i> , - <i>jíka</i> , <i>i'maká</i>)	Finiteness: Compatible with negation <i>unká</i>	285
Total				~1800

14.2.5 Agent G/N nominalizations

Agent G/N nominalizations show a highly restricted syntactic distribution. In terms of frequency, they are almost entirely absent from prototypical NP positions in verbal clauses, with only a handful of instances in the positions of adnominal modification and argument of postposition, and are in fact most commonly used as arguments in zero copula non-verbal clauses (in synchronically ambiguous pseudo-clefts), and beyond NP positions, in cosubordinate clauses (clause-chaining). This restricted syntactic distribution contrasts with the internal nominal features of this nominalization construction described in §13.2.5. This chapter thus focuses on the distribution of G/N nominalizations across different syntactic positions,

with close attention to the more synchronically problematic cases. The distributional features of G/N nominalizations are summarized in Table 96 at the end of this section.

14.2.5.1 Possessor and modifier within an NP

Agent G/N nominalizations can be used within an NP as modifiers of a lexical noun, as in (675) with *iñepú* ‘path’.

(675)

- a. [*iñepú ñáni to'-rí=o ají ké jípa chú=o*]....
 path DIM lie-NF=MID PROX like rocks in=MID
 ‘the little path that was above the rocks...’
- b. *ri=ikhá chu=wá iná ja'pá*
 3SG.NF=PRO in=MID GNR.PRO walk
 on top of that one walks’ (ycn0118,14)

Structurally, the G/N nominalization is placed in the position of an adjectival modifier of a head noun. The only difference being that the G/N nominalization is strictly placed to the right of the head noun, as opposed to adjectival modifiers which can be placed before or after the head noun (see §3.2.1.2.3). Functionally, the G/N nominalization is used as a relativizing strategy. This use of G/N nominalizations is structurally and functionally very similar to that of appositional NPs (see §3.2.1.2.4) except that in the latter case the G/N nominalization is not immediately adjacent to a lexical noun.

In terms of frequency, there are but very few instances of G/N nominalizations used as adnominal modifiers in my Flex corpus (three). This is a crucial difference between agent G/N nominalizations and other argument grammatical nominalizations such as *-chaje* ARG.NZ and *-kare* ARG.NZ which are globally less frequently used than G/N nominalizations but which are more often used as adnominal modifiers. In addition to adnominal modification, G/N nominalizations are used in appositional NPs. These uses differ slightly in their structure, but remain very similar functionally, as I describe in §14.2.5.3.

As for the position of adnominal possessor, there are no instances in my Flex corpus of this use of G/N nominalizations. However, in elicitation, my main consultant provides, and judges as grammatical, instances of G/N nominalizations in this position. Indeed, she provides the form in (676) when asked for the translation of ‘the clothes of the one who arrived’. She

rejects the form in (677), where the noun ‘clothes’ has a person index encoding the possessor. This suggests that in (676), the G/N nominalization placed before the bare noun *a'umaká* is in fact its possessor.

(676) [*iphi-cha-ri*] *a'umaká*
 arrive-PST-NF clothe
 ‘the clothes of the one who arrived’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:448)

(677) **iphi-cha-ri* *ri=a'umaká*
 arrive-PST-NF 3SG.NF=clothe
 ‘*the clothes of the one who arrived’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:448)

Note that in this chapter, I have opted not to include a position among the list of positions accessible to a nominalization construction if it is only attested in elicitation, so the case of possessor is empty in Table 96.⁶⁹

14.2.5.2 Argument in verbal clauses

There are no identified instances of agent G/N nominalizations embedded into the position of a verbal argument in a finite verbal clause in my Flex corpus. There is one instance in which a G/N nominalization is used as an argument of a postposition, but the postpositional phrase is found within a grammatical nominalization with a *-ka* marked verbal root (678). Recall that grammatical nominalizations (and even lexical nominalizations) show some internal clausal features such as postpositional phrases (see Ch.13).

(678) *mapéja* [*ri=li'-chá-ka* *ri=ikhá=o* [*kamáta-ri=o*] *ké*].
 casually 3SG.NF=do-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO=MID sleep-NF=MID like
 ‘He casually pretended to be asleep. (Lit. casually he did like a sleeping one all by himself.’ (ycn0189,67)

In example (678) there are thus two nominalizations (in brackets) and no finite verbal predicate. The agentive G/N nominalization ‘a sleeping one’ is used as an argument of the postposition *ké* ‘like’. This postpositional phrase is used within an event grammatical nominalization marked with *-ka* which is in turn embedded in the position of argument of a non-verbal zero copula structure where the predicate is the adverb *mapéja* ‘casually’.

⁶⁹ This decision contrasts with the frequent use of elicited data in chapter Ch.13. The reason for excluding elicited data from this chapter is mostly practical, as during my fieldtrips, I worked more on the elicitation of the internal finiteness of nominalizations than on their external distribution. The elicited data are thus too scarce to provide a reliable comparative overview of the distribution of nominalization constructions. In addition to practical issues, this decision is also coherent with this chapter’s focus on distributional tendencies of nominalizations in the corpus.

In elicitation, my main consultant produces and judges as grammatical the use of G/N nominalizations in the positions of argument of postpositions and O of verbs. When I proposed the structure in (679)a for ‘I killed the one who arrived’, she corrected it with the alternative structures in (679)b-(679)c.

(679)

- a. **Nu=nó-cha* [kéele iphá-ká].
 1SG=kill-PST MED arrive-NZ
 ‘*I killed the one who arrived.’
- b. *Nu=nó-cha* [kéele wajé iphá-ká].
 1SG=kill-PST MED recently arrive-NZ
 ‘I killed the one who recently arrived.’
- c. *Nu=nó-cha* [kéele iphí-cha-ri].
 1SG=kill-PST MED arrive-PST-NF
 ‘I killed the one who arrived.’ (Elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:453-454)

The series of elicited examples in (679) show that argument nominalizations of various types, including G/N nominalizations, are compatible with the position of the O argument in a finite verbal clause. Similarly with the position of argument of postposition, my main consultant considers grammatical the structure in (680)a with a G/N nominalization as the argument of postposition *jló* ‘to’, while rejecting the structure in (680)b, with a finite verbal form in the position of the argument of postposition.

(680)

- a. *Nu=aló* *a'á* *kujnú* [kéele iphá-ta-ri jeí-ná] *jló*
 1SG=mother give cassava MED arrive-CAUS-NF snake-PL to
 ‘My mother gives cassava to that (one who) brings snakes.’
- b. **Nu=aló* *a'á* *kujnú* [kéele iphá-ta jeí-ná] *jló*
 1SG=mother give cassava MED arrive-CAUS snake-PL to
 ‘*My mother gives cassava to that one who brings snakes.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook 5:89)

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the only position that does not appear to be available to G/N nominalizations even in elicitation is that of S of a finite verb. The only way for a G/N nominalization, or an argument nominalization in general, to refer to a participant of a verb, is by using a cleft with two nominalizations: one in the position of the predicate and another in the position of the argument of a non-verbal zero copula structure as in (681).

(681) *aú* [kéele wáta-ño ru=ikhá] [kémí-cha-ño: "mapéja i=pajlá-ká tá"]

so MED want-PL 3SG.NF=PRO say-PST-PL casually 2PL=lie-NZ EMPH
 ‘so those who want her said: “they are simply lying!”’. (Lit. those who want her are those
 who said...).’ (ycn0058,36)

The use of G/N nominalizations in (681) is thus syntactically considered as belonging to the non-verbal predicate and argument categories, which I discuss in §14.2.5.4 and §14.2.5.5 respectively.

14.2.5.3 Dislocated and appositional NPs

G/N nominalizations are also used in positions that cannot be easily classified within the syntactic structure a clause. In particular, they are used as dislocated NPs, referring to a participant encoded with a person index or pronoun in an adjacent clause as in (682), where the G/N nominalization refers to the subject argument of the verb ‘escape’, or as in (683), where the G/N nominalization refers to the nominal predicate of the preceding zero copula non-verbal clause used as a presentational utterance (Gast and Haas 2011, 132; Creissels 2013).

(682) *méño'jǒ* *ri=iǐ-cha=o*, [*kéele nó-cha-ri* *pi=ikhá*]?
 INDF.LOC.toward 3SG.NF=escape-PST=MID MED kill-PST-NF 2SG=PRO
 ‘Where did he run to, that one who killed you?’ (ycn0183,31)

(683) *apála* *jíña-na* *náchána* *ka'jné*, [*kháǎjǐ-ru* *kémá-yo* *nu=jló*]
 maybe fish-PL tribe.woman DUB PROX-F say-F 1SG=to
 ‘maybe (it is) a woman of the fish tribe, this (one who) is talking to me’ (ycn0063,47)

In addition to dislocated NPs, G/N nominalizations are also used in appositional NPs. In this use, they function as a modifier of a noun, without structurally being in the position of adnominal modifier. In this use, the G/N nominalization structurally forms an NP on its own that is placed next to a prototypical NP headed by a lexical noun. The two are separated by an element that marks the NP boundary such as a demonstrative, as in (684).⁷⁰

(684)
 a. *pi=ímá* *pi=e'wé* *jló* *ri=jápá-niña*
 2SG=tell 2SG=sibling to 3SG.NF=touch-PROH
 ‘tell your brother not to touch

⁷⁰ Note that although I classify strict adnominal modification and NP apposition as structurally different categories, the distinction between these structures is not clear-cut. After all, given that demonstratives are optional within NPs, cases where a G/N nominalization immediately follows a lexical noun could also be analyzed as appositional NPs. Synchronically, I adopt the practical choice of distinguishing the two on the basis of the presence of a separating element between the lexical noun and the nominalization. Diachronically, it is likely that adnominal modification, whether by means of a nominalization, an adjective or another noun came about through the reanalysis of appositional NPs.

- b. [kháajĩ wa=a'rumaká] [kháajĩ pitá-ri=o]
 PROX 1PL=clothe PROX lie-NF=MID
 our clothes which are lying (here)' (Lit. these clothes of ours these which are lying.'
 (ycn0058,53)

In terms of frequency, it is interesting to point out that these uses of G/N nominalizations syntactically hard to classify are more frequent than those of G/N nominalizations within verbal clauses in my Flex corpus (some 10 instances identified), while still being far behind the most frequent uses of G/N nominalizations (as argument of a non-verbal clause §14.2.5.5, and beyond NP positions, in clause-chaining §14.2.5.6).

14.2.5.4 Predicate of non-verbal clauses

Agent G/N nominalizations also occupy the position of the nominal predicate of a zero copula non-verbal clause with the PRED ARG structure, as in the presentative utterance in (685).

- (685) [i'mi-chá-ri kája na=jwa'té] Chu'rúmi
 COP-PST-NF too 3PL=with Chu'rúmi
 'With them was also Chu'rumi.

Note that the discourse status of this construction differs from that of a simple non-verbal predicate such as 'Chu'rúmi was with them'. The discourse nuance of this presentative construction is very similar to that achieved with the Subject/Verb inversion strategy in Spanish or English ('With them was Chu'rúmi. '), that of introduction a new participant. This strategy also contrasts with the A/S focus construction with an agent G/N nominalization in the position of the argument of a non-verbal clause. Observe the alternation of both strategies in a narrative as in (686).

- (686)
- a. [I'jná-ñó wa=jwa'té] kéelé nu=e'wé yuwakámí Kujmá.
 go-PL 1PL=with MED 1SG=sibling youngest Kujmá
 'with us came also my youngest sibling Kujmá.' (ycn0118,26)
- b. Eyá ri=e'wé yuwakámí Pitu'wíri [i'jná-ri wa=jwa'té].
 then 3SG.NF=sibling youngest Pitu'wíri go-NF 1PL=with
 'Then his youngest brother Pitu'wíri came with us.' (ycn0118,26)

The presentative construction with a G/N nominalization in the position of the nominal predicate in a non-verbal clause in (686)a is far less numerically frequent than the A/S focus

construction with a G/N nominalization as argument of a non-verbal clause in (686)b, which I describe next.

14.2.5.5 Argument of non-verbal clauses

Among the different positions in which agent G/N nominalizations are used, the position of the the argument of a zero copula non-verbal clause with the PRED ARG structure is by far the most frequent one in the Flex corpus. In this construction, the predicate and the argument denote the same participant, namely, the participant that corresponds to the subject argument in finite verbal clauses.⁷¹ I refer to this entire structure as Agent pseudo-clefts. Similarly to the case of adverbial pseudo-clefts described in §14.2.4.5, agent pseudo-clefts are synchronically ambiguous to analyze. I begin by providing an overview of the issue, then provide a detailed account of the functional and structural features of this construction, and I conclude this section by exploring the variations in the internal finiteness of G/N nominalizations in this construction.

Agent pseudo-clefts in Yukuna match the standard structural and functional definition of pseudo-clefts crosslinguistically (see definition in §14.2.4.5). Structurally, agent pseudo-clefts are identical to non-verbal clauses of the identificational type, as in the invented English sentence ‘John is the store manager’, but they are functionally used as an agent focalization device as in ‘The store manager is John’. The structural analogy between agent pseudo-clefts and simplex zero copula non-verbal clauses is illustrated with the interrogatives in (308) and (688).

(687) [Ná]_{PRED} ka'jné [kéelé amá-ri=o junápeje]_{ARG?}
 INDF DUB MED see-NF=MID water.into
 ‘Who is it that appears into the water? (Lit. The one appears in the water is who?)’
 (ycn0063,26)

(688) [Ná]_{PRED} ka'jné [ri=ikhá]_{ARG?}
 INDF DUB 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘What is it?’ (ycn0068,26)

⁷¹ As described in Ch.12, I use semantic labels for the type of *denotations* of individual nominalization constructions, even if the range of participants denoted cover all semantic roles encoded as subjects in verbal clauses, and not only agents. The purpose of this terminological choice is to restrict the use of the label subject to the subject grammatical role in finite verbal clauses. I additionally use the labels A/S and P for the arguments encoded in nominalizations. For instance, G/N nominalizations are agentive in terms of their semantics, but lack an A/S argument as the denoted argument is gapped.

Although the PRED ARG structure has no morphology that overtly signals the non-verbal predicate or its argument, it has some distinctive features shared with agent pseudo-clefts: a rather strict predicate initial word order, and the fact that the head of the non-verbal predicate and its argument need not be adjacent (see §6.1). Indeed, they can be interrupted by elements such as postpositional phrases, and a number of discourse particles, like the dubitative *ka'jná* DUB in (308) and (688). In principle, the features of zero copula non-verbal clauses, in addition to the non-finite features internal to the NP containing the G/N nominalization (obviously gender and number, but also the gapping of the A/S argument, and the use of demonstratives, see §13.2.5), make the pseudo-cleft with G/N nominalizations very clearly distinct from finite verbal clauses. However, in practice, the distinction between the two is not always very formally striking. Let us consider examples (689) and (690).

(689) [*Kawayá*]_{PRED} [*iphí-cha-ri*]_{ARG}.
 deer arrive-PST-NF
 ‘The deer arrived (Lit. the one who arrived is the deer).’ (ycn0041,156)

(690) *É* [*kawayá*]_S *iphí-cha* *píño*.
 then deer arrive-PST again
 ‘Then the deer arrived again.’ (ycn0041,162)

This pair of examples taken from the same text shows that in the absence of any intervening element between the NP/pronoun in the predicate position and the G/N marked verb, the only surface difference between a pseudo-cleft with G/N nominalizations as in (689) and a finite verbal clause with an overt S NP as in (690) is the very presence of G/N marking. The structure in (689) is thus ambiguous on surface, as the NP in the predicate position (‘the deer’) looks a lot like the subject argument in (690).⁷²

In addition to their surface similarities with finite verbal clauses, agent pseudo-clefts are also the most frequent context of use of G/N nominalizations. In contrast with the small handful of instance of G/N nominalizations in verbal clauses or as predicates of non-verbal clauses, we find some 200 identified instances of G/N nominalizations as arguments of non-verbal clauses in the Flex corpus. These distributional tendencies are all the more problematic when we contrast G/N nominalizations with other argument nominalization constructions (lexical and grammatical). The only other grammatical nominalization construction which is so strongly

⁷² However, subjects in Yukuna have different encoding features. Overt subject NPs cannot be separated from the verb root by most discourse markers, but most importantly, subjects in finite clauses may also be encoded with person indexes on the verb, which are incompatible with G/N marked verb forms. See §5.1.1 on the encoding features of subjects, and §13.2.5 on the internal finiteness of G/N marked nominalizations.

associated with the position of argument of non-verbal clauses are event *-ka* nominalizations used in Adverbial pseudo-clefts, and as described §14.2.4.5, this latter construction too is synchronically ambiguous between a non-verbal and a verbal analysis. The synchronic analysis of these ambiguous and extremely frequent constructions is thus crucial for the description of the Yukuna grammar.

Once more, I adopt a conservative analysis of this particular use of G/N nominalizations, and classify agent pseudo-clefts as structurally non-verbal clauses with a G/N nominalization embedded into the position of the argument. This section describes in detail the functional and structural subtypes of agent pseudo-clefts found in texts, and explores some possible hints at their grammaticalization into simplex verbal clauses.

14.2.5.5.1 Functional/structural subtypes

All agent pseudo-clefts have the same PRED ARG structure, where the G/N nominalization is used in the argument position. However, we can split these pseudo-clefts into two structural/functional subtypes: interrogative and declarative agent pseudo-clefts.

14.2.5.5.1.1 Interrogative agent pseudo-clefts

This subtype of agent pseudo-clefts is formed with the indefinite pronoun *ná* ‘what/who/anything/anyone’ in the position of the predicate, and a G/N nominalization in the position of the argument. This is in fact the dedicated agent interrogative construction in Yukuna.⁷³ Interrogative agent pseudo-clefts often include discourse markers such as *kalé* EMPH, *pajá* EMPH, *ka'jné* DUB or *chí* EMPH. These markers are rather functionally similar, they can combine with one another and display subtle discourse differences (see §2.2.7.5). In this construction, they are placed immediately after the indefinite pronoun *ná* INDF. These discourse markers are strongly associated with interrogatives and non-verbal clauses in general as in (693).

⁷³ Although the questioned constituent in this interrogative construction denotes the participant that corresponds to the subject of a finite verbal clause, I avoid using the term ‘subject’ here as this construction is a non-verbal structure without a grammatical subject. I use A/S instead to refer to the notional subject argument, that is, the participant that would be encoded as a subject in a finite clause. I use the semantic role ‘agent’ to refer to the semantic type of participant denoted by a nominalization construction. For instance, G/N nominalizations are agentive, as they denote the agent participant, and they lack an A/S argument, as this argument is gapped from the nominalization.

(691) [Ná]_{PRED} pajá [iŷ-cha-ri]=o iléño'jǒ]_{ARG?}
 INDF EMPH escape-PST-NF=MID MED.toward
 ‘Who is it that ran away over there?’ (ycn0189,140)

(692) [Ná]_{PRED} chí [kémá-ri ñaké]_{ARG?}
 INDF EMPH say-NF MED.like
 ‘Who is talking like that?’ (ycn0504,65)

(693) [Ná]_{PRED} chí [kéelé]_{ARG?}
 INDF EMPH MED
 ‘What is that?’ (ycn0545,8)

In terms of frequency, interrogative agent pseudo-clefts are far less frequent in my Flex corpus than declarative Agent pseudo-clefts, but this is likely a bias from the fact that most of my texts are narratives, and interrogative clauses altogether are not very frequent in this genre.

14.2.5.5.1.2 Declarative agent pseudo-clefts

These pseudo-clefts also have an agent G/N nominalization in the position of the argument of a zero copula non-verbal clause, but unlike the previous subtype, the element in the predicate position is not an indefinite pronoun. Instead, the predicate position is filled by an NP headed by a lexical noun as in (694) and (695), a pronoun (696), or an adjective used in an NP without a noun (697).

(694) É_kája ri=e'wé [yuí-cha-ri=o phá chú].
 then 3SG.NF=sibling stay-PST-NF=MID house in
 ‘Then his brother stayed inside the house. (Lit. the one who stayed inside the house is his brother)’ (ycn0058,51)

(695) Jiñá tá ka'jné náke [apíro'-yo chuchú michólo].
 demon EMPH DUB uh suck-F grandparent deceased.F
 ‘Maybe it was the demon who devoured my late grandmother.’ (ycn0151,84)

(696) Pi=ikhá, pi=ikhá [ati'-yá-ri wa=pirá]!
 2SG=PRO 2SG=PRO steal-PST-NF 1PL=pet
 ‘You, you are the one who stole our pet!’ (ycn0068,40)

(697) peyajwé-ni wáni [tajáta-ri ri=ikhá las ocho]
 fast-NF EMPH finish-NF 3SG.NF=PRO eight

‘the very fast (one) finishes it at eight (Lit. the one who finishes at 8 is the very fast one.’
(ycn0117,26)

Functionally, these pseudo-clefts function as a contrastive focus strategy. The clefted constituent in the predicate position does not necessarily introduce a new or formerly unknown participant (as is clearly the case in interrogative agent pseudo-clefts), but it is focalized insofar as this participant contrasts with presupposed information. In (698), the element in the predicate position is the first person independent pronoun, which clearly does not denote a new participant. However, this constituent is still focalized as it contrasts with the information in the immediately preceding clause. In narratives, they are often used in sequences alternating different focalization strategies, as with the sequence of an Agent pseudo-cleft and an Adverbial pseudo-cleft in (699), and the sequence of an Agent pseudo-cleft and a finite clause with a focalized pronominal subject in (700).

(698) *unká ri=amá-la nu=ikhá, nu=ikhá [amá-ri ri=ikhá]*
 NEG 3SG.NF=see-V.NEG 1SG=PRO 1SG=PRO see-NF 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘he didn’t see me, (but) I saw him’ (ycn0117,88)⁷⁴

(699) *Aú kéelé yuwa-jí-ke’la [íi-cha-ri], kajú ru=i’rí íi-cha-ka*
 so MED child-NF-? cry-PST-NF a_lot 3SG.NF=son cry-PST-NZ
 ‘So that child cried, a lot her son cried. (Lit. The one who cried is that child, a lot is her son’s crying.’ (ycn0053,80)

(700) *na=ikhá [kamáchi-ya-ño], é ri=ikhá to'-chá=o kajmú-ní*
 3PL=PRO sleep-PST-PL then 3SG.NF=PRO lie-PST=MID alive-NF
 ‘they fell asleep, but he lied awake.’ (ycn0189,58)

An interesting structural and functional subtype of declarative Agent pseudo-clefts is that of existential clauses. Just like all other Agent pseudo-clefts, they have a PRED ARG structure where the predicate is a nominal constituent, and the argument position is filled by a G/N nominalization. However, in the existential pseudo-cleft, the verbal root within the nominalization is the copula. This construction is very commonly used to introduce new participants in discourse, so that a sentence like ‘there was a woman’ is literally expressed in Yukuna as ‘the existing one is a woman’. This construction is in fact the most common way to begin a narrative in Yukuna as in examples (701) to (703).

(701) *Pajlúwa inau’ké [i’mi-chá-ri].*

⁷⁴ In conversations and spontaneous speech, verb forms unmarked for tense are interpreted either as far past or present according to the context (see §4.2.2), hence the past tense translation of this example.

one person COP-PST-NF
 ‘There was a person.’ (ycn0053,1)

(702) *kamú kéchámi karená [i'mi-chá-ño]*
 sun and wind COP-PST-PL
 ‘There were the sun and the wind.’ (ycn0169,2)

(703)

- a. *Éjómi apú nu=i'rí [i'má-rí], nu=ítu [i'má-yó],*
 then other 1SG=son COP-NF 1SG=daughter COP-F
 ‘Then there was my son, there was my daughter,
- b. *phe'-rú-ji nu=ítu [i'má-yó].*
 eldest-F-UNPOSS 1SG=daughter COP-F
 there was my daughter the eldest.’ (ycn0114,16)

Note that existential predication can be alternatively encoded with a simplex zero copula non-verbal construction such as in (704). However, in terms of frequency, existential clauses in general tend to be encoded with clefts, a feature that is not unsurprising given that existential clauses are typically used as presentational devices that introduce indefinite participants into the discourse (Givón 2001, II:255).

(704) *Ri=é=ko inau'ké.*
 3SG.NF=at=EMPH person
 ‘There are people.’ (ycn0108,101)

As mentioned previously, the position of argument in a zero copula non-verbal clause is the most frequent use of G/N nominalizations, well above other NP positions such as argument of a verb or argument of a postposition. We also know that this structure shows striking surface similarities with finite verbal clauses. These surface similarities led Schauer et al. (2005, 309) to analyze agent pseudo-clefts as simplex verbal clauses from a synchronic perspective. In order to address this issue, I explore the internal verbal and nominal features of G/N nominalizations in this specific construction next.

14.2.5.5.1.3 Variations in finiteness

Based only on the synchronic tendencies in the syntactic distribution of G/N nominalizations, an analysis as non-finite but non-nominalized verb forms would be reasonable. After all, the overwhelming majority of instances of G/N nominalizations are in pseudo-clefts which are

ambiguous, and in clause-chaining, which is a non-NP position. Here, however, it is worth to recall our working definition of nominalization and finiteness. In §9.1.1, nominalization was defined as a phenomenon involving both an absence of verbal features in comparison with finite verbal clauses, as well as the presence of nominal features present in the nominal prototype. In §13.2.5, I described the internal features of agent grammatical G/N nominalizations, and discussed the fact that despite their many verbal features, they show important nominal features that support an analysis of this construction as a nominalization. The question that arises is whether G/N nominalizations in Agent pseudo-clefts show unexpected verbal features for a nominalization, or whether they show less nominal features than expected.

With respect to the verbal features of G/N nominalizations in Agent pseudo-clefts, I focus on two main features: first, grammatical mood (absent from all nominalizations), and second, the gapping of the A/S argument (the participant which is denoted by the nominalization). First, concerning mood, there are no instances of G/N nominalizations used with frustrative mood *jlá* in the Flex corpus, but there is one instance in my elicited data, where my main consultant spontaneously produces a subject pseudo-cleft with *jlá* FRUST when asked for the translation of ‘the turtle was dying, and then someone gave it food’ (705). Given that this only concerns one example in elicitation, I do not interpret this example as evidence in support or against the reanalysis of G/N nominalizations.

(705)

- a. *Ichiri* [*takha'-ri* ***jlá*** *me'piji* *nakú*],
 turtle die-NF **FRUST** hunger on
 ‘The turtle almost died of hunger,
- b. *é* *ri=jara'pá* *i'matá* *ri=jló* *a'jne-ji*
 then 3SG.NF=father bring 3SG.NF=to food-UNPOSS
 and then his father brought him food.’ (elicited, VIMY, notebook5:393)

Second, concerning the absence of the A/S argument in G/N nominalizations, evidence from texts suggest that the NP preceding the G/N nominalization in Agent pseudo-clefts is not a Subject argument. In other words, the NP in the position of the predicate does not show any formal features that would hint at its reanalysis as a subject. As described in §5.1.1 and discussed in detail in Lemus Serrano and Durand (2018), the subject argument in Yukuna is

encoded either with a person index on the verb, or with a strictly pre-verbal NP.⁷⁵ It is absolutely clear that G/N markers agreeing with the agent participant are mutually exclusive with person indexes encoding the agent participant.⁷⁶ It is also clear that the NP preceding the G/N nominalization needs not be strictly adjacent to the verb root, as they can be separated by a variety of different discourse particles, as in (706). I have identified 13 instances of discourse particles used between the predicate NP and the G/N nominalization in the Flex corpus, this number is certainly low in comparison with the some 200 instances of pseudo-clefts, but it is a reliable indicator that the NP preceding the G/N nominalization has not -yet- acquired the encoding features of a subject.⁷⁷

(706) [Ri=*ikhá*]_{PRED} *kalé* [*nó-ri* *kéelé* *to'jmá* *jló*
 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH kill-NF MED child to
kéelé náke kamejé-ri-na]_{ARG}.
 MED uh animal-PL
 'He is the one who killed those animals for that child.' (ycn0053,91)

With respect to the nominal features of G/N nominalizations in Agent pseudo-clefts, I focus on the two main nominal features of this nominalization construction: demonstratives, and G/N marking itself. As for demonstratives, they can clearly combine with G/N nominalizations even in the position of argument of a zero copula non-verbal clause. I have only identified seven instances of demonstratives used in Agent pseudo-clefts, among which, (707) and (708). This low number could be interpreted either as a sign that this nominal feature is eroding in this position, or simply as a reflection of the fact that demonstratives are not very common in NPs in general.⁷⁸

(707) *Na=ikhá* *tá* [*kéelé jaya'á-ti-ya-ño* *inau'ké* *tá* *yenu*].
 3PL=PRO EMPH MED bore-CAUS-PST-PL person EMPH above

⁷⁵ Only two elements can be placed between the S NP and the verb in finite clauses: the emphatic particle *tá*, and the negation particle *unká*. No other discourse particle can be used in this position, as described in §5.1.1.

⁷⁶ It is possible, however, that a verbal root has both a person index encoding the agent argument and a G/N suffix, in which case the latter agrees obligatorily with the patient argument. This is the case, for instance, in object nominalizations with *-kare* and *-chaje* (see §13.2.1-13.2.2).

⁷⁷ I am aware of the fact that this analysis has some circularity: the NP in clause initial position in a pseudo-cleft is not considered to be a subject argument, because I have defined subjects on the basis of a clause type with specific features. An alternative, purely synchronic, analysis would posit that Agent pseudo-clefts are indeed simplex verbal clauses with different encoding properties for the subeject argument, due to its status as focalized. I do not adopt this synchronic analysis here, because my purpose is to explore the functional expansion of nominalization constructions, taking into account the wide array of functions in which the same markers are synchronically used.

⁷⁸ Among the first 50 overt NPs in the text ycn0053 (tiger story), only four NPs had demonstratives.

‘They are the ones who annoyed the people above.’ (ycn0108,200)

(708) *Ná ñáni [kéelé we'i-cha-ri nu=mu'ji palá wáni]?*
 INDF DIM MED know-PST-NF 1SG=pity well EMPH
 ‘Who is it that took pity of me so well?’ (ycn0092,65)

The second important nominal feature of G/N nominalizations is, very obviously, gender and number marking. Of course, for a construction to classify as a G/N nominalization, it must contain a marker from the *-ri* NF, *-yo* F, *-ño* PL set. Still, some instances of G/N nominalizations in pseudo-clefts show particularities in gender/number agreement that could hint at an erosion of this nominal feature. This erosion concerns the use of singular non-feminine suffix *-ri* with feminine and plural referents. This can be seen in (709), where the referent of the first person pronoun is a woman and the G/N nominalization is marked with *-ri* NF, and in (710), where the NP is overtly marked for plural and denotes a plural referent (the late ancestors), and the G/N nominalization is similarly marked with *-ri* NF.

(709) *unká ri=amá-la nu=ikhá, nu=ikhá [amá-ri ri=ikhá]*
 NEG 3SG.NF=see-V.NEG 1SG=PRO 1SG=PRO see-NF 3SG.NF=PRO
 ‘he didn’t see me, (but) I saw him’ (ycn0117,88)

(710) *Pheñawilá michú-ná [keño'-rí me'jwikájé i'maká].*
 ancestor deceased-PL start-NF chaos FAR.PST
 ‘It was our late ancestors who started the chaos.’ (ycn0108,256)

Table 96 details the breakdown of G/N markers according to gender and number category of the referent in my Flex corpus.

Table 96 Distribution of G/N markers according to referent type

	with NF	with F	with PL	Total (referent)
<i>-ri</i> NF	145	5	3	153
<i>-yo</i> F		12		12
<i>-ño</i> PL			29	29
Total (marker)	145	17	32	194

As Table 96 shows, this phenomenon is not very widespread in terms of absolute frequency: out of 153 uses of *-ri* NF, five are with a feminine referent, and three are with a plural referent. However, when we take into account the total of feminine and plural referents in Agent pseudo-clefts, these numbers are slightly more problematic: five out of twelve (41%) feminine

referents, and three out of thirty (10%) plural referents are marked with *-ri* NF in Agent pseudo-clefts. G/N nominalizations in Agent pseudo-clefts can thus be said to show some *-early-* signs of erosion or partial loss of G/N agreement, as the most frequently used marker *-ri* NF is semantically bleaching and turning into a default marker.

In sum, G/N nominalizations used as arguments of zero copula non-verbal clauses in Subject focalization *-or Agent pseudo-clefts-* do not show any clear signs of acquisition of finite verbal features (most importantly a nominative subject), but they do show some signs of partial loss of nominal features. Ironically perhaps, this loss concerns their defining feature, G/N agreement. Given their restricted syntactic distribution in typical NP positions, and their internal loss of nominal features, it would appear that G/N nominalizations have almost drifted away from the actual domain of nominalization. The synchronic ambiguity of Yukuna's agent pseudo-clefts is not surprising from a North-Arawak perspective, as formally similar constructions are synchronically described as finite verbal clauses with a focalized S NP constituent in several related languages. Stark (2015) argues for the grammaticalization of erstwhile relativizers/nominalizers into agreement markers precisely through their use in zero copula nominal clauses.

An even more striking use of G/N nominalizations is in the non-NP position of cosubordinate clauses, as discussed next.

14.2.5.6 Non-NP uses

There is only one non-NP use of G/N nominalizations, where the G/N nominalization is used as a clause-chaining device in a syntactic position that is neither subordinate nor independent.

14.2.5.6.1 Cosubordinate clauses (Clause-chaining)

The second most common use of G/N nominalizations is in a non-NP position, where the G/N nominalization is not syntactically embedded within a main clause, but it does not either constitute an instance of coordination since it cannot be used on its own as an independent clause. This use of G/N nominalizations constitutes an instance of cosubordination, with the function of encoding sequential events with a shared argument, as in (711). I henceforth refer to this use of G/N nominalizations as clause-chaining.

(711) *é* *ri=iphí-cha* *amí-cha-ri* *kajú* *íja* *i'mi-chá-ká*
 then 3SG.NF=arrive-PST see-PST-NF a_lot smoke COP-PST-NZ

‘Then he arrived (and) saw that there was a lot of smoke.’ (ycn0092,5)

Structurally, clause-chaining constructions are typically formed by a finite verbal clause, which I refer to as the reference clause⁷⁹, followed by a cosubordinate G/N marked clause (which I refer to as the chained clause). The chained clause (most often) shares the same T/A marking as the reference clause, and has no overt S/A argument, as this argument is understood to be co-referential with one of the core arguments of the reference clause, most often, the Subject. In (712), the reference finite clause is followed by a chained clause whose gapped A/S argument is co-referential with the Subject of the reference clause. Although the vast majority of instances of this construction involve Subject co-referentiality, it is also possible for the shared referent to be an object in the reference clause, and the A/S of the G/N marked chained clause. This pattern is not frequent in contrast with the standard same-subject pattern, but it is still a possibility. Note that in (712), the shared argument of the reference and chained-clause is the (omitted) object of the verb ‘poison’, and the (gapped) A/S of the verb root ‘die’.

(712) *é_kája na=wejí-cha píño, takhi'-chá-ri*
 then 3PL=poison-PST again die-PST-NF
 ‘Then they poisoned (them), and (they) died.’ (ycn0068,270)

Despite their high frequency, with 142 identified instances in my Flex corpus, chained clauses with G/N overwhelmingly contain only a small set of lexical verbs. The vast majority of examples include a chained clause with the root ‘see’ (90/142), as illustrated in (711), and overall, only 15 different verbal roots were found in this position. The number of verb forms used in chained clauses is summarized in Table 97.

Table 97 Clause-chaining with G/N: distribution across verb types

Verb types	Roots	# in Flex corpus
Perception	<i>amá</i> ‘see’	90
	<i>jema</i> ‘hear’	7
Motion verbs	<i>iphá</i> ‘arrive’	18
	<i>jao'=o</i> ‘go out’, <i>ja'=o</i> ‘fall’, <i>pa'=o</i> ‘return’, <i>ja'pá</i> ‘walk’, <i>i'jné</i> ‘go’, <i>ipháká</i> ‘	16
Other	<i>jña</i> ‘grab’, <i>matha</i> ‘cut’, <i>kémá</i> ‘say’, <i>takha</i> ‘die’, <i>ako'=o</i> ‘pour’, <i>makápo</i> ‘revive’, <i>patá</i> ‘grab’	11

⁷⁹ This choice is meant to avoid the use of the term ‘main clause’. See Longacre (1996).

Total	15	142
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In terms of degree of boundedness between the linked events (i.e. whether there are any intervening elements between the reference and the chained-clause), several degrees are attested. The two may be adjacent as in (711), or they may be separated by various elements, such as interjections as in (713)a, adverbs, the negative word *unká* (714)a, various discourse elements and parenthetical clauses, but most often, only an intonational break (marked with a colon) separates the two.

(713)

- a. *Ru=jme'ti-ya* *ri=núma* *tá,* *jú!*,
3SG.F=open-PST 3SG.NF=mouth EMPH INTERJ
‘She opened his mouth, ah!,
- b. *amí-cha-ri* *kajú* *ri=wilá=mí* *i'mi-chá-ká.*
see-PST-NF a_lot 3SG.NF=hair=PFV COP-PST-NZ
(‘and) saw that there was a lot of hair (of a deceased).’ (ycn0053,45)

(714)

- a. *ri=atái'-cha* *jlá* *ri=jeño'-ká,* ***unká,***
3SG.NF=try-PST FRUST 3SG.NF=jump-NZ NEG
‘He tried to jump, nothing,
- b. *pi'-chá-ri=o=ja* *ja'-chá-ri=o* *ri=yámo=ejo*
return-PST-NF=MID=LIM fall-PST-NF=MID 3SG.NF=behind=toward
(he) went back and fell.’ (ycn0063,214)

Most often the initial event is encoded with a finite verbal clause (the reference clause), followed by one chained G/N marked clause. However, variations of this standard pattern are also common. A first type of variation concerns the number of chained clauses placed after the initial one. Example (343) contains a reference verbal clause followed by a first chained clause (343)a, a parenthetical clause (343)b, then three more successive chained clauses with G/N marking (715)c.

(715)

- a. *é* *ri=iphí-cha,* *amá-ri,*
then 3SG.NF=arrive-PST see-NF
Then he arrived (and) looked,
- b. *kája* *unká* *inau'ké* *i'ma-lá-cha*
already NEG person COP-V.NEG-PST
no one was there anymore,
- c. *pi'-chá-ri=o,* *ja'pí-cha-ri,* *jáo'-cha-ri=o* *pají* *chojé*

return-PST-NF=MID walk-PST-NF go_out-PST-NF=MID house in.toward
 (he) returned, walked and went out toward the house.’ (ycn0108,78)

An ambiguous pattern concerns cases where an Agent pseudo-cleft is followed by another G/N marked clause, leading to a sequence of G/N nominalizations as in (716).

(716)

- a. *na=ikhá li'-cha-ñó kamu'jí ké=ja,*
 3PL=PRO do-PST-PL poorly like=LIM
 ‘they were the ones who were doing poorly,
- b. *jemi'-chá-ño ri-yukú-ná*
 hear-PST-PL 3SG.NF=story-ALIEN3
 the ones who heard his story.’ (ycn0089,151)

Without the discourse context and the translation provided by the consultant, the second G/N nominalization in (716)b could be analyzed either as a chained clause, or as a right dislocated NP (see §14.2.5.3). In this position, the dislocated NP with a G/N nominalization provides further cues for the identification of the focalized constituent in the pseudo-cleft. I analyze this particular use of G/N nominalizations, and their use as dislocated NPs in general, as the diachronic bridge that led to their grammaticalization into a clause-chaining device. This hypothesis would account for the co-referentiality restrictions in the clause-chaining construction. Both structurally and functionally, there are strong similarities between the use of G/N nominalizations as dislocated NPs and their use as clause-chaining devices. Structurally, neither are fully embedded, and both are placed to the right of a clause. Functionally, both add information on a shared participant to an adjacent clause. Note that a very similar diachronic scenario is reported in the Hup (Nadahup) language in the Vaupés area, where headless relative clauses used as dislocated constituents were reanalyzed as converbs that encode simultaneity or sequentiality (Epps 2009).

The main functional difference between G/N nominalizations in Yukuna as dislocated constituents (bridge construction) and as a clause-chaining device concerns their information status. The former provides an after-thought commentary on a participant to facilitate its identification, whilst the latter provides new information that carries the storyline forward. In addition to this difference in information status, G/N nominalizations in clause-chaining show important differences in their internal features with respect to other uses of G/N nominalizations, as I discuss next.

14.2.5.6.2 Variations in internal finiteness

Chained clauses with G/N show important differences with respect to other uses of G/N nominalizations (most importantly, G/N nominalizations as arguments of zero copula non-verbal clauses). I argue that these differences are robust enough to posit an ongoing grammaticalization from agent nominalizations with G/N markers, to a clause-chaining construction marked with suffix *-ri*.

In order to assess whether there is evidence of grammaticalization, I observe the internal features of the chained clauses first in terms of their verbal features, and second, in terms of their nominal features, in contrast with the features described in §13.2.5 for G/N nominalizations in NP positions. In terms of their verbal features, chained clauses with G/N markers are not any more verbal than other uses of G/N nominalizations. As expected of G/N nominalizations, they lack a nominative subject, and nothing seems to suggest that they have become compatible with mood (mainly frustrative *jlá*). However, in terms of their nominal features, the two main features of G/N nominalizations (demonstratives and G/N agreement) have highly eroded in this position.

First, concerning demonstratives, they are entirely absent among the 142 instances of chained clauses with G/N. This is particularly interesting given that demonstratives are common among dislocated NPs with G/N (see (682) and (683)), and they are also found in a few instances of G/N nominalizations in Agent pseudo-clefts (see (707) and (708)). I believe that this is a strong indicator of the loss of referentiality of G/N nominalizations used in clause-chaining, which unlike other uses of G/N nominalizations, do not function as a device for referent identification.

Second, concerning G/N agreement, the vast majority of chained clauses with G/N use *-ri* NF by default. Indeed, 135 out of 142 chained clauses are marked with *-ri* NF, two are marked with *-yo* F, and five are marked with *-ño* PL. Now, this is not in itself surprising given that non-feminine referents are the most frequent in discourse. What is surprising, however, is that *-ri* NF is also the most frequently used marker for chained clauses whose shared argument is a feminine or plural referent. Indeed, as summarized in Table 98, out of 14 feminine referents in total, only two are marked with *-yo* F and 12 are marked with *-ri* NF, and likewise, out of 18 plural referents in total, only four are marked with *-ño* PL, while all others are marked with *-ri* NF.

Table 98 G/N marking in clause-chaining: markers vs. referents

	NF	F	PL	Total (markers)
<i>-ri</i> NF	109	12	14	135
<i>-yo</i> F		2		2
<i>-ño</i> PL			5	5
Total (Referents)	109	14	19	142

These numbers highlight that G/N agreement is almost entirely neutralized in clause-chaining, but that this loss is not complete. The fact that speakers can still produce clause-chaining with semantically transparent agreement shows that the marker *-ri* has not yet entirely grammaticalized as the default clause-chaining marker, and that G/N markers in this function have not entirely semantically bleached. In sum, among all uses of G/N nominalizations, the clause-chaining use is the least nominal on all levels, from its internal features (considerable loss of nominal features), to its syntactic position (non-NP position).

In conclusion, we note that the two main uses in terms of absolute number of instances of G/N nominalizations are in Agent pseudo-clefts and clause-chaining. Both of these constructions are difficult to classify among syntactic NP positions (pseudo-clefts due to their surface ambiguity, clause-chaining due to their non-embeddedness), and both show robust evidence of gradual loss of the internal nominal features that classify these constructions as nominalizations in the first place. The synchronic skewed external distribution and considerable loss of nominal features suggest that G/N nominalizations have not only functionally expanded beyond the domain of nominalization similarly to other nominalization constructions, but that they may in fact be in the process of losing their nominalizing functions altogether. The summary of the different uses of G/N nominalizations, their function, morphosyntactic specificities and total number of instances in the Flex corpus is provided in Table 99.

Table 99 Syntactic distribution of G/N nominalizations

	Syntactic position	Function	Restrictions of use & variations in finiteness	Total # in Flex
Within NP	Arg of N (PSSR)			0
	Adnominal mod	Relativization		3
Verbal clauses	S of V			0

	O of V			0
	Arg of Postp			0
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	Agent focus	Finiteness: Partial loss of agreement	214
	Pred of NV clause			6
Other	Dislocated NPs	Referent identification		9
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate			0
	Cosubordinate	clause-chaining	Restrictions: co-referentiality Finiteness: loss of demonstratives, almost complete loss of agreement	142
	Main clause			0
Total				348

14.3 Syntactic distribution of Yukuna's nominalizations: tendencies and generalizations

In order to summarize the distributional features of nominalizations presented in this chapter, I examine the main parameters used for the description of each nominalization construction, namely: the range of syntactic positions in which it is used, the functions that it encodes, the restrictions of use and variation in internal finiteness that it displays, and lastly, its frequency.

14.3.1 Syntactic positions

The full range of syntactic positions (NP and non-NP alike) accessible to nominalizations is summarized in Table 100.

Table 100 Syntactic distribution of lexical and grammatical nominalizations

	Lexical				Grammatical				
	<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i> (A)	<i>-ka</i> (EV/LOC)	G/N
	EV	EV	ARG	ARG	ARG	ARG	ARG	EV	ARG

Arg of N (PSSR)	y				y			y	
Adnominal mod					y	y	y		y
S of V									
O of V	y	y			y	y	y	y	
Arg of Postp	y	y		y	y	y	y	y	
Arg of NV clause	y	y			y		y	y	y
Pred of NV clause	y	y		y	y		y	y	y
Dislocated NPs			y	y	y	y	y		y
Adverbial subordinate	y			y				y	
Cosubordinate								y	y
Main clause (mood/FOC)					y			y	?
Main clause (tense)				y				y	

Table 100 is simply a composite table combining Table 83 and Table 89 on lexical and grammatical nominalizations. Similarly to Table 83 and Table 89, Table 100 shows positions accessible to nominalizations on the basis of textual data only. However, it does not take into account the variations in frequency of use in individual positions by a single nominalization construction. In other words, if a given nominalization construction is found three times in one position, and 400 times in another one, both are marked as ‘y’ on the table. I simplify the information in Table 100 into Table 101 conflating the grid of syntactic positions and type of nominalization in terms of semantics (event vs. argument) on the one hand, and internal finiteness (lexical vs. grammatical) on the other hand. Each case is filled with either ‘y’ or ‘n’ depending on whether at least one of the nominalizations in the group is compatible with a given position, or not.

Table 101 Syntactic distribution of nominalizations per semantics and finiteness

		Semantics		Finiteness		
		EV	ARG	LEXICAL	GRAM	Summary
Within NPs	Arg of N (PSSR)	y	y	y	y	ALL
	Adnominal mod	n	y	n	y	ARG & GRAM
Verbal clauses	S of V	n	n	n	n	NONE

	O of V	y	y	y	y	ALL
	Arg of Postp	y	y	y	y	ALL
Non-verbal clauses	Arg of NV clause	y	y	y	y	ALL
	Pred of NV clause	y	y	y	y	ALL
Other	Dislocated NPs	n	y	n	y	ARG & GRAM
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate	y	y	y	y	ALL
	cosubordinate	y	y	n	y	GRAM
	main clause MOOD/DISC	y	y	n	y	GRAM
	main clause TENSE	y	y	y	y	ALL

On the basis of Table 101, we can put forth the following generalizations concerning the syntactic distribution of all nominalizations in Yukuna:

- i. All types of nominalization are compatible with most syntactic positions of NPs (and inversely, most syntactic NP positions can be occupied by any type of nominalization).
- ii. No nominalization is compatible with the position of Subject of a finite verb.
- iii. Only argument grammatical nominalizations are compatible with the positions of adnominal modifiers and dislocated NPs.
- iv. Only grammatical nominalizations have expanded their range of syntactic positions to include the non-NP uses of cosubordination and main clause mood/discourse constructions.

14.3.2 Function

Throughout this chapter, I showed how a single nominalization construction can encode different functions in different syntactic positions. Inversely, Table 102 provides a function-to-form summary of this chapter, which is structured in a form-to-function manner. It lists all functional domains described and the nominalization constructions used to encode them. I categorize the wide variety of functions of nominalizations into the following broad groups: relativization, complementation, adverbial modification, discourse (topic/focus, interrogatives), mood, and tense. Because of the functional versatility of nominalization

constructions in Yukuna, each nominalization construction appears in multiple rows in Table 102.

Table 102 Function-to-form: the expression of functional domains with nominalizations

	Domain	Markers	Syntactic position	NP/non-NP position
REL	Relativization	<i>-kare</i> ARG.NZ <i>-chaje</i> ARG.NZ <i>-ka</i> NZ G/N	Arg of Postp	NP
COMP	Complementation	<i>-kana</i> EV.NZ <i>-kaje</i> EV.NZ <i>-ka</i> NZ	O of V	NP
ADV	Temporal	<i>-kana</i> EV.NZ	Arg of Postp	NP
		<i>-kana</i> EV.NZ	Adv subordinate	Non-NP
		<i>-kaje</i> EV.NZ	Arg of Postp	NP
		<i>-ka</i> NZ	Arg of Postp	NP
		<i>-ka</i> NZ	Adv subordinate	Non-NP
		<i>-ka</i> NZ	Adv cosubordinate	Non-NP
	Conditional	<i>-ka</i> NZ	Adv subordinate	Non-NP
	Purposive	<i>-ka</i> NZ	Adv subordinate	Non-NP
	Causal	<i>-ka</i> NZ	Adv subordinate	Non-NP
	Purpose of motion	<i>-je</i> A.NZ/PURP.MOT	Adv subordinate	Non-NP
Clause chaining	G/N	Adv cosubordinate	Non-NP	
DISC	Agent focus/interrogatives	G/N	argument of NV clause	NP
	Adverbial focus/interrogatives	<i>-ka</i> NZ	argument of NV clause	NP
	Yes/No interrogatives	<i>-ka</i> NZ	Predicate of NV clause	NP
REF	Referent identification	<i>-jona</i> INSTR.NZ <i>-je</i> A.NZ <i>-kare</i> ARG.NZ <i>-chaje</i> ARG.NZ <i>-ka</i> NZ G/N	dislocated NPs	NP
MOOD	Potential mood	<i>-kare</i> ARG.NZ	Main clause	Non-NP
DISC	Topic shift clauses	<i>-ka</i> NZ	Main clause	Non-NP
TENSE	Future tense	<i>-je</i> A.NZ/FUT	Main clause	Non-NP

Far past tense	- <i>khe</i> FAR.PST - <i>jĩka</i> FAR.PST <i>i'maká</i> FAR.PST	Main clause	Non-NP
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Table 103 does away with specific nominalization constructions, and presents the distribution of the main functional domains across nominalization types in terms of semantics (event vs argument) and finiteness (lexical vs. grammatical). Once more, ‘y’ cases (in gray) correspond to functions encoded by at least one nominalization in the category.

Table 103 Functional domain per nominalization type

Syntactic position	Function	Semantics		Finiteness		Summary
		EV	ARG	LEX	GRAM	
Adnom mod	REL	n	y	n	y	ARG & GRAM
Dislocated NPs	REF	n	y	y	y	ARG
O of V	COMP	y	n	y	y	EV
Arg of Postp	ADV	y	n	y	y	EV
Non-verbal clauses	DISC	y	y	n	y	GRAM
Adv sub	ADV	y	y	y	y	ALL
Cosub	ADV	y	y	n	y	GRAM
Main clause	MOOD	y	y	n	y	GRAM
Main clause	DISC	y	n	n	y	EV & GRAM
Main clause	TENSE	y	y	y	y	ALL

On the basis of Table 103, the following generalizations concerning the functions of nominalizations in Yukuna can be put forth:

- i. Only argument grammatical nominalizations are used to encode relativization
- ii. Only argument nominalizations are used for referent identification.
- iii. Only event nominalizations, both lexical and grammatical, are used in complementation and adverbial modification (marked with postpositions)
- iv. Only grammatical nominalizations are used in discourse constructions (focalization, interrogatives) with non-verbal clauses, clause-chaining in cosubordinate clauses, and mood markers in main clauses.

Thus, grammatical nominalizations are specialized in discourse oriented functions in non-NP positions.

- v. All nominalization types are used in adverbial modification (without postpositions), and as tense markers in main clauses.

14.3.3 Restrictions of use

Throughout this chapter, I described the restrictions in the use of nominalization constructions that depend on their syntactic position and function. The identified restrictions concern the number of lexical/grammatical items (verbs, postpositions, and conjunctions) that the nominalization combines with, co-referentiality restrictions, and restrictions in T/A marking. The list of restrictions of nominalization constructions depending on their syntactic position is given in Table 104.

Table 104 Restrictions in use of nominalizations per syntactic position

Syntax	Marker	Semantics	Type	Lexical restrictions	Co-referentiality	T/A
O of V	<i>-kana</i>	EV	LEX	y	y	N/A
	<i>-kaje</i>	EV	LEX	y	y	N/A
	<i>-ka</i>	EV	GRAM	y	y	y
Arg of Postp	<i>-kana</i>	EV	LEX	y	y	N/A
	<i>-kaje</i>	EV	LEX	y	y	N/A
	<i>-ka</i>	EV	GRAM	n	n	n
Adv sub	<i>-kana</i>	EV	LEX	n	y	N/A
	<i>-ka</i> (with CONJ)	EV	GRAM	y	n	y
	<i>-ka</i>	EV	GRAM	n	n	n
	<i>-je</i>	ARG	LEX	y	y	N/A
Cosub	<i>-ka</i>	EV	GRAM	n	n	n
	G/N	ARG	GRAM	n	y	n

Looking at the distribution of ‘y’ filled cases horizontally and vertically in Table 104, we can make the following generalizations concerning the restrictions of use of nominalizations in Yukuna:

- i. Among syntactic positions and functions, the position of object of verbs with the function of complementation is the one with the most restrictions of use. The second most restricted position is that of argument of a postposition, and lastly, cosubordinate clauses.

- ii. Among the various restrictions identified, restrictions in argument co-referentiality between a finite clause and a nominalization are the most common, as they are attested across all syntactic domains that present restrictions, including cosubordinate clauses. The second most common restriction concerns the freedom to combine with verbs/postpositions/conjunctions, and lastly, the third most common restriction concerns T/A marking.

14.3.4 Variations in finiteness

Throughout this chapter, special attention was given to problematic uses of nominalizations in nominalization-based constructions such as adverbial, cosubordinate and even main clauses, but also in synchronically ambiguous constructions such as pseudo-clefts. An important question concerned the synchronic analysis of these uses of nominalizations, and whether they displayed an important variation in their internal finiteness that could suggest grammaticalization. Two major types of variation in internal finiteness were taken into account: the increase in verbal features, and the loss of nominal features. These two types of variation are important as they relate to the working definition of nominalization given in §9.1.1. Table 105 shows the nominalizations used in clefts and non-NP positions and whether they show variation in finiteness pertaining to the acquisition of verbal features (+ Verbal) or loss of nominal features (-Nominal) in these positions.

Table 105 Variation in finiteness per use/nominalization

Form	Position	Construction	+ Verbal		- Nominal	
			Mood	Other	Dem	G/N agreement
-kana EV.NZ	Adv sub	temporal clauses	n	n	n	n
-je A.NZ	Adv sub	purpose of motion	n	y	y	y
	Main clause	future tense	y	y	y	y
-kare ARG.NZ	Main clause	potential mood	y	y	n	n
-ka NZ	Arg of NV clause	Oblique pseudo-clefts	y	n	n	n
	Pred of NV clause	(Polar interrogatives)	y	n	n	n
	Adv sub	Adverbials with subordinating particles	n	n	n	n
	Cosub	temporal/conditional	n	n	n	n

	Main clause	topic shift	y	n	n	n
	Main clause	far past tense	n	y	n	n
G/N	Cosub	clause-chaining	n	n	y	y

Observing the distribution of ‘y’ cases in Table 105, the synchronically problematic uses of nominalizations can be categorized in four groups with respect to their variations in finiteness:

- i. No variation in finiteness: the use of *-kana* nominalizations in adverbial (temporal) subordinate clauses.
- ii. Gain of verbal features only: the use of *-kare* in main clauses, and the use of *-ka* in clefts as both argument and predicate, and in contrastive main clauses (compatible with mood marking, and in some cases, compatible with verbal negation).
- iii. Loss of nominal features only: the use of G/N nominalizations in clause-chaining (loss of demonstratives and partial loss of G/N agreement).
- iv. Variation in both verbal and nominal features: the uses of *-je* A.NZ in adverbial subordinate clauses (purpose of motion) and as a tense marker (future tense) in main clauses.

These four categories can also be placed on a cline from more synchronically ambiguous to more synchronically distinct uses of a single marker: case i. shows no formal evidence in favor of analyzing the adverbial uses of *-kana* as a distinct marker, case iv. shows strong evidence in favor of analyzing *-je* A.NZ/PURP.MOT/FUT as distinct, and cases ii. and iii. show an intermediate degree of grammaticalization.

14.3.5 Frequency

Lastly, an important feature of nominalizations throughout this chapter was their frequency in each syntactic position. Table 106 is a composite table with all the numbers given for each nominalization construction in this chapter, in absolute numbers (total identified instances in my Flex corpus).

Table 106 Absolute number of nominalizations in the Flex corpus

	Lexical				Grammatical				G/N	Total
	<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ka</i>		
Syntactic position	EV	EV	ARG	ARG	ARG	ARG	ARG	EV	ARG	
PSSR	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	10	0	13
Adnom mod	0	0	0	0	21	10	1	0	3	35

S of V	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
O of V	43	36	0	0	0	3	1	160	0	243
Arg of Postp	21	14	0	3	1	2	3	100	0	144
Arg of NV clause	1	2	0	0	4	0	9	880	214	1110
Pred of NV clause	2	1	0	3	5	0	1	17	6	35
Dislocated NPs	2	6	3	2	17	1	7	0	9	47
Adv sub	5	0	0	213	0	0	0	220	0	438
Cosub	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	142	189
Main clause (mood)	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	80	0	88
Main clause (tense)	0	0	0	242	0	0	0	285	0	527
Total	75	60	3	463	63	16	22	1799	348	

Horizontally, Table 106 shows the absolute number of identified instances of nominalizations within a specific syntactic position. Clearly, we note that the most frequently filled positions are those of synchronically problematic uses of nominalizations; namely, clefts (argument of non-verbal clause) and all non-NP uses, in particular adverbial subordinate clauses, cosubordinate clauses and main-clauses. These numbers send a clear message about the functional expansion of nominalizations in Yukuna: **synchronically, nominalization encoding devices are more often used with other functions than as nominalizers.**

This sharp difference in distribution is also reflected in frequency estimations. Table 107 summarizes the frequency of each marker per syntactic position in the 100-sentence sample. The numbers in Table 107 largely match the numbers in Table 106: the most commonly used nominalization encoding devices are *-ka* and G/N markers, and the most commonly attested syntactic positions for nominalization encoding devices in discourse are as arguments in pseudo-clefts and non-NP positions.

Table 107 Frequency of nominalizations in the 100-sentence sample

Syntactic position	Lexical				Grammatical					Total
	<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ka</i>	G/N	
Pssr	EV	EV	ARG	ARG	ARG	ARG	ARG	EV	ARG	0
Adnom mod	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
S of V	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

O of V	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	8
Arg of Postp	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	13
Arg of NV clause	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	8	30
Pred of NV clause	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dislocated NPs	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Adv sub	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	10	0	16
Cosub	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	9
Main clause (mood)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Main clause (tense)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	0	10
Total	6	2	0	8	6	1	0	59	14	

However, note that both absolute numbers and frequency estimations are highly skewed by the presence of highly frequent markers, most importantly *-ka*, but also G/N markers and *-je* (PURP.MOT, FUT). Without taking these markers into account, the remaining markers and the nominalization constructions they are associated with indeed show the expected distribution of nominalizations: as Objects of verbs, arguments of postpositions, adnominal modifiers, and also, as dislocated NPs.

14.4 Typological overview

Finally, I briefly place the distribution of nominalizations in Yukuna within a typological perspective, to assess whether the Yukuna facts align with cross-linguistic expectations.

First, I follow the correlations put forth by Cristofaro (2003), as I had done previously in §13.4. In chapter 10, Cristofaro (2003) compares the co-occurrence of various morphosyntactic phenomena in subordinate clauses in her database, to observe whether there are any meaningful correlations between them. Her work is largely in line with similar studies on deverbalization such as Croft (1991). Cristofaro proposes the different implicational correlations concerning TAM marking (2007, 98):

- i. Case marking/adpositions on the verb → TAM not expressed OR special TAM forms
- ii. Arguments expressed as possessors → TAM not expressed OR special TAM forms
- iii. Person agreement not expressed → TAM not expressed OR special TAM forms
- iv. Special person agreement forms → TAM not expressed OR special TAM forms

v. Arguments not expressed → TAM not expressed

The first implication directly concerns the issue of this chapter as I consider postpositions to be part of the syntactic distribution of NPs, and not part of their internal structure. The implications in ii. to v. concern the internal finiteness of nominalizations, which were discussed in §13.4. As discussed in length in §13.2, grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna encode T/A with the same markers as in finite clauses, and they are also able to combine with postpositions. The implication according to which the use of adpositions with dependent verb forms entails the lack of TAM marking thus does not hold true for Yukuna. Note that Cristofaro does report the presence of a few exceptions to this implication (7 out of 219 cases reported in Table 10.5 in (Cristofaro 2003, 92)).

Second, concerning the entire range of positions available to nominalizations, and functions encoded by nominalizations in Yukuna, I follow Gerner’s (2012) work as a guideline. In his study, he provides an overview of the descriptions of individual languages provided in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona (2011b) in their book on nominalization in Asian languages. Gerner (2012) categorizes the syntactic distribution of nominalizations either as embedded or non-embedded, and in both cases he distinguishes nominalizations used adnominally from nominalizations used pronominally. The categories posited by Gerner (2012) versus the ones adopted here are summarized in Table 108. This categorization roughly covers most categories used in this dissertation, and roughly corresponds to what I refer to as NP uses and non-NP uses of nominalizations in this dissertation. However, the main difference between Gerner’s categorization and mine is that Gerner (2012) does not explicitly mention several syntactic positions that I address here (cells in grey), such as the adverbial modification uses of nominalizations (without case-marking), cosubordination, and dislocated NPs.

Table 108 Syntactic distribution of nominalizations in Gerner (2012) vs. this study

Gerner (2012)		Lemus Serrano	
Embedded	Adnominal	Adnominal mod	Embedded
	Pronominal	Arg of N (PSSR)	
		S of V	
		O of V	

		Arg of Postp	
		Arg of NV clause	
		Pred of NV clause	
		Adverbial subordinate	
Non-embedded	Adnominal (main clauses)	Main clauses	Non-embedded
	Pronominal (main clauses)		
		Dislocated NPs	
		Cosubordinates	

In addition to the categorization of syntactic distribution, Gerner’s (2012) typology also includes a list of innovative functions of nominalizations in non-embedded positions, which he refers to as ‘contextually derived meanings’ of nominalizations. Among these meanings, he includes: contrastive focus, aspect and tense, modality, evidentiality and speaker attitudes (exclamations, surprise, and annoyance). When we contrast Gerner’s list with the list of functions of nominalizations in non-NP uses in Yukuna in Table 102 and Table 103 in §14.3.2, we note that the categories of focus, tense, modality are covered.

In sum, nominalizations in Yukuna clearly cover a wide range of syntactic positions and diverse functional domains. However, this great functional expansion of nominalizations in Yukuna is not typologically rare. Indeed, most functional domains covered by nominalizations in Yukuna (both in NP and non-NP positions) broadly correspond to those described for nominalizers in other languages, as described in the typology in Gerner (2012), and the chapters in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona (2011b). Some uses of nominalizations in Yukuna which are not explicitly mentioned in Gerner (2012) are those of nominalizations as adverbial modifiers in adverbial subordinate clauses (without postpositions) and in cosubordinate clauses (‘clause-chaining’ uses). While these uses are not discussed in Gerner (2012) -unlike the uses of nominalizations with case markers-, they certainly do not constitute a rarity of Yukuna. Shibatani (2019, 65) discusses the adverbial uses of grammatical nominalizations in detail, which he includes among the modification uses of nominalizations along with adnominal modification. That the same marker is found in typical nominalization positions as well as in adverbial subordinate and cosubordinate clauses of the clause-chaining type is reported in a variety of languages including Japanese (Shibatani 2019, 66).

In conclusion, Yukuna nominalizations mostly follow expected patterns of functional expansion and largely support the literature on similar phenomena in Asian languages (Gerner 2012; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011b), and in the languages of the Americas (Zariquiey, Shibatani, and Fleck 2019). The most salient fact about the Yukuna nominalizations is that so many of the cross-linguistically attested uses of nominalizations are simultaneously attested in a single language.

Conclusion

This dissertation provided an in-depth description of the features of nominalizations in Yukuna. This choice of topic was motivated by the presence of highly frequent nominalizers with an incredibly broad distribution, which defies a unitary synchronic analysis.

In Ch.9, I provided the working definitions of the three key terms in this dissertation, namely, nominalization, (non)finiteness and subordination, and introduced the typological categories adopted to describe nominalizations. According to these definitions, nominalization implies both nonfiniteness (to varying degrees), and subordination, but the opposite does not apply. Indeed, I argued that all nominalizations have an internal structure that differs from the finite prototype and are thus nonfinite, however, not all nonfinite constructions are nominalizations. Likewise, I argued that all nominalizations are subordinate as they have the distribution of an NP, but not all subordinate constructions are nominalizations. Lastly, I argued that the external distribution criterion also allowed the identification of innovative uses of nominalization morphology in syntactic positions that are not those of NPs. I refer to these instances as nominalization-based constructions, following the term coined by Post (2011).

In Ch.10, I provided the language-specific definition of the nominal and verbal prototypes based on the features of NPs and verbal clauses in Yukuna described in the Yukuna grammar sketch. I listed these features under two grids, the nominal and the verbal grid, which I then used as the main methodological tool to identify nominalizations among non-finite and subordinate constructions in the language. Following this methodology, I established the repertoire of markers used in constructions that match the definition of nominalization. The Yukuna repertoire of nominalization encoding devices includes eight different markers, which I then described individually in terms of type of nominalization strategy, semantics, internal finiteness and external distributions. This chapter additionally also presents the corpus and databases used in this study (§Appendices).

In Ch.11, I categorized Yukuna's nominalization encoding devices in terms of type of nominalization strategy. I showed that Yukuna only has two types, namely, dedicated nominalizers and NP markers, and that zero nominalization is not attested in the language. All nominalizations in Yukuna are thus overtly marked, and all nominalization encoding devices

are verbal suffixes. This preference for overt marking of nominalization holds true across all subtypes of nominalizations: from argument to event, and from lexical to grammatical. The fact that grammatical nominalizations are also overtly marked, and with the same type of marking as lexical nominalizations, is of cross-linguistic interest.

In Ch.12, I described the semantic features of nominalization constructions in Yukuna, following the categorization into argument vs. event nominalizations. Among the eight nominalization encoding devices, five denote arguments, two denote events, and one is used for both. An interesting feature of the semantics of the Yukuna repertoire of nominalizations is that each semantic domain can be expressed with multiple nominalization encoding devices. This is a rather unexpected feature of a repertoire that contains eight different nominalization encoding devices, where we would expect highly semantically specialized, non-overlapping markers.

In Ch.13, I used the verbal and nominal grids established in Ch.10 as the standard basis on which to evaluate the degree of finiteness of individual nominalization constructions in Yukuna. The results show that the distribution of features from the verbal and nominal prototypes across nominalization constructions is not chaotic, nor does it lead to endless combinatory possibilities. Indeed, I argue that nominalization constructions cluster into two distinct groups: one characterized by the near total absence of verbal features (lexical nominalizations), and the other characterized by a far greater presence of verbal features (grammatical nominalizations). The absence or presence of verbal features, in particular T/A marking is directly correlated with P argument encoding: lexical nominalizations show nominal (possessor) P argument encoding, and grammatical nominalizations show sentential P argument encoding. The features of lexical and grammatical nominalizations in Yukuna thus match the hierarchy of deverbalization put forth by Croft (1991, 83–84).

Lastly, in Ch.14, I described the distribution of nominalizations with respect to the grid of syntactic positions of NPs. I categorized each identified occurrence of a nominalizing marker according to whether it was found in a construction occupying an NP or a non-NP position in nominalization-based constructions. I further categorized these non-NP uses into three structural subcategories depending on their degree of embeddedness within a matrix clause: adverbial subordinate clauses, cosubordinate clauses and main clauses. For each marker and each position, I described the functions associated with the nominalizer in this position, its restrictions of use, and crucially, its variations in terms of internal finiteness, and relative frequency in the corpus. The syntactic distribution of nominalizations displays tendencies

depending on their semantics and finiteness. Only argument grammatical nominalizations are used in referential and adnominal modification function, while event nominalizations are specialized in complementation and adverbial modification when marked with postpositions. Additionally, grammatical nominalizations are more associated with non-NP positions, and with innovative functions such as adverbial subordinate clauses, clause-chaining in cosubordinate clauses, and mood markers in main clauses.

The main aim of this dissertation was to present the complexities of Yukuna nominalizations in a corpus of Yukuna narratives (4,5h of recordings), in a way that was both thorough and systematic. Yukuna nominalizations display complexities in terms of their internal structure and external distribution which represented a methodological challenge. In very concrete terms, some markers in Yukuna are used in constructions that are internally clause-like with a few nominal features, and externally, they are used in a variety of syntactic positions, with many different functions, including but not limited to NP positions/nominalization. In addition to their versatility, these markers are pervasive, found every other sentence (sometimes twice or three times per sentence) in the corpus. The major methodological challenge was to make sense of the distribution of these markers in the corpus. In order to fully grasp the complexity of Yukuna nominalizations, it was necessary for the methodological choices to be grounded in a solid typological foundation. However, the literature on nominalizations overwhelmingly focuses either on their internal features (semantics, argument encoding, degree of finiteness), or on their external distribution. For instance, in his (2001) book, Givón describes nominalizations in English in terms of the degree to which their internal structure deviates from the verbal prototype and matches the nominal prototype, as defined in a language-specific way. In the typological and descriptive literature on Asian languages as represented in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona (2011b), nominalizations are often described in terms of the range of syntactic positions and functions with which nominalizations are used, with the main goal being to establish the pathways of grammaticalization of the markers involved. The methodology and analyses adopted here incorporated both of these approaches, in order to account for the complexities of the Yukuna nominalizations. To achieve this, I associated the definition of nominalization to the NP, and established a prototype that took into account the duality of this constituent, in terms of its internal morphosyntax and external distribution. This prototype thus functions as a tool to describe individual nominalization constructions and categorize their functions in nominalization-based constructions in a systematic manner. This method thus allows both

fine-grained description of individual nominalization constructions, and comparability across different nominalization constructions. In doing so, this dissertation contributes to the literature on nominalization, non-finiteness and subordination, from both a descriptive and typological perspective. It also offers a methodology that can be adapted to any specific language for a comprehensive study of nominalizations. This dissertation, while synchronic in approach, also opens the door for research on the pathways of grammaticalization stemming from nominalization but also leading to nominalization in Yukuna.

Résumé en français de la thèse

Nominalisation omniprésente en yukuna, langue Arawak de l'Amazonie colombienne

Dans cette thèse, je présente une description approfondie des nominalisations en yukuna (ISO 693-3: ycn, Glottocode: yucu1253). Le yukuna est une langue arawak de la branche Japurá-Colombie (Ramirez 2001), parlée par environ mille locuteurs, dans des communautés situées le long du fleuve Mirití-Paraná dans le nord-ouest de l'Amazonie. La famille linguistique arawak est la plus répandue en termes géographiques à travers l'Amérique Latine, avec environ 40 langues parlées de nos jours dans six pays de l'Amérique du Sud et trois pays de l'Amérique centrale (Aikhenvald 2001). Parmi les langues arawak les plus parlées en nombre absolu de locuteurs se trouve le wayuunaiki (Colombie, Venezuela), avec environ 400.000 locuteurs. La plus large concentration de langues de la famille se situe dans la région entre le Rio Negro et l'Orénoque, raison pour laquelle cette région est considérée comme le probable proto-foyer de la famille. Cependant, il est important de relativiser la diversité linguistique de cette région car la diversité actuelle d'autres régions situées plus au sud de l'Amazonie n'est probablement qu'une faible proportion de ce qu'elle aurait été autrefois (Aikhenvald 2012, 33). En effet, autour de 50% des langues de la famille auraient disparu lors de l'arrivée des européens (Ramirez 2001, 1).

Le yukuna est parlé par les groupes ethniques Yukuna et Matapí, lesquels sont en contact intense et prolongé avec les groupes Tanimuka et Letuama, dont les locuteurs parlent le Tanimuka, une langue appartenant à la famille linguistique tukano. En plus de ces groupes, qui constituent la majorité de la population de la région du Mirití-Paraná, nous trouvons en moindre proportion des individus des groupes Kubeo (tukano), Miraña (bora), Witoto (witoto), et Makuna (tukano) groups. Tout comme dans d'autres situations de contact de langues en Amazonie telles que celle de la région du bassin du fleuve Vaupés (Aikhenvald 2002), dans la région du Mirití-Paraná, la langue est étroitement liée à l'identité ethnique. Les groupes riverains de cette région sont exogames, patrilocaux, et transmettent leur identité ethnique et linguistique de façon patrilinéaire. Cependant, dans la région du Mirití-Paraná, l'identité ethnique et l'identité linguistique ne coïncident pas systématiquement, car deux unités exogamiques peuvent partager la même langue identitaire, comme reflété par les alliances matrimoniales entre les groupes Yukuna et Matapí d'une part, et Tanimuka et Letuama d'autre

part. Ces alliances créent des foyers d'appartenance ethnique différente partageant la même langue identitaire (Tukuna/Matapi, Tanimuka/Letuama), en plus des foyers exogamiques où les époux ne partagent pas la même langue identitaire. Cette dernière configuration mène à une situation de multilinguisme, où chaque individu d'une communauté parle plusieurs langues entre lesquelles se trouvent les langues identitaires de chacun de ses parents, ainsi que d'autres langues locales, et l'espagnol.

En termes de vitalité linguistique, le yukuna continue d'être transmis aux nouvelles générations dans la région du Mirití-Paraná. Or, mon travail dans des villages colons voisins révèle une image frappante : en dehors de son territoire traditionnel, la transmission de la langue yukuna aux nouvelles générations est quasiment immédiatement interrompue. Avec un exode rural en hausse constante selon les recensements nationaux, l'apparente vitalité actuelle du yukuna risque de s'affaiblir considérablement dans le futur proche. Mon travail de master présente une étude sur la vitalité linguistique et les profils sociolinguistiques des locuteurs du yukuna au village de La Pedrera plus en profondeur (2015).

Le yukuna est une langue sous-étudiée. Cependant, ma recherche sur cette langue a pu énormément bénéficier de travaux précédents, tout particulièrement, l'esquisse grammaticale et le dictionnaire de Schauer et al. (2005). Les travaux en anthropologie de Laurent Fontaine (2001) ont également été fondamentaux pour mon travail. De plus, Fontaine a effectué un travail colossal de documentation de la littérature orale yukuna, et son corpus est entièrement transcrit en yukuna et traduit en français sur son site.⁸⁰ Je n'ai pu, cependant, intégrer son corpus à cette étude car il n'est pas interlinéarisé. Dans le domaine de la phonologie, je souligne le travail de Camilo Robayo (2018), dont l'analyse du système prosodique du yukuna a été fondamental pour mon analyse actuelle de la langue en tant que langue tonale. En parallèle aux travaux portant sur la langue et culture yukuna-matapí depuis une perspective linguistique et anthropologique, je souligne également l'importance des travaux portant sur les langues et la région du Mirití-Paraná et tout premièrement, la grammaire descriptive de la langue tanimuka écrite par Natalia Eraso (2015), ainsi que les travaux anthropologiques de Diana Rosas Riaño (2008). Il est important de signaler ici également les travaux sur les langues arawak septentrionales : le travail de reconstruction des langues arawak du Nord par Ramirez (2001), les nombreuses études descriptives, typologiques et de contact par Aikhenvald (1999, 2003, 2002), le travail de morphosyntaxe comparative de Durand (2016), et les descriptions des

⁸⁰ <http://site.laurentfontaine.free.fr/Presentation.html>

langues proches comme le kurripako (Danielsen and Granadillo 2008), le piapoco (Mosonyi 2000), et l'achagua (Meléndez Lozano 2000).

Les résultats présentés dans cette thèse se basent sur des données de première main, recueillies pendant trois séjours de terrain d'une durée totale de sept mois entre 2015 et 2018, financés par une bourse ELDP (SG0358) et deux bourses du Labex Aslan. Les séjours de terrain ont eu lieu à trois emplacements différents : le village de La Pedrera (2015), la communauté de Quebrada Negra dans la réserve indigène du Mirití-Paraná (2015), et la ville de Leticia (2015, 2017, et 2018). Pendant ces séjours, j'ai pu travailler avec plus de 30 locuteurs de Yukuna appartenant à différents groupes ethniques (Yukuna, Matapí, and Tanimuka), et recueillir des données de genres divers, notamment des narrations de récits mythologiques. J'ai recueilli la plus grande partie des données lors de mon premier séjour en 2015, puis je me suis concentrée sur la traduction et l'interlinéarisation des données avec ma collaboratrice principale, Virgelina Matapí Yucuna, en 2017 et 2018. Le résultat le plus important de ce projet en termes de documentation linguistique est le corpus yukuna (environ 25h d'enregistrements de divers genres) archivé sur le site web d'ELAR.⁸¹

Cette thèse présente les résultats de mon projet doctoral sur le yukuna, financé par le Labex Aslan, et mené à terme sous la direction de Françoise Rose au laboratoire Dynamique du Langage de l'Université de Lyon 2. Initialement conçu avec l'objectif de produire une grammaire descriptive de la langue, ce projet a été recentré sur un phénomène d'intérêt particulier, à savoir, la nominalisation. Cette décision a été prise peu de temps après mon retour d'un séjour de trois mois à l'Université d'Oregon sous le suivi de Spike Gildea en 2018, lors duquel j'ai développé les bases des analyses présentées ici. Les raisons qui ont motivé ce choix de thématique sont claires : des marques de nominalisation se trouvent, en moyenne, dans 80% des phrases du corpus yukuna. En effet, il existe en yukuna un ensemble de marques extrêmement fréquentes, utilisées sur des formes verbales à traits ambigus tant verbaux que nominaux, employées dans des nombreux contextes syntaxiques et avec des nombreuses fonctions discursives et grammaticales. Ces marques de nominalisation s'infiltrent dans de nombreux domaines de la grammaire yukuna : la relativisation, la complémentation, les subordinées adverbiales, les constructions de type *clause-chaining*, le marquage de focus, et même des distinctions de TAM. La nominalisation en yukuna est donc omniprésente et versatile. La versatilité de ces marques est illustrée avec les exemples de (717) à (720), où le

⁸¹ <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971099>

verbe marqué par *-ka* est utilisé comme le possesseur d'un nom (717)(592), l'argument d'une postposition (718), l'argument dans une construction clivée (719), et le prédicat dans une proposition principale (720).

(717) [*kéleé ri=makápo'-ka ri=ikhá*] *wemí*
 MED 3SG.NF=ranimer-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO **prix**
 'Le prix du (fait qu') il lui a sauvé la vie' (ycn0092,96)

(718) *Eyá* [*ri=to'-chá-ka=o*] *kétána...*
 puis 3SG.NF=coucher-PST-NZ=MID **durant**
 'puis durant (le moment où) il était couché... ' (ycn0186,29)

(719) *kajrú* [*na=wajla'-ká*].
 beaucoup 3PL=danse-NZ
 'leur (fait de) danser est beaucoup' (ycn0059,50)

(720) *Nu=i'ma-jí-ká Kanumá yukú-ná.*
 1SG=raconter-FUT-NZ K. histoire-ALIEN3
 'Je raconterai l'histoire de Kanumá.' (ycn0068,1).

L'objectif principal de cette thèse était de rendre compte de la complexité des nominalisations du yukuna comme celles présentées de (717) à (720), du point de vue de leur structure interne et de leur distribution externe. En raison de leur versatilité et de leur omniprésence dans le corpus, cette tâche descriptive posait un réel défi méthodologique. En effet, les données devaient être organisées de façon systématique et transparente pour permettre une vue globale du phénomène, mais l'analyse devait être approfondie et fine, pour permettre une meilleure compréhension des traits problématiques de certaines constructions. La méthodologie adoptée devait également reposer sur une base typologique solide. Cependant, les études sur la nominalisation se focalisent souvent sur un aspect du phénomène, soit leurs traits internes (sémantique, encodage d'arguments et finitude), soit leur distribution syntaxique et leurs fonctions. Le travail de Givón (2001), par exemple, propose une description des nominalisations en anglais selon leur degré de finitude, mesuré sur la base des prototypes verbaux (proposition verbale finie), et nominaux (groupe nominal) de l'anglais. Dans la littérature descriptive et typologique des langues d'Asie, représentée dans le travail de Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona (2011b), les nominalisations sont souvent décrites selon l'ensemble de positions syntaxiques et fonctions dans lesquelles elles sont employées, avec pour objectif d'établir les trajectoires de grammaticalisation des marques en question. La méthodologie et les analyses adoptées dans ce travail ont visé à coupler les deux approches décrites ci-dessus. Pour

ce faire, j'ai basé la définition structurelle de la nominalisation sur le groupe nominal, qui lui-même, est défini en tant que prototype comme un constituant intrinsèquement duel, avec une structure morphosyntaxique interne et une distribution syntaxique externe. Ce prototype constitue le principal outil pour décrire la finitude interne des différentes nominalisations, et catégoriser leur distribution externe selon les types de positions nominales et non-nominales qu'elles occupent, de façon systématique. Cette méthode permet ainsi à la fois une description approfondie de chaque nominalisation, mais également, une vue comparative des différentes nominalisations.

Cette thèse est structurée en deux parties : la partie I présente une esquisse grammaticale du yukuna, et la partie II est dédiée à la description du phénomène de la nominalisation.

La partie I présente un résumé des principaux domaines de la grammaire du yukuna. L'objectif de cette partie est de présenter les éléments de base de la langue yukuna nécessaires pour la description des nominalisations dans la partie II. Le chapitre 1 sur la phonologie vise à présenter les éléments phonologiques sur lesquels s'appuient les conventions d'écriture utilisées dans les exemples tout au long de la thèse. Le chapitre 2 sur les parties du discours se concentre sur la distinction entre les classes de mots, en particulier la distinction verbe/nom, et la distinction adjectif/adverbe. Le chapitre 3 sur le nom et le groupe nominal présente la morphosyntaxe nominale au niveau de leur structure interne et leur distribution syntaxique. Cette section présente les éléments essentiels pour établir les traits qui composent le prototype nominal, utilisé dans l'identification et la description des nominalisations du yukuna. Les chapitres 4 et 5 décrivent la morphosyntaxe des verbes et des propositions verbales. Ces sections décrivent les principales caractéristiques utilisées pour établir le prototype verbal du yukuna, essentiel dans l'étude des nominalisations dans la langue. Le chapitre 6 présente la morphosyntaxe des propositions non-verbales. Puis, dans le chapitre 7, je présente les différents types énonciatifs. Enfin, je présente brièvement la syntaxe complexe dans le chapitre 8. Cette section donne un aperçu des principales stratégies de création des phrases complexes en yukuna, et se concentre tout particulièrement sur les stratégies qui n'impliquent pas la nominalisation, car l'utilisation de la nominalisation dans les phrases complexes constitue le sujet principal de la partie II.

La partie II est dédiée à la description des nominalisations en yukuna. Cette partie est divisée en six chapitres : deux chapitres dédiés à des considérations terminologiques et méthodologiques, et quatre chapitres dédiés spécifiquement à la discussion et description des nominalisations du yukuna.

Dans la première partie du chapitre 9, je présente les définitions pratiques des trois termes clés de cette thèse, à savoir, la nominalisation, la (non)finitude et la subordination. Selon ces définitions, la nominalisation implique de la nonfinitude (à différents degrés) ainsi que de la subordination, or, l'inverse n'est pas vrai. En effet, les nominalisations ont une structure interne qui diffère du prototype des propositions verbales finies, et sont donc par défaut nonfinies (à différents degrés), cependant, toutes les constructions non-finies ne sont pas des nominalisations. De même, toutes les nominalisations sont subordonnées car elles ont la distribution d'un groupe nominal, mais toutes les constructions subordonnées ne sont pas des nominalisations. Ces définitions permettent donc d'identifier les zones de chevauchement et de non-intersection entre les concepts de nominalisation, nonfinitude et subordination. De plus, ces définitions permettent d'identifier des usages novateurs des marques de nominalisation, lorsque des marques qui par ailleurs fonctionnent comme des nominalisateurs sont utilisées dans des constructions qui ne correspondent pas à la définition pratique de nominalisation c'est-à-dire dans des positions syntaxiques non-nominales. J'emploie le terme 'construction à base de nominalisation', repris du travail de Post (2011), pour ces usages des marques de nominalisation. Dans une deuxième partie de ce chapitre, je présente les paramètres et la catégorisation typologique qui seront appliqués à la description des nominalisations en yukuna dans la partie II. Nous distinguons quatre paramètres : la stratégie formelle de nominalisation (marquage par des nominalisateurs, des marques nominales ou encore, absence de marquage), les traits sémantiques (nominalisations d'argument et nominalisations d'évènement), le degré interne de finitude (nominalisations lexicales et grammaticales), et enfin, la distribution syntaxique (positions nominales ou non-nominales).

Dans le chapitre 10, j'ai défini les prototypes nominaux et verbaux basés sur l'ensemble cumulatif des traits des propositions verbales déclaratives d'une part, et les groupes nominaux d'autre part, tels que décrits dans l'esquisse grammaticale dans les chapitres 3 à 5. J'ai répertorié ces caractéristiques sous deux grilles, la grille verbale et la grille nominale, que j'ai ensuite utilisées comme principal outil méthodologique pour identifier les nominalisations parmi les constructions non-finies et subordonnées de la langue. En suivant cette méthodologie, j'ai établi le répertoire des marques utilisées dans les constructions qui correspondent à la définition de nominalisation. Le répertoire des formes d'encodage de nominalisation inclut huit marques différentes, que j'ai ensuite décrites individuellement selon la typologie des stratégies de nominalisation, leurs traits sémantiques, leur degré de finitude interne et leur distribution externe. Le chapitre 10 présente également le corpus et les bases de données utilisés dans cette

étude, et qui se trouvent en annexe. Cette thèse s'appuie sur un corpus de données (nommé ici corpus Flex, annexe 1), une base de données d'exemples extraits du corpus Flex (base de données d'exemples choisis, annexe 2), et finalement, une base de données contenant 100 phrases extraites de 10 textes différents du corpus (base de données des 100 phrases, annexe 3). Le corpus Flex inclut environ 4,5 heures de données textuelles spontanées et semi-spontanées en yukuna. La plupart des données présentées dans cette thèse ont été puisées dans ce corpus, qui constitue donc la principale base pour les analyses présentées, ainsi que pour la description de la fréquence absolue des marques étudiées. Cependant, ce corpus n'a pas été entièrement glosé, donc les chiffres concernant la fréquence de marques très présentes ne sont qu'approximatifs. La base de données d'exemples, quant à elle, contient environ 1000 entrées, avec des exemples extraits du corpus Flex, et en moindre proportion, des cahiers d'élicitation. Chaque entrée de cette base de données est commentée selon un nombre de paramètres concernant ses traits internes et externes. Le principal objectif de cette base de données était de faciliter l'étude approfondie des corrélations entre différents traits des nominalisations. Cependant, cette base de données ne donne pas des informations relatives au nombre absolu d'occurrences ni la fréquence dans le corpus de chaque marque. Finalement, la base de données de cent phrases, en annexe 3, a été conçue précisément pour pallier aux lacunes du corpus et de la base de données d'exemples choisis. Cette base de données répertorie des séquences de 10 phrases, choisies au hasard parmi 10 textes, sélectionnés selon le genre du locuteur et le genre de narration pour obtenir un échantillon équilibré qui montre la fréquence relative des marques de nominalisation dans le discours.

Dans le chapitre 11 (stratégies), j'ai classifié les marques d'encodage de la nominalisation en yukuna selon leur type formel de stratégie. Parmi les trois types présentés dans le chapitre 9.2.1.1 (marques spécialisées de nominalisation, marques nominales et nominalisation non-marquée), seuls deux types sont présents en yukuna : la nominalisation par des marques spécialisées, et par des marques nominales. De ce fait, toutes les nominalisations en yukuna sont formellement marquées, et toutes les marques qui participent à la création de nominalisations sont des suffixes verbaux. Il est intéressant de remarquer qu'en yukuna, les nominalisations grammaticales aussi sont marquées avec les mêmes types de stratégies que les lexicales, un trait typologique intéressant du yukuna.

Dans le chapitre 12, j'ai décrit les traits sémantiques des nominalisations en yukuna, suivant la catégorisation en nominalisations d'argument et nominalisations d'évènement. Parmi les huit marques de nominalisations en Yukuna, cinq sont utilisées dans des nominalisations

d'argument, deux dans des nominalisations d'évènement, et une marque est utilisée pour les deux types. Un trait particulier du répertoire de marques de nominalisations du yukuna est que chaque domaine (et sous-domaine) sémantique peut être encodé avec différentes marques. Les marques montrent donc un grand degré de chevauchement en termes sémantiques. Cette répartition des domaines sémantiques est inattendue d'un système avec huit marques différentes, où une logique d'économie voudrait que chaque marque soit spécialisée dans l'encodage d'un domaine sémantique particulier.

Le chapitre 13 est dédié à la description de la finitude interne des nominalisations, sur la base des prototypes verbaux et nominaux établis dans §10.1.1, employés comme l'outil d'évaluation standard de chaque nominalisation. Les résultats révèlent que la distribution des traits verbaux et nominaux internes aux nominalisations n'est pas arbitraire. En effet, alors que logiquement il existe un nombre infini de combinaisons de traits verbaux et nominaux, les nominalisations du yukuna peuvent être catégorisées en deux groupes avec des traits cohérents: un group caractérisé par l'absence quasi-totale des traits verbaux (nominalisations lexicales), et un groupe qui présente une structure interne semblable à celle d'une proposition verbale (nominalisations grammaticales), tel qu'illustré dans le Tableau 109. L'absence ou la présence des traits verbaux est directement corrélée avec l'encodage de l'argument P: les nominalisations lexicales encodent cet argument de façon nominale comme un possesseur, tandis que les nominalisations grammaticales l'encodent de façon verbale comme un objet direct. Les traits de finitude des nominalisations lexicales et grammaticales suivent donc la hiérarchie de déverbalisation proposée par Croft (1991, 83–84).

Tableau 109 Degré de finitude des nominalisations lexicales et grammaticales en yukuna

	Niveau	Trait	Lexical	Grammatical
Prototype verbal	Racine et marques verbales	Valence	✓	✓
		Temps	×	✓
		Aspect	×	✓
		Mode	×	×
		Négation	×	*
	Proposition verbale	S/A = S	×	✓
		P = O	×	✓
		Postpositions	✓	✓
		Adverbes	✓	✓
N prototype	Racine et marques	G/N	✓	✓

nominales			
Groupe nominal	P = Possesseur	✓	×
	Demonstratifs	✓	✓
	Numéraux	?	×
	Adjectifs	?	×
	Négation non-verbale	*	*

✓ trait présent ; * trait élicité ; ? trait présent dans peu d'occurrences ; × trait absent

Dans le dernier chapitre 14, je décris la distribution syntaxique des nominalisations par rapport à la grille des positions nominales en yukuna. La description de la distribution présentée dans ce chapitre s'appuie uniquement sur des données du corpus Flex. En effet, j'ai répertorié les occurrences dans le corpus de chaque nominalisation, et je les ai classifiées selon la position syntaxique occupée par la nominalisation. Les positions syntaxiques occupées par les nominalisations se divisent en deux grands groupes, positions nominales et positions non-nominales. Dans le premier groupe se trouvent toutes les positions prototypiques des groupes nominaux (GN), notamment, les positions du sujet et d'objet direct des verbes, mais également, les positions d'argument et de prédicat d'une proposition non-verbale (NV). Dans le deuxième groupe se trouvent toutes les positions qui normalement ne sont pas occupées par des groupes nominaux. Dans cette catégorie, je distingue trois types de positions selon leur degré d'enchâssement dans une proposition principale : les subordinées adverbiales, les propositions cosubordonnées et les propositions principales. Chaque marque est décrite selon les positions syntaxiques qu'elle occupe, ainsi que les fonctions, les restrictions, variations de la finitude et la fréquence relative spécifiques à chaque position syntaxique dans laquelle elle est employée. Ce chapitre dédie une attention particulière à la distribution de deux types de nominalisations : les nominalisations grammaticales d'évènement avec la marque *-ka* NZ, et les nominalisations grammaticales d'agent avec des marques de genre et nombre. Ces deux nominalisations sont les plus fréquentes dans le corpus, et les plus complexes en termes de distribution syntaxique et d'usages. En termes de fréquence, j'ai identifié environ 1800 occurrences de la marque *-ka* dans ses divers usages dans le corpus, ainsi qu'environ 350 occurrences des marques de G/N. La versatilité des fonctions de la marque *-ka* était illustrée dans les exemples (717) au (720), où la forme verbale marquée avec *-ka* occupait les positions de possesseur dans un groupe nominal, d'argument d'une postposition, d'argument d'une proposition non-verbale et de prédicat dans une proposition principale. La versatilité des formes verbales marquées avec des suffixes de genre et nombre est illustrée avec les exemples

(721)-(723), où le verbe portant la marque de G/N est utilisé dans un groupe nominal disloqué(721), comme argument dans une proposition non-verbale de type clivée (722), et finalement, comme proposition cosubordonnée dans une construction de type *clause-chaining* (723).

(721) *méño'jǒ* *ri=iǎ-cha=o,* [*kéele nó-cha-ri* *pi=ikhá*]?
 INDF.LOC.vers 3SG.NF=échapper-PST=MID MED tuer-PST-NF 2SG=PRO
 ‘Vers où s’est-il échappé, celui qui t’a tué?’ (ycn0183,31)

(722) *Pi=ikhá,* *pi=ikhá* [*ati'-yá-ri* *wa=pirá*]!
 2SG=PRO 2SG=PRO voler-PST-NF 1PL=animal
 ‘Celui qui a volé notre animal de compagnie c’est *toi, toi!*’ (ycn0068,40)

(723) *é* *ri=iphí-cha* *amí-cha-ri* *kajú* *íja* *i'mi-chá-ká*
 puis 3SG.NF=arriver-PST voir-PST-NF beaucoup fumée COP-PST-NZ
 ‘Puis il est arrivé, et (il a) vu qu’il y avait beaucoup de fumée.’ (ycn0092,5)

L’enjeu majeur dans la description de ces deux nominalisations était de savoir si leurs différents usages présentent des variations importantes qui démontreraient que certains usages sont diachroniquement liés à la nominalisation mais synchroniquement des constructions distinctes. En d’autres termes, il s’agit de déterminer si les marques de nominalisation se sont grammaticalisées avec des nouvelles fonctions. L’évidence, dans les deux cas, suggère que oui: certaines constructions basées sur des nominalisations sont synchroniquement distinctes, tandis que d’autres sont encore ambiguës. Un exemple très parlant d’ambiguïté synchronique concerne l’usage des marques de G/N dans le *clause-chaining*. Dans cette construction, la forme verbale marquée par un suffixe de G/N n’occupe pas une position syntaxique nominale, et au niveau de sa fonction, cette forme verbale ne dénote pas un argument, mais signale une séquence d’évènements avec un argument partagé. Ces particularités syntaxiques et fonctionnelles se reflètent dans la finitude interne de ces constructions, qui ont quasiment perdu les deux principaux traits nominaux des nominalisations grammaticales avec G/N : les démonstratifs, et, paradoxalement, les marques de G/N elles-mêmes. En effet, les marques de G/N dans les nominalisations d’agent s’accordent de façon transparente avec le référent de la nominalisation, les nominalisations dont le référent est non-féminin singulier sont marquées avec *-ri*, celles avec des référents féminins singuliers sont marquées avec *-yo*, et celles avec des référents pluriels sont marquées avec *-ño*. Dans la construction *clause-chaining*, la marque *-ri* est utilisée dans la plupart des cas indépendamment du genre et nombre du référent (l’argument

partagé entre la proposition de référence et la proposition enchaînée), comme illustré dans l'exemple (724). En (713)a nous avons une proposition dite « de référence » finie, dont le sujet est une troisième personne du féminin. Cette proposition est suivie par la proposition en (724)b, avec une forme verbale marquée par le suffixe *-ri* de non-féminin, malgré le fait que l'argument A/S du verbe 'voir' est coréférentiel avec l'argument sujet du verbe 'ouvrir'.

(724)

- a. *Ru=jme'ti-ya* *ri=núma* *tá,* *jú!,*
 3SG.F=ouvrir-PST 3SG.NF=bouche EMPH INTERJ
 'Elle ouvrit sa bouche (du tigre), ah!,
- b. *amí-cha-ri* *kajú* *ri=wilá=mí* *i'mi-chá-ká.*
 voir-PST-NF beaucoup 3SG.NF=cheveux=PFV COP-PST-NZ
 et vit qu'il y avait beaucoup de cheveux.' (ycn0053,45)

Cette tendance vers la neutralisation des distinctions de genre et nombre dans le *clause-chaining* apparaît clairement dans les données du corpus. Entre les 142 occurrences de cette construction dans le corpus, 135 sont marquées avec le suffixe *-ri* NF. Cette marque n'est pas seulement la plus utilisée dans cette construction de façon globale, mais aussi la plus utilisée avec des référents féminins, et des référents pluriels, tel que le Tableau 110. **Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.** l'indique. Ces chiffres révèlent, en effet, une érosion significative du sémantisme et de la fonction initiale des marques de G/N dans des nominalisations. Cependant, il existe encore des usages sémantiquement transparents des marques de G/N (féminin et pluriel) dans cette construction, ce qui suggère que la grammaticalisation de la marque *-ri* en tant que marque de *clause-chaining* par défaut est en cours mais non achevée.

Tableau 110 Marquage en G/N dans le *clause-chaining*: marques vs. référents

	NF	F	PL	Total (marques)
<i>-ri</i> NF	109	12	14	135
<i>-yo</i> F		2		2
<i>-ño</i> PL			5	5
Total (Référents)	109	14	19	142

La distribution syntaxique des formes verbales marquées avec des suffixes de genre et nombre donne un aperçu très parlant de la versatilité des nominalisations en Yukuna, surtout les nominalisations grammaticales : même si les nominalisations ont de multiples fonctions en raison de leur large distribution syntaxique, en termes de fréquence, ce sont les usages

divergents des nominalisations dans des positions non-nominales qui sont prédominants dans le corpus. Dans le cas présenté ici des formes verbales avec des marques de G/N, il est intéressant de souligner la perte progressive dans certains usages du trait nominal qui définit ces nominalisations par ailleurs.

Le chapitre 14 se conclut avec une discussion comparative des distributions syntaxiques de toutes les nominalisations dans la langue, afin de souligner des tendances dans le corpus. En effet, la distribution syntaxique des nominalisations en yukuna montre des tendances étroitement liées à leur type sémantique et leur finitude. Ainsi, seules les nominalisations grammaticales d'argument sont employées dans la position de modification adnominale et de groupe nominal disloqué, et seules les nominalisations d'évènement (tant lexicales que grammaticales) sont spécialisées dans la complémentation et les subordinées adverbiales (marquées avec des postpositions). De plus, les nominalisations de type grammatical participent à plus d'usages en dehors des positions nominales, dans des constructions basées sur la nominalisation. Ces tendances sont présentées dans le Tableau 111.

Tableau 111 Distribution syntaxique des nominalisations par type sémantique et de finitude

		Sémantique		Finitude	
		EV	ARG	LEXICAL	GRAM
Dépendant dans un GN	Posseur	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Modifieur	n	✓	n	✓
Propositions verbales	Sujet	n	n	n	n
	Objet	✓	✓	✓	✓
	argument de postposition	✓	✓	✓	✓
Non-verbal clauses	argument de proposition NV	✓	✓	✓	✓
	prédicat NV	✓	✓	✓	✓
Other	GN disloqué	n	✓	n	✓
Non-NP uses	subordonnée adverbiale	✓	✓	✓	✓
	cosubordonnée	✓	✓	n	✓
	principale (mode, discours)	✓	✓	n	✓
	principale (temps)	✓	✓	✓	✓

En conclusion, cette thèse contribue à la littérature sur la nominalisation, la (non)finitude et la subordination, dans une perspective descriptive et typologique. De plus, cette thèse illustre l'usage d'une méthodologie qui peut être adaptée à la description exhaustive des nominalisations quelle que soit la langue. Enfin, l'approche synchronique adoptée dans cette thèse ouvre la porte à des études ultérieures sur les processus de grammaticalisation qui partent de la nominalisation ou qui y mènent.

Abbreviations and glosses

1	First person	COND	Conditional
2	Second person	COP	Copula
3	Third person	DIM	Diminutive
A/S	Notional subject	DIST	Distal
ADJP	Adjective phrase	DUB	Dubitative
ADNOM	Adnominal	EMPH	Emphatic
ADV	Adverbial modification	EV	Event
ADVP	Adverbial phrase	F	Feminine
COMP	Complementation	FAR.PST	Far past
DISC	Discourse	FRUST	Frustrative
FOC	Focus	FUT	Future
G/N	Gender, number	GNR.PRO	Generic pronoun
GRAM	Grammatical	HAB	Habitual
MOD	Modifier	IDEO	Ideophone
NP	Noun phrase	IMPRS	Impersonal
O	Object	INDF.SUB	Indefinite subordinate
OBL	Oblique	INSTR	Instrument
P	Notional object	INTERJ	Interjection
POSTP	Postposition	LIM	Limitative
PRED	Predicate	LOC	Locative
PSSR	Possessor	MED	Medial
REF	Referential function	MID	Middle
REL	Relativization	NEG	Negation
S	Subject	NEGPURP	Negative purpose
SUB	Subordinate clause	NF	Non-feminine
TAM	Tense, aspect, mood	NV	Non-verbal
A.NZ	Agent nominalizer	NZ	Nominalizer
ADJZ	Adjectivizer	PFV	Perfective
ADVZ	Adverbializer	PL	Plural
ALIEN	Alienability class	POSS	Possessive
APPL	Applicative	PRIV	Privative
ARG	Argument	PRO	Pro form
ARG.NZ	Argument nominalizer	PROH	Prohibitive
ASS	Associative	PROX	Proximal
ATTR	Attributive	PRS	Present
AUG	Augmentative	PST	Past
CAUS	Causative	PTCP	Participle
CAUSE	Causal clause	PURP	Purposive
CLS	Classifier	PURP.MOT	Purpose of motion
CONC	Concessive	Q	Question particle

REFL	Reflexive
SG	Singular
TEMP	Temporal
UNPOSS	Unpossessed
V	Verbal
VZ	Verbalizer

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Selected examples database

The selected examples database contains some 1000 entries extracted mostly from the Flex corpus, and from field notebooks. Each entry corresponds to an instance of a nominalization or nominalization-based construction, annotated according to its internal and external features. The database is provided in Appendix 1. This database contains 11 columns. The first column (ID) provides the unique identifier of each entry (from 1 to 947). The second column (type) provides the type of data from which the entry is extracted ('text' for the Flex corpus, and 'elic' for elicited material from field notebooks). The third column (code) provides the code of each entry in their source, either a code with the file number and Flex line (000,000), or a notebook number with its corresponding page (NB00:00). Since in Yukuna each clause may contain multiple instances of nominalizing morphology, there are cases where multiple entries (with different ID numbers) share the same code. This is why it was crucial to identify each nominalization with a unique identifier in the first column. The fourth column provides the entry in Yukuna and, in cases with multiple instances of nominalizations with the same code, marks in brackets the nominalization in question. The translation and glosses of the Flex entries are found in the Flex corpus. The fifth column (syntactic role) provides the syntactic role occupied by the verb form carrying nominalizing morphology, summarized in Table A. The sixth column (postposition) provides the postposition used with a nominalization for entries marked as 'argument of postposition' in column five. The seventh column (N, DEM, Ø) states whether the nominalization is used with a lexical head noun, with a demonstrative, or without any of these elements. Columns eight and nine (semantics; marker) provide the semantic category and the marker used in the nominalization -or nominalization-based construction in the entry. Lastly, columns ten and eleven (tense; aspect, mood polarity) state whether the construction in the entry contains tense markers, as well as aspect, mood and negation markers respectively.

Table A List of syntactic roles used in the selected examples database

	Position	Functional subtype
Within NPs	Possessor (PSSR)	
	Modifier (Mod)	
Verbal clauses	S of V	
	O of V	Speech
		Perception (percep)
		Cognition (cogn)
		Manipulative (manip)
Non-verbal clauses	Argument of postposition (Arg of Postp)	
	Argument of NV clause (Arg of NV)	
	Predicate of NV clause (Pred of NV)	
Other	Dislocated NPs (DISC)	
Non-NP uses	Adverbial subordinate (nonNP-advsub)	
	cosubordinate (nonNP-chain)	
	Main clause uses	interrogative (nonNP-int)
		potential mood (nonNP-pot)
		progressive aspect (nonNP-prog)
	topic shift (nonNP-topic)	
Uncategorized	Unknown role (?)	
	NP in isolation (x)	
	Unannotated entry (empty cell)	

Table B Appendix 1

ID	Type	Code	Item	syntactic role	POSTP	N, DEM, Ø	Semantics	Marker	Tense	Aspect, mood, polarity
1	text	18,05	eyá nuñapata jewiña'kajo	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
2	text	18,13	eyá ũká kája jápákaje i'malá	S of V		Ø	event	kaje		
3	text	18,13	[jana'káje] rikája kalé rikája kalé jápákaje maaré Pedrera é , riká nakú wajápá	?		Ø	event	kaje		
4	text	18,13	jana'káje rikája kalé rikája kalé [jápákaje] maaré Pedrera é , riká nakú wajápá	?		pro	event	kaje		
5	text	18,8	é nuyuró Leticia é jápákana nakú quince jarechí kétána	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kana		
6	text	41,101	"kháajnáta pile'jé , kélé kúwa'ro... kaíja pe'yó " ké rímícha	disloc		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
7	text	41,118	rilajówa i'michári kajú rináku	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
8	text	41,122	"á'a nujmerémi [marí kéja nuká] "	ARG of NV (comparison)		Ø	event	ka		
9	text	41,125	é jrócho'cho amíchari kája jnero'tíyata richiné phiyúké machijnérú ri'michá	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
10	text	41,127	é kája romícha riká , ramícha ruká , é kája raki'chá ka'jné ruká napura'kó chú	Arg of Postp	chu	Ø	event	ka		
11	text	41,129	é romícha , "majó piwakára'a rilajówa pa'tákana phiyúké "... ké rúmícha	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		

12	text	41,131	amíchari riyúphé i'michá , manáwire i'michá , unká jreo'lácho	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
13	text	41,132	piwátia ka'jná phiyúké richijné jero'kána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
14	text	41,138	chúwa nomájika nupuláa'pe wánika riká kéwáka, kátaro nunáku	disloc		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
15	text	41,151	kétána wayú chi'náikana witúki'chaka, iphíchari amíchari rito'chako mátámi	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
16	text	41,153	ká Yewákumitá yuícharo mejlurú , ũká rijlú i'malácha	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
17	text	41,156	é kája kawayá iphícha, kawayá iphíchari	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
18	text	41,161	riká jrepo'chá kélé kawayátá jeño'chákanó chojě	Arg of Postp	choje	∅	locative	ka	cha	no
19	text	41,16	palá wáni kháãjĩ Yewákumi la'káno wanáku	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		no
20	text	41,164	é jrimá jepo'tiyo wená rili'cháje chojě	Mod, arg of Postp	choje	N	patient	chaje		
21	text	41,168	riká aũ kája Yewákumi i'jíchá jáo'charo riñakaré chiyá	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
22	text	41,172	(iyajá?) re'weló [i'micháyo], pi'cháyo kája	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
23	text	41,172	(iyajá?) re'weló i'micháyo, [pi'cháyo] kája	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
24	text	41,18	kájá unká piwátala... nu'maká ka'jná ijwa'té riká aũ ka'jná pímá nojló ñaké	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
25	text	41,2	é pajlúwaja inauké [i'michári] , riĩ i'michári Yewákumi	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

26	text	41,2	é pajlúwaja inauké i'michári , riĩ [i'michári] Yewákumi	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
27	text	41,3	rikója ri'michákano	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
28	text	41,35	é ũká rupura'lácho... kája wa'yú ru'micháka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
29	text	41,43	kája ewája romícha kamují riĩ'chákanó	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		no
30	text	41,44	é kája wája rímícha rojló "nupirá maaréjatá pi'má , nu'jícháka... kamejéri nóje píño wajló	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
31	text	41,49	é riphícha jlaíchú , amíchari kujnú i'michá kajú la'kejá	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
32	text	41,5	ripéchu i'michá ná ka'jnó la'ríno kujnú nojló	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		no
33	text	41,53	unká pamála ná iphákano majó... wajló kujnú la'jé	ARG of NV		∅	ambig	ka		
34	text	41,55	rímícha chúwa nomájika ná chí la'ríno kujnúno	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		no
35	text	41,55	é ripéchu i'michári , ripéchu iphícha , rímícha chúwa [nomájika] ná chí la'ríno kujnúno	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
36	text	41,56	é rímícha píño rojló "nupirá , maaré pi'má , nu'jícháká kamejérina nóje píño wajló	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
37	text	41,58	ramákalojé náka inau'kéka [ipháрино] la'jeno kujnú rijló	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		no
38	text	41,58	é ruwitú'chaka ruki'yá ro'rú runakiyá	nonNP-?		∅	event	ka		
39	text	41,6	kamejérina nójeri ri'micháka , kajú rinóchanó kamejérina	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	je		
40	text	41,62	é wajapómi e'yá ri'michá , é ramícha amíchari... íja	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

			puyúichaka majó pají luílo'ma chiyá							
41	text	41,63	é rímícha: "chúwatá nomájika náka... "	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
42	text	41,66	amíchari ruyái'chako , kajurú inanáru [ru'micháká] , po'rí ji'lá kujnú ruli'chá	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
43	text	41,66	[amíchari] ruyái'chako , kajurú inanáru ru'micháká , po'rí ji'lá kujnú ruli'chá	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
44	text	41,7	é kája é ripui'chó (rujwa'té) rímícha rojló piká chí la'ríno kujnú nojló	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		no
45	text	41,72	"[kamu'jí ramáka pila'ká] aú , riwakára'a nukhá "	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
46	text	41,73	"aú nomá pikhá kamu'jí kémáchi , pikhója , aú nula'káno kujnú pijló " ké rúmíchaka rijló	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
47	text	41,86	unká pamálaje (vimy: pamálare kélé) o'wé ké rúmícha, "üká méla'jé kalé [pamácare]"	nonNP-pot		∅	pot	kare		
48	text	41,89	é kája jarechí jená chojé iphícha , jarechí li'chá , kaéja kájéna iwatíyaro	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
49	text	41,93	é nawejícha karíja , kajú jíñana nají'cháka , jíñana taji'chá	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
50	text	42,117	ükáchú ne'jnalá kája iná , [iná ikhó iná i'kaká riká]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
51	text	42,118	marí ké wajápaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
52	text	42,121	é kája wakulá jápákaje ilé ewá karíwana jwa'té	O of V		∅	event	kaje		

53	text	42,123	wajña'kálojé nákažeñáni wajlúwa ....wawátakare ,	disloc		Ø	patient	kare		
54	text	42,127	nákaje [la'kaná] nakú , ramáka , riliyá jara'kána , kéchami menapá matha'kána	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kana		
55	text	42,127	nákaje la'kaná nakú , ramáka , riliyá [jara'kána]	adv		Ø	event	kana		
56	text	42,128	kéchami menapá matha'kána	adv		Ø	event	kana		
57	text	42,13	mená penáje , ũká chiyó wala'káre tajno.	? (S of V)		Ø	patient	kare		
58	text	42,19	riká nakú [we'maká] kétána wajúwa ka	Arg of Postp	ketana	Ø	event	ka		
59	text	42,19	riká nakú we'maká kétána [wajúwa'ka]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
60	text	42,25	we'jné jana'jé ya'jnáje , méño'jóka iná jña'ká jíñana , iná ajñákáre	disloc		Ø	patient	kare		
61	text	42,32	we'jné apú jápákaje wala'á	O of V		dem	event	kaje		
62	text	42,39	kája júpi ajíké wajápáka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
63	text	42,44	wajápá wajló, mená [matha'kána], nákaže ejátakana , páru	adv		Ø	event	kana		
64	text	42,44	wajápá wajló, mená matha'kána, nákaže [ejátakana] , páru	adv		Ø	event	kana		
65	text	42,53	ñakéja kája wala'ká kajírú	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
66	text	42,59	kéchami wejátaka richojé , kajírú	nonNP-?		Ø	event	ka		
67	text	42,61	phiyúkéja nákaže ajñákáje	?		Ø	?	kaje		
68	text	42,65	we'jné ramáje, ritakha'káchú wapiyákáno wája riká	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		

69	text	42,66	ná kajíru ka'jná ka'chí ka'jnó takhi'chári	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
70	text	42,7	takha'rí	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
71	text	42,76	riká tamáa'ro píño	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
72	text	42,77	eyá [we'kakáre] tajnáro , kája apú yoró rapúmi chojé	PRED of NV		∅	patient	kare		
73	text	42,77	eyá we'kakáre [tajnáro] , kája apú yoró rapúmi chojé	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
74	text	42,8	wamá wanáni nákaaje wejátake ná páru	Mod, disloc		N	patient	kare		
75	text	42,8	iná wátakachú kajú ná mená [i'maká] iná jló , iná jápá	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
76	text	42,9	nákaaje , nákaaje , i'makáre waména e'yá	disloc		∅	Agent	kare		
77	text	42,92	apú jápákaje i'makáchú , kája apú nakú píño wajápá	S of V		pro	event	kaje		
78	text	42,97	júpi ri'maká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
79	text	53,1	pajlúwa inau'ké i'michári	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
80	text	53,15	rinócha , rikeño'chá pújuna nókana rijló	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
81	text	53,21	kélé yáwi i'rí rilamáichaje jwa'té	Mod, Arg of Postp		N	patient	chaje		
82	text	53,28	é najícha apiyá rinóchaje rijwa'té	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
83	text	53,45	amíchari kajú riwilámí	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
84	text	53,57	iyákáje nakú ruyái'cho	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
85	text	53,59	é romícha amíchari pajlúwa inau'ké	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
86	text	53,59	iphíchari runáku réjé	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
87	text	53,62	rímícha rojló "piká chí kélé [ripirá ajñákáre]Pssr [yajálo mi]Pssd [nema káre	Pssr, ARG of NV		dem	patient	kare		

			naku]Mod", "á'a, nukhá" ké rúmíchaka							
88	text	53,62	rímícha rojló "piká chí kélé [ripirá ajñákáre] yajálomi [nema-káre nakú] ? " , "á'a ,nukhá " ké rúmíchaka .	Mod, ARG of NV		N	pssr of P	kare		
89	text	53,67	amári ũká méké rula'lácha	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
90	text	53,7	ré riyakái'cho amíchari kajú iñaphí i'micháká	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
91	text	53,7	riyakái'cho amíchari pajlúwa yáwi i'rí to'cháko	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
92	text	53,75	jé ké, é jname'tíya muní ké jlapiyámí, kajú rukero'cháko jwa'té náke najme'chíya	Arg of Postp	jwa'te	∅	event	ka		
93	text	53,77	ilé kamejéri nonókare pi'rí jló	mod, ARG of NV		N	patient	kare		
94	text	53,78	é jlapí ra'michíyá kélé rinóchajena kamejérina kélé yuwají jló	O of V		dem	patient	chaje		
95	text	53,8	aú kélé yuwajíke'la iichari , kajú ru'rí iichaka .	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
96	text	53,81	riwáta we'jnaká pijwa'té	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
97	text	53,83	náke éko pha'pá pímícha péjénajlo jnanapíchachí kélé kamejéri kélé pijña'káre, nonókare kélé yuwají jló	disloc		dem	patient	kare		
98	text	53,83	náke éko pha'pá pímícha péjénajlo jnanapíchachí kélé kamejéri kélé pijña'káre, [nonókare kélé yuwají jló]	disloc		∅	patient	kare		
99	text	53,85	"jé " ké rúmíchaka aú jra'pícha , iphíchaño a'jñáñojǒ náke rójena nakú .	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
100	text	53,89	éta "méké " "aú nu'jna majǒ ké rúmíchaka , ru'michá najló	pssr, O of V (speech)		∅	event	ka		

			[mékéka ru'jnaká réjō] yukúná , rúmícha "marí ké iñepú chuwá nupháchiya pajlúwaja inau'ké "							
101	text	53,9	é pajlúwaja iphári nunáku inau'ké	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
102	text	53,91	riká kalé nóri kélé to'jmá jló kélé náke ... kamejérina ,kajú ra'mitiyá neká	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
103	text	57,19	ja'pejé i'makáyó nútu	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
104	text	58,112	nuká we'píri imu'jí	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
105	text	58,112	aú rúmícha "üká ná kalé ila'kó " ké rúmíchaka "ná khaónatá ... inau'kétá nótaño i'maká i'maká kélé , nochojé kalé iká , nuká , nuká we'píri imu'jí, aú ipa'ó píño apumí chuwá " ké rúmícha najló	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
106	text	58,113	é ruyakái'cho kélé jrora'pá michú i'makáre ewá ruyakái'cho, ũká ná i'maácha	Arg of Postp	ewa	∅	locative	kare		
107	text	58,25	ro'wéñáni íchari kája , kajú riíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
108	text	58,27	nuká wái'chari piká nujlúwa ké rímícha	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
109	text	58,27	nuká [wáa'ri] iká nojlúwa , nuká wái'chari piká nujlúwa	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
110	text	58,28	ũká kapichájō kalé pi'jná, i'majé i'jná ké rímíchaka rojló	adv		∅	x	je		
111	text	58,3	pajlúwája inau'ké i'michári	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
112	text	58,34	éjéchami inau'ké tá [wátaño] ru'maká, i'wapáño ruká	Mod, disloc		N	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

			najlúwa, ne'wapaníperu ru'micháka, éjéchami némíchaka "mére chí ruká kélé we'wapaníperu"							
113	text	58,34	éjéchami inau'ké tá wátaño ru'maká, [i'wapáño] ruká najlúwa , ne'wapaníperu ru'micháka, éjéchami némíchaka "mére chí ruká kélé we'wapaníperu"	disloc		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
114	text	58,34	éjéchami inau'ké tá wátaño ru'maká, i'wapáño ruká najlúwa , ne'wapaníperu [ru'micháka], éjéchami némíchaka "mére chí ruká kélé we'wapaníperu"	S of NV		∅	event	ka		
115	text	58,36	aú kélé ... [wátaño] ruká kémíchaño "mapéja ipajlákátá , kája a'kátá ruká , riká aú ipajlá mapéja rukapicháko ké "	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
116	text	58,36	aú kélé ... wátaño ruká [kémíchaño] "mapéja ipajlákátá , kája a'kátá ruká , riká aú ipajlá mapéja rukapicháko ké "	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
117	text	58,36	wátaño ruká kémíchaño "mapéja ipajlákátá , kája a'kátá ruká , riká aú ipajlá mapéja [rukapicháko] ké	Arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
118	text	58,51	é kája ro'wé yuicharo phá chú.	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
119	text	58,53	é rímicha rojló: "pímá pe'wéjló pá rijápániña [kháajĩ	disloc		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

			nákarí wa'rumaká [kháajĩ pitáro]], apá rila'á ripachó							
120	text	58,56	é nephícha amíchari meñáru	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
121	text	58,7	yuícharo kája penáje i'micháká wayúná le'jé	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
122	text	58,71	é kája némícha kajú wáni jíñana iwatáko	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
123	text	58,75	nephícha kélé pají ne'micháje chú éjé nephícha	Mod, Arg of Postp	eje	N	locative	chaje		
124	text	58,94	kamu'júñiñani ri'micháká [makápo'jeri] kélé, makápo'jeri ri'micháká kamu'júni,	disloc		∅	instrumental	je		
125	text	58,94	kamu'júñiñani ri'micháká makápo'jeri kélé, [makápo'jeri] ri'micháká kamu'júni,	disloc		∅	instrumental	je		
126	text	58,97	é rikhá [yuícharo] ruwátakana nakú	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
127	text	58,97	é rikhá yuícharo [ruwátakana] nakú	arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
128	text	59,11	eyá kéle nuyajná i'jnári jña'rí (MLS: jña'je)	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
129	text	59,14	eyá nuká jña'rí nákarí kajíru nupá riká	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
130	text	59,15	nupháká nuta'á riká	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
131	text	59,2	ré i'makáño jló iné kémá ajñá kujnú waláko jwa'té	Arg of Postp		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
132	text	59,21	eyá arápa'kaje wakajé ñaké kája na'á iné ñathé	Arg of postp	wakaje	∅	event	kaje		
133	text	59,23	inauké a'ño iné ñathé kéle [arápa'kaje] iná la'kálojé penáje	O of V		dem	event	kaje		

134	text	59,23	inauké a'ñó iné ñathé kéle arápakaje iná [la'kálojé] penáje	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
135	text	59,25	wakajé kája rímá najló éko ñaké nuwáta a'ká nuñathé ikaja'tákalojé nojló pipirí penáje	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
136	text	59,27	phiyúké i'máño rikajajé, (na) nayukupéra nalúna i'jnalóje rináku jápáje	disloc		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
137	text	59,29	nata'á riká kájémaka (a'jñá) , na'ká re'yá , kája naka'á riká leyuná chojé	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
138	text	59,3	a'jñá nañapátaka riká ejená	Arg of postp	ejena	∅	event	ka		
139	text	59,32	rímá marí kéchámi ri'rakána i'majíká	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
140	text	59,32	rímá marí kéchámi ri'rakána i'majíká	? (S of V)		∅	event	kana		
141	text	59,36	[chúwa tá nuwátaka] i'jnaká nojló , nupanjí (i'rá) , nupanjí i'rajé	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
142	text	59,36	chúwa tá nuwátaka [i'jnaká nojló] , nupanjí (i'rá) , nupanjí i'rajé	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
143	text	59,41	inauké iphári pipirí i'rajé	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
144	text	59,44	pikuwá kujnú kájemaka jíña kájemaka wajla'jéño jló iná a'kálojé	Arg of Postp	jló	∅	Agent	je		
145	text	59,46	é kája nephá (pa-) lapiyámi , phá chójo [iphákáño] , ipháño arápaje	disloc		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
146	text	59,46	é kája nephá (pa-) lapiyámi , phá chójo iphákáño ,[ipháño] arápaje	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

147	text	59,49	tórina ipháño	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
148	text	59,5	é kája nawajla'á kajrú nawajla'ká	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
149	text	59,51	kajú tórina ipháka, é kája na'á najló numapáji pe'yojé	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
150	text	59,58	jnácho'ko éjéchami , kája natamákata numapáji najló , phiyúké [najñáka] nanumapó	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
151	text	59,58	[jnácho'ko] éjéchami , kája natamákata numapáji najló , phiyúké najñáka nanumapó	Arg of postp	ejechami	Ø	event	ka		
152	text	59,59	é kája narápa'a píño (ajná nawajla'á) , [jme'táno nawajla'ká]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
153	text	59,61	é narápa'a jlapí kétána narápa'ka muní ké píño	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
154	text	59,62	a'jné ritajnáko ejená , na- nañapáta riká , é kája nala'á riyálena píño	Arg of postp	ejena	Ø	event	ka		
155	text	59,9	nuká i'jnári kajíru jña'jé	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
156	text	63,09	lapí riphícha, iná jme'táka chojónaja	Arg of Postp	chojona	Ø	event	ka		
157	text	63,113	piwátajíkaé nujwa'té i'jnakána	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
158	text	63,144	piwátajíkaé pajñá riká , kája piwáta [ñaké i'makáje]	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
159	text	63,145	piwátajíkaé pajñá riká , kája piwáta ñaké i'makáje	Arg of Postp	e	Ø	event	ka		
160	text	63,147	é kája rikeño'chá jewíña'kajo	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
161	text	63,15	kája napi'chó píño, iphíchari	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
162	text	63,168	kája nawáta piwá kana	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
163	text	63,17	nuwáta ra'ká piwemí nojló	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		

164	text	63,188	é [itájikare] kélé cha'wí aú, riká, puwa'ká wephájika rijimáje, é akúwa'ta wáya rinakojé, puwa'ká nuñaka'jika kélé cha'wí rimejé i'majíka "chi' chi' chi' ", é ijme'tá wápu nupulá'pena jwa'té	disloc		Ø	patient	kare	je	
165	text	63,188	é itájikare kélé cha'wí aú, riká, [puwa'ká wephájika rijimáje], é akúwa'ta wáya rinakojé, puwa'ká nuñaka'jika kélé cha'wí rimejé i'majíka "chi' chi' chi' ", é ijme'tá wápu nupulá'pena jwa'té	nonNP-chain		Ø	event	ka		
166	text	63,2	riká i'micháři réje'imi jwa'té	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
167	text	63,205	é yupí i'micháři najwa'té	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
168	text	63,208	kawale'ké wáni ri'maká pachá	Arg of Postp	pacha	Ø	event	ka		
169	text	63,214	ratáí'chajlá jreño'ká , ũká , [pi'chároja] ja'cháro riyámojo	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
170	text	63,214	ratáí'chajlá jreño'ká , ũká , pi'chároja [ja'cháro] riyámojo	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
171	text	63,217	kája wája...ta jreño'chá wáni kapí , ja'píchari riwámi	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
172	text	63,221	ũká kája iwátalacha nu'jnaká ijwa'té	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
173	text	63,225	eyá ajúpána phiyúkéja kapiíchaño phiyúké wáni	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
174	text	63,225	ruñaká amícharo junápeje	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
175	text	63,26	ná ka'jñá kélé... Amáro... junápeje	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
176	text	63,28	amíchari ruyáa'ko	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

177	text	63,4	é riká , réje'ími i'michá jana'káje nakú	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kaje		
178	text	63,41	jíñana i'michári jritáne chú	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
179	text	63,43	ná kaléta kélé pitáño phitánechú	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
180	text	63,47	apála jíñana... náchána ka'jná khájíru... kémáyo nojló	disloc		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
181	text	63,5	é ru'jíchá a'jná... ne'micháká éjō	Arg of Postp	ejo	Ø	locative	ka		
182	text	63,5	rijwa'té , é ru'jíchá a'jná ... ne'micháká éjō	Arg of Postp	ejo	Ø	locative	ka		
183	text	63,5	jana'káje nakú ri'michá	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kaje		
184	text	63,53	é kélé phíyu'ke i'michári pají chú , riká jwa'té najícha nakakúwá	Mod, disloc		N	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
185	text	63,54	riká penáje ruíchakojlá ,	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		jlá
186	text	63,66	iphíchari mapéja	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
187	text	63,7	wa'jini rijí'cháka neká jana'káje nakú	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kaje		
188	text	63,78	rějō amári rejo'kája rikamátako	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
189	text	63,84	riká penáje ruíchakojlá	nonNP-topic		Ø	event	ka		jlá
190	text	68,05	a'jná nuwe'íka , nuwe'íka riká éjé	Arg of Postp	eje	Ø	locative	ka		
191	text	68,107	á , "phiwakátá Kanumá" kemakána nakú ké rúmícha , yéwichaja taja'á me'píjé nakú , "náje ritaja'á me'píjé nakú , ké rúmíchaka	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kana		
192	text	68,108	ilé kalé (náke) inaána i'michámí (riná) rijwa'té , jra'píchakamitá nakú ké rúmícha	?		Ø	pssr	ka		

193	text	68,11	neká i'jícháñonó chi'náikana nakú wajájo	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		no
194	text	68,12	ja'pejē i'micháyo nákei maíre'ru maína já'lo	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
195	text	68,121	é riyái'cho píño , jemi'chári píño rumejé waicha , khú , khú ké ruleícha	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
196	text	68,123	ná kélé wáa'ri	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
197	text	68,126	"yéé , "ná pila'á ? " kemakáje nakú , nulakélo "	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kaje		
198	text	68,129	"yéé phiwaká Kanumá kemakáje nakú , nulakélo "	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kaje		
199	text	68,138	riji'chá kujnú , jretá i'michári pají numaná	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
200	text	68,147	neká li'chañó kujnú rijló	ARG of NV		pro	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
201	text	68,15	wa'jini wáni nayuríkanó nuká , ne'jnakáno "	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
202	text	68,155	Kanumá tá i'jíchá , amíchari kajú raúki'cha káru chojē... kélé kujnú [ra'chajé] rijló	Mod, disloc		N	patient	chaje		
203	text	68,155	é kája Kanumátá i'jíchá , [amíchari] kajú raúki'cha káru chojē kélé kujnú ra'chajé rijló	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
204	text	68,16	marí kajé i'makáé ka'jné unká rajñálánó kélé kujnú no'kaéno rijló	Mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		no
205	text	68,162	unká inaukélari	x		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
206	text	68,171	"pímá nojló , inaána pamájika é , pímá nojló nuwáa'kalojé wajlúwa" ké rímícha	Arg of Postp	e	Ø	event	ka		
207	text	68,179	kaápu'kú kéri i'maká jlapí , é nu'jnáno	nonNP-chain		Ø	event	ka		

208	text	68,19	riká aú mana'íja nawajíchako	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
209	text	68,193	"kélerútá waíchayo , chuchu " ké rímícha "maaré piyá'ó nuwajlé chú " ké rímícha , romájika piká	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
210	text	68,21	ruwátijajlá jña'kána kujnú	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
211	text	68,221	khaa'jñá no'weló waícha nujmerélómi, pikhá ké i'makáyó	disloc		Ø	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
212	text	68,245	é rupajno'chó rujña'kálojé kujnú penáje	nonNP-advsub	loje	Ø	event	ka		
213	text	68,261	é kája nawejícha píño, [takhi'chári], kamu'júniñani ri'micháká maññani	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
214	text	68,264	kája maíná takhi'chá i'micháka , kája maíná ja'ló ru'micháká aú , kajú maíná takhi'cháka	Arg of postp	au	Ø	event	ka		
215	text	68,271	é kája nawejícha píño, takhi'chári kamu'júniñani ri'micháká maññani "chúwa " ké rúmíchaka "chúwa majó pi'jñá "	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
216	text	68,275	wáje wáni riki'cháka jlá richojé i'micháká	nonNP-chain		Ø	event	ka		jlá
217	text	68,278	kamu'júniñani i'micháká kéele mathi'yári riká	disloc		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
218	text	68,283	rijwa'téjena riwakái'cha jña'ká	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
219	text	68,287	riká chojé ruki'chá a'jnejí péchú i'micháká é kája a'jnejí keñó'tiyo píño najló [ri'micháká kéja]	Arg of postp	ke	Ø	event	ka		

220	text	68,289	é kája riwakái'cha rijwa'téjena jña'ká a'jnejí najĩ'chá a'jnejí	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
221	text	68,293	"amáka'jlá wamawiruté " ké rímícha	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		jlá
222	text	68,298	mére ké mawíru... kélé piwakáa'kare pijwa'téjena jña'ká" ké rúmíchaka	disloc		dem	patient	kare		
223	text	68,3	nu'majíká kanumá yukúná , mékéka ri'maká i'maká , riká yukúná nu'majé.	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
224	text	68,301	méla'jé mawíru ri'má kháájĩ , pupúyu ícha tá [pa'yú kemakáre nakú]	Mod, PRED of NV		N	oblique	kare		
225	text	68,301	paláni, jewání, pu'méni, iná i'rakáre, ũká pupúyo íchatá kalé	PRED of NV		∅	patient	kare		
226	text	68,302	aũ ru'micháká eyája ru'jĩchá jrora'pá cháje, je'chú cháje	Arg of Postp	e'ya	∅	locative	ka		
227	text	68,308	"ũká " ké rúmíchaka , ["kanumá tá la'rí kamu'jí "] ké rúmícha , "jlálémi rímá réjénajló "merukájína , ijña'á wajló mawíru , mawíru jená chú wephá , ne'má jña'jé i'maká pupúyu ícha tá pimakáre nakú pa'yú " ké rúmícha	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
228	text	68,309	ne'má jña'jé i'maká pupúyu ícha tá pimakáre nakú , pa'yú	Mod, O of V		N	oblique	kare		
229	text	68,315	"kája ri'majíká jewání é nuwakáa'je riká réjō	Arg of postp	e	∅	event	ka		
230	text	68,318	puwa'ká jewání ri'majíkaé riwakáa'je riká majó	Arg of postp	e	∅	event	ka		

231	text	68,32	tí'tetá rúmícha , unká ná kalé kháájí , Kanumá tá kátaro wanáku	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
232	text	68,322	é kája riwakái'cha pura'kájo "nutú " ké rímíchaka	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
233	text	68,329	kajúpíle nuká we'píchaka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
234	text	68,333	kája mawíru yuícharo wejápaja réjé i'micháká	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
235	text	68,334	chu'rúmi nókicharo	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
236	text	68,336	chúwa piwakára'a ritha'kána	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
237	text	68,348	kája iphíchari píño pipirí jená chojé	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
238	text	68,352	amíchari najĩ'cháka kélé kanumá pipirí	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
239	text	68,354	méré kélé pipiri pijwa'téjena i'makáre jña'jé	mod, ARG of NV		N	patient	kare		
240	text	68,355	amíchari luirí ícha ri'micháká, [kanumá pipirí we'makáre nakú]	Mod, disloc		N	oblique	kare		
241	text	68,355	[amíchari] luirí ícha ri'micháká kanumá pipirí we'makáre nakú	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
242	text	68,355	amíchari luirí ícha [ri'micháká] kanumá pipirí we'makáre nakú	O of V (percep)		Ø	event	ka		
243	text	68,357	luirí íchatá pa'yú kemakáre nakú	Mod, PRED of NV		N	oblique	kare		
244	text	68,358	apúkajé kélé pipirí ké rúmícha, paláni, iná ajñákáre ké rúmíchaka	PRED of NV		Ø	patient	kare		
245	text	68,366	najña'á nojló kélé luirí ícha tá pimakáre nakú pa'yú ké rúmícha	Mod, O of V		N	oblique	kare		

246	text	68,367	ũká ajíké kalé pa'yú pipirí, kajú paláni pu'máni iná motho'káre ké rúmícha, keránojé	PRED of NV		∅	patient	kare		
247	text	68,368	éko pijña'a majó nojló nomákalójé pénaje riká "	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
248	text	68,371	nuwakára'a rijló pura'kájó ri'jnakálojé nojló riwitúka'taje ké rímícha	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
249	text	68,374	rujĩ'chá ... rewája lapi'cháro kawákána i'micháká , riká rukaji'chá , rupatíya	disloc		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
250	text	68,377	marí nujĩ'chá ké rúmíchaka kawáká i'micháká	disloc		∅	Agent	ka		
251	text	68,384	riwakái'cha pura'kájó piño rijló "jéko nutú " ké rímíchaka	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
252	text	68,386	"marí ké pa'yú wakára'ka pura'kájó " ké rúmícha	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
253	text	68,391	"majó nu'jĩchá , piwakára'ka pura'kájó nojló	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
254	text	68,4	piká , piká , ati'yári wapirá ,	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
255	text	68,401	rimathi'yá jra'piyá, ja'cháro , pipirítá ja'chó kawákájó phiyúkėja ripajári'chako	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
256	text	68,41	é palá wemaká pijló , pipa'tá wajló riká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
257	text	68,45	kája ũká piwátala wajló wapirá pa'tákana ,	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
258	text	68,46	chúwa we'jnájíka máayá ké rúmíchaka , apú eja'wá wakuláje wajló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
259	text	68,52	kája piwáta pikó i'makána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		

260	text	68,6	kája pajlúwaja [i'michári] , rií i'michári Kanumá	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
261	text	68,6	kája pajlúwaja i'michári , rií [i'michári] Kanumá	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
262	text	68,61	éee nawitúki'cha , iphíchari jípa	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
263	text	68,7	kája i'micháño inaána rilúnana	PRED of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
264	text	68,76	nephíchaño máarejé , é nákéi , jípa , " Córdoba " néma nakú , réjé kája , itíya nápu i'michá	x		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
265	text	68,84	najwa'té ri'michá , i'michári kája najwa'té chu'rúmi.	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
266	text	68,89	é kája ramíchanó inaukéna inaána , ne'micháká ñamátuna.	Pred of NV		∅	?	ka		
267	text	68,9	inaána i'micháño , neká , (i'na-) i'michákañonó chi'náikana miná	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
268	text	68,9	inaána i'micháño , neká , (i'na-) i'michákañonó chi'náikana miná	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		no
269	text	69,169	é nomá amári kujnú mujrúmíñani to'kó phetá chú	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
270	text	69,211	nupa'chíya píño majó , [júpimi ri'maká ké kája] ri'majíká	Arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
271	text	79,21	ná pajá kalé iphári pajlúwája nunáku	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
272	text	79,22	ũká nátá kalé kéelé , nákei , kawayá tá kéelé , [kajú rapuí tá i'jnaká majó]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
273	text	79,26	é náke júpicha méjéchá chí riphákátâ ké rímíchaka rojló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		

274	text	79,27	aũ rúmícha "kaãpu'kú riphákátânó majó nuchájẽ"	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
275	text	79,28	jé ké rímícha "[me'tení pila'jiko] , pijña'á phirí pila'ó palá pikó	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
276	text	79,29	nákai yewíchaja riphíchaka jrená chojé é rímícha rojló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
277	text	79,3	nákei rímícha rojló "nuyajnerú , chúwatá kája yéwíchaja ka'jno riphákátâ majó	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
278	text	79,38	[patá ruli'cháko], é rímíchatá "yújú méké paláni wáni pili'cháko, píyu'keru"	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
279	text	79,38	patá ruli'cháko, é rímíchatá "yújú[méké paláni wáni pili'cháko], píyu'keru"	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
280	text	79,39	ã'a ké rúmíchaka "puwa'ká nákei-... nutámi nu'makálé , é kalé náke piphá náke pi'jnakéno pichíra'ta , chúwa [palá nu'jmetíyaka náke]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
281	text	79,4	jé ké rúmícha ,"jé" ké rímíchakatá , é rímíchatá ["chúwatá waápa'jika ké]	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
282	text	79,4	phíyu'keru naya'jneru i'maké é ne'jnañáano neká	Arg of Postp	e	∅	event	ka	khe	
283	text	79,46	faki faki , majabui majabui ké rúmíchaka nákei [tanimúkana pura'kó chú] rúmícha"	Arg of Postp	chu	∅	event	ka		
284	text	79,47	"yéé píyu'keru méké palá wáni pijña'ká numáre"	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
285	text	79,51	pikátá chí kélé nákei iphári píyu'keru jló jra'piwá	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

286	text	79,52	píyu'keru , pimejata nuká kháají rinóka nuká	nonNP-prog		Ø	event	ka		
287	text	79,62	kája kamu'jú wani rila'kátá piká ,	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
288	text	89,101	(preceded by: ũká wáni paála) nu'rinú tá la'ká nuká cháwani ké rímicha	nonNP-?		Ø	event	ka		
289	text	89,104	ũká wáni paála piyajálo wejána tá la'ká nútu ké rímicha	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
290	text	89,105	marí kajé aú kajú wáni nuyuúchako íkija ké rímicha	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
291	text	89,107	kája nu'jnajíkája chúwa ké rímicha	nonNP-topic		Ø	event	ka		
292	text	89,109	jrái'chako jwa'tó ... rijĩ'chá phiyúkėja rijwa'tó a'jnejí péchú	nonNP-chain		Ø	event	ka		
293	text	89,115	ne'kichá a'waná nejátiyajlá ka'chí taka'tíyaro	ambig		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
294	text	89,115	inau'ké phiyúkėja [eja'wá chú i'michákáño] ñaké wánija nali'cháka kamu'jí ne'micháká rewá nákarí	disloc		N	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	cha	
295	text	89,115	inau'ké phiyúkėja eja'wá chú i'michákáño[ñaké wánija nali'cháka] kamu'jí ne'micháká rewá nákarí	disloc		Ø	event	ka		
296	text	89,116	nejátiyajlá nákájé taka'tíyaro	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
297	text	89,116	ilé ké rula'ká pachá	Arg of Postp	pacha	Ø	event	ka		
298	text	89,117	é ne'michá nákájé kulákana nakú eja'wá e'yowá najñákálojé penáje	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kana		
299	text	89,119	cháwani nula'ká nu'rí	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		

300	text	89,12	rímichaka rojló kéja [jromi'cháka ra'piyá]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
301	text	89,122	jwe'chúka'laja [ne'micháká] eja'wá e'yowá nákJéñani kulákana nakú najñákáloje penáje	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
302	text	89,122	jwe'chúka'laja ne'micháká eja'wá e'yowá nákJéñani [kulákana] nakú najñákáloje penáje	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
303	text	89,127	üká palá , üká palá kalé weká , yéwichaja wataja'táko me'pijí nakú	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
304	text	89,128	"náje cháwani ila'á " ké rímichaka "jaló wejánatá pachá kélé "	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
305	text	89,13	é ri'rí i'micháí	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
306	text	89,132	[kailá ri'micháká] , "kháajiko ajñákáje " ké rímichaka , "riká " , "itaka'á awa'á me'pijí nakú "	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
307	text	89,133	"ají ké iná la'ká riká nulakéna " ké rímicha	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
308	text	89,137	jrewíña'chiya neká mékéká rila'kána nakú najñákáloje riká penáje	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
309	text	89,139	jrewíña'chiya neká mékéká rila'kána nakú najñákáloje riká penáje	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
310	text	89,139	itu'ró paláni ritu'ró ja'kó	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
311	text	89,141	iñaápe nepaká re'yayá paláni	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
312	text	89,143	é kája pila'á kujnú , pikuwá , paláni kuliyá iná [la'karé]	nonNP-pot		∅	pot	kare		

			kája , é pu'jí napéchéú i'micháká							
313	text	89,143	é pu'jí napéchéú i'micháká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
314	text	89,15	ne'ri i'michári	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
315	text	89,151	é kajú inau'ké i'micháká riwakajé, [neká li'chaño kamu'jí kéja, jemi'cháño riyukúná] , é ne'jíchá najwa'té najlúwa jña'jé	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
316	text	89,158	me'píjí nakú taja'kaje nakú ne'michá	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
317	text	89,158	nejátiyajlá nákájé takha'chíyaro	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
318	text	89,161	amíchari píño ñakéja kája ké rilakéna ũká richi'ná i'malácha iléré	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
319	text	89,166	amíchari ña'kú eja'wá e'yajé wajña'ku rií	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
320	text	89,182	é nayuicho píño ñakéja kája kamu'jí la'kajé nakú me'píjí nakú taja'kána nakú	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
321	text	89,182	é kája rikapíchatiya naliyá riká , é nayuicho píño ñakéja kája kamu'jí la'kajé nakú [me'píjí nakú taja'kána nakú]	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
322	text	89,19	rupulá'peru i'jícháyó mená e'yajé	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
323	text	89,191	ramákalojé náka riká , [amíchari itu'rú ri'micháká] rami'chá jráma amíchari kamání ri'micháká	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
324	text	89,191	ramákalojé náka riká , amíchari itu'rú ri'micháká	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

			rami'chá jráma [amíchari kamání ri'micháká]							
325	text	89,194	amíchari itu'rú i'micháká jrara'pá yuíchari píño itu'rú rijló yewícha wáni ritaja'ká	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
326	text	89,195	é pu'jí napéchú i'micháká , ri'michá rikoná ramákalojé méké jñó'peka , amíchari pajlúéla eja'wá itu'rú i'micháká	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
327	text	89,204	náje cháwani nula'á nu'rĩnani, riyajálo wejána tá pachá, nula'káre cháápú nulakénañani	nonNP-pot		∅	pot	kare		
328	text	89,218	kája [phiyúké inau'ké i'micháká eja'wá chú], i'makáño te'rí nakú, i'micháño palá,	disloc		N	Agent	ka		
329	text	89,218	kája phiyúké inau'ké i'micháká eja'wá chú, [i'makáño te'rí nakú], i'micháño palá,	disloc		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
330	text	89,218	kája phiyúké inau'ké i'micháká eja'wá chú i'makáño te'rí nakú [i'micháño palá],	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
331	text	89,33	eyowáké raló ja'píchaka pají kópuwa, kajírú jronapí ké, jromi'chá rúmíchaka	O of V (speech)		∅	event	ka		
332	text	89,43	ruñapátiyaka, é rúmícha rupulá'peru jló	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
333	text	89,44	"chúwa piká tutúwajeri "	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
334	text	89,45	ũká , kája jnora'pá la'ká numaná , aú ũká nujápálaje	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		

335	text	89,46	"[kaja rímájika nojló] kéchami nujápajika	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
336	text	89,5	riká itu ñapíchayo inaya	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
337	text	89,55	kajrú wani rutu'ru i'micháká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
338	text	89,55	kája nákarí jirú ja'piyá jra'píchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
339	text	89,56	kajrú kaja pitu pitu pitu pitu ke jra'pichaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
340	text	89,68	wejápaja ñáni jralá i'micháká] kája pu'té itu'ru i'micháká i'chí chú	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
341	text	89,68	wejápaja ñáni jralá i'micháká kája [pu'té itu'ru i'micháká i'chí chú]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
342	text	89,7	kajú rili'cháká rumaná	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
343	text	89,7	jíki'ija riwachiyakalé rítu pajlúwajaru ru'michaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
344	text	89,7	" [kajrú wáni pi'jñaká itu'ru] ké rúmichaka rojló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
345	text	89,7	" kajrú wáni pi'jñaká itu'ru ké [rúmichaka] rojló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
346	text	89,72	rúmicha rojló [méke kamu'jí wani nuyakáa'ko picháje] ké rúmichaka rupuláa'perujló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
347	text	89,73	piwilá jitaká pijimá	nonNP-prog		∅	event	ka		
348	text	89,77	riká i'makhéri nale'jé piréña riká aú rumathi'yá ruwilá	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
349	text	89,78	palá ro'páchiyaka runakojé riká rumachiyá ruká pajináya wejápa	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
350	text	89,81	ũká rora'pá i'malácha júpichami riphíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
351	text	89,83	ramícha rutára'ko kajú jrúra jakú rutári'cho	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		

352	text	89,83	itu'rúja ru'micháká iná jló riká jirá	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
353	text	89,85	kája itu'rúja ru'micháká rila'káre rumaná	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
354	text	89,87	kajú wáni riyúrichako raú , jrora'pá yúri'chako	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
355	text	89,89	nútu ké rímichaka [ná pili'cháko kélé]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
356	text	89,9	kajú wani rili'chaka rojló lawichú [ru'makálojé] palá penaje	nonNP-advsub	loje	Ø	event	ka		
357	text	89,9	kajú wani [rili'chaka] rojló lawichú ru'makálojé palá penaje	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
358	text	89,90	aú rúmicha ũká ná kalé [nuli'cháko] pa'yú ké rúmicha	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
359	text	89,91	nupuláa'peru mati'yáyo nuká.	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
360	text	89,92	marí ké ruli'cháka nuká	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
361	text	89,94	ruwakái'cha kája nututúwaka	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
362	text	89,94	kajú riyúichako rakicháka] kajú wáni riyúicháko jíkija wáni	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
363	text	89,94	kajú riyúichako rakicháka[kajú wáni riyúicháko jíkija wáni]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
364	text	91,13	é kája nayáa'ta riká najló nawakáa'kalojé [narápaka mawíru yále]	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
365	text	91,31	kajúni ikéelé mawíru, napura'atakare	disloc		Ø	patient	kare		
366	text	91,32	[pura'kájó] i'makáre chú yáleje le'jé, pura'kájó i'makáre chú kélé	?		Ø	event	kaje		

367	text	91,32	pura'kájo [i'makáre] chù yáleje le'jé, pura'kájo i'makáre chù kélé	?		Ø	?	kare		
368	text	91,32	pura'kájo i'makáre chù yáleje le'jé, pura'kájo [i'makáre] chù kélé	?		Ø	?	kare		
369	text	91,32	pura'kájo i'makáre chù yáleje le'jé, [pura'kájo] i'makáre chù kélé	?		Ø	event	kaje		
370	text	91,33	kája iká wáni yáleje wakájé natha'ká mawíru na'á upichíná pura'kájo wájā riká	Pred of NV		Ø	event	kaje		
371	text	91,34	kajú napura'káro ríchu kélé	nonNP-pot		Ø	pot	kare		
372	text	91,4	kajmukájo penáje , [arápa'kaje] penáje , nákJé keñóto wajló eja'wá chù i'maká	Arg of Postp	penaje	Ø	event	kaje		
373	text	91,46	aú ñaké phiyúké rináku jápákana wajló	?		Ø	?	kana		
374	text	91,5	kájrú kája iká pura'kájo ré ríchu	ARG of NV		Ø	event	kaje		
375	text	91,5	paínéke keñótaro chi'náikaje mawíru ya'takáná napura'áta pajlokáká	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
376	text	91,51	mawíru ya'takáná napura'áta pajlokáká	?		Ø	?	kana		
377	text	91,52	ré ríle'jé pura'kájo	pssd, ARG of NV		Ø	event	kaje		
378	text	91,57	neká na'kapichá marí kajé aú, nawe'píka aú riyále phiyúkéja	nonNP-advsub	au	Ø	event	ka		
379	text	92,1	é kája kélé jíña tá i'wá náke [ja'cháro] phiyúké ako'cháro jiyá chojé	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
380	text	92,1	é kája kélé jíña tá ((i'wá)) náke ja'cháro phiyúké [ako'cháro jiyá chojé]	ambig		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

381	text	92,109	nákáje iná [jña'káre] aú iná jlúwa ná kamejérina phiyúkéja	disloc		N	patient	kare		
382	text	92,109	"[kélé nu'jnakáre támi amáje], riká waá'ri (nojlo) nuká rijwa'tó, a'j'ná riñakaréjō	disloc		dem	pssr	kare		
383	text	92,109	"kélé nu'jnakáre támi amáje, riká [waá'ri] (nojlo) nuká rijwa'tó, a'j'ná riñakaréjō	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
384	text	92,11	rímá nojló mari ké náke "pi'j'ná nujwa'té no'chí pijló [kélé pimakápo'ka nuká wemí]"	pssr, O of V		dem	event	ka		
385	text	92,114	pimakápo'ka nuká wemí no'chá pijló kháájī náke	pssr, O of V		∅	event	ka		
386	text	92,115	nákáje iná jña'káre iná jlúwa aú, [kamejéri iná nókare aú]	disloc		∅	patient	kare		
387	text	92,115	nákáje iná jña'káre iná jlúwa aú	disloc		∅	patient	kare		
388	text	92,118	phema'á [númájika] pijló me'tení	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
389	text	92,118	me'tení no'j'íká pijló jrená pila'j'ikaé [arápa'kaje]	O of V		∅	event	kaje		
390	text	92,118	pila'j'ika náke arápa'kaje ka'j'ná	O of V		∅	event	kaje		
391	text	92,134	apú píño "wó'o" siete rímíchaka éjé	Arg of Postp	eje	∅	event	ka		
392	text	92,137	amíchari [je'rúna támi pitakó] nawíyo'chaka ewá "wo'o o'o"	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
393	text	92,137	amíchari je'rúna támi pitakó [nawíyo'chaka] ewá "wo'o o'o"	Arg of Postp	ewa	∅	locative	ka		
394	text	92,138	kája penáje náke rinóchaje e'yá ritái'cho	Arg of Postp	e'ya	∅	patient	chaje		

395	text	92,14	riká aú rili'chá arápa'káje i'micháká	O of V		Ø	event	kaje		
396	text	92,147	majó nu'jíchá picháje [kélé nákájé jña'jóna] ta'piku'wére a'karé pijló piya'tákalojé nojló riká penáje"	O of V		dem	instrumental	jona		
397	text	92,147	majó nu'jíchá picháje kélé nákájé jña'jóna ta'piku'wére [a'karé] pijló piya'tákalojé nojló riká penáje"	Mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
398	text	92,148	nuwáta arápa'káje keyajúpákaje nakú [nupuráka'lo i'makáná]	?		Ø	?	kana		
399	text	92,148	nuwáta [arápa'káje] keyajúpákaje nakú nupuráka'lo i'makáná	O of V		Ø	event	kaje		
400	text	92,157	pila'jika é kélé kajúni [arápa'kaje]	O of V		Ø	event	kaje		
401	text	92,159	eyá rili'chá píño arápa'kaje ñakéja kája raú	O of V		Ø	event	kaje		
402	text	92,16	nátáká li'charí nuká cháwani, ũká wátala nu'maká eja'wá chú"	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
403	text	92,165	kélé jnoma'á yukúná, kélé nákájé jña'jóna iná la'káloje arápa'káje... [kamejéri nójona]	disloc		Ø	instrumental	jona		
404	text	92,165	kélé jnoma'á yukúná kélé nákájé j[ña'jóna] iná la'káloje arápa'káje	O of V		Ø	event	kaje		
405	text	92,169	nawátajikaé , nokhó ka'jná nu'jnakájlá nákei najló kamejéri nóje raú	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		jlá
406	text	92,183	kája penáje rinóchaje e'yá ritái'cho	Arg of Postp		Ø	patient	chaje		

407	text	92,193	jeo'kája kélé ijiílá tái'chako kélé náke.. kélé kája penáje rinóchaje je'ru e'yá	O of V		?	patient	chaje		
408	text	92,25	riwakájé najña'khétá inau'ké aí palánojé namájikarenó	Mod, O of V		N	patient	kare	jika (pst)	no
409	text	92,45	pá kalapíchítá palá a'mitakána ké	Arg of postp	ke	N	result?	kana		
410	text	92,45	pá kalapíchítá palá a'mitakána ké , a'napítá (jeño'ká) náke , [jeño'táko] ké	Arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
411	text	92,54	é rímicha riyajálojló "chúwa tá nu'jícháká réjō kélé nomákare ná pajá káa'tako rikó i'maká , raímí jña'jé	disloc		dem	patient	kare		
412	text	92,6	é ri'jíchá réjō amíchari náke jíña [yái'chako] náke jiyá chá motho'kéja	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka	cha	∅
413	text	92,65	náñani kélé [we'íchari] numu'jí palá wáni ké rímíchaka, makapo'chári nuká píño ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
414	text	92,65	náñani kélé we'íchari numu'jí palá wáni ké rímíchaka, [makapo'chári nuká píño] ké rímíchaka	disloc		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
415	text	92,67	penáje kélé náñani ka'jná we'píchari makápo'chári" ké rímicha	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
416	text	92,71	ná wejátanamitá pajá li'charímí cháwani nu'maká i'maká nulaké ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
417	text	92,74	kája i'jnú ka'jná riwátaka [nu'maká] eja'wa chú	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
418	text	92,74	kája i'jnú ka'jná [riwátaka] nu'maká eja'wa chú	?		∅	event	ka		

419	text	92,76	chúwajá pi'jnajé nujwa'té nuñakaréjō no'kálojé pijló [kélé pimakápo'chaka nuká] wemí	pssr, O of V		dem	event	ka		
420	text	92,95	[napura'kó chú] kalé rií i'michá riká ta'píku'wére , ĩjĩlá i'micháká kélé	Arg of Postp	chu	∅	event	ka		
421	text	92,96	ra'chá rijló kélé rimakápo'ka riká wemí	pssr, O of V		dem	event	ka		
422	text	101,1	é ripuláa'pe witúka'ari rijwa'té , jña'rí u'wí , nakerí kuwá'la , kéchami kariwana le'jé planta [nemakáre nakú] i'jnári kája bote chojé , kéchami pajlúwaja jipú	Mod, PRED of NV		N	oblique	kare		
423	text	101,11	planta i'jnári kája bote chojé , kéchami pajlúwaja jipú kélé [nuwarúwa'káre máayá i'maká]	disloc		dem	patient	kare		
424	text	101,19	nuká la'jerí vuelta kélé marí meta'ápuru chuwá , ajĩ ké a'jné reyája jnóchojō, ikélé jnácho'jĩko "baradero" [nemakáre] nakú, eyá nouka'tajē wekó náke , "jácho'ta phiyúké ináni " ké numaká	disloc		∅	oblique	kare		
425	text	101,19	ajĩ ké a'jné reyája jnóchojō, ikélé [jnácho'jĩko] "baradero" nemakáre nakú,	disloc		dem	locative	ka		
426	text	101,26	kaphí riña'kátá iná kélé , pá (iná iná iná-) [inau'ké ña'ká iná pajimáya ké] , réjé riña'ká iná kélé ,	Arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		

427	text	101,27	é mana'ichiyó "[[kája kaphí wáni] [nu'jnakájlá]]" nupéchu nakú i'maká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		jlá
428	text	108,109	riwáchiya rijwa'té pura'kájo ,	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
429	text	108,11	ja'pájo kemakána nákarí kamejéí nóje ne'jnaké	adv		∅	event	kana		
430	text	108,116	piyuté kélé , kája nomáka aú númá pijló , kája jrewíchomitá i'maká júpimi , mapéja rila'kája kélé	Arg of postp	au	∅	event	ka		
431	text	108,139	náje nata'á nunáni , nawátaka eyonáje ya'jnáje i'jnakána , náje unká nejátala najlúwa nákaje	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
432	text	108,145	kélé inaána , waje nañapáka é náke , é nawakáa'khe nachiláaka , [nakápo'kolojé] ,	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
433	text	108,145	kélé inaána , waje nañapáka é náke , é nawakáa'khe [nachiláaka] , nakápo'kolojé ,	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
434	text	108,156	é rímícha ri'rí phe'jí jló "pi'jná pailátá éjō , riká kalé phe'jí ,	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
435	text	108,18	é kája iná witúka'takajlá kélé a'waná	nonNP-int		∅	event	ka		jlá
436	text	108,18	marí ké pa'yú wakái'chaka pura'kájo pijló	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
437	text	108,181	méké iná witúka'takajlá	nonNP-int		∅	event	ka		
438	text	108,184	pímá nujmerémi jló riwakáa'chí [ri'jrakáná] kécha rimaja'táre	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
439	text	108,187	rithupatájika , riwakára'je rithupatákana yenú	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		

440	text	108,188	riwakára'je rithupatákana pero rimaja'tániñatá riká inau'ké riká kélé , ké	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
441	text	108,191	[iná i'jrakárejlá riká], i'jrakéja rijña'kána	nonNP-pot		Ø	pot	kare		jlá
442	text	108,191	iná i'jrakárejlá riká, [i'jrakéja] rijña'kána	Pred of NV		Ø	?	keja		
443	text	108,191	iná i'jrakárejlá riká, i'jrakéja [rijña'kána]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	kana		
444	text	108,192	eyá imaja'tániña kalé rícha , rituwákana jri'wáta ké rímícha	?		Ø	?	kana		
445	text	108,2	nekátá kélé jaya'átiyaño inau'kétá yenú	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
446	text	108,204	riká ja'cháro kawákájo , ilé kéja inau'ké wayo'chá riká	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
447	text	108,207	"é palá ijí'cháka riká o'wé kemaká ké ?"	Arg of postp	ke	Ø	event	ka		
448	text	108,21	üká jema'lá ijló kemakána	O of V (speech)		Ø	event	kana		
449	text	108,212	é tapútá yurícharo rile'jé náke wachapílaji ka'jnó jra'pí	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
450	text	108,213	ilétá pi'cháro píño rile'jé wachapílá pa'táje, kélé itewí ja'pí [yuríchako]	disloc		Ø	Agent	ka	cha	
451	text	108,213	ilétá [pi'cháro] píño rile'jé wachapílá pa'táje kélé itewí ja'pí yuríchako	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
452	text	108,217	yé jnewa'ká üká paála kalé nomíchaka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
453	text	108,219	wamaja'tíyaka apukúnámi chiyá [jirá jeño'ká üká méké pila'lá]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
454	text	108,219	[wamaja'tíyaka apukúnámi] chiyá jirá jeño'ká üká méké pila'lá	Arg of Postp, Pred of NV	chiya	Ø	locative	ka		

455	text	108,22	ilé nómícha nakú ijló , iwe'íka kéja ila'á kélé	Arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
456	text	108,23	"é riyá'tare riká iléréjé , eyá rikámo'jo rikó , rikó rikámo'ko kélé	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
457	text	108,233	riká , iná kámo'kare riká , kéchami iná jña'ká nákarí ri'í kúája	nonNP-pot		∅	pot	kare		
458	text	108,235	é ripi'chó , riwakái'cha kélé rijwa'téjéna kámo'ka kélé itewí	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
459	text	108,238	nali'chá phiyúkéja náke , rile'jé náke kuliya kájé , pá paminá kémíchaka rináku ké	Arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
460	text	108,243	"mékéka iná keño'ká kháãjĩ itewí kájé yále keño'kána , méké chí iná keño'ká riká"	?		∅	event	kana		
461	text	108,244	richá kájé [pura'kájó kájé] , mékéka nakeño'ká richá pura'kájó arápa'kaje kájé	?		∅	event	kaje		
462	text	108,244	richá kájé pura'kájó kájé , mékéka nakeño'ká richá [pura'kájó] arápa'kaje kájé	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
463	text	108,244	richá kájé pura'kájó kájé , mékéka nakeño'ká richá pura'kájó [arápa'kaje] kájé	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
464	text	108,247	pitamáataje inau'ké jló phiyúkéja kélé náke pijña'káre rile'jé nákei, pá nema'ká rile'jé náke, ri'turúne kájé	Mod, O of V		dem	patient	kare		
465	text	108,251	"rikeño'jĩka é arápa'kaje rikeño're núí nakiyá	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
466	text	108,254	éjómiko iná keño'ó raápa'kana , ũká méké i'malá	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		

467	text	108,255	eyá rikeño'jĩkaé aápa'kaje rikeño're riká paminá iĩ nakiyá	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
468	text	108,267	riĩ nakiyá nakeño'chá rataíkána ,	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
469	text	108,272	eyonáje ũká ka'jñó jema'llá no'piyá ké rímícha , ũká méké i'malá , kája júpimi ka'kéjatá i'maká nuká ké rímíchaka , ũká méké i'malátá	Pred of NV		Ø		keja		
470	text	108,278	[inau'képáni nu'majĩká pijwa'té wakajé] , kajú ũká pila'khe no'jné	Arg of Postp	wakaje	Ø	event	ka	jika (pst)	
471	text	108,278	chúwa ũká nuwátala pa'ká nojlo nátá	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
472	text	108,28	riká kélé rapíro'cha [riyái'chako] nakú	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	ka		
473	text	108,284	itewí ijímí kélé rijĩ'chá , riki'chá wí'chá , ja'cháro ya'tájé	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
474	text	108,284	eyá [rapíro'chaje] (piyut-) (náke) , itewí ijímí kélé rijĩ'chá , riki'chá wí'chá , ja'cháro ya'tájé , jremi'chá "khá'yá' " "khú'yá' "yée , ũkájawáni " ké rímícha	disloc		Ø	patient	chaje		
475	text	108,296	kája rikeño'chá yamú e'yowá mujúka'kana majó ,	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
476	text	108,302	kája ramícha júni iphíchaka phá chójō	O of V (percep)		Ø	event	ka		
477	text	108,303	apú riyáni, ri'ri phe'jí kécha apú najmerémi, eyá kélé ajápánatá ũká riyániwáni	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		

			kalé i'michákãñotã kélé, ùká (riwakáa') riwá'lacha							
478	text	108,304	neká ja'píchaño "yé nujmerémi " ké rímíchaka ,	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
479	text	108,309	ajĩ ké riwitúka'tiya neká [kélé náke pamá jrewíña'taka ne'maká é] , kélé na'á íí me'tení náke , Puerto Guayabo i'máí me'tení náke	Arg of Postp	e	dem	locative	ka		
480	text	108,309	ajĩ ké riwitúka'tiya neká kélé náke pamá jrewíña'taka ne'maká é ,kélé na'á íí me'tení náke , [Puerto Guayabo i'máí me'tení náke]	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
481	text	108,313	eyá ri'rí apú kamu'jini náke rijmerémi riyuícha kélé Quebrada Negra pekeño(??) nemakáre chojé	Mod, arg of Postp		N	oblique	kare		
482	text	108,318	piyuté la'karé yaipúné ùká la'lá ná	?		Ø	patient	kare		
483	text	108,37	unká iná ajñálá kélé kajé mapéja to'kó	Mod, O of V		N	Agent	ka		
484	text	108,46	iná jme'táka chojóna , kapére apóka ewá ka'jñá nakei , re'wé apócha ipe'ní wáni i'micháká ,	Arg of Postp	ewa	Ø	event	ka		
485	text	108,55	e riwitúkachiya ji'má , pá(má) rikhó raphotákalojé , [kalajúni i'micháká aú]	Arg of Postp	au	Ø	event	ka		
486	text	108,63	kélé jewíña'ro kajú	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
487	text	108,7	iléké re'wé li'chaká aú	Arg of Postp	au	Ø	event	ka		
488	text	108,76	piyuté penáje jewíchako i'micháká pi'cháro	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	ka		

489	text	108,76	piyuté penáje jewí'chako i'micháká [pi'cháro]	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
490	text	108,78	[pi'cháro] , ja'píchari , jáocharo pají chojé.	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
491	text	108,78	pi'cháro , [ja'píchari] , jáocharo pají chojé.	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
492	text	108,78	pi'cháro , ja'píchari , [jáocharo] pají chojé.	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
493	text	108,98	"jé , pamíchajlá , piwe'fka kéja pichiya'kó " wapa'ná jwa'té richiri'chó	Arg of Postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
494	text	114,21	é kája namotho'ká éjéchami kája iná kúwa'o ya'jná najwa'té pa'ú kéka'la i'májemi , kétána iná yuwíjo'ma	Arg of postp	ejechami	∅	event	ka		
495	text	114,3	pi'má palá ké ru'majíká nojló pi'má nákarí phewíña'o [nákaje la'kaná] nakú phiyúké a'jnejí kájé la'kaná nakú mená e'yowá phiyúké piwe'píkalojé nákaje la'kaná	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
496	text	114,3	pi'má palá ké ru'majíká nojló pi'má nákarí phewíña'o nákaje la'kaná nakú phiyúké [a'jnejí kájé la'kaná] nakú mená e'yowá phiyúké piwe'píkalojé nákaje la'kaná	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
497	text	114,3	pi'má palá ké ru'majíká nojló pi'má nákarí phewíña'o nákaje la'kaná nakú phiyúké a'jnejí kájé la'kaná nakú mená e'yowá phiyúké piwe'píkalojé [nákaje la'kaná]	O of V (cogn)		∅	event	kana		

498	text	114,33	é kája [kélé la'ri rijló rijló] kémári mékéka ri'majíká palá ka'jná	Pred of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
499	text	114,33	é kája kélé la'ri rijló rijló [kémári mékéka ri'majíká palá ka'jná]	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
500	text	114,34	ri-la'jó kájé ritámiwa ritakha'jé ka'jná riká kerá la'kaná chú nawe'pí phiyúké najló náka-jé mékéka kélé yuwají i'majíká	Arg of Postp	chu	∅	event	kana		
501	text	114,39	é kája nala'á yáleji [arápa'kaje nala'á] nalujmétakalo-jé kélé yuwaná	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
502	text	114,41	riká jíwi la'kaná chú kája némá wáni mékéka kélé yuwají i'majíká peyajwéni ka'jno ritajnájo ka'jno marí ké	Arg of Postp	chu	∅	event	kana		
503	text	114,42	é kája kélé yuwají tawá'ro ka'jno	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
504	text	114,43	ná ka'jno riká yále ja'ó ka'jno ...lawichúra'ú ka'jná ewá nala'á namaná jíwi la'kaná chú	Arg of Postp	chu	∅	event	kana		
505	text	117,1	jéchi nakú jápákana yukúná marí	pssr, PRED of NV		∅	event	kana		
506	text	117,2	upejé karíwana ... karíwana iphákéño réjǒ i'majíká tapuíyana jápákalojé najwa'té jéchi nakú	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	
507	text	117,2	eyá kája nakeño'ó [iñepú la'kaná], jépi ---(jéchi ?) la'kanátá kháají númá nakú	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		

508	text	117,2	eyá kája nakeño'ó iñepú la'kaná ,[jépi --- (jéchi ?) la'kanátá] kháají nómá nakú	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
509	text	117,21	é nakeño'ó iñepú la'kaná ají ké ya'jnáje nakulá	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
510	text	117,22	a'jná nepháta méewá ka'jno peyajwéni wáni la'kerí doscientos ejená	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	
511	text	117,26	ne'rá iká a'jná natajáta riká we'chú ... we'ichami natajátaka riká [peyajwéni wáni tajátari riká kája ... peyajwéni wáni tajátari riká ... las ocho] , eyá nákarí wejápaja kéchi i'maká tajátari riká méewá kája kaápu'kú ka'jno las nueve ewá ka'jno kélé ũká liyá i'malá	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
512	text	117,27	é kája riwatána'a júpi kája ri'rá ... u'wí , na'karé rijló u'wí rijña'á , riká ri'rá , riwatána'a mékétána	mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
513	text	117,28	eyá iná riká nalúna i'maká chú pi'jné nápumi chú jéchi akoje	Arg of Postp	chu	Ø	Agent	ka		
514	text	117,3	kajú inau'ké jápáño najwa'té jéchi nakú i'maká	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
515	text	117,33	é ilé pa'ró píño , iná jimáje ripa'ó	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
516	text	117,33	é ilé pa'ró píño , iná jimáje ripa'ó , [jéchi ako'kána] nakú rako'ó rako'ó	Arg of Postp	naku	Ø	event	kana		
517	text	117,4	[neká iphátakeño majó] kajú nephátajíka nákáje i'majíka	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	
518	text	117,5	neká jápáño rináku	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

519	text	117,52	jéchi i'rákana cháya ramícha ye'é	Arg of Postp	chaya	∅	locative	kana		
520	text	117,53	eyá kéle nuyáni jara'pá nókherenó atírína jlapí	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	no
521	text	117,57	maí ké we'majíká rewá jápákaje nakú	arg of postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
522	text	117,67	[é kája iná wátaka chú] kája ne'yajéna la'ño yúchi ka'jno , ũká wátala chú CHECK la'ri yúchi	nonNP-advsub	chu	∅	event	ka		
523	text	117,69	ilé apú kalé nepháta najló , phiyúkéja pe'juwá ri'jakaúná	nonNP-pot		∅	pot	kare		
524	text	117,7	é natamáatake phiyúké [kélé jápájikaño najwa'té] jló natamáatake riká	Arg of Postp	jlo	dem	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	jika (pst)	
525	text	117,74	ilé tá kája motho'kéja kélé , namotho'ká riká kécha nalamáa'taka piño riká , kajú pá u'wí iná lamáa'taka ké nalamáa'taka riká	Pred of NV		∅		keja		
526	text	117,77	eyá apála méké i'majíká chú kája mapéja nu'jnajíká chira'jó rijwa'té kája	nonNP-advsub	chu	∅	event	ka		
527	text	117,79	apála nuyawiténa nókeñonó nojló nákarí ... Kapíji	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	
528	text	117,8	ají ké ne'jnajíká yenójō ya'jnájē méewaka jápáño najwa'té éjō ne'jnatake najló riká	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
529	text	117,9	ũká nuwátala jéchitá nakú jápákana ,	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
530	text	117,92	iná wáta iná kariwáte a'jné ripháka ejená	Arg of Postp	ejena	∅	event	ka		
531	text	117,93	kája e'yá ijnuúnatá ũká la'laño méké	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		la (neg)

532	text	117,94	ũká ná aũ nala'ké kajú najña'káre nákájé wemí	?		Ø	patient	kare		
533	text	117,95	é kélé kajú [jña'kaño] , riká aũ kája nawarúwa'a píño najlúwa nákájé ná ka'jno riwátiya ka'jno a'umakajé ka'jno ná riwatakare rikejá'ka riliyá ripháta rijló , ra'á rijló rijápákale palá ra'á rijló	disloc		dem	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
534	text	117,95	é kélé kajú jña'kaño , riká aũ kája nawarúwa'a píño najlúwa nákájé ná ka'jno riwátiya ka'jno a'umakajé ka'jno [ná riwatakare] rikejá'ka riliyá ripháta rijló , ra'á rijló rijápákale palá ra'á rijló	mod, O of V		pro	patient	kare		
535	text	118,1	nu'majé , nu'majé yúku kélé júpimi we'majíká eja'wá chuwa' i'majíká yukúná	pssr, O of V (speech)		dem	event	ka	jika (pst)	
536	text	118,14	iñepúñáni to'ró ají ké jípa chó iñepú to'ró wejápaja , riká chuwa' iná ja'pá ají ké jípa apú chojé	Mod, disloc		N	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
537	text	118,27	i'jnáño wajwa'té kélé no'wé yuwakámí Kujmá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
538	text	118,36	é nule'jé náke wakuwá'a nuwitúka'ta jíña motho'kéja jíta chojé	mod, O of V		Ø		keja		
539	text	118,4	nala'á iñepú i'maká kajúni nala'ká iñepú nákarí ejá wapuwa' , iphári ají ké jípa ja'pejé	nonNP-chain		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
540	text	118,48	kája kélé taja'kájla kája wáni ũká méño'jó	?		Ø	event	ka		jlá

541	text	118,52	é rijña'á wí'chá rinakiyó kélé ... re'wétá , kája [ritaja'ká] aú , riká aú ri'mó , ũká kéla júpimi ritakhi'chámijlá ã'ká junápejê	Arg of Postp	au	∅	event	ka		
542	text	118,56	kélé jítatá [chipúka'ri] patáro , rijulá chojé kélé jíta pató	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
543	text	118,56	kélé jítatá chipúka'ri [patáro] , rijulá chojé kélé jíta pató	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
544	text	118,7	e'welojína i'jnakéño kája wajwa'té réjô	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	
545	text	119,1	chúwa [nu'majíka] mékéka iná la'ká iná ñakaró yukúna	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
546	text	119,1	chúwa nu'majíka mékéka iná [la'ká] iná ñakaró yukúna.	pssr, O of V (speech)		∅	event	ka		
547	text	119,1	é kája nákei pikeño'ó awájne'ê kulákana	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
548	text	119,11	pha'páta kémáchi wejápája reyá , apála jre'lotó ka'jno , [pipitakálojé] palá awájne'ê	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
549	text	119,11	pijña'á awájne'ê , wéji kéle painéko , waphérénojé i'maká , [pá pila'ká] ké ñópo'jlóka , ñakétána kája pijña'ká	Arg of Postp, Pred of NV	ke	∅	event	ka		
550	text	119,11	pijña'á awájne'ê , wéji kéle painéko , waphérénojé i'maká , pá pila'ká ké ñópo'jlóka , [ñakétána kája pijña'ká]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
551	text	119,11	pijña'á awájne'ê , wéji kéle painéko , [waphérénojé i'maká] , pá pila'ká ké ñópo'jlóka , ñakétána kája pijña'ká	disloc		∅	event	ka		

552	text	119,12	[riká piñapátaka] ... pipitá ka'jnó , iná wátakachú painéko pipitá a'waná	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
553	text	119,14	eyá kája ,[piñapátaka kéle kajé] , kélé la'kaná phiyúké	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
554	text	119,14	eyá kája , piñapátaka kéle kajé , kélé la'kaná phiyúké	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
555	text	119,16	é apakála ké ka'jná pikeño'ó jápákaje	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
556	text	119,19	eyá kája iná keño'ó , káru matha'kána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
557	text	119,21	é kája pimatha'á káru ka'jnó , mékélé iyamá jawakákana , kája pajlúwa jawakákana , [jácho'ro] <i>pa'ú kéta káru</i> , iyamá jawakákana jácho'ro , mékélé ka'jnó , <i>pa'ú kéta</i> cháje , jácho'ro káru	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
558	text	119,21	mékélé iyamá jawakákana , kája [pajlúwa jawakákana], jácho'ro pa'ú kéta káru , iyamá jawakákana jácho'ro ,	disloc		num	result?	kana		
559	text	119,21	mékélé [iyamá jawakákana] , kája pajlúwa jawakákana , jácho'ro pa'ú kéta káru , iyamá jawakákana jácho'ro ,	disloc		num	result?	kana		
560	text	119,21	mékélé iyamá jawakákana , kája pajlúwa jawakákana , jácho'ro pa'ú kéta káru , [iyamá jawakákana jácho'ro ,	Pred of NV		∅	result?	kana		
561	text	119,24	iná waká'a iná yajálo jña'ká ka'jnó kajíru kaj'nó	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		

562	text	119,26	eyá pha'pá piño , pi'j'ná náke , [piñapátaka] kéle kajé la'kaná , é kája piyukupéra'a inauké	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
563	text	119,26	piñapátaka kéle kajé [la'kaná] , é kája piyukupéra'a inauké	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
564	text	119,27	paláni ra'jnená [piphátaka] chú , ná ka'j'nó ná kamejéri ka'j'nó ñópo'jlo kamejéri jéma káje ka'j'nó	nonNP-advsub	chu	∅	event	ka		
565	text	119,27	[riká pa'káchú na'jné], patá pa'ká inauké na'jné	nonNP-advsub	chu	∅	event	ka		
566	text	119,28	riká pa'káchú na'jné , [patá pa'ká inauké na'jné] , éjómi kája pímá ne'jnakálojé pijló káru jña'jé , é ne'j'ná káru matha'j'é , namatha'á káru	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
567	text	119,29	ükáchú wejápaja (a'jné) pa'káchú na'jné , kája iná ikhó iná matha'ká káru	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
568	text	119,3	pikeño'ó richiyá matha'kána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
569	text	119,33	(pajl) [najña'ká] éjéja nayuí iná jló , é kája riká iná ñapáta	arg of postp	eje	∅	event	ka		
570	text	119,35	piwátaka kéja [pila'ká riká]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
571	text	119,35	[piwátaka] kéja pila'ká riká	arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
572	text	119,36	kája listo phiyúké káru i'makáchú , é kája iná ñapátaka , kája iná yurí iná ñakaré patá	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
573	text	119,37	eyá kája kélé piñapátakachú , kája piña'á jéña	nonNP-advsub	chu	∅	event	ka		
574	text	119,4	pikeño'ó a'waná i'kakána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
575	text	119,41	iná la'á kája iná ñakaré ñapákalojé , kája patá wáni iná wátaka ké	arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		

576	text	119,44	ejenája , ñakaréji yukúna tajnó , iná la'karé , hasta ahí.	disloc		∅	patient	kare		
577	text	119,5	pimatha'á painéko rapukúna , phiyúké pi'ká a'waná , [a'waná a'páremi phero'táka]	nonNP-?		∅	event	ka		
578	text	119,6	riká [piñapátaka] phiyúké , é kája pikeño'ó , yu'upé , yu'upé kulákana	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
579	text	119,6	é kája pikeño'ó , yu'upé , yu'upé [kulákana].	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
580	text	119,7	a'jná nákei... yu'upé kulákana , eyá pijña'á phiyúké (lo que) nákei , nákei yu'pé ka'jné , pipitá rapukúna chojé riká , phiyúké [ri'maká] éjé	Arg of Postp	eje	∅	locative	ka		
581	text	119,7	a'jné nákei... yu'pé kulákana]	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
582	text	129,01	ina'uké jewíñako atiri penaje yukuna marí	pssr, PRED of NV		∅	ambig	ka		
583	text	129,02	pajlúwa ina'uké i'michari riyajálo jwa'té pa'ú kéle [riyáni i'micháka] pajlúwájaru rítu i'micháyo	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
584	text	129,02	pajlúwa ina'uké [i'michari] riyajálo jwa'té pa'ú kéle riyáni i'micháka pajlúwájaru rítu i'micháyo	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
585	text	129,02	pajlúwa ina'uké i'michari riyajálo jwa'té pa'ú kéle riyáni i'micháka pajlúwájaru rítu [i'micháyo]	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
586	text	129,26	riká rukelo'chá najló pá ya'kána iná [kelo'ká] ké	arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
587	text	129,27	"kája tá nuñapáchiya rimoto'kána ."	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		

588	text	129,3	é romotho'chá keñá pu'méni rijló riká ro'cháno rinúma riphíchakewá	arg of postp	ewa	∅	event	ka		
589	text	129,6	ripháchiyano rojló kajú jeína	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
590	text	151,105	ja'cháyo maloca jupichúmi éjó	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
591	text	151,129	mana'íja roto'cháko	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
592	text	151,17	naki'chá rapukúna , phiyúké naki'cháka rapukúna palá	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
593	text	151,19	é nákei rímícha é nali'chá pají , kajúni nali'chá pají	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
594	text	151,27	riká yuícharo	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
595	text	151,27	kája puwa'reni [ri'micháka] , riká yuícharo	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
596	text	151,55	piwáta nuká ké rúmichaka, ["nu'jícháka"] náke	nonNP-topic		∅	event	ka		
597	text	151,64	amíchari kajú rule'jé sangre [i'micháká]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
598	text	151,7	kája júpi mékeléka é kája rikeño'chá [patákakajo]	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
599	text	151,8	rikeño'chá patákakajo kája	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
600	text	151,82	jé nulakélo , rúmichakatá é ropíro'chatá , romícha ruki'chá ropíro'cháje , [ropíro'cháje]	?		?	?	chaje		
601	text	151,82	jé nulakélo , rúmichakatá é ropíro'chatá , romícha ruki'chá[ropíro'cháje] , ropíro'cháje	?		?	?	chaje		
602	text	151,84	jiñátá ka'jná náke apíro'yo chuchú michólo , ké rúmichaka , méké nula'jíka	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

			ké rúmíchaka , kélé yuwaló kémíchaka							
603	text	151,9	kája phíyu'ke pají i'micháka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
604	text	169,11	réjé riyuícha rapho'kána	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
605	text	169,12	aú kamú keño'chá rikamaré aú patakána ,	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
606	text	169,13	aú eja'wá e'yowá ja'pájeri keño'chári ripayétani [wicho'kána] rinainkiá .	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
607	text	169,13	aú eja'wá e'yowá [ja'pájeri] keño'chári ripayétani wicho'kána rinainkiá .	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
608	text	169,2	kamú kéchámi karená i'micháño	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
609	text	169,3	nawátiya we'píkaje mékajéka i'majéri nanainkiána achiñá wáni .	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
610	text	169,4	e'yá pajlúwaja eja'wá e'yowá ja'pájeri ja'píchaka rewá	S of V		Ø	Agent	je		
611	text	169,7	mékajéka wanaĩkiána ka'jéri payéta kélé eja'wá e'yowá ja'pájeri liyá ,	Arg of postp	liya	Ø	Agent	je		
612	text	169,9	jwa'té eja'wá e'yowá ja'pájeri cháje wáni jrepo'tiyako	Arg of postp	chaje	Ø	Agent	je		
613	text	183,31	méño'jǒ ríicho , kéle nóchari piká "	disloc		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
614	text	186,11	piká yukúná chí eja'wá chú nemakáre nakú : [" achiñá wáni " ké eja'wá chú nemakáre nakú] ? " á'a nuká" ké rímíchaka .	ARG of NV		Ø	oblique	kare		
615	text	186,111	nuká nemakáre nakú "atiñá wáni", pá mékéka a'jí	ARG of NV		Ø	oblique	kare		

			a'phámi pato'kó no'napitá nakú							
616	text	186,112	iná yaní motho'ká wakajé iná jaló kémá nakú nákarí "atiñá kája nu'rí motho'chá , riká penáje iná atiñá" ké rímíchaka	Arg of Postp	wakaje	Ø	event	ka		
617	text	186,116	chuchúná nuwáta ila'ká nojló nákáje"	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
618	text	186,117	muní notáã'ko kuwañá jwa'té	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
619	text	186,118	na chí piwáta wala'ká pijló	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
620	text	186,124	payáicha píño "jutthuk", iyamá la'ká nakú rikojno'óchiya a'waná i'micháká	?		Ø	event	ka		
621	text	186,132	ñaké kája najalákicha pekóáka rímicha ["piká chí kélé nemakáre nakú achiñá wáni eja'wá chú] nemakáre nakú" "á'a" ké rímicha "achiñá nuká" ké	ARG of NV		dem	oblique	kare		
622	text	186,137	nuwáta pa'ká nuñathé	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
623	text	186,15	ré rimi'chá , a'jñá [rapíro'chaka wejirí tajíchako] éjé , é ũká kalapíchína i'malácha ripa'táje	Arg of Postp	eje	Ø	event	ka		
624	text	186,166	nakapicháchiya kélé atiñáwáni i'micháká eja'wá chú	O of V		dem	Agent	ka		
625	text	186,2	[nomotho'ké wakajé] noló kémá "nu'ríñani motho'chári achiñá, achiñá iná motho'ká, reyá eo'kája nuká achiñá	Arg of Postp	wakaje	Ø	event	ka	khe	

626	text	186,2	nomotho'ké wakajé noló kémá "nu'ríñani motho'chári achiñá , [achiñá iná motho'ká] , reyá eo'kája nuká achiñá	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
627	text	186,21	nuwáta wejirí nakiyá apíro'kana	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
628	text	186,29	eyá rito'cháko kéténa jiyári pajno'cháko ri'wá aú	Arg of Postp	ketana	∅	event	ka		
629	text	186,3	[ja'cháro] yáwi chá , mathi'yári yáwi pe'yowá	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
630	text	186,3	ja'cháro yáwi chá , [mathi'yári] yáwi pe'yowá	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
631	text	186,34	aú rímícha "nuwáta pijwa'té atáãkakajo	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
632	text	186,35	nuwáta pila'ká nojló nákájé	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
633	text	186,36	nuwáta pila'ká nojluwá nophuwá	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
634	text	186,39	é re'wémí jemi'chá rapho'ká re'wé aphínámi chojé	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
635	text	186,54	[ja'píchari] ají ké iphákicharo kawayá jwa'té	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
636	text	186,54	ja'píchari ají ké [iphákicharo] kawayá jwa'té	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
637	text	186,56	piká chí [nemakáre] nakú achiñá wáni "á'a achiñá iná i'maká aú , néma iná jló achiñá" ké rímíchaka rijló , iná motho'ká wakajé iná jaló kémá iná nakú "nu'ríkhá motho'chári achiñá , eyá kája iná i'má achiñá penáje , riká penáje nuká maaré " rímíchaka rijló	ARG of NV		∅	oblique	kare		

638	text	186,56	iná [motho'ká] wakajé iná jaló kémá iná nakú "nu'ríkhá motho'chári achiñá , eyá kája iná i'má achiñá penáje , riká penáje nuká maaré" rímíchaka rijló	Arg of Postp	wakaje	∅	event	ka		
639	text	186,63	é muni jwecho'jíko kawayá jwa'té, puwa'ká riwáa'jíka nojló [riloko'páni i'majéri] a'jipajéri rijló	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
640	text	186,63	riwáa'je piño a'jnaré ritukumá kémáchí i'majé a'jipajé rijló , a'jná a'jná (????) [nucháatajika] riká éjé , kája penáje i'majíka a'jipajéri rijló	Arg of Postp	eje	∅	event	ka	je (fut)	
641	text	186,68	kája ikája nakeño'chá jecho'kájó	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
642	text	186,71	rajalákicha píño "yawotí", "uu" ké, ritukumá i'micháká jemi'chári "ó j méké ya'jicha wáni" ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
643	text	186,73	rikáwáni jiyári iphíchari kája penáje, amíchari matámi kawayá támi to'cháko	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
644	text	186,76	iphákicharo píño ichirí jwa'té	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
645	text	186,78	aú rímícha "pikhá chí kélé yukúná eja'wá chú kajú wáni atiñá wáni ?" "á'a" ké rímícha , ké jiyári kémícha "[nuká kélé atiñá nemakáre nakú]	Mod, ARG of NV		dem	oblique	kare		
646	text	186,79	iná motho'ká wakajé iná jaló kémá "nu'ríká motho'chári atiñá , penáje iná atiñá" ké rímícha	Arg of Postp	wakaje	∅	event	ka		

647	text	186,8	ré ri'manója wejirí ja'pí [apíro'kana] nakú e'yá kalapíchína iphíchaño rináku i'micháká	Arg of postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
648	text	186,8	aú rímícha nuwáta pijwa'té [atáá'kajo]	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
649	text	186,82	marí (náke) a'jeré jrená ké rímícha, [marí iyepúlá aúka'jika é], ritajnájiko, apú wakajé raúka'jika jwa'té , kétána wetájika wachó pajlúwáta kéri kétána	Arg of Postp	e	∅	event	ka		
650	text	186,82	marí (náke) a'jeré jrená ké rímícha, marí iyepúlá aúka'jika é, [ritajnájiko], apú wakajé raúka'jika jwa'té , kétána wetájika wachó pajlúwáta kéri kétána	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
651	text	186,82	marí (náke) a'jeré jrená ké rímícha, marí iyepúlá aúka'jika é, ritajnájiko,[apú wakajé raúka'jika] jwa'té, kétána wetájika wachó pajlúwáta kéri kétána	arg of Postp, Pred of NV	jwa'te	∅	event	ka		
652	text	186,91	iyamá jrená la'kaná nakú iyári kémícha rijló	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
653	text	186,96	kétána pi'majíká kélé ulawí chú	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
654	text	186,98	ra'jnewá ajñákána nakúja wáni ichirí i'micháká , méké , ná	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
655	text	189,109	é kélé ru'rí amíchari ropáa'chiyaka ri'micháká jiyá aú	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		

656	text	189,11	riwai'chá "tun tun tun " ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
657	text	189,111	amíchari kélé támijimi to'cháko jra'pí	O of V (percep)		Ø	event	ka		
658	text	189,12	é rúmícha "káī kái kái " ké rúmíchaka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
659	text	189,12	"jée " ké , é ne'jíchá a'pitajé , kétána [ro'chaká] chu'chú kélé yuwají numá	nonNP-topic		Ø	event	ka		
660	text	189,121	é iká i'jnajé jiyá jña'jé nomákalojé nájeká jro'páno wanáku wa'jini wáni	nonNP-advsub	loje	Ø	event	ka		
661	text	189,122	é kélé phe'jí ru'rí yu'ícharo pají numaná wajlé chú	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
662	text	189,125	kháājī lanákíya ka'jna jro'páno wanáku wa'jini " ké rímíchaka "ro'káloje rijló chu'chú penáje " ro'káloje rijló chu'chú penáje	nonNP-advsub	loje	Ø	event	ka		
663	text	189,13	riká a'jne ro'káloje penáje jro'páno wanáku "	nonNP-advsub	loje	Ø	event	ka		
664	text	189,138	ná pajá i'ícharo iléñojō	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
665	text	189,140	ná pajá i'ícharo iléñojō	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
666	text	189,14	é rujme'chíya rápu , é ripháchiya, kajú ripháchiyaka jeiná	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
667	text	189,148	kája wája nachijné keño'chá iphákáje	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
668	text	189,15	kája we'maká penáje pijwa'té maaré [cháapú pamáka weká]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
669	text	189,15	ajíño'jó ké piwakáa'ka weká	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		

670	text	189,159	kajú paka'kéno weká cháápú pamákke weká aú kája wawátaka ké we'majíká ké	arg of postp	ke	∅	event	ka		
671	text	189,16	éko pikelo'ó yuwanájlo kélé nuj'cháje jíñana"	O of V		dem	patient	chaje		
672	text	189,168	ne'michá júpi é kája rukeño'chá nakulákana ajíñojo ké	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
673	text	189,169	aj , nuká pa'jéro amí cháje	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
674	text	189,169	ké rímícha kamu'jí wáni noló la'ká ajíñojó ké [wakulákana] nakú "	Arg of postp	naku	∅	event	kana		
675	text	189,17	jé ké rúmíchaka , é kája ["piñapátajíka nakelo'kána phiyúké], é papótaje nukhá nupa'kóloje , pa'káloje yuwaná a'jné " ké rímíchaka	nonNP-chain		∅	event	ka		
676	text	189,17	jé ké rúmíchaka , é kája "piñapátajíka nakelo'kána phiyúké, é papótaje nukhá [nupa'kóloje], pa'káloje yuwaná a'jné " ké rímíchaka	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
677	text	189,17	jé ké rúmíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
678	text	189,17	jé ké rúmíchaka , é kája "piñapátajíka nakelo'kána phiyúké, é papótaje nukhá nupa'kóloje , [pa'káloje yuwaná a'jné] " ké rímíchaka	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
679	text	189,17	jé ké rúmíchaka , é kája "piñapátajíka [nakelo'kána] phiyúké , é papótaje nukhá nupa'kóloje , pa'káloje yuwaná a'jné " ké rímíchaka	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
680	text	189,17	aú kája ũká nuwátala rucháje pa'kájo	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		

681	text	189,174	é rímícha "ná iká "nuyáni " ké wáa'kaje nakú "	arg of postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
682	text	189,175	aú we'jíchámí i'maká , ũká pikulákalojé kalé weká ké rímíchaka	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		la (neg)
683	text	189,183	nawái'cha júni , kajú nawái'chaka júni	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
684	text	189,19	é kája romotho'chá kélé jeíná rímíchaje nakú jíñana	Mod, O of V		N	oblique	chaje		
685	text	189,2	pajlúwa inau'ké i'michari riyajálo jwa'té , pa'ú kélé riyáni i'micháká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
686	text	189,2	ruñapáchiya [namotho'kána] , é ropóchiya riká , é rúmícha "kájatá chúwa nuñapáchiya "	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
687	text	189,21	"chúwa papó " ké rúmíchaka "pípa'chó "	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
688	text	189,23	ripi'cháko yámona é kája ropóchiya ruyáni	Arg of Postp	yamona	∅	event	ka		
689	text	189,24	rúmícha "yuwaná " ké rúmíchaka "apó "	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
690	text	189,25	"ajñá kháãjĩ ya'káñáni , nu'michá japa'jé , riká nukelo'chá " ké rúmíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
691	text	189,28	é muní ké ñakéchami kája ... riphíchaka jlapí	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
692	text	189,29	ñakeja kája riwai'cháka... pají numaná	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
693	text	189,3	wéji kele achiñaná i'micháká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
694	text	189,3	"tun tun tun " ké [rímíchaka] , é rúmícha rijló "kaĩ kaĩ kaĩ " ké rúmícha	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
695	text	189,31	é ñakéja kája ripháchiyaka jeína kajú	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		

696	text	189,32	pimotho'ó kélé jíñana nujĩ'chájé"	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
697	text	189,34	é kája romoto'chá kélé jíñana , romotho'chá, ruñapáchiya namotho'kána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
698	text	189,38	yuwaná apó" ké rúmícha "ajñáchí a'jnewá", ["jíñanañáni nukelo'chájé"]	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
699	text	189,41	kája ajíkéja ri'jíchákáno jlapí ruchájenó	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
700	text	189,42	é kája wája pajlúwa yuwajíñáni kémícha "maka'ní nojo'táko " ké rímícha	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
701	text	189,43	é némícha "maka'ní wejo'ká , i'jná wejo'cháchí " , é ne'jíchá ejo'jé	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
702	text	189,44	é kélé yuwajíñáni i'wá i'cháró.	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
703	text	189,47	é rímícha réjéna jló "náje pajá ũká méla'jé nojo'lá " ké rímícha "ná ka'jná nula'kó "	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
704	text	189,48	ratáĩ'chajlá rara'kó kaphí eyonáje ũká	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
705	text	189,53	é nayakái'cho , ajúpána yakái'cho ne'jñí e'yajé , amíchari ñaké kája [ne'jñé e'yá jeĩ aphámí pichíyako]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
706	text	189,54	amíchari jeĩ aphámí [i'micháři] ri'jñé e'yá	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
707	text	189,54	é némícha "ná ka'jná kháájĩ amí a'á wa'jné " [némíchaka]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
708	text	189,55	"kajmúníja noto'jiko [nomákalojé] náka ro'óno wa'jné lapí "	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		

709	text	189,55	"[kajmúníja noto'jiko] nomákalojé náká ro'ono wa'jne lapí "	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
710	text	189,58	é kélé apú réjéna kamáchiyo , neká [kamáchiyaño] , é riká to'chó kajmúní , jlapichámí jremi'cháka kélé jrara'pá ñakámi iphíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
711	text	189,58	é riká to'chó kajmúní , lapichámí jremi'cháka [kélé jrara'pá ñakámi iphíchaka]	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
712	text	189,58	é riká to'chó kajmúní , jlapichámí [jremi'cháka] kélé jrara'pá ñakámi iphíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
713	text	189,59	["tun tun " ké rímíchaka] , "káĩ káĩ " ké rúmíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
714	text	189,59	"tun tun " ké rímíchaka , ["káĩ káĩ " ké rúmíchaka]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
715	text	189,60	é ru'jíchá ruyáni kamaré patájě , romákalojé kája ka'jná nakamáchiyo	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
716	text	189,61	lapichámí jremi'cháka kélé jrara'pá ñakámi iphíchaka	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
717	text	189,62	riká ka'jná ya'taró amí jló	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
718	text	189,62	["yéé " ké rímíchaka] , pa'yú michú ñakámiko kháãjĩ " ké rímíchaka , "riká ka'jná ya'taró amí jló " ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
719	text	189,62	"yéé " ké rímíchaka , pa'yú michú ñakámiko kháãjĩ "[ké rímíchaka] , "riká ka'jná ya'taró amí jló " ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
720	text	189,62	"yéé " ké rímíchaka , pa'yú michú ñakámiko kháãjĩ " ké rímíchaka , "riká ka'jná	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		

			ya'taró amí jló "[ké rímíchaka]							
721	text	189,64	"jé " ké , é kája romotho'chá jíñana , patá ruka'chíyaka naphíná na'phá kájéma ne'yayá	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
722	text	189,66	yuwaná apó ké rúmicha "ajñáchí jíñañani nuji'chájé"	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
723	text	189,67	mapéja rili'cháka rikó [kamátaro] ké	Arg of Postp		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
724	text	189,67	[kajmúni ri'micháka] , mapéja rili'cháka rikó kamátaro ké	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
725	text	189,67	kajmúni ri'micháka , [mapéja rili'cháka rikó] kamátaro ké	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
726	text	189,68	é rímicha "úká nuká ajñáláje " ké rímíchaka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
727	text	189,75	riká kélé iphátari jeíñá	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
728	text	189,78	é ne'jíchá ji'chí ja'pejé ya'kájō, amíchari keñá yáa'ko	O of V (percep)		Ø	event	ka		
729	text	189,79	riká nathuli'chá	ARG of NV (comparison)		Ø	event	ka		
730	text	189,80	patá nathuli'cháka kúna	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
731	text	189,86	é ruji'chá rijló [kélé ji'chí ja'piyá]Obl [[keñá]Head noun [ruyáa'chiyaje rijló]Mod]ONP jña'jé	Mod, O of V		?	patient	chaje		
732	text	189,94	éko piñapátajika jíñana motho'kána é papóta nuká "	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
733	text	189,98	é kája ruñapáchiya jíñana náikana motho'kána , é ru'jíchá rapótaje	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
734	text	189,99	é kája rikamáchiyako cháyami ritakhi'chá	Arg of Postp	chayami	Ø	event	ka		

735	text	504,2	é maaré kélé pajlúwája iphíchari aquí , ále rií	ARG of NV		num	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
736	text	504,68	reyá kalé tá iná wá'ajlá réjō, kélé jrewíña'ko eyá	Arg of Postp, disloc	eya	dem	locative	ka		
737	text	504,72	pamájikaé riká pímá rijló ra'chí pijló número jrewíña'karo eyá	Mod, O of V		∅	locative	kare		
738	text	504,74	nuwáta rijwa'té pura'káno	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
739	text	504,82	riyuwéra'kotálojé riwáta liñéru	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
740	text	504,82	ikejá'tá nuliya liñéru ũká nuwátala rijló tá [a'kaná]	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
741	text	545,22	narápa'kaje wakajé	arg of postp	wakaje	∅	event	kaje		
742	text	545,3	némícha rijló "yúka'a " "já " ké rímícha "yúka'a ? " ké [kemakájé] nakú yéwíchaja jiñá kawáchiyajlá nuká	arg of postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
743	text	545,32	kája jlaíchú jno'pícha i'micháká kája[iná ijlu itakō é] jno'pícha i'micháká	Arg of Postp	e	∅	event	ka		
744	text	545,34	riyurícho richō " ké rímíchaka , [" jī'cháro nunáku] ,	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
745	text	545,34	riyurícho richō " ké rímíchaka , " jī'cháro nunáku , nupéchúmi [ja'cháro lawirí aphúmi chojé] "	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
746	text	545,46	pajlúwáta kélé kamú i'makáná é iná kemaká	Arg of Postp	é	∅	event	kana		
747	text	545,63	amíchari ritámi to'kō kélé yukurúpi ja'pí , yukurúpi i'chétâ , ri'chétâ yupi'chárō jra'piyá	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

748	text	578,28	eyá kélé iné ijwí chiyá pã iná jema'káre chiyá muréjǐ, kája rujǐ'chátá riká a'jnáño'jó	disloc		dem	instrumental	kare		
749	text	578,51	liñéru pito'tá nákei a'jná kélé papéra awa'jé i'maká éjôpita	arg of postp	ejo	∅	locative	ka		
750	text	578,53	kélé papéra majme'tákanaru	mod		N	event	kana		
751	text	578,95	ũká, to'káno ri'micháká	Pred of NV		∅	event	kana		
752	elic	NB3:117	nomícha motho'jéri	O of V		∅	Agent	je		
753	elic	NB3:139	*wawitúka'ka riká aú	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
754	elic	NB3:139	wawitúka'a riká aú	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
755	elic	NB3:139	*wawitúka'ka pekepéke aú	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
756	elic	NB3:139	pekepéke aú wawitúka'ka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
757	elic	NB3:139	wawitúka'a pekepéke aú	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
758	elic	NB3:142	kélé iphíchari jló númicha pipa'ó	Arg of Postp		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
759	elic	NB4:48	*mená e'yajé nupuláperu i'jícháyo	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
760	elic	NB4:48	mená e'yajé nupuláperu i'jíchá	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
761	elic	NB5:101	Ũká nukátako kalé, nujápáka	x		∅	event	ka		
762	elic	NB5:101	*Ũká nukáto kalé, nujápáka	x		∅	event	ka		
763	elic	NB5:102	*ũká nukátalako	x		∅	event	ka		neg
764	elic	NB5:103	iléré kélé a'umakajé ũká nupaláchaje	mod, ARG of NV		N	patient	chaje		la (neg)
765	elic	NB5:103	*iléré kélé a'umakajé ũká nupíchaje kalé	mod, ARG of NV		N	patient	chaje		
766	elic	NB5:111	*nupakáre riká	nonNP-pot		∅	?	kare		
767	elic	NB5:111	nupakárejla riká	nonNP-pot		∅	?	kare		jlá
768	elic	NB5:126	I'máño ré jló iné kémá "ajná kujnú waláko jwa'té"	arg of postp		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

769	elic	NB5:126	*i'makáño ré jló iné kémá “ajñá kujnú waláko jwa'té”	arg of postp		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
770	elic	NB5:127	lapiyámi phá chójo iphákaño	x		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
771	elic	NB5:127	*lapiyámi phá chójo ipháño	x		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
772	elic	NB5:127	lapiyámi ipháño phá chójo	x		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
773	elic	NB5:150	Ré i' makáre jló iné kémá "pajñá kujnú waláko jwa'té"	Arg of postp	jló	Ø	Agent	kare		
774	elic	NB5:161	*Yuwaǵǵ a'kakáre i'jíchá	Mod, S of V		N	patient	kare		
775	elic	NB5:161	Jíña motho'jéyo i'jícháyó arápaje	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
776	elic	NB5:166	ro'wé nóchajeyo ñakámi iphíchayo	Pred of NV		Ø	patient	chaje		
777	elic	NB5:166	ro'wé nókareru ñakámi iphíchayo	ARG of NV		Ø	patient	kare		
778	elic	NB5:167	Ūká jíña patajéri kalé riká	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
779	elic	NB5:169	[Paǵǵi keráni kuwá'la chú i'michájé] apiícharo	Mod, Pred of NV		N	Agent	chaje		
780	elic	NB5:170	[pijápániña jimáñani nakú kuwá'la chú i'makáre], pe'wé le'jé riká	Mod, O of V		N	Agent	kare		
781	elic	NB5:170	pijápániña jimáñani nakú kuwá'la chú i'makáre, pe'wé le'jé riká	mod, O of V		N	Agent	kare		
782	elic	NB5:172	[Kélé jimá i'michájé jewánojé], li'charó kaménojé	Mod, disloc		N	Agent	chaje		
783	elic	NB5:183	Kamejéri nójeyo iphíchayo arápaje	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
784	elic	NB5:189	Ūká naka'jéyo kalé ruká	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
785	elic	NB5:191	rinójeri	x		Ø	Agent	je		
786	elic	NB5:206	Yuwaló wáa'jeri jló nómicha “pajñá kujnú waláko jwa'té”	Arg of Postp	jló	Ø	Agent	je		
787	elic	NB5:206	Wáa'jeri yuwaló jló nómicha “pajñá kujnú waláko jwa'té”	Arg of Postp		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

788	elic	NB5:207	*Ajñá jíñana nomotho'chákare			N	patient	kare	cha	
789	elic	NB5:210	yuwaló ũká naka'láre i'maká ajíchayo ro'jnewá	Mod		N	patient	kare		
790	elic	NB5:211	Naká'jeri yuwají	mod		Ø	Agent	je		
791	elic	NB5:211	yuwají Naká'jeri	mod		Ø	Agent	je		
792	elic	NB5:221	*Ajájeri jnora'pá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
793	elic	NB5:221	Ajñájeri jnora'pá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
794	elic	NB5:221	Jnora'pá ajájeri	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
795	elic	NB5:221	Jnora'pá janapéjeri	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
796	elic	NB5:222	*i'jnajéri Jnora'pá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
797	elic	NB5:222	Jnora'pá i'jnajéri	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
798	elic	NB5:222	*i'jnajéri Jnora'pá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
799	elic	NB5:222	*Ajájeri jnora'pá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
800	elic	NB5:232	no'chá kujnú inanáru paláru i'majíkáyo jló	Mod, arg of postp		N	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño		
801	elic	NB5:250	kamu'jñiñani ri'micháká kélé makápo'jeri	disloc		Ø	Agent	je		
802	elic	NB5:282	Kháajíko ajñákáje penáje	Pred of NV		Ø	event	kaje		
803	elic	NB5:313	na'á jnora'pá jló ana'júri jíña jña'jóna	mod, O of V		N	instrumental	jona		
804	elic	NB5:315	Naki'chá nuliyá japámu a'umakájé ipajóná	mod, O of V		N	instrumental	jona		
805	elic	NB5:334	ũká jema'lá [ijló kemakáná "ajñániña jíña"]	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
806	elic	NB5:338	Achiñá no'karé jló kujnú iphíchari arápaje	Mod		N	recipient	kare		
807	elic	NB5:339	Ajálu wamatha'káre aú a'waná nata'á nuliyá	mod, O of V		N	instrumental	kare		
808	elic	NB5:339	Ajálu wamathi'yáje aú a'waná nata'á nuliyá	mod, O of V		N	instrumental	chaje		

809	elic	NB5:343, on 0186,64	jnócho'jō kélé jnácho'jiko eyá kélé “baradero” nemaKáre nakú	Arg of Postp	eya	dem	locative	ka		
810	elic	NB5:343, on 0186,64	riwáa'je piño a'jnáré ritukumá kémáChí i'majíká a'jipajéri rijló	?		∅	?	ka		
811	elic	NB5:344	Ripayákícha mapéja to'kó chá			∅	Agent	ka		
812	elic	NB5:393	Ichirí takha'rijlá me'pijí nakú, é jrara'pá i'matá rijló a'jnejí	?		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		jlá
813	elic	NB5:393	Ichirí takha'rijlá me'pijí nakú, é jrara'pá i'matá rijló a'jnejí	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		jlá
814	elic	NB5:398	Ūká iná ajñálá mapéja to'kô			∅	Agent	ka		
815	elic	NB5:398	*Ūká iná ajñálá to'kô			∅	Agent	ka		
816	elic	NB5:401	*Kamu'jini wáni kélé mathi'yáka riká			∅	Agent	ka		
817	elic	NB5:401	Kamu'jini wáni kélé kajú mathi'yáka riká			∅	Agent	ka		
818	elic	NB5:427	Palajne'ke jewiña'tajeri ri'maká	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	je		
819	elic	NB5:427	Jewiña'tajeri	x		∅	Agent	je		
820	elic	NB5:427	Jewiña'tajeri ri'maká	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	je		
821	elic	NB5:428	Palániwáni makápo'jери riká	Pred of NV		∅	instrumental	je		
822	elic	NB5:445	jrewiña'tajerimi	x		∅	Agent	je		mi
823	elic	NB5:448	Chúwathá nu'jícháká káa'takaro a'jña'jé	pssr, O of V		∅	Agent	kare		
824	elic	NB5:448	Chúwathá nu'jícháká káa'taro a'jña'jé	pssr, O of V		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
825	elic	NB5:448	Iphíchari a'umaká	pssr		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
826	elic	NB5:448	*Iphíchari ra'umaká	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

827	elic	NB5:448	Chúwathá nu'jícháká kélé káa'taro aí jña'jé	pssr, O of V		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
828	elic	NB5:448	Kélé nu'jícháje támi amáje	disloc		Ø	pssr	chaje		
829	elic	NB5:450	*No'ó kujnú ipháká jló			Ø	Agent	ka		
830	elic	NB5:450	No'ó kujnú wájé ipháká jló			Ø	Agent	ka		
831	elic	NB5:453	*Nonócha kélé ipháká			Ø	Agent	ka		
832	elic	NB5:453	*nonócha ipháká			Ø	Agent	ka		
833	elic	NB5:453	*Nupayákícha atíñá ipháká chá			Ø	Agent	ka		
834	elic	NB5:453	Nupayákícha atíñá wájé ipháká chá			Ø	Agent	ka		
835	elic	NB5:454	Nonócha kélé iphíchari	O of V		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
836	elic	NB5:454	*nonócha atíñá ipháká	comparison		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
837	elic	NB5:454	*nonócha atíñá ipháká			Ø	Agent	ka		
838	elic	NB5:454	nonócha kélé phá chójo ipháká			Ø	Agent	ka		
839	elic	NB5:454	Nonócha kélé wájé ipháká			Ø	Agent	ka		
840	elic	NB5:454	Nonócha kélé wájé ipháká	O of V		dem	Agent	ka		
841	elic	NB5:454	nonócha kélé phá chójo ipháká	O of V		dem	Agent	ka		
842	elic	NB5:455	Ja'pári numá chiyá íja jácho'o	pssr, arg of postp		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
843	elic	NB5:455	Wájé Ja'páka numá chiyá íja jácho'o	Poss, arg of postp	chiya	Ø	Agent	ka		
844	elic	NB5:458	Rajñá jíñana paláuna nukelo'cháje	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
845	elic	NB5:458	rajñá jíñana nukelo'cháje palá	mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
846	elic	NB5:458	rajñá jíñana palá nukelo'cháje	mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
847	elic	NB5:458	*rajñá jíñana paláni nukelo'cháje	mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		

848	elic	NB5:458	Rajňá jíňana paláuna nukelo'cháje	mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
849	elic	NB5:459	Paláni jíňa nukelo'cháje rajňá	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
850	elic	NB5:459	Paláni jíňa nukelo'cháje rajňá	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
851	elic	NB5:459	paláni nukelo'cháje	ARG of NV		∅	patient	chaje		
852	elic	NB5:459	Palá nukelo'cháje	disloc		∅	patient	chaje		
853	elic	NB5:459	Rajňá jíňana nukelo'káre	mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
854	elic	NB5:459	Rajňá jíňana palá nukelo'káre	mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
855	elic	NB5:459	Rajňá jíňana nukelo'káre palá	mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
856	elic	NB5:460	Paláni jíňa nukelo'káre rajňá	mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
857	elic	NB5:460	Paláuna jíňana nukelo'káre rajňá	mod, O of V		N	patient	kare		
858	elic	NB5:463	No'chá kujnú paláni jíňa motho'cháyo jló	Arg of postp		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
859	elic	NB5:478	*jeíňá ripháchiyaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
860	elic	NB5:481	cháapú nomáka no'weló	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
861	elic	NB5:481	*cháapú nomá no'weló	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
862	elic	NB5:481	*riká rakúwa'chiyaka kawayá nakoje	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
863	elic	NB5:481	*ňakeja kája riwai'chá	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
864	elic	NB5:481	riwai'chá ñakeja kája	ARG of NV (comparison)		∅	event	ka		
865	elic	NB5:75	nupayáicha kélé ũká pikulájikare kalé chá	arg of postp		dem	patient	kare		
866	elic	NB5:84	Nula'káre i'maká	x		∅	patient	kare	i'maka	
867	elic	NB5:89	Noló a'á kujnú kélé iphátari jeíňá jló	Arg of Postp		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

868	elic	NB5:89	*Noló a'á kujnú kélé iphátaka jeíiná jló	comparison		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
869	elic	NB5:89	*Noló a'á kujnú kélé iphátaka jeíiná jló	comparison		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
870	elic	NB5:92	Ro'chá rijló keñá ji'chí ja'pí i'michájé	Mod, O of V		N	Agent	chaje		
871	elic	NB5:99	Jíta nula'kárejla kapicháro	Mod		N	patient	kare		jlá
872	elic	NB8, vimy	no'chá kujnú kélé achiñá nóchari jéma jló	Mod, Arg of Postp		N	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
873	elic	NB8, vimy	ru'rí íichari	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
874	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
875	elic	NB8, vimy	ru'rí íichari kajú	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
876	elic	NB8, vimy	?unká kajú ru'rí iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
877	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí iyálacha kajú	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
878	elic	NB8, vimy	*unká ru'rí iyálachari	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
879	elic	NB8, vimy	*unká ru'rí kalé iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
880	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
881	elic	NB8, vimy	*unká ru'rí kalé íicha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
882	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí kalé kélé íichari	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
883	elic	NB8, vimy	ru'rí kélé unká iyálachari	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
884	elic	NB8, vimy	*ru'rí unká iyálachari	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

885	elic	NB8, vimy	kajú ru'rí íichaka	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
886	elic	ON 92,54	Chúwatá nu 'jícháká kélé [nomákare] káa'tako aí jña'jé	pssr, O of V		dem	patient	kare		
887	elic	temp4,29	piphájkare chú nu'jnajé	Arg of postp	chu	Ø	?	kare		Ø
888	elic	temp4,30	piphíchaje chú nu'jnajé	?		Ø	?	chaje		
889	elic	temp4,31	avión chú piphíchaje pi'cháro	Mod, Pred of NV		Ø	instrumental	chaje		
890	elic	temp4,32	avión chú piphákáre, pa'ró	Pred of NV		N	instrumental	kare		
891	elic	temp4,33	kanumá a'karé rijló, jraúki'chano káru e'yajé	disloc		Ø	patient	kare		
892	elic	temp4,34	kanumá a'karéno rijló	x		Ø	patient	kare		no
893	elic	temp4,36	piyuté penáje jewíña'kare pi'cháro	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	kare		
894	elic	temp4,46	*nomícha motho'rí	O of V		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
895	elic	temp4,48	nuyajná kélé moto'rí	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
896	elic	temp5- 103	*Noló a'á kujnú kélé íphátaka jeíná jló	Arg of postp	jlo	dem	Agent	ka		
897	elic	temp5-11	rajícha a'jnejí waje ruli'cháje	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
898	elic	temp5-14	nupayákícha kélé jeí chá rímíchaje nakú jíñana	Mod, Arg of postp	cha	N	pssr	chaje		
899	elic	temp5-15	kélé jeíná rímíchaje nakú jíñana, nekhá ajmicháño nukhá	Mod, disloc		N	pssr	chaje		
900	elic	temp5-16	¿?jeíná rímíchaje nakú jíñana	Mod		N	pssr	chaje		
901	elic	temp5-17	pijĩ'chá Kélé jeĩ rímíchaje nakú jíña	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
902	elic	temp5-18	Nomícha kélé jíña rímíchaje nakú jíña riká	Mod, O of V (percep)		N	pssr	chaje		
903	elic	temp5-19	Nomícha jíñana rímíchaje nakú	Mod, O of V (percep)		N	pssr	chaje		
904	elic	temp5-2	chúwa tá nomájíka náka rukhá	nonNP-topic		Ø	event	ka		

905	elic	temp5-20	?Nomícha rímíchaje nakú jíña	O of V		Ø	pssr	chaje		
906	elic	temp5-21	Nomícha rimakáre (yukúná) nojló	O of V		Ø	?	kare		
907	elic	temp5-22	No'chá kujnú kélé yuwají jló rímíchaje nakú piyuté	Mod, arg of postp	jlo	N	pssr	chaje		
908	elic	temp5-23	*No'chá kujnú kélé yuwají rímíchaje nakú piyuté jló	Mod, arg of postp	jlo	N	pssr	chaje		
909	elic	temp5-24	ya'káñani nu'micháje japa'jě, nupayákícha rícha	Mod, arg of postp	cha	N	patient	chaje		
910	elic	temp5-25	ya'káñani nu'micháje japa'jě, nupayákícha chá	Mod, arg of postp	cha	N	patient	chaje		
911	elic	temp5-28	Muní wajñájíka jíña nomotho'jíkare	O of V		N	patient	kare	je (fut)	Ø
912	elic	temp5-29	*Muní wajñájíka jíña nomotho'cháje	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
913	elic	temp5-3	chúwa tá nomájíka ná inaukéka rukhá	nonNP-topic		Ø	event	ka		
914	elic	temp5-31	Ajñá jíñana nomotho'káre			N	patient	kare		
915	elic	temp5-32	ratáichajlá rira'ká júni	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
916	elic	temp5-33	*ratá'chajlá ara'kájó	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
917	elic	temp5-34	Rikeño'chá ara'kájó	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kaje		
918	elic	temp5-37	ratáichajlá rajñáká ra'jnewá	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	ka		
919	elic	temp5-4	¿?Kátaro nunáku amáje	S of V		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
920	elic	temp5-41	amíchari jeí aphámí i'micháká rijñé e'yá	O of V (percep)		Ø	event	ka		
921	elic	temp5-42	yuícharo wayú pána	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
922	elic	temp5-43	*motho'chári jnora'pá	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
923	elic	temp5-44	¿?wayú pána i'micháká yuícharo	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
924	elic	temp5-45	Yuícharo wayú pána i'micháká	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

925	elic	temp5-46	*Yuíchako wayú pána i'micháká	?		Ø	Agent	ka		
926	elic	temp5-47	*Yuréjo wayú pána	Pred of NV		Ø	Agent	je		
927	elic	temp5-5	Kátaro nunáku i'maká, chúwa ramájika	disloc		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
928	elic	temp5-50	Yuréjero wayú pána	ambig		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
929	elic	temp5-54	Nupayákicha wíchupe cha ũká pikulákare kalé			N	patient	kare		
930	elic	temp5-55	¿?Nupayákicha wíchupe ũká pikulákare kalé cha			N	patient	kare		
931	elic	temp5-56	ná rií kélé iju pikulákare			N	patient	kare		
932	elic	temp5-57	nupayákicha wíchupe pikulákare chá			N	patient	kare		
933	elic	temp5-59	Wíchupe pikulákare awa'á ritára'o			N	patient	kare		
934	elic	temp5-6	Kátaro nunáku i'maká waícha chúwajá	S of V		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
935	elic	temp5-62	Ná rií kélé wíchu'pe pi'jnajíkare kuláje			N	patient	kare	je (fut)	Ø
936	elic	temp5-64	Ná rií kélé wíchu'pe ũká pikulájikare kalé			N	patient	kare	je (fut)	Ø
937	elic	temp5-68	nupayáicha richá kélé ũká pikulájikare kalé			N	patient	kare		
938	elic	temp5-69	nupayáicha kélé ũká pikulájikare kalé chá			N	patient	kare		
939	elic	temp5-7	jrepo'chá riká, [kawayá jeño'cháka] ewá	Arg of postp	ewa	Ø	locative	ka		
940	elic	temp5-72	nupayáicha amí a'chajé wajló a'jnejí chá	Arg of postp	cha	N	patient	chaje		
941	elic	temp5-73	nupayáicha a'jnejí amí a'chajé wajló chá	Mod, Arg of postp	cha	N	patient	chaje		
942	elic	temp5-8	jrepo'chá riká, jeño'cháka ewá	Arg of postp	ewa	Ø	locative	ka		

943	elic	temp5-9	é jrimá jepo'tiyo wená rila'káre chojé	Mod, Arg of postp	choje	N	patient	kare		
944	elic	154,11	Inanáru [nomákare] jláléni, ruká jápáyo Leticia é	disloc		N	patient	kare		
945	elic	154,11	Inanáru nomákare jláléni, ruká [jápáyo] Leticia é	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
946	elic	154,14	*inanáru nomákare chúwa já, ruká jápáyo Leticia é	disloc		N	patient	kare		
947	elic	154,4	A'jnejí nomoto'káre, nuyáni [ajñáño] riká	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		

Appendix 2 100-sentence database

This database contains a sample of 100 sentences from 10 different texts in the Flex corpus. For each text, I selected 10 sentences in a sequence at a random point within the text, and categorized each sentence according to the presence or absence of nominalizing morphology. Since in some cases, a single sentence may contain multiple nominalizing markers, there are more entries (130) than the total number of sentences in the sample (100). This database provides an estimation of the frequency of nominalizing morphology, as well as of nominalization and nominalization-based constructions in the Yukuna Flex corpus. This database contains 10 different columns. The ‘ID’ column gives the unique identifier per entry. The ‘flex code’ column provides the code of the entry taken from the Flex corpus (00,000). The ‘sentence number’ column lists each of the sentences extracted from a single text (from 1 to 10). The ‘sentence’ column provides the entry taken from Flex, with the relevant verb form in brackets. The ‘speaker’ and ‘genre’ columns list the consultants and genre for each of the 10 texts of the sample. The ‘NZ’ column simply states whether a sentence displays nominalizing morphology (‘y’) or not (‘n’). Entries with no nominalizing markers are not annotated for all remaining parameters. The ‘marker’ column lists the nominalizing markers used per entry. Empty cells correspond to entries with no nominalizing marker. The ‘role’ column lists the different syntactic roles in which the verb form marked with a nominalizing marker is used. The list of roles matches the roles used throughout this dissertation, as well as in the selected examples database in Appendix 1. Lastly, the ‘semantics/function’ column lists the semantic features of entries containing nominalization constructions (agent, patient, event, etc.), and the functions of entries containing nominalization-based constructions.

Table C Appendix 2

ID	Flex code	Sentence number	Sentence	Speaker	Genre	NZ	Marker	Role	Semantics/function
1	41,5	1	é ripéchu i'michá : "ná ka'jná la'ríno kujnú nojló ?"	LEYT	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
2	41,51	2	ũká ná [i'malá] , inau'ké nokhó kája nuká	LEYT	story	n			
3	41,51	3	ũká ná i'malá , inau'ké [nokhó kája nuká]	LEYT	story	n			
4	41,52	4	rímícha rojló : "nupirá ... ũká pamála ná [iphákáno] majó ... wajló kujnú la'jé ?"	LEYT	story	y	-ka	O of V	event
5	41,52	4	rímícha rojló : "nupirá ... ũká pamála ná iphákáno majó ... wajló kujnú [la'jé] ?"	LEYT	story	y	-je	nonNP-advsub	purp.mot
6	41,53	5	ũká kája ũká [rupura'láchonó] , kája wa'yú ru'micháká	LEYT	story	n			
7	41,53	6	ũká kája ũká rupura'láchonó , kája wa'yú [ru'micháká]	LEYT	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
8	41,54	7	é kája ñakéja [ri'micháno] júpi rikhó	LEYT	story	n			
9	41,55	8	é ripéchu [i'michárí] , ripéchu iphícha , rímícha chúwa nomájika ná chí la'ríno kujnúno	LEYT	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
10	41,55	9	é ripéchu i'michárí , [ripéchu iphícha] , rímícha : "chúwa nomájika ná chí la'ríno kujnúno	LEYT	story	n			
11	41,55	10	é ripéchu i'michárí , ripéchu iphícha , rímícha chúwa [nomájika] ná chí la'ríno kujnúno	LEYT	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
12	41,55	10	é ripéchu i'michárí , ripéchu iphícha , rímícha chúwa nomájika ná chí [la'ríno] kujnúno	LEYT	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
13	58,5	1	é kája [ne'jíchá] píño , ají ne'jíchá mená e'yajé.	RUMY	story	n			
14	58,5	2	é kája ne'jíchá píño , ají [ne'jíchá] mená e'yajé.	RUMY	story	n			

15	58,51	3	é kája ro'wé [yuícharo] phá chú.	RUMY	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
16	58,52	4	kajú na'rumaká [pitíyako] , yuwápi nakú na'rumaká pitíyako.	RUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
17	58,52	5	kajú na'rumaká pitíyako , yuwápi nakú na'rumaká [pitíyako].	RUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
18	58,53	6	é rímícha rojló : "pímá pe'wéjló pá rijápániña kháají nákarí wa'rumaká kháají [pitáro] , apá rila'á ripachó."	RUMY	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	disloc	Agent
19	58,54	7	é ne'jíchá.	RUMY	story	n			
20	58,55	8	é rímícha : "ũká paála [nuwe'íka] " ké rímíchaka , "i'jné wapa'chó" , é napi'chó.	RUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
21	58,55	8	é rímícha : "ũká paála nuwe'íka " ké [rímíchaka] , "i'jné wapa'chó" , é napi'chó.	RUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
22	58,55	9	é rímícha : "ũká paála nuwe'íka " ké rímíchaka , "i'jné wapa'chó" , [é napi'chó].	RUMY	story	n			
23	58,56	10	é nephícha [amíchari] meñáru	RUMY	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	nonNP- chain	clause-chain
24	108,12	1	ne'jíchá piño [ramáje]	GRLM	story	y	-je	nonNP- advsb	purp.mot
25	108,121	2	[amári] mana'í tá ri'micháka , rataíchaka , ríle'jé pají chú	GRLM	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	nonNP- chain	clause-chain
26	108,121	2	amári mana'í tá [ri'micháka] , rataíchaka , ríle'jé pají chú	GRLM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
27	108,121	2	amári mana'í tá ri'micháka , [rataíchaka], ríle'jé pají chú	GRLM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
28	108,122	3	rikhótá , unká ná [i'malácha] rijwa'té	GRLM	story	n			
29	108,123	4	ne'michá richáje [yakáa'jō] , unká kája nepháacha	GRLM	story	y	-je	nonNP- advsb	purp.mot

30	108,123	5	ne'michá richáje yakáa'jō , unká kája [nepháacha]	GRLM	story	n			
31	108,124	6	napi'chó piño	GRLM	story	n			
32	108,127	7	ri'jíchá piño [chira'jō] rewá mapéja	GRLM	story	y	-je	nonNP-advsub	purp.mot
33	108,128	8	[amíchari] kajú líchi akúwa'chiyako maíke e nakei ne- , yuwápi káje nakú	GRLM	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	nonNP-chain	clause-chain
34	108,128	8	amíchari kajú líchi [akúwa'chiyako] maíke e nakei ne- , yuwápi káje nakú	GRLM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
35	108,129	9	é rijí'chá rinakiyá iyamá ,	GRLM	story	n			
36	108,133	10	líchi nakiyá [rachi'yá]	GRLM	story	n			
37	18,1	1	nuká [moto'rí] i'maká ...	JUMY	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
38	18,1	1	nuká moto'rí [i'maká] ...	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
39	18,1	2	mirítí chojé nomoto'ó [i'maká]	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
40	18,2	3	réwajā jnoló [i'má] jnora'pá	JUMY	autob	n			
41	18,3	4	eyá kája nutawá'o [i'maká] ,	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
42	18,3	5	nora'pá takha'rí [i'maká]	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
43	18,3	5	nora'pá [takha'rí] i'maká	JUMY	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
44	18,4	6	aú kája jnowíña'o [i'maká]	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
45	18,4	7	náke yuwají [nu'maká]	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
46	18,5	8	eyá nuñapata [jewíña'kajo]	JUMY	autob	y	-kaje	O of V	event
47	18,6	9	réjomi [nu'jná] náke majó pedrera éjō	JUMY	autob	n			

48	18,6	10	ré nujápá [i'maká]	JUMY	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
49	42,105	1	rinákuja weká.	LEYT	proced	n			
50	42,108	2	we'j'ná píño , [ja'pájo] kamejérina nóje.	LEYT	proced	y	-je	nonNP-advsub	purp.mot
51	42,108	2	we'j'ná píño , ja'pájo kamejérina [nóje].	LEYT	proced	y	-je	nonNP-advsub	purp.mot
52	42,11	3	wajlúwa penáje [wajñákalojé].	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
53	42,113	4	[wenócha] kamejérina	LEYT	proced	n			
54	42,115	5	a'waná [ne'kakálojé] penáje	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
55	42,117	6	ũkáchú ne'jnalá kája iná , iná ikhó iná [i'kaká] riká	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
56	42,118	7	marí ké [wajápáka]	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
57	42,120	8	watajnáta phiyúké kélé ... [wajápáka'la]	LEYT	proced	y	-ka'la	O of V	event
58	42,121	9	é kája wakulá [jápákaje] ilé ewá karíwana jwa'té	LEYT	proced	y	-kaje	O of V	event
59	42,122	9	[wajña'kálojé] nákažeñáni wajlúwa ...wawátakare	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
60	42,123	9	wajña'kálojé nákažeñáni wajlúwa ...[wawátakare].... riká	LEYT	proced	y	-kare	disloc	Patient
61	42,125	10	rójómi kája [wajápáka] éjómi...	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
62	42,127	10	nákaje [la'kaná] nakú , ramáka , riliyá jara'kána	LEYT	proced	y	-kana	Arg of Postp	event
63	42,127	10	nákaje la'kaná nakú , [ramáka] , riliyá jara'kána	LEYT	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-chain	temp

64	42,127	10	nákaje la'kaná nakú , ramáka , [riliyá jara'kána]	LEYT	proced	y	-kana	nonNP-advsub	temp
65	119,1	1	chúwa [nu'majíka] mékéka iná la'ká iná ñakaró yukúna.	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
66	119,1	1	chúwa nu'majíka mékéka iná [la'ká] iná ñakaró yukúna.	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	pssr	event
67	119,2	2	painéko iná [la'kálojé] (pila'ká-) iná la'kálojé iná ñakaró, iná amá mékeka te'rí painéko.	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
68	119,2	3	te'rí [i'makáchú] , ná ka'jné , yenúri ka'jné ri'makáchú , wa'reni ka'jné ri'makáchú , kája pikeño'ó pimatha'á ka'jné ...	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
69	119,2	3	te'rí i'makáchú , ná ka'jné , yenúri ka'jné [ri'makáchú], wa'reni ka'jné ri'makáchú , kája pikeño'ó pimatha'á ka'jné ...	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
70	119,2	3	te'rí i'makáchú , ná ka'jné , yenúri ka'jné ri'makáchú , wa'reni ka'jné [ri'makáchú] , kája pikeño'ó pimatha'á ka'jné ...	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
71	119,2	4	kajú ka'jné jimíchi [i'makáchú] ríchu , pikeño'ó richiyá matha'kána .	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
72	119,2	4	kajú ka'jné jimíchi i'makáchú ríchu , pikeño'ó richiyá [matha'kána].	LFYM	proced	y	-kana	O of V	event
73	119,4	5	eja'wá [ri'makáchú], kája painéko pikeño'ó , pikeño'ó a'waná i'kakána	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
74	119,4	5	eja'wá ri'makáchú , kája painéko pikeño'ó , pikeño'ó a'waná [i'kakána]	LFYM	proced	y	-kana	O of V	event
75	119,5	6	kajúni [i'makáchú] , piwáta kája pimatha'á ka'jné kawákáya ka'jné riká	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
76	119,6	7	riká [piñapátaka] phiyúké , é kája pikeño'ó , yu'upé , yu'upé kulákana	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-chain	temp
77	119,6	7	riká piñapátaka phiyúké , é kája pikeño'ó , yu'upé , yu'upé [kulákana]	LFYM	proced	y	-kana	O of V	event

78	119,7	8	pipitá rapukúna chojé riká , phiyúké [ri'maká] éjé	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	locative
79	119,8	9	méké ka'jnó , pajlúwa iná a'napitá kétána ka'jná [pichaká] rapú , ri'makálojé ... ñaké nákei , ritáa'kolojé kamacháni , ná karená ka'kápiyá ka'jnó riká,	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
80	119,8	9	méké ka'jnó , pajlúwa iná a'napitá kétána ka'jná pichaká rapú , ri'makálojé ... ñaké nákei , [ritáa'kolojé] kamacháni , ná karená ka'kápiyá ka'jnó riká,	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
81	119,8	9	méké ka'jnó , pajlúwa iná a'napitá kétána ka'jná pichaká rapú , ri'makálojé ... ñaké nákei , ritáa'kolojé kamacháni , ná karená [ka'kápiyá] ka'jnó riká,	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	neg.purp
82	119,9	9	mé ka'jnó [rila'kópiyá]	LFYM	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	neg.purp
83	119,1	10	é kája nákei pikeño'ó awájne'é [kulákana]		proced	y	-kana	O of V	event
84	53,77	1	" ilé kamejérí [nonókare] pi'rí jló ."	JUMY	story	y	-kare	mod	Patient
85	53,78	2	é jlapí ra'michiyá kélé [rinóchajena] kamejérína kélé yuwají jló , majnúrimi jló	JUMY	story	y	-chaje	mod	Patient
86	53,79	3	é kája jlapiyámí kája rímícha rojló "chúwatá [jno'píchaka]"	JUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
87	53,80	4	aú kélé yuwajíke'la [iíchari]	JUMY	story	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
88	53,80	5	kajú ru'rí [iíchaka] .	JUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
89	53,81	6	rímícha rojló nákei , rímícha rojló : "náje chí riyá kéelé ?	JUMY	story	n			
90	53,81	7	"riwáta [we'jnaká] pijwa'té ".	JUMY	story	y	-ka	O of V	event
91	53,82	8	ajño'jó ké [ja'páka] nuká	JUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	?

92	53,83	9	éko pha'pá pímícha péjéna jló nanapíchachí kélé kamejéri kélé [pijña'káre] ,nonókare kélé yuwají jló	JUMY	story	y	-kare	disloc	Patient
93	53,83	9	éko pha'pá pímícha péjéna jló nanapíchachí kélé kamejéri kélé pijña'káre ,[nonókare] kélé yuwají jló	JUMY	story	y	-kare	disloc	Patient
94	53,84	10	"jé " ké [rúmíchaka] aú jra'pícha,	JUMY	story	y	-ka	Arg of Postp	event
95	59,1	1	nujña'á kajíru.	RUMY	proced	n			
96	59,11	2	eyá kéle nuyajná [i'jnári] jña'rí.	RUMY	proced	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
97	59,13	3	[rila'kálojé] ipatú pají chojé penáje.	RUMY	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
98	59,14	4	eyá nuká [jña'rí] nákarí kajíru , nupá riká	RUMY	proced	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
99	59,14	5	eyá nuká jña'rí nákarí kajíru , [nupá] riká	RUMY	proced	n			
100	59,15	6	[nupháka] nuta'á riká	RUMY	proced	y	-ka	nonNP-chain	temp
101	59,16	7	kája [nututúwa] , kája nuñapáta riká	RUMY	proced	n			
102	59,16	8	kája nututúwa , kája [nuñapáta] riká	RUMY	proced	n			
103	59,17	9	éjomi [nomoto'ó] keñá	RUMY	proced	n			
104	59,18	10	é kája muní ké kája [nomoto'ó] waláko	RUMY	proced	n			
105	79,35	1	júpichami [riphíchatá].	LFYM	story	n			
106	79,36	2	é rímíchatá "píyu keru éjo'kaja piká maaré ? "	LFYM	story	n			
107	79,36	3	"á'a " ké [rúmíchaka].	LFYM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
108	79,37	4	nákei é [riphíchatá] , é ramíchatá ruká.	LFYM	story	n			
109	79,37	5	nákei é riphíchatá , é [ramíchatá] ruká.	LFYM	story	n			
110	79,38	6	patá [ruli'cháko]	LFYM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event

111	79,38	7	é rímíchatá "yújú méké paláni wáni [pili'cháko], phíyu'keru "	LFYM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
112	79,39	8	ã'a ké [rúmíchaka],	LFYM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
113	79,39	9	puwa'ká nákei-... nutámi [nu'makálé] , é kalé náke piphá náke pi'jnakéno pichíra'ta ,	LFYM	story	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	cond
114	79,39	9	puwa'ká nákei-... nutámi nu'makálé , é kalé náke piphá náke [pi'jnakéno] pichíra'ta ,	LFYM	story	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
115	79,39	10	chúwa palá [nujme'tíyaka] náke .	LFYM	story	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
116	101,1	1	é ripuláa'pe [witúka'ri] rijwa'té	AMYT	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
117	101,1	2	[jña'rí] u'wí , nákerí kuwá'la	AMYT	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	nonNP-chain	clause-chain
118	101,1	3	kéchami karíwana le'jé planta nemakáre nakú [i'jnári] kája bote chojé	AMYT	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
119	101,1	3	kéchami karíwana le'jé planta [nemekáre] nakú i'jnári kája bote chojé	AMYT	autob	y	-kare	mod	Patient
120	101,11	3	jipú kélé [nuwarúwa'káre] máayá i'maká	AMYT	autob	y	-kare	disloc	Patient
121	101,12	4	wawitúka'a máayá [i'maká] ajĩ (ké)	AMYT	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-tense	far past
122	101,13	5	kája [iphári] kélé comunidad kélé náke córdoba nale'jé , las cinco jlaíchú	AMYT	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	nonNP-chain	clause-chain
123	101,14	6	éjé [wephákaé] , wémá : "maáre wakamátajō ."	AMYT	autob	y	-ka	arg of postp	event
124	101,14	6	éjé wephákaé , wémá : "maáre [wakamátajō] ."	AMYT	autob	y	-je	nonNP-tense	fut
125	101,17	7	lapiyámi [jwa'pákaé] , é rímá nojló (pi- pi-) " piwá'a weká " ké rimaká nojló .	AMYT	autob	y	-ka	arg of postp	event

126	101,17	7	lapiyámi jwa'pákaé , é rímá nojló (pi- pi-) " piwá'a weká " ké [rimaká] nojló .	AMYT	autob	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
127	101,18	8	a'jnáré paúka'tá weká (cho-?) , [ja'pátaka lojé] chorro , ja'pátaka lojé chorro " ké rimaká	AMYT	autob	y	-ka	nonNP-advsub	purp
128	101,18	8	a'jnáré paúka'tá weká (cho-?) , ja'pátaka lojé chorro , ja'pátaka lojé chorro " ké [rimaká]	AMYT	autob	y	-ka	Arg of NV	event
129	101,19	9	nuká [la'jerí] vuelta kélé marí meta'ápuru chuwá	AMYT	autob	y	-ri, -yo, -ño	Arg of NV	Agent
130	101,19	10	ají ké a'jná reyája [jnócho'jō]	AMYT	autob	y	-je	nonNP-tense	fut

Appendix 3 Flex corpus

This appendix presents the Flex corpus of texts used for this study. This corpus is not entirely glossed, however, I include it here in its entirety as it is meant to complement the databases presented in appendices 1 and 2.

The contents of the Flex corpus are summarized in Table D. This table is organized as follows: the first column provides the file name of the audio recording on which the text is based (ycn0000), the second column lists the consultants (name initials only), the third and fourth columns give the date and location in which the recordings were made, the fifth and sixth columns provide the title of the text and a short description of its contents, the seventh column provides the genre of the text, the eighth column its duration (hh:mm:ss), and the last columns provides the progression of the interlinearization of the text of Flex (fully glossed/incomplete). In sum, the corpus contains: 25 texts, from 13 different speakers, recorded between 2015 and 2017, of mostly monological storytelling. The corpus corresponds to roughly 4,5 hours of recordings, and 10 out of the 25 texts have been fully glossed. All texts are transcribed in the Yukuna alphabet and translated into Spanish. There are two gloss lines, one in Spanish and one in English. Texts which have not been fully glossed contain glosses in blue and yellow, which have been automatically suggested by Flex but which have not been manually curated. Automatic suggestions for frequent words are very often correct, but because of the pervasiveness of homonymy and polysemy in Yukuna, the automatic suggestions for grammatical markers has to be taken with a grain of salt. Morphemes that have not yet been added to the lexicon are marked with asterisks.

The glosses used in the Flex corpus differ slightly from the ones adopted to present the examples in the dissertation. Often the differences concern multiple forms with the same function (which I distinguish with numbers in Flex but not in the examples), or inversely, different functions of the same form. For instance, the G/N markers used in agent nominalizations are glossed in Flex as NF.NZ, NF.CLEFT, and NF.SS in their use in NP positions, pseudo-clefts, and clause-chaining constructions respectively. This choice of glossing was simply aimed at facilitating queries on Flex. The list of glosses used in Flex are provided in Table E.

Table D Contents of the Flex corpus

File name	Speaker	Date	Location	Title	Description	Genre	Duration	Interlinearization
ycn0018.wav	JUMY	15/07/2015	La Pedrera	speaker's life story	speaker's autobiographical narrative	autobiography	00:01:19	fully glossed
ycn0041.wav	LEYT	21/07/2015	La Pedrera	Yewaku mi's story	Narration of the Yewákumi story, the man who was lonely.	myth	00:15:58	fully glossed
ycn0042.wav	LEYT	21/07/2015	La Pedrera	Luis Emilio Yucuna's daily activities	leyt explains his and other men in the community's daily activities	traditions	00:08:17	fully glossed
ycn0053.wav	JUMY	23/07/2015	La Pedrera	The tiger story	Narration of the tiger story	myth	00:08:33	fully glossed
ycn0058.wav	RUMY	24/07/2015	La Pedrera	The Wayú story	Narration of the wayú (black vulture) story	myth	00:12:42	fully glossed
ycn0059.wav	RUMY	24/07/2015	La Pedrera	The daily activities of the captain's wife in the maloka, as a maloka owner	rumy explains the daily activities of the captain's wife in the maloka, as a maloka owner herself.	traditions	00:05:31	fully glossed
ycn0063.wav	EUYM	25/07/2015	La Pedrera	The fish story	euym tells the fisherman story	traditions	00:19:35	fully glossed
ycn0068.mts	LEYT	27/07/2015	La Pedrera	The Kanuma story	Narration of the Kanuma story	myth	00:33:55	fully glossed

ycn0079.wav	LFYM	29/07/2015	La Pedrera	The reindeer story	Narration of the reindeer story	myth	00:08:20	fully glossed
ycn0089.wav	RUMY	01/08/2015	La Pedrera	The Kaipu story	Narration of the Kaipu story	myth	00:19:43	incomplete gloss
ycn0091.wav	ATYT	04/08/2015	El Cocotal	Preparing and drinking pineapple guarapo	atyt explains the preparation of this beverage for traditional celebrations	traditions; procedural	00:09:14	incomplete gloss
ycn0092.wav	ABMY	05/08/2015	El Cocotal	The Tapikuwere story	Narration of the Tapikuwere story	myth	00:18:32	incomplete gloss
ycn0101.wav	AMYT	13/08/2015	Quebrada Negra	Accident in the Caquetá river's rapids	amyt tells the story of his accident in the Caquetá river's rapids while sailing in a canoe full of supplies	autobiography	00:04:24	incomplete gloss
ycn0108.wav	GRML	13/08/2015	Quebrada Negra	The boa story	Narration of the boa story	myth	00:22:55	incomplete gloss
ycn0114.wav	RUMY	17/08/2015	La Pedrera	rumy's childbirth story	rumy tells the story of when she gave birth to her first child	autobiography	00:07:09	incomplete gloss
ycn0117.m2ts	RUMY	17/08/2015	La Pedrera	rubber extraction	rumy talks about how it was like to work on	autobiography	00:12:54	incomplete gloss

					rubber extraction during her youth			
ycn0118.mts	RUMY	17/08/2015	La Pedrera	Accident in the Caquetá river's rapids	rumy talks about the accident she and her husband had while sailing sailing through the Caqueta river.	autobiography	00:06:45	incomplete gloss
ycn0119.mts	LFYM	21/08/2015	La Pedrera	Building houses	lfym explains how they build their houses, not traditional malokas	procedural	00:07:31	incomplete gloss
ycn0129.wav	VIMY	28/08/2015	Leticia	The Spix's guan story	Narration of the spix's guan story (pava de monte)	myth	00:12:16	incomplete gloss
ycn0151.wav	ELYM	21/12/2016	Leticia	The "patoto" story	Narration of the "patoto" story, also known as the story of an old lady and her grand-daughter	myth	00:09:49	incomplete gloss
ycn0169.wav	WIYB	01/02/2017	Leticia	The North Wind and the Sun. Try 3	recording of the story of The North Wind and the Sun for the IPA Illustrations	phonology	00:01:26	incomplete gloss

ycn0186.wav	WIYB	09/02/2017	Leticia	Iyári yukuna (story of the morroco yo)	Narration of the morrocoy story by Wilder	myth	00:14:51	incomplete gloss
ycn0189.wav	VIMY	10/02/2017	Leticia	The Spix's guan story	Narration of the spix's guan story (cocunuco)	myth	00:21:01	fully glossed
ycn0504.wav	VIMY	23/11/2017	Leticia	Conversa tion on the phone between vimy and family member	Conversation on the phone between vimy and her husband's sister	conversation	00:10:23	incomplete gloss
ycn0545.wav	ADMY	29/11/2017	Leticia	murukut utú yukúná	murukututú yukúná	myth	00:06:37	incomplete gloss

Table E Glosses used in the Flex corpus

Spanish	English	Meaning
?	?	Unknown
?ADVZ	?ADVZ	?Adverbializer
?CLS:LUGAR	?CLS:PLACE	?Classifier for places
?DEF	?DEF	?Definite marker
?EMPH	?EMPH	?Emphatic participle
?EMPH2	?EMPH2	?Emphatic participle
?PL	?PL	?Plural
?VBLZ	?VBLZ	?Verbalizer
A.NZ	A.NZ	Agent nominalizer
A.NZ2	A.NZ2	Agent nominalizer
A.NZ3	A.NZ3	Agent nominalizer
ABL	ABL	Ablatif
ALIEN1	ALIEN1	Alienable
ALIEN2	ALIEN2	Alienable
ALIEN3	ALIEN3	Alienable
APPL	APPL	Applicative
ARG.NZ1	ARG.NZ1	Argument nominalizer
ASS	ASS	Associative
ATTR	ATTR	Attributive
AUG1	AUG1	Augmentative
AUG2	AUG2	Augmentative
AUG3	AUG3	Augmentative
CAUS	CAUS	Causative
CLS:BASKET	CLS:BASKET	Classifier baskets
CLS:PLANO	CLS:FLAT	Classifier flat
CLS:HUM	CLS:HUM	Classifier human
CLS:LARGO	CLS:LONG	Classifier long
CLS:REDONDO	CLS:ROUND	Classifier round
COM	COM	Comparative
COM2	COM2	Comparative
CONC	CONC	Concessive
CONJ	CONJ	Conjunction
COP	COP	Copula
DIM	DIM	Diminutive
DIST	DIST	Distal
DIST.LOC	DIST.LOC	Distal.locative
DIST.TOWARD	DIST.TOWARD	Distal toward
DUB	DUB	Dubitative
EMPH	EMPH	Emphatic particle
EMPH?	EMPH?	Emphatic particle

EMPH1	EMPH1	Emphatic particle
EMPH2	EMPH2	Emphatic particle
EMPH3	EMPH3	Emphatic particle
EMPH4	EMPH4	Emphatic particle
EMPH5	EMPH5	Emphatic particle
EV.NZ1	EV.NZ1	Event nominalizer
EV.NZ2	EV.NZ2	Event nominalizer
F	F	Feminine
F.NZ	F.NZ	Feminine gender in Agent nominalization
FAR.PST	FAR.PST	Far past
FRUST	FRUST	Frustrative
FUT	FUT	Future
GNR.PRO	GNR.PRO	Generic pronoun
HAB	HAB	Habitual
HORT	HORT	Hortative
HORT?	HORT?	Hortative
IDEO	IDEO	Ideophone
IMPERS	IMPERS	Impersonal
INDF	INDF	Indefinite
INDF.LOC	INDF.LOC	Indefinite locative
INDF.MANNER	INDF.MANNER	Indefinite manner
INDF.QUANT	INDF.QUANT	Indefinite quantity
INDF.REASON	INDF.REASON	Indefinite reason
INDF.SUB	INDF.SUB	Subordinating (on indefinites)
INDF.TEMP	INDF.TEMP	Indefinite tempora
INDF.TOWARD	INDF.TOWARD	Indefinite toward
INSTR.NZ	INSTR.NZ	Instrumental nominalizer
JUS	JUS	Jussive
KA.ADV	KA.ADV	Adverbial subordinate clause with <i>-ka</i>
KA.CLEFT	KA.CLEFT	Adverbial pseudo-cleft with <i>-ka</i>
KA.EMPH	KA.EMPH	Topic shift main clause use of <i>-ka</i>
KA.INSUB?	KA.INSUB?	Unknown main-clause use of <i>-ka</i>
KA.INT	KA.INT	Interrogative clause with <i>-ka</i>
KA.NZ	KA.NZ	Nominalizer
KA.PROG	KA.PROG	Progressive main clause use of <i>-ka</i>
KA.PST	KA.PST	Past tense marking with <i>-ka</i>
KA.WHEN	KA.WHEN	Temporal/conditional clause-chaining with <i>-ka</i>
LIM	LIM	Limitative
MED	MED	Medial
MED.LOC	MED.LOC	Medial locative
MED.TOWARD	MED.TOWARD	Medial toward
MID	MID	Middle voice
NEG	NEG	Negation

NF	NF	Non-feminine
NF.CLEFT	NF.CLEFT	Non-feminine used in pseudo-cleft
NV.NEG	NV.NEG	Non-verbal negation
OBL.NZ	OBL.NZ	Oblique nominalizer
PFV	PFV	Perfective
PL	PL	Plural
POL.IMP	POL.IMP	Polite imperative particle
POSS	POSS	Possession
POT	POT	Potential mood
PRIV	PRIV	Privative
PRO	PRO	Pronoun
PROH	PROH	Prohibitive
PROPER.N	PROPER.N	Proper noun
PROX	PROX	Proximal
PROX.LOC	PROX.LOC	Proximal locative
PROX.TOWARD	PROX.TOWARD	Proximal toward
PTCP	PTCP	Participle
PURP.MOT	PURP.MOT	Purpose of motion
PURP.NEG	PURP.NEG	Negative purposive
PURP2	PURP2	Purposive
PURP3	PURP3	Purposive
Q	Q	Question particle
REFL	REFL	Reflexive
SIMULT	SIMULT	Simultaneous
SPA	SPA	Spanish insertion
UNPOSS	UNPOSS	Unpossessed
V.NEG	V.NEG	Verbal negation

ycn0018

1 Mot	nuká	,	nuká	moto'rí	i'maká	,
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá		nu= ikhá	motho' -rí	i'ma -ka	
Glose lex.	1sg pro		1sg pro	be_born nf.cleft	far.pst ka.pst	
mirítí	chojé		nomoto'ó	i'maká	.	
mirítí	chojé		nu= moto'ó	i'ma -ka		
mirítí_river	towards_inside		1sg cook	far.pst ka.pst		

Libre yo, yo nació en el mirítí

2 Mot	Réwajã		jnoló	i'má	jnora'pá	.
Morphèmes	ré =wa =jã		nu= jaló	i'ma	nu= jara'pá	
Glose lex.	then emph lim		1sg mother.ref	live	1sg father.ref	

Libre ahí estuvieron mi papá y mi mamá

3 Mot	Eyá	kája	nutawá'o	i'maká	,
Morphèmes	eyá	kája	nu= tawá' =o	i'ma -ka	
Glose lex.	since_then	already	1sg grow mid	far.pst ka.pst	
nora'pá	takha'rí		i'maká	.	
nu= ara'pá	takha' -rí		i'ma -ka		
1sg father.ref	die nf.cleft		far.pst ka.pst		

Libre ahí yo crecí y se murió mi papá

4 Mot	Aũ	kája	jnowíña'o	i'maká	,	náke
Morphèmes	aũ	kája	nu= jewíña' =o	i'ma -ka		náke
Glose lex.	with	already	1sg study mid	far.pst ka.pst		uh

yuwají	nu'maká	.
yuwa -ji	nu= i'ma -ka	
unripe nf	1sg cop ka.cleft	

Libre por eso yo estudié, yo era pequeño

5 Mot	Eyá	nuñapata	jewíña'kajo	.
Morphèmes	eyá	nu= ñapa -ta	jewíña' -kaje =o	
Glose lex.	since_then	1sg form caus	study ev.nz2 mid	

Libre ahí yo terminé mis estudios

6 Mot	Réjomi	nu'jná	náke	majó	pedrera
Morphèmes	ri= éjomi	nu= i'jná	náke	majó	Pedrera
Glose lex.	3sg.nf after	1sg go	uh	prox.toward	proper.n

éjõ	,	ré	nujápá	i'maká
ejo		ré	nu= jápá	i'ma -ka
towards		then	1sg work	far.pst ka.pst

Libre después yo vine para acá para la Pedrera, ahí trabajé

7 Mot Júpi nujápáka , eyá jno'pá
Morphèmes júpi nu= jápá -ka eyá nu= ja'pá
Glose lex. long_time 1sg work ka.cleft since_then 1sg pass

i'maká , nu'jná ajĩ ké juráa penáje , iyamá
i'ma -ka nu= i'jná ajĩ ké juráa penáje iyamá
far.pst ka.pst 1sg go prox like military for two

jarechí kétána nu'maká
jarechí kétána nu= i'ma -ka
year during 1sg cop ka.cleft

Libre trabajé mucho tiempo, ahí yo pasé, me fui a prestar servicio militar dos años

8 Mot É nuyuró Leticia é jápákana nakú
Morphèmes é nu= yurí =o Leticia é jápá -kana nakú
Glose lex. then 1sg stay mid proper.n in work ev.nz1 on

quince jarechí kétána .
quince jarechí kétána
spa year during

Libre ahí me quedé en Leticia trabajando 15 años

9 Mot Reyá nupa'ó majó i'maká ,
Morphèmes ri= eyá nu= pa' =ó majó i'ma -ka
Glose lex. 3sg.nf from 1sg return mid prox.toward far.pst ka.pst

é maáré nuká Pedrera é .
é maáré nu= ikhá Pedrera é
then prox.loc 1sg pro proper.n in

Libre de allá yo regresé para acá, y aquí estoy en la Pedrera

10 Mot É nuká maáré me'tení , ré kája
Morphèmes é nu= ikhá maáré me'tení ré kája
Glose lex. then 1sg pro prox.loc now ***

nuñakaré phiyúké maáré .
nu= ñakaré phiyúké maáré
1sg house all prox.loc

Libre vimy: ahora yo estoy aquí, ya tengo mi casa aquí todo

11 Mot É kája nuñakaré maáré , réwajã
Morphèmes é kája nu= ñakaré maáré ré =wa =jã
Glose lex. then already 1sg house prox.loc then emph lim

kája ná kai maáré weká phiyúké ná kai ...
kája ná kai maáré wa= ikhá phiyúké ná kai
already uh prox.loc 1pl pro all uh

Libre aquí tengo mi casa, hay muchas cosas aquí, nosotros estamos todos aquí

12 Mot no'weló nupuláa'pe kájéna phiyúké
Morphèmes nu= e'we -ló nu= puláa'pe kájé -na phiyúké
Glose lex. 1sg brother f 1sg brother_in_law type pl all

nutelóna	kájéna	jwa'té	weká	maáré	Pedrera	é	.		
nuteló	-na	kájé	-na	jwa'té	wa=	ikhá	maáré	Pedrera	é
friends	pl	type	pl	with	1pl	pro	prox.loc	proper.n	in

Libre mi hermana y mi cuñado y mis paisanos también, con ellos vivimos aquí en la Pedrera

13 Mot	É	unká	kája	nákei	,	nákei	mená	kájé
Morphèmes	é	unká	kája	nákei		nákei	mená	kájé
Glose lex.	then	neg	emph?	uh		uh	cropland	type

wala'á	máawá	wajlúwa	,	eyá	ũká	kája			
wa=	la'á	máa	=ewá	wa=	jló	=wa	eyá	unká	kája
1pl	do	here	around	1pl	for	refl	since_then	neg	emph?

jápákaje	i'malá	,	aũ	,	nákei	...	jana'káje	
jápá	-kaje	i'ma	-lá	aũ	nákei		jana'	-káje
work	ev.nz2	cop	v.neg	with	uh		fish	ev.nz2

rikája		kalé	rikája		kalé	jápákaje			
ri=	ikhá	=ja	kalé	ri=	ikhá	=ja	kalé	jápá	-kaje
3sg.nf	pro	lim	emph5	3sg.nf	pro	lim	emph5	work	ev.nz2

maáré	Pedrera	é	,	riká		nakú	wajápá	.
maáré	Pedrera	é		ri=	ikhá	nakú	wa=	jápá
prox.loc	proper.n	in		3sg.nf	pro	on	1pl	work

Libre nosotros estamos haciendo chagra para nosotros, no hay trabajo solamente la pesca, es el único trabajo que hay en la Pedrera. En eso es que estamos trabajando

ycn0041

1 Mot	Yewákumi	yukúna	nu'majé	.
Morphèmes	Yewákumi	yukú -ná	nu= i'ma jé	
Glose lex.	yewakumi	story alien3	1sg tell fut	

Libre Voy a contar un cuento de Yewákumi

2 Mot	É	pajlúwaja	inauké	i'michári	,
Morphèmes	é	pajlúwá =ja	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ri	
Glose lex.	then	one	lim	person	cop pst nf.cleft

rií i'michári Yewákumi .
 ri= í i'mi -chá -ri Yewákumi
 3sg.nf name cop pst nf.cleft yewakumi

Libre Había una vez una persona que se llamaba Yewákumi

3 Mot	Rikója	ri'michákáno	.
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá =o =ja	ri= i'mi -chá -ká =no	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro mid lim	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft hab	

Libre él vivía solo

4 Mot	Unká	ná	i'malácha	rijwa'té	,	pají
Morphèmes	unká	ná	i'ma -lá -cha	ri= jwa'té		pají
Glose lex.	neg	indf	cop v.neg pst	3sg.nf with		maloca

chú ri'michá .
 chú ri= i'mi -chá
 in 3sg.nf cop pst

Libre nadie lo acompañaba en la maloca

5 Mot	Júpi	ri'micháká	(---)
Morphèmes	júpi	ri= i'mi -chá -ká	
Glose lex.	long_time	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft	

rikója .
 ri= ikhá =o =ja
 3sg.nf pro mid lim

Libre vivió mucho tiempo solo

6 Mot	Kamejérina	nójeri	ri'micháká	,
Morphèmes	kamejérí -na	nó -je -ri	ri= i'mi -chá -ká	
Glose lex.	animal pl	kill A.nz nf.nz	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft	

kajú rinóchanó kamejérina .
 kajú ri= nó -cha =nó kamejérí -na
 much 3sg.nf kill pst hab animal pl

Libre era cazador, mataba mucha cacería

7 **Mot** É kája ri'michá
Morphèmes é kája ri= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf cop pst

Libre vimy: ahí ya vivía

8 **Mot** júpi ri'michá (ri ---) ...
Morphèmes júpi ri= i'mi -chá ri
Glose lex. long_time 3sg.nf cop pst ***

Libre él vivía siempre (vimy: solo, rikója)

9 **Mot** É kája rili'chá nákei wená ... rijló
Morphèmes é kája ri= li' -chá nákei wená ri= jló
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf do pst uh trap 3sg.nf for

rijña'kálojé wayúna ripiráwá
ri= jña' -ka lojé wa'yú -na ri= pirá =wá
3sg.nf take ka.adv purp3 animal_sp pl 3sg.nf pet refl

Libre él después hizo una trampa para coger como mascota un gallinazo

10 **Mot** Riká rili'chá
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ri= li' -chá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf do pst

Libre así fue que lo hizo

11 **Mot** ké ramíchakanó riká
Morphèmes ké ri= amí -cha -ka =nó ri= ikhá
Glose lex. ? 3sg.nf see pst ka.cleft hab 3sg.nf pro

Libre y constante lo iba a ver

12 **Mot** Ri'jicháno ramájě , unká ná
Morphèmes ri= i'jĩ -chá =no ri= amá je unká ná
Glose lex. 3sg.nf go pst hab 3sg.nf see purp.mot neg indf

ja'láchonó richojě
ja' -lá -cha =o =nó ri= chojě
fall v.neg pst mid hab 3sg.nf towards_inside

Libre el iba a mirarlo, y nada que caían en la trampa (vimy: no caía nada en él)

13 **Mot** Kája wája wayú i'michárí
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja wa'yú i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex. already emph lim animal_sp cop pst nf.cleft

pajlúwaja ne'makána i'micháři re'weló
pajlúwá =ja na= i'makána i'mi -chá -ri ri= e'we -ló
one lim 3pl captain cop pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf brother f

Libre había de pronto un gallinazo, él era capitán (vimy: y tenía una hermana, enredado)

14 **Mot** Rojló rímícha : " kéjo'ó rikhá
Morphèmes ru= jló ri= ímí -cha ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.f for 3sg.nf say pst like still 3sg.nf pro

yu'wí " ké rímícha .
 yu'wí ké ri= ímí -cha
 young.sibling.addr like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre y le dijo a la hermana así es hermana

15 Mot " ñaé númá pijló "
 Morphèmes ñaé nu= ímá pi= jló
 Glose lex. dist.simil 1sg say 2sg for

Libre por esto yo le digo

16 Mot " palá wáni kháǎǎjí Yewákumi la'káno
 Morphèmes palá wáni kháǎǎjí Yewákumi la' -ká =no
 Glose lex. good emph prox yewakumi do ka.cleft hab

wanáku ."
 wa= náku
 1pl on

Libre qué bueno es este Yewákumi con nosotros siempre nos ayuda

17 Mot " Rikójo wáni kája riká ...
 Morphèmes ri= ikhá =o =jo wáni kája ri= ikhá
 Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro mid lim emph already 3sg.nf pro

ñaké númá pijló pi'jné richáje ."
 ñaké nu= ímá pi= jló pi= i'jné ri= cháje
 dist.simil 1sg say 2sg for 2sg go 3sg.nf at

Libre ya que el vive tan solo, por eso es que te digo vaya a vivir con él

18 Mot " kéjo'ó riká o'wé " ké
 Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá o'wé ké
 Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro brother.addr like

rúmíchaka rijló , " kája unká piwátala
 ru= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló kája unká pi= wáta -la
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for already neg 2sg want v.neg

... nu'maká ka'jné ijwa'té , riká aú ka'jné
 nu= i'ma -ká ka'jné i= jwa'té ri= ikhá aú ka'jné
 1sg live ka.nz dub 2pl with 3sg.nf pro cause dub

pímá nojló ñaké "
 pi= ímá nu= jló ñaké
 2sg say 1sg for dist.simil

Libre Bueno hermano así es le dijo ella, ya que usted tal vez no quiere que yo viva con ustedes, por eso es que me dice eso

19 Mot " Pipayáka kháǎǎjí chá " ké rímícha
 Morphèmes pi= payáka kháǎǎjí chá ké ri= ímí -cha
 Glose lex. 2sg step_on prox on like 3sg.nf say pst

rojló .
 ru= jló
 3sg.f for

Libre entonces le dijo pise encima de éste

20 Mot	É	rupayáicha		richá	
Morphèmes	é	ru= payái	-cha	ri= chá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f step_on	pst	3sg.nf on	

Libre y ella pisó

21 Mot	Ripatíya	...	ruká	patajnéya	
Morphèmes	ri= patí	-ya	ru= ikhá	pa= tajné	=yá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf grab	pst	3sg.f pro	impers leg	abl

Libre ahí mismo la agarró de los pies

22 Mot	É	kája	Yewákumi	i'michá	riñakaré	chú
Morphèmes	é	kája	Yewákumi	i'mi -chá	ri= ñakaré	chú
Glose lex.	then	already	yewakumi	cop pst	3sg.nf house	in

Libre y luego Yewákumi seguía viviendo en su casa

23 Mot	" Yée "	ké	rímícha	,	"
Morphèmes	yée	ké	ri= ímí	-cha	
Glose lex.	oh	like	3sg.nf say	pst	

nomíchakó nule'jé wená apála nujña'á
 nu= amí -cha =kó nu= le'jé wená apála nu= jña'á
 1sg see prs emph4 1sg poss trap maybe 1sg pull_up
 wayú nupiráwá ."
 wa'yú nu= pirá =wá
 animal_sp 1sg pet refl

Libre y después dijo Yewákumi ya voy a ver mi trampa que hice a ver si cojo un gallinazo de mascota

24 Mot	É	ri'jíchá	
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jī	-chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go	pst

Libre y se fue a verlo

25 Mot	Riphíchaka		réjé	é	,
Morphèmes	ri= iphí	-cha -ka	ri= eje	é	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf arrive	pst ka.nz	3sg.nf until	in	

ramícha kajú najíchaka .
 ri= amí -cha kajú na= ají -cha -ka
 3sg.nf see pst much 3pl fly pst ka.nz

Libre vió que volaban bastante

26 Mot	Éja	rojíchajló		unká	méla'jé
Morphèmes	é	=ja ru= ají	-cha =jló	unká	méla'jé
Glose lex.	then	lim 3sg.f fly	pst frust	neg	indf.manner

rojálácha
 ru= ajá -lá -cha
 3sg.f fly v.neg pst

Libre ella intentó volar y no pudo hacerlo

27 Mot Éja ... wená jepo'chá ruká rutajné
Morphèmes é =ja wená jepo' -chá ru= ikhá ru= tajné
Glose lex. then lim trap tie_up pst 3sg.f pro 3sg.f leg

nakiyá
 nakú =eyá
 on from

Libre porque la trampa la había agarrado de los piés

28 Mot É rímícha rojló : " iléja
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ru= jló ilé =ja
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for med lim

pi'má piñaníño ... nupirá " ké rímícha
 pi= i'má pi= ñá -níña =o nu= pirá ké ri= ímí -cha
 2sg cop 2sg scape proh mid 1sg pet like 3sg.nf say pst
 , " nuwáa'chí nupiráwá pikhá ."
 nu= wáa' -chí nu= pirá =wá pi= ikhá
 1sg call purp2 1sg pet refl 2sg pro

Libre él le dijo "estese ahí, no huya mascota mía" le dijo "para llevarmela de mascota a usted" así le dijo

29 Mot Aú réjéja rutái'cho
Morphèmes aú ri= =eje =ja ru= táí' -cha =o
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf until lim 3sg.f stand_up pst mid

unká rojálácha
 unká ru= ajá -lá -cha
 neg 3sg.f fly v.neg pst

Libre entonces se quedó y no se voló (tara'kajo: pararse))

30 Mot Ripatíya rukhá , riwicho'chá
Morphèmes ri= patí -ya ru= ikhá ri= wicho' -chá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf grab pst 3sg.f pro 3sg.nf release pst

jru'má nakiyá wená
 ru= ji'má nakú =eyá wená
 3sg.f foot on from trap

Libre así la agarró y le soltó de los piés la trampa que la atrapó (patakájé: agarrar) wicho'kájé: soltar; ji'má: pie)

31 Mot Kája ripatíya rukhá riñakaré
Morphèmes kája ri= patí -ya ru= ikhá ri= ñakaré
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf grab pst 3sg.f pro 3sg.nf house

éjō
ejo
towards

Libre y la llevó para su casa

32 Mot Riphícha , é pají numanáje
Morphèmes ri= ipha -cha é pají numaná =eje
Glose lex. 3sg.nf arrive pst then maloca door until

rili'cha ... rojló kuweláñáni , riká
 ri= li' -cha ru= jló kuwelá =ñáni ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf do pst 3sg.f for grill dim 3sg.nf pro

chojé ritáa'tiya rukhá
 chojé ri= táa' -ti -ya ru= ikhá
 towards_inside 3sg.nf stand_up caus pst 3sg.f pro

Libre y llegó a la entrada de la maloca ahí él le hizo una paserita y la puso ahí (kuwelá: pasera; tára'takaje: parar a alguien)

33 Mot É rímícha rojló , muní ké : "
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ru= jló muní ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for next_day

wajme'tiya ", rímícha rojló , " maaréja
 wa= jme'tí -ya ri= ímí -cha ru= jló maaré =ja
 1pl become_light pst 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for prox.loc lim

pi'má nupirá " ké rímícha
 pi= i'má nu= pirá ké ri= ímí -cha
 2sg cop 1sg pet like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre al otro día le dijo a ella buenos días a ella "quédese aquí mascota mía", (vimy: el le dijo a ella, al otro día amaneciendo, el le dijo, esté aquíno más mi mascota)

34 Mot " Nu'jíchá wajlúwa kamejérina
Morphèmes nu= i'jī -chá wa= jló =wa kamejérí -na
Glose lex. 1sg go prs 1pl for refl animal pl

nóje "
 nó -je
 kill purp.mot

Libre "voy a ir a matar cacería (vimy: pa nosotros)"

35 Mot É unká rupura'lácho ... kája
Morphèmes é unká ru= pura' -lá -cha =o kája
Glose lex. then neg 3sg.f speak v.neg pst mid already

wa'yú ru'micháka
 wa'yú ru= i'mi -chá -ka
 animal_sp 3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ella no habló porque era gallinazo

36 Mot	É	kája	ri'jichá	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri= i'ji -chá	
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf go	pst

Libre así se fue

37 Mot	É	rinócha		píño	je'rúna	.
Morphèmes	é	ri= nó -cha		píño	je'rú -na	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf kill	pst	again	pig	pl

Libre y mató bastantes puercos (vimy: otra vez mato)

38 Mot	Kajú	rinótiya		kamejérina	.	
Morphèmes	kajú	ri= nó -ti -ya		kamejérí -na		
Glose lex.	much	3sg.nf kill	caus	pst	animal	pl

Libre y siempre mataba cacería

39 Mot	Riká		ripitíyanó		najló
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	ri= pití	-ya =nó	na= jló	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf pile_up	pst hab	3pl	for

najñákalojé penáje .
na= ajñá -ka lojé penáje
3pl eat ka.adv purp3 for

Libre y lo traía para ellos para alimentarse con eso (pitakáje: llevar, cargar)

40 Mot	ká	...	é	ripéchu	i'michá	:	"
Morphèmes	ká		é	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá		
Glose lex.	already		then	3sg.nf thought	cop	pst	

nomícháí ka'jné nupirá , apála riicho
nu= amí -cha -chí ka'jné nu= pirá apála ri= í -cha =o
1sg see prs hort dub 1sg pet maybe 3sg.nf scape pst mid
ka'jné ."
ka'jné
dub

Libre y luego pensó voy a ver mi mascota de pronto se ha escapado (nomíchachí ~ nomícháí)

41 Mot	amári	ré	kája	ru'michá
Morphèmes	amá -ri	ri= é	kája	ru= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	see nf.ss	3sg.nf in	already	3sg.f live pst

ré , ritáa'tiya ruká éjé .
ri= é ri= táa' -ti -ya ru= ikhá eje
3sg.nf in 3sg.nf stand_up caus pst 3sg.f pro until

Libre y llegó hasta donde estaba y la vio ahí donde la dejó (tára'kaje: hacer parar) (vimy: ru'micháká se puede poner)

42 Mot	É	kája	,	ñakéja	ri'michá
Morphèmes	é	kája		ñaké =ja	ri= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	then	already		dist.simil lim	3sg.nf cop

júpi	júpi	wáni	eja'wá	.
júpi	júpi	wáni	eja'wá	
long_time	long_time	emph	forest	

Libre y siempre estaba bastante tiempo en la selva

43 Mot	Kája ewája	romícha		kamu'jí
Morphèmes	kája ewája	ru=	amí -cha	kamu'jí
Glose lex.	at last	3sg.f	see pst	poor

rili'chákanó
 ri= li' -chá -ka =nó
 3sg.nf do pst ka.nz hab

Libre además ella veía que él sufría mucho

44 Mot	É	kája	wája	rímícha	rojló	"
Morphèmes	é	kája	=wá =ja	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	
Glose lex.	then	already	emph lim	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	

nupirá maáréjatá pi'má , nu'jícháka ...
 nu= pirá maaré =ja tâ pi= i'má nu= i'jĩ -chá -ka
 1sg pet prox.loc lim emph1 2sg cop 1sg go pst ka.topic
 kamejéri nóje píño wajló "
 kamejéri nó -je píño wa= jló
 animal kill purp.mot again 1pl for

Libre y volvió a decirle otra vez "mascota quédese aquí me voy a matar cacería para nosotros"

45 Mot	É	ri'jíchá		yámojo	ruwitúki'cha
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá		yámojo	ru= witúki' -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst		behind	3sg.f go_down pst

Libre y él se fue, después que se fue ella se bajó (yámojo: detrás)

46 Mot	Ruwitúki'cha		ruki'yá	ro'umaká
Morphèmes	ru= witúki' -cha		ru= ki' -yá	ru= a'umaká
Glose lex.	3sg.f go_down pst		3sg.f throw_out pst	3sg.f clothes

runakiyá
 ru= nakú =eyá
 3sg.f on from

Libre se quitó la ropa (vimy: ruki'chá en vez de ruki'yá, ka'káje: botar)

47 Mot	Ru'michá	a'pitajé		kéchami
Morphèmes	ru= i'mi -chá	a'pita jé		kéchami
Glose lex.	3sg.f live pst	bathe purp.mot		after

ro'chá po'rí ja'pí .
 ru= a'a -chá po'rí ja'pi
 3sg.f give pst pan under

Libre y se fue a bañarse, y luego prendió el fogón y puso calentar el tiesto de barro (po'rí: tiesto, ja'pí: debajo)

48 Mot	Ruli'chá	kujnú	rijló	ripé	.
Morphèmes	ru= li' -chá	kujnú	ri= jló	ri= ipé	
Glose lex.	3sg.f do pst	cassava	3sg.nf for	3sg.nf for	

Libre preparó casave para el cuando llegara (pé beneficiary; similar to jló)

49 Mot	É	riphícha	jlaí'chú	, amíchari
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha -cha	jlaí'chú	amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf arrive pst	afternoon	see pst nf.ss

kujnú i'michá kajú la'kejá .
kujnú i'mi -chá kajú la' -kejá
cassava cop pst much do ptcp

Libre cuando regresó por la tarde vio bastante casabe preparado

50 Mot	É	ripéchu	i'michá	: "	ná	ka'j'ná
Morphèmes	é	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá		ná	ka'j'ná
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf thought	cop pst		indf	dub

la'ríno kujnú nojló ?"
la' -rí =no kujnú nu= jló
do nf.cleft hab cassava 1sg for

Libre y luego él pensó "quién será es que me prepara casabe para mi"

51 Mot	Unká	ná	i'malá	, inau'ké	nokhó
Morphèmes	unká	ná	i'ma -lá	inau'ké	nu= ikhá =o
Glose lex.	neg	indf	cop v.neg	person	1sg pro mid

kája nuká .
kája nu= ikhá
emph? 1sg pro

Libre "por aquí no vive personas yo vivo solo por aquí"

52 Mot	rímí'cha	rojló	: "	nupirá	... unká
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló		nu= pirá	unká
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for		1sg pet	neg

pamála ná iphákáno majó ... wajló
pi= amá -la ná iphá -ká =no majó wa= jló
2sg see v.neg indf arrive ka.nz hab prox.toward 1pl for

kujnú la'jé ?"
kujnú la' -je
cassava do purp.mot

Libre él le hizo una pregunta "mascota usted no ha visto quién vino por acá a prepararnos casabe para nosotros?"

53 Mot	Unká	kája	unká	rupura'lá'chonó	,
Morphèmes	unká	kája	unká	ru= pura' -lá -cha =o =nó	
Glose lex.	neg	emph?	neg	3sg.f speak v.neg pst mid hab	

kája wa'yú ru'micháká
kája wa'yú ru= i'mi -chá -ká
already animal_sp 3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ella no contestaba porque era un gallinazo

54 Mot	É	kája	ñakéja		ri'micháno			
Morphèmes	é	kája	ñaké	=ja	ri=	i'mi	-chá	=no
Glose lex.	then	already	dist.simil	lim	3sg.nf	live	pst	hab

júpi rikhó
 júpi ri= ikhá =o
 long_time 3sg.nf pro mid

Libre y así pasaba mucho tiempo solos

55 Mot	É	ripéchu		i'michárí		, ripéchu		
Morphèmes	é	ri=	péchú	i'mi	-chá	-rí	ri=	péchú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	thought	cop	pst	nf.cleft	3sg.nf	thought

iphícha , rímícha : " chúwa nomájika
 iphí -cha ri= ímí -cha chúwa nu= amá -jĩ -ka
 arrive pst 3sg.nf say pst now 1sg see fut ka.cleft
 ná chí la'ríno kujnúno ."
 ná chí la' -rí =no kujnú =no
 indf emph3 do nf.cleft hab cassava hab

Libre comenzó a pensar en un momento "ahora sí voy a ver (quién es el que prepara siempre casabe)"

56 Mot	É	rímícha		píño	rojlo		: "	nupirá	
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	píño	ru=	jló	nu=	pirá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	again	3sg.f	for	1sg	pet

, maáré pi'má , nu'jícháká kamejérina
 maáré pi= i'má nu= i'jĩ -chá -ka kamejérí -na
 prox.loc 2sg cop 1sg go prs ka.topic animal pl
 nóje píño wajló "
 nó -je píño wa= jló
 kill purp.mot again 1pl for

Libre y volvió a decirle a ella otra vez "mascota quédese aquí, voy a ir a cazar otra vez para nosotros

57 Mot	É	ri'jíchá		
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jĩ	-chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go	pst

Libre y se fue

58 Mot	A'jnaré	wajapámi	e'yajé	ritajícho		
Morphèmes	a'jnaré	waja'pámi	e'yajé	ri=	tají	-cha =o
Glose lex.	dist.loc	cropland?	towards	3sg.nf	finish	pst mid

ramákalojé náka inau'kéka
 ri= amá -ka lojé ná -ka inau'ké -ka
 3sg.nf see ka.adv purp3 indf indf.sub person indf.sub

iphárinó		la'jéno		kujnú	rijló	
iphá -ri	=nó	la' -je	=no	kujnú	ri= jló	
arrive nf.cleft	hab	do purp.mot	hab	cassava	3sg.nf for	

Libre se fue más allá se detuvo a la orilla de la chagra para él ver qué persona era la que preparaba el casabe para él al momento que él se fue ella bajó y se quitó el forro que tenía

59 Mot	É	ruwitúí'chaka		ruki'yá
Morphèmes	é	ru= witúí'	-cha -ka	ru= ki' -yá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f go_down	pst ka.when	3sg.f throw_out pst

ro'rú	runakiyá
ru= a'rú	ru= nakú =eyá
3sg.f cover	3sg.f on from

Libre al momento que él se fue ella bajó y se quitó el forro que tenía

60 Mot	Kéchami	ru'michá		a'pitajé
Morphèmes	kéchami	ru= i'mi -chá		a'pita -jé
Glose lex.	after	3sg.f go	pst	bathe purp.mot

Libre y luego se fue a bañarse

61 Mot	É	kája	ro'chá		po'rí	ja'pí
Morphèmes	é	kája	ru= a' -chá		po'rí	ja'pi
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.f give	pst	pan	under

Libre y metió fuego al tiesto

62 Mot	É	wajapómi	e'yá	ri'michá		, é
Morphèmes	é	waja'pómi	e'yá	ri= i'mi -chá		é
Glose lex.	then	cropland?	in	3sg.nf cop	pst	then

ramícha		amíchari	...	íja	puyúichaka
ri= amí -cha	amí -cha -ri			íja	puyúi -cha -ka
3sg.nf see pst	see pst nf.ss			smoke	boil pst ka.nz

majó	pají	luílo'ma	chiyá
majó	pají	luílo'ma	chiyá
prox.toward	maloca	window	in.from

Libre él estaba en la orilla de chagra cuando vio que salía humo de las ventanas de la maloca (luílo'ma: ventanita triangular de la maloca; puyúkákaje: hervir, enrolladito el humo sale)

63 Mot	É	rímícha	:	"	chúwatá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha			chúwa tâ
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst		now emph1

nomájĩka		náka	...	"
nu= amá -jĩ -ka		ná -ka		
1sg see fut ka.cleft		indf indf.sub		

Libre y dijo ahora sí voy a poder ver (vimy: falta algo después de náka)

64 Mot	Richipúki'cha		runáku	a'jné	jmu'ru
Morphèmes	ri= chipúki'	-cha	ru= náku	a'jné	jmu'ru
Glose lex.	3sg.nf go_round	pst	3sg.f on	dist	backdoor

ewá
ewá
around

Libre dió la vuelta a ella y le llegó por la puerta trasera

65.1 Mot É riphícha majó pilapíla , "
Morphèmes é ri= ipha -cha majó pilapíla
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive pst prox.toward ideo12

marí kéja pikhá (pikhá) ?
 marí ké =ja pi= ikhá pi= ikhá
 prox like lim 2sg pro 2sg pro

Libre él llegó adentro de la maloca de repente, cómo está usted (pilapíla: de repente, marí kéja pikhá: como está)

65.2 Mot " ké rímíchaka
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre

66 Mot amíchari ruyái'chako , kajurú
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri ru= yái' -cha -ka =o kajú -rú
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss 3sg.f sit pst ka.nz mid much f

inanáru ru'micháká , po'rí ji'lá kujnú ruli'chá
 inanáru ru= i'mi -chá -ká po'rí ji'lá kujnú ru= lí' -chá
 woman 3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft pan base cassava 3sg.f do pst

Libre el miró que ella estaba sentada era una mujerzota estaba sentada junto al tiesto preparando casabe

67 Mot " Yée " ké rúmícha , " ná "... " unká
Morphèmes yée ké ru= ímí -cha ná unká
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.f say pst indf neg

" ké rímícha " iléja piyá'o "
 ké ri= ímí -cha ilé =ja pi= yáa' =o
 like 3sg.nf say pst med lim 2sg sit mid

Libre vimy: "uy" ella dijo, él dijo, "no, esté sentada ahí no más"

68 Mot " nukhá nukhá " , " iléja piyá'o
Morphèmes nu= ikhá nu= ikhá ilé =ja pi= yáa' =o
Glose lex. 1sg pro 1sg pro med lim 2sg sit mid

" ké rímícha " piñaníño "
 ké ri= ímí -cha pi= ñá -níña =o
 like 3sg.nf say pst 2sg scape proh mid

Libre "soy yo, soy yo, no se vaya"

69 Mot Aú ruyái'cho réjé
Morphèmes aú ru= yái' -cha =o ri= eje
Glose lex. because 3sg.f sit pst mid 3sg.nf until

Libre y se quedó sentada ahí

70 Mot	É kája	, é	ripui'chó		rujwa'té	,
Morphèmes	é kája	é	ri=	pui'	-chá	=o ru= jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	then	3sg.nf	speak	pst	mid 3sg.f with
rímícha	rojló	"	pikhá	chí	la'ríno	
ri=	ímí -cha	ru=	jló	pi=	ikhá	chí la' -rí =no
3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.f	for	2sg	pro	emph3 do nf.cleft hab
kujnú	nojló	?"				
kujnú	nu=	jló				
cassava	1sg	for				

Libre así fue que el empezó a hablar con ella. y le preguntó: "usted es la que siempre prepara casabe para mi?"

71 Mot	" á'a	" ké	rúmícha	,	" nukhá
Morphèmes	á'a	ké	ru=	ímí -cha	nu= ikhá
Glose lex.	yes	like	3sg.f	say pst	1sg pro
o'wé	wakára'a	majó		picháje	".
o'wé	wa=	kára'a	majó	pi=	cháje
brother.addr	1pl	burn	prox.toward	2sg	at

Libre y ella le contestó sí soy yo pues ya que mi hermano me mandó donde usted

72 Mot	" kamu'jí	ramáka		pila'ká	aú	,
Morphèmes	kamu'jí	ri=	amá -ka	pi=	la' -ká	aú
Glose lex.	poor	3sg.nf	see ka.cleft	2sg	do ka.nz	because
riwakára'a	nukhá	"				
ri=	wakára'a	nu=	ikhá			
3sg.nf	order	1sg	pro			

Libre porque él veía cómo sufría mucho

73 Mot	" Aú	nomá	pikhá	kamu'jí	kémáchi	,
Morphèmes	aú	na=	amá	pi=	ikhá	kamu'jí
Glose lex.	because	3pl	see	2sg	pro	poor a_little
pikhója	, aú	nula'káno			kujnú	
pi=	ikhá =o =ja	aú	nu=	la' -ká	=no	kujnú
2sg	pro mid lim	because	1sg	do ka.insub?	hab	cassava
pijló	" ké	rúmíchaka		rijló		.
pi=	jló	ké	ru=	ímí -cha -ka	ri=	jló
2sg	for	like	3sg.f	say pst ka.cleft	3sg.nf	for

Libre por eso yo también he visto que sufres solo, por eso es que le preparo casabe siempre para usted, así le dijo ella a él (vimy: por eso yo te vi como pobrecito, solito). (nula'káno ~ nula'áno)

74 Mot	" Jé	" ké	rúmícha	,	" paláni	".
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri=	ímí -cha	palá -ni	
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf	say pst	good	nf

Libre bueno le dijo, está bien.

75 Mot	É kája	ru'michá		rijwa'té		réjéchami
Morphèmes	é kája	ru= i'mi -chá		ri= jwa'té		ri= éjéchami
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f live pst		3sg.nf with		3sg.nf after

Libre y luego ella vivió con él mucho tiempo

76 Mot	Júpi	ne'michá		iyamá
Morphèmes	júpi	na= i'mi -chá		iyamá
Glose lex.	long_time	3pl live pst		two

Libre vimy: los dos vivieron mucho tiempo

77 Mot	Kája	wája		rimanaíchatá
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja		ri= manaícha tá
Glose lex.	already	emph lim		3sg.nf craziness emph1

jáo'cho rináku
 jáo' -cha =o ri= náku
 go_out pst mid 3sg.nf on

Libre hasta que le subió a él la locura

78 Mot	Rimanaícha		jáo'cho		rináku
Morphèmes	ri= manaícha		jáo' -cha =o		ri= náku
Glose lex.	3sg.nf craziness		go_out pst mid		3sg.nf on

Libre le subió la locura (vimy ahí él dice rimanaíté).

79 Mot	kája	rijí'chá		Majáko'pa	a'rumaká
Morphèmes	kája	ri= jí' -chá		majáko'pa	a'rumaká
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf take pst		proper.n	clothes

riká ra'chá rinakuwá
 ri= ikhá ri= a' -chá ri= naku =wá
 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf give pst 3sg.nf on refl

Libre y cogió la ropa de majákota (chulo) y se lo puso

80 Mot	É	riwái'cha		rojló	,	rímícha
Morphèmes	é	ri= wái' -cha		ru= jló		ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf call pst		3sg.f for		3sg.nf say pst

rojló , " majó " ké rímícha " pamícha
 ru= jló majó ké ri= ímí -cha pi= amí -cha
 3sg.f for prox.toward like 3sg.nf say pst 2sg see prs

marí ké jímáika chí pe'wé ? "
 marí ké jímái -ka chí pi= e'wé
 prox like beautiful com emph3 2sg brother

Libre vimy: él llamó a ella, le dijo "venga acá vea así de hermoso es su hermano?" (vimy: él se embolató con el pamíchakó ahí) (jímáreni: lindo; jimáre-ka-chí)

81 Mot	" Yée "	ké		rúmícha	,	" mére nomá
Morphèmes	yée	ké		ru= ímí -cha		méré na= amá
Glose lex.	oh	like		3sg.f say pst		indf.loc 3pl see

ijlá ".
 ijlá
 frustr

Libre "cómo así" dijo ella, donde ya voy a ver (dijo la hna)

82 Mot É ru'jĩchá , amíchari majáko'pa
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá amí -cha -ri majáko'pa
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst see pst nf.ss proper.n

a'rútá i'michári rináku .
 a'rú tá i'mi -chá -ri ri= náku
 cover emph1 cop pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf on

Libre y se fue a majákota ella vio al chulo era la ropa que tenía puesto

83.1 Mot " aa " ké rúmícha , " Méla'jé
Morphèmes *** ké ru= ímí -cha méla'jé
Glose lex. *** like 3sg.f say pst indf.manner

o'wé u'warénitá i'má ?"
 o'wé u'waré -ni tâ i'ma
 brother.addr ugly nf emph1 cop

Libre entonces dijo aah, cómo va a hacer mi hermano eso tan feo, (vimy: ese es muy feísimo), ese no es hermano, mi hermano es más hermoso, (vimy: es lujoso, no es feo) no es como ese tan feo, (vimy: él dice u'waitá, u'wareni=tá)

83.2 Mot ké rúmícha " pu'waitájetá kélé " ,
Morphèmes ké ru= ímí -cha pu'wai táje tá kélé
Glose lex. like 3sg.f say pst ugly *** emph1 med

" unká o'wé kalé " , " paláni o'wé " ké
 unká o'wé kalé palá -ni o'wé ké
 neg brother.addr nv.neg good nf brother.addr like

rúmícha , " jímáreni " , " unká pu'warénitá
 ru= ímí -cha jímáre -ni unká pu'waré -ni tâ
 3sg.f say pst beautiful nf neg ugly nf emph1

kalé " .
 kalé
 nv.neg

Libre

84.1 Mot " Yée " ké rímícha , " náje
Morphèmes yée ké ri= ímí -cha náje
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.nf say pst indf.reason

pímá nojló ilé ké ?
 pi= ímá nu= jló ilé ké
 2sg say 1sg for med like

Libre y le contestó por qué lo dices le preguntó a ella.

84.2 Mot	"	ké	rímícha	.
Morphèmes		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		like	3sg.nf say pst	

Libre

85 Mot	"	mé	jwe'chúka'lá	i'majíká	wakajé	,
Morphèmes		mé	jwe'chú -ka'la	i'ma -jĩ -ka	wakajé	
Glose lex.		indf.manner	day ?nz	cop fut	ka.nz	date

wephákajo pe'wé jwa'té ".
 wa= iphá -ka -je =o pi= e'wé jwa'té
 1pl arrive ass fut mid 2sg brother with

Libre tal vez un día me encontraré con su hermano

86 Mot	"	Unká	pamálaje	o'wé	"	ké
Morphèmes		unká	pi= amá -la -je	o'wé		ké
Glose lex.		neg	2sg see v.neg fut	brother.addr		like
rúmícha	,	"	unká méla'jé	kalé	pamácare	"
ru= ímí -cha			unká méla'jé	kalé	pi= amá -kare	
3sg.f say pst			neg indf.manner nv.neg	2sg see	pot	

Libre usted nunca va a ver mi hermano, no podrá verlo le contestó

87 Mot	Unká	ké	rímícha	"	nomáje
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	nu=	amá -je
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst	1sg	see fut

rikhá "
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre le dijo él no sí voy a poder verlo (vimy: lo tengo que ver)

88 Mot	É kája	ñakéja	ri'micháno	rujwa'té
Morphèmes	é kája	ñaké	=ja ri= i'mi -chá =no	ru= jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	dist.simil	lim 3sg.nf live pst	hab 3sg.f with

Libre así él siguió viviendo con ella

89 Mot	É kája	jarechí	jená	chojé	iphícha	,
Morphèmes	é kája	jarechí	jená	chojé	iphí -cha	
Glose lex.	then	year	hour	towards_inside	arrive pst	

jarechí li'chá , kaéja kájéna iwatíyaro .
 jarechí li' -chá kaéja kájé -na iwatí -ya -ri =o
 year do pst lake type pl dry pst nf.cleft mid

Libre y después llegó la hora del verano, entonces las lagunas empezaron a secarse

90 Mot	É	rímícha	rijwa'téjéna	jló	"
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jwa'téje -na	jló	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf servants pl	for	

merukájína " ké rímícha , " chúwa
 merukájí -na ké ri= ímí -cha chúwa
 servant pl like 3sg.nf say pst now

wawejájika karíja , wajña'kálojé jíñana
 wa= wejá -jĩ -ka karíja wa= jña' -ká lojé jíña -na
 1pl poison fut ka.cleft lake 1pl take ka.adv purp3 fish pl

wajló " ké rímícha .
 wa= jló ké ri= ímí -cha
 1pl for like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre luego dijo a los empleados "mis empleados ahora sí vamos a barbasquear la laguna para coger pescado para nosotros (vimy: merukájé-na: mis empleados; weja-kájé barbasquear)

91 Mot Kája ne'michá kúna jero'jé .
Morphèmes kája na= i'mi -chá kúna jero' -jé
Glose lex. already 3pl cop pst toxic_plant pull_out purp.mot

Libre así que se fueron a arrancar barbasco (kúna: barbasco; jero'-kájé: arrancar)

92 Mot Riká aũ ne'jĩchá karíja wejáje
Morphèmes ri= ikhá aũ na= i'jĩ -chá karíja wejá -je
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro with 3pl go pst lake poison purp.mot

Libre con ese se pusieron a barbasquear una laguna

93 Mot É nawejícha karíja , kajú jíñana
Morphèmes é na= wejí -cha karíja kajú jíña -na
Glose lex. then 3pl poison pst lake much fish pl

najĩ'cháka , jíñana taji'chá .
 na= jĩ' -chá -ka jíña -na taji' -chá
 3pl take pst ka.cleft fish pl die pst

Libre (vimy: barbasquearon el lago), y cogieron bastantes pescados, también murieron muchos pescados

94 Mot É kája riwakái'cha riñakaré éjõ
Morphèmes é kája ri= wakái' -cha ri= ñakaré ejo
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf order pst 3sg.nf house towards

nekhá , ri'ratákeja jña'jé .
 na= ikhá ri= i'ratáke =ja jña' -je
 3pl pro 3sg.nf dough lim take purp.mot

Libre y después los mandó a ellos para la casa a traer almidón (vimy i'ratáké=ja: N. masa, mezclao con almidón).

95 Mot Ne'jĩchá i'ratákéja jña'jé .
Morphèmes na= i'jĩ -chá i'ratáke =ja jña' -je
Glose lex. 3pl go pst dough lim take purp.mot

Libre se fueron a traer almidón

96 Mot Rikhá chojé namotho'chá jíñana
Morphèmes ri= ikhá chojé na= motho' -chá jíña -na
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro towards_inside 3pl cook pst fish pl

majárúna
 majá -runa
 rot pl

Libre ahí cocinaron pescados podridos

97 Mot	Riká	ra'chá	rinakuwá	,
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	ri= a' -chá	ri= naku =wá	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf give pst	3sg.nf on refl	
kéchami	ri'wapichá	, akúwa'jõ	karíja	pe'yojé
kéchami	ri= i'wapi -chá	akúwa' -je =o	karíja	pe'yo =eje
after	3sg.nf swim pst	hang purp.mot mid	lake	half until

Libre y luego se lo untó todo y nadó para colgarse en la mitad de la laguna

98 Mot	É	wayúna	iphícha	píño	kajú
Morphèmes	é	wa'yú	-na iphí -cha	píño	kajú
Glose lex.	then	animal_sp pl	arrive pst	again	much
rójéna	, jíñana	majání	ajñájẽ		
ru= éjéna	jíña -na	majá -ní	ajñá -je		
3sg.f siblings	fish pl	rot nf	eat purp.mot		

Libre allí otra vez llegaron los chulos bastantes hermanos alimentarse con los pescados podridos

99 Mot	É	riphícha	ne'makána	,	a'waná
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha -cha	na= i'makána		a'waná
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf arrive pst	3pl captain		tree
nakojé	riphícha				
nakú =eje	ri= ipha -cha				
on until	3sg.nf arrive pst				

Libre allí también llegó el capitán, se sostuvo en un palo (vimy: é ne'makána iphícha)

100 Mot	É	mapirí	i'michá	,	kémíchari	rijló
Morphèmes	é	mapirí	i'mi -chá		kémí -cha -ri	ri= jló
Glose lex.	then	fly	cop pst		say pst nf.ss	3sg.nf for
" chuchú	" ké	rímícha				
chuchú	ké	ri= ímí -cha				
grandparent	like	3sg.nf say pst				

Libre ahí había una mosca y le dijo abuelo

101.1 Mot	" kháa'jnáta	pile'jé	?
Morphèmes	kháa'jná tá	pi= le'jé	
Glose lex.	dist	emph1	2sg poss

Libre ese que estaba colgado es suyo, el que está en la mitad colgado de la laguna

101.2 Mot	kélé	akúwa'ro	...	kaíja	pe'yó	" ké
Morphèmes	kélé	akúwa' -ri =o		kaíja	pe'yó	ké
Glose lex.	med	hang nf.nz mid		lake	half	like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre

102 Mot Rikhá pile'jé
Morphèmes ri= ikhá pi= le'jé
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 2sg poss

Libre ese es suyo/ (vimy: ese suyo)

103.1 Mot " é kéwáka , nulaké ?"
Morphèmes é kéwaka nu= laké
Glose lex. Q truth 1sg grandchild

Libre "nieto sí es verdad?" le dijo, "sí así es (el nieto)", "no" él dijo (jefe), "puede ser me parece peligroso, creo que está vivo" le dijo

103.2 Mot ké rímícha " á'a " " unká " ké
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha á'a unká ké
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst yes neg like

rímícha " kajúphíwani nuwe'píka kélé ,
 ri= ímí -cha kajúphí wáni nu= we'pí -ka kélé
 3sg.nf say pst dangerous emph 1sg know ka.cleft med

kajmúní nuwe'íka rikhá
 kajmú -ni nu= we'í -ka ri= ikhá
 lively nf 1sg know ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre

104 Mot " Unká " ké rímícha kája
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha kája
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst already

ritaka'á
 ri= takha'á
 3sg.nf die

Libre no ya está muerto

105 Mot Kája ritakha'á
Morphèmes kája ri= takha'á
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf die

Libre ya está muerto

106.1 Mot " Mére ?
Morphèmes méré
Glose lex. indf.loc

Libre cómo? "entonces traigame un pedazo de corazón para yo ver"

106.2 Mot " ké rímícha " pijĩ'chá a'jné
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha pi= jĩ' -chá a'jné
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst 2sg take prs then

nojló	riwajwé	nakiyá	nomáchí	"	ké	.
nu= jló	ri= wajwé	nakú =eyá	nu= amá -chí		ké	
1sg for	3sg.nf heart	on from	1sg see purp2		like	

Libre

107 Mot	É	mapirí	i'michá	riwajwé	nakiyá
Morphèmes	é	mapirí	i'mi -chá	ri= wajwé	nakú =eyá
Glose lex.	then	fly	go pst	3sg.nf heart	on from

jña'jé	wayú	jló	.
jña' -je	wa'yú	jló	
take purp.mot	animal_sp	for	

Libre vimy: entonces el mosco se fue buscar pedacito del corazon al chulo

108 Mot	Riká	riphátiya	rináku
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	ri= iphá -ti -ya	ri= náku
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf arrive caus pst	3sg.nf on

Libre y se lo trajo

109 Mot	" Pamá	" ké	rímícha	,	" kája
Morphèmes	pi= amá	ké	ri= ímí -cha		kája
Glose lex.	2sg see	like	3sg.nf say pst		already

ritakha'á	"
ri= takha'á	
3sg.nf die	

Libre le dijo entonces ya está muerto

110 Mot	Kája	wája	,	kája	riwó
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja		kája	ri= wó
Glose lex.	already	emph lim		already	3sg.nf stomach

jĩ'chó	,	é	rajícha	.
jĩ' -cha =o		é	ri= ají -cha	
take pst mid		then	3sg.nf fly pst	

Libre vimy: ya él le gustó, ahí él voló

111 Mot	Ripato'chó	rináku	ri'khú
Morphèmes	ri= pato' -chá =o	ri= náku	ri= i'khú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf perch pst mid	3sg.nf on	3sg.nf chest

nakoje	.
nakú =eje	
on until	

Libre y se agarró del pecho (paro'kájó: encaramarse; i'khú: pecho)

112 Mot	Riwátiya	ri'khú	chiyá
Morphèmes	ri= wáti -ya	ri= i'khú	chiyá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf want pst	3sg.nf chest	in.from

rijiyo'kó	,	rajñákalojé	riwajwé	.
ri= jiyo' -ká =o		ri= ajñá -ka lojé	ri= wajwé	
3sg.nf tear ka.nz mid		3sg.nf eat ka.adv purp3	3sg.nf heart	

Libre él quería abrirlo del pecho para él comerse el corazón (vimy dice riwáchiya ri'khú chiyá rijiyo'kána)

113 Mot	E'yó	ripatíya		rikhá	.
Morphèmes	e'yó	ri= patí	-ya	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf grab	pst	3sg.nf pro	

Libre y en ese momentó ahí lo agarró (vimy: e'yá, leyt dice e'yó) (patakáje: agarrar) (e'yá: ahí mismo)

114 Mot	Kája	ri'wapachíya		riká	.
Morphèmes	kája	ri= i'wapa	-chi -yá	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf swim	caus pst	3sg.nf pro	

phánojo
phánojo
other.toward

Libre y nadó con el otro lado (i'wapa-kájé: nadar; phánojo : al otro lado)

115 Mot	"	Chúwa	majó	merukájína	"	ké
Morphèmes		chúwa	majó	merukájí	-na	ké
Glose lex.		now	prox.toward	servant	pl	like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre ahora sí hermanos menores él dijo (merukájína: empleados) (vimy: ahora sí vengan aquí mis empleados)

116 Mot	"	Kháãjĩ	wayú	"	ké	rímícha
Morphèmes		kháãjĩ	wa'yú		ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.		prox	animal_sp		like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre el chulo

117 Mot	Kája	jreo'tíya			
Morphèmes	kája	ri= jeo'	-tí	-ya	
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf pull_out	caus	pst	

jneo'tíyatá
na= jeo' -tí -ya tá ri= chijné phiyúké
3pl pull_out caus pst emph1 3sg.nf hair all

jneo'tíya
na= jeo' -tí -ya ri= chijné phiyúké
3pl pull_out caus pst 3sg.nf hair all

Libre le arrancó y le arracaron todas las plumas (jero'takáje ~ jero'kaje: arrancar)

118 Mot	Rilajówa	i'michári		kajú	rináku	.
Morphèmes	ri= la'jówa	i'mi -chá -ri		kajú	ri= náku	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf ornament	cop pst	nf.cleft	much	3sg.nf on	

riká
ri= ikhá ri= tamáa' -ti -ya kupira'phána jló
3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf spread caus pst bird_gen pl for

Libre tenía bastante arreglos y lo repartió a los pajaros (tamáa'takaje: repartir)

119 Mot	Kája	...	napa'tíya			kécha
Morphèmes	kája		na= pa'	-tí	-ya	kécha
Glose lex.	already		3pl return	caus	pst	after

na'tiyá a'jí rináku .
na= a' -ti -yá a'jí ri= náku
3pl give caus pst pepper 3sg.nf on

Libre después lo llevaron a él y le untaron ají

120 Mot	Kécha	napa'tíyaka				riká	...
Morphèmes	kécha	na= pa'	-tí	-ya	-ka	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	after	3pl return	caus	pst	ka.topic	3sg.nf pro	

Libre luego lo devolvieron

121 Mot	a'jnájé	,	waja'pómi	e'yajé
Morphèmes	a'jná =eje		waja'pómi	e'yajé
Glose lex.	dist until		cropland?	towards

ritáa'tiya , waka'péje .
ri= táa' -ti -ya waka'péje
3sg.nf stand_up caus pst outside.toward

Libre hasta la orilla del rastrojo (y lo dejó parado ahí, y él estaba en el patio) (a'jnájé: allá; waka'péje: patio) (tára'takaje: para a alguien)

122.1 Mot	rímícha		rojló	:	"	marí	kéja
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló			marí	ké =ja
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.f for			prox	like lim

piká ?"

pi= ikhá
2sg pro

Libre le dijo a ella cómo está?

122.2 Mot	,	"	marí	kéja	"	ké	rúmícha	.
Morphèmes			marí	ké =ja		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.			prox	like lim		like	3sg.f say pst	

Libre estoy bien dijo

123 Mot	"	Jé	,	júpichámi	"	ké	rímícha
Morphèmes		jé		júpi -chá =mi		ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.		good		long_time pst pfv		like	3sg.nf say pst

rojló , " chúwa " ké rímícha " majó " ké
ru= jló chúwa ké ri= ímí -cha majó ké
3sg.f for now like 3sg.nf say pst prox.toward like

rímícha " pamícha "

ri= ímí -cha pi= amí -cha
3sg.nf say pst 2sg see prs

Libre entonces bien, después de un rato le dijo a ella venga ahora a mirar

124.1	Mot	"	apála	kháájǐ	ka'jnó	pe'wé	?"
	Morphèmes		apála	kháájǐ	ka'jnó	pi= e'wé	
	Glose lex.		maybe	prox	dub	2sg brother	

Libre éste será su hermano?

124.2	Mot	é	rímícha	.
	Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí	-cha
	Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst

Libre

125.1	Mot	"	mére	?"
	Morphèmes		méré	
	Glose lex.		indf.loc	

Libre entonces ella dijo dónde está?

125.2	Mot	ké	rúmícha	,	é	jrócho'cho
	Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí	-cha	é	ru= jácho' -cha =o
	Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say	pst	then	3sg.f go_out pst mid

amíchari kája jnero'tíyata richijné
 amí -cha -ri kája na= jero' -tí -ya tá ri= chijné
 see pst nf.ss already 3pl pull_out caus pst emph1 3sg.nf hair

phiyúké machijnérú ri'michá
 phiyúké ma- chijné -rú ri= i'mi -chá
 all priv hair sg 3sg.nf cop pst

Libre ahí corrió hacia allá y vio que ya le arrancaron todas las plumas ya estaba sin plumas

126.1	Mot	"	ái	"	ké	rúmícha	"	méla'jé
	Morphèmes		ái		ké	ru= ímí	-cha	méla'jé
	Glose lex.		uy		like	3sg.f say	pst	indf.manner

o'wé kélé uwaítájetá i'má ?
 o'wé kélé uwa -ĩ tджетá i'ma
 brother.addr med ugly nf very live

Libre ella dijo: "qué va a ser mi hermano ese tan feo?"

126.2	Mot	"	ké	rúmícha	"	nátá	pajá	kélé
	Morphèmes		ké	ru= ímí	-cha	ná tâ	pajá	kélé
	Glose lex.		like	3sg.f say	pst	indf emph1	emph	med

?

Libre quién será ese?

126.3	Mot	unká	o'wé	kalé	"
	Morphèmes	unká	o'wé	kalé	
	Glose lex.	neg	brother.addr	nv.neg	

Libre no es mi hermano

127	Mot	É	kája	romícha	riká	,	ramícha
	Morphèmes	é	kája	ru= amí	-cha	ri= ikhá	ri= amí -cha
	Glose lex.	then	3sg.f see	pst	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf see	pst

ruká	,	é	kája	raki'chá		ka'jná	ruká
ru= ikhá		é	kája	ri= aki' -chá		ka'jná	ru= ikhá
3sg.f pro		then	already	3sg.nf scold pst		dub	3sg.f pro
napura'kó			chú				
na= pura' -ká		=o	chú				
3pl speak ka.nz		mid	in				

Libre y lo miró y él también la miró y la regañó tal vez en idioma de ellos (aka'káje)

128.1 Mot	É	rúmícha		rijló	:	"	ái	"	ké
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		ri= jló			ái		ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		3sg.nf for			uy		like

rúmícha	"	náje		pikátotá		o'wé	nakú
ru= ímí -cha		náje		pi= káta =o tá		o'wé	nakú
3sg.f say pst		indf.reason		2sg play mid emph1		brother.addr	on
?"							

Libre y luego ella dijo ay por qué usted le hace esta jugada a mi hermano? (káta-kajo: jugar)

128.2 Mot	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unká
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha			unká
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst			neg

inau'kélaritá			,	pila'á	méké	penáje	...
inau'ké -la -ri tá				pi= la'á	méké	penáje	
person v.neg nf.nz emph1				2sg do	indf.manner	for	
o'wé	ilé	ké	"	ké	rúmícha		
o'wé	ilé	ké		ké	ru= ímí -cha		
brother.addr	med	like		like	3sg.f say pst		

Libre esto no debe hacerlo a mi hermano

129 Mot	É	romícha	,	"	majó	piwakára'a
Morphèmes	é	ru= amí -cha			majó	pi= wakára'a
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f see pst			prox.toward	2sg order

ri= la'jówa	pa'tákana			phiyúké	"... ké	rúmícha
3sg.nf ornament	return caus ev.nz1			all	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre ella le dijo "mande acá traer todo plumaje de él" (wakára'kaje: mandar; pa'tákaje: devolver)

130 Mot	É	kája	kupira'phána	pa'tíya
Morphèmes	é	kája	kupira'phá -na	pa' -tí -ya
Glose lex.	then	already	bird_gen pl	return caus pst

ri= la'jówa	...	mékéléja	...	unká	riphálácha
3sg.nf ornament		indf.quant	lim	neg	3sg.nf arrive v.neg pst

ri= naku =eje	
3sg.nf on	until

Libre así fue que los pájaros devolvieron muy poquitos arreglos no alcanzaba ponerselos todos

(mékeléja: poquito) (iphákáje: alcanzar, cubrir)

131 Mot	amíchari	riyúphé	i'michá	, manáwire
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	ri= yúphé	i'mi -chá	manáwire
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	3sg.nf wing	cop pst	tip

i'michá , unká jreo'lácho
i'mi -chá unká ri= jero' -lá -cha =o
cop pst neg 3sg.nf pull_out v.neg pst mid

Libre y luego vio (la hna) que en la punta de las alas no le habían sacado las plumas (jero'kájo: arrancarse/ jero'káje: arrancar; yúphé: ala; manáwire: punta)

132.1 Mot	aú	rúmícha	rijló	: " náje
Morphèmes	aú	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló	náje
Glose lex.	because	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for	indf.reason

unká pheo'lácha kháájí ?
unká pi= jero' -lá -cha kháájí
neg 2sg pull_out v.neg pst prox

Libre por esto le dijo a él por qué usted no se lo sacó todo las plumas; vimy:

132.2 Mot	, piwátia	ka'jná	phiyúké	richijné
Morphèmes	pi= wáti -ya	ka'jná	phiyúké	ri= chijné
Glose lex.	2sg want pst	dub	all	3sg.nf hair

jero'kána (wa' -) "
jero' -kána wa'
pull_out ev.nz1 ***

Libre como ud quería quitarle toda sus plumas

133 Mot	" unká "	ké	rímícha	, kája
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	kája
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst	already

watáichajlá riká , jwero'kálojé ,
wa= atáí -cha jlá ri= ikhá wa= jero' -ka lojé
1pl try pst frustr 3sg.nf pro 1pl pull_out ka.adv purp3
kamacháni wáni ri'michá , aú wayurícha
kamachá -ni wáni ri= i'mi -chá aú wa= yurí -cha
firm nf emph 3sg.nf cop pst because 1pl leave pst
riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre y él le respondió no pudimos intentamos de hacerlo pero estaba muy duro por eso lo dejamos

134 Mot	" unká "	ké	rúmícha	" pajma'á
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ru= ímí -cha	pi= ajma'á
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.f say pst	2sg bite

paí	aú	phero'ó	riká	"	ké	rúmícha
pi=	aí	aú	pi= jero'ó	ri=	ikhá	ké ru= ímí -cha
2sg	tooth	with	2sg pull_out	3sg.nf	pro	like 3sg.f say pst

Libre otra vez dijo no muerdalo con los dientes para sacarselos

135 Mot	jé	,	é	rajmi'chátá	riká
Morphèmes	jé		é	ri= ajmi' -chá tâ	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	good		then	3sg.nf bite pst	emph1 3sg.nf pro

jero'kálojé		raí	aú
jero' -ka	lojé	ri=	aí aú
pull_out	ka.adv	purp3	3sg.nf tooth with

Libre entonces dijo bueno y lo mordió para arrancarselo con los dientes

136 Mot	e'yá	rinócha	riká	,	pachákájo	aú
Morphèmes	e'yá	ri= nó -cha	ri= ikhá		pachákájo	aú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf kill pst	3sg.nf pro		abscess	with

... pakakuláyá		iyamá	puítáno
pa= kakulá =yá		iyamá	puítá =no
impers	cheek	abl	two side hab

Libre ahí mismo lo atacó y le puso en las dos mejillas un nacido en cada lado

137 Mot	ká	,	riká	jlapí	ro'chá
Morphèmes	ká		ri= ikhá	jlapí	ru= a'a -chá
Glose lex.	already		3sg.nf pro	night	3sg.f give pst

ro'umaká	,	kája	rupi'chó		rójéna	cháje
ru= a'umaká		kája	ru= pi' -chá =o		ru= éjéna	cháje
3sg.f	clothes	already	3sg.f return pst	mid	3sg.f siblings	at

Libre y luego ella en la noche se puso su ropa y regresó a donde sus hermanos

138 Mot	"	pipa'ó	,	yu'wí	"	ké
Morphèmes		pi= pa' =ó		yu'wí		ké
Glose lex.		2sg return mid		young.sibling.addr		like

rímícha		rojlo	,	"	chúwa	nomájika
ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló			chúwa	nu= amá -jĩ -ka
3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.f for			now	1sg see fut ka.cleft

nupuláa'pe		wániká	riká		kéwáka	,
nu= puláa'pe		wáni ká	ri= ikhá		kéwaka	
1sg	brother_in_law	emph emph?	3sg.nf pro		truth	

kátaro		nunáku
káta -ri =o		nu= náku
play nf.nz	mid	1sg on

Libre entonces le dijo a ella hermana regrese, y después dijo "ahora sí voy a ver si el es mi cuñado verdadero que ha jugado conmigo".

139 Mot	kája	jlapí	rupi'chó	,	kája
Morphèmes	kája	jlapí	ru= pi' -chá =o		kája
Glose lex.	already	night	3sg.f return pst	mid	already

ritaji'chá	ama'jné	pachákájo	nakú
ri= taji' -chá	ama'jné	pachákájo	nakú
3sg.nf die pst	wound	abscess	on

Libre y de noche ella regresó y él murió del nacido que tenía

140 Mot	kája	rikó		ri'michátá
Morphèmes	kája	ri=	iká =ó	ri= i'mi -chá tâ
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf	pro mid	3sg.nf cop pst emph1

Libre después quedó sólo viviendo mucho tiempo

141 Mot	júpi	,	kája	wayú	chi'náikana
Morphèmes	júpi		kája	wa'yú	chi'náikana
Glose lex.	long_time		already	animal_sp	owner

jáo'cho		riñakaré	chájě	rijwa'té
jáo' -cha =o	ri=	ñakaré	cháje	ri= jwa'té
go_out pst mid	3sg.nf	house	at	3sg.nf with

pura'jõ		
pura' je =o		
speak purp.mot mid		

Libre y así que el jefe de los chulos se subió encima de la casa para hablar con él

142 Mot	ripuri'chónó		rijwa'téno
Morphèmes	ri= puri' -chá =o =nó	ri=	jwa'té =nó
Glose lex.	3sg.nf speak pst mid hab	3sg.nf	with hab

Libre hablaba con él

143 Mot	ripuri'chó		rímíchano	rijló
Morphèmes	ri= puri' -chá =o	ri=	ímí -cha =nó	ri= jló
Glose lex.	3sg.nf speak pst mid	3sg.nf	say pst hab	3sg.nf for

" Yewákumi	,	Yewákumi	" ké	rímícha
Yewákumi		Yewákumi	ké	ri= ímí -cha
yewakumi		yewakumi	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre él le hablaba y le decía Yewá'kumi, Yewá'kumi

144 Mot	éta	inau'ké	jema'jĩka	é	,
Morphèmes	éta	inau'ké	jema' -jĩ -ka	é	
Glose lex.	then	person	listen fut ka.nz	in	

Libre la gente van escuchar poque van a decir que murió Yewá'kumi

145 Mot	" kája	ká	Yewákumi	takha'á	"
Morphèmes	kája	ká	Yewákumi	takha'á	
Glose lex.	already	emph?	yewakumi	die	

Libre

146 Mot	" unká	" ké	rímícha	,	" unká
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha		unká
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst		neg

méla'jé	kalé	nutakha'á	"
méla'jé	kalé	nu= takha'á	
indf.manner	nv.neg	1sg	die

Libre entonces dijo no puede ser yo no puedo morir

147 Mot	marí	ké	rímíchanó		rijlóno	,
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha =nó		ri= jló =no	
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst hab		3sg.nf for hab	

ripuri'chóno		rijló
ri= puri' -chá =o =no		ri= jló
3sg.nf speak pst mid hab		3sg.nf for

Libre vimy: así él le decía a él, él le hablaba

148 Mot	ewá	ká	,	pajlúwaka'la	ne'micháno
Morphèmes	ewá	ká		pajlúwá -ka'la	na= i'mi -chá =no
Glose lex.	then	already		one ?nz	3pl cop pst hab

wéji	kéka'la
wéji	ké -ka'la
three	like ?nz

Libre y estuvieron un día y después tres días

149 Mot	pajlúwa	kuwá'ta	kéléka'la	,	kája	júpi
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	kuwá' -ta	kélé -ka'la		kája	júpi
Glose lex.	one	cross caus	med ?nz		already	long_time

ne'michá
na= i'mi -chá
3pl cop pst

Libre hasta seis días tuvieron bastante tiempo (vimy: seis días, duraron tiempo)

150 Mot	é	kája	Yewá'kumitá	kája	tapú
Morphèmes	é	kája	Yewákumi tâ	kája	tapú
Glose lex.	then	already	yewakumi emph1	already	sleep

cháa'chiya	,	rikamátiyo	ka'jné	.
cháa'chi -ya		ri= kamáti -ya =o	ka'jné	
defeat pst		3sg.nf sleep pst mid	dub	

Libre hasta que Yewá'kumi le ganó el sueño, se durmió

151 Mot	kétána	wayú	chi'náikana	witúki'chaka
Morphèmes	kétána	wa'yú	chi'náikana	witúki' -cha -ka
Glose lex.	meanwhile	animal_sp	owner	go_down pst ka.topic

Libre mientras tanto ahí se bajó el jefe de los chulos

152 Mot	iphíchari	amíchari
Morphèmes	iphí -cha -ri	amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	arrive pst nf.ss	see pst nf.ss

rito'chako		mátami	,	kája	rijj'chá
ri= to' -cha -ka =o		mátami		kája	ri= jĩ' -chá
3sg.nf lie pst ka.nz mid		deeply		already	3sg.nf take pst

rijlú , rikawíchatiya rijlú , iyamá
 ri= ijlú ri= kawícha -ti -ya ri= ijlú iyamá
 3sg.nf eye 3sg.nf pull caus pst 3sg.nf eye two

puítáno
 puítá =no
 side hab

Libre y llegó hasta ahí y vió que estaba acostado y profundo ahí mismo le sacó los dos lados del ojo (matámi: bien dormido) (kawíchatakaje : arrancar)

153 Mot kája ri'jíchá , ripi'chó
Morphèmes kája ri= i'jĩ -chá ri= pi' -cha =ó
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf go pst 3sg.nf return pst mid

je'chú chojé
 je'chú chojé
 sky towards_inside

Libre y se regresó al firmamento

154 Mot ká Yewákumitá yuícharo
Morphèmes ká Yewákumi tâ yuí -cha -ri =o
Glose lex. already yewakumi emph1 stay pst nf.cleft mid

mejlurú , unká rijlú i'malácha
 ma- ijlú -rú unká ri= ijlú i'ma -lá -cha
 priv eye sg neg 3sg.nf eye cop v.neg pst

Libre luego Yewá'kumi quedó ciego, sin ojos (vimy: no tenía ojos)

155 Mot unká méke rila'lácha i'michá ,
Morphèmes unká méké ri= la' -lá -cha i'mi -chá
Glose lex. neg indf.manner 3sg.nf do v.neg pst far.pst pst

kája wayú jĩ'chá rijlú
 kája wa'yú jĩ' -chá ri= ijlú
 already animal_sp take pst 3sg.nf eye

Libre él no pudo hacer nada porque el chulo se le llevó los ojos

156 Mot é kája kawayá iphícha ,
Morphèmes é kája kawayá iphí -cha
Glose lex. then deer arrive pst

Libre después llegó un venado

157 Mot kawayá iphíchari ,
Morphèmes kawayá iphí -cha -ri
Glose lex. deer arrive pst nf.cleft

Libre un venado llegó

158 Mot rímíchanó rijló : " Yewákumi ,
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha =nó ri= jló Yewákumi
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst hab 3sg.nf for yewakumi

Yewákumi " ké rímícha , jreño'cháno
 Yewákumi ké ri= ímí -cha ri= jeño' -chá =no
 yewakumi like 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf jump pst hab
 richáya , jreño'cháno richáya .
 ri= cháya ri= jeño' -chá =no ri= cháya
 3sg.nf on 3sg.nf jump pst hab 3sg.nf on

Libre a él le decía "Yewákumi, Yewákumi" brincaba por encima de él (jeño'káje: brincar)

159 Mot kája ewája rímícha " ilé kalé
Morphèmes kája ewája ri= ímí -cha ilé kalé
Glose lex. at last 3sg.nf say pst med emph5

kamejéritá káto nujwa'té " ké rímícha "
 kamejéri tâ káta =o nu= jwa'té ké ri= ímí -cha
 animal emph1 play mid 1sg with like 3sg.nf say pst
 chúwa pamájě "
 chúwa pi= amá -je
 now 2sg see fut

Libre hasta que dijo esta cacería está jugando conmigo ahora sí va a ver

160 Mot kája wája rijĩ'chá jretá ,
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja ri= jĩ' -chá ri= jetá
Glose lex. already emph lim 3sg.nf take pst 3sg.nf hammoc

riká riĩ'chá wená .
 ri= ikhá ri= ĩ' -chá wená
 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf weave pst trap

Libre cogió la hamaca y con eso tejió una trampa (wená: malla, de trampa, falta penáje al final)

161 Mot riká jrepo'chá kélé kawayátá
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ri= jepo' -chá kélé kawayá tâ
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf tie_up pst med deer emph1

jeño'chákanó chojé .
 jeño' -chá -ka =nó chojé
 jump pst obl.nz hab towards_inside

Libre luego lo amarró donde brincaba (jepo'káje: amarrar)

162 Mot kája wája ri'jĩchá píño thúu ké
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja ri= i'jĩ -chá píño thúu ké
Glose lex. already emph lim 3sg.nf go pst again ideo5 like

jretá chojé .
 ri= jetá chojé
 3sg.nf hammoc towards_inside

Libre por fin se fue a su hamaca a costarse (thúu ké: acostarse)

163 Mot é kawayá iphícha píño , ñakéja
Morphèmes é kawayá iphí -cha píño ñaké =ja
Glose lex. then deer arrive pst again dist.simil lim

ká	rímícha		rijló	,	ripuri'chó	
ká	ri= ímí -cha	ri=	jló	ri=	puri' -chá =o	
already	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf	for	3sg.nf	speak pst mid	
rijwa'té	,	jreño'chá		richáya	.	
ri=	jwa'té	ri=	jeño' -chá	ri=	cháya	
3sg.nf	with	3sg.nf	jump pst	3sg.nf	on	

Libre y luego llegó otra vez el venado le decía lo mismo seguía hablándole y brincando por encima a él

164 Mot	é	jri'má		jepo'tíyo		wená
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ji'má	jepo' -tí -ya =o		wená
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	foot	tie_up caus pst mid		trap

rili'cháje		chojé	.
ri=	li' -chaje	chojé	
3sg.nf	do arg.nz2	towards_inside	

Libre hasta que se le enredó las patas en la trampa que hizo (jimá: pié; jepo'tá-kajo: enredarse)

165 Mot	é	kája	Yewákumi	jáo'cho	
Morphèmes	é	kája	Yewákumi	jáo' -cha =o	
Glose lex.	then	already	yewakumi	go_out pst mid	

mejluwa'ká	,	mapéja	ripijíchaka	.
ma- ijlú -wa'ká		mapéja	ri= pijí -cha -ka	
priv eye ?while		normally	3sg.nf touch pst ka.cleft	

Libre así que Yewá'kumi se levantó estando ciego tocando así no más (pijakájé : tâter)

166 Mot	é	ri'katíyá		jriwilátá	
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'ka	-tí -yá	ri= jwilá tâ
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	knock_down	caus pst	3sg.nf hair emph1

a'waná	aú	.
a'waná	aú	
tree	with	

Libre de este modo lo garrotió con un palo (i'katákáje (ri'kachíya) ~ i'kakájé (ri'kichá)

167 Mot	kája	rijí'chá		rijlú	.
Morphèmes	kája	ri=	jí' -chá	ri=	ijlú
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf	take pst	3sg.nf	eye

Libre y le sacó los ojos

168 Mot	riká		ra'chá		rijlú
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ri=	a' -chá	ri= ijlú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	give pst	3sg.nf eye

apumí		chojé	é	ramícha		wejápañáni
i= apumí		chojé	é	ri= amí -cha		wejápa =ñáni
2pl ?replacement		towards_inside	then	3sg.nf see pst		little dim

Libre luego se lo puso en remplazo de sus ojos, el miró un poquitico

169 Mot	riká	aú	kája	Yewákumi	i'jíchá
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	aú	kája	Yewákumi
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	with	emph?	yewakumi

jáo'charo riñakaré chiyá .
 jáo' -cha -ri =o ri= ñakaré chiyá
 go_out pst nf.ss mid 3sg.nf house in.from

Libre de ahí ya Yewákuní se fue salió de la casa

170 Mot	rijlúwa	rijlú	apumí
Morphèmes	ri= jló =wá	ri= ijlú	i= apumí
Glose lex.	3sg.nf for refl	3sg.nf eye	2pl ?replacement

chojé kuláje penáje .
 chojé kulá -je penáje
 towards_inside search purp.mot for

Libre él salió a buscar para él su ojo (apumí chojé: reemplazo)

171 Mot	kája	riyurícho	rikója
Morphèmes	kája	ri= yurí -cha =o	ri= ikhá =o =ja
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf stay pst mid	3sg.nf pro mid lim

Libre así quedó el solito

172 Mot	kája	wayú	chi'náikana	jáo'cho
Morphèmes	kája	wa'yú	chi'náikana	jáo' -cha =o
Glose lex.	already	animal_sp	owner	go_out pst mid

Libre ya abuelo de los chulos subió

173.1 Mot	(iyajá ?)
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre

173.2 Mot	re'weló	i'micháyo
Morphèmes	ri= e'we -ló	i'mi -chá -yo
Glose lex.	3sg.nf brother f	cop pst f.cleft

pi'cháyo kája .
 pi' -chá -yo =o kája
 return pst f.ss mid already

Libre tenía una hermana también regresó

174 Mot	máarejenája	riyukúná	tajícho
Morphèmes	máare ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná	tají -cha =o
Glose lex.	prox.loc until lim	3sg.nf story alien3	finish pst mid

, kája méño'jó , Yewákumi i'jíchá apo'jó ka'jné , ...
 kája méño'jó Yewákumi i'jĩ -chá apo'jó ka'jné
 already indf.toward yewakumi go pst ?other.side dub

ri'jíchá .
 ri= i'jĩ -chá
 3sg.nf go pst

Libre hasta aquí se acaba este cuento quién sabe Yewá'kumi a dónde se fue tal vez se iría para el otro lado.

ycn0042

1 Mot	nu'majé	nujápákae	jwe'chúka'la
Morphèmes	nu= i'ma jé	nu= jápá -kare	jwe'chú -ka'la
Glose lex.	1sg tell fut	1sg work arg.nz1	day ?nz

yukúna ,
yukú -ná
story alien3

Libre yo contaré la historia de mi trabajo en un día

2 Mot	mékéka	wajápáka	weká
Morphèmes	méké -ka	wa= jápá -ka	wa= ikhá
Glose lex.	indf.manner indf.sub	1pl work ka.nz	1pl pro

achiñána .
achiñá -na
man pl

Libre cómo nosotros hombres trabajamos

3 Mot	wajme'tá	lapiyámi	, é	we'jné
Morphèmes	wa= jme'tá	jlapiyámí	é	wa= i'jné
Glose lex.	1pl become_light	morning	then	1pl go

a'pitajé .
a'pita -je
bathe purp.mot

Libre amanecemos en la mañana y nos vamos a bañar

4 Mot	é	kája	wajñá	wa'jnewá	ná	kujnú
Morphèmes	é	kája	wa= ajñá	wa= a'jne =wá	ná	kujnú
Glose lex.	then	already	1pl eat	1pl food refl	indf	cassava

ka'jnó jíña ka'jnó ri'í ka'jnó .
ka'jnó jíña ka'jnó ri= i'í ka'jnó
dub fish dub 3sg.nf meat dub

Libre ahí ya comemos comida como casabe o pescado o carne

5 Mot	éjomi	kája	we'jné	jápáje	.
Morphèmes	éjomi	kája	wa= i'jné	jápá jen	
Glose lex.	then	already	1pl go	work purp.mot	

Libre de ahí ya vamos a trabajar

6 Mot	wajápá	we'jné	waména	e'yajé	.
Morphèmes	wa= jápá	wa= i'jné	wa= ména	e'yajé	
Glose lex.	1pl work	1pl go	1pl cropland	towards	

Libre trabajamos y vamos hacia la chagra

7 Mot	wephá	waména	e'yajé	.
Morphèmes	wa= iphá	wa= ména	e'yajé	
Glose lex.	1pl arrive	1pl cropland	towards	

Libre llegamos a la chagra

8 Mot	é	(wa ---)	wamá	wanáni	nákaje
Morphèmes	é	wa	wa= amá	wa= náni	nákaje
Glose lex.	then	***	1pl see	1pl thing	thing

wejátakare ná páru ...
 wa= ejáta -kare ná páru
 1pl sow arg.nz1 indf plantain

Libre miramos nuestras cosas, algo que sembramos, como plátano

9 Mot	nákaje	, nákaje	, i'makáre	waména	e'yá	.
Morphèmes	nákaje	nákaje	i'ma -káre	wa= ména	e'yá	
Glose lex.	thing	thing	cop arg.nz1	1pl cropland	in	

Libre o algo, lo que hay en la chagra

10 Mot	wamákachú	palá	riká	,
Morphèmes	wa= amá -ka	chú	palá	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	1pl see ka.adv	cond	good	3sg.nf pro

Libre si lo vemos que está bien

11 Mot	é	kája	jwero'ó	jra'piyá	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	wa= jero'ó	ri= ja'pi =eyá	
Glose lex.	then	already	1pl pull_out	3sg.nf under from	

Libre después arrancamos debajo

12 Mot	wajña'á	ka'jnó	kajíru	.
Morphèmes	wa= jña'á	ka'jnó	kajírú	
Glose lex.	1pl take	dub	manioc	

Libre después cogemos yuca

13 Mot	é	kája	wápa'o	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	wa= pa' =o	
Glose lex.	then	already	1pl return mid	

Libre despues regresamos

14 Mot	wephá	wañakaré	chojé	.
Morphèmes	wa= iphá	wa= ñakaré	chojé	
Glose lex.	1pl arrive	1pl house	towards_inside	

Libre nosotros volvemos a la casa

15 Mot	é	wa	---	, we'jné	we'jné	a'pitajé
Morphèmes	é	wa		wa= i'jné	wa= i'jné	a'pita -je
Glose lex.	then	***		1pl go	1pl go	bathe purp.mot

Libre y vamos bañarnos

16 Mot	wephá	piño	.
Morphèmes	wa= iphá	piño	
Glose lex.	1pl arrive	again	

Libre llegamos otra vez

17 Mot	nákaje	wajñá	é	kája	we'jñá
Morphèmes	nákaje	wa= ajñá	é	kája	wa= i'jñá
Glose lex.	thing	1pl eat	then	already	1pl go

jana'jé
 jana' -je
 fish purp.mot

Libre comemos algo y después vamos a pescar

18 Mot	we'jñá	jana'jé	.
Morphèmes	wa= i'jñá	jana' -je	
Glose lex.	1pl go	fish purp.mot	

Libre vamos a pescar

19 Mot	riká	nakú	we'maká	kétána
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	nakú	wa= i'ma -ká	kétána
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	on	1pl cop ka.nz	during

wajúwa'ka
 wa= júwa' -ka
 1pl get_dark ka.cleft

Libre estando en eso atardecemos

20 Mot	é	kája	wapa'ó	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	wa= pa' =ó	
Glose lex.	then	already	1pl return mid	

Libre después regresamos

21 Mot	wapa'ó	piño	wañakaré	chojé	.
Morphèmes	wa= pa' =ó	piño	wa= ñakaré	chojé	
Glose lex.	1pl return mid	again	1pl house	towards_inside	

Libre volvemos otra vez a la casa

22 Mot	kája	lapí	iphá	é	kája	wakamáto
Morphèmes	kája	lapí	iphá	é	kája	wa= kamáta =o
Glose lex.	already	night	arrive	then	already	1pl sleep mid

Libre llega la noche y nosotros dormimos

23 Mot	muní	ké	piño	.
Morphèmes	muní	ké	piño	
Glose lex.	tomorrow	like	again	

Libre la mañana otra vez

24 Mot	kája	ũká	we'jnalá	waména	e'yajé
Morphèmes	kája	unká	wa= i'jna -lá	wa= ména	e'yajé
Glose lex.	already	neg	1pl go v.neg	1pl cropland	towards

we'jná ka'jná jana'jé
 wa= i'jna ka'jná jana' -je
 1pl go dub fish purp.mot

Libre ya no nos vamos a la chagra y vamos a pescar

25 Mot	we'jná	jana'jé	ya'jnáje	,
Morphèmes	wa= i'jna	jana' -je	ya'jné eje	
Glose lex.	1pl go	fish purp.mot	far until	

méño'jóka iná jña'ká jíñana , iná
 méño'jó -ka iná jña' -ka jíña -na iná
 indf.toward indf.sub gnr.pro take obl.nz fish pl gnr.pro
 ajñákáre
 ajña -káre
 eat arg.nz1

Libre vamos a pescar lejos donde que se coge pescao lo que se come

26 Mot	neká	kuláje	we'jná	.
Morphèmes	na= ikhá	kulá jen	wa= i'jna	
Glose lex.	3pl pro	search purp.mot	1pl go	

Libre nosotros vamos a buscar (a los pescaos)

27 Mot	wajña'káchú	é	kája	wapa'ó	.
Morphèmes	wa= jña' -ká	chú	é	kája wa= pa' =ó	
Glose lex.	1pl take ka.adv	cond	then	already 1pl return mid	

Libre si cogemos entonces nos regresamos

28 Mot	wephá	píño	wañakaré	chojé	.
Morphèmes	wa= iphá	píño	wa= ñakaré	chojé	
Glose lex.	1pl arrive	again	1pl house	towards_inside	

Libre llegamos otra vez a la casa

29 Mot	é	kája	jwe'chúka'la	tajno	píño	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	jwe'chú -ka'la	tajná =o	píño	
Glose lex.	then	already	day ?nz	finish mid	again	

Libre ahí otra vez termina el día

30 Mot	é	kája	wephá	píño	lapí	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	wa= iphá	píño	lapí	
Glose lex.	then	already	1pl arrive	again	night	

Libre ahí llegamos otra vez la noche

31 Mot	apú	,	apú	jwe'chúka'la	keño'kó	.
Morphèmes	apú		apú	jwe'chú -ka'la	keño' -ká =o	
Glose lex.	other		other	day ?nz	begin ka.nz mid	

chojě
chojě
towards_inside

Libre otra vez comienza el día

32 Mot	riká	chú	weká	é	kája	we'jné			
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	chú	wa=	ikhá	é	kája	wa=	i'jné
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	in	1pl	pro	then	already	1pl	go

píño jápáje , méño'jó ka'jné , we'jné apú
píño jápá -je méño'jó ka'jné wa= i'jné apú
again work purp.mot indf.toward dub 1pl go other

jápákaje wala'á
jápá -kaje wa= la'á
work ev.nz2 1pl do

Libre en eso estamos, nos vamos otra vez a trabajar, a dónde será, nos vamos a hacer otro trabajo

33 Mot	é	we'jné	ká	,	we'jné	píño	
Morphèmes	é	wa=	i'jné	ká	wa=	i'jné	píño
Glose lex.	then	1pl	go	already	1pl	go	again

waména e'yajé , nákaje , nákaje jña'jé wajló
wa= ména e'yajé nákaje nákaje jña' -je wa= jló
1pl cropland towards thing thing take purp.mot 1pl for

Libre vamos, vamos otra vez a la chagra a coger algo para nosotros

34 Mot	riká	nakú	weká	.	
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	nakú	wa=	ikhá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	on	1pl	pro

Libre en eso estamos

35 Mot	júpi	weká	rináku	.	
Morphèmes	júpi	wa=	ikhá	ri=	náku
Glose lex.	long_time	1pl	pro	3sg.nf	on

Libre demoramos haciendo eso

36 Mot	rějomi	wephá	píño	.	
Morphèmes	ri=	éjomi	wa=	iphá	píño
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	after	1pl	arrive	again

Libre después llegamos otra vez

37 Mot	kája	muní	ké	píño	wala'kálojé			
Morphèmes	kája	muní	ké	píño	wa=	la'	-ká	lojé
Glose lex.	already	tomorrow	like	again	1pl	do	ka.adv	purp3

apú kája nákaje
apú kája nákaje
other already thing

Libre al otro día otra vez para hacer otro trabajo

38 **Mot** rináku weká
Morphèmes ri= náku wa= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf on 1pl pro

Libre en eso estamos

39 **Mot** kája júpi ajíké wajápáka
Morphèmes kája júpi ají ké wa= jápá -ka
Glose lex. already long_time prox like 1pl work ka.cleft

Libre ya de tiempo trabajamos

40 **Mot** wajápáka wajlúwa
Morphèmes wa= jápá -ka wa= jló =wa
Glose lex. 1pl work ka.cleft 1pl for refl

Libre trabajamos para nosotros

41 **Mot** porque riká wajápá
Morphèmes porque ri= ikhá wa= jápá
Glose lex. spa 3sg.nf pro 1pl work

Libre ese trabajamos

42 **Mot** é kája we'jné píño muní ké
Morphèmes é kája wa= i'jné píño muní ké
Glose lex. then already 1pl go again tomorrow like

jápáje
jápá -je
work purp.mot

Libre al otro día vamos otra vez a trabajar

43 **Mot** wajápá wajló
Morphèmes wa= jápá wa= jló
Glose lex. 1pl work 1pl for

Libre trabajamos para nosotros

44 **Mot** mená matha'kána
Morphèmes mená matha' -kána
Glose lex. cropland cut ev.nz1

Libre cortar chagra

45 **Mot** nákaje ejátakana páru
Morphèmes nákaje ejáta -kana páru
Glose lex. thing sow ev.nz1 plantain

Libre sembrar algo, ya sea plátano

46 **Mot** paĩjí wejáta wajló
Morphèmes paĩjí wa= ejáta wa= jló
Glose lex. fruit 1pl sow 1pl for

Libre sembramos fruta para nosotros

47 **Mot** waména e'yá .
Morphèmes wa= ména e'yá
Glose lex. 1pl cropland in

Libre en nuestra chagra

48 **Mot** riká nakú weká , júpi eja'wá ja'pá
Morphèmes ri= iká nakú wa= ikhá júpi eja'wá ja'pá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro on 1pl pro long_time forest pass

wanáku .
wa= náku
1pl on

Libre en eso estamos, el mundo nos espanta

49 **Mot** eyá kája we'jné ramáje
Morphèmes eyá kája wa= i'jné ri= amá je
Glose lex. since_then already 1pl go 3sg.nf see purp.mot

wamákalojé penáje é kája ripháká ,
wa= amá -ka lojé penáje é kája ri= iphá -ka
1pl see ka.adv purp3 for Q already 3sg.nf arrive ka.int
ũká ka'jné
unká ka'jné
neg dub

Libre después nos vamos a mirar si nació o no nació

50 **Mot** riká nakú weká
Morphèmes ri= ikhá nakú wa= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro on 1pl pro

Libre en eso estamos

51 **Mot** riphákáchú kája wamá
Morphèmes ri= iphá -ká chú kája wa= amá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf arrive ka.adv cond already 1pl see

riká é ka'jné palá ripháká ,
ri= ikhá é ka'jné palá ri= iphá -ka
3sg.nf pro Q dub good 3sg.nf arrive ka.int

Libre si vemos que ya nació bien

52 **Mot** jwero'ó jra'piyá
Morphèmes wa= jero'ó ri= ja'pi =eyá
Glose lex. 1pl pull_out 3sg.nf under from

ritamáakolójé .
ri= tamáa -ka =o lojé
3sg.nf spread ka.adv mid purp3

Libre ahí ya comenzamos a deshierbar para él crecer

53 **Mot** ñakéja kája wala'ká kajírú .
Morphèmes ñaké =ja kája wa= la' -ká kajírú
Glose lex. dist.simil lim already 1pl do ka.cleft manioc

Libre igual hacemos con la yuca

54 Mot	we'ká	a'waná	.
Morphèmes	wa= i'ká	a'waná	
Glose lex.	1pl knock_down	tree	

Libre tumbamos palo

55 Mot	eja'wá	jená	iphakáchú	,
Morphèmes	eja'wá	jená	ipha -ká	chú
Glose lex.	forest	hour	arrive ka.adv	cond

Libre cuando ya llega tiempo del mundo

56 Mot	kéchámi	wakára'a	.
Morphèmes	kéchámi	wa= kára'a	
Glose lex.	after	1pl burn	

Libre después lo quemamos

57 Mot	rimakára'kochú	wakára'a	riká
Morphèmes	ri= makára'	-ka =o chú	wa= kára'a ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf dry	ka.adv mid cond	1pl burn 3sg.nf pro

...

Libre si está seco lo quemamos

58 Mot	eja'wá	.
Morphèmes	eja'wá	
Glose lex.	forest	

Libre monte

59 Mot	kéchámi	wejátaka	richojé	,
Morphèmes	kéchámi	wa= ejáta -ka	ri= chojé	
Glose lex.	after	1pl sow ka.topic	3sg.nf towards_inside	

kajíru ,
kajíru
manioc

Libre después sembramos adentro, yuca

60 Mot	ná	páru	ka'jnó	,
Morphèmes	ná	páru	ka'jnó	
Glose lex.	indf	plantain	dub	

Libre o plátano

61 Mot	phiyúkéja	nákaje	ajñákáje	.
Morphèmes	phiyúké =ja	nákaje	ajñá -káje	
Glose lex.	all lim	thing	eat ev.nz2	

Libre todo lo que es de comer

62 Mot	é	kája	...
Morphèmes	é	kája	
Glose lex.	then	already	

Libre ahí

63 Mot	é	wayurí	riká	júpi	.
Morphèmes	é	wa= yurí	ikhá	júpi	
Glose lex.	then	1pl leave	pro	long_time	

Libre lo dejamos un tiempo

64 Mot	ré	we'jné	ramáje		
Morphèmes	ré	wa= i'jné	ri= amá je		
Glose lex.	then	1pl go	3sg.nf see	purp.mot	

wamákalojé é ka'jné ripháka
wa= amá -ka lojé é ka'jné ri= iphá -ka
1pl see ka.adv purp3 Q dub 3sg.nf arrive ka.int

Libre vamos a ver para ver si es que nació

65 Mot	we'jné	ramáje			
Morphèmes	wa= i'jné	ri= amá -je			
Glose lex.	1pl go	3sg.nf see	purp.mot		

ritakha'káchú wapiyákáno wája
ri= takha' -ká chú wa= apiyá -ká =no =wá =ja
3sg.nf die ka.adv cond 1pl change ka.cleft hab emph lim

riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre vamos a ver si no nace o se muere, lo cambiamos

66 Mot	ná	kajíru	ka'jné	ka'chí	ka'jné
Morphèmes	ná	kajírú	ka'jné	ka'chí	ka'jné
Glose lex.	indf	manioc	dub	manioc_plant	dub

takhi'chári
takhi' -chá -ri
die pst nf.cleft

Libre o de pronto se muere la yuca, o el palo de yuca

67 Mot	é	wajña'á	rapumí	chojé	...
Morphèmes	é	wa= jña'á	ri= apumí	chojé	
Glose lex.	then	1pl take	3sg.nf ?replacement	towards_inside	

Libre cogemos en reemplazo

68 Mot	apú	wajé	,
Morphèmes	apú	wajé	
Glose lex.	other	new	

Libre otro nuevo

69 Mot	wejátakalojé		píño	(o)
Morphèmes	wa= ejáta -ka	lojé	píño	o
Glose lex.	1pl sow ka.adv	purp3	again	***

rapumí chojé ...
 ri= apumí chojé
 3sg.nf ?replacement towards_inside

Libre para sembrarlo de nuevo

70 Mot taka'rí
Morphèmes takha' -rí
Glose lex. die nf.nz

Libre lo que se había muerto

71 Mot marí kéja
Morphèmes marí ké =ja
Glose lex. prox like lim

Libre así es

72 Mot réjomi ritamáa'o wajló
Morphèmes ri= éjomi ri= tamáa' =o wa= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf after 3sg.nf spread mid 1pl for

Libre de ahí ya crece para nosotros

73 Mot júpiji iná wayuríka riká
Morphèmes júpiji iná wa= yurí -ka ri= ikhá
Glose lex. long_time gnr.pro 1pl stay ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

é ritamáa'o
 é ri= tamáa' =o
 then 3sg.nf spread mid

Libre un tiempo uno lo deja, ahí crece

74 Mot é kája ritamáa'kochú kája
Morphèmes é kája ri= tamáa' -ka =o chú kája
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf spread ka.adv mid cond already

wajña'á riká wala'á wajlúwa wa'jnewá
 wa= jña'á ri= ikhá wa= la'á wa= jlú =wá wa= a'jne =wá
 1pl take 3sg.nf pro 1pl do 1pl for refl 1pl food refl

wajña'akalojé penáje
 wa= ajña' -ka lojé penáje
 1pl eat ka.adv purp3 for

Libre si ya creció lo sacamos y hacemos comida para nosotros comer

75 Mot kéchámi wala'á píño apú
Morphèmes kéchámi wa= la'á píño apú
Glose lex. after 1pl do again other

ritajnákopiyá , rapúmi chojé
 ri= tajná -ka =o piyá ri= apumí chojé
 3sg.nf finish ka.adv mid purp.neg 3sg.nf ?replacement towards_inside

Libre después hacemos otra vez otro para que no se acabe

76 Mot	riká	tamáa'ro	píño	.
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	tamáa' -ri	=o píño	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	spread nf.cleft	mid	again

Libre ese crece otra vez

77 Mot	eyá	we'kakáre	tajnáro	,
Morphèmes	eyá	wa= i'ka	-káre tajná -ri	=o
Glose lex.	since_then	1pl knock_down	arg.nz1 finish nf.cleft	mid

kája	apú	yoró	rapúmi	chojé	.
kája	apú	yorí =o	ri= apumí	chojé	
already	other	stay mid	3sg.nf ?replacement	towards_inside	

Libre de ahí lo que tumbamos se acaba ahí ya queda otro remplazo

78 Mot	riká	.
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	

Libre

79 Mot	é	kája	...
Morphèmes	é	kája	
Glose lex.	then	already	

Libre después

80 Mot	iná	wátakachú	kajú	ná	mená
Morphèmes	iná	wáta -ka	chú	kajú	ná mená
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	want ka.adv	cond	much	indf cropland

i'maká	iná	jló	,	iná	jápá	.
i'ma -ká	iná	jló	iná	jápá		
cop	ka.nz	gnr.pro	for	gnr.pro	work	

Libre si uno quiere tener muchas chagras, uno trabaja

81 Mot	júpi	...
Morphèmes	júpi	
Glose lex.	long_time	

Libre tiempo

82 Mot	eja'wá	nakú	palá	rimakáa'kolojé
Morphèmes	eja'wá	nakú	palá	ri= makára' -ka =o lojé
Glose lex.	forest	on	good	3sg.nf dry ka.adv mid purp3

penáje	iná	kára'kalojé	riká	.
penáje	iná	kára' -ka	=o lojé	ri= ikhá
for	gnr.pro	burn ka.adv	mid purp3	3sg.nf pro

Libre tener el monte ya tumbao para que pueda secarse bien para uno quemarlo

83 Mot	kéchámi	wejáta	...
Morphèmes	kéchámi	wa= ejáta	
Glose lex.	after	1pl sow	

Libre después sembramos

84 Mot	nákaje	richojé		ipatú	ka'jná	,
Morphèmes	nákaje	ri=	chojé	ipatú	ka'jná	
Glose lex.	thing	3sg.nf	towards_inside	coca	dub	

Libre ya sea coca

85 Mot	pipirí	ka'jnó	paĩjĩ	phiyúkėja	,
Morphèmes	pipirí	ka'jnó	paĩjĩ	phiyúké	=ja
Glose lex.	palm_sp	dub	fruit	all	lim

Libre o chontaduro, todo lo que es fruta

86 Mot	ri'makálojé			ríchu	,	
Morphèmes	ri=	i'ma	-ká	lojé	rí=	chu
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	cop	ka.adv	purp3	3sg.nf	in

Libre para que viva ahí adentro

87 Mot	wajlúwa		penáje	.
Morphèmes	wa=	jlú	=wá	penáje
Glose lex.	1pl	for	refl	for

Libre para nosotros

88 Mot	kája	rináku		wajápá	.
Morphèmes	kája	ri=	náku	wa=	jápá
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf	on	1pl	work

Libre ya en eso trabajamos

89 Mot	júpi	weká	,
Morphèmes	júpi	wa=	ikhá
Glose lex.	long_time	1pl	pro

Libre llevamos tiempo

90 Mot	rinákuja	.	
Morphèmes	ri=	náku	=ja
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	on	lim

Libre en eso

91 Mot	e'yá	...
Morphèmes	e'yá	
Glose lex.	then	

Libre ahí

92 Mot	apú	jápákaje	i'makáchú	,	kája	apú		
Morphèmes	apú	jápá	-kaje	i'ma	-ká	chú	kája	apú
Glose lex.	other	work	ev.nz2	cop	ka.adv	cond	already	other

nakú	píño	wajápá	.
nakú	píño	wa=	jápá
on	again	1pl	work

Libre si hay otro trabajo, ahí ya trabajamos otra vez

93 Mot	kája	we'jná	jana'jé	.
Morphèmes	kája	wa= i'jná	jana' -je	
Glose lex.	already	1pl go	fish purp.mot	

Libre ya nos vamos a pescar

94 Mot	ũkáchú	ná	wajña'lá	,	we'jná	píño
Morphèmes	unká chú	ná	wa= jña' -lá		wa= i'jná	píño
Glose lex.	neg cond	indf	1pl take v.neg		1pl go	again

jana'jé .
jana' -je
fish purp.mot

Libre si no cogemos nada nos toca ir otra vez a pescar

95 Mot	ilé	kéja	.
Morphèmes	ilé	ké =ja	
Glose lex.	med	like lim	

Libre así

96 Mot	kája	e'yá	júpi	...
Morphèmes	kája	e'yá	júpi	
Glose lex.	already	in	long_time	

Libre de ahí uno tiempo

97 Mot	júpi	ri'maká	.
Morphèmes	júpi	ri= i'ma -ká	
Glose lex.	long_time	3sg.nf cop ka.cleft	

Libre ya de tiempo está

98 Mot	éjomi	...
Morphèmes	éjomi	
Glose lex.	after	

Libre después

99 Mot	we'jná	píño	waména	éjó	,
Morphèmes	wa= i'jná	píño	wa= ména	=ejo	
Glose lex.	1pl go	again	1pl cropland	towards	

Libre nos vamos otra vez a la chagra

100 Mot	wanáni	amáje	,	wamákalojé
Morphèmes	wa= náni	amá je		wa= amá -ka lojé
Glose lex.	1pl thing	see purp.mot		1pl see ka.adv purp3

ka'jná	paláni	riká	,	ũká	ka'jná	.
ka'jná	palá -ni	ri= ikhá		unká	ka'jná	
dub	good nf	3sg.nf pro		neg	dub	

Libre a mirar nuestras cosas, para ver si está bien o no

101 Mot	é	wamá	paláni	riká	.
Morphèmes	é	wa= amá	palá -ni	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	1pl see	good nf	3sg.nf pro	

Libre si lo vemos que está bien

102	Mot	é	kája	wayurí	riká	.
	Morphèmes	é	kája	wa= yurí	ri= ikhá	
	Glose lex.	then	already	1pl leave	3sg.nf pro	

Libre ahí ya lo dejamos

103.1	Mot	kája	rináku	wajápá	.
	Morphèmes	kája	ri= náku	wa= jápá	
	Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf on	1pl work	

Libre ya trabajamos eso,

103.2	Mot	ũká	méla'jé	wayuríla	riká	.
	Morphèmes	unká	méla'jé	wa= yurí -la	ri= ikhá	
	Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	1pl leave v.neg	3sg.nf pro	

Libre no podemos dejar a ese

104	Mot	ri'maká	mapéja	.
	Morphèmes	ri= i'ma -ká	mapéja	
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf live ka.insub?	normally	

Libre así no más

105	Mot	rinákuja	weká	.
	Morphèmes	ri= náku =ja	wa= ikhá	
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf on lim	1pl pro	

Libre en eso estamos

106	Mot	éjómi	we'jné	...
	Morphèmes	éjomi	wa= i'jné	
	Glose lex.	after	1pl go	

Libre despues de eso nos vamos

107	Mot	we'jné	píño	,
	Morphèmes	wa= i'jné	píño	
	Glose lex.	1pl go	again	

Libre de nuevo

108	Mot	ja'pájo	kamejérina	nóje	.
	Morphèmes	ja'pá -je =o	kamejérí -na	nó -je	
	Glose lex.	pass purp.mot mid	animal pl	kill purp.mot	

Libre de cacería a matar animales

109	Mot	wenó	kamejéri	,
	Morphèmes	wa= nó	kamejérí	
	Glose lex.	1pl kill	animal	

Libre matamos cacería

110	Mot	wajlúwa	penáje	wajñákalojé	.
	Morphèmes	wa= jló =wa	penáje	wa= ajñá -ka	lojé
	Glose lex.	1pl for refl	for	1pl eat ka.adv	purp3

Libre para nosotros mismos para comer

111	Mot	e'yá ...
	Morphèmes	e'yá
	Glose lex.	then

Libre de ahí

112	Mot	wenó
	Morphèmes	wa= nó
	Glose lex.	1pl kill

Libre matamos

113	Mot	wenócha	kamejérina	riká	(náki)
	Morphèmes	wa= nó -cha	kamejérí -na	ri= ikhá	***
	Glose lex.	1pl kill prs	animal pl	3sg.nf pro	***

we'jné ,
wa= i'jné
1pl go

Libre matamos animal, vamos

114	Mot	(wája --) , (wala'á ---) , (wémá --) ,
	Morphèmes	=wá =ja wa= la'á wa= ímá
	Glose lex.	emph lim 1pl do 1pl say

inauké jló nala'kálojé ,
inau'ké jló na= la' -ká lojé
person for 3pl do ka.adv purp3

Libre vamos a decirle a la gente para hacer

115	Mot	a'waná	ne'kakálojé	penáje	.
	Morphèmes	a'waná na= i'ka	-ká lojé	penáje	
	Glose lex.	tree 3pl	knock_down ka.adv	purp3	for

Libre para ellos tumbar palo

116	Mot	eyá ...
	Morphèmes	eyá
	Glose lex.	since_then

Libre

117	Mot	ũkáchú	ne'jnalá	kája	iná ,	iná
	Morphèmes	unká chú	na= i'jna -lá	kája	iná	iná
	Glose lex.	neg cond	3pl go v.neg	already	gnr.pro	gnr.pro

ikhó iná i'kaká riká .
ikhá =ó iná i'ka -ká ri= ikhá
pro mid gnr.pro knock_down ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre si no va (la gente) ya uno, uno solito lo tumba

118	Mot	marí	ké	wajápáka	.
	Morphèmes	marí	ké	wa= jápá	-ka
	Glose lex.	prox	like	1pl work	ka.cleft

Libre así trabajamos

119	Mot	watajnáta	phiyúké	kélé	...
	Morphèmes	wa= tajnáta	phiyúké	kélé	
	Glose lex.	1pl finish	all	med	

Libre ya terminamos todo ese

120	Mot	wajápáka'la	.
	Morphèmes	wa= jápá	-ka'la
	Glose lex.	1pl work	?nz

Libre nuestro trabajo

121	Mot	é kája	wakulá	jápákaje	ilé	ewá
	Morphèmes	é kája	wa= kulá	jápá -kaje	ilé	=ewá
	Glose lex.	then	1pl search	work ev.nz2	med	then

kariwana jwa'té ,
 kariwa -na jwa'té
 white_person pl with

Libre ahí buscamos trabajo con los blancos por ahí

122	Mot	wajña'kálojé	nákajeñáni	wajlúwa	....
	Morphèmes	wa= jña' -ká lojé	nákaje =ñáni	wa= jlú =wá	
	Glose lex.	1pl take ka.adv purp3	thing dim	1pl for refl	

Libre pa coger alguito para nosotros

123	Mot	wawátakare	,
	Morphèmes	wa= wáta -kare	
	Glose lex.	1pl want arg.nz1	

Libre lo que queremos

124	Mot	riká	.
	Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	

Libre ese

125	Mot	rójomi	kája	wajápáka	éjomi	,
	Morphèmes	ri= éjomi	kája	wa= jápá -ka	éjomi	
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf after	already	1pl work ka.nz	after	

Libre después que ya trabajamos (en lo del blanco)

126	Mot	kája	wajápá	píño	waména	nakú	,
	Morphèmes	kája	wa= jápá	píño	wa= ména	nakú	
	Glose lex.	already	1pl work	again	1pl cropland	on	

Libre ya trabajamos otra vez en la chagra

127 Mot nákaĵe la'kaná nakú , ramáka ,
Morphèmes nákaĵe la' -kaná nakú ri= amá -ka
Glose lex. thing do ev.nz1 on 3sg.nf see ka.when

riliyá jara'kána ,
ri= liyá jara' -kána
3sg.nf from clean ev.nz1

Libre hacer algo, mirando pa limpiarlo

128 Mot kéchami menapá matha'kána ,
Morphèmes kéchámi menapá matha' -kána
Glose lex. after stover cut ev.nz1

Libre y luego rosar rastrojo

129 Mot wala'káloĵé píño apú káĵa ,
Morphèmes wa= la' -ká loĵé píño apú káĵa
Glose lex. 1pl do ka.adv purp3 again other already

Libre para hacer otro otra vez

130 Mot mená penáĵe , ũká chiyó wala'káre
Morphèmes mená penáĵe unká =chiyó wa= la' -káre
Glose lex. cropland for neg before 1pl do arg.nz1

tajnó .
tajná =o
finish mid

Libre para chagra, mientras que no se acabe lo que ya está hecho

ycn0053

1 Mot	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'michá	rí	.
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi	-chá	-rí
Glose lex.	one	person	cop	pst	nf.cleft

Libre había una vez una persona

2 Mot	ũká	ná	najñálácha	aú
Morphèmes	unká	ná	na= ajñá -lá -cha	aú
Glose lex.	neg	indf	3pl eat v.neg	pst because

rímícha nákáje riyajálo jló : " nu'jícháka
 ri= ímí -cha nákaje ri= yajálo jló nu= i'jĩ -chá -ka
 3sg.nf say pst uh 3sg.nf wife for 1sg go pst ka.topic
 wajlúwa ja'pájo ".
 wa= jló =wa ja'pá je =o
 1pl for refl pass purp.mot mid

Libre que no tenía nada de comer entonces él le dijo a la mujer "yo me voy de cacería"

3 Mot	" jé	" ké	rúmíchaka	aú	nákaje	,
Morphèmes	je	ke	ru= ímí -cha -ka	aú	nákaje	
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	with	uh	

Libre bueno, ella le dijo a él

4 Mot	é kája	ké	ri'jícháka	...
Morphèmes	é kája	ke	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka	
Glose lex.	then	like	3sg.nf go pst ka.insub?	

Libre ahí el se fue

5 Mot	ri'jícháká	ya'jnáje	eja'wá	e'yajé	.
Morphèmes	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka	ya'jna eje	eja'wá	e'yajé	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf go pst ka.insub?	far until	forest	towards	

Libre se fue lejos hacia el monte

6 Mot	é	riphícha	, pajlúwa	a'wanámi
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha -cha	pajlúwá	a'wana =mi
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf arrive pst	one	tree nom.pfv

kajúni ri'micháka , ré raphú
 kajú -ni ri= i'mi -chá -ká ri= é ri= aphú
 much nf 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf in 3sg.nf hole

i'michá .
 i'mi -chá
 cop pst

Libre él encontró un tronco grande que tenía huecos

7.1 Mot ré riyakái'cho amíchari kajú
Morphèmes ré ri= yakái' -cha =o amí -cha -ri kajú
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf see pst mid see pst nf.ss much

iñaphí i'micháká , nakaje a'waná aphú chú .
iñaphí i'mi -chá -ká nákaje a'waná aphú chú
bone cop pst ka.nz uh tree hole in

Libre el miró y vio muchos huesos alrededor del hueco del palo, ahí el miró y vio una cría de tigre acostado

7.2 Mot é riyakái'cho amíchari pajlúwa
Morphèmes é ri= yakái' -cha =o amí -cha -ri pajlúwá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf see pst mid see pst nf.ss one

yáwi i'rí to'cháko .
yáwi i'rí to' -chá -ka =o
tiger son lie pst ka.nz mid

Libre

8 Mot ũká richi'ná i'malácha , é
Morphèmes unká ri= chi'ná i'ma -lá -cha é
Glose lex. neg 3sg.nf parents cop v.neg pst then

riphatíya kélé yáwi i'rí , riwái'cha
ri= ipha -tí -ya kélé yáwi i'rí ri= wái' -cha
3sg.nf arrive caus pst med tiger son 3sg.nf call pst
riká .
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre no estaba la mamá, él cogió la cría del tigre y se la llevó

9 Mot é ripi'chó jlaí'chú ,
Morphèmes é ri= pi' -cha =ó jlaí'chú
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf return pst mid afternoon

rinócha kamejérína , riká riyajálo
ri= nó -cha kamejérí -na ri= ikhá ri= yajálo
3sg.nf kill pst animal pl 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf wife
moto'chá .
motho' -chá
cook pst

Libre él regresó por la tarde y mató mucha cacería y la mujer lo cocinó

10 Mot riká nají'cha , é rímí'cha
Morphèmes ri= ikhá na= ají -cha é ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3pl eat pst then 3sg.nf say pst

rojlo , nákaje : " pajlúwa yáwi i'rí nuwái'cha ."
ru= jló nákaje pajlúwá yáwi i'rí nu= wái' -cha
3sg.f for uh one tiger son 1sg call prs

Libre ellos comieron y él le dijo a ella "yo encontré una cría de tigre y lo traje"

11.1 Mot	é	rúmícha	"	mére	riká	?"
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		méré	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		indf.loc	3sg.nf pro	

Libre ella le dijo "dónde está?",

11.2 Mot	"	kháájí	"	"	méke	paláni	wáni	"	ké
Morphèmes		kháájí			méké	palá -ni	wáni		ké
Glose lex.		prox			indf.manner	good nf	emph		like

rúmíchaka

ru= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "aquí" (él dijo), "qué bonito", dijo ella

12 Mot	é	kája	nalamá'cha		riká	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= lamái' -cha		ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	3pl	look_after pst		3sg.nf pro	

Libre ahí ellos lo criaron a él (lamáa'kana: criar)

13 Mot	ewá	kája	phíyu'kecha
Morphèmes	ewá	kája	phíyu'ke -cha
Glose lex.	then	already	old inch

ritawáichako

ri= tawáí -cha -ka =o
3sg.nf grow pst ka.cleft mid

Libre ahí iba creciendo

14 Mot	é	kája	phíyu'ke	ri'micháka		é
Morphèmes	é	kája	phíyu'ke	ri= i'mi -chá -ka		é
Glose lex.	then	already	old	3sg.nf cop pst ka.nz		in

kája

kája

already

Libre cuando ya era grande

15 Mot	rinócha	,	rikeño'chá	pú'juna
Morphèmes	ri= nó -cha		ri= keño' -chá	pú'ju -na
Glose lex.	3sg.nf kill pst		3sg.nf begin pst	rodent_sp pl

nókana rijló

nó -kana ri= jló

kill ev.nz1 3sg.nf for

Libre comenzó a matar tintines para él (su dueño)

16 Mot	réjomi	ké	phichíná	.
Morphèmes	ri= éjomi	ké	phichí -ná	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf after	like	rodent_sp alien3	

Libre después mató guara

17 Mot	kája	kája	kája	phíyu'ke
Morphèmes	kája	kája	kája	phíyu'ke
Glose lex.	already	already	already	old

ri'micháká é kája nákaje ,
ri= i'mi -chá -ká é kája nákaje
3sg.nf cop pst ka.nz in emph? thing

Libre ya cuando estaba adulto

18 Mot	é kája	rijĩ'chá		nákarí	,
Morphèmes	é kája	ri=	jĩ' -chá	nákarí	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	take	pst	uh

Libre él cogió

19 Mot	rinócha		kajrúná	kamejérína	,	je'rúna	.
Morphèmes	ri=	nó -cha	kajrú -ná	kamejérí -na		je'ru -na	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	kill	pst	much	pl	animal	pl

Libre ahí él comenzó a matar cacería grande, puerco

20 Mot	é	ri'jíchá		píño	,	marí	kéka
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jĩ -chá	píño		marí	ké -ka
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go	pst	again	prox	like

rinócha kamejérína , réjomi ri'jíchá kélé
ri= nó -cha kamejérí -na ri= éjomi ri= i'jĩ -chá kélé
3sg.nf kill pst animal pl 3sg.nf after 3sg.nf go pst med
ripirá jwa'té ,
ri= pirá jwa'té
3sg.nf pet with

Libre neyb: él (hombre) se fue otra vez, así él cazaba los animales; luego él se fue con su mascota

21 Mot	kélé	yáwi	i'rí	rilamáí'chaje		jwa'té	,
Morphèmes	kélé	yáwi	i'rí	ri= lamái' -chaje		jwa'té	
Glose lex.	med	tiger	son	3sg.nf	look_after	arg.nz2	with

é rinócha nákaje apiyé ,
é ri= nó -cha nákaje apiyé
then 3sg.nf kill pst uh peccary_sp

Libre él se fue con la cría de tigre que él cuidó, y mató cerrillo con él

22 Mot	kéle	nákaje	,	pajlúwa	nákari	,
Morphèmes	kéle	nákaje		pajlúwá	nákarí	
Glose lex.	med	thing		one	uh	

Libre uno...

23 Mot	é	riphátiya		,	é	ri'jíchá
Morphèmes	é	ri=	iphá -ti -ya		é	ri= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	arrive	caus	pst	then

apú jña'jé , ũkájíchiyó rinóchajlá
 apú jña' -je unká -jĩ =chiyó ri= nó -cha jlá
 other take purp.mot neg fut before 3sg.nf kill pst frust
 riká , richóna kajú riyúrichako
 ri= ikhá ri= chóna kajú ri= yúri -cha -ka =o
 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf fault much 3sg.nf angry pst ka.cleft mid
 richá ,
 ri= chá
 3sg.nf on

Libre el lo trajo, él se fue a buscar otro, casi lo mata a él, y se puso muy bravo (el tigre)

24 Mot ũkájíchiyó rinóchajlá riká ,
Morphèmes unká -jĩ =chiyó ri= nó -cha jlá ri= ikhá
Glose lex. neg fut before 3sg.nf kill pst frust 3sg.nf pro
 raũ rímícha riyajálojló : " chúwa ."
 ri= aũ ri= ímí -cha ri= yajálo jló chúwa
 3sg.nf cause 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf wife for now

Libre casi lo mata a él, entonces le dijo a la mujer "ahora"

25 Mot ri'michá rojló riyukúná nákaí
Morphèmes ri= i'mi -chá ru= jló ri= yukú -ná nákaí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf tell pst 3sg.f for 3sg.nf story alien3 uh
 kajrú nákaí ,
 kajrú nákaí
 much uh

Libre él le contó lo que le había pasado

26 Mot " ũkájíchiyó nupirá nóchajlá nuká "
Morphèmes ũkájíchiyó nu= pirá nó -cha jlá nu= ikhá
Glose lex. almost 1sg pet kill pst frust 1sg pro
 ke rímíchaka rojló " rijwánapa chóna ,
 ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló ri= jwánapa chóna
 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for 3sg.nf food fault
 kajú rimejñátiyaka riká . "
 kajú ri= mejñáti -ya -ka ri= ikhá
 much 3sg.nf protect pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre "casi me mata mi mascota" le dijo a ella, por la cacería de él, él (tigre) lo mezquinó (su cacería)

27 Mot " jé " ké rúmíchaka .
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "bueno", le dijo ella

28 Mot é najícha apiyá rinóchaje
Morphèmes é na= ají -cha apiyá ri= nó -chaje
Glose lex. then 3pl eat pst peccary_sp 3sg.nf kill arg.nz2

rijwa'té
 ri= jwa'té
 3sg.nf with

Libre ellos comieron cerrillo que él había matado con él (tigre)

29 Mot kája wája ritajíchako
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja ri= tají -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. already emph lim 3sg.nf finish pst ka.when mid

Libre ya cuando terminó

30 Mot najñátiyaka phiyúké ... é nákai ...
Morphèmes na= ajñá -ti -ya -ka phiyúké é nákai
Glose lex. 3pl eat caus pst ka.when all then uh

é nákei ... rijwánapa i'micháká
 é nákei ri= jwánapa i'mi -chá -ka
 then uh 3sg.nf food far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre acabaron de comer todo la cacería de él

31 Mot é rímícha nákai é rímícha
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha nákai é ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst uh then 3sg.nf say pst

rojló : " chúwatá nu'jíchá píño nóje ."
 ru= jló chúwa tâ nu= i'jĩ -chá píño nó -je
 3sg.f for now emph1 1sg go prs again kill purp.mot

Libre entonces él le dijo a ella, ahora me voy otra vez a matar

32 Mot " nu'jíchá nupirá jwa'té , puwa'ká
Morphèmes nu= i'jĩ -chá nu= pirá jwa'té puwa'ká
Glose lex. 1sg go prs 1sg pet with if

ũkájĩkalé , puwa'ká ũkájĩkalé nuphá
 unká -jĩ -ka é puwa'ká unká -jĩ -ka é nu= iphá
 neg fut ka.adv cond2 if neg fut ka.adv cond2 1sg arrive

, puwa'ká méké ri'majĩkalé , iyamá
 puwa'ká méké ri= i'ma -jĩ -ka é iyamá
 if indf.manner 3sg.nf tell fut ka.adv cond2 two

chojĩchámi kamú i'majĩkaé nupháje
 chojĩ -chá =mi kamú i'ma -jĩ -ka é nu= iphá -je
 towards_inside pst pfv sun tell fut ka.nz in 1sg arrive purp.mot

Libre yo me voy con mi mascota, si acaso no llego, vimy: si no pasa nada yo llego a las dos de la tarde (lit. cuando va ser las dos de la tarde yo llego).

33 Mot ũkájĩkaé nuphá é pímáje :
Morphèmes unká -jĩ -ka é nu= iphá é pi= ímá -je
Glose lex. neg fut ka.adv cond2 1sg arrive then 2sg say fut

" kája , kája ripirá nócha riká ".
 kája kája ri= pirá nó -cha ri= ikhá
 already already 3sg.nf pet kill pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre si no llego entonces usted va a decir "ya la mascota de él lo mató"

34 Mot ké ná kai ke rúmíchaka riyajálo
Morphèmes ké ná kai ké ri= í mí -cha -ka ri= yajálo
Glose lex. like uh like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf wife

jló .
 jló
 for

Libre así le dijo a la mujer

35 Mot " jé " ke rúmíchaka , kája ikája
Morphèmes jé ké ru= í mí -cha -ka kája ikája
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft at_that_time

ne'jícháká ripirá jwa'té .
 na= i'jĩ -chá -ka ri= pirá jwa'té
 3pl go pst ka.topic 3sg.nf pet with

Libre bueno le dijo ella, ahí se fueron con su mascota

36 Mot é kája iphíchari , kája kamú iyamá
Morphèmes é kája iphí -cha -ri kája kamú iyamá
Glose lex. then arrive pst nf.cleft already sun two

chojé kamú to'cháko , ũká ná
 chojé kamú to' -chá -ka =o unká ná
 towards_inside sun lie pst ka.when mid neg indf

iphálácha .
 iphá -lá -cha
 arrive v.neg pst

Libre ya llegó (la hora indicada), cuando eran las dos de la tarde cuando el sol ya se acostó, nada que llegaba

37 Mot é rúmícha " méke chávani ,
Morphèmes é ru= í mí -cha méké cháva -ni
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst indf.manner pity nf

kája ripirá nócha ná kai phara'pá " ké
 kája ri= pirá nó -cha ná kai pi= jara'pá ké
 already 3sg.nf pet kill pst uh 2sg father.ref like

rúmíchaka yuwají jló , " pá ũká
 ru= í mí -cha -ka yuwa -ji jló pá unká
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft unripe nf for look_out neg

riphálá "
 ri= iphá -lá
 3sg.nf arrive v.neg

Libre "qué lástima que la mascota ya mató a tú papá" le dijo ella al niño, por eso es que él no llega

38 Mot	kamu'júni	jo'ó	yuwají	i'micháka	,
Morphèmes	kamu'jú -ni	=jo'ó	yuwa -ji	i'mi -chá -ka	
Glose lex.	small nf	still	unripe nf	cop pst ka.cleft	

ri'rí
 ri= i'rí
 3sg.nf son

Libre el niño era pequeño todavía

39 Mot	é	wéji	kéle	chú	kamú	jená	i'micháká
Morphèmes	é	wéji	kéle	chú	kamú	jená	i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	then	three	med	in	sun	hour	cop pst ka.nz

é jromi'chá kée yáwítá waícha majó
 é ru= jemi' -chá kée yáwi tâ waícha majó
 in 3sg.f listen pst med tiger emph1 return prox.toward
 ri'yáko " jí , jí , jí "
 ri= iyá -ka =o jí jí jí
 3sg.nf cry ka.nz mid ideo13 ideo13 ideo13

Libre a las tres de la tarde ella escuchó que venía el tigre aullando "ji ji"

40 Mot	kajú	riícha	...
Morphèmes	kajú	ri= iyá -cha	
Glose lex.	much	3sg.nf cry pst	

Libre aulló demasiado

41 Mot	é	júpichami	romícha	rikátá	,
Morphèmes	é	júpichami	ru= amí -cha	ri= ikhá tâ	
Glose lex.	then	long_time	3sg.f see pst	3sg.nf pro emph1	

riphícha
 ri= ipha -cha
 3sg.nf arrive pst

Libre después ella lo vio que él venía

42 Mot	kája	ritóka'ro	na'chá	leyuná
Morphèmes	kája	ri= tóka'ro	na= a' -chá	leyuná
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf blanket	3pl give pst	pot

i'michárí
 i'mi -chá -rí
 cop pst nf.cleft

Libre ellos le dieron nido de él dentro de leyuná

43 Mot	riká	chojé	riphícha
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chojé	ri= ipha -cha
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	towards_inside	3sg.nf arrive pst

Libre ahí él llegó

44 Mot	pu'khúja	riphíchatá
Morphèmes	pu'khú =ja	ri= iphí -cha tá
Glose lex.	straight lim	3sg.nf arrive pst emph1

kamátajo richojé
 kamáta je =o ri= chojé
 sleep purp.mot mid 3sg.nf towards_inside

Libre derecho él llegó a dormir

45 Mot é ru'jĩchá júpichami yaká'jo
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá júpichami yakáa' -je =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst long_time see purp.mot mid

rujme'tiya rinúmatá , jú , amíchari
 ru= jme'tí -ya ri= núma tá jú amí -cha -ri
 3sg.f become_light pst 3sg.nf mouth emph1 jum see pst nf.ss

kajú riwilámí i'micháká kélé
 kajú ri= jwilá =mi i'mi -chá -ká kélé
 much 3sg.nf hair nom.pfv cop pst ka.nz med

raítá jiwámí chú
 ri= a'í tá jiwá =mi chú
 3sg.nf tooth emph1 space nom.pfv in

Libre al rato ella fue a mirar, ella le abrió la boca, y ella miró en medio del espacio del diente había muchos cabellos (yakáa'kajo: a mirar)

46 Mot é manumarú kéja rujĩ'cháka
Morphèmes é ma- numa -rú ké =ja ru= jĩ' -chá -ka
Glose lex. then priv mouth sg like lim 3sg.f take pst ka.cleft

kélé ná kai ru'rí
 kélé ná kai ru= i'rí
 med uh 3sg.f son

Libre callaíto ella cogió su hijo

47 Mot ruwái'cha riká ajĩké , ná kai ,
Morphèmes ru= wái' -cha ri= ikhá ajĩ ké ná kai
Glose lex. 3sg.f call pst 3sg.nf pro prox like uh

ichilá rujĩ'chá rujwa'té , riká chojé
 ichilá ru= jĩ' -chá ru= jwa'té ri= ikhá chojé
 small_pot 3sg.f take pst 3sg.f with 3sg.nf pro towards_inside

ruyáa'tiya riká
 ru= yáa' -ti -ya ri= ikhá
 3sg.f sit caus pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre ella lo llevó, ella llevó olla de barro con ella; en ese ella lo colocó (ichilá: olla de barro; ru-yáa'tiya: sentar a alguien, wáa'kaje: cargar; homon. wáa'kaje:llamar)

48 Mot é nako'chó ajĩ ké , ná ke
Morphèmes é na= ako' -chá =o ajĩ ké ná ke
Glose lex. then 3pl pour pst mid prox like uh

najne'ré i'michá rí (inaána ná ke , mata'ápu ru ---)
 na= jne'ré i'mi -chá -rí inaána ná ke ***
 3pl port cop pst nf.cleft woman uh ***

chi'táje ina'thána i'micháká , riká jakojé
 chi'táje ina'thána i'mi -chá -ká ri= ikhá jakú =eje
 wide port cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro inside until

na'pitiyá i'micháká , riká
 na= a'piti -yá i'mi -chá -ka ri= ikhá
 3pl bathe pst far.pst pst ka.pst 3sg.nf pro

ruyá'tiyaka ru'rí kélé nákarí chojé ,
 ru= yáa' -ti -ya -ka ru= i'rí kélé nákarí chojé
 3sg.f sit caus pst ka.insub? 3sg.f son med uh towards_inside

Libre vimy: ahí se bajaron hacia abajo, la quebrada de ellos era quebradón ancho, en ese ellos se bañaban; ahí ella dejó al niño dentro de ese

49 Mot ichilá chojé , ríchu
Morphèmes ichilá chojé rí= chu
Glose lex. small_pot towards_inside 3sg.nf in

ruwitúka'tiya , ajíké ya'jnáje kawákájo
 ru= witúka' -ti -ya ají ké ya'jna eje kawáká =ejo
 3sg.f go_down caus pst prox like far until low towards

jróo'cho .
 ru= jáo' -cha =o
 3sg.f go_out pst mid

Libre en la olla de barro, ella bajó lejos; de ahí salió (jácho'kajo: salir; kawákájo: hacia abajo, kawáká+éjo)

50 Mot rumachi'yá ají ké kélé náke ruká'na
Morphèmes ru= machi' -ya ají ké kélé náke ru= iká'na
Glose lex. 3sg.f cut pst prox like med uh 3sg.f family

loko'páni ruícho .
 loko'páni ru= í -cha =o
 side 3sg.f scape pst mid

Libre ella cortó donde la familia

51 Mot é ru'jíchá .
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst

Libre ella se fue

52 Mot é ruícho é ruphá ja ,
Morphèmes é ru= í -cha =o é ru= iphá =ja
Glose lex. then 3sg.f scape pst mid then 3sg.f arrive lim

las mékéchami pa'ú kélé chú kamú jená i'maká
 las mékéchami pa'ú kélé chú kamú jená i'ma -ka
 spa indf.temp four med in sun hour cop ka.cleft

Libre y ella se voló, llegó allá, a qué horas será, a las 4 de la tarde (mékéchami: ; vimy: falta ka'jna después de mékéchami)

53 Mot	é	ruphákicho				je'rúna	eja'wá	
Morphèmes	é	ru=	iphá	-ki	-cha	=o	je'rú -na	eja'wá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	arrive	ass	pst	mid	pig pl	forest
e'yajéna	jwa'té	,	kajurúná	wáni	ne'micháká			
e'yajé	-na	jwa'té	kajú	-runa	wáni	na=	i'mi -chá -ká	
towards	pl	with	much	pl	emph	3pl	go pst ka.cleft	
ũká	méla'jé	jro'pálacha			nanakojé		, yuriná	
unká	méla'jé	ru=	ja'pá	-la	-cha	na=	nakú =eje yuri -ná	
neg	indf.manner	3sg.f	pass	v.neg	pst	3pl	on until angry pl	
wáni	ne'micháká							
wáni	na=	i'mi	-chá	-ká				
emph	3pl	go	pst	ka.cleft				

Libre ella se encontró con una manada de puerco, ella no podía pasar porque eran muy bravos (iphákakajo: encontrarse)

54 Mot	aũ	nayái'cho				ré	, kétána
Morphèmes	aũ	na=	yái'	-cha	=o	ri=	é kétána
Glose lex.	because	3pl	sit	pst	mid	3sg.nf	in meanwhile
ka'jné	kélé	yáwi	tá	apúcha		,	é
ka'jné	kélé	yáwi	tâ	apú	-cha		é
dub	med	tiger	emph1	wake_up	pst		then
rijĩ'chótá				nanáku			.
ri=	jĩ'	-chá	=o	tá	na=	náku	
3sg.nf	take	pst	mid	emph1	3pl	on	

Libre ahí ellos se sentaron, mientras el tigre se levantó, y les siguió a ellos (jña'kájó pr-Naku: perseguir)

55 Mot	é	kája	pa'ú	kélé	nákarí	...
Morphèmes	é	kája	pa'ú	kélé	nákarí	
Glose lex.	then	four	four	med	uh	

Libre las cuatro este...

56 Mot	é	júpichami	kélé	"	méke		
Morphèmes	é	júpichami	kélé		méké		
Glose lex.	then	long_time	med		indf.manner		
wala'lájĩka			"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	
wa=	la'	-lá	-jĩ	-ka	ké	ru=	ímí -cha -ka
1pl	do	hort?	fut	ka.cleft	like	3sg.f	say pst ka.cleft
ruyái'chako				kélé	ru'rí		kamu'júnikela
ru=	yái'	-cha	-ka	=o	kélé	ru=	i'rí kamu'jú -ni -kela
3sg.f	sit	pst	ka.insub?	mid	med	3sg.f	son small nf ***
jwa'té							.
jwa'té							
with							

Libre y ella dijo "ahora qué vamos a hacer", ella se sentó con ese hijo pequeño (yáa'kájó: sentarse)

57 Mot	iyákáje	nakú	ruyái'cho			
Morphèmes	iyá -káje	nakú	ru= yái'	-cha	=o	
Glose lex.	cry ev.nz2	on	3sg.f sit	pst	mid	

Libre ella se sentó a llorar (laym: ella se sentó llorando)

58 Mot	eyá	jromi'chá		kélé	nákarí	mejéji
Morphèmes	eyá	ru= jemi'	-chá	kélé	nákarí	mejé -ji
Glose lex.	since_then	3sg.f listen	pst	med	uh	sound unposs

waíchaka majó
 waícha -ka majó
 return ka.nz prox.toward

Libre de ahí ella escuchó el ruido que venía hacia acá

59 Mot	é	romícha		amíchari		pajlúwa	inau'ké
Morphèmes	é	ru= amí	-cha	amí -cha	-ri	pajlúwá	inau'ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f see	pst	see pst	nf.ss	one	person

Libre y ella miró una persona

60 Mot	iphíchari		runáku		réjé	
Morphèmes	iphí -cha	-ri	ru= náku		ri= eje	
Glose lex.	arrive pst	nf.ss	3sg.f on		3sg.nf until	

Libre y llegó donde ella

61 Mot	é	rímícha		rojló		" ná	pila'á	?"
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí	-cha	ru= jló		ná	pi= la'á	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst	3sg.f for		indf	2sg do	

Libre él le dijo a ella "qué usted hace"

62.1 Mot	rímícha		rojló		" piká	chí	kélé
Morphèmes	ri= ímí	-cha	ru= jló		pi= ikhá	chí	kélé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say	pst	3sg.f for		2sg pro	emph3	med

ripirá ajñákáre yajálomi nemakáre nakú ?"
 ri= pirá ajñá -káre yajálo =mi na= ima -káre nakú
 3sg.nf pet eat arg.nz1 wife nom.pfv 3pl say arg.nz1 on

Libre él le dijo "ud. es la mujer de ese que mascota que mató a su esposo"

62.2 Mot	, " á'a	, nukhá		" ké	rúmíchaka	
Morphèmes	á'a	nu= ikhá		ké	ru= ímí -cha	-ka
Glose lex.	yes	1sg pro		like	3sg.f say	pst ka.cleft

Libre

63 Mot	" weká	ñáo		majó	" ,
Morphèmes	wa= ikhá	ña =ó		majó	
Glose lex.	1pl pro	scape mid		prox.toward	

ru'michá rijló riyukúná , aú
 ru= i'mi -chá ri= jló ri= yukú -ná aú
 3sg.f tell pst 3sg.nf for 3sg.nf story alien3 because

rímícha		rojlo	:	"	maaré	pi'má	"	ké		
ri=	ímí -cha	ru=	jló		maaré	pi=	i'má	ké		
3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.f	for		prox.loc	2sg	cop	like		
rímícha		,	"	nonóchachí	kélé	náke	,	pi'rí	jló	
ri=	ímí -cha		no=	nó -cha -chí	kélé	náke		pi=	i'rí	jló
3sg.nf	say pst		1sg	kill pst hort	med	uh		2sg	son	for
náke	,	je'rúna	nakiyá	rajñáchí						
náke	je'rú -na	nakú	=eyá	ri=	ajñá -chí					
uh	pig pl	on	from	3sg.nf	eat	purp2				

Libre "nosotros nos volamos para acá" le contó lo sucedido, "quédate aquí no más, yo me voy a matar uno de esos puercos para tu hijo para que él coma"

64 Mot	rúmícha	"	kajúni	wáni	kélé	yáwítá		
Morphèmes	ru=	ímí -cha	kajú -ni	wáni	kélé	yáwi tâ		
Glose lex.	3sg.f	say pst	much nf	emph	med	tiger emph1		
,	"	ũká	"	ké	rímícha	"	pikero'níño	,
	unká	ké	ri=	ímí -cha	pi=	keró' -níña	=o	
	neg	like	3sg.nf	say pst	2sg	be_scared	proh	mid
maaré	nuká	pijwa'té	";	"	jé	"		
maaré	nu=	ikhá	pi=	jwa'té	jé			
prox.loc	1sg	pro	2sg	with	good			

Libre "ese tigre es muy grande" "no tenga miedo yo estoy acá con usted", "bueno" (kero'kájó: tener miedo)

65 Mot	é	ri'michá	rinócha	kélé	náke		
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'mi -chá	ri=	nó -cha	kélé	náke
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go pst	3sg.nf	kill pst	med	uh
je'rúna	nakiyáná	.					
je'rú -na	nakiyá -ná						
pig pl	among	?					

Libre y él se fue mató uno de esos puercos

66 Mot	riká	rímícha	nakú	rojlo	"	chúwa		
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ri=	ímí -cha	nakú	ru=	jló	chúwa
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	say pst	on	3sg.f	for	now
pimotho'ó	kháájí	"	,	rotáichajlá	romotho'ká	,		
pi=	moto'ó	kháájí		ru=	atáí -cha	jlá	ru=	motho' -ká
2sg	cook	prox		3sg.f	try pst	frust	3sg.f	cook ka.nz
aúkajé	náke	,	ũká	méla'jé	,	ũká	i'rajú	kájé
aúkajé	náke		unká	méla'jé		unká	i'rajú	kájé
i_mean?	uh		neg	indf.manner		neg	knife	type
i'malácha		,	ũká	ri'makhé		riwakajé		
i'ma -lá -cha			unká	ri=	i'ma -khé	ri=	wakajé	
cop v.neg	pst		neg	3sg.nf	cop far.pst	3sg.nf	date	

Libre él habló sobre eso a ella "ahora cocine este", ella intentó cocinar, pero no podía, no había cuchillo en ese tiempo

67 Mot	é	ri'jǐchá		rucháje		yaká'jo		
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jǐ -chá	ru=	cháje	yakáa' -je	=o	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go pst	3sg.f	at	see	purp.mot	mid

amári ũká méké rula'lácha , é
 amá -ri unká méké ru= la' -lá -cha é
 see nf.ss neg indf.manner 3sg.f do v.neg pst then

rijǐchá kiñája rijupá aú riwaphi'chá
 ri= jǐ' -chá kiñája ri= jupá aú ri= waphi' -chá
 3sg.nf take pst quickly 3sg.nf nail with 3sg.nf tear pst

rimaja'chíya kiñája kélé je'rúna .
 ri= maja'chí -ya kiñája kélé je'rú -na
 3sg.nf tear pst quickly med pig pl

Libre el se fue a mirar donde ella, miró que ella no hizo nada, él cogio rapidito con la uña, lo abrió y despedazó a ese puerco (rijupá: uña; wapha'káje: rajar: maja'tákaje ~ matha'tákaje: despedazar)

68 Mot	é	rimotho'chá		neká		kajrú	, é
Morphèmes	é	ri=	motho' -chá	na=	ikhá	kajrú	é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	cook pst	3pl	pro	much	then

rímícha rojló : " chúwatá pajñá
 ri= ímí -cha ru= jló chúwa tâ pi= ajñá
 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for now emph1 2sg eat

pa'jnewá " , ũká , wejápañani rojǐchaka
 pi= a'jne =wá unká wejápa =ñáni ru= ajǐ -cha -ka
 2sg food refl neg little dim 3sg.f eat pst ka.cleft

Libre él cocinó mucho ellos, él le dijo a ella "ahora sí coma", no, poquitico ella comió

69 Mot	é	rímícha		rojló	"	méke	cháapú
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	ru=	jló	méke	cháapú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.f	for	indf.manner	badly

wani pila'ká kélé , ũká wáni pajñálá kélé "
 wáni pi= la' -ká kélé unká wáni pi= ajñá -lá kélé
 emph 2sg do ka.cleft med neg emph 2sg eat v.neg med

ké rímícha .
 ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre ahí él le dijo "qué pesar que usted hace ese, usted no come"

70 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	rímíchaka	rojló	, "
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	ru= jló	
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	3sg.f for	

chúwatá nukamáchiyako , puwa'ká yéwícha
 chúwa tâ nu= kamáchi -ya -ka =o puwa'ká yéwícha
 now emph1 1sg sleep prs ka.cleft mid if almost

yáwi iphájika nunáku , é papótaje
 yáwi iphá -jǐ -ka nu= náku é pi= apó -ta -je
 tiger arrive fut ka.when 1sg on then 2sg wake_up caus fut

nuká ."
 nu= ikhá
 1sg pro

Libre "bueno ahora sí voy a dormir, cuando ya casi el tigre va a llegar donde mi, ahí usted me levanta". (puwa'ká: if, yéwícha: cerca)

71 Mot é júpichami , méké , jlapichámí waícha
Morphèmes é júpichami méké jlapichámí waícha
Glose lex. then long_time indf.manner morning return

yáwítá majǒ , kajú riíchaka .
 yáwi tâ majǒ kajú ri= íí -cha -ka
 tiger emph1 prox.toward much 3sg.nf cry pst ka.cleft

Libre y después más tarde de noche venía el tigre venía llorando demasiado (méké: hesitation)

72 Mot é ropótiyajlá riká , ũká
Morphèmes é ru= apó -ti -ya jlá ri= ikhá unká
Glose lex. then 3sg.f wake_up caus pst frustr 3sg.nf pro neg

rapúlacha , yéwícha riphíchaka é
 ri= apú -la -cha yéwícha ri= iphí -cha -ka é
 3sg.nf wake_up v.neg pst almost 3sg.nf arrive pst ka.adv in

rapúcha , é ri'jíchá kélé yáwítá
 ri= apú -cha é ri= i'jī -chá kélé yáwi tâ
 3sg.nf wake_up pst then 3sg.nf go pst med tiger emph1

nóje
 nó -je
 kill purp.mot

Libre ella intentó despertarlo, y no se despertaba, cuando el tigre ya estaba cerca ahí él se desperto y se fue a matar ese tigre

73 Mot é ri'jíchá yáwítá wátaje
Morphèmes é ri= i'jī -chá yáwi tâ wáta -je
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst tiger emph1 wait purp.mot

a'jnárejé
 a'jnáré =eje
 dist.loc until

Libre él se fue a esperar al tigre hasta un lugar

74 Mot é riphícha , rinócha ,
Morphèmes é ri= ipha -cha ri= nó -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive pst 3sg.nf kill pst

richuwája rinócha riká , é rímícha
 richuwája ri= nó -cha ri= ikhá é ri= ímí -cha
 immediately 3sg.nf kill pst 3sg.nf pro then 3sg.nf say pst

rojló " ũká yáwi kalé wajló kháājí , jirítá
 ru= jló unká yáwi kalé wa= jló kháājí jirí tâ
 3sg.f for neg tiger nv.neg 1pl for prox mouse emph1

kháãjĩ wajló " ké rímíchaka ,
 kháãjĩ wa= jló ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 prox 1pl for like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft
 rímíchaka rojló .
 ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

Libre él llegó y de una lo mató, ahí él le dijo a ella "éste no es tigre para nosotros, para nosotros este es ratón" le dijo

75 Mot " jé " ké , é jname'tíya
Morphèmes jé ké é na= jme'tí -ya
Glose lex. good like then 3pl become_light pst

muní ké jlapiyámí , kajú rukero'cháko jwa'té
 muní ké lapiyámí kajú ru= kero' -chá -ka =o jwa'té
 next_day morning much 3sg.f be_scared pst ka.nz mid with
 náke najme'chíya
 náke na= jme'chí -ya
 uh 3pl become_light pst

Libre "bueno", amanecieron por la mañana, con miedo mismo amanecieron

76 Mot é muní ké jlapiyámí rímícha rojló :
Morphèmes é muní ké lapiyámí ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
Glose lex. then next_day morning 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

" chúwatá ...
 chúwa tâ
 now emph1

Libre al otro día bien por la mañanita él le dijo "ahora sí"

77.1 Mot ilé kamejérí nonókare pi'rí jló ."
Morphèmes ilé kamejérí no= nó -kare pi= i'rí jló
Glose lex. med animal 1sg kill arg.nz1 2sg son for

Libre ahí está cacería que yo maté para su hijo, hay que decir... (vimy + laym: last part v. confusing)

77.2 Mot (éko pijña'á , éko pímícha ...)
Morphèmes éko pi= jña'á éko pi= ímí -cha
Glose lex. pol.imp 2sg take pol.imp 2sg say prs

Libre

78 Mot é jlapí ra'michíyá kélé
Morphèmes é jlapí ri= a'michí -yá kélé
Glose lex. then night 3sg.nf smoke pst med

rinóchajena kamejérína kélé yuwají jló ,
 ri= nó -chaje -na kamejérí -na kélé yuwa -ji jló
 3sg.nf kill arg.nz2 pl animal pl med unripe nf for

majnúrimi jló .
 majnúrimi jló
 orphan for

Libre de noche moqueó esas cacerías que él mató pa ese niño para el huerfanito

79 Mot é kája jlapiyámí kája rímícha rojló "
Morphèmes é kája lapiyámí kája ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
Glose lex. then morning already 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

chúwatá jno'píchaka "
 chúwa tâ nu= ja'pí -cha -ka
 now emph1 1sg pass prs ka.cleft

Libre por la mañana él le dijo "ahora sí voy pasando"

80 Mot aú kélé yuwajíke'la íchari ,
Morphèmes aú kélé yuwa -ji -ke'la iyá -cha -ri
Glose lex. because med unripe nf ?def cry pst nf.cleft

kajú ru'rí íchaka .
 kajú ru= i'rí iyá -cha -ka
 much 3sg.f son cry pst ka.cleft

Libre mucho lloró el niño (-ke'la: definite marker, ese de ahí)

81.1 Mot rímícha rojló nákei , rímícha
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha ru= jló nákei ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for uh 3sg.nf say pst

rojló : " náje chí riyá kéelé ?
 ru= jló náje chí ri= iyá kéelé
 3sg.f for indf.reason emph3 3sg.nf cry med

Libre él le dijo "por qué está llorando ese", "él quiere que nos vayamos con usted"

81.2 Mot " ... " riwáta we'jnaká pijwa'té "
Morphèmes ri= wáta wa= i'jna -ka pi= jwa'té
Glose lex. 3sg.nf want 1pl go ka.nz 2sg with

Libre

82 Mot aú rímícha rojló " ũká náje
Morphèmes aú ri= ímí -cha ru= jló unká náje
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for neg indf.reason

kalé pi'jné nujwa'té , ũká nu'malá
 kalé pi= i'jné nu= jwa'té unká nu= i'ma -lá
 nv.neg 2sg go 1sg with neg 1sg tell v.neg

pajlúwa'a chú , ajíño'jó ké ja'páka nuká
 pajlúwá -a'a chú ajíño'jó ké ja'pá -ka nu= ikhá
 one ?cls:place in prox.toward like pass ka.cleft 1sg pro

."

Libre él le dijo "no tiene por qué ir conmigo, yo no estoy en una sola parte, yo estoy caminando para acá y para allá

83 Mot	náke	"	éko	pha'pá	pímícha	péjéna
Morphèmes	náke		éko	pi= ja'pá	pi= ímí -cha	pi= éjéna
Glose lex.	uh		pol.imp	2sg pass	2sg say prs	2sg siblings

jló jnanapíchachí kélé kamejérí kélé pijña'káre ,
 jló na= janapí -cha -chí kélé kamejérí kélé pi= jña' -káre
 for 3pl carry prs purp2 med animal med 2sg take arg.nz1
 nonókare kélé yuwají jló ."
 no= nó -kare kélé yuwa -ji jló
 1sg kill arg.nz1 med unripe nf for

Libre hay que pasar, dígale pa sus hermanos pa que vayan a cargar esa cacería ese que usted está llevando, que yo maté para ese niño

84 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	rúmíchaka	aú
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	aú
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	because

jra'pícha ,
 ri= ja'pí -cha
 3sg.nf pass pst

Libre "bueno", y él pasó

85 Mot	iphíchaño		a'jñañojǒ	náke	rójéna	nakú
Morphèmes	iphí -cha -ño		a'jñañojǒ	náke	ru= éjéna	nakú
Glose lex.	arrive pst pl.ss		dist.toward	uh	3sg.f siblings	on

Libre llegaron allá donde los hermanos

86 Mot	(	némícha	rojlo	méké	, é
Morphèmes		na= ímí -cha	ru= jló	méké	é
Glose lex.		3pl say pst	3sg.f for	indf.manner	then

rúmícha " méké " ---) ...
 ru= ímí -cha méké
 3sg.f say pst indf.manner

Libre vimy: ellos le dijeron "qué..." y ella dijo "qué..." (vimy: mocho)

87 Mot	rúmícha	najló	:	"	ũká	paála
Morphèmes	ru= ímí -cha	na= jló			unká	paá -la
Glose lex.	3sg.f say pst	3pl for			neg bien.neg	v.neg

yúku ."
 yúku
 story

Libre ella le dijo a ellos "no está bueno cuento" (vimy: malas noticias)

88 Mot	"	kája	yáwítá	nóchami	kélé	náke
Morphèmes		kája	yáwi tâ	nó -cha =mi	kélé	náke
Glose lex.		already	tiger emph1	kill pst pfv	med	uh

nuyajná	michú	"	ké	rumaká
nu= yajná	michú		ké	ru= ima -ká
1sg husband	deceased		like	3sg.f say ka.cleft

Libre ya tigre mató al finado mi marido"

89 Mot	éta	"	méké	" "	aũ	nu'jná
Morphèmes	éta		méké		aũ	nu= i'jná
Glose lex.	then		indf.manner		because	1sg go

majõ	"	ké	rúmíchaka		, ru'michá
majõ		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		ru= i'mi -chá
prox.toward		like	3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft	3sg.f live pst

najló	mékéka		ru'jnaká		réjõ
na= jló	méké	-ka	ru= i'jna -ká	ri= ejo	
3pl for	indf.manner	indf.sub	3sg.f go ka.nz	3sg.nf towards	

yukúná	, rúmícha		" marí	ké	iñepú	chuwá
yukú -ná	ru= ímí -cha		marí	ké	iñepú	chu =ewá
story alien3	3sg.f say pst		prox	like	way	in around

nupháchiya	pajlúwaja	inau'ké	"		
nu= ipháchi -ya	pajlúwá =ja	inau'ké			
1sg find	pst one	lim person			

Libre "por eso yo vine acá", ella contó cómo ella se vino, ella dijo así en el camino encontré un hombre

90 Mot	"	lálémi	nuphá	, ũká	méla'jé
Morphèmes		jlálémi	nu= iphá	unká	méla'jé
Glose lex.		yesterday	1sg arrive	neg	indf.manner

jno'pála	, yuriná	wáni	je'rúnatá	, é
nu= ja'pá -la	yuri -ná	wáni	je'ru -na	tâ é
1sg pass v.neg	angry pl	emph	pig pl	emph1 then

pajlúwaja	iphári	nunáku	inau'ké	."
pajlúwá =ja	iphá -ri	nu= náku	inau'ké	
one	lim arrive	1sg on	nf.cleft person	

Libre ayer llegué, no podía pasar, muy bravos estaban los puercos, entonces un hombre llegó donde mi

91 Mot	"	riká	kalé	nóri	kélé	to'jmá	jló
Morphèmes		ri= ikhá	kalé	nó -ri	kélé	to'jmá	jló
Glose lex.		3sg.nf pro	emph5	kill nf.cleft	med	boy	for

kélé	náke	...	kamejérina	, kajú	ra'mitiyá	neká	,
kélé	náke		kamejérí -na	kajú	ri= a'miti -yá	na= ikhá	
med	uh		animal pl	much	3sg.nf smoke pst	3pl pro	

é	rúmícha	:	" éko	janapícha	."
é	ru= ímí -cha		éko	i= janapí -cha	
then	3sg.f say pst		pol.imp	2pl carry prs	

Libre él mató cacería para el niño, lo muqueó mucho", ella dijo "hay que ir cargar"

92	Mot	aũ	rúmícha	najló	, aũ
	Morphèmes	aũ	ru= ímí -cha	na= jló	aũ
	Glose lex.	because	3sg.f say pst	3pl for	because
		ne'jĩchá	rějō	, kajúní	kuwelá i'micháká
		na= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo	kajú -ní	kuwelá i'mi -chá -ká
		3pl go pst	3sg.nf towards	much nf	grill cop pst ka.cleft
		, é	kajú	ne'micháká	, jnanapícha neká
		é	kajú	na= i'mi -chá -ká	na= janapí -cha na= ikhá
		then	much	3pl go pst ka.cleft	3pl carry pst 3pl pro

Libre por eso ella les dijo, por eso ellos se fueron allá, había grande pasera, habían muchos (muchos hermanos), lo cargaron (kuwelá: pasera, donde que él moquió puercos)

93	Mot	riká	napatíya	natamáka'tiya
	Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	na= patí -ya	na= tamáka' -ti -ya
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3pl grab pst	3pl spread caus pst

		najlúwa	, kája	rejenája	riyukúná
		na= jlú =wa	kája	ri= ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná
		3pl for refl	already	3sg.nf until lim	3sg.nf story alien3

Libre ese ellos llevaron se repartieron entre ellos, hasta ahí se acabó el cuento. (tamákata-kaje; tamáatakaje: repartir)

ycn0058

1 Mot wayú yukúná .
Morphèmes wa'yú yukú -ná
Glose lex. animal_sp story alien3

Libre cuento de chulo

2 Mot wayú yukúná .
Morphèmes wa'yú yukú -ná
Glose lex. animal_sp story alien3

Libre cuento de chulo

3 Mot pajlúwája inau'ké i'michárí , réjéna
Morphèmes pajlúwá =ja inau'ké i'mi -chá -rí ri= éjéna
Glose lex. one lim person cop pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf siblings

jwa'té pajlúwaja pají chú ne'michá , kajrú
 jwa'té pajlúwá =ja pají chú na= i'mi -chá kajrú
 with one lim maloca in 3pl live pst much

ne'micháká , pu'té ne'micháká , riká'na
 na= i'mi -chá -ká pu'té na= i'mi -chá -ká ri= iká'na
 3pl go pst ka.cleft full 3pl go pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf family

jwa'té , réjéna ne'micháká , rilari'íyá phiyúké
 jwa'té ri= éjéna na= i'mi -chá -ká *** phiyúké
 with 3sg.nf siblings 3pl go pst ka.cleft *** all

ne'micháká ré .
 na= i'mi -chá -ká ri= é
 3pl go pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf in

Libre había una vez una persona vivía con con los hermanos en una maloca eran bastantes estaba lleno de familiares ?? y eran hermanos y sobrinos vivían ahí

4 Mot é nákarí rítu i'micháyó
Morphèmes é nákarí ri= ítu i'mi -chá -yó
Glose lex. then uh 3sg.nf daughter cop pst f.cleft

ináya , kája ruñapícha .
 ináya kája ru= ñapí -cha
 young_woman already 3sg.f form pst

Libre él tenía una hija jóven completamente (vimy: la hija de él estaba muchacha)

5 Mot itake'wáru ru'micháká .
Morphèmes itake'wáru ru= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. in_diet 3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ya le había pasado el primer periodo

6 Mot é kája rukápo'cho i'micháká
Morphèmes é kája ru= kápo' -cha =o i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. then already 3sg.f clean pst mid far.pst pst ka.pst

nákarí wíju aũ rukápo'cho i'micháká .
nákarí wíju aũ ru= kápo' -cha =o i'mi -chá -ka
uh leaf with 3sg.f clean pst mid far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ella se hacía un tratamiento de limpieza de cara con wíju con ese se limpiaba la cara

7 Mot phiyúké nákarítá rukápo'cháko
Morphèmes phiyúké nákarí tá ru= kápo' -chá -ka =o
Glose lex. all uh emph1 3sg.f clean pst ka.cleft mid

apú aũ ké apú aũ ké apú aũ ké
apú aũ ké apú aũ ké apú aũ ké
other with like other with like other with like

rukápo'chako , yuícharo kája penáje
ru= kápo' -cha -ka =o yuí -cha -ri =o kája penáje
3sg.f clean pst ka.cleft mid stay pst nf.nz mid last_time

i'micháká wa'yúná le'jé .
i'mi -chá -ká wa'yú -ná le'jé
cop pst ka.cleft animal_sp pl poss

Libre con otro con otro con otro así lo hacía siempre y le faltaba el último de todos que era de chulo

8 Mot riká ru'jíchá kuláje
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ru= i'jĩ -chá kulá -je
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.f go pst search purp.mot

ro'wéñani jwa'té , yuwají ro'wé
ru= e'wé =ñáni jwa'té yuwa -ji ru= e'wé
3sg.f brother dim with unripe nf 3sg.f brother

i'micháká .
i'mi -chá -ká
cop pst ka.cleft

Libre así que ella fue a buscarlo con el hermanito más pequeño

9 Mot rijwa'té ru'jíchá nákarí
Morphèmes ri= jwa'té ru= i'jĩ -chá nákarí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf with 3sg.f go pst uh

rikuláje .
ri= kulá -je
3sg.nf search purp.mot

Libre con él se fueron juntos

10 Mot é romícha ... romícha riká
Morphèmes é ru= amí -cha ru= amí -cha ri= ikhá
Glose lex. then 3sg.f see pst 3sg.f see pst 3sg.nf pro

waíchaka	jroilá	chuwá	riya'tío	rojló
waícha -ka	ru= oilá	chu =ewá	ri= ya'tí =o	ru= jló
return ka.nz	3sg.f uncle	in around	3sg.nf show mid	3sg.f for

jroilá ri'micháká

ru= oilá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká
3sg.f uncle	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

Libre y luego ella vio y vio que él venía era su tío se le presentó en el tío de ella supuestamente era el tío

11.1 Mot riká kémícha rojló : " nulaítu ,
Morphèmes ri= ikhá kémí -cha ru= jló nu= laítu
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro say pst 3sg.f for 1sg niece

méño'jo pi'jíchá ?
méño'jó pi= i'jĩ -chá
indf.toward 2sg go prs

Libre él le dijo "sobrina a dónde va qué busca" le dijo

11.2 Mot ná pikulá ?
Morphèmes ná pi= kulá
Glose lex. indf 2sg search

Libre

11.3 Mot " ké rímícha rojló .
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

Libre

12 Mot aũ rúmícha rijló " ũká joilá
Morphèmes aũ ru= ímí -cha ri= jló unká joilá
Glose lex. because 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for neg uncle

nukulá ísu nukulá , nákarí nukápo'kolojé
nu= kulá ísu nu= kulá nákarí nu= kápo' -ka =o lojé
1sg search leaf 1sg search uh 1sg clean ka.adv mid purp3

raũ " ké rúmíchaka , riká kája penáje
ri= aũ ké ru= ímí -cha -ka ri= ikhá kája penáje
3sg.nf with like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro last_time

yuíko "
yuí -ka =o
stay A.nz2 mid

Libre entonces ella le contestó "no tío busco ísu busco para hacerme la limpieza con eso , así le dijo ella, "ese es el último que me falta

13.1 Mot riká " ná chí rií , kélé
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ná chí ri= íí kélé
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro indf emph3 3sg.nf name med

íju pikulá ?
 íju pi= kulá
 *** 2sg search

Libre se llama íju que lo que buscas

13.2 Mot " ké rímíchaka rojló .
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

Libre

14 Mot aú , aú rúmícha " ũká ná
Morphèmes aú aú ru= ímí -cha unká ná
Glose lex. because because 3sg.f say pst neg indf

kalé wayú pána riká " ké rúmícha .
 kalé wa'yú pána ri= ikhá ké ru= ímí -cha
 nv.neg animal_sp leave 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.f say pst

Libre entonces dijo "no se llama hojas de chulo"

15 Mot " jée " ké rímíchaka " nuká
Morphèmes jé ké ri= ímí -cha -ka nu= ikhá
Glose lex. good like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 1sg pro

amári riká a'jnaré "
 amá -ri ri= ikhá a'jnaré
 see nf.cleft 3sg.nf pro dist.loc

Libre entonces dijo "yo lo ví allá "

16 Mot " i'jné pi'jné nujwa'té " ké
Morphèmes i'jné pi= i'jné nu= jwa'té ké
Glose lex. go 2sg go 1sg with like

rímíchaka " nuya'táchí pijló riká ."
 ri= ímí -cha -ka nu= ya'tá -chí pi= jló ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 1sg show hort 2sg for 3sg.nf pro

Libre venga conmigo yo se lo voy a mostrar

17 Mot é ne'jíchá rijwa'té jna'pícha
Morphèmes é na= i'jī -chá ri= jwa'té na= ja'pí -cha
Glose lex. then 3pl go pst 3sg.nf with 3pl pass pst

mékétanaja jna'píchaka .
 mé kétána =ja na= ja'pí -cha -ka
 indf.manner during lim 3pl pass pst ka.cleft

Libre y siguieron con el muy poco caminaron

18 Mot é kája rímícha rojló : " pitá
Morphèmes é kája ri= ímí -cha ru= jló pi= itá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for 2sg close

pijluwá !",
 pi= ijlu =wá
 2sg eye refl

Libre luego le dijo a ella cierre los ojos

19 Mot	" itá	ijluwá	"
Morphèmes	i= itá	i= ijlu =wá	
Glose lex.	2pl close	2pl eye refl	

Libre cierran sus ojos

20 Mot	rímícha	rojló	.
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	

Libre él le dijo

21 Mot	" jé	" ké	, aú	netíya
Morphèmes	jé	ké	aú	na= ití -ya
Glose lex.	good	like	because	3pl close pst

nejluwá , é rímícha : " chúwa pijme'tá
na= ijlu =wá é ri= ímí -cha chúwa pi= jme'tá
3pl eye refl then 3sg.nf say pst now 2sg open

pijlú !".
pi= ijlú
2sg eye

Libre y cerraron los ojos y despuecito le volvió a decir abran los ojos

22 Mot	é	rujme'tíya	rujlú	,
Morphèmes	é	ru= jme'tí -ya	ru= ijlú	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f open pst	3sg.f eye	

Libre y los abrieron

23 Mot	amíchari	apo'jǒ	, ũká	nañakaré	kalé
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	apo'jǒ	unká	na= ñakaré	kalé
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	?other.side	neg	3pl house	nv.neg

i'micháká .
i'mi -chá -ká
cop pst ka.cleft

Libre vio que era distinto no era la casa de ellos

24 Mot	apo'jǒ	jna'cháko	.
Morphèmes	apo'jǒ	na= ja' -chá -ka =o	
Glose lex.	?other.side	3pl fall pst ka.cleft mid	

Libre habían llegado a otro lado

25 Mot	é kája	, é kája	jna'chó	iyáje	,
Morphèmes	é kája	é kája	na= ja' -cha =o	iyá -je	
Glose lex.	then	then	3pl fall pst mid	cry purp.mot	

kajú rúchaka , ro'wéñáni iíchari
kajú ru= iyá -cha -ka ru= e'wé =ñáni iyá -cha -ri
much 3sg.f cry pst ka.cleft 3sg.f brother dim cry pst nf.cleft

kája , kajú riíchaka
 kája kajú ri= iyá -cha -ka
 too much 3sg.nf cry pst ka.cleft

Libre y ahí se pusieron a llorar y lloró mucho y el hermanito también lloró bastante

26 Mot aú rímícha najló " piyáníña !",
Morphèmes aú ri= ímí -cha na= jló pi= iyá -níña
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst 3pl for 2sg cry proh

Libre y por esto les dijo a ellos "no lloren"

27.1 Mot " iyáníña !"
Morphèmes i= iyá -níña
Glose lex. 2pl cry proh

Libre "no lloren, no lloren, fui yo que te traje para mi le dijo a ella"

27.2 Mot ké rímíchaka , " nuká
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha -ka nu= ikhá
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 1sg pro

wáa'ri iká nojlúwa , nuká
 wáa' -ri ri= ikhá nu= jlú =wa nu= ikhá
 call nf.cleft 3sg.nf pro 1sg for refl 1sg pro

wái'chari piká nujlúwa " ké rímícha
 wái' -cha -ri pi= ikhá nu= jlú =wa ké ri= ímí -cha
 call pst nf.cleft 2sg pro 1sg for refl like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre

28 Mot " ũká kapichájō kalé pi'jná ,
Morphèmes unká kapichá -je =o kalé pi= i'jná
Glose lex. neg lose purp.mot mid nv.neg 2sg go

i'majé i'jná " ké rímíchaka rojló
 i'ma -je i= i'jná ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
 live purp.mot 2pl go like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

Libre "ustedes vinieron acá no a morir sino a vivir" (kapichákajo: perderse/morir)

29 Mot " jée " ké kája pu'jí rupéchu
Morphèmes jé ké kája pu'jí ru= péchú
Glose lex. good like already happy 3sg.f thought

i'micháka kája jro'pícha rijwa'té ají ké
 i'mi -chá -ka kája ru= ja'pí -cha ri= jwa'té ají ké
 cop pst ka.cleft already 3sg.f pass pst 3sg.nf with prox like

nañakaré éjō nephícha
 na= ñakaré ejo na= ipha -cha
 3pl house towards 3pl arrive pst

Libre ella dijo entonces bueno y se puso contenta y luego caminaron con él hasta la casa de ellos llegaron ahí

30 Mot inau'ké ne'micháka
Morphèmes inau'ké na= i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. person 3pl live pst ka.cleft

Libre ellos eran personas

31 Mot é nephícha réjō
Morphèmes é na= ipha -cha ri= ejo
Glose lex. then 3pl arrive pst 3sg.nf towards

Libre y de este modo llegaron hasta allá

32 Mot é kája nákarí ...
Morphèmes é kája nákarí
Glose lex. then uh

Libre ahí

33 Mot é ne'michá ré
Morphèmes é na= i'mi -chá ri= é
Glose lex. then 3pl cop pst 3sg.nf in

Libre y estuvieron ahí

34 Mot éjéchami inau'kétá wátaño ru'maká
Morphèmes éjéchami inau'ké tâ wáta -ño ru= i'ma -ka
Glose lex. then person emph1 want pl.nz 3sg.f far.pst ka.pst

, i'wapáño ruká najlúwa , ne'wapaníperu
i'wapá -ño ru= ikhá na= jlú =wa na= i'wapaníperu
tomar pl.nz 3sg.f pro 3pl for refl 3pl fiancée

ru'micháka , éjéchami némíchaka " mére
ru= i'mi -chá -ka éjéchami na= ímí -cha -ka mére
3sg.f cop pst ka.pst then 3pl say pst ka.topic indf.loc

chí ruká kélé we'wapaníperu ? "
chí ru= ikhá kélé wa= i'wapaníperu
emph3 3sg.f pro med 1pl fiancée

Libre (gemy: y después las personas que la querían a ella y la tenían como prometida para ellos, y ya era la prometida. después preguntaron "dónde está ella la prometida?")

35 Mot aú némícha " kája rukapichó ,
Morphèmes aú na= ímí -cha kája ru= kapichá =o
Glose lex. because 3pl say pst already 3sg.f lose mid

manaí'chiyó rukapichó , ũká wawe'píla méké
manaí'chiyó ru= kapichá =o unká wa= we'pí -la méké
suddenly 3sg.f lose mid neg 1pl know v.neg indf.manner

rula'kó "
ru= la' -ká =o
3sg.f do ka.nz mid

Libre entonces le contestaron "ella se perdió de un momento a otro no sabemos qué le pasó a ella"

36 Mot	aú	kélé	...	wátaño	ruká				
Morphèmes	aú	kélé		wáta -ño	ru=	ikhá			
Glose lex.	because	med		want pl.nz	3sg.f	pro			
kémichaño		"	mapéja	ipajlákátá				, kája	
kémí -cha -ño			mapéja	i= pajlá -ká tá				kája	
say pst pl.cleft			normally	2pl lie ka.cleft	emph1			already	
a'kátá			ruká		, riká	aú	ipajlá		
i= a' -ka tâ			ru= ikhá	ri= ikhá	aú	i= pajlá			
2pl give ka.insub?	emph1	3sg.f	pro	3sg.nf	pro	cause	2pl lie		
mapéja	rukapicháko		ké	"					
mapéja	ru= kapichá -ka =o	ké							
normally	3sg.f lose ka.nz	mid	like						

Libre (gemy: entonces la que la querían dijeron "nos están mintiendo, ya la entregarían por eso nos dicen mentira diciendo que se perdió" así ellos dijeron. (la gente que la apartó hablando con la familia de ella).

37 Mot	é	némicha	"	paláni	ka'jná
Morphèmes	é	na= ímí -cha		palá -ni	ka'jná
Glose lex.	then	3pl say pst		good nf	dub

wenótatachí nekátá "

wa= nó -ta -ta -chí na= iká tâ

1pl kill caus caus hort 3pl pro emph1

Libre (gemy: pues bien vamos a matarlos)

38 Mot	é	kélé	inau'kéna	tá	nótiya
Morphèmes	é	kélé	inau'ké -na	tâ	nó -ti -ya
Glose lex.	then	med	person pl	emph1	kill caus pst

ruchi'ná i'micháká phiyúké nenótiyaka

ru= chi'ná i'mi -chá -ka phiyúké na= nó -ti -ya -ka

3sg.f parents far.pst pst ka.pst all 3pl kill caus pst ka.cleft

neká kája nataka'tíyo phiyúké .

na= ikhá kája na= takha' -tí -ya =o phiyúké

3pl pro already 3pl die caus pst mid all

Libre (gemy:y así esas personas mataron a los padres y todos ellos murieron) (payt: entonces esa gente mató a toda su familia, se murieron todos)

39 Mot	é kája	ru'michá	rijwa'té	.
Morphèmes	é kája	ru= i'mi -chá	ri= jwa'té	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f live pst	3sg.nf with	

Libre (gemy: ella vivió con él) (payt: de ahí ella vivió con él)

40 Mot	kája	ruyajná	ri'micháka
Morphèmes	kája	ru= yajná	ri= i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	already	3sg.f husband	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

réjéchami

ri= éjéchami

3sg.nf after

Libre (gemy: era ya el marido) (payt: ahora sí ya fue marido de ella)

41 Mot	é	rujápícha	,	ne'jíchá	mená
Morphèmes	é	ru= jápí -cha		na= i'jĩ -chá	mená
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f work pst		3pl go pst	cropland

e'yajě	,	napiyo'tíya		kajú	napiyo'tíyaka	,
e'yajé		na= piyo' -tí -ya		kajú	na= piyo' -tí -ya -ka	
towards		3pl clean caus pst		much	3pl clean caus pst	ka.cleft
nejátiyaka		nali'cháka		namenó		
na= ejáti -ya -ka		na= li' -chá -ka		na= mená =o		
3pl sow pst ka.cleft		3pl do pst ka.cleft		3pl cropland mid		

Libre (gemy: desde ahí trabajaba y se iban a la chagra limpiaban mucho y limpiaban, sembraban hacían chagra)

42 Mot	ne'micháká	palá
Morphèmes	na= i'mi -chá -ka	palá
Glose lex.	3pl go pst ka.insub?	good

Libre (gemy: y así vivían bien) (payt: vivieron bien)

43 Mot	é	...	kajú	inau'ké	ne'micháka	kajú
Morphèmes	é		kajú	inau'ké	na= i'mi -chá -ka	kajú
Glose lex.	then		much	person	3pl live pst ka.cleft	much

é kája	némícha	.
é kája	na= ímí -cha	
then	3pl say pst	

Libre (gemy: vivían bastante personas habían muchos) (payt: habían muchas personas y le dijeron)

44 Mot	kajú	nephátiyaka		jíñana	jíña	,
Morphèmes	kajú	na= iphá -ti -ya -ka		jíña -na	jíña	
Glose lex.	much	3pl arrive caus pst ka.cleft		fish pl	fish	

é	némícha	nákarí
é	na= ímí -cha	nákarí
then	3pl say pst	uh

Libre (gemy: y traían muchos pescados, peces)

45 Mot	rúmícha	rijló	:	" náje	chí
Morphèmes	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló		náje	chí
Glose lex.	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for		indf.reason	emph3

ũká	pijña'lá	wajlúwa	jíña	najwa'té	?"
unká	pi= jña' -lá	wa= jló =wa	jíña	na= jwa'té	
neg	2sg take v.neg	1pl for refl	fish	3pl with	

Libre (gemy: hasta que ella le dijo "por qué no trae pescado para nosotros con ellos?")(payt: ella le dijo a él "por qué ud. no trae pescados con ellos para nosotros)

46 Mot	"	kajú	wáni	najña'ká	jíña	unkalé
Morphèmes		kajú	wáni	na= jña' -ka	jíña	unká -lé
Glose lex.		much	emph	3pl take ka.cleft	fish	neg ?

pi'jnalá	jíñana	jñá'jé	" "	ũká	"	ké
pi= i'jna -lá	jíña -na	jñá' -je		unká		ké
2sg go v.neg	fish pl	take purp.mot		neg		like
rímícha	"	ũká	nuwátala	"		.
ri= ímí -cha	unká	nu= wáta -la				
3sg.nf say pst	neg	1sg want v.neg				

Libre (gemy: "como si traen mucho pescado y no quieres ir a traerlo" y le dijo a ella "no quiero")

47 Mot	eyonája	ké	rúmícha	píño	rijló	"
Morphèmes	eyonája	ké	ru= ímí -cha	píño	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	however	like	3sg.f say pst	again	3sg.nf for	
pijĩ'chá	wajlúwa	jíña	najwa'té	kajú	wáni	
pi= jĩ' -chá	wa= jlú =wa	jíña	na= jwa'té	kajú	wáni	
2sg take prs	1pl for refl	fish	3pl with	much	emph	
najña'ká	jíña	"				
na= jña' -ka	jíña					
3pl take ka.cleft	fish					

Libre "así mismo vaya" le volvió a decir "traiga para nosotros pescados con ellos ya que traen mucho)

48 Mot	é	rímícha	:	"	jé	,	éko'jné
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha			jé		é =kó a'jné
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst			good		then emph4 then
nu'jné	"	ké					.
nu= i'jné		ké					
1sg go		like					

Libre ahí entonces dijo "bueno voy a ir"

49 Mot	é kája	ne'jĩchá	píño	ũká
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño	unká
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	again	neg
ri'jnalácha	najwa'té			
ri= i'jna -lá -cha	na= jwa'té			
3sg.nf go v.neg pst	3pl with			

Libre y así volvieron a ir otra vez él no fue con ellos

50 Mot	é kája	ne'jĩchá	píño	,	ajĩ	ne'jĩchá
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño		ajĩ	na= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	again		prox	3pl go pst
mená	e'yajé					.
mená	e'yajé					
cropland	towards					

Libre luego se fueron a la chagra

51 Mot	é kája	ro'wé	yuícharo	phá	chú
Morphèmes	é kája	ru= e'wé	yuí -cha -ri =o	phá	chú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f brother	stay pst nf.cleft mid	house	in

Libre y el hermano se quedó en la casa

52 Mot	kajú	na'rumaká	pitíyako	, yuwápi
Morphèmes	kajú	na= a'rumaká	pití -ya -ka =o	yuwápi
Glose lex.	much	3pl clothes	pile_up pst ka.cleft mid	rope

nakú na'rumaká pitíyako
nakú na= a'rumaká pití -ya -ka =o
on 3pl clothes pile_up pst ka.cleft mid

Libre y tenían mucha ropa ahí colgada en la cuerda ropa puesta (yuwápi: cuerda)

53 Mot	é	rímícha	rojlo	: "	pímá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jlo	pi= ímá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	2sg say	

pe'wéjlo pá rijápániña kháájí nákarí
pi= e'wé jlo pá ri= jápá -niña kháájí nákarí
2sg brother for look_out 3sg.nf work proh prox uh
wa'rumaká kháájí pitáro , apá rila'á
wa= a'rumaká kháájí pitá -ri =o apála ri= la'á
1pl clothes prox pile_up nf.nz mid maybe 3sg.nf do
ripa'chó ."
ri= pa' -chá =o
3sg.nf return pst mid

Libre hasta que le dijo a ella "dígame a su hermano que no toque que es nuestra ropa que está aquí de pronto se hace un mal"

54 Mot	é	ne'jíchá	.
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jī -chá	
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	

Libre y se fueron

55 Mot	é	rímícha	: "	ũká	paála
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	unká	paá	-la
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	neg	bien.neg	v.neg

nuwe'íka " ké rímíchaka , " i'jná
nu= we'í -ka ké ri= ímí -cha -ka i'jná
1sg know ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft go
wapa'chó " , é napi'chó .
wa= pa' -chí =o é na= pi' -cha =o
1pl return hort mid then 3pl return pst mid

Libre luego dijo "tengo un mal presentimiento, regresemos"

56 Mot	é	nephícha		amíchari		meñáru	, ũká
Morphèmes	é	na= ipha	-cha	amí -cha	-ri	meñáru	unká
Glose lex.	then	3pl arrive	pst	see	pst	nf.ss	empty neg

yuwají i'malácha .
 yuwa -ji i'ma -lá -cha
 unripe nf cop v.neg pst

Libre y llegaron y vieron vacío el niño no estaba

57 Mot	ũká	yuwají	i'malácha	, é
Morphèmes	unká	yuwa -ji	i'ma -lá -cha	é
Glose lex.	neg	unripe nf	cop v.neg	pst then

rímícha : " iléko númícha nakú
 ri= ímí -cha ilé =kó nu= ímí -cha nakú
 3sg.nf say pst med emph4 1sg say pst on
 i'micháka , pátá kélé kája rikapiícho
 i'mi -chá -ka patá kélé kája ri= kapií -cha =o
 far.pst pst ka.pst good med already 3sg.nf lose pst mid
 kélé pe'wé " ké rímícha
 kélé pi= e'wé ké ri= ímí -cha
 med 2sg brother like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre el niño no estaba luego le dijo "sí ve bien lo que le dije, ya se perdió su hermano"

58 Mot	é	rijĩ'chá		rile'jé	kaná
Morphèmes	é	ri= jĩ'	-chá	ri= le'jé	kaná
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf take	pst	3sg.nf poss	mirror

i'michári , ajĩ kéñáni riká rijĩ'chá
 i'mi -chá -rí ajĩ ké =ñáni ri= ikhá ri= jĩ' -chá
 cop pst nf.cleft prox like dim 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf take pst

Libre vimy: ahí el cogió el espejo de él

59 Mot	riká	chiyá	riyakái'cho
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chiyá	ri= yakái' -cha =o
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	in.from	3sg.nf see pst mid

amíchari kélé i'michá ya'jné júni jalómi
 amí -cha -ri kélé i'mi -chá ya'jné júni jaló =mi
 see pst nf.ss med cop pst far water1 mother.ref pfv
 éjõ
 ejo
 towards

Libre y miró por medio y lo vió muy lejos donde la madre del agua

60 Mot	kája	yéwícha	jra'cháko
Morphèmes	kája	yéwícha	ri= ja' -chá -ka =o
Glose lex.	already	almost	3sg.nf fall pst ka.cleft mid

junápejẽ .
 junápi =eje
 water2 until

Libre ya casi se caía al agua

61 Mot	éjõ	nákarí	kélé	ná	rií	
Morphèmes	ejo	nákarí	kélé	ná	ri=	ií
Glose lex.	then	uh	med	indf	3sg.nf	name

Libre (vimy) allá, ese qué será cómo se llama

62 Mot	kélé	wa'yúná		a'rumaká	jĩ'chá	riká		
Morphèmes	kélé	wa'yú	-ná	a'rumaká	jĩ'	-chá	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.	med	animal_sp	pl	clothes	take	pst	3sg.nf	pro

ajíké réjõ
 ají ké ri= ejo
 prox like 3sg.nf towards

Libre era ropa de chulo eso fue que lo llevó hasta allá

63 Mot	é	ra'chá		ra'umaká	rinakuwá				
Morphèmes	é	ri=	a'	-chá	ri=	a'umaká	ri=	naku	=wá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	give	pst	3sg.nf	clothes	3sg.nf	on	refl

, ri'jíchá rápumi chú , ají ké ri'jíchá
 ri= i'jĩ -chá ri= ápumi chú ají ké ri= i'jĩ -chá
 3sg.nf go pst 3sg.nf behind in prox like 3sg.nf go pst

ripa'táje ripuláa'pe pa'táje ,
 ri= pa'tá -je ri= puláa'pe pa' -ta -je
 3sg.nf return purp.mot 3sg.nf brother_in_law return caus purp.mot

ya'jnájẽ rajalákícha riká " nupuláa'pe "
 ya'jná =eje ri= ajalákí -cha ri= ikhá nu= puláa'pe
 far until 3sg.nf greet pst 3sg.nf pro 1sg brother_in_law

ké rímícha " nupuláa'pe " ké rímícha
 ké ri= ímí -cha nu= puláa'pe ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst 1sg brother_in_law like 3sg.nf say pst

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre ahí mismo se puso la ropa y se fue detrás hasta poder agarrar el cuñado hasta muy lejos lo llamaba "cuñado"

64 Mot	é	ripa'tíya		riká			
Morphèmes	é	ri=	pa'	-tí	-ya	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	return	caus	pst	3sg.nf	pro

riki'chá richájo riká ,
 ri= ki' -chá ri= cháje =o ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf throw_out pst 3sg.nf at mid 3sg.nf pro

riki'chá richájo kája wája
 ri= ki' -chá ri= cháje =o kája =wá =ja
 3sg.nf throw_out pst 3sg.nf at mid already emph lim

nephícha
na= ipha -cha
3pl arrive pst

Libre hasta que lo agarró y se lo echó encima hasta que llegaron (ka'káje: botar, ri-chájo, lit. lo tiró encima de él) (echar adelante; syn. ritukumó: adelante)

65 Mot ripa'tíya riká é
Morphèmes ri= pa' -tí -ya ri= ikhá é
Glose lex. 3sg.nf return caus pst 3sg.nf pro then

rímícha rijló : " númá pijló pijápániña
ri= ímí -cha ri= jló nu= ímá pi= jló pi= jápá -niña
3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for 1sg say 2sg for 2sg work proh

rináku " .
ri= náku
3sg.nf on

Libre y lo trajo de regreso y así le dijo a él "yo le dije a usted que no tocara eso"

66 Mot pachá pili'chá cháwani pili'chá ,
Morphèmes pachá pi= li' -chá cháwa -ni pi= li' -chá
Glose lex. so 2sg do prs pity nf 2sg do prs

pikapiíchojla " ké rímícha rijló
pi= kapií -cha =o jlá ké ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
2sg lose pst mid frust like 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre "por eso fue que le pasó ese mal casi se pierde" así le dijo (pachá: por eso; kapichákájo: perderse)

67 Mot é ne'michá píño
Morphèmes é na= i'mi -chá píño
Glose lex. then 3pl cop pst again

Libre y luego estaban ahí de nuevo

68 Mot é ruwakái'cha riká jíña
Morphèmes é ru= wakái' -cha ri= ikhá jíña
Glose lex. then 3sg.f order pst 3sg.nf pro fish

jña'jé , é rímícha ũká , ũká
jña' -jé é ri= ímí -cha unká unká
take purp.mot then 3sg.nf say pst neg neg

nuwátala .
nu= wáta -la
1sg want v.neg

Libre ella lo mandó a traerle pescado y le dijo "no, yo no quiero ir"

69 Mot " eyonáje " rímícha rijló
Morphèmes eyonáje ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. however 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

ripuláa'pe	jló	"	éko	we'jné	"	ké
ri= puláa'pe	jló		éko	wa= i'jné		ké
3sg.nf brother_in_law	for		pol.imp	1pl go		like

rímícha	é	ne'jíchá	.
ri= ímí -cha	é	na= i'jī -chá	
3sg.nf say pst	then	3pl go pst	

Libre ella le dijo "así mismo vaya" entonces el cuñado le dijo "vamos a ir" y así se fueron (vimy: chulo al cuñado)

70 Mot	ne'jíchá	rējō	.
Morphèmes	na= i'jī -chá	ri= ejo	
Glose lex.	3pl go pst	3sg.nf towards	

Libre se fueron para allá

71 Mot	é kája	némícha	"	kajú	wáni	jíñana
Morphèmes	é kája	na= ímí -cha		kajú	wáni	jíña -na
Glose lex.	then	3pl say pst		much	emph	fish pl

iwatákó		kája	kuwanápi	amáko		me'tení	"
iwatá -ka	=o	kája	kuwanápi	amá -ka	=o	me'tení	
dry ka.cleft	mid	already	bar	see ka.insub?	mid	now	

Libre (gemy: y les dijeron "hay mucho pescados secándose ya se ve kuwanápi ahora")

72 Mot	némícha	,	aú	némícha	"	jíñana
Morphèmes	na= ímí -cha		aú	na= ímí -cha		jíña -na
Glose lex.	3pl say pst		because	3pl say pst		fish pl

waĩ	ka'jno	kélé	najña'a	"
=waĩ	ka'jno	kélé	na= jña'a	
emph	dub	med	3pl take	

Libre será que son pescados que cogen (vimy: será que son propios pescaos que ellos están cogiendo)

73 Mot	é	ne'jíchá	rímícha
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jī -chá	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	3sg.nf say pst

ripuláa'pe	jló	"	pa'á	pinakuwá	kháajĩ
ri= puláa'pe	jló		pi= a'á	pi= naku	=wá kháajĩ
3sg.nf brother_in_law	for		2sg give	2sg on refl	prox

no'rumaká	"	ké	,	é	ra'chá	rinakuwá
nu= a'rumaká		ké		é	ri= a' -chá	ri= naku =wá
1sg clothes		like		then	3sg.nf give pst	3sg.nf on refl

riká	.
ri= ikhá	
3sg.nf pro	

Libre por fin le dijo al cuñado "póngase mi ropa" y se la puso

74 Mot	éjéechami	kája	rímícha	rijló	"
Morphèmes	éjéechami	kája	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	then	emph?	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for	

piyakáa'niñotá méño'jó ka'jnó , kawákáje
 pi= yakáa' -niña =o tá méño'jó ka'jnó kawáká =eje
 2sg see proh mid emph1 indf.toward dub low until
 piyaká'o pha'pojó .
 pi= yaká' =o pi= ja'pojó
 2sg see mid 2sg down.toward

Libre en ese momento él le dijo "no vaya a mirar a ningún lado solo mire hacia abajo"

75 Mot	é	ne'jíchá	kiñája	, nephícha	kélé
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	kiñája	na= ipha -cha	kélé
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	quickly	3pl arrive pst	med

nañakarémi éjé , nephícha kélé pají
 na= ñakaré =mi eje na= ipha -cha kélé pají
 3pl house nom.pfv until 3pl arrive pst med maloca
 ne'michájé chú éjé nephícha .
 na= i'mi -chaje chú =eje na= ipha -cha
 3pl cop arg.nz2 in until 3pl arrive pst

Libre y se fueron llegaron muy rápido donde era la casa de ellos donde vivían antes

76 Mot	é	ritái'cho	nákarí	,
Morphèmes	é	ri= táí' -cha =o	nákarí	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf stand_up pst mid	uh	

ritái'cho luílo'ma chojé
 ri= táí' -cha =o luílo'ma chojé
 3sg.nf stand_up pst mid window towards_inside
 ritái'cho ná ... kuwanápi nakojé .
 ri= táí' -cha =o ná kuwanápi nakú =eje
 3sg.nf stand_up pst mid indf bar on until

Libre él se paró en la ventana de la maloca, se paró en el circulo de la maloca.

77 Mot	é	riyakái'cho	amíchari
Morphèmes	é	ri= yakái' -cha =o	amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf see pst mid	see pst nf.ss

nañakaré i'micháká .
 na= ñakaré i'mi -chá -ká
 3pl house cop pst ka.nz

Libre él miró y vió que era la casa de ellos

78 Mot	amícha	kajú	wa'yúná	i'micháká	,
Morphèmes	amí -cha	kajú	wa'yú -ná	i'mi -chá -ká	
Glose lex.	see pst	much	animal_sp pl	cop pst ka.nz	

pu'té pají ne'micháká .
 pu'té pají na= i'mi -chá -ka
 full maloca 3pl cop pst ka.cleft

Libre y también vió que había bastante chulos llenos dentro de la maloca (vimy: é ramícha/ en vez de amícha) (vimy: los chullos llenaron la maloca)

79 Mot	najíchaka	támijimi	inau'ké
Morphèmes	na= ají -cha -ka	támi -ji =mi	inau'ké
Glose lex.	3pl eat pst ka.prog	sickness unposs nom.pfv	person
támi	, riká	najíchata	, némícha nakú
támi	ri= ikhá	na= ají -cha tá	na= ímí -cha nakú
sickness	3sg.nf pro	3pl eat pst emph1	3pl say pst on
nákarí	" jíñana	" ké	.
nákarí	jíña -na	ké	
uh	fish pl	like	

Libre estaban comiendo cadaveres de las personas comían eso y de eso es que decían que eran pescados

80 Mot	é	kélé	ripuláa'pe	witúki'cha
Morphèmes	é	kélé	ri= puláa'pe	witúki' -cha
Glose lex.	then	med	3sg.nf brother_in_law	go_down pst
i'michá	ne'yajé	.		
i'mi	-chá	na= e'yá =eje		
far.pst	pst	3pl in until		

Libre el cuñado se bajó

81 Mot	ri'michá	rinakiyána	ajñátaje
Morphèmes	ri= i'mi -chá	ri= nakiyá -ná	ajñá -ta -je
Glose lex.	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf among ?	eat caus purp.mot
wejápa	, kája ikája	ripi'chó	, é
wejápa	kája ikája	ri= pi' -cha =ó	é
little	at_that_time	3sg.nf return pst mid	then
rímícha	" ũká	paála	" ké
ri= ímí -cha	unká	paá -la	ké
3sg.nf say pst	neg	bien.neg v.neg	like
rímíchaka	" wapa'chó	"	
ri= ímí -cha -ka	wa= pa' -chí =o		
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	1pl return hort mid		

Libre vimy: él se fue comer poquito de eso, de ahí él se regresó, (vimy: kája ikája ripi'cháko/ kája ripi'chó)

82 Mot	" wapa'jikoja	" ké	.
Morphèmes	wa= pa' -jí -ka	=o =ja	ké
Glose lex.	1pl return fut ka.topic	mid lim	like

Libre vimy: él dijo "vámonos" (vimy: wapa'jikoja mejor regresámonos. = i'jná wapa'chó)

83 Mot	unká	najña'lácha	jíña	kája	iká
Morphèmes	unká	na= jña' -lá -cha	jíña	kája	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	neg	3pl take v.neg pst	fish	already	3sg.nf pro

napi'cháko
 na= pi' -chá -ka =o
 3pl return pst ka.insub? mid

Libre (ellos no cogieron nada de pescao y se regresaron)

84 Mot napi'cháko iphíchaño
Morphèmes na= pi' -chá -ka =o iphí -cha -ño
Glose lex. 3pl return pst ka.insub? mid arrive pst pl.ss

Libre llegaron

85 Mot é ro'wé kémícha rojló :
Morphèmes é ru= e'wé kémí -cha ru= jló
Glose lex. then 3sg.f brother say pst 3sg.f for

Libre (ahí el hermano le dijo a ella)

86 Mot " o'weló " ké rímícha " ùká
Morphèmes o'we -ló ké ri= ímí -cha unká
Glose lex. brother.addr f like 3sg.nf say pst neg

paála yúku , kája inau'kétá nóta
 paá -la yúku kája inau'ké tâ nó -ta
 bien.neg v.neg story already person emph1 kill caus

wachi'ná michúná phiyúké "
 wa= chi'ná michú -ná phiyúké
 1pl parents deceased pl all

Libre "hermana le tengo malas noticias, ya las personas mataron a nuestros padres a todos"

87 Mot " rikhá kélé najñátá
Morphèmes ri= ikhá kélé na= ajñá tá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro med 3pl eat emph1

nephátatá majõ néma nakú " jíñaká
 na= iphá -ta tá majõ na= íma nakú jíña ká
 3pl arrive caus emph1 prox.toward 3pl say on fish emph?

rikhá ", ùká jíña kalé riká " ké ...
 ri= ikhá unká jíña kalé ri= ikhá ké
 3sg.nf pro neg fish nv.neg 3sg.nf pro like

rímíchaka , rikhá aũ jna'chó
 ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= ikhá aũ na= ja' -cha =o
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro cause 3pl fall pst mid

iyájẽ
 iyá -je
 cry purp.mot

Libre "eso es que comen y traen acá y dicen que son pescados, no son pescados" dijo, por eso se pusieron a llorar.

88 Mot kajú neíchaka
Morphèmes kajú na= í -cha -ka
Glose lex. much 3pl cry pst ka.cleft

Libre y lloraron mucho

89 Mot	neíchaka	rujwa'té	é
Morphèmes	na= íí -cha -ka	ru= jwa'té	é
Glose lex.	3pl cry pst ka.cleft	3sg.f with	then

rímícha rojló
 ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

Libre lloraron juntos con él, y él les dijo

90 Mot	" piyáníña	" ké rímíchaka	"
Morphèmes	pi= iyá -níña	ké ri= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	2sg cry proh	like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	

rejo'kája nukhá pijwa'té piyáníña " ké
 rejo'kája nu= ikhá pi= jwa'té pi= iyá -níña ké
 still2 1sg pro 2sg with 2sg cry proh like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre y él le dijo "no llores, todavía estoy con usted, no llores)

91 Mot	" kéchamikó	wamakápo'cha	pichi'ná	"
Morphèmes	kéchámi =kó	wa= makápo' -cha	pi= chi'ná	
Glose lex.	after emph4	1pl revive prs	2sg parents	

ké rímícha rojló
 ké ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
 like 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

Libre (gemy: ya después los resucitamos a sus padres" le dijo a ella (kéchamikó: todavía no han ido)

92 Mot	é ne'michá	júpija
Morphèmes	é na= i'mi -chá	júpi =ja
Glose lex.	then 3pl cop pst	long_time lim

ne'micháká
 na= i'mi -chá -ká
 3pl go pst ka.cleft

Libre así vivieron un tiempo largo

93 Mot	é rímícha	" chúwatá	nákarí
Morphèmes	é ri= ímí -cha	chúwa tâ	nákarí
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf say pst	now emph1	uh

we'jnajíka pichi'ná makápo'je " ké
 wa= i'jna -jǐ -ka pi= chi'ná makápo' -je ké
 1pl go fut ka.cleft 2sg parents revive purp.mot like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre (gemy: y luego le dijo ahora sí vamos a resucitar a sus padres)

94 Mot kamu'jűniñani ri'micháká
Morphèmes kamu'jú -ni =ñáni ri= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. small nf dim 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

makápo'jeri kélé , makápo'jeri
makápo' -je -ri kélé makápo' -je -ri
revive A.nz nf.nz med revive A.nz nf.nz

ri'micháká kamu'júni , mapéja
ri= i'mi -chá -ká kamu'jú -ni mapéja
3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft small nf normally

ri'micháká jaréní ké ri'micháka ,
ri= i'mi -chá -ká jaré -ní ké ri= i'mi -chá -ka
3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft white nf like 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

itu'ró ké ri'micháká
itu'ró ké ri= i'mi -chá -ká
starch like 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

Libre vimy: era pequeñito ese revividor, era como color blanco, como que fuera almidón (vimy: el revividor se llama pójori) (vimy: no sé si el kélé va con el de antes o el de después)

95 Mot é ne'jűchá
Morphèmes é na= i'jű -chá
Glose lex. then 3pl go pst

Libre y luego se fueron

96 Mot ne'jűchá nephícha waja'pámi e'yajé
Morphèmes na= i'jű -chá na= ipha -cha waja'pámi e'yajé
Glose lex. 3pl go pst 3pl arrive pst cropland? towards

nephícha
na= ipha -cha
3pl arrive pst

Libre vimy: llegaron cerca de la maloca llegaron (waja'pámi: cerca de la casa en el monte)

97 Mot eyá jna'pícha , rímícha rojló
Morphèmes eyá na= ja'pí -cha ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
Glose lex. since_then 3pl pass pst 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

" chűwatá pi'jna réjõ , pamíchachí
chűwa tâ pi= i'jna ri= ejo pi= amí -cha -chí
now emph1 2sg go 3sg.nf towards 2sg see prs purp2

nákarí , pimakápo'chí pichi'ná " ké , é
nákarí pi= makápo' -chí pi= chi'ná ké é
uh 2sg revive purp2 2sg parents like then

rikhá yúicharo ruwátakana nakú
ri= ikhá yuí -cha -ri =o ru= wáta -kana nakú
3sg.nf pro stay pst nf.cleft mid 3sg.f wait ev.nz1 on

Libre al retorno siguieron de ahí le dijo "ahora sí vaya hasta allá a ver" "para que puedas resucitar a tus padres y se quedó allí esperándola

98 Mot	unká	ri'jnalácha			rujwa'té	.
Morphèmes	unká	ri=	i'jna	-lá	-cha	ru= jwa'té
Glose lex.	neg	3sg.nf	go	v.neg	pst	3sg.f with

Libre él no fue a acompañarla

99 Mot	é	ruphícha		amícha	kája	phiyúké
Morphèmes	é	ru=	ipha	-cha	amí -cha	kája phiyúké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	arrive	pst	see pst	already all

ũká	ná	i'maácha		meñáru	pají	chiyá
unká	ná	i'ma -a	-cha	meñáru	pají	chiyá
neg	indf	tell	v.neg	pst	empty	maloca in.from
i'micháká				kája	phiyúké	wáni wa'yúná
i'mi -chá -ká				kája	phiyúké	wáni wa'yú -ná
cop	pst	ka.cleft		already	all	emph animal_sp pl
ajñátaka				neká		.
ajñá -ta -ka				na=	ikhá	
eat	caus	ka.cleft		3pl	pro	

Libre luego llegó y vio ella que todos no había nadie estaba vacío la maloca, y a todos los chulos se lo comieron (vimy: amícha-ri o é romícha; no suena bien amícha solo; meñáru: vacío)

100 Mot	é	kája	ruwe'pí	méewáka		
Morphèmes	é	kája	ru=	we'pí	mé	=ewá -ka
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	know	indf.manner	around	indf.sub

ruchi'ná		michúna		i'micháká		, éjé
ru=	chi'ná	michú	-na	i'mi -chá -ká		eje
3sg.f	parents	deceased	pl	cop	pst	ka.nz after
ruki'chá		kélé	pójori		pójori	rií
ru=	ki'	-chá	kélé	pójori	pójori	ri= ií
3sg.f	throw_out	pst	med	?	?	3sg.nf name
i'micháká						.
i'mi -chá -ká						
cop	pst	ka.cleft				

Libre ella sí sabía por dónde habían estado sus padres, ella echó ese pójori, pójori así se llama,

101 Mot	riká		ruki'chá		, rímícha
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ru=	ki'	-chá ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.f	throw_out	pst 3sg.nf say pst

rojló	"	pá		pika'níña		pichi'ná
ru=	jló	pá		pi= ka'	-níña	pi= chi'ná
3sg.f	for	look_out		2sg	throw_out	proh 2sg parents
pika'níñatá				riká		kajrú
pi=	ka'	-níña	tá	ri=	ikhá	kajrú
2sg	throw_out	proh	emph1	3sg.nf	pro	much
pika'jíka				é	kajrú	riká
pi=	ka'	-jí	-ka	é	kajrú	ri= ikhá
2sg	throw_out	fut	ka.adv	cond2	much	3sg.nf pro

pikapichátaje		neká	,	e'yá	pika'á			
pi= kapichá	-ta	-je	na=	ikhá	e'yá	pi= ka'á		
2sg	lose	caus	fut	3pl	pro	then	2sg	throw_out
wejápajañani		pika'á		riká	,	é	paláni	.
wejápa	=ja	=ñáni	pi=	ka'á	ri=	ikhá	é	palá -ni
little	lim	dim	2sg	throw_out	3sg.nf	pro	then	good nf

Libre eso fue que ella echó, él le había dicho "para sus padres no vayas a echarlo mucho, y lo llega a echar mucho usted acaba con ellos, si lo echas un poquito está bien.

102 Mot	é	...	é	ruki'chá		kélé	
Morphèmes	é		é	ru= ki'	-chá	kélé	
Glose lex.	then		then	3sg.f	throw_out	pst	med

jroiláyá		michúna		apumí		chojé
ru= joilá	-yá	michú	-na	apumí		chojé
3sg.f	uncle	?	deceased	pl	?replacement	towards_inside

ruki'chá		.
ru= ki'		-chá
3sg.f	throw_out	pst

Libre luego ella echó muy poquito donde estaban los cadáveres de los tíos (pumí: rastro de alguien)

103 Mot	ruki'chá		wejápajanóñani				
Morphèmes	ru= ki'	-chá	wejápa =ja =nó =ñáni				
Glose lex.	3sg.f	throw_out	pst	little	lim	hab	dim

ruki'cháka		,	é	jrora'pá		michú		
ru= ki'		-chá	-ka	é	ru= jara'pá	michú		
3sg.f	throw_out	pst	ka.cleft	then	3sg.f	father.ref	deceased	
apumí		chojé		ruki'chá		jñóope	kélé	,
apumí		chojé		ru= ki'		-chá	jñóope	kélé
?replacement		towards_inside		3sg.f	throw_out	pst	a_lot	med

kiñája	kiñája	rapókalojé		penáje	,	
kiñája	kiñája	ri= apó	-ka	lojé	penáje	
quickly	quickly	3sg.nf	wake_up	ka.adv	purp3	for

ruki'chá		jñóope	kélé	jrora'pá		ruchi'ná		
ru= ki'		-chá	jñóope	kélé	ru= jara'pá	ru= chi'ná		
3sg.f	throw_out	pst	a_lot	med	3sg.f	father.ref	3sg.f	parents

michúna		apumí		chojé	.
michú	-na	apumí		chojé	
deceased	pl	?replacement		towards_inside	

Libre vimy: ella echó de a poquitos; en el lugar del papá finaíto ella echó harto pa que se reviviera rapidito, ella echó harto ahí en el punto de los papás finaditos

104 Mot	kája ikája	rupi'cháko		.		
Morphèmes	kája ikája	ru= pi'	-chá	-ka	=o	
Glose lex.	at_that_time	3sg.f	return	pst	ka.topic	mid

Libre y después ella se fue

105.1 Mot kája ikája napi'cháko , é
Morphèmes kája ikája na= pi' -chá -ka =o é
Glose lex. at_that_time 3pl return pst ka.topic mid then

rímícha rojló " é kája piki'chá ,
ri= ímí -cha ru= jló é kája pi= ki' -chá
3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for then 2sg throw_out pst
méke piki'cháka riká ?
méké pi= ki' -chá -ka ri= ikhá
indf.manner 2sg throw_out pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre y regresaron juntos, le preguntó "ya lo echó eso, y cómo lo echó?"

105.2 Mot " ké rímíchaka , aú
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha -ka aú
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft because

rúmícha " jnoiláyá michúna apumí
ru= ímí -cha nu= joilá -yá michú -na apumí
3sg.f say pst 1sg uncle ? deceased pl ?replacement
chojé nuki'chá wejápajañani , eyá
chojé nu= ki' -chá wejápa =ja =ñáni eyá
towards_inside 1sg throw_out pst little lim dim since_then

nuchi'ná michúna apumí chojé
nu= chi'ná michú -na apumí chojé
1sg parents deceased pl ?replacement towards_inside

nuki'chá jñoope " , aú rímícha "
nu= ki' -chá jñoope aú ri= ímí -cha
1sg throw_out pst a_lot because 3sg.nf say pst

kájata pikapichátiya kélé pichi'ná , náje
kája tâ pi= kapichá -ti -ya kélé pi= chi'ná náje
already emph1 2sg lose caus prs med 2sg parents indf.reason

cháwani pili'chá kélé " ké rímíchaka "
cháwa -ni pi= li' -chá kélé ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
pity nf 2sg do prs med like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

kája nakapícho chúwa " ké .
kája na= kapií -cha =o chúwa ké
already 3pl lose pst mid now like

Libre entonces ella le dijo "donde habían estado mis tios eché poquito y donde habían estado mis padres eché bastante" "entonces usted acabó con sus padres, les hizo muy mal a ellos, ahora sí ya se desaparecieron"

106 Mot é kája napi'chó , é
Morphèmes é kája na= pi' -cha =ó é
Glose lex. then already 3pl return pst mid then

rímícha júpichami rímícha rojló "
ri= ímí -cha júpichami ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
3sg.nf say pst long_time 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

chúwatá	nu'jnajĩká	pijwa'té	pamíchachí
chúwa tâ	nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka	pi= jwa'té	pi= amí -cha -chí
now emph1	1sg go fut ka.cleft	2sg with	2sg see prs purp2
pichi'ná	" ké rímíchaka	rojló	, é
pi= chi'ná	ké ri= ímí -cha -ka	ru= jló	é
2sg parents	like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	3sg.f for	then
ne'jĩchá	píño .		
na= i'jĩ -chá	píño		
3pl go pst	again		

Libre y regresaron. después de mucho le dijo "ahora sí voy a acompañarla a ver a sus padres" ya así fue que se fueron otra vez (júpichami: unos días)

107 Mot	é	ruphícha	,	jemi'chári	,	kajú
Morphèmes	é	ru= ipha -cha		jemi' -chá -ri		kajú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f arrive pst		listen pst nf.ss		much
inau'ké	i'micháká	píño	,	júpimi		ne'maká
inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ká	píño		júpi =mi		na= i'ma -ka
person	cop pst ka.cleft	again		long_time pfv		3pl cop ka.cleft
ké	ne'micháká	kélé	pají	chú	,	
ké	na= i'mi -chá -ká	kélé	pají	chú		
like	3pl go pst ka.cleft	med	maloca	in		
napui'cháko		kajú	wáni	.		
na= pui' -chá -ka	=o	kajú	wáni			
3pl speak pst ka.insub?	mid	much	emph			

Libre vimy: y llegó ella y escuchó que había mucha gente otra vez, así como eran antes así estaban en esa maloca, hablaron mucho

108 Mot	é	jro'pícha	ruphícha	réjõ
Morphèmes	é	ru= ja'pí -cha	ru= ipha -cha	ri= ejo
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f pass pst	3sg.f arrive pst	3sg.nf towards

Libre y luego siguió llegó hasta allá

109 Mot	é	najalákícha	ruká	" nulaítu
Morphèmes	é	na= ajalákí -cha	ru= ikhá	nu= laítu
Glose lex.	then	3pl greet pst	3sg.f pro	1sg niece
pikhá	" najalákícha	ruká	,	phiyúké najalákícha
pi= ikhá	na= ajalákí -cha	ru= ikhá		phiyúké na= ajalákí -cha
2sg pro	3pl greet pst	3sg.f pro	all	3pl greet pst
ruká	.			
ru= ikhá				
3sg.f pro				

Libre y la saludaron y le dijeron "sobrina" así la saludaron

110 Mot	romícha	phiyúké	jroiláyá
Morphèmes	ru= amí -cha	phiyúké	ru= joilá -yá
Glose lex.	3sg.f see pst	all	3sg.f uncle ?

i'micháká		kélé	pají	chú	.
i'mi	-chá	-ká	kélé	pají	chú
cop	pst	ka.cleft	med	maloca	in

Libre ella vio que todos los tíos estaban todos en la maloca

111 Mot	é kája	némícha	rojlo	" ũká
Morphèmes	é kája	na= ímí -cha	ru= jló	unká
Glose lex.	then	3pl say pst	3sg.f for	neg

wawe'píla		mékéka		wala'kó	,
wa= we'pí	-la	méké	-ka	wa= la' -ká	=o
1pl	know	v.neg	indf.manner	indf.sub	1pl do ka.nz mid

mana'íchiyó	mana'íchiyó	mana'íchiyó	ri'má	wachá	sují
mana'íchiyó	mana'íchiyó	mana'íchiyó	ri= i'má	wa= chá	sují
suddenly	suddenly	suddenly	3sg.nf cop	1pl on	?

kéja	, ũká	wawe'píla	méka	
ké =ja	unká	wa= we'pí -la	mé -ka	
like	lim	neg	1pl know v.neg	
			indf.manner	indf.sub

wala'kó	" ké	na	---	némíchaka	rojlo
wa= la' -ká	=o	ké	na=	na= ímí -cha -ka	ru= jló
1pl	do	ka.nz	mid	like	3pl
				3pl say pst	ka.cleft
					3sg.f for

Libre y luego le dijeron a ella "no sabemos qué fue lo que nos pasó de un momento a un momento nos llegó y no nos dimos cuenta" así le dijeron (sují~ ují kéja: instantáneamente, ri-i'má wa-chá 1pl-on)

112 Mot	aú	rúmícha	" ũká	ná	kalé
Morphèmes	aú	ru= ímí -cha	unká	ná	kalé
Glose lex.	because	3sg.f say pst	neg	indf	nv.neg

ila'kó	" ké	rúmíchaka	" ná
i= la' -ká	=o	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
2pl	do	ka.cleft	mid
		like	3sg.f say pst
			ka.cleft
			indf

khaónatá	...	inau'kétá	nótaño	i'maká
khaóna tá		inau'ké tâ	nó -ta -ño	i= i'ma -ka
***	emph1	person	emph1	kill caus pl.cleft
				2pl far.pst ka.pst

i'maká	kélé	, nochojé	kalé	iká	,
i'ma -ka	kélé	no= chojé	kalé	ri= ikhá	
far.pst	ka.pst	med	1sg towards_inside	emph5	3sg.nf pro

nuká	, nuká	we'píri	imu'jí	, aú
nu= ikhá	nu= ikhá	we'pí -ri	i= mu'jí	aú
1sg	pro	1sg	pro	know nf.cleft
				2pl pity
				with

ipa'ó	píño	apumí	chuwá	" ké
i= pa' =ó	píño	i= apumí	chu =ewá	ké
2pl	return	mid	again	2pl ?replacement
			in	around
				like

rúmícha	najló	.
ru= ímí -cha	na= jló	
3sg.f	say	pst
	3pl	for

Libre entonces ella les dijo "qué les puede pasar fueron esa gente que los mataron a ustedes

por mi fue que volvieron a estar (vivos), porque les tuve lástima por eso fue que volvieron de nuevo a donde están" dijo (i'maká [ã'ká]; we'píkaje PR-mu'je~ mu'jí: tener lástima; nochojé: por mi)

113 Mot	é	ruyakái'cho			kélé	jrora'pá			
Morphèmes	é	ru= yakái'	-cha	=o	kélé	ru= jara'pá			
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f see	pst	mid	med	3sg.f father.ref			
michú	i'makáre	ewá	ruyakái'cho			, ũká	ná		
michú	i'ma -káre	ewá	ru= yakái'	-cha	=o	unká	ná		
deceased	cop arg.nz1	around	3sg.f see	pst	mid	neg	indf		
i'maácha		, ajúpána	wája	inau'ké	i'michá		, é kája		
i'ma -a	-cha	ajúpána	=wá =ja	inau'ké	i'mi -chá		é kája		
tell	v.neg pst	other.pl	emph lim	person	cop pst		then		
rupi'chó									
ru= pi'	-chá	=o							
3sg.f return	pst	mid							

Libre y luego volteó a mirar a donde estuvo su finado padre y siguió mirando no había nadie solo estaban otras personas ahí y luego ella se regresó (vimy: wája: solo había otra gente (yakáa'kajo: mirar)

114 Mot	kája	, hasta	ahí	no	más	, kája	,
Morphèmes	kája	hasta	ahí	no	más	kája	
Glose lex.	already	spa	spa	spa	spa	already	

maáre
maáre
prox.loc

Libre hasta aquí se acaba

ycn0059

1 Mot	marí	ke	iné	i'maká	nákarí	pají	chú
Morphèmes	marí	ké	iná	i'ma -ka	nákarí	pají	chú
Glose lex.	prox	like	gnr.pro	live ka.cleft	uh	maloca	in

Libre asi uno vive en la maloca

2 Mot	pají	chú	weká	, riká	aú	nákarí	,
Morphèmes	pají	chú	wa= ikhá	ikhá	aú	nákarí	
Glose lex.	maloca	in	1pl pro	pro	with	uh	

iné jápá lapiwá papó .
 iná jápá lapiwá pi= apú
 gnr.pro work dawn 2sg wake_up

Libre en la maloca, por eso uno trabaja y se levanta madrugado

3 Mot	pi'jné	nákarí	a'pitajé	pa'ú	kélé	chú
Morphèmes	pi= i'jné	nákarí	a'pita jé	pa'ú	kélé	chú
Glose lex.	2sg go	uh	bathe purp.mot	four	med	in

kamú jená i'maká iná apó
 kamú jená i'ma -ká iná apó
 sun hour cop ka.cleft gnr.pro wake_up

Libre uno se va a bañar a las 4 de la mañana, yo me levanto

4 Mot	iná	, iná	a'pitá	é	kája	pikuwá
Morphèmes	iná	iná	a'pitá	é	kája	pi= kuwá
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	gnr.pro	bathe	then	already	2sg cook

kujnú
 kujnú
 cassava

Libre ya se bañó y usted hace casabe

5 Mot	pila'á	waláko	pu'jé	.
Morphèmes	pi= la'á	waláko	pu'jé	
Glose lex.	2sg do	dish_name	hot	

Libre usted calienta tucupí

6 Mot	ré	kája	ré	i'makáño	jló	iné
Morphèmes	ré	kája	ri= é	i'ma -ka -ño	jló	iná
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf in	live A.nz2 pl.nz	for	gnr.pro

kémá : " ajñá waláko jakú !".
 kémá i= ajñá waláko jakú
 say 2pl eat dish_name inside

Libre a los que están ahí uno dice "coman tucupí"

7 Mot kuliya i'makáchú iná a'á najló
Morphèmes kuliya i'ma -ka chú iná a'á na= jló
Glose lex. drink_name cop ka.adv cond gnr.pro give 3pl for

kuliya .
 kuliya
 drink_name

Libre cuando hay caguana uno la ofrece

8 Mot é kája iná i'jñá lapiyámi iné i'jñá
Morphèmes é kája iná i'jñá jlapiyámí iná i'jñá
Glose lex. then already gnr.pro go morning gnr.pro go

mená e'yajé .
 mená e'yajé
 cropland towards

Libre y ya uno se va en la mañana y ya uno está en la chagra

9 Mot nuká i'jñári kajíru jña'jé .
Morphèmes nu= ikhá i'jna -ri kajírú jña' -je
Glose lex. 1sg pro go nf.cleft manioc take purp.mot

Libre yo voy a buscar yuca

10 Mot nujña'á kajíru .
Morphèmes nu= jña'á kajírú
Glose lex. 1sg pull_up manioc

Libre yo cargo yuca

11 Mot eyá kéle nuyajná i'jñári
Morphèmes eyá kéle nu= yajná i'jna -ri
Glose lex. since_then med 1sg husband go nf.cleft

jña'rí .
 jña' -rí
 take nf.cleft

Libre mi marido se va a buscar

12 Mot ipatú ilé jña'á ,
Morphèmes ipatú ilé jña'á
Glose lex. coca med take

Libre él coge coca

13 Mot rila'kálojé ipatú pají chojé
Morphèmes ri= la' -ka lojé ipatú pají chojé
Glose lex. 3sg.nf do ka.adv purp3 coca maloca towards_inside

penáje .
penáje
for

Libre para el hacer coca para la maloca

14 Mot	eyá	nuká	jñá'rí	nákarí	kajíru
Morphèmes	eyá	nu= ikhá	jñá' -rí	nákarí	kajírú
Glose lex.	since_then	1sg pro	take nf.cleft	uh	manioc

nupá riká ,
nu= ipí ri= ikhá
1sg wash 3sg.nf pro

Libre yo cojo, este, yuca, yo la lavo

15 Mot	nupháká	nuta'á	riká .
Morphèmes	nu= iphá -ka	nu= ta'á	ikhá
Glose lex.	1sg arrive ka.when	1sg grate	pro

Libre cuando llego la rallo

16 Mot	kája	nututúwa	, kája	nuñapáta	riká
Morphèmes	kája	nu= tutúwa'	kája	nu= ñapáta	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	already	1sg strain	already	1sg finish	3sg.nf pro

Libre yo la suelo ya terminé eso

17 Mot	éjomi	nomoto'ó	keñá .
Morphèmes	éjomi	nu= moto'ó	keñá
Glose lex.	after	1sg cook	sauce_name

Libre después cocino manicuera

18 Mot	é	kája	muní	ké	kája	nomoto'ó
Morphèmes	é	kája	muní	ké	kája	nu= moto'ó
Glose lex.	then	already	tomorrow	like	already	1sg cook

waláko
waláko
dish_name

Libre en la mañana yo cocino tucupí

19 Mot	nula'á	kujnú	kájémaka	phiyúké
Morphèmes	nu= la'á	kujnú	kájemáka	phiyúké
Glose lex.	1sg do	cassava	etcetera	all

Libre yo hago casabe entre otros de todo

20 Mot	ré	i'makáño	jló	iné	kémá
Morphèmes	ri= é	i'ma -ka -ño	jló	iná	kémá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf in	live A.nz2 pl.nz	for	gnr.pro	say

najñá kujnú waláko jwa'té
na= ajñá kujnú waláko jwa'té
3pl eat cassava dish_name with

Libre y uno le dice a los que están ahí que coman casabe con tucupí

21 Mot	eyá	arápa'kaje	wakajé	ñaké	kája	,
Morphèmes	eyá	arápa' -kaje	wakajé	ñaké	kája	
Glose lex.	since_then	dance	ev.nz2	date	dist.simil	emph?

Libre a partir del baile ese día lo mismo

22 Mot	na'á	iné	ñathé	.
Morphèmes	na= a'á	iná	ñathé	
Glose lex.	3pl give	gnr.pro	help	

Libre ellos le colaboran a uno

23 Mot	inauké	a'ñó	iné	ñathé	kéle
Morphèmes	inau'ké	a' -ñó	iná	ñathé	kéle
Glose lex.	person	give	pl.cleft	gnr.pro	help med

arápa'kaje	iná	la'kálojé	penáje
arápa' -kaje	iná	la' -ká lojé	penáje
dance ev.nz2	gnr.pro	do ka.adv purp3	for

Libre la gente le ayuda a uno para hacer ese baile

24 Mot	ná	ka'jno	pipirí	ka'jno	ne'erá
Morphèmes	ná	ka'jno	pipirí	ka'jno	na= i'irá
Glose lex.	indf	dub	palm_sp	dub	3pl drink

Libre ya sea chontaduro u otro

25 Mot	wakajé	kája	rímá	najló	éko
Morphèmes	wakajé	kája	ri= ímá	na= jló	éko
Glose lex.	date	already	3sg.nf say	3pl for	pol.imp

ñaké	nuwáta	a'ká	nuñathé
ñaké	nu= wáta	i= a' -ka	nu= ñathé
dist.simil	1sg want	2pl give	ka.nz 1sg help

ikaja'tákalojé	nojlo	pipirí	penáje
i= kaja' -ta -ka lojé	nu= jló	pipirí	penáje
2pl remove caus ka.adv purp3	1sg for	palm_sp	for

Libre ese día él les dice a ellos yo quiero que me ayuden a arrancar chontaduro

26 Mot	é	kája	nawitúkata	rijló	pipirí
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= witúka' -ta	ri= jló	pipirí
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl go_down caus	3sg.nf for	palm_sp

phiyúké	é	kája	namoto'ó	riká
phiyúké	é	kája	na= moto'ó	ri= ikhá
all	then	already	3pl cook	3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí ya bajaron todo el chontaduro y lo cocinaron

27 Mot	namoto'ó	riká	napá	riká	é
Morphèmes	na= moto'ó	ri= ikhá	na= apá	ri= ikhá	é
Glose lex.	3pl cook	3sg.nf pro	3pl serve	3sg.nf pro	then

kája	nayukupéra	nákaóna	phiyúké	i'mañó
kája	na= yukupéra'	nákhaúna	phiyúké	i'ma -ñó
already	3pl invite	people	all	go pl.nz
rikaja'jé		, (na	---) nayukupéra	nalúna
ri= kaja'	-je	na	na= yukupéra'	na= lúna
3sg.nf remove	purp.mot	***	3pl invite	3pl wives
i'jnálojé	rináku	jápáje	.	
i'jná lojé	ri= náku	jápá -je		
go purp3	3sg.nf on	work purp.mot		

Libre ellos lo cocinaron, y lo sirven y ellos invitan a esa gente, todos los que fueron a bajar, ellos invitan a sus mujeres para que trabajen en eso

28 Mot	ré	kája	inaána	iphá	phiyúké	rináku
Morphèmes	ré	kája	inaána	iphá	phiyúké	ri= náku
Glose lex.	then	already	woman	arrive	all	3sg.nf on

jápáje	nalajo'ó	riká	.
jápá -je	na= lajo'ó	ikhá	
work purp.mot	3pl skin	pro	

Libre ahí llegan las mujeres y todas se ponen a trabajar, están pelando

29 Mot	nata'á	riká	kájémaka	(a'jná) ,
Morphèmes	na= ta'á	ri= ikhá	kájemáka	a'jná
Glose lex.	3pl grate	3sg.nf pro	etcetera	***

na'ká	re'yá	, kája	naka'á	riká
na= a' -ka	ri= e'yá	kája	na= ka'á	ri= ikhá
3pl give ka.nz	3sg.nf in	already	3pl throw_out	3sg.nf pro

leyuná	chojé	,
leyuná	chojé	
pot	towards_inside	

Libre están rallando esto, hasta que ellas la están remojando, después de eso ya lo echan en un leyuná

30 Mot	a'jná	nañapátaka	riká	ejená	.
Morphèmes	a'jná	na= ñapáta	-ka	ri= ikhá	ejená
Glose lex.	dist	3pl finish	ka.nz	3sg.nf pro	until

Libre hasta que ellas lo terminan

31 Mot	é	kája	nákari	...
Morphèmes	é	kája	nákari	
Glose lex.	then	already	uh	

Libre ahí

32 Mot	rímá	"	marí	kéchámi	ri'rakána
Morphèmes	ri= ímá		marí	kéchámi	ri= i'ra -kána
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say		prox	after	3sg.nf drink ev.nz1

i'majĩká " .
 i'ma -jĩ -ka
 cop fut ka.cleft

Libre él dice que tal fecha van a tomar

33 Mot	é	kája	nakulá	kamejéri	nakulá
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= kulá	kamejéri	na= kulá
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl search	animal	3pl search

kamejéri ,
 kamejéri
 animal

Libre de ahí ellos van abuscar cacería, van a buscan cacería

34 Mot	ná	ka'jnó	jíña	ka'jnó	,
Morphèmes	ná	ka'jnó	jíña	ka'jnó	
Glose lex.	indf	dub	fish	dub	

Libre de pronto pescado

35 Mot	najña'á	jíña	je'ró	ka'jnó	nenó	jéma	ka'jnó
Morphèmes	na= jña'á	jíña	je'ró	ka'jnó	na= nó	jéma	ka'jnó
Glose lex.	3pl take	fish	pig	dub	3pl kill	tapir	dub

rinumapána
 ri= numapá -ná
 3sg.nf food ?

Libre cogen pescado o cogen puerco o danta para la fiesta

36 Mot	é	kája	rímá	kélé	nákhaúna
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri= ímá	kélé	nákhaúna
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf say	med	people

riyukupéraka najló , ri'jná kémáje ,
 ri= yukupéra' -ka na= jló ri= i'jná kémá je
 3sg.nf invite ka.insub? 3pl for 3sg.nf go say purp.mot

chúwa tá nuwátaka i'jnaká nojló ,
 chúwa tâ nu= wáta -ka i= i'jna -ká nu= jló
 now emph1 1sg want ka.topic 2pl go ka.nz 1sg for

nupaĩjĩ (i'rá) , nupaĩjĩ i'rajě .
 nu= paĩjĩ i'rá nu= paĩjĩ i'ra jě
 1sg fruit drink 1sg fruit drink purp.mot

Libre ahora sí él les está confirmando la fecha cuando van a bailar a los invitados yo quiero que ustedes vayan para mí a tomar mi fruta

37 Mot	marí	wakajé	ri'majě	ké
Morphèmes	marí	wakajé	ri= i'ma jé	ké
Glose lex.	prox	date	3sg.nf tell fut	like

Libre tal fecha va a ser (el baile)

38 Mot é kája na ---, nala'kálojé pipirí
Morphèmes é kája na na= la' -ká lojé pipirí
Glose lex. then already *** 3pl do ka.adv purp3 palm_sp

i'ráka'úna , é kája nala'á pipirí i'ráka'úna phiyúké ,
i'ráka'úna é kája na= la'á pipirí i'ráka'úna phiyúké
disguise then already 3pl do palm_sp disguise all

é kája ripháká jrená chojé wakajé
é kája ri= iphá -ká ri= jená chojé wakajé
then already 3sg.nf arrive ka.nz 3sg.nf hour towards_inside date

kája ... rímá najló :
kája ri= ímá na= jló
already 3sg.nf say 3pl for

Libre ahí ellos hacen traje para el baile den chontaduro, hacen todos los trajes, ya la fecha va a llegar (el día del baile va a llegar al momento), ese día él les dice

39 Mot " marí wakajé ri'majé " , wakajé
Morphèmes marí wakajé ri= i'ma jé wakajé
Glose lex. prox date 3sg.nf cop fut date

nephá ,
na= iphá
3pl arrive

Libre tal día va a ser el baile y ese día ellos llegan,

40 Mot nephá kélé wajlajé .
Morphèmes na= iphá kélé wajla' -jé
Glose lex. 3pl arrive med dance purp.mot

Libre llegan (ese) a bailar,

41 Mot inauké iphári pipirí i'rajé .
Morphèmes inau'ké iphá -ri pipirí i'ra -jé
Glose lex. person arrive nf.cleft palm_sp drink purp.mot

Libre la gente llega a tomar chontaduro

42 Mot riwakajé iné apú píño lapiwá
Morphèmes ri= wakajé iná apú píño lapiwá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf date gnr.pro wake_up again dawn

papú .
pi= apú
2sg wake_up

Libre ese día usted madruga muy temprano

43 Mot pheyo'tá pipirí .
Morphèmes pi= jeyo'tá pipirí
Glose lex. 2sg sift palm_sp

Libre a cernir masa de chontaduro

44 Mot	pikuwá	kujnú	kájémaka	jíña	kajémaka	
Morphèmes	pi=	kuwá	kujnú	kájemáka	jíña	kájemáka
Glose lex.	2sg	cook	cassava	etcetera	fish	etcetera

wajla'jéño jló iná a'kálojé
wajla' -je -ño jló iná a' -ká lojé
dance A.nz pl.nz for gnr.pro give ka.adv purp3

Libre ahí usted hace casabe, esto, pescado, para darle a los bailadores (muñequeros)

45 Mot	é	kája	narápa'a	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= arápa'a	
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl	dance

Libre ahí ya bailan

46 Mot	é	kája	nephá	(pa-)	lapiyámi	, phá	
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= iphá	***	jlapiyámí	phá	
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl	arrive	***	morning	house

chójo iphákáño , ipháño arápaje
chójõ iphá -ka -ño iphá -ño arápa' -je
towards_inside arrive A.nz2 pl.nz arrive pl.cleft dance purp.mot

Libre ahí llegan por la mañana, los que llegan a la maloca, llegan a bailar

47 Mot	narápa'a	napiyá	.	
Morphèmes	na= arápa'a	na= apiyá		
Glose lex.	3pl	dance	3pl	before

Libre ellos bailan antes de ellos (los muñequeros, los tori, que llegan a medio día)

48 Mot	kaápu'kú	ewá	kája	nákari	...
Morphèmes	kaápu'kú	ewá	kája	nákarí	
Glose lex.	noon	around	already	uh	

Libre del medio dia por ahi mas o menos

49 Mot	tórina	ipháño	.	
Morphèmes	tóri -na	iphá -ño		
Glose lex.	tori	pl	arrive	pl.cleft

Libre llegan los tori

50 Mot	é	kája	nawajla'á	kajrú	nawajla'ká			
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= wajla'á	kajrú	na= wajla' -ká			
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl	dance	much	3pl	dance	ka.cleft

é kája ná ---
é kája ná
then already indf

Libre muchos disfrazados llegan

51 Mot	kajú	tórina	ipháká	, é	kája		
Morphèmes	kajú	tóri -na	iphá -ká	é	kája		
Glose lex.	much	tori	pl	arrive	ka.cleft	then	already

na'á	najló	numapáji	pe'yojé	.
na= a'á	na= jló	numapá -ji	pe'yó	
3pl give	3pl for	food unposs	half	

Libre muchos toris llegan y se les pone la cacería en la mitad

52 Mot	nayá'ta	najló	kujnú	,	jíña	,	pipirála	,
Morphèmes	na= yá'ta	na= jló	kujnú		jíña		pipirála	
Glose lex.	3pl put	3pl for	cassava		fish		liquor	

ri'ími		i'makáchú		ri'ími	,
ri= i'í =mi		i'ma -ká chú		ri= i'í =mi	
3sg.nf meat	nom.pfv	cop ka.adv cond		3sg.nf meat	nom.pfv

na'á	najló	najñákalojé		penáje	kéchámi	,
na= a'á	na= jló	na= ajñá -ka	lojé	penáje	kéchámi	
3pl give	3pl for	3pl eat ka.adv	purp3	for	after	

waláku	ipatú	,
waláku	ipatú	
dish_name	coca	

Libre lo colocan para ellos casabe pescado chicha carne, si hay carne se les pone para que coman después tucupi coca

53 Mot	kélé	..
Morphèmes	kélé	
Glose lex.	med	

Libre esos

54 Mot	riká	nákari	...
Morphèmes	ikhá	nákari	
Glose lex.	pro	uh	

Libre esas cosas

55 Mot	jnácho'ta		wakapójo	riká
Morphèmes	na= jácho' -ta		wakapójo	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	3pl go_out caus		outside	3sg.nf pro

najñákalojé	.
na= ajñá -ka	lojé
3pl eat ka.adv	purp3

Libre sacan afuera eso para que coman

56 Mot	é	kája	napa'ó		píño	,	napa'tá
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= pa' =ó		píño		na= pa'tá
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl return mid		again		3pl return

ra'kunámi		é	kája
ri= a'kuná =mi		é	kája
3sg.nf container	nom.pfv	then	already

Libre ellos vuelven (a la maloca) y devuelven los recipientes (vacíos)

57 Mot	eyá	kája	nákari
Morphèmes	eyá	kája	nákari
Glose lex.	since_then	already	uh

Libre ahí ya

58 Mot	jnácho'ko		éjéchami	, kája
Morphèmes	na= jácho'	-ka =o	éjéchami	kája
Glose lex.	3pl go_out	ka.nz mid	after	already

natamáka'ta numapáji najló , phiyúké
na= tamáka' -ta numapá -ji na= jló phiyúké
3pl spread caus food unposs 3pl for all

najñáka nanumapó
na= ajñá -ka na= numapá =o
3pl eat ka.cleft 3pl food mid

Libre ellos salen, inmediatamente ya reparten la comida, ellos todos comen su cacería

59 Mot	é	kája	narápa'a	píño	(ajná	nawajla'á
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= arápa'a	píño	***	na= wajla'á
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl dance	again	***	3pl dance

) , jme'táno nawajla'ká
jme'táno na= wajla' -ká
dawn 3pl dance ka.cleft

Libre ellos bailan otra vez, hasta el amanecer

60 Mot	é	kája	pháchúyájéna	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	phá chú e'yá -je -na	
Glose lex.	then	already	house in in A.nz pl	

Libre de ahí los que estan dentro (de la maloca)

61 Mot	é	narápa'a	jlapí	kétána	narápa'ka
Morphèmes	é	na= arápa'a	jlapí	kétána	na= arápa' -ka
Glose lex.	then	3pl dance	night	during	3pl dance ka.cleft

muní ké píño ,
muní ké píño
tomorrow like again

Libre bailan toda la noche y a la mañana siguiente otra vez

62 Mot	a'jné	ritajnáko		ejená	, na ---
Morphèmes	a'jné	ri= tajná -ka =o		ejená	na
Glose lex.	dist	3sg.nf finish	ka.nz mid	until	***

nañapáta riká , é kája nala'á riyálena
na= ñapáta ri= ikhá é kája na= la'á ri= yálena
3pl finish 3sg.nf pro then already 3pl do 3sg.nf song

píño
píño
again

Libre hasta que termina, ellos terminan eso (el baile), ahí bailan otra vez baile de él

63 **Mot** narápa'a wichakálaje .
Morphèmes na= arápa'a wichakálaje
Glose lex. 3pl dance proper.n

Libre bailan/cantan el wichakálaje

64 **Mot** pajlúwaja jlapí narápa'a wichakálaje é
Morphèmes pajlúwá =ja jlapí na= arápa'a wichakálaje é
Glose lex. one lim night 3pl dance proper.n then

kája najme'tá
kája na= jme'tá
already 3pl become_light

Libre una noche bailan el wichakálaje y ya amanecen

65 **Mot** ejená
Morphèmes ejená
Glose lex. until

Libre hasta ahí

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1 Mot	pajlúwa	inauké	i'michári		
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -chá	-ri	
Glose lex.	one	person	cop pst	nf.cleft	

Libre había una vez una persona

2 Mot	riká		i'michári		reje'ími	
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	i'mi -chá	-ri	ri=	eje'í =mi
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	cop pst	nf.cleft	3sg.nf	brother_son pfv

jwa'té
jwa'té
with

Libre el estuvo con sus sobrinos

3 Mot	é	ne'michá		pajlúwa	pají	chú
Morphèmes	é	na= i'mi -chá		pajlúwá	pají	chú
Glose lex.	then	3pl live pst		one	maloca	in

ne'michá
na= i'mi -chá
3pl live pst

Libre estuvieron en una sola maloca

4 Mot	é	riká	,	reje'ími		i'michá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ikhá		ri= éje'ími		i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf pro		3sg.nf ***		live pst

jana'káje nakú
jana' -káje nakú
fish ev.nz2 on

Libre él, el sobrino, vivía pescando

5 Mot	jana'káje	nakú	ri'michá		
Morphèmes	jana' -káje	nakú	ri= i'mi -chá		
Glose lex.	fish ev.nz2	on	3sg.nf live pst		

Libre el vivía pescando

6 Mot	jwe'chúka'la	kajú	rijĩ'cháka		jíñana
Morphèmes	jwe'chú -ka'la	kajú	ri= jĩ' -chá -ka		jíña -na
Glose lex.	day ?nz	much	3sg.nf take pst	ka.cleft	fish pl

kajú wáni
kajú wáni
much emph

Libre durante el día cogía mucho pescao

7 Mot	wa'jini	rijĩ'cháka			neká	jana'káje
Morphèmes	wa'jini	ri= jĩ'	-chá	-ka	na= ikhá	jana' -káje
Glose lex.	always	3sg.nf take	pst	ka.cleft	3pl pro	fish ev.nz2

nakú
nakú
on

Libre todos los días sacaba los pescados pescando

8 Mot	lapí	riphícha				
Morphèmes	lapí	ri= ipha	-cha			
Glose lex.	night	3sg.nf arrive	pst			

Libre de noche llegó (él)

9 Mot	iná	jme'táka			chojónaja	
Morphèmes	iná	jme'tá	-ka		chojóna	=ja
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	become_light	ka.nz		towards_inside2	lim

Libre al amanecer

10 Mot	kája	wája				
Morphèmes	kája	=wá	=ja			
Glose lex.	already	emph	lim			

Libre ya después

11 Mot	kája	wája	jíñana	kémícha	:	"
Morphèmes	kája	=wá	=ja	jíña -na	kémí -cha	
Glose lex.	already	emph	lim	fish pl	say	pst

méke cháwani ,
méké cháwa -ni
indf.manner pity nf

Libre ya después los pescaos dijeron qué lastima

12 Mot	ritajnáta			weká	chúwa	
Morphèmes	ri= tajnáta	-ka		wa= ikhá	chúwa	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf finish	ka.topic		1pl pro	now	

Libre él esta acabando a nosotros ahora

13 Mot	" ñaké	númá	pijló	nutú		
Morphèmes	ñaké	nu= ímá	pi= jló	nu= itú		
Glose lex.	dist.simil	1sg say	2sg for	1sg daughter		

Libre eso yo te digo hija

14 Mot	éko	pi'jné	richáje			
Morphèmes	éko	pi= i'jné	ri= cháje			
Glose lex.	pol.imp	2sg go	3sg.nf at			

Libre vaya donde él

15 Mot	kája	ritajnáta			weká	chúwa
Morphèmes	kája	ri= tajnáta	-ka		wa= ikhá	chúwa
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf finish	ka.prog		1pl pro	now

Libre el ya nos está acabando

16 Mot	ñaké	núma	pijló	pi'makálojé		
Morphèmes	ñaké	nu= ímá	pi= jló	pi= i'ma -ká	lojé	
Glose lex.	dist.simil	1sg say	2sg for	2sg tell ka.adv	purp3	

rijwa'té penáje ."
ri= jwa'té penáje
3sg.nf with for

Libre eso le estoy diciendo pa que usted viva con él

17 Mot	" jé	, pa'yú	, éko	nu'jné	richáje	
Morphèmes	jé	pa'yú	éko	nu= i'jné	ri= cháje	
Glose lex.	good	papá.addr	pol.imp	1sg go	3sg.nf at	

" , ké rúmichaka rijló .
ké ru= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló
like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre sí papá yo me voy a donde él, le dijo ella

18 Mot	riká	aú	ru'jíchá			
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	aú	ru= i'jĩ -chá			
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	because	3sg.f go pst			

Libre por eso ella se fue

19 Mot	ré	ri'jíchá	janajé			
Morphèmes	ré	ri= i'jĩ -chá	jana' -je			
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	fish purp.mot			

Libre él se fue a pescar

20 Mot	palá	kéri	patíyaka	, kaápu'kú	ja'pí	
Morphèmes	palá	kéri	patí -ya -ka	kaápu'kú	ja'pi	
Glose lex.	good	moon	shine pst ka.cleft	noon	under	

jrái'cho jana'jé ,
ri= jái' -cha =o jana' -jé
3sg.nf go_out pst mid fish purp.mot

Libre la luna estaba alumbrando bien, bajo la luna llena él salía a pescar

21 Mot	amíchari					
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri					
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss					

Libre él miró

22 Mot	kajúni	iñejwíla	i'micháka	, pu'téni		
Morphèmes	kajú -ni	iñejwíla	i'mi -chá -ka	pu'té -ni		
Glose lex.	much nf	place	cop pst ka.cleft	clean nf		

i'micháka riká chú ,
i'mi -chá -ka ri= ikhá chú
cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro in

Libre el lugar donde comía los lobos era grande y estaba limpio en ese lugar

23 Mot	ruñaká	amícharo	junápeje	,
Morphèmes	ru= ñaká	amí -cha -ri =o	junápi =eje	
Glose lex.	3sg.f reflection	see pst nf.cleft mid	water2 until	

Libre se miraba la sombra de ella en el agua

24 Mot	kajú	ruwilá	i'micháka	pe'yojé	ruwajlé
Morphèmes	kajú	ru= jwilá	i'mi -chá -ka	pe'yó	ru= wajlé
Glose lex.	much	3sg.f hair	cop pst ka.cleft	half	3sg.f back

Libre ella tenía mucho cabello hasta la mitad de la espalda

25 Mot	ré	ripéchú	i'michá	:
Morphèmes	ré	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf thought	cop pst	

Libre ahí él pensó

26 Mot	" ná	ka'jná	kélé	amáro	junápeje	?"
Morphèmes	ná	ka'jná	kélé	amá -ri =o	junápi =eje	
Glose lex.	indf	dub	med	see nf.cleft mid	water2 until	

Libre qué será eso que se ve dentro del agua

27 Mot	é	riyakáicho	ají	ké	,
Morphèmes	é	ri= yakái' -cha =o	ajĩ	ké	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf see	pst mid prox	like	

Libre él miró así

28 Mot	amíchari	ruyáa'ko	,
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	ru= yáa' -ka =o	
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	3sg.f sit ka.nz mid	

Libre él miro a ella sentada

29 Mot	iñejwíla	chú	ruyái'cho	,	pe'yojé
Morphèmes	iñejwíla	chú	ru= yái' -cha =o		pe'yo =eje
Glose lex.	place	in	3sg.f sit pst mid		half until

jruwilá i'michá ruwajlé chú .
 ru= jwilá i'mi -chá ru= wajlé chú
 3sg.f hair cop pst 3sg.f back in

Libre en el comedero del lobo ella estaba sentada, en la mitad ella tenía su cabello en su espalda

30 Mot	é	rímicha	rojló	:
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	

Libre y él le dijo a ella

31 Mot	" ná	pila'á	? "
Morphèmes	ná	pi= la'á	
Glose lex.	indf	2sg do	

Libre qué haces?

32 Mot	aú	rúmicha	rijló	:
Morphèmes	aú	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	because	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for	

Libre ahí ella le dijo a él

33 Mot	" nuká	pa'yú	wakára'a	majó	picháje
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	pa'yú	wakára'a	majó	pi= cháje
Glose lex.	1sg pro	papá.addr	order	prox.toward	2sg at

."

Libre a mi, mi papá me está mandando a donde usted

34 Mot	" náje	chí	riwakára'a	piká
Morphèmes	náje	chí	ri= wakára'a	pi= ikhá
Glose lex.	indf.reason	emph3	3sg.nf order	2sg pro

nucháje ?"
nu= cháje
1sg at

Libre para qué él te manda donde mí

35 Mot	" unká	" ké	rúmíchaka	.
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	

Libre no dijo ella

36 Mot	" kája	chá	wáni	pitajnáta	,
Morphèmes	kája	chá	wáni	pi= tajnáta -ka	
Glose lex.	already	?emph	emph	2sg finish ka.topic	

Libre ya usted nos está acabando

37 Mot	weká	nójena	,
Morphèmes	wa= ikhá	nu= éjena	
Glose lex.	1pl pro	1sg siblings	

Libre nosotros hermanos

38 Mot	wa'jini	wáni	kája	chá	unká	we'malá	."
Morphèmes	wa'jini	wáni	kája	chá	unká	wa= i'ma -lá	
Glose lex.	always	emph	already	on	neg	1pl cop v.neg	

Libre ya nos estamos disminuyendo

39.1 Mot	" mére	chí	nutajnáta	péjena	?"
Morphèmes	méré	chí	nu= tajnáta -ka	pi= éjena	
Glose lex.	indf.loc	emph3	1sg finish ka.cleft	2sg siblings	

Libre dónde yo estoy acabando a sus hermanos? dijo él

39.2 Mot	ké	rímichaka	.
Morphèmes	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	

Libre

40 Mot " mana'íja nuká , unká mérewá
Morphèmes mana'í =ja nu= ikhá unká méré =ewá
Glose lex. calm lim 1sg pro neg indf.loc around

kalé nutajnáta péjéna ."
kalé nu= tajnáta pi= éjéna
nv.neg 1sg finish 2sg siblings

Libre yo estoy tranquilo, no sé en qué momento estoy acabando con sus hermanos

41 Mot ña- , ñaké kajúchá rijí'cháka
Morphèmes *** ñaké kajú -chá ri= jĩ' -chá -ka
Glose lex. *** dist.simil much inch 3sg.nf take pst ka.cleft

po'jóna i'micháka , jíñana i'michári
po'jóna i'mi -chá -ka jíña -na i'mi -chá -ri
fish_sp far.pst pst ka.pst fish pl cop pst nf.cleft
jritáne chú .
ri= jítá -ne chú
3sg.nf canoe alien3 in

Libre ya el había cogido muchas sabaletas, había pescado, dentro de su canoa

42 Mot é rúmicha rijló :
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre ella le dijo

43 Mot " ná kalé tá kélé pitáño
Morphèmes ná kalé tâ kélé pitá -ño =o
Glose lex. indf emph5 emph1 med pile_up pl.cleft mid

phitáne chú ?
pi= jítá -ne chú
2sg canoe alien3 in

Libre entonces qué es eso lo que hay dentro de la canoa

44 Mot ná chí neká pimaká ,
Morphèmes ná chí na= ikhá pi= ima -ka
Glose lex. indf emph3 3pl pro 2sg say ka.topic

Libre WIYB: qué es eso, dígame; VIMY: entonces cómo usted dice/nombra eso que está ahí?

45 Mot ñaké núma pijló me'tení , pickupá
Morphèmes ñaké nu= ímá pi= jló me'tení pi= kupá
Glose lex. dist.simil 1sg say 2sg for now 2sg throw

neká phiyúké junápeje ."
na= ikhá phiyúké junápi =eje
3pl pro all water2 until

Libre ahora te digo, te ordeno que lo tires todo al agua

46 Mot rikája ri'jnatiyáka
Morphèmes ri= ikhá =ja ri= i'jnati -yá -ka
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro lim 3sg.nf take pst ka.cleft

ripéchúwa ,
 ri= péchú =wa
 3sg.nf thought refl

Libre en ese instante pensó

47 Mot rímícha : " apála jíñana náchána ka'jná
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha apála jíña -na náchána ka'jná
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst maybe fish pl tribe dub
 , khájiru kémáyo nojló "
 kháájí -ru kémá -yo nu= jló
 prox f say f.nz 1sg for

Libre él se dijo entre sí mismo quizás esta sea la madre de los peces, que me está diciendo (VIMY: ésta que me está diciendo)

48 Mot é rikupícha phiyúké , rikupícha
Morphèmes é ri= kupí -cha phiyúké ri= kupí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf throw pst all 3sg.nf throw pst

neká junápeje .
 na= ikhá junápi =eje
 3pl pro water2 until

Libre y él los botó todos al agua

49 Mot é kája ru'michá najwa'té .
Morphèmes é kája ru= i'mi -chá na= jwa'té
Glose lex. then 3sg.f live pst 3pl with

Libre ahí ella vivía con ellos

50 Mot rijwa'té , é ru'jíchá a'jná ...
Morphèmes ri= jwa'té é ru= i'jī -chá a'jná
Glose lex. 3sg.nf with then 3sg.f go pst dist

ne'micháka éjō .
 na= i'mi -chá -ka ejo
 3pl live pst obl.nz towards

Libre con él, ella se fue allá donde que ellos vivían

51 Mot é jlapí riphátiya ruká ,
Morphèmes é jlapí ri= iphá -ti -ya ru= ikhá
Glose lex. then night 3sg.nf arrive caus pst 3sg.f pro

Libre en la noche él la llevó

52 Mot jenájiké jlapí ripháchiyaka
Morphèmes jenájiké jlapí ri= iphá -chi -ya -ka
Glose lex. midnight night 3sg.nf arrive caus pst ka.cleft

ruká .
 ru= ikhá
 3sg.f pro

Libre a media noche la llevó

53 Mot	é	kélé	phíyu'ke	i'michári		pají	chú	,
Morphèmes	é	kélé	phíyu'ke	i'mi -chá -ri		pají	chú	
Glose lex.	then	med	old	cop pst nf.nz		maloca	in	

Libre el abuelo que estaba dentro de la maloca

54 Mot	riká		jwa'té	najícha		nakakúwá		,
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	jwa'té	na= ají -cha		na= kakú =wá		
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	with	3pl eat pst		3pl coca refl		

Libre con él ellos mambearon

55 Mot	jenájikéjé		jlapí	.
Morphèmes	jenájiké	=eje	jlapí	
Glose lex.	midnight	until	night	

Libre hasta media noche (todos los días)

56 Mot	nayái'cho		nákájé	nakú	napuri'chó		,
Morphèmes	na= yái' -cha =o		nákaje	nakú	na= puri' -cha =ó		
Glose lex.	3pl sit pst mid		thing	on	3pl speak pst mid		

ne'michá yúku pajlokáka phiyúké .
na= i'mi -chá yúku pajlokáka phiyúké
3pl tell pst story each_other all

Libre se sentaron a hablar de cosas, entre ellos se contaban cuentos, todo

57 Mot	é kája	unká	riwe'íla		ru'micháka
Morphèmes	é kája	unká	ri= we'í -la		ru= i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	then	neg	3sg.nf know v.neg		3sg.f cop pst ka.nz

rijwa'té .
ri= jwa'té
3sg.nf with

Libre y ya él (el tío) no sabía que ella estaba con él

58 Mot	é kája	nákarí	rímicha		rijló	:
Morphèmes	é kája	nákarí	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló	
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf for	

Libre entonces él le dijo

59 Mot	"	unká	wáni	nowilámi		, méké
Morphèmes		unká	wáni	nu= owilá =mi		méké
Glose lex.		neg	emph	1sg uncle nom.pfv		indf.manner

pajá nuká me'tení , nutámi wáni nuká ,
pajá nu= ikhá me'tení nu= támi wáni nu= ikhá
emph 1sg pro now 1sg sickness emph 1sg pro

Libre nada tío, últimamente me he sentido muy enfermo, VIMY: qué será yo siento ahora, estoy muy enfermo.

60 Mot	ñaké	unká	méla'jé	wapura'ló
Morphèmes	ñaké	unká	méla'jé	wa= pura' -lá =o
Glose lex.	dist.simil	neg	indf.manner	1pl speak v.neg mid

jlapí ."
jlapí
night

Libre por eso no podemos hablar de noche

61 Mot éko muní píño
Morphèmes éko muní píño
Glose lex. pol.imp tomorrow again

Libre hasta mañana nuevamente

62 Mot kája rikája jrái'chako
Morphèmes kája ri= ikhá =ja ri= jái' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf pro lim 3sg.nf go_out pst ka.topic mid

Libre y en ese momento él salió

63 Mot kamátajo
Morphèmes kamáta -je =o
Glose lex. sleep purp.mot mid

Libre se fue a acostar a dormir

64 Mot pajéláje chú , pajéláje chú ru'michá .
Morphèmes pajéláje chú pajéláje chú ru= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. room in room in 3sg.f cop pst

Libre en el cuarto, ella estaba en el cuarto

65 Mot muní ké ri'jícháka janajé ,
Morphèmes muní ké ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka jana' -je
Glose lex. next_day 3sg.nf go pst ka.cleft fish purp.mot

Libre al día siguiente salió a pescar

66.1 Mot iphíchari mapéja , "
Morphèmes iphí -cha -ri mapéja
Glose lex. arrive pst nf.ss normally

noje'rími é pijĩ'cháka jíña ?
nu= eje'rí =mi é pi= jĩ' -chá -ka jíña
1sg brother_son nom.pfv Q 2sg take prs ka.int fish

Libre él llegó sin nada, "sobrino sí cogiste pescado?"

66.2 Mot " , rímicha rijló .
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre , le dijo a él

67 Mot rímicha : " unká wáni nowilámi ,
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha unká wáni nu= owilá =mi
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst neg emph 1sg uncle nom.pfv

unká ne'malá , kája nala'ó upe'jlú , kája
unká na= i'ma -lá kája na= la' =ó upe'jlú kája
neg 3pl cop v.neg already 3pl do mid fierce already
natajnó ."
na= tajná =o
3pl finish mid

Libre dijo "nada tío, ya no hay ya se arisquearon"

68 Mot é railámi unká we'íacha ,
Morphèmes é ri= owilá =mi unká we'í -la -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf uncle nom.pfv neg know v.neg pst
marí ké chí riwáa'ka , jíñana náchána .
marí ké chí ri= wáa' -ka jíña -na náchána
prox like emph3 3sg.nf call ka.nz fish pl tribe

Libre y el tío no sabía, que así el cogió a esa mujer, la madre de los peces

69 Mot é kája ripéchutá i'michá : " méké
Morphèmes é kája ri= péchú tâ i'mi -chá méké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf thought emph1 cop pst indf.manner
chí rila'kótá , kháãjĩ ? ,
chí ri= la' -ká =o tâ kháãjĩ
emph3 3sg.nf do ka.cleft mid emph1 prox

Libre a lo último él pensó "qué es lo que le estará pasando a este?"

70 Mot wa'jini wapura'jĩkono ,
Morphèmes wa'jini wa= pura' -jĩka =o =no
Glose lex. always 1pl speak far.pst.nz mid hab
wajñajĩkeno wakakúwá rijwa'té ,
wa= ajña -jĩke =nó wa= kakú =wá ri= jwa'té
1pl eat far.pst.nz hab 1pl coca refl 3sg.nf with

Libre todos los días hablabamos y mambeabamos con él

71 Mot jenáji kéja ,
Morphèmes jená -ji ké =ja
Glose lex. hour unposs like lim

Libre hasta media noche

72 Mot mére chí rila'kó chúwa ?"
Morphèmes mére chí ri= la' -ká =o chúwa
Glose lex. indf.loc emph3 3sg.nf do ka.cleft mid now

Libre qué le estará pasando ahora

73 Mot é riphícha píño ñakéja , é
Morphèmes é ri= ipha -cha píño ñaké =ja é
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive pst again dist.simil lim then
ri'jĩchá yakáa'jo .
ri= i'jĩ -chá yakáa' -je =o
3sg.nf go pst see purp.mot mid

Libre nuevamente llegó igual y lo fue a mirar

74 Mot	riyakái'cho	amíchari
Morphèmes	ri= yakái' -cha =o	amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	3sg.nf see pst mid	see pst nf.ss

roto'táko ritu'wí
 ru= to' -tá -ka =o ri= itu'wí
 3sg.f lie aug3 ka.nz mid 3sg.nf lap

Libre él vio que ella estaba acostadota con él (implicito: en la hamaca)

75 Mot	inanáru kajúru paláru
Morphèmes	inanáru kajú -ru palá -ru
Glose lex.	woman much f good f

Libre la mujer era gorda y bonita

76 Mot	é ripi'chó	, riley- é kája
Morphèmes	é ri= pi' -cha =ó	*** é kája
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf return pst mid	*** then
riley'icha	neká , tapuipémi	aú riley'icha
ri= lejí -cha	na= ikhá tapuipé =mi	aú ri= lejí -cha
3sg.nf spell pst	3pl pro sleep pfv	with 3sg.nf spell pst
é kája nakamátiyo	jwe'chójě	nakamátiyo
é kája na= kamáti -ya =o	jwe'chú =eje	na= kamáti -ya =o
then 3pl sleep pst mid	day until	3pl sleep pst mid
unká nawe'íla	najme'tiyaka	
unká na= we'í -la	na= jme'tí -ya -ka	
neg 3pl know v.neg	3pl become_light pst ka.nz	

Libre él regresó y los brujeó con sueño, los brujeó y se durmieron hasta temprano, y no se dieron cuenta que amanecieron

77 Mot	é ri'michá	...
Morphèmes	é ri= i'mi -chá	
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf go pst	

Libre él fue

78 Mot	réjő	amári	rejo'kája
Morphèmes	ri= ejo	amá -ri	rejo'kája
Glose lex.	3sg.nf towards	see nf.ss	still2

rikamátako
 ri= kamáta -ka =o
 3sg.nf sleep ka.nz mid

Libre y vio que todavía él estaba durmiendo

79 Mot	é kája riñaki'chá	jra'piyá
Morphèmes	é kája ri= ñaki' -chá	ri= ja'pi =eyá
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf move pst	3sg.nf under from

jretá
ri= jetá
3sg.nf hammoc

Libre él fue a moverles la hamaca

80 Mot é ripatíya , riñaki'chá
Morphèmes é ri= patí -ya ri= ñaki' -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf grab pst 3sg.nf move pst

jra'piyá jretá
ri= ja'pi =eyá ri= jetá
3sg.nf under from 3sg.nf hammoc

Libre el agarró y movió la hamaca

81 Mot " nóje'rími , náje unká
Morphèmes nu= eje'rí =mi náje unká
Glose lex. 1sg brother_son nom.pfv indf.reason neg

papúla ?"
pi= apú -la
2sg wake_up v.neg

Libre sobrino, por qué no te levantas?

82 Mot " papú , kája wajme'tíya
Morphèmes pi= apú kája wa= jme'tí -ya
Glose lex. 2sg wake_up already 1pl become_light pst

máapámi "
máapámi
longtime

Libre levántese ya amamecimos hace rato

83 Mot réja rapúcha , éja
Morphèmes ri= é =ja ri= apú -cha é =ja
Glose lex. 3sg.nf in lim 3sg.nf wake_up pst then lim

rojño'chá ritu'wíya
ru= jeño' -chá ri= itu'wí =yá
3sg.f jump pst 3sg.nf lap abl

Libre él se levantó, ella saltó de ahí

84 Mot riká penáje ru'ichakojlá ,
Morphèmes ri= ikhá penáje ru= í -cha -ka =o jlá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro for 3sg.f scape pst ka.cleft mid frust

Libre en el mismo instante ella se quería escapar

85 Mot é rímicha rojló " piñaníño
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ru= jló pi= ñá -níña =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for 2sg scape proh mid

, piñaníño , pijña'á kháãjĩ , pijña'á kháãjĩ
pi= ñá -níña =o pi= jña'á kháãjĩ pi= jña'á kháãjĩ
2sg scape proh mid 2sg take prox 2sg take prox

ji'chí !
 ji'chí
 pot

Libre él le dijo a ella "no se escape, no se escape, coja esta, coja esta tinaja"

86 Mot	ñakéjé	penáje	iná	i'má	apú	jwa'té	,
Morphèmes	ñaké	jé	penáje	iná	i'ma	apú	jwa'té
Glose lex.	dist.simil	lim	for	gnr.pro	live	other	with
	iná	la'kálojé	nákaje	rijló	penáje	.	
	iná	la' -ká	lojé	nákaje	ri=	jló	penáje
	gnr.pro	do	ka.adv	purp3	thing	3sg.nf	for

Libre para eso uno vive con otra persona para hacerle algo para él

87 Mot	pamo'ó	júni	rijló	pijña'á	majó	,					
Morphèmes	pi=	amo'ó	júni	ri=	jló	pi=	jña'á	majó			
Glose lex.	2sg	take	water1	3sg.nf	for	2sg	take	prox.toward			
	é	rutajícho	tajná	rutajíchako							
	é	ru=	tají	-cha	=o	tajná	ru=	tají	-cha	-ka	=o
	then	3sg.f	finish	pst	mid	stop	3sg.f	finish	pst	ka.insub?	mid
	réjé	.									
	ri=	=eje									
	3sg.nf	until									

Libre coja agua para él y tráigalo, y ella se paró quieta ahí.

88 Mot	é	ru'jíchá	,	é kája	rujíchá	júni			
Morphèmes	é	ru=	i'jĩ	-chá	é kája	ru=	jĩ	-chá	júni
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	go	pst	then	3sg.f	take	pst	water1
	rijló	.							
	ri=	jló							
	3sg.nf	for							

Libre ella fue y cogió agua para él

89 Mot	é kája	rijjíchá	,	é kája	ru'michá			
Morphèmes	é kája	ri=	jĩ	-chá	é kája	ru=	i'mi	-chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	take	pst	then	3sg.f	live	pst
	ré	rijwa'té	,	é kája	ne'michá	.		
	ri=	é	ri=	jwa'té	é kája	na=	i'mi	-chá
	3sg.nf	in	3sg.nf	with	then	3pl	cop	pst

Libre él se fue, ella vivió con él, y vivieron juntos

90 Mot	é kája	rúmicha	rijló	:	"	chúwatá		
Morphèmes	é kája	ru=	ímí	-cha	ri=	jló	chúwa	tâ
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	say	pst	3sg.nf	for	now	emph1

we'jnajíka ,
 wa= i'jna -jí -ka
 1pl go fut ka.cleft

Libre y ella le dijo "ahora sí nos vamos"

91.1 Mot	wajĩ'cháchi	a'wāchá	(???)
Morphèmes	wa= jĩ' -chá -chí	a'wanachá	
Glose lex.	1pl take pst purp2	tree	

Libre

91.2 Mot	, nójéna	jló	, jnora'pá	jló	."
Morphèmes	nu= éjéna	jló	nu= jara'pá	jló	
Glose lex.	1sg siblings	for	1sg father.ref	for	

Libre vamos a coger frutas para mis hermanos y mi papá

92 Mot	pa'ú	kélé	kuwá'ta	kéléna	u'walá
Morphèmes	pa'ú	kélé	kuwá' -ta	kélé -na	u'walá
Glose lex.	four	med	cross caus	med pl	laurel

ne'michá jñajé .
na= i'mi -chá jña' -jé
3pl go pst take purp.mot

Libre fueron a buscar 9 (canastos) de laurel

93 Mot	é kája	, é kája	rúmícha	:	" i'jná	chúwa
Morphèmes	é kája	é kája	ru= ímí -cha		i'jná	chúwa
Glose lex.	then	then	3sg.f say pst		go	now

wa'cháchí jnora'pá jló "
wa= a' -chá -chí nu= jara'pá jló
1pl give pst hort 1sg father.ref for

Libre entonces ella dijo: "ahora vamos a darle a mi papá"

94 Mot	é	kaja	ne'jíchá	.
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	
Glose lex.	then	emph?	3pl go pst	

Libre y se fueron

95 Mot	é	nephícha	pajlúwaja	ripokó
Morphèmes	é	na= ipha -cha	pajlúwá =ja	ri= pokó
Glose lex.	then	3pl arrive pst	one lim	3sg.nf well

chojé kajúni , é rúmícha rijló : "
chojé kajú -ni é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló
towards_inside much nf then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for

maárétá nowiláyá ."
maáré tâ nu= owiláyá
prox.loc emph1 1sg ***

Libre y llegaron a un pozo bien grande, y ella le dijo aquí es, mis tíos (o sea en ese pozo vive el tío),

96 Mot	" máarejé	pika'á	iyámethá	,
Morphèmes	máare =ejé	pi= ka'á	iyáme -ithá	
Glose lex.	prox.loc ***	2sg throw_out	two cls:basket	

pika'á máarejé "
 pi= ka'á máare =eje
 2sg throw_out prox.loc until

Libre aquí tire dos canastos (de laurel)

97 Mot é rijlámi'cha , riki'chá
Morphèmes é ri= jlámi' -cha ri= ki' -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf pour pst 3sg.nf throw_out pst

junápejé
 junápi =eje
 water2 until

Libre el regó, y tiró al agua (o rio)

98 Mot é kajú jnáí'chako ,
Morphèmes é kajú na= jái' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. then much 3pl go_out pst ka.cleft mid

najíchatá kéelé , nákarí , u'walá .
 na= ají -cha tá kéelé nákarí u'walá
 3pl eat pst emph1 med uh laurel

Libre y muchos salieron a comer laurel,

99 Mot é jna'pícha píño apú ripokó
Morphèmes é na= ja'pí -cha píño apú ri= pokó
Glose lex. then 3pl pass pst again other 3sg.nf well

chojé , " maáré thá nójéna ,
 chojé maáré thá nu= éjéna
 towards_inside prox.loc emph 1sg siblings

Libre y pasaron otra vez a otro pozo, aquí están mis hermanos

100 Mot máarejé pika'á iyámethá kája ."
Morphèmes máare =eje pi= ka'á iyáme -ithá kája
Glose lex. prox.loc until 2sg throw_out two cls:basket too

Libre tire acá dos canastos también

101 Mot é riki'chá píño , ñakéja
Morphèmes é ri= ki' -chá píño ñaké =ja
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf throw_out pst again dist.simil lim

kája , kajú najíchaka , jnáo'cháko
 kája kajú na= ají -cha -ka na= jáo' -chá -ka =o
 already much 3pl eat pst ka.cleft 3pl go_out pst ka.cleft mid

rajñájě .
 ri= ajñá -je
 3sg.nf eat purp.mot

Libre y él botó de nuevo, también lo mismo, comieron muchos (muchos pescados), salieron a comer.

102 Mot	é	kája	nephícha		apú	ripokó
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= ipha	-cha	apú	ri= pokó
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl arrive	pst	other	3sg.nf ***

chojě kajrúni .
 chojě kajrú -ni
 towards_inside much nf

Libre entonces llegaron a otro pozo más grande

103 Mot	é	rúmícha		:	"	máare	thá
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí	-cha			máare	thá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say	pst			prox.loc	emph

jnora'pá ,
 nu= jara'pá
 1sg father.ref

Libre y ella le dijo "aquí es donde está mi papá"

104 Mot	maáre	pika'jě			pa'ú	kéthá
Morphèmes	maáre	pi= ka'	-jě		pa'ú	ké -ithá
Glose lex.	prox.loc	2sg throw_out	fut		four	like cls:basket

pika'jě máajě "
 pi= ka' -jě máa =eje
 2sg throw_out fut here until

Libre aquí vas a echar cuatro canastaos, vas a echar aquí

105 Mot	é	riki'chá			rějě	, jum
Morphèmes	é	ri= ki'	-chá		ri= =eje	jum
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf throw_out	pst		3sg.nf until	huh

kajrú wáni jnái'cháko rajñájě ,
 kajrú wáni na= jái' -cha -ka =o ri= ajñá -je
 much emph 3pl go_out pst ka.cleft mid 3sg.nf eat purp.mot
 unkwá , kajú wáni , é kája napi'chó .
 unkwá kajú wáni é kája na= pi' -cha =ó
 neg much emph then 3pl return pst mid

Libre y él tiró ahí, jum, muchos salieron a comer, muchos, y regresaron

106 Mot	é kája	ne'michá		,	é kája	rúmícha
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'mi	-chá		é kája	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3pl cop	pst		then	3sg.f say pst

rijló : " chúwa nu'jnájíke pa'yú chájě ,
 ri= jló chúwa nu= i'jna -jǐ -ka pa'yú chájě
 3sg.nf for now 1sg go fut ka.cleft papá.addr at
 nu'jnájě richájě chira'jǒ , é nuká
 nu= i'jna -je ri= cháje chira' -je =o é nu= ikhá
 1sg go fut 3sg.nf at wander purp.mot mid then 1sg pro
 waícha píño "
 waícha píño
 return again

Libre estuvieron un buen tiempo, y ella le dijo: "ahora voy a ir a donde mi papá, voy a ir a pasear donde él, y regreso de nuevo"

107 Mot	é	ru'jchánó			jrora'pá	chájě	.
Morphèmes	é	ru= i'jĩ -chá =nó			ru= jara'pá	chájě	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f go pst hab			3sg.f father.ref	at	

Libre cada rato iba a donde el papá

108 Mot	kája	wája		rímícha		rojló	:	"
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja		ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló		
Glose lex.	already	emph lim		3sg.nf say pst		3sg.f for		

wa'jini	wáni	pi'jnakáno			nuyana'jú	ějó	"
wa'jini	wáni	pi= i'jna -ká =no			nu= yana'jú	ejo	
always	emph	2sg go ka.cleft hab			1sg father_in_law	towards	

Libre de repente le dijo: "cada rato estás yendo donde mi suegro"

109 Mot	ñaké	nu'jnajíke			pijwa'té	chúwa
Morphèmes	ñaké	nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka			pi= jwa'té	chúwa
Glose lex.	dist.simil	1sg go fut ka.cleft			2sg with	now

pi'jnajíke		rějó				
pi= i'jna -jĩ -ka		ri= ejo				
2sg go fut ka.topic		3sg.nf towards				

Libre ahora voy con usted cuando vayas para allá

110 Mot	yée	kéjo'ó	ké	rúmícha		
Morphèmes	yée	ké =jo'ó	ké	ru= ímí -cha		
Glose lex.	oh	like still	like	3sg.f say pst		

Libre ah, ella le dijo

111 Mot	unkwá	méla'jé		pi'jnalá		najwa'té
Morphèmes	unkwá	méla'jé		pi= i'jna -lá		na= jwa'té
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner		2sg go v.neg		3pl with

Libre usted no puede ir con ellos

112 Mot	unkwá	máawá	ké	kalé	,	rejó
Morphèmes	unkwá	máa =ewá	ké	kalé		ri= ejo
Glose lex.	neg	here around	like	nv.neg		3sg.nf towards

Libre allá no es como por aquí (no es lo mismo por allá)

113 Mot	piwátajíkaé				nujwa'té	i'jnakána	,
Morphèmes	pi= wáta -jĩ -ka	é			nu= jwa'té	i'jna -kána	
Glose lex.	2sg wait fut ka.adv cond2				1sg with	go ev.nz1	

Libre si usted quiere ir conmigo

114 Mot	pijña'á	paljnewá		apo'jó		máayá	,
Morphèmes	pi= jña'á	pi= al'jne =wá		apo'jó		máa eyá	
Glose lex.	2sg take	2sg food refl		?other.side		here from	

Libre lleve comida de acá por aparte

115 Mot	kujnú	káje	,
Morphèmes	kujnú	kájé	
Glose lex.	cassava	type	

Libre como casabe

116 Mot	unká	méla'jé	pajñála	wa'jné
Morphèmes	unká	méla'jé	pi= ajñá -la	wa= a'jné
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	2sg eat v.neg	1pl food

rějō	,	marí	kéja	núma	pijló
ri= ejo		marí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	pi= jló
3sg.nf towards		prox	like lim	1sg say	2sg for

Libre usted no puede comer nuestra comida, eso no más le digo

117 Mot	jé
Morphèmes	jé
Glose lex.	good

Libre bueno

118 Mot	é kája	ri'jíchá
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= i'jī -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst

Libre y se fue

119 Mot	ru'jíchá	é kája	rijĩ'chá	rijlúwa
Morphèmes	ru= i'jī -chá	é kája	ri= jĩ' -chá	ri= jlu =wa
Glose lex.	3sg.f go pst	then	3sg.nf take pst	3sg.nf for refl

ipatú	,	kujnú	,	ra'jnewá	rijĩ'chá	apo'jǒ
ipatú		kujnú		ri= a'jne =wá	ri= jĩ' -chá	apo'jǒ
coca		cassava		3sg.nf food refl	3sg.nf take pst	?other.side

kája
kája
already

Libre ella se fue, y él llevo para él coca, casabe, su comida él llevó por aparte para él

120 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	rujwa'té
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jī -chá	ru= jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.f with

Libre y se fue con ella

121 Mot	é	nephícha	rějō
Morphèmes	é	na= ipha -cha	ri= ejo
Glose lex.	then	3pl arrive pst	3sg.nf towards

Libre y llegaron allá

122 Mot	é	rúmícha	rijló	:	" pa'yú	,
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló		pa'yú	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for		papá.addr	

Libre ella le dijo "papá"

123	Mot	"	majǒ	nuwaícha	kháãjǐ	pilakéjnú	"
	Morphèmes		majǒ	nu= waícha	kháãjǐ	pi= lakéjnú	
	Glose lex.		prox.toward	1sg bring	prox	2sg son_in_law	

Libre "acá yo le traje a este tu yerno"

124	Mot	"	á	, ñaké	rikhá	nutú	,
	Morphèmes		á	ñaké	ri= ikhá	nu= itú	
	Glose lex.		see	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro	1sg daughter	

unkwá méké i'malá "

unkwá méké i'ma -lá

neg indf.manner cop v.neg

Libre "ah, así (está bien) mi hija, no pasa nada"

125	Mot	"	ri'jnaréja	majǒ	,	nulakéjnú	"
	Morphèmes		ri= i'jná -ré =ja	majǒ		nu= lakéjnú	
	Glose lex.		3sg.nf go jus lim	prox.toward		1sg son_in_law	

Libre que venga por acá mi yerno"

126	Mot	"	kája	pi'má	rijwa'té	"
	Morphèmes		kája	pi= i'má	ri= jwa'té	
	Glose lex.		already	2sg cop	3sg.nf with	

Libre ya usted vivió con él

127	Mot	"	apú	jlojé	penáje	i'maká	inaána	"
	Morphèmes		apú	***	penáje	i'ma -ka	inaána	
	Glose lex.		other	***	for	cop ka.nz	woman	

Libre las mujeres son para vivir con otros (no para quedarse con la familia)

128	Mot		rímícha	rijló	:	"	piká
	Morphèmes		ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló			pi= ikhá
	Glose lex.		3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for			2sg 2pl

nulakéjnú "

nu= lakéjnú

1sg son_in_law

Libre y él le dijo "usted mi yerno"

129	Mot	"	á'a	, nuká	,	nuyana'jú	,	wajé
	Morphèmes		á'a	nu= ikhá		nu= yana'jú		wajé
	Glose lex.		yes	1sg pro		1sg father_in_law		new

nuká majǒ "

nu= ikhá majǒ

1sg pro prox.toward

Libre "sí, yo, suegro, ahora estoy por acá"

130	Mot		jé	, ñaké	iká
	Morphèmes		jé	ñaké	ri= ikhá
	Glose lex.		good	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro

Libre bueno, así es

131 Mot é ne'michá , júpi
Morphèmes é na= i'mi -chá júpi
Glose lex. then 3pl cop pst long_time

ne'micháka
na= i'mi -chá -ka
3pl live pst ka.cleft

Libre y estuvieron durante un buen tiempo estuvieron

132 Mot kája wája napi'chó
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja na= pi' -cha =ó
Glose lex. already emph lim 3pl return pst mid

Libre y después se regresaron

133 Mot napi'chó , nephícha píño
Morphèmes na= pi' -cha =ó na= ipha -cha píño
Glose lex. 3pl return pst mid 3pl arrive pst again

napumí chuwa a'jnáñojō
na= apumí chu =ewá a'jnáñojō
3pl ?replacement in around dist.toward

Libre se regresaron, llegaron otra vez, por donde llegaron hasta allá

134 Mot é kája , é rúmicha rijló " i'jná
Morphèmes é kája é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló i'jná
Glose lex. then then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for let's_go

chúwa , we'jnáchí píño réjō " , é kája
chúwa wa= i'jná -chí píño ri= ejo é kája
now 1pl go hort again 3sg.nf towards then already

napi'chó píño réjō
na= pi' -cha =ó píño ri= =ejo
3pl return pst mid again 3sg.nf towards

Libre y ella le dijo a él "vamos ahora, vamos nuevamente pa allá" y regresaron nuevamente para allá

135 Mot é kája unká rijña'ácha ra'jnewá
Morphèmes é kája unká ri= jña' -lá -cha ri= a'jne =wá
Glose lex. then neg 3sg.nf take v.neg pst 3sg.nf food refl

Libre y el no volvió a llevar su comida

136 Mot rímícha unkwá méké i'malátá
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha unkwá méké i'ma -lá tá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst neg indf.manner tell v.neg emph1

Libre él dijo "no pasa nada"

137 Mot réjō nojñájē pijwa'té a'jné
Morphèmes ri= ejo nu= ajñá -je pi= jwa'té i= a'jné
Glose lex. 3sg.nf towards 1sg eat fut 2sg with 2pl food

Libre allá voy a comer con ustedes la comida de ustedes

138 Mot nujña'á kujnúta , ñaké kajrú
Morphèmes nu= jña'á kujnú tá ñaké kajrú
Glose lex. 1sg pull_up cassava emph1 dist.simil much

a'jnejí réjó
a'jne -jí ri= =ejo
food unposs 3sg.nf towards

Libre para qué llevar casabe si allá hay mucha comida?

139 Mot " jé " , é ru'jíchá
Morphèmes jé é ru= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex. good then 3sg.f go pst

Libre "bueno" y ella se fue

140 Mot nephícha píño réjǒ ,
Morphèmes na= ipha -cha píño ri= ejo
Glose lex. 3pl arrive pst again 3sg.nf towards

riyana'jú aú
ri= yana'jú aú
3sg.nf father_in_law with

Libre llegaron nuevamente allá, donde el suegro de él

141 Mot é , rúmícha
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst

Libre y ella dijo

142 Mot é rímícha " unkwátá méla'jé
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha unkwá tá méla'jé
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst neg emph1 indf.manner

pajñálá a'jnejí máawá wajwa'té
pi= ajñá -lá a'jne -jí máa =ewá wa= jwa'té
2sg eat v.neg food unposs here around 1pl with

nulakéjnú , ñaké maí kéja núma pijló "
nu= lakéjnú ñaké maí ké =ja nu= ímá pi= jló
1sg son_in_law dist.simil prox like lim 1sg say 2sg for

Libre y él (suegro) dijo "usted no puede comer la comida de por acá con nosotros, mi yerno, así (por eso) te dijo eso"

143 Mot é kája rímícha , unkwá méké
Morphèmes é kája ri= ímí -cha unkwá méké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst neg indf.manner

i'maátá , a'jnejíta riká
i'ma -lá tâ a'jne -jí tâ ri= ikhá
cop v.neg emph1 food unposs emph1 3sg.nf pro

Libre y él (yerno) dijo "no pasa nada, eso también es comida"

144 Mot aũ rímícha " á'a , unkwá méké
Morphèmes aũ ri= ímí -cha á'a unkwá méké
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst yes neg indf.manner

nu'malá pijló , kája núma pijló aúkajé ,
 nu= i'ma -lá pi= jló kája nu= ímá pi= jló aúkajé
 1sg tell v.neg 2sg for already 1sg say 2sg for i_mean?

piwátajíkaé pajná riká , kája
 pi= wáta -jĩ -ka é pi= ajná ri= ikhá kája
 2sg want fut ka.adv cond2 2sg eat 3sg.nf pro already

piwáta ñaké i'makáje , numaá chojóna
 pi= wáta ñaké i'ma -káje nu= ima -ka chojóna
 2sg want dist.simil live ev.nz2 1sg say ka.insub? towards_inside2

kalé pijló nulakéjnú
 kalé pi= jló nu= lakéjnú
 emph5 2sg for 1sg son_in_law

Libre y entonces él dijo "sí, yo no te digo nada a usted, ya te dije a usted por aquí (es diferente), si usted quiere coma eso, ya que usted quiere vivir así, simplemente le digo, yerno"

145 Mot é rajícha kháájĩ a'jnejí najwa'té
Morphèmes é ri= ajĩ -cha kháájĩ a'jne -jí na= jwa'té
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf eat pst prox food unposs 3pl with

Libre él comió comida con ellos

146 Mot na'jné rajícha
Morphèmes na= a'jné ri= ajĩ -cha
Glose lex. 3pl food 3sg.nf eat pst

Libre comida de ellos él comió

147 Mot é kája rikeño'chá jewíña'kajo
Morphèmes é kája ri= keño' -chá jewíña' -kaje =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf begin pst study ev.nz2 mid

Libre y de ahí él comenzó a enloquecerse (convertirse)

148 Mot kája kajú keñáchiya rinakojé
Morphèmes kája kajú keñáchi -ya ri= nakú eje
Glose lex. already much *** pst 3sg.nf on until

pajlúwátana
 pajlúwá -ta -na
 one cls:flat pl

Libre ya también estaba ya apareciendo algunitas (de a uno)

149 Mot pajlúwátana , é kája napi'chó
Morphèmes pajlúwá -ta -na é kája na= pi' -cha =ó
Glose lex. one cls:flat pl then 3pl return pst mid

píño
 píño
 again

Libre de a uno; de ahí regresaron otra vez

150 Mot iphíchari
Morphèmes iphí -cha -ri
Glose lex. arrive pst nf.ss

Libre y llegaron

151 Mot é napi'chó píño réjō ,
Morphèmes é na= pi' -cha =ó píño ri= ejo
Glose lex. then 3pl return pst mid again 3sg.nf towards

é kája wáni richáa'chiya riká kája , kája
 é kája wáni ri= cháa'chi -ya ri= ikhá kája kája
 then emph 3sg.nf defeat pst 3sg.nf pro already already
 ra'jú i'micháká phiyúkéja riwajlé chuwá
 ri= a'jú i'mi -chá -ká phiyúké =ja ri= wajlé chu =ewá
 3sg.nf scale cop pst ka.cleft all lim 3sg.nf back in around

Libre ahí ya regresaron otra vez, y ya no aguantaba más, ya todo escama en la espalda de él

152 Mot kája
Morphèmes kája
Glose lex. already

Libre ya

153 Mot éjéchami rímícha chúwa méké
Morphèmes éjéchami ri= ímí -cha chúwa méké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst now indf.manner

nuyukúná i'majíká kája penáje jnowilámí
 nu= yukú -ná i'ma -jí -ka kája penáje nu= jowilá =mi
 1sg story alien3 cop fut ka.cleft last_time 1sg uncle nom.pfv

jló
 jló
 for

Libre ahí él dijo "ya voy a despedirme de mi tío"

154 Mot ñaé kája maí kéja númá kája
Morphèmes ñaé kája maí ké =ja nu= ímá kája
Glose lex. dist.simil already prox like lim 1sg say already

kája ũká taja'jé kalé nu'jné
 kája unká taja' -je kalé nu= i'jné
 already neg die purp.mot nv.neg 1sg go

Libre yo solo estoy diciendo así mismo ya me voy pero yo no voy a morirme

155 Mot nuká pája we'péje nanáku
Morphèmes nu= ikhá pája we'pé -je na= náku
Glose lex. 1sg pro emph know fut 3pl on

Libre yo me voy a acordarme de ellos

156 Mot	ñaké	marí	kéja	númá	nayajná	jló
Morphèmes	ñaké	marí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	na= yajná	jló
Glose lex.	dist.simil	prox	like lim	1sg say	3pl husband	for

chúwa nu'jnajíká nuyukúná i'majé
 chúwa nu= i'jna -jǐ -ka nu= yukú -ná i'ma -je
 now 1sg go fut ka.cleft 1sg story alien3 tell purp.mot

jnowilámi jló kája penáje
 nu= jowilá =mi jló kája penáje
 1sg uncle nom.pfv for already for

Libre por eso suegro por eso yo me voy a contar a decir que ya me estoy despidiendo

157 Mot	á'a	nulakéjnú	pi'jné
Morphèmes	á'a	nu= lakéjnú	pi= i'jné
Glose lex.	yes	1sg son_in_law	2sg go

Libre "ah bueno yerno, vaya"

158 Mot	é	ripi'chó	riphícha
Morphèmes	é	ri= pi' -cha =ó	ri= ipha -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf return pst mid	3sg.nf arrive pst

Libre ahí él llegó

159 Mot	"	noje'ími	"
Morphèmes		nu= eje'í =mi	
Glose lex.		1sg brother_son pfv	

Libre "sobrino"

160 Mot	á'a	wája	kája	nupháká
Morphèmes	á'a	=wá =ja	kája	nu= iphá -ka
Glose lex.	yes	emph lim	already	1sg arrive ka.topic

jnowilámi "
 nu= jowilá =mi
 1sg uncle nom.pfv

Libre "ajá apenas estoy llegando acá tío"

161 Mot	"	majó	nu'jné	pijló	nuyukúná
Morphèmes		majó	nu= i'jné	pi= jló	nu= yukú -ná
Glose lex.		prox.toward	1sg go	2sg for	1sg story alien3

i'majé "
 i'ma -je
 tell purp.mot

Libre aquí yo te vine a contarle a usted algunas cosas que voy a contar

162 Mot	"	kája	nu'jnáká	chúwa	"
Morphèmes		kája	nu= i'jna -ka	chúwa	
Glose lex.		already	1sg go ka.topic	now	

Libre "ya me estoy yendo ahora sí"

163 Mot	ũká	kapichájo			kaé	nu'jná
Morphèmes	unká	kapichá	-je	=o	kaé	nu= i'jná
Glose lex.	neg	lose	purp.mot	mid	nv.neg	1sg go

Libre yo no voy a perderme

164 Mot	nuká	pája	we'péje		rináku
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	pája	we'pé	-je	ri= náku
Glose lex.	1sg pro	emph	know	***	3sg.nf on

Libre yo soy que me voy a acordar de usted

165 Mot	ñaké	kája	marí	kéja	númá	pijló
Morphèmes	ñaké	kája	marí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	pi= jló
Glose lex.	dist.simil	already	prox	like lim	1sg say	2sg for

jnowilámí

nu= jowilá =mi

*** uncle nom.pfv

Libre por eso...así mismo te estoy contando, tío

166 Mot	ñaké	piwe'píniña		nunáku
Morphèmes	ñaké	pi= we'pí	-niña	nu= náku
Glose lex.	dist.simil	2sg know	proh	1sg on

Libre que no se acuerde de mi nada

167 Mot	"	kéjo'ó	riká	nóje'ími	"
Morphèmes		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	nu= eje'rí	=mi
Glose lex.		like still	3sg.nf pro	1sg brother_son	pfv

Libre "es cierto sobrino"

168 Mot	kája	nawáta	piwá'kana	"
Morphèmes	kája	na= wáta	pi= wá' -kana	
Glose lex.	already	3pl want	2sg take ev.nz1	

Libre "ya ellos quieren llevarte"

169 Mot	éko	pímá	kélé	piyana'jú	jló
Morphèmes	éko	pi= ímá	kélé	pi= yana'jú	jló
Glose lex.	pol.imp	2sg say	med	2sg father_in_law	for

Libre "ahora usted le dice a su suegro

170 Mot	nuwáta	ra'ká		piwemí	nojló
Morphèmes	nu= wáta	ri= a'	-ká	pi= wemí	nu= jló
Glose lex.	1sg want	3sg.nf give	ka.nz	2sg reward	1sg for

Libre "ahora yo quiero que me dé un cambio por usted"

171 Mot	ñaé	maí	kéja	númá	pijló
Morphèmes	ñaé	maí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	pi= jló
Glose lex.	dist.simil	prox	like lim	1sg say	2sg for

Libre "por eso yo te estoy diciendo eso no más"

172 **Mot** jé ñaké iká jnowilámí
Morphèmes jé ñaké ri= ikhá nu= jowilá =mi
Glose lex. good dist.simil 3sg.nf pro 1sg uncle nom.pfv

éko númá rijló
éko nu= ímá ri= jló
pol.imp 1sg say 3sg.nf for

Libre ah bueno tío está bien, ahora yo le voy a decir a él

173 **Mot** é ri'jíchá éjéchami nuyana'jú
Morphèmes é ri= i'jī -chá éjéchami nu= yana'jú
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst then 1sg father_in_law

maí ké jnowilámí kémíchaka
maí ké nu= jowilá =mi kémí -cha -ka
prox like 1sg uncle nom.pfv say pst ka.cleft

pa'kálojé nuwemí penáje
pi= a' -ka lojé nu= wemí penáje
2sg give ka.adv purp3 1sg reward for

Libre ahí él se fue y él le dijo al suegro de él "suegro mi tío mandó decir a usted que él quería cambio mío"

174 **Mot** marí ké riwakái'cha ,
Morphèmes marí ké ri= wakái' -cha
Glose lex. prox like 3sg.nf order pst

rímíchaka pináku
ri= ímí -cha -ka pi= náku
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 2sg on

Libre así él mandó, así él dijo de usted (riwakái'chaka pura'kájó pijló: mandar razón// o marí ké rímíchaka pináku)

175 **Mot** ñaké iká nulakéjnú ũká
Morphèmes ñaké ri= ikhá nu= lakéjnú unká
Glose lex. dist.simil 3sg.nf pro 1sg son_in_law neg

méké i'malá
méké i'ma -lá
indf.manner cop v.neg

Libre ah bueno yerno eso no hay problema

176 **Mot** éko wa'á piwemí
Morphèmes éko wa= a'á pi= wemí
Glose lex. pol.imp 1pl give 2sg reward

Libre le damos cambio suyo

177 **Mot** jé
Morphèmes jé
Glose lex. good

Libre ah bueno

178 **Mot** é ri'jíchá
Morphèmes é ri= i'jī -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst

Libre ahí él se fue

179 **Mot** é rímícha " aa kája "
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha *** kája
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst *** already

Libre ahí él le dijo "ah ya?"

180 **Mot** ñaé númá pijló jnowilámí
Morphèmes ñaé nu= ímá pi= jló nu= jowilá =mi
Glose lex. dist.simil 1sg say 2sg for 1sg uncle nom.pfv

Libre por eso yo te estoy diciendo, tío

181 **Mot** kajúní inathána i'micháká
Morphèmes kajú -ní *** i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. much nf *** cop pst ka.cleft

Libre había grande quebrada ancho

182 **Mot** riká chuwá we'jnajé , a'wanachá
Morphèmes ri= ikhá chu =ewá wa= i'jna -jé a'wanachá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro in around 1pl go fut tree

jña'jé itewí jña'jé we'jnajé
jña' -je itewí jña' -je wa= i'jna -jé
take purp.mot plant_sp take purp.mot 1pl go fut

Libre vimy: en ese vamos ir a buscar pepa de monte, coger aguaje

183 **Mot** ñaké númá pijló
Morphèmes ñaké nu= ímá pi= jló
Glose lex. dist.simil 1sg say 2sg for

Libre por eso yo te estoy diciendo

184 **Mot** painéko lapiyámí jwa'páje
Morphèmes painéko lapiyámí wa= ja'pá -je
Glose lex. first morning 1pl pass purp.mot

nupuláa'pena kája wája we'jnajé
nu= puláa'pe -na kája =wá =ja wa= i'jna -jé
1sg brother_in_law pl already emph lim 1pl go fut

Libre primero bien temprano vamos a pasar por ahí con mis cuñados, ya nos vamos

185 **Mot** jwa'páje
Morphèmes wa= ja'pá -je
Glose lex. 1pl pass purp.mot

Libre vamos a pasar por ahí

186 **Mot** kiñája we'jnajíká
Morphèmes kiñája wa= i'jna -jī -ká
Glose lex. quickly 1pl go fut ka.cleft

Libre rápido nos vamos

187 Mot	é	itájikare		kélé	cha'wí	aú	,
Morphèmes	é	i= itá	-jĩ -kare	kélé	cha'wí	aú	
Glose lex.	then	2pl close	fut arg.nz1	med	trap	with	
riká	,	puwa'ká	wephájika		rijimáje	,	é
ri= ikhá		puwa'ká	wa= iphá -jĩ -ka		ri= jimáje		é
3sg.nf pro		if	1pl arrive fut ka.when		3sg.nf front		then
akúwa'ta	wáya	rinakojé			puwa'ká		
i= akúwa'ta	wáya	ri= nakú eje			puwa'ká		
2pl hang	bell	3sg.nf on until			if		
nuñaka'jika			kélé cha'wí rimejé		i'majíka		
nu= ñaka' -jĩ -ka			kélé cha'wí ri= mejé		i'ma -jĩ -ka		
1sg *** fut		ka.when	med trap 3sg.nf sound		cop fut ka.topic		
" chi' chi' chi' "			é ijme'tá		wápu		
*** *** ***			é i= jme'tá		wa= ápu		
*** *** ***			then 2pl become_light		1pl path		
nupuláa'pena			jwa'té				
nu= puláa'pe		-na	jwa'té				
1sg brother_in_law	pl		with				

Libre vimy: lo que usted van a cerrar con ese cha'wí, cuando vamos a llegar ahí (al cha'wí), ahí cuelguen cascabel en él, cuando yo muevo ese cha'wí, ahí va a sonar "chi' chi' chi'", ahí usted nos abren con mis cuñados (ñaka'káje: mover, sacudir; akúwa'takaje: guindar)

188 Mot	puwa'ká	jwa'pájika		é	,	é	thá
Morphèmes	puwa'ká	wa= ja'pá -jĩ -ka		é		é	thá
Glose lex.	if	1pl pass fut ka.nz		in		then	emph
kája	itá	wáni	palá	riká			
kája	i= itá	wáni	palá	ri= ikhá			
already	2pl close	emph	good	3sg.nf pro			

Libre cuando vamos a pasar todos ahí enseguida cierren la puerta bien

189 Mot	ñaé	kája	maí	kéja	númá	pijló
Morphèmes	ñaé	kája	maí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	pi= jló
Glose lex.	dist.simil	already	prox	like lim	1sg say	2sg for

Libre por eso yo te estoy diciendo

190 Mot	ñaké	iká		noje'ími		
Morphèmes	ñaké	ri= ikhá		nu= eje'í		=mi
Glose lex.	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro		1sg brother_son		pfv

Libre ah bueno dijo el sobrino

191 Mot	é	rímíchaka		ké
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha -ka		ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		like

Libre así como él lo dijo

192 Mot	é	inau'ké	i'j̄chá
Morphèmes	é	inau'ké	i'j̄ -chá
Glose lex.	then	person	go pst

Libre ahí la gente se fueron

193 Mot	naĩ'chá		cha'wí
Morphèmes	na= ĩ'	-chá	cha'wí
Glose lex.	3pl	weave	pst trap

Libre tejieron ese guaya (ña'kajé: tejer)

194 Mot	netíya		patá	palá	wáni
Morphèmes	na= ití	-ya	patá	palá	wáni
Glose lex.	3pl	close	pst	good	good emph

Libre y taparon todo bien (itakájé: cerrar)

195 Mot	é	rímíchaka		ké	painéko
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí	-cha -ka	ké	painéko
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	ka.cleft	like first

nephíchaka		nañaki'chá	cha'wí
na= iphí	-cha -ka	na= ñaki'	-chá cha'wí
3pl	arrive pst	ka.cleft	3pl move pst trap

Libre como él había dicho mismo así primera vez llegaron empezaron a sacudir ese cha'wí (nañaki'chá: sacudir)

196 Mot	nañaki'chá	,	wáya	mejé	i'michá	chí'
Morphèmes	na= ñaki'	-chá	wáya	mejé	i'mi -chá	chí'
Glose lex.	3pl	move	pst	bell	sound	cop pst ide011

chí'	chí'
chí'	chí'
ide011	ide011

Libre ahí sacudieron y la guaya sonó "chí' chí' "

197 Mot	é	najme'chíya		nápu
Morphèmes	é	na= jme'chí	-ya	na= ápu
Glose lex.	then	3pl	become_light	pst 3pl path

Libre y ahí le abrieron la puerta a ellos

198 Mot	é kája	jra'pícha		é kája	netíya	wáni
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= ja'pí	-cha	é kája	na= ití	-ya wáni
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	pass pst	then	3pl	close pst emph

palá	riká		rějéchami
palá	ri= ikhá		ri= éjéchami
good	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf after

Libre ahí él pasó y enseguida ya cerraron bien la puerta (vimy: jna'pícha)

199 Mot	é kája
Morphèmes	é kája
Glose lex.	then

Libre ahí

200	Mot	é kája
	Morphèmes	é kája
	Glose lex.	then

Libre ahí

201	Mot	é kája	naki'chá	kúna	nacháje
	Morphèmes	é kája	na= ki'	-chá kúna	na= cháje
	Glose lex.	then	3pl throw_out	pst toxic_plant	3pl at

Libre y de ahí comenzaron a echarle barbasco encima de ellos

202	Mot	é	jíñana	iphícha	kélé	cha'wí	jimájě
	Morphèmes	é	jíña -na	iphí -cha	kélé	cha'wí	jimá =eje
	Glose lex.	then	fish pl	arrive pst	med	trap	face until

Libre ahí llegaron muchos pescaos encima (frente) de cha'wí (jimá+éjé)

203	Mot	kája	ũká	pamála	e'yá
	Morphèmes	kája	unká	pi= amá -la	e'yá
	Glose lex.	already	neg	2sg see v.neg	in

Libre vimy: usted no podía mirar a otro lado (porque estaba muy tupido, mejor (n)e'yayá)

204	Mot	kája	lupirú	jaláúna
	Morphèmes	kája	***	***
	Glose lex.	already	***	***

Libre vimy: ya el agua estaba babosa (lit. caldo de ellos baboso, ~lupirúní jnalá i'micháká)

205	Mot	é	yupí	i'michárí	najwa'té
	Morphèmes	é	yupí	i'mi -chá -rí	na= jwa'té
	Glose lex.	then	fish.sp	cop pst nf.cleft	3pl with

Libre y ahí estaba anguilla con ellos (yupí: esp. calochi, pez sp)

206	Mot	riká	ũká	nawá'lacha
	Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	unká	na= wá' -la -cha
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	neg	3pl take v.neg pst

najwa'tó

na= jwa'té =o

3pl with mid

Libre y ese no lo llevaron con ellos (wáa'kaje: llevar)

207	Mot	kawale'ké	wáni	ri'maká	pachá
	Morphèmes	kawale'ké	wáni	ri= i'ma -ká	pachá
	Glose lex.	gluttony	emph	3sg.nf cop ka.nz	because

Libre porque era muy comelón

208	Mot	ké	némícha	rijló	"	maáréja
	Morphèmes	ké	na= ímí -cha	ri= jló		maáré =ja
	Glose lex.	?	3pl say pst	3sg.nf for		prox.loc lim

piyoró jnewaká "
 pi= yori =o nu= jiwaká
 2sg stay mid 1sg boss

Libre por eso le dijeron quédese aquí capitán

209 Mot ñaé ũká pi'jnaláje wajwa'té ,
Morphèmes ñaé unká pi= i'jna -lá -je wa= jwa'té
Glose lex. dist.simil neg 2sg go v.neg fut 1pl with

wekó we'jnajíké
 wa= ikhá =o wa= i'jna -jĩ -ka
 1pl pro mid 1pl go fut ka.cleft

Libre por eso usted no se va con nosotros nosotros nos vamos solos

210 Mot é kája naki'chá , ewá maaré
Morphèmes é kája na= ki' -chá =ewá maaré
Glose lex. then 3pl throw_out pst then prox.loc

kéka kúna
 ké -ka kúna
 like indf.sub toxic_plant

Libre vimy: ahí ellos botaron, ya estaba cerca barbasco (ewá por ahí cerca?)

211 Mot ewá maaré ké , kája wája ... tá
Morphèmes =ewá maaré ké kája =wá =ja tâ
Glose lex. then prox.loc like already emph lim emph1

némícha " chúwatá inau'ké kapichátaka
 na= ímí -cha chúwa tâ inau'ké kapichá -ta -ka
 3pl say pst now emph1 person lose caus ka.cleft

weká "
 wa= ikhá
 1pl pro

Libre vimy: ahora sí la gente nos están matando

212 Mot é kélé walú a'chá
Morphèmes é kélé *** a' -chá
Glose lex. then med *** give pst

Libre ahí el pescao coli-rojo dio

213 Mot walú a'chári rikakúlô
Morphèmes *** a' -chá -ri ri= kakú lá =o
Glose lex. *** give pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf coca *** mid

Libre pescao coli-rojo se mambeó

214 Mot ratái'chajlá jreño'ká , ũká ,
Morphèmes ri= atái' -cha jlá ri= jeño' -ká unká
Glose lex. 3sg.nf try pst frust 3sg.nf jump ka.nz neg

pi'chároja ja'cháro riyámojo
 pi' -chá -ri =o =ja ja' -chá -ri =o ri= yámo =ejo
 return pst nf.ss mid lim fall pst nf.ss mid 3sg.nf *** towards

Libre vimy: él intentaba brincar no podía y caía se devolvía otra vez (pa'kájo, ja'kájo: regresarse+caerse, yámojo: pa atrás)

215 Mot	ja'chároja					riyámojo
Morphèmes	ja' -chá -ri =o =ja ri= yámojo					
Glose lex.	fall pst nf.ss mid lim 3sg.nf behind					

Libre vimy: caía cada nada de pa atrás

216.1 Mot	" méké	wala'jǐká		chúwa ?
Morphèmes	méké	wa= la' -jǐ -ká		chúwa
Glose lex.	indf.manner 1pl do fut ka.cleft now			

Libre cómo vamos a hacer ya la gente nos está matando

216.2 Mot	inau'ké	kapichátaka		weká ."
Morphèmes	inau'ké	kapichá -ta -ka	wa= ikhá	
Glose lex.	person lose caus ka.cleft 1pl pro			

Libre

217 Mot	kája	wája	... tá	jreño'chá	wáni
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	tâ	ri= jeño' -chá	wáni
Glose lex.	already emph lim emph1 3sg.nf jump pst emph				

kapí , ja'píchari riwámi , chiyá jra'pícha
 kapí ja'pá -cha -ri ri= wámi chiyá ri= ja'pí -cha
 hardly pass pst nf.ss 3sg.nf *** in.from 3sg.nf pass pst

kawákájo
 kawáká =ejo
 low towards

Libre vimy: después el saltó muy duro, el pasó por la rendijita pasó hacia abajo

218 Mot	jrecho'óchiya		riyukúná	a'jnáñojǒ
Morphèmes	ri= jecho'ó -chi -ya	ri= yukú -ná		a'jnáñojǒ
Glose lex.	3sg.nf run caus pst 3sg.nf story alien3 dist.toward			

yupí jló
 yupí jló
 fish.sp for

Libre vimy: él corrió a contar historia al calochi (jecho'kájo; correr; jecho'káje: correr, jecho'ótakaje: correr atrás, perseguir)

219 Mot	é	rímícha	" jnewaká	chúwatá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	nu= jiwaká	chúwa tâ
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf say pst 1sg boss now emph1			

inau'ké kapichátaka weká "
 inau'ké kapichá -ta -ka wa= ikhá
 person lose caus ka.cleft 1pl pro

Libre capitán ahora sí la gente está acabándose

220 Mot	riká	aú	nu'jíchá	piwá'je
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	aú	nu= i'jĩ -chá	pi= wá' -je
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	cause	1sg go pst	2sg take purp.mot

Libre por eso yo te vine a buscar (wáa'kaje: llevar)

221 Mot	" aaa	" rímíchaka	, "	ilé kalé
Morphèmes	***	ri= ímí -cha -ka		ilé kalé
Glose lex.	***	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	med emph5

númícha ijló i'micháká nu'jnáchí ijwa'té
 nu= ímí -cha i= jló i'mi -chá -ka nu= i'jná -chí i= jwa'té
 1sg say pst 2pl for far.pst pst ka.pst 1sg go hort 2pl with

, ũká kája iwátalacha nu'jnaká ijwa'té "
 unká kája i= wáta -la -cha nu= i'jna -ká i= jwa'té
 neg already 2pl want v.neg pst 1sg go ka.nz 2pl with

Libre "aa" dijo él "por eso yo le dije a ustedes yo me voy con ustedes ustedes no me quisieron llevar"

222 Mot	" i'jná	" é	napi'chó	nayámojo
Morphèmes	i'jná	é	na= pi' -cha =ó	na= yámojo
Glose lex.	go	then	3pl return pst mid	3pl behind

píño
 píño
 again

Libre vamos, ahí se fueron de nuevo de pa atrás (napi'....chó)

223 Mot	é kája kúna iphícha	, kája
Morphèmes	é kája kúna iphí -cha	kája
Glose lex.	then already toxic_plant arrive pst	already

kája kája wáni ũká méké nala'lácha
 kája kája wáni unká méké na= la' -lá -cha
 already already emph neg indf.manner 3pl do v.neg pst

i'micháká
 i'mi -chá -ka
 far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre vimy: ahí llegó el barbasco (donde estaban los pescaos), ya no podían hacer nada

224 Mot	é riphícha	, riká	penáje
Morphèmes	é ri= ipha -cha	ri= ikhá	penáje
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf arrive pst	3sg.nf pro	for

raúki'chaka wakapá cha'wí a'jwapéjé , kája
 ri= aúki' -cha -ka *** cha'wí *** kája
 3sg.nf put pst ka.cleft *** trap *** already

nalupemíñani mékéléwáni rijme'chíya ápu ...
 na= lupemí =ñáni mékélé wáni ri= jme'chí -ya ápu
 3pl *** dim indf.quant emph 3sg.nf become_light pst path

kája
kája
already

Libre vimy: él llegó él metió macana por debajo de la orilla del cha'wí, los restantes lo que quedó poquitico les abrió hueco (lupemí: restos; mékélewáni: unos cuantos)

225	Mot	eyá	ajúpána	phiyúkéja		kapiíchaño
	Morphèmes	eyá	ajúpána	phiyúké =ja		kapií -cha -ño
	Glose lex.	since_then	other.pl	all lim	lose	pst pl.cleft

phiyúké wáni
phiyúké wáni
all emph

Libre vimy: y los otros se murieron todos

226	Mot	máarejená	jíña	yukúná		tajno
	Morphèmes	máare ejená	jíña	yukú -ná		tajná =o
	Glose lex.	prox.loc until	fish	story alien3	finish	mid

Libre hasta aquí se acaba el cuento del pescado

ycn0068

1 **Mot** je
Morphèmes jé
Glose lex. good

Libre bueno

2 **Mot** nu'majíká kanumá yukúná ,
Morphèmes nu= i'ma -jí -ka Kanumá yukú -ná
Glose lex. 1sg tell fut ka.topic Kanumá story alien3

Libre voy a contar la historia de Kanumá

3 **Mot** mékéka ri'maká i'maká ,
Morphèmes méké -ka ri= i'ma -ká i'ma -ka
Glose lex. indf.manner indf.sub 3sg.nf live ka.cleft far.pst ka.pst

Libre de cómo él vivía tiempo

4 **Mot** riká yukúná nu'majé .
Morphèmes ri= ikhá yukú -ná nu= i'ma jé
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro story alien3 1sg tell fut

Libre voy a contar historia de él

5 **Mot** a'jná nuwe'íka , nuwe'íka riká
Morphèmes a'jná nu= we'í -ka nu= we'í -ka ri= ikhá
Glose lex. dist 1sg know ka.nz 1sg know ka.nz 3sg.nf pro

éjé .
 =eje
 until

Libre hasta donde que yo lo sé hasta ahí

6 **Mot** kája pajlúwaja i'michári , rií
Morphèmes kája pajlúwá =ja i'mi -chá -ri ri= ií
Glose lex. already one lim cop pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf name

i'michári Kanumá
 i'mi -chá -ri Kanumá
 cop pst nf.cleft Kanumá

Libre había una persona, se llamaba Kanumá

7 **Mot** kája i'micháño inaána rilúnana ,
Morphèmes kája i'mi -chá -ño inaána ri= lúna -na
Glose lex. already cop pst pl.nz woman 3sg.nf wives pl

pají ch́ ne'michá .
 pají ch́ na= i'mi -chá
 maloca in 3pl cop pst

Libre ya habían mujeres mujeres de él, vivían en la maloca

8 Mot eyá ri'michá najwa'té júpi ,
Morphèmes eyá ri= i'mi -chá na= jwa'té júpi
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.nf live pst 3pl with long_time

é kája nákei
 é kája nákei
 then uh

Libre ahí él estuvo con ellas mucho tiempo, y ahí ya

9 Mot inaána i'micháño , neká , (i'na-)
Morphèmes inaána i'mi -chá -ño na= ikhá ***
Glose lex. woman cop pst pl.cleft 3pl pro ***

i'michákaño nó chi'náikana miná .
 i'mi -chá -ka -ño =nó chi'náikana miná
 cop pst A.nz2 pl.cleft hab owner owner

Libre las mujeres eran, ellas eran las dueñas del yuruparí.

10 Mot chi'náikana ne'micháká .
Morphèmes chi'náikana na= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. owner 3pl go pst ka.cleft

Libre ellas eran yuruparí

11 Mot neká i'jícháño nó chi'náikana nakú
Morphèmes na= ikhá i'jĩ -chá -ño nó chi'náikana nakú
Glose lex. 3pl pro go pst pl.nz kill owner on

wajájo , ne'jícháno .
 wajá -je =o na= i'jĩ -chá =no
 punish purp.mot mid 3pl go pst hab

Libre ellas iban a yuruparisarse, iban

12 Mot nayuríchanó kanumá nayajná , yuwaná
Morphèmes na= yurí -cha nó Kanumá na= yajná yuwaná
Glose lex. 3pl leave pst kill Kanumá 3pl husband kids

rilamáichanó pají ch́ .
 ri= lamái' -cha =nó pají ch́
 3sg.nf look_after pst hab maloca in

Libre ellas lo dejaban al marido de ellas, él estaba cuidando los niños en ña maloca

13 Mot marí ké ne'michá .
Morphèmes marí ké na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. prox like 3pl cop pst

Libre así vivían

14 Mot	kája	júpi	ri'michá	najwa'té
Morphèmes	kája	júpi	ri= i'mi -chá	na= jwa'té
Glose lex.	already	long_time	3sg.nf cop pst	3pl with

Libre él vivía mucho tiempo con ellas

15 Mot	kája wájata	rímicha	:	" méké	páni
Morphèmes	kája ewája tá	ri= ímí -cha		méké	***
Glose lex.	at last	emph1		3sg.nf say pst	indf.manner ***

inaánatá , wa'jini wáni nayuríkanó nuká ,
 inaána tá wa'jini wáni na= yurí -ka =nó nu= ikhá
 woman emph1 always emph 3pl stay ka.cleft hab 1sg pro
 ne'jnakáno ,
 na= i'jna -ká =no
 3pl go ka.cleft hab

Libre ahí él dijo: "por qué será esa porquería de mujeres, siempre me dejan, y se van

16 Mot	némano	nojló	" pi'jnanña
Morphèmes	na= ímá =no	nu= jló	pi= i'jna -nña
Glose lex.	3pl say hab	1sg for	2sg go proh

wápumichú , Kanumá ."
 wa= ápu =mi chú Kanumá
 1pl path pfv in Kanumá

Libre siempre me dicen "no vaya detrás de nosotras

17 Mot	" chúwa	nomájika	" ké	rímicha
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu= amá -jĩ -ka	ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	now	1sg see fut ka.cleft	like	3sg.nf say pst

, " wamá ijlá méké wáni ká riká ."
 wa= amá ijlá méké wáni ká ri= ikhá
 1pl see frust indf.manner emph emph? 3sg.nf pro

Libre "ahora voy a ver" dijo él, para nosotros ver cómo es él.

18 Mot	kája	ne'jichá	piño	wajájo
Morphèmes	kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño	wajá je =o
Glose lex.	already	3pl go pst	again	punish purp.mot mid

Libre se fueron otra vez a ver yuruparí

19 Mot	kája	ri'jichá	nápumi	chú
Morphèmes	kája	ri= i'jĩ -chá	na= ápu =mi	chú
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf go pst	3pl path nom.pfv	in

rikeño'tiya nákeí , jwí'jwíyo kajíwáka , riká aũ
 ri= keño'ti -ya nákei jwí'jwíyo kajíwáka ri= ikhá aũ
 3sg.nf transform pst uh bird_sp proper.n 3sg.nf pro with
 mana'íja nawajíchako , é
 mana'í =ja na= wají -cha -ka =o é
 calm lim 3pl punish pst ka.cleft mid then

jráo'cho				nanáku				.
ri=	jáo'	-cha	=o	na=	náku			
3sg.nf	go_out	pst	mid	3pl	on			

Libre y él se fue atrás de ellas, el convirtió el jwíjwíyo en yuruparí (kajíwáka), con eso ellos (las mujeres) estaban tranquilos yurupariseando, y él salió (llegó) donde ellos.

20 Mot	kajú	rawíyo'tiyaka			neká		.
Morphèmes	kajú	ri=	awíyo'	-ti	-ya	-ka	na= ikhá
Glose lex.	much	3sg.nf	scream	caus	pst	ka.cleft	3pl pro

Libre les hizo gritar mucho a ellas

21 Mot	na-	chi-	ná-	...
Morphèmes	***	***	***	
Glose lex.	***	***	***	

Libre

22 Mot	kajíwáka	.
Morphèmes	kajíwáka	
Glose lex.	proper.n	

Libre el yuruparí

23 Mot	phoí	,	phoí	,	phoí	ké	rímíchaka
Morphèmes	phoí		phoí		phoí	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	ideo9		ideo9		ideo9	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

,	éta	jráo'cho	.
	éta	ri= jáo'	-cha =o
	then	3sg.nf go_out	pst mid

Libre hizo "phoín phoín phoín", en ese instante él se salió

24 Mot	éja	neícho	,	napirá
Morphèmes	é	=ja	na= í	-cha =o na= pirá
Glose lex.	then	lim	3pl scape	pst mid 3pl pet

nachi'yá	náke	,	napirá	na-	,	napirá	ne'michá
na= achi'	-yá náke		na= pirá	***		na= pirá	na= i'mi -chá
3pl steal	pst uh		3pl pet	***		3pl pet	3pl far.pst pst

Libre ahí mismo ellas se huyeron, ellos escondieron el yuruparí de ellos, (???)

25 Mot	é	Kanumá	jácho'cho		piño	nanáku	.
Morphèmes	é	Kanumá	jácho'	-cha =o	piño	na= náku	
Glose lex.	then	Kanumá	go_out	pst mid	again	3pl on	

Libre y otra vez Kanumá llegó donde ellas

26 Mot	ná	ka'jná	riká	?
Morphèmes	ná	ka'jná	ikhá	
Glose lex.	indf	dub	pro	

Libre qué será es?

27 **Mot** rikero'óchiya najló
Morphèmes ri= kero'ó -chi -ya na= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf be_scared caus pst 3pl for

Libre él las asustó

28 **Mot** é neícho i'micháká
Morphèmes é na= í -cha =o i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. then 3pl scape pst mid far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí se Huyeron

29 **Mot** nayuícha napirána ré
Morphèmes na= yuí -cha na= pirá -na ri= é
Glose lex. 3pl leave pst 3pl pet pl 3sg.nf in

Libre dejaron a los yuruparí de ellos ahí

30 **Mot** kétána Kanumátá achi'yá napirá
Morphèmes kétána Kanumá tâ achi' -yá na= pirá
Glose lex. meanwhile Kanumá emph1 steal pst 3pl pet

Libre mientras, Kanumá se robó el yuruparí de ellas

31 **Mot** é ne'jíchá i'micháka amíchari
Morphèmes é na= i'jī -chá i'mi -chá -ka amí -cha -ri
Glose lex. then 3pl go pst far.pst pst ka.pst see pst nf.ss

unká napirá i'malácha máapámi kécha rati'yá
unká na= pirá i'ma -lá -cha máapámi kécha ri= ati' -yá
neg 3pl pet tell v.neg pst longtime after 3sg.nf steal pst

naliyá

na= liyá

3pl from

Libre ellos se fueron, y miraron, ya no estaba el yuruparí, hace rato él había robado de ellas

32 **Mot** é kája rúmícha ro'weló jló
Morphèmes é kája ru= ímí -cha ru= o'we -ló jló
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.f brother.addr f for

tí'tetá " rúmícha , unká ná kalé kháájí
tí'tetá ru= ímí -cha unká ná kalé kháájí
idiot 3sg.f say pst neg indf nv.neg prox

Kanumátá ... kátaro wanáku , " i'j'ná
Kanumá tâ káta -ri =o wa= náku i'j'ná
Kanumá emph1 play nf.cleft mid 1pl on let's_go

wapa'chó " ké rúmícha
wa= pa' -chí =o ké ru= ímí -cha
1pl return hort mid like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella le dijo a la hermana, "esa porquería" dijo, esto no es ; ese Kanumá que está jugando de nosotros, ella dijo "vamos a regresarnos"

33 **Mot** é napi'chó
Morphèmes é na= pi' -cha =ó
Glose lex. then 3pl return pst mid

Libre ellos se regresaron

34 **Mot** ré ri'michá pají
Morphèmes ré ri= i'mi -chá pají
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf cop pst maloca

Libre él estaba en la maloca

35 **Mot** rúmícha " Kanumá , Kanumá " ké
Morphèmes ru= ímí -cha Kanumá Kanumá ké
Glose lex. 3sg.f say pst Kanumá Kanumá like

rúmícha
ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst

Libre ella dijo "Kanumá, Kanumá", así ella le dijo

36 **Mot** " ná penáje unká paála pila'á
Morphèmes ná penáje unká paá -la pi= la'á
Glose lex. indf for neg bien.neg v.neg 2sg do

weká , pikáto wanáku nákeí ?"
wa= ikhá pi= káta =o wa= náku nákei
1pl pro 2sg play mid 1pl on uh

Libre por qué nos está haciendo ese mal, está jugando de nosotros

37 **Mot** " pata'á wapiará " ké rúmicháka "
Morphèmes pi= ata'á wa= pirá ké ru= ímí -chá -ka
Glose lex. 2sg steal 1pl pet like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

pipa'tá wajló riká ."
pi= pa'tá wa= jló ri= ikhá
2sg return 1pl for 3sg.nf pro

Libre "(por qué) robó nuestro yuruparí" ella dijo, devuélmenos a él

38 **Mot** " kapí " ké rímícha , " unká
Morphèmes kapí ké ri= ímí -cha unká
Glose lex. don't_know like 3sg.nf say pst neg

nuwe'íla kélé kájé ."
nu= we'í -la kélé kájé
1sg know v.neg med type

Libre yo no sé, yo no sé nada de eso

39 **Mot** " maáré nuká pají chú , unká
Morphèmes maáré nu= ikhá pají chú unká
Glose lex. prox.loc 1sg pro maloca in neg

nuwe'íla ."
nu= we'í -la
1sg know v.neg

Libre yo estoy acá en la maloca, yo no sé nada

40 Mot	"	unká	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	piká
Morphèmes		unká		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			pi= ikhá
Glose lex.		neg		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			2sg pro

... piká , ati'yári wapirá !"
 pi= ikhá ati' -yá -ri wa= pirá
 2sg pro steal pst nf.cleft 1pl pet

Libre no ella dijo, usted, usted fue que lo robó

41 Mot	"	é	palá	wemaká		pijló	,	pipa'tá
Morphèmes		é	palá	wa= ima -ká		pi= jló		pi= pa'tá
Glose lex.		then	good	1pl say ka.cleft		2sg for		2sg return

wajló riká ."
 wa= jló ri= ikhá
 1pl for 3sg.nf pro

Libre te estamos diciendo por la buena que nos entregue a ese

42 Mot	"	unká	nuwe'íla		kélé (--)"	,	ké
Morphèmes		unká	nu= we'í -la		kélé		ké
Glose lex.		neg	1sg know v.neg		med		like

rímícha .
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre yo no sé nada de eso, él dijo

43 Mot	"	unká	méréwá		kalé	nota'á	ipirá	."
Morphèmes		unká	méré =ewá		kalé	nu= ata'á	i= pirá	
Glose lex.		neg	indf.loc around		nv.neg	1sg steal	2pl pet	

Libre no yo no robé su yuruparí

44 Mot		némíchajlá		rijló		aú	,
Morphèmes		na= ímí -cha	jlá	ri=	jló	aú	
Glose lex.		3pl say pst	frust	3sg.nf	for	because	

Libre ellas le estaban insistiendo

45 Mot		kéjo'ó	riká		ké	rúmíchaka	,
Morphèmes		ké =jo'ó	ri=	ikhá	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.		like still	3sg.nf	pro	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	

kája unká piwátala wajló wapirá pa'tákana ,
 kája unká pi= wáta -la wa= jló wa= pirá pa'tá -kana
 already neg 2sg want v.neg 1pl for 1pl pet return ev.nz1
 palá wemaká pijló .
 palá wa= ima -ká pi= jló
 good 1pl say ka.cleft 2sg for

Libre bueno está bien dijo ella, ya que usted no nos quiere entregar nuestro yuruparí, te estamos diciendo por la buena

46 Mot	é	kaja	"	o'weló	"	ké
Morphèmes	é	kája		o'we	-ló	ké
Glose lex.	then	emph?		brother.addr	f	like

rúmichaka , " chúwa we'jnajíka máayá
ru= ímí -cha -ka chúwa wa= i'jna -jǐ -ka máa eyá
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft now 1pl go fut ka.cleft here from
" ké rúmichaka , " apú eja'wá wakuláje
ké ru= ímí -cha -ka apú eja'wá wa= kulá -je
like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft other forest 1pl search fut
wajló ."
wa= jló
1pl for

Libre ahí ya ella dijo "hermana", "ahora ya nos vamos de acá" ella dijo, vamos a buscar otro monte para nosotros (para ellos hacer la casa allá)

47 Mot	kája	unká	paála	,	unká
Morphèmes	kája	unká	paá	-la	unká
Glose lex.	already	neg	bien.neg	v.neg	neg

inau'kélaritá la'á weká .
inau'ké -la -ri tá la'á wa= ikhá
person v.neg nf.nz emph1 do 1pl pro

Libre ya que nos hizo mal, ese mala gente nos hizo eso.

48 Mot	"	kéjo'ó	riká	,	yu'í	"	ké
Morphèmes		ké =jo'ó	ri=	ikhá	yu'í		ké
Glose lex.		like still	3sg.nf	pro	young.sibling.addr		like

rúmichaka , " palá , we'jnajíkája " , (
ru= ímí -cha -ka palá wa= i'jna -jǐ -ka =ja
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft good 1pl go fut ka.topic lim

é) kája najǐchá ra'wanaté , kája
é kája na= jǐ' -chá ri= a'wana -té kája
then already 3pl take pst 3sg.nf tree alien1 already

penáje nayámona , (na- na-) , narápi'cha , "
penáje na= yámona *** *** na= arápi' -cha
for 3pl after *** *** 3pl dance pst

Kanumá " ké rúmichaka , " unká wáni chí
Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka unká wáni chí
Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft neg emph emph3

pipa'tálaje wapirá wajló ."
pi= pa' -ta -la -je wa= pirá wa= jló
2sg return caus v.neg purp.mot 1pl pet 1pl for

Libre es cierto hermanita, ella dijo, está bien, nos iremos, ahí ya cogieron palo de él (VIMY: para bailar), ya último antes de ellos despedirse, y bailaron, ella dijo "Kanumá", "entonces usted ya no nos va a entregar nuestro yuruparí"

49 Mot	"	unká	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unká
Morphèmes		unká		ké	ri= ímí -cha			unká
Glose lex.		neg		like	3sg.nf say pst			neg
méréwá		kalé		nomá	ipirá		"	ké rúmícha
méré	=ewá	kalé	na=	amá	i= pirá		ké	ri= ímí -cha
indf.loc	around	nv.neg	3pl	see	2pl pet		like	3sg.nf say pst
,	unká	nuká		ata'lá				
	unká	nu=	ikhá	ata'	-lá			
	neg	1sg	pro	steal	v.neg			

Libre no, dijo, yo no mire su yuruparí, él dijo, yo no me lo robé

50 Mot	"	í'teta	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	kéjo'ó	"
Morphèmes		í'teta		ké	ru= ímí -cha			ké =jo'ó	
Glose lex.		idiot		like	3sg.f say pst			like still	

Libre "porquería", ella dijo, "está bien"

51 Mot	mapéja	kalé	numaká	pijló
Morphèmes	mapéja	kalé	nu= ima -ká	pi= jló
Glose lex.	normally	emph5	1sg say ka.cleft	2sg for

rúmícha
ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst

Libre solo le estoy diciendo así no más, ella dijo

52 Mot	kája	piwáta	pikó	i'makána	,
Morphèmes	kája	pi= wáta	pi= ikhá =o	i'ma -kána	
Glose lex.	already	2sg want	2sg pro mid	cop ev.nz1	

ñaké ka'jné pila'á weká ñaké
ñaké ka'jné pi= la'á wa= ikhá ñaké
dist.simil dub 2sg do 1pl pro dist.simil

Libre ya que usted quiere estar solo, por eso usted nos hizo eso (así)

53 Mot	é	rúmícha	ro'weló	jló	"
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	ru= o'we	-ló	jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	3sg.f brother.addr	f	for
yu'wí	"	ké	rúmícha	"	chúwa kája (ná-)
yu'wí		ké	ru= ímí -cha	chúwa	kája ***
young.sibling.addr		like	3sg.f say pst	now	already ***

ñakéji i'jnatá weká chúwa máayá ké
ñakéji i'jna -ta wa= ikhá chúwa máa eyá ké
dist.simil go caus 1pl pro now here from like

rúmícha
ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst

Libre ella le dijo a la hermana "hermanita", dijo, "ahora por eso ya nos vamos de aquí ahora" ella dijo

54 Mot é kája , é kája ne'jíchá , chúwa
Morphèmes é kája é kája na= i'jĩ -chá chúwa
Glose lex. then then 3pl go pst now

we'jnajíka ké rúmíchaka
 wa= i'jna -jĩ -ka ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 1pl go fut ka.cleft like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ya se fueron, "ya nos vamos" ella dijo

55 Mot é narápi'cha kája penáje
Morphèmes é na= arápi' -cha kája penáje
Glose lex. then 3pl dance pst last_time

Libre ahí bailaron la despedida

56 Mot kája jnáo'cho " jé jé jé "
Morphèmes kája na= jáo' -cha =o jé jé jé
Glose lex. already 3pl go_out pst mid good good good
 , é pají chiyá jnáo'cho phiyúké .
 é pají chiyá na= jáo' -cha =o phiyúké
 then maloca in.from 3pl go_out pst mid all

Libre ellas se salieron (cantando) "jé jé jé" de la maloca

57.1 Mot " ái " ké rímícha , " ná penáje
Morphèmes ái ké ri= ímí -cha ná penáje
Glose lex. uy like 3sg.nf say pst indf for

i'jnañá nuká ?
 i= i'jna -ñá nu= ikhá
 2pl go appl 1sg pro

Libre "uy" él dijo, por qué (uds) me están dejando, él dijo, vuelvan acá

57.2 Mot " ké rímícha , " majó
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha majó
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst prox.toward

ipa'ó " ké rímícha .
 i= pa' =ó ké ri= ímí -cha
 2pl return mid like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre

58 Mot " unká " ké rúmícha ká- , " kája
Morphèmes unká ké ru= ímí -cha *** kája
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.f say pst *** already

we'jnajíka chúwa " , ké rúmícha , " pipa'tá
 wa= i'jna -jĩ -ka chúwa ké ru= ímí -cha pi= pa'tá
 1pl go fut ka.topic now like 3sg.f say pst 2sg return

wajló wapirá "
 wa= jló wa= pirá
 1pl for 1pl pet

Libre no, dijo ella, ya nos estamos yendo, ella dijo, devuélvenos nuestro yuruparí

59 Mot " unká " ké rímícha , " unká ná
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha unká ná
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst neg indf

kalé nupa'tá , kája unká , unká kája
kalé nu= pa' -ta kája unká unká kája
nv.neg 1sg return caus already neg neg emph?

nomála riká ".
nu= amá -la ri= ikhá
1sg see v.neg 3sg.nf pro

Libre él dijo "no", qué voy a devolver si yo no lo he visto

60 Mot kája ne'jíchá , inaána witúki'cha
Morphèmes kája na= ijĩ -chá inaána witúki' -cha
Glose lex. already 3pl go pst woman go_down pst

Libre ya se fueron, ya se bajaron las mujeres (por el río)

61 Mot éee nawitúki'cha , iphíchari jípa
Morphèmes *** na= witúki' -cha iphí -cha -ri jípa
Glose lex. *** 3pl go_down pst arrive pst nf.ss stone

Libre ellos bajaron y llegaron (agr. problem) al chorro (piedra)

62 Mot jípa painéko iphícha náke ,
Morphèmes jípa painéko iphí -cha náke
Glose lex. stone first arrive pst uh

Libre lit. el chorro llegó primero

63 Mot Ejá chú jípa ,
Morphèmes ejá chú jípa
Glose lex. proper.n in stone

Libre el chorro en el río Mirití

64 Mot riká aũ richíya nápu
Morphèmes ri= ikhá aũ ri= ichí -ya na= ápu
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro with 3sg.nf close pst 3pl path

i'micháka , jípa .
i'mi -chá -ka jípa
far.pst pst ka.pst stone

Libre con ese (chorro) él cerró el paso de ellas, el chorro

65 Mot eyonáje nákeí nakeño'tiya nákeí , nákeí ,
Morphèmes eyonáje nákei na= keño'ti -ya nákei nákei
Glose lex. however uh 3pl transform pst uh uh

júni .
júni
water1

Libre sin embargo, eso, ellas crearon, el río (agua)

66 Mot	riká	chú	nawitúki'cha	jípa	chú
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chú	na= witúki' -cha	jípa	chú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	in	3pl go_down pst	stone	in

Libre en él ellas se bajaron al chorro

67 Mot	kája	rijĩ'chó	píño	nanáku
Morphèmes	kája	ri= jĩ'	-chá =o	píño na= náku
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf take	pst mid	again 3pl on

Libre ahí él les persiguió otra vez a ellas

68 Mot	najĩ'chá	kujnú	i'micháka
Morphèmes	na= jĩ' -chá	kujnú	i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	3pl take pst	cassava	far.pst pst ka.pst

najwa'tó

na= jwa'té =o

3pl with mid

Libre ellos cogieron casabe con ellos (las mujeres)

69 Mot	kélé	jípa	" kujnú	" néma	nakú
Morphèmes	kélé	jípa	kujnú	na= íma	nakú
Glose lex.	med	stone	cassava	3pl say	on

Libre a ese chorro le dicen casabe

70 Mot	réjé	kujnú	anó'ñacha	ne'michá
Morphèmes	ri= eje	kujnú	anó' -ña -cha	na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf until	cassava	wet appl pst	3pl far.pst pst

Libre ahí se mojó el casabe

71 Mot	aũ	kája	rúmícha	" o'weló	"
Morphèmes	aũ	kája	ru= ímí -cha	o'we	-ló
Glose lex.	because	already	3sg.f say pst	brother.addr	f

rúmícha , kája kháãjĩ kujnú anó'õ , unká
 ru= ímí -cha kája kháãjĩ kujnú anó' =o unká
 3sg.f say pst already prox cassava wet mid neg

méke

wala'lá

méké

wa= la' -lá

indf.manner 1pl do v.neg

Libre ella dijo "hermana", dijo, "este casabe ya se mojó, ya no podemos hacer nada"

72 Mot	" kéjo'ó	riká	" ké	rúmícha	, "
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro	like	3sg.f say pst	

máarejé

riyurí

riká

".

máare

=eje

ri=

yurí

ri=

ikhá

prox.loc until

3sg.nf stay

3sg.nf

pro

Libre "está bien" ella dijo, aquí él lo va a dejar (agreem. prob)

73 Mot	yuwaná	penájemi	amákalojé	penáje	"
Morphèmes	yuwaná	penáje =mi	amá -ka lojé	penáje	
Glose lex.	kids	for nom.pfv	see ka.adv purp3	for	

ké rúmícha
ké ru= ímí -cha
like 3sg.f say pst

Libre para los nuevos jóvenes (los que vienen adelante) para ellos verlo dijo ella

74 Mot	aú	nayurícha	kujnú	i'micháka
Morphèmes	aú	na= yurí -cha	kujnú	i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	because	3pl stay pst	cassava	far.pst pst ka.pst

réjé
ri= eje
3sg.nf until

Libre por eso ellos dejaron casabe ahí

75 Mot	kája	jna'pícha	píño
Morphèmes	kája	na= ja'pí -cha	píño
Glose lex.	already	3pl pass pst	again

Libre ahí ya siguieron

76 Mot	nephíchaño	máarejé	, é	nákéi	,
Morphèmes	na= iphí -cha -ño	máare =eje	, é	nákei	
Glose lex.	3pl arrive pst pl.ss	prox.loc until	then	uh	

jípa , " Córdoba " néma nakú , réjé kája ,
jípa Córdoba na= ímá nakú ri= =eje kája
stone proper.n 3pl say on 3sg.nf until already

itíya nápu i'michá .
ri= ití -ya na= ápu i'mi -chá
3sg.nf close pst 3pl path far.pst pst

Libre llegaron (agr. prob) hasta aquí, esto, chorro, eso que ellos dicen Córdoba, ahí él cerró el paso de ellas

77 Mot	kája	riki'chá	neká	apa'má
Morphèmes	kája	ri= ki' -chá	na= ikhá	apa'má
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf throw_out pst	3pl pro	other.world

chojé
chojé
towards_inside

Libre él ya lo mandó en otro mundo (planeta)

78 Mot	éjé	(te-)	nayurícho	i'micháka	,
Morphèmes	=eje	***	na= yurí -cha =o	i'mi -chá -ka	
Glose lex.	after	***	3pl stay pst mid	far.pst pst ka.pst	

pajlúwáru kélé " Jamerú " néma nakú
pajlúwá -ru kélé Jamerú na= ímá nakú
one f med proper.n 3pl say on

Libre ellas quedaron ahí, eso que ellos dicen que es Jamerú (la dueña del chorro)

79 Mot	eyá	kája	Kanumá	pi'chó		
Morphèmes	eyá	kája	Kanumá	pi'	-chá	=o
Glose lex.	since_then	already	Kanumá	return	pst	mid

i'michá riñakaré
i'mi -chá ri= ñakaré
far.pst pst 3sg.nf house

Libre de ahí ya Kanumá se regresó a la casa

80 Mot	ripi'chó				
Morphèmes	ri=	pi'	-cha	=ó	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	return	pst	mid	

Libre regresó

81 Mot	iphíchari		a'jná	riñakaréjǒ	
Morphèmes	iphí	-cha	-ri	a'jná	ri= ñakaré ejo
Glose lex.	arrive	pst	nf.ss	dist	3sg.nf house towards

Libre el llegó hasta su casa

82 Mot	é kája	ri'michá		rikó	
Morphèmes	é kája	ri=	i'mi -chá	ri= ikhá	=ó
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	cop pst	3sg.nf pro	mid

Libre ya él vivía solo

83 Mot	kája	rijǐ'chá		ná	kaóna	, mapéja
Morphèmes	kája	ri=	jǐ'	-chá	ná	*** mapéja
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf	take	pst	indf	*** normally

rawakátiya rilúnana penáje , kamejérina
ri= jawaká -ti -ya ri= lúna -na penáje kamejérí -na
3sg.nf pile caus pst 3sg.nf wives pl for animal pl

kájéna i'micháño rijwa'té
kájé -na i'mi -chá -ño ri= jwa'té
type pl cop pst pl.cleft 3sg.nf with

Libre ahí él cogió ellas, así no más él amontonaba para que sean mujeres de él, los animales vivían con él

84 Mot	najwa'té	ri'michá		, i'michári	kája
Morphèmes	na= jwa'té	ri=	i'mi -chá	i'mi -chá -ri	kája
Glose lex.	3pl with	3sg.nf	cop pst	cop pst nf.cleft	already

najwa'té Chu'rúmi .
na= jwa'té Chu'rúmi
3pl with Chu'rúmi

Libre con ellos vivía (kanumá, con las mujeres que él juntaba), y martín pescador vivía con ellos también

85 Mot riká ,
Morphèmes ri= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro

Libre él

86 Mot éee , kája wája kája nataji'chá
Morphèmes *** kája =wá =ja kája na= taji' -chá
Glose lex. *** already emph lim already 3pl die pst
me'pijí nakú , unkwá ná najñálacha i'michá
me'pijí nakú unkwá ná na= ajñá -la -cha i'mi -chá
hunger on neg indf 3pl eat v.neg pst far.pst pst

Libre éee, ahí pues ya estaban muriendo de hambre, no comían nada

87 Mot me'pijí nakú natakhi'chá , kája (ka- ,
Morphèmes me'pijí nakú na= takhi' -chá kája ***
Glose lex. hunger on 3pl die pst already ***

i-) kéri i'michákanó kaápu'kú , é kája Chu'rúmi
*** kéri i'mi -chá -ka =nó kaápu'kú é kája Chu'rúmi
*** moon cop pst ka.when hab noon then Chu'rúmi

i'jĩchá , júni i'rajé ri'jĩchánó me'pijí
i'jĩ -chá júni i'ra -jé ri= i'jĩ -chá =nó me'pijí
go pst water1 drink purp.mot 3sg.nf go pst hab hunger

nakú ritaji'chá akuáná .
nakú ri= taji' -chá akuáná
on 3sg.nf die pst because

Libre estaban muriendo de hambre, cuando la luna estaba como las 12 (de la noche), iba el martin pescador, él iba a tomar agua porque se estaba muriendo de hambre

88 Mot riyái'cho júni turená .
Morphèmes ri= yái' -cha =o júni turená
Glose lex. 3sg.nf sit pst mid water1 board

Libre estaba sentado en la orilla del río

89 Mot é kája ramíchanó inaukéna inaána ,
Morphèmes é kája ri= amí -cha =nó inau'ké -na inaána
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf see pst hab person pl woman

ne'micháká ñamátuna .
na= i'mi -chá -ka ***
3pl go pst ka.insub? ***

Libre el ya miraba gente mujeres, eran esas ñamátuna

90 Mot ri'jnatíyakanó nayáni jló
Morphèmes ri= i'jnatí -ya -ka =nó na= yáni jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf take pst ka.insub? hab 3pl children for

a'jnejí .
a'jne -jí
food unposs

Libre él iba (debería ser ellas iban) dejando comida para los hijos de ellas

91 Mot	yenójo	ne'jícháno	.
Morphèmes	yenú =ejo	na= i'jĩ -chá =no	
Glose lex.	up towards	3pl go pst hab	

Libre hacia arriba subían

92 Mot	jíta	chú	ne'jícháno	jwe'chí	aũ	, kajú
Morphèmes	jíta	chú	na= i'jĩ -chá =no	jwe'chí	aũ	kajú
Glose lex.	canoe	in	3pl go pst hab	paddle	with	much

ne'jatíyakanó a'jnejí ,
na= i'ja -tí -ya -ka =nó a'jne -jí
3pl go_up caus pst ka.cleft hab food unposs

Libre iban en canoa a remo, subían mucha comida

93 Mot	a'jnejí	, kujnú	, ña'kú	,
Morphèmes	a'jne -jí	kujnú	ña'kú	
Glose lex.	food unposs	cassava	yam	

Libre comida, casabe, ñame

94 Mot	waléjari	réwajã	.
Morphèmes	waléjari	ré =wa =jã	
Glose lex.	manioc_dough	then emph lim	

Libre hasta (even) almidón

95 Mot	é	ne'jíchá	.
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	

Libre se fueron

96 Mot	é	riwái'cha	, jremi'cháka
Morphèmes	é	ri= wái' -cha	ri= jemi' -chá -ka
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf call pst	3sg.nf listen pst ka.nz

naleíchaka aũ riwáicha , " úu " ké
na= leí -cha -ka aũ ri= wái' -cha úu ké
3pl paddle pst ka.nz because 3sg.nf call pst hey like

rímicha .
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre él llamó, por que él escuchó que ellos venían remando, "úu" así dijo

97 Mot	" úu "	" ké	ro'jipichaka	.
Morphèmes	úu	ké	ru= a'jipi -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	hey	like	3sg.f answer pst ka.cleft	

Libre "úu" ella le contestó

98.1 Mot	" ná	wái	?"
Morphèmes	ná	wáa' -i	
Glose lex.	indf	call nf.cleft	

Libre "quién es que está llamando?" ella dijo, "no, yo (soy el que está llamando)" él dijo

98.2 Mot	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unkwá	,	nuká	"	ké
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha			unkwá		nu= ikhá		ké
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst			neg		1sg pro		like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre

99.1 Mot	"	ná	chí	piká	?"
Morphèmes		ná	chí	pi= ikhá	
Glose lex.		indf	emph3	2sg pro	

Libre "quien es usted?" ella le dijo

99.2 Mot	ké	rúmícha	.
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst	

Libre

100 Mot	"	Chu'rúmi	"
Morphèmes		Chu'rúmi	
Glose lex.		Chu'rúmi	

Libre "Chu'rúmi"

101 Mot	"	chuchú	Chu'rúmi	"	ké	rúmícha	"
Morphèmes		chuchú	Chu'rúmi		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		grandparent	Chu'rúmi		like	3sg.f say pst	

piká
pi= ikhá
2sg pro

Libre ella le dijo, es usted abuelo Chu'rúmi

102.1 Mot	"	á'a	nulakélo	"	ké	rúmícha	,
Morphèmes		á'a	nu= laké -lo		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		yes	1sg grandchild f		like	3sg.nf say pst	

" ná pila'á ?
ná pi= la'á
indf 2sg do

Libre "Sí, nieta", él dijo, "qué haces" ella le dijo?"

102.2 Mot	"	ké	rúmícha	.
Morphèmes		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		like	3sg.f say pst	

Libre

103 Mot	"	unká	ná	nula'lá	maaré	"	ké
Morphèmes		unká	ná	nu= la' -lá	maaré		ké
Glose lex.		neg	indf	1sg do v.neg	prox.loc		like

rímícha	rojló	,	me'pijí	nakú	nutakha'á	.
ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló		me'pijí	nakú	nu= takha'á	
3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for		hunger	on	1sg die	

Libre "no nada, no estoy haciendo nada aquí" le dijo a ella, "me estoy muriendo de hambre".

104 Mot	"	akuwāná	nu'jīchá	júni	i'rajē	"
Morphèmes		akuwāná	nu= ijī -chá	júni	i'ra jē	
Glose lex.		because	1sg go pst	water1	drink purp.mot	

ké	rímícha
ké	ri= ímí -cha
like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre por eso yo vine a tomar agua

105 Mot	"	jái	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	náje
Morphèmes		jái		ké	ru= ímí -cha			náje
Glose lex.		ah		like	3sg.f say pst			indf.reason

pitaja'á	me'pijí	nakú	? "
pi= taja'á	me'pijí	nakú	
2sg die	hunger	on	

Libre ella dijo "uy", "por qué estás muriendo de hambre?"

106 Mot	unká	pirá'-	,	pajñála	phiwaká	Kanumá
Morphèmes	unká	***		pi= ajñá -la	pi= jiwaká	Kanumá
Glose lex.	neg	***		2sg eat v.neg	2sg boss	Kanumá

jwa'té	pa'jnewá	?
jwa'té	pi= a'jne =wá	
with	2sg food refl	

Libre por qué usted no come con su jefe Kanumá comida?

107.1 Mot	á	,	"	phiwakátá	Kanumá	kemakána
Morphèmes	***			pi= jiwaká tâ	Kanumá	kema -kána
Glose lex.	***			2sg boss emph1	Kanumá	say ev.nz1

nakú	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	yéwichaja	taja'á	me'pijí	nakú	"
nakú		ké	ru= ímí -cha			yéwícha	taja'á	me'pijí	nakú	
on		like	3sg.f say pst			almost	die	hunger	on	

"	náje	ritaja'á	me'pijí	nakú	?
	náje	ri= taja'á	me'pijí	nakú	
	indf.reason	3sg.nf die	hunger	on	

Libre ah, él dijo, no nombre a ese Kanumá, ya casi él está muriendo de hambre dijo él, "por qué él está muriendo de hambre?" ella le dijo

107.2 Mot	"	,	ké	rúmíchaka
Morphèmes			ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.			like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre

108 Mot	ilé	kalé	(náke-)	inaána	i'michámí	(riná-
Morphèmes	ilé	kalé	***	inaána	i'mi -chá	=mi ***
Glose lex.	med	emph5	***	woman	live pst	pfv ***

) rijwa'té , jra'píchakamitá nakú ké
 ri= jwa'té ri= ja'pí -cha -ka =mi tâ nakú ké
 3sg.nf with 3sg.nf pass pst ka.insub? pfv emph1 on like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre por eso esas mujeres que vivían con el, él las espantó, dijo ella (ilé kalé: por eso)

109 Mot	majó	, jé	éko	chuchú	ké
Morphèmes	majó	jé	éko	chuchú	ké
Glose lex.	prox.toward	good	pol.imp	grandparent	like

rúmícha ro- roúki'cha richáje
 ru= ímí -cha *** ru= aúki' -cha ri= cháje
 3sg.f say pst *** 3sg.f put pst 3sg.nf at

Libre bueno, venga, abuelo, ella dijo, ella arrimó donde él (donde que él estaba sentado tomando agua)

110 Mot	ro'chá	rijló	kujnú	.
Morphèmes	ru= a'a -chá	ri= jló	kujnú	
Glose lex.	3sg.f give pst	3sg.nf for	cassava	

Libre ella le dio casabe

111 Mot	" ajá'a	, chuchú	" ké	rúmícha	, "
Morphèmes	***	chuchú	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	***	grandparent	like	3sg.f say pst	

kháajĩ no'ó pijló kujnú ."
 kháajĩ nu= a'á pi= jló kujnú
 prox 1sg give 2sg for cassava

Libre tenga abuelo, le doy este casabe

112 Mot	pajñáchí	ké	rúmícha	, pá
Morphèmes	pi= ajñá -chí	ké	ru= ímí -cha	pá
Glose lex.	2sg eat purp2	like	3sg.f say pst	look

pi'maníña wayukúná ,
 pi= i'ma -níña wa= yukú -ná
 2sg tell proh 1pl story alien3

Libre pa que coma, dijo ella, no vaya a contar nada de nosotros

113 Mot	phiwakáta	Kanumá	jló	.
Morphèmes	pi= jiwaká tâ	Kanumá	jló	
Glose lex.	2sg boss emph1	Kanumá	for	

Libre a la porquería de su jefe Kanumá

114.1 Mot	jée	nulakélo		ké	rúmícha	,
Morphèmes	jé	nu= laké	-lo	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	good	1sg grandchild	f	like	3sg.f say	pst

náje nu'má iyukúná ?

náje nu= i'má i= yukú -ná
 indf.reason 1sg tell 2pl story alien3

Libre "bueno nieta" dijo él (agr. prob), yo no tengo por qué avisarle,

114.2 Mot	, ñaké	palá	pa'chá		nojló	kujnú	.
Morphèmes	ñaké	palá	pi= a' -chá		nu= jló	kujnú	
Glose lex.	dist.simil	good	2sg give	pst	1sg for	cassava	

Libre si usted me dio bien casabe

115 Mot	" kéjo'ó	riká		chuchú	Chu'rúmi	",
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		chuchú	Chu'rúmi	
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro		grandparent	Chu'rúmi	

ké rúmícha , " ilé apú (nujmeé-) no'weló
 ké ru= ímí -cha ilé apú *** nu= e'we -ló
 like 3sg.f say pst med other *** 1sg brother f

waícha ",
 waícha
 return

Libre es cierto abuelo Chu'rúmi, por ahí viene otra mi hermana

116 Mot	" ruliyá	pikejá'a		kujnú	pijlúwa	"
Morphèmes	ru= liyá	pi= kejáa'		kujnú	pi= jlu =wa	
Glose lex.	3sg.f from	2sg request		cassava	2sg for refl	

ké rúmícha .
 ké ru= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.f say pst

Libre pídele a ella casabe para usted, ella dijo

117 Mot	" jé	" ké	rúmícha	.
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf say	pst

Libre bueno, él dijo

118 Mot	é	jro'pícha		yenójó	.
Morphèmes	é	ru= ja'pí -cha		yenú =ejo	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f pass	pst	up towards	

Libre ella pasó hacia arriba

119 Mot	kalapíchina	já'lo		ru'michá	.
Morphèmes	kalapíchí -na	já' -lo		ru= i'mi -chá	
Glose lex.	capuchin pl	tribe f		3sg.f live	pst

Libre ella era gente de mico maicero

120 Mot	ká-	ja'pejé	i'micháyo	nákei	, maíre'ru
Morphèmes	***	ja'pi =eje	i'mi -chá -yo	nákei	maíre'ru
Glose lex.	***	under until	go pst f.nz	uh	proper.n

maína já'lo
 maí -na já' -lo
 piranha pl tribe f

Libre la que sigue era Maíre'ru, gente piraña

121 Mot	é	riyái'cho	píño	, jemi'chári
Morphèmes	é	ri= yái' -cha =o	píño	jemi' -chá -ri
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf sit pst mid	again	listen pst nf.ss

píño rumejé waícha , khú , khú ké
 píño ru= mejé waícha khú khú ké
 again 3sg.f sound return ideo4 ideo4 like

ruleícha .
 ru= leí -cha
 3sg.f paddle pst

Libre el se sentó otra vez, y el escuchó que ella venía, ella remaba "khú khú"

122 Mot	riwáicha	rojlo	" úu "	ké
Morphèmes	ri= wái' -cha	ru= jló	úu	ké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf call pst	3sg.f for	hey	like

rímícha .
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre el le llamó "úu"

123.1 Mot	" úu "	ké	rúmícha	, " ná kélé
Morphèmes	úu	ké	ru= ímí -cha	ná kélé
Glose lex.	hey	like	3sg.f say pst	indf med

wá'ari ?
 wá'a -ri
 take nf.cleft

Libre "úu" ella dijo, quién es el que está llamando

123.2 Mot	", ké	rúmícha	.
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha	.
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst	.

Libre

124.1 Mot	" nuká	" ké	rúmícha	, " ná
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ná
Glose lex.	1sg pro	like	3sg.nf say pst	indf

piká ?"
 pi= ikhá
 2sg pro

Libre "yo" él dijo, "quién es usted?", "no, Chu'rúmi" él dijo

124.2	Mot	, unká	Chu'rúmi	ké	rímícha	
	Morphèmes	unká	Chu'rúmi	ké	ri= ímí	-cha
	Glose lex.	neg	Chu'rúmi	like	3sg.nf say	pst

Libre

125.1	Mot	" ná	pila'á	chuchú	?"
	Morphèmes	ná	pi= la'á	chuchú	
	Glose lex.	indf	2sg do	grandparent	

Libre "qué hace, abuelito" ella dijo

125.2	Mot	ké	rúmícha	
	Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí	-cha
	Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say	pst

Libre

126.1	Mot	" yée	, " ná	pila'á	?"
	Morphèmes	yée	ná	pi= la'á	
	Glose lex.	oh	indf	2sg do	

Libre "uy, por qué me dice qué es lo que estoy haciendo, nieta" él dijo, "me estoy muriendo de hambre"

126.2	Mot	" kemakáje	nakú	, nulakélo	" ké
	Morphèmes	kema -káje	nakú	nu= laké	-lo ké
	Glose lex.	say	ev.nz2 on	1sg grandchild	f like

rímícha , yéwichaja nutaja'á me'pijí nakú .
 ri= ímí -cha yéwícha nu= taja'á me'pijí nakú
 3sg.nf say pst almost 1sg die hunger on

Libre

127	Mot	akuwāná	nu'jíchá	majǒ	júni	i'rajé
	Morphèmes	akuwāná	nu= i'jī	-chá	majǒ	júni i'ra -jé
	Glose lex.	because	1sg go	pst prox.toward	water1	drink fut

ké rímícha
 ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre por eso yo vine a tomar agua acá, él dijo

128	Mot	" ái	" ké	rúmícha	, " náje
	Morphèmes	ái	ké	ru= ímí	-cha náje
	Glose lex.	uy	like	3sg.f say	pst indf.reason

pitakha'á me'pijí nakú , unká pajñála
 pi= takha'á me'pijí nakú unká pi= ajñá -la
 2sg die hunger on neg 2sg eat v.neg

phiwakátá Kanumá jwa'té pa'jnewá ?"
 pi= jiwaká tâ Kanumá jwa'té pi= a'jne =wá
 2sg boss emph1 Kanumá with 2sg food refl

Libre "ay" ella dijo, "por qué se está muriendo de hambre, por qué no come con la porquería de su jefe Kanumá?"

129 Mot " yée phiwaká Kanumá kemakáje nakú ,
Morphèmes yée pi= jiwaká Kanumá kema -káje nakú
Glose lex. oh 2sg boss Kanumá say ev.nz2 on

nulakélo " ké rímícha , " yéwichaja
 nu= laké -lo ké ri= ímí -cha yéwícha
 1sg grandchild f like 3sg.nf say pst almost

taja'ká me'pijí nakú ".
 taja' -ká me'pijí nakú
 die ka.cleft hunger on

Libre "uy, nombrando a jefe Kanumá, mi nieta", él dijo, "ya el está muriendo de hambre"

130 Mot " rila'taré jrenakúwa " ké
Morphèmes ri= la' -ta -ré ri= jenakú =wa ké
Glose lex. 3sg.nf do caus jus 3sg.nf advice refl like

rúmícha , " ilé kaé inaána i'michámí
 ru= ímí -cha ilé kaé inaána i'mi -chá =mi
 3sg.f say pst med emph5 woman live pst pfv

rijwa'té i'maká , jra'píchami nakú
 ri= jwa'té i'ma -ka ri= ja'pá -cha =mi nakú
 3sg.nf with far.pst ka.pst 3sg.nf pass pst pfv on

i'maká " ké rúmícha .
 i'ma -ka ké ru= ímí -cha
 far.pst ka.pst like 3sg.f say pst

Libre que aguante, ella dijo, las mujeres las que vivían con él el lo espantó, ella dijo

131 Mot " kéjo'ó riká , chuchú " ké
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá chuchú ké
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro grandparent like

rúmícha , (maí náke-) , rouki'cho richáje
 ru= ímí -cha maí *** ru= aúki' -cha =o ri= cháje
 3sg.f say pst prox *** 3sg.f put pst mid 3sg.nf at

Libre está bien abuelito, ella dijo, (???), ella arrimó donde él

132 Mot maí kujnú ké (rímícha -)
Morphèmes maí kujnú ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. prox cassava like 3sg.nf say pst

rúmícha rijló .
 ru= ímí -cha ri= jló
 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre tenga este casabe, ella le dijo

133 Mot éko náke , pá pi'maníña
Morphèmes éko náke pá pi= i'ma -níña
Glose lex. pol.imp uh look_out 2sg tell proh

wayukúná	phiwakátá	Kanumá	jló
wa= yukú -ná	pi= jiwaká tâ	Kanumá	jló
1pl story alien3	2sg boss emph1	Kanumá	for

Libre no vaya a avisar a su porquería jefe Kanumá

134.1 Mot	" ée	nulakélo	" ké	rímícha
Morphèmes	***	nu= laké	-lo	ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	***	1sg grandchild	f	like 3sg.nf say pst

náje	nu'má	iyukúna	?,
náje	nu= i'má	i= yukú -ná	
indf.reason	1sg tell	2pl story alien3	

Libre "ée nieta" él dijo, "yo no tengo por qué avisar,

134.2 Mot	ñaké	palá	a'ká	nojló
Morphèmes	ñaké	palá	i= a' -ka	nu= jló
Glose lex.	dist.simil	good	2pl give ka.cleft	1sg for

a'jnejí	" ké	rímícha
a'jne -jí	ké	ri= ímí -cha
food unposs	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre si usted me da buena comida" él dijo (usted me está dando bien comida).

135 Mot	kája	jro'pícha
Morphèmes	kája	ru= ja'pí -cha
Glose lex.	already	3sg.f pass pst

Libre de ahí siguió

136 Mot	éjomi	kája
Morphèmes	éjomi	kája
Glose lex.	after	already

Libre ya después

137 Mot	kája	jráo'cho
Morphèmes	kája	ri= jáo' -cha =o
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf go_out pst mid

Libre él se salió

138 Mot	riji'chá	kujnú	, jretá
Morphèmes	ri= ji' -chá	kujnú	ri= jetá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf bury pst	cassava	3sg.nf hammoc

i'michári	pají	numaná
i'mi -chá -ri	pají	numaná
cop pst nf.cleft	maloca	door

Libre el enterró casabe, la hamaca de él estaba guindao al pie de la puerta

139 Mot	(riká	chú	pai'lá	e'yajé	) , pai'lá
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chú	pai'lá	e'yajé	pai'lá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	in	ashes	towards	ashes

jrichícha
 ri= jichí -cha
 3sg.nf dig pst

Libre (en él, en las cenizas), el escarbó cenizas

140 Mot riká chojé rijai'chá kujnú
Morphèmes ri= ikhá chojé ri= jai' -chá kujnú
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro towards_inside 3sg.nf clean pst cassava

Libre ahí raspó casabe

141 Mot kája wajme'tiya
Morphèmes kája wa= jme'tí -ya
Glose lex. already 1pl become_light pst

Libre ya amaneció

142 Mot wajme'tiya é kája Kanumá
Morphèmes wa= jme'tí -ya é kája Kanumá
Glose lex. 1pl become_light pst then already Kanumá

apócha ,
 apó -cha
 wake_up pst

Libre amaneció y se despartó Kanumá

143 Mot é rímícha
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst

Libre y él dijo

144 Mot mapéja rijwa'téjena jló rímícha
Morphèmes mapéja ri= jwa'téje -na jló ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. normally 3sg.nf servants pl for 3sg.nf say pst

Libre así no más dijo a la gente

145 Mot " chúwa pila'á kujnú " ké rímícha
Morphèmes chúwa pi= la'á kujnú ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. now 2sg do cassava like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre ahora hagan casabe, dijo

146 Mot naji'cháno jiríná ,
Morphèmes na= jí' -chá =no jirí -na
Glose lex. 3pl take pst hab mouse pl

Libre cogían ratones

147 Mot neká li'chañó kujnú rijló
Morphèmes na= ikhá li' -cha -ñó kujnú ri= jló
Glose lex. 3pl pro do pst pl.cleft cassava 3sg.nf for

Libre ellos la que le hacían casabe (los ratones hacían casabe para kanumá)

148 Mot	ká	,	riwáicha		rijló	,	chuchú
Morphèmes	ká		ri= wái' -cha		ri= jló		chuchú
Glose lex.	already		3sg.nf call pst		3sg.nf for		grandparent

Chu'rúmi	ké	rímícha	,	chúwa	(ná-)	pajñá
Chu'rúmi	ké	ri= ímí -cha		chúwa	***	pi= ajñá
Chu'rúmi	like	3sg.nf say pst		now	***	2sg eat

kujnú
kujnú
cassava

Libre él llamó al abuelo Chu'rúmi, ahora coma casabe

149 Mot	yée	newaká	ké	rímícha	,	unká
Morphèmes	yée	nu= jiwaká	ké	ri= ímí -cha		unká
Glose lex.	oh	1sg boss	like	3sg.nf say pst		neg

méla'jé	nojñála	,	pajñá	riká	ké
méla'jé	nu= ajñá -la		pi= ajñá	ri= ikhá	ké
indf.manner	1sg eat v.neg		2sg eat	3sg.nf pro	like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre "uy jefe" él dijo, yo no puedo comer, comalo usted, él dijo.

150 Mot	apála	nojñátá		piliyá	riká	.
Morphèmes	apála	nu= ajñá tâ		pi= liyá	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	maybe	1sg eat emph1		2sg from	3sg.nf pro	

Libre de pronto yo lo como (de pronto me como su parte)

151 Mot	ká	,	kája	kéja	ri'micháká
Morphèmes	ká		kája	ké =ja	ri= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	already		already	like lim	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

Libre así vivía él (el abuelo)

152 Mot	(né - , éri-)	muní ké	ñakéja	káje	.
Morphèmes	***	***	muní ké	ñaké =ja	kájé
Glose lex.	***	***	next_day	dist.simil lim	type

Libre al siguiente día igual, lo mismo

153 Mot	na'chá		píño	rijló	kujnú	,
Morphèmes	na= a' -chá		píño	ri= jló	kujnú	
Glose lex.	3pl give pst		again	3sg.nf for	cassava	

rijñ'chá píño .
ri= jñ' -chá píño
3sg.nf take pst again

Libre ahí le dieron otra vez casabe, el lo cogió otra vez

154 Mot	é kája	riji'cháno		kujnú	,	Kanumá
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= ji' -chá =no		kujnú		Kanumá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf bury pst	hab	cassava		Kanumá

a'cháno	rijló	jraúki'chanó	káru
a' -chá =no	ri= jló	ri= aúki' -cha =nó	káru
give pst hab	3sg.nf for	3sg.nf put pst hab	plant_sp
chojé	riká	.	
chojé	ri= ikhá		
towards_inside	3sg.nf pro		

Libre siempre él enterraba el casabe, lo que Kanumá le daba él lo metía en la hoja de karaná

155 Mot	é kája	Kanumátá	i'jíchá	, amíchari
Morphèmes	é kája	Kanumá tâ	i'jĩ -chá	amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	then	Kanumá emph1	go pst	see pst nf.ss
kajú	raúki'cha	káru	chojé	kélé kujnú
kajú	ri= aúki' -cha	káru	chojé	kélé kujnú
much	3sg.nf put pst	plant_sp	towards_inside	med cassava
ra'chajé	rijló	.		
ri= a' -chajé	ri= jló			
3sg.nf give arg.nz2	3sg.nf for			

Libre Kanumá se fue y miró que el había metido mucho ahí en medio de hoja de karaná ese casabe lo que él le daba

156 Mot	raú	ripéchu	i'michá	, " méké
Morphèmes	ri= aú	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	méké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf cause	3sg.nf thought	cop pst	indf.manner
wáĩ	chí	, unká chuchú	Chu'rúmi	ajñálaó
=wáĩ	chí	unká chuchú	Chu'rúmi	ajñá -la =ó
emph	emph3	neg grandparent	Chu'rúmi	eat v.neg hab
kujnú	" ké	rímicha	.	
kujnú	ké	ri= ímí -cha		
cassava	like	3sg.nf say pst		

Libre por eso él pensaba, por qué será abuelo chu'rumi no come casabe, él dijo

157 Mot	chúwa	nomájĩka	apála	ná	ka'jná
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu= amá -jĩ -ka	apála	ná	ka'jná
Glose lex.	now	1sg see fut	ka.cleft	maybe	indf dub
ramáno	, (kejã)	apála	inau'ké	ka'jnó	
ri= amá =no	***	apála	inau'ké	ka'jnó	
3sg.nf see hab	***	maybe	person	dub	

Libre ahora voy a mirar a quién será él miraba, de pronto gente será

158 Mot	é kája	(ri-)	, (mun-)	, jlapiyáí	ké
Morphèmes	é kája	***	***	jlapiyáí	ké
Glose lex.	then	***	***	morning	like
ri'jíchá	rito'chó	jretá	chú		
ri= i'jĩ -chá	ri= to' -chá =o	ri= jetá	chú		
3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf lie pst mid	3sg.nf hammoc	in		

Libre todas las mañanas el se fue y se acostó en la hamaca de él (abuelo chu'rúmi)

159 Mot	amíchari	kujnú	mujúmiñáni
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	kujnú	mujúmi =ñáni
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	cassava	crumbs dim
ja'cháko		pai'lá chojé	, jretá
ja' -chá -ka	=o	pai'lá chojé	ri= jetá
fall pst ka.nz	mid	ashes towards_inside	3sg.nf hammoc
ja'pejé	, riká	rijĩchá	, riki'chá
ja'pi =eje	ri= ikhá	ri= jĩ' -chá	ri= ki' -chá
under until	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf take pst	3sg.nf throw_out pst
rinúma	chojé	.	
ri= núma	chojé		
3sg.nf mouth	towards_inside		

Libre él miró migajitas de casabe que caían en cenizas, debajo de la hamaca, ese él recogió, y lo echó a la boca de él

160 Mot	amíchari	itu'ru	ri'micháká	, "	yée
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	itu'ru	ri= i'mi -chá -ká		yée
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	starch	3sg.nf cop pst ka.nz		oh
", ké	rímicha	, "	marí kajé i'makáé		ka'jné
ké	ri= ímí -cha	marí	kájé i'ma -ká =lé		ka'jné
like	3sg.nf say pst	prox type	cop ka.adv reason		dub
unká	rajñálánó	kélé	kujnú no'kaéno		
unká	ri= ajñá -lá =no	kélé	kujnú nu= a' -kaé =no		
neg	3sg.nf eat v.neg hab	med	cassava 1sg give arg.nz1 hab		
rijló	"				
ri= jló					
3sg.nf	for				

Libre él miró era almidón, uy, dijo, por esto será que él no come ese casabe que yo le doy

161 Mot	" apála	ná	ka'jné	ramá	" ké
Morphèmes	apála	ná	ka'jné	ri= amá	ké
Glose lex.	maybe	indf	dub	3sg.nf see	like
rímicha	, rimicho'tá		ka'jné	nuliyá	riká
ri= ímí -cha	ri= micho'tá		ka'jné	nu= liyá	ri= ikhá
3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf hide		dub	1sg from	3sg.nf pro

Libre él dijo "de pronto él miró alguien"; el me lo está negando (de mi) a él

162 Mot	" chúwa	númájika		chuchú	Chu'rúmi
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu= ímá -jĩ -ka		chuchú	Chu'rúmi
Glose lex.	now	1sg say fut	ka.cleft	grandparent	Chu'rúmi
jló	" ké	rímichaka	, "	unká	inau'kélari
jló	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		unká	inau'ké -la -ri
for	like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	neg	person v.neg nf.nz
rimicho'tá	nuliyá	neká	"		
ri= micho'tá	nu= liyá	na= ikhá			
3sg.nf hide	1sg from	3pl pro			

Libre ahora voy a decirle al abuelo Chu'rúmi, el dijo, mala gente, me negó a ellos

163 Mot	kája	muní ké	najme'tíya	.
Morphèmes	kája	muní ké	na= jme'tí	-ya
Glose lex.	already	next_day	3pl become_light	pst

Libre ya al otro día amaneció

164 Mot	" chuchú	, chuchú	Chu'rúmi	" ké
Morphèmes	chuchú	chuchú	Chu'rúmi	ké
Glose lex.	grandparent	grandparent	Chu'rúmi	like

rímícha

ri= ímí -cha

3sg.nf say pst

Libre "abuelo chu'rúmi" él dijo

165.1 Mot	" píma	nojlo	" ké	rímícha	, "
Morphèmes	pi= íma	nu= jló	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	2sg say	1sg for	like	3sg.nf say pst	

ná pamáno ?

ná pi= amá =no

indf 2sg see hab

Libre

165.2 Mot	, é	ka'jna	pamáka	inaána	?
Morphèmes	é	ka'jna	pi= amá -ka	inaána	
Glose lex.	Q	dub	2sg see ka.int	woman	

Libre "dígame" él dijo, "ha visto a alguien, o de pronto ha visto mujeres, o qué será"

165.3 Mot	, mé	ka'jno	"
Morphèmes	mé	ka'jno	
Glose lex.	indf.manner	dub	

Libre

166 Mot	" unká	newaká	" ké	rímícha	, unká
Morphèmes	unká	nu= jiwaká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	unká
Glose lex.	neg	1sg boss	like	3sg.nf say pst	neg

ná nomála

ná nu= amá -la

indf 1sg see v.neg

Libre no jefe, él dijo, yo no miré a nadie

167 Mot	" unká	" ké	rímícha	, "	pi'má
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha		pi= i'má
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst		2sg tell

nojlo riyukúná kéwáka , nuwe'í pamá inaána
 nu= jló ri= yukú -ná kéwaka nu= we'í pi= amá inaána
 1sg for 3sg.nf story alien3 truth 1sg know 2sg see woman

" ké rímícha " ná ka'jna inauké "
 ké ri= ímí -cha ná ka'jna inau'ké
 like 3sg.nf say pst indf dub person

Libre no, nada, él dijo, cuénteme la verdad, yo sé que usted vio mujeres, dijo él, o de pronto alguien gente

168 Mot	"	pá	a'jná	"	ké	rímícha	,	jlálémi
Morphèmes		pá	a'jná		ké	ri= ímí -cha		jlálémi
Glose lex.		look	then		like	3sg.nf say pst		yesterday

pi'jná
pi= i'jná
2sg go

Libre laym: "mire ese de allá" él dijo, "ayer usted fue"

169 Mot	"	é	nu'jná	pheta	chú	noto'ó
Morphèmes		é	nu= i'jná	pi= jetá	chú	nu= to'ó
Glose lex.		then	1sg go	2sg hammoc	in	1sg lie

pheta chú é nomá amári kujnú
pi= jetá chú é na= amá amá -ri kujnú
2sg hammoc in then 3pl see see nf.ss cassava

mujrúmíñani to'kó pheta chú ,
mujrúmí =ñáni to' -ká =o pi= jetá chú
crumbs dim lie ka.nz mid 2sg hammoc in

Libre yo me acosté en su hamaca, y yo miré pedacito de casabe había en la hamaca suya

170 Mot	"	riká	nujña'á	nuka'á	nunúma
Morphèmes		ri= ikhá	nu= jña'á	nu= ka'á	nu= núma
Glose lex.		3sg.nf pro	1sg pull_up	1sg throw_out	1sg mouth

chojé , itu'ru ri'maká " ké rímícha
chojé itu'ru ri= i'ma -ká ké ri= ímí -cha
towards_inside starch 3sg.nf cop ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre ese que cogí boté en mi boca, era puro almidón

171 Mot	aú	númá	"	apála	ná	ka'jno	pamá
Morphèmes	aú	nu= ímá		apála	ná	ka'jno	pi= amá
Glose lex.	because	1sg say		maybe	indf	dub	2sg see

chuchú " ké rímícha , " píma nojló ,
chuchú ké ri= ímí -cha pi= ímá nu= jló
grandparent like 3sg.nf say pst 2sg say 1sg for

inaána pamájika é , píma nojló
inaána pi= amá -jĩ -ka é pi= ímá nu= jló
woman 2sg see fut ka.adv in 2sg say 1sg for

nuwáa'kalojé wajlúwa " ké rímícha
nu= wáa' -ka lojé wa= jlú =wa ké ri= ímí -cha
1sg call ka.adv purp3 1pl for refl like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre por eso yo dije "de pronto alguien usted vió abuelo" él dijo "dígame, si usted mira mujeres dígame, para coger una pa nosotros"

172 Mot	"	kapí	,	nulaké	"	ké
Morphèmes		kapí		nu= laké		ké
Glose lex.		don't_know		1sg grandchild		like
rímícha	"	unká	nomála	"	,	" unká " ké
ri= ímí -cha		unká	nu= amá -la			unká ké
3sg.nf say pst		neg	1sg see v.neg			neg like
rímíchaka		,	" pimicho'táka			nuliyá "
ri= ímí -cha -ka			pi= micho'tá -ka			nu= liyá
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft			2sg hide ka.topic			1sg from

Libre "yo no sé nieto, yo no vi"; "usted me está mintiendo de mi"

173 Mot	kája ewáta	rímícha	rijló	"	kéjo'ó
Morphèmes	kája ewáta	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló		ké =jo'ó
Glose lex.	at last	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for		like still
riká	,	newaká	"	rímícha	.
ri= ikhá		nu= jiwaká		ri= ímí -cha	
3sg.nf pro		1sg boss		3sg.nf say pst	

Libre después él le dijo "está bien, jefe"

174 Mot	"	nomájo'o	inaána	"	ké	rímícha
Morphèmes		nu= amá =jo'ó	inaána		ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.		1sg see still	woman		like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre "sí es cierto yo vi las mujeres" dijo

175 Mot	"	marí	ké	nemaká	nojló	,	aú
Morphèmes		marí	ké	na= ima -ká	nu= jló		aú
Glose lex.		prox	like	3pl say ka.cleft	1sg for		because
ké	unká	nu'malánó		piyukúná	"	ké	
ké	unká	nu= i'ma -lá	=nó	pi= yukú -ná		ké	
like	neg	1sg tell v.neg	hab	2sg story alien3		like	
rímícha		.					
ri= ímí -cha							
3sg.nf say pst							

Libre así ellos me dijeron, por eso quise comentar nada de usted (él no le habló de kanumá a las mujeres)

176 Mot	"	kéjo'o	riká	chuchú	"	ké
Morphèmes		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	chuchú		ké
Glose lex.		like ***	3sg.nf pro	grandparent		like
rímícha	"	unká	inau'kélaritá			piká
ri= ímí -cha		unká	inau'ké -la -ri tá			pi= ikhá
3sg.nf say pst		neg	person v.neg nf.nz emph1			2sg pro
pimicho'tá	nuliyá	neká	"	ké	rímícha	.
pi= micho'tá	nu= liyá	na= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
2sg hide	1sg from	3pl pro		like	3sg.nf say pst	

Libre "está bien abuelo, usted es un loco, por eso usted no me contó"

177.1 Mot	"	méké	pamákanó	neká	?"
Morphèmes		méké	pi= amá -ka =no	na= ikhá	
Glose lex.		indf.manner	2sg see ka.cleft hab	3pl pro	

Libre "cómo usted los miró a ellos?" él dijo

177.2 Mot	ké	rímícha	.
Morphèmes	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	like	3sg.nf say pst	

Libre

178 Mot	"	marí	ké	"
Morphèmes		marí	ké	
Glose lex.		prox	like	

Libre "así" dijo él

179 Mot	kaápu'kú	kéri	i'maká	jlapí	, é
Morphèmes	kaápu'kú	kéri	i'ma -ka	jlapí	é
Glose lex.	noon	moon	cop ka.when	night	then

nu'jnáno
 nu= i'jná =no
 1sg go hab

Libre cuando la luna está bien derechito de noche, ahí siempre voy

180 Mot	"	nuyá'onó	júni	turená	, é
Morphèmes		nu= yáa' =o =no	júni	turená	é
Glose lex.		1sg sit mid hab	water1	board	then

ne'jráno , inaána neká " ké rímícha "
 na= i'jrá =no inaána na= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha
 3pl go_up hab woman 3pl pro like 3sg.nf say pst

kajrú ne'jratáká a'jnejí yenójo " ké
 kajrú na= i'jra -ta -ká a'jne -jí yenú ejo ké
 much 3pl go_up caus ka.cleft food unposs up towards like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "yo me siento en la orilla del río, ahí siempre suben, son mujeres, mucho suben comida hacia arriba" así él dijo (i'jrá:ñó: subir)

181 Mot	"	na'áno	nojló	kujnú	"
Morphèmes		na= a'á =no	nu= jló	kujnú	
Glose lex.		3pl give hab	1sg for	cassava	

Libre siempre me dan casabe

182 Mot	"	riká	nupatáno	majó	,
Morphèmes		ri= ikhá	nu= patá =no	majó	
Glose lex.		3sg.nf pro	1sg grab hab	prox.toward	

nojñáno " ké rímícha .
 nu= ajñá =no ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg eat hab like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "eso yo traigo para acá y como siempre"

183 Mot " kéjo'ó riká chuchú Chu'rúmi "
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá chuchú Chu'rúmi
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro grandparent Chu'rúmi

ké , " chúwa nu'jná , chúwa nu'jnajé pijwa'té
 ké chúwa nu= i'jná chúwa nu= i'jna -jé pi= jwa'té
 like now 1sg go now 1sg go fut 2sg with

nuwá'kalojé wajlúwa pajlúwájaru " ké
 nu= wá' -ka lojé wa= jló =wa pajlúwá -ja -ru ké
 1sg take ka.adv purp3 1pl for refl one cls:hum f like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "está bien abuelo chu'úmi, ahora sí yo voy con usted para yo coger una pa nosotros"

184 Mot " kéjo'ó riká nulaké " ké
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá nu= laké ké
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro 1sg grandchild like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "está bien nieto" él dijo

185 Mot é kája ... muní ké ne'jíchá rikeñó'tiya
Morphèmes é kája muní ké na= i'jĩ -chá ri= keñó'ti -ya
Glose lex. then next_day 3pl go pst 3sg.nf transform pst

jranajú , kanumá janajú ,
 ri= janajú Kanumá janajú
 3sg.nf hook Kanumá hook

Libre y entonces al día siguiente él fabricó anzuelo de kanumá

186 Mot riká rikeñó'tiya
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ri= keñó'ti -ya
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf transform pst

Libre eso fabricaron

187 Mot " kéjo'ó riká chuchú " ké
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá chuchú ké
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro grandparent like

rímícha " chúwatá i'jná "
 ri= ímí -cha chúwa tâ i'jná
 3sg.nf say pst now emph1 let's_go

Libre bueno abuelo, ahora sí nos vamos

188 Mot	é kája	ne'jĩchá	.
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	

Libre de ahí ya se fueron

189 Mot	" yéee "	ne'jĩchá	,	kaápu'kú	kéri
Morphèmes	yéee	na= i'jĩ -chá		kaápu'kú	kéri
Glose lex.	oh	3pl go pst		noon	moon

i'micháká , palá kéri patiyaka .
 i'mi -chá -ká palá kéri patí -ya -ka
 cop pst ka.cleft good moon shine pst ka.cleft

Libre ellos se fueron cuando la luna estaba por ahilas doce y alumbraba bien ese luna

190 Mot	kája	nayái'cho		júni	turená	.
Morphèmes	kája	na= yái' -cha =o		júni	turená	
Glose lex.	already	3pl sit pst	mid	water1	board	

Libre ahí se sentaron a la orilla del río

191 Mot	é kája	jnemi'chá		rumejé	waícha	.
Morphèmes	é kája	na= jemi' -chá		ru= mejé	waícha	
Glose lex.	then	3pl listen pst		3sg.f sound	return	

Libre escucharon que ella venía

192 Mot	phe'rúji		jlo	ne'weló
Morphèmes	phe' -rú -ji		jlo	na= e'we -ló
Glose lex.	eldest f unposs	?	3pl	brother f

Libre la hermana mayor

193 Mot	" kélerútá		waíchayo	,	chuchú	" ké
Morphèmes	kéle -rú tâ		waícha -yo		chuchú	ké
Glose lex.	med f emph1		return f.cleft		grandparent	like

rímícha " maáré piyá'o nuwajlé chú " ké
 ri= ímí -cha maáré pi= yáa' =o nu= wajlé chú ké
 3sg.nf say pst prox.loc 2sg sit mid 1sg back in like

rímícha , romájika piká .
 ri= ímí -cha ru= amá -jĩ -ka pi= ikhá
 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f see fut ka.topic 2sg pro

Libre "esa mugrosa viene, abuelo" él dijo, "aquí siéntese en mi espalda, para que ella no lo mire a usted" (laym: tiene que ser romájikapiyá piká)

194 Mot	ikája	kanumá	yái'cho		riwajlé	chú	,
Morphèmes	ikája	Kanumá	yái' -cha =o		ri= wajlé	chú	
Glose lex.	then	Kanumá	sit pst mid		3sg.nf back	in	

Chu'rúmi wajlé chú .
 Chu'rúmi wajlé chú
 Chu'rúmi back in

Libre ahí mismo kanumá se sentó en la espalda de Chu'rúmi

195 Mot rikája riwái'chaka " óo "

Morphèmes ri= ikhá =ja ri= wái' -cha -ka ***

Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro lim 3sg.nf call pst ka.topic ***

ké rímícha
 ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre él llamó "oo" él dijo

196 Mot " yée chuchú Chu'rúmi " ké rúmícha "

Morphèmes yée chuchú Chu'rúmi ké ru= ímí -cha

Glose lex. oh grandparent Chu'rúmi like 3sg.f say pst

piká "
 pi= ikhá
 2sg pro

Libre ay dijo ella; es usted abuelo Chu'rúmi

197 Mot " á'a nulakélo " ké rímícha "

Morphèmes á'a nu= laké -lo ké ri= ímí -cha

Glose lex. yes 1sg grandchild f like 3sg.nf say pst

nuká "
 nu= ikhá
 1sg pro

Libre sí dijo él, soy yo

198 Mot rikápiyája rukuwái'chaka richáje

Morphèmes rikápiyája ru= kuwái' -cha -ka ri= cháje

Glose lex. ? 3sg.f cross pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf at

Libre al instante ella cruzo donde él

199.1 Mot é rúmícha rijló " unká

Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló unká

Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for neg

pi'malá (wajló) wayukúná phiwakátá
 pi= i'ma -lá wa= jló wa= yukú -ná pi= jiwaká tâ
 2sg tell v.neg 1pl for 1pl story alien3 2sg boss emph1

Kanumá jló ?"
 Kanumá jló
 Kanumá for

Libre ella le dijo "usted no contó pa su comandante Kanumá cuento de nosotros?"

199.2 Mot ké rúmícha

Morphèmes ké ru= ímí -cha

Glose lex. like 3sg.f say pst

Libre

200 Mot " unká nulakélo " ké

Morphèmes unká nu= laké -lo ké

Glose lex. neg 1sg grandchild f like

rímíchaka	"	náje	nu'má	iyukúná	,
ri= ímí -cha -ka		náje	nu= i'má	i= yukú -ná	
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		indf.reason	1sg tell	2pl story alien3	

palá a'ká		a'jnejí	nojló	" ké
palá i= a' -ka		a'jne -jí	nu= jló	ké
good 2pl give ka.cleft		food unposs	1sg for	like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "no nieta, no tengo por qué contar cuento de ustedes, bien ustedes me dan comida para mi"

201 Mot " jé "

Morphèmes jé

Glose lex. good

Libre

202 Mot	é	rukuwáĩ'cha	riloko'páni
Morphèmes	é	ru= kuwáĩ' -cha	ri= loko'páni
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f cross pst	3sg.nf side

Libre ahí ella cruzó donde él

203 Mot	" méké	chuchú	" ké	rúmícha	,	"
Morphèmes	méké	chuchú	ké	ru= ímí -cha		
Glose lex.	indf.manner	grandparent	like	3sg.f say pst		

méké	nuwe'píka	iyamá	kéwáni
méké	nu= we'pí -ka	iyamá	ké wáni
indf.manner	1sg know ka.cleft	two	like emph

iyáa'ko	" ké	rúmícha
i= yáa' -ka =o	ké	ru= ímí -cha
2pl sit ka.cleft mid	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre cómo abuelo; me parece que ustedes estan sentados dos" ella dijo (laym: wáni sobra)

204 Mot	" unká	nulakélo	" ké
Morphèmes	unká	nu= laké -lo	ké
Glose lex.	neg	1sg grandchild f	like

rímíchaka	" nuñaká	kéelé "
ri= ímí -cha -ka	nu= ñaká	kélé
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	1sg reflection	med

Libre "no nieta; ese es mi sombra"

205 Mot	" mére	, pitára'kojlo	" ké
Morphèmes	méré	pi= tára' -ka =o =jló	ké
Glose lex.	indf.loc	2sg stand_up ka.topic mid frust	like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

212 Mot	yée	ké	rúmícha		chúwa	nuwái'cha
Morphèmes	yée	ké	ri=	ímí -cha	chúwa	nu= wái' -cha
Glose lex.	oh	like	3sg.nf	say pst	now	1sg call pst

piká

pi= ikhá

2sg pro

Libre ahora sí yo te voy a coger

213 Mot	"	ái	"	ké	rúmícha		"	nuwái'cha
Morphèmes		ái		ké	ru=	ímí -cha		nu= wái' -cha
Glose lex.		uy		like	3sg.f	say pst		1sg call pst

piká " kemakájí nakú " ké rúmícha , " tí'
 pi= ikhá kema -kájí nakú ké ru= ímí -cha tí'
 2sg pro say ev.nz2 on like 3sg.f say pst idiot

Kanumá " ké rúmícha

Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha

Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella dijo "tanto diciendo que me cogió, mugroso Kanumá"

214.1 Mot	"	ná	penáje	pika'á		phanajútá
Morphèmes		ná	penáje	pi= ka'á		pi= janajú tá
Glose lex.		indf	for	2sg throw_out		2sg hook emph1

nuwilá nakoje ?"

nu= jwilá nakú =eje

1sg hair on until

Libre "pa qué bota su anzuelo en mi cabello?,"

214.2 Mot	ké	rúmícha		,	"	unká	nuwátala	"
Morphèmes	ké	ru=	ímí -cha			unká	nu= wáta -la	
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f	say pst			neg	1sg want v.neg	

ké rúmícha " ñaké númá pijló "

ké ru= ímí -cha ñaké nu= ímá pi= jló

like 3sg.f say pst dist.simil 1sg say 2sg for

Libre yo no quiero por eso yo te digo"

215 Mot	inaána	i'máñó		pijwa'té		i'maká
Morphèmes	inaána	i'má -ñó		pi= jwa'té		i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	woman	cop pl.nz		2sg with		far.pst ka.pst

pha'píchatá nakú " ké rúmícha .

pi= ja'pí -cha tâ nakú ké ru= ímí -cha

2sg pass pst emph1 on like 3sg.f say pst

Libre las mujeres que vivieron con usted, las espantó

216 Mot	ñaké	unká	nuwátala	
Morphèmes	ñaké	unká	nu= wáta -la	
Glose lex.	dist.simil	neg	1sg want v.neg	

Libre por eso yo no quiero

217 Mot " unká " ké rúmícha " kája
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha kája
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst already

nuwái'cha piká nojló "
 nu= wái' -cha pi= ikhá nu= jló
 1sg call pst 2sg pro 1sg for

Libre él dijo "no, ya yo te cogí para mi"

218 Mot " unká " ké rúmícha " kéwáka
Morphèmes unká ké ru= ímí -cha kéwaka
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.f say pst truth

numaká"
 nu= ima -ká
 1sg say ka.cleft

Libre ella dijo "cierto yo estoy diciendo"

219 Mot " kéjo'ó riká " ké rúmícha
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.f say pst

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre "cierto es" ella dijo

220 Mot unká , phema'á palá numaká pijló
Morphèmes unká pi= jema'á palá nu= ima -ka pi= jló
Glose lex. neg 2sg listen good 1sg say ka.nz 2sg for

Kanumá ké rúmíchaka , unká nu'malájlá
 Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka unká nu= i'ma -lá jlá
 Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft neg 1sg live v.neg frust

méla'jé pijwa'té " ké rúmíchaka
 méla'jé pi= jwa'té ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 indf.manner 2sg with like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre no, escuche bien lo que te estoy diciendo, yo no puedo vivir con usted Kanumá" ella dijo (laym: dice al revez, es ũká mékela'jé nu'malájlá pijwa'té)

221 Mot " khaa'jné no'weló waícha
Morphèmes khaa'jné nu= e'we -ló waícha
Glose lex. dist 1sg brother f return

nujmerélómi , pikhá ké i'makáyó "
 nu= jmeré -ló =mi pi= ikhá ké i'ma -ka -yó
 1sg younger_brother f pfv 2sg pro like tell A.nz2 f.nz

ké rúmícha , " ruká jwa'téko náke
 ké ru= ímí -cha , ru= ikhá jwa'té =kó náke
 like 3sg.f say pst 3sg.f pro with emph4 uh

pipurá'kalo		i'má	"	ké	rúmícha	,	ñaké	marí
pi= purá'	-kale =o	i'ma		ké	ru= ímí -cha		ñaké	marí
2sg speak	?nz3 mid	live		like	3sg.f say pst		dist.simil	prox
kéja	númá	"						
ké =ja	nu= ímá							
like lim	1sg say							

Libre allá viene mi hermana mi menor, ella es igual que usted, con ella esten sus palabras, por eso hasta ahí no más digo" (laym: debe ser kháa'jnáru)

222 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	rímícha	.
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.nf say pst	

Libre bueno" dijo él

223 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	rúmícha	.
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.f say pst	

Libre bueno" dijo ella

224.1 Mot	ikája	rúmícha		Chu'rúmi	jló	"	chuchú	"
Morphèmes	ikája	ru= ímí -cha		Chu'rúmi	jló		chuchú	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		Chu'rúmi	for		grandparent	

ké	rúmícha	"	náje	unká	inau'kélari		wani
ké	ru= ímí -cha		náje	unká	inau'ké -la -ri		wáni
like	3sg.f say pst		indf.reason	neg	person v.neg	nf.nz	emph
piká	?,						
pi= ikhá							
2sg pro							

Libre al instante le dijo a chu'rumi "abuelo, por qué usted es porquería,

224.2 Mot	pi'má	wayukúná		méka	
Morphèmes	pi= i'má	wa= yukú -ná		mé	-ka
Glose lex.	2sg tell	1pl story	alien3	indf.manner	indf.sub

penáje	Kanumátá	jló	"	ké	rúmícha
penáje	Kanumá tâ	jló		ké	ru= ímí -cha
for	Kanumá emph1	for		like	3sg.f say pst

Libre por qué contó historia de nosotros para Kanumá tá" ella dijo

225 Mot	náke	wemaká		pijló	.
Morphèmes	náke	wa= ima -ká		pi= jló	
Glose lex.	uh	1pl say	ka.cleft	2sg for	

Libre nosotros te dijimos

226 Mot	"	unká	chuchú	"	ké	rímíchaka	"
Morphèmes		unká	chuchú		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.		neg	grandparent		like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft

kája	riwicho'chá		jranajű		jruwilá	chiyá	"
kája	ri= wicho'	-chá	ri= janajű		ru= jwilá	chiyá	
already	3sg.nf	release	pst	3sg.nf	hook	3sg.f	hair in.from

Libre "no abuelo" él dijo "ya él soltó anzuelo de él de el cabello de ella" (laym: e'yayá en vez de chiyá)

227 Mot	é kája	ru'jrichá		píño
Morphèmes	é kája	ru= i'jri	-chá	píño
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	go_up	pst

Libre ahí se subió de nuevo

228 Mot	é	kája	apa'wélo	i'micháyó		maíre'ru
Morphèmes	é	kája	apa'wélo	i'mi -chá	-yó	maíre'ru
Glose lex.	then	already	other.f	cop	pst	f.nz

Libre y ya estaba la otra Maíre'ru

229 Mot	rujmerélómi			ru'micháká
Morphèmes	ru= jmeré		-ló =mi	ru= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	3sg.f	younger_brother	f	pfv

Libre ella era la menor

230 Mot	é kája	ru'jrichá
Morphèmes	é kája	ru= i'jri -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f

Libre ahí (despacio) ella subió

231 Mot	é	riwái'cha		" newaká	" ké
Morphèmes	é	ri= wái'	-cha	nu= jiwaká	ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	call	pst	1sg boss

rímícha	"	kélerútá		ruká	"
ri= ímí -cha		kéle -rú	tâ	ru= ikhá	
3sg.nf	say	pst	med f	emph1	3sg.f

Libre el llamó, "capitán, esa es"

232 Mot	é kája	é	riwái'cha		rojló	" óo
Morphèmes	é kája	é	ri= wái'	-cha	ru= jló	***
Glose lex.	then	then	3sg.nf	call	pst	3sg.f

nulakélo	"	ké	rímíchaka	
nu= laké	-lo	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
1sg	grandchild	f	like	3sg.nf

Libre después él la llamó "oo nieta" él dijo

233 Mot	"	chuchú	Chu'rúmi	"	ké	rúmíchaka
Morphèmes		chuchú	Chu'rúmi		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.		grandparent	Chu'rúmi		like	3sg.f

" pikhá	"	"	á'a	"	ké	rímícha	"	majó
pi= ikhá			á'a		ké	ri= ímí -cha		majó
2sg	pro		yes		like	3sg.nf	say	pst

nu'jíchá " ké rímíchaka , " me'pijí nakú
 nu= i'jī -chá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka me'pijí nakú
 1sg go pst like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft hunger on
 nutakha'ká jakuwanája "
 nu= takha' -ká jakuwaná =ja
 1sg die ka.cleft because lim

Libre "usted es abuelo chu'rumi", "sí, yo vine acá porque casi me muero aguantando hambre (akuwanája: casi)

234.1 Mot " kéjo'ó riká chuchú " ké
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá chuchú ké
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro grandparent like

rúmíchaka , " é pamíchaka apa'wélo
 ru= ímí -cha -ka é pi= amí -cha -ka apa'wélo
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft Q 2sg see pst ka.int other.f
 no'weló ?
 nu= e'we -ló
 1sg brother f

Libre "bueno abuelo, usted miró mi otra hermana??" "sí yo la ví"

234.2 Mot " " á'a " ké rímícha " kája
Morphèmes á'a ké ri= ímí -cha kája
Glose lex. yes like 3sg.nf say pst already

nomícha ruká "
 nu= amí -cha ru= ikhá
 1sg see pst 3sg.f pro

Libre

235 Mot " jé ".
Morphèmes jé
Glose lex. good

Libre bueno

236 Mot é rukuwá'icha píño riloko'páni .
Morphèmes é ru= kuwá' -cha píño ri= loko'páni
Glose lex. then 3sg.f cross pst again 3sg.nf side

Libre ella cruzó hacia él

237 Mot ñakéja kája romíchaka iyamá
Morphèmes ñaké =ja kája ru= amí -cha -ka iyamá
Glose lex. dist.simil lim already 3sg.f see pst ka.cleft two

ké nayái'chako .
 ké na= yái' -cha -ka =o
 like 3pl sit pst ka.nz mid

Libre lo mismo ella miró que estaban los dos sentados

238 Mot aú rúmícha rijló " chuchú "

Morphèmes aú ru= ímí -cha ri= jló chuchú

Glose lex. because 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for grandparent

ké rúmíchaka , " méké nuwe'píka

ké ru= ímí -cha -ka méké nu= we'pí -ka

like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft indf.manner 1sg know ka.cleft

iyamájlé ké iyáa'ko "

iyamá =jlé ké i= yáa' -ka =o

two aug2 like 2pl sit ka.nz mid

Libre ahí ella le dijo "abuelo cómo me parece que ustedes son dos sentados"

239 Mot " unká , nulakélo , nuñakátá

Morphèmes unká nu= laké -lo nu= ñaká tá

Glose lex. neg 1sg grandchild f 1sg reflection emph1

kélé ."

kélé

med

Libre "nada nieta ese es mi sombra"

240 Mot " kéwáka " ké rúmícha " mére ,

Morphèmes kéwaka ké ru= ímí -cha méré

Glose lex. truth like 3sg.f say pst indf.loc

pitára'ko nomá ijlá "

pi= tára' -ka =o na= amá ijlá

2sg stand_up ka.when mid 3pl see frust

Libre es cierto ella dijo, voy a ver, párese a ver"

241 Mot é ritái'cho , jwa'té ké

Morphèmes é ri= táí' -cha =o jwa'té ké

Glose lex. then 3sg.nf stand_up pst mid with like

ritái'chako

ri= táí' -cha -ka =o

3sg.nf stand_up pst ka.cleft mid

Libre él se paró con él iba parándose (vimy: rijwa'té ké)

242 Mot " pipajno'ó " ké rúmíchaka

Morphèmes pi= pajno'ó ké ru= ímí -cha -ka

Glose lex. 2sg turn like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "voltéese" dijo ella (pajno'kájo: voltearse)

243 Mot jwa'té ké ripajno'chó

Morphèmes jwa'té ké ri= pajno' -chá =o

Glose lex. similarly 3sg.nf turn pst mid

Libre él se paró con él (laym: mejor ripajno'cháko)

244 Mot " kéjo'ó riká chuchú " ké

Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá chuchú ké

Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro grandparent like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre bueno abuelo ella dijo

245 Mot é rupajno'chó rujña'kálojé
Morphèmes é ru= pajno' -chá =o ru= jña' -ká lojé
Glose lex. then 3sg.f turn pst mid 3sg.f take ka.adv purp3

kujnú penáje eyá Kanumátá ki'chá píño
 kujnú penáje eyá Kanumá tâ ki' -chá píño
 cassava for since_then Kanumá emph1 throw_out pst again

jranajú jruwilá e'yajé
 ri= janajú ru= jwilá e'yajé
 3sg.nf hook 3sg.f hair towards

Libre ella volteó pa coger casabe ahí kanumá botó anzuelo de él en cabello de ella

246 Mot kája (nuwa'nícha ---) nuwái'cha riká
Morphèmes kája *** nu= wái' -cha ri= ikhá
Glose lex. already *** 1sg call pst 3sg.nf pro

ké rúmícha
 ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre ya yo te cogí (vimy: agrees it's nuwái'cha)

247 Mot " ái " ké rúmícha " méka
Morphèmes ái ké ru= ímí -cha mé -ka
Glose lex. uy like 3sg.f say pst indf.manner indf.sub

penáje " " Kanumátá " ké rúmícha " pika'á
 penáje Kanumá tâ ké ru= ímí -cha pi= ka'á
 for Kanumá emph1 like 3sg.f say pst 2sg throw_out

náke phanajú nuwilá e'yajé " ké rúmícha , "
 náke pi= janajú nu= jwilá e'yajé ké ru= ímí -cha
 uh 2sg hook 1sg hair towards like 3sg.f say pst

unká " ké rúmíchaka " kája nuwái'cha
 unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka kája nu= wái' -cha
 neg like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft already 1sg call pst

piká "
 pi= ikhá
 2sg pro

Libre "ay para qué bota su anzuelo en mi cabello" , "no" dijo él "ya yo te cogí"

248 Mot " unká kanumá " ké rúmícha " palá
Morphèmes unká Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha palá
Glose lex. neg Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst good

numaká pijló "
 nu= ima -ká pi= jló
 1sg say ka.cleft 2sg for

Libre "no Kanumá te estoy diciendo bien" dijo ella

249.1 Mot	ilé	kalé	inaána	i'má	pijwa'té				
Morphèmes	ilé	kalé	inaána	i'ma	pi= jwa'té				
Glose lex.	med	emph5	woman	live	2sg with				
i'maká	pha'píchamitá			nakú	ké	rúmícha			
i'ma -ka	pi= ja'pí -cha =mi tá			nakú	ké	ru= ímí -cha			
far.pst ka.pst	2sg pass pst pfv emph1			on	like	3sg.f say pst			
, mékajéna		inaána	chí	piwáta		?"			
mé	kájé -na	inaána	chí	pi= wáta					
indf.manner	type pl	woman	emph3	2sg	want				

Libre por eso esas mujeres que vivieron con usted usted las espantó, cuales mujeres qué usted quiere? (laym: [ilí kalé] vimy: mékajéna: cual)

249.2 Mot	ké	rúmíchaka			
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft		

Libre

250 Mot	é kája	" unká	" ké	rímícha	
Morphèmes	é kája	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	then	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst	

Libre "no" él dijo

251 Mot	kéjo'ó	riká	Kanumá	ké	rúmícha
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	Kanumá	ké	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro	Kanumá	like	3sg.f say pst

, kája piwáta
 kája pi= wáta
 already 2sg want

Libre ah bueno kanumá ya que usted quiere

252 Mot	pipuráka'lo		i'maká	nujwa'té	ké
Morphèmes	pi= puráka'la =o		i'ma -ka	nu= jwa'té	ké
Glose lex.	2sg speech	mid	cop ka.insub?	1sg with	like

rímícha , " unká inau'ké kalé nuká , ñaké
 ri= ímí -cha unká inau'ké kalé nu= ikhá ñaké
 3sg.nf say pst neg person nv.neg 1sg pro dist.simil
 númá pijló "
 nu= ímá pi= jló
 1sg say 2sg for

Libre "sus palabras estan conmigo' dijo él; "yo no soy gente" él digo, "por eso te digo"

253 Mot	" jé	, kéjo'ó	riká	" ké
Morphèmes	jé	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké
Glose lex.	good	like still	3sg.nf pro	like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre bueno está bien dijo ella

254 Mot é rúmícha rijló " chúwa náke ...
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló chúwa náke
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for now uh

Libre ella le dijo ahora sí

255 Mot piwakára'a pijwa'téjena jáo'taka
Morphèmes pi= wakára'a pi= jwa'téje -na jáo' -ta -ka
Glose lex. 2sg order 2sg servants pl go_out caus ka.nz

nákáje " ké rúmícha , " a'jnejí ".
 nákáje ké ru= ímí -cha a'jne -jí
 uh like 3sg.f say pst food unposs

Libre "mande sus obreros que saquen las cosas, la comida" ella dijo

256 Mot kája jnanapitíya a'jnejí
Morphèmes kája na= janapi -tí -ya a'jne -jí
Glose lex. already 3pl carry caus pst food unposs

i'micháká , phiyúkéja a'jnejí i'micháká ,
 i'mi -chá -ka phiyúké =ja a'jne -jí i'mi -chá -ká
 far.pst pst ka.pst all lim food unposs cop pst ka.cleft
 kujnú , itu'ru , ña'kú kájéma
 kujnú itu'ru ña'kú kájéma
 cassava starch yam etcetera

Libre ya cargaron, había toda clase de comida, casabe; almidón, hasta ñame, de todo

257 Mot riká i'michárí
Morphèmes ri= ikhá i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro cop pst nf.cleft

Libre eso había

258 Mot é nephícha pají chú
Morphèmes é na= ipha -cha pají chú
Glose lex. then 3pl arrive pst maloca in

Libre de ahí llegaron a la maloca (laym: chojé mejor que chú)

259 Mot chúwa kája riwó jĩ'chó
Morphèmes chúwa kája ri= wó jĩ' -cha =o
Glose lex. now already 3sg.nf stomach take pst mid

runáku
 ru= náku
 3sg.f on

Libre ya ahí él la quizo

260 Mot aũ rúmícha
Morphèmes aũ ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. because 3sg.f say pst

Libre entonces ella dijo

261 Mot " Kanumá " rúmícha " unká náke ,
Morphèmes Kanumá ru= ímí -cha unká náke
Glose lex. Kanumá 3sg.f say pst neg uh

pijña'á jíta " ké rúmícha
 pi= jña'á jíta ké ru= ímí -cha
 2sg take canoe like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "ella dijo "kanumá coja la canoa"

262 Mot " pejáta jíta chojé pe'yojé júni "
Morphèmes pi= ejáta jíta chojé pe'yó júni
Glose lex. 2sg sink canoe towards_inside half water1

ké rúmícha , " kécha piwejá nuká " ké
 ké ru= ímí -cha kécha pi= wejá nu= ikhá ké
 like 3sg.f say pst after 2sg poison 1sg pro like
 rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre "hunda la canoa hasta la mitad del agua, después me barbasquea

263 Mot " jé " ké " é kája riwakári'cha
Morphèmes jé ké é kája ri= wakári' -cha
Glose lex. good like then 3sg.nf order pst

rijwa'téjena , jnamo'chá jíta chojé júni
 ri= jwa'téje -na na= amo' -chá jíta chojé júni
 3sg.nf servants pl 3pl take pst canoe towards_inside water1

pe'yojé , riká chú ruyái'cho , é kája
 pe'yó ri= ikhá chú ru= yái' -cha =o é kája
 half 3sg.nf pro in 3sg.f sit pst mid then

nawejícha ruká
 na= wejí -cha ru= ikhá
 3pl poison pst 3sg.f pro

Libre "bueno" ya ahí el mando los obreros de él, cogieron agua hasta la mitad de la canoa; ahí ella se sentó, ahí la barbasquearon"

264 Mot kája maíná takhi'chá i'micháka ,
Morphèmes kája maí -na takhi' -chá i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. already piranha pl die pst far.pst pst ka.pst

kája maíná ja'ló ru'micháká aũ , kajú
 kája maí -na ja' -ló ru= i'mi -chá -ká aũ kajú
 already piranha pl fall f 3sg.f cop pst ka.nz because much

maíná takhi'cháka
 maí -na takhi' -chá -ká
 piranha pl die pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí ya murieron esos piraña muchos murieron por que era mamá de los piraña

265 Mot " chúwa kanumá " ké rúmíchaka "
Morphèmes chúwa Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. now Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

chúwa majó pi'jné "
 chúwa majó pi= i'jné
 now prox.toward 2sg go

Libre "ahora sí Kanumá venga pa acá"

266 Mot " unká " ké rímícha " kajúphí
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha kajúphí
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst dangerous

nuwe'píka " ké rímícha , " unká " ké
 nu= we'pí -ka ké ri= ímí -cha unká ké
 1sg know ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst neg like
 rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "no, yo estoy pensando que es como peligroso"; "no" dijo ella

267 Mot " ilé piwó ña'ó nunáku eyonáje
Morphèmes ilé pi= wó ña' =ó nu= náku eyonáje
Glose lex. med 2sg stomach hit mid 1sg on however

piwá'a nuká " ké rúmícha
 pi= wá'a nu= ikhá ké ru= ímí -cha
 2sg take 1sg pro like 3sg.f say pst

Libre después usted tanto se enamoró de mi y así mismo usted me cogió

268 Mot " unká " ké rímícha " kajúphí wáni
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha kajúphí wáni
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst dangerous emph

nuwe'píka "
 nu= we'pí -ka
 1sg know ka.cleft

Libre "no" dijo él, "está muy peligroso"

269 Mot é kája
Morphèmes é kája
Glose lex. then

Libre después

270 Mot é kája nawejícha píño
Morphèmes é kája na= wejí -cha píño
Glose lex. then 3pl poison pst again

Libre después otra vez barbasquearon

271 Mot	takhi'chári	kamu'júniñani
Morphèmes	takhi' -chá -ri	kamu'jú -ni =ñáni
Glose lex.	die pst nf.ss	small nf dim

ri'micháká maññáni " chúwa " ké
 ri= i'mi -chá -ká mañ =ñáni chúwa ké
 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft piranha dim now like

rúmíchaka " chúwa majó pi'jná "
 ru= ímí -cha -ka chúwa majó pi= i'jná
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft now prox.toward 2sg go

Libre se murió era pequeño pirañita, "ahora sí" ella dijo, "ahora sí venga pa acá"

272 Mot	" unká "	" ké rímícha , kajúphí wáni
Morphèmes	unká ké ri= ímí -cha kajúphí wáni	
Glose lex.	neg like 3sg.nf say pst	dangerous emph

nuwe'píka ké rímícha
 nu= we'pí -ka ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg know ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "no" él dijo "me parece peligroso"

273 Mot	" unká kanumá "	" ké rúmícha " kéwáka
Morphèmes	unká Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha kéwaka	
Glose lex.	neg Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst	truth

numaká " ké rúmícha
 nu= ima -ká ké ru= ímí -cha
 1sg say ka.cleft like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "no kanumá" ella dijo 'yo te estoy diciendo la verdad"

274 Mot	" jé "	" éta jra'chó runakojé
Morphèmes	jé éta ri= ja' -cha =ó ru= nakú =eje	
Glose lex.	good then 3sg.nf fall pst mid	3sg.f on until

Libre "bueno" ahí él cayó hacia ella

275 Mot	wáje wáni riki'cháka jlá
Morphèmes	wáje wáni ri= ki' -chá -ka jlá
Glose lex.	new emph 3sg.nf throw_out pst ka.when frust

richojé i'micháká , e'yá náke maítá
 ri= chojé i'mi -chá -ka e'yá náke mañ tá
 3sg.nf towards_inside far.pst pst ka.pst then uh piranha emph1

mathi'yá riká matthá , yée , pijapíjáno majó
 mathi' -yá ri= ikhá matthá yée pijapíjáno majó
 cut pst 3sg.nf pro ideo oh desperately prox.toward

a'jñañojó Kanumátá
 a'jñañojó Kanumá tâ
 dist.toward Kanumá emph1

Libre apenas el iba a meter adentro, ahí cogió ese piraña y lo trozó de una todo, ahí desesperao

pa acá y pa allá Kanumá tá (pijapíjano: desesperado) (matthá: probably onom.

276.1 Mot	" yúka'a	" ké	rúmíchaka	,	" é
Morphèmes	yúka'a	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		é
Glose lex.	already	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft		Q

pamíchaka chúwa ?,
 pi= amí -cha -ka chúwa
 2sg see pst ka.int now

Libre miró ahora sí ella dijo, tanto que usted se angustiaba por mi (jña'kájó: perseguir, ilé kajé: por eso)

276.2 Mot	ilé	kajé	piwó	jña'ó	nunáku	"
Morphèmes	ilé	kájé	pi= wó	jña' =o	nu= náku	
Glose lex.	med	type	2sg stomach	take mid	1sg on	

ké rúmícha
 ké ru= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.f say pst

Libre

277 Mot	kája	nawejícha	píño	ruká	é kája
Morphèmes	kája	na= wejí -cha	píño	ru= ikhá	é kája
Glose lex.	already	3pl poison	pst	again 3sg.f pro	then

ritakhi'chá , kamu'jini ñáni i'micháká kéelé
 ri= takhi' -chá kamu'jí -ni =ñáni i'mi -chá -ká kélé
 3sg.nf die pst poor nf dim cop pst ka.cleft med
 mathi'yári riká
 mathi' -yá -ri ri= ikhá
 cut pst nf.nz 3sg.nf pro

Libre ya volvieron otra vez a barbasquearla a ella, ya se murió, era pequeño que lo había cortao a él

278 Mot	chúwatá	é kája	majó	pi'jná	ké
Morphèmes	chúwa tâ	é kája	majó	pi= i'jná	ké
Glose lex.	now	emph1	then	prox.toward	2sg go like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre ahora sí, ella dijo, venga para acá

279 Mot	kája	romotho'chá	ña'kú	, riká
Morphèmes	kája	ru= motho' -chá	ña'kú	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	already	3sg.f cook	pst yam	3sg.nf pro

ro'chá píño rijí apumí chojé
 ru= a'a -chá píño ri= ijí apumí chojé
 3sg.f give pst again 3sg.nf seed ?replacement towards_inside

Libre al instante ella cocinó ñame, ella le puso reemplazo de pipí de él

280 Mot	éjéchami	ne'micháká		júpími
Morphèmes	éjéchami	na= i'mi -chá -ka		júpími
Glose lex.	then	3pl cop pst ka.topic		long_time

Libre después vivieron tiempo

281.1 Mot	" é	kanumá	" ké	rúmíchaka	"
Morphèmes	é	Kanumá	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	then	Kanumá	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	

é ré piména ?"
 é ri= é pi= ména
 Q 3sg.nf in 2sg cropland

Libre "oiga kanumá usted sí tiene chagra?"

281.2 Mot	ké	rúmícha
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre

282 Mot	" á'a	" ké	rímícha	" ré
Morphèmes	á'a	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri= é
Glose lex.	yes	like	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf in

nuména " ké rímícha
 nu= ména ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg cropland like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "sí" él dijo "yo tengo chagra"

283 Mot	é	kája	ne'jíchá	, rijwa'téjena
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	ri= jwa'téje -na
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl go pst	3sg.nf servants pl

riwakái'cha jña'ká , mapéja najĩ'chá náke
 ri= wakái' -cha jña' -ka mapéja na= jĩ' -chá náke
 3sg.nf order pst take ka.nz normally 3pl take pst uh
 kurí'na riká i'michárí rikajírúte
 kurí'na ri= ikhá i'mi -chá -rí ri= kajírú -te
 ? 3sg.nf pro cop pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf manioc alien l

Libre luego se fueron, mandó coger los obreros de él, cogieron así no más Kurí'na; ese era yuca de él

284.1 Mot	" ái	" ké	rúmícha	; "	náje
Morphèmes	ái	ké	ru= ímí -cha		náje
Glose lex.	uy	like	3sg.f say pst		indf.reason

kamu'jí pila'á ?
 kamu'jí pi= la'á
 poor 2sg do

Libre "ay cómo tan pobre es usted en todo" ella dijo

284.2 Mot	"	ké	rúmícha	phiyúké
Morphèmes		ké	ru= ímí -cha	phiyúké
Glose lex.		like	3sg.f say pst	all

Libre

285 Mot	"	i'jná	"	ké	rúmícha	"
Morphèmes		i'jná		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		let's_go		like	3sg.f say pst	

wamíchachí		eja'wá	"	ké	rúmíchaka	
wa= amí -cha -chí		eja'wá		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
1pl see prs purp2		forest		like	3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft

Libre "vamos mirar monte" ella dijo

286 Mot	é	ne'jíchá		i'micháká		, é kája
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jī -chá		i'mi -chá -ka		é kája
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst		far.pst pst	ka.pst	then

ro'chá		eja'wá	jená	,	kajúní	eja'wá	jená
ru= a'a -chá		eja'wá	jená		kajú -ní	eja'wá	jená
3sg.f give pst		forest	hour		much nf	forest	hour

Libre ahí ellos se fueron; ahí ella marcó grande pedazo de terreno (laym: eja'wá jená nakiyá kajúní (a'kajé jrená: señalar, marcar, delimitar)

287 Mot	riká		chojé		ruki'chá
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá		chojé		ru= ki' -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro		towards_inside		3sg.f throw_out pst

a'jnejí	péchú	i'micháká		é kája	a'jnejí
a'jne -jí	péchú	i'mi -chá -ká		é kája	a'jne -jí
food unposs	thought	cop pst	ka.cleft	then	food unposs

keñó'tiyo		píño	najló		ri'micháká		kéja
keñó'ti -ya =o		píño	na= jló		ri= i'mi -chá -ka		ké =ja
transform pst mid		again	3pl for		3sg.nf cop pst	ka.nz	like lim

Libre en ese terreno ella echó todo pensamiento de comida, ahí apareció comida para ellos así como estaba otra vez

288 Mot	"	é	kanumá	"	ké	rúmíchaka	"
Morphèmes		é	Kanumá		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.		then	Kanumá		like	3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft

chúwa	piwakára'a	pijwa'téjena		jña'ká	kajírú	"	ké
chúwa	pi= wakára'a	pi= jwa'téje -na		jña' -ka	kajírú		ké
now	2sg order	2sg servants	pl	take ka.nz	manioc		like

rúmíchaka		"	ná	a'jnejí	"	ké	rúmícha
ru= ímí -cha -ka			ná	a'jne -jí		ké	ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft		indf	food unposs		like	3sg.f say pst

Libre "kanumá mande su gente saquen yuca, comida" ella dijo.

289 Mot é kája riwakái'cha rijwa'téjena
Morphèmes é kája ri= wakái' -cha ri= jwa'téje -na
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf order pst 3sg.nf servants pl

jña'ká a'jnejí najĩ'chá a'jnejí , phiyúké
jña' -ka a'jne -jí na= jĩ' -chá a'jne -jí phiyúké
take ka.nz food unposs 3pl take pst food unposs all

a'jnejí i'micháká kéja
a'jne -jí i'mi -chá -ká ké =ja
food unposs cop pst ka.cleft like lim

Libre ahí él mandó que los obreros cogieran comida, cogieron comida, de toda clase de comida que había

290 Mot é kája ri'michá júpi rujwa'té ,
Morphèmes é kája ri= i'mi -chá júpi ru= jwa'té
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf cop pst long_time 3sg.f with

júpi ne'micháká eja'wá
júpi na= i'mi -chá -ká eja'wá
long_time 3pl go pst ka.cleft forest

Libre tiempo vivió con ella, tiempo vivieron en el monte

291 Mot é kája nákáje jená chojé wephícha ,
Morphèmes é kája nákaje jená chojé wa= iphí -cha
Glose lex. then thing hour towards_inside 1pl arrive pst

mawíru
mawíru
pineapple

Libre de ahí llegamos al tiempo de piña

292 Mot rímícha rijwa'téjena jló "
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha ri= jwa'téje -na jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf servants pl for

meukájéna " ké rímícha " kája wephá
meukájé -na ké ri= ímí -cha kája wa= iphá
servant pl like 3sg.nf say pst already 1pl arrive

mawíru jená chojé
mawíru jená chojé
pineapple hour towards_inside

Libre él dijo pa los empleados de él "ayudantes; ya llegamos tiempo de cosecha de piña"

293 Mot " amákajlá wamawiruté " ké
Morphèmes i= amá -ka jlá wa= mawirú -té ké
Glose lex. 2pl see ka.topic frust 1pl pineapple alien1 like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre vayan a mirar nuestro piña

294 Mot	aú	rijwa'téjena	i'jíchá	mawíru
Morphèmes	aú	ri= jwa'téje	-na i'jĩ -chá	mawíru
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf servants	pl go pst	pineapple

jña'jé
 jña' -je
 take purp.mot

Libre entonces los empleados de él se fueron a buscar piña

295 Mot	mawíru	jená	chojé	wephícha	,
Morphèmes	mawíru	jená	chojé	wa= iphí -cha	
Glose lex.	pineapple	hour	towards_inside	1pl arrive	pst

najĩ'chá mapéja kajé pupúyo ícha kájé ,
 na= jĩ' -chá mapéja kájé pupúyo ícha kájé
 3pl take pst normally type fruit_sp seed type

rimawiruté i'micháká
 ri= mawirú -té i'mi -chá -ká
 3sg.nf pineapple alien1 cop pst ka.cleft

Libre así no más cogieron fruta de pupúyo, ese era piña de él

296 Mot	riká	nati'yá
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	na= ti' -yá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3pl grate pst

Libre ese ellos rallaron

297 Mot	é	nayuwéri'cho	rináku	,	"	kanumá
Morphèmes	é	na= yuwéri'	-cha =o	ri= náku		Kanumá
Glose lex.	then	3pl drunken	pst mid	3sg.nf on		Kanumá

" ké rúmícha , " mére kée mawíru , kélé
 ké ru= ímí -cha mére kée mawíru kélé
 like 3sg.f say pst indf.loc med pineapple med

piwakáa'kare pijwa'téjena jña'ká " ké
 pi= wakáa' -kare pi= jwa'téje -na jña' -ká ké
 2sg order arg.nz1 2sg servants pl take ka.nz like

rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ellos se emborracharon con eso; ella dijo "kanumá; dónde está la piña que usted mando traer de sus obreros' ella dijo

298 Mot	" marí	ké	riká	" ké
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri= ikhá	ké
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf pro	like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "aquí está" dijo él

299 Mot	é	romícha		amíchari		pupúyo	ícha
Morphèmes	é	ru=	amí	-cha	amí	-cha	-ri
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	see	pst	see	pst	nf.ss
						fruit_sp	seed

ri'micháká

ri= i'mi -chá -ká
3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

Libre entonces ella vio que ese era puro pepa de pupúyo

300.1 Mot	"	ái	"	ké	rúmíchaka	"	méla'jé
Morphèmes		ái		ké	ru=	ímí	-cha -ka
Glose lex.		uy		like	3sg.f	say	pst ka.cleft
							indf.manner

mawíru ri'má , kháãjĩ ?
mawíru ri= i'má kháãjĩ
pineapple 3sg.nf cop prox

Libre ella dijo "cómo va a ser piña, este es pepa de pupuyu que dice mi papá siempre" "no es piña es otra cosa ese piña que dice mi papá" ella dijo, "bueno, amarillo, dulce, que uno pueda tomar, no es pepa de pupúyo" ella dijo

300.2 Mot	pupúyo	íchatá		pa'yú	kemakáre	nakú
Morphèmes	pupúyo	ícha	tá	pa'yú	kema	-káre
Glose lex.	fruit_sp	seed	emph1	papá.addr	say	arg.nz1
						on

" ké rúmícha , unká mawíru kalé , apú kájé
ké ru= ímí -cha unká mawíru kalé apú kájé
like 3sg.f say pst neg pineapple nv.neg other type

kélé mawíru pa'yú kémá nakú " ké
kélé mawíru pa'yú kémá nakú ké
med pineapple papá.addr say on like

rúmíchaka , paláni , jewání , pu'méni
ru= ímí -cha -ka palá -ni jewá -ní pu'mé -ni
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft good nf yellow nf sweet nf

iná i'rákare , unká pupúyo ícha tá kalé "
iná i'ra -káre unká pupúyo ícha tâ kalé
gnr.pro drink arg.nz1 neg fruit_sp seed emph1 nv.neg

ké rúmíchaka
ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre

301 Mot	"	jái	"	ké	rímíchaka	"	mékajé
Morphèmes		jái		ké	ri=	ímí	-cha -ka
Glose lex.		ah		like	3sg.nf	say	pst ka.cleft
							indf.pro

kalétá phara'pá mawirúné " ké rímícha
kalé tâ pi= jara'pá mawirú -ne ké ri= ímí -cha
emph5 emph1 2sg father.ref pineapple alien3 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "ay dijo cómo cuál es la piña de su papá"

302 Mot " kéjo'ó riká " ké rúmícha
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "ah bueno " ella dijo

303 Mot é kája ru'michá
Morphèmes é kája ru= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.f cop pst

Libre ella estuvo

304 Mot eyá kája , ru'jícháká eyája
Morphèmes eyá kája ru= i'jĩ -chá -ka eyá =ja
Glose lex. since_then already 3sg.f go pst obl.nz from lim

kája ru'jíchá a'jnáñojǒ jrora'pátá cháje ,
kája ru= i'jĩ -chá a'jnáñojǒ ru= jara'pá tá cháje
already 3sg.f go pst dist.toward 3sg.f father.ref emph1 more_than
i'michárí jrora'pá je'chú , réjō
i'mi -chá -rí ru= jara'pá je'chú ri= ejo
cop pst nf.nz 3sg.f father.ref sky 3sg.nf towards
ru'jíchá
ru= i'jĩ -chá
3sg.f go pst

Libre de donde ella estaba ella se fue a donde el papá, existía el papá de ella que era el cielo, allá ella se fue

305 Mot ruphícha rináku
Morphèmes ru= ipha -cha ri= náku
Glose lex. 3sg.f arrive pst 3sg.nf on

Libre llegó donde él

306 Mot " pa'yú " ké rúmícha , " marí
Morphèmes pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha marí
Glose lex. papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst prox

kéja piká ?"
ké =ja pi= ikhá
like lim 2sg pro

Libre "papá" ella dijo "cómo está"

307 Mot " marí kéja nutú " ké
Morphèmes marí ké =ja nu= itú ké
Glose lex. prox like lim 1sg daughter like

rímíchaka , méké "
ri= ímí -cha -ka méké
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft indf.manner

Libre "así mismo hija" dijo

308 Mot	"	unká	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"
Morphèmes		unká		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		
Glose lex.		neg		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft		
Kanumátá		la'rí		kamu'jí	" ké rúmícha	,	"
Kanumá tâ		la' -rí		kamu'jí	ké ru= ímí -cha		
Kanumá emph1		do nf.cleft		poor	like 3sg.f say pst		
jlálémi		rímá		réjéna	jló " merukájína	,	
jlálémi		ri= ímá		ri= éjéna	jló merukájí -na		
yesterday		3sg.nf say		3sg.nf siblings	for servant pl		
ijña'á		wajló		mawíru	, mawíru jená chú wephá	,	
i= jña'á		wa= jló		mawíru	mawíru jená chú wa= iphá		
2pl take		1pl for		pineapple	pineapple hour in 1pl arrive		
ne'má		jña'jé		i'maká	pupúyo ícha tá		
na= i'ma		jña' -je		i'ma -ka	pupúyo ícha tâ		
3pl go		take purp.mot		far.pst ka.pst	fruit_sp seed emph1		
pimakáre		nakú	,	pa'yú	" ké rúmícha		
pi= ima -káre		nakú		pa'yú	ké ru= ímí -cha		
2sg say arg.nz1		on		papá.addr	like 3sg.f say pst		

Libre "no, kanumá está muy pobre, ayer le dijo a los hermanos "secretarios coja para nosotros piña, ya llegamos cosecha de piña; se fueron a coger pepa de pupuyu que usted dice papá"

309 Mot		aú		númá	rijló	"	unká	ají	ké
Morphèmes		aú		nu= ímá	ri= jló		unká	ají	ké
Glose lex.		because		1sg say	3sg.nf for		neg	prox	like
kalé		pa'yú		mawirúné	"				
kalé		pa'yú		mawirú -ne					
nv.neg		papá.addr		pineapple	alien3				

Libre por eso yo le dije a él "así no es la piña de mi papá"

310 Mot	"	kajú		paláni	ké	pa'yú	mawirúné	,
Morphèmes		kajú		palá -ni	ké	pa'yú	mawirú -ne	
Glose lex.		much		good nf	like	papá.addr	pineapple	alien3
jewáni		raparáka			kécha	pu'méni	iná	
jewá -ni		ri= apará -ka			kécha	pu'mé -ni	iná	
yellow nf		3sg.nf ripen		ka.cleft	after	sweet nf	gnr.pro	
i'ráká		, unká		pupúyo	íchatá	kalé	"	
i'ra -ká		unká		pupúyo	ícha tá	kalé		
drink ka.cleft		neg		fruit_sp	seed emph1	nv.neg		

Libre "mucho bueno la piña de mi papá, amarillo se madura, luego queda dulce para uno tomar, no es pepa de pupúyu

311 Mot	"	kéjo'ó		riká	"	ké	rímícha	,	"
Morphèmes		ké =jo'ó		ri= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha		
Glose lex.		like		3sg.nf pro		like	3sg.nf say pst		
méké		kalé		tá	,	méké	wani	...	
méké		kalé		tâ		méké	wáni		
indf.manner		emph5		emph1		indf.manner	emph		

Libre "ah bueno" dijo él "cómo es entonces ese piña de su papá, entonces tráigame para yo probar cómo es ese"

312 Mot	riká	phara'pá	mawirúné	,
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	pi= jara'pá	mawirú -ne	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	2sg father.ref	pineapple alien3	
éko'jné	pijña'á	nojló	notáã'kalojé	
é =kó a'jné	pi= jña'á	nu= jló	nu= atáã' -ka lojé	
then emph4 then	2sg take	1sg for	1sg try ka.adv purp3	
mékéka	riká	"		
méké -ka	ri= ikhá			
indf.manner indf.sub	3sg.nf pro			

Libre

313 Mot	kéjo'ó	riká	ké	rúmícha	,
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké ru= ímí -cha		
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro	like 3sg.f say	pst	
aú nu'jíchá	majó	picháje	pa'yú	ké	
aú nu= i'jĩ -chá	majó	pi= cháje	pa'yú	ké	
because 1sg go pst	prox.toward	2sg at	papá.addr	like	
rúmícha					
ru= ímí -cha					
3sg.f say				pst	

Libre "bueno" dijo ella "por eso yo vine acá donde usted papá"

314 Mot	ñaké	iká	nutú	ké	
Morphèmes	ñaké	ri= ikhá	nu= itú	ké	
Glose lex.	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro	1sg daughter	like	
rímícha	unkájo'ó	wáni	kélé	mawíru	" ké , "
ri= ímí -cha	unká =jo'ó	wáni	kélé	mawíru	ké
3sg.nf say pst	neg still	emph	med	pineapple	like
yuwájo'ó	wáni	riká	" ké	rímíchaka	
yuwá =jo'ó	wáni	ri= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
unripe still	emph	3sg.nf pro	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	

Libre "ah bueno hija" dijo él; todavía no está la piña, está verde todavía, él dijo

315 Mot	éko	pímá	Kanumá	jló	" ké
Morphèmes	éko	pi= ímá	Kanumá	jló	ké
Glose lex.	pol.imp	2sg say	Kanumá	for	like
rímíchaka	" kája	ri'majíká		jewáni	
ri= ímí -cha -ka	kája	ri= i'ma -jĩ -ká		jewá -ni	
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	already	3sg.nf tell fut ka.nz		yellow nf	
é nuwakáa'je	riká	réjõ			
é nu= wakáa' -je	ri= ikhá	ri= ejo			
in 1sg order fut	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf towards			

Libre "dígame a Kanumá, cuando ya esté maduro, voy a mandar él para allá"

316 Mot jé pa'yú " ké rúmíchaka
Morphèmes jé pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. good papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ah bueno papá ella dijo

317 Mot é kája rupi'chó , rupi'chó
Morphèmes é kája ru= pi' -chá =o ru= pi' -chá =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.f return pst mid 3sg.f return pst mid

ruphícha , ré mená e'yá i'michá mawíru ,
ru= ipha -cha ré mená e'yá i'mi -chá mawíru
3sg.f arrive pst then cropland in cop pst pineapple

riká rujĩ'chá
ri= ikhá ru= jĩ' -chá
3sg.nf pro 3sg.f take pst

Libre ahí ya ella se fue; llegó, ahí en la chagra había piña ella cogió

318 Mot rupáchiya richáje , " kanumá "
Morphèmes ru= iphá -chi -ya ri= cháje Kanumá
Glose lex. 3sg.f arrive caus pst 3sg.nf at Kanumá

ké rúmíchaka , unkájo'o wáni , yuwájo'o
ké ru= ímí -cha -ka unká =jo'ó wáni yuwá =jo'ó
like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft neg still emph unripe still

riká pa'yú mawirúné " ké rúmíchaka
ri= ikhá pa'yú mawirú -ne ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf pro papá.addr pineapple alien3 like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

ké , puwa'ká jewání ri'majíkaé
ké puwa'ká jewá -ní ri= i'ma -jĩ -ka é
like if yellow nf 3sg.nf tell fut ka.nz in

riwakáa'je riká majó
ri= wakáa' -je ri= ikhá majó
3sg.nf order fut 3sg.nf pro prox.toward

Libre ella llevó eso donde él, dijo "todavía no está cosecha de piña de mi papá, cuando esté maduro él lo va a mandar para acá

319 Mot " yée " ké rúmíchaka " méké
Morphèmes yée ké ri= ímí -cha -ka méké
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft indf.manner

inau'ké wáni phara'pá mawirúné " ké
inau'ké wáni pi= jara'pá mawirú -ne ké
person emph 2sg father.ref pineapple alien3 like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre "cómo" dijo "como gente la piña de su papá" dijo él

320 Mot unká ké rúmíchaka , marí ké
Morphèmes unká ké ru= ímí -cha -ka marí ké
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft prox like

pa'yú kémíchaka
 pa'yú kémí -cha -ka
 papá.addr say pst ka.cleft

Libre "no, así dijo mi papá" dijo ella

321 Mot kája nephícha i'michá mawíru jená
Morphèmes kája na= ipha -cha i'mi -chá mawíru jená
Glose lex. already 3pl arrive pst far.pst pst pineapple hour

chojé
 chojé
 towards_inside

Libre ya llegó tiempo de cosecha de piña

322 Mot é kája riwakái'cha pura'kájo "
Morphèmes é kája ri= wakái' -cha pura' -káje =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf order pst speak ev.nz2 mid

nutú " ké rímíchaka " éko pímá
 nu= itú ké ri= ímí -cha -ka éko pi= ímá
 1sg daughter like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft pol.imp 2sg say

nulakéjónó kanumá jló " rímícha , " iléño'jó
 nu= lakéjónó Kanumá jló ri= ímí -cha iléño'jó
 1sg son_in_law Kanumá for 3sg.nf say pst med.toward

nuwakára'a numawirúné " ké rímíchaka
 nu= wakára'a nu= mawirú -ne ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 1sg order 1sg pineapple alien3 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí él mandó razón, dígale para mi yerno Kanumá, ahí le estoy mandando mi piña (purá'kajo: razón -a message; iléño'jó: there??)

323 Mot " jé "
Morphèmes jé
Glose lex. good

Libre "bueno"

324 Mot é rúmícha , " Kanumá " ké
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha Kanumá ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst Kanumá like

rúmícha " chúwa papá , pa'yú wakára'ka
 ru= ímí -cha chúwa papá pa'yú wakára' -ka
 3sg.f say pst now father papá.addr order ka.cleft

rimawirúné " ké rúmícha
 ri= mawirú -ne ké ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf pineapple alien3 like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella dijo "ahora Kanumá, mi papá está mandando la piña de él)

325 Mot riwakajé ké rúmícha
Morphèmes ri= wakajé ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. 3sg.nf date like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ese día

326 Mot " jé " ké
Morphèmes jé ké
Glose lex. good like

Libre "bueno"

327 Mot rúmíchaka wakajé jnemi'chá luiluí
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha -ka wakajé na= jemi' -chá luiluí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst ka.nz date 3pl listen pst trumpet

mejé keñótako , luiluí chú ne'michá
mejé keñóta -ka =o luiluí chú na= i'mi -chá
sound begin ka.nz mid trumpet in 3pl cop pst

Libre él día que él dijo escucharon ruido de pito (animal) que venía, el venía transformado en pito

328 Mot kajú keña'- nephícha ré
Morphèmes kajú *** na= ipha -cha ri= é
Glose lex. much *** 3pl arrive pst 3sg.nf in

ri'michá Kanumá , rúmícha " Kanumá chúwatá
ri= i'mi -chá Kanumá ru= ímí -cha Kanumá chúwa tâ
3sg.nf cop pst Kanumá 3sg.f say pst Kanumá now emph1

ilétá pa'yú mawirúné waícha " ké
ilé tá pa'yú mawirú -ne waícha ké
med emph1 papá.addr pineapple alien3 return like

rúmícha , pají chú ri'michá
ru= ímí -cha pají chú ri= i'mi -chá
3sg.f say pst maloca in 3sg.nf cop pst

Libre llegarn, ahí estaba él Kanumá, ella dijo "ahora sí ya viene piña de mi papa" así ella dijo, él estaba dentro de la maloca

329 Mot " yée " ké rúmícha " kajúphíjle
Morphèmes yée ké ri= ímí -cha kajúphí =jle
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.nf say pst dangerous aug2

nuká we'píchaka
nu= ikhá we'pí -cha -ka
1sg pro know pst ka.cleft

Libre "ay, me parece que está como muy peligroso"

330 Mot mékela'jé kajúphí ké rúmíchaka "
Morphèmes mékela'jé kajúphí ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. indf.manner dangerous like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

pa'yú mawirúné " ké rúmícha
 pa'yú mawirú -ne ké ru= ímí -cha
 papá.addr pineapple alien3 like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "cómo va a ser peligroso la piña de mi papá" dijo ella, "(laym: falta ri'má después de kajúpi)

331 Mot é kája nephícha i'michá , nephícha
Morphèmes é kája na= ipha -cha i'mi -chá na= ipha -cha
Glose lex. then 3pl arrive pst far.pst pst 3pl arrive pst

; kajú keña'lá i'micháká jnanapí , riká chú
 kajú keña'lá i'mi -chá -ká na= janapí ri= ikhá chú
 much basket cop pst ka.cleft 3pl on.back 3sg.nf pro in

mawíru i'michá
 mawíru i'mi -chá
 pineapple cop pst

Libre ahí ellos llegaron, había mucho catarijano en la espalda de ellos, adentro de ese había piña

332 Mot é narápi'cha , chúwa " kanumá " ké
Morphèmes é na= arápi' -cha chúwa Kanumá ké
Glose lex. then 3pl dance pst now Kanumá like

rúmíchaka " chúwa majó " ké
 ru= ímí -cha -ka chúwa majó ké
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft now prox.toward like

rúmíchaka " pipatá pa'yú mawirúné "
 ru= ímí -cha -ka pi= patá pa'yú mawirú -ne
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 2sg grab papá.addr pineapple alien3

ké rúmíchaka
 ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí ellos bailaron, ahora sí Kanumá dijo ella "agarre la piña de mi papá"

333 Mot " unká " ké rímíchaka " kajúphí
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka kajúphí
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft dangerous

wáni nuwe'píka " ké rímíchaka , kája
 wáni nu= we'pí -ka ké ri= ímí -cha -ka kája
 emph 1sg know ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft already

narápi'cha jme'táno i'micháká , kája ewája
 na= arápi' -cha jme'táno i'mi -chá -ka kája ewája
 3pl dance pst dawn far.pst pst ka.pst at last

rupatíya ne'michá i'micháká , kája
 ru= patí -ya na= i'mi -chá i'mi -chá -ka kája
 3sg.f shine pst 3pl far.pst pst far.pst pst ka.pst already

mawíru yuícharo wejápaja réjé
 mawíru yuí -cha -ri =o wejápa ri= eje
 pineapple stay pst nf.cleft mid little 3sg.nf until

i'micháká
 i'mi -chá -ka
 far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre no, me parece como peligroso, ya ellos bailaron hasta amanecer, al fin ella agarró a ellos, ahí ya quedó piña poquito (laym: kája ewája rupatíya ne'micháká en vez de doble i'ma)

334 Mot rupatíya neká
Morphèmes ru= patí -ya na= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.f shine pst 3pl pro

Libre ella agarró a ellos (las piñas)

335 Mot chí'teta ké rúmícha , ná penáje
Morphèmes chí'teta ké ru= ímí -cha ná penáje
Glose lex. idiot like 3sg.f say pst indf for

la'rí iléké pa'yú mawirúné apicháta
 la' -rí ilé ké pa'yú mawirú -ne apichá -ta
 do nf.cleft med like papá.addr pineapple alien3 break caus
 pa'yú mawirúné ké rúmíchaka unká
 pa'yú mawirú -ne ké ru= ímí -cha -ka unká
 papá.addr pineapple alien3 like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft neg

inau'kélaritá
 inau'ké -la -ri tá
 person v.neg nf.cleft emph1

Libre mugroso ella dijo cómo va a dañar así la piña de mi papá, loco" ella dijo

336 Mot kája mawíru yurícho " chúwa kanumá
Morphèmes kája mawíru yurí -cha =o chúwa Kanumá
Glose lex. already pineapple stay pst mid now Kanumá

" ké rúmícha " ilé pa'yú mawirúné " ké
 ké ru= ímí -cha ilé pa'yú mawirú -ne ké
 like 3sg.f say pst med papá.addr pineapple alien3 like
 rúmícha " chúwa piwakára'a ritha'kána " ké
 ru= ímí -cha chúwa pi= wakára'a ri= ta' -kána ké
 3sg.f say pst now 2sg order 3sg.nf grate ev.nz1 like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre ya quedó piña ella dijo, ahí está la piña de mi papá, ahora mandelo rallar" (no S on tha'kána)

337 Mot é rijwa'téjena " merukájína " ké
Morphèmes é ri= jwa'téje -na merukájí -na ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf servants pl servant pl like

rímícha " chúwa itha'á mawíru " ké
 ri= ímí -cha chúwa i= tha'á mawíru ké
 3sg.nf say pst now 2pl grate pineapple like

rímícha " wayuwéra'kolojé
 ri= ímí -cha wa= yuwéra' -ka =o lojé
 3sg.nf say pst 1pl drunken ka.adv mid purp3

Libre ahí los obreros de él "ahora sí rallen, para emborracharnos"

338 Mot kája nathi'yá mawíru
Morphèmes kája na= thi' -yá mawíru
Glose lex. already 3pl grate pst pineapple

Libre ya rallaron la piña

339 Mot eyá ru'michá mená e'yajé
Morphèmes eyá ru= i'mi -chá mená e'yajé
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.f live pst cropland towards

rujĩ'chá kajérú
 ru= jĩ' -chá kajérú
 3sg.f take pst manioc

Libre ya ahí ella se fue para la chagra, cogio yuca

340 Mot keñá romotho'chá riká
Morphèmes keñá ru= motho' -chá ri= ikhá
Glose lex. sauce_name 3sg.f cook pst 3sg.nf pro

chojé ruka'tíya mawíru
 chojé ru= ka' -tí -ya mawíru
 towards_inside 3sg.f throw_out caus pst pineapple

Libre cocinó manicuera, ahí adentro botó piña

341 Mot riká ro'chá rinúma jla'íchú
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ru= a'a -chá ri= núma jla'íchú
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.f give pst 3sg.nf mouth afternoon

yée paláni ri'micháká keñá jwa'té
 yée palá -ni ri= i'mi -chá -ká keñá jwa'té
 oh good nf 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft sauce_name with

Libre ese ella le dio de tomar por la tarde, estaba bueno con manicuera

342 Mot riká nakú nayuwéri'cho jlapí
Morphèmes ri= ikhá nakú na= yuwéri' -cha =o jlapí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro on 3pl drunken pst mid night

i'micháká
 i'mi -chá -ka
 far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre con ese se embprcharon por la noche

343 Mot nayuwéri'cho é nenókicho "
Morphèmes na= yuwéri' -cha =o é na= nó -ki -cha =o
Glose lex. 3pl drunken pst mid then 3pl kill ass pst mid

te te " ké
 te te ké
 ideo7 ideo7 like

Libre ellos se emborracharon luego pelearon "tun tun " se dieron

344 Mot	"	Chu'rúmi	nókicharo				
Morphèmes		Chu'rúmi	nó -ki -cha -ri	=o			
Glose lex.		Chu'rúmi	kill ass pst	nf.cleft	mid		

Libre el viejo chu'rúmi también peleó (MLS: noka-kajo: lucharse, pelearse uno con otro)

345 Mot	kája	muní ké	kája	napúchaka			
Morphèmes	kája	muní ké	kája	na= apú -cha -ka			
Glose lex.	already	next_day	already	3pl wake_up pst	ka.cleft		

Libre al otro día ya se despertaron

346 Mot	"	Kanumá	" ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	chúwa
Morphèmes		Kanumá	ké ru= ímí -cha -ka				chúwa
Glose lex.		Kanumá	like 3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft			now

papú	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	ilé	mawíru	kémáchi
pi= apú		ké	ru= ímí -cha			ilé	mawíru	kémáchi
2sg wake_up		like	3sg.f say pst			med	pineapple	a_little

pi'ráká		piyuwéra'o	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"
pi= i'ra -ka		pi= yuwéra' =o		ké	ru= ímí -cha		
2sg drink ka.when		2sg drunken mid		like	3sg.f say pst		

mapéjakata	piyuwéra'ko		kélé	pupúyo	íchatá
mapéjakata	pi= yuwéra' -ka =o		kélé	pupúyo	ícha tá
normally	2sg drunken ka.cleft mid		med	fruit_sp	seed emph1

nakú ".
nakú
on

Libre "kanumá" le dijo ella, ahora sí levántese, ahí piña que usted toma y se emborracha, así no más se emborracha con esa pepa de pupúya que usted dice"

347 Mot	"	kéjo'ó	riká	"	ké
Morphèmes		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké
Glose lex.		like still	3sg.nf pro		like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "así es" dijo

348 Mot	é kája	ne'michá	júpi	,	kája
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'mi -chá	júpi		kája
Glose lex.	then	3pl cop pst	long_time		already

iphíchari píño pipirí jená chojé
iphí -cha -ri píño pipirí jená chojé
arrive pst nf.ss again palm_sp hour towards_inside

Libre luego ellos vivieron tiempo, ya llegó el tiempo de chontaduro

349 Mot	pipirí	jená	chojé	riphícha	,
Morphèmes	pipirí	jená	chojé	ri= ipha -cha	
Glose lex.	palm_sp	hour	towards_inside	3sg.nf arrive pst	
	rímícha	náke	rijwa'téjéna	jló "	merukájína "
	ri= ímí -cha	náke	ri= jwa'téje -na	jló	merukájí -na
	3sg.nf say pst	uh	3sg.nf servants pl	for	servant pl
	ké rímícha	"	chúwa "		
	ké ri= ímí -cha		chúwa		
	like 3sg.nf say pst		now		

Libre "ya llegó tiempo de chontaduro, él dijo a los empleados ahora sí"

350 Mot	"	ijña'á	pipirí	"	ké	rímícha	"
Morphèmes		i= jña'á	pipirí		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.		2pl take	palm_sp		like	3sg.nf say pst	
	amáijlá	, apála	kája	wephá	pipirí	jená	
	i= amá ijlá	apála	kája	wa= iphá	pipirí	jená	
	2pl see frust	maybe	already	1pl arrive	palm_sp	hour	
	chojé						
	chojé						
	towards_inside						

Libre "cojan chontaduro, miren si ya llegamos la época de chontaduro"

351 Mot	jé	é	ne'michá	pipirí	jña'jé
Morphèmes	jé	é	na= i'mi -chá	pipirí	jña' -je
Glose lex.	good	then	3pl cop pst	palm_sp	take purp.mot

Libre bueno ahí se fueron a coger chontaduro.

352 Mot	amíchari	naj'cháka	kélé	kanumá
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	na= j' -chá -ka	kélé	Kanumá
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	3pl take pst	ka.nz	med Kanumá
	pipirí			
	pipirí			
	palm_sp			

Libre ellos miraron que cogieron chontaduro de Kanumá

353 Mot	nephátiya	jláichú	riká	,	é
Morphèmes	na= iphá -ti -ya	jláichú	ri= ikhá		é
Glose lex.	3pl arrive caus pst	afternoon	3sg.nf pro		then
	ru'jichá				
	ru= i'j' -chá				
	3sg.f go pst				

Libre lo trajeron por la tarde, ahí ella fue

354.1 Mot	rúmícha	,	"	kanumá	"	rúmícha	"
Morphèmes	ru= ímí -cha			Kanumá		ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	3sg.f say pst			Kanumá		3sg.f say pst	

méré	kélé	pipirí	pijwa'téjéna		i'makáre	jña'jé
méré	kélé	pipirí	pi= jwa'téje	-na	i'ma -káre	jña' -je
indf.loc	med	palm_sp	2sg servants	pl	go arg.nz1	take purp.mot

?

Libre ella le dijo a Kanumá "donde está chontaduro que su gente fueron a traer"

354.2 Mot	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unká	,	marí	"	ké
Morphèmes		ké	ru= ímí -cha			unká		marí		ké
Glose lex.		like	3sg.f say pst			neg		prox		like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre "no, este"

355 Mot	amíchari	luirí	ícha	ri'micháká
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	luirí	ícha	ri= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	thorn	seed	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

kanumá pipirí we'makáre nakú
Kanumá pipirí wa= i'ma -káre nakú
Kanumá palm_sp 1pl tell arg.nz1 on

Libre ella miró que era puro pepa de espina lo que nosotros decimos chontaduro de Kanumá"

356 Mot	"	ái	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	Kanumá	"
Morphèmes		ái		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			Kanumá	
Glose lex.		uy		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			Kanumá	

ké rúmíchaka , " méké phiyúké wáni
ké ru= ímí -cha -ka méké phiyúké wáni
like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft indf.manner all emph

pila'ká tá kamu'jí " ké rúmícha
pi= la' -ká tâ kamu'jí ké ru= ímí -cha
2sg do ka.cleft emph1 poor like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "ay Kanumá" ella dijo "cómo todos ustedes tan pobres"

357 Mot	"	kháájĩ	,	unká	pipirí	kalé	kháájítá
Morphèmes		kháájĩ		unká	pipirí	kalé	kháájĩ tá
Glose lex.		prox		neg	palm_sp	nv.neg	prox emph1

ké rúmícha , luirí íchatá pa'yú kemakáre
ké ru= ímí -cha luirí ícha tá pa'yú kema -káre
like 3sg.f say pst thorn seed emph1 papá.addr say arg.nz1

nakú ké rúmícha
nakú ké ru= ímí -cha
on like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ("este no es chontaduro, éste es pepa de espina que dice mi papá") laym: ké kemakáno instead of kemakáre)

358 Mot	apú	kájé	kélé	pipirí	ké	rúmícha	,
Morphèmes	apú	kájé	kélé	pipirí	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	other	type	med	palm_sp	like	3sg.f say pst	
paláni	iná	ajñákáre		ké	rúmíchaka	,	kajú
palá -ni	iná	ajñá -káre		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		kajú
good nf	gnr.pro	eat arg.nz1		like	3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft	much
raparáka		kerání					
ri=	apará -ka	kerá -ní					
3sg.nf	ripen ka.cleft	baby nf					

Libre distinto es chontaduro dijo ella, bueno para uno comer, se madura mucho rojo (aparákaje: madurar)

359 Mot	yée	ké	rímíchaka	,	méké
Morphèmes	yée	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		méké
Glose lex.	oh	like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	indf.manner
wáni	chí	phara'pá	pipiré		ké
wáni	chí	pi= jara'pá	pipi	-re	ké
emph	emph3	2sg father.ref	palm_sp.flex.irr	alien2	like
rímícha					
ri=	ímí -cha				
3sg.nf	say pst				

Libre "ay cómo es el chontaduro de su papá" dijo él

360 Mot	paláni	kélé	pa'yú	pipiré		ké
Morphèmes	palá -ni	kélé	pa'yú	pipi	-re	ké
Glose lex.	good nf	med	papá.addr	palm_sp.flex.irr	alien2	like
rúmíchaka		, unká	luirí	ícha tá	kalé	, ké
ru= ímí -cha -ka		unká	luirí	ícha tâ	kalé	ké
3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft	neg	thorn	seed	emph1	nv.neg like
rúmícha						
ru= ímí -cha						
3sg.f	say pst					

Libre bueno es chontaduro de mi papá no como pepa de espina

361 Mot	kája ewája	ne'micháká
Morphèmes	kája ewája	na= i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	at last	3pl live pst ka.insub?

Libre ahí estuvieron tiempo

362 Mot	aú	ru'micháká		eyája
Morphèmes	aú	ru= i'mi -chá -ka		eyá =ja
Glose lex.	because	3sg.f cop pst	obl.nz	from lim
ru'jíchá		jrora'pá	cháje	je'chú cháje
ru= i'jĩ -chá		ru= jara'pá	cháje	je'chú cháje
3sg.f go pst		3sg.f father.ref	more_than	sky more_than

Libre donde que ella estaba ahí ella se fue donde el papá

363 Mot " pa'yú " ké rúmícha , " nutú
Morphèmes pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha nu= itú
Glose lex. papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst 1sg daughter

" ké rímícha " marí kéja "
ké ri= ímí -cha marí ké =ja
like 3sg.nf say pst prox like lim

Libre "papá" dijo ella, "hija, cómo usted está" dijo él

364 Mot " marí kéja , pa'yú " ké rúmícha
Morphèmes marí ké =ja pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. prox like lim papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst

" pa'yú ké rúmícha majó nu'jíchá
pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha majó nu= i'jĩ -chá
papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst prox.toward 1sg go pst

picháje , jlálémi Kanumátá wakára'a
pi= cháje jlálémi Kanumá tâ wa= kára'a
2sg at yesterday Kanumá emph1 1pl burn

rijwa'téjena pipirí jña'jé " ké rúmícha
ri= jwa'téje -na pipirí jña' -je ké ru= ímí -cha
3sg.nf servants pl palm_sp take purp.mot like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "así estoy papá" "acá yo vine donde usted, ayer kanumá mandó la gente de él a buscar chontaduro

365 Mot riká nephá jlálémi númá
Morphèmes ri= ikhá na= iphá jlálémi nu= ímá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3pl arrive yesterday 1sg say

rijló " méréché pipirí kanumá ?"
ri= jló méré chí pipirí Kanumá
3sg.nf for indf.loc emph3 palm_sp Kanumá

Libre ahí ellos llegaron ayer, yo le dije a él, dónde está el chontaduro Kanumá"

366 Mot najña'á nojló kélé luirí ícha tá
Morphèmes na= jña'á nu= jló kélé luirí ícha tâ
Glose lex. 3pl take 1sg for med thorn seed emph1

pimakáre nakú pa'yú ké rúmícha
pi= ima -káre nakú pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha
2sg say arg.nz1 on papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst

Libre me trajeron pepa de espina lo que usted dice papá dijo ella

367 Mot aú númá rijló " unká ajíké
Morphèmes aú nu= ímá ri= jló unká ají ké
Glose lex. because 1sg say 3sg.nf for neg prox like

kalé pa'yú pipirí , kajú paláni pu'máni iná
kalé pa'yú pipirí kajú palá -ni pu'má -ni iná
nv.neg papá.addr palm_sp much good nf tasty nf gnr.pro

motho'káre ké rúmícha , keránojé
 motho' -káre ké ru= ímí -cha kerá -nojé
 cook arg.nz1 like 3sg.f say pst red com2

Libre por eso yo le dije a él "así no es el chontaduro de mi papá, sabroso, que uno cocina, todo rojo (laym: kaja en vez de kajú)

368 Mot aú rímá nojló jlálémi " méké
Morphèmes aú ri= ímá nu= jló jlálémi méké
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say 1sg for yesterday indf.manner

wáni chí phara'pá pipiré " ké
 wáni chí pi= jara'pá pipi -re ké
 emph emph3 2sg father.ref palm_sp.flex.irr alien2 like

rímícha , éko pijña'á majó nojló
 ri= ímí -cha éko pi= jña'á majó nu= jló
 3sg.nf say pst pol.imp 2sg take prox.toward 1sg for

nomákalojé penáje riká "
 nu= amá -ka lojé penáje ri= ikhá
 1sg see ka.adv purp3 for 3sg.nf pro

Libre por eso él me dijo "cómo es chontaduro de su papá, traiga pa ra acá para yo mirar" dijo él

369 Mot aú nu'jíchá majó pa'yú ké
Morphèmes aú nu= i'jĩ -chá majó pa'yú ké
Glose lex. because 1sg go pst prox.toward papá.addr like

rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre por eso yo vine acá papá, ella dijo

370 Mot " kéjo'ó riká nutú "
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá nu= itú
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro 1sg daughter

rímícha " yuwájo'ó wáni kélé pipirí pa'jĩ " ké
 ri= ímí -cha yuwá =jo'ó wáni kélé pipirí pa'jĩ ké
 3sg.nf say pst unripe still emph med palm_sp fruit like

rímícha " ñaké unká méké nu'malá
 ri= ímí -cha ñaké unká méké nu= i'ma -lá
 3sg.nf say pst dist.simil neg indf.manner 1sg tell v.neg

pijló "
 pi= jló
 2sg for

Libre "está bien, hija" "está muy verde ese fruta de chontaduro" él dijo "por eso no te puedo decir nada para usted"

371 Mot puwa'ká jewání ri'majíkáé
Morphèmes puwa'ká jewá -ní ri= i'ma -jĩ -ká é
Glose lex. if yellow nf 3sg.nf tell fut ka.nz in

nuwakára'a	rijló	pura'kájo		ri'jnakáloje
nu= wakára'a	ri= jló	pura' -káje	=o	ri= i'jna -ká loje
1sg order	3sg.nf for	speak ev.nz2	mid	3sg.nf go ka.adv purp3
nojló	riwítuka'taje		ké	rímícha
nu= jló	ri= wítuka'	-ta -je	ké	ri= ímí -cha
1sg for	3sg.nf go_down	caus purp.mot	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre cuando ya esté ya bien amarillo ahí mando razón pa que él venga a bajar" él dijo(laym: nuwakára'je:

372 Mot " jé "

Morphèmes jé

Glose lex. good

Libre bueno

373 Mot é kája rupi'chó

Morphèmes é kája ru= pi' -chá =o

Glose lex. then 3sg.f return pst mid

Libre ahí ella se fue

374 Mot ruji'chá ... réwāja

Morphèmes ru= ji' -chá ri= é =wá =ja

Glose lex. 3sg.f take pst 3sg.nf in emph lim

lapi'cháro		kawákána	i'micháká	, riká
lapi' -chá -ri	=o	kawákána	i'mi -chá -ká	ri= ikhá
line pst nf.cleft	mid	low	cop pst ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro

rukaji'chá	rupatíya
ru= kaji' -chá	ru= patí -ya
3sg.f remove pst	3sg.f shine pst

Libre ella cogio los que estaban paraos bajito, ese ella bajó y lo llevó

375 Mot é ruphícha richáje " Kanumá ké

Morphèmes é ru= ipha -cha ri= cháje Kanumá ké

Glose lex. then 3sg.f arrive pst 3sg.nf at Kanumá like

rúmícha	marí ké	pa'yú	kémíchaka	" éko
ru= ímí -cha	marí ké	pa'yú	kémí -cha -ka	éko
3sg.f say pst	prox like	papá.addr	say pst ka.cleft	pol.imp

pipirí	jená	chojé	wephájikaé
pipirí	jená	chojé	wa= iphá -ji -ka é
palm_sp	hour	towards_inside	1pl arrive fut ka.nz in

riwakára'je	ripipiré	majó	" ké
ri= wakára' -je	ri= pipi	-re majó	ké
3sg.nf order fut	3sg.nf palm_sp.flex.irr	alien2 prox.toward	like

rúmíchaka	" ripurá'ka'lo
ru= ímí -cha -ka	ri= purá' -ka'la =o
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	3sg.nf speak ?nz mid

pi'jnakálojé		rijló		riwítúka'taje		"
pi= i'jna -ká lojé		ri= jló		ri= wítúka' -ta -je		
2sg go ka.adv purp3		3sg.nf for		3sg.nf go_down caus fut		

Libre ahí llegó donde Kanumá ella dijo "así mandó decir mi papá, cuando llegue el tiempo del chontaduro, él va a mandar chontaduro para acá, te va a mandar razón pa que lo vayas bajar para él (vimy: lit. razón para que vaya bajar)

376 Mot	" kéjo'ó	riká		" ké	rímícha
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro		like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre está bien dijo él

377 Mot	marí	nujĩ'chá		ké	rúmíchaka
Morphèmes	marí	nu= jĩ' -chá		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	prox	1sg take prs		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

kawáká i'micháká
 kawáká i'mi -chá -ka
 low cop pst A.nz2

Libre aquí yo traje dijo ella, lo que estaba bajito (vimy: ~ mejor: i'michájé)

378 Mot	é kája
Morphèmes	é kája
Glose lex.	then

Libre ahí ya

379 Mot	" méré	nomáijlá		" ké
Morphèmes	méré	nu= amá ijlá		ké
Glose lex.	indf.loc	1sg see frust		like

rímíchaka , " amári palánojé
 ri= ímí -cha -ka , amá -ri palá -nojé
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft see nf.ss good com2

ri'micháká , keránojé pipirí "
 ri= i'mi -chá -ká , kerá -nojé pipirí
 3sg.nf cop pst ka.nz red com2 palm_sp

Libre dónde yo voy a mirar, miró que estaba bueno rojo estaba el chontaduro"

380 Mot	" kéjo'ó	riká		" ké
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro		like

rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "está bien" dijo ella

381 Mot	é kaja	ne'michá		júpi
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'mi -chá		júpi
Glose lex.	then emph?	3pl cop pst		long_time

Libre ahí ellos vivieron tiempo

382 Mot pipirí jená chojé riphícha
Morphèmes pipirí jená chojé ri= ipha -cha
Glose lex. palm_sp hour towards_inside 3sg.nf arrive pst

Libre llegó tiempo de chontaduro

383 Mot é kája rúmícha
Morphèmes é kája ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella dijo entonces

384 Mot riwakái'cha pura'kájo piño rijló
Morphèmes ri= wakái' -cha pura' -káje =o piño ri= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf order pst speak ev.nz2 mid again 3sg.nf for

" jéko nutú " ké rímíchaka "
 jéko nu= itú ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 pol.imp 1sg daughter like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

iléño'jǒ nuwakára'je nupipiré , jéko
 iléño'jǒ nu= wakára' -je nu= pipi -re jéko
 med.toward 1sg order fut 1sg palm_sp.flex.irr alien2 pol.imp

pímá Kanumá jló " ké rímíchaka
 pi= ímá Kanumá jló ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 2sg say Kanumá for like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre mandó razón otra vez para él "ahí voy a mandar mi chontaduro, dígale a Kanumá"

385 Mot " Kanumá " ké rúmíchaka
Morphèmes Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. Kanumá like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ella dijo "Kanumá"

386 Mot " marí ké pa'yú wakára'ka
Morphèmes marí ké pa'yú wakára' -ka
Glose lex. prox like papá.addr order ka.cleft

pura'kájo " ké rúmícha " piwitu- ,
 pura' -káje =o ké ru= ímí -cha ***
 speak ev.nz2 mid like 3sg.f say pst ***

pi'jnakálojé pipirí witúka'taje rijló "
 pi= i'jna -ká lojé pipirí witúka' -ta -je ri= jló
 2sg go ka.adv purp3 palm_sp go_down caus purp.mot 3sg.nf for

Libre "así mi papá mandó razón" ella dijo "para que vaya bajar chontaduro para él"

387 Mot " kéjo'ó riká " ké rúmícha "
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst

éko nu'jné "
 éko nu= i'jné
 pol.imp 1sg go

Libre "está bien dijo, yo voy"

388 Mot kája ri'jíchá Kanumá
Morphèmes kája ri= i'jĩ -chá Kanumá
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf go pst Kanumá

Libre ya se fue Kanumá

389 Mot riphícha richáje
Morphèmes ri= ipha -cha ri= cháje
Glose lex. 3sg.nf arrive pst 3sg.nf at

Libre llegó donde él

390 Mot " nulakéjnú " ké rímíchaka
Morphèmes nu= lakéjnú ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. 1sg son_in_law like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "yerno" dijo él

391 Mot " á'a " ké rímíchaka , "
Morphèmes á'a ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. yes like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

majó nu'jíchá , piwakára'ka pura'kájó
 majó nu= i'jĩ -chá pi= wakára' -ka pura' -kájé =o
 prox.toward 1sg go prs 2sg order ka.topic speak ev.nz2 mid

nojlo nuwitúka'takaloje pipirí pijló "
 nu= jló nu= witúka' -ta -ka loje pipirí pi= jló
 1sg for 1sg go_down caus ka.adv purp3 palm_sp 2sg for

Libre "sí" dijo él "aquí yo vine porque me mandó razón pa yo bajar chontaduro para usted"

392 Mot " kéjo'ó riká " ké
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá ké
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro like

rímíchaka " ilé riká "
 ri= ímí -cha -ka ilé ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft med 3sg.nf pro

Libre "bueno" dijo él "ahí está"

393 Mot ñaké pi'jrá riká " ké
Morphèmes ñaké pi= i'jrá ri= ikhá ké
Glose lex. dist.simil 2sg go_up 3sg.nf pro like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "por eso súbalo" él dijo

394 Mot é kája Kanumátá i'jrichá riká ,
Morphèmes é kája Kanumá tâ i'jri -chá ri= ikhá
Glose lex. then Kanumá emph1 go_up pst 3sg.nf pro

phepo'ó riká (kama-) kapí phepo'ó riká
 pi= jepo'ó ri= ikhá *** kapí pi= jepo'ó ri= ikhá
 2sg tie_up 3sg.nf pro *** hardly 2sg tie_up 3sg.nf pro

ké	rímícha		apáa	rimatha'á
ké	ri=	ímí -cha	apáa	ri= matha'á
like	3sg.nf	say pst	maybe	3sg.nf cut

Libre ahí ya Kanumá lo subió, él lo amarró "amárrelo duro para que no se reviente

395 Mot	palánojé		ri'micháká		pipirí	,
Morphèmes	palá -nojé		ri= i'mi -chá -ká		pipirí	
Glose lex.	good com2		3sg.nf cop pst	ka.cleft	palm_sp	

kajúnojé	,	keráni
kajú -nojé		kerá -ni
much com2		baby nf

Libre bueno estaba el chontaduro, grande, rojo (laym: also suggests that -nojé are several items)

396 Mot	é kája	ripéchú		i'michá	"
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= péchú		i'mi -chá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf thought		cop pst	

nota'láachí		rijí	"
nu= ata' -láa -chí		ri= ijí	
1sg steal hort?	hort	3sg.nf seed	

Libre ahí él pensó "voy a robarme la pepa"

397 Mot	kája	riwitúka'tiya		riká
Morphèmes	kája	ri= witúka' -ti -ya	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf go_down caus pst	3sg.nf	pro

Libre "ahí ya lo bajó"

398 Mot	júpi	riwitúka'tiya		riká
Morphèmes	júpi	ri= witúka' -ti -ya	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.	long_time	3sg.nf go_down caus pst	3sg.nf	pro

phiyúké	,	kája	i'michá		pajlúwa	i'michá
phiyúké		kája	i'mi -chá -rí		pajlúwá	i'mi -chá -rí
all		already	cop pst nf.cleft	one	cop pst nf.cleft	

kajúnojé	wáni	,	riká	riwitúka'tiya	,	kécha
kajú -nojé	wáni		ri= ikhá	ri= witúka' -ti -ya		kécha
much com2	emph		3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf go_down caus pst		after

jrepo'chátá		,	jrepo'chá		wejápaja	riká
ri= jepo' -chá tá			ri= jepo' -chá		wejápa	ri= ikhá
3sg.nf tie_up pst emph1			3sg.nf tie_up pst		little	3sg.nf pro

yuriyú	aú
yuriyú	aú
trunk	with

Libre demoró pa bajarlo todo, uno había grande, eso él bajó, luego lo amarró, lo agarró poquito con bejuco yaré

399 Mot rikaji'chá riká , rijĩ
Morphèmes ri= kaji' -chá ri= ikhá ri= ijí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf remove pst 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf seed

rináicha rijĩ'chá rinakiyá
ri= náĩ -cha ri= jĩ' -chá ri= nakú =eyá
3sg.nf prepare_fish pst 3sg.nf take pst 3sg.nf on from

riki'chá rikakúlá chojé
ri= ki' -chá ri= kakúlá chojé
3sg.nf throw_out pst 3sg.nf cheek towards_inside

Libre lo bajó, él sacó de ahí la pepa, y la echó en el cachete (laym: riwa'pichá riká, rijĩ'cha rijĩ, riki'chá rikakúlá chojé; náikaje: hacer, jña'kaje: coger))

400 Mot é kája riwitúka'tiya jrepo'chá
Morphèmes é kája ri= witúka' -ti -ya ri= jepo' -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go_down caus pst 3sg.nf tie_up pst

riká wejápaja riwitúka'tiyajlá e'yó
ri= ikhá wejápa ri= witúka' -ti -ya jlá e'yó
3sg.nf pro little 3sg.nf go_down caus pst frust then

rimathi'yá jra'piyá
ri= mathi' -yá ri= ja'pi =eyá
3sg.nf cut pst 3sg.nf under from

Libre y ya lo bajó y lo amarró poquito él lo iba a bajar en ese momento se cortó (jepo'kaje: amarrar, e'yá ~ e'yó: en ese momento)

401 Mot ja'cháro , pipirítá ja'chó
Morphèmes ja' -chá -ri =o pipirí tâ ja' -chá =o
Glose lex. fall pst nf.cleft mid palm_sp emph1 fall pst mid

kawákájo phiyúkéja ripajári'chako
kawáká =ejo phiyúké =ja ri= pajári' -cha -ka =o
low towards all lim 3sg.nf crush pst ka.cleft mid

Libre ahí cayó el chontaduro al suelo todo se machucó (pajáa'kaje ~ pajára'kaje: machucarse)

402 Mot " ái " ké rímícha jum
Morphèmes ái ké ri= ímí -cha jum
Glose lex. uy like 3sg.nf say pst huh

Libre "ay" él dijo "ahora sí"

403.1 Mot " ná penáje unká phepo'la palá
Morphèmes ná penáje unká pi= jepo' -la palá
Glose lex. indf for neg 2sg tie_up v.neg good

riká ?
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre "por qué no lo amarró bien" él dijo, "mire ya daño mi fruta, Kanumá" él dijo

403.2 Mot " ké rímícha " pá
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha pá
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst look_out

papichátiya nupajĩ " ké rímícha " Kanumá
pi= apichá -ti -ya nu= pajĩ ké ri= ímí -cha Kanumá
2sg break caus pst 1sg fruit like 3sg.nf say pst Kanumá

" ké rímícha
ké ri= ímí -cha
like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre

404 Mot yée
Morphèmes yée
Glose lex. oh

Libre ay

405 Mot " kéjo'ó riká nuyana'jú " ké
Morphèmes ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá nu= yana'jú ké
Glose lex. like still 3sg.nf pro 1sg father_in_law like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre está bien suegro dijo él

406 Mot é kája riwitúki'cha nawayo'chá
Morphèmes é kája ri= witúki' -cha na= wayo' -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go_down pst 3pl pick pst

riká , phiyúkéja ripajári'chako ,
ri= ikhá phiyúké =ja ri= pajári' -cha -ka =o
3sg.nf pro all lim 3sg.nf crush pst ka.cleft mid

rijĩ nawayo'chá phiyúkéja , wéji ka'lá
ri= ijí na= wayo' -chá phiyúké =ja wéji ké -a'lá
3sg.nf seed 3pl pick pst all lim three like cls:round

rijĩ unká i'malácha
ri= ijí unká i'ma -lá -cha
3sg.nf seed neg cop v.neg pst

Libre ya él bajó ya lo recogieron a ese todo se machucó recogieron la pepa, faltaban tres pepas

407 Mot rímícha rijló " éta kháãjĩ ? "
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha ri= jló éta kháãjĩ
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for then prox

Libre él le dijo a él "y éste?"

408 Mot " kapí " ké rímíchaka "
Morphèmes kapí ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. don't_know like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

kája nuwayo'chá phiyúkéja riká "
 kája nu= wayo' -chá phiyúké =ja ikhá
 already 1sg pick pst all lim pro

Libre "yo no sé yo ya recogí todo" (wayo'káje: recoger)

409.1 Mot unká ké rímíchaka , " kékéwáka
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka kékéwaka
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft truth

numaká " " méré kháájí ijí ?
 nu= ima -ká méré kháájí ijí
 1sg say ka.cleft indf.loc prox seed

Libre "no" él dijo "cierto yo estoy diciendo" dónde están las pepas de éste?"

409.2 Mot " ké rímícha
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre

410 Mot " unká ké rímícha , unká
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha unká
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst neg

nomálacha riká ké rímícha " unká
 nu= amá -la -cha ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha unká
 1sg see v.neg pst 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst neg

ké rímícha " piká jǐ'chári riká
 ké ri= ímí -cha pi= ikhá jǐ' -chá -ri ri= ikhá
 like 3sg.nf say pst 2sg pro take pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf pro

ké rímíchaka
 ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "no yo no lo miré" él dijo, "usted que lo cogió" dijo él

411 Mot méré majǒ nomáijlá ké
Morphèmes méré majǒ nu= amá ijlá ké
Glose lex. indf.loc prox.toward 1sg see frust like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre muestre acá pa ver (mére: muestre)

412 Mot é Kanumá rikakúlá chojé
Morphèmes é Kanumá ri= kakúlá chojé
Glose lex. then Kanumá 3sg.nf cheek towards_inside

riki'chá kélé pipirí ijǐ i'micháká , marí
 ri= ki' -chá kélé pipirí ijǐ i'mi -chá -ka marí
 3sg.nf throw_out pst med palm_sp seed cop pst ka.cleft prox

ké	rímícha	,	é	ramícha	rikakúlátá
ké	ri= ímí -cha		é	ri= amí -cha	ri= kakúlá tâ
like	3sg.nf say pst		then	3sg.nf see pst	3sg.nf cheek emph1
amíchari		ré	rijĩ	i'micháká	, kája
amí -cha -ri	ri=	é	ri=	ijí	i'mi -chá -ká kája
see pst nf.ss	3sg.nf	in	3sg.nf	seed	cop pst ka.cleft already
jrewĩ'cho			tu'jrí	penáje	
ri= jewí'	-cha =o		tu'jrí	penáje	
3sg.nf become	pst mid		parrot_sp	for	

Libre ya kanumá había botado la pepa de ese, así él dijo, él miró adentro del cachete de él, miró ahí estaba la pepa de él, ahí se convirtieron en lorito come chontaduro

413 Mot	é	jrewĩ'cho		tu'jrí	penáje
Morphèmes	é	ri= jewí'	-cha =o	tu'jrí	penáje
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf become	pst mid	parrot_sp	for
kája	rajícha	"	tu'jrí	tu'jrí	tu'jrí " ké
kája	ri= ají -cha		tu'jrí	tu'jrí	tu'jrí ké
already	3sg.nf fly pst		ideo8	parrot_sp	parrot_sp like
rajícha		, riká	aũ	tu'jrína	ajñá pipirí
ri= ají -cha		ri= ikhá	aũ	tu'jrí -na	ajñá pipirí
3sg.nf fly pst		3sg.nf pro	with	parrot_sp pl	eat palm_sp

Libre ya se convirtió en pajarito, ahí voló "tu'jrí tu'jrí", por eso los lorito tu'jrína comen chontaduro

ycn0079

1 Mot	me'té	númájika			, nu'majiká
Morphèmes	me'té	nu= ímá -jĩ -ka			nu= i'ma -jĩ -ka
Glose lex.	now	1sg say fut ka.cleft			1sg tell fut ka.cleft

pajlúwaja kawayá yukúná
 pajlúwá =ja kawayá yukú -ná
 one lim deer story alien3

Libre ahorita voy a decir, voy a contar un cuento de venao

2 Mot	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'micháří		riya'jnéru
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -rí		ri= ya'jnéru
Glose lex.	one	person	cop pst nf.cleft		3sg.nf mother_in_law

jwa'té
 jwa'té
 with

Libre había una persona vivía con la suegra

3 Mot	é	rímícha		riyajálo	jló
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= yajálo	jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf wife	for

Libre le dijo a la esposa

4 Mot	é	rímícha		riya'jnéru	jló "
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= ya'jnéru	jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf mother_in_law	for

chúwa wanúkajiko " , júpimi pheñawilá
 chúwa wa= núka -jĩ -ka =o júpi =mi pheñawilá
 now 1pl move fut ka.cleft mid long_time pfv ancestor

michúna i'makhé nákei , phíyu'keru naya'jnéru
 michú -na i'ma -khé nákei phíyu'ke -ru na= ya'jnéru
 deceased pl tell far.pst uh old f 3pl mother_in_law

i'maké é ne'jnañáano neká , nayuríkhe
 i'ma -khé é na= i'jna -ñáa =nó na= ikhá na= yurí -khé
 cop far.pst.nz in 3pl go appl hab 3pl pro 3pl stay far.pst

pají támijimi chú neká nekója
 pají támi -ji =mi chú na= ikhá na= ikhá =o =ja
 maloca sickness unposs nom.pfv in 3pl pro 3pl pro mid lim

Libre le dijo a la suegra "vamos a trastearnos", anterior los finaos ancianos vivían, (anúkakajo: trastearse) y cuando tenían una vieja suegra las dejaban, solas en una maloca vieja

5 Mot	é	nanúkicho			riyajálo	jwa'té
Morphèmes	é	na= núki	-cha	=o	ri= yajálo	jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	3pl move	pst	mid	3sg.nf wife	with

Libre así se fueron con la mujer

6 Mot	nákei
Morphèmes	nákei
Glose lex.	uh

Libre

7 Mot	náke	júkája	ne'micháká	nákai
Morphèmes	náke	júk'ká =ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká	nákai
Glose lex.	uh	far lim	3pl go pst ka.cleft	uh

riya'jnéru awa'yá , máayá a'j'ná nákai jú'kája
 ri= ya'jnéru awa' =eyá máa eyá a'j'ná nákai jú'ká =ja
 3sg.nf mother_in_law side from here from dist uh far lim
 ne'micháká rowa'yá
 na= i'mi -chá -ka ru= awa' =eyá
 3pl live pst ka.nz 3sg.f side from

Libre estaban siempre lejos de la suegra, vimy: de ahí hasta...siempre lejos estaban de ella (júkája: lejitos, awa'yá: awa'á+eyá de al lado),

8 Mot	eyá	nákei	...	yuíchami	náke	...
Morphèmes	eyá	nákei		yuí -cha =mi	náke	
Glose lex.	since_then	uh		stay pst pfv	uh	

yuíchami riya'jnérú rokója pají chú
 yuí -cha =mi ri= ya'jnéru ru= ikhá =o =ja pají chú
 stay pst pfv 3sg.nf mother_in_law 3sg.f pro mid lim maloca in
 , pají támichimi chú
 pají támichimi chú
 maloca old in

Libre vimy: de ahí la suegra se quedó en la vieja maloca (yuíchami: quedó)

9 Mot	é kája	ne'michá	júpichami	náke
Morphèmes	é kája	na= i'mi chá	júpichami	náke
Glose lex.	then	3pl live on	long_time	uh

Libre ahí estuvieron mucho tiempo

10 Mot	júpicha	ru'michá	rokója	
Morphèmes	júpicha	ru= i'mi -chá	ru= ikhá =o =ja	
Glose lex.	long_time	3sg.f live pst	3sg.f pro mid lim	

kája wája pajlúwá kawayátá iphícha ,
 kája =wá =ja pajlúwá kawayá tâ iphí -cha
 already emph lim one deer emph1 arrive pst
 amíchari , i'jícháno , amíchari ruká
 amí -cha -ri i'jĩ -chá =no amí -cha -ri ru= ikhá
 see pst nf.ss go pst hab see pst nf.ss 3sg.f pro

rokója		pají	chú
ru= ikhá =o =ja		pají	chú
3sg.f pro mid lim		maloca	in

Libre allí vivió bastante tiempo muy sola hasta que le llegó un venado y la vio él siempre iba donde ella y se dio cuenta que vivía sola en la maloca

11 Mot	é	rúmícha	nákei
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	nákei
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	uh

Libre ella dijo

12 Mot	é	ri'jíchátá	riphíchatá
Morphèmes	é	ri= íjĩ -chá tá	ri= iphí -cha tá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst emph1	3sg.nf arrive pst emph1

runáku	é	rímíchatá	rojló	"	phíyu'keru	,
ru= náku	é	ri= ímí -cha tá	ru= jló		phíyu'ke -ru	
3sg.f on then		3sg.nf say pst emph1	3sg.f for		old f	

ná pila'á ?"
 ná pi= la'á
 indf 2sg do

Libre él se fue y llegó donde ella, y le dijo "vieja qué hace"

13 Mot	é	rúmícha	" ũká	ná	nula'lá	,
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	unká	ná	nu= la' -lá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	neg	indf	1sg do v.neg	

mapéja nuká "
 mapéja nu= ikhá
 normally 1sg pro

Libre y le respondió "no hago nada estoy sin hacer nada"

14 Mot	é	rímíchatá	rojló	nákei
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha tá	ru= jló	nákei
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst emph1	3sg.f for	uh

Libre y luego le dijo

15 Mot	é	nákei	rímíchatá	"	parápa'a
Morphèmes	é	nákei	ri= ímí -cha tá		pi= arápa'a
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf say pst emph1		2sg dance

nujwa'té	"	raápa'chiyatá	ruká	,
nu= jwa'té		ri= aápa' -chi -ya tá	ru= ikhá	
1sg with		3sg.nf dance caus pst emph1	3sg.f pro	

rilujmétiyatá ruká "
 ri= lujmé -ti -ya tá ru= ikhá
 3sg.nf dance caus pst emph1 3sg.f pro

Libre "ahora sí baile conmigo" se puso a bailar con ella, (lujmétakaje: hacer bailar, arápa'takaje: hacer bailar)

16 Mot kája kéja ri'jíchákatánó
Morphèmes kája ké =ja ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka tâ =nó
Glose lex. already like lim 3sg.nf go pst ka.cleft emph1 hab

jlapiyámíka'la kéja ruchájenó , jlapiyámí
 lapiyámí -ka'la ké =ja ru= chájé =nó lapiyámí
 morning ?nz like lim 3sg.f at hab morning

riphíchatánó rarápa'chiatánó
 ri= iphí -cha tâ =nó ri= arápa' -chi -ya tâ =nó
 3sg.nf arrive pst emph1 hab 3sg.nf dance caus pst emph1 hab

ruká , kája wája rulakéjnú i'jíchá
 ru= ikhá kája =wá =ja ru= lakéjnú i'jĩ -chá
 3sg.f pro already emph lim 3sg.f son_in_law go pst

ruchájé , réjõ yakáa'jo
 ru= chájé ri= ejo yakáa' je =o
 3sg.f at 3sg.nf towards see purp.mot mid

Libre vimy: así todas las veces él iba donde ella todas las mañanas, él llegaba siempre en la mañana el la hacía bailar a ella, hasta que el yerno se fue donde ella, a mirar allá

17 Mot rímícha riyajálo jló "
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha ri= yajálo jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf wife for

nomíchajláko mékéka kélé ,
 nu= amí -cha jlá =kó méké -ka kélé
 1sg see prs frust emph4 indf.manner indf.sub med

nomíchajlá " nuya'jnéru chájé ri'michá
 nu= amí -cha jlá nu= ya'jnéru chájé ri= i'mi -chá
 1sg see pst frust 1sg mother_in_law at 3sg.nf go pst

chira'jó , " jé " ké rúmícha , é
 chira' -je =o jé ké ru= ímí -cha é
 wander purp.mot mid good like 3sg.f say pst then

ru'jíchá réjõ
 ru= i'jĩ -chá ri= ejo
 3sg.f go pst 3sg.nf towards

Libre le dijo a la mujer "yo voy a ir a mirar cómo está mi suegra" y se fue la mujer le contestó "bueno" (vimy: debia ser riyajnéru)

18.1 Mot riphícha iñepú nákai , june'é
Morphèmes ri= ipha -cha iñepú nákai june'é
Glose lex. 3sg.nf arrive pst way uh port

chojé , amíchari kajú kawayátá
 chojé amí -cha -ri kajú kawayá tâ
 towards_inside see pst nf.ss much deer emph1

apumí i'micháká nákai pají chojé ,
 i= apumí i'mi -chá -ká nákai pají chojé
 2pl ?replacement cop pst ka.nz uh maloca towards_inside

pajímí		chojé		, é	ripéchú	i'michá	"
pají	=mi	chojé		é	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	
maloca	nom.pfv	towards_inside		then	3sg.nf thought	cop pst	
ná	chí	, ná	ka'jnó	kháãjĩ	apumí	kajúwáni	?
ná	chí	ná	ka'jnó	kháãjĩ	i= apumí	kajú wáni	
indf	emph3	indf	dub	prox	2pl ?replacement	much emph	

Libre vimy: él llegó camino, a la quebrada, y vio mucho rastro de venado a la maloca vieja, ahí él pensó "de quién será este rastro mucho,

18.2 Mot		, réjō		nomíchajláko	"
Morphèmes	ri=	ejo		nu= amí -cha jlá	=kó
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	towards		1sg see prs	frust emph4

Libre voy a ver hasta allá"

19 Mot	é	riphícha		pají	chojé
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha -cha		pají	chojé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf arrive	pst	maloca	towards_inside
rímícha		nákai	rímícha	nákai	rímícha
ri=	ímí -cha	nákai	ri=	ímí -cha	nákai
3sg.nf	say pst	uh	3sg.nf	say pst	uh
rojló	" méké	piká	maáré	" "	paláni
ru=	jló méké	pi= ikhá	maáré		palá -ni
3sg.f	for	indf.manner	2sg pro	prox.loc	good nf
					like
rúmíchaka					
ru=	ímí -cha -ka				
3sg.f	say pst	ka.cleft			

Libre y llegó a la maloca le dijo "cómo está" a ella y le contestó "estoy bien"

20 Mot	é	nákei	" ũká	ná	inau'ké	pamála
Morphèmes	é	nákei	unká	ná	inau'ké	pi= amá -la
Glose lex.	then	uh	neg	indf	person	2sg see v.neg
máawá	? "					
máa	=ewá					
here	around					

Libre "entonces no has visto por aquí alguna persona"

21 Mot	é	rúmícha		rijló	" ũká	, náke	,
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		ri= jló	unká	náke	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		3sg.nf for	neg	uh	
ná	pajá	kalé	iphári	pajlúwája	nunáku	,	marí
ná	pajá	kalé	iphá -ri	pajlúwá =ja	nu= náku		marí
indf	emph	emph5	arrive nf.cleft	one lim	1sg on		prox
ké	ri'maká		nojló	, nákai	,		
ké	ri= i'ma -ká		nu= jló	nákai			
like	3sg.nf cop	ka.cleft	1sg for	uh			

rilujmétaka		nuká		, raápa'taka
ri= lujmé -ta -ka		nu= ikhá		ri= aápa' -ta -ka
3sg.nf dance caus ka.topic		1sg pro		3sg.nf dance caus ka.topic
nuká	, nutámi	nuká	e'yajé ké	,
nu= ikhá	nu= támi	nu= ikhá	e'yajé ké	
1sg pro	1sg sickness	1sg pro	towards like	
raápa'tanó		nuká		
ri= aápa' -ta =nó		nu= ikhá		
3sg.nf dance caus hab		1sg pro		

Libre vimy: quién será llegó uno donde mi, así el me dijo, el me hace bailar, me hace bailar yo estando enferma, me hace bailar a mi

22 Mot	aú	rímícha		rojlo	" ùká	ná	
Morphèmes	aú	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló	unká	ná	
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.f for	neg	indf	
tá	kalé	kéelé	, nákei	, kawayá	tá	kéelé	, kajú
tâ	kalé	kélé	nákei	kawayá	tâ	kélé	kajú
emph1	nv.neg	med	uh	deer	emph1	med	much
rapuí		tá	i'jnaká		majó	, é	
ri= apuí		tâ	i= i'jna -ká		majó	é	
3sg.nf ?replacement		emph1	2pl go ka.cleft		prox.toward	then	
i'jnárino							
i'jná -rí	=no						
go nf.cleft	hab						

Libre entonces le dijo "quién va a ser es un venado que tiene mucho rastro hasta aquí"

23 Mot	é	rímícha		rojlo	" chúwa	náke
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló	chúwa	náke
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.f for	now	uh
pila'ó	palá	"				
pi= la' =ó	palá					
2sg do mid	good					

Libre ahora sí tiene que arreglarse muy bien

24 Mot	nákei	, pa'á	piyaró		phi'rí
Morphèmes	nákei	pi= a'á	pi= yaré =o		phi'rí
Glose lex.	uh	2sg give	2sg paint mid		shrub

Libre y píntese con achiote (yaré-o: painting)

25 Mot	é	náke	ru'jíchá	, é	" jée	" ké
Morphèmes	é	náke	ru= i'jĩ -chá	é	jé	ké
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.f go pst	then	good	like
rúmícha						
ru= ímí -cha						
3sg.f say pst						

Libre ella le dijo "está bien"

26 Mot	é	náke	júpicha	méjěchá		chí
Morphèmes	é	náke	júpicha	mé	ějěcha	chí
Glose lex.	then	uh	long_time	indf.manner	after	emph3

riphákátâ ké rímíchaka rojló
 ri= iphá -ká tâ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
 3sg.nf arrive ka.cleft emph1 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

Libre y después de un rato llegará dijo él

27 Mot	aú	rúmícha		" kaápu'kú
Morphèmes	aú	ru= ímí -cha		kaápu'kú
Glose lex.	because	3sg.f say	pst	noon

riphákátânó majó nucháje "
 ri= iphá -ká tâ =nó majó nu= cháje
 3sg.nf arrive ka.cleft emph1 hab prox.toward 1sg at

Libre "al medio día siempre llega donde mi" ella dijo

28 Mot	" jé	" ké	rímícha		" me'tení
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha		me'tení
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf say	pst	now

pila'jiko , pijña'á phirí pila'ó palá
 pi= la' -jĩ -ka =o pi= jña'á phirí pi= la' =ó palá
 2sg do fut ka.cleft mid 2sg take shrub 2sg do mid good

pikó
 pi= ikhá =o
 2sg pro mid

Libre entonces dijo "bueno, ahora arréglese y coja un achiote se arregla con eso sola

29 Mot	nákai	yéwíchaja	riphíchaka		jrená
Morphèmes	nákai	yéwícha =ja	ri= iphí -cha -ka		ri= jená
Glose lex.	uh	almost lim	3sg.nf arrive	pst ka.nz	3sg.nf hour

chojé é rímícha rojló
 chojé é ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
 towards_inside in 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

Libre ya casi llegaba la hora le dijo "suegra ya es la hora que llegue acá

30 Mot	nákei	rímícha	rojlo		" nuyajnéru
Morphèmes	nákei	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló		nu= ya'jnéru
Glose lex.	uh	3sg.nf say	pst 3sg.f for		1sg mother_in_law

, chúwatá kája yéwíchaja ka'jno
 chúwa tâ kája yéwícha =ja ka'jno
 now emph1 already almost lim dub

riphákátâ majó "
 ri= iphá -ká tâ majó
 3sg.nf arrive ka.cleft emph1 prox.toward

Libre él le dijo "suegra, ya casi él está llegando"

riphíchatá , é kája rachi'yó
 ri= iphí -cha tá é kája ri= achi' -ya =o
 3sg.nf arrive pst emph1 then 3sg.nf steal pst mid

Libre le dijo bueno así lo voy a hacer, se escondió

35 Mot júpichami riphíchatá
Morphèmes júpichami ri= iphí -cha tá
Glose lex. long_time 3sg.nf arrive pst emph1

Libre al rato llegó

36.1 Mot é rímíchatá " píyu'keru rejo'kája
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha tá phíyu'ke -ru rejo'kája
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst emph1 old f still2

piká maáré ?
 pi= ikhá maáré
 2sg pro prox.loc

Libre y dijo "vieja todavía está aquí?" ella le dijo "sí aquí estoy todavía"

36.2 Mot " " á'a " ké rúmíchaka
Morphèmes á'a ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. yes like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre

37 Mot nákei é riphíchatá , é
Morphèmes nákei é ri= iphí -cha tá é
Glose lex. uh then 3sg.nf arrive pst emph1 then

ramíchatá ruká
 ri= amí -cha tá ru= ikhá
 3sg.nf see pst emph1 3sg.f pro

Libre cuando entró la vio

38 Mot patá ruli'cháko , é
Morphèmes patá ru= lí' -chá -ka =o é
Glose lex. good 3sg.f do pst ka.cleft mid then

rímíchatá " yújú méké paláni wáni
 ri= ímí -cha tá yújú méké palá -ni wáni
 3sg.nf say pst emph1 wow indf.manner good nf emph

pili'cháko , phíyu'keru "
 pi= lí' -chá -ka =o phíyu'ke -ru
 2sg do pst ka.cleft mid old f

Libre ella estaba bien arreglada y le dijo "yuju como de bien se arregló vieja"

39 Mot " á'a " ké rúmíchaka , " puwa'ká
Morphèmes á'a ké ru= ímí -cha -ka puwa'ká
Glose lex. yes like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft if

nákei ... nutámi nu'makálé , é kalé
 nákei nu= támi nu= i'ma -ká =lé é kalé
 uh 1sg sickness 1sg tell ka.adv reason then emph5

náke	piphá	náke	pi'jnakéno			pichíra'ta	,
náke	pi= iphá	náke	pi= i'jna	-khé	=no	pi= chíra'	-ta
uh	2sg arrive	uh	2sg go	far.pst	hab	2sg pull	caus
chúwa	palá	nujme'tíyaka				náke	.
chúwa	palá	nu= jme'tí		-ya	-ka	náke	
now	good	1sg become_light		pst	ka.cleft	uh	

Libre vimy: sí ella dijo, "porque yo estoy enferma, ahí llega, venía, me arrastraba, ahora yo amanecí bien (é kalé: ahí in that case; chíra'takaje ~ chíra'kaje arrastrar)

40 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	rúmícha	,	jé	"	ké
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha		jé		ké
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.f say pst		good		like

rímíchakatá						,	é	rímíchatá	"
ri= ímí -cha	-ka	tá					é	ri= ímí -cha	tá
3sg.nf say	pst	ka.cleft	emph1			then	3sg.nf say	pst	emph1

chúwatá		waápa'jīka				ké	
chúwa	tâ	wa= arápa'	-jī	-ka		ké	
now	emph1	1pl dance	fut	ka.cleft		like	

Libre "bueno" le contestó "ahora sí vamos a bailar"

41 Mot	é	rutái'cho				,	é
Morphèmes	é	ru= táí'		-cha	=o		é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f stand_up	pst	mid			then

rilujmétiatá						ruká	
ri= lujmé	-ti	-ya	tá			ru= ikhá	
3sg.nf dance	caus	pst	emph1			3sg.f pro	

Libre ahí mismo se paró a bailar con él la hacía bailar

42 Mot	é	rataíchatá				:
Morphèmes	é	ri= ataí'		-cha	tá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf sing	pst	emph1		

Libre y cantaba así

43 Mot	"	pajítá	petána	pajítá	wayána	pakiakó	riaro'má	riaro'má	síru
Morphèmes		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Glose lex.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

síru	,	síru	síru"
***		***	***
***		***	***

Libre "pajítá petána pajítá wayána pakiakó riaro'má riaro'má síru síru, síru síru"

44 Mot	é	kája	píyu'keru		wó	i'jīchá	de tanto
Morphèmes	é	kája	phíyu'ke	-ru	wó	i'jī -chá	de tanto
Glose lex.	then		old	f	stomach	go pst	so_much

rilujmékatá						ruká	
ri= lujmé	-ta	-ka	tâ			ru= ikhá	
3sg.nf dance	caus	ka.cleft	emph1			3sg.f pro	

Libre ya aquí la viejita estaba muy cansada de tanto bailar y bailar

45 Mot	é	rúmícha	,	é kája	ruwái'cha	
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		é kája	ru= wái' -cha	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		then	3sg.f call pst	
rikátá		puerta	numanáje	é	(rilumé- náke-)	
ri= ikhá tâ		puerta	numaná =eje	é	*** ***	
3sg.nf pro emph1		door	door until	then	*** ***	
rotaícha		rijwa'tétá				
ru= ataí -cha		ri= jwa'té tá				
3sg.f sing pst		3sg.nf with emph1				

Libre vimy: ella dijo, ahí ella lo llevó hacia la puerta, ella cantó con él

46 Mot	" faki faki	,	majabui majabui"	ké	
Morphèmes	*** ***		*** ***	ké	
Glose lex.	*** ***		*** ***	like	
rúmíchaka		nákai	tanimúkana	pura'kó	chú
ru= ímí -cha -ka		nákai	tanimúka -na	pura' -ka =o	chú
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft		uh	tanimuka pl	speak ka.nz mid	in
rúmícha	"				
ru= ímí -cha					
3sg.f say pst					

Libre "faki faki, majabui majabui" así decía en idioma tanimuca (la viejita)

47 Mot	" kája pinó rikátá	,	kája
Morphèmes	kája pi= nó ri= ikhá tâ		kája
Glose lex.	already 2sg kill 3sg.nf pro emph1		already
wáni noi'chó	" é rímíchatá		" yéé
wáni nu= ai' -cha =o	é ri= ímí -cha tá		yéé
emph 1sg tire pst mid	then 3sg.nf say pst emph1		oh
píyu'keru méké palá wáni pijña'ká			
phíyu'ke -ru méké palá wáni pi= jña' -ka			
old f indf.manner good emph 2sg pull_up ka.cleft			
numáre "			
nu= máre			
1sg song			

Libre ella le decía "mátelo ya estoy muy cansada" y entonces él le dijo "qué bien vieja canta para mí" así dijo a ella (ayá'kájo: cansarse; jña'káje + pr-máre: cantar con alguien)

48 Mot	rímíchakatá	rojlo
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha -ka tá	ru= jló
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft emph1	3sg.f for

Libre él le dijo a ella

49 Mot	é	rúmícha	" á'a "
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	á'a
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	yes

Libre entonces dijo "sí"

50 Mot	é	riwái'cha	puerta	numanáje	ukéna
Morphèmes	é	ri= wái' -cha	puerta	numaná =eje	ukéna
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf call pst	door	door until	frame

numanáje rikátá
 numaná =eje ri= ikhá tâ
 door until 3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre luego lo llevaba a la entrada de la puerta (vimy: ruwái'cha)

51 Mot	ré	náke	réjé	rulakéjnú
Morphèmes	ré	náke	ri= =eje	ru= lakéjnú
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf until	3sg.f son_in_law

jáo'cho rímícha " pikátá chí kélé
 jáo' -cha =o ri= ímí -cha pi= ikhá tá chí kélé
 go_out pst mid 3sg.nf say pst 2sg pro emph1 emph3 med
 ná kai iphá ri pýu'keru jló jra'piwá marí
 ná kai iphá -ri phíyu'ke -ru jló ri= ja'pi ewá marí
 uh arrive nf.cleft old f for 3sg.nf under around prox
 chúwa pamájíkatá
 chúwa pi= amá -jĩ -ka tâ
 now 2sg see fut ka.cleft emph1

Libre ahí salió el yerno que estaba escondido trás de la puerta y le dijo "usted es el que se aprovecha de la vieja, ahora sí vas a ver"

52 Mot	rijĩ'chá	a'waná	riká	aũ
Morphèmes	ri= jĩ' -chá	a'waná	ri= ikhá	aũ
Glose lex.	3sg.nf take pst	tree	3sg.nf pro	with

riki'chá jriwilátá , é
 ri= ki' -chá ri= jwilá tâ é
 3sg.nf throw_out pst 3sg.nf hair emph1 then
 rímíchatá " pýu'keru , pimejáta nuká
 ri= ímí -cha tá phíyu'ke -ru pi= mejáta nu= ikhá
 3sg.nf say pst emph1 old f 2sg ?defend 1sg pro
 kháajĩ rinóka nuká "
 kháajĩ ri= nó -ka nu= ikhá
 prox 3sg.nf kill ka.prog 1sg pro

Libre cogió un palo y lo garroteó, él le decía "vieja defiéndame que está matándome"

53 Mot	aũ	ũká	kája	ritáchiya	phiyúké
Morphèmes	aũ	unká	kája	ri= itá -chi -ya	phiyúké
Glose lex.	because	neg	emph?	3sg.nf close caus pst	all

pají numaná ritáchíya
 pají numaná ri= itá -chi -ya
 maloca door 3sg.nf close caus pst

Libre ya tenía las puertas cerradas

54 Mot é ripachíya rikátá é
Morphèmes é ri= pachí -ya ri= ikhá tâ é
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf grab pst 3sg.nf pro emph1 then

rinócha riká tá
ri= nó -cha ri= ikhá tâ
3sg.nf kill pst 3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre lo agarró y lo mató

55 Mot é rímícha " kháájí tá la'rí
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha kháájí tâ la' -rí
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst prox emph1 do nf.cleft

kamu'jí piká kháájí kamejérítá riká
kamu'jí pi= ikhá kháájí kamejérí tâ ri= ikhá
poor 2sg pro prox animal emph1 3sg.nf pro

Libre después le dijo a la suegra "éste fue que la hizo sufrir a usted es cacería"

56 Mot é kája rikeño'chatá kamejérí i'michá
Morphèmes é kája ri= keño' -cha tá kamejérí i'mi -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf begin pst emph1 animal far.pst pst

nákei , kawayátá ri'michá
nákei kawayá tâ ri= i'mi -chá
uh deer emph1 3sg.nf cop pst

Libre y ahí se convirtió en una cacería era venado

57 Mot é rímícha " chúwa náke- " ,
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha chúwa ***
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst now ***

rijĩchá rikátá " chúwa pila'á palá
ri= jĩ' -chá ri= ikhá tâ chúwa pi= la'á palá
3sg.nf take prs 3sg.nf pro emph1 now 2sg do good

rinákutá , nuyajnéru " ké rímícha
ri= náku tá nu= ya'jnéru ké ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf on emph1 1sg mother_in_law like 3sg.nf say pst

rojló
ru= jló
3sg.f for

Libre lo cogió y le dijo a ella "suegra aprovéchelo ahora" (la'kajé palá rináku: aprovechar)

58 Mot " jé " ké rúmícha , é
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha é
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst then

ri'jĩchá náke , june'é chojó ri'michá
ri= i'jĩ -chá náke june'é chojó ri= i'mi -chá
3sg.nf go pst uh port towards_inside 3sg.nf cop pst

rojló nákei , a'waná náke , jiyá jña'jé
ru= jló nákei a'waná náke jiyá jña' -je
3sg.f for uh tree uh fire take purp.mot

Libre le dijo "bueno" luego se fue a la quebrada cogió palo leña

59 Mot	rimatha'chíya			rojló		phiyúké
Morphèmes	ri= matha' -chi -ya			ru= jló		phiyúké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf cut	caus	pst	3sg.f for		all

ri'ítâ
 ri= i'í tâ
 3sg.nf meat emph1

Libre y ya después fue a cortarle toda la carne (matha'tákaje: despedazar)

60 Mot	kécha	ripitíya		kuwelá		chojé
Morphèmes	kécha	ri= pití -ya		kuwelá		chojé
Glose lex.	after	3sg.nf pile_up	pst	grill		towards_inside

riká
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre y lo puso en la pasera

61 Mot	é	rímícha		náke	rojló		, é
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		náke	ru= jló		é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst	uh	3sg.f for		then

rúmícha rijló " é pijña'jíka nútu
 ru= ímí -cha ri= jló é pi= jña' -jí -ka nu= ítu
 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for Q 2sg take fut ka.int 1sg daughter
 jló wejápaja ?"
 jló wejápa
 for little

Libre luego le dijo a él que si le llevaba un poquito a su hija

62 Mot	aú	rímícha		rojló		" ũká
Morphèmes	aú	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló		unká
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf say	pst	3sg.f for		neg

nuya'jnéru , kája kamu'jú wani
 nu= ya'jnéru kája kamu'jú wáni
 1sg mother_in_law already small emph

rila'kátá piká , pikhó náke
 ri= la' -ká tâ pi= ikhá pi= ikhá =o náke
 3sg.nf do ka.cleft emph1 2sg pro 2sg pro mid uh

pikhôkó pila'á palá rinácutá "
 pi= ikhá =o =kó pi= la'á palá ri= náku tá
 2sg pro mid emph4 2sg do good 3sg.nf on emph1

Libre él dijo que no suegra ya que la hizo sufrir mucho sola más bien usted sola disfrútelo

63 Mot	maáre	pa'mitá		pajñáchí		nákai	kája
Morphèmes	maáre	pi= a'mitá		pi= ajña' -chí		nákai	kája
Glose lex.	prox.loc	2sg smoke		2sg eat	purp2	uh	already

pikó piká
 pi= ikhá =o pi= ikhá
 2sg pro mid 2sg pro

Libre ahúmelo acá pa que coma ya que está sola

64 Mot jé ké rúmícha " palá
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha palá
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst good

pili'cháka nuká nulakéjnú " ké
 pi= li' -chá -ka nu= ikhá nu= lakéjnú ké
 2sg do pst ka.cleft 1sg pro 1sg son_in_law like

Libre ella dijo bueno le agradezco mucho gracias yerno

65 Mot aú náke , é rímícha "
Morphèmes aú náke é ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. because uh then 3sg.nf say pst

chúwatá nupi'cháko , apú wakajéko
 chúwa tâ nu= pi' -chá -ka =o apú wakajé =kó
 now emph1 1sg return pst ka.cleft mid other date emph4

nu'jná majó picháje , picháje chira'jó
 nu= i'jná majó pi= cháje pi= cháje chira' -je =o
 1sg go prox.toward 2sg at 2sg at wander purp.mot mid

mékétanaja picháje píño majó apá
 mé kéténa =ja pi= cháje píño majó apála
 indf.manner during lim 2sg at again prox.toward maybe

méké i'má apú ná
 méké i'ma apú ná
 indf.manner cop other indf

Libre se despidió le dijo ahora sí ya me voy otro día vuelvo, vuelvo de paseo donde usted un rato de pronto pasa algo más

66 Mot " jé " ké rúmícha " palá
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha palá
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst good

pili'cháka nuká "
 pi= li' -chá -ka nu= ikhá
 2sg do pst ka.cleft 1sg pro

Libre ella le dijo bueno le agradezco

67 Mot é kája ru'jíchá , náke ropho'tíya
Morphèmes é kája ru= i'jĩ -chá náke ru= apho' -tí -ya
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst uh 3sg.f blow caus pst

nákei jra'pítâ , phiyúké ro'mitíya
 nákei ri= ja'pí tâ phiyúké ru= a'miti -yá
 uh 3sg.nf under emph1 all 3sg.f smoke pst

rojluwa	,	é	rojicha	rikátá
ru= jlu =wa		é	ru= ají -cha	ri= ikhá tâ
3sg.f for refl		then	3sg.f eat pst	3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre ahí ella prendió candela debajo de él, ella lo ahumó todo para ella, ahí ella lo comió (apho'tákaje ri-ja'pí: prender debajo)

68 Mot	kája	ejenája	riyukúná	tajnó	,
Morphèmes	kája	ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná	tajná =o	
Glose lex.	already	until lim	3sg.nf story alien3	finish mid	

rejenája	kawayá	yukúná	tajnó
ri= ejená =ja	kawayá	yukú -ná	tajná =o
3sg.nf until lim	deer	story alien3	finish mid

Libre hasta aquí acaba el cuento del venado

ycn0089

1 **Mot** ???
Morphèmes
Glose lex.

Libre ???

2 **Mot** kaipú yukúná
Morphèmes kaipú yukú -ná
Glose lex. food_owner story alien3

Libre historia de kaipú

3 **Mot** a'jnejí miná
Morphèmes a'jne -jí miná
Glose lex. food unposs owner

Libre dueño de la comida

4 **Mot** a'jnejí miná riká
Morphèmes a'jne -jí miná ri= ikhá
Glose lex. food unposs owner 3sg.nf pro

Libre el es dueño de la comida

5 **Mot** riká itu ñapíchayo inaya
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ítu ñapí -cha -yo ináya
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro daughter form pst f.cleft young_woman

Libre la hija de él se desarrolló señorita

6 **Mot** é rili'chá rumaná i'micháká
Morphèmes é ri= li' -chá ru= maná i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf do pst 3sg.f healing far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre él le curo a ella

7 **Mot** kajú rili'cháká rumaná , jiki'ja
Morphèmes kajú ri= li' -chá -ká ru= maná jiki'ja
Glose lex. much 3sg.nf do pst ka.cleft 3sg.f healing very

riwáchiyakalé rítu pajlúwajaru
ri= wáchi -ya -ka =lé ri= ítu pajlúwá -ja -ru
3sg.nf want pst ka.adv reason 3sg.nf daughter one cls:hum f

ru'micháká

ru= i'mi -chá -ká
3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft

Libre el hizo bueeena curación a la hija, él la quería mucho porque era la única

8 Mot	pu'jí	ripéchu	i'michá	rítu	jwa'té
Morphèmes	pu'jí	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	ri= ítu	jwa'té
Glose lex.	happy	3sg.nf thought	cop pst	3sg.nf daughter	with

Libre él estaba muy contento con la hija

9 Mot	kajú	wani	rili'cháka	rojlo	lawichú
Morphèmes	kajú	wáni	ri= li' -chá -ka	ru= jló	lawichú
Glose lex.	much	emph	3sg.nf do pst ka.cleft	3sg.f for	healing

ru'makálojé palá penáje
 ru= i'ma -ká lojé palá penáje
 3sg.f live ka.adv purp3 good for

Libre él hizo mucha curación para ella para que ella viva bien

10 Mot	é	kaja	júpi	ne'michá
Morphèmes	é	kája	júpi	na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	then	emph?	long_time	3pl live pst

Libre vivieron mucho tiempo

11 Mot	romi'chá	kája	jrora'pá	ja'piyá
Morphèmes	ru= jema' -chá	kája	ru= jara'pá	ja'pi =eyá
Glose lex.	3sg.f listen pst	already	3sg.f father.ref	under from

Libre ella le hacía caso a su papá

12 Mot	rímíchaka	rojlo	kéja
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha -ka	ru= jló	ké =ja
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst ka.nz	3sg.f for	like lim

jromi'cháka ra'piyá
 ru= jemi' -chá -ka ri= ja'pi eyá
 3sg.f listen pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf under from

Libre así como él le decía a ella, ella hacía caso

13 Mot	é	ri'rí	i'micháí
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'rí	i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf son	cop pst nf.cleft

Libre y él tenía un hijo

14 Mot	ré	kája	riyajálo	i'michá
Morphèmes	ri= é	kája	ri= yajálo	i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf in	emph?	3sg.nf wife	cop pst

Libre y él también tenía su mujer

15 Mot	ne'rí	i'micháí
Morphèmes	na= i'rí	i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex.	3pl son	cop pst nf.cleft

Libre tenía hijo (de ellos)

16 Mot	yuwají
Morphèmes	yuwa -ji
Glose lex.	unripe nf

Libre menor

17 Mot	to'jmá	jo'ó
Morphèmes	to'jmá	=jo'ó
Glose lex.	boy	still

Libre niño casi adolescente (entre la niñez y la adolescencia)

18 Mot	é kája	jraló		i'jíchá
Morphèmes	é kája	ri=	aló	i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	mother.ref	go pst

Libre de ahí la mamá se fue

19 Mot	rupulá'peru			i'jícháyó	mená	
Morphèmes	ru=	puláa'pe	-ru	i'jĩ -chá	-yo	mená
Glose lex.	3sg.f	brother_in_law	f	go pst	f.cleft	cropland

e'yajé

e'yajé

towards

Libre la cuñada se fue a la chagra

20 Mot	é	rúmícha		rojló
Morphèmes	é	ru=	ímí -cha	ru= jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	say pst	3sg.f for

Libre ella le dijo a ella

21 Mot	maáre	piyoró		to'jmá	jwa'té	kája	ũká
Morphèmes	maáre	pi=	yorí =o	to'jmá	jwa'té	kája	unká
Glose lex.	prox.loc	2sg	stay mid	boy	with	already	neg

pijápála

pi= jápá -la

2sg work v.neg

Libre aquí quédese aquí con el niño ya que usted no trabaja

22 Mot	pamá	nojló	riká		, nuji'cháchí	
Morphèmes	pi=	amá	nu= jló	ri=	ikhá	nu= jĩ' -chá -chí
Glose lex.	2sg	see	1sg for	3sg.nf	pro	1sg take prs hort

kajírú

kajírú

manioc

Libre cuide al niño para yo coger yuca

23 Mot	jé	ké	rúmícha
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre bueno ella dijo

24 Mot	é kája	ru'jíchá		mená	e'yajé
Morphèmes	é kája	ru=	i'jĩ -chá	mená	e'yajé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	go pst	cropland	towards

Libre de ahí ella se fue a la chagra (la madrastra)

25 Mot	júpi	nayurícho	kéelé	yuwají	jwa'té
Morphèmes	júpi	na= yurí -cha =o	kéelé	yuwa -ji	jwa'té
Glose lex.	long_time	3pl stay pst mid	med	unripe nf	with

Libre se quedaron buen rato con ese niño

26 Mot	kája ewája	rikamátiyo
Morphèmes	kája ewája	ri= kamáti -ya =o
Glose lex.	at last	3sg.nf sleep pst mid

Libre por fin él durmió

27 Mot	é	rapócha
Morphèmes	é	ri= apó -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf wake_up pst

Libre él se levantó

28 Mot	kajrú	riíchaka
Morphèmes	kajrú	ri= íí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	much	3sg.nf cry pst ka.cleft

Libre el lloró mucho

29 Mot	rumanúma'chiyajló	, unká
Morphèmes	ru= ma- núma -' -chi -ya =jló	unká
Glose lex.	3sg.f priv mouth ?vblz caus pst frust	neg

rimanúma'lacho

ri=	ma-	núma	-'	-la	-cha	=o
3sg.nf	priv	mouth	?vblz	v.neg	pst	mid

Libre ella intentó calmar pero él no se calmó

30 Mot	é	rúmícha	rijló	" piyániña	,
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló	pi= íí -niña	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for	2sg cry proh	

to'jmá	" ké	rúmícha	,
to'jmá	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
boy	like	3sg.f say pst	

Libre ella le dijo "no llore, niño" ella dijo,

31 Mot	" kaja	paló	i'jíchá	kajírú
Morphèmes	kája	pi= aló	i'jĩ -chá	kajírú
Glose lex.	already	2sg mother.ref	go pst	manioc

jña'jé	,	i'chí	wayalá	ja'pejé	"
jña' -je		i'chí	wayalá	ja'pi =eje	
take purp.mot		pot	lower_half	under until	

Libre "ya se fue tu mamá a traer yuca en media olla (de barro)" (no le rendía el almidón, hablando mal de ella)

32 Mot	eyowáke	jraló		ja'píchaka		pají
Morphèmes	eyowáke	ri=	aló	ja'pá	-cha -ka	pají
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	mother.ref	pass	pst ka.topic	maloca

kópiwa , kajírú jronapí ké , jromi'chá
 *** kajírú ru= janapí ké ru= jemi' -chá
 *** manioc 3sg.f on.back like 3sg.f listen pst

rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.nz

Libre en ese momento la mamá pasó por el patio de la maloca cargando yuca, ella escuchó lo que ella dijo

33 Mot	ro'pícha		rupícha		kajírú
Morphèmes	ru= ja'pá	-cha	ru= ipá	-cha	kajírú
Glose lex.	3sg.f	pass pst	3sg.f	wash pst	manioc

Libre ella pasó y lavó la yuca

34 Mot	é	jrócho'cho		
Morphèmes	é	ru= jácho'	-cha =o	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	go_out pst	mid

Libre ella salió

35 Mot	ruphícha		ũká	méké
Morphèmes	ru= ipha	-cha	unká	méké
Glose lex.	3sg.f	arrive pst	neg	indf.manner

rumalácha
 ru= ima -lá -cha
 3sg.f say v.neg pst

Libre llegó y no dijo nada

36 Mot	é	rúmícha		"(to'jmá)	pa'á	nojló
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí	-cha	to'jmá	pi= a'á	nu= jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	say pst	boy	2sg give	1sg for

to'jmá "
 to'jmá
 boy

Libre ella dijo "deme al niño"

37 Mot	" jé "	ke
Morphèmes	jé	ké
Glose lex.	good	like

Libre bueno

38 Mot	é	ro'chá		rinúma	chu'chú
Morphèmes	é	ru= a'a	-chá	ri= núma	chu'chú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	give pst	3sg.nf	mouth breast

Libre ella le dio de tomar teta

nujápájika " "
 nu= jápá -jĩ -ka
 1sg work fut ka.cleft

Libre cuando él me diga, ese día voy a tocar

47 Mot " ũká " ke rúmícha ,
Morphèmes unká ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.f say pst

Libre no le dijo ella (la cuñada)

48 Mot " pitutúwaje , kája nómícha "
Morphèmes pi= tutúwa' -je kája nu= ímí -cha
Glose lex. 2sg strain fut already 1sg say pst

Libre usted va a colar ya yo dije

49 Mot " ũká " ke rúmícha , kája ewája
Morphèmes unká ké ru= ímí -cha kája ewája
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.f say pst at last

jromi'chá jro'piyá
 ru= jemi' -chá ru= ja'pi =eyá
 3sg.f listen pst 3sg.f under from

Libre ella dijo no, pero ella le hizo caso a ella

50 Mot " jé " , ké rúmícha , kája pímá
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha kája pi= ímá
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst already 2sg say

nojló nututúwakalojé
 nu= jló nu= tutúwa' -ka lojé
 1sg for 1sg strain ka.adv purp3

Libre bueno ella le dijo, ya que usted me está diciendo para yo colar

51 Mot piyá'ta nojló i'chí me'tení , kajrúni
Morphèmes pi= yá'ta nu= jló i'chí me'tení kajrú -ni
Glose lex. 2sg put 1sg for pot now much nf

ñópo'jlo
 ñópo'jlo
 big

Libre ella le dijo pongame una olla de barro grande

52 Mot é ruyá'tiya rojló jirú ,
Morphèmes é ru= yá'ti -ya ru= jló jirú
Glose lex. then 3sg.f put pst 3sg.f for strainer

Libre ella le puso el colador

53 Mot ruyá'tiya rojló i'chí kajrúni
Morphèmes ru= yá'ti -ya ru= jló i'chí kajrú -ni
Glose lex. 3sg.f put pst 3sg.f for pot much nf

Libre y olla de barro grande

54 **Mot** é rututúwicha
Morphèmes é ru= tutúwi -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.f strain pst

Libre ella coló

55 **Mot** kajrú wani rutu'ró i'micháká , kája
Morphèmes kajrú wáni ru= itu'ró i'mi -chá -ká kája
Glose lex. much emph 3sg.f starch cop pst ka.cleft already

nákari jirú ja'piyá jra'píchaka
nákari jirú ja'pi =eyá ri= ja'pí -cha -ka
uh strainer under from 3sg.nf pass pst ka.cleft

Libre mucho almidón sacó hasta que pasó por debajo del colador (ya casi se llenó la olla)

56 **Mot** kajrú kaja pitu pitu pitu pitu ké
Morphèmes kajrú kája pitu pitu pitu pitu ké
Glose lex. much emph? ideo2 ideo2 like

jra'píchaka
ri= ja'pí -cha -ka
3sg.nf pass pst ka.cleft

Libre goteaba espeso el almidón

57 **Mot** é ruñapátiya
Morphèmes é ru= ñapá -ti -ya
Glose lex. then 3sg.f form caus pst

Libre ella terminó

58 **Mot** é rúmicha kaja
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha kája
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst already

Libre ella dijo ya

59 **Mot** nuñapátiya
Morphèmes nu= ñapáti -ya
Glose lex. 1sg finish pst

Libre acabé

60 **Mot** júpija
Morphèmes júpi =ja
Glose lex. long_time lim

Libre buen rato

61 **Mot** é kája
Morphèmes é kája
Glose lex. then

Libre de ahí

62 **Mot** chúwa tá pamo'óta richáya ké
Morphèmes chúwa tâ pi= amo'ó -ta ri= cháya ké
Glose lex. now emph1 2sg take caus 3sg.nf on like

rúmicha	pimoto'chí	keñá	no'wé	jló
ru= ímí -cha	pi= motho' -chí	keñá	nu= e'wé	jló
3sg.f say pst	2sg cook purp2	sauce_name	1sg brother	for

Libre ahora sí saque (el agua) encima para que cocine manicuera pa mi hermano (le dijo a la cuñada)

63 Mot	jé	ké	rúmicha
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre bueno dijo ella

64 Mot	é	rujĩ'chá	aka'ró	romo'kálojé
Morphèmes	é	ru= jĩ' -chá	aka'ró	ru= amo' -ká lojé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f take pst	vase	3sg.f take ka.adv purp3

richáya	rupéchú	i'michá	" ùká	ka'jnó	ritu'ró
ri= cháya	ru= péchú	i'mi -chá	unká	ka'jnó	ri= itu'ró
3sg.nf on	3sg.f thought	cop pst	neg	dub	3sg.nf starch
i'malá	"				
i'ma -lá					
cop	v.neg				

Libre ella cogió totumo para sacar agua de encima, ella pensó que no tenía almidón

65 Mot	romo'chaka	richáya	é
Morphèmes	ru= amo' -cha -ka	ri= cháya	é
Glose lex.	3sg.f take pst ka.nz	3sg.nf on	in

Libre cuando ella sacó el agua del encima

66 Mot	wejápaja	ñáni	jralá	i'micháká	kája
Morphèmes	wejápa	=ñáni	ri= jalá	i'mi -chá -ká	kája
Glose lex.	little	dim	3sg.nf liquid	cop pst ka.cleft	already

pu'té	itu'ró	i'micháká	i'chí	chú
pu'té	itu'ró	i'mi -chá -ká	i'chí	chú
full	starch	cop pst ka.cleft	pot	in

Libre muuy poquito agua tenía lleno en la olla estaba el almidón

67 Mot	yée	ké	rúmicha
Morphèmes	yée	ké	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	oh	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre uy dijo ella

68 Mot	ilé	kalé	ka'jnó	pipura'ó	kajrú	ké
Morphèmes	ilé	kalé	ka'jnó	pi= pura' =ó	kajrú	ké
Glose lex.	med	emph5	dub	2sg speak mid	much	like

rúmicha
ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst

Libre por eso será que usted habla mucho dijo ella

69 Mot	méké	palá	wani
Morphèmes	méké	palá	wáni
Glose lex.	indf.manner	good	emph

Libre cómo tan bueno

70 Mot	"	kajrú	wáni	pijña'ká		itu'ró	ké
Morphèmes		kajrú	wáni	pi= jña'	-ka	itu'ró	ké
Glose lex.		much	emph	2sg pull_up	ka.cleft	starch	like

rúmichaka rojló
 ru= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

Libre mucho almidón saca usted dijo ella

71 Mot	e	júpija	ne'michá
Morphèmes	***	júpi	=ja na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	***	long_time	lim 3pl live pst

Libre duraron tiempo

72 Mot	rúmicha	rojlo	méke	kamu'jí	wani
Morphèmes	ru= ímí -cha	ru= jló	méké	kamu'jí	wáni
Glose lex.	3sg.f say pst	3sg.f for	indf.manner	poor	emph

nuyaká'ko picháje ké rúmichaka
 nu= yakáa' -ka =o pi= cháje ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 1sg see ka.cleft mid 2sg at like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft
 rupuláa'peru jló
 ru= puláa'pe -ru jló
 3sg.f brother_in_law f for

Libre ella le dijo, cómo tan pobrecita te veo, le dijo a la cuñada

73 Mot	piwilá	jitaká	pijimá
Morphèmes	pi= jwilá	jita -ka	pi= jimá
Glose lex.	2sg hair	close ka.prog	2sg face

Libre que su cabello le está tapando su cara

74 Mot	majó	numatha'chí	piwilá	ke
Morphèmes	majó	nu= matha' -chí	pi= jwilá	ké
Glose lex.	prox.toward	1sg cut purp2	2sg hair	like

rúmicha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre venga para cortar su cabello le dijo a ella

75 Mot	jupejé	na'mitakhé	ná	karí	piñe	paná
Morphèmes	***	na= a'mita -khé	ná	***	***	paná
Glose lex.	***	3pl smoke far.pst	indf	***	***	leave

Libre antiguamente ahumaba hoja cortadera

76 Mot	jiyá	chá	nakúwa'takhe	riká
Morphèmes	jiyá	chá	na= akúwa'ta -khé	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	fire	on	3pl hang far.pst	3sg.nf pro

Libre lo colgaba encima del fogón

77 Mot	riká		i'makhéri	nale'jé	piréña
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	i'ma -khé -ri	na= le'jé	piréña
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	cop far.pst nf.cleft	3pl poss	scissors

riká	aú	rumathi'yá	ruwilá
ri= ikhá	aú	ru= mathi' -yá	ru= jwilá
3sg.nf pro	with	3sg.f cut pst	3sg.f hair

Libre eso era la tijera de ellos, con eso ella le cortaba el cabello

78 Mot	palá	ro'páchiyaka	runakojé
Morphèmes	palá	ru= ja'pá -chi -ya -ka	ru= naku =eje
Glose lex.	good	3sg.f pass caus	pst ka.cleft 3sg.f on until

riká	rumachiyá	ruká	pajimáya	wejápa
ri= ikhá	ru= machi' -yá	ru= ikhá	pa= jimá =eyá	wejápa
3sg.nf pro	3sg.f cut pst	3sg.f pro	impers face from	little

Libre ello lo pasó bien en ella y ella le cortó un poquito la cara

79 Mot	ũká
Morphèmes	unká
Glose lex.	neg

Libre

80 Mot	kajrú	jrúra	i'jícháká	kajrú	wani
Morphèmes	kajrú	ru= júra	i'jĩ -chá -ká	kajrú	wáni
Glose lex.	much	3sg.f blood	go pst ka.cleft	much	emph

ũká	rima'talácha
unká	ri= ma'ta -lá -cha
neg	3sg.nf *** v.neg pst

Libre sangró mucho y no se paró de sangrar

81 Mot	ũká	rora'pá	i'malácha	júpichami
Morphèmes	unká	ru= ara'pá	i'ma -lá -cha	júpichami
Glose lex.	neg	3sg.f father.ref	cop v.neg pst	long_time

riphíchaka
ri= iphí -cha -ka
3sg.nf arrive pst ka.cleft

Libre el papá no estaba y después llegó

82 Mot	ramícha	rutára'ko	, kajú
Morphèmes	ri= amí -cha	ru= tára' -ka =o	kajú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf see pst	3sg.f stand_up ka.nz mid	much

jrúra	i'jícháká	, jrúra	e'yá
ru= júra	i'jĩ -chá -ká	ru= júra	e'yá
3sg.f blood	go pst ka.cleft	3sg.f blood	in

rutári'cho
 ru= tári' -cha =o
 3sg.f stand_up pst mid

Libre y él miró que ella estaba sangrando y estaba parada en medio de la sangre

83 Mot itu'rúja ru'micháká , iná jló
Morphèmes itu'rú =ja ru= i'mi -chá -ká iná jló
Glose lex. starch lim 3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft gnr.pro for

riká jirá .
 ri= ikhá jirá
 3sg.nf pro blood

Libre y ella estaba puro almidón, pero en vista de persona como nosotros era sangre

84 Mot eyonája rijló ri'michá itu'rú
Morphèmes eyonája ri= jló ri= i'mi -chá itu'rú
Glose lex. however 3sg.nf for 3sg.nf cop pst starch

Libre mas sin embargo para él (papá) era puro almidón

85 Mot kája itu'rúja ru'micháká
Morphèmes kája itu'rú =ja ru= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. already starch lim 3sg.f cop pst ka.cleft

ri'la'káre rumaná .
 ri= la' -káre ru= maná
 3sg.nf do arg.nz1 3sg.f healing

Libre ya puro almidón ella estaba por la curación que él le hizo a ella

86 Mot riká ropicháchiya runakojé
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ru= apichá -chi -ya ru= naku =eje
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.f break caus pst 3sg.f on until

Libre eso lo que ella daño en ella

87 Mot kajú wáni riyúrichako
Morphèmes kajú wáni ri= yúri -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. much emph 3sg.nf angry pst ka.cleft mid

ra'ú , jrora'pá yúri'chako .
 ri= a'ú ru= jara'pá yúri -' -cha -ka =o
 3sg.nf cause 3sg.f father.ref angry ?vblz pst ka.cleft mid

Libre demasiado se puso bravo por eso el padre se puso bravo

88 Mot rímícha rojló :
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha ru= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for

Libre él dijo a ella

89 Mot " nútu " ké rímichaka " ná
Morphèmes nu= ítu ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ná
Glose lex. 1sg daughter like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft indf

pili'cháko kélé ?"
 pi= li' -chá -ka =o kélé
 2sg do pst ka.cleft mid med

Libre hija qué le pasó a usted?

90 Mot aú rúmicha : " ũká ná kalé
Morphèmes aú ru= ímí -cha unká ná kalé
Glose lex. because 3sg.f say pst neg indf nv.neg

nuli'cháko , pa'yú " ké rúmicha
 nu= li' -chá -ka =o pa'yú ké ru= ímí -cha
 1sg do pst ka.cleft mid papá.addr like 3sg.f say pst

Libre entonces ella dijo lo que me pasó fue papá

91 Mot " nupuláa'peru mati'yáyo nuká
Morphèmes nu= puláa'pe -ru mathi' -yá -yo nu= ikhá
Glose lex. 1sg brother_in_law f cut pst f.nz 1sg pro

Libre mi cuñada me cortó a mi

92 Mot marí ké ruli'cháka nuká
Morphèmes marí ké ru= li' -chá -ka nu= ikhá
Glose lex. prox like 3sg.f do pst ka.cleft 1sg pro

Libre así me hizo ella

93 Mot ruwakái'cha kája nututúwaka . "
Morphèmes ru= wakái' -cha kája nu= tutúwa' -ka
Glose lex. 3sg.f order pst too 1sg strain ka.nz

Libre ella me mandó también a colar

94 Mot kajú riyúí'chako
Morphèmes kajú ri= yúri -' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. much 3sg.nf angry ?vblz pst ka.cleft mid

raki'cháka , kajú wáni
 ri= aki' -chá -ka kajú wáni
 3sg.nf scold pst ka.cleft much emph

riyúri'cháko jíki'ja wáni
 ri= yúri' -chá -ka =o jíki'ja wáni
 3sg.nf get_angry pst ka.cleft mid very emph

Libre demasiado se puso bravo y regañó mucho, demasiado se puso bravo

95 Mot aú rímicha ũká méké
Morphèmes aú ri= ímí -cha unká méké
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst neg indf.manner

nula'lá piká ké rímicha
 nu= la' -lá pi= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg do v.neg 2sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre entonces él dijo no te puedo hacer nada él dijo

96 Mot	jéko	pi'má	nútu	
Morphèmes	jéko	pi= i'má	nu= ítu	
Glose lex.	pol.imp	2sg cop	1sg daughter	

Libre esté hija

97 Mot	jrewíña'chiya		ruká	popóminarú	penáje
Morphèmes	ri= jewíña'	-chi -ya	ru= ikhá	***	penáje
Glose lex.	3sg.nf study	caus pst	3sg.f pro	***	for

jímalami e'yowá
 jímalami e'yá ewá
 *** in around

Libre él le convertió a ella en popóminarú en el rastrojo

98 Mot	ilé	kéja	pi'má	nútu	ké
Morphèmes	ilé	ké =ja	pi= i'má	nu= ítu	ké
Glose lex.	med	like lim	2sg cop	1sg daughter	like

rímichaka rojló
 ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

Libre esté así hija, él le dijo a ella

99 Mot	é	kája	marí	kétána	nu'majé
Morphèmes	é	kája	marí	kétána	nu= i'ma jé
Glose lex.	then	already	prox	during	1sg cop fut

máaruwá ké rímicha
 máare =ewá ké ri= ímí -cha
 prox.loc around like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre él dijo hasta aquí no más voy a vivir por aquí

100 Mot	ũká	wáni	paála	
Morphèmes	unká	wáni	paá -la	
Glose lex.	neg	emph	bien.neg v.neg	

Libre no está bien

101 Mot	nu'rinú	tá	la'ká	nuká
Morphèmes	nu= i'rinú	tâ	la' -ka	nu= ikhá
Glose lex.	1sg daugther.inlaw	emph1	do ka.topic	1sg pro

cháwani ké rímicha
 cháwa -ni ké ri= ímí -cha
 pity nf like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre mi nuera (rabia) me hizo muy mal, él dijo

102 Mot	é	ri'irí	iphícha	
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'rí	iphí -cha	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf son	arrive pst	

Libre ahí llegó el hijo

103 Mot	ri'irí	iphícha	,	rímicha	rijló
Morphèmes	ri= i'rí	iphí -cha		ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló
Glose lex.	3sg.nf son	arrive pst		3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for

nu'urí ké rímicha
 nu= i'rí ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg son like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre llegó el hijo y él le dijo hijo

104 Mot	ũká	wáni	paála		piyajálo	wejána
Morphèmes	unká	wáni	paá -la		pi= yajálo	wejána
Glose lex.	neg	emph	bien.neg v.neg		2sg wife	idiot

tá la'ká nútu ké rímicha
 tâ la' -ká nu= ítu ké ri= ímí -cha
 emph1 do ka.cleft 1sg daughter like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre demasiado mal hizo su mujer (rabia) a mi hija, él dijo

105 Mot	marí	kajé	aú	kajú	wáni
Morphèmes	marí	kájé	aú	kajú	wáni
Glose lex.	prox	type	cause	much	emph

nuyuí'chako íki'ja ké rímicha
 nu= yuí' -cha -ka =o íki'ja ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg get_angry pst ka.cleft mid very like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre por esto demasiado me puse bravo él dijo

106 Mot	ñaké	kája	marí	kétána	ja	nu'má
Morphèmes	ñaké	kája	marí	kétána	=ja	nu= i'má
Glose lex.	dist.simil	emph?	prox	during	lim	1sg cop

ijwa'té ũká nu'maláje máaruwá
 i= jwa'té unká nu= i'ma -lá -je máare =ewá
 2pl with neg 1sg tell v.neg fut prox.loc around

Libre entonces por eso hasta aquí no más voy a estar con ustedes y no voy a estar por acá más

107 Mot	kája	nu'jnajíkája		chúwa	ké
Morphèmes	kája	nu= i'jna	-jĩ -ka	=ja	chúwa
Glose lex.	already	1sg go	fut ka.topic	lim	now like

rímicha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre entonces ya me voy de aquí dijo él

108 Mot	ũká	méké	ri'rí		kemalácha
Morphèmes	unká	méké	ri= i'rí		kema -lá -cha
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	3sg.nf son		say v.neg pst

Libre el hijo de él no dijo nada

109 Mot	é kája	jrácho'cho		je'chú	chojé
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= jácho'	-cha =o	je'chú	chojé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go_out	pst mid	sky	towards_inside

jrácho'cho , jrái'chako jwa'tó
 ri= jácho' -cha =o ri= jái' -cha -ka =o ***
 3sg.nf go_out pst mid 3sg.nf go_out pst ka.topic mid ***

Libre él subió pal cielo, él se levantó ahí

110 Mot rijĩ'chá phiyúkėja rijwa'tó
Morphèmes ri= jĩ' -chá phiyúké =ja ri= jwa'té =ó
Glose lex. 3sg.nf take pst all lim 3sg.nf with mid

a'jnejí péchú
 a'jne -jí péchú
 food unposs thought

Libre él subió al cielo y se llevó todo pensamiento de comida

111 Mot rijĩ'chá rijwa'tó
Morphèmes ri= jĩ' -chá ri= jwa'té =ó
Glose lex. 3sg.nf take pst 3sg.nf with mid

riyúichako aũ
 ri= yúri -cha -ka =o aũ
 3sg.nf angry pst ka.nz mid because

Libre porque él se puso bravo

112 Mot júpi ri'michá eyá
Morphèmes júpi ri= i'mi -chá eyá
Glose lex. long_time 3sg.nf cop pst since_then

nayuicho i'micháká ri'rí riyajálo
 na= yuí -cha =o i'mi -chá -ká ri= i'rí ri= yajálo
 3pl stay pst mid far.pst pst ka.pst 3sg.nf son 3sg.nf wife

riyáni phiyúké
 ri= yáni phiyúké
 3sg.nf children all

Libre mucho tiempo él vivía y dejó los hijos, la mujer los hijos todos

113 Mot inau'ké phiyúkėja eja'wá chú
Morphèmes inau'ké phiyúké =ja eja'wá chú
Glose lex. person all lim forest in

i'michákáño ñaké wánija nali'cháka
 i'mi -chá -ka -ño ñaké wáni =ja na= li' -chá -ka
 cop pst A.nz2 pl.nz dist.simil emph lim 3pl do pst ka.cleft

kamu'jí ne'micháká rewá nákarí
 kamu'jí na= i'mi -chá -ká ri= ewá nákarí
 poor 3pl far.pst pst ka.pst 3sg.nf around uh

Libre toda la gente los que estaban en la tierra todos estaban muy mal pasando necesidad

114 Mot ilé ké rula'ká pachá
Morphèmes ilé ké ru= la' -ká pachá
Glose lex. med like 3sg.f do ka.nz because

Libre porque ella hizo así (la nuera de él) (pachá: porque?? laym: por culpa de eso)

115 Mot	ne'kichá	a'waná	nejátijajlá
Morphèmes	na= i'ki -chá	a'waná	na= ejáti -ya jlá
Glose lex.	3pl knock_down pst	tree	3pl sow pst frust

ka'chí taka'tíyaro
ka'chí takha' -tí -ya -ri =o
manioc_plant die caus pst nf.cleft mid

Libre tumbaban palo sembraban yuca nada se secaba todo

116 Mot	nejátijajlá	nákájé	taka'tíyaro
Morphèmes	na= ejáti -ya jlá	nákaje	takha' -tí -ya -ri =o
Glose lex.	3pl sow pst frust	thing	die caus pst nf.cleft mid

Libre sembraron cosas todo se murieron

117 Mot	é	ne'michá	nákájé	kulákana	nakú
Morphèmes	é	na= i'mi -chá	nákaje	kulá -kana	nakú
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	thing	search ev.nz1	on

eja'wá e'yowá najñákálojé penáje
eja'wá e'yá ewá na= ajñá -ká lojé penáje
forest in around 3pl eat ka.adv purp3 for

Libre ahí ellos empezaron a buscar en el monte para comer

118 Mot	kája	yéwíchaja	wáni
Morphèmes	kája	yéwícha =ja	wáni
Glose lex.	already	almost	lim emph

natakha'táko é riwe'pícha kamu'jí nanáku
na= takha' -ta -ka =o é ri= we'pí -cha kamu'jí na= náku
3pl die caus ka.adv mid in 3sg.nf know pst poor 3pl on

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre ya estaban demasiado mal muriendo de hambre él le dio lástima de ellos 3

119 Mot	cháwani	nula'ká	nu'rí	, riyajálo
Morphèmes	cháwa -ni	nu= la' -ká	nu= i'rí	ri= yajálo
Glose lex.	pity nf	1sg do ka.cleft	1sg son	3sg.nf wife

wejána tá pachá , nulakéñani ké
wejána tâ pachá nu= laké -na =ñáni ké
idiot emph1 because 1sg grandchild pl dim like

rímíchaka , ñaké nu'jnajé namáje
ri= ímí -cha -ka ñaké nu= i'jna jé na= amá -je
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft dist.simil 1sg go fut 3pl see purp.mot

Libre ahí él llegó y él dijo "cómo yo hice muy mal a mi hijo, por culpa de esa sinvergüenza de la mujer de él; mis nieticos, dijo, por eso yo voy a mirarlos ellos

120 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	namáje
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jī -chá	na= amá -je
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3pl see purp.mot

Libre él se fue a ver a ellos

121 Mot	riphícha	meñáru	chú
Morphèmes	ri= ipha -cha	***	chú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf arrive pst	***	in

Libre él llegó no había nadie (laym: chojé mejor que chú, o meñáru i'micháká)

122 Mot	jwe'chúka'laja	ne'micháká	eja'wá
Morphèmes	jwe'chúka'la =ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká	eja'wá
Glose lex.	***	lim 3pl go	pst ka.cleft forest

e'yowá	nákájéñani	kulákana	nakú
e'yá ewá	nákaje =ñáni	kulá -kana	nakú
in	around	thing dim	search ev.nz1 on

najñákálojé	penáje
na= ajñá -ká	lojé penáje
3pl eat ka.adv	purp3 for

Libre todos los días andaban en el monte buscando algo para comer (jwe'chuke'la ~ jwe'chuka'la)

123 Mot	ũká	nephátalacha
Morphèmes	unká	na= iphá -ta -la -cha
Glose lex.	neg	3pl arrive caus v.neg pst

Libre no encontraban nada

124 Mot	é	riphícha	rilakéna	nakú
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha -cha	ri= laké -na	nakú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf arrive pst	3sg.nf grandchild pl	on

némícha	rijló	" chuchú	"
na= ímí -cha	ri= jló	chuchú	
3pl say pst	3sg.nf for	grandparent	

Libre y él llegó donde los nietos, ellos le dijeron "abuelo"

125 Mot	" chuchú	piphícha	" , "	á'a
Morphèmes	chuchú	pi= iphí -cha		á'a
Glose lex.	grandparent	2sg arrive prs		yes

nulakéna	" ké	rímícha	" nuká
nu= laké -na	ké	ri= ímí -cha	nu= ikhá
1sg grandchild pl	like	3sg.nf say pst	1sg pro

i'jchárí	amáje	majó	"
i'jĩ -chá -rí	i= amá -je	majó	
go pst nf.cleft	2pl see purp.mot	prox.toward	

Libre "abuelo usted llegó" y él les dijo "sí nietos vine acá a ver a ustedes"

126 Mot	méké	iká	máawá
Morphèmes	méké	ri= ikhá	máa =ewá
Glose lex.	indf.manner	3sg.nf pro	here around

Libre cómo están ustedes por acá

127 Mot	"	ũká	palá	,	ũká	palá	kalé	weká	,
Morphèmes		unká	palá		unká	palá	kalé	wa=	ikhá
Glose lex.		neg	good		neg	good	nv.neg	1pl	pro

yéwichaja watajá'tako me'pijí nakú "
yéwícha wa= tajá' -ta -ka =o me'pijí nakú
almost 1pl finish caus ka.cleft mid hunger on

Libre "no estamos bien ya casi vamos morir de hambre"

128 Mot	"	náje	cháwani	ila'á	"	ké
Morphèmes		náje	cháwa -ni	i= la'á		ké
Glose lex.		indf.reason	pity	nf	2pl	do

rímíchaka " jaló wejánatá pachá kélé "
ri= ímí -cha -ka jaló wejána tâ pachá kélé
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft mother.ref idiot emph1 because med

Libre "ustedes están pasando muy mal, por culpa de la mugrosa mamá de ustedes" (wejána=tá: porquería)

129.1 Mot	"	aaa	"	rímícha	"	náje	itakha'á
Morphèmes		***		ri= ímí -cha		náje	i= takha'á
Glose lex.		***		3sg.nf say pst		indf.reason	2pl die

nulakéna me'pijí nakú ?"
nu= laké -na me'pijí nakú
1sg grandchild pl hunger on

Libre "aaa" él dijo "por qué están muriendo de hambre, nietos?"

129.2 Mot	ké	rímíchaka
Morphèmes	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre

130 Mot	"	kajú	máawá	a'jnejí	"	ké
Morphèmes		kajú	máa =ewá	a'jne -jí		ké
Glose lex.		much	here around	food unposs		like

rímíchaka , " nuya'táchí ijló riká "
ri= ímí -cha -ka nu= ya'tá -chí i= jló ri= ikhá
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 1sg show hort 2pl for 3sg.nf pro

Libre "mucho comida hay por acá, venga y le muestro" "

131 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	riya'táje	najló
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'ji -chá	ri= ya'tá -je	na= jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf show purp.mot	3pl for

Libre él se fue a mostrarle a ellos

132 Mot	kailá	ri'micháká	,	"	kháãjiko
Morphèmes	kailá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká			kháãjí =kó
Glose lex.	wild_manioc	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft			prox emph4

ajñákáje	"	ké	rímíchaka	,	"	riká	"	,	"
ajñá -káje		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			ri= ikhá			
eat ev.nz2		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft			3sg.nf pro			
itakha'á	awa'á	me'píjí	nakú	"					
i= takha'á	awa'á	me'píjí	nakú						
2pl die	side	hunger	on						

Libre era puro capote, él dijo "éste es bueno para comer" "ese es lo que ustedes tienen que comer y así ustedes no se mueren de hambre" (vimy: este es comida y usted están muriendo de hambre al lado de eso). (kailá: yuca de monte)

133 Mot	"	ají	ké	iná	la'ká	riká
Morphèmes		ají	ké	iná	la' -ká	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.		prox	like	gnr.pro	do ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro

nulakéna	"	ké	rímícha
nu= laké	-na	ké	ri= ímí -cha
1sg grandchild	pl	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre "así uno hace esto nieto" dijo él

134 Mot	é	rijĩ'chá	ríli
Morphèmes	é	ri= jĩ' -chá	***
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf take pst	***

Libre él sacó la semilla

135 Mot	riwapa'tíya	riká	, é kája
Morphèmes	ri= wapa' -tí -ya	ri= ikhá	é kája
Glose lex.	3sg.nf tear caus pst	3sg.nf pro	then

riti'yá	riká	púpa	a'páre	aú	nala'ké
ri= ti' -yá	ri= ikhá	***	a'pá -re	aú	na= la' -khé
3sg.nf grate pst	3sg.nf pro	***	root alien2	with	3pl do far.pst

ritáka'ona

Libre él lo rajó, y ahí empezó a rallarlo con raíz de bombona (a'pá-re: raíz; ritáka'ona: rallador) (laym: con ese de bombona ellos hacían ralladora)

136 Mot	riká	chú	nati'yá	riká
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chú	na= ti' -yá	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	in	3pl grate pst	3sg.nf pro

Libre en eso lo rallaron

137 Mot	jrewíña'chiya	neká	mékéka
Morphèmes	ri= jewíña' -chi -ya	na= ikhá	méké -ka
Glose lex.	3sg.nf study caus pst	3pl pro	indf.manner indf.sub

rila'kána	nakú	najñákáloje	riká	penáje
ri= la' -kána	nakú	na= ajñá -ká loje	ri= ikhá	penáje
3sg.nf do ev.nz1	on	3pl eat ka.adv purp3	3sg.nf pro	for

Libre él le enseñó a ellos cómo se hacía para ellos comerlo

138 Mot	é kája	natutúwi'cha	riká	, é
Morphèmes	é kája	na= tutúwi' -cha	ri= ikhá	é
Glose lex.	then	3pl strain pst	3sg.nf pro	then
ritu'rúmi	ja'ó			
ri= tu'rúmi	ja'á =o			
3sg.nf ***	fall mid			

Libre ahí ellos empezaron a colarlo, ahí cayó el almidón

139 Mot	itu'rú	paláni	ritu'rú	ja'kó
Morphèmes	itu'rú	palá -ni	ri= itu'rú	ja' -ká =o
Glose lex.	starch	good nf	3sg.nf starch	fall ka.cleft mid

Libre almidón caía puro almidón

140 Mot	é kája	jnamo'tá	richáya	puíní	kééchéí
Morphèmes	é kája	na= amo' -ta	ri= cháya	puí -ní	kééchéí
Glose lex.	then	3pl take caus	3sg.nf on	bitter nf	similar
kalé riká					
kalé ri= ikhá					
emph5 3sg.nf pro					

Libre ahí epezaron a sacarle el caldo pero estaba amargo

141 Mot	iñaá pé	nepaká	re'yayá	paláni	,
Morphèmes	iñaá -pé	na= ipa -ká	ri= e'yayá	palá -ni	
Glose lex.	two time	3pl wash ka.cleft	3sg.nf ***	good nf	
jnamo'tá	richáya	iná	ako'ó	píño júni	
na= amo' -ta	ri= cháya	iná	ako'ó	píño júni	
3pl take caus	3sg.nf on	gnr.pro	pour	again water1	
richá	é kája	pikojlo'ó	riká	pijláma'a	jralá
ri= chá	é kája	pi= kojlo'ó	ri= ikhá	pi= jláma'a	ri= jalá
3sg.nf on	then	2sg melt	3sg.nf pro	2sg pour	3sg.nf liquid

Libre dos veces lavaron la masa, bien lo sacaron de encima y volvió a echarle más agua para lavarlo, ya ahí lo revolvieron y botaron el agua (iyamá-pé ~ iñaá pé: dos veces, jamo'tá: sacar agua;)

142 Mot	eyá	pipá	píño	re'yayá
Morphèmes	eyá	pi= ipá	píño	ri= e'yá =eyá
Glose lex.	since_then	2sg wash	again	3sg.nf in from
pijláma'a	píño	riká	, é kája	jra'ó
pi= jláma'a	píño	ri= ikhá	é kája	ri= ja'á =o
2sg pour	again	3sg.nf pro	then	3sg.nf fall mid

Libre ahí otra vez lávelo y ahí ya queda puro el almidón (pijláma'a: regar agua; jra'ó: laym: se asienta)

143 Mot	é kája	pila'á	kujnú	, pikuwá	, paláni
Morphèmes	é kája	pi= la'á	kujnú	pi= kuwá	palá -ni
Glose lex.	then	2sg do	cassava	2sg cook	good nf

kuliyá	iná	la'karé	kája	,	é	pu'jí	napéchú
kuliyá	iná	la' -kare	kája		é	pu'jí	na= péchú
drink_name	gnr.pro	do pot	already		then	happy	3pl thought

i'micháká
i'mi -chá -ká
cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí usted coge y hacen casabe y también es bueno pa tomar caguana, ahí ellos estaban muy contentos (vimy: también se puede hacer bueno caguana)

144 Mot	nali'chá	é	rikuícha		najló
Morphèmes	na= li' -chá	é	ri= kuí -cha		na= jló
Glose lex.	3pl do pst	then	3sg.nf cook pst		3pl for

riká najícha
ri= ikhá na= ají -cha
3sg.nf pro 3pl eat pst

Libre ellos hicieron casabe para ellos, y ese ellos comieron (rikuwáka: hacer casabe)

145 Mot	é kája	rímícha	"	chúwa	tá
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= ímí -cha		chúwa	tâ
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		now	emph1

nupi'cháko nulakéná " ké
nu= pi' -chá -ka =o nu= laké -ná ké
1sg return prs ka.cleft mid 1sg grandchild pl like

rímíchaka " kajú a'jnejí éko ajná
ri= ímí -cha -ka kajú a'jne -jí éko i= ajná
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft much food unposs pol.imp 2pl eat

riká maaré " ké rímícha najló
ri= ikhá maaré ké ri= ímí -cha na= jló
3sg.nf pro prox.loc like 3sg.nf say pst 3pl for

Libre ahí él dijo "bueno nieto ahora sí ya me estoy yendo, hay mucha comida acá, coman"

146 Mot	" jée	" ké	némícha	,	é	jnara'pá
Morphèmes	jé	ké	na= ímí -cha		é	na= ara'pá
Glose lex.	good	like	3pl say pst		then	3pl father.ref

iphícha jlaíchú me'pijí riyajálo jwa'té
iphí -cha jlaíchú me'pijí ri= yajálo jwa'té
arrive pst afternoon hunger 3sg.nf wife with

riphíchaka
ri= iphí -cha -ka
3sg.nf arrive pst ka.cleft

Libre "bueno" ellos dijeron, ahí llegó el papá de ellos con hambre bien tarde con la mujer

147 Mot	é	rímícha	"	pu'jí	napéchú
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		pu'jí	na= péchú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		happy	3pl thought

i'michá	"	némícha	rijló	"	chuchú
i'mi -chá		na= ímí -cha	ri= jló		chuchú
cop pst		3pl say pst	3sg.nf for		grandparent
i'michárí		majǒ	wacháje		
i'mi -chá -rí		majǒ	wa= cháje		
cop pst nf.cleft		prox.toward	1pl at		

Libre ellos dijeron que estaban muy contentos, ellos le dijeron a el "el abuelo vino a visitar"

148 Mot	"	aaa	"	marí	ké	rímíchaka	"
Morphèmes		***		marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.		***		prox	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	

piyaká'o		méka		ra'chaká		kajú
pi= yaká' =o		mé	-ka	ri= a' -cha -ká		kajú
2sg see mid		indf.manner	indf.sub	3sg.nf give pst		ka.nz much
a'jnejí		maáré	ke	rímíchaka		" náje
a'jne -jí		maáré	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		náje
food unposs		prox.loc	like	3sg.nf say pst		ka.cleft indf.reason
itakha'á		me'pijí	nakú	maáré	?"	
i= takha'á		me'pijí	nakú	maáré		
2pl die		hunger	on	prox.loc		

Libre él dije "mire acá, hay mucha comida acá, por qué están muriendo de hambre acá"?

149 Mot	pá	mékéka		rikuwíchaka
Morphèmes	pá	méké	-ka	ri= kuwí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	look_out	indf.manner	indf.sub	3sg.nf cook pst ka.cleft

wajló	,	é	pu'jí	napéchú	i'micháká	ũká
wa= jló		é	pu'jí	na= péchú	i'mi -chá -ká	unká
1pl for		then	happy	3pl thought	cop pst ka.cleft	neg
méké		iná	la'lá	najíchaka		riká
méké		iná	la' -lá	na= ají -cha -ka	ri=	ikhá
indf.manner		gnr.pro	do v.neg	3pl eat pst ka.prog		3sg.nf pro

Libre "mire cómo él hizo casabe para nosotros" ahí estaban muy contentos, no sabían cómo hacer estaban comiendo

150 Mot	riká		nají'cháno		rili'cháka
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	na= jĩ' -chá =no	ri= li' -chá -ka		
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3pl take pst hab	3sg.nf do pst ka.cleft		

riká		ké	nati'yáka		riká	najlúwa
ri= ikhá		ké	na= ti' -yá -ka		ri= ikhá	na= jlú =wa
3sg.nf pro		like	3pl grate pst ka.cleft		3sg.nf pro	3pl for refl
najíchaja						
na= ají -cha =ja						
3pl eat pst		lim				

Libre eso ellos seguían cogiendo, así como él hizo ellos rallaron para ellos y eso iban comiendo

151 Mot	é	kajú	inau'ké	i'micháká		riwakajé
Morphèmes	é	kajú	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ká		ri= wakajé
Glose lex.	then	much	person	cop pst	ka.cleft	3sg.nf date

neká li'chañó kamu'jí kéja
na= ikhá li' -cha -ñó kamu'jí ké =ja
3pl pro do pst pl.cleft poor like lim

Libre ahí había mucha gente que vivían ahí también ellos también estaban pobres de comida

152 Mot	jemi'cháño		riyukúná		é
Morphèmes	jemi' -chá -ño		ri= yukú -ná		é
Glose lex.	listen pst	pl.ss	3sg.nf story	alien3	then

ne'jichá najwa'té najlúwa jña'jé
na= i'jī -chá na= jwa'té na= jlú =wa jña' -je
3pl go pst 3pl with 3pl for refl take purp.mot

Libre ellos escucharon el cuento, ahí se fueron a coger con ellos para ellos

153 Mot	ñaké	palá	ramíchaka		neká
Morphèmes	ñaké	palá	ri= amí -cha -ka		na= ikhá
Glose lex.	dist.simil	good	3sg.nf see	pst ka.cleft	3pl pro

ya'jnáya
ya'jná =eyá
far from

Libre y él miraba a ellos de lejos bien

154 Mot	é	rímícha		" ũká	phiyúkéja	kalé
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		unká	phiyúké =ja	kalé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst	neg	all lim	nv.neg

inau'ké jló kalé no'ó , nulakéna
inau'ké jló kalé nu= a'á nu= laké -na
person for nv.neg 1sg give 1sg grandchild pl

ne'makálé kaé nuya'táka najló
na= i'ma -ká =lé kaé nu= ya'tá -ka na= jló
3pl cop ka.adv reason emph5 1sg show ka.cleft 3pl for

riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre él dijo "yo no les dije que pa todo el mundo es, yo le mostré fue a mis nietos porque eran mis nietos"

155 Mot	ewáka	kajúke	inau'ké	iphíchaka
Morphèmes	***	kajú -ke	inau'ké	iphí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	***	much ?	person	arrive pst ka.cleft

réjō najña'kálojé najlúwa
ri= ejo na= jña' -ká lojé na= jlú =wa
3sg.nf towards 3pl take ka.adv purp3 3pl for refl

najñákálojé penaje
na= ajñá -ká lojé penáje
3pl eat ka.adv purp3 for

Libre de ahí empezaron a llegar mucha gente pa ellos coger pa ellos comer

156 Mot é rikapichátiya naliyá riká
Morphèmes é ri= kapichá -ti -ya na= liyá ri= ikhá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf lose caus pst 3pl from 3sg.nf pro

kája phiyúké rikapiíchako rejenája
kája phiyúké ri= kapií -cha -ka =o ri= ejená =ja
already all 3sg.nf lose pst ka.cleft mid 3sg.nf until lim

Libre ahí él perdió eso todo de ellos; ya ahí desapareció todo

157 Mot é kája ne'michá píño kamu'jí
Morphèmes é kája na= i'mi -chá píño kamu'jí
Glose lex. then 3pl cop pst again poor

ne'micháká
na= i'mi -chá -ká
3pl cop pst ka.cleft

Libre de ahí volvieron otra vez bien pobres de comida

158 Mot me'pijí nakú taja'káje nakú ne'michá ,
Morphèmes me'pijí nakú taja' -káje nakú na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. hunger on die ev.nz2 on 3pl cop pst

nejátiyajlá , nákáje , takha'chíyaro , kája
na= ejáti -ya jlá , nákaje , takha' -chi -ya -ri =o kája
3pl sow pst frust thing die caus pst nf.ss mid already

ũká méké wala'lá ké rimaká
unká méké wa= la' -lá ké ri= ima -ká
neg indf.manner 1pl do v.neg like 3sg.nf say ka.cleft

Libre aguantando hambre, iban a sembrar y todo se secaba, ya no podemos hacer más nada

159 Mot é júpichami riwe'íka píño
Morphèmes é júpichami ri= we'í -ka píño
Glose lex. then long_time 3sg.nf know ka.topic again

nanáku kamu'jí
na= náku kamu'jí
3pl on poor

Libre con el tiempo él le dió lástima

160 Mot é ri'jíchá píño réjō
Morphèmes é ri= i'jī -chá píño ri= ejo
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst again 3sg.nf towards

Libre ahí ya se fue otra vez para allá

161 Mot amíchari píño ñakéja kája ké
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri píño ñaké =ja kája ké
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss again dist.simil lim already like

rilakéna		ũká	richi'ná	i'malácha	iléré
ri= laké	-na	unká	ri= chi'ná	i'ma -lá -cha	iléré
3sg.nf	grandchild	pl	neg	3sg.nf	parents
				cop	v.neg
				pst	med.loc

Libre él llegó allá y encontró los nietos otra vez solos no estaban los papás

162 Mot	nakulíchaka		na'jnewá	eja'wá
Morphèmes	na= kulí	-cha -ka	na= a'jne =wá	eja'wá
Glose lex.	3pl	search	pst	ka.prog
			3pl	food refl
				forest

e'yowá

e'yá ewá

in around

Libre estaban buscando comida en el monte

163 Mot	é	rímícha	najló	"	ila'níña
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí	-cha	na= jló	i= la' -níña
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	3pl
			for	2pl	do
					proh

kamu'jí	nulakéna		"	ké	rímícha
kamu'jí	nu= laké	-na		ké	ri= ímí -cha
poor	1sg	grandchild	pl	like	3sg.nf
				say	pst

Libre él les dijo a ellos "no sufran tanto mis nietos"

164 Mot	"	ajnáré	apú	a'jnejí	kajú	kuwáni	mare'pé
Morphèmes		ajnáré	apú	a'jne -jí	kajú	kuwáni	***
Glose lex.		dist.loc	other	food	unposs	much	emph

e'yá	nuya'tíyachí		ijló	riká	"
e'yá	nu= ya'tí	-ya -chí	i= jló	ri= ikhá	
in	1sg	show	pst	purp2	2pl
			for	3sg.nf	pro

Libre allá hay mucha comida allá en la sabana, venga yo les voy a mostrar

165 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	némíchaka	é
Morphèmes		jé		ké	na= ímí -cha -ka	é
Glose lex.		good		like	3pl	say
				pst	ka.cleft	then

ne'jíchá	ijwa'té
na= i'jī -chá	i= jwa'té
3pl	go
	pst
	2pl
	with

Libre "bueno" ellos le dijeron y se fueron con él

166 Mot	amíchari		ña'kú	eja'wá	e'yajé	wajña'ku
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri		ña'kú	eja'wá	e'yajé	***
Glose lex.	see	pst	nf.ss	yam	forest	towards

rií

ri= íí
3sg.nf name

Libre ahí miraron que ahí había ñame del monte

167 Mot	kajú	pajlúwela		eja'wá	ri'micháká
Morphèmes	kajú	pajlúwá -ela		eja'wá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	much	one	cls:long	forest	3sg.nf
				cop	pst
					ka.cleft

Libre ese era un monte grande

168 Mot	riká	najĩ'chá	píño	na'jnewá
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	na= jĩ' -chá	píño	na= a'jne =wá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3pl take pst	again	3pl food refl

kajú najĩ'cháka na'jnewá
kajú na= jĩ' -chá -ka na= a'jne =wá
much 3pl take pst ka.cleft 3pl food refl

Libre y eso ellos cogieron demasiada comida cogieron

169 Mot	é	ajápána	we'píchaño	píño
Morphèmes	é	ajápána	we'pí -cha -ño	píño
Glose lex.	then	other.pl	know pst pl.cleft	again

Libre y otros también sabían ya

170 Mot	phiyúké	ne'jĩcháka	píño
Morphèmes	phiyúké	na= i'jĩ -chá -ka	píño
Glose lex.	all	3pl go pst ka.cleft	again

najña'kálojé najlúwa najñákálojé penáje
na= jña' -ká lojé na= jlú =wa na= ajña' -ká lojé penáje
3pl take ka.adv purp3 3pl for refl 3pl eat ka.adv purp3 for

najwa'té riká
na= jwa'té ri= ikhá
3pl with 3sg.nf pro

Libre todos se fueron a coger pa ellos comer con ellos

171 Mot	riwe'íka	píño
Morphèmes	ri= we'í -ka	píño
Glose lex.	3sg.nf know ka.topic	again

Libre y él supo otra vez

172 Mot	é kája	rikapicháchiya	naliyá	píño	...
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= kapichá -chi -ya	na= liyá	píño	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf lose caus pst	3pl from	again	

phiyúké
phiyúké
all

Libre ahí otra vez él lo desapareció todo

173 Mot	nayuícha	píño	ñakéjaka
Morphèmes	na= yuí -cha	píño	ñaké -ja =ka
Glose lex.	3pl leave pst	again	dist.simil cls:hum ***

júpija
júpi =ja
long_time lim

Libre quedaron lo mismo mucho tiempo

174 **Mot** éjéchami
Morphèmes ***
Glose lex. ***

Libre después

175 **Mot** nupéchú kapicháñaka nákarí máwa
Morphèmes nu= péchú kapichá -ña -ka nákarí máwa
Glose lex. 1sg thought lose appl ka.insub? uh frog_sp

Libre y él se olvidó de la rana (máwa: rana)

176 **Mot** máwa chú riwá'ka ri'rí jló ,
Morphèmes máwa chú ri= wá' -ka ri= i'rí jló
Glose lex. frog_sp in 3sg.nf take ka.cleft 3sg.nf son for

riká yukúná jno'páñacha
ri= ikhá yukú -ná nu= ja'pá -ña -cha
3sg.nf pro story alien3 1sg pass appl pst

Libre vimy: él llama en walo en hijo de él, eso me lo salté (se me olvidó contar) (máwa: sapo grande; wáa'kaje: llamar; ja'páñakaje: pasarse de algo)

177 **Mot** é kája inau'ké ri'jichá ri'rí jló
Morphèmes é kája inau'ké ri= i'jĩ -chá ri= i'rí jló
Glose lex. then person 3sg.nf go pst 3sg.nf son for

nákarí ya'tajé
nákarí ya'ta -je
uh show purp.mot

Libre ahí estaba la gente y él se fue mostrar al hijo de él

178 **Mot** ña'kú wajña'kú
Morphèmes ña'kú ***
Glose lex. yam ***

Libre ñame de monte

179 **Mot** kája pu'jí napéchú i'micháká kajú
Morphèmes kája pu'jí na= péchú i'mi -chá -ká kajú
Glose lex. already happy 3pl thought cop pst ka.cleft much

najĩ'cháka na'jnewá
na= jĩ' -chá -ka na= a'jne =wá
3pl take pst ka.cleft 3pl food refl

Libre ya estaban muy contentos cogieron harta comida para ellos

180 **Mot** riyáni phiyúkéja riyajálo
Morphèmes ri= yáni phiyúké =ja ri= yajálo
Glose lex. 3sg.nf children all lim 3sg.nf wife

napitíyaka é ajápána inau'ké we'píchaño
na= pití -ya -ka é ajápána inau'ké we'pí -cha -ño
3pl pile_up pst ka.cleft then other.pl person know pst pl.cleft

riká
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre los hijos todos la mujer todos se fueron a coger y las otras gentes se dieron cuenta

181 Mot	é	phiyúké	inau'ké	jawakíchako				
Morphèmes	é	phiyúké	inau'ké	jawakí	-cha	-ka	=o	
Glose lex.	then	all	person	pile	pst	ka.insub?	mid	
na'jnewá		jña'jé	píño	réjõ				,
na= a'jne =wá		jña' -je	píño	ri= ejo				
3pl food refl		take purp.mot	again	3sg.nf towards				
riwe'pícha		riká		ũká	riwátala			ajápána
ri= we'pí -cha		ri= ikhá		unká	ri= wáta -la			ajápána
3sg.nf know pst		3sg.nf pro		neg	3sg.nf want v.neg			other.pl
inau'ké	,	riwáchiya	riyáni	jlója	kalé			,
inau'ké	ri=	wáchi -ya	ri= yáni	jló =ja	kalé			
person	3sg.nf	want pst	3sg.nf children	for	lim			emph5
ri'rí	jló	riyajálo	rilakéna					, kéléja
ri= i'rí	jló	ri= yajálo	ri= laké	-na				kélé =ja
3sg.nf son	for	3sg.nf wife	3sg.nf grandchild	pl				med lim

Libre ahí toda la gente empezaron a reunirse a coger comida para ellos, él no quería dar a nadie él solamente quería darle a los hijos de él no más lo que era el hijo, la mujer, los nietos no más (laym: falta jló al final de kéléja) (jawakákájo: amontonarse)

182 Mot	é	kája	rikapichátiya		naliyá	riká		
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri= kapichá	-ti	-ya	na= liyá	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	lose	caus	pst	3pl from	3sg.nf pro	
,	é	nayuícho	píño	ñakéja		kája	kamu'jí	
	é	na= yuí -cha =o	píño	ñaké =ja		kája	kamu'jí	
then	3pl	stay pst	again	dist.simil	lim	already	poor	
la'kajé	nakú	me'pijí	nakú	taja'kána	nakú			
la' -kaje	nakú	me'pijí	nakú	taja' -kána	nakú			
do ev.nz2	on	hunger	on	die ev.nz1	on			

Libre él volvió otra vez perderlo, y de ahí volvieron otra vez a sufrir de comida,

183 Mot	é	ne'jíchá	píño	eja'wá	e'yajé		
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño	eja'wá	e'yajé		
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	again	forest	towards		
riyajálo	jwa'té	ne'jíchá					
ri= yajálo	jwa'té	na= i'jĩ -chá					
3sg.nf wife	with	3pl go pst					

Libre volvieron ir al monte con la mujer de él

184 Mot	kája	ũká	rijña'lácha			me'pijí	
Morphèmes	kája	unká	ri= jña' -lá	-cha		me'pijí	
Glose lex.	already	neg	3sg.nf take	v.neg	pst	hunger	

panáku
 pa= náku
 impers on

Libre ya no podía aguantar hambre (jña'káje + panáku: aguantar)

185 Mot éjéchami
Morphèmes éjéchami
Glose lex. then

Libre y de ahí

186 Mot nephícha marí pukúla chojé
Morphèmes na= ipha -cha marí *** chojé
Glose lex. 3pl arrive pst prox *** towards_inside

Libre llegaron ahí a revolcar el canastico

187 Mot é ré mapéja jra'chó jló'o
Morphèmes é ri= é mapéja ri= ja' -cha =ó ***
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf in normally 3sg.nf fall pst mid ***

ké ritámi ja'cháko kája ũká
 ké ri= támi ja' -chá -ka =o kája unká
 like 3sg.nf sickness fall pst ka.cleft mid already neg

ritejmú i'malácha me'pijí nakú
 ri= tejmú i'ma -lá -cha me'pijí nakú
 3sg.nf strength cop v.neg pst hunger on

Libre él no aguantó cayó al suelo, ya se cayó de hambre en el suelo, ya no tenía fuerza que tenía mucha hambre

188 Mot é ramícha kachichi'rírúna ná khaóná
Morphèmes é ri= amí -cha *** ná ***
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf see pst *** indf ***

Libre ahí él miró hormiga

189 Mot kachichi'rírúna ramícha chira'kó
Morphèmes *** ri= amí -cha chira' -ká =o
Glose lex. *** 3sg.nf see pst wander ka.nz mid

jácho'ko itu'ró i'michá nanúma chú
 jácho' -ka =o itu'ró i'mi -chá na= núma chú
 go_out ka.nz mid starch cop pst 3pl mouth in

Libre él miró ellos saliendo, ellos salieron llenos de almidón en la boca

190 Mot é ripatíya pajlúwaja
Morphèmes é ri= patí -ya pajlúwá =ja
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf grab pst one lim

Libre y él agarró uno

191 Mot ramákalojé náka riká
Morphèmes ri= amá -ka lojé ná -ka ri= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf see ka.adv purp3 indf indf.sub 3sg.nf pro

196 Mot é kája pu'jí napéchu i'micháká ,
Morphèmes é kája pu'jí na= péchú i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. then happy 3pl thought cop pst ka.cleft

najĩ'chá najlúwa riká napitíya
na= jĩ' -chá na= jlú =wa ri= ikhá na= pití -ya
3pl take pst 3pl for refl 3sg.nf pro 3pl pile_up pst

nañakaréjõ kélé riyajálo jwa'té , kajú
na= ñakaré =ejo kélé ri= yajálo jwa'té kajú
3pl house towards med 3sg.nf wife with much

najĩ'cháka riká
na= jĩ' -chá -ka ri= ikhá
3pl take pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí ya estaban muy contentos; cogieron para ellos, cargaron con esa mujer de él pa la casa de ellos, cogieron mucho él

197 Mot é inau'ké we'ícha píño
Morphèmes é inau'ké we'í -cha píño
Glose lex. then person know pst again

Libre ahí la gente supieron

198 Mot kajú némícha kajú wáni
Morphèmes kajú na= ímí -cha kajú wáni
Glose lex. much 3pl say pst much emph

riphátaka a'jnejí chúwa , itu'ró te'rí
ri= iphá -ta -ka a'jne -jí chúwa itu'ró te'rí
3sg.nf arrive caus ka.cleft food unposs now starch ground

e'yá
e'yá
in

Libre ellos dijeron que él encontró mucha comida ahora, almidón dentro de la tierra,

199 Mot é ne'jĩchá píño najlúwa
Morphèmes é na= i'jĩ -chá píño na= jlú =wa
Glose lex. then 3pl go pst again 3pl for refl

jña'jé
jña' -je
take purp.mot

Libre se fueron otra vez a coger para ellos

200 Mot najĩ'chá najlúwa kajú najĩ'chá
Morphèmes na= jĩ' -chá na= jlú =wa kajú na= jĩ' -chá
Glose lex. 3pl take pst 3pl for refl much 3pl take pst

napatíya nañakaréjõ
na= patí -ya na= ñakaré =ejo
3pl grab pst 3pl house towards

Libre cogieron para ellos, cogieron mucho, y lo llevaron pa la casa de ellos (laym mejor con -ka en najĩ'chá)

201 Mot napatíya nañakaréjō
Morphèmes na= patí -ya na= ñakaré =ejo
Glose lex. 3pl grab pst 3pl house towards

Libre lo llevaron para la casa de ellos

202 Mot é riwe'pícha píño
Morphèmes é ri= we'pí -cha píño
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf know pst again

Libre ahí él supo otra vez

203 Mot rikapicháchiya naliyá riká ,
Morphèmes ri= kapichá -chi -ya na= liyá ri= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf lose caus pst 3pl from 3sg.nf pro

ne'jíchá píño muní ké , é kája wejápajañani itu'ró
na= i'jī -chá píño muní ké é kája wejápa =ja =ñáni itu'ró
3pl go pst again next_day then little lim dim starch

i'micháka , é kája rikapiícho sují ké
i'mi -chá -ka é kája ri= kapií -cha =o sují ké
cop pst ka.cleft then 3sg.nf lose pst mid ? like

nechíhajlá amíchari te'ríja i'micháká
na= ichí -cha jlá amí -cha -ri te'rí =ja i'mi -chá -ká
3pl dig pst frust see pst nf.ss ground lim cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí él lo hizo perder de ellos; ellos se fueron el otro día otra vez, ahí poquitico almidón había, ya se había perdido de un momento, hicieron el deber de escarbar y miraron había pura tierra (sují ~ujwí)

204 Mot ré kája rímícha " náje
Morphèmes ré kája ri= ímí -cha náje
Glose lex. then emph? 3sg.nf say pst indf.reason

cháwani nula'á nu'ríñani , riyajálo wejána tá
cháwa -ni nu= la'á nu= i'rí =ñáni ri= yajálo wejána tâ
pity nf 1sg do 1sg son dim 3sg.nf wife idiot emph1

pachá , nula'káre cháápú nulakénañani " ké
pachá nu= la' -káre cháápú nu= laké -na =ñáni ké
because 1sg do arg.nz1 badly 1sg grandchild pl dim like

rímíchaka , " chúwa nupa'táje ... chúwa
ri= ímí -cha -ka chúwa nu= pa' -ta -je chúwa
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft now 1sg return caus fut now

nupa'tájē a'jnejí péchú nu'rí ... píño "
nu= pa' -ta -jē a'jne -jí péchú nu= i'rí píño
1sg return caus fut food unposs thought 1sg son again

ké rímíchaka
ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre vimy: por qué será hago así a mi hijito, por culpa de la por mujer, estoy haciendo mal a mis nieticos" (laym: nupa'tájika mejor; pa'tákaje: devolver)

205 Mot	é kája	ripatíya		phiyúkéja	a'jnejí
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= patí	-ya	phiyúké =ja	a'jne -jí
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf grab	pst	all lim	food unposs

ka'chí péchú
ka'chí péchú
manioc_plant thought

Libre ahí ya devolvio toda clase de comida pensamiento hasta yuca (ka'chí: palo de yuca)

206 Mot	a'jnejí	phiyúké	ripatíya	péchú
Morphèmes	a'jne -jí	phiyúké	ri= patí -ya	péchú
Glose lex.	food unposs	all	3sg.nf grab pst	thought

réjõ
ri= ejo
3sg.nf towards

Libre vimy: él devolvió todo pensamiento de comida allá

207 Mot	é kája	riwái'cha	ri'rí	... jló	píño
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= wái' -cha	ri= i'rí	jló	píño
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf call	pst 3sg.nf son	for	again

Libre él volvió a llamar nuevamente al hijo

208 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	richáje	é
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jī -chá	ri= cháje	é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go	pst 3sg.nf at	then

rímícha " chúwa tá kája
ri= ímí -cha chúwa tâ kája
3sg.nf say pst now emph1 already

Libre él se fue donde él, él dijo "ahora sí ya"

209 Mot	" nuwe'pí	ináku	kamu'jí	ila'ká
Morphèmes	nu= we'pí	ri= nakú	kamu'jí	i= la' -ká
Glose lex.	1sg know	3sg.nf on	poor	2pl do ka.nz

liyá , piyajálo wejánatá pachá ké nula'á
liyá pi= yajálo wejána tâ pachá ké nu= la'á
from 2sg wife idiot emph1 because like 1sg do

ñaké piká "
ñaké pi= ikhá
dist.simil 2sg pro

Libre vimy: "tuve lástima para que no sufran por culpa de porquería de su mujer por eso yo te había hecho así" (laym: debe ser ila'kápiyá; vimy agrees) (we'píkaje pr-naku kamu'jí: tener lástima; kamu'jí la'kajé: to suffer)

210 Mot	" ñaké kája	nupa'tá	pijló	chúwa
Morphèmes	***	nu= pa' -ta	pi= jló	chúwa
Glose lex.	***	1sg return	caus 2sg for	now

a'jnejí	péchú	phiyúké	"
a'jne -jí	péchú	phiyúké	
food unposs	thought	all	

Libre "por eso regresé todo pensamiento de comida a ustedes"

211 Mot	nupa'chíya		píño	majó	,
Morphèmes	nu= pa'	-chi -ya	píño	majó	
Glose lex.	1sg return	caus pst	again	prox.toward	

júpimi		ri'maká		ké	kája
júpi =mi	ri=	i'ma -ká		ké	kája
long_time pfv	3sg.nf cop	ka.nz	like	already	

ri'majíká					
ri=	i'ma -jí	-ká			
3sg.nf tell fut	ka.cleft				

Libre "le hice regresar otra vez acá para que así como era tiempo va a ser otra vez"

212 Mot	jé	ké	rímíchaka		
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	

Libre "bueno" él dijo

213 Mot	é	najĩ'chá		i'ratáké	,	waléjari
Morphèmes	é	na= jĩ'	-chá	***		waléjari
Glose lex.	then	3pl take	pst	***		manioc_dough

Libre ahí cogieron almidón (i'ratáké: almidón en gral; waléja-ne/re: masa con almidón; laym: debería ser na-waléja-ne)

214 Mot	najĩ'chá		pají	chojé	
Morphèmes	na= jĩ'	-chá	pají	chojé	
Glose lex.	3pl take	pst	maloca	towards_inside	

Libre lo llevaron a la maloca

215 Mot	ka'chí		kájémaka	kajú	
Morphèmes	ka'chí		kájemáka	kajú	
Glose lex.	manioc_plant		etcetera	much	

riwitúka'tiyaka				a'jnejí	péchú
ri= witúka'	-ti -ya -ka			a'jne -jí	péchú
3sg.nf go_down	caus pst	ka.cleft	food unposs	thought	

Libre demasiado él bajó pensamiento de comida

216 Mot	eyá	kája	ne'michá	palá	,	kája
Morphèmes	eyá	kája	na= i'mi -chá	palá		kája
Glose lex.	since_then	already	3pl cop pst	good		already

phiyúké	inau'ké	i'micháká		eja'wá	chú	,	i'makáñó
phiyúké	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ka		eja'wá	chú		i'ma -ka -ñó
all	person	cop pst	A.nz2	forest	in		cop A.nz2 pl.nz

te'rí	nakú	i'micháñó		palá	,	riká		penájemi
te'rí	nakú	i'mi	-chá	-ñó	palá	ri=	ikhá	penáje =mi
ground	on	cop	pst	pl.cleft	good	3sg.nf	pro	for nom.pfv
weká		me'tení	chúwa	palá				
wa=	ikhá	me'tení	chúwa	palá				
1pl	pro	now	now	good				

Libre vimy: de ahí ya vivieron bien, toda la gente que vivía en este mundo, los que vivieron en la tierra, vivieron bien, por eso nosotros estamos bien ahora

217 Mot	ka'chí	kájémaka	mená	kája
Morphèmes	ka'chí	kájemáka	mená	kája
Glose lex.	manioc_plant	etcetera	cropland	already

ripa'tá		a'jnejí	péchú	marí	te'rí	nakojé			
ri=	pa'	-ta	a'jne	-jí	péchú	marí	te'rí	nakú	=eje
3sg.nf	return	caus	food	unposs	thought	prox	ground	on	until

Libre palo de yuca, chagra también, ya él regresó todo el pensamiento de la comida pa este tierra

ycn0091

1 Mot	ré	náke	weká	yúku	, ré			
Morphèmes	ri=	é	náke	wa=	ikhá	yúku	ri=	é
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	in	uh	1pl	pro	story	3sg.nf	in
wale'jé	yúku	phiyúkéja	,	nákájé	yuíko		wajló	
wa= le'jé	yúku	phiyúké	=ja	nákaje	yuí -ka	=o	wa= jló	
1pl	poss	story	all	lim	thing	stay A.nz2	mid	1pl for
i'maká								
i'ma	-ka							
far.pst	ka.pst							

Libre hay cuento de nosotros, tenemos cuentos de todo, lo que quedó para nosotros tiempo (mls: las cosas que quedaron para nosotros)

2 Mot	phiyúké	mékéka		weká	eja'wá	chú
Morphèmes	phiyúké	méké	-ka	wa=	ikhá	eja'wá
Glose lex.	all	indf.manner	indf.sub	1pl	pro	forest
i'maká	,	we'maká		majó		
i'ma	-ka	wa=	i'ma -ká	majó		
cop	ka.cleft	1pl	cop	ka.cleft	prox.toward	

Libre nosotros todos cómo vivimos en esta tierra, estamos viviendo acá

3 Mot	ná	keño'taro		wajló	i'maká	,
Morphèmes	ná	keño'	-ta -ri	=o	wa= jló	i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	indf	begin	caus nf.cleft	mid	1pl	for far.pst ka.pst
nákájé	penáje	...	pají	chú	...	iná
nákaje	penáje		pají	chú		iná
thing	for		maloca	in		gnr.pro
						cop ka.adv
						purp3
pají	chú	i'makáná	jwa'té			
pají	chú	i'makána	jwa'té			
maloca	in	captain	with			

Libre qué comenzó pa nosotros tiempo (no se entiende casi), para cosas, para uno vivir en la maloca (falta iná i'makáná: jefe de uno, falta poseedor, sino se confunde con v. estar)

4 Mot	kajmo'kájó		penáje	,	arápa'kaje	penáje	,
Morphèmes	kajmo'	-káje	=o	penáje	arápa'	-kaje	penáje
Glose lex.	celebrate	ev.nz2	mid	for	dance	ev.nz2	for
nákájé	keño'to		wajló	eja'wá	chú	i'maká	
nákaje	keño'ta	=o	wa=	jló	eja'wá	chú	i'ma -ka
thing	begin	mid	1pl	for	forest	in	far.pst ka.pst

Libre para baile; para bailar, cosas comenzó para nosotros tiempo (keño'ta-kajo: comenzar; kajmukájó: baile; syn. arápakaje)

5 Mot	painéko	keño'taro				chi'náikaje
Morphèmes	painéko	keño' -ta	-ri	=o		chi'náikaje
Glose lex.	first	begin	caus	nf.cleft	mid	owner

Libre primero comenzó yuruparí (painéke ~painéko) (vimy: es chi'náikana)

6 Mot	je'chú	keño'ótari			i'maká	mawíru
Morphèmes	je'chú	keño'ó -ta	-ri		i'ma -ka	mawíru
Glose lex.	sky	begin	caus	nf.cleft	far.pst	ka.pst

wajló

wa= jló

1pl for

Libre el dueño del cielo, él fue que creó piña para nosotros (je'chú: cielo, dueño del cielo; keño'ótakaje: crear)

7 Mot	ná	aú	rikeño'ta		riká	i'maká
Morphèmes	ná	aú	ri= keño' -ta		ri= ikhá	i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	indf	with	3sg.nf	begin	caus	3sg.nf

yuwaná arápa'kalojé penáje

yuwaná arápa' -ka lojé penáje

kids dance ka.adv purp3 for

Libre con qué lo creó, para que los muchachos bailen (vimy: de pronto él iba a decir riká aú rikeño'ta...con eso el creó...)

8 Mot	marí	jrená		chú	ripháká	wakajé
Morphèmes	marí	ri= jená		chú	ri= iphá -ká	wakajé
Glose lex.	prox	3sg.nf	hour	in	3sg.nf	arrive

Libre este, tiempo cuando llega la fecha de él (de piña) (vimy: marí sobra)

9 Mot	mawíru	jená	chú	ripháká		wakajé	é kája
Morphèmes	mawíru	jená	chú	ri= iphá -ká		wakajé	é kája
Glose lex.	pineapple	hour	in	3sg.nf	arrive	ka.nz	date

nata'á kélé mawíru

na= ta'á kélé mawíru

3pl grate med pineapple

Libre cuando llega época de piña, ahí ya rallan piña

10 Mot	nayukupéra'a	phiyúkéja	inau'kéna		, ne'jné
Morphèmes	na= yukupéra'a	phiyúké	=ja	inau'ké -na	na= i'jné
Glose lex.	3pl	invite	all	lim	person

nacháje

na= cháje

3pl at

Libre ellos invitan toda la gente; ellos van donde ellos

11 Mot	nephá	nanáku		, kája	...	nawakára'a
Morphèmes	na= iphá	na= náku		kája		na= wakára'a
Glose lex.	3pl	arrive	3pl	on	already	3pl

najñáká	na'á	kuliyá	nanúma	phiyúkéja
na= ajñá -ká	na= a'á	kuliyá	na= núma	phiyúké =ja
3pl eat ka.nz	3pl give	drink_name	3pl mouth	all lim

Libre ellos llegan donde ellos, ahí ya ellos le dan de comer; le dan de tomar caguana a todos (vimy: wakára'kaje: mandar, here. invitar; falta é antes de kája)

12 Mot	maaré	kája	najñá	iká	ipatú
Morphèmes	maaré	kája	na= ajñá	ri= ikhá	ipatú
Glose lex.	prox.loc	already	3pl eat	3sg.nf pro	coca

rijwáke'e
ri= jwáke'e
3sg.nf company

Libre después ellos mambean ese coca en compañía de él

13 Mot	é	kája	nayáa'ta	riká	najló
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= yá'ta	ri= ikhá	na= jló
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl put	3sg.nf pro	3pl for

nawakáa'kalójé narápa'ka mawíru yále , ná
na= wakáa' -ka lojé na= arápa' -ka mawíru yále ná
3pl order ka.adv purp3 3pl dance ka.nz pineapple dance indf

luma'ála ka'jná , peyo'óla ka'jná , máthai ka'jná , makápa , yáwi
*** ka'jná *** ka'jná *** ka'jná *** yáwi
*** dub *** dub *** dub *** tiger

ijñé ka'jná , nákei jiwá ka'jná phiyúkéja
*** ka'jná nákei jiwá ka'jná phiyúké =ja
*** dub uh pus dub all lim

Libre ahí ellos ya le ofrecen pa ellos para ellos mandarles a bailar baile de piña, de pronto el baile luma'ála, o el peyo'óla, máthai, el makápa, el "yáwi ijñé", jiwá, todo(yáa'ta-kaje: sentar, sientan la tinaja de coca; luma'ála, peyo'óla: nombres de bailes de piña; jiwá: postema, materia de herida)

14 Mot	kája	nawakára'a	narápa'ka
Morphèmes	kája	na= wakára'a	na= arápa' -ka
Glose lex.	already	3pl order	3pl dance ka.nz

Libre ahí ya lo mandan bailar

15 Mot	ipenáje	kélé	mawíru	yoró	júpimi
Morphèmes	ri= penáje	kélé	mawíru	yorí =o	júpi =mi
Glose lex.	3sg.nf for	med	pineapple	stay mid	long_time pfv

wajló i'maká pukúnáje jwáke'na , pukúnaje
wa= jló i'ma -ka *** jwáke' -na ***
1pl for far.pst ka.pst *** company pl ***

chojé riká
chojé ri= ikhá
towards_inside 3sg.nf pro

Libre para eso fue que quedó ese piña para nosotros para la maloca, para dentro de la maloca (ripenáje) (pukúnáje: maloca)

16 Mot	maaré	kéelé	, ré	riká	yáleji
Morphèmes	maaré	kéelé	ri=	é	ri= ikhá yále -ji
Glose lex.	prox.loc	med	3sg.nf in	3sg.nf pro	dance unposs

Libre aquí es, ahí hay baile

17 Mot	riká	mawíru	yále	e'yá	kéelé	(nákei ,
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	mawíru	yále	e'yá	kéelé nákei
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	pineapple	dance	in	med	uh

mmm ,) luma'ála

*** ***

*** ***

Libre entre medio de ese baile está el luma'ála

18 Mot	re'yá	, ré	iká	yáleje	
Morphèmes	ri=	e'yá	ri=	é	ri= ikhá yále -je
Glose lex.	3sg.nf in	3sg.nf in	3sg.nf pro	dance unposs	

méka'láñanija , kajúní kalé riká , iká
 méka'lá =ñáni =ja kajú -ní kalé ri= ikhá ri= ikhá
 indf.quant dim lim much nf emph5 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf pro

wáni kalé riká
 wáni kalé ri= ikhá
 emph emph5 3sg.nf pro

Libre entre medio está ese baile es cortico, ese baile es grande y es importante (méka'lá: no es largo- lit. cuantico (cuanto-ñani)

19 Mot	riká	wáni	riká	, raú	
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	wáni	ri= ikhá	ri= aú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	emph	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf cause	

narápa'khe ... íjo , ijo'pá narápa'khe jupejé
 na= arápa' -khe *** *** na= arápa' -khe ***
 3pl dance far.pst *** *** 3pl dance far.pst ***

i'majíká
 i'ma -jĩka
 far.pst far.pst

Libre ese es importante, con eso ellos bailaban , ellos bailaban ijo'pá (baile de piña) tiempo

20 Mot	iká	wáni	e'yá	kéle...	pajlúwája	mawíru
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	wáni	e'yá	***	pajlúwá =ja mawíru
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	emph	in	***	***	lim pineapple

yále e'yá kéle , riká wáni íju , rikája
 yále e'yá kéle ri= ikhá wáni íju ri= ikhá =ja
 dance in med 3sg.nf pro emph leaf 3sg.nf pro lim

kalé luma'ála
 kalé ***
 emph5 ***

Libre en ese propio está ese; ese es el único que está (dentro) de baile de piña, él es el único baile importante que quedó, ese es el propio luma'ála (vimy: ijo'pá: coro que se canta durante

luma'ála) (vimy: pedazo enredado; íju: ijo'pá)

21 Mot	yuwaná	kajwákálojé		ne'yajéná	
Morphèmes	yuwaná	kajwá	-ká	lojé	na= e'yajé -ná
Glose lex.	kids	baptize	ka.adv	purp3	3pl towards ?

jnáo'takalojé yuwaná penáje narápa'a
na= jáo' -ta -ka lojé yuwaná penáje na= arápa'a
3pl go_out caus ka.adv purp3 kids for 3pl dance

Libre (kajwákáje: bautizar, ne'yajéná: algunos; jáchi'takaje~jáo'takaje : sacar)

22 Mot	narápa'a	nalujméta	yuwaná
Morphèmes	na= arápa'a	na= lujmé	-ta yuwaná
Glose lex.	3pl dance	3pl dance	caus kids

Libre ellos hacen bailar a los niños (nu-lujméta: en mi espalda, syn. norápa'takó yuwají).

23 Mot	riká	penáje	kélé	pajlúwaja	yalejí	
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	penáje	kélé	pajlúwá =ja	yale -jí
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	for	med	one lim	dance unposs

nákei) yuró i'maká luma'ála
nákei yurí =o i'ma -ka ***
uh stay mid far.pst ka.pst ***

Libre para eso quedó ese baile de luma'ála tiempo

24 Mot	máarejé	kélé	penáje	yuró	i'maká
Morphèmes	máare =eje	kélé	penáje	yurí =o	i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	prox.loc	until	med	for	stay mid far.pst ka.pst

kélé mawíru , kélé pukúnáje jwáke'e
kélé mawíru kélé *** jwáke'e
med pineapple med *** company

Libre para eso fue que quedó la piña tiempo, vimy: de pronto marí kajé en vez de máarejé, lit. ese quedó hasta ahí) ese quedó como compañía de maloca (piña) (pukúnáje: maloca; jwáke'e: compañía;

25 Mot	aa
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre

26 Mot	phiyúkéja	jló	kélé
Morphèmes	phiyúké	=ja	jló kélé
Glose lex.	all	lim	for med

Libre ese es para todos

27 Mot	ũká	mawíru	yá'jõ	penáje	kalé
Morphèmes	unká	mawíru	yáa' -je	=o	penáje kalé
Glose lex.	neg	pineapple	sit	purp.mot mid	for nv.neg

marí	yuró		i'maká		, phiyúkéja	yáleji		
marí	yurí =o		i'ma -ka		phiyúké =ja	yále -ji		
prox	stay	mid	far.pst	ka.pst	all	lim	dance	unposs
riká		wáni	penáje	raphéna				
ri=	ikhá	wáni	penáje	***				
3sg.nf	pro	emph	for	***				

Libre la piña no quedó para sentarse, para todo bailes importante sobremesa (vimy: prefiere yáa'kajo aquí que yáa'jo)

28 Mot	phiyúkéja		iká		wáni	yáleje		pupu'rá
Morphèmes	phiyúké =ja		ri=	ikhá	wáni	yále -je		***
Glose lex.	all	lim	3sg.nf	pro	emph	dance	purp.mot	***

kájémaka phiyúkéja
kájemáka phiyúké =ja
etcetera all lim

Libre todo ese quedó para baile importante (por ej.) pupu'rá (pupu'rá: baile de tablón) todo esos (vimy)

29 Mot	jwáke'na		jló	riyuró		i'maká		kélé
Morphèmes	jwáke' -na		jló	ri=	yurí =o	i'ma -ka		kélé
Glose lex.	company	pl	for	3sg.nf	stay	mid	far.pst	ka.pst

mawíru
mawíru
pineapple

Libre para eso quedó ese piña (vimy: rijwáke'e ~rijwáke'na: uno solo; no es plural)

30 Mot	natha'kalójé			phiyúkéja		riká		
Morphèmes	na= ta' -ká		lojé	phiyúké =ja		ri=	ikhá	
Glose lex.	3pl	grate	ka.adv	purp3	all	lim	3sg.nf	pro

naápa'kalójé
na= aápa' -ka lojé
3pl dance ka.adv purp3

Libre pa rallar lo todo para bailar

31 Mot	kajúní		ikéelé	mawíru		, napura'atakare		
Morphèmes	kajú -ní		***	mawíru		na= pura'á -ta -kare		
Glose lex.	much	nf	***	pineapple		3pl	speak	caus arg.nz1

Libre esa piña es importante, ellos dialogan (napurá'atakare: lo que ellos dicen) laym; es grande ese piña que nombran

32 Mot	pura'kájó			i'makáre		chú	yáleje	le'jé
Morphèmes	pura' -káje =o			i'ma -kare		chú	yále -je	le'jé
Glose lex.	speak	ev.nz2	mid	cop	pot	in	***	unposs

, pura'kájó i'makáre chú kélé
pura' -káje =o i'ma -kare chú kélé
speak ev.nz2 mid cop pot in med

Libre tiene dialogación en ese baile (laym: cuando hay baile hablan, el día de hablar)

33 Mot	kája	iká	wáni	yáleje	wakajé
Morphèmes	kája	ri=	ikhá	wáni yále -je	wakajé
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf	pro	emph dance unposs	date
natha'ká		mawíru	na'á	upichíná	pura'kájó
na= ta' -ká		mawíru	na= a'á	***	pura' -káje =o
3pl grate ka.cleft		pineapple	3pl give	***	speak ev.nz2 mid
wájã	riká				
=wá =jã	ri=	ikhá			
emph lim	3sg.nf	pro			

Libre cuando hacen propio baile rallan yuca y le colocan machiva (cernidor piña), todo tiene dialogación

34 Mot	kajú	napura'káro	ríchu	kélé
Morphèmes	kajú	na= pura' -kare =o	rí= chu	kélé
Glose lex.	much	3pl speak pot mid	3sg.nf in	med

Libre ellos hablan mucho sobre ese (vimy: prefiere napura'káro cha)

35 Mot	marí	yáleje	, kélé	yuréo	eja'wá
Morphèmes	marí	yále -je	kélé	yurí -ri =o	eja'wá
Glose lex.	prox	*** unposs	med	stay nf.nz mid	forest

chú i'maká
 chú i'ma -ka
 in far.pst ka.pst

Libre este baile que quedó en ese mundo (yuré-ri-o)

36 Mot	ikéelé	mawíru	, marí	kajé	aú	ũká	inaána
Morphèmes	***	mawíru	marí	kájé	aú	unká	inaána
Glose lex.	***	pineapple	prox	type	cause	neg	woman

kápi kalé riká
 kápi kalé ri= ikhá
 hand nv.neg 3sg.nf pro

Libre por eso las mujeres no lo tienen (kápi: mano, vimy: no quedó en mano de mujeres)

37 Mot	ũká	inaána	le'jé	kalé	kélé	mawíru	,
Morphèmes	unká	inaána	le'jé	kalé	kélé	mawíru	
Glose lex.	neg	woman	poss	nv.neg	med	pineapple	

achiñáná le'jé , wale'jé riká
 achiñá -na le'jé wa= le'jé ri= ikhá
 man pl poss 1pl poss 3sg.nf pro

Libre no es de las mujeres ese, es de los hombres, de nosotros

38 Mot	wajápáka'la
Morphèmes	wa= jápá -ka'la
Glose lex.	1pl work ?nz

Libre nuestro trabajo

39 Mot	marí	weká		achiñáná		jápáka'la		kélé
Morphèmes	marí	wa=	ikhá	achiñá	-na	jápá	-ka'la	kélé
Glose lex.	prox	1pl	pro	man	pl	work	?nz	med

mawíru
mawíru
pineapple

Libre ese nuestro trabajo de nosotros los hombres piña

40 Mot	ipatú
Morphèmes	ipatú
Glose lex.	coca

Libre coca

41 Mot	líchi
Morphèmes	líchi
Glose lex.	tobacco

Libre tabaco

42 Mot	marí	ké	iká		achiñáná		jápáka	
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri=	ikhá	achiñá	-na	jápá	-ka
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf	pro	man	pl	work	ka.cleft

wajápáka'la
wa= jápá -ka'la
1pl work ?nz

Libre este es el trabajo de los hombres nuestro trabajo (vimy: jápáka'la en vez de jápáka)

43 Mot	marí	kajé	i'makálé
Morphèmes	marí	kájé	i'ma -ká =lé
Glose lex.	prox	type	cop ka.adv reason

Libre por eso es así

44 Mot	ilé	kajé	penáje	rikeñó'tako
Morphèmes	ilé	kájé	penáje	ri= keñó'ta -ka =o
Glose lex.	med	type	for	3sg.nf *** ka.cleft mid

i'maká , aú ñaké wajló iká
i'ma -ka aú ñaké wa= jló ri= ikhá
far.pst ka.pst because dist.simil 1pl for 3sg.nf pro

Libre para eso empezó, por eso así es para nosotros

45 Mot	kája	jarechí	eja'wá	jená	kéja
Morphèmes	kája	jarechí	eja'wá	jená	ké =ja
Glose lex.	already	year	forest	hour	like lim

ne'kaká a'waná , wejátakalójé kélé
na= i'ka -ká a'waná wa= ejáta -ka lojé kélé
3pl knock_down ka.cleft tree 1pl sow ka.adv purp3 med

mawíru
mawíru
pineapple

Libre cada año tiempo de mundo ellos tumban palo, para nosotros sembrar ese piña (kéja: cada)

46 Mot	phiyúké	a'j'ná	kajé	penáje	i'maká		, a'j'ná
Morphèmes	phiyúké	a'j'ná	kájé	penáje	i'ma	-ka	a'j'ná
Glose lex.	all	dist	type	for	far.pst	ka.pst	dist
ké	i'maká		, a'j'ná	ké	i'maká		, a'ú
ké	i'ma	-ka	a'j'ná	ké	i'ma	-ka	a'ú
like	far.pst	ka.pst	dist	like	far.pst	ka.pst	because
phiyúké	rináku		jápákana		wajló		
phiyúké	ri=	náku	jápá	-kana	wa=	jló	
all	3sg.nf	on	work	ev.nz1	1pl	for	

Libre todo era para eso todo, porque así quedó tiempo (piña); por eso todos lo trabajamos para nosotros (a'j'ná kajé: todo eso)

47 Mot	marí	kajé	penáje	mawíru	yuró		wajló
Morphèmes	marí	kájé	penáje	mawíru	yurí	=o	wa= jló
Glose lex.	prox	type	for	pineapple	stay	mid	1pl for

i'maká
i'ma -ka
far.pst ka.pst

Libre por eso así quedó piña para nosotros

48 Mot	iká		chi'náikana	tá	iká		
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	chi'náikana	tâ	ri=	ikhá	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	owner	emph1	3sg.nf	pro	

Libre ese es poderoso

49 Mot	ré	kélé	mawíru	phiyúké	yáleje		,
Morphèmes	ré	kélé	mawíru	phiyúké	yále	-je	
Glose lex.	then	med	pineapple	all	dance	purp.mot	
jrená	chú	ripháká		wakajé		maaré	naya'tá
ri=	jená	chú	ri=	iphá	-ká	wakajé	maaré
3sg.nf	hour	in	3sg.nf	arrive	ka.nz	date	prox.loc
							3pl
							lend
riká		, jralámi	na'á	najló			
ri=	ikhá	***	na=	a'á	na=	jló	
3sg.nf	pro	***	3pl	give	3pl	for	

Libre ahí ese piña todo baile, cuando llega el tiempo, ahí lo cogen, le dan jugo de ese a ellos (ya'takajé: prestar, en tradicional: dialogar sobre algo)

50 Mot	kájrú	kája	iká		pura'kájó		ré
Morphèmes	kájrú	kája	ri=	ikhá	pura'	-káje	=o
Glose lex.	***	already	3sg.nf	pro	speak	ev.nz2	mid

ríchu , kajú kája napura'átaka kélé
rí= chu kajú kája na= pura'á -ta -ka kélé
3sg.nf in much already 3pl speak caus ka.cleft med

réjéchami
 ri= éjéchami
 3sg.nf after

Libre hay mucho dialogación en eso, dialogan mucho en ese momento (laym: hay mucho que hablar)

51 Mot mawíru ya'takáná , napura'áta pajlokáká ,
Morphèmes mawíru ya'ta -káná na= pura'á -ta pajlokáká
Glose lex. pineapple lend ev.nz1 3pl speak caus each_other

iká yáleja'ó jwa'té kajú napura'kó ,
 ri= ikhá *** jwa'té kajú na= pura' -ká =o
 3sg.nf pro *** with much 3pl speak ka.cleft mid

napura'átaka iká
 na= pura'á -ta -ka ri= ikhá
 3pl speak caus ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre ellos se ofrecen ese piña y dialogan sobre eso con bailador dialogan mucho dialogan (ya'takaná: prestar; in ritual: ofrecer (iká ~kélé yáleja'o; ese bailador).

52 Mot ré rile'jé pura'kájo
Morphèmes ré ri= le'jé pura' -káje =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf poss speak ev.nz2 mid

Libre tiene dialogación (la piña)

53 Mot marí kajé chi'náikana i'maká aú
Morphèmes marí kájé chi'náikana i'ma -ka aú
Glose lex. prox type owner cop ka.nz cause

Libre porque él es poderoso

54 Mot kája ipenáje chi'náika yurí wajló
Morphèmes kája ri= penáje chi'náika yurí wa= jló
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf for owner leave 1pl for

i'maká a'jné ké i'makálojé
 i'ma -ka a'jné ké i'ma -ka lojé
 far.pst ka.pst dist like cop ka.adv purp3

Libre para eso el poderoso nos dejó para que sea así

55 Mot ikélé yáleja'ona kélé nayukupéra'a ipenáje ,
Morphèmes *** *** kélé na= yukupéra'a ri= penáje
Glose lex. *** *** med 3pl invite 3sg.nf for

ipenáje nawe'pí yáleje
 ri= penáje na= we'pí yále -je
 3sg.nf for 3pl know dance unposs

Libre esos bailadores, ellos invitan porque ellos saben baile

56 Mot neká na'kapichá marí kajé aú
Morphèmes na= ikhá na= a'kapi -chá marí kájé aú
Glose lex. 3pl pro 3pl *** pst prox type with

Libre a esos ellos le tienen en cuenta

57 Mot	nawe'píka	aú	riyále	phiyúkéja
Morphèmes	na= we'pí -ka	aú	ri= yále	phiyúké =ja
Glose lex.	3pl know ka.nz	because	3sg.nf dance	all lim

Libre porque ellos saben baile de él todo (riyále: canción)

58 Mot	nanúma	chú	nawe'pí	rile'jé
Morphèmes	na= núma	chú	na= we'pí	ri= le'jé
Glose lex.	3pl mouth	in	3pl know	3sg.nf poss

pura'kájó
pura' -kájé =o
speak ev.nz2 mid

Libre adentro de la boca tienen dialogación

59 Mot	marí	kájé	aú	jupejé	na'kapichakhé	phiyúké
Morphèmes	marí	kájé	aú	***	na= a'kapicha -khé	phiyúké
Glose lex.	prox	type	with	***	3pl *** far.pst	all

neká yáleja'una jupejé i'majíká
na= ikhá *** *** i'ma -jĩka
3pl pro *** *** far.pst far.pst

Libre por esa razón ellos tenían en cuenta a todos los bailadores

60 Mot	naka'picháno	neká
Morphèmes	na= aka'pichá =no	na= ikhá
Glose lex.	3pl include hab	3pl pro

Libre los tenían en cuenta (vimy: él dice ka'kapicháno, pero nadie dice esa palabra; aka'api (aka'pichá-kána: tener en cuenta)

61 Mot	iká	wáni	yáleje	kélé	narápa'a
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	wáni	yále -je	kélé	na= arápa'a
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	emph	dance unposs	med	3pl dance

Libre ese es el propio baile que ellos bailan

62 Mot	ũká	mapéja	kalé	, nala'jówa	ja'piyá	yáleja'ona
Morphèmes	unká	mapéja	kalé	***	ja'pi =eyá	***
Glose lex.	neg	normally	nv.neg	***	under from	***

arápa'khe kélé kajé
arápa' -khe kélé kájé
dance far.pst med type

Libre eso no quedó así no más, los bailadores lo bailaban con plumaje

63 Mot	riká	jwáke'e	kélé	marí	ká	mawíru
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	jwáke'e	kélé	marí	ká	mawíru
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	company	med	prox	already	pineapple

yuró wajló i'maká
yurí =o wa= jló i'ma -ka
stay mid 1pl for far.pst ka.pst

Libre para compañía de eso quedó eso piña para nosotros

64	Mot	bueno	,	primer	punto	,	hasta	ahí
	Morphèmes	***		***	***		hasta	ahí
	Glose lex.	***		***	***		spa	spa

Libre

ycn0092

1 Mot	chúwa	nu'majíká				Ta'piku'wére	,	él	se
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu= i'ma	-jǐ	-ka		***		***	***
Glose lex.	now	1sg	tell	fut	ka.cleft	***		***	***

llamaba Tapíkuwére

*** ***

*** ***

Libre ahora voy a contar cuento de Ta'piku'were, él se llamaba Ta'píku'wére

2 Mot	chúwa	nu'majé				Ta'píku'wére	yukúná
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu= i'ma	-jé			***	yukú -ná
Glose lex.	now	1sg	tell	fut		***	story alien3

Libre ahora voy contar cuento de Ta'píku'were

3 Mot	pajlúwá	inau'ké	...	i'jǐchárí		ja'pájo		
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	inau'ké		i'jǐ -chá	-rí	ja'pá -je	=o	
Glose lex.	one	person		go pst	nf.cleft	pass purp.mot	mid	

eja'wá e'yajé

eja'wá e'yajé

forest towards

Libre un señor se fue de cacería al monte

4 Mot	é	riwi'chó				jú'káya	iñepú
Morphèmes	é	ri= wi'	-cha	=o		jú'ká =eyá	iñepú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	climb	pst	mid	far from	way

turenáya ajǐ ké eja'wá e'yowá

turená =eyá ajǐ ké eja'wá e'yá ewá

board from prox like forest in around

Libre él se desvió del camino un poquito lejos hacia el monte (wa'kájo: desviarse)

5 Mot	é	riphícha				amíchari	kajú	íja
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha	-cha	amí -cha	-ri	kajú	íja	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	arrive	pst	see	pst nf.ss	much	smoke

i'micháká , ripéchú i'michá " ná ka'jná inau'ké

i'mi -chá -ká ri= péchú i'mi -chá ná ka'jná inau'ké

cop pst ka.nz 3sg.nf thought cop pst indf dub person

ka'jná "

ka'jná

dub

Libre él llegó y miró que había mucho humo, él pensó "de pronto debe ser gente"

6 Mot	é	ri'jĩchá		réjǒ		amíchari
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jĩ -chá	ri=	ejo	amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go pst	3sg.nf	towards	see pst nf.ss

náke jíña yái'chako náke jiyá chá motho'kéja
 náke jíña yái' -cha -ka =o náke jiyá chá motho' -kéja
 uh fish sit pst ka.nz mid uh fire on cook ptcp

Libre él se fue donde él, y miró pescao cocinado en fogón

7 Mot	é	ripéchú		i'michá	"	ná	ka'jná	kháãjĩ	?
Morphèmes	é	ri=	péchú	i'mi -chá		ná	ka'jná	kháãjĩ	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	thought	cop pst		indf	dub	prox	

"

Libre él pensó quién será éste?

8 Mot	é	ri'jĩchá		náke	júpi
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jĩ -chá	náke	júpi
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go pst	uh	long_time

riyakái'chako richáje
 ri= yakái' -cha -ka =o ri= cháje
 3sg.nf see pst ka.cleft mid 3sg.nf at

Libre él se fue a mirarlo

9 Mot	kája	paminá		i'jĩchárí		wechála	jakú
Morphèmes	kája	pa=	miná	i'jĩ -chá -rí		***	jakú
Glose lex.	already	impers	owner	go pst	nf.cleft	***	inside

jña'jé

jña' -je

take purp.mot

Libre ya el dueño se había ido a buscar pescao (en donde se barbasquea, wechála)

10 Mot	é	rijĩ'chátá			riwapa'náre
Morphèmes	é	ri=	jĩ' -chá	tá	ri= wapa'ná -re
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	take pst	emph1	3sg.nf *** alien2

nákei nujme'láre riki'chátá kélé i'chiyajwé i'wá
 nákei *** ri= ki' -chá tá kélé *** i'wá
 uh *** 3sg.nf throw_out pst emph1 med *** bottom

, é kája kélé jíña tá i'wá náke ja'cháro
 é kája kélé jíña tâ i'wá náke ja' -chá -ri =o
 then med fish emph1 anus uh fall pst nf.cleft mid

phiyúké ako'cháro jiyá chojé
 phiyúké ako' -chá -ri =o jiyá chojé
 all pour pst nf.ss mid fire towards_inside

Libre él cogio la punta de la bodoquera, con eso él rompió el fondo de la olla, ahí los pescaos se cayeron y se chorreo a la candela (tujme'láre: diente pegado en punta de bodoquera), ka'káje: botar; ako'kájó: chorrear/diarrea, sobra 2do i'wá)

11 Mot	é	a'jná	eyá	ké	riwi'cháko				
Morphèmes	é	a'jná	eyá	ké	ri=	wi'	-chá	-ka	=o
Glose lex.	then	dist	from	like	3sg.nf	climb	pst	ka.cleft	mid
tá	ramákalojé			ná	inau'kéka		riká		
tâ	ri=	amá	-ka	lojé	ná	inau'ké	-ka	ri=	ikhá
emph1	3sg.nf	see	ka.adv	purp3	indf	person	indf.sub	3sg.nf	pro

Libre de ahí él quedó más allácito pa él mirar qué persona estaba cocinando ese pescado (wa'kájo: se desvió)

12 Mot	júpichami	a'jná	eyá	ké	
Morphèmes	júpichami	a'jná	eyá	ké	
Glose lex.	long_time	dist	since_then	like	

rajalákíchaka

ri= ajalákí -cha -ka
3sg.nf greet pst ka.cleft

Libre al rato él llamó de allá (ajalákákaje: saludar/llamar)

13.1 Mot	nuñámire	é	pimotho'cháka	?
Morphèmes	nu= ñámire	é	pi= motho'	-chá -ka
Glose lex.	1sg ***	Q	2sg cook	pst ka.int

Libre "mi ollita, ya se cocinó?" nadie le contestó

13.2 Mot	, ũká	ná	ajipalácha
Morphèmes	unká	ná	a'jipa -lá -cha
Glose lex.	neg	indf	answer v.neg pst

Libre

14 Mot	é	riphícha	é	rímícha	"
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha	-cha	é	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	arrive	pst	then 3sg.nf say pst
nuñámire	, nátá	li'charí	nuká	cháwani	?
nu= ñámire	ná tâ	li' -cha -rí	nu= ikhá	cháwa -ni	
1sg ***	indf emph1	do pst	1sg pro	pity nf	

"

Libre él llegó y dijo "mi ollita, quién porquería me hizo muy mal?"

15 Mot	" kewí	nojló	me'pijí	eyá	ké
Morphèmes	kewí	nu= jló	me'pijí	eyá	ké
Glose lex.	painful	1sg for	hunger	since_then	like

nomotho'chá nojlúwa jíña i'micháká
nu= motho' -chá nu= jlú =wa jíña i'mi -chá -ká
1sg cook pst 1sg for refl fish far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre "yo estaba con hambre por eso fue que yo cociné para mí pescao"

16 Mot	nátáká	li'charí	nuká	cháwani
Morphèmes	ná tâ =ka	li' -cha -rí	nu= ikhá	cháwa -ni
Glose lex.	indf emph1 ***	do pst	1sg pro	pity nf

,	ũká	wátala	nu'maká	eja'wá	chú	"
	unká	wáta -la	nu= i'ma -ka	eja'wá	chú	
	neg	want v.neg	1sg live ka.nz	forest	in	

Libre "quién será porquería me hizo maldad; el no quiere que yo viva en el mundo"

17 Mot	ké	rimakó	ri'jĩcháká
Morphèmes	ké	ri= ima -kó	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ká
Glose lex.	like	3sg.nf say simult	3sg.nf go pst ka.cleft

réjõ

ri= ejo
3sg.nf towards

Libre diciendo así él se fue donde él

18 Mot	eo'kája	kajú	kélé	kerápila	i'micháká	,	kélé
Morphèmes	***	kajú	kélé	***	i'mi -chá -ká		kélé
Glose lex.	***	much	med	***	cop pst ka.cleft		med

i'micháká keratháni
i'mi -chá -ká kerathá -ni
cop pst ka.cleft *** nf

Libre todavía estaba braza prendido; keratháni: prendido; eokája: todavía

19 Mot	é	ra'chiyá	jiyá	pô	réjéchami	"	tho
Morphèmes	é	ri= a' -chi -yá	jiyá	pô	***		***
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf give caus	pst	fire	?	***	***

tho tho tho "
*** *** ***
*** *** ***

Libre ahí él atizó candela en ese momento (a'takáje ~ a'kajé jiyá pô: (pô: noun)

20 Mot	jiyá	tá	lukúnicho	kajú
Morphèmes	jiyá	tâ	***	kajú
Glose lex.	fire	emph1	***	much

Libre prendió mucho candela

21 Mot	é	riyuícha	richô
Morphèmes	é	ri= yuí -cha	ri= chá =o
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf stay pst	3sg.nf on mid

richojé " thêjí "
ri= chojé thêjí
3sg.nf towards_inside ideo

Libre ahí él se tiró ahí adentro de candela 'theji' "thêjí: onom.sonido de algo que se cae"

22 Mot	inau'kétá	amánoja	,	máawá	a'nakhopére
Morphèmes	inau'ké tâ	amá -noja		máa =ewá	***
Glose lex.	person emph1	see conc		here around	***

jeño'chíyako , rinúmami jé- kája jiyá
jeño' -chi -ya -ka =o ri= núma =mi *** kája jiyá
jump caus pst ka.nz mid 3sg.nf mouth nom.pfv *** already fire

tá	náke	lajo'chíya	riká	
tâ	náke	***	ri=	ikhá
emph1	uh	***	3sg.nf	pro

Libre el hombre mirando salia los huesos del hombro, ya candela peló la boca de él
(lajo'tákaje: pelar algo, a'nakophére: hueso hombro, jeño'kájo: brincarse; lajo'tákaje: pelar)

23 Mot	é kája	jíyá	tá	yakícha	é	ri'jíchá
Morphèmes	é kája	jíyá	tâ	yakí -cha	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	then	fire	emph1	*** pst	then	3sg.nf go pst

réjõ	amíchari	kejiláphí	ritámi
ri= ejo	amí -cha -ri	ka- ijilá -phí	ri= támi
3sg.nf towards	see pst nf.ss	attr grease ?advz	3sg.nf sickness

to'cháko
to' -chá -ka =o
lie pst ka.nz mid

Libre ahí se apagó la candela, él se fue donde él y miró estaba tirado mantecoso muerto de él
(kejiláphí: mantecoso)

24 Mot	palánojé	raí	i'micháká
Morphèmes	palá -nojé	ri= aí	i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	good com2	3sg.nf tooth	cop pst ka.cleft

Libre bonitos estaban los dientes de él (tenía bonitos dientes)

25 Mot	riwakajé	najña'khétá	inau'ké	aí
Morphèmes	ri= wakajé	na= jña' -khé	tâ	inau'ké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf date	3pl take far.pst	emph1	person tooth

palánojé namájkarenó , matha'kéja nejwíla'ro
 palá -nojé na= amá -jika -re =nó matha' -kéja na= jwíla'ro
 good com2 3pl see far.pst arg.nz1 hab cut ptcp 3pl head

, kajmuyája namatha'khé inau'ké jwíla'ro riwakajé
 kajmu -yája na= matha' -khé inau'ké jwíla'ro ri= wakajé
 lively ?yaja 3pl cut far.pst person head 3sg.nf date

Libre ese tiempo ellos cogían dientes buenos de gente, lo que ellos miraban, cortao la cabeza, en ese tiempo cortaban vivo la cabeza de la gente matha'kéja: cortada; jwila'ró-ji: cabeza, kajmu-yá-ja: maybe eyá?)

26 Mot	é	náke
Morphèmes	é	náke
Glose lex.	then	uh

Libre de ahí

27 Mot	kája ikája	ripi'cháko
Morphèmes	kája ikája	ri= pi' -chá -ka =o
Glose lex.	at_that_time	3sg.nf return pst ka.topic mid

i'micháká
i'mi -chá -ká
far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí se regresó

28 Mot	iphíchari	a'jnáñojō	riñakaré	éjō
Morphèmes	iphí -cha -ri	***	ri= ñakaré	ejo
Glose lex.	arrive pst nf.ss	***	3sg.nf house	towards

Libre él llegó allá a la casa de él

29.1 Mot	é	riyajálo	kémícha	rijló	"	é
Morphèmes	é	ri= yajálo	kémí -cha	ri= jló		é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf wife	say pst	3sg.nf for		Q

pi'micháká ?
 pi= i'mi -chá -ka
 2sg cop pst ka.int

Libre la mujer le dijo "usted ya fue/cómo le fue", él dijo "no"

29.2 Mot	" "	ũká	"
Morphèmes		unká	
Glose lex.		neg	

Libre

30.1 Mot	a'jná	awája	nu'michá	,	ná	pajá
Morphèmes	a'jná	***	nu= i'mi -chá		ná	pajá
Glose lex.	dist	***	1sg cop pst		indf	emph

nomícha ?
 nu= amí -cha
 1sg see pst

Libre por ahí me fui, qué será yo vi, así yo lo vi a él

30.2 Mot	,	marí	ké	nomíchaka		riká
Morphèmes		marí	ké	nu= amí -cha -ka		ri= ikhá
Glose lex.		prox	like	1sg see pst ka.cleft		3sg.nf pro

Libre

31 Mot	rimotho'cháka	jíña	i'micháká
Morphèmes	ri= motho' -chá -ka	jíña	i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	3sg.nf cook	pst ka.when	fish far.pst pst ka.pst

nákei
 nákei
 uh

Libre estaba cocinando pescao

32 Mot	i'chijawé	chú	jiyá	chá	riyái'cho
Morphèmes	***	chú	jiyá	chá	ri= yái' -cha =o
Glose lex.	***	in	fire	on	3sg.nf sit pst mid

Libre la ollita estaba puesto en el fogón

33 Mot	é	náke	júpija	nuwáchiyaka
Morphèmes	é	náke	júpi =ja	nu= wáchi -ya -ka
Glose lex.	then	uh	long_time lim	1sg wait pst ka.cleft

nomákalojé náka riká
 nu= amá -ka lojé ná -ka ri= ikhá
 1sg see ka.adv purp3 indf indf.sub 3sg.nf pro

Libre de ahí esperé un buen rato para ver quién era

34 Mot é kája nuki'chá wapaná tujme'láre aú kélé
Morphèmes é kája nu= ki' -chá *** *** aú kélé
Glose lex. then 1sg throw_out pst *** *** with med

i'chijajwé i'wá
 *** i'wá
 *** bottom

Libre ahí yo rompí con ese cosito de bodoquera fondo de ollita de barro

35 Mot a'jnárez ké ikája júpichami
Morphèmes a'jnárez ké ikája júpichami
Glose lex. dist.loc like then long_time

riphíchaka
 ri= iphí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf arrive pst ka.cleft

Libre más allacito al rato él llegó (ajnáre: allá)

36 Mot a'jnáyaké rajalákíchaka " nuñámiré é
Morphèmes a'jná =yá ké ri= ajalákí -cha -ka *** é
Glose lex. dist abl like 3sg.nf greet pst ka.cleft *** Q

pimotho'cháka " , ũká ná a'jipalácha , é
 pi= motho' -chá -ka unká ná a'jipa -lá -cha é
 2sg cook pst ka.int neg indf answer v.neg pst then

riphícha
 ri= ipha -cha
 3sg.nf arrive pst

Libre de allá él llamó "mi ollita, ya se cocinó?" nadie contestó, él llegó

37 Mot é rímícha nátá li'charí
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ná tâ li' -cha -rí
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst indf emph1 do pst nf.cleft

nuká cháwani
 nu= ikhá cháwa -ni
 1sg pro pity nf

Libre él dijo "quién porquería será me hizo maldad?"

38 Mot ũká wátala nu'maká eja'wá chú
Morphèmes unká wáta -la nu= i'ma -ka eja'wá chú
Glose lex. neg want v.neg 1sg cop ka.nz forest in

Libre "él no quiere que yo viva en este mundo"

39 Mot kewí nojló me'pijí , e'yá , aú
Morphèmes kewí nu= jló me'pijí e'yá aú
Glose lex. painful 1sg for hunger then because

nomotho'chá jíña nojlúwa
 nu= motho' -chá jíña nu= jlú =wa
 1sg cook pst fish 1sg for refl

Libre "tenía mucha hambre, por eso fue que yo cociné pescao para mi"

40 Mot penáje nátáká li'charí cháwani
Morphèmes penáje ná tâ -ka li' -cha -rí cháwa -ni
Glose lex. for indf emph1 indf.sub do pst nf.cleft pity nf
 nuká , ũká wátala nu'maká eja'wá chú
 nu= ikhá unká wáta -la nu= i'ma -ka eja'wá chú
 1sg pro neg want v.neg 1sg cop ka.nz forest in

Libre sin embargo quién será me hizo maldad que no quiere que yo viviera en este mundo

41 Mot ké rimakó jra'chiyaká jiyá
Morphèmes ké ri= ima -kó ri= ja'chi -ya -ká jiyá
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say simult 3sg.nf *** pst ka.cleft fire

pô
 pô
 ?

Libre diciendo así él atizó candela (a'takájé???: atizar)

42 Mot " thé thé thé "
Morphèmes *** *** ***
Glose lex. *** *** ***

Libre

43 Mot " é rilukúni'cho " jú' "
Morphèmes é ri= lukúni' -cha =o ***
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf light pst mid ***

Libre ahí prendió "jú'u"

44 Mot nománoja riyuíchaka richó
Morphèmes nu= amá -noja ri= yuí -cha -ka ri= chú =o
Glose lex. 1sg see conc 3sg.nf leave pst ka.nz 3sg.nf in mid
 , kojno'chári jiyá chojé " thé "
 kojno' -chá -ri jiyá chojé ***
 demolish pst nf.ss fire towards_inside ***

Libre yo mirando él se tiró se cayó en la candela "theee" (kojno'káje: caerse, yuíkaje: dejar + richô: caerse)

45 Mot rana'kophéré jeño'chá pijíno , pá
Morphèmes ri= ana'kophéré jeño' -chá *** pá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf *** jump pst *** look

kalapíchítá palá a'mitakáná ké , a'napitá (jeño'ká
 kalapíchí tá palá a'mita -kána ké a'napitá jeño' -ká
 capuchin emph1 good smoke ev.nz1 like arm jump ka.nz

) náke , jeño'táko ké
 náke jeño' -ta -ka =o ké
 uh jump caus ka.nz mid like

Libre el hueso del hombro se salieron pijíno, como mico maicero bien muquiado, así como sale los huesos del hombro (a'napitá: brazo; jeño'káje: brincar, jeño'tákajo: salirse)

46 Mot ritúremi kája nákei
Morphèmes ri= túre =mi kája nákei
Glose lex. 3sg.nf lip pfv already uh

Libre los labios ya (vimy: moquito)

47 Mot palánojé raí i'micháká
Morphèmes palá -nojé ri= aí i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. good com2 3sg.nf tooth cop pst ka.cleft

Libre tenía bonitos dientes

48 Mot marí ké nomíchaka
Morphèmes marí ké nu= amí -cha -ka
Glose lex. prox like 1sg see pst ka.cleft

ri'micháká
 ri= i'mi -chá -ka
 3sg.nf far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre así yo lo miré a ese

49 Mot aú riyajálo kémícha rijló "
Morphèmes aú ri= yajálo kémí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf wife say pst 3sg.nf for

náje pikátotá phiyúké wáni kélé kajé náke
 náje pi= káta =o tá phiyúké wáni kélé kájé náke
 indf.reason 2sg play mid emph1 all emph med type uh

, ná ka'jné eja'wá minaná ka'jné , eja'wá miná ka'jné
 ná ka'jné eja'wá miná -ná ka'jné eja'wá miná ka'jné
 indf dub forest owner ? dub forest owner dub

pikáto nakú
 pi= káta =o nakú
 2sg play mid on

Libre la mujer le dijo "por qué juega con eso de pronto deben ser los dueños del monte, dueño del monte"

50 Mot " ilé kajé nákei nó ka'jné iná " ké
Morphèmes ilé kájé nákei nó ka'jné iná ké
Glose lex. med type uh kill dub gnr.pro like

riyajálo kémíchaka rijló
 ri= yajálo kémí -cha -ka ri= jló
 3sg.nf wife say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre de pronto él puede matar uno

51 Mot	é kája	rímícha		
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= ímí	-cha	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst	

Libre ahí él dijo

52 Mot	palánojé	wáni	nomíchaka	raí
Morphèmes	palá -nojé	wáni	nu= amí -cha -ka	ri= aí
Glose lex.	good com2	emph	1sg see pst ka.cleft	3sg.nf tooth

i'micháká , nuwe'íka kélé náke
i'mi -chá -ká nu= we'í -ka kélé náke
cop pst ka.cleft 1sg know ka.when med uh

rimaja'kó ripatáa'ko , é nu'jnajé
ri= maja' -ka =o ri= patáa' -ka =o é nu= i'jna -je
3sg.nf rot ka.nz mid 3sg.nf rot ka.nz mid then 1sg go fut

réjō nomákalojé nujña'kálojé
ri= ejo nu= amá -ka lojé nu= jña' -ká lojé
3sg.nf towards 1sg see ka.adv purp3 1sg take ka.adv purp3

raímí penáje
ri= aí =mi penáje
3sg.nf tooth nom.pfv for

Libre yo miré bonitos dientes de él, cuando yo sepa que ya está pudriéndose, ahí yo voy a ir allá a mirar para yo coger diente de él (patáa'kajo: dañarse, maja'kajo: podrirse)

53 Mot	réjomi	pajlúwáta	kéri
Morphèmes	ri= éjomi	pajlúwá -ta	kéri
Glose lex.	3sg.nf after	one cls:flat	moon

ri'micháká reyá réjomi
ri= i'mi -chá -ká ri= eyá ri= éjomi
3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf from 3sg.nf after

Libre después un mes de ahí él vivió

54 Mot	é	rímícha	riyajálo	jló	" chúwa
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ri= yajálo	jló	chúwa
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf wife for		now

tá nu'jicháká réjō , kélé
tâ nu= i'jī -chá -ka ri= ejo kélé
emph1 1sg go prs ka.cleft 3sg.nf towards med

nomákare ná pajá káa'tako rikó
nu= amá -kare ná pajá káa' -ta -ka =o ri= ikhá =ó
1sg see arg.nz1 indf emph burn caus A.nz2 mid 3sg.nf pro mid

i'maká , raímí jña'jé
i'ma -ka ri= aí =mi jña' -je
far.pst ka.pst 3sg.nf tooth nom.pfv take purp.mot

Libre él dijo a la mujer "ahora sí me voy allá, ese quien será que yo había visto quién será que se había quemado solo, a coger los dientes"

55 Mot	é	rúmícha	náke
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	náke
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst	uh

Libre ella dijo

56 Mot	náje	pikátotá	phiyúké	wáni
Morphèmes	náje	pi= káta =o tá	phiyúké	wáni
Glose lex.	indf.reason	2sg play mid emph1	all	emph
apála	méké	ilé	kajé	la'á ka'jná iná
apála	méké	ilé	kájé	la'á ka'jná iná
maybe	indf.manner	med	type do	dub gnr.pro

Libre pa qué juega todo de pronto él pueda hacer algo a uno (ilé kajé: ese de ahí)

57 Mot	ũká	ké	rímícha	júpimi	kája
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	júpi =mi	kája
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst	long_time pfv	already
ka'jná	rimaja'ótá	júpimi	ké	rímícha	
ka'jná	***	júpi	=mi	ké	ri= ímí -cha
dub	***	long_time	pfv	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre no, eso fue tiempo, ya será está podrido" él dijo

58 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	rějõ
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf towards

Libre ahí él se fue allá

59 Mot	iphíchari	rějõ	amíchari	wajé
Morphèmes	iphí -cha -ri	ri= ejo	amí -cha -ri	wajé
Glose lex.	arrive pst nf.ss	3sg.nf towards	see pst nf.ss	new
riwakajé	rikáa'tako	kéja	ritámi	
ri= wakajé	ri= káa' -ta -ka	=o ké =ja	ri= támi	
3sg.nf date	3sg.nf burn caus	ka.nz mid like lim	3sg.nf sickness	
to'cháko	kejíláphí	rinapóna		
to' -chá -ka	=o ka- jilá -phí	ri= napóna		
lie pst ka.nz mid	attr grease ?advz	3sg.nf body		
i'micháká	phiyúké			
i'mi -chá -ká	phiyúké			
cop pst ka.cleft	all			

Libre él llegó allá y vio así ese día que él se quemó fresco así igualito estaba, mantecoso estaba todo el cuerpo de él (kára'takajo: quemado)

60 Mot	é	i'jnachíyatá "	méké	chí	kháájí	ũká
Morphèmes	é	***	méké	chí	kháájí	unká
Glose lex.	then	***	indf.manner	emph3	prox	neg
wáni	maja'lóí "					
wáni	***					
emph	***					

Libre él se puso a pensar "cómo será es esto no se pudre?" (vimy: está mocho, es ri'jnachíyata ripéchuwa: pensar)

61 Mot	jú'káya	ri'jíchá	ritujlichá				
Morphèmes	jú'ká =eyá	ri=	i'jī -chá	ri=	tujli	-chá	
Glose lex.	far from	3sg.nf	go pst	3sg.nf	***	pst	
riwapa'náre		nujme'láre	aǎ	raǎ		" khá "	
ri= wapa'ná -re		***	aǎ	ri= aǎ		***	
3sg.nf blowgun alien2		***	with	3sg.nf tooth		***	

Libre de lejos él se fue, y él tocó con esa punta de bodoquera diente de él "khá"

62 Mot	píj
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre (pijji: brincar onom.)

63 Mot	a'jnájé	ké	jreño'cháka			
Morphèmes	a'jná =eje	ké	ri= jeño' -chá -ka			
Glose lex.	dist until	like	3sg.nf jump	pst	ka.cleft	

Libre el brincó hacia allá

64 Mot	yé
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre uy

65 Mot	náñani	kélé	we'íchari	numu'jí	palá
Morphèmes	ná =ñáni	kélé	we'í -cha -ri	nu= mu'jí	palá
Glose lex.	indf dim	med	know pst	nf.cleft	1sg pity good
wáni ké	rímíchaka			, makápo'chari	nuká
wáni ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			makápo' -cha -ri	nu= ikhá
emph like	3sg.nf say	pst ka.cleft		revive pst	nf.nz 1sg pro
píño ké	rímíchaka				
píño ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka				
again like	3sg.nf say	pst ka.cleft			

Libre "quién sera escito que tuvo lástima de mi muy bueno" así él dijo el que me revivió otra vez (we'pí pr-mu'jí: tener lástima)

66 Mot	" kája	nukapicháko		ké
Morphèmes	kája	nu= kapichá -ka	=o	ké
Glose lex.	already	1sg lose	ka.topic mid	like

numaká	nunakuwá
nu= ima -ká	nu= naku =wá
1sg say ka.cleft	1sg on refl

Libre ya yo estaba muerto" así dije de mi

67 **Mot** penáje kélé náñáni ka'jná we'píchari
Morphèmes penáje kélé ná =ñáni ka'jná we'pí -cha -ri
Glose lex. then med indf dim dub know pst nf.cleft

makápo'chari " ké rímícha
makápo' -cha -ri ké ri= ímí -cha
revive pst nf.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre quién será esecito que me salvó que me revivió

68 **Mot** nuká ké rímíchaka
Morphèmes nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. 1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre él dijo "yo"

69 **Mot** " yéj nulaké " ké rímíchaka
Morphèmes *** nu= laké ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. *** 1sg grandchild like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "uy nieto" dijo

70 **Mot** náje paláwáni pili'chá nunáku
Morphèmes náje palá wáni pi= li' -chá nu= náku
Glose lex. indf.reason good emph 2sg do prs 1sg on

Libre "por qué usted hizo muy bien de mi? "

71 **Mot** ná ina- , ná wejátanamitá pajá
Morphèmes ná *** ná wejátana =mi tá pajá
Glose lex. indf *** indf idiot pfv emph1 emph

li'charímí cháwani nu'maká i'maká
li' -cha -rí =mi cháwa -ni nu= i'ma -ká i'ma -ká
do pst nf.cleft pfv pity nf 1sg cop *** far.pst ka.pst

nulaké ké rímíchaka
nu= laké ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
1sg grandchild like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "quién será porquería me hizo muy mal, nieto?" él dijo

72 **Mot** kewí nojló me'píjí ... nomotho'ó jíña
Morphèmes kewí nu= jló me'píjí nu= motho'ó jíña
Glose lex. painful 1sg for hunger 1sg cook fish

nojlúwa i'maká
nu= jlú =wa i'ma -ka
1sg for refl far.pst ka.pst

Libre yo tengo hambre, yo cociné pescao para mi (falta 1er i'maká)

73 **Mot** penáje ná wejánátá kélé ... ka'á nuchiyajwé
Morphèmes penáje ná wejáná tá kélé ka'á ***
Glose lex. then indf idiot emph1 med clean ***

i'wá náke
i'wá náke
bottom uh

Libre por eso quién será porquería rompió el fondo de mi ollita de barro

74 Mot	aú	kaja	náke	nukapicháta	
Morphèmes	aú	kája	náke	nu= kapichá	-ta
Glose lex.	because	emph?	uh	1sg lose	caus

nokó i'maká kája i'jnú ka'jná
 nu= ikhá =o i'ma -ká kája i'jnú ka'jná
 1sg pro mid far.pst ka.pst already lazy dub

riwátaka nu'maká eja'wá chú
 ri= wáta -ka nu= i'ma -ka eja'wá chú
 3sg.nf want ka.cleft 1sg cop ka.nz forest in

Libre por eso yo me maté será él no quería que yo viviera en este mundo (i'jnú: pereza, en cuento se dice así)

75 Mot	ri=	la'	-ká	nu'maká	marí	ké	,
Morphèmes	ri=	la'	-ká	nu= i'ma	-ka	marí	ké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	do	ka.cleft	1sg far.pst	ka.pst	prox	like

penáje piwe'ícha mu'jí nulaké ké rímícha
 penáje pi= we'í -cha mu'jí nu= laké ké ri= ímí -cha
 then 2sg know pst pity 1sg grandchild like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre por eso será él me hizo así, por eso usted tuvo lastima de mi, así él dijo

76 Mot	"	ñaké	kája	...	pimakápo'cha	nuká	,
Morphèmes	"	ñaké	kája		pi= makápo'	-cha	nu= ikhá
Glose lex.		dist.simil	already		2sg revive	pst	1sg pro

chúwajá pi'jnajé nujwa'té nuñakaréjǒ
 chúwajá pi= i'jna -jé nu= jwa'té nu= ñakaré =ejo
 today 2sg go fut 1sg with 1sg house towards

no'kálojé pijló kélé pimakápo'chaka
 nu= a' -ká lojé pi= jló kélé pi= makápo' -cha -ka
 1sg give ka.adv purp3 2sg for med 2sg revive pst ka.nz

nuká wemí no'chí pijló Ta'piku'wére " ké
 nu= ikhá wemí nu= a' -chí pi= jló *** ké
 1sg pro reward 1sg give purp2 2sg for *** like

rímíchaka rijló
 ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre como usted ya me revivió, hoy usted se va conmigo a mi casa, para darte pago de lo que usted me revivió, para darte ta'piku'wére

77 Mot	é	ri'jǐchá	rijwa'té
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jǐ -chá	ri= jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf with

Libre él se fue con él

78 Mot	ajíké	iphíchari	a'jná	riñakaré
Morphèmes	ají ké	iphí -cha -ri	a'jná	ri= ñakaré
Glose lex.	prox like	arrive pst nf.ss	dist	3sg.nf house

éjō
ejo
towards

Libre y llegaron a la casa de él

79 Mot	riñakaréjō	riphíchaka	, ré
Morphèmes	ri= ñakaré =ejo	ri= iphí -cha -ka	ré
Glose lex.	3sg.nf house towards	3sg.nf arrive pst ka.when	then

riyajálo i'michá rokója
ri= yajálo i'mi -chá ru= ikhá =o =ja
3sg.nf wife cop pst 3sg.f pro mid lim

Libre él llegó a la casa, ahí estaba la mujer sola

80 Mot	kélé	ta'píku'wére	yajálo
Morphèmes	kélé	***	yajálo
Glose lex.	med	***	wife

Libre la mujer de ese ta'píku'were

81 Mot	aa	" rúmícha	méké
Morphèmes	***	ru= ímí -cha	méké
Glose lex.	***	3sg.f say pst	indf.manner

pili'chákomi i'maká
pi= li' -chá -ka =o =mi i'ma -ka
2sg do pst ka.cleft mid pfv far.pst ka.pst

Libre "qué te había pasado" ella dijo

82 Mot	é	rímícha	rojló
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for

Libre él le dijo

83 Mot	marí	ké	ná	wejáãtá	pajá	la'rí
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ná	wejáã tâ	pajá	la' -rí
Glose lex.	prox	like	indf	idiot emph1	emph	do nf.cleft

nu'maká chápúwani
nu= i'ma -ka chápú wáni
1sg far.pst ka.pst *** emph

Libre "quién será porquería me hizo muy mal"

84 Mot	kewí	nojló	me'píj	i'maká	nomotho'ó
Morphèmes	kewí	nu= jló	me'píj	i'ma -ká	nu= motho'ó
Glose lex.	painful	1sg for	hunger	cop ka.cleft	1sg cook

nojluwa jíñana i'maká
nu= jlú =wa jíña -na i'ma -ká
1sg for refl fish pl far.pst ka.pst

Libre "yo tenía hambre cociné pescado para mi"

85 Mot	penáje	,	ũká	inau'kélaritá			,	kája
Morphèmes	penáje		unká	inau'ké	-la	-ri	tá	kája
Glose lex.	then		neg	person	v.neg	nf.nz	emph1	already

ka'á	nu'chiyajwé	i'wá	i'maká
ka'á	***	i'wá	i'ma -ka
clean	***	bottom	far.pst ka.pst

Libre por eso esa porquería rompió el fondo de mi ollita de barro

86 Mot	aú	nukapicháta		nokó			i'maká
Morphèmes	aú	nu= kapichá	-ta	nu= ikhá	=o		i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	because	1sg lose	caus	1sg pro	mid		far.pst ka.pst

Libre por eso yo me maté solo

87 Mot	penáje	kháãjĩ	nulakéñáni		we'í	mu'jí
Morphèmes	penáje	kháãjĩ	nu= laké	=ñáni	we'í	mu'jí
Glose lex.	then	prox	1sg grandchild	dim	know	pity

makápo'chári		nuká	,	aú	nuwái'cha	riká
makápo'	-chá -ri	nu= ikhá		aú	nu= wái'	-cha ri= ikhá
revive	pst nf.ss	1sg pro		because	1sg call	pst 3sg.nf pro

majó	nujwa'tó		no'kálojé		rijló
majó	nu= jwa'té	=ó	nu= a' -ká	lojé	ri= jló
prox.toward	1sg with	mid	1sg give ka.adv	purp3	3sg.nf for

riwemí	,	ta'píku'wére
ri= wemí		***
3sg.nf reward		***

Libre por eso este mi nietico le dio lástima de mi, él me revivió, por eso lo traje acá conmigo para yo darle de pago ta'píku'wére

88 Mot	" jé	" riyajálo	kémícha	rijló	,
Morphèmes	jé	ri= yajálo	kémí -cha	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	good	3sg.nf wife	say pst	3sg.nf for	

ro'jipicháká		rijló
ru= a'jipi	-chá -ka	ri= jló
3sg.f answer	pst ka.cleft	3sg.nf for

Libre bueno ella dijo, ella contestó (a'jipakájé: contestar)

89 Mot	ñaké	riká	nulaké	ké
Morphèmes	ñaké	ri= ikhá	nu= laké	ké
Glose lex.	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro	1sg grandchild	like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre bueno nieta

90 Mot	chúwajá	maaré	pikamátajo			nujwa'té
Morphèmes	chúwajá	maaré	pi= kamáta	-je =o		nu= jwa'té
Glose lex.	today	prox.loc	2sg sleep	fut mid		1sg with

muníko pipa'ó
muní =kó pi= pa' =ó
tomorrow emph4 2sg return mid

Libre hoy usted duerme conmigo, mañana se regresa

91 Mot	muníko		pipa'ó		,	" jé	" ké
Morphèmes	muní	=kó	pi= pa'	=ó		jé	ké
Glose lex.	tomorrow	emph4	2sg return	mid		good	like

Libre mañana se regresa, "bueno"

92 Mot	é	rikamáchiyo			rijwa'té	pajlúwája
Morphèmes	é	ri= kamáchi	-ya =o		ri= jwa'té	pajlúwá =ja
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf sleep	pst mid		3sg.nf with	one lim

jlapí
jlapí
night

Libre ahí él durmió con él una noche

93 Mot	muní ké	jlapiyamí	rímícha		" nulaké
Morphèmes	muní ké	lapiyamí	ri= ímí -cha		nu= laké
Glose lex.	next_day	morning	3sg.nf say	pst	1sg grandchild

chúwa "
chúwa
now

Libre al otro día en la mañana él dijo "nieto ahora..." (vimy: mochiti)

94 Mot	ijíílá	ri'micháká			kélé
Morphèmes	ijíílá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká			kélé
Glose lex.	arrow	3sg.nf cop	pst	ka.cleft	med

Libre era flecha (ijíílá : flecha i.jí.í.lá; guache (esp regional)

95 Mot	napura'kó		chú	kalé	rií
Morphèmes	na= pura'	-ká =o	chú	kalé	ri= íí
Glose lex.	3pl speak	ka.nz mid	in	emph5	3sg.nf name

i'michá riká ta'píku'wére , ijíílá i'micháká kélé
i'mi -chá ri= ikhá *** ijíílá i'mi -chá -ká kélé
cop pst 3sg.nf pro *** arrow cop pst ka.cleft med

Libre en idioma de ellos era ta'piku'were, era flecha

96 Mot	ra'chá		rijló		kélé	rimakápo'ka
Morphèmes	ri= a' -chá		ri= jló		kélé	ri= makápo' -ka
Glose lex.	3sg.nf give	pst	3sg.nf for		med	3sg.nf revive ka.nz

riká wemí
ri= ikhá wemí
3sg.nf pro reward

Libre él le dio pago de lo que él le revivió

97 Mot	é	rímícha		rijló	"	nulaké
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló		nu= laké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf for		1sg grandchild

maáré riká "
 maáré ri= ikhá
 prox.loc 3sg.nf pro

Libre él le dijo "aquí está nieto" (vimy: él quería decir marí riká)

98 Mot	marí	ta'píku'wére
Morphèmes	marí	***
Glose lex.	prox	***

Libre tenga este ta'píku'were

99 Mot	nákáje	iná	jña'káre	aú	iná	jlúwa
Morphèmes	nákaje	iná	jña' -káre	aú	iná	jló =wa
Glose lex.	uh	gnr.pro	take arg.nz1	with	gnr.pro	for refl

ná kamejérína phiyúkéja iná nóka raú
 ná kamejéri -na phiyúké =ja iná nó -ka ri= aú
 indf animal pl all lim gnr.pro kill ka.cleft 3sg.nf cause

Libre con ese uno coge algo para uno, ya sea todo, animales uno mata con eso

100 Mot	ñaké	númá	pijló	nulaké	ké
Morphèmes	ñaké	nu= ímá	pi= jló	nu= laké	ké
Glose lex.	dist.simil	1sg say	2sg for	1sg grandchild	like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre por eso te digo, nieto

101 Mot	pá	piyuríníña	inau'ké	ajúpána
Morphèmes	pá	pi= yurí -níña	inau'ké	ajúpána
Glose lex.	look_out	2sg leave	proh	person other.pl

péjéna jló ka'jné riká
 pi= éjéna jló ka'jné ri= ikhá
 2sg siblings for dub 3sg.nf pro

Libre no lo vaya dejar a otra gente, ni a su hermano

102 Mot	ne'jnajíká	é	piliyá
Morphèmes	na= i'jna -jí -ká	é	pi= liyá
Glose lex.	3pl go fut ka.adv	cond2	2sg from

riya'táje , pikó pi'jnaká náke
 ri= ya'tá -je pi= ikhá =o pi= i'jna -ká náke
 3sg.nf show purp.mot 2sg pro mid 2sg go ka.cleft uh

najló kamejéri kájé nóje
 na= jló kamejéri kájé nó -je
 3pl for animal type kill purp.mot

Libre si ellos vienen prestarlo de usted, usted solo va a matar cacería para ellos (vimy: pi'jnajíká en vez de pi'jnaká)

103 Mot	eyá	piya'tájika		rikájlá		ũká
Morphèmes	eyá	pi= ya'tá -jī -ka		ri= ikhá jlá		unká
Glose lex.	since_then	2sg lend fut ka.nz		3sg.nf pro frust		neg

i'maláje

i'ma -lá -je

tell v.neg fut

Libre y de prestarlo no (vimy: *rikajlá, ũká piya'tálaje riká)

104 Mot	palá	numaká		pijló		nulaké
Morphèmes	palá	nu= ima -ká		pi= jló		nu= laké
Glose lex.	good	1sg say ka.cleft		2sg for		1sg grandchild

phema'á riká

pi= jema'á ri= ikhá

2sg listen 3sg.nf pro

Libre le estoy diciendo bien nieta, escuchelo

105 Mot	kaminaíni	kája	kélé	kajé	, aũ	núma
Morphèmes	***	kája	kélé	kajé	aũ	nu= íma
Glose lex.	***	already	med	type	because	1sg say

pijló ñaké

pi= jló ñaké

2sg for dist.simil

Libre eso de ahí tiene dueño, por eso le estoy diciendo así

106 Mot	kája ikája	ripi'cháko				
Morphèmes	kája ikája	ri= pi' -chá -ka	=o			
Glose lex.	at_that_time	3sg.nf return pst ka.topic	mid			

Libre así se fue

107 Mot	iphíchari		a'jñáñojõ	riñakaré
Morphèmes	iphí -cha -ri	a'jñáñojõ	ri= ñakaré	
Glose lex.	arrive pst nf.ss	dist.toward	3sg.nf	house

chojé

chojé

towards_inside

Libre él llegó allá donde la casa

108 Mot	riyajálo	kémá	rijló	" méké
Morphèmes	ri= yajálo	kémá	ri= jló	méké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf wife	say	3sg.nf for	indf.manner

pila'kó kémá " " ũká "

pi= la' -ka =ó kémá unká

2sg do ka.cleft mid med neg

Libre la mujer le dijo "qué te pasó? " no"

109 Mot " kélé nu'jnakáre támi amáje ,
Morphèmes kélé nu= i'jna -káre támi amá -je
Glose lex. med 1sg go arg.nz1 sickness see purp.mot

riká wáa'ri (nojló) nuká rijwa'tó
 ri= ikhá wáa' -ri nu= jló nu= ikhá ri= jwa'té =ó
 3sg.nf pro call nf.cleft 1sg for 1sg pro 3sg.nf with mid
 , a'jné riñakaréjō
 a'jné ri= ñakaré =ejo
 dist 3sg.nf house towards

Libre ese que yo fui a mirar muerto de él él me llevó a la casa de él

110 Mot rímá nojló marí ké náke " pi'jné
Morphèmes ri= ímá nu= jló marí ké náke pi= i'jné
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say 1sg for prox like uh 2sg go

nujwa'té no'chí pijló kélé pimakápo'ka
 nu= jwa'té nu= a' -chí pi= jló kélé pi= makápo' -ka
 1sg with 1sg give purp2 2sg for med 2sg revive ka.nz
 nuká wemí "
 nu= ikhá wemí
 1sg pro reward

Libre él me dijo así "venga conmigo para darte a usted pago de lo que usted me revivió"

111 Mot aú riwá'a nuká a'jné
Morphèmes aú ri= wá'a nu= ikhá a'jné
Glose lex. with 3sg.nf take 1sg pro dist

riñakaréjō
 ri= ñakaré =ejo
 3sg.nf house towards

Libre por eso él me llevó a la casa de él

112 Mot é ra'chá nojló kháãjĩ
Morphèmes é ri= a' -chá nu= jló kháãjĩ
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf give pst 1sg for prox

Libre él me dio éste

113 Mot marí ké rímícha nojló
Morphèmes marí ké ri= ímí -cha nu= jló
Glose lex. prox like 3sg.nf say pst 1sg for

Libre así él me dijo

114 Mot pimakápo'ka nuká wemí no'chá
Morphèmes pi= makápo' -ka nu= ikhá wemí nu= a' -chá
Glose lex. 2sg revive ka.nz 1sg pro reward 1sg give pst

pijló kháãjĩ náke
 pi= jló kháãjĩ náke
 2sg for prox uh

Libre pago por revivirme, yo le pago con esto

115 Mot	nákájé	iná	jña'káre	iná	jlúwa	aú
Morphèmes	nákaje	iná	jña' -káre	iná	jló =wa	aú
Glose lex.	thing	gnr.pro	take arg.nz1	gnr.pro	for refl	with
, kamejéri	iná	nókare	aú			
kamejéri	iná	nó -kare	aú			
animal	gnr.pro	kill arg.nz1	with			

Libre algo uno coge con eso para uno, con ese uno puede matar cacería

116 Mot	marí	ké	rímíchaka		nojló
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	nu=	jló
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	1sg	for

Libre así él me dijo

117 Mot	marí	ké	rímícha		nojló	ũká	ná
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha	nu=	jló	unká	ná
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst	1sg	for	neg	indf
jló	nuyuílaje		riká		, nokó		
jló	nu= yuí -la	-je	ri= ikhá	nu=	ikhá =o		
for	1sg leave v.neg	fut	3sg.nf pro	1sg	pro mid		
nu'jnájíká		kamejéri	nóje		, eyá		
nu= i'jna -jĩ -ká		kamejéri	nó -je		eyá		
1sg go fut ka.cleft		animal	kill purp.mot		since_then		
naya'tájíka		é	piliyá	riká			
na= ya'tá -jĩ -ka		é	pi= liyá	ri=	ikhá		
3pl show fut ka.adv		cond2	2sg from	3sg.nf	pro		

Libre así él me dijo que yo no tenía que dejarlo con nadie, yo solito voy a matar cacería para ellos, si ellos te lo prestan

118 Mot	phema'á	númájíka		pijló	me'tení
Morphèmes	pi= jema'á	nu= ímá -jĩ -ka		pi= jló	me'tení
Glose lex.	2sg listen	1sg say fut obl.nz		2sg for	now
no'jíká		pijló	jrená	pila'jíkáé	
nu= a' -jĩ -ka		pi= jló	ri= jená	pi= la' -jĩ -ka	é
1sg give fut ka.cleft		2sg for	3sg.nf hour	2sg do fut ka.adv	cond2
arápa'kaje	iyamá	kuwá'taka	kéléja	je'rúna	
arápa' -kaje	iyamá	kuwá' -ta -ka	kélé =ja	je'rú -na	
dance ev.nz2	two	cross caus ka.nz	med lim	pig pl	
pila'jíka		náke	arápa'kaje	ka'jné	náke
pi= la' -jĩ -ka		náke	arápa' -kaje	ka'jné	náke
2sg do fut ka.when		uh	dance ev.nz2	dub	uh
pa'kálojé		inau'ké	jló	, rejenája	
pi= a' -ka lojé		inau'ké	jló	ri= ejená =ja	
2sg give ka.adv purp3		person	for	3sg.nf until lim	
reyá	ũká	picháatalaje		riká	
ri= eyá unká	pi= cháata -la -je	ri=	ikhá		
3sg.nf from neg	2sg *** v.neg fut	3sg.nf	pro		

Libre escuche lo que te voy a decir ahora: "yo te voy a dar indicación, cuando va a hacer baile,

máximo son siete puercos para que haga baile con ese pa que le dé a la gente, hasta ahí, de ahí usted no puede pasar (cháatakaje: ganar)

119 Mot	aú	ñaké	rili'chá		
Morphèmes	aú	ñaké	ri=	li'	-chá
Glose lex.	because	dist.simil	3sg.nf	do	pst

ri'micháká
 ri= i'mi -chá -ka
 3sg.nf far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre y así lo hizo

120 Mot	ré	rímícha	júpija		
Morphèmes	ré	ri=	ímí	-cha	júpi =ja
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	long_time lim

ri'micháká , é rímícha chúwa
 ri= i'mi -chá -ká é ri= ímí -cha chúwa
 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft then 3sg.nf say pst now

nu'jīcháká náke
 nu= i'jī -chá -ka náke
 1sg go prs ka.cleft uh

Libre ahí él dijo, ahí vivió un tiempo, él dijo "me voy"

121 Mot	nule'jé	náke	ta'píku'wére	atáã'je	marí	ké
Morphèmes	nu=	le'jé	náke	***	atáã'	-je marí ké
Glose lex.	1sg	poss	uh	***	try	purp.mot prox like

paminá kemaká nojló , é ri'jīchá
 pa= miná kema -ká nu= jló é ri= i'jī -chá
 impers owner say ka.cleft 1sg for then 3sg.nf go pst

Libre voy a ir a probar mi ta'píku'were así me dijo el dueño, y se fue (ataníkaje: probar)

122 Mot	ũká	júkála	ri'jīcháká		, é
Morphèmes	unká	júká	-la	ri=	i'jī -chá -ká é
Glose lex.	neg	far	v.neg	3sg.nf	go pst ka.cleft then

riphícha je'rúna apumí chojé
 ri= ipha -cha je'ru -na i= apumí chojé
 3sg.nf arrive pst pig pl 2pl ?replacement towards_inside

Libre él no se fue muy lejos, él llegó donde rastro de los puercos

123 Mot	é	ripináchiya	neká		, ajéréké
Morphèmes	é	ri=	pináchi	-ya	na= ikhá ajéré ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	***	pst	3pl pro *** like

jremi'cháka namejé
 ri= jemi' -chá -ka na= mejé
 3sg.nf listen pst ka.cleft 3pl sound

Libre él los rastreó, cerquita él escuchó ruido de ellos (pinátakaje: rastrear)

132 Mot	apú	píño	"	wó'wo	"	pajéthé	kélécha
Morphèmes	apú	píño		***		pajéthé	kélé -cha
Glose lex.	other	again		***		?cinco	med inch

Libre otro otra vez "wo'wo" ya para cinco

133 Mot	apú	píño	"	wó'o	"	pajlúwa	kuwá'ta
Morphèmes	apú	píño		***		pajlúwá	kuwá' -ta
Glose lex.	other	again		***		one	cross caus

kélécha
kélé -cha
med inch

Libre otro otra vez ya para seis

134 Mot	apú	píño	"	wó'o	"	siete	rímíchaka
Morphèmes	apú	píño		***		***	ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	other	again		***		***	3sg.nf say pst obl.nz

éjê
=eje
until

Libre otro otra vez "wo'wo" para siete así como él le dijo

135 Mot	iyamá	kuwá'taka				kélé
Morphèmes	iyamá	kuwá' -ta	-ka			kélé
Glose lex.	two	cross	caus	ka.nz		med

Libre siete

136 Mot	é	júpíchami	ri'jíchá			réjō
Morphèmes	é	***	ri= i'jĩ	-chá		ri= ejo
Glose lex.	then	***	3sg.nf go	pst		3sg.nf towards

Libre al rato él se fue donde él

137 Mot	amíchari		je'rúna	támi		pitakó
Morphèmes	amí -cha	-ri	je'rú -na	támi		pita -ka =ó
Glose lex.	see	pst	nf.ss	pig	pl	sickness

nawíyo'chaka ewá " wo'o o'o "
na= awíyo' -cha -ka ewá *** ***
3pl scream pst obl.nz around *** ***

Libre y miró los puercos tiraos por donde que ellos gritaban "wo'wo"

138 Mot	kája penáje	náke	rinóchaje			e'yá
Morphèmes	kája penáje	náke	ri= nó	-chaje		e'yá
Glose lex.	last_time	uh	3sg.nf	kill	arg.nz2	in

ritái'cho
ri= táí' -cha =o
3sg.nf stand_up pst mid

Libre el último que él mató ahí estaba clavao la flecha

riliyá
 ri= liyá
 3sg.nf from

Libre ahí el hermano con el tiempo él se fue donde él a prestar de él

145 Mot é rímícha " o'wé marí kéja
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha o'wé marí ké =ja
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst brother.addr prox like lim

piká " " á'a nujmerémi marí kéja
 pi= ikhá á'a nu= jmeré =mi marí ké =ja
 2sg pro yes 1sg younger_brother nom.pfv prox like lim

nuká "
 nu= ikhá
 1sg pro

Libre él dijo "cómo está hermano? " "sí acá estoy, hermanito"

146 Mot " ñaké riká o'wé "
Morphèmes ñaké ri= ikhá o'wé
Glose lex. dist.simil 3sg.nf pro brother.addr

Libre "bueno hermano"

147 Mot " majó nu'jíchá picháje kélé nákáje
Morphèmes majó nu= i'jī -chá pi= cháje kélé náka je
Glose lex. prox.toward 1sg go pst 2sg at med thing

jña'jóna ta'píku'wére a'karé pijló piya'tákalojé
 jña' -jóna *** a' -karé pi= jló pi= ya'tá -ka lojé
 take instr.nz *** give arg.nz1 2sg for 2sg show ka.adv purp3

nojló riká penáje "
 nu= jló ri= ikhá penáje
 1sg for 3sg.nf pro for

Libre yo vine acá donde usted ese de coger algo que ta'piku'were te dio pa que me lo preste a ese"

148 Mot nuwáta arápa'káje keyajúpákaje nakú
Morphèmes nu= wáta arápa' -káje *** nakú
Glose lex. 1sg want dance ev.nz2 *** on

nupuráka'lo i'makáná
 nu= puráka'la =o i'ma -kána
 1sg speech mid cop ev.nz1

Libre yo quiero hacer baile (baile (keyajúpákaje: baile)

149 Mot jwáke'ná nuwáta kélé piya'tákalojé
Morphèmes *** nu= wáta kélé pi= ya'tá -ka lojé
Glose lex. *** 1sg want med 2sg show ka.adv purp3

nojló
 nu= jló
 1sg for

Libre para eso yo quiero que usted me lo preste (jwáke'ná: cacería)

150 Mot	kéjo'ó	riká	nujmerémi		
Morphèmes	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	nu= jmeré	=mi	
Glose lex.	like still	3sg.nf pro	1sg younger_brother	nom.pfv	

ké rímícha
 ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre es cierto mi hermanito" él dijo

151 Mot	marí	ké	paminá	kemaká	nojló
Morphèmes	marí	ké	pa= miná	kema -ká	nu= jló
Glose lex.	prox	like	impers owner	say ka.cleft	1sg for

Libre así me dijo el dueño

152 Mot	ũká	mékéla'jé	nuya'tála	ajúpána	jló
Morphèmes	unká	méké	la'jé	nu= ya'tá -la	ajúpána
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	***	1sg show v.neg	other.pl for

riká
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre que yo no lo puedo prestar a extraños

153 Mot	nokhó	ka'jná	nu'jnajíká	pijló
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá =o	ka'jná	nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka	pi= jló
Glose lex.	1sg pro mid	dub	1sg go fut ka.cleft	2sg for

nóje , ũká ké rímícha , kája pímícha
 nó -je unká ké ri= ímí -cha kája pi= ímí -cha
 kill purp.mot neg like 3sg.nf say pst already 2sg say pst

nojló " o'wé " ké rímícha
 nu= jló o'wé ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg for brother.addr like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre yo sólo será voy a matar para usted, "no" él dijo, "ya usted me dijo hermano"

154 Mot	ilé	pímícha	nojló	ké	nákei
Morphèmes	ilé	pi= ímí -cha	nu= jló	ké	nákei
Glose lex.	med	2sg say pst	1sg for	like	uh

Libre así como usted me dijo

155 Mot	nuwe'píjika	rinakojé	ké
Morphèmes	nu= we'pí -jĩ -ka	ri= nakú eje	ké
Glose lex.	1sg know fut ka.topic	3sg.nf on until	like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre así lo voy a manejar

156 Mot	é	rímícha		rijló	yukúná	marí
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	jló	yukú -ná
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.nf	for	story alien3

kétá ri'maká nojló
ké tâ ri= i'ma -ká nu= jló
like emph1 3sg.nf tell ka.cleft 1sg for

Libre entonces él le contó "así fue que él me dijo"

157 Mot	pila'jíka	é	kélé	kajúni
Morphèmes	pi= la' -jí -ka	é	kélé	kajú -ní
Glose lex.	2sg do fut ka.adv	cond2	med	much nf

arápa'kaje , iyamá kuwá'ta kélé je'rúna éjéja ,
arápa' -kaje iyamá kuwá' -ta kélé je'rú -na ***
dance ev.nz2 two cross caus med pig pl ***

eyá ũká mékela'jé náke , kélé náke ,
eyá unká mékela'jé náke kélé náke
since_then neg indf.manner uh med uh

pha'páñalaje

pi= ja'pá -ña -la -je
2sg pass appl v.neg fut

Libre "si usted va a hacer grande baile, solo hasta siete puercos no más, de ahí usted no puede pasar más"

158 Mot	marí	ké	rímícha	rijló	, jé
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri=	jló jé
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf	for good

ñaké riká , é riyachíya rijló
ñaké ri= ikhá é ri= ya'chí -ya ri= jló
dist.simil 3sg.nf pro then 3sg.nf *** pst 3sg.nf for

ri'micháká

ri= i'mi -chá -ka
3sg.nf far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre "así él me dijo" "bueno" él dijo, ahí él le prestó

159 Mot	eyá	rili'chá	píño	arápa'kaje
Morphèmes	eyá	ri= li' -chá	píño	arápa' -kaje
Glose lex.	since_then	3sg.nf do pst	again	dance ev.nz2

ñakéja kája raũ , ilé jemi'chári patá
ñaké =ja kája ri= aũ ilé jemi' -chá -ri patá
dist.simil lim already 3sg.nf cause med listen pst nf.cleft good

rináku i'micháká
ri= náku i'mi -chá -ká
3sg.nf on cop pst ka.cleft

Libre de ahí él hizo otra vez baile así igual con eso, él sí escuchó bien lo que él le dijo

160 Mot	é kája	náke	réjómi	píño	apú	jemi'chá
Morphèmes	é kája	náke	ri= éjomi	píño	apú	jemi' -chá
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf after	again	other	listen pst

píño riyukúná

píño ri= yukú -ná
again 3sg.nf story alien3

Libre de ahí otra vez otro escuchó otra vez

161 Mot	ilé	i'michá	apú	kája	riteló
Morphèmes	ilé	i'mi -chá -rí	apú	kája	ri= teló
Glose lex.	med	cop pst	nf.cleft	other	already 3sg.nf ***

Libre ese era otro paisano de él

162 Mot	i'jíchá	iphíchari	rináku
Morphèmes	i'jī -chá -rí	iphí -cha -ri	ri= náku
Glose lex.	go pst	nf.ss arrive pst	nf.ss 3sg.nf on

Libre él se fue y llegó donde él

163 Mot	nuteló	marí	kéja	piká	, "	á'a	nuteló
Morphèmes	nuteló	marí	ké =ja	pi= ikhá		á'a	nuteló
Glose lex.	friends	prox	like lim	2sg pro		yes	friends

marí kéja " " jé "
marí ké =ja jé
prox like lim good

Libre "paisano cómo está?" "sí paisano así" "bueno"

164 Mot	é kája	náke	rímícha	rijló	" marí
Morphèmes	é kája	náke	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló	marí
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for	prox

kajé penáje nu'jíchá picháje nuteló "
kájé penáje nu= i'jī -chá pi= cháje nu= teló
type for 1sg go pst 2sg at 1sg ***

Libre de ahí él le dijo a él, yo vine a esto donde usted

165 Mot	kélé	jnoma'á	yukúná	kélé	nákájé
Morphèmes	kélé	nu= jema'á	yukú -ná	kélé	nákaje
Glose lex.	med	1sg listen	story alien3	med	thing

jña'jóna iná la'kálojé arápa'káje ... kamejérí
jña' -jóna iná la' -ká lojé arápa' -káje kamejérí
take instr.nz gnr.pro do ka.adv purp3 dance ev.nz2 animal

nójona

nó -jona

kill instr.nz

Libre ese que yo escuché que es para coger algo para uno hacer baile, matador de cacería

166 Mot	jnoma'á	yukúná	, ta'píku'wére
Morphèmes	nu= jema'á	yukú -ná	***
Glose lex.	1sg listen	story alien3	***

piya'tákalojé nojló riká
 pi= ya'tá -ka lojé nu= jló ri= ikhá
 2sg show ka.adv purp3 1sg for 3sg.nf pro

Libre ese que yo escuché, ta'piku'were, para que me lo preste

167 Mot é rímícha " kéjo'ó riká
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ké =jo'ó ri= ikhá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst like still 3sg.nf pro

nuteló " ké rímícha
 nuteló ké ri= ímí -cha
 friends like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre él dijo "es cierto paisano"

168 Mot kaminaéni kélé kajé , marí ké
Morphèmes ka- miná -é -ni kélé kájé marí ké
Glose lex. attr owner ? nf med type prox like

paminá kemaká nojló " ũká mékela'jé
 pa= miná kema -ká nu= jló unká mékela'jé
 impers owner say ka.cleft 1sg for neg indf.manner

nuya'tála ajúpána jló riká "
 nu= ya'tá -la ajúpána jló ri= ikhá
 1sg show v.neg other.pl for 3sg.nf pro

Libre ese de ahí tiene dueño, así me dijo el dueño que yo no puedo prestar a otra gente (kaminaéni: tener dueño)

169 Mot nawátajikaé , nokhó ka'jné
Morphèmes na= wáta -jĩ -ka é nu= ikhá =o ka'jné
Glose lex. 3pl want fut ka.adv cond2 1sg pro mid dub

nu'jnakájlá nákei najló kamejéri nóje
 nu= i'jna -ka jlá nákei na= jló kamejéri nó -je
 1sg go ka.cleft frust uh 3pl for animal kill purp.mot

raú , marí ké ri'maká nojló , ñaké
 ri= aú marí ké ri= i'ma -ká nu= jló ñaké
 3sg.nf cause prox like 3sg.nf cop ka.cleft 1sg for dist.simil

ũká méla'jé nuya'tála pijló riká nuteló
 unká méla'jé nu= ya'tá -la pi= jló ri= ikhá nuteló
 neg indf.manner 1sg show v.neg 2sg for 3sg.nf pro friends

ké rímícha
 ké ri= ímí -cha
 like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre si ellos quieren yo solito puedo ir matar cacería para ellos, así él me dijo, por eso yo no te puedo prestarlo paisano, él dijo

170 Mot ũká , kája pímícha nojló nuteló ké
Morphèmes unká kája pi= ímí -cha nu= jló nuteló ké
Glose lex. neg already 2sg say prs 1sg for friends like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre ya usted me dijo paisano" él dijo

171 Mot ñaké ilé pímícha nojló ké
Morphèmes ñaké ilé pi= ímí -cha nu= jló ké
Glose lex. dist.simil med 2sg say prs 1sg for like

númájika ké rímícha
 nu= ímá -jĩ -ka ké ri= ímí -cha
 1sg say fut ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre así como usted me dijo así voy a decir" él dijo (paisano al dueño, como ud me diga yo voy a utilizar)

172 Mot riya'chíya rijlótá
Morphèmes ri= ya'chí -ya ri= jló tá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf show pst 3sg.nf for emph1

ri'micháká
 ri= i'mi -chá -ka
 3sg.nf far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre él le prestó a él

173 Mot é kája ripi'chótá i'micháká
Morphèmes é kája ri= pi' -chá =o tá i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf return pst mid emph1 far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí él se regresó

174 Mot júpi najícha réjomi nakakúwá
Morphèmes júpi na= ají -cha ri= éjomi na= kakú =wá
Glose lex. long_time 3pl eat pst 3sg.nf after 3pl coca refl

, é rímícha chúwa nu'jícháká ta'píku'were
 é ri= ímí -cha chúwa nu= i'jĩ -chá -ka ***
 then 3sg.nf say pst now 1sg go prs ka.cleft ***

atáá'je , raũ kamejéri nóje
 atáá' -je ri= aũ kamejéri nó -je
 try purp.mot 3sg.nf cause animal kill purp.mot

Libre duraron un tiempito mambeando, ahí él dijo me voy a probar ta'piku'were, a matar cacería con él

175 Mot ri'jíchá píño
Morphèmes ri= i'jĩ -chá píño
Glose lex. 3sg.nf go pst again

Libre otra vez se fue

176 Mot iphíchari píño je'rúna apumí
Morphèmes iphí -cha -ri píño je'rú -na i= apumí
Glose lex. arrive pst nf.ss again pig pl 2pl ?replacement

chojé
chojé
towards_inside

Libre llegó otra vez rastro de puercos

177 Mot ajéréké jremi'chákatá namejé
Morphèmes ajéré ké ri= jemi' -chá -ka tá na= mejé
Glose lex. *** like 3sg.nf listen pst ka.cleft emph1 3pl sound

Libre ahí no más él escuchó ruido de ellos

178 Mot é rímícha rijló " ta'píku'were " ké
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ri= jló *** ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for *** like

" pinóta je'rúna phiyúké phiyúké wáni
pi= nó -ta je'rú -na phiyúké phiyúké wáni
2sg kill caus pig pl all all emph

Libre ahí él le dijo "ta'piku'were, maté todo todos para mi esos puercos"

179 Mot ké rimakó
Morphèmes ké ri= ima -kó
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say simult

riki'chákatá riká " pprrr "
ri= ki' -chá -ka tá ri= ikhá ***
3sg.nf throw_out pst ka.cleft emph1 3sg.nf pro ***

Libre diciendo así el lo tiró

180 Mot jemi'chá je'rúna mejé " wó'wo wó'wo wó'wo
Morphèmes jemi' -chá je'rú -na mejé *** *** ***
Glose lex. listen pst pig pl sound *** *** ***

wó'wo wó'wo wó'wo wó'wo wó'wo " phiyúké
*** *** *** *** *** phiyúké
*** *** *** *** *** all

rinóchiyaka je'rúna
ri= nó -chi -ya -ka je'rú -na
3sg.nf kill caus pst ka.cleft pig pl

Libre él escuchó ruido de puerco "wo'wo" mató todos esos puercos

181 Mot é kája júpichami ri'jíchátá réjo
Morphèmes é kája júpichami ri= i'jĩ -chá tá ri= ejo
Glose lex. then long_time 3sg.nf go pst emph1 3sg.nf towards

Libre al rato él se fue donde él

182 Mot amíchari je'rúna támi yái'chako
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri je'rú -na támi yái' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss pig pl sickness sit pst ka.nz mid

kája kaméja
kája kamé =ja
already black lim

Libre él miró mucho puercos tirados puro negros (kaméja: puro negro)

183 Mot	kája penáje	rinóchaje	e'yá
Morphèmes	kája penáje	ri= nó -chaje	e'yá
Glose lex.	last_time	3sg.nf kill	arg.nz2 in

ritái'cho

ri= táí' -cha =o
3sg.nf stand_up pst mid

Libre el que él habiha matado último entre ese estaba parado él

184 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	rějõ
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf towards

Libre él se fue allá

185 Mot	yéwíchaja	ripháká	rějě	, é
Morphèmes	yéwícha =ja	ri= iphá -ká	ri= =eje	é
Glose lex.	almost lim	3sg.nf arrive ka.nz	3sg.nf until	then

nákei rikó jreo'chákotá
nákei ri= ikhá =ó ri= jeo' -chá -ka =o tá
uh 3sg.nf pro mid 3sg.nf pull_out pst ka.cleft mid emph1

re'yayá

ri= e'yá =yá
3sg.nf in abl

Libre ya él estaba llegando donde él, él solito se arracó de ahí (jero'kájo: arrancarse, despegarse)

186 Mot	" thajjí "	rinákutá	riwajwé	lokopáni ,
Morphèmes	***	ri= náku tá	ri= wajwé	***
Glose lex.	***	3sg.nf on emph1	3sg.nf heart	***

" théjí " ritámitá a'jnáñojõ
*** *** a'jnáñojõ
*** *** dist.toward

Libre ahí le flechó bien dirección del corazón, ahí se cayó muerto allá "théji" (no V only onom, lit. thá en el pecho)

187 Mot	ewá	kája	ũká	riphálácha	a'jná
Morphèmes	=ewá	kája	unká	ri= iphá -lá -cha	a'jná
Glose lex.	then	already	neg	3sg.nf arrive v.neg pst	dist

riñakaréjõ

ri= ñakaré =ejo
3sg.nf house towards

Libre de ahí no llegó a la casa de él

188 Mot	é	némícha	ñakétá
Morphèmes	é	na= ímí -cha	ñaké tá
Glose lex.	then	3pl say pst	dist.simil emph1

rili'chákata kélé
 ri= li' -chá -ka tá kélé
 3sg.nf do pst ka.cleft emph1 med

Libre ellos dijeron "así fue que él hizo ese de ahí"

189 Mot muní ké ne'jíchá réjõ
Morphèmes muní ké na= i'jĩ -chá ri= ejo
Glose lex. next_day 3pl go pst 3sg.nf towards

Libre al otro día se fueron hacia donde él

190 Mot iphíchari kélé je'rúna apumí
Morphèmes iphí -cha -ri kélé je'rú -na i= apumí
Glose lex. arrive pst nf.ss med pig pl 2pl ?replacement

chojé , ré namícha rapumítá
 chojé ré na= amí -cha ri= apumí tá
 towards_inside then 3pl see pst 3sg.nf ?replacement emph1

ríchu , nápumi chú i'micháká
 rí= chu na= ápu =mi chú i'mi -chá -ká
 3sg.nf in 3pl path nom.pfv in cop pst ka.cleft

Libre llegaron al rastro de los puercos y entre medio estaba rastro de él, atrás de los puercos

191 Mot ũká jú'kálaje , ajéréké
Morphèmes unká jú'ká -la je ajéré ké
Glose lex. neg far v.neg *** *** like

ramíchaka namíchaka je'rúna támi
 ri= amí -cha -ka na= amí -cha -ka je'rú -na támi
 3sg.nf see pst ka.cleft 3pl see pst ka.cleft pig pl sickness

yái'chako kajú
 yái' -cha -ka =o kajú
 sit pst ka.nz mid much

Libre no era muy lejos aquí no más miraron mucho montón de muertos de puercos tirados

192 Mot kája phiyúké ...
Morphèmes kája phiyúké
Glose lex. already all

Libre ya todos

193 Mot jeo'kája kélé ijíílá táí'chako kélé
Morphèmes *** kélé ijíílá táí' -cha -ka =o kélé
Glose lex. *** med arrow stand_up pst ka.cleft mid med

náke ... kélé kája penáje rinóchaje je'rú e'yá
 náke kélé kája penáje ri= nó -chaje je'rú e'yá
 uh med last_time 3sg.nf kill arg.nz2 pig in

Libre todavía estaba parado la flecha en el puerco que él mató último

194 Mot é yéwíchaja nepháká réjõ
Morphèmes é yéwícha =ja na= iphá -ká ri= ejo
Glose lex. then almost lim 3pl arrive ka.nz 3sg.nf towards

é	rikó			jrero'chó				"	trúuun	"
é	ri=	ikhá	=ó	ri=	jero'	-chá	=o		trúuun	
in	3sg.nf	pro	mid	3sg.nf	pull_out	pst	mid		ideo	

Libre ya casi estaban llegando hacia él, él solito se arrancó "trúuun"

195	Mot	é	ripi'chó			paminá		éjō	
	Morphèmes	é	ri=	pi'	-cha	=ó	pa=	miná	ejo
	Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	return	pst	mid	impers	owner	towards

Libre ahí se regresó donde el dueño

196	Mot	hasta	aquí
	Morphèmes	hasta	***
	Glose lex.	spa	***

Libre hasta aquí

ycn0101

1 Mot	maáre	nu'má	i'maká	(oya ?)
Morphèmes	maáré	nu= i'má	i'ma -ka	***
Glose lex.	prox.loc	1sg cop	far.pst ka.pst	***

Libre yo estaba aquí

2 Mot	maáre	nu'má	, no'wé	iphári
Morphèmes	maáré	nu= i'má	nu= e'wé	iphá -ri
Glose lex.	prox.loc	1sg cop	1sg brother	arrive nf.cleft
majó	i'maká	, aú	núma	- ríma
majó	i'ma -ka	aú	nu= íma	ri= íma
prox.toward	far.pst ka.pst	because	1sg say	3sg.nf bark
nojló	, nákarí	: "	wakajé nuwitúka'jě	, apú semana
nu= jló	nákarí	wakajé	nu= witúka' -jě	apú semana
1sg for	uh	date	1sg go_down fut	other week
e'yá	nuwitúka'jě	"(ké)	rimaá	nojló .
e'yá	nu= witúka' -jě	ké	ri= ima -ká	nu= jló
in	1sg go_down fut	like	3sg.nf say ka.cleft	1sg for

Libre yo estaba aquí y mi hermano llegó acá, por eso él me dijo, "tal día yo bajo, la otra semana estoy bajando", así él me dijo

3 Mot	aú	núma	rijló	: "
Morphèmes	aú	nu= íma	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	because	1sg say	3sg.nf for	

piwitúka'jika	éko	, piphá	majó	la
pi= witúka' -jĩ -ka	é =ko	pi= iphá	majó	la
2sg go_down fut ka.adv	cond2 ***	2sg arrive	prox.toward	def.f
únewá	, nuwitúka'chí	pijwa'té	, nujápáka	
úna =ewá	nu= witúka' -chí	pi= jwa'té	nu= jápá -ka	
one around	1sg go_down purp2	2sg with	1sg work ka.insub?	
kaja	, ré jwácho'jō	máayá	"	
kája	ré wa= jácho' -je =o	máa eyá		
too then	1pl go_out fut mid	here from		

Libre entonces yo le dije "si usted baja, venga acá por ahí a la una, para yo bajar con usted, yo también estoy trabajando, de ahí vamos salirnos de acá

4 Mot	é	péke	mejé	i'maá	yenójó	"
Morphèmes	é	péke	mejé	i'ma -ka	yenú =ejo	
Glose lex.	then	motor	sound	cop ka.insub?	up towards	

thú thú thú"
 *** *** ***
 *** *** ***

Libre ahí (se escuchaba) sonido de peque peque arriba (del río) "thú thú thú"

5 Mot é riphá
Morphèmes é ri= iphá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive

Libre él llegó

6 Mot ríma nojló : " unká tá wajilá
Morphèmes ri= íma nu= jló unká tâ wa= jilá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf bark 1sg for neg emph1 1pl grease

i'malá wawitúka'kalojé penáje ".
 i'ma -lá wa= witúka' -ka lojé penáje
 cop v.neg 1pl go_down ka.adv purp3 for

Libre él me dijo "no tenemos gasolina para nosotros bajar"

7 Mot é núma rijló , (pero , méke
Morphèmes é nu= íma ri= jló pero méké
Glose lex. then 1sg say 3sg.nf for spa indf.manner

náke) , " ré Victor maáre , riká liyá
 *** ri= é *** maáre , riká liyá
 *** 3sg.nf in *** prox.loc 3sg.nf pro from

nu'jíchá ya'tajé wejápaja wajló
 nu= i'jĩ -chá ya'ta -je wejápa wa= jló
 1sg go pst lend purp.mot little 1pl for

wawitúka'alojé penáje ".
 wa= witúka' -ka lojé penáje
 1pl go_down ka.adv purp3 for

Libre entonces yo le dije "aquí está Victor, de él voy a prestar un poquitico para nosotros para bajarnos"

8 Mot " jé " ké rimaá
Morphèmes jé ké ri= ima -ká
Glose lex. good like 3sg.nf say ka.cleft

Libre bueno él dijo

9 Mot ikája nu'jnaká kélé chájě , palájne'ke kélé
Morphèmes ikája nu= i'jna -ka kélé chájě *** kélé
Glose lex. then 1sg go ka.topic med at *** med

nujwa'té , aũ riya'tá nojló i'maká gasolina
 nu= jwa'té aũ ri= ya'tá nu= jló i'ma -ka gasolina
 1sg with because 3sg.nf lend 1sg for far.pst ka.pst spa

, rijilá , penáje wawitúka'a aũ
 ri= jilá , penáje wa= witúka'a aũ
 3sg.nf grease for 1pl go_down because

Libre ahí mismo yo me fui pa onde él, él es buena gente conmigo, por eso él me prestó gasolina, gasolina con ese bajamos

10 Mot	é	ripuláa'pe		witúka'ri			
Morphèmes	é	ri=	puláa'pe	witúka'	-ri		
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	brother_in_law	go_down	nf.cleft		
rijwa'té	,	jña'rí	u'wí	,	nákerí	kuwá'la	, kéchami
ri=	jwa'té	jña'	-rí	u'wí	nákeri	kuwá'la	kéchámi
3sg.nf	with	take	nf.ss	farina	uh	basket	after
karíwana		le'jé	planta	nemakáre		nakú	i'jnári
karíwa	-na	le'jé	planta	na= ima	-káre	nakú	i'jna -ri
white_person	pl	poss	power	3pl say	arg.nz1	on	go nf.cleft
kája	bote	chojé		,	kéchami	pajlúwaja	jipú
kája	***	chojé			kéchámi	pajlúwá =ja	jipú
too	***	towards_inside		after	one	lim	turtle_sp

Libre el cuñado de él bajó con él, llevó fariña, canasto, y la planta de los blancos que ellos dicen (la gente en general), también se fue al bote (la planta), también una charapa

11 Mot	jipú	kélé	nuwarúwa'káre		máayá
Morphèmes	jipú	kélé	nu= warúwa'	-káre	máa eyá
Glose lex.	turtle_sp	med	1sg buy	arg.nz1	here from

i'maká
i'ma -ka
far.pst ka.pst

Libre ese charapa que yo había comprado de acá

12 Mot	wawitúka'a	máayá	i'maká	ají	(ké)
Morphèmes	wa= witúka'a	máa eyá	i'ma -ka	ají	***
Glose lex.	1pl go_down	here from	far.pst ka.pst	prox	***

Libre bajamos de aquí

13 Mot	kája	iphári	kélé	comunidad	kélé	náke
Morphèmes	kája	iphá -ri	kélé	***	kélé	náke
Glose lex.	already	arrive nf.ss	med	***	med	uh

córdoba nale'jé , las cinco jlaí'chú
*** na= le'jé las *** jlaí'chú
*** 3pl poss spa *** afternoon

Libre él llegó a la comunidad de Córdoba a las 5 de la tarde

14 Mot	éjé	wephákaé		, wémá	:	" maáre
Morphèmes	éjé	wa= iphá -ka	é	wa= ímá		maáre
Glose lex.	***	1pl arrive ka.adv	in	1pl say		prox.loc

wakamátajō ,"
wa= kamáta -je =o
1pl sleep fut mid

Libre cuando llegamos ahí, dijimos aquí vamos a dormir

15 Mot " muníko lapiyámi jwa'pá , kája
Morphèmes muní =kó jlapiyámí wa= ja'pá kája
Glose lex. tomorrow emph4 morning 1pl pass already

wajúwi'cha "
 wa= júwi' -cha
 1pl get_dark pst

Libre mañana en la mañana vamos, ya nos cogió la tarde

16 Mot lapiyámi jwa'pá .
Morphèmes jlapiyámí wa= ja'pá
Glose lex. morning 1pl pass

Libre en la mañana nos vamos

17 Mot lapiyámi jwa'pákaé , é rímá
Morphèmes jlapiyámí wa= ja'pá -ka é é ri= ímá
Glose lex. morning 1pl pass ka.nz in then 3sg.nf say

nojló (pi- pi-) " piwá'a weká " ké rimaká
 nu= jló *** *** pi= wá'a weká ké ri= ima ká
 1sg for *** *** 2sg take *** like 3sg.nf say ***

nojló .
 nu= jló
 1sg for

Libre cuando ya estamos yendo en la mañana, él (el hermano) me dijo "lleva nosotros"

18.1 Mot (nuká maáre) " a'jnáré paúka'tá weká
Morphèmes nuká *** a'jnáré pi= aúka' -ta wa= ikhá
Glose lex. *** *** dist.loc 2sg put caus 1pl pro

(cho- ?)

Libre

18.2 Mot , ja'patakalojé chorro ,
Morphèmes i= ja'pá -ta -ka lojé chorro
Glose lex. 2pl pass caus ka.adv purp3 rapids

ja'patakalojé chorro " ké rimaká , "
 i= ja'pá -ta -ka lojé chorro ké ri= ima -ká
 2pl pass caus ka.adv purp3 rapids like 3sg.nf say ka.cleft

jé " ké numaká , " jácho'o phiyúké máayá
 jé ké nu= ima -ká i= jácho'o phiyúké máa =eyá
 good like 1sg say ka.cleft 2pl go_out all here from

."

Libre allá arríme nosotros, para pasar chorro, pa que pase chorro (el bote va a pasar), pase chorro así el dijo, bueno yo dije, salgan todos de aquí (a los hermanos)

19 Mot	nuká	la'jerí	vuelta	kélé	marí	meta'ápuru
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	la' -je -rí	***	kélé	marí	***
Glose lex.	1sg pro	do fut nf.cleft	***	med	prox	***

chuwá , ajĩ ké a'jná reyája jnócho'jō
 chu =ewá ajĩ ké a'jná ri= eyá =ja nu= jácho' -je =o
 in around eat like dist 3sg.nf from lim 1sg go_out fut mid
 , ikélé jnácho'jĩko " baradero " nemakáre
 *** na= jácho' -jĩ -ka =o *** na= ima -káre
 *** 3pl go_out fut obl.nz mid *** 3pl say arg.nz1

nakú , eyá nouka'tajē wekó náke , "
 nakú eyá nu= aúka' -ta -jē wa= ikhá =o náke
 on since_then 1sg put caus fut 1pl pro mid uh
 jácho'ta phiyúké ináni " ké numaká
 i= jácho' -ta phiyúké i= náni ké nu= ima -ká
 2pl go_out caus all 2pl thing like 1sg say ka.cleft

Libre yo voy a hacer vuelta por ese, este quebrada, de allá voy a salir, ahí de donde que ellos salen, es como decir "baradero" (puerto), ahí voy a arrimar a nosotros, "saquen todas sus cosas" así yo dije

20 Mot	jé	ké
Morphèmes	jé	ké
Glose lex.	good	like

Libre bueno

21 Mot	jé	ké	rimaká	nojló
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ima -ká	nu= jló
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf say ka.cleft	1sg for

Libre bueno él me dijo

22 Mot	ikája	ri'jnaká	riyajálo	jwa'té ,
Morphèmes	ikája	ri= i'jna -ka	ri= yajálo	jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go ka.topic	3sg.nf wife	with

ripuláa'pe , ripuláa'pe (--) yajálo , phiyúké
 ri= puláa'pe ri= puláa'pe yajálo phiyúké
 3sg.nf brother_in_law 3sg.nf brother_in_law wife all

neká
 na= ikhá
 3pl pro

Libre así él se fue con la mujer, cuñado, mujer (del cuñado), todos ellos

23 Mot	nokó	jno'páatá	, é
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá =o	nu= ja'pá -ka tá	é
Glose lex.	1sg pro mid	1sg pass ka.cleft emph1	then

nulukúna'ta kélé péke , ikája jno'páatá
 nu= lukúna' -ta kélé péke ikája nu= ja'pá -ka tá
 1sg light caus med motor then 1sg pass ka.topic emph1

Libre yo solo pasé, ahí yo prendí ese peque, ahí me fui

24 Mot	bieeen	kélé	nuchipúka'tá	kélé	meta'áputá	nakojé	,
Morphèmes	***	kélé	***	kélé	***	nakú =eje	
Glose lex.	***	med	***	med	***	on until	
é	kélé	(náke	, náke)	péketá	yáa'ká	,	é kája
é	kélé	náke	***	***	yáa' -ka		é kája
then	med	uh	***	***	sit ka.topic		then already
marea	jña'á	jíta	i'maká	,	ichuwájã	ripajno'táka	
***	jña'á	jíta	i'ma -ka	***	ri=	pajno' -ta -ka	
***	take	canoe	far.pst ka.pst	***	3sg.nf	turn caus ka.cleft	
ri'maká			i'maká	,	ré	timbo veinte galon	
ri=	i'ma	-ká	i'ma -ka	ri=	é	***	***
3sg.nf	far.pst	ka.pst	far.pst ka.pst	3sg.nf	in	***	***
i'má	,	unká	méla'jé	nupatalá		rinakojé	
i'ma		unká	méla'jé	nu= pata -lá	ri=	naku =eje	
cop		neg	indf.manner	1sg grab v.neg	3sg.nf	on until	
i'maká		,	ichuwája	jra'kó		(
i'ma	-ka	***	ri=	ja' -ka	=o		
far.pst	ka.pst	***	3sg.nf	fall ka.cleft	mid		
jra'kó		)	" ují	" junápeje			
ri=	ja' -ka	=o	***	junápi =eje			
3sg.nf	fall ka.cleft	mid	***	water2 until			

Libre yo di la vuelta bien por esa quebrada, ahí el peque peque se apagó, ahí esa marea cogió la canoa, de una vez volteó la canoa, de una vez lo volteó, ahí había un timbo de 20 galones, yo no pude agarrarme en él (timbo), de una vez se hundió (el timbo, porque estaba lleno)

25 Mot	kajúni	kélé	jípatá	i'maká	,	marí
Morphèmes	kajú	-ni	kélé	jípa tâ	i'ma -ka	marí
Glose lex.	much	nf	med	stone emph1	cop ka.cleft	prox
kétána	yenuká	i'maká	,	yenójē	piyakáa'ko	
kétána	yenu -ka	i'ma -ká	yenú =eje	pi= yakáa' -ka	=o	
during	up	com	cop ka.cleft	up after	2sg see ka.cleft	mid
richájē	tá	,	riká	chuwá	nu'jrá	
ri=	chájē	tâ	ri= ikhá	chu =ewá	nu= i'jrá	
3sg.nf	at	emph1	3sg.nf pro	in around	1sg go_up	
i'maká	nuwitúka'a	,	nu'jrá	nuwitúka'a	,	
i'ma	-ka	nu= witúka'a	nu= i'jrá	nu= witúka'a		
far.pst	ka.pst	1sg go_down	1sg go_up	1sg go_down		
nu'jrá	nuwitúka'a					
nu= i'jrá	nu= witúka'a					
1sg go_up	1sg go_down					

Libre ese chorro (piedra) era muy grande, así de alto estaba, usted mira así de alto, por ahí yo subía y bajaba, subía y bajaba, subía y bajaba

26 Mot	kaphí	riña'kátá		iná	kélé	,	pá
Morphèmes	kaphí	ri= ña' -ká	tâ	iná	kélé		pá
Glose lex.	hard	3sg.nf hit ka.cleft	emph1	gnr.pro	med		look

(iná	iná	iná-)	inau'ké	ña'ká	iná	pajimáya
iná	iná	***	inau'ké	ña' -ká	iná	pa= jimá =yá
gnr.pro	gnr.pro	***	person	hit ka.nz	gnr.pro	impers face abl
ké	, réjê		riña'ká		iná	kélé ,
ké	ri= eje		ri= ña' -ká		iná	kélé
like	3sg.nf until		3sg.nf hit ka.cleft		gnr.pro	med

Libre duro él pega a uno, ese (marea), es como pegar una persona a uno de la cara (como si una persona le pegara a uno), así de fuerte

27 Mot	é	nomá	kélé	timbo	kájéna
Morphèmes	é	na= amá	kélé	***	kájé -na
Glose lex.	then	3pl see	med	***	type pl

akúwá'tako			i'maká	, nuwitúka'a	, é	kája
akúwa' -ta	-ka =o		i'ma -ka	nu= witúka'a	é	kája
hang caus	ka.nz mid		far.pst ka.pst	1sg go_down	then	already

nuphá	náke	Manumá	ñakaré	loko'páni	, nupháka
nu= iphá	náke	***	ñakaré	loko'páni	nu= iphá -ka
1sg arrive	uh	***	house	side	1sg arrive ka.insub?

i'maká	, kája	unká	nujña'lá		panáku
i'ma -ka	kája	unká	nu= jña' -lá		pa= náku
far.pst ka.pst	already	neg	1sg take v.neg		impers on

i'maká	, é	mana'ichiyó	kája	kaphí	wáni
i'ma -ka	é	mana'ichiyó	kája	kaphí	wáni
far.pst ka.pst	then	suddenly	already	hard	emph

nu'jnakájlá		nupéchú	nakú	i'maká	, kajú
nu= i'jna -ka	jlá	nu= péchú	nakú	i'ma -ka	kajú
1sg go ka.cleft	frust	1sg thought	on	far.pst ka.pst	much

nuyáka		i'maká	, é	nachíra'a	nu'maká
nu= iyá -ka		i'ma -ka	é	na= chíra'a	nu= i'ma -ka
1sg cry ka.cleft		far.pst ka.pst	then	3pl pull	1sg cop ka.pst

nuyáte'la	nakiyá	, mana'ichiyó	nachíra'a	nutámi	,
nu= yáte'la	nakú =eyá	mana'ichiyó	na= chíra'a	nu= támi	
1sg hand on	from	suddenly	3pl pull	1sg sickness	

ñají	payáthe'laya		nachíra'a	nuká	a'jñañojó
ñají	pa= yáthe'la =yá		na= chíra'a	nu= ikhá	a'jñañojó
dist.simil	impers hand	abl	3pl pull	1sg pro	dist.toward

Libre ahí yo miré esos timbos flotando, yo bajé, ya yo llegué al frente de la casa de Manumá, yo llegué, ya yo no podía aguantar más, de un momento pensé que iba a ir muy duro, yo lloré mucho, ahí me jalaron de la mano, de un momento me jalaron mi muerto, así me jalaron de la mano

ycn0108

1 Mot	iyé'kuri	yukúná	nu'majé	me'tení
Morphèmes	iyé'kuri	yukú -ná	nu= i'ma jé	me'tení
Glose lex.	proper.n	story alien3	1sg tell fut	now

Libre ahora voy a contar el cuento de iyékuri

2 Mot	nákari	inauké	i'micháñó	pajlúwa	pají	chú
Morphèmes	nákari	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ñó	pajlúwá	pají	chú
Glose lex.	uh	person	cop pst pl.cleft	one	maloca	in

Libre la gente vivía en una maloka

3 Mot	rile'jé	fa	- ,	rile'jé	nákari	...
Morphèmes	ri= le'jé	***		ri= le'jé	nákari	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf poss	***		3sg.nf poss	uh	

riká'na	jwa'té	ri'michá	pajlúwaja	pají	chú
ri= iká'na	jwa'té	ri= i'mi -chá	pajlúwá =ja	pají	chú
3sg.nf family	with	3sg.nf live pst	one lim	maloca	in

Libre el vivía con su familia en una maloca

4 Mot	eyá	; ré	nákari	; ne'michá	júpi
Morphèmes	eyá	ré	nákari	na= i'mi -chá	júpi
Glose lex.	since_then	then	uh	3pl live pst	long_time

pajlúwa	chú	ne'makhé
pajlúwá	chú	na= i'ma -khé
one	in	3pl live far.pst

Libre después vivían mucho tiempo en una sola

5 Mot	júpi	ne'majíká	mapéja	nákari
Morphèmes	júpi	na= i'ma -jĩka	mapéja	nákari
Glose lex.	long_time	3pl live far.pst	normally	uh

Libre mucho tiempo ellos vivieron normalmente

6 Mot	ne'majíká	nañakajéla	nakú
Morphèmes	na= i'ma -jĩka	na= ñakajéla	nakú
Glose lex.	3pl live far.pst	3pl homeland	on

Libre ellos vivían en su tierra

7 Mot	é	júpichami	nákari	re'wé	kémicha
Morphèmes	é	júpichami	nákari	ri= e'wé	kémí -cha
Glose lex.	then	long_time	uh	3sg.nf brother	say pst

rijló nákari
 ri= jló nákarí
 3sg.nf for uh

Libre después de mucho tiempo el hermano le dijo

8 Mot i'j'ná nákari
Morphèmes i'j'ná nákarí
Glose lex. go uh

Libre vamos

9 Mot i'j'ná wachiri'cháchó nákari ya'j'náje ;
Morphèmes i'j'ná wa= chiri' -chá -chí =ó nákarí ya'j'ná =eje
Glose lex. go 1pl wander prs purp2 mid uh far until

wakulíchachí wajlúwa a'jnejí
 wa= kulí -cha -chí wa= jló =wa a'jne -jí
 1pl search pst hort 1pl for refl food unposs

wajñákálojé penáje , kamejéí kájé kuláje
 wa= ajñá -ka lojé penáje kamejéí kájé kulá -je
 1pl eat ka.adv purp3 for animal type search purp.mot

ne'j'ichá
 na= i'j'í -chá
 3pl go pst

Libre vamos a andar lejos para buscar para nosotros comida para comer, vamos a buscar ya sea animales

10 Mot kélé yukúnana chú néma
Morphèmes kélé yukúna -na chú na= ímá
Glose lex. med yukuna_person pl in 3pl say

ja'pájo né'j'ichá
 ja'pá -je =o na= i'j'í -chá
 pass purp.mot mid 3pl go pst

Libre en ese idioma de yukunas ellos dicen vamos al monte

11 Mot ja'pájo kemakáná nákarí
Morphèmes ja'pá -je =o kema -kána nákarí
Glose lex. pass purp.mot mid say ev.nz1 uh

Libre ja'apajo quiere decir

12 Mot kamejéí nóje ne'j'naké
Morphèmes kamejéí nó -je na= i'jna -khé
Glose lex. animal kill purp.mot 3pl go far.pst

Libre ir a matar cacería

13 Mot ya'j'ná naka'phéla i'maké nákarí e'yá , eja'wá
Morphèmes ya'j'ná na= ka'phéla i'ma -khé nákarí e'yá eja'wá
Glose lex. far 3pl land cop far.pst uh in forest

e'yá
e'yá
in

Libre el rancho de ellos estaba lejos en el monte

14 Mot	nañakaré	ké	nala'jīka		i'majīka
Morphèmes	na= ñakaré	ké	na= la' -jīka		i'ma -jīka
Glose lex.	3pl house	like	3pl do	far.pst	far.pst far.pst

Libre ellos hacían como una casa

15 Mot	riká	chú	inau'ké		i'makhé
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chú	inau'ké		i'ma -khé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	in	person	tell	far.pst

Libre ahí vivía una persona

16 Mot	ne'jnajīka		najlúwa		kuláje
Morphèmes	na= i'jna -jīka		na= jlú =wa		kulá -je
Glose lex.	3pl go	far.pst	3pl for refl		search purp.mot

Libre ellos iban a rebuscar

17 Mot	eyá	nákeí
Morphèmes	eyá	nákei
Glose lex.	since_then	uh

Libre y después

18 Mot	(ne'-)	ne'jīchá		, nali'chá		nakakúwá
Morphèmes	***	na= i'jī -chá		na= li' -chá		na= kakú =wá
Glose lex.	***	3pl go	pst	3pl do	pst	3pl coca refl

, éjomi kája ne'jīchá (ná'-) re'wé jwa'té
éjomi kája na= i'jī -chá *** ri= e'wé jwa'té
after already 3pl go pst *** 3sg.nf brother with

Libre se fueron, ellos hicieron mambe y después se fueron con el hermano de él

19 Mot	phejí	íí	i'michárí		iyékurí
Morphèmes	phe' -ji	íí	i'mi -chá -rí		***
Glose lex.	eldest unposs	name	cop pst	nf.cleft	***

Libre el mayor se llamaba Iyékuri

20 Mot	re'wé
Morphèmes	ri= e'wé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf brother

Libre su hermano

21 Mot	rijmerémi		íí		i'michárí
Morphèmes	ri= jmeré		=mi	íí	i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex.	3sg.nf younger_brother		nom.pfv	name	cop pst nf.cleft

Wíña
Wíña
proper.n

Libre el menor se llamaba Wi'ña

22 Mot	Wi'ña	riĩ		i'micháká		
Morphèmes	Wí'ña	ri=	ĩ	i'mi	-chá	-ká
Glose lex.	proper.n	3sg.nf	name	cop	pst	ka.cleft

Libre se llamaba Wi'ña

23 Mot	neká		i'jícháñó		iyamá
Morphèmes	na= ikhá	i'jĩ	-chá	-ñó	iyamá
Glose lex.	3pl pro	go	pst	pl.cleft	two

Libre ellos se fueron los dos

24 Mot	nephícha		jlaíchú	nakaphéla	,	nakaphéla
Morphèmes	na= ipha	-cha	jlaíchú	***		***
Glose lex.	3pl arrive	pst	afternoon	***		***

chojé

chojé

towards_inside

Libre ellos llegaron en la tarde al rancho de ellos

25 Mot	éjomi	nákari
Morphèmes	éjomi	nákari
Glose lex.	after	uh

Libre después

26 Mot	re'wé		kémícha	rijló	:	"
Morphèmes	ri= e'wé		kémí	-cha	ri=	jló
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	brother	say	pst	3sg.nf	for

pikulícha		wajló		jiyá	,	wapho'táchí		wajló	,		
pi= kulí	-cha	wa= jló		jiyá		wa= apho'	-ta	-chí	wa= jló		
2sg	search	prs	1pl	for	fire	1pl	blow	caus	purp2	1pl	for
wala'chí		nákari		wamoto'chí		wajlúwa		nákari			
wa= la'	-chí	nákari		wa= motho'	-chí	wa= jló	=wa	nákari			
1pl	do	purp2	uh	1pl	cook	purp2	1pl	for	refl	uh	

Libre el hermano le dijo "vaya busque leña para nosotros, para hacer fogón para nosotros, para hacer este, para cocinar para nosotros este..."

27 Mot	nákari	pijerú	nenócha	iñepú	chú	."	
Morphèmes	nákari	pijerú	na= nó	-cha	iñepú	chú	
Glose lex.	uh	monkey_sp	3pl	kill	pst	way	in

Libre ellos mataron mico en el camino

28 Mot	" jé	" ké	rímíchaka			
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ímí	-cha	-ka	
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft

Libre bueno el dijo

29 Mot	é	re'wé		i'jíchá	nákarí	jiyá
Morphèmes	é	ri=	e'wé	i'jī -chá	nákarí	jiyá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	brother	go pst	uh	fire

kuláje
 kulá -je
 search purp.mot

Libre y su hermano se fue a buscar leña

30 Mot	réjǒ		ramícha		pajlúwaja	nákarí
Morphèmes	ri=	ejo	ri=	amí -cha	pajlúwá =ja	nákarí
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	towards	3sg.nf	see pst	one lim	uh

Libre allá el miro uno

31 Mot	pamá	nákarí	kuchí	ejwé	ké	
Morphèmes	pi=	amá	nákarí	kuchí	ejwé	ké
Glose lex.	2sg	see	uh	bird_sp	egg	like

to'láchako
 to' -lá -cha -ka =o kajúni páto ejwé ké ñópo'jloka
 to' -lá -cha -ka =o kajú -ni *** ejwé ké ñópo'jlo -ka
 lie aug1 pst ka.cleft mid much nf *** egg like big com

Libre el vio algo parecido al huevo del paujil tirado, como un huevo grande de pato, asi de grande

32 Mot	riká		rijī'chá	
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ri=	jī' -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	take pst

Libre lo cogió

33 Mot	é	riphícha		rímicha		re'wé
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ipha -cha	ri=	ímí -cha	ri= e'wé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	arrive pst	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.nf brother

jló náke
 jló náke
 for uh

Libre el llegó y le dijo a su hermano

34.1 Mot	"	marí	nupháchiya		nákei	, pajlúwaja	nákei
Morphèmes		marí	nu= ipháchi -ya		nákei	pajlúwá =ja	nákei
Glose lex.		prox	1sg find pst		uh	one lim	uh

, ná ejwé pája nupháchiya ?
 ná ejwé pája nu= ipháchi -ya
 indf egg emph 1sg find pst

Libre yo encontré esto, un este..., un huevo de qué será encontré, este grande, de pronto debe ser huevo de paujil

34.2 Mot	,	marí	kajúni	wáni	,	apála	kuchí	ejwé
Morphèmes		marí	kajú -ni	wáni		apála	kuchí	ejwé
Glose lex.		prox	much nf	emph		maybe	bird_sp	egg

ka'jná ."
 ka'jná
 dub

Libre

35 Mot é re'wé kémícha rijló , nákei :
Morphèmes é ri= e'wé kémí -cha ri= jló nákei
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf brother say pst 3sg.nf for uh

" é pamíchaka jrara'pá , jrara'pá
 é pi= amí -cha -ka ri= ara'pá ri= ara'pá
 Q 2sg see pst ka.int 3sg.nf father.ref 3sg.nf father.ref

ajíchaka "
 ají -cha -ka
 fly pst ka.nz

Libre y su hermano le dijo que si el había visto al papá (del huevo) al papa volando

36 Mot é rímícha : " ùká mapéja tá
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha unká mapéja tâ
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst neg normally emph1

rito'cháko a'waná awa'á "
 ri= to' -chá -ka =o a'waná awa'á
 3sg.nf lie pst ka.cleft mid tree side

Libre y el dijo no, así no mas estaba tirado a la orilla de un palo

37 Mot entonces rímícha : " pajñáníña kélé
Morphèmes entonces ri= ímí -cha pi= ajñá -níña kélé
Glose lex. so 3sg.nf say pst 2sg eat proh med

kajé , ùká iná ajñálá kélé kajé mapéja
 kájé unká iná ajñá -lá kélé kájé mapéja
 type neg gnr.pro eat v.neg med type normally

to'kó ,
 to' -ka =o
 lie A.nz2 mid

Libre entonces él dijo no hay que comer de ese clase, uno no come de eso que está así no más tirado

38 Mot apála (na , na) ejwé ka'jná , kélé ."
Morphèmes apála na *** ejwé ka'jná kélé
Glose lex. maybe *** *** egg dub med

Libre de pronto debe ser huevo de boa

39 Mot unká jrema'lácha
Morphèmes unká ri= jema' -lá -cha
Glose lex. neg 3sg.nf listen v.neg pst

Libre no lo escuchó

40 Mot	é	rimoto'chá		rijlúwa		riká	
Morphèmes	é	ri=	motho' -chá	ri=	jló =wá	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	cook	pst	3sg.nf	for refl	3sg.nf pro

Libre y se lo cocinó para el

41 Mot		rimoto'chá		rijlúwa		riká	
Morphèmes		ri=	motho' -chá	ri=	jló =wá	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.		3sg.nf	cook	pst	3sg.nf	for refl	3sg.nf pro

rajñákálojé , re'wé kemanója rijló
ri= ajñá -ká lojé ri= e'wé kema -nója ri= jló
3sg.nf eat ka.adv purp3 3sg.nf brother say conc 3sg.nf for
náke , " pajñániña riká ".
náke pi= ajñá -niña ri= ikhá
uh 2sg eat proh 3sg.nf pro

Libre se lo cocinó para comerselo aunque su hermano le había dicho , no te lo comas

42 Mot		rimoto'ó		rijlúwa		kajúni	kélé	nákarí
Morphèmes		ri=	moto'ó	ri=	jló =wá	kajú -ni	kélé	nákarí
Glose lex.		3sg.nf	cook	3sg.nf	for refl	much nf	med	uh

, pato ejwé ké ñópo'jloka
pato ejwé ké ñópo'jlo -ka
spa egg like big com

Libre el cocinó para él ese grande, parecía el tamaño del huevo de pato

43 Mot		riká		rajícha	
Morphèmes		ri=	ikhá	ri=	ají -cha
Glose lex.		3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	eat pst

Libre se lo comió

44 Mot		kája		wája		nákei
Morphèmes		kája		=wá =ja		nákei
Glose lex.		already		emph	lim	uh

Libre y ahí

45 Mot		é		nakamáchiyo	
Morphèmes		é		na= kamáchi -ya =o	
Glose lex.		then		3pl sleep	pst mid

Libre se durmieron

46 Mot		iná		jme'táka		chojóna		kapére
Morphèmes		iná		jme'tá -ka		chojóna		kapére
Glose lex.		gnr.pro		become_light	ka.nz	towards_inside2		rooster

apóka ewá ka'jná nákei , re'wé apócha
apó -ka ewá ka'jná nákei ri= e'wé apó -cha
wake_up ka.nz around dub uh 3sg.nf brother wake_up pst
ipe'ní wáni i'micháká ,
ipe' -ní wáni i'mi -chá -ká
cold nf emph cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ya para amanecer, cuando se levanta el gallo, se levantó el hermano y estaba haciendo mucho frío

47 Mot rímícha : " nujmerémi
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha nu= jmeré =mi
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst 1sg younger_brother nom.pfv

papú náke , papho'tá wajló ipe'ní wáni "
 pi= apú náke pi= apho' -ta wa= jló ipe' -ní wáni
 2sg wake_up uh 2sg blow caus 1pl for cold nf emph

Libre y el dijo levántate hermanito prende fogón para nosotros, hace mucho frío

48 Mot ũká ná ajipalácha
Morphèmes unká ná a'jipa -lá -cha
Glose lex. neg indf answer v.neg pst

Libre nadie contestó

49 Mot é nákei rímícha rijló ,
Morphèmes é nákei ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. then uh 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre y él le dijo

50 Mot é rímícha piño rijló :
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha piño ri= jló
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst again 3sg.nf for

Libre y él le dijo otra vez

51 Mot " nujmerémi papó ,
Morphèmes nu= jmeré =mi pi= apú
Glose lex. 1sg younger_brother nom.pfv 2sg wake_up
 papho'tá , " ipe'ní wáni " ké numaká "
 pi= apho' -ta ipe' -ní wáni ké nu= ima -ká
 2sg blow caus cold nf emph like 1sg say ka.cleft

Libre hermanito despiertate haga fogón, le estoy diciendo que hace mucho frío

52 Mot ũká na ajipalacha
Morphèmes unká na= a'jipa -la -cha
Glose lex. neg 3pl answer v.neg pst

Libre no le contestaron

53 Mot ipe'ní i'michárí jlapí
Morphèmes ipe' -ní i'mi -chá -rí jlapí
Glose lex. cold nf cop pst nf.cleft night

Libre estaba haciendo mucho frío en la noche

54 Mot kája wája nákari
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja nákarí
Glose lex. already emph lim uh

Libre y después

55 Mot é riwitúkachiya ji'má , pá
Morphèmes é ri= witúkachi -ya ji'má pá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf *** pst foot look

rikhó rapho'tákalojé , kalajúni
ri= ikhá =o ri= apho' -ta -ka lojé kalajú -ni
3sg.nf pro mid 3sg.nf blow caus ka.adv purp3 dark nf
i'micháká aú
i'mi -chá -ká aú
cop pst ka.nz because

Libre y bajó el pie, para el sólo prender el fogón, porque estaba oscuro

56 Mot é ripayáicha re'yá
Morphèmes é ri= payái -cha ri= e'yá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf step_on pst 3sg.nf in

Libre el pisó eso

57 Mot é kajú rawíyo'chaka
Morphèmes é kajú ri= awíyo' -cha -ka
Glose lex. then much 3sg.nf scream pst ka.cleft

Libre el gritó mucho

58 Mot kajú rawíyo'chaka , é
Morphèmes kajú ri= awíyo' -cha -ka é
Glose lex. much 3sg.nf scream pst ka.cleft then

rímicha " ná chí kháãjĩ ", é kalé
ri= ímí -cha ná chí kháãjĩ é kalé
3sg.nf say pst indf emph3 prox then emph5

rapho'chíya , amíchari phiyuté támi yáa' ...
ri= apho' -chi -ya amí -cha -ri piyuté támi yáa'
3sg.nf blow caus pst see pst nf.ss boa sickness sit

tára'ko , kajúni phiyutéjle
tára' -ka =o kajú -ni piyuté =jle
stand_up ka.nz mid much nf boa aug2

Libre gritó mucho y dijo qué es ésto, ahí sí él prendió fogón y miró la boa que estaba ahí sentada enrollada, parada, ese boa grandota

59 Mot kajúni phiyuté kája jrewí'cho
Morphèmes kajú -ni piyuté kája ri= jewí' -cha =o
Glose lex. much nf boa already 3sg.nf become pst mid

i'micháká , kaja phiyuté ejwé rajícha
i'mi -chá -ka kája piyuté ejwé ri= ají -cha
far.pst pst ka.pst already boa egg 3sg.nf eat pst

i'micháká
i'mi -chá -ka
far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre el se convirtió en boa gigante porque se comió el huevo de boa

60 Mot	aú	kája	nákei	, jrewí'cho			
Morphèmes	aú	kája	nákei	ri=	jewí'	-cha	=o
Glose lex.	because	already	uh	3sg.nf	become	pst	mid

i'michá

i'mi -chá

far.pst pst

Libre por eso el ya se había convertido

61 Mot	reyája		ripi'chó			
Morphèmes	ri=	eyá	=ja	ri=	pi'	-cha =ó
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	from	lim	3sg.nf	return	pst mid

Libre de ahí se regresó

62 Mot	é	ripi'chó		riñakajéla	éjó	,
Morphèmes	é	ri=	pi'	-cha =ó	ri=	ñakajéla ejo
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	return	pst mid	3sg.nf	homeland towards

é riyajálo kémícha " yúka'a , é pijí'chá
 é ri= yajálo kémí -cha yúka'a é pi= jí' -chá
 then 3sg.nf wife say pst already Q 2sg take prs

wajló kamejéri náke wajñáalojé penaje ? "
 wa= jló kamejérí náke wa= ajñá -ka lojé penáje
 1pl for animal uh 1pl eat ka.adv purp3 for

Libre se regresó a su casa y la mujer le dijo "ya?, trajiste cacería para que nosotros comamos?"

63 Mot	" unká	" ké	rímichaka	,	kája
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí	-cha -ka	kája
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say	pst ka.cleft	already

nakei unká paála kéé unká inau'kélaitá
 *** unká paá -la kéé unká inau'ké -la -i tá
 *** neg bien.neg v.neg med neg person v.neg nf.nz emph1

la'ká náke , piyuté ejwé rajñáatá ,
 la' -ká náke piyuté ejwé ri= ajñá -ka tâ
 do ka.cleft uh boa egg 3sg.nf eat ka.insub? emph1

kélé jewíña'ro kajú
 kélé jewíña' -ri =o kajú
 med study nf.cleft mid much

Libre el dijo que no, esa porquería hizo algo malo, el comió huevo de boa, y ese ya se convirtió mucho

64 Mot	riká	aú	nupa'ñáatacha		
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	aú	nu= pa'	-ñáa -ta -cha
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	cause	1sg return appl	*** pst

réwája , waka'phéla
 ri= é =wá =ja wa= ka'phéla
 3sg.nf in emph lim 1pl land

Libre por eso yo me regresé y lo dejé en nuestro cambuche

65 Mot	aú	kaja	nupa'ñáicha		
Morphèmes	aú	kája	nu= pa'	-ñái	-cha
Glose lex.	because	emph?	1sg return	appl	pst

rikátá ké rímichaka
 ri= ikhá tâ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf pro emph1 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre por eso yo me regresé (dejando a esa porquería), dijo él

66 Mot	éjomi	nákei
Morphèmes	éjomi	nákei
Glose lex.	then	uh

Libre después

67 Mot	é	rímicha	riyajálo	jló	:	"
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ri= yajálo	jló		
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf wife	for		

jwa'pájika , jwa'pájika máayá ,
 wa= ja'pá -jĩ -ka wa= ja'pá -jĩ -ka máa eyá
 1pl pass fut ka.topic 1pl pass fut ka.topic here from

wayúitachí rikátá , me'tení rikátá
 wa= yuí -ta -chí ri= ikhá tâ me'tení ri= ikhá tâ
 1pl stay caus hort 3sg.nf pro emph1 now 3sg.nf pro emph1

waícha nuwe'píka , (wa'patáchí wa'patáchí wa-) ,
 waícha nu= we'pí -ka *** *** ***
 return 1sg know ka.insub? *** *** ***

jwa'páñachí jwa'páñachí rikátá
 wa= ja'pá -ñá -chí wa= ja'pá -ñá -chí ri= ikhá tâ
 1pl pass appl hort 1pl pass appl hort 3sg.nf pro emph1

máayá , apú pají wala'jé wajló , riká
 máa eyá apú pají wa= la' jé wa= jló ri= ikhá
 here from other maloca 1pl do fut 1pl for 3sg.nf pro

chú we'majé ".
 chú wa= i'ma jé
 in 1pl cop fut

Libre él le dijo a su esposa vámos a irnos vamos a cambiarnos de aquí vamos a dejarlo a él, yo sé que el regresa ahora, cambiemos de lugar vamos a hacer otra maloka y en esa vamos a vivir

68 Mot	é	jna'páñacha	riká
Morphèmes	é	na= ja'pí -ña -cha	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3pl pass appl pst	3sg.nf pro

Libre y se fueron (abandonandolo a él)

69 Mot	réjé	kélé	pají	wajé	ri'michá	,
Morphèmes	ri= eje	kélé	pají	wajé	ri= i'mi -chá	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf until	med	maloca	new	3sg.nf cop pst	

eyonáje nayurícha ri'micháka
 eyonáje na= yurí -cha ri= i'mi -chá -ka
 however 3pl stay pst 3sg.nf far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí ese maloka estaba nueva, sin embargo ellos la abandonaron

70 Mot iléké re'wé li'chaká aú
Morphèmes ilé ké ri= e'wé li' -cha -ká aú
Glose lex. med like 3sg.nf brother do pst ka.nz because

Libre porque su hermano hizo así

71 Mot iká (na-) ne'jíchá ya'jná apú
Morphèmes ri= ikhá *** na= i'jĩ -chá ya'jná apú
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro *** 3pl go pst far other

pájí chojé
 pájí chojé
 maloca towards_inside

Libre ya se fueron lejos a otra maloka

72 Mot (na , na) naména e'yowá pheñawilá
Morphèmes na na na= ména e'yá ewá pheñawilá
Glose lex. *** *** 3pl cropland in around ancestor

michúna la'ké apú pájí , riká chojé
 michú -na la' -khé apú pájí ri= ikhá chojé
 deceased pl do far.pst other maloca 3sg.nf pro towards_inside
 ne'jíchá
 na= i'jĩ -chá
 3pl go pst

Libre en la chagra los antepasados hacían otro maloca, en esa se fueron

73 Mot é (nephí- , ne-) júpi ri'michá
Morphèmes é *** *** júpi ri= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. then *** *** long_time 3sg.nf cop pst

kája wája kélé pi'chó i'micháka
 kája =wá =ja kélé pi' -chá =o i'mi -chá -ka
 already emph lim med return pst mid far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre pasó mucho tiempo (el que se convirtió en boa),y con el tiempo él regresó

74 Mot é ripi'chó náke
Morphèmes é ri= pi' -cha =ó náke
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf return pst mid uh

Libre se regresó

75 Mot kélé (phiyu-) nakei
Morphèmes kélé *** ***
Glose lex. med *** ***

Libre

76 Mot piyuté penáje jewí'chako
Morphèmes piyuté penáje jewí' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. boa for become pst A.nz2 mid

i'micháká pi'cháro
i'mi -chá -ka pi' -chá -ri =o
far.pst pst ka.pst return pst nf.cleft mid

Libre el que se convirtió en boa se regresó

77 Mot é riphícha , amári , kája unká
Morphèmes é ri= ipha -cha amá -ri kája unká
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive pst see nf.ss already neg

inau'ké i'malácha , phiyúké inauké nakei i'jícháka ,
inau'ké i'ma -lá -cha phiyúké inau'ké *** i'jĩ -chá -ka
person cop v.neg pst all person *** go pst ka.cleft

pá réjéna kájéna i'micháka
pá ri= éjéna kájé -na i'mi -chá -ka
look 3sg.nf siblings type pl cop pst ka.cleft

Libre el llegó y miró y no había ninguna persona, todos se habían ido, hasta los hermanos

78 Mot pi'cháro , ja'píchari ,
Morphèmes pi' -chá -ri =o ja'pá -cha -ri
Glose lex. return pst nf.ss mid pass pst nf.ss

jáocharo pají chojé .
jáo' -cha -ri =o pají chojé
go_out pst nf.ss mid maloca towards_inside

Libre se regreso, siguió caminando, y salió hacia la maloka

79 Mot é rímicha " yé , méke cháwani
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha *** méké cháwa -ni
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst *** indf.manner pity nf

nala'ká nuká " ke rímichaka , " unká
na= la' -ká nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka unká
3pl do ka.cleft 1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft neg

méke i'malá tá , kája ne'jíchá "
méké i'ma -lá tâ kája na= i'jĩ -chá
indf.manner cop v.neg emph1 already 3pl go pst

Libre y el dijo "oh, qué lástima lo que me hicieron" dijo el, "ya no hay nada que hacer, ya ellos se fueron"

80 Mot nomáchi méño'joka no'wé ñáa
Morphèmes nu= amá -chí méño'jó -ka nu= e'wé ñáa
Glose lex. 1sg see hort indf.toward indf.sub 1sg brother abandon

nuká ke rímicha
nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha
1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "voy a ver para dónde mi hermano se me huyó" dijo él (boa)

81 Mot	é	náke	é	riji'chá		pajlúwaja	náke
Morphèmes	é	náke	é	ri=	ji'	-chá	pajlúwá =ja náke
Glose lex.	then	uh	then	3sg.nf	bury	pst	one lim uh

Libre el subió en un...

82 Mot	(	ri-	,	ri-)	ra'chá		kélé	,	ra'umaká
Morphèmes	***	***	***	ri=	a'	-chá	kélé	ri=	a'umaká
Glose lex.	***	***	***	3sg.nf	give	pst	med	3sg.nf	clothes

ké ri'micháká rináku , kélé nákei piyuté
 ké ri= i'mi -chá -ká ri= náku kélé nákei piyuté
 like 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf on med uh boa

le'jé nákei , piyuté , piyuté kamicháre ké (na- ,
 le'jé nákei piyuté piyuté kamichá -re ké ***
 poss uh boa boa shirt alien2 like ***

na- , rimaká) nemaká rináku
 *** *** na= ima -ká ri= náku
 *** *** 3pl say ka.cleft 3sg.nf on

Libre él se colocó ese que era como ropa de él, ese..., de la serpiente, ellos dicen que es camisa de boa (él se colocó ese -falta rinakuwá-, ese era como ropa de él)

83 Mot	é	ra'chá		rinakuwá		kha'rá	ké
Morphèmes	é	ri=	a'	-chá	ri=	naku =wá	kha'rá ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	give	pst	3sg.nf	on refl	ideo6 like

jrewí'cho piyuté penáje kajúni
 ri= jewí' -cha =o piyuté penáje kajú -ni
 3sg.nf become pst mid boa for much nf

Libre el se colocó y se convirtió en boa grande

84 Mot	é	ri'jīchá		ajī	ké	,	pajlúwaja
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jī	-chá	ajī	ké	pajlúwá =ja
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go	pst	prox	like	one lim

pipirí , kajúni pipiríjle ri'micháka ,
 pipirí kajú -ni pipirí =jle ri= i'mi -chá -ka
 palm_sp much nf palm_sp aug2 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

riká nakú riji'chá ajī ké yenójo ,
 ri= ikhá nakú ri= ji' -chá ajī ké yenú ejo
 3sg.nf pro on 3sg.nf bury pst prox like up towards

Libre y se fué donde, un chontaduro, una mata de chontaduro grande, y se subió hacia arriba

85 Mot	riji'chá		pipirí	nakú	,	eyá	kélé
Morphèmes	ri=	ji'	-chá	pipirí	nakú	eyá	kélé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	bury	pst	palm_sp	on	since_then	med

pipirí , eyá kája riyakáicho yenóje
 pipirí eyá kája ri= yakái' -cha =o ***
 palm_sp since_then already 3sg.nf see pst mid ***

Libre se subió a la mata de chontaduro, de ahí de la mata de chontaduro, y ahí el miró lejos

86 Mot é riyakáicho , amári íja
Morphèmes é ri= yakái' -cha =o amá -ri íja
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf see pst mid see nf.ss smoke

jeño'chá máayáké jrapiyá
 jeño' -chá máa eyá ké ri= apiyá
 jump pst here from ? 3sg.nf change

Libre el estaba mirando y vió que salía humo debajo cerca de el

87 Mot íja jeño'chári " áj " , é
Morphèmes íja jeño' -chá -ri *** é
Glose lex. smoke jump pst nf.cleft *** then

rímicha " unká ya'jnéje kalé khájúna i'jné "
 ri= ímí -cha unká ya'jné =eje kalé kháájí -una i'jné
 3sg.nf say pst neg far until nv.neg prox pl go

Libre humo saliendo, "ah!" y el dijo "ellos de aquí no se fueron lejos"

88 Mot unká , napéchu ya'jnéjapí neká , ñaé
Morphèmes unká na= péchú ya'jné japí na= ikhá ñaé
Glose lex. neg 3pl thought far *** 3pl pro dist.simil

maaréja neká , nowa'ája neká , ké
 maaré =ja na= ikhá nu= awa'á =ja na= ikhá ké
 prox.loc lim 3pl pro 1sg close lim 3pl pro like

rímichaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre ellos piensan que están lejos, sin embargo están cerca mío dijo él

89 Mot riká aú kélé nákei
Morphèmes ri= ikhá aú kélé nákei
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro cause med uh

Libre por eso

90 Mot ré ri'maké riñakaré chú , inauké
Morphèmes ré ri= i'ma -ké ri= ñakaré chú inau'ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf tell far.pst 3sg.nf house in person

kája , mana'ítá
 kája mana'í tá
 already calm emph1

Libre el vivía en la maloca, ya en persona, tranquilo

91 Mot rila'jika rikakúwá
Morphèmes ri= la' -jika ri= kakú =wá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf do far.pst 3sg.nf coca refl

Libre haciendo mambe

92 Mot rila'jika rijlúwa líchi kájé ,
Morphèmes ri= la' -jika ri= jló =wá líchi kájé
Glose lex. 3sg.nf do far.pst 3sg.nf for refl tobacco type

rataíke mana'ítá
 ri= ataí -khe mana'í tá
 3sg.nf sing far.pst calm emph1

Libre el se hacia tabaco, y cantaba tranquilo

93 Mot mana'íja ri'majé
Morphèmes mana'í =ja ri= i'ma jé
Glose lex. calm lim 3sg.nf cop fut

Libre vivía tranquilo

94 Mot ri'majíke (na-) pají támichimi ,
Morphèmes ri= i'ma -jíka *** pají támichimi
Glose lex. 3sg.nf tell far.pst *** maloca old

rikója

ri= ikhá =o =ja
 3sg.nf pro mid lim

Libre el vivía solo en la maloca vieja

95 Mot kája réjéna ñáicha riká
Morphèmes kája ri= éjéna ñái -cha ri= ikhá
Glose lex. already 3sg.nf siblings abandon pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre ya sus hermanos se habian escapado de él

96 Mot eyá kája nákeí
Morphèmes eyá kája nákei
Glose lex. since_then already uh

Libre y después

97 Mot (ne- ke) júpichámi kélé apú
Morphèmes *** *** júpi -chá =mi kélé apú
Glose lex. *** *** long_time pst pfv med other

re'wé , phe'jí i'rí kémicha "
 ri= e'wé phe' -jí i'rí kémí -cha
 3sg.nf brother eldest unposs son say pst

nu'jícháka nowilá tá amáje , apálayá
 nu= i'jī -chá -ka nu= owilá tâ amá -je ***
 1sg go pst ka.topic 1sg uncle emph1 see purp.mot ***

náke , apálayá riphá riñakaré chojé "
 náke *** ri= iphá ri= ñakaré chojé
 uh *** 3sg.nf arrive 3sg.nf house towards_inside

Libre de mucho tiempo otro hermano, el hijo del mayor (hijo del hermano mayor de la boa) dijo "voy a ver si de pronto llegó mi tío será a la casa de él"

98 Mot " jé , pamíhajlá , piwe'íka
Morphèmes jé pi= amí -cha jlá pi= we'í -ka
Glose lex. good 2sg see prs frust 2sg know ka.nz

kéja pichiya'kó " wapa'ná jwa'té
ké =ja pi= chiya' -ká =o wapa'ná jwa'té
like lim 2sg wander ka.cleft mid blowgun with

richiri'chó
ri= chiri' -chá =o
3sg.nf wander pst mid

Libre "bueno; ve a mirar; anda con cuidado", y se fue andando con la bodoquera

99 Mot é ri'jíchá chira'jó
Morphèmes é ri= i'jī -chá chira' -je =o
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst wander purp.mot mid

rewá mapéja (pá) náke wapa'ná jwa'té ,
ri= ewá mapéja pá náke wapa'ná jwa'té
3sg.nf around normally look_out uh blowgun with

apála rinó kamejéri
apála ri= nó kamejéri
maybe 3sg.nf kill animal

Libre el se fue a andar por allá así no más con la bodoquera por si mataba cacería

100 Mot amíchari (amáchi) íja i'jnaká
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri *** íja i= i'jna -ká
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss *** smoke 2pl go ka.nz

Libre el vió que estaba saliendo humo

101 Mot é rímicha : " réko inau'ké ,
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ri= é =kó inau'ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf in emph4 person

wamáchí "
wa= amá -chí
1pl see hort

Libre y el dijo ahí hay gente vamos ver

102 Mot é ri'jíchá yamú jiwámi chiyá
Morphèmes é ri= i'jī -chá yamú jiwá =mi chiyá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst fence space pfv in.from

yakáa'jo
yakáa' -je =o
see purp.mot mid

Libre y el se fué a mirar por huecos entre los cercos (de la maloka)

103 Mot amíchari náke riyái'chako
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri náke ri= yái' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss uh 3sg.nf sit pst ka.nz mid

mana'í tá , rikawicháka ipatú
mana'í tâ ri= kawí -chá -ka ipatú
calm emph1 3sg.nf *** pst ka.nz coca

Libre el vió que estaba tranquilo sentado tostando coca

104 Mot	rikawíchaka	ipatú	nákei
Morphèmes	ri= kawí -cha -ka	ipatú	nákei
Glose lex.	3sg.nf *** pst ka.cleft	coca	uh

ratanícha (ná-) ya'ó
ri= ataní -cha *** ***
3sg.nf sing pst *** ***

Libre tostando coca, cantando la canción de la inauguración de la maloka

105 Mot	ya'ó rataícha	mana'í
Morphèmes	*** ri= ataí -cha	mana'í
Glose lex.	*** 3sg.nf sing pst	calm

Libre tranquilo cantando la canción

106 Mot	é rímicha	" ná "
Morphèmes	é ri= ímí -cha	ná
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf say pst	indf

Libre el dijo "qué?"

107 Mot	" mapéja jnora'pá pajlá nujwa'té "	ké
Morphèmes	mapéja nu= jara'pá pajlá nu= jwa'té	ké
Glose lex.	normally 1sg father.ref lie 1sg with	like

rímicha nákei
ri= ímí -cha nákei
3sg.nf say pst uh

Libre mi papá me mintió, dijo él

108 Mot	kája nákei jrewí'chomi
Morphèmes	kája nákei ri= jewí' -cha =o =mi
Glose lex.	already uh 3sg.nf become pst mid pfv

i'maá piyuté penáje , mapéja ripajlá , pá
i'ma -ka piyuté penáje mapéja ri= pajlá pá
far.pst ka.pst boa for normally 3sg.nf lie look_out

méka mana'í tá kélé jnowilá ,
mé -ka mana'í tâ kélé nu= owilá
indf.manner indf.sub calm emph1 med 1sg uncle

Libre que se había convertido en boa, me mintió, cómo mi tío está tranquilo

109 Mot	riwáchiya rijwa'té pura'kájo ,
Morphèmes	ri= wáchi -ya ri= jwa'té pura' -káje =o
Glose lex.	3sg.nf want pst 3sg.nf with speak ev.nz2 mid

eyonája unká méla'jé ripura'lácho
eyonája unká méla'jé ri= pura' -lá -cha =o
however neg indf.manner 3sg.nf speak v.neg pst mid

rijwa'té
ri= jwa'té
3sg.nf with

Libre él quería hablar con él sin embargo el no pudo hablar con él

110 Mot kája wáata rímicha "

Morphèmes kája *** ri= ímí -cha

Glose lex. already *** 3sg.nf say pst

nupi'cháo , jno'píchaka , éko
 nu= pi' -chá -ka =o nu= ja'pí -cha -ka éko
 1sg return pst ka.topic mid 1sg pass pst ka.topic pol.imp

númá nora'pá jló , riyukúna , ají ké
 nu= ímá nu= ara'pá jló ri= yukú -ná ají ké
 1sg say 1sg father.ref for 3sg.nf story alien3 prox like

nomícha nowilá "
 nu= amí -cha nu= owilá
 1sg see pst 1sg uncle

Libre con el tiempo él dijo me regreso, voy a seguir, me voy a contarle a mi papá que yo ví a mi tío así

111 Mot é riphícha , é rímicha

Morphèmes é ri= ipha -cha é ri= ímí -cha

Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive pst then 3sg.nf say pst

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre el llegó y le dijo

112 Mot " pa'yú "

Morphèmes pa'yú

Glose lex. papá.addr

Libre papá

113 Mot " unká nákei , mapéja pipajláa

Morphèmes unká nákei mapéja pi= pajlá -ka

Glose lex. neg uh normally 2sg lie ka.cleft

nujwa'té , mana'ítá nomícha jnowilá ataníka
 nu= jwa'té mana'í tá nu= amí -cha nu= owilá ataní -ka
 1sg with calm emph1 1sg see pst 1sg uncle sing ka.nz

náke , ya'ó rataícha náke , pají chu , mana'í
 náke *** ri= ataí -cha náke pají chu mana'í
 uh *** 3sg.nf sing pst uh maloca in calm

tá peyajwéni "
 tâ peyajwé -ni
 emph1 healthy nf

Libre "no nada, me mentiste, yo ví a mi tío tranquilo cantando, cantando la canción de inauguración de maloka, en la maloka, tranquilo y sano,

114 Mot mapéja pipajlícha nujwa'té , kája piyuté

Morphèmes mapéja pi= pajlí -cha nu= jwa'té kája piyuté

Glose lex. normally 2sg lie pst 1sg with already boa

penáje jrewíña'o
 penáje ri= jewíña' =o
 for 3sg.nf become mid

Libre usted mi mintió, que él ya se convirtió en boa,

115 Mot " mana'í ja ri'michá "
Morphèmes mana'í =ja ri= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. calm lim 3sg.nf cop pst

Libre el estaba tranquilo

116 Mot " unká " ké rímicha , " piyuté kélé ,
Morphèmes unká ké ri= ímí -cha piyuté kélé
Glose lex. neg like 3sg.nf say pst boa med

kája nomáka aú númá pijló , kája
 kája na= amá -ka aú nu= ímá pi= jló kája
 already 3pl see ka.nz because 1sg say 2sg for already

jrewí'chomitá i'maká júpimi ,
 ri= jewí' -cha =o =mi tâ i'ma -ka júpi =mi
 3sg.nf become pst mid pfv emph1 far.pst ka.pst long_time pfv

mapéja rila'kája kélé "
 mapéja ri= la' -ká =ja kélé
 normally 3sg.nf do ka.cleft lim med

Libre no dijo él, esa es boa, porque ya yo lo había visto por eso te lo estoy diciendo, ya él se había convertido hace mucho tiempo, el se está haciendo así no más"

117 Mot é kée náke
Morphèmes é kée náke
Glose lex. then med uh

Libre y

118 Mot é rímicha wáni
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha wáni
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst emph

Libre y el dijo

119 Mot júpichami náke ri'jícháká
Morphèmes júpichami náke ri= i'jĩ -chá -ká
Glose lex. long_time uh 3sg.nf go pst ka.cleft

Libre con el tiempo se fue,

120 Mot ne'jíchá piño ramáje .
Morphèmes na= i'jĩ -chá píño ri= amá je
Glose lex. 3pl go pst again 3sg.nf see purp.mot

Libre se fueron otra vez a verlo

121 Mot amári mana'í tá ri'micháka ,
Morphèmes amá -ri mana'í tâ ri= i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. see nf.ss calm emph1 3sg.nf cop pst ka.nz

rataichaka , rile'jé pají chú .
 ri= ataí -cha -ka , ri= le'jé pají chú
 3sg.nf sing pst ka.nz 3sg.nf poss maloca in

Libre y lo vieron tranquilo, cantando, en su maloka

122 Mot rikhótá , unká ná i'malácha
Morphèmes ri= ikhá =o tá unká ná i'ma -lá -cha
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro mid emph1 neg indf cop v.neg pst

rijwa'té
 ri= jwa'té
 3sg.nf with

Libre el estaba sólo, no había nadie con el

123 Mot ne'michá richáje yakáa'jō ,
Morphèmes na= i'mi -chá ri= cháje yakáa' -je =o
Glose lex. 3pl go pst 3sg.nf at see purp.mot mid

unká kája nepháacha
 unká kája na= iphá -la -cha
 neg emph? 3pl arrive v.neg pst

Libre ellos se fueron a mirar donde él, tampoco no entraron

124 Mot napi'chó piño .
Morphèmes na= pi' -cha =ó piño
Glose lex. 3pl return pst mid again

Libre ellos se regresaron otra vez

125 Mot réjomi nákei kélé riyáni ...
Morphèmes ri= éjomi nákei kélé ri= yáni
Glose lex. 3sg.nf after uh med 3sg.nf children

Libre y después sus hijos (de la boa)

126 Mot re'wé , phe'jí i'rí nákei ...
Morphèmes ri= e'wé phe' -jí i'rí nákei
Glose lex. 3sg.nf brother eldest unposs son uh

Libre el hijo del hermano mayor

127 Mot ri'jíchá piño chira'jó
Morphèmes ri= i'jī -chá piño chira' -je =o
Glose lex. 3sg.nf go pst again wander purp.mot mid

rewá mapéja .
 ri= ewá mapéja
 3sg.nf around normally

Libre se fué otra vez a andar por allá

128 Mot amíchari kajú líchi
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri kajú líchi
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss much tobacco

akúwa'chiyako		maí	ké	é	nákei	ne-	, yuwápi
akúwa'chi	-ya	-ka	=o	maí	ké	é	nákei *** yuwápi
hang	pst	ka.nz	mid	prox	like	then	uh *** rope

káje nakú .
kájé nakú
type on

Libre el vió que estaban colgadas muchas hojas de tabaco encima de la piola

129 Mot	é	rijĩ'chá		rinakiyá		iyamá	,
Morphèmes	é	ri=	jĩ'	-chá	ri=	nakú	=eyá iyamá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	take	pst	3sg.nf	on	from two

Libre el sacó de ahí dos (hojas)

130 Mot	rachi'yá		rinakiyá		,	
Morphèmes	ri=	achi'	-yá	ri=	nakú	=eyá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	steal	pst	3sg.nf	on	from

Libre se robó de ahí

131 Mot	(	ra'apá	le'jé	nake)
Morphèmes	***	le'jé	***	
Glose lex.	***	poss	***	

Libre ???

132 Mot	jrawilá		le'jé	náke
Morphèmes	ri=	owilá	le'jé	náke
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	uncle	poss	uh

Libre lo de su tío

133 Mot	líchi	nakiyá		rachi'yá	.
Morphèmes	líchi	nakú	=eyá	ri=	achi' -yá
Glose lex.	tobacco	on	from	3sg.nf	steal pst

Libre se robó el cigarrillo de ahí

134 Mot	é	nakei	riphíchaka		, é	
Morphèmes	é	***	ri=	iphí	-cha -ka	é
Glose lex.	then	***	3sg.nf	arrive	pst ka.when	then

ramícha	,	amári	unká	nákei	líchi	i'malácha				
ri=	amí	-cha	amá	-ri	unká	nákei	líchi	i'ma	-lá	-cha
3sg.nf	see	pst	see	nf.ss	neg	uh	tobacco	cop	v.neg	pst

palá nákei ,
palá nákei
good uh

Libre cuando el llegó, miró y vió que el cigarrillo no estaba bien

135 Mot	rile'jé		nákei
Morphèmes	ri=	le'jé	nákei
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	poss	uh

Libre de él

136 Mot unká méla'jé ná atalácha
Morphèmes unká méla'jé ná ata' -lá -cha
Glose lex. neg indf.manner indf steal v.neg pst

rinakiyá porque kája riwe'pí mékeléka
ri= nakú =eyá porque kája ri= we'pí mékélé -ka
3sg.nf on from spa already 3sg.nf know indf.quant indf.sub
riyuíka náke ...
ri= yuí -ka náke
3sg.nf leave ka.nz uh

Libre nadie podía robar de eso porque el sabía cuántas había dejado,

137 Mot mékelé - ...
Morphèmes mékélé
Glose lex. indf.quant

Libre cuan-

138 Mot mékéléka riyuíke ripaná
Morphèmes mékélé -ka ri= yuí -ka ri= paná
Glose lex. indf.quant indf.sub 3sg.nf leave ka.nz 3sg.nf ***

Libre cuantas hojas él había dejado (hojas de tabaco)

139 Mot rímícha : " náje chí (unká -)
Morphèmes ri= ímí -cha náje chí unká
Glose lex. 3sg.nf say pst indf.reason emph3 neg

unká paála nala'ká nuká tá ,
unká paá -la na= la' -ká nu= ikhá tâ
neg bien.neg v.neg 3pl do ka.cleft 1sg pro emph1
náje nata'á nunáni , nawátaka eyonáje
náje na= ta'á nu= náni na= wáta -ka eyonáje
indf.reason 3pl grate 1sg thing 3pl want ka.when however
ya'jnáje i'jnakána , náje unká nejátala
ya'jna eje i'jna -kána náje unká na= ejáta -la
far until go ev.nz1 indf.reason neg 3pl sow v.neg
najlúwa nákaje " , ké rímícha
na= jlú =wa nákaje ké ri= ímí -cha
3pl for refl thing like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre él dijo: "por qué me están haciendo daño, por qué roban mis cosas, si ellos quieren irse lejos, por qué ellos no siembran algo para ellos?", él dijo

140 Mot é kája piyutétá ri'micháka ,
Morphèmes é kája piyuté -tá ri= i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. then boa ?emph2 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

aú ri'jíchá ají ké junápiwa , jra'chó
aú ri= i'jĩ -chá ají ké *** ri= ja' -cha =ó
because 3sg.nf go pst prox like *** 3sg.nf fall pst mid

junápejě	,	é	ri'jĩchá	chúu	ajĩ	ké	,	tajíké
junápi	=eje	é	ri=	i'jĩ	-chá	chúu	ajĩ	ké
water2	until	then	3sg.nf	go	pst	ideo10	prox	like
***								***
itewí	chú	,	itewí	chú	ritái'cho	,	(	bien
itewí	chú		itewí	chú	***		***	kélé
plant_sp	in		plant_sp	in	***		***	med
								najne're
								na= jne're
								3pl port
náke	,	najne're	chájopuĩta	ritái'cho				tajíké
náke	na=	jne're	***	ri=	tái'	-cha	=o	***
uh	3pl	port	***	3sg.nf	stand_up	pst	mid	***

Libre como ya él estaba convertido en boa por eso él se fue por el agua, se tiró al agua, se fue haciendo "chuuu", se paró "tan" en una mata de aguaje. él estaba parado en el aguaje, estaba bien arriba de la quebrada de eloos ahí estaba parado

141 Mot	é	piyuté	penáje	jrewí'cho	,
Morphèmes	é	piyuté	penáje	ri=	jewí'
Glose lex.	then	boa	for	3sg.nf	become
					pst
					mid
itewí	wajló	kélé	piyuté		
itewí	wa=	jló	kélé	piyuté	
plant_sp	1pl	for	med	boa	

Libre se convirtió en boa, ese aguaje que para nosotros es boa

142 Mot	itewí	,	kélé	piyuté
Morphèmes	itewí		kélé	piyuté
Glose lex.	plant_sp		med	boa

Libre es aguaje, esa boa

143 Mot	ré		ritái'cho
Morphèmes	ri=	é	ri=
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	in	3sg.nf
			stand_up
			pst
			mid

Libre ahí estaba parado

144 Mot	reyá		kája	raúki'chá
Morphèmes	ri=	eyá	kája	***
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	from	already	***

Libre de ahí ya dio fruto (su pepita)

145 Mot	é	ka'jná	kélé	nákei	,	re'wé		ítu	(
Morphèmes	é	ka'jná	kélé	nákei		ri=	e'wé	ítu	
Glose lex.	then	dub	med	uh		3sg.nf	brother	daughter	

náka-	)	,	ru'chiyáko	,
***			ru=	i'chi
***			3sg.f	first_period
				-yá
				-ka
				=o
				ka.when
				mid

ru'tiyáko	,	(	pá	)	kája	riwakajé	,
ru=	i'ti	-yá	-ka	=o	pá	kája	ri=
3sg.f	***	pst	ka.when	mid	look_out	already	3sg.nf
							wakajé
							date

kélé inaána , wajé nañapáka é náke , é
 kélé inaána wajé na= ñapá -ka é náke é
 med woman new 3pl form ka.nz in uh then

nawakáa'khe nachiláa'ka , nakápo'kolojé ,
 na= wakáa' -khe na= chiláa' -ka na= kápo' -ka =o lojé
 3pl order far.pst 3pl puke ka.nz 3pl clean ka.adv mid purp3

Libre de pronto ese, la hija del hermano se desarrolló, en ese tiempo, esas mujeres, recién desarrolladas, las mandaban a vomitar para ellos echarse hoja de wiju (en la cara para quedar brillante y limpio)

146 Mot riká aú nákei , ru'jĩchá
Morphèmes ri= ikhá aú nákei ru= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro with uh 3sg.f go pst

chiláa'kajenó kélé najne're chojé
 chilá'ka -je =nó kélé na= jne're chojé
 puke purp.mot hab med 3pl port towards_inside

Libre por eso, ella iba a vomitar al puerto de ellos

147 Mot é romícha mana'íchiyó (píyu- píyu-) nákei
Morphèmes é ru= amí -cha mana'íchiyó *** *** nákei
Glose lex. then 3sg.f see pst suddenly *** *** uh

,

Libre ella miró de un momento (???)

148 Mot ná riĩ kélé ?
Morphèmes ná ri= iĩ kélé
Glose lex. indf 3sg.nf name med

Libre cómo que se llama

149 Mot itewí pilákáko píla píla píla , unká
Morphèmes itewí piláká -ka =o *** *** *** unká
Glose lex. plant_sp *** ka.nz mid *** *** *** neg

namáke kélé kájé itewí riwakajé
 na= amá -khe kélé kájé itewí ri= wakajé
 3pl see far.pst med type plant_sp 3sg.nf date

Libre ella miró el aguaje estaba rodando "pila pila pila" en ese tiempo no miraban de esa clase de aguaje

150 Mot é rímicha " méké chí kháájĩ
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha méké chí kháájĩ
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst indf.manner emph3 prox

?".

Libre ella dijo cómo es esto?

151 Mot é ru'jĩ'chá riká rukápojo , é
Morphèmes é ru= jĩ' -chá ri= ikhá *** é
Glose lex. then 3sg.f take pst 3sg.nf pro *** then

ruyakáicho		júpi	,	kháãjĩ	kájé	itewí	,	pá
ru= yakái' -cha =o		júpi		kháãjĩ	kájé	itewí		pá
3sg.f see pst mid		long_time		prox	type	plant_sp		look_out
me'tení nukápi		riká		maáré				
me'tení nu= kápi		ri= ikhá		maáré				
now 1sg hand		3sg.nf pro		prox.loc				

Libre ella lo cogió a la mano, ella (lo) quedó mirando un buen rato, de esta clase de aguaje mira ahora yo lo tengo aquí en la mano (locutor)

152.1 Mot	é	rúmicha	:	"	méké	chá	kájé
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha			méké	chá	kájé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst			indf.manner	on	type

náchí	káje	?
ná chí	kájé	
indf emph3	type	

Libre ella dijo cómo es este, ahora yo lo cojo para mi papá, para que me diga qué es esto

152.2 Mot	chúwa	nu'jnajíka		riká		pa'ayú
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka		ri= ikhá		pa'ayú
Glose lex.	now	1sg go fut ka.cleft		3sg.nf pro		papá.addr

jló	ri'makálojé		nojló	náka		kháájí	"
jló	ri= i'ma -ká lojé		nu= jló	ná -ka		kháájĩ	
for	3sg.nf tell ka.adv purp3		1sg for	indf indf.sub		prox	

Libre

153.1 Mot	é	rujĩ'chá		riká	,	é	
Morphèmes	é	ru= jĩ' -chá		ri= ikhá		é	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f take pst		3sg.nf pro		then	
rúmicha	:	"	pa'yú	,	ná pajá	kháájí	nupháchiya
ru= ímí -cha			pa'yú		ná pajá	kháájĩ	nu= ipháchi -ya
3sg.f say pst			papá.addr		indf emph	prox	1sg find pst
							?

Libre ella lo cogió y dijo: "papá, qué será éste que yo encontré, muy bueno, mire cómo es"

153.2 Mot	paláni	kuwáni	,	pamá	mékéka
Morphèmes	palá -ni	kuwáni		pi= amá	méké -ka
Glose lex.	good nf	emph		2sg see	indf.manner indf.sub

riká	"
ri= ikhá	
3sg.nf pro	

Libre

154 Mot	é	náke	jrora'pá	jĩ'chá	riká	.
Morphèmes	é	náke	ru= jara'pá	jĩ' -chá	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.f father.ref	take pst	3sg.nf pro	

Libre y ahí el papá de ella lo cogió

155.1 Mot	é	riyakái'cho			richáje	patá	"
Morphèmes	é	ri= yakái'	-cha	=o	ri= cháje	patá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf see	pst	mid	3sg.nf at	good	

ná wáni chí kháãjĩ ?
 ná wáni chí kháãjĩ
 indf emph emph3 prox

Libre él le quedó mirando bien "qué puede ser ésto" dijo él "no sabemos qué es ésto"

155.2 Mot	ũká	wawe'píla		náká	kháãjĩ	"
Morphèmes	unká	wa= we'pí	-la	ná -ka	kháãjĩ	
Glose lex.	neg	1pl know	v.neg	indf indf.sub	prox	

Libre

156 Mot	é	rímícha		ri'rí	phe'jí	jló
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí	-cha	ri= i'rí	phe' -jí	jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst	3sg.nf son	eldest unposs	for

" pi'jná pailátá éjō , riká kalé
 pi= i'jná pi= oilá tá ejo ri= ikhá kalé
 2sg go 2sg uncle emph1 towards 3sg.nf pro emph5

phe'jí , phiyúké pa'yú michú pura'jiko
 phe' -jí phiyúké pa'yú michú pura' -jika =o
 eldest unposs all papá.addr deceased speak far.pst mid

rijwa'té ajĩká
 ri= jwa'té ***
 3sg.nf with ***

Libre él le dijo al hijo mayor "vaya onde su tío, él que es el mayor, todo finao mi papá hablaba con él

157 Mot	pímícha	rijló		rímáchí	náke
Morphèmes	pi= ímí	-cha	ri= jló	ri= ímá	-chí náke
Glose lex.	2sg say	prs	3sg.nf for	3sg.nf say	purp2 uh

rímáchí wajló náka kháãjĩ , ũká (ũká)
 ri= ímá -chí wa= jló ná -ka kháãjĩ unká unká
 3sg.nf say purp2 1pl for indf indf.sub prox neg neg

wamákhe kháãjĩ paĩjĩ , a'wanachá palániwáni
 wa= amá -khe kháãjĩ paĩjĩ a'wanachá palá -ni wáni
 1pl see far.pst prox fruit tree good nf emph

Libre vaya dígale para que él diga para nosotros qué es ésto, nosotros no vemos de estos frutas, muy bueno fruta de ese palo (laym falta ícha -a'wanachá ícha)

158 Mot	aũ	ri'jĩchá		réjō	mana'ichiyó
Morphèmes	aũ	ri= i'jĩ	-chá	ri= ejo	mana'ichiyó
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf go	pst	3sg.nf towards	suddenly

riphícha réjō
 ri= ipha -cha ri= ejo
 3sg.nf arrive pst 3sg.nf towards

Libre por eso él fue allá, de un momento él llegó allá

159 Mot	" owilá , marí kéja " ké rímícha ,
Morphèmes	owilá marí ké =ja ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	uncle prox like lim like 3sg.nf say pst
" á'a " ké rímícha " marí kéja nuká "	
á'a ké ri= ímí -cha marí ké =ja nu= ikhá	
yes like 3sg.nf say pst prox like lim 1sg pro	
é rímícha , é rímícha " marí kéja	
é ri= ímí -cha é ri= ímí -cha marí ké =ja	
then 3sg.nf say pst then 3sg.nf say pst prox like lim	
nuká " ké .	
nu= ikhá ké	
1sg pro like	

Libre tío cómo está?" "sí dijo así mismo yo estoy" "así mismo yo estoy"

160 Mot	" méké yúku " ké jrailá kémícha
Morphèmes	méké yúku ké ri= owilá kémí -cha
Glose lex.	indf.manner story like 3sg.nf uncle say pst
rijló .	
ri= jló	
3sg.nf for	

Libre "lit. cómo que es cuento? " le dijo el tío

161 Mot	aú rímícha " ũká , pa'yútá
Morphèmes	aú ri= ímí -cha unká pa'yú tá
Glose lex.	because 3sg.nf say pst neg papá.addr emph1
wakái'chari nuká picháje " ké rímícha ,	
wakái' -cha -ri nu= ikhá pi= cháje ké ri= ímí -cha	
order pst nf.cleft 1sg pro 2sg at like 3sg.nf say pst	

Libre por eso él le dijo a él, mi papá me mandó onde usted

162 Mot	" pi'makálojé nojló náka
Morphèmes	pi= i'ma -ká lojé nu= jló ná -ka
Glose lex.	2sg tell ka.adv purp3 1sg for indf indf.sub
kháájĩ wepháta wajne're chú mapéja mana'ichiyó "	
kháájĩ wa= iphá -ta wa= jne're chú mapéja mana'ichiyó	
prox 1pl arrive caus 1pl port in normally suddenly	

Libre para que usted me diga qué nosotros encontramos en la quebrada de un momento

163 Mot	" ná chí riká kháájĩ ? "
Morphèmes	ná chí ri= ikhá kháájĩ
Glose lex.	indf emph3 3sg.nf pro prox

Libre qué es ésto

164 Mot	é riyá'tíya rijló amári itewí
Morphèmes	é ri= ya'tí -ya ri= jló amá -ri itewí
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf show pst 3sg.nf for see nf.ss plant_sp

Libre él le mostró, miró que era aguaje (canangucho)

165.1 Mot	"	aa	"	ké	rímíchaka	,	"
Morphèmes		***		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		
Glose lex.		***		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		
mékéla'jé	chí		ũkájó'ó		iwe'píla		?
mékéla'jé	chí		unká =jo'ó	i=	we'pí -la		
indf.manner	emph3		neg still	2pl	know v.neg		

Libre él dijo "cómo no saben todavía, de todo los dos finao mi papá hablaba con nosotros (pajñákáni: todos juntos; laym: méké la'jéché)

165.2 Mot	phiyúké	,	iyamáno	,	pajñákáni	pa'yú
Morphèmes	phiyúké		iyamá =no		pajñákáni	pa'yú
Glose lex.	all		two hab		together	papá.addr
michú	pura'jíko		wajwa'té		i'majíka	,
michú	pura' -jíka	=o	wa= jwa'té		i'ma -jíka	
deceased	speak far.pst	mid	1pl with		far.pst far.pst	

Libre

166.1 Mot	éta'jné		ũká		iwe'píla		náka
Morphèmes	éta 'jné		unká	i=	we'pí -la		ná -ka
Glose lex.	then ***		neg	2pl	know v.neg		indf indf.sub

kháájí ?
kháájí
prox

Libre cómo que no saben qué es esto, este es canangucho (laym: éta'jné: cómo qué? vimy: doesn't know)

166.2 Mot	"	ke	rímícha	"	itewí	kháájí	",
Morphèmes		ké	ri= ímí -cha		itewí	kháájí	
Glose lex.		like	3sg.nf say pst		plant_sp	prox	

Libre

167 Mot	"	a'wanachá	,	riká		wáni	",
Morphèmes		a'wanachá		ri= ikhá		wáni	
Glose lex.		tree		3sg.nf pro		emph	

Libre de ese proprio palo

168 Mot	"	riká		aú	yáleje	nala'khé	,
Morphèmes		ri= ikhá		aú	yále -je	na= la' -khé	
Glose lex.		3sg.nf pro		with	*** unposs	3pl do far.pst	

nakajmo'kó raú kháájí ."
na= kajmo' -ka =o ri= aú kháájí
3pl celebrate ka.cleft mid 3sg.nf cause prox

Libre con eso hacían baile, bailaban con eso

169 Mot	ré	riyálena	riká	wáni	a'wanachá
Morphèmes	ré	ri= yálena	ri= ikhá	wáni	a'wanachá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf song	3sg.nf pro	emph	tree

kháãjĩ jrená wakajé inau'ké kajmo'ó "
kháãjĩ ri= jená wakajé inau'ké kajmo'ó
prox 3sg.nf hour date person celebrate

Libre él tiene baile, el propio palo el tiempo de él la gente bailan

170 Mot	" aũ	riká	kélé	" ké
Morphèmes	aũ	ri= ikhá	kélé	ké
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf pro	med	like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre por eso está él dijo

171 Mot	" jé	palá	pili'cháka	nuká	" ké
Morphèmes	je	palá	pi= li' -chá -ka	nu= ikhá	ké
Glose lex.	good	good	2sg do pst ka.cleft	1sg pro	like

rímíchaka , " chúwa nupi'cháko
ri= ímí -cha -ka chúwa nu= pi' -chá -ka =o
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft now 1sg return pst ka.cleft mid

jowilá ké rímíchaka , á'a pi'má ri'jló
jowilá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka á'a pi= i'má ri= jló
uncle like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft yes 2sg tell 3sg.nf for

riyukúná , " jé " é ripi'chó
ri= yukú -ná jé é ri= pi' -cha =ó
3sg.nf story alien3 good then 3sg.nf return pst mid

Libre ah bueno, gracias" él dijo, "ahora me voy tío" dijo él "bueno cuénteles a él", "bueno" y se regresó

172 Mot	riphícha	jrara'pá	éjõ	é
Morphèmes	ri= ipha -cha	ri= ara'pá	ejo	é
Glose lex.	3sg.nf arrive pst	3sg.nf father.ref	towards	then

rímícha " pa'yú " ké rímícha " marí
ri= ímí -cha pa'yú ké ri= ímí -cha marí
3sg.nf say pst papá.addr like 3sg.nf say pst prox

kéja jowilátá kémíchaka nojló : " a'wanachá
ké =ja jowilá tá kémí -cha -ka nu= jló a'wanachá
like lim uncle emph1 say pst ka.cleft 1sg for tree

riká wáni kháãjĩ , mékela'jé chí ũká
ri= ikhá wáni kháãjĩ méké la'jé chí unká
3sg.nf pro emph prox indf.manner *** emph3 neg

iwe'píla , raki'chá kémáchí nuká " ké
i= we'pí -la ri= aki' -chá kémáchi nu= ikhá ké
2pl know v.neg 3sg.nf scold pst a_little 1sg pro like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre él llegó donde el papá de él, y dijo de propio palo es este "cómo es que ustedes no van a saber", "él me intentó de regañarme a mi" (aka'káje: regañar?)

173 Mot aa " ũká " ké rímíchaka , "
Morphèmes *** unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. *** neg like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

ũká iná we'píla phiyúké wáni eja'wá chú nákáje
 unká iná we'pí -la phiyúké wáni eja'wá chú nákaje
 neg gnr.pro know v.neg all emph forest in thing

a'wanachátá " ké rímíchaka , " apá
 a'wanachá tâ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka apála
 *** emph1 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft maybe

riká ka'jnó ri'micháká ũká
 ri= ikhá ka'jnó ri= i'mi -chá -ká unká
 3sg.nf pro dub 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft neg

nuwe'píacha " ,
 nu= we'pí -la -cha
 1sg know v.neg pst

Libre "no" él dijo, uno no sabe todas las cosas en el mundo de ese árboles, de pronto sería eso yo no sabía

174 Mot é ne'makhé píño é namícha
Morphèmes é na= i'ma -khé píño é na= amí -cha
Glose lex. then 3pl live far.pst again then 3pl see pst

kajú rícha i'micháká kélé .
 kajú ri= ícha i'mi -chá -ka kélé
 much 3sg.nf fruit cop pst ka.nz med

Libre vivieron otra vez y ahí miraron que tenía mucha fruta

175 Mot aũ júpicha riwakái'cha píño
Morphèmes aũ júpicha ri= wakái' -cha píño
Glose lex. because long_time 3sg.nf order pst again

ri'rí réjõ rímícha rijló
 ri= i'rí ri= ejo ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
 3sg.nf son 3sg.nf towards 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre con el tiempo volvió otra vez mandó a su hijo allá, le dijo

176 Mot nu'rí , pamíchajlá richáje píño
Morphèmes nu= i'rí pi= amí -cha jlá ri= cháje píño
Glose lex. 1sg son 2sg see prs frust 3sg.nf at again

phailá éjõ , méké ka'jnó iná ka'tá
 pi= owilá ejo méké ka'jnó iná ka' -ta
 2sg uncle towards indf.manner dub gnr.pro throw_out caus

méké	iná	ka'tá		wawitúka'takajlá
méké	iná	ka'	-ta	wa= witúka' -ta -ka jlá
indf.manner	gnr.pro	throw_out	caus	1pl go_down caus ka.cleft frust

kélé	, iná	la'kálojé	
kélé	iná	la' -ká	lojé
med	gnr.pro	do ka.adv	purp3

Libre hijo vaya mire otra vez onde su tío, cómo que uno puede arrancar, cómo uno puede sacar para nosotros bajar ese, para uno hacer (laym: wawitúka'takalojé mejor)

177 Mot	iná	la'kálojé		iná
Morphèmes	iná	la' -ká	lojé	iná
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	do ka.adv	purp3	gnr.pro

kajmo'kólojé		raú		penáje	, "	jé	"
kajmo' -ká	=o	lojé	ri=	aú	penáje	jé	
celebrate	ka.adv	mid purp3	3sg.nf	with	for	good	

Libre para uno hacer y bailar con eso; "bueno"

178 Mot	é	ri'jíchá		piño	ri'rí		i'jíchá
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'jĩ -chá	piño	ri=	i'rí	i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go pst	again	3sg.nf	son	go pst

piño .
piño
again

Libre se fue nuevamente el hijo

179 Mot	é	rímícha		" jowilá	" ké
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	jowilá	ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	uncle	like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre y dijo, "tío"

180 Mot	marí	ké	pa'yú	wakái'chaka
Morphèmes	marí	ké	pa'yú	wakái' -cha -ka
Glose lex.	prox	like	papá.addr	order pst ka.cleft

pura'kájo		pijló	" é	kája	iná
pura' -káje	=o	pi= jló	é	kája	iná
speak	ev.nz2	mid	2sg	for	Q already gnr.pro

witúka'takajlá		kélé	a'waná	?"
witúka' -ta	-ka	jlá	kélé	a'waná
go_down	caus	ka.int	frust	med tree

Libre "así mi papá mandó razón, uno puede será bajar ese palo"

181 Mot	" méké	iná	witúka'takajlá		?"
Morphèmes	méké	iná	witúka' -ta	-ka	jlá
Glose lex.	indf.manner	gnr.pro	go_down	caus	ka.cleft frust

Libre cómo uno puede bajarlo

182 Mot	" ũká	méké	kalé	" ké	rímícha
Morphèmes	unká	méké	kalé	ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	nv.neg	like	3sg.nf say pst

náke
náke
uh

Libre no hay problema dijo él

183 Mot	pímá	nujmerémi		jló	,
Morphèmes	pi= ímá	nu= jmeré	=mi	jló	
Glose lex.	2sg say	1sg younger_brother	nom.pfv	for	

Libre dígale a mi menor

184 Mot	riwakáa'chí		ri'jrakána		kécha
Morphèmes	ri= wakáa' -chí		ri= i'jra -kána		kécha
Glose lex.	3sg.nf order	purp2	3sg.nf go_up	ev.nz1	after

rimaja'táre
ri= maja'tá -ré
3sg.nf tear jus

Libre mls: que ordene que se suba, luego que él (lo) despedaze

185 Mot	rimaja'tániñatá		náke	rícha	wáni
Morphèmes	ri= maja'tá -niña	tâ	náke	ri= ícha	wáni
Glose lex.	3sg.nf tear	proh emph1	uh	3sg.nf fruit	emph

sino que ...
*** que
*** conj

Libre que no vaya a cortar fruta de él

186 Mot	ri-la-ré	náke	... ná	rií	kélé
Morphèmes	ri= la' -ré	náke	ná	ri= íí	kélé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf do jus	uh	indf	3sg.nf name	med

Libre que haga, cómo que se llama

187 Mot	rithupatájíka			, riwakára'je
Morphèmes	ri= thupatá -jí -ka			ri= wakára' -je
Glose lex.	3sg.nf ***	fut ka.topic		3sg.nf order fut

rithupatákana yenu
ri= thupa -ta -kana yenu
3sg.nf *** caus ev.nz1 up

Libre él lo va desmoronarlo, tenía que mandar desmoronarlo arriba

188 Mot	riwakára'je		rithupatákana		pero
Morphèmes	ri= wakára' -je		ri= thupa -ta -kana		pero
Glose lex.	3sg.nf order fut		3sg.nf ***	caus ev.nz1	spa

rimaja'tániñatá				riká		inau'ké	riká		kélé	,
ri=	maja'tá	-niña	tâ	ri=	ikhá	inau'ké	ri=	ikhá	kélé	
3sg.nf	tear	proh	emph1	3sg.nf	pro	person	3sg.nf	pro	med	
ké	rímíchaka				éko	pímá		rijló		
ké	ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka	éko	pi=	ímá	ri=	jló	
like	3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft	pol.imp	2sg	say	3sg.nf	for	
ñaké		,	"	jé	"	ké				
ñaké				jé		ké				
dist.simil				good		like				

Libre que lo mande desmoronar arriba pero que no lo vaya cortar porque él es gente, dígame así para él "bueno"

189 Mot	é	ri'rí		pi'chó		píño
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'rí	pi'	-chá	=o
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	son	return	pst	mid
						again

Libre ahí se regresó el hijo otra vez

190 Mot	rímícha			pa'yú		ají	ké
Morphèmes	ri=	ímí	-cha	pa'yú		ají	ké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	say	pst	papá.addr		prox	like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre él dijo "papá, así dijo"

191 Mot	iná		i'jrakárejlá		riká		i'jrakéjía
Morphèmes	iná		i'jra	-kare	jlá	ri=	ikhá
Glose lex.	gnr.pro		go_up	pot	frust	3sg.nf	pro
							go_up
							ptcp

rijña'kána
ri= jña' -kána
3sg.nf take ev.nz1

Libre vimy: uno lo puede subir, subiendo uno lo coge (i'jrakájé: subir)

192 Mot	eyá		imaja'tániña		kalé		rícha	,
Morphèmes	eyá		i=	maja'tá	-niña	kalé	ri=	ícha
Glose lex.	since_then		2pl	tear	proh	emph5	3sg.nf	seed

rituwákana jri'wáta ké rímícha
ri= tuwá -kana *** ké ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf thresh ev.nz1 *** like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre vimy: no hay que cortar la pepa, hay que desgranarlo arriba (ji'wáta: arriba; tuwákaje: desgranar)

193 Mot	"	jée	"	ké	é	rímícha
Morphèmes		jé		ké	é	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.		good		like	then	3sg.nf say pst

rijwa'téjena		jló	"	chúwa	iwitúka'a	nojló	kélé
ri= jwa'téje	-na	jló		chúwa	i= witúka'a	nu= jló	kélé
3sg.nf	servants	pl	for	now	2pl go_down	1sg for	med

a'wanachá	,	iléré	riká
a'wanachá		iléré	ri= ikhá
tree		med.loc	3sg.nf pro

Libre "bueno" dijo para la gente de él, "ahora sí, bajen para mi la fruta del palo, ahí está" (laym: falta ícha)

194 Mot i'jraká riká ,
Morphèmes i= i'jra -ka ri= ikhá
Glose lex. 2pl go_up ka.topic 3sg.nf pro

imaja'tániñatá		riká	ké	no'wé	phe'jí
i= maja'tá	-niña	tá	ri= ikhá	ké	nu= e'wé
2pl	tear	proh emph1	3sg.nf pro	like	1sg brother
					eldest unposs

kémíchaka
kémí -cha -ka
say pst ka.cleft

Libre "suban él, no lo van a cortar a el, así dijo mi hermano el mayor

195 Mot " jé " é ri'jíchá náke é
Morphèmes jé é ri= i'jī -chá náke é
Glose lex. good then 3sg.nf go pst uh then

ne'jíchá	phiyúkéja	inau'ké
na= i'jī -chá	phiyúké =ja	inau'ké
3pl go pst	all lim	person

Libre bueno ahí se fue y se fueron toda la gente

196 Mot é ne'jrichá riká
Morphèmes é na= i'jri -chá ri= ikhá
Glose lex. then 3pl go_up pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí lo subieron

197 Mot kája kéja jna'cháko rituwájẽ
Morphèmes kája ké =ja na= ja' -chá -ka =o ***
Glose lex. already like lim 3pl fall pst ka.topic mid ***

jri'wátajẽ a'jnaré
*** a'jnaré
*** dist.loc

Libre entonces ya ellos cayeron a desbaratarlo allá arriba (vimy: se pusieron a desgranarlo allá mismo arriba)

198 Mot natuíchaka riká
Morphèmes *** ri= ikhá
Glose lex. *** 3sg.nf pro

Libre lo bajaron

199	Mot	kajú	kéwáka	ka'jnó	kélé	kajú	yá	pá	
	Morphèmes	kajú	kéwaka	ka'jnó	kélé	kajú	yá	pá	
	Glose lex.	much	truth	dub	med	much	***	look_out	
	nákhaóna	ma'ína	ná	kajénatá		pi'rējīa	kájéna	yenú	mápana
	***	***	ná	kájé -na	tá	***	kájé -na	yenú	***
	***	***	indf	type pl	emph1	***	type pl	up	***

kájéna
kájé -na
type pl

Libre mucho, es cierto, había arriba toda clase de bichos como majiña (abejaSP), mápana (abejaSP) (embolatadito)

200	Mot	nekátá		kélé	jaya'átiyaño
	Morphèmes	na= iká tâ		kélé	jaya'á -ti -ya -ño
	Glose lex.	3pl pro emph1	med	bore	caus pst pl.cleft

inau'kétá yenú
inau'ké tâ yenú
person emph1 up

Libre ellos son los que cansaron la gente allá arriba (jaya'átakaje: fastidiar)

201	Mot	kája ewája	némícha	"	aj	mapéja
	Morphèmes	kája ewája	na= ímí -cha		***	mapéja
	Glose lex.	at last	3pl say pst		***	normally

napajlákata waja'wáté "
na= pajlá -ka tá wa= jwa'té
3pl lie ka.cleft emph1 1pl with

Libre más rato dijeron "mentira que ellos nos están engañando"

202	Mot	wamaja'tátachí		rikátá
	Morphèmes	wa= maja'tá -ta -chí	ri=	ikhá tâ
	Glose lex.	1pl tear caus hort	3sg.nf	pro emph1

Libre vamos a cortarlo

203	Mot	é	najī'chá	kélé	nale'jé	epijí ,
	Morphèmes	é	na= jī' -chá	kélé	na= le'jé	***
	Glose lex.	then	3pl take pst	med	3pl poss	***

namatha'chíya " mátha mátha mátha " rikátá
na= matha' -chi -ya *** *** *** ri= ikhá tâ
3pl cut caus pst *** *** *** 3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre y ahí cogieron con ese que corta (epijí) tha tha tha" lo cortaron

204	Mot	riká	ja'cháro		kawákájo ,
	Morphèmes	ri= ikhá ja' -chá -ri	=o	kawáká	=ejo
	Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	fall pst	nf.cleft mid	low towards

ilé kéja inau'ké wayo'chá riká
ilé ké =ja inau'ké wayo' -chá ri= ikhá
med like lim person *** pst 3sg.nf pro

paminá náke
 pa= miná náke
 impers owner uh

Libre y luego lo regañó a ellos "por qué hicieron así porque el dueño...

210 Mot palá phe'jí kémícha wajló
Morphèmes palá phe' -jí kémí -cha wa= jló
Glose lex. good eldest unposs say pst 1pl for

mékéka rijña'kána
 méké -ka ri= jña' -kána
 indf.manner indf.sub 3sg.nf take ev.nz1

Libre si bien el mayor nos dijo como se coge

211 Mot ũká jema'lá ijló kemakáná
Morphèmes unká i= jema' -lá i= jló kema -kána
Glose lex. neg 2pl listen v.neg 2pl for say ev.nz1

Libre no escuchan lo que le dicen a ustedes (vimy: falta náje al principio)

212 Mot eyá rímícha ũká méké
Morphèmes eyá ri= ímí -cha unká méké
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.nf say pst neg indf.manner

i'malá , é tapútá yurícharo rile'jé náke
 i'ma -lá é *** yurí -cha -ri =o ri= le'jé náke
 cop v.neg then *** stay pst nf.cleft mid 3sg.nf poss uh

wachapílaji ka'jné jra'pí
 *** ka'jné ri= ja'pí
 *** dub 3sg.nf pass

Libre y luego él dijo "todo bien", el otro dejó la correa de él (de la mata) (riwachapíla: correa)

213 Mot ilétá pi'cháro píño
Morphèmes ilé tá pi' -chá -ri =o píño
Glose lex. med emph1 return pst nf.cleft mid again

rile'jé wachapíla pa'táje kélé itewí ja'pí
 ri= le'jé wachapíla pa' -ta -je kélé itewí ja'pí
 3sg.nf poss belt return caus purp.mot med plant_sp under

yuríchako
 yurí -cha -ka =o
 stay pst A.nz2 mid

Libre él regresó otra vez buscar la correa de él que había quedado debajo de ese canangucho

214 Mot é riphícha réjō
Morphèmes é ri= ipha -cha ri= ejo
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf arrive pst 3sg.nf towards

jremi'chá kajú kélé itewí awíyo'chaka "
 ri= jemi' -chá kajú kélé itewí awíyo' -cha -ka
 3sg.nf listen pst much med plant_sp scream pst ka.cleft

ayúuuu ayúuu , unká paála kalé nala'ká
 *** *** unká paá -la kalé na= la' -ká
 *** *** neg bien.neg v.neg nv.neg 3pl do ka.cleft

nuká " ké rímícha kajú rawíyo'chaka
 nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha kajú ri= awíyo' -cha -ka
 1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst much 3sg.nf scream pst ka.cleft

é riyakái'cho yenójo amári
 é ri= yakái' -cha =o yenú =ejo amá -ri
 then 3sg.nf see pst mid up towards see nf.ss

mékéka jirá ja'cháko ré "
 méké -ka jirá ja' -chá -ka =o ri= é
 indf.manner indf.sub blood fall pst ka.nz mid 3sg.nf cond2

thupi thupi thupi " ké
 thupi thupi thupi ké
 ideo3 ideo3 ideo3 like

Libre él llegó hasta allá y luego escuchó mucho estaba gritando canangucho "ay ay me hicieron muy mal" de ahí él miró hacia arriba estaba cayendo mucho sangre"

215 Mot kajú jirátá ja'cháko
Morphèmes kajú jirá tâ ja' -chá -ka =o
Glose lex. much blood emph1 fall pst ka.cleft mid

re'yayá
 ri= e'yá =yá
 3sg.nf in abl

Libre estaba cayendo mucho sangre

216 Mot é rawíyo'chaka re'yája kélé
Morphèmes é ri= awíyo' -cha -ka ri= e'yá =ja kélé
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf scream pst ka.when 3sg.nf in lim med

pi'chó rikero'cháko
 pi' -chá =o ri= kero' -chá -ka =o
 return pst mid 3sg.nf *** pst ka.topic mid

Libre ahí gritó de ahí no más ese se asustó

217 Mot yé jnewa'ká ũká paála kalé
Morphèmes *** na= jiwaká unká paá -la kalé
Glose lex. *** 3pl boss neg bien.neg v.neg emph5

nomíchaka
 nu= amí -cha -ka
 1sg see pst ka.cleft

Libre ay mayordomo no es bien que yo miré

218 Mot kajúwáni kéléta pirámichaka nuká
Morphèmes kajú wáni kélé tá pirámicha -ka nu= ikhá
Glose lex. much emph med emph1 *** ka.cleft 1sg pro

ké rímícha
ké ri= ímí -cha
like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre demasiado me agüereó ese de ahí

219 Mot wamaja'tíyaka apukúnámi chiyá
Morphèmes wa= maja'tí -ya -ka apukúna =mi chiyá
Glose lex. 1pl tear pst obl.nz place nom.pfv in.from

jirá jeño'ká ũká méké pila'lá
jirá jeño' -ká unká méké pi= la' -lá
blood jump ka.cleft neg indf.manner 2sg do v.neg

Libre donde que cortamos ahí estaba saliendo sangre que usted no sabe qué hacer (vimy: same translation) (apukúná-mi: rastro, herida)

220 Mot ilé númícha nakú ijló , iwe'íka
Morphèmes ilé nu= ímí -cha nakú i= jló i= we'í -ka
Glose lex. med 1sg say pst on 2pl for 2pl know ka.nz

kéja ila'á kélé
ké =ja i= la'á kélé
like lim 2pl do med

Libre "eso yo le dije a ustedes, con cuidao hagan"

221 Mot " jé " ké eyonáje nakámo'cha ...
Morphèmes jé ké eyonáje na= kámo' -cha
Glose lex. good like however 3pl ripen pst

Libre que "bueno" así mismo lo tibiearon (kámo'kaje: madurar)

222 Mot é Wí'ña kémícha ri'rí jló pi'jná
Morphèmes é Wí'ña kémí -cha ri= i'rí jló pi= i'jná
Glose lex. then proper.n say pst 3sg.nf son for 2sg go

píño
píño
again

Libre ahí Wí'ña le dijo al hijo "vaya otra vez"

223 Mot " pi'jná píño no'wé phe'jí
Morphèmes pi= i'jná píño nu= e'wé phe' -jí
Glose lex. 2sg go again 1sg brother eldest unposs

cháje "
cháje
more_than

Libre "vaya otra vez donde mi hermano el mayor"

224 Mot pímáchí rijló méké chí
Morphèmes pi= ímá -chí ri= jló méké chí
Glose lex. 2sg say purp2 3sg.nf for indf.manner emph3

iná	la'ká	riká	kháájí	,	méké	chí	iná
iná	la' -ká	ri=	ikhá	kháájí	méké	chí	***
gnr.pro	do ka.cleft	3sg.nf	pro	prox	indf.manner	emph3	***

...

Libre para que usted le diga a él como que uno hace esto

225 Mot	mékéka	nala'kálojé	riká
Morphèmes	méké	-ka	na= la' -ká lojé ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	indf.manner	indf.sub	3pl do ka.adv purp3 3sg.nf pro

(pa-) , nakámo'o ka'jnó riká , mékéka
 *** na= kámo'o ka'jnó ri= ikhá méké -ka
 *** 3pl ripen dub 3sg.nf pro indf.manner indf.sub

namotho'ká , nala'kálojé
 na= motho' -ka na= la' -ká lojé
 3pl cook ka.nz 3pl do ka.adv purp3

Libre cómo lo van a hacer, lo pueden madurar o lo pueden cocinar? (vimy: o de pronto lo van a madurar, para ellos hacerlo)

226 Mot	é	ri'jíchá	rějō	rímícha
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jī -chá	ri= ejo	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf towards	3sg.nf say pst

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre luego se fue para allá

227 Mot	" jowilá	marí	kéja	" "	á'a	" ké
Morphèmes	jowilá	marí	ké =ja		á'a	ké
Glose lex.	uncle	prox	like lim		yes	like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "tío así mismo está" sí" dijo "así mismo estoy"

228 Mot	" méké	yúku	" "	ũká	, ajíké
Morphèmes	méké	yúku		unká	ají ké
Glose lex.	indf.manner	story		neg	prox like

pa'yútâ kémíchaka , méké chí iná
 pa'yú tâ kémí -cha -ka méké chí iná
 papá.addr emph1 say pst ka.cleft indf.manner emph3 gnr.pro

la'ká kélé paĩjī , méké iná kámo'ka ,
 la' -ká kélé paĩjī méké iná kámo' -ka
 do ka.cleft med fruit indf.manner gnr.pro ripen ka.cleft

méké iná la'ká , méké iná
 méké iná la' -ká méké iná
 indf.manner gnr.pro do ka.cleft indf.manner gnr.pro

kajmo'kólojé raú
 kajmo' -ká =o lojé ri= aú
 celebrate ka.adv mid purp3 3sg.nf cause

Libre "qué cuento hay" dijo él, "no" dijo él "así dijo mi papá e que uno hace esa fruta, cómo uno hace para uno bailar con eso (kajmo'kájo: hacer baile)

229 Mot aú rímícha " piyá'ta " ,
Morphèmes aú ri= ímí -cha pi= yá'ta
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst 2sg put

rímícha rijló " pímá rijló
 ri= ímí -cha ri= jló pi= ímá ri= jló
 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for 2sg say 3sg.nf for

riyáa'taré , rila're , rika're
 ri= yáa' -ta -ré ri= la' -ré ri= ka' -ré
 3sg.nf sit caus jus 3sg.nf do jus 3sg.nf throw_out jus

riká junápejě "
 ri= ikhá junápi =eje
 3sg.nf pro water2 until

Libre y dijo sientelo, que lo sienta, que lo haga, que lo bote en el agua

230 Mot " é riyáa'taré riká iléréjé
Morphèmes é ri= yáa' -ta -ré ri= ikhá iléré =eje
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf sit caus jus 3sg.nf pro med.loc until

, eyá rikámo'jo rikó ,
 eyá ri= kámo' -je =o ri= ikhá =ó
 since_then 3sg.nf ripen fut mid 3sg.nf pro mid

rikó rikámo'ko kélé
 ri= ikhá =ó ri= kámo' -ka =o kélé
 3sg.nf pro mid 3sg.nf ripen ka.cleft mid med

Libre vimy: de ahí él lo deja ahí, él solito se va a madurar, él sólo se madura (kámo'kajo: madurarse)

231 Mot " jé " ké
Morphèmes jé ké
Glose lex. good like

Libre "bueno"

232 Mot é ripi'chó , é rímícha
Morphèmes é ri= pi' -cha =ó é ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf return pst mid then 3sg.nf say pst

" ají ké phe'jí kémíchaka nojló "
 ají ké phe' -jí kémí -cha -ka nu= jló
 prox like eldest unposs say pst ka.cleft 1sg for

Libre luego se regresó, y ahí él dijo "así me dijo el mayor" (vimy: pe'wé phe'jí mejor)

233.1 Mot	riká	,	iná	kámo'kare	riká	,
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá		iná	kámo' -kare	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro		gnr.pro	*** arg.nz1	3sg.nf pro	
kéchami	iná	jña'ká	nákarí	ri'í	kúája	, kélé
kéchami	iná	jña' -ka	nákarí	ri= i'í	***	kélé
after	gnr.pro	take ka.insub?	uh	3sg.nf meat	***	med
rijímítája			kélé	pika'á	phiyúké	,
ri=	ijí =mi	tâ =ja	kélé	pi= ka'á	phiyúké	
3sg.nf	seed nom.pfv	emph1 lim	med	2sg throw_out	all	
iná	la'á	kuliyá	raú	,	ilé ké	iná
iná	la'á	kuliyá	ri= aú		ilé ké	iná
gnr.pro	do	drink_name	3sg.nf cause		med like	gnr.pro
la'ká	riká	,	iná	wakára'ka	inau'ké	náke..
la' -ká	ri= ikhá		iná	wakára' -ka	inau'ké	***
do ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro		gnr.pro	order ka.cleft	person	***

Libre

233.2 Mot	iná	wakára'kalojé	inau'ké	i'ráká	,
Morphèmes	iná	wakára' -ka	lojé	inau'ké	i'ra -ká
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	order ka.adv	purp3	person	drink ka.nz

kajmo'kó		raú	penáje
kajmo' -ka	=o	ri= aú	penáje
celebrate	ka.nz mid	3sg.nf cause	for

Libre vimy: uno lo puede madurar, después uno saca pura pulpa (carne), ahí usted bota todo puro pepa, con eso uno hace caguana, así uno lo hace, pa mandar pa que la gente lo tome, para hacer baile con eso (mocho, iná kajmo'kólojé) (kuája = wája = kuwanija)

234 Mot	" jé	" ké	rímícha
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre "bueno" él dijo

235 Mot	é	ripi'chó	,	riwakái'cha
Morphèmes	é	ri= pi' -cha	=ó	ri= wakái' -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf return pst	mid	3sg.nf order pst

kélé	rijwa'téjena	kámo'ka	kélé	itewí
kélé	ri= jwa'téje -na	kámo' -ka	kélé	itewí
med	3sg.nf servants pl	ripen ka.nz	med	plant_sp

Libre ya se fue, él mandó a la gente de él a madurar ese canangucho

236 Mot	nakámo'cha	,	kajú	nakámo'cha	,
Morphèmes	na= kámo' -cha		kajú	na= kámo' -cha	
Glose lex.	3pl ripen pst		much	3pl ripen pst	

pajlúwája	náke	,	riwakajé	ũká	nala'khé	(utilizá
pajlúwá =ja	náke		ri= wakajé	unká	na= la' -khé	utilisá
one lim	uh		3sg.nf date	neg	3pl do far.pst	spa

) ,	nala'khé	nale'jé	nákájé	i'makhe	me'tení
	na= la' -khé	na= le'jé	nákaje	i'ma -khe	me'tení
	3pl do far.pst	3pl poss	thing	cop far.pst	now

kariwana		le'jé	nákájé	ké
kariwa	-na	le'jé	nákaje	ké
white_person	pl	poss	thing	like

Libre lo maduraron, mucho lo maduraron, uno--, en ese tiempo no utilizaban lo que es de los blancos ahorita

237 Mot	nale'jé	ná	pajá	rií		kélé	(na-)
Morphèmes	na= le'jé	ná	pajá	ri= íí		kélé	***
Glose lex.	3pl poss	indf	emph	3sg.nf name		med	***

jitaná	kájé	,	riká	chojé		nakho'chá	náke
***	kájé		ri= ikhá	chojé		na= ako' -chá	náke
***	type		3sg.nf pro	towards_inside		3pl pour pst	uh

riká	,	riká	chojé	nakámo'cha
ri= ikhá		ri= ikhá	chojé	na= kámo' -cha
3sg.nf pro		3sg.nf pro	towards_inside	3pl ripen pst

riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre cosa de ellos cómo será se llama, vasija jitaná, ahí lo echaron y ahí mismo lo maduraron (akho'káje: verter syn. nakhatíya)

238 Mot	rikámo'cha	,	éjómi	kája	nají'chá
Morphèmes	ri= kámo' -cha		éjomi	kája	na= jí' -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf *** pst		after	already	3pl take pst

ri'í	,	natutúwicha	,	nali'chá	phiyúkéja	náke	,
ri= íí		na= tutúwi -cha		na= lí' -chá	phiyúké =ja	náke	
3sg.nf meat		3pl strain pst		3pl do pst	all lim	uh	

rile'jé	náke	kuliyá	kájé	,	pá	paminá
ri= le'jé	náke	kuliyá	kájé		pá	pa= miná
3sg.nf poss	uh	drink_name	type		look_out	impers owner

kémíchaka		rináku	ké
kémí -cha -ka		ri= náku	ké
say pst ka.nz		3sg.nf on	like

Libre después que se maduró sacaron la pulpa (carne), luego lo colaron; hicieron de todo) las cosas de él (pepa) como caguana de él, así como dijo el dueño (ri-ijnépána en vez de ri'í: masa de aguaje)

239 Mot	réjómi	kája	ri'jíchá	píño	,
Morphèmes	ri= éjomi	kája	ri= íjí -chá	píño	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf after	already	3sg.nf go pst	again	

riwakári'cha		píño	ri'rí	richáje	,	rímícha
ri= wakári' -cha		píño	ri= í'rí	ri= cháje		ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf order	pst	again	3sg.nf son	3sg.nf at		3sg.nf say pst

rijló	"	méké	chí	chúwa	,	wakeño'jika
ri=	jló	méké	chí	chúwa	wa=	keño' -jǐ -ka
3sg.nf	for	indf.manner	emph3	now	1pl	begin fut ka.cleft
náke	,	méké	riyále	kháājǐ	itewí	
náke		méké	ri=	yále	kháājǐ	itewí
uh		indf.manner	3sg.nf	dance	prox	plant_sp

Libre luego él se fue otra vez, y luego mandó al hijo otra vez donde él, él le dijo a él "cómo es que ahora vamos a empezar baile de aguaje?"

240 Mot	é	nákaí	kélé	ri'rí		phe'jí		i'jichá
Morphèmes	é	nákaí	kélé	ri=	i'rí	phe'	-jí	i'jǐ -chá
Glose lex.	then	uh	med	3sg.nf	son	eldest	unposs	go pst

píño	richáje
píño	ri= cháje
again	3sg.nf at

Libre y luego él hijo mayor se fue otra vez donde él

241 Mot	rímícha	"	jowilá	marí	kéja	"
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha		jowilá	marí	ké =ja	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst		uncle	prox	like lim	

Libre él dijo "tío así mismo está? "

242 Mot	"	marí	kéja	nula'rí	,	méké	yúku	" "
Morphèmes		marí	ké =ja	nu= la'rí		méké	yúku	
Glose lex.		prox	like lim	1sg ***		indf.manner	story	

ũká	"	ké	rímíchaka		nákari
unká		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		nákari
neg		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		uh

Libre "sí así mismo, sobrino, qué me cuenta" dijo, "no" dijo él,

243 Mot	méké	náke	,	pa'yútá
Morphèmes	méké	náke		pa'yú tá
Glose lex.	indf.manner	uh		papá.addr emph1

kémíchaka		nojló	náke	,	" mékéka	iná
kémí -cha -ka		nu= jló	náke		méké -ka	iná
say pst ka.cleft		1sg for	uh		indf.manner indf.sub	gnr.pro

keño'ká	kháājǐ	itewí	kájé	yále	keño'kána	,
keño' -ká	kháājǐ	itewí	kájé	yále	keño' -kána	
begin ka.cleft	prox	plant_sp	type	dance	begin ev.nz1	

méké	chí	iná	keño'ká	riká
méké	chí	iná	keño' -ká	ri= ikhá
indf.manner	emph3	gnr.pro	begin ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro

Libre cómo mi papá me dijo, "cómo es que uno comienza baile de aguaje, cómo es que uno comienza baile de eso (vimy: keño'kána sobra)

244 Mot	richá	kájé	pura'kájo	kájé	,
Morphèmes	ri= chá	kájé	pura' -káje	=o	kájé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf on	type	speak ev.nz2	mid	type
mékéka		nakeño'ká	richá		pura'kájo
méké	-ka	na= keño' -ká	ri= chá		pura' -káje =o
indf.manner	indf.sub	3pl begin ka.cleft	3sg.nf on		speak ev.nz2 mid
arápa'kaje	kájé	, méké	chí		rikeño'kó
arápa' -kaje	kájé	méké	chí	ri= keño' -ka	=o
dance ev.nz2	type	indf.manner	emph3	3sg.nf begin ka.cleft	mid
kháãjĩ					
kháãjĩ					
prox					

Libre vimy: cómo se podía dialogar sobre él, cómo comienzan dialogar sobre él como baile, cómo es que comienza esto? (vimy: mékéchí richá pura'káno instead)

245 Mot	" jé	" ajĩ	ké	rímícha	rijló	"
Morphèmes	jé	ajĩ	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	good	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for	
ũká	"					
unká						
neg						

Libre "bueno", así él le dijo "no"

246 Mot	panékhe
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre primero

247 Mot	" pitamáa'taje	inau'ké	jló	phiyúkéja	kélé
Morphèmes	pi= tamáa' -ta -je	inau'ké	jló	phiyúké =ja	kélé
Glose lex.	2sg spread caus fut	person	for	all lim	med
náke	pijña'káre	rile'jé	nákei	, pá	
náke	pi= jña' -káre	ri= le'jé	nákei	pá	
uh	2sg take arg.nz1	3sg.nf poss	uh	look_out	
nemaká	rile'jé	náke	ritu'rúne	kájé	
na= ima -ká	ri= le'jé	náke	ri= itu'rú -ne	kájé	
3pl say ka.insub?	3sg.nf poss	uh	3sg.nf starch alien3	type	

Libre vimy: usted lo va a repartir todo eso que usted cogió de él, mire lo que ellos dicen que es como almidón de él (nemakáre nakú ritu'rúne riká)

248 Mot	pikamáa'ta	inau'ké	jló	phiyúké	riká
Morphèmes	pi= kamáa' -ta	inau'ké	jló	phiyúké	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	2sg *** caus	person	for	all	3sg.nf pro

Libre todo reparte todo pa la gente

249 Mot éjomi kája piwakára'a narápa'ka
Morphèmes éjomi kája pi= wakára'a na= arápa' -ka
Glose lex. after already 2sg order 3pl dance ka.nz

riyále "
 ri= yále
 3sg.nf dance

Libre luego manda bailar baile de eso

250 Mot ké rímícha , eyá nákei " eyá
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha eyá nákei eyá
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst since_then uh since_then

kája pímá rijló "
 kája pi= ímá ri= jló
 already 2sg say 3sg.nf for

Libre y luego usted le dice a él

251 Mot " rikeño'jíka é arápa'kaje
Morphèmes ri= keño' -jí -ka é arápa' -kaje
Glose lex. 3sg.nf begin fut ka.nz in dance ev.nz2

rikeño're núí nakiyá , núí nakiyá
 ri= keño' -ré nu= íí nakú =eyá nu= íí nakú =eyá
 3sg.nf begin jus 1sg name on from 1sg name on from

riká " ké rímícha " kája nule'jé kélé ,
 ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha kája nu= le'jé kélé
 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst already 1sg poss med

nuká keño'tári kélé itewí , aú pímá
 nu= ikhá keño' -ta -ri kélé itewí aú pi= ímá
 1sg pro begin caus nf.cleft med plant_sp because 2sg say

rijló rikeño're núí nakiyána riká "
 ri= jló ri= keño' -ré nu= íí nakiyá -ná ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf for 3sg.nf begin jus 1sg name among ? 3sg.nf pro

Libre si él va a comenzar a bailar que comience de mi nombre, de mi nombre es, ese es mio, yo fui que lo creé ese aguaje, por eso dígame a él que comience de mi nombre

252 Mot jé ké rímíchaka jéko númá
Morphèmes jé ké ri= ímí -cha -ka jéko nu= ímá
Glose lex. good like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft pol.imp 1sg say

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre ah bueno" dijo él "yo le digo a él"

253 Mot é ripi'chó píño
Morphèmes é ri= pi' -cha =ó píño
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf return pst mid again

Libre él se fue otra vez

254 Mot	é	rímícha	"	pa'yú	ajǐ	ké
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	pa'yú	ajǐ	ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	papá.addr	prox	like
rímícha	,	ajǐ	ké	iná	la'ká	riká
ri=	ímí -cha	ajǐ	ké	iná	la' -ká	ri= ikhá
3sg.nf	say pst	prox	like	gnr.pro	do ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro
iná	tamáa'taka		inau'ké	jló	panékho	, éjómiko
iná	tamáa' -ta -ka		inau'ké	jló	***	éjomi =kó
gnr.pro	spread caus	ka.cleft	person	for	***	then emph4
iná	keño'ó	raápa'kana		, ũká	méké	i'malá
iná	keño'ó	ri=	aápa' -kana	unká	méké	i'ma -lá
gnr.pro	begin	3sg.nf	dance ev.nz1	neg	indf.manner	cop v.neg

Libre (laym: rímíchaka mejor)

255 Mot	é	rímícha		rikeño'jǐkaé
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	ri= keño' -jǐ -ka é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.nf begin fut ka.adv cond2

jlaíchú riká waícha , eyá
 jlaíchú ri= ikhá waícha eyá
 afternoon 3sg.nf pro return since_then

rikeño'jǐkaé aápa'kaje rikeño're
 ri= keño' -jǐ -ka é aápa' -kaje ri= keño' -re
 3sg.nf begin fut ka.adv cond2 dance ev.nz2 3sg.nf begin jus

riká paminá íǐ nakiyá , iyé'kurí íǐ
 ri= ikhá pa= miná íǐ nakú =eyá *** íǐ
 3sg.nf pro impers owner name on from *** name

nakiyá
 nakú =eyá
 on from

Libre (nombre tanimuca)

256 Mot	eyonáje	kélé	nákai	,	kája	me'jwikájé
Morphèmes	eyonáje	kélé	nákai	kája	ma- i'jwi -kájé	
Glose lex.	however	med	uh	already	priv *** ***	

keño'chó reyá i'micháká , pheñawilá
 keño' -chá =o ri= eyá i'mi -chá -ka pheñawilá
 begin pst mid 3sg.nf from far.pst pst ka.pst ancestor

michúná keño'rí me'jwikájé i'maká , ũká
 michú -ná keño' -rí ma- i'jwi -kájé i'ma -ka unká
 deceased pl begin nf.cleft priv *** *** far.pst ka.pst neg

me'tení náke yuwaná penáje keño'ótari
 me'tení náke yuwaná penáje keño'ó -ta -ri
 now uh kids for begin caus nf.cleft

ri'maká , sino júpimi nakeño'ó
 ri= i'ma -ka *** júpi =mi na= keño'ó
 3sg.nf far.pst ka.pst *** long_time pfv 3pl begin

ri'maká

ri= i'ma -ka
3sg.nf far.pst ka.pst

Libre de ahí ya comenzó el desorden (me'jwi-kájé: sin oreja), los viejos antiguos comenzaron el desorden, los jóvenes no fue que comenzaron eso (yuwaná penáje: los jóvenes (descendientes) sino que ya tiempo fue que lo comenzaron (vimy: ũká me'tení yuwaná penájemi kalé keño'ótari ri'maká) (keñótakaje ~keño'ótakaje: comenzar)

257 Mot	eyá	náke	...	é	jrawakátiya				
Morphèmes	eyá	náke		é	ri= jawaká	-ti	-ya		
Glose lex.	since_then	uh		then	3sg.nf pile	caus	pst		
phiyúkéja	rijwa'téjena				jrawakátiya				
phiyúké	=ja	ri= jwa'téje	-na	ri=	jawaká	-ti	-ya		
all	lim	3sg.nf servants	pl	3sg.nf	pile	caus	pst		
rijwa'téjena		é	rímícha		najló	náke	"	ajǐ	
ri=	jwa'téje	-na	é	ri= ímí -cha	na= jló	náke		ajǐ	
3sg.nf	servants	pl	then	3sg.nf say	pst	3pl for	uh		prox
ké	pa'yútá		kémíchaka		, ajǐ	ké	no'wé		
ké	pa'yú	tá	kémí -cha -ka		ajǐ	ké	nu= e'wé		
like	papá.addr	emph1	say	pst	ka.cleft	prox	like	1sg	brother
kémícha		, phe'jí	kémíchaka						
kémí -cha		phe' -jí	kémí -cha -ka						
say	pst	eldest unposs	say	pst	ka.cleft				
watamáa'takaloje			phiyúkéja	náke	...	inau'ké	jló		
wa= tamáa' -ta -ka	loje	phiyúké =ja	náke			inau'ké	jló		
1pl spread	caus ka.adv	purp3	all	lim	uh	person	for		
riká	...	phá	chúwa						
ri= ikhá		phá	chú =ewá						
3sg.nf	pro	house	in	around					

Libre de ahí él reunió a los empleados (jawakátakaje: amontonar =/= jaokátakaje: avisar) así dijo mi hermano mayor (no'wé phe'jí); para repartirlo a toda la gente que está adentro de la maloca

258 Mot	éjomi	kája	wakeño'jé	arápa'je					
Morphèmes	éjomi	kája	wa= keño' -jé	arápa' -je					
Glose lex.	after	already	1pl begin	fut	dance	purp.mot			
wakeño'jé	rií	nakiyá	riká	penáje					
wa= keño' -jé	ri= íí	nakú =eyá	ri= ikhá	penáje					
1pl begin	fut	3sg.nf name	on	from	3sg.nf	pro	for		

Libre después ya vamos a comenzar a bailar, pa comenzarlo de nombre de él

259 Mot	aa;	réjomi	rímícha	"					
Morphèmes	***	ri= éjomi	ri= ímí -cha						
Glose lex.	***	3sg.nf after	3sg.nf say	pst					
wakeño'káloje		rií	nakiyá	riká					
wa= keño' -ká	loje	ri= íí	nakú =eyá	ri= ikhá					
1pl begin	ka.adv	purp3	3sg.nf name	on	from	3sg.nf	pro		

eyá	,	rile'jé		ri'makálé			penáje
eyá		ri=	le'jé	ri=	i'ma -ká	=lé	penáje
since_then		3sg.nf	poss	3sg.nf	cop ka.adv	reason	for

Libre vimy: después él dijo "para nosotros comenzarlo del nombre de él porque ese es de él"

260 Mot	é	jlaíchú	phíyu'ke	waícha	"	jé	"	ké
Morphèmes	é	jlaíchú	phíyu'ke	waícha		jé		ké
Glose lex.	then	afternoon	old	return		good		like

Libre en la tarde viene el viejo, "bueno"

261 Mot	é	inau'ké	wátiya	riká			
Morphèmes	é	inau'ké	wáti -ya	ri=	ikhá		
Glose lex.	then	person	wait	pst	3sg.nf	pro	

Libre ahí la gente lo esperaron

262 Mot	é	nawátiya		riká		,	ja'píchari
Morphèmes	é	na= wáti	-ya	ri=	ikhá		ja'pá -cha -ri
Glose lex.	then	3pl	wait	pst	3sg.nf	pro	pass pst nf.ss

náke
náke
uh

Libre ahí lo esperaron pasó este..

263 Mot	ja'píchari		náke	...	jrená	,	kája
Morphèmes	ja'pá -cha -ri		náke		ri= jená		kája
Glose lex.	pass pst nf.ss		uh		3sg.nf	hour	already

jlaíchú	ra'chá		jrená	ũká
jlaíchú	ri= a' -chá	ri=	jená	unká
afternoon	3sg.nf give	pst	3sg.nf	hour
				neg

riphálácha
ri= iphá -lá -cha
3sg.nf arrive v.neg pst

Libre se pasó la hora, la hora que él dijo él no llegó

264 Mot	aaj	ũká	méké	,	kája	jrená
Morphèmes	***	unká	méké		kája	ri= jená
Glose lex.	***	neg	indf.manner		already	3sg.nf hour

chojé	yáleje		iphícha	,	é	rímícha
chojé	yále -je		iphí -cha		é	ri= ímí -cha
towards_inside	dance unposs		arrive pst		then	3sg.nf say pst

wakeño'lâré rikátá
wa= keño' -lá -ré ri= ikhá tâ
1pl begin v.neg jus 3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre ah, ya llegó la hora del baile, vamos a comenzarlo

265 Mot	ũká	pachá	no'wétá		iphálácha	,
Morphèmes	unká	pachá	nu= e'wé tâ		iphá -lá -cha	
Glose lex.	neg	because	1sg brother emph1		arrive v.neg	pst

wakeño'jé	nuí	nakiyá	riká	ké
wa= keño' -jé	nu= í	nakú =eyá	ri= ikhá	ké
1pl begin fut	1sg name	on from	3sg.nf pro	like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre porque no llegó mi hermano por eso lo vamos a comenzar de mi nombre

266 Mot	jé	piká	wakára'a	jnewaká	ké
Morphèmes	jé	pi= ikhá	wa= kára'a	nu= jiwaká	ké
Glose lex.	good	2sg pro	1pl burn	1sg boss	like

némíchaka	, é	jna'pícha	rinakojé
na= ímí -cha -ka	é	na= ja'pí -cha	ri= nakú eje
3pl say pst ka.cleft	then	3pl pass pst	3sg.nf on until

phiyúké
phiyúké
all

Libre "bueno, usted es el que manda jefe" dijeron, ahí ya todos se fueron de él (a bailar con él)

267 Mot	é	náke	rikeño'chá	náke
Morphèmes	é	náke	ri= keño' -chá	náke
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf begin pst	uh

rataíkána	... rií	nakiyá	, rií
ri= ataí -kána	ri= í	nakú =eyá	ri= í
3sg.nf sing ev.nz1	3sg.nf name	on from	3sg.nf name
nakiyá	nakeño'chá	rataíkána	, rataícha
nakú =eyá	na= keño' -chá	ri= ataí -kána	ri= ataí -cha
on from	3pl begin pst	3sg.nf sing ev.nz1	3sg.nf sing pst

riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí él comenzó a cantarlo del nombre de él, de nombre de él comenzaron a cantarlo, lo cantó

268 Mot	ũká	rimalácha	kélé	wé'-	,
Morphèmes	unká	ri= ima -lá -cha	kélé	***	
Glose lex.	neg	3sg.nf say v.neg pst	med	***	

paminá	we'pícha	riká	, ũká
pa= miná	we'pí -cha	ri= ikhá	unká
impers owner	know pst	3sg.nf pro	neg

jrema'lácha	jra'piyá
ri= jema' -lá -cha	ri= ja'pi =eyá
3sg.nf listen v.neg pst	3sg.nf under from

Libre él no le dijo ese-, el dueño lo sabía que él no le iba a hacer caso

269 Mot	eyonáje	jlaíchú	ké	riphícha			
Morphèmes	eyonáje	jlaíchú	ké	ri=	ipha	-cha	
Glose lex.	however	afternoon	like	3sg.nf	arrive	pst	

yáa'jō , amíchari nataíchaka apo'jō
yáa' -je =o amí -cha -ri na= ataí -cha -ka apo'jō
sit purp.mot mid see pst nf.ss 3pl sing pst ka.nz ?other.side

kája
kája
already

Libre sin embargo él llegó en la tarde a sentarse, él miró que cantaron muy diferente (apo'jō: diferente)

270 Mot	"	yúkurí	kána	Wíña	kuíri	kaná	yúkurí	kaná
Morphèmes		***	***	Wíña	***	kaná	***	kaná
Glose lex.		***	***	proper.n	***	mirror	***	mirror

Wíña kuíri kaná jiñái jiñái " ké rataícha
Wíña *** kaná *** *** ké ri= ataí -cha
proper.n *** mirror *** *** like 3sg.nf sing pst

Libre así él cantó "canto no se puede traducir"

271 Mot	entonce	rímícha		"	méké	chí	kélé
Morphèmes	***	ri=	ímí -cha		méké	chí	kélé
Glose lex.	***	3sg.nf	say pst		indf.manner	emph3	med

náke pijlóko númícha i'micháká
náke pi= jló =kó nu= ímí -cha i'mi -chá -ka
uh 2sg for emph4 1sg say pst far.pst pst ka.pst

pikēño'kálojé nuí nakiyá riká ké
pi= keño' -ká lojé nu= ií nakú =eyá ri= ikhá ké
2sg begin ka.adv purp3 1sg name on from 3sg.nf pro like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre entonces él dijo "cómo es eso, yo te dije a usted pa que lo comenzara de mi nombre" así le dijo

272 Mot	eyonáje	ũká	ka'jnó	jema'lá		
Morphèmes	eyonáje	unká	ka'jnó	i= jema' -lá		
Glose lex.	however	neg	dub	2pl listen	v.neg	

no'piyá ké rímícha , ũká méké
nu= ja'pi =eyá ké ri= ímí -cha unká méké
1sg under from like 3sg.nf say pst neg indf.manner

i'malá , kája júpimi ka'kéjatá
i'ma -lá kája júpi =mi ka' -kéja tâ
cop v.neg already long_time pfv throw_out ptcp emph1

i'maká nuká ké rímíchaka , ũká
i'ma -ka nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka unká
far.pst ka.pst 1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft neg

méké i'malátá
 méké i'ma -lá tá
 indf.manner tell v.neg emph1

Libre sin embargo usted en será no me hacen caso" así dijo " "eso no tiene nada" dijo "ya de tiempo ya fui botado, no tiene nada" (ka'káje: botar, ka'kéja: botado)

273 Mot pikeño'ó riká , kája pikeño'chá
Morphèmes pi= keño'ó ri= ikhá kája pi= keño' -chá
Glose lex. 2sg begin 3sg.nf pro already 2sg begin pst

ilé ké riká ké rímíchaka
 ilé ké ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 med like 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "comiencelo ya que usted lo comenzó así"

274 Mot " jé "
Morphèmes jé
Glose lex. good

Libre "bueno"

275 Mot é kája jra'pícha arápaje ,
Morphèmes é kája ri= ja'pí -cha arápa' -je
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf pass pst dance purp.mot

jra'pícha .
 ri= ja'pí -cha
 3sg.nf pass pst

Libre ahí ya él salió a bailar

276 Mot é kája riyajálomitá i'michá kanupá
Morphèmes é kája ri= yajálo =mi tâ i'mi -chá kanupá
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf wife nom.pfv emph1 cop pst pregnant

kája , kája re'wé mano'tíya ruká .
 kája kája ri= e'wé mano' -tí -ya ru= ikhá
 already already 3sg.nf brother *** caus pst 3sg.f pro

Libre ya la mujer que era de él estaba embarazada, ya él hermano le había embarazado

277 Mot é ropáricha kélé rujulátá
Morphèmes é ru= apári -cha kélé ru= julá tá
Glose lex. then 3sg.f cover pst med 3sg.f stomach emph1

jirúlá'la aú , ropáricha riká , é
 *** aú ru= apári -cha ri= ikhá é
 *** because 3sg.f cover pst 3sg.nf pro then

ru'jíchá ajíké náke (richá) rijló kélé
 ru= i'jĩ -chá ajĩ ké náke ri= chá ri= jló kélé
 3sg.f go pst prox like uh 3sg.nf on 3sg.nf for med

itewí náke , kuliya a'jé .
 itewí náke kuliya ***
 plant_sp uh drink_name ***

Libre ahí ella tapó la barriga de ella con una bandeja, entonces ella se fue así darle ese aguaje, caguana (jirúlá'la ~ jirúwa'la ~ jirúa'la; apáarakaje: tapar)

278 Mot	" ũká	" ké	rímícha	,	" inau'ké	nu'makhé-
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	,	inau'ké	***
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst	,	person	***
	, inau'ké páni	nu'majj'ká		pijwa'té	wakajé	, kajú
	inau'ké ***	nu= i'ma -j' -ka		pi= jwa'té	wakajé	kajú
	person ***	1sg tell fut ka.nz		2sg with date		much
	ũká pila'khé	no'jné	,	kajú paka'j'ika		
	unká pi= la' -khé	nu= a'jné	,	kajú pi= aka' -j'ika		
	neg 2sg do far.pst	1sg food		much 2sg scold far.pst		
	nu'maká	, chúwa ũká	nuwátala	pa'ká		
	nu= i'ma -ka	chúwa unká	nu= wáta -la	pi= a' -ka		
	1sg far.pst ka.pst	now neg	1sg want v.neg	2sg give ka.nz		
	nojló nátâ	, pipa'tá	rikátá	a'jnáñoj'ó	"	
	nu= jló ná tâ	pi= pa'tá	ri= ikhá tâ	a'jnáñoj'ó		
	1sg for indf emph1	2sg return	3sg.nf pro emph1	dist.toward		
	, é rupatíya	rule'jé	náni	, ro'jné	.	
	é ru= patí -ya	ru= le'jé	náni ru= a'jné			
	then 3sg.f shine pst	3sg.f poss	thing 3sg.f food			

Libre "no" el dijo, cuando yo era gente, como yo era como gente en ese tiempo, usted no hacía mi comida, me regañaba mucho, ahora yo no quiero que usted me da nada, lléve eso pa allá", ella regreso su coso, su comida (=páni : type, como; vimy: no suena bien kajú; aka'kaje: regañar)

279 Mot	é	riyái'cho		pajlúwája	,	é
Morphèmes	é	ri= yái' -cha =o		pajlúwá =ja		é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf sit pst	mid	one lim		then
	rawíyo'tiya	, rawíyo'tiya				
	ri= awíyo' -ti -ya	ri= awíyo' -ti -ya				
	3sg.nf scream caus pst	3sg.nf scream caus pst				
	rawíyo'tiya	, júpi	rawíyo'tiya			
	ri= awíyo' -ti -ya	júpi	ri= awíyo' -ti -ya			
	3sg.nf scream caus pst	long_time	3sg.nf scream caus pst			
	kája ewája tá	kélé náke	, na'chá	rijló	pajlúwa	
	kája ewája tâ	kélé náke	na= a' -chá	ri= jló	pajlúwá	
	at last emph1	med uh	3pl give pst	3sg.nf for	one	
	kúya choj'é	náke ...	kúya choj'é	na'chá		
	kúya choj'é	náke	kúya choj'é	na= a' -chá		
	cup towards_inside	uh	cup towards_inside	3pl give pst		
	rijló itewí	.				
	ri= jló itewí					
	3sg.nf for plant_sp					

Libre ahí él se sentó en un solo punto, él gritaba gritaba (animando el baile, al rato le dieron a él en una kúya, en kuya le dieron aguaje)

280 Mot riká kélé rapíro'cha
Morphèmes ri= ikhá kélé ri= apíro' -cha
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro foc? 3sg.nf suck pst

riyái'chako nakú .
 ri= yái' -cha -ka =o nakú
 3sg.nf sit pst ka.nz mid on

Libre ese él estaba chupando mientras que él estaba sentado

281 Mot " yée " ké rímíchaka , "
Morphèmes yée ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

yéwíchaja ripháká chúwa náke
 yéwícha =ja ri= iphá -ká chúwa náke
 almost lim 3sg.nf arrive ka.cleft now uh

jno'pákalojé náke ... nule'jé chojé " ké
 nu= ja'pá -ka lojé náke nu= le'jé chojé ké
 1sg pass ka.adv purp3 uh 1sg poss towards_inside like

rímíchaka .
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "uy" dijo, "ya casi está llegando para yo bailar lo que es mio (vimy: lit. adentro del mio, nuyále jená chojé)

282 Mot kája maaré jrewíña'ta ne'maká
Morphèmes kája maaré ri= jewíña' -ta na= i'ma -ka
Glose lex. already prox.loc 3sg.nf become caus 3pl far.pst ka.pst

i'maká .
 i'ma -ka
 far.pst ka.pst

Libre de aquí ya él los convirtió

283 Mot inau'ké jrewíña'ta i'maká piyuténá
Morphèmes inau'ké ri= jewíña' -ta i'ma -ka piyuté -ná
Glose lex. person 3sg.nf become caus far.pst ka.pst boa pl

penáje .
 penáje
 for

Libre él transformó gente en boa

284 Mot eyá rapíro'chaje (piyut-) (náke) ,
Morphèmes eyá ri= apíro' -chaje *** ***
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.nf suck arg.nz2 *** ***

itewí ijímí kélé rijj'chá ,
 itewí ijí =mi kélé ri= jĩ' -chá
 plant_sp seed nom.pfv med 3sg.nf take pst

riki'chá		wí'chá	,	ja'cháro		ya'tájé	,
ri=	ki'	-chá	wí'chá	ja'	-chá	-ri	=o
3sg.nf	throw_out	pst	ideo	fall	pst	nf.ss	mid

jremi'chá		"	khá'yá'	"	"	khú'yá'	"
ri=	jemi'	-chá	***	***	yée	, ũkájawáni	"
3sg.nf	listen	pst	***	***	oh	neg	lim
						emph	
ké	rímícha						
ké	ri=	ímí	-cha				
like	3sg.nf	say	pst				

Libre de ahí lo que él chupó, pepa de aguaje ese que él cogió botó "wí'chá" cayó lejos, de ahí él escuchó que se desbarranco, uy todavía falta" él dijo (vimy: el cogio pepa de lo que él chupó; onom. sonido de algo que se arranca -raíces de un palo por ej)

285 Mot	é	kája	júni	,	ñaké	júni
Morphèmes	é	kája	júni		ñaké	júni
Glose lex.	then		water1		dist.simil	water1

ja'cháko		"	jmajmajma	"	júni	ja'cháko
ja'	-chá	-ka	=o	***	júni	ja'
fall	pst	ka.cleft	mid	***	water1	fall
						pst
						ka.cleft
						mid

Libre ahí ya agua, ya comenzó llover "jmájmájmá" llovió

286 Mot	é	rímícha	:	"	méké	kháãjĩ
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	méké	kháãjĩ
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	indf.manner	prox

la'ká ? "

la' -ká

do ka.cleft

Libre él dijo "qué es lo que hace este? "

287 Mot	ũká	jrema'lá		jno'piyá	,	ũká
Morphèmes	unká	ri=	jema'	-lá	nu=	ja'pi
Glose lex.	neg	3sg.nf	listen	v.neg	1sg	under
					from	neg

méké i'malátá .

méké i'ma -lá tá

indf.manner tell v.neg emph1

Libre como él no me hizo caso no tiene nada

288 Mot	ripéchú		nakú	rímícha
Morphèmes	ri=	péchú	nakú	ri=
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	thought	on	3sg.nf
				say
				pst

Libre él lo decía por dentro (el pensao de él)

289 Mot	é	,	ñaké	re'wé		arápi'chaka
Morphèmes	é		ñaké	ri=	e'wé	arápi'
Glose lex.	then		dist.simil	3sg.nf	brother	dance
						pst
						ka.cleft

a'jnáré
a'jnáré
dist.loc

Libre de ahí, mientras que el hermano estaba bailando (ñaké: syn. kétána)

290 Mot é júpichami jráo'cho piño
Morphèmes é júpichami ri= jáo' -cha =o píño
Glose lex. then long_time 3sg.nf go_out pst mid again

wakapéjē , riki'chá itewí ijímí
*** ri= ki' -chá itewí ijí =mi
*** 3sg.nf throw_out pst plant_sp seed nom.pfv

Libre después al rato él salió otra vez al patio, él botó pepa de aguaje

291 Mot yéwíchaja máejéké jra'cháko ,
Morphèmes yéwícha =ja *** ri= ja' -chá -ka =o
Glose lex. almost lim *** 3sg.nf fall pst ka.cleft mid

kája pu'théni tajáka'lo
kája *** ***
already *** ***

Libre ya casi, cayó casi cerquita, en la orilla del solar (máare+éjé + ké, tajáka'lo: orila, puthení: patio/solar)

292 Mot eyá ripi'chó phá chójo
Morphèmes eyá ri= pi' -cha =ó phá chójō
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.nf return pst mid house towards_inside

píño , rímícha
píño ri= ímí -cha
again 3sg.nf say pst

Libre de ahí se regresó a la maloca otra vez, dijo

293 Mot " yéwíchaja "
Morphèmes yéwícha =ja
Glose lex. almost lim

Libre "ya casi"

294 Mot eyá kája júpichami kémáchí kája kélé
Morphèmes eyá kája júpichami kémáchi kája kélé
Glose lex. since_then already long_time a_little already med

júni iphícha wakapéjē , ñaké júni
júni iphí -cha *** ñaké júni
water1 arrive pst *** dist.simil water1

ja'cháko " jmajmajma " , ñaké júni
ja' -chá -ka =o *** ñaké júni
fall pst ka.cleft mid *** dist.simil water1

i'jīchákátâ naloko'páni
i'jī -chá -ká tá na= loko'páni
go pst ka.cleft emph1 3pl side

Libre de ahí al rato ese agua ya llegó al patio, como ya estaba lloviendo "jmajmajma", como que el agua ya iba donde ellos (júpichami kémáchi: al ratico; ñaké: mientras tanto)

295 Mot	amári	kája	kélé	júni	iphíchaka	
Morphèmes	amá -ri	kája	kélé	júni	iphí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	see nf.ss	already	med	water1	arrive pst ka.nz	
kélé	wakapéjé	kája	, yáa	kája	júni	iphíchaka
kélé	***	kája	***	kája	júni	iphí -cha -ka
med	***	already	***	already	water1	arrive pst ka.insub?
chúwa	nákei					
chúwa	nákei					
now	uh					

Libre y vio ya el agua llegó al solar, "ya él agua ya llegó"

296 Mot	kája	rikeño'chá	yamú	e'yowá
Morphèmes	kája	ri= keño' -chá	yamú	e'yá ewá
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf begin pst	fence	in around
mujúka'kana	majó	, kécha	náke	
mujúka' -kana	majó	kécha	náke	
enter ev.nz1	prox.toward	after	uh	

Libre ya estaba entrando entre medio de cerco de la maloca hacia adentro, de ahí (yamú: cerco, e'yowá: entre medio, mujúka'káje: entrar)

297 Mot	ñaké	kája	rili'chá	,
Morphèmes	ñaké	kája	ri= li' -chá	
Glose lex.	dist.simil	emph?	3sg.nf do	pst
jrewíña'tiya		kélé	inau'ké	, ũká nawe'píla
ri= jewíña' -ti -ya		kélé	inau'ké	unká na= we'pí -la
3sg.nf study caus pst		med	person	neg 3pl know v.neg
mapéja	neká	, pamá	náke	, pakoróná mejé ké
mapéja	na= ikhá	pi= amá	náke	pakoró -ná mejé ké
normally	3pl pro	2sg see	uh	*** alien3 sound like
namejé	i'micháká	kélé	pají	chú " júuu' "
na= mejé	i'mi -chá -ká	kélé	pají	chú júuu'
3pl sound cop pst	ka.cleft	med	maloca	in ideo

Libre él ya hizo (mocho), y transformó a esa gente, ellos no sabían nada así no más estaban, hacían ruido como loros en esa maloca "júuu' " (pakoró: loro)

298 Mot	ne'chicháká	" je je je "
Morphèmes	na= i'chi -chá -ká	jé jé jé
Glose lex.	3pl first_period pst ka.insub?	*** *** ***
ne'chicháká		mapéja
na= i'chi -chá -ká		mapéja
3pl first_period pst	ka.cleft	normally

Libre así no más se reían "je je je" (laym: falta kéja)

299 Mot nataíchaka , manaí
Morphèmes na= ataí -cha -ka manaí
Glose lex. 3pl sing pst ka.nz calm

Libre cantaban así no más

300 Mot é némícha " méké palá wáni
Morphèmes é na= ímí -cha méké palá wáni
Glose lex. then 3pl say pst indf.manner good emph

wala'ká " ké némíchaka " je je je "
wa= la' -ká ké na= ímí -cha -ka jé jé jé
1pl do ka.cleft like 3pl say pst ka.cleft *** *** ***

ké ne'chicháká
ké na= i'chi -chá -ká
like 3pl first_period pst ka.cleft

Libre entonces ellos dijeron "cómo estamos haciendo muy bien" "je je je" se rieron

301 Mot ũká nawe'píla , ñaké kélé
Morphèmes unká na= we'pí -la ñaké kélé
Glose lex. neg 3pl know v.neg dist.simil med

arápi'chaka
arápi' -cha -ka
dance pst ka.cleft

Libre ellos no sabían, y ese de ahí estaba bailando (Wíña)

302 Mot kája wája rímícha , kája
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja ri= ímí -cha kája
Glose lex. already emph lim 3sg.nf say pst already

ramícha júni iphíchaka phá chójō ,
ri= amí -cha júni iphí -cha -ka phá chójō
3sg.nf see pst water1 arrive pst ka.nz house towards_inside

é rímícha " chúwa nuyáni majó i'jñá
é ri= ímí -cha chúwa nu= yáni majó i= i'jñá
then 3sg.nf say pst now 1sg children prox.toward 2pl go

" neká wáuna riyáni
na= ikhá *** ri= yáni
3pl pro *** 3sg.nf children

Libre ahí ya él dijo, ya él miró que ya llegó el agua adentro de la maloca, ahí él dijo "venga para acá mis hijos, los más importantes los hijos de él

303 Mot apú riyáni , ri'rí phe'jí
Morphèmes apú ri= yáni ri= i'rí phe' -jí
Glose lex. other 3sg.nf children 3sg.nf son eldest unposs

kécha apú najmerémi , eyá kélé ajápánatá ũká
kécha apú najmerémi eyá kélé *** unká
after other *** since_then med *** neg

riyániwáni		kalé	i'michákáñotâ		kélé	,			
ri=	yáni	wáni	kalé	i'mi	-chá	-ka	-ño	tâ	kélé
3sg.nf	children	emph	nv.neg	cop	pst	A.nz2	pl.cleft	emph1	med

ũká (riwakáa') riwá'lacha
unká *** ri= wá' -la -cha
neg *** 3sg.nf take v.neg pst

Libre él hijo de él mayor y el otro menor, y otros que no eran los hijos de él él no los llamó a ellos

304 Mot	neká	ja'píchaño	"	yée
Morphèmes	na= ikhá	ja'pí -cha	-ño	yée
Glose lex.	3pl pro	pass pst	pl.nz	oh

nujmerémi		"	ké	rímíchaka	,	chúwa	
nu= jmeré	=mi		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		chúwa	
1sg	younger_brother	nom.pfv	like	3sg.nf say	pst	ka.cleft	now

nuká	ja'páje	,	nuká	taápa'jẽ	nuwajlé	chúwa	
nu= ikhá	ja'pá -je		nu= ikhá	taápa' -jẽ	nu= wajlé	chúwa	
1sg	pro	pass fut	1sg	pro	bend fut	1sg back	now

Libre ellos que pasaron "ahora mi menor" él dijo, " yo que voy a pasar, yo que voy a enderezar mi espalda (tarápa'je pr-wajlé: bailar)

305 Mot	"	jé	o'wé	palá	pila'ká	"	kája
Morphèmes		jé	o'wé	palá	pi= la' -ká		kája
Glose lex.		good	brother.addr	good	2sg do	ka.cleft	already

jrewĩ'cho		i'micháká
ri= jewí' -cha	=o	i'mi -chá -ka
3sg.nf	become	pst mid far.pst

Libre "bueno hermano, hace bien" ya se había enloquecido

306 Mot	é	náke	rataícha
Morphèmes	é	náke	ri= ataí -cha
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf sing pst

Libre y luego él cantó (laym: falta éjómi)

307 Mot	rataícha	jra'pícha	arápa'je	,
Morphèmes	ri= ataí -cha	ri= ja'pí -cha	arápa' -je	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf sing	pass pst	dance	purp.mot

rataíchaka	,	kajú	rataíchaka
ri= ataí -cha -ka		kajú	ri= ataí -cha -ka
3sg.nf	sing	pst	ka.cleft

Libre cantó y pasó a bailar, cantó y mucho él cantó

308 Mot	é	ripayáicha	kélé	púru	chú	,	kája	
Morphèmes	é	ri= payái -cha	kélé	***	chú		kája	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	step_on	pst	med	***	in	already

júni	iphícha	"	aojó	"	ripayáicha		kélé	púru	chá			
júni	iphí -cha		***		ri= payái -cha		kélé	***	chá			
water1	arrive pst		***		3sg.nf step_on	pst	med	***	on			
"	thú	"	a'jnáñojó	,	kaphí	,	jwa'téké	júni	iphícha	"	júuu'	"
***	***	***	***		kaphí		***	júni	iphí -cha		júuu'	
***	***	***	***		hard		***	water1	arrive pst		ideo	
"	yéeee	"	ké	inau'ké	awíyo'chaka		"	méké				
***	***	***	ké	inau'ké	awíyo' -cha -ka			méké				
***	***	***	like	person	scream pst	ka.cleft		indf.manner				
cháwani	wala'ká		"	ké	inau'ké	awíyo'chaka						
cháwa	-ni wa= la' -ká			ké	inau'ké	awíyo' -cha -ka						
pity	nf 1pl do	ka.cleft		like	person	scream pst	ka.cleft					
kajú	meta'ápurutâ		,	"	yéé	"	nawíyo'chaka			"	júuu'	
kajú	meta'ápuru tâ				yéé	na=	awíyo' -cha -ka				júuu'	
much	***	emph1		oh	3pl	scream	pst obl.nz				ideo	
"												

Libre y él pisó el purón, él agua llegó y sonó "ajo'ó", él pisó duro el purón, en ese momento llegó el agua (vimy: es chá en vez de chú, "ay" gritaron la gente "qué lástima nos está pasando", así gritaron la gente, demasiada la quebrada "ay" ellos gritaron

309 Mot	ujwí	ké	,	reyá		riñátiya		kélé
Morphèmes	***	ké		ri=	eyá	ri= ñáti -ya		kélé
Glose lex.	***	like		3sg.nf	from	3sg.nf ***	pst	med
riyániwáni		i'micháká		,	ají	ké		
ri=	yáni wáni	i'mi -chá -ká			ají	ké		
3sg.nf	children emph	far.pst pst	ka.pst		prox	like		
riwitúka'tiya		neká		kélé	náke	pamá		
ri=	witúka' -ti -ya	na= ikhá	kélé	náke	pi= amá			
3sg.nf	go_down caus	pst 3pl pro	med	uh	2sg	see		
jrewíña'taka		ne'maká		é	,	kélé	na'á	
ri=	jewíña' -ta -ka	na= i'ma -ka	é	kélé	na= a'á			
3sg.nf	study caus	obl.nz 3pl far.pst	ka.pst	in	med	3pl	give	
íí	me'tení náke	,	Puerto Guayabo	i'marí		me'tení náke		
íí	me'tení náke	***	***	i'má -rí		me'tení náke		
name	now uh	***	***	cop	nf.cleft	now uh		

Libre se perdió, de ahí él llevó propios los hijos de él, ahí los bajó ahí donde que los convirtió, eso que ellos nombran ahorita, que es Puerto Guayabo ahora (ujwí ké: se desapareció)

310 Mot	ré	pajlúwá	jema'lá	,	kajú	pakoróna
Morphèmes	ré	pajlúwá	i= jema' -lá		kajú	***
Glose lex.	then	one	2pl listen	v.neg	much	***
i'ráká		ríchu				
i'ra	-ká	rí=	chu			
drink	ka.cleft	3sg.nf	in			

Libre ahí hay un salao toman demasiado ahí (jema'lá: salao)

311 Mot	riká	kélé	ré	jrewíña'ta
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	kélé	ré	ri= jewíña' -ta
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	med	then	3sg.nf become caus

ne'maká

na= i'ma -ka

3pl far.pst ka.pst

Libre ahí él los convirtió a ellos

312 Mot	eyá	kélé	jreñátiya	ri'rí	wáni
Morphèmes	eyá	kélé	***	ri= i'rí	wáni
Glose lex.	since_then	med	***	3sg.nf son	emph

i'micháká kélé riyuícha majó Quebrada Negra
i'mi -chá -ka kélé ri= yuí -cha majó *** ***
far.pst pst ka.pst med 3sg.nf stay pst prox.toward *** ***

chojé riyurícha ri'rí phe'jí
chojé ri= yurí -cha ri= i'rí phe' -jí
towards_inside 3sg.nf stay pst 3sg.nf son eldest unposs

Libre ahí él llevó al propio hijo de él, dejó acá en Quebrada Negra, él dejó el hijo mayor ahí

313.1 Mot	eyá	ri'rí	apú	kamu'jini	náke
Morphèmes	eyá	ri= i'rí	apú	kamu'jí -ni	náke
Glose lex.	since_then	3sg.nf son	other	poor nf	uh

rijmerémi riyuícha kélé Quebrada Negra
ri= jmeré =mi ri= yuí -cha kélé *** ***
3sg.nf younger_brother nom.pfv 3sg.nf stay pst med *** ***

pekeño(??)

Libre

313.2 Mot	nemakáre	chojé
Morphèmes	na= ima -káre	chojé
Glose lex.	3pl say arg.nz1	towards_inside

Libre y luego el hijo pequeño lo dejo en quebrada negra que dicen "teke?pequeño?"

314 Mot	aú	kélé	Quebrada	Negra	piyuténá	ñakajelá	kélé
Morphèmes	aú	kélé	***	***	piyuté -ná	***	kélé
Glose lex.	because	med	***	***	boa pl	***	med

Libre por eso es la casa propio de la boa Quebrada negra

315 Mot	riká	yuíchari	rinumáje
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	yuí -cha -ri	ri= numá =eje
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	stay pst nf.cleft	3sg.nf mouth until

Libre Él se quedó en la bocana

316 Mot	rejená	kélé	piyuté	yukúná
Morphèmes	ri= ejená	kélé	piyuté	yukú -ná
Glose lex.	3sg.nf until	med	boa	story alien3

Libre hasta ahí se acabó cuento de la boa

317 Mot	aũ	kélé	wajló	itewí	,	piyuté	wajló
Morphèmes	aũ	kélé	wa= jló	itewí		piyuté	wa= jló
Glose lex.	because	med	1pl for	plant_sp		boa	1pl for

kélé itewí
 kélé itewí
 med plant_sp

Libre por eso para nosotros ese aguaje es boa

318 Mot	aũ	náke	,	ũká	náke	,	pá	náke	,
Morphèmes	aũ	náke		unká	náke		pá	náke	
Glose lex.	because	uh		neg	uh		look_out	uh	

piyuté la'karé yaipúné ũká la'lá ná - ,
 piyuté la' -karé yaipú -ne unká la' -lá ná
 boa do arg.nz1 sickness alien3 neg do v.neg indf
 ajñálâ kháãjĩ piyuté , póke kája reyá kélé
 ajñá -la kháãjĩ piyuté póke kája ri= eyá kélé
 eat v.neg prox boa spa already 3sg.nf from med
 riyaípo'o pñño , piyuté i'makálé
 *** pñño piyuté i'ma -ká =lé
 *** again boa cop ka.adv reason

Libre la boa al que él hace daño no puede comer esa boa porque si el lo come otra vez le da recaída, porque él es boa (yaipú-né: enfermedad (de boa), reyá: de ahí, yaípo'kajo: enfermarse)

319 Mot	rejená	marí	nu'má	iyé'kuri	yukúná	,
Morphèmes	ri= ejená	marí	nu= i'má	iyé'kuri	yukú -ná	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf until	prox	1sg tell	proper.n	story alien3	

rejenája
 ri= ejená =ja
 3sg.nf until lim

Libre hasta ahí no más yo cuento la historia de iyé'kuri

320 Mot	ũká	,	ũká	paláwáni	nu'malácha
Morphèmes	unká		unká	palá wáni	nu= i'ma -lá -cha
Glose lex.	neg		neg	good emph	1sg tell v.neg pst

riyukúná , tu'jnéwáni marí náke karíwana
 ri= yukú -ná tu'jné wáni marí náke karíwa -na
 3sg.nf story alien3 fast emph prox uh white_person pl
 ja'páka
 ja'pá -ka
 pass ka.cleft

Libre no conté tan bien el cuento porque rápido pasan los blancos

321 Mot	iléjenája
Morphèmes	ilé ejená =ja
Glose lex.	med until lim

Libre hasta ahí no más

ycn0114

1 Mot	nu'majé		nu'maká		nujuwákó
Morphèmes	nu= i'ma	jé	nu= i'ma	-ka	nu= jyuwákó
Glose lex.	1sg tell	fut	1sg cop	ka.cleft	1sg ***
i'maká	nákarí	jnoló		michólo	jwa'té
i'ma -ka	nákarí	nu= jaló		michó -lo	jwa'té
far.pst ka.pst	uh	1sg mother.ref		deceased f	with
i'maká	riká	yukúná		nu'majé	
i'ma -ka	ri= ikhá	yukú -ná		nu= i'ma -jé	
far.pst ka.pst	3sg.nf pro	story alien3		1sg tell fut	

Libre voy a contar cómo fue mi niñez cuando vivía con mi finada madre , esto es lo que voy a contar

2 Mot	yuwaló		nu'maká		wakajé
Morphèmes	yuwa -ló		nu= i'ma -ka		wakajé
Glose lex.	unripe f		1sg cop	ka.nz	date
rupura'kó			nujwa'té	i'majíká	kajú
ru= pura' -ka =o			nu= jwa'té	i'ma -jīka	kajú
3sg.f speak ka.nz mid			1sg with	far.pst far.pst	much
ru'makhé	nojló	"	nútu	marí	ké iná
ru= i'ma -khé	nu= jló		nu= ítu	marí	ké iná
3sg.f tell far.pst	1sg for		1sg daughter	prox	like gnr.pro
i'maká	eja'wá	chú	ké	ru'majíká	nojló
i'ma -ka	eja'wá	chú	ké	ru= i'ma -jīka	nu= jló
live ka.cleft	forest	in	like	3sg.f tell far.pst	1sg for

Libre yo cuento lo que mi madre decía cuando era una niña, ella hablaba conmigo muchas veces me decía "hija uno debe vivir así en el mundo" me decía

3 Mot	pi'má	palá	ké	ru'majíká		nojló
Morphèmes	pi= i'ma	palá	ké	ru= i'ma -jīka		nu= jló
Glose lex.	2sg live	good	like	3sg.f tell far.pst		1sg for
pi'má	nákarí	phewíña'o		nákaje	la'kaná	nakú phiyúké
pi= i'ma	nákarí	pi= jewíña'	=o	nákaje	la' -kaná	nakú phiyúké
2sg live uh		2sg study	mid	thing do	ev.nz1	on all
a'jnejí	kájé	la'kaná	nakú	mená	e'yowá	phiyúké
a'jne -jí	kájé	la' -kaná	nakú	mená	e'yá ewá	phiyúké
food unposs	type	do ev.nz1	on	cropland	in around	all
piwe'píkalojé		nákaje	la'kaná			
pi= we'pí -ka	lojé	nákaje	la' -kaná			
2sg know ka.adv	purp3	thing	do ev.nz1			

Libre me decía "viva bien pero muy bien, aprenda hacer de todo las comidas en la chagra así para que aprendas hacer todas las cosas

4 Mot	eyá	nákarí	i'jnúní	iná	i'makáchú			
Morphèmes	eyá	nákarí	i'jnu -ní	iná	i'ma -ka	chú		
Glose lex.	since_then	uh	lazy nf	gnr.pro	cop	ka.adv	cond	
unká	méla'jé	i'jnúnítâ		kulála	riyajná			
unká	méla'jé	i'jnu -ní	tâ	kulá -la	ri= yajná			
neg	indf.manner	lazy nf	emph1	search	v.neg	3sg.nf	husband	
wa--	muní	kéja	piyajnatâ		ka'kálojé			
***	muní	ké =ja	pi= yajná	tâ	ka'	-ká	lojé	
***	tomorrow	like	lim	2sg husband	emph1	throw_out	ka.adv	purp3

piká
pi= ikhá
2sg pro

Libre además cuando uno es perezoso entonces cómo una perezosa puede buscar marido? porque al otro día la botaría su marido

5 Mot	riká	aú	jnoma'á	jro'piyá			
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	aú	nu= jema'á	ru= ja'pi	=eyá		
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	cause	1sg listen	3sg.f under	from		
i'maká	rumaká		nojlo	ké	jnoma'ká		
i'ma -ka	ru= ima -ká		nu= jló	ké	nu= jema' -ká		
far.pst ka.pst	3sg.f say ka.nz		1sg for	like	1sg listen ka.cleft		

jro'piyá
ru= ja'pi =eyá
3sg.f under from

Libre por eso yo le escuché a ella lo que me decía

6 Mot	é	nu'makhé	rujwa'té	ajño'jó	ké
Morphèmes	é	nu= i'ma -khé	ru= jwa'té	ajño'jó	ké
Glose lex.	then	1sg cop far.pst	3sg.f with	prox.toward	like

mená e'yowá phiyúké mékéka ru'maká
mená e'yá ewá phiyúké méké -ka ru= i'ma -ka
cropland in around all indf.manner indf.sub 3sg.f tell ka.nz

nojlo ké jnoma'á jro'piyá
nu= jló ké nu= jema'á ru= ja'pi =eyá
1sg for like 1sg listen 3sg.f under from

Libre ahí vivía con ella para un lado para otro en la chagra todo lo que me decía yo la obedecía

7.1 Mot	é	nutawá'o	i'maká	rujwa'té	ewá
Morphèmes	é	nu= tawá' =o	i'ma -ka	ru= jwa'té	ewá
Glose lex.	then	1sg grow mid	far.pst ka.pst	3sg.f with	then

phiyu'ichaka nuká
phiyu'i -cha -ka nu= ikhá
old inch ka.nz 1sg pro

Libre

7.2 Mot nu'maká
 Morphèmes nu= i'ma -ka
 Glose lex. 1sg cop ka.cleft

Libre y así fui creciendo con ella cada día yo crecía más

8 Mot kája ewája nuta'ó i'maká ũká
 Morphèmes kája ewája nu= ta' =ó i'ma -ka unká
 Glose lex. at last 1sg *** *** far.pst ka.pst neg

nuwe'píla ajíké chí iná itakó
 nu= we'pí -la ají ké chí iná ***
 1sg know v.neg prox like emph3 gnr.pro ***

Libre hasta que me llegó el periodo no sabía cómo era que le llegaba a uno el periodo

9 Mot é we'makhé rujwa'té jnora'pá
 Morphèmes é wa= i'ma -khé ru= jwa'té nu= jara'pá
 Glose lex. then 1pl live far.pst 3sg.f with 1sg father.ref

michú kapichaña we'maká nu'má rujwa'té
 michú *** wa= i'ma -ká nu= i'má ru= jwa'té
 deceased *** 1pl cop ka.cleft 1sg tell 3sg.f with

Libre y así seguíamos viviendo con ella hasta que se murió mi papá, vivíamos con ella

10 Mot we'makhé kamu'jí kémáchí we'majíka
 Morphèmes wa= i'ma -khé kamu'jí kémáchi wa= i'ma -jika
 Glose lex. 1pl live far.pst poor a_little 1pl live far.pst

apú ruyajná i'makhé chápú ramájika weká
 apú ru= yajná i'ma -khé *** ri= amá -jika wa= ikhá
 other 3sg.f husband cop far.pst *** 3sg.nf see far.pst 1pl pro

Libre vivíamos tristemente y el otro marido que ella tenía nos tenía rabia

11 Mot ri'makhé rojló " ná penáje piwáta
 Morphèmes ri= i'ma -khé ru= jló ná penáje pi= wáta
 Glose lex. 3sg.nf tell far.pst 3sg.f for indf for 2sg want

kélé piyáni inaánatâ ũká inau'kélárunatâ
 kélé pi= yáni inaána tâ unká inau'ké -la -ru -na tâ
 med 2sg children woman emph1 neg person v.neg f pl emph1

Libre él comenzó a decirle a ella "por qué usted quiere a sus hijos esas mujeres ellas son sinvergüenza

12 Mot kajú rujlápúnatâ kélé ké rímájika
 Morphèmes kajú *** kélé ké ri= ímá -jika
 Glose lex. much *** med like 3sg.nf say far.pst

nunáku marí kajé aũ kája kiñája yuwaló
 nu= náku marí kajé aũ kája kiñája yuwa -ló
 1sg on prox type because emph? quickly unripe f

nu'má nuyajná jwa'té i'maká wawá'ko
 nu= i'má nu= yajná jwa'té i'ma -ka wa= wá' -ka =o
 1sg cop 1sg husband with tell ka.pst 1pl take ass mid

rijwa'té	i'maká
ri= jwa'té	i'ma -ka
3sg.nf with	far.pst ka.pst

Libre "tiene muchos amantes" así le decía de mi a mi mamá por esto muy rápido me fui desde muy niña a vivir con mi marido nos casamos con él

13 Mot	nuta'ó	i'maká	,	é kája	iná
Morphèmes	nu= ta' =ó	i'ma -ka		é kája	iná
Glose lex.	1sg *** mid	far.pst ka.pst		then	gnr.pro

i'jnaká	waka'pójō	kája	methúké	kéri	kéja
i= i'jna -ká	***	kája	methú ké	kéri	ké =ja
2pl go ka.insub?	***	already	*** like	moon	like lim

pi'jnaká	waka'pójō	,	kája	kiñája	rayaátaka	iná
pi= i'jna -ká	***		kája	kiñája	rayaáta -ka	iná
2sg go ka.cleft	***		already	quickly	*** ka.cleft	gnr.pro

waka'pójō	iná	i'jnaká
***	iná	i= i'jna -ká
***	gnr.pro	2pl go ka.cleft

Libre ya me había llegado el periodo y después me llegaba muy seguido el periodo y esto me aburría

14 Mot	é kája	we'má	kélé	pajwa'téchaka	é kája
Morphèmes	é kája	wa= i'má	kélé	***	é kája
Glose lex.	then	1pl cop	med	***	then

nuyuró	kanupá	nu'rí	phe'jí	i'maká
nu= yurí =o	kanupá	nu= i'rí	phe' -jí	i'ma -ka
1sg stay mid	pregnant	1sg son	eldest unposs	far.pst ka.pst

takha'rí
takha' -rí
die nf.cleft

Libre y ya después estuvimos con mi marido cuando yo quedé embarazada de mi hijo mayor el que murió

15 Mot	ũká	nuwe'píkhe	i'majĩká	ajĩ	ké
Morphèmes	unká	nu= we'pí -khe	i'ma -jĩka	ajĩ	ké
Glose lex.	neg	1sg know far.pst	far.pst far.pst	prox	like

chí	kamu'jí	kémáchi	nákarí	iná	eja'wá	chú
chí	kamu'jí	kémáchi	nákarí	iná	eja'wá	chú
emph3	poor	a_little	uh	gnr.pro	forest	in

Libre yo no sabía nada de esto uno vive mal en el mundo

16 Mot	éjomi	apú	nu'rí	i'marí	nútu
Morphèmes	éjomi	apú	nu= i'rí	i'má -rí	nu= ítu
Glose lex.	after	other	1sg son	cop nf.cleft	1sg daughter

i'máyó	,	phe'rúji	nútu	i'máyó
i'má -yo		phe' -rú -ji	nu= ítu	i'má -yó
cop f.cleft		eldest f unposs	1sg daughter	cop f.cleft

Libre y después tuve otro hijo lo tuve y luego una hija mayor

17 Mot	ruká	ũká	nuwe'píla	ajǐ	ké	chí
Morphèmes	ru= ikhá	unká	nu= we'pí -la	ajǐ	ké	chí
Glose lex.	3sg.f pro	neg	1sg know v.neg	prox	like	emph3
iná	wa'ká	yuwaná	ké	kája		
iná	wa= a' -ká	yuwaná	ké	kája		
gnr.pro	1pl give ka.nz	kids	like	already		

Libre yo no sabía cómo era parir hijos

18 Mot	máarejéjapí		nu'majé	nupéchú	
Morphèmes	maaré =eje =ja =pí		nu= i'ma -jé	nu= péchú	
Glose lex.	prox.loc until lim ?emph		1sg live fut	1sg thought	
i'maká	kája	ũká	nuyáni	i'maláje	ké
i'ma -ka	kája	unká	nu= yáni	i'ma -lá -je	ké
cop ka.insub?	already	neg	1sg children	tell v.neg fut	like
nupéchú	, mapéja	iná	pajláká	ũká	nuyáni
nu= péchú	mapéja	iná	pajlá -ká	unká	nu= yáni
1sg thought	normally	gnr.pro	lie ka.cleft	neg	1sg children
i'maláje	ké	kajú	iná	yaní	réjomi
i'ma -lá -je	ké	kajú	iná	yaní	ri= éjomi
tell v.neg fut	like	much	gnr.pro	children	3sg.nf after

Libre pensaba llegué hasta aquí ya no voy a tener más hijos , es mentira porque después uno tiene muchos hijos más

19 Mot	nokhó	nomájĩka	kélé	nuyáni
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá =o	nu= amá -jĩka	kélé	nu= yáni
Glose lex.	1sg pro mid	1sg see far.pst	med	1sg children
yuwakámí	numatha'ké	namuchúreñani	mapéja	
***	nu= matha' -ké	na= muchúre =ñáni	mapéja	
***	1sg cut far.pst	3pl belly_button dim	normally	

Libre yo sola cuidaba a estos hijos recién nacidos, yo misma le cortaba el ombligo así no más (yuwá. mod: biche)

20 Mot	ira'jú	jilámi	kája	aú	ũká	kája
Morphèmes	ira'jú	jilá =mi	kája	aú	unká	kája
Glose lex.	***	grease nom.pfv	emph?	with	neg	emph?
yuwaná	tóka'ru	i'malá	, kamu'jí	kémáchi		
yuwa -ná	***	i'ma -lá	kamu'jí	kémáchi		
unripe pl	***	cop v.neg	poor	a_little		
walamáa'jĩka		mapéja	wa'umaká	jítamiñani		
wa= lamáa'	-jĩka	mapéja	wa= a'umaká	jítami =ñáni		
1pl look_after	far.pst	normally	1pl clothes	piece dim		
chojé	walamáa'ke		wayáni	i'majĩká		
chojé	wa= lamáa'	-khé	wa= yáni	i'ma -jĩka		
towards_inside	1pl look_after	far.pst	1pl children	far.pst far.pst		

jupejé

Libre con un pedazo de cuchillo y tampoco había pañal para los niños así pobremente criabamos con el mismo pedazo de nuestra ropa con eso cuidabamos nuestros hijos hace tiempo

21 Mot	é kája	namotho'ká		éjéchami	kája	iná
Morphèmes	é kája	na= motho'	-ka	***	kája	iná
Glose lex.	then	3pl cook	ka.nz	***	already	gnr.pro
kúwa'o	ya'jné	najwa'té	pa'ú	kéka'la	i'májemi	, kétána
kúwa' =o	ya'jné	na= jwa'té	pa'ú	ké -ka'la	***	kétána
*** mid	far	3pl with	four	like ?nz	***	meanwhile
iná	yuwíjo'ma					
iná	***					
gnr.pro	***					

Libre y cuando los niños nacían uno se quedaba lejos con ellos cuatro días así porque uno está recién parida

22 Mot	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	, é
Morphèmes	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	é
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	arrive	house	towards_inside	then
nala'á	nákarí					
na= la'á	nákarí					
3pl do	uh					

Libre y después de esto uno vuelve y llega a la casa

23 Mot	nala'á	najló	lawichú	phiyúké	nala'á	lána
Morphèmes	na= la'á	na= jló	lawichú	phiyúké	na= la'á	***
Glose lex.	3pl do	3pl for	healing	all	3pl do	***
kerákopi	nako'jé	nala'á	najló	íjai	kájémaka	
***	nakú =eje	na= la'á	na= jló	***	kájémaka	
***	on until	3pl do	3pl for	***	etcetera	

Libre y después le hacen curaciones de todo conjuran la pintura lána para recién nacidos y mas contras

24 Mot	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	éjéchami
Morphèmes	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	éjéchami
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	arrive	house	towards_inside	then
kája	nala'á	najló	kerá			
kája	na= la'á	na= jló	kerá			
already	3pl do	3pl for	baby			

Libre de este modo uno llega hacia adentro de la casa y ya después le hacen conjuros para recién nacido

25 Mot	nala'á	najló	kerá	...	íjai	chu'chú	...	kéchami
Morphèmes	na= la'á	na= jló	kerá	...	***	chu'chú	...	kéchami
Glose lex.	3pl do	3pl for	baby	...	***	breast	...	after

nakamaréñáni	iná	wa'á	ku'mé
na= kamaré =ñáni	iná	wa= a'á	***
3pl *** dim	gnr.pro	1pl give	***

Libre le curan la leche materna y después le conjuran un tejido de ku'mé (chambira)

26 Mot	riká	nala'á	kájachá	najló
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	na= la'á	kája -chá	na= jló
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	3pl do	already pst	3pl for

Libre para ellos

27 Mot	kéchami	nejné	penáje	nákarí	... kapajénojéñáni
Morphèmes	kéchami	***	penáje	nákarí	kapajé -nojé =ñáni
Glose lex.	after	***	for	uh	small com2 dim

riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre y después un collar (ijne-jí), muy pequeño ese collar (kapajé-ni : pequeño)

28 Mot	nejné	penáje	kapajénojéñáni	riká
Morphèmes	***	penáje	kapajé -nojé =ñáni	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	***	for	small com2 dim	3sg.nf pro

Libre muy pequeñitos

29 Mot	é	kája	nakajwáta	neká	pai'lá	kájemaka
Morphèmes	é	kája	***	na= ikhá	pai'lá	kájemáka
Glose lex.	then	already	***	3pl pro	ashes	etcetera
nala'á	éjéchami	kája	na'á	nanúma	chú	kerá
na= la'á	éjéchami	kája	na= a'á	na= núma	chú	kerá
3pl do	then	already	3pl give	3pl mouth	in	baby

Libre y después ya le conjuran la ceniza y también se lo hacen después le dan en la boca el conjuro al recién nacido

30 Mot	ré	nákarí	iná	wáta	inau'ké	nanakiyáná
Morphèmes	ré	nákarí	iná	wáta	inau'ké	na= nakiyá -ná
Glose lex.	then	uh	gnr.pro	want	person	3pl among alien3
nekájana	nale'jé	chu'chú	ka'jné	nailáyá		a'rí
***	na= le'jé	chu'chú	ka'jné	na= oilá yá		a' -rí
***	3pl poss	breast	dub	3pl uncle ***		give nf.cleft
nanúma	chú	kerá				
na= núma	chú	kerá				
3pl mouth	in	baby				

Libre en este momento uno necesita una persona sea pariente de ellos o un abuelo algún tío pueden darle en la boca el conjuro

31 Mot	é kája	natáa'ta		nekáñáni	pai'lá	e'yá
Morphèmes	é kája	na= táa'	-ta	na= ikhá =ñáni	pai'lá	e'yá
Glose lex.	then	3pl stand_up	caus	3pl pro dim	ashes	in

, é kája	nañaka'á	neká	jnácho'ta	neká	yenójé
é kája	na= ñaka'á	na= ikhá	na= jácho' -ta	na= ikhá	***
then	3pl move	3pl pro	3pl go_out caus	3pl pro	***
natawáa'kolojé	kajú	penáje			
***	kajú	penáje			
***	much	for			

Libre y luego lo paran encima de la ceniza y los mueven, lo alzan hacia arriba para que crezcan bastante

32 Mot	é kája	iná	ja'pá
Morphèmes	é kája	iná	ja'pá
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	pass

Libre y uno sigue

33 Mot	e'yá	kája	kélé	yuwají	yoró	mana'íja
Morphèmes	e'yá	kája	kélé	yuwa -ji	yorí =o	mana'í =ja
Glose lex.	in	already	med	unripe nf	stay mid	calm lim
é kája	kélé	la'rí	rijló	rijló	kémári	
é kája	kélé	la' -rí	ri= jló	ri= jló	kémá -ri	
then	med	do nf.nz	3sg.nf for	3sg.nf for	say nf.cleft	
mékéka		ri'majíká		palá	ka'jné	
méké	-ka	ri= i'ma -jǐ -ká		palá	ka'jné	
indf.manner	indf.sub	3sg.nf tell	fut ka.cleft	good	dub	

Libre ese niño queda tranquilo, el que le hace el conjuro al recién nacido le dice cómo va a vivir, tal vez bien

34 Mot	rila'jó	kájé	ritámiwa
Morphèmes	ri= la' -jé =o	kájé	ri= támi =wa
Glose lex.	3sg.nf do fut mid	type	3sg.nf sickness refl
ritakha'jé	ka'jné	riká	kerá la'kaná chú
ri= takha' -jé	ka'jné	ri= ikhá	kerá la' -kaná chú
3sg.nf die fut	dub	3sg.nf pro	baby do ev.nz1 in
nawe'pí	phiyúké	najló	nákájé mékéka kélé
na= we'pí	phiyúké	na= jló	nákaje méké -ka kélé
3pl know all	3pl for thing	indf.manner	indf.sub med
yuwají	i'majíká		
yuwají	i'ma -jǐ -ka		
young_man	cop fut ka.cleft		

Libre o se va a enfermar, si irá a fallecer, en este conjuro que le hacen al recién nacido es para saber todo sobre ellos y cómo van estar

35 Mot	e'yá	kája	natawáa'o	kája	neká	pheñawiíchajena
Morphèmes	e'yá	kája	***	kája	na= ikhá	***
Glose lex.	in	already	***	already	3pl pro	***
kémáchí	wajé	pitaka'lóná	neká			
kémáchi	wajé	***	na= ikhá			
a_little	new	***	3pl pro			

Libre este niño crece y va siendo mas crecido gordito MISSING TRAD

36 Mot	é kája	nala'á	píño	apú	jíwi	najló
Morphèmes	é kája	na= la'á	píño	apú	jíwi	na= jló
Glose lex.	then	3pl do	again	other	salt	3pl for

Libre entonces aquí es que le hacen otro conjuro

37 Mot	ilé	tâ	kajúni	wáni	jíwi	nala'á	kélé
Morphèmes	ilé	tâ	kajú -ni	wáni	jíwi	na= la'á	kélé
Glose lex.	med	emph1	much nf	emph	salt	3pl do	med

yuwaná	jló	wakajé	kája	na'á	neí
yuwaná	jló	wakajé	kája	na= a'á	na= ií
kids	for	date	already	3pl give	3pl name

Libre y este conjuro es de bautizo para ellos es muy grande lo que le conjuran a los niños y este día le ponen nombre

38 Mot	ná	ka'jnó	na'chá	neí	nákarí	ka'jnó
Morphèmes	ná	ka'jnó	na= a' -chá	na= ií	nákarí	ka'jnó
Glose lex.	indf	dub	3pl give pst	3pl name	uh	dub

Libre MISSING TRAD

39.1 Mot	neĩwá	kamejéya	ií	ka'jnó	jupichíya
Morphèmes	na= ií =wá	***	ií	ka'jnó	***
Glose lex.	3pl name refl	***	name	dub	***

i'makáchú	jupichíya	neí	na'á	....
i'ma -ká chú	***	na= ií	na= a'á	
cop ka.adv cond	***	3pl name	3pl give	

Libre

39.2 Mot	é kája	nala'á	yáleji	arápa'kaje	nala'á
Morphèmes	é kája	na= la'á	yále -ji	arápa' -kaje	na= la'á
Glose lex.	then	3pl do	*** unposs	dance ev.nz2	3pl do

nalujmétakaloje	kélé	yuwaná
na= lujmé -ta -ka loje	kélé	yuwa -ná
3pl *** caus ka.adv purp3	med	unripe pl

Libre de su familia si el niño es Yukuna Kamejeya y si es Matapí Jupichiya le ponen nombre de los matapí y ya después le hacen baile para bailar con los niños

40 Mot	éjé	kája	na'á	richá
Morphèmes	=eje	kája	na= a'á	ri= chá
Glose lex.	until	already	3pl give	3sg.nf on

Libre MISSING TRAD

41 Mot	riká	jíwi	la'kaná	chú	kája	némá
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	jíwi	la' -kaná	chú	kája	na= ímá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	salt	do ev.nz1	in	already	3pl say

wáni	mékéka		kélé	yuwajĩ	i'majĩká
wáni	méké	-ka	kélé	yuwají	i'ma -jĩka
emph	indf.manner	indf.sub	med	young_man	cop far.pst

peyajwéni	ka'jnó	ritajnájo				ka'jnó	marí	ké	
peyajwé	-ni	ka'jnó	ri=	tajná	-je	=o	ka'jnó	marí	ké
healthy	nf	dub	3sg.nf	finish	purp.mot	mid	dub	prox	like

Libre hasta aquí terminan con este conjuro de bautizo y ya después cuenta cómo va a ser la vida de este niño si va a vivir sano o se va a morir

42 Mot	é kája	kélé	yuwajĩ	tawá'ro		ka'jnó
Morphèmes	é kája	kélé	yuwají	tawá' -ri	=o	ka'jnó
Glose lex.	then	med	young_man	***	nf.cleft	mid dub

Libre MISSING TRAD

43 Mot	ná	ka'jnó	riká	yále	ja'ó	ka'jnó	...
Morphèmes	ná	ka'jnó	ri=	ikhá	ja'á =o	ka'jnó	
Glose lex.	indf	dub	3sg.nf	pro	dance	fall mid	dub

lawichúra'ú	ka'jná	ewá	nala'á	namaná	jíwi	la'kaná			
***	ka'jná	=ewá	na=	la'á	na=	maná	jíwi	la'	-kaná
***	dub	then	3pl	do	3pl	healing	salt	do	ev.nz1

chú
chú
in

Libre tal vez pueda ser un brujo y así por esto lado le hacen el conjuro de bautizo se lo hacen.

ycn0117

1 Mot	jéchi	nakú	jápákana	yukúná	marí
Morphèmes	jéchi	nakú	jápá -kana	yukú -ná	marí
Glose lex.	rubber	on	work ev.nz1	story alien3	prox

Libre le voy a contar cómo se trabaja sacando caucho

2 Mot	upejé	karíwana	...	karíwana
Morphèmes	upejé	karíwa	-na	karíwa -na
Glose lex.	long_time	white_person	pl	white_person pl

iphákéño réjǒ i'majǐká tapuíyana
 iphá -khé -ño ri= ejo i'ma -jǐka tapuíya -na
 arrive far.pst pl.cleft 3sg.nf towards far.pst far.pst indian pl

jápákalojé najwa'té jéchi nakú
 jápá -ka lojé na= jwa'té jéchi nakú
 work ka.adv purp3 3pl with rubber on

Libre hace mucho tiempo llegaron los blancos, los blancos acá para que los indígenas trabajaran con ellos en caucho

3 Mot	kajú	inau'ké	jápáño	najwa'té	jechi	nakú
Morphèmes	kajú	inau'ké	jápá -ño	na= jwa'té	jechi	nakú
Glose lex.	much	person	work pl.nz	3pl with	rubber	on

i'maká
 i'ma -ka
 far.pst ka.pst

Libre mucha gente trabajó para ellos sacando caucho

4 Mot	neká	iphátakeño	majǒ	kajú
Morphèmes	na= ikhá	iphá -ta -khe -ño	majǒ	kajú
Glose lex.	3pl pro	arrive caus far.pst	pl.cleft prox.toward	much

nephátajǐka nákájé i'majǐká
 na= iphá -ta -jǐka nákaje i'ma -jǐka
 3pl arrive caus far.pst thing far.pst far.pst

Libre eran ellos los que traían muchas cosas y así era

5 Mot	pajlúwája	bote	ja'chámi	chú	pu'thé	nákájé	u'wí
Morphèmes	pajlúwá =ja	***	***	chú	***	nákaje	u'wí
Glose lex.	one	lim	***	in	***	thing	farina

a'umakájé , ajálo , perojló , yukíra
 a'umaka -jé *** *** ***
 clothes fut *** *** ***

Libre en un bote grande lleno de cosas como fariña, ropas, machetes, ollas, sal, azúcar, todo

estos

6 Mot	azucar	kájémaka	puméni	,	puméni	kájémaka
Morphèmes	***	kájemáka	pu'mé -ni		pu'mé -ni	kájemáka
Glose lex.	***	etcetera	sweet nf		sweet nf	etcetera

nephátake

na= iphá -ta -khe
3pl arrive caus far.pst

Libre hasta dulces traían

7 Mot	é	natamáa'take			phiyúké	kélé
Morphèmes	é	na= tamáa' -ta -khe			phiyúké	kélé
Glose lex.	then	3pl spread caus far.pst			all	med

jápájikaño najwa'té jló natamáa'take
jápá -jīka -ka -ño na= jwa'té jló na= tamáa' -ta -khe
work far.pst A.nz2 pl.nz 3pl with for 3pl spread caus far.pst

riká

ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre y luego lo repartían todo para los que les trabajaban con ellos

8 Mot	ají	ké	ne'jnajíká		yenójō	ya'jnájě
Morphèmes	ají	ké	na= i'jna -jīka		yenú =ejo	ya'jná =eje
Glose lex.	prox	like	3pl go far.pst		up towards	far until

méewaka jápáño najwa'té éjō
mé =ewá -ka jápá -ño na= jwa'té ejo
indf.manner around indf.sub work pl.nz 3pl with towards

ne'jnatake najló riká
na= i'jna -ta -khe na= jló ri= ikhá
3pl go caus far.pst 3pl for 3sg.nf pro

Libre hasta arriba muy lejos a donde se encontraban los trabajadores hasta allá lo llevaban

9 Mot	é kája	natamáata (---)	najló		riká	phiyúké	,
Morphèmes	é kája	***	na= jló		ri= ikhá	phiyúké	
Glose lex.	then	***	3pl for		3sg.nf pro	all	

é kája némá najló " chúwatá i'jnajíká
é kája na= ímá na= jló chúwa tâ i= i'jna -jī -ka
then 3pl say 3pl for now emph1 2pl go fut ka.cleft

jápáje eja'wá e'yajé "
jápá -je eja'wá e'yajé
work purp.mot forest towards

Libre y repartían todo para ellos y después de eso le decían " ahora sí ya se pueden ir a trabajar al monte "

10 Mot	" jé	" ké	nemaká			
Morphèmes	jé	ké	na= ima -ká			
Glose lex.	good	like	3pl say ka.cleft			

Libre les contestaban "sí , nos vamos "

11 Mot	némá	" maí	wakajétá	we'majé	"
Morphèmes	na= ímá	maí	wakajé tá	wa= i'ma -jé	
Glose lex.	3pl say	prox	date emph1	1pl cop fut	

na'á jnenó

na= a'á ***

3pl give ***

Libre MISSING

12 Mot	maí	wakajé	we'jnajé	kélé	jéchi
Morphèmes	maí	wakajé	wa= i'jna -jé	kélé	jéchi
Glose lex.	prox	date	1pl go fut	med	rubber

witúka'taje ná ka'jno yúchi ka'jno ne'jnajé
 witúka' -ta -je ná ka'jno yúchi ka'jno na= i'jna -jé
 go_down caus purp.mot indf dub plant_sp dub 3pl go fut

jña'jé

jña' -je

take purp.mot

Libre qué día subimos a bajar el caucho o si no juansoco venimos a llevar

13 Mot	we'jnajé	jña'jé	ké	nemaká
Morphèmes	wa= i'jna -jé	jña' jé	ké	na= ima -ká
Glose lex.	1pl go fut	take purp.mot	like	3pl say ka.cleft

Libre venimos a llevar le dijeron

14 Mot	jé	ké
Morphèmes	jé	ké
Glose lex.	good	like

Libre está bien

15 Mot	pu'jí	inau'ké	péchú
Morphèmes	pu'jí	inau'ké	péchú
Glose lex.	happy	person	thought

Libre toda la gente estaban muy contentos

16 Mot	é kája	jnácho'o	eja'wá	e'yajé
Morphèmes	é kája	na= jácho'o	eja'wá	e'yajé
Glose lex.	then	3pl go_out	forest	towards

Libre y después ya van saliendo

17 Mot	ya'jnájě	ne'jné	eja'wá	e'yajé	ya'jnájě
Morphèmes	ya'jné =eje	na= i'jné	eja'wá	e'yajé	ya'jné =eje
Glose lex.	far until	3pl go	forest	towards	far until

wáni (---)

wáni

emph

Libre para la selva lejos muy lejos

18 Mot	éjǒ	nala'á	campamento	nala'á	najlúwa
Morphèmes	ejo	na= la'á	***	na= la'á	na= jlú =wa
Glose lex.	then	3pl do	***	3pl do	3pl for refl

kapejé

Libre allá hacen un campamento para ellos

19 Mot	nala'á	najlúwa
Morphèmes	na= la'á	na= jlú =wa
Glose lex.	3pl do	3pl for refl

Libre para ellos

20 Mot	eyá	kája	nakeño'ó	iñepú	la'kaná
Morphèmes	eyá	kája	na= keño'ó	iñepú	la' -kaná
Glose lex.	since_then	already	3pl begin	way	do ev.nz1

jépi	(---)	(jéchi --)	la'kanátá	kháajǐ	númá	nakú
***		jéchi	la' -kaná tá	kháajǐ	nu= ímá	nakú
***		rubber	do ev.nz1 emph1	prox	1sg say	on

Libre desde ahí comienzan a hacer camino, hacer caucho es lo que digo

21 Mot	é	nakeño'ó	iñepú	la'kaná	ajǐ	ké
Morphèmes	é	na= keño'ó	iñepú	la' -kaná	ajǐ	ké
Glose lex.	then	3pl begin	way	do ev.nz1	prox	like

ya'jnáje	nakulá	...	nakuláka	jéchi
ya'jná eje	na= kulá		na= kulá -ka	jéchi
far until	3pl search		3pl search ka.cleft	rubber

nali'chá	punánája	ké	nali'chá	punánája	ké
na= li' -chá	***	ké	na= li' -chá	***	ké
3pl do pst	***	like	3pl do pst	***	like

Libre comienzan hacer camino hasta muy lejos buscan y buscan el caucho haciendo camino y haciendolo

22 Mot	a'jná	nepháta	méewá	ka'jno
Morphèmes	a'jná	na= iphá -ta	mé =ewá	ka'jno
Glose lex.	dist	3pl arrive caus	indf.manner around	dub

peyajwéni	wáni	la'kerí	doscientos	ejená
peyajwé -ni	wáni	la' -khe -rí	***	ejená
healthy nf	emph	do far.pst nf.cleft	***	until

Libre hasta alcanzar cuando es fuerte alcanza hasta 200

23 Mot	eyá	cháje	wáni	i'maká	le'jé
Morphèmes	eyá	cháje	wáni	i'ma -ka	le'jé
Glose lex.	since_then	more_than	emph	cop A.nz2	poss

trescientos	éjé	...	ejenája
***	=eje		ejená =ja
***	until		until lim

Libre y el que tiene más es hasta 300 hasta aquí

24 Mot	é kája	jlapiwá	napóke		a'pitajé	
Morphèmes	é kája	jlapiwá	na= apó	-khe	a'pita	-je
Glose lex.	then	dawn	3pl wake_up	far.pst	bathe	purp.mot
ne'yajéná		i'jnáñó	je'pé	najña'ké		ũká
na= e'yajé	-ná	i'jná -ñó	***	na= jña'	-khé	unká
3pl towards	?	go pl.nz	***	3pl take	far.pst	neg
nakamaré	i'maké	upejé	je'pé	najña'ké		
na= kamaré	i'ma -khé	upejé	***	na= jña'	-khé	
3pl light	cop far.pst	long_time	***	3pl take	far.pst	
nakamaró						
na= kamaré	=o					
3pl light	mid					

Libre y ya después se despertaban a bañarse y otros se iban alumbrandose con copai que sacaron (ellos no tenían luz) es era hace mucho tiempo ellos sacaban copai para alumbrar

25 Mot	jlapí	ne'jné	wajé	kapére	apóka	é	...
Morphèmes	jlapí	na= i'jné	wajé	kapére	apó	-ka	é
Glose lex.	night	3pl go	new	rooster	wake_up	ka.nz	in
jnácho'o	nákarí	ne'jné	jéchi	ji'ráje			
na= jácho'o	nákarí	na= i'jné	jéchi	ji'rá -je			
3pl go_out	uh	3pl go	rubber	*** purp.mot			

Libre de noche se iban apenas que se levantaba el gallo ahí se iban a rallar caucho

26.1 Mot	ne'rá	iká	a'jné	natajáta	riká	....
Morphèmes	***	ri= ikhá	a'jné	***	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	***	3sg.nf pro	dist	***	3sg.nf pro	

Libre

26.2 Mot	we'chú	...	we'íchami		natajátaka	
Morphèmes	***		we'í -cha =mi	na= tajá	-ta -ka	
Glose lex.	***		know pst pfv	3pl finish	caus ka.nz	
riká	peyajwéni	wáni	tajátari		riká	
ri= ikhá	peyajwé -ni	wáni	tajá -ta -ri	ri= ikhá		
3sg.nf pro	healthy nf	emph	finish caus nf.cleft	3sg.nf pro		
kája	...	peyajwéni	wáni	tajátari	riká	...
kája		peyajwé -ni	wáni	tajá -ta -ri	ri= ikhá	
already		healthy nf	emph	finish caus nf.cleft	3sg.nf pro	
las ocho	, eyá	nákarí	wejápaja	kéchí	i'maká	
las	***	eyá	nákarí	wejápa	kéchí	i'ma -ka
spa	***	since_then	uh	little	a_little	far.pst ka.pst
tajátari		riká	méewá		kája	kaápu'kú
tajá -ta -ri		ri= ikhá	mé	=ewá	kája	kaápu'kú
finish caus nf.cleft		3sg.nf pro	indf.manner	around	already	noon

ka'j'nó	las	nueve	ewá	ka'j'nó	kélé	ũká	liyá	i'malá
ka'j'nó	las	***	=ewá	ka'j'nó	kélé	unká	liyá	i'ma -lá
dub	spa	***	then	dub	med	neg	strength	cop v.neg

Libre lo rallaban hasta que terminaban en la mañana y el que era mas ágil terminaba a las ocho y el que tenía menos terminaba por ahí al medio día, o a las 9 más o menos, el que es flojo (liyá : postp. but kaliyáru (fuerte)/ maliyáru flojo)

27 Mot	é kája	riwatána'a	júpi	kája	ri'rá
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= watána'a	júpi	kája	ri= i'rá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf rest	long_time	already	3sg.nf drink

...	u'wí	, na'karé	rijló	u'wí	rijña'á	,
	u'wí	na= a' -karé	ri= jló	u'wí	ri= jña'á	
	farina	3pl give arg.nz1	3sg.nf for	farina	3sg.nf take	

riká	ri'rá	, riwatána'a	mékétána
ri= ikhá	ri= i'rá	ri= watána'a	***
3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf drink	3sg.nf rest	***

Libre y después ya descansa un rato y se toma su fariña con la fariña que le dan, lo lleva ese es que el se toma la fariña y descansa otro rato más

28 Mot	eyá	iná	riká	nalúna	i'maká
Morphèmes	eyá	iná	ri= ikhá	na= lúna	i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	since_then	gnr.pro	3sg.nf pro	3pl wives	cop A.nz2

chú	pi'j'ná	nápumi	chú	jéchi	ako'j'é
chú	pi= i'j'ná	na= ápu =mi	chú	jéchi	ako' -je
in	2sg go	3pl path nom.pfv	in	rubber	pour purp.mot

Libre y uno que es la mujer de él uno se va detrás de él a recoger el caucho

29 Mot	pijña'á	pikuwá'lane	pijaálune	(---)
Morphèmes	pi= jña'á	pi= kuwá'la -ne	pi= jaálu -ne	
Glose lex.	2sg take	2sg basket alien3	2sg machete alien3	

pi'j'ná	nápumi	chú
pi= i'j'ná	na= ápu =mi	chú
2sg go	3pl path nom.pfv	in

Libre se lleva su canasto , su machete y uno se va detrás

30.1 Mot	iná	ako'ó	rikhá	ná	choj'é
Morphèmes	iná	ako'ó	ri= ikhá	ná	choj'é
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	pour	3sg.nf pro	indf	towards_inside

ka'j'nó ?
ka'j'nó
dub

Libre uno lo va echando en alguna cosa o en un galón aquí se echa el caucho

30.2 Mot	...	galón	choj'é	ka'j'nó	iná	ako'ó
Morphèmes		***	choj'é	ka'j'nó	iná	ako'ó
Glose lex.		***	towards_inside	dub	gnr.pro	pour

rikhá
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre

31 Mot é iná mano'tá rikátá , é
Morphèmes é iná mano' -ta ri= ikhá tâ é
Glose lex. then gnr.pro *** caus 3sg.nf pro emph1 then

piká , ajǐ ké kajú iná iphátaka
 pi= ikhá ajǐ ké kajú iná iphá -ta -ka
 2sg pro prox like much gnr.pro arrive caus ka.cleft

kamejérina eja'wá e'yowá phiyúkéja , mayána ,
 kamejéri -na eja'wá e'yá ewá phiyúké =ja mayá -na
 animal pl forest in around all lim *** pl

je'rúna , apiyéna , kájémaka , ka'parúná
 je'rú -na apiyé -na kájemáka ka'pa -runa
 pig pl peccary_sp pl etcetera *** pl

Libre hasta que lo llene y uno se va encuentra muchas cacerías en la selva de todo, tente, puercos, cerrillos, hasta churucos

32 Mot phiyúké iná amáka kamejérina
Morphèmes phiyúké iná amá -ka kamejéri -na
Glose lex. all gnr.pro see ka.cleft animal pl

Libre se ve de todo clase de cacerías

33 Mot é ilé pa'ró píño , iná jimáje
Morphèmes é ilé pa' -rí =o píño iná jimáje
Glose lex. then med return nf.cleft mid again gnr.pro front

ripa'ó , jéchi ako'kána nakú rako'ó
 ri= pa' =ó jéchi ako' -kána nakú ri= ako'ó
 3sg.nf return mid rubber pour ev.nz1 on 3sg.nf pour

rako'ó , kája ewája rimonotá rináni , é kája iná
 ri= ako'ó kája ewája *** ri= náni é kája iná
 3sg.nf pour at last *** 3sg.nf thing then gnr.pro

ipáko iyamá iná pa'kó
 ipáko iyamá iná ***
 *** two gnr.pro ***

Libre y luego él se devuelve otra vez para encontrarse con uno recogiendo caucho recoge y recoge lo echa y lo echa hasta que lo llena y después uno se encuentra los dos y se regresan juntos

34 Mot éjéchami , é iná pa'ó pajñákáni ,
Morphèmes éjéchami é iná pa' =ó pajñákáni
Glose lex. then then gnr.pro return mid together

é kajú pijña'ká ná kajú pijña'ká
 é kajú pi= jña' -ka ná kajú pi= jña' -ka
 then much 2sg pull_up ka.cleft indf much 2sg pull_up ka.cleft

nákarí	jéchi	jiká
nákarí	jéchi	***
uh	rubber	***

Libre y se regresan juntos, y uno recoge mucha leche de caucho

35 Mot	é	ná	iphá	jlaíchú	piphá	méjéchami
Morphèmes	é	ná	iphá	jlaíchú	pi= iphá	***
Glose lex.	then	indf	arrive	afternoon	2sg arrive	***

ka'jnó	pa'ú	kélé	chú	kamú	i'makáé	ka'jnó	iná
ka'jnó	pa'ú	kélé	chú	kamú	i'ma -ká	é	ka'jnó
dub	four	med	in	sun	cop ka.nz	in	dub
							gnr.pro

iphá
iphá
arrive

Libre hasta que llegan por la tarde quien sabe qué hora llegan puede ser a las cuatro esa hora ahí uno llega

36 Mot	é kája	nataka'áta	riká
Morphèmes	é kája	na= taka'áta	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3pl ***	3sg.nf pro

Libre y lo echan

37 Mot	riláka'una	chojé	natakaáta	riká
Morphèmes	***	chojé	***	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	***	towards_inside	***	3sg.nf pro

naka'á	jrakojé	nákarí	ásido	kájemaka	phiyúké
na= ka'á	***	nákarí	***	kájemáka	phiyúké
3pl throw_out	***	uh	***	etcetera	all

Libre lo echan en donde lo preparan aquí le echan ácido (ri-la?-ka-'runa)

38 Mot	kajúní	nala'ká	nákarí	ají	kétána
Morphèmes	kajú -ní	na= la' -ká	nákarí	ají	kétána
Glose lex.	much nf	3pl do	ka.cleft	uh	prox during

nala'ká	nákarí	kuéta
na= la' -ká	nákarí	***
3pl do ka.cleft	uh	***

Libre ellos hacen así de largo una cueta

39 Mot	riká	chojé	nako'ó	riká
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chojé	na= ako'ó	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	towards_inside	3pl pour	3sg.nf pro

Libre en esta cosa lo echan

40 Mot	kája	ritaja'ká	patá	ritaja'ká
Morphèmes	kája	ri= taja' -ka	patá	ri= taja' -ka
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf die	ka.cleft	good
				3sg.nf die ka.cleft

kája	ritaja'ká		kajú	é kája	...	jnácho'ta
kája	ri= taja' -ka		kajú	é kája	na= jácho' -ta	
already	3sg.nf die ka.cleft		much	then	3pl go_out caus	
riká	richiyá		palánojé		jrácho'ko	
ri=	ikhá ri= ch́ =eyá		palá -nojé		ri= jácho' -ka =o	
3sg.nf	pro 3sg.nf in from		good com2		3sg.nf go_out ka.cleft mid	

Libre hasta que ya esté listo de ahí lo sacan salen bien hechos

41 Mot	é kája	ré	riláka'una	mákina	...	nepháta
Morphèmes	é kája	ré	***	***	na= iphá -ta	
Glose lex.	then	then	***	***	3pl arrive caus	

i'maká	náke	ripiláka'una
i'ma -ka	náke	***
far.pst ka.pst	uh	***

Libre ya ahí tienen en donde lo preparan una maquina ellos habían traído para darle vuelta (pila'kaje: enrollar dando vueltas ; -ka'aruna machine for ~)

42 Mot	kariwana		a'ñó	kélé	najló
Morphèmes	kariwa	-na	a' -ñó	kélé	na= jló
Glose lex.	white_person	pl	give pl.cleft	med	3pl for

Libre los blancos se lo dieron

43 Mot	é	kajá	richojé		nara'á riká	,
Morphèmes	é	***	ri= chojé		*** ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	***	3sg.nf towards_inside		*** 3sg.nf pro	

naphila'á	riká	pã	nákarí	...	mákina
na= phila'á	ri= ikhá	***	nákarí		***
3pl ***	3sg.nf pro	***	uh		***

ri'makálé		naphila'á	riká	kiñája
ri= i'ma -ká =lé		na= phila'á	ri= ikhá	kiñája
3sg.nf cop ka.adv reason		3pl ***	3sg.nf pro	quickly

jna'páta	richiyá	kiñája
na= ja'pá -ta	ri= ch́ =eyá	kiñája
3pl pass caus	3sg.nf in from	quickly

Libre y después ahí lo meten y le dan la vuelta porque es una máquina le dan la vuelta más rápido lo pasan por ahí muy rápido

44 Mot	é kája	jrácho'o		, é kája	napaja'á riká
Morphèmes	é kája	ri= jácho' =o		é kája	*** ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go_out mid		then	*** 3sg.nf pro

ajǐ	ké	napitakáre (---)	a'waná	nakojé	napaja'á riká	,
ajǐ	ké	***	a'waná	nakú =eje	*** ri= ikhá	
prox like	***	***	tree	on until	*** 3sg.nf pro	

kajú	pu'thé	napitaká	riká	apútá	apú	apú
kajú	***	***	ri= ikhá	***	apú	apú
much	***	***	3sg.nf pro	***	other	other

Libre y ya sale , y luego después de sacarlo lo ponen encima del palo ahí los ponen bastante

otro y otro

45 Mot	é	ũká	júni	ja'ló	wakajé	...
Morphèmes	é	unká	júni	ja' -ló	wakajé	
Glose lex.	then	neg	water1	fall f	date	

ñakéchami		kája	rapóka	píño
ñaké	-cha =mi	kája	***	píño
dist.simil	pst pfv	already	***	again

Libre el día que no llueve se vuelve a levantar la misma hora

46 Mot	jenáji		ké	ri'jná	a'pitajé
Morphèmes	jená -ji		ké	ri= i'jná	a'pita -je
Glose lex.	hour unposs		like	3sg.nf go	bathe purp.mot

Libre a la media noche y se va a bañar

47 Mot	ré	ri'jná		píño	, ri'jná	píño	ri'ráje
Morphèmes	ré	ri=	i'jná	píño	ri= i'jná	píño	***
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	go	again	3sg.nf go	again	***

ñaké	kája	apú	iñepú	chuwá	, apakú (---)	chuwá
***		apú	iñepú	chu =ewá	***	chu =ewá
***	other		way	in around	***	in around

Libre y luego se va a rallar lo mismo pero por otro lado del camino

48 Mot	é	iná	i'rá	(---) i'jnári	muní ké	píño
Morphèmes	é	iná	i'rá	i'jna -ri	muní ké	píño
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	drink	go nf.cleft	next_day	again

rápumi	chú	ra'kojé
ri=	ápumi	chú
3sg.nf	behind	in

Libre y uno se va al otro día se va detrás de él

49 Mot	jlapiyámí	pi'jná	rápumi	chú	ra'kojé	, é
Morphèmes	lapiyámí	pi= i'jná	ri= ápumi	chú	***	é
Glose lex.	morning	2sg go	3sg.nf behind	in	***	then

wepáko		ñakéja	kája	iná	pa'ó			
wa=	iphá -ka	=o	ñaké	=ja	kája	iná	pa'	=ó
1pl	arrive ka.topic	mid	dist.simil	lim	already	gnr.pro	return	mid

Libre (mls: se va detrás de él en la mañana), y volvemos a encontrarnos lo mismo nos regresamos

50 Mot	ajápána	i'jná	ajápána	i'jná	, kajú	inau'ké
Morphèmes	ajápána	i'jná	ajápána	i'jná	kajú	inau'ké
Glose lex.	other.pl	go	other.pl	go	much	person

neká	jápáño	rináku
na= ikhá	jápá -ño	ri= náku
3pl pro	work pl.cleft	3sg.nf on

Libre otros y otros hay mucha gente ellos son los que trabajan en caucho

51 Mot	e'yajě	ka'jná	amíchari	kamejérí	ná	ka'jnó
Morphèmes	e'yajě	ka'jná	amí -cha -ri	kamejérí	ná	ka'jnó
Glose lex.	***	dub	see pst nf.cleft	animal	indf	dub

ye'é	ka'jnó	rinócha	réjǒ
ye'é	ka'jnó	ri= nó -cha	ri= ejo
armadillo	dub	3sg.nf kill	pst 3sg.nf towards

Libre algunos de ellos ven cacerías a veces armadillos lo matan allá

52 Mot	jéchi	i'rakána	cháya	ramícha	ye'é
Morphèmes	jéchi	i'ra -kána	cháya	ri= amí -cha	ye'é
Glose lex.	rubber	drink ev.nz1	on	3sg.nf see pst	armadillo

Libre donde rallan el caucho él ve el armadillo

53 Mot	eyá	kéle	nuyáni	jara'pá
Morphèmes	eyá	kéle	nu= yáni	jara'pá
Glose lex.	since_then	med	1sg children	father.ref

nókherenó	atírína	jlapí
nó -khe -re =nó	atírí -na	jlapí
kill far.pst nf.cleft hab	animal_sp pl	night

Libre y luego el papá de mis hijos mataba cocunucos de noche

54 Mot	atírí	rinóke	wajló
Morphèmes	atírí	ri= nó -khe	wa= jló
Glose lex.	animal_sp	3sg.nf kill far.pst	1pl for

Libre mataba para nosotros cocunucos

55 Mot	eyá	apála	rila'ké	itewí	, kajú
Morphèmes	eyá	apála	ri= la' -ké	itewí	kajú
Glose lex.	since_then	maybe	3sg.nf do far.pst	plant_sp	much

rila'jǐka	wawáuna
ri= la' -jǐka	wawáu -na
3sg.nf do far.pst	mojojoy pl

Libre a veces en la palma de canangucho cortaba para que cayeran mojojoes (wawáru : mojojey)

56 Mot	riká	chojě	nákarí	... wawáuna
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chojě	nákarí	wawáu -na
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	towards_inside	uh	mojojoy pl

ja'kó	kajú	, riká	rijña'ké	, kajú
ja' -ká =o	kajú	ri= ikhá	ri= jña' -khé	kajú
fall ka.cleft mid	much	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf take far.pst	much

rijña'jĩka		wajló		neká		maárejé
ri=	jña'	-jĩka	wa=	jló	na=	ikhá
3sg.nf	take	far.pst	1pl	for	3pl	pro

Libre caían mucho en la palma eso nos traía para nosotros

57 Mot	maí	ké	we'majĩká		rewá
Morphèmes	maí	ké	wa=	i'ma	-jĩka
Glose lex.	prox	like	1pl	live	far.pst
					3sg.nf
					around

jápákaje	nakú
jápá	-kaje
work	ev.nz2
	on

Libre así era que vivíamos por allá trabajando

58 Mot	é kája	iná	iphá	píño
Morphèmes	é kája	iná	iphá	píño
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	arrive	again

Libre y luego uno llega otra vez

59 Mot	phiyúké	iná	amáka	nákájé	a'waná	chá
Morphèmes	phiyúké	iná	amá	-ka	nákaje	a'waná
Glose lex.	all	gnr.pro	see	ka.cleft	thing	tree
					on	

phiyúké	wáni	iná	amáka	ichapú	,	jirí	,	pa'kajiwá	,
phiyúké	wáni	iná	amá	-ka	***	jirí		***	
all	emph	gnr.pro	see	ka.cleft	***	mouse		***	

punáma	,	ũká	nája	kalé	itewí	,	phiyúké	...	iná
***		unká	ná	=ja	kalé	itewí	phiyúké		iná
***		neg	indf	lim	nv.neg	plant_sp	all		gnr.pro

amáka	rewá
amá	-ka
see	ka.cleft
	3sg.nf
	around

Libre ahí uno ve toda clase de frutales , mamita grande yugo , pa'kajiwa , milpesos , no falta nada, canangucho , de todo uno ve por allá

60 Mot	é kája	nañapáta	kája	,	kajú	nala'ká	,
Morphèmes	é kája	na=	ñapáta	kája	kajú	na=	la' -ká
Glose lex.	then	3pl	finish	already	much	3pl	do
							ka.cleft

kája	nawe'píka		yéwíchami	kélé
kája	na=	we'pí	-ka	yéwícha
already	3pl	know	ka.when	almost
				pfv
				med

nakariwáte		waíchaka	wakajé	kája
na=	kariwá	-te	waícha	-ka
3pl	white_person	alien1	return	ka.nz
			date	already

nawitúka'ta		riká
na=	witúka'	-ta
3pl	go_down	caus
		3sg.nf
		pro

Libre así ya terminan, lo hacen bastante, ellos cuando saben que ya viene el patrón entonces ese día bajan

61 Mot	máarejé	nepo'ó	riká	apalá	apalá	apalá
Morphèmes	máare	=eje	na= jepo'ó	ri= ikhá	***	***
Glose lex.	prox.loc	until	3pl tie_up	3sg.nf pro	***	***

ké nepo'ká riká , kajú re'yajéna
ké na= ipo' -ká ri= ikhá kajú ri= e'yajé -na
like 3pl *** ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro much 3sg.nf towards pl

jña'rí wechíni wáni jña'rí , kajú méka'lá ka'jnó
jña' -rí *** wáni jña' -rí kajú méka'lá ka'jnó
take nf.cleft *** emph take nf.cleft much **indf.quant** dub

rile'jé jéchi jácho'ko
ri= le'jé jéchi jácho' -ka =o
3sg.nf poss rubber go_out ka.cleft mid

Libre hasta aquí luego lo amarran uno y otros así lo amarran mucho alguno saca el que es muy trabajador saca bastante unas cuantos cauchos son de él

62 Mot	é kája	jnawaká	riká
Morphèmes	é kája	***	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	***	3sg.nf pro

Libre y así lo van esperando

63 Mot	é kája	yewíchami	jrená	é kája	...
Morphèmes	é kája	yewícha =mi	ri= jená	é kája	
Glose lex.	then	*** pfv	3sg.nf hour	then	

jnanapí riká jnanapí riká ají ké
na= janapí ri= ikhá na= janapí ri= ikhá ají ké
3pl on.back 3sg.nf pro 3pl on.back 3sg.nf pro prox like

méño'joka nákarí nañakaré **éjó** jnanapí , éje
méño'jó -ka nákarí na= ñakaré **ejo** na= janapí ***
indf.toward indf.sub uh 3pl house towards 3pl on.back ***

jnawaká riká **phiyúké** (---)
*** ri= ikhá **phiyúké**
*** 3sg.nf pro **all**

Libre cuando ya casi llega lo cargan y lo van cargando hasta la casa de ellos, hasta ahí lo cargan, luego lo reúnen todo

64 Mot	e'yá	jnácho'o	píño
Morphèmes	e'yá	na= jácho'o	píño
Glose lex.	in	3pl go_out	again

Libre y después se van otra vez

65 Mot	ne'jné	píño	riñathé	ji'ráje
Morphèmes	na= i'jné	píño	***	ji'rá -je
Glose lex.	3pl go	again	***	*** purp.mot

Libre se van a sacar más a rallar de nuevo

66 Mot	kajú	nala'ká	riká	kajú	wáni
Morphèmes	kajú	na= la' -ká	ri= ikhá	kajú	wáni
Glose lex.	much	3pl do ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro	much	emph

Libre trabajan duro para sacar bastante

67 Mot	é kája	iná	wátaka	chú	kája	ne'yajéna	la'ñó
Morphèmes	é kája	iná	wáta -ka	chú	kája	***	***
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	want ka.nz	in	already	***	***

yúchi	ka'jnó	, ũká	wátala	chú	(---)	la'rí	yúchi
yúchi	ka'jnó	unká	wáta -la	chú		la' -rí	yúchi
plant_sp	dub	neg	want v.neg	in		do nf.cleft	plant_sp

Libre además cuando uno quiere algunos trabajan en juansoco sacándolo

68 Mot	yúchi	nakú	najápá
Morphèmes	yúchi	nakú	na= jápá
Glose lex.	plant_sp	on	3pl work

Libre y trabajan así

69 Mot	ilé	apú	kalé	nepháta	najló	,
Morphèmes	ilé	apú	kalé	na= iphá -ta	na= jló	
Glose lex.	med	other	emph5	3pl arrive caus	3pl for	

phiyúkéja	pe'juwá	ri'jakaúná
phiyúké =ja	***	ri= i'ja -kare -una
all lim	***	3sg.nf go_up pot pl

Libre a ellos les traen todo para que puedan subir

70 Mot	kécha	wachapíláji	jna'kópiyá
Morphèmes	kécha	wa= chapíláji	na= ja' -ka =ó piyá
Glose lex.	after	1pl ***	3pl fall ka.adv mid purp.neg

yenójě	, yenúyá
yenú =eje	yenú =eyá
up after	up from

Libre luego una correa para que no se caigan de arriba

71 Mot	ajálu	aú'tá	namatha'á	ilé
Morphèmes	ajálu	***	na= matha'á	ilé
Glose lex.	machete	***	3pl cut	med

Libre y machete para que puedan cortar

72 Mot	ne'jaká	riká	kécha	
Morphèmes	na= i'jra -ká	ri= ikhá	kécha	
Glose lex.	3pl go_up ka.insub?	3sg.nf pro	after	
namatha'ká	ajálu	aú	, é riká	ako'ó
na= matha' -ká	ajálu	aú	é ri= ikhá	ako'ó
3pl cut ka.insub?	machete	with	then 3sg.nf pro	pour

Libre a ese se suben y luego lo cortan con machete y ahí le sale leche

73 Mot	riká		najña'á	túla	chojé
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	na= jña'á	***	chojé
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3pl take	***	towards_inside

Libre este lo recogen en una tula

74 Mot	ilé	tá	kája	motho'kéja	kélé	,
Morphèmes	ilé	tâ	kája	motho'	-kéja	kélé
Glose lex.	med	emph1	already	cook	ptcp	med
namotho'ká		riká		kécha	nalamáa'taka	
na= motho'	-ka	ri=	ikhá	kécha	na= lamáa'	-ta -ka
3pl cook	ka.when	3sg.nf	pro	after	3pl look_after	caus ka.when
píño	riká	,	kajú	pá	u'wí	iná
píño	ri=	ikhá	kajú	pá	u'wí	iná
again	3sg.nf	pro	much	look	farina	gnr.pro
lamáa'taka		ké	nalamáa'taka		riká	
lamáa'	-ta -ka	ké	na= lamáa'	-ta -ka	ri=	ikhá
look_after	caus ka.cleft	like	3pl look_after	caus ka.cleft	3sg.nf	pro

Libre y esto lo cocinan lo cocinan, después lo arreglan luego lo empacan bastante como fariña así lo empacan

75 Mot	ilé	tá	ũká	iná	riká	inaána	,
Morphèmes	ilé	tâ	unká	iná	ri=	ikhá	inaána
Glose lex.	med	emph1	neg	gnr.pro	3sg.nf	pro	woman
jéchija	kalé	inaána	a'á	(---)	aú	nákarí	nalúna
jéchi	=ja kalé	inaána	a'á		aú	nákarí	na= lúna
rubber	lim	emph5	woman	give	with	uh	3pl wives
ñathé							
ñathé							
help							

Libre las mujeres a esto no ayudan, en cambio sí pueden ayudar al esposo con el caucho

76 Mot	é	nuká	nura'ké	kája	,	
Morphèmes	é	nu=	ikhá	nu= ra' -ké	kája	
Glose lex.	then	1sg	pro	1sg *** far.pst	already	
nura'ké		kája	jéchi	i'majíká	júpimi	nákarí
nu= ra'	-ké	kája	jéchi	i'ma -jíka	júpi	=mi nákarí
1sg ***	far.pst	too	rubber	far.pst far.pst	long_time	pfv uh
nuyajná	jwa'té					
nu= yajná	jwa'té					
1sg husband	with					

Libre y yo también rallaba caucho antes hace tiempo con mi marido

77 Mot	eyá	apála	méké	i'majíká	chú
Morphèmes	eyá	apála	méké	i'ma -jíka	chú
Glose lex.	since_then	maybe	indf.manner	cop far.pst	in

kája	mapéja	nu'jnajíká		chira'jó				rijwa'té
kája	mapéja	nu= i'jna	-jíka	chira'	-je	=o	ri=	jwa'té
already	normally	1sg go	far.pst	wander	purp.mot	mid	3sg.nf	with

kája
kája
already

Libre de pronto a veces yo iba así no más a pasear con él

78 Mot	nuwejájika		jíñana	,	nujña'ké
Morphèmes	nu= wejá	-jika	jíña -na		nu= jña' -khé
Glose lex.	1sg poison	far.pst	fish pl		1sg take far.pst

wejakéja
weja -kéja
poison ptcp

Libre y barbasquiaba pescado y los cogía barbasqueado

79 Mot	apála	nuyawiténa		nókeñonó
Morphèmes	apála	nu= yáwi	-té -na	nó -khé -ño =nó
Glose lex.	maybe	1sg tiger	alien1 pl	kill far.pst pl.cleft hab

nojló nákarí ... kapíji
nu= jló nákarí ***
1sg for uh ***

Libre también a veces mis perros mataban para mi cosumbe

80 Mot	nenóke		wajló	kuwajárí	,	ye'é
Morphèmes	na= nó	-khe	wa= jló	kuwajárí		ye'é
Glose lex.	3pl kill	far.pst	1pl for	paca		armadillo

Libre mataban para nosotros borugo, armadillo

81 Mot	marí	kéja		we'majíká
Morphèmes	marí	ké =ja	wa= i'ma	-jika
Glose lex.	prox	like lim	1pl live	far.pst

Libre y así vivíamos siempre

82 Mot	eyá	apála	iná	amá	kajú	kája	kélé
Morphèmes	eyá	apála	iná	amá	kajú	kája	kélé
Glose lex.	since_then	maybe	gnr.pro	see	much	already	med

kuwa'ña	kawílaka	rewá		eja'wá	e'yá	,	ya'jna	kélé	,	ya'jna
***	***	ri=	ewá	eja'wá	e'yá		ya'jna	kélé		ya'jna
***	***	3sg.nf	around	forest	in		far	med		far

wáni	kélé	eja'wá	i'wámi		kajú	kuwa'ña	kawílaka	ũká
wáni	kélé	eja'wá	i'wá =mi		kajú	***	***	unká
emph	med	forest	bottom pfv		much	***	***	neg

méké	iná	la'lá	,	rijlámataka	jéchi
méké	iná	la' -lá		***	jéchi
indf.manner	gnr.pro	do v.neg		***	rubber

Libre también a veces uno veía cómo ese madremente molestaba mucho por allá en el monte

muy lejos pero lejísimos donde era el rincón de la selva, molestaba bastante ese madremonte uno no podía hacer nada él regaba el caucho

83 Mot	ra'ká			the'rí	a'waná	nakú
Morphèmes	ri=	a'	-ká	the'rí	a'waná	nakú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	give	ka.insub?	ground	tree	on

Libre y le untaba tierra en los palos

84 Mot	marí	ké	rikawílakatá			kajú	wáni	
Morphèmes	marí	ké	ri=	kawíla	-ka	tá	kajú	wáni
Glose lex.	prox	like	3sg.nf	***	ka.cleft	emph1	much	emph

Libre así seguía molestando mucho

85 Mot	riká		ũká	paála		kája	iná
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	unká	paá	-la	kája	iná
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	neg	bien.neg	v.neg	already	gnr.pro

apunákúna ké riká , apú wakajé nu'jné i'maká
 *** ké ri= ikhá apú wakajé nu= i'jné i'ma -ka
 *** like 3sg.nf pro other date 1sg go far.pst ka.pst

, nokhója nu'maká
 nu= ikhá =o =ja nu= i'ma -ka
 1sg pro mid lim 1sg cop ka.cleft

Libre esto estaba muy pala siempre andaba por los lados de uno así era el, y otro día me fui sola estaba

86 Mot	ũká	nuwe'píla		mékéka	
Morphèmes	unká	nu= we'pí	-la	méké	-ka
Glose lex.	neg	1sg know	v.neg	indf.manner	indf.sub

nula'ká , ya'jné eja'wá i'wámi e'yá
 nu= la' -ká ya'jné eja'wá i'wá =mi e'yá
 1sg do ka.nz far forest bottom pfv in

Libre no me acordaba que hacía yo tan lejos en el rincón del monte

87 Mot	é	nomá	kajúní	nomáka		ná
Morphèmes	é	na= amá	kajú -ní	na= amá	-ka	ná
Glose lex.	then	3pl see	much nf	3pl see	ka.cleft	indf

pajá chira'kó , kuwa'ñátá ka'jné
 pajá chira' -ká =o kuwa'ñá tá ka'jné
 emph wander ka.nz mid *** emph1 dub

ri'maká , kajúní wáni máawátá
 ri= i'ma -ká kajú -ní wáni máa =ewá tá
 3sg.nf cop ka.cleft much nf emph here around emph1

nomáka , inau'ké kajúní wáni
 na= amá -ka inau'ké kajú -ní wáni
 3pl see ka.cleft person much nf emph

Libre ahí vi una cosa muy grande que caminaba tal vez era el madremonte era grandísimo por aquí yo ví una persona muy grandote

88 Mot	é	nota'ó		ripiyá		, ũká
Morphèmes	é	nu= ata'	=o	ri= piyá		unká
Glose lex.	then	1sg steal	mid	3sg.nf before		neg
ramála		nuká		, nuká	amári	riká
ri= amá -la		nu= ikhá		nu= ikhá	amá -ri	ri= ikhá
3sg.nf see v.neg		1sg pro		1sg pro	see nf.cleft	3sg.nf pro
riká		ũká		amála		nuká
ri= ikhá		unká		amá -la		nu= ikhá
3sg.nf pro neg		see v.neg		1sg pro		

Libre ahí mismo me escondí de él y no me vio, yo sí lo vi a él pero nunca me vio

89 Mot	kája	wája		ũká	ramála		nuká
Morphèmes	kája	=wá	=ja	unká	ri= amá -la		nu= ikhá
Glose lex.	already	emph	lim	neg	3sg.nf see v.neg		1sg pro
, kája	nukero'ó		... ké	jra'pátá		ũká	
kája	nu= kero'ó		ké	ri= ja'pá tá		unká	
already 1sg be_scared			like	3sg.nf pass emph1		neg	
ramála		aũ		nuká		jra'pá	
ri= amá -la		***		nu= ikhá		ri= ja'pá	
3sg.nf see v.neg		***		1sg pro		3sg.nf pass	

Libre me dio mucho miedo, y siguió porque no me vio

90 Mot	éjé	kája	nujña'á		, é kája	nupéchú
Morphèmes	=eje	kája	nu= jña'á		é kája	nu= péchú
Glose lex.	after	already	1sg pull_up		then	1sg thought
la'ó		, kája	ũká	nuwátala		jéchitá
la' =ó		kája	unká	nu= wáta -la		jéchi tá
do mid		already	neg	1sg want v.neg		rubber emph1
jápákana		, kája	nukero'kó			réjéchami
jápá -kana		kája	nu= kero' -ka	=ó	ri=	éjéchami
work ev.nz1		already	1sg be_scared	ka.topic mid	3sg.nf	***

Libre y después ya pensé ya no quiero trabajar más en caucho no quiero trabajar, así que yo muy asustada

91 Mot	é kája	iná	pa'ó
Morphèmes	é kája	iná	pa' =ó
Glose lex.	then	gnr.pro	return mid

Libre y me regresé

92 Mot	iná	wáta	iná	kariwáte		a'jné
Morphèmes	iná	wáta	iná	kariwá	-te	a'jné
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	want	gnr.pro	white_person	alien1	dist
ripháka		ejená				
ri= iphá -ka		ejená				
3sg.nf arrive ka.nz		until				

Libre a esperar el patron hasta que llegara

93 Mot	kája	e'yá	ijnuúnatá		ũká	la'laño	
Morphèmes	kája	e'yá	ijnu -úna tá		unká	la' -la -ño	
Glose lex.	already	in	lazy pl emph1		neg	do v.neg pl.cleft	

méké , wejápajañáni najña'ká jéchi
 méké wejápa =ñáni na= jña' -ka jéchi
 indf.manner little dim 3pl take ka.cleft rubber

Libre y los que son perezosos no hacen nada, muy poquito sacan el caucho

94 Mot	ũká	ná	aú	nala'ké		kajú
Morphèmes	unká	ná	aú	na= la' -khé		kajú
Glose lex.	neg	indf	with	3pl do far.pst		much

najña'káre nákájé wemí
 na= jña' -káre nákaje wemí
 3pl take arg.nz1 thing reward

Libre no tienen como pagar las cosas que sacaron

95 Mot	é	kélé	kajú	jña'káño		, riká
Morphèmes	é	kélé	kajú	jña' -ka -ño		ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	med	much	take A.nz2 pl.nz		3sg.nf pro

aú kája nawarúwa'a píño najlúwa nákájé ná
 aú kája na= warúwa'a píño na= jlú =wa nákaje ná
 with already 3pl buy again 3pl for refl thing indf

ka'jno riwátiya ka'jno a'umakajé ka'jno ná
 ka'jno ri= wáti -ya ka'jno a'umaka -jé ka'jno ná
 dub 3sg.nf want pst dub clothes unposs dub indf

riwátakare rikejáa'ka riliyá
 ri= wáta -kare ri= kejáa' -ka ri= liyá
 3sg.nf want arg.nz1 3sg.nf request ka.insub? 3sg.nf from

ripháta rijló , ra'á rijló
 ri= iphá -ta ri= jló ri= a'á ri= jló
 3sg.nf arrive caus 3sg.nf for 3sg.nf give 3sg.nf for

rijápákalé palá ra'á rijló
 ri= jápá -ka =lé palá ri= a'á ri= jló
 3sg.nf work ka.adv reason good 3sg.nf give 3sg.nf for

Libre y los otros en cambio sacaron bastante caucho , con eso vuelven a comprar otra vez muchas cosas para ellos , tal vez quiere alguna ropa lo que quiera se lo pide y él se lo trae porque trabaja bien se lo entrega a él

96 Mot	eyá	kélé	i'jnúní	ũká	jápála	, ũká
Morphèmes	eyá	kélé	i'jnu -ní	unká	jápá -la	unká
Glose lex.	since_then	med	lazy nf	neg	work v.neg	neg

ra'lá ... kajú raka'kája riká
 ri= a' -lá kajú ri= aka' -ká =ja ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf give v.neg much 3sg.nf scold ka.cleft lim 3sg.nf pro

kajú , rímá " i'jnúnítá piká ũká
 kajú ri= ímá i'jnu -ní tá pi= ikhá unká
 much 3sg.nf say lazy nf emph1 2sg pro neg

piwémitá i'malá "
 pi= wémi tá i'ma -lá
 2sg reward emph1 cop v.neg

Libre y luego ese perezoso que no trabaja a él no le da nada sólo lo regaña bastante le dice usted es muy perezoso usted no vale nada

97 Mot ũká ná wemí no'lá pijló , ũká
Morphèmes unká ná wemí nu= a' -lá pi= jló unká
Glose lex. neg indf reward 1sg give v.neg 2sg for neg

ná pila'lá
 ná pi= la' -lá
 indf 2sg do v.neg

Libre no tengo nada que pagarle porque no hace nada

98 Mot é kéléuna jló eyá kéle nuyáni
Morphèmes é kélé -una jló eyá kéle nu= yáni
Glose lex. then med pl for since_then med 1sg children

jara'pá , riwemí riwarúwa'a wajlúwa
 jara'pá ri= wemí ri= warúwa'a wa= jló =wa
 father.ref 3sg.nf reward 3sg.nf buy 1pl for refl

i'maká kélé a'rumakají iná kují pa kaé
 i'ma -ka kélé a'rumaka -jí iná *** pa kaé
 far.pst ka.pst med clothes unposs gnr.pro *** *** emph5

chojé
 chojé
 towards_inside

Libre y a los otros como mi marido el papá de mis hijos, con eso nos compró para nosotros ropa CHECK

99 Mot eyá rijña'ká jiyá , eyá
Morphèmes eyá ri= jña' -ká jiyá eyá
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.nf take ka.insub? fire since_then

rijña'jikanó pero'jló phiyúkéja rijña'ká
 ri= jña' -jika =nó *** phiyúké =ja ri= jña' -ká
 3sg.nf take far.pst hab *** all lim 3sg.nf take ka.cleft

wajlúwa , nákáje rijápá , maí kájé nakú
 wa= jló =wa nákaje ri= jápá maí kájé nakú
 1pl for refl thing 3sg.nf work prox type on

rijápá i'maká
 ri= jápá i'ma -ka
 3sg.nf work far.pst ka.pst

Libre y luego escopeta y ollas de todo con el trabajo en esto así era

100 Mot kélé me'tení kalé kája ritajno
Morphèmes kélé me'tení kalé kája ri= tajná =o
Glose lex. med now emph5 already 3sg.nf finish mid

ũká	iná	we'íla		, jupichúmi	kháãjĩ	nu'má
unká	iná	we'í	-la	jupichúmi	kháãjĩ	nu= i'má
neg	gnr.pro	know	v.neg	old	prox	1sg tell

yukúná
yukú -ná
story alien3

Libre pero ahora ya se ha acabado uno no sabe esto es hace mucho tiempo lo que yo cuento

101 Mot	nujápákalé			kalé	rináku
Morphèmes	nu= jápá	-ka	=lé	kalé	ri= náku
Glose lex.	1sg work	ka.adv	reason	emph5	3sg.nf on

i'maká	najwa'té		, riká	áú	kalé	nuwe'pí
i'ma	-ka	na= jwa'té	ri= ikhá	áú	kalé	nu= we'pí
far.pst	ka.pst	3pl with	3sg.nf pro	cause	emph5	1sg know

Libre porque yo trabajé en eso con ellos por eso es que yo lo sé

102 Mot	eyá	kélé	me'tení	ũká	iná	we'íla
Morphèmes	eyá	kélé	me'tení	unká	iná	we'í -la
Glose lex.	since_then	med	now	neg	gnr.pro	know v.neg

méké	kája	ritajĩchomi				me'tení	ũká	ná
méké	kája	ri= tajĩ	-cha	=o	=mi	me'tení	unká	ná
indf.manner	already	3sg.nf finish	pst	mid	pfv	now	neg	indf

i'malá
i'ma -lá
cop v.neg

Libre y ahora uno no sabe como ya se terminó y ahora no hay nada.

ycn0118

1 Mot	nu'majé	,	nu'majé	yúku	kélé
Morphèmes	nu= i'ma jé		nu= i'ma jé	yúku	kélé
Glose lex.	1sg tell fut		1sg tell fut	story	med
júpimi	we'majíká		eja'wá	chuwá	i'majíká
júpi	=mi wa= i'ma -jĩka		eja'wá	chu =ewá	i'ma -jĩka
long_time pfv	1pl live far.pst		forest	in around	far.pst far.pst
yukúná					
yukú -ná					
story alien3					

Libre yo cuento cómo era que vivíamos en el mundo hace tiempo

2 Mot	ináya		nu'maká	wakajé	jnowíña'o
Morphèmes	ináya		nu= i'ma -ká	wakajé	nu= jewíña' =o
Glose lex.	young_woman		1sg cop ka.nz	date	1sg study mid
i'maká	nákarí ...	kajú	jwewíña'ko		i'maká
i'ma -ka	nákarí	kajú	wa= jewíña' -ka	=o	i'ma -ka
far.pst ka.pst	uh	much	1pl study ka.cleft	mid	far.pst ka.pst
internado	mirítí	chú	i'maká	ariyé	
***	mirítí	chú	i'ma -ka	***	
***	mirítí_river	in	far.pst ka.pst	***	

Libre cuando era yo una muchacha de ese día pues yo estudiaba eramos bastantes estudiantes en el internado de Jariyé

3 Mot	jwewíña'o		i'maká	,	kája
Morphèmes	wa= jewíña' =o		i'ma -ka		kája
Glose lex.	1pl study mid		far.pst ka.pst		already

ináyana	we'maká
ináya	-na wa= i'ma -ká
young_woman pl	1pl cop ka.cleft

Libre ahí estudiábamos, ya eramos unas muchachas

4 Mot	nala'á	iñepú	i'maká	,	kajúní
Morphèmes	na= la'á	iñepú	i'ma -ka		kajú -ní
Glose lex.	3pl do	way	far.pst ka.pst		much nf
nala'ká	iñepú	nákarí	ejá	wapuwá	, iphári
na= la' -ká	iñepú	nákarí	ejá	wapu =ewá	iphá -ri
3pl do ka.cleft	way	uh	proper.n	*** ***	arrive nf.ss
ajĩ	ké	jípa	ja'pejé		
ajĩ	ké	jípa	ja'pi =eje		
prox like	stone	under	until		

Libre y luego hicieron camino muy grande hicieron el camino por toda la orilla del Mirití y esto llegaba hasta debajo de piedras (chorro?)

5 Mot	riká	chuwá	we'jnaké
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	chu =ewá	wa= i'jna -ké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	in around	1pl go far.pst

chira'jó
 chira' -je =o
 wander purp.mot mid

Libre por éste íbamos de paseo

6 Mot	paláni	, kajú	yuwaná	jwa'té	we'jnaké
Morphèmes	palá -ni	kajú	yuwaná	jwa'té	wa= i'jna -ké
Glose lex.	good nf	much	kids	with	1pl go far.pst

a'pitajé réjõ
 a'pita -je ri= ejo
 bathe purp.mot 3sg.nf towards

Libre con bastantes niños nos íbamos a bañarnos hasta allá

7 Mot	apála	kajú	wajñajĩkanó	a'jnejí
Morphèmes	apála	kajú	wa= ajña -jĩka =nó	a'jne -jí
Glose lex.	maybe	much	1pl eat far.pst hab	food unposs

wajñaké wa'jnewá réjõ ré phiyúkéja
 wa= ajña -ké wa= a'jne =wá ri= ejo ré phiyúké =ja
 1pl eat far.pst 1pl food refl 3sg.nf towards then all lim

a'jnejí , e'welojíná i'jnakéñó kája
 a'jne -jí e'we -lo -jí -ná i'jna -khé -ñó kája
 food unposs brother f unposs pl go far.pst pl.cleft already

wajwa'té réjõ
 wa= jwa'té ri= ejo
 1pl with 3sg.nf towards

Libre también comíamos bastante comida todos allá hasta las monjas también nos acompañaban hasta allá

8 Mot	eyá	wapa'kó	, wa'pitaké
Morphèmes	eyá	wa= pa' -ka =o	wa= a'pita -ké
Glose lex.	since_then	1pl return ka.insub? mid	1pl bathe far.pst

wayajĩko wapa'jĩko
 wa= ya -jĩka =o wa= pa' -jĩka =o
 1pl *** far.pst mid 1pl return far.pst mid

Libre hasta allá nos bañábamos y cuando ya nos cansábamos nos regresábamos

9 Mot	é kája	wephá	, kája	wája	pajlúwája
Morphèmes	é kája	wa= iphá	kája	=wá =ja	pajlúwá =ja
Glose lex.	then	1pl arrive	already	emph lim	one lim

nupuláa'peru i'máyó réjǒ , ináyana
 nu= puláa'pe -ru i'má -yó ri= ejo ináya -na
 1sg brother_in_law f cop f.cleft 3sg.nf towards young_woman pl
 we'maká
 wa= i'ma -ká
 1pl cop ka.cleft

Libre hasta llegar. Ahí había una cuñada con todos, y además todas eramos muchachas

10 Mot é rumaké nojló " i'jná
Morphèmes é ru= ima -ké nu= jló i'jná
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say far.pst 1sg for go

we'jnáchí piño najwa'té jípa ja'pejé ,
 wa= i'jná -chí piño na= jwa'té jípa ja'pi =eje
 1pl go hort again 3pl with stone under until

pamáchí mékéka paláwáni réjǒ "
 pi= amá -chí méké -ka palá wáni ri= ejo
 2sg see purp2 indf.manner indf.sub good emph 3sg.nf towards
 ké
 ké
 like

Libre me decía "vámonos otra vez con ellos hasta debajo del chorro para que vea cómo es tan bueno allá"

11 Mot " jé " ké , é nuká rujwa'té
Morphèmes jé ké é nu= ikhá ru= jwa'té
Glose lex. good like then 1sg pro 3sg.f with

réjǒ
 ri= ejo
 3sg.nf towards

Libre bueno, me fui con ella hasta allá

12 Mot é rúmá nojló " maarépo júrina
Morphèmes é ru= ímá nu= jló maaré po júri -na
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say 1sg for prox.loc *** *** pl

kamáto kajú wáni " ké rumaká " kháãjǐ
 kamáta =o kajú wáni ké ru= ima -ká kháãjǐ
 sleep mid much emph like 3sg.f say ka.cleft prox
 jípa apú chú , i'jná wamíchachí neká ."
 jípa apú chú i'jná wa= amí -cha -chí na= ikhá
 stone other in go 1pl see prs purp2 3pl pro

Libre y luego dijo "aquí hay golondrinas duermen bastante aquí hay bastante" así me dijo aquí en el hueco de las piedras (chorro), vamos a verlos

13 Mot é weká namáje ,
Morphèmes é wa= ikhá na= amá -je
Glose lex. then 1pl pro 3pl see purp.mot

Libre y fuimos

14 Mot	iñepúñáni	to'ró			ajǐ	ké	jípa	chó	
Morphèmes	iñepú	=ñáni	to'	-rí	=o	ajǐ	ké	jípa	chó
Glose lex.	way	dim	lie	nf.nz	mid	prox	like	stone	***

iñepú to'ró wejápaja ,
iñepú to' -rí =o wejápa
way lie nf.nz mid little

Libre por un caminito que había por encima de las piedras el camino cortico

15 Mot	riká	chuwá	iná	ja'pá	ajǐ	ké		
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	chu	=ewá	iná	ja'pá	ajǐ	ké
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	in	around	gnr.pro	pass	prox	like

jípa apú chojé , ré nakamáto , kajú
jípa apú chojé ré na= kamáta =o kajú
stone other towards_inside then 3pl sleep mid much

nakamátako , ña'rí aǔ najña'á neká
na= kamáta -ka =o ña'rí aǔ na= jña'á na= ikhá
3pl sleep ka.cleft mid whip with 3pl take 3pl pro

Libre por ahí uno pasaba hasta llegar al hueco de la piedra, ahí era que dormían bastante, con ramas les pegan a ellos

16 Mot	é	wajña'á	neká	,	é	rúmá		
Morphèmes	é	wa=	jña'á	na=	ikhá	é	ru=	ímá
Glose lex.	then	1pl	take	3pl	pro	then	3sg.f	say

nojló " po'márúna ajǐ ké iná ajñáká neká
nu= jló po'má -runa ajǐ ké iná ajña -ká na= ikhá
1sg for tasty pl prox like gnr.pro eat ka.cleft 3pl pro

" ké
ké
like

Libre luego los cogimos ella dijo "son muy sabrosos así es que uno se los come"

17 Mot	é	wajña'ké	neká	wakuméro'o	,		
Morphèmes	é	wa=	jña' -ké	na=	ikhá	***	
Glose lex.	then	1pl	take	far.pst	3pl	pro	***

neká iná a'mitá neká , kejlárúna po'márúna
na= ikhá iná a'mitá na= ikhá ka- jilá -runa po'má -runa
3pl pro gnr.pro smoke 3pl pro attr grease pl tasty pl

wáni neká
wáni na= ikhá
emph 3pl pro

Libre y kis comimos, uno les quitaba la pluma y los moqueaba estaban gorditos muy sabrosos ellos son así

18 Mot	é kája	pu'jí	nupéchú	i'maké	,	kája	
Morphèmes	é kája	pu'jí	nu=	péchú	i'ma -khé	kája	
Glose lex.	then	happy	1sg	thought	cop	far.pst	already

nomá	phiyúké	mékéka		nákarí	najña'ká
na= amá	phiyúké	méké	-ka	nákarí	na= jña' -ka
3pl see	all	indf.manner	indf.sub	uh	3pl take ka.nz

neká
na= ikhá
3pl pro

Libre además yo estaba muy contenta por eso ya había visto todo como era que se comía las golondrinas

19 Mot	apú	wakajé	we'jné	ñakéja	kája	apú
Morphèmes	apú	wakajé	wa= i'jné	ñaké	=ja kája	apú
Glose lex.	other	date	1pl go	dist.simil	lim already	other

wakajé	we'jné	ñakéja		, kája	wája
wakajé	wa= i'jné	ñaké	=ja	kája	=wá =ja
date	1pl go	dist.simil	lim	already	emph lim

nuwáa'ko		nu'má	ro'wé	jwa'té	i'maká
nu= wáa' -ka	=o	nu= i'ma	ru= e'wé	jwa'té	i'ma -ka
1sg call	ass mid	1sg live	3sg.f brother	with	far.pst ka.pst

Libre y volvimos otra vez lo mismo, hasta que me casé viví con el hermano de ella así fue

20 Mot	wawáa'kako		wáni	wakajé	rímá
Morphèmes	wa= wáa' -ka	-ka =o	wáni	wakajé	ri= ímá
Glose lex.	1pl call	ass ka.nz	mid emph	date	3sg.nf say

nojló	:	" we'jnéchí	nákarí	jípa	ja'pejé	, pikuwá
nu= jló		wa= i'jné -chí	nákarí	jípa	ja'pi =eje	pi= kuwá
1sg for		1pl go hort	uh	stone	under until	2sg cook

wajlúwa
wa= jló =wa
1pl for refl

Libre y el día que nos casamos él me dijo " vámonos pues para debajo de la piedra, prepare casabe para nosotros"

21 Mot	" pijña'á	kája	jwetá	kájémáka	, muní
Morphèmes	pi= jña'á	kája	wa= jítá	***	muní
Glose lex.	2sg take	already	1pl canoe	***	tomorrow

weká	waícha	" ké	rimaká	" jwana'chí
wa= ikhá	waícha	ké	ri= ima -ká	wa= jana' -chí
1pl pro	return	like	3sg.nf say ka.cleft	1pl fish purp2

wajlúwa
wa= jló =wa
1pl for refl

Libre "leve también las hamacas, nosotros regresamos mañana" así me dijo "así podemos pescar para nosotros"

22 Mot	" jée	" ké
Morphèmes	jé	ké
Glose lex.	good	like

Libre entonces le contesté "bueno"

23 Mot	é	we'jné
Morphèmes	é	wa= i'jné
Glose lex.	then	1pl go

Libre y nos fuimos

24 Mot	we'jné	jíta	chú	,	i'jnáñó	wajwa'té	,
Morphèmes	wa= i'jné	jíta	chú		i'jné -ñó	wa= jwa'té	
Glose lex.	1pl go	canoe	in		go pl.ss	1pl with	

ũká	chiyó	wayáni		yuwakámí	i'má
unká	=chiyó	wa= yáni		***	i'ma
neg	before	1pl children		***	live

Libre nos fuimos en canoa con nosotros se fueron , eso era antes que tuvieramos nuestros hijos (yuwako: infancia ; yuwakami: pequeño?)

25 Mot	i'jnáñó	wajwa'té	kélé	no'wé	yuwakámí
Morphèmes	i'jné -ñó	wa= jwa'té	kélé	nu= e'wé	***
Glose lex.	go pl.nz	1pl with	med	1sg brother	***

Kujmá

Libre y los que se fueron con nosotros era mi hermanito pequeño Kujmá

26 Mot	eyá	re'wé	yuwakámí	Pitu'wíri	i'jnári
Morphèmes	eyá	ri= e'wé	***	***	i'jna -ri
Glose lex.	since_then	3sg.nf brother	***	***	go nf.cleft

wajwa'té

wa= jwa'té

1pl with

Libre y el hermano pequeño de él Pitu'wíri se fue con nosotros

27 Mot	é	wephá	jípa	ja'pejé	jlaíchú
Morphèmes	é	wa= iphá	jípa	ja'pi =eje	jlaíchú
Glose lex.	then	1pl arrive	stone	under until	afternoon

wephá	jípa	ja'pejé
wa= iphá	jípa	ja'pi =eje
1pl arrive	stone	under until

Libre y así llegamos hasta abajo de la piedra llegamos por la tarde

28 Mot	kajú	jíñana	a'jnelá	e'chaká	,	riká	ja'pí
Morphèmes	kajú	jíña -na	***	***		ri= ikhá	ja'pi
Glose lex.	much	fish pl	***	***		3sg.nf pro	under

jíñanató	kajú	,	janéri	,	po'jóna	,	mamúna	,	phiyúkéja
jíña -na tá	kajú		***		po'jóna		***		phiyúké =ja
fish pl emph1	much		***		fish_sp		***		all lim

jíñana

jíña -na

fish pl

Libre había mucha comida para pescado ahí y debajo había bastantes peces como palometa, sabaleta, sábalos había de toda clase de pescado

29 Mot é jrana'á rijña'á , kajú rijña'ká
Morphèmes é *** ri= jña'á kajú ri= jña' -ká
Glose lex. then *** 3sg.nf take much 3sg.nf take ka.cleft

pajlúwela rijña'ká neká
pajlúwá -ela ri= jña' -ká na= ikhá
one cls:long 3sg.nf take ka.cleft 3pl pro

Libre y ahí pezcó cogió bastante una sarta de esos pescados

30 Mot é rímá nojló " chúwatá
Morphèmes é ri= ímá nu= jló chúwa tâ
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say 1sg for now emph1

wajñájika wa'jné , pimotho'ó wajlúwa
wa= ajña -jĩ -ka wa= a'jné pi= moto'ó wa= jló =wa
1pl eat fut ka.cleft 1pl food 2sg cook 1pl for refl

riká " , " jé " ké , nopho'tá , nu'ráta jíña ,
ri= ikhá jé ké *** *** jíña
3sg.nf pro good like *** *** fish

nomotho'ó neká
nu= motho'ó na= ikhá
1sg cook 3pl pro

Libre luego me dijo "ahora sí vamos a comer comida , pongalos a cocinar para nosotros esos pescados", yo le dije "bueno" y me puse prender el fogón a despedazar los pescados, y los puse a cocinar

31 Mot é jlaíchú wajúwa'a
Morphèmes é jlaíchú wa= júwa'a
Glose lex. then afternoon 1pl get_dark

Libre y ya por la tarde comenzó a oscurecer

32 Mot éjéchami júnitá júwa'ka kajú wáni
Morphèmes éjéchami júni tâ júwa' -ka kajú wáni
Glose lex. then water1 emph1 get_dark ka.topic much emph

karená pichaní ré wája
karená *** ri= é =wá =ja
wind *** 3sg.nf in emph lim

Libre el aguacero oscureció hubo mucho viento y relámpago de todo

33 Mot méké wala'jika , ùká
Morphèmes méké wa= la' -jĩ -ka unká
Glose lex. indf.manner 1pl do fut ka.cleft neg

wajña'lá	wapajǒ	ũká	mére	wapára'lo	, aũ
wa= jña' -lá	***	unká	méré	wa= pára' -la =o	aũ
1pl take v.neg	***	neg	indf.loc	1pl *** v.neg mid	with
rímá	nojló	"	wakuwájĩka	pa'nójǒ	
ri= ímá	nu= jló	wa= kuwá' -jĩ -ka	***	***	
3sg.nf say 1sg for	1pl cross fut	ka.topic	***		

Libre después qué vamos a hacer no trajimos nada con qué taparnos no tenemos cómo campar, luego me dijo "crucemos al otro lado"

34 Mot	ré	jípa	apú	aũ
Morphèmes	ré	jípa	aphú	aũ
Glose lex.	then	stone	hole	with

Libre allá hay un hueco de piedra

35 Mot	jípa	apú	ré	richojé
Morphèmes	jípa	aphú	ri= é	ri= chojé
Glose lex.	stone	hole	3sg.nf in	3sg.nf towards_inside

wapára'kolojé	ké	rimaká	, jé	ké
wa= apára' -ka =o	lojé	ké	ri= ima -ká	jé
1pl *** ka.adv mid	purp3	like	3sg.nf say ka.cleft	good
				like

Libre hueco de piedra, allá nos iremos a campar" eso me dijo,yo le dije "está bien"

36 Mot	é	nule'jé	náke	wakuwá'a	nuwitúka'ta
Morphèmes	é	nu= le'jé	náke	wa= kuwá'a	nu= witúka' -ta
Glose lex.	then	1sg poss	uh	1pl cross	1sg go_down caus

jíña	motho'kéja	jíta	chojé
jíña	motho' -kéja	jíta	chojé
fish	cook ptcp	canoe	towards_inside

Libre ya ibamos a cruzar y bajé los pescados cocinados a la canoa

37 Mot	nule'jé	yáwiñani	i'máñó	iyamá
Morphèmes	nu= le'jé	yáwi =ñáni	i'má -ñó	iyamá
Glose lex.	1sg poss	tiger dim	cop pl.cleft	two

kapajaréuna
 kapajaré -runa
 *** pl

Libre y también tenía dos crías de perritos

38 Mot	é	wakuwá'a
Morphèmes	é	wa= kuwá'a
Glose lex.	then	1pl cross

Libre ibamos ya cruzando

39 Mot	pe'yochámi	wakuwá'ka	jwe'chí
Morphèmes	pe'yo -chá =mi	wa= kuwá' -ka	jwe'chí
Glose lex.	*** pst pfv	1pl cross ka.cleft	paddle

yupa'kó
 yupa' -ka =ó
 *** ** mid

Libre en la mitad íbamos cruzando cuando se partió el remo

40 Mot	é	ta'kéní	ya'ó	CHECK	jítatá	nakojé
Morphèmes	é	ta'ké -ni	***	***	jíta tâ	nakú =eje
Glose lex.	then	*** nf	***	***	canoe emph1	on until

" jújúu " CHECKKK
 *** **
 *** **

Libre y la corriente pegó duro contra la canoa "juuuu"

41 Mot	riká	pajno'tári	jwetáneta	phiyúké
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	***	***
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	***	***

Libre ese fue que voltio nuestra canoa

42 Mot	nuyawiténa	takha'táño	junápejë
Morphèmes	nu= yáwi -té -na	takha' -ta -ño	junápi =eje
Glose lex.	1sg tiger alien1 pl	die all pl.cleft	water2 until

CHECK (gemy : takha'káño) , phiyúké wanáni kapi'cháko ,
 *** ** ** phiyúké wa= náni ***
 *** ** ** all 1pl thing ***

mapéja ũká ná wapatalá
 mapéja unká ná wa= pata -lá
 normally neg indf 1pl shine v.neg

Libre y mis perritos se ahogaron en el agua, todas las cositas de nosotros se perdió, nos quedamos sin nada no alcanzamos a coger nada (patakáje: agarrar)

43 Mot	é	númá	kélé	no'wé	yuwakámí	jló
Morphèmes	é	nu= ímá	kélé	nu= e'wé	***	jló
Glose lex.	then	1sg say	med	1sg brother	***	for

Libre en este momento le dije a mi hermanito pequeño

44 Mot	(pi'majé ké)	CHECK	" pipatá	nuká
Morphèmes	*** **	***	pi= patá	nu= ikhá
Glose lex.	*** **	***	2sg grab	1sg pro

nuwakúla'pa , phara'tániña nuká junápi
 *** pi= jara'tá -niña nu= ikhá junápi
 *** 2sg *** proh 1sg pro water2

watakha'jíka iyamáno pijwa'té
 wa= takha' -jí -ka iyamá =no pi= jwa'té
 1pl die fut ka.topic two hab 2sg with

Libre " cójase de mi hombro pero no me vaya a hundir dentro del agua porque nos morimos los dos con usted " (wakúla'pa-ji: hombro)

45 Mot	" jé	" ké	phíyu'kecháje	ri'maká		aú
Morphèmes	jé	ké	***	ri=	i'ma	-ká aú
Glose lex.	good	like	***	3sg.nf	cop	ka.nz because

jrema'á riká
 ri= jema'á ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf listen 3sg.nf pro

Libre " bueno" era ya grandecito y me obedeció

46 Mot	ripatá nuká	nuwakúla'pa	nakiyá	, é
Morphèmes	*** nu= ikhá	***	nakú =eyá	é
Glose lex.	*** 1sg pro	***	on from	then

we'wapá rijwa'té
 wa= i'wapá ri= jwa'té
 1pl swim 3sg.nf with

Libre luego me cogió del hombro, y nadamos juntos con él (i'wapa-kájé: nadar)

47 Mot	eyá	kélé	Juliá	, re'wé	i'mári	kélé
Morphèmes	eyá	kélé	***	ri= e'wé	***	kélé
Glose lex.	since_then	med	***	3sg.nf brother	***	med

riká patári riká , kajú rikero'kó
 ri= ikhá patá -ri ri= ikhá kajú ***
 3sg.nf pro grab nf.cleft 3sg.nf pro much ***

ripéchú i'maká " apála jno'ó junápejě "
 ri= péchú i'ma -ka apála *** junápi =eje
 3sg.nf thought far.pst ka.pst maybe *** water2 until

riká aú jra'tá re'wé junápejě
 ri= ikhá aú *** ri= e'wé junápi =eje
 3sg.nf pro with *** 3sg.nf brother water2 until

Libre y este Julián, el hermano fue que lo cogió, a él le dio mucho miedo , él pensó de pronto me caigo al agua, por eso casi hundió al hermano (ja'kájo: caerse)

48 Mot	kája	kélé	taja'kájlá	kája	wáni	ũká
Morphèmes	kája	kélé	taja' -ka	jlá	kája	wáni unká
Glose lex.	already	med	die ka.topic frust	already	emph	neg

méño'jǒ
 méño'jǒ
 indf.toward

Libre casi se muere

49 Mot	kája	wejápaja	wáni	ripé	i'maká
Morphèmes	kája	wejápa	wáni	ri= ipé	i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	already	little	emph	3sg.nf for	far.pst ka.pst

ritaja'kálojé
 ri= taja' -ká lojé
 3sg.nf die ka.adv purp3

Libre le faltó poco para que se muriera (ripé - ipe-jí: llegada)

50 Mot	é	ta'kéní	ka'á	kéí'chí	warápojo	, é	
Morphèmes	é	ta'ké	-ni	ka'á	***	***	é
Glose lex.	then	***	nf	clean	***	***	then

rijña'á	wí'chá	rinakiyó	kélé	...	re'wétá	, kája
ri= jña'á	wí'chá	***	kélé	***	***	kája
3sg.nf	take	ideo	***	med	***	already

ritaja'ká		aú	, riká		aú	ri'mó	, ũkákéla	
ri= taja' -ka		aú	ri= ikhá		aú	***	ũkákéla	
3sg.nf	die	ka.nz	because	3sg.nf	pro	with	***	if_not

júpimi		ritakhi'chámijlá			ã'ká		junápejẽ			
júpi =mi	ri=	takhi' -chá	=mi	jlá	i'ma	-ka	junápi =eje			
long_time	pfv	3sg.nf	die	pst	pfv	frust	far.pst	ka.pst	water2	until

Libre la corriente fue que lo arrimó al lado de la orilla , ahí mismo cogió y botó el hermano ahí ya casi ahogándose, así lo hizo y se pudo salvar, si no hace mucho tiempo se hubiera muerto en el agua (ka'-káje: botar, echar; i'makajo:salvarse; unká kéla: si no - otherwise)

51 Mot	é	jwácho'o	tají	ké	pe'yó	" méké	
Morphèmes	é	wa= jácho'o	tají	ké	pe'yó	méké	
Glose lex.	then	1pl	go_out	ideo	like	half	indf.manner

chí	wala'j́ika		, ũká	ná	i'malá			
chí	wa= la' -j́i	-ka	unká	ná	i'ma -lá			
emph3	1pl	do	fut	ka.cleft	neg	indf	cop	v.neg

wale'jéñani	nákájé	ná	aú	wapatalá				
wa= le'jé =ñáni	nákaje	ná	aú	wa= pata -lá				
1pl	poss	dim	thing	indf	with	1pl	shine	v.neg

wakamaró	, mapéja	kalajérúwa'ká	CHECK			
wa= kamaré =o	mapéja	kalajérú -wa'ká	***			
1pl	light	mid	normally	dark	?while	***

Libre luego salimos de ahí y nos quedamos parados en la mitad "ahora sí qué iremos a hacer no tenemos nada con qué alumbrarnos , ahí nos quedamos en la oscuridad

52 Mot	kamu'jí	wala'ká		kháãj́i	ijáni	wa'umaká			
Morphèmes	kamu'jí	wa= la' -ká		kháãj́i	ijá -ni	wa= a'umaká			
Glose lex.	poor	1pl	do	ka.cleft	prox	wet	nf	1pl	clothes

jwa'té
jwa'té
with

Libre estabamos mal con la ropa mojada puesta toda una noche

53 Mot	pajlúwa	jlapí	kétána	we'maká	kamu'jí	ké		
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	jlapí	kétána	wa= i'ma -ká	kamu'jí	ké		
Glose lex.	one	night	during	1pl	cop	ka.cleft	poor	like

CHECK	mapéja	wañepo'kó			jípa	apú	chú	
***	mapéja	wa= ñepo' -ka	=ó	jípa	aphú	chú		
***	normally	1pl	***	ka.cleft	mid	stone	hole	in

Libre toda una noche nos encogimos juntos dentro del hueco de una piedra

54 Mot	"	méké	wala'jika	cháwani	",
Morphèmes		méké	wa= la' -jǐ -ka	cháwa -ni	
Glose lex.		indf.manner	1pl do fut ka.cleft	pity nf	

kamu'jí wánitá wala'ká númá nakú
 kamu'jí wáni tâ wa= la' -ká nu= ímá nakú
 poor emph emph1 1pl do ka.cleft 1sg say on

Libre diciendo "qué vamos a hacer?" ahora todo esto era muy triste eso les cuento

55 Mot	é kája	jlapiyamí	rapó	ri'jné
Morphèmes	é kája	lapiyamí	ri= apó	ri= i'jné
Glose lex.	then	morning	3sg.nf wake_up	3sg.nf go

yaká'jo , mapéja ramákalojé apála ...
 yakáa' -je =o mapéja ri= amá -ka lojé apála
 see purp.mot mid normally 3sg.nf see ka.adv purp3 maybe
 ramá jíta
 ri= amá jíta
 3sg.nf see canoe

Libre después ya por la mañana él se levantó y se fue a mirar así no más por si de pronto veía la vanoa

56 Mot	amári	...	kája	richiúka'kala	ké
Morphèmes	amá -ri		kája	ri= chiúka' -kala	ké
Glose lex.	see nf.ss		already	3sg.nf go_round ***	like

ri'makálé , kélé jítatá chipúka'ri
 ri= i'ma -ká =lé kélé jíta tâ chipúka' -ri
 3sg.nf cop ka.adv reason med canoe emph1 go_round nf.cleft
 patáro , rijulá chojé kélé jíta
 patá -ri =o ri= julá chojé kélé jíta
 grab nf.ss mid 3sg.nf stomach towards_inside med canoe
 pató
 patá =o
 grab mid

Libre y vio que esa canoa daba vuelta en un remanso hasta que se detuvo (chipúka'-kaje: dar vueltas ; julá: vientre)

57 Mot	é	ri'jné	náke	,	é	ri'má
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jné	náke		é	ri= i'ma
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go	uh		then	3sg.nf go

rijña'jé
 ri= jña' -je
 3sg.nf take purp.mot

Libre luego él se fue a traer la canoa

58 Mot	é	kalé	palánija	wawitúka'a
Morphèmes	é	kalé	palá -ni =ja	wa= witúka'a
Glose lex.	then	emph5	good nf lim	1pl go_down

ri=	chojé	kája	wapa'ó		
3sg.nf	towards_inside	already	1pl	return	mid

Libre ahí ya estuvimos mejor y bajamos a la canoa y regresamos

59 Mot	wapa'ó
Morphèmes	wa= pa' =ó
Glose lex.	1pl return mid

Libre regresamos

60 Mot	mapéja	wapa'kó		,	ũká	ná
Morphèmes	mapéja	wa= pa'	-ka	=o	unká	ná
Glose lex.	normally	1pl	return	ka.cleft	mid	neg

i'malá	,	kája	phiyúké	wanáni	kapicháko
i'ma -lá		kája	phiyúké	wa= náni	kapichá -ka =o
cop	v.neg	already	all	1pl thing	lose ka.cleft mid

Libre regresamos sin nada porque todo lo perdimos

61 Mot	kája	marí	kétána
Morphèmes	kája	marí	kétána
Glose lex.	already	prox	during

Libre (hasta aquí)

ycn0119

1 Mot	chúwa	nu'majíka			mékéka	
Morphèmes	chúwa	nu=	i'ma	-jĩ	-ka	méké -ka
Glose lex.	now	1sg	tell	fut	ka.topic	indf.manner indf.sub

iná	la'ká	iná	ñakaró	yukúna	.
iná	la' -ka	iná	ñakaré =o	yukú -ná	
gnr.pro	do ka.nz	gnr.pro	house mid	story alien3	

Libre ahora yo voy a contar cómo es que se hace la casa

2 Mot	painéko	iná	la'kálojé		(pila'ká-)
Morphèmes	painéko	iná	la' -ká	lojé	pi= la'ká-
Glose lex.	first	gnr.pro	do ka.adv	purp3	2sg ***

iná	la'kálojé	iná	ñakaró	,
iná	la' -ká	lojé	iná	ñakaré =o
gnr.pro	do ka.adv	purp3	gnr.pro	house mid

Libre primero para hacer nuestra casa

3.1 Mot	iná	amá	mékeka	te'rí	painéko	.
Morphèmes	iná	amá	méké	-ka	te'rí	painéko
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	see	indf.manner	indf.sub	ground	first

Libre uno mira cómo es la tierra, primero, si la tierra tiene loma o si está feo, ya usted comienza a cortar, si es qué será, si tiene mucho pasto ahí, ahí usted comienza a limpiarlo, cómo de grande lo quiere construir, cómo de grande va a ser su casa

3.2 Mot	te'rí	i'makáchú		, ná	ka'jné	, yenúri
Morphèmes	te'rí	i'ma	-ka	chú	ná	ka'jné
Glose lex.	ground	cop	ka.adv	cond	indf	dub

ka'jné	ri'makáchú	,	wa'reni	ka'jné
ka'jné	ri= i'ma -ká	chú	wa're -ni	ka'jné
dub	3sg.nf cop	ka.adv	cond	ugly nf

ri'makáchú	,	kája	pikeno'ó	pimatha'á	ka'jné	...
ri= i'ma -ká	chú	kája	pi= keño'ó	pi= matha'á	ka'jné	
3sg.nf cop	ka.adv	cond	already	2sg begin	2sg cut	dub

ná	ka'jné	...	kajú	ka'jné	jimíchi	i'makáchú	ríchu
ná	ka'jné		kajú	ka'jné	jimíchi	i'ma -ka	chú
indf	dub		much	dub	grass	cop	ka.adv

,	pikeno'ó	richiyá	matha'kána	.
pi= keño'ó	ri= chiyá	matha' -kána		
2sg begin	3sg.nf in.from	cut	ev.nz	1

Libre

3.3 Mot	méké	jño'peka	pila'jika	,
Morphèmes	méké	jño'pe -ka	pi= la' -jĩ -ka	,
Glose lex.	indf.manner	*** com	2sg do fut ka.cleft	

ño'po'jloka pila'jika piñakaró
ño'po'jlo -ka pi= la' -jĩ -ka pi= ñakaré =o
big com 2sg do fut ka.cleft 2sg house mid

Libre

4 Mot	eyá	nákei	eja'wá	ri'makáchú	,
Morphèmes	eyá	nákei	eja'wá	ri= i'ma -ká chú	,
Glose lex.	since_then	uh	forest	3sg.nf cop ka.adv cond	

kája painéko , eja'wá ri'makáchú , kája
kája painéko eja'wá ri= i'ma -ká chú kája
already first forest 3sg.nf cop ka.adv cond already

painéko pikeño'ó , pikeño'ó a'waná i'kakána
painéko pi= keño'ó pi= keño'ó a'waná i'ka -kána
first 2sg begin 2sg begin tree knock_down ev.nz1

Libre si es monte, primero, si es monte, ya primero usted comienza a tumbar palo

5 Mot	pimatha'á	painéko	rapukúna	,	phiyúké
Morphèmes	pi= matha'á	painéko	ri= apukúna	,	phiyúké
Glose lex.	2sg cut	first	3sg.nf place		all

pi'ká a'waná , a'waná a'páremi
pi= i'ká a'waná a'waná a'pá =mi
2sg knock_down tree tree root nom.pfv

phero'táka , kajúni i'makáchú , piwáta
pi= jero' -ta -ka kajú -ni i'ma -ka chú pi= wáta
2sg pull_out caus ka.when much nf cop ka.adv cond 2sg want

kája pimatha'á ka'jno kawákáya ka'jno riká
kája pi= matha'á ka'jno kawáká =eyá ka'jno ri= ikhá
already 2sg cut dub low from dub 3sg.nf pro

Libre ud roza primero el lugar, tumba todos los palos donde el lugar, y arranca las raíces de los palos (tumbaos), y si es grande (el palo), pues usted lo tumba de más abajo (al ras de la tierra). (jero'káje: arrancar)

6 Mot	éjomi	kája	,	riká	piñapátaka
Morphèmes	éjomi	kája		ri= ikhá	pi= ñapáta -ka
Glose lex.	after	already		3sg.nf pro	2sg finish ka.when

phiyúké , é kája pikeño'ó , yu'upé , yu'upé kulákana
phiyúké é kája pi= keño'ó *** *** kulá -kana
all then already 2sg begin *** *** search ev.nz1

Libre después ya, cuando usted termina todo, ya comienza a buscar palo itaúwa

7 Mot	a'jná	nákei	...	yu'pé	kulákana	,	eyá
Morphèmes	a'jná	nákei		***	kulá -kana		eyá
Glose lex.	dist	uh		***	search ev.nz1		since_then

pijña'á phiyúké lo que nákei , nákei yu'pé ka'jná ,
 pi= jña'á phiyúké lo que nákei nákei *** ka'jná
 2sg take all the conj uh uh *** dub

pipitá rapukúna chojé riká , phiyúké
 pi= pitá ri= apukúna chojé ri= ikhá phiyúké
 2sg pile_up 3sg.nf place towards_inside 3sg.nf pro all

ri'maká éjé .
 ri= i'ma -ká =eje
 3sg.nf cop ka.nz until

Libre hasta....buscar itaúwa, de ahí se saca todo, lo que es itaúwa, uno lo carga lo deja ahí en el sitio, lo amontona todo ahí

8 Mot eyá kája , pichá rapú ...
Morphèmes eyá kája pi= ichá ri= aphú
Glose lex. since_then already 2sg dig 3sg.nf hole

méké ka'jnó , pajlúwa iná a'napitá kétána ka'jná
 méké ka'jnó pajlúwá iná a'napitá kétána ka'jná
 indf.manner dub one gnr.pro arm during dub

pichaká rapú ; ri'makálojé ... ñaké
 pi= icha -ka ri= aphú ri= i'ma -ka lojé ñaké
 2sg dig ka.cleft 3sg.nf hole 3sg.nf tell ka.adv purp3 dist.simil

nákei , ritáa'kolojé kamacháni , ná
 nákei ri= táa' -ka =o lojé kamachá -ni ná
 uh 3sg.nf stand_up ka.adv mid purp3 firm nf indf

karená ka'kápiyá ka'jnó riká
 karená ka' -ká piyá ka'jnó ri= ikhá
 wind throw_out ka.adv purp.neg dub 3sg.nf pro

Libre después, usted escarba un hueco, cómo de largo será como de un brazo (de hondo), escarbas un hueco pa que quede así, pa que se pare duro, pa que el viento no le tumbe

9 Mot mé ka'jnó rila'kópiyá .
Morphèmes mé ka'jnó ri= la' -ka =o piyá
Glose lex. indf.manner dub 3sg.nf do ka.adv mid purp.neg

Libre de pronto que no le pase nada

10 Mot é kája nákei pikeño'ó awájne'é
Morphèmes é kája nákei pi= keño'ó awájne'é
Glose lex. then already uh 2sg begin stick

kulákana .
 kulá -kana
 search ev.nz1

Libre ahí ya comienza a buscar vara

11 Mot pijña'á awájne'é , wéji kéle painéko ,
Morphèmes pi= jña'á awájne'é wéji kéle painéko
Glose lex. 2sg take stick three med first

waphérénojé	i'maká	,	pá	pila'ká	ké	
waphéré -nojé	i'ma -ka		pá	pi= la' -ka	ké	
long	com2	cop	ka.cleft	look	2sg	do ka.nz like
ñópo'jloka	,	ñakétána	kája	pijña'ká		,
ñópo'jlo -ka		ñaké	kétána	kája	pi= jña' -ka	
big	com	dist.simil	during	already	2sg	pull_up ka.cleft
pha'páta	kémáchi	wejápája	reyá	,	apála	jre'lotó
pi= ja'pá -ta	kémáchi	wejápá =ja	ri= eyá		apála	***
2sg	pass	caus	a_little	***	lim	3sg.nf from maybe ***
ka'jno	,	pipitakálojé	palá	awájne'é		
ka'jno	pi=	pita -ká	lojé	palá	awájne'é	
dub	2sg	pile_up	ka.adv	purp3	good	stick

Libre coges varas, primero tres, largas, así de grande como de lo que usted va a hacer (la casa), así de largo usted coge, usted se pasa un poquito más largo de ahí, de pronto queda cortico (el palo), para colocar bien la vara

12 Mot	riká	piñapátaka	...
Morphèmes	ikhá	pi= ñapáta -ka	
Glose lex.	pro	2sg	finish ka.when

Libre terminas eso

13 Mot	pipitá	ka'jno	,	iná	wátakachú
Morphèmes	pi= pitá	ka'jno		iná	wáta -ka chú
Glose lex.	2sg	pile_up	dub	gnr.pro	want ka.adv cond

painéko	pipitá	a'waná	,	phiyúké	pipitaká	
painéko	pi= pitá	a'waná		phiyúké	pi= pita -ka	
first	2sg	pile_up	tree	all	2sg	pile_up ka.cleft
awájne'é	,	waphérénojé	,	meta'jlánojé	,	pá káru
awájne'é		waphéré -nojé		meta'jlá -nojé		pá káru
stick	long	com2	short	com2	look_out	plant_sp

meta'jlánojé	tá	kélé	káru	iná	epo'kálojé	
meta'jlá -nojé	tâ	kélé	káru	iná	epo' -ká lojé	
short	com2	emph1	med	plant_sp	gnr.pro	tie_up ka.adv purp3

rinakojé

ri=	naku	=eje
3sg.nf	on	until

Libre cargas, si uno quiere primero uno carga palo, cargas todos las varas, largas, cortas, por ejemplo, ese hoja de karaná cortico para amarrar en el (en el palo del armazón)

14 Mot	eyá	kája	,	piñapátaka	kéle	kajé	,
Morphèmes	eyá	kája		pi= ñapáta -ka	kéle	kájé	
Glose lex.	since_then	already	2sg	finish	ka.when	med	type

kélé	la'kaná	phiyúké	
kélé	la' -kaná	phiyúké	
med	do	ev.nz1	all

Libre de ahí ya, usted termina de hacer eso, terminar de hacer eso todo.

15 Mot	mérejé		ka'jnó	,	pajlúwata	kéri	ejená
Morphèmes	méré =eje		ka'jnó		pajlúwá -ta	kéri	ejená
Glose lex.	indf.loc	until	dub		one cls:flat	moon	until

ka'jnó , pila'á phiyúké , pá kachúwa iná
ka'jnó pi= la'á phiyúké pá kachúwa iná
dub 2sg do all look_out slowly gnr.pro

jápáka rináku , piku- , pijápáka chúwajá ka'jná
jápá -ka ri= náku *** pi= jápá -ka chúwajá ka'jná
work ka.cleft 3sg.nf on *** 2sg work *** today dub

rináku , muní ké pi'jné pijlúwa
ri= náku muní ké pi= i'jné pi= jlu =wa
3sg.nf on tomorrow like 2sg go 2sg for refl

kuláje , piyáni jló kuláje ka'jnó phiyúké
kulá jen pi= yáni jló kulá jen ka'jnó phiyúké
search purp.mot 2sg children for search purp.mot dub all

Libre hasta dónde será, de pronto un mes, lo hace todo, si uno lo trabaja despacio, si hoy lo trabajas al otro día te vas a rebuscar algo para ti para tus hijos, todo.

16 Mot	é	apakála	ké	ka'jná	pikeño'ó
Morphèmes	é	apakála	ké	ka'jná	pi= keño'ó
Glose lex.	then	after_tomorrow	like	dub	2sg begin

jápákaje , pajlúwata kéri ejená , iná jápá
jápá -kaje pajlúwá -ta kéri ejená iná jápá
work ev.nz2 one cls:flat moon until gnr.pro work

rináku , ñakaréji nakú , pá pila'kálojé ,
ri= náku ñakaré -ji nakú pá pi= la' -ká lojé
3sg.nf on house unposs on look 2sg do ka.adv purp3

pila'kálojé ... , nákei , ripána phiyúké ,
pi= la' -ká lojé nákei ri= pána phiyúké
2sg do ka.adv purp3 uh 3sg.nf leave all

eyá kája
eyá kája
since_then already

Libre de pronto pasado mañana comience a trabajar, hasta un mes, uno lo trabaja, en (la construcción de) la casa, para hacer todo el armazón, de ahí

17 Mot	pikeño'ó	,	kája	iná	we'í	,	kája
Morphèmes	pi= keño'ó		kája	iná	we'í		kája
Glose lex.	2sg begin		already	gnr.pro	know		already

piñapátaka riká , reyá kája , kája
pi= ñapáta -ka ri= ikhá ri= eyá kája kája
2sg finish ka.insub? 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf from already already

iná we'í iná jña'á karopíta ,
iná we'í iná jña'á ***
gnr.pro know gnr.pro take ***

Libre comienza, ya uno sabe que ya uno lo va a terminar, de ahí ya, ya uno sabe, uno coge ripa

18 Mot	piña'kálojé			káru	rinakojé		
Morphèmes	pi= ña' -ka	lojé		káru	ri= naku =eje		
Glose lex.	2sg weave	ka.adv	purp3	plant_sp	3sg.nf on	until	
pijña'á	karupíta	, mékelé	ka'jnó	, iyamá	, wéji	kéle	,
pi= jña'á	***	mékelé	ka'jnó	iyamá	wéji	kéle	
2sg take	***	indf.quant	dub	two	three	med	
pi'kaká		nákei	, pi'ká		riká		,
pi= i'ka	-ka	nákei	pi= i'ká		ikhá		
2sg knock_down	ka.cleft	uh	2sg knock_down		pro		
pijña'kálojé		nákei	, piña'kálojé			káru	
pi= jña' -ka	lojé	nákei	pi= ña' -ka	lojé		káru	
2sg take	ka.adv	purp3	uh	2sg weave	ka.adv	purp3	plant_sp
rinakojé							
ri= naku =eje							
3sg.nf on							

Libre para tejer hoja de karaná, usted coge ripa, cuánto será, dos o tres, lo tumba, usted lo tumba, para coger, para tejer hoja de karaná en (sobre) él (palo)

19 Mot	eyá	pha'pá	píño	, eyá	kája
Morphèmes	eyá	pi= ja'pá	píño	eyá	kája
Glose lex.	since_then	2sg pass	again	since_then	already
iná	keño'ó	, káru	matha'kána		
iná	keño'ó	káru	matha' -kána		
gnr.pro	begin	plant_sp	cut	ev.nz1	

Libre de ahí sigue (pasa), de ahí uno ya comienza, a cortar hoja de karaná

20 Mot	é	pijña'á	jrená	pamákalojé		
Morphèmes	é	pi= jña'á	ri= jená	pi= amá -ka	lojé	
Glose lex.	then	2sg take	3sg.nf hour	2sg see	ka.adv	purp3
mékétána(ká)	káru	i'jnajíká		rinakojé		,
***	káru	i'jna -jǐ	-ka	ri= naku =eje		
***	plant_sp	go fut	ka.nz	3sg.nf on	until	
mékétánanóka			iná	matha'ká	karupíta	
mé	kétána =nó	-ka	iná	matha' -ka	***	
indf.manner	during	hab	indf.sub	gnr.pro	cut	ka.nz

Libre uno lo mide para ver cuantas hojas de ese karu se va a gastar (ir) ahí, cómo de largo se va a cortar la ripa

21 Mot	é	kája	pimatha'á	káru	ka'jnó	,
Morphèmes	é	kája	pi= matha'á	káru	ka'jnó	
Glose lex.	then	already	2sg cut	plant_sp	dub	
mékelé	iyamá	jawakákana	, kája	pajlúwa	jawakákana	,
mékelé	iyamá	jawaká -kana	kája	pajlúwá	jawaká -kana	
indf.quant	two	pile	ev.nz1	already	one	pile
					ev.nz1	
jácho'ro		pa'ú	kéta	káru	, iyamá	
jácho' -ri	=o	pa'ú	ké -ta	káru	iyamá	
go_out	nf.ss	mid	four	med	cls:flat	plant_sp
					two	

jawakákana	jácho'ro	,	mékélé	ka'jnó	,	pa'ú
jawaká -kana	jácho' -ri	=o	mékélé	ka'jnó		pa'ú
pile	ev.nz1	go_out	nf.cleft	mid	indf.quant	dub

kéta	cháje	,	jácho'ro		káru	
ké -ta	cháje		jácho' -ri	=o	káru	
med	cls:flat	more_than	go_out	nf.cleft	mid	plant_sp

Libre ahí usted ya corta hoja será, cuánto será (de) dos montones, (de) un montón, salen cuatro paños, (de) dos montones sale, como que cuatro y más (paños), salen paños

22 Mot	iná	matha'á	káru	,	eyá	pimatha'á
Morphèmes	iná	matha'á	káru		eyá	pi= matha'á
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	cut	plant_sp		since_then	2sg cut

ka'jnó	por	uno	nákei
ka'jnó	***	***	nákei
dub	***	***	uh

Libre uno corta hoja de karaná, de ahí corta por ahí cuantos será

23 Mot	pajlúwata	kélé	ka'jnó	pimatha'á	,	(
Morphèmes	pajlúwá -ta	kélé	ka'jnó	pi= matha'á		
Glose lex.	one	cls:flat	med	dub	2sg	cut

ũkáchú	iná	wátala	)	,	kajú	inauké
unká chú	iná	wáta -la			kajú	inau'ké
neg	cond	gnr.pro	want	v.neg	much	person

i'makáchú

i'ma -ká	chú
cop	ka.adv
	cond

Libre o como 5 cortas, si uno no quiere o si hay mucha gente,

24 Mot	iná	awa'ó	ka'jnó	,	iná	pímá
Morphèmes	iná	awa' =ó	ka'jnó		iná	pi= ímá
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	close	mid	dub	gnr.pro	2sg say

najló	,	(	pi'ma	,	pijña'á	,	pijña'á	)	,	iná	wakáa'
na= jló			***		pi= jña'á		pi= jña'á			iná	wakáa'
3pl	for		***		2sg take		2sg take			gnr.pro	order

iná	yajálo	jña'ká	ka'jnó	kajíru	ka'jnó
iná	yajálo	jña' -ka	ka'jnó	kajírú	ka'jnó
gnr.pro	wife	take	ka.nz	dub	manioc
			dub		dub

Libre los que viven al lado de uno uno les dice, uno manda a la mujer de uno a coger yuca será

25 Mot	nákarí	é	kája	iná	kulá	kamejéri	,
Morphèmes	nákarí	é	kája	iná	kulá	kamejéri	
Glose lex.	uh	then	already	gnr.pro	search	animal	

iná	nó	kalojé
iná	nó -ka	lojé
gnr.pro	kill	ka.adv
		purp3

Libre ahí ya uno busca cacería, para uno matar

26 Mot	eyá	pha'pá	piño	,	pi'jná	náke	,
Morphèmes	eyá	pi= ja'pá	piño		pi= i'jná	náke	
Glose lex.	since_then	2sg pass	again		2sg go	uh	

piñapátaka kéle kajé la'kaná , é kája
 pi= ñapáta -ka kéle kájé la' -kaná é kája
 2sg finish ka.when med type do ev.nz1 then already

piyukupéra'a inauké
 pi= yukupéra'a inau'ké
 2sg invite person

Libre de ahí sigue otra vez, ya cuando usted ya termina de hacer todo eso, ya invita a la gente

27 Mot	na'kálojé		piñathé	,	iná	kémá
Morphèmes	na= a' -ka	lojé	pi= ñathé		iná	kémá
Glose lex.	3pl give ka.adv	purp3	2sg help		gnr.pro	say

najló mé ka'jné , iná wátakachú iná
 na= jló mé ka'jné iná wáchi -ka chú iná
 3pl for indf.manner dub gnr.pro want ka.adv cond gnr.pro

i'jná káru matha'jé ka'jné , eyá ũkáchú
 i'jná káru matha' jé ka'jné eyá unká chú
 go plant_sp cut purp.mot dub since_then neg cond

pimatha'lá ka'jné káru , paláni ra'jnená
 pi= matha' -lá ka'jné káru palá -ni ri= a'jnená
 2sg cut v.neg dub plant_sp good nf 3sg.nf food2

pihátakachú , ná ka'jné ná kamejéri ka'jné
 pi= iphá -ta -ka chú ná ka'jné ná kamejéri ka'jné
 2sg arrive caus ka.adv cond indf dub indf animal dub

ñópo'jlo kamejéri jéma káje ka'jné
 ñópo'jlo kamejéri jéma kájé ka'jné
 big animal tapir type dub

Libre pa que te ayuden, uno les dice cómo será, si uno quiere ir a cortar hoja de karaná, si usted no corta será hoja de karaná, si usted encuentra buen comida, ya sea cacería un animal grande, como danta

28 Mot	riká	pa'káchú		na'jné	,	patá
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	pi= a' -ka	chú	na= a'jné		patá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	2sg give ka.adv	cond	3pl food		good

pa'ká inauké na'jné , éjomi kája pímá
 pi= a' -ka inau'ké na= a'jné éjomi kája pi= ímá
 2sg give ka.when person 3pl food after already 2sg say

ne'jnakálojé pijló káru jñá'jé , é
 na= i'jna -ka lojé pi= jló káru jñá' -je é
 3pl go ka.adv purp3 2sg for plant_sp take purp.mot then

ne'jná káru matha'jé , namatha'á káru
 na= i'jné káru matha' jé na= matha'á káru
 3pl go plant_sp cut purp.mot 3pl cut plant_sp

Libre si usted le da de comer a ese (animal), si usted le da comida buena a la gente, de ahí

usted les dice pa que vayan a buscar hoja de karaná, y ellos van a cortar hoja de karaná, cortan hoja de karaná

29 Mot	najña'á	riká	, eyá	kája	nepháta
Morphèmes	na= jña'á	ikhá	eyá	kája	na= iphá -ta
Glose lex.	3pl take	pro	since_then	already	3pl arrive caus

pijló	, kája	ũká	iná	i'jnalá	matha'jé	,
pi= jló	kája	unká	iná	i'jna -lá	matha' jé	
2sg for	already	neg	gnr.pro	go v.neg	cut	purp.mot

ũkáchú	wejápaja (a'jné)	pa'káchú	na'jné	,
unká chú	wejápa a'jné	pi= a' -ka	chú na= a'jné	
neg cond	little	food	2sg give ka.adv cond	3pl food

kája	iná	ikhó	iná	matha'ká	káru
kája	iná	ikhá =o	iná	matha' -ka	káru
already	gnr.pro	2pl mid	gnr.pro	cut ka.cleft	plant_sp

Libre lo cogen y lo traen para usted, de ahí ya uno no va a cortar, si usted le da poquito comida uno va solito a cortar hoja de karaná

30 Mot	iná	yuí	riká	keña'lá	chojé
Morphèmes	iná	yuí	ri= ikhá	keña'lá	chojé
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	leave	3sg.nf pro	basket	towards_inside

Libre uno lo deja en el catarijano

31 Mot	kája	ne'jnakálojé	jranapéjé	éjomi	iná
Morphèmes	kája	na= i'jna -ka	lojé	***	éjomi
Glose lex.	already	3pl go ka.adv	purp3	***	after

yukupéra'a	inaukéna	ne'jnakálojé	káru
yukupéra'a	inau'ké -na	na= i'jna -ka	lojé káru
invite	person pl	3pl go ka.adv	purp3 plant_sp

jña'jé	píño
jña' jé	píño
take	purp.mot
	again

Libre ya para ellos ir a cargarlo, después uno invita a la gente para vayan otra vez a coger hoja de karaná

32 Mot	eyá	namatha'á	kélé
Morphèmes	eyá	na= matha'á	kélé
Glose lex.	since_then	3pl cut	med

Libre de ahí cortan eso,

33 Mot	(pajl)	najña'ká	éjéja	nayuí	iná
Morphèmes	***	na= jña' -ka	=eje =ja	na= yuí	iná
Glose lex.	***	3pl take ka.nz	until lim	3pl leave	gnr.pro

jló	, é	kája	riká	iná	ñapáta	, (	iná	ñaké
jló	é	kája	ikhá	iná	ñapáta		iná	ñaké
for	then	already	pro	gnr.pro	finish		gnr.pro	dist.simil

iná)	éjomi	iná	epo'ó	.
***	éjomi	iná	jepo'ó	
***	after	gnr.pro	tie_up	

Libre ellos lo cogen, hasta ahí lo dejan para uno, y eso uno ya termina, de ahí ya uno lo amarra (para techar la casa)

34 Mot	yuriyú	,	yuriyú	aú	ka'jná	iná	jepo'ó	riká
Morphèmes	yuriyú		yuriyú	aú	ka'jná	iná	jepo'ó	ikhá
Glose lex.	trunk		trunk	because	dub	gnr.pro	tie_up	pro

Libre ya sea con un bejuco de yaré, uno lo amarra

35 Mot	o	si	no	,	kélé	kariwana		le'jé	puntilla
Morphèmes	o	***	no		kélé	kariwa	-na	le'jé	***
Glose lex.	***	***	spa		med	white_person	pl	poss	***

aú	ka'jná	iná	iphá	riká	,	piwátaka		kéja
aú	ka'jná	iná	iphá	ikhá		pi= wáta	-ka	ké =ja
with	dub	gnr.pro	arrive	pro		2sg want	ka.nz	like lim

pila'ká		riká
pi= la' -ka		ikhá
2sg do	ka.cleft	pro

Libre sino con esta puntilla de los blancos, uno lo clava, como usted quiera lo puede hacer

36 Mot	kája		piphákáchú		pepo'ká	
Morphèmes	kája	pi=	iphá	-ka	chú	pi= jepo' -ka
Glose lex.	already	2sg	arrive	ka.adv	cond	2sg tie_up ka.when

ka'jná	riká	,	é	kája	iná	ñapátakachú		,
ka'jná	ri=	ikhá	é	kája	iná	ñapáta -ka	chú	
dub	3sg.nf	pro	then	already	gnr.pro	finish ka.adv	cond	

kája	listo	phiyúké	káru	i'makáchú	,	é	kája
kája	***	phiyúké	káru	i'ma -ka	chú	é	kája
already	***	all	plant_sp	cop ka.adv	cond	then	already

iná	ñapátaka	,	kája	iná	yurí	iná	ñakaré
iná	ñapáta -ka		kája	iná	yuí	iná	ñakaré
gnr.pro	finish ka.when		already	gnr.pro	leave	gnr.pro	house

patá
patá
good

Libre si ya lo clavó, o si usted lo amarró, si uno ya lo termina, si está todo la hoja de karaná, listo, uno ya lo termina, ahí ya uno deja la casa de uno bien

37 Mot	eyá		kája	kélé	piñapátakachú		,
Morphèmes	eyá		kája	kélé	pi= ñapáta -ka	chú	
Glose lex.	since_then		already	med	2sg finish ka.adv	cond	

kája	piña'á	jéña	,	ũkáchú	kélé	(karí-	,	ké-	tabla
kája	pi= ña'á	***		unká	chú	***		***	***
already	2sg hit	***		neg	cond	med		***	***

nemakáchú		i'malá		, ũkáchú		ri'malá		,		
na=	ima	-ka	chú	i'ma	-lá	unká	chú	ri=	i'ma	-lá
3pl	say	ka.adv	cond	cop	v.neg	neg	cond	3sg.nf	tell	v.neg
kája	jéña	nakiyána	iná	la'á	iná	ñakaró				
kája	***	nakiyána	iná	la'á	iná	ñakaré	=o			
already	***	between	gnr.pro	do	gnr.pro	house	mid			

Libre de ahí ya si usted lo terminó, ya pica esa bombona, si no hay esa tabla si ellos dicen (VIMY: debería ser 'que ellos dicen' nemakáre nakú tabla (lo que ellos dicen tabla'))

38 Mot	jéña	piña'á		, pijña'á	a'waná		, (ka-	) karupíta
Morphèmes	***	pi=	ña'á	pi=	jña'á	a'waná	***	***
Glose lex.	***	2sg	hit	2sg	take	tree	***	***

, karupítaja		, kája	iná	jña'á	náke	, ũká	malakála	,
karupíta	=ja	kája	iná	jña'á	náke	unká	***	
***	lim	already	gnr.pro	take	uh	neg	***	

malakála	ka'jnó	pijña'á		, ũkáchú	nákeí	, jéña	káje
***	ka'jnó	pi=	jña'á	unká	chú	nákei	***
***	dub	2sg	take	neg	cond	uh	***
							type

i'malá		pito'takalojé		, malakála	nakú			
i'ma	-lá	pi=	to'	-ta	-ka	lojé	***	nakú
cop	v.neg	2sg	lie	caus	ka.adv	purp3	***	on

Libre juetea la bombona, coge palo, ripa, ripa, ya uno coge, no; es mata de asaí (malakála), usted coge ya sea palo de asaí, si no hay bombona, para acostarlo encima del palo de asaí

39 Mot	nákeí	jéña	kájé	pá	piña'kálojé		,	
Morphèmes	nákei	***	kájé	pá	pi=	ña'	-ka	lojé
Glose lex.	uh	***	type	look_out	2sg	weave	ka.adv	purp3

raúja		kája	iná	la'á	ukaphú	iná	jlúwa		
ri=	aú	=ja	kája	iná	la'á	***	iná	jlú	=wa
3sg.nf	cause	lim	already	gnr.pro	do	***	gnr.pro	for	refl

Libre como bombona para usted picar, con ese mismo uno hace pieza para uno

40 Mot	raúja		kája	pila'á	nákarí	pila'á			
Morphèmes	ri=	aú	=ja	kája	pi=	la'á	nákarí	pi=	la'á
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	***	lim	already	2sg	do	uh	2sg	do

phiyúkéja
phiyúké =ja
all lim

Libre con eso mismo usted hace, usted hace todo,

41 Mot	rikáñánija		riká	, phiyúkéja	iná	i'má	...	
Morphèmes	ikhá	=ñáni	=ja	ikhá	phiyúké	=ja	iná	i'ma
Glose lex.	pro	dím	lim	pro	all	lim	gnr.pro	live

iná	la'á	kája	iná	ñakaré	ñapákalojé		, kája	
iná	la'á	kája	iná	ñakaré	ñapá	-ka	lojé	kája
gnr.pro	do	already	gnr.pro	house	form	ka.adv	purp3	already

patá	wáni	iná	wátaka	ké
patá	wáni	iná	wáta -ka	ké
good	emph	gnr.pro	want ka.nz	like

Libre esito no más, todos viven (VIMY: no se sabe qué él quería decir). ya uno hace para que la casa ya esté hecha ya muy bien así como uno lo quiere

42 Mot	é	kája	pha'pá	richojé
Morphèmes	é	kája	pi= ja'pá	ri= chojé
Glose lex.	then	already	2sg pass	3sg.nf towards_inside

Libre ahí ya usted se pasa a la casa

43 Mot	kája	iná	i'makálojé	ríchu	phiyúké
Morphèmes	kája	iná	i'ma -ka lojé	rí= chu	phiyúké
Glose lex.	already	gnr.pro	cop ka.adv purp3	3sg.nf in	all

piyáni	jwa'té
pi= yáni	jwa'té
2sg children	with

Libre ya para uno vivir ahí con todos los hijos

44 Mot	ejenája	, ñakaréji	yukúna	tajno	,
Morphèmes	ejená =ja	ñakaré -ji	yukú -ná	tajná =o	
Glose lex.	until lim	house unposs	story alien3	finish mid	

iná	la'karé	, hasta	ahí.
iná	la' -karé	hasta	***
gnr.pro	do arg.nz1	spa	***

Libre hasta ahí, la historia de la casa se termina, lo que uno hizo, hasta ahí.

ycn0129

1 Mot	inau'ké	jewíña'ko			atírí	penáje
Morphèmes	inau'ké	jewíña'	-ka	=o	atírí	penáje
Glose lex.	person	become	ka.nz	mid	animal_sp	for

yukúná marí
yukú -ná marí
story alien3 prox

Libre esta es la historia de una persona que se transformó en cocunuco

2 Mot	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'michari		riyajálo	jwa'té
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -cha -ri		ri= yajálo	jwa'té
Glose lex.	one	person	cop pst nf.cleft		3sg.nf wife	with

pa'ú kéle riyáni i'micháka pajlúwájaru
pa'ú kéle ri= yáni i'mi -chá -ka pajlúwá -ja -ru
four med 3sg.nf children cop pst ka.cleft one cls:hum f

rítu i'micháyo
ri= ítu i'mi -chá -yo
3sg.nf daughter go pst f.cleft

Libre esa persona vivía con su esposa, tenía cuatro hijos y una hija

3 Mot	é	ne'michá	júpíja
Morphèmes	é	na= i'mi -chá	júpi =ja
Glose lex.	then	3pl cop pst	long_time lim

Libre vivieron mucho tiempo

4 Mot	kája	wája	ritakhi'chá	i'michaka
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	ri= takhi' -chá	i'mi -cha -ka
Glose lex.	already	emph lim	3sg.nf die pst	far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre y después él se murió

5 Mot	júpichami	riñakámi	iphíchaka
Morphèmes	júpichami	ri= ñaká =mi	iphí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	long_time	3sg.nf reflection nom.pfv	arrive pst ka.cleft

riyajálo nakú
ri= yajálo nakú
3sg.nf wife on

Libre con el tiempo apareció el espanto de el y llegó a donde su mujer

6 Mot	ripháchiyanó		rojló	kajú	jeína
Morphèmes	ri= iphá -chi -ya =nó		ru= jló	kajú	jeí -na
Glose lex.	3sg.nf arrive caus pst hab		3sg.f for	much	snake pl

Libre el le traía a ella muchas culebras

7 Mot	riká		rakúwa'chiya			kawayá	nakoje
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ri=	akúwa'chi	-ya	kawayá	nakú =eje
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	hang	pst	deer	on until

Libre eso el lo colgaba en el trípode

8 Mot	é	rímicha		rojlo		"	pimoto'ó	kélé	
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	ru=	jló	pi=	moto'ó	kélé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	3sg.f	for	2sg	cook	med

yuwaná jló , najñákáloje
 yuwaná jló na= ajñá -ká loje
 kids for 3pl eat ka.adv purp3

Libre y el le dijo "cocina eso para los niños" "para comer"

9 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	rúmicha
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.f say pst

Libre

10 Mot	é	kája	romoto'chá		neká	kétána	
Morphèmes	é	kája	ru=	motho'	-chá	na= ikhá	kétána
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.f	cook	pst	3pl pro	during

rikamáchiyako ají-
 ri= kamáchi -ya -ka =o ***
 3sg.nf sleep pst ka.nz mid ***

Libre ella las cocinó mientras el estaba durmiendo

11 Mot	piñapátajika		riká	é	papóta				
Morphèmes	pi=	ñapáta	-jĩ	-ka	ikhá	é	pi=	apó	-ta
Glose lex.	2sg	finish	fut	ka.nz	pro	in	2sg	wake_up	caus

nuká ké rímichaka nupa'kóloje
 nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka nu= pa' -ka =o loje
 1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 1sg return ka.adv mid purp3

Libre "cuando termines de cocinarlo me levantas" dijo el, "para regresarme"

12 Mot	jé	ké	rúmichaka
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "bueno" dijo ella

13 Mot	é	kája	runáicha		jeíná		
Morphèmes	é	kája	ru=	náĩ	-cha	jeĩ	-ná
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	prepare_fish	pst	snake	pl	

romoto'chá neká
 ru= motho' -chá na= ikhá
 3sg.f cook pst 3pl pro

Libre y ella estaba preparando las culebras y las cocinó

14 Mot réjomi
Morphèmes ri= éjomi
Glose lex. 3sg.nf after

Libre después

15 Mot ruñapáchiyaka é rúmicha rijló
Morphèmes ru= ñapáchi -ya -ka é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.f finish pst ka.nz in 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for

kája tá chúwa pipa'ó
kája tâ chúwa pi= pa' =ó
already emph1 now 2sg return mid

Libre cuando ella terminó de cocinar ella le dijo "ahora vete"

16 Mot jé ké é kája ripi'chó
Morphèmes jé ké é kája ri= pi' -cha =ó
Glose lex. good like then 3sg.nf return pst mid

Libre "bueno" y se fue

17 Mot muní ké ñaké kája
Morphèmes muní ké ñaké kája
Glose lex. next_day dist.simil emph?

Libre al otro día igual

18 Mot lapí riphícha é
Morphèmes lapí ri= ipha -cha é
Glose lex. night 3sg.nf arrive pst then

riphíchakaé rímicha
ri= iphí -cha -ka é ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf arrive pst ka.nz in 3sg.nf say pst

Libre el llegó en la noche, y cuando llegó el dijo:

19 Mot " tun tun tun" ké rímicha
Morphèmes *** *** *** ké ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. *** *** *** like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre el dijo "tun tun tun"

20 Mot ké rúmicha " kai kai kai " , ke
Morphèmes ké ru= ímí -cha *** *** *** ké
Glose lex. like 3sg.f say pst *** *** *** like

rúmicha
ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst

Libre y ella dijo "kai kai kai"

21 Mot ke ri- , ñakéja kája
Morphèmes ké *** ñaké =ja kája
Glose lex. like *** dist.simil lim already

ripháchiyaka jeíñá kajú
 ri= iphá -chi -ya -ka jeí -ná kajú
 3sg.nf arrive caus pst ka.cleft snake pl much

Libre lo mismo el traje, muchas culebras

22 Mot é ra- riphícha penáje
Morphèmes é *** ri= ipha -cha penáje
Glose lex. then *** 3sg.nf arrive pst for

rakúwachiya neká kawayá nakoje
 ri= akúwa' -chi -ya na= ikhá kawayá nakú =eje
 3sg.nf hang caus pst 3pl pro deer on until

Libre el llegó y las colgó en el trípode

23 Mot é rímicha chúwa tá pináni
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha chúwa tâ pi= náni
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst now emph1 2sg prepare_fish

kélé jeíñá yuwaná jló ké rímichaka
 kélé jeí -ná yuwa -ná jló ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 med snake pl unripe pl for like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

najñákáloje

na= ajñá -ká loje
 3pl eat ka.adv purp3

Libre ahora si prepare esas culebras para los niños, dijo él, para que coman

24 Mot jé ké
Morphèmes jé ké
Glose lex. good like

Libre bueno

25 Mot runáichaka riká kétána
Morphèmes ru= náí -cha -ka ikhá kétána
Glose lex. 3sg.f *** pst *** pro during

rikamáchiyako

ri= kamáchi -ya -ka =o
 3sg.nf sleep pst *** mid

Libre mientras ella preparaba eso el estaba durmiendo

26 Mot é kája romoto'chá jeíña
Morphèmes é kája ru= motho' -chá jeí -na
Glose lex. then 3sg.f cook pst snake pl

ruka'chiya na'phá patá naphina
 ru= ka' -chi -ya na= a'phá patá na= aphina
 3sg.f throw_out caus pst 3pl residue good 3pl ***

ne'yayá riká rukelo'chá najló pǎ
 na= e'yá =yá ri= ikhá ru= kelo' -chá na= jló pǎ
 3pl in abl 3sg.nf pro 3sg.f thicken pst 3pl for look

ya'kána	iná	kelo'ká	ké
ya'ká	-na	iná	kelo' -ká
shrimp	pl	gnr.pro	thicken ka.nz
			like

Libre y ella cocinó las culebras y botó bien el bagazo y los huesos de ahí, e hizo colada para ellos como uno hacer colada de camarón

27 Mot	riká	ruñapáchiyaka	é	rúmicha
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ru= ñapáchi	-ya -ka
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.f finish	pst ka.nz
			in	3sg.f say pst
"	kája	tá	nuñapáchiya	rimoto'kána
	kája	tâ	nu= ñapáchi	-ya ri= motho' -kána
	already	emph1	1sg finish	pst 3sg.nf cook ev.nz1

Libre ella terminó y dijo "ya terminé de cocinarlo"

28 Mot	jé	ké	kája	ikája
Morphèmes	jé	ké	kája	ikája
Glose lex.	good	like	already	then

ripi'chako				muní	ke	ñaké	kája
ri=	pi'	-cha	-ka	=o	muní	ké	ñaké
3sg.nf	return	pst	ka.topic	mid	tomorrow	like	dist.simil
							emph?

riphíchaka			
ri=	iphí	-cha	-ka
3sg.nf	arrive	pst	ka.cleft

Libre bueno, y así él se regresó. al otro día lo mismo el llegó

29 Mot	lapí	kewá	riphíchano
Morphèmes	lapí	kewá	ri= iphí -cha =no
Glose lex.	night	each	3sg.nf arrive pst hab

Libre cada noche el llegaba

30 Mot	é	romotho'chá	keñá	pu'méni
Morphèmes	é	ru= motho'	-chá	keñá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f cook	pst	sauce_name
				sweet nf

rijló	riká	ro'chano	rinúma
ri=	jló	ri= ikhá	ru= a' -chá =no
3sg.nf	for	3sg.nf pro	3sg.f give pst hab
			3sg.nf mouth

riphíchakewá			
ri=	iphí	-cha	-ka =ewá
3sg.nf	arrive	pst	ka.nz around

Libre ella cocinó manicuera bien dulce para darle de tomar a él cada vez que el llegaba

31 Mot	kája	wája
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja
Glose lex.	already	emph lim

Libre entonces

32 Mot	é	pajlúwá	yuwajĩñáni		i'jíchá	ejo'jé
Morphèmes	é	pajlúwá	yuwají	=ñáni	i'jĩ -chá	ejo' -je
Glose lex.	then	one	young_man	dim	go pst	shit purp.mot

é ri'wá i'chó
 é ri= i'wá i'chá =o
 then 3sg.nf anus block mid

Libre un niño fue a hacer caca y su culo se tapó

33 Mot	é	rímicha		náje	ka'jná	nu'wá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		náje	ka'jná	nu= i'wá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		indf.reason	dub	1sg anus

i'chó ké rímíchaka ratáĩ'chajlá
 i'chá =o ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= atáĩ' -cha jlá
 block mid like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf try pst frustr
 rejo'ká unká méla'jé
 ri= ejo' -ká unká méla'jé
 3sg.nf shit ka.nz neg indf.manner

Libre y el dijo "por qué se tapó mi culo?" así dijo, el intentaba hacer caca pero no podía

34 Mot	é	apú	re'wé		i'jíchá
Morphèmes	é	apú	ri= e'wé		i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	then	other	3sg.nf brother		go pst

yaká'jo rímícha nomáchí
 yakáa' -je =o ri= ímí -cha nu= amá -chí
 see purp.mot mid 3sg.nf say pst 1sg see purp2
 nájeká pi'wá ira'ó
 náje -ka pi= i'wá ira' =ó
 indf.reason indf.sub 2sg anus *** mid

Libre y el otro hermano fue a mirar y le dijo voy a ver por qué se tapó tu culo

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1 Mot	é	nákei
Morphèmes	é	nákei
Glose lex.	then	uh

Libre

2 Mot	inauké	i'michá
Morphèmes	inau'ké	i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	person	cop pst

Libre había gente

3 Mot	ne'michá	pají	chú	ne'michá
Morphèmes	na= i'mi -chá	pají	chú	na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	3pl *** pst	maloca	in	3pl cop pst

Libre vivían en una maloca

4 Mot	pají	chú	ne'michá	painéko	, nañakaré
Morphèmes	pají	chú	na= i'mi -chá	painéko	na= ñakaré
Glose lex.	maloca	in	3pl cop pst	first	3pl house

i'michá	jupichúmi
i'mi -chá	jupichúmi
cop pst	old

Libre ellos vivían en la primera maloca, la casa estaba vieja

5 Mot	chú	ne'michá
Morphèmes	chú	na= i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	in	3pl cop pst

Libre ahí vivían

6 Mot	ne'michá	ríchu
Morphèmes	na= i'mi -chá	rí= chu
Glose lex.	3pl cop pst	3sg.nf in

Libre vivían ahí dentro

7 Mot	kája	júpi	mékeléka	é	kája
Morphèmes	kája	júpi	mékélé -ka	é	kája
Glose lex.	already	long_time	indf.quant	indf.sub	then already

rikeño'chá	patákakajo
ri= keño' -chá	patáka -kaje =o
3sg.nf begin pst	rot ev.nz2 mid

Libre llevaba mucho tiempo, y comenzó a pudrirse

8 Mot	rikeño'chá	patákakajo	kája
Morphèmes	ri= keño' -chá	patáka -kaje =o	kája
Glose lex.	3sg.nf begin pst	rot ev.nz2 mid	already

Libre comenzó a pudrirse ya

9 Mot	kája , kája	phíyu'ke	pají	i'micháka
Morphèmes	kája kája	phíyu'ke	pají	i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex.	already already	old	maloca	cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ya la maloca ya estaba muy vieja

10 Mot	é rímicha	kája
Morphèmes	é ri= ímí -cha	kája
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf say pst	already

Libre y él dijo

11 Mot	máarejé	nuwe'pí	wajlúwa	i'maká
Morphèmes	máare =eje	nu= we'pí	wa= jló =wa	i'ma -ka
Glose lex.	prox.loc until	1sg know	1pl for refl	far.pst ka.pst

unká paála

unká paá -la

neg bien.neg v.neg

Libre hasta aquí yo pensé para nosotros muy mal

12 Mot	kája wephá	jwená	chojé
Morphèmes	kája wa= iphá	wa= jená	chojé
Glose lex.	already 1pl arrive	1pl hour	towards_inside

Libre ya estamos en el tiempo

13 Mot	chúwaká	chúwaká	we'jnajíke
Morphèmes	chúwa ká	chúwa ká	wa= i'jna -jĩ -ka
Glose lex.	now emph?	now emph?	1pl go fut ka.cleft

nákei

nákei

uh

Libre ahora, ahora nos vamos

14 Mot	wala'jíke	wañakaró	ké
Morphèmes	wa= la' -jĩ -ka	wa= ñakaré =o	ké
Glose lex.	1pl do fut ka.topic	1pl house mid	like

rímíchaka

ri= ímí -cha -ka

3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre vamos a hacer nuestra casa él dijo

15 Mot	jé ké	némicha	é	ne'jíchá
Morphèmes	jé ké	na= ímí -cha	é	na= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	good like	3pl say pst	then	3pl go pst

Libre ellos dijeron bueno y se fueron

16 Mot	ne'kichá		a'waná
Morphèmes	na= i'ki	-chá	a'waná
Glose lex.	3pl	knock_down	pst tree

Libre tumbaron palo

17 Mot	naki'chá		rapukúna	,	phiyúké
Morphèmes	na= ki'	-chá	ri= apukúna		phiyúké
Glose lex.	3pl	throw_out	pst 3sg.nf	place	all

naki'cháka		rapukúna	palá
na= ki'	-chá -ka	ri= apukúna	palá
3pl	clean pst	ka.cleft 3sg.nf	place good

Libre limpiaron el lugar todo, limpiaron bien limpio

18 Mot	(???) lo	dejaron	limpio	,	nali'chá	apú
Morphèmes	lo	***	***		na= li'	-chá apú
Glose lex.	the	***	***		3pl do	pst other

Libre lo dejaron limpio e hicieron otro

19 Mot	é	nákei	rímícha		é	nali'chá
Morphèmes	é	nákei	ri= ímí -cha		é	na= li' -chá
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf say	pst	then	3pl do pst

pají	,	kajúni	nali'chá	pají
pají		kajú -ni	na= li' -chá	pají
maloca		much nf	3pl do	pst maloca

Libre él dijo, hicieron maloca, hicieron grande maloca

20 Mot	nali'chá		nákei	kajúni	ñópo'jlo
Morphèmes	na= li'	-chá	nákei	kajú -ni	ñópo'jlo
Glose lex.	3pl	do	pst uh	much nf	big

Libre hicieron muy grande

21 Mot	nañapáchiya		riká	,	phiyúké
Morphèmes	na= ñapáchi	-ya	ri= ikhá		phiyúké
Glose lex.	3pl	finish	pst 3sg.nf	pro	all

nañapáchiya
na= ñapáchi -ya
3pl finish pst

Libre terminaron de hacerlo todo

22 Mot	ne'jichá		nañapáchiya		riká	é
Morphèmes	na= i'jĩ	-chá	na= ñapáchi	-ya	ri= ikhá	é
Glose lex.	3pl	go	pst 3pl	finish	pst 3sg.nf	pro then

rímícha	chúwaká
ri= ímí -cha	chúwa ká
3sg.nf say pst	now emph?

Libre se fueron, lo terminaron, él dijo ahora

23 Mot	chúwaká	wanúka'jiko					
Morphèmes	chúwa ká	wa= anúka'	-jĩ	-ka	=o		
Glose lex.	now emph?	1pl move	fut	ka.cleft	mid		

richojé , jé
 ri= chojé jé
 3sg.nf towards_inside good

Libre y ahora vamos a trastearnos, bueno

24 Mot	réjéna	, kajú	rile'jé	familia
Morphèmes	ri= éjéna	kajú	ri= le'jé	familia
Glose lex.	3sg.nf siblings	much	3sg.nf poss	spa

Libre tenía mucha familia, su familia

25 Mot	nanúki'cho	phiyúké	é	kája	kélé
Morphèmes	na= anúki' -cha	=o phiyúké	é	kája	kélé
Glose lex.	3pl *** pst mid	all	then	already	med

yuícho
 yuí -cha =o
 stay pst mid

Libre ahí se trastearon todos y ahí ya quedó esa (la maloca)

26 Mot	pají	yuícho	rikó
Morphèmes	pají	yuí -cha	=o ri= ikhá =ó
Glose lex.	maloca	stay pst mid	3sg.nf pro mid

Libre esa maloca quedó sola

27 Mot	kája	puwa'reni	ri'micháka	, riká
Morphèmes	kája	pu'waré -ni	ri= i'mi -chá -ka	ikhá
Glose lex.	already	ugly nf	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft	pro

yuícharo
 yuí -cha -ri =o
 stay pst nf.cleft mid

Libre ya estaba fea, eso que quedó

28 Mot	é	rímícha	nákei	, kája	we'jné
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	nákei	kája	wa= i'jné
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	uh	already	1pl go

máayá ké rímíchaka kája wañakaré kája
 máa eyá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka kája wa= ñakaré kája
 here from like 3sg.nf say pst *** already 1pl house already

ré ne'michá a'jnéñojó
 ri= é na= i'mi -chá ***
 3sg.nf in 3pl *** pst ***

Libre él dijo ya nos fuimos de acá, ya tenemos otra casa, y ya vivían ahí

29 Mot	é	kája	ajúpána	... walijímákana	,
Morphèmes	é	kája	ajúpána	walijímáka -na	
Glose lex.	then	already	other.pl	teenager pl	

ne'michá	,	némícha		we'jǐchá		kamejéri	nóje
na= i'mi -chá		na= ímí -cha		wa= i'jǐ -chá		kamejéri	nó -je
3pl cop pst		3pl say pst		1pl go pst		animal	kill purp.mot

Libre otros jóvenes vivían, y dijeron vamos de cacería

30 Mot	é	ne'jǐchá		kamejéri	nóje
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jǐ -chá		kamejéri	nó -je
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst		animal	kill purp.mot

Libre se fueron a matar animales

31 Mot	ne'jǐchá	náke	eja'wá	e'yowá
Morphèmes	na= i'jǐ -chá	náke	eja'wá	e'yá ewá
Glose lex.	3pl go pst	uh	forest	in around

Libre se fueron por el monte

32 Mot	kája	apú	ja'pícha	jemi'chári
Morphèmes	kája	apú	ja'pí -cha	jemi' -chá -ri
Glose lex.	already	other	pass pst	listen pst nf.ss

Libre otro se fue de largo y él escuchó

33 Mot	jra'pícha	rewá	rímícha
Morphèmes	ri= ja'pí -cha	ri= ewá	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pass pst	3sg.nf around	3sg.nf say pst

rijló
ri= jló
3sg.nf for

Libre él pasó por ahí, le dijo

34 Mot	ké	rúmícha	ná(ke)	ké	rúmíchaka
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha	***	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst	***	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

á'a , rúmícha ná
á'a ru= ímí -cha ná
yes 3sg.f say pst indf

Libre ella dijo qué, ella dijo sí

35 Mot	nuká	i'jǐchári	chúwaká	náke
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	i'jǐ -chá -ri	chúwa ká	náke
Glose lex.	1sg pro	go pst nf.cleft	now emph?	uh

chuchú jwa'té ké rúmícha
chuchú jwa'té ké ru= ímí -cha
grandparent with like 3sg.f say pst

Libre yo me voy ahora con mi abuela, ella dijo

36 Mot	chuchú	jwa'té	nákarí
Morphèmes	chuchú	jwa'té	nákarí
Glose lex.	grandparent	with	uh

Libre con mi abuela

37 Mot wañakarémi éjé ké rúmíchaka
Morphèmes wa= ñakaré =mi =eje ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. 1pl house nom.pfv until like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

, pajími éjé ké rúmícha
 pají =mi =eje ké ru= ímí -cha
 maloca nom.pfv until like 3sg.f say pst

Libre a donde la casa abandonada, la maloca abandonada, dijo ella

38 Mot jé é ru'jíchá " i'jné chuchú " ké
Morphèmes jé é ru= i'jĩ -chá i'jné chuchú ké
Glose lex. good then 3sg.f go pst go grandparent like

rúmícha " i'jné "
 ru= ímí -cha i'jné
 3sg.f say pst go

Libre bueno, ella se fue, vamos abuela ella dijo, vamos

39 Mot " wajĩcháchi phirí "
Morphèmes wa= jĩ' -chá -chi phirí
Glose lex. 1pl take prs purp2 shrub

Libre vamos a coger achiote

40 Mot " phirí "
Morphèmes phirí
Glose lex. shrub

Libre achiote

41 Mot " phirí piná "
Morphèmes phirí ***
Glose lex. shrub ***

Libre

42 Mot el se llama phirí , pintao , mire este , ella ,
Morphèmes *** *** *** phirí *** *** *** ella
Glose lex. *** *** *** shrub *** *** *** she

ella cogió
 ella ***
 she ***

Libre

43 Mot é ru'jíchá rijñá'jé
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá ri= jñá' -je
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst 3sg.nf take purp.mot

Libre ella fue a cogerlo

44 Mot júpimi ne'má pheñawilá , wachiná
Morphèmes júpi =mi na= i'má pheñawilá wa= chí'ná
Glose lex. long_time pfv 3pl cop ancestor 1pl parents

i'maká júpimi
i'ma -ká júpi =mi
cop ka.insub? long_time pfv

Libre antiguamente los viejos, nuestros padres,

45 Mot antigua , júpimi
Morphèmes *** júpi =mi
Glose lex. *** long_time pfv

Libre antiguamente

46 Mot neká ... phirí najña'khé , riká
Morphèmes na= ikhá phirí na= jña' -khé ri= ikhá
Glose lex. 3pl pro shrub 3pl take far.pst 3sg.nf pro

na'khé najimá chuwá
na= a' -khé na= jimá chu =ewá
3pl give far.pst 3pl face in around

Libre ellos cogían achiote y eso ellos lo untaban en la cara

47 Mot ima'ní nókapiyá neká , (ná'a)
Morphèmes ima' -ní nó -ka piyá na= ikhá ***
Glose lex. hot nf kill ka.adv purp.neg 3pl pro ***

riká aú ru'jíchá rijña'jé
ri= ikhá aú ru= i'jī -chá ri= jña' -je
3sg.nf pro cause 3sg.f go pst 3sg.nf take purp.mot

Libre para no quemarse con el calor (la cara), por eso ella se fue a buscarlo

48 Mot é ré ruphícha rijña'jé
Morphèmes é ré ru= ipha -cha ri= jña' -je
Glose lex. then then 3sg.f arrive pst 3sg.nf take purp.mot

Libre ella llegó a recogerlo

49 Mot é rúmícha nákei
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha nákei
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst uh

Libre

50 Mot rúmícha las cinco ruphíchaka
Morphèmes ru= ímí -cha las *** ru= iphí -cha -ka
Glose lex. 3sg.f say pst spa *** 3sg.f arrive pst ka.cleft

Libre ella dijo, ello llegó a las cinco

51 Mot wajló iná kémá rináku pa'ú kélé
Morphèmes wa= jló iná kémá ri= náku pa'ú kélé
Glose lex. 1pl for gnr.pro say 3sg.nf on four med

Libre para nosotros uno dice las cuatro

52 Mot pa'ú kélé kamú é ruphícha
Morphèmes pa'ú kélé kamú é ru= ipha -cha
Glose lex. four med sun in 3sg.f arrive pst

Libre ella llegó a las 4

53 Mot	nephícha		réjo		é	rúmícha
Morphèmes	na= ipha -cha		ri= ejo		é	ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	3pl arrive pst		3sg.nf towards		then	3sg.f say pst

náke

náke
uh

Libre llegó allá y ella dijo,

54 Mot	chuchú	ké	rúmíchaka		máare
Morphèmes	chuchú	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		máare
Glose lex.	grandparent	like	3sg.f say pst	ka.cleft	prox.loc

piwáta nuká
pi= wáchi nu= ikhá
2sg wait 1sg pro

Libre ella dijo abuela espéreme acá

55 Mot	piwáta	nuká	ké	rúmichaka	
Morphèmes	pi= wáchi	nuká	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.	2sg wait	***	like	3sg.f say pst	***

nu'jícháka náke
nu= i'jī -chá -ka náke
1sg go pst ka.topic uh

Libre espérame ella dijo, yo me voy

56 Mot	táapha	jñá'jé	kája	ru'jíchá
Morphèmes	***	jñá' -je	kája	ru= i'jī -chá
Glose lex.	***	take purp.mot	already	3sg.f go pst

Libre ella se fue a coger cascara de palo seco

57 Mot	ruyámejo	jiñátá	iphícha	jiñáaa ,
Morphèmes	ru= yámejo	jiñá tâ	iphí -cha	***
Glose lex.	3sg.f ***	devil emph1	arrive pst	***

ruphíchatá jiñátá iphícha runáku
ru= iphí -cha tâ jiñá tâ iphí -cha ru= náku
3sg.f arrive pst emph1 devil emph1 arrive pst 3sg.f on

Libre mientras que ella se fue se apareció el espaaanto, ella llegó, el espanto llegó donde ella

58 Mot	ruphíchatá		runáku	, ru'jíchá
Morphèmes	ru= iphí -cha tâ		ru= náku	ru= jī' -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.f arrive pst emph1		3sg.f on	3sg.f take pst

tá a'waná , ru'kachíyatá jruwilá
tâ a'waná ru= i'kachí -ya tâ ru= jwilá
emph1 tree 3sg.f hit pst emph1 3sg.f hair

Libre ella llegó donde ella y ella cogió palo con eso ella la garroteó

59 Mot ru'kachíyatá jruwilá é
Morphèmes ru= i'kachí -ya tâ ru= jwilá é
Glose lex. 3sg.f hit pst emph1 3sg.f hair then

ronóchatá é ropíro'chátá
ru= nó -cha tâ é ru= apíro' -chá tâ
3sg.f kill pst emph1 then 3sg.f suck pst emph1

Libre ella lo garroteó lo mató y lo comió

60 Mot rojíchátá ruká
Morphèmes ru= ají -cha tâ ru= ikhá
Glose lex. 3sg.f eat pst emph1 3sg.f pro

Libre ella lo comió a ella

61 Mot é ruphícha
Morphèmes é ru= ipha -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.f arrive pst

Libre ella llegó

62 Mot é ruphícha é rúmicha
Morphèmes é ru= ipha -cha é ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.f arrive pst then 3sg.f say pst

chuchú
chuchú
grandparent

Libre ella llegó y dijo: abuela

63 Mot ruyakái'cho ají ké
Morphèmes ru= yakái' -cha =o ají ké
Glose lex. 3sg.f see pst mid prox like

Libre ella miró así, alrededor

64 Mot amíchari kajú rule'jé sangre
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri kajú ru= le'jé ***
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss much 3sg.f poss ***

i'micháká
i'mi -chá -ká
cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ella miró mucha sangre de ella

65 Mot chuchú ná chí kháají jirá kajú wáni
Morphèmes chuchú ná chí kháají jirá kajú wáni
Glose lex. grandparent indf emph3 prox blood much emph

?

Libre ella dijo abuela por qué hay mucha sangre?

66 Mot " ko'jí ajmichári nuká ,
Morphèmes ko'jí ajmi' -chá -ri nu= ikhá
Glose lex. ant_sp bite pst nf.cleft 1sg pro

nulakélo " "
 nu= laké -lo
 1sg grandchild f

Libre la hormiga kojí (cabeza roja) me mordió, nieta

67 Mot " ko'jí ajmichári nuká "
Morphèmes ko'jí ajmi' -chá -ri nu= ikhá
Glose lex. ant_sp bite pst nf.cleft 1sg pro

Libre la hormiga me mordió

68 Mot " jé " ké rúmichaka " méké
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha -ka méké
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft indf.manner

chí kajú wáni ko'jí ajmicháka "
 chí kajú wáni ko'jí ajmi' -chá -ka
 emph3 much emph ant_sp bite pst ka.cleft

Libre bueno ella dijo, cómo demasiado te mordió esa hormiga

69 Mot á'a rúmícha
Morphèmes á'a ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. yes 3sg.f say pst

Libre sí, ella dijo

70 Mot é ru'jĩchá náke
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá náke
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst uh

Libre ella se fue

71 Mot jé ké rúmíchaka chuchú ké
Morphèmes jé ké ru= ímí -cha -ka chuchú ké
Glose lex. good like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft grandparent like

rúmíchaka i'jná
 ru= ímí -cha -ka i'jná
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft go

Libre bueno ella dijo abuela, vámos

72 Mot wawejáchiyachí pátoto
Morphèmes wa= wejá -chi -ya -chí pátoto
Glose lex. 1pl poison caus pst purp2 frog_sp

Libre vamos a llamar a la ranita (patoto)

73 Mot jé
Morphèmes jé
Glose lex. good

Libre bueno

74 Mot é ru'jĩchá
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst

Libre y ella se fue

75 Mot	i'j'ná	ké	rúmíchaka		tá	é
Morphèmes	i'j'ná	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		tâ	é
Glose lex.	go	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft		emph1	then

ru'j'ichá rujwa'té
 ru= i'j'i -chá ru= jwa'té
 3sg.f go pst 3sg.f with

Libre vamos dijo ella y se fue con ella

76 Mot	kajú	kélé	pátotona		puri'cháko	
Morphèmes	kajú	kélé	pátoto -na		puri' chá -ka	=o
Glose lex.	much	med	frog_sp pl		speak on ka.cleft	mid

kajú napuri'cháko
 kajú na= puri' chá -ka =o
 much 3pl speak on *** mid

Libre había mucha de esos rana cantando

77 Mot	é	rúmícha		rojló	pawijáta	neká
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		ru= jló	pi= awijáta	na= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		3sg.f for	2sg ***	3pl pro

Libre ella le dijo, llámalos (a las ranitas)

78 Mot	é	kája	kélé	yuwaló	awijáchiya	, é
Morphèmes	é	kája	kélé	yuwa -ló	awijáchi -ya	é
Glose lex.	then	already	med	unripe f	call pst	then

rowejáchiya pátoto , pátoto
 ru= awejáchi -ya pátoto pátoto
 3sg.f call pst frog_sp frog_sp

Libre entonces la muchacha las altibó, ella altibó las ranitas

79 Mot	é	ruki'chá		neká		, rupachíya
Morphèmes	é	ru= ki'		-chá	na= ikhá	ru= pachí -ya
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f throw_out		pst	3pl pro	3sg.f grab pst

ro'chá chuchú ké rúmíchaka
 ru= a' -chá chuchú ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f give pst grandparent like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ella lo cogió, ella agarró, ella dio, ella dijo abuela

80 Mot	pakóro'ó	neká	tá	a'waná	nakú
Morphèmes	pi= akóro'o	na= ikhá	tâ	a'waná	nakú
Glose lex.	2sg skewer	3pl pro	emph1	tree	on

Libre ensartelos en una ramita

81 Mot	pakóro'ó	neká	ké
Morphèmes	pi= akóro'o	na= ikhá	ké
Glose lex.	2sg skewer	3pl pro	like

Libre ensartelos

82 Mot jé nulakélo ,
Morphèmes jé nu= laké -lo
Glose lex. good 1sg grandchild f

rúmichakatá é ropíro'chatá ,
 ru= ímí -cha -ka tâ é ru= apíro' -cha tâ
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft emph1 then 3sg.f suck pst emph1

romícha ruki'chá ropíro'cháje ,
 ru= amí -cha ru= ki' -chá ru= apíro' -chaje
 3sg.f see pst 3sg.f throw_out pst 3sg.f suck arg.nz2?

ropíro'cháje
 ru= apíro' -chaje
 3sg.f suck arg.nz2?

Libre bueno nieta, ella dijo, y ella vió que ella tiró y ella (el espanto) chupaba y chupaba (las ranitas)

83 Mot yée ké rúmichaka nákei
Morphèmes yée ké ru= ímí -cha -ka nákei
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft uh

Libre uy ella dijo

84 Mot jiñátá ka'jné náke apíro'yo chuchú
Morphèmes jiñá tâ ka'jné náke apíro' -yo chuchú
Glose lex. devil emph1 dub uh suck f.cleft grandparent

michólo , ké rúmichaka , méké
 michó -lo ké ru= ímí -cha -ka méké
 deceased f like 3sg.f say pst *** indf.manner

nula'jka ké rúmichaka , kélé yuwaló
 nu= la' -jĩ -ka ké ru= ímí -cha -ka kélé yuwa -ló
 1sg do fut ka.cleft like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft med unripe f

kémichaka
 kémí -cha -ka
 say pst ka.cleft

Libre de pronto espanto será que se comió a la finada mi abuelita así ella dijo ahora qué hago dijo la muchacha

85 Mot é náke
Morphèmes é náke
Glose lex. then uh

Libre

86 Mot é ruki'chá rojló tá
Morphèmes é ru= ki' -chá ru= jló tâ
Glose lex. then 3sg.f throw_out pst 3sg.f for emph1

romícha kajú ropíro'chatá , " méké chá
 ru= amí -cha kajú ru= apíro' -cha tâ méké chá
 3sg.f see pst much 3sg.f suck pst emph1 indf.manner on

neká , chuchú " , ké rúmicha , ruya'chíya
na= ikhá chuchú ké ru= ímí -cha ru= ya'chí -ya
3pl pro grandparent like 3sg.f say pst 3sg.f *** pst

marí kéñani , méké kajú wáni kó
marí ké =ñáni méké kajú wáni =kó
prox like dim indf.manner much emph emph4

nuki'cháka neká , ka'jnó méké chí
nu= ki' -chá -ka na= ikhá ka'jnó méké chí
1sg throw_out pst ka.cleft 3pl pro dub indf.manner emph3

pila'ká neká
pi= la' -ká na= ikhá
2sg do ka.cleft 3pl pro

Libre ella le tiró, y ella miró que ella lo estaba comiendo mucho, "cómo de mucho van abuela?", dijo ella, ella le mostró así de poquitico, si yo había tirado mucho, qué sera usted hizo con ellos?

87 Mot unká nulakélo ké rúmicha (marí
Morphèmes unká nu= laké -lo ké ru= ímí -cha marí
Glose lex. neg 1sg grandchild f like 3sg.f say pst prox

) , marí kéñani rokóo'chaka marí kétána
marí ké =ñáni ru= akóo' -cha -ka marí kétána
prox like dim 3sg.f *** pst ka.cleft prox during

Libre no nieta ella dijo, ella lo ensarto así de larguito

88 Mot kája wája rúmicha náke
Morphèmes kája =wá =ja ru= ímí -cha náke
Glose lex. already emph lim 3sg.f say pst uh

Libre entonces ella dijo

89 Mot méké nula'jíka é rujĩ'chá
Morphèmes méké nu= la' -jĩ -ka é ru= jĩ' -chá
Glose lex. indf.manner 1sg do fut ka.cleft then 3sg.f take pst

nákeí jepé , kajú kalé rujĩ'cháka kopái
nákei *** kajú kalé ru= jĩ' -chá -ka ***
uh *** much nv.neg 3sg.f take pst ka.cleft ***

Libre ella dijo (la muchacha) qué hago, y ella cogió kopai, ella cogió harto kopai

90 Mot a'waná pají le'jé nákeí , nákaí
Morphèmes a'waná pají le'jé nákei nákaí
Glose lex. tree maloca poss uh uh

wa'ká rií kuwa'á , riká
wa= a' -ká ri= íí *** ri= ikhá
1pl give ka.insub? 3sg.nf name *** 3sg.nf pro

rují'chá thá thá thá ké , rujĩ'cháka marí
ru= jĩ' -chá thá thá thá ké ru= jĩ' -chá -ka marí
3sg.f take pst ideo1 emph like 3sg.f take pst ka.cleft prox

ké	riká	,	rulukúni'cha	kópai	kajú		
ké	ri=	ikhá	ru=	lukúni' -cha	***	kajú	
like	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.f	***	pst	***	much

Libre ese palo para la maloca, nosotros lo llamamos "kuwa'á", ella lo cogió "tá tá tá", lo cogió así (de mucho), y ella lo prendió mucho

91 Mot	é	rujĩ'chá	thá thá	a'waná	,	riká		
Morphèmes	é	ru=	jĩ' -chá	thá thá	a'waná	ri=	ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	take	pst	ideo1	tree	3sg.nf	pro

rouki'cha	chajú	,	é	rúmícha	"	chuchú"	ké		
ru=	aúki' -cha	chajú	é	ru=	ímí -cha	***	ké		
3sg.f	put	pst	?inside	then	3sg.f	say	pst	***	like

rúmícha	,	"	pipatá	maáre	kháajúna	pátotona	"		
ru=	ímí -cha	pi=	patá	maáre	kháajĩ -úna	pátoto -na			
3sg.f	say	pst	2sg	grab	prox.loc	prox	pl	frog_sp	pl

Libre ella cogió el palo "thá thá", y lo colocó (el copai) dentro (del palo), y ella dijo abuela, agarre aquí estas ranitas

92 Mot	jé	nulakélo	ké	rúmíchaka					
Morphèmes	jé	nu=	laké	-lo	ké	ru=	ímí -cha	-ka	
Glose lex.	good	1sg	grandchild	f	like	3sg.f	say	pst	ka.cleft

tá	é	nákei	ruyuícho	tá			
tâ	é	nákei	ru=	yuí -cha =o	tâ		
emph1	then	uh	3sg.f	stay	pst	mid	emph1

Libre ella dijo bueno nieta, ahí ella se quedó

93 Mot	ruyuícho	tá	ré				
Morphèmes	ru=	yuí -cha =o	tâ	ri=	é		
Glose lex.	3sg.f	stay	pst	mid	emph1	3sg.nf	in

Libre ahí ella quedó

94 Mot	nákaí
Morphèmes	nákaí
Glose lex.	uh

Libre

95 Mot	rowijáchiyatá	neká	é				
Morphèmes	ru=	awijáchi -ya	tá	na=	ikhá	é	
Glose lex.	3sg.f	call	pst	emph1	3pl	pro	then

ru'jĩchá	tá		
ru=	i'jĩ -chá	tâ	
3sg.f	go	pst	emph1

Libre ella estaba atilbando (llamandolos, a las ranitas), y se fué (la porquería)

96 Mot	"	pátotototo	ké	rúmichaka	tá	,	
Morphèmes	***	ké	ru=	ímí -cha -ka	tâ		
Glose lex.	***	like	3sg.f	say	pst	ka.cleft	emph1

pátotototo , nujulájlé , pátototo"
 *** nu= julá =jlé ***
 *** 1sg stomach aug2 ***

Libre ella dijo "pátotototo, mi barrigotaaaa, pátototo"

97 Mot " nujulájlé pátototo , nujulájlé ,
Morphèmes nu= julá =jlé *** nu= julá =jlé
Glose lex. 1sg stomach aug2 *** 1sg stomach aug2

pátototo"

Libre "mi barrigotaaa, pátototo, mi barrigota, pátototo"

98 Mot " nusa'é ta'áre pátoto" rúmíchakatá
Morphèmes *** *** *** ru= ímí -cha -ka tá
Glose lex. *** *** *** 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft emph1

Libre "??estiro mi veneno pátoto??" dijo ella

99 Mot " nuja'é ta'áre pátototo"
Morphèmes *** *** ***
Glose lex. *** *** ***

Libre "??estiro mi veneno pátoto??"

100 Mot rowijáta tá , é kája kélerú witúki'cha
Morphèmes ru= wijáta tâ é kája kéle -rú witúki' -cha
Glose lex. 3sg.f *** emph1 then med f go_down pst

, ají ké ruwitúki'cháka ina'thána wapuwa ,
 ají ké ru= witúki' -chá -ka ina'thána wapu =ewa
 prox like 3sg.f go_down pst ka.cleft port *** around

é rutái'cho jú'ká a'jnaré ,
 é ru= táí' -cha =o jú'ká a'jnaré
 then 3sg.f stand_up pst mid far dist.loc

Libre ella quedó altibando, y de ahí ella se bajó, bajó por la orilla del quebradón, ella se paró más allá

101 Mot pátoto rují'chá kajú , é rupato'chíya
Morphèmes pátoto ru= jĩ' -chá kajú é ***
Glose lex. frog_sp 3sg.f take pst much then ***

jeepé máarejé ké , thá thá rouki'chaka chajú
 *** máare =eje ké thá thá ru= aúki' -cha -ka chajú
 *** prox.loc until like ideo1 3sg.f put pst ka.cleft ?inside

riká
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre cogió mucho pátoto, ella colocó copái más cerquitica, thá thá (ella cortó), ella lo colocó adentro

102 Mot é rúmícha " ají ké
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha ají ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst prox like

nula'jíka " , é ro'lakichá thú thú
nu= la' -jĩ -ka é ru= a'laki -chá *** ***
1sg do fut ka.cleft then 3sg.f *** pst *** ***

rupayáicha kháají te'erí
ru= payái -cha kháají te'rí
3sg.f step_on pst prox ground

Libre ella dijo así será voy a hacer, ella se orinó y pisó "thú thú" esta tierra.

103 Mot é ro'lakichá richojé
Morphèmes é ru= a'laki -chá ri= chojé
Glose lex. then 3sg.f *** pst 3sg.nf towards_inside

Libre y ella orinó ahí

104 Mot é rúmicha rijló " éko
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló éko
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for pol.imp

pa'jipá rojlotá maaré ké , jiñátá " ,
pi= a'jipá ru= jló tâ maaré ké , jiñá tâ
2sg answer 3sg.f for emph1 prox.loc like devil emph1

é kája rumachi'yá , é ru'icho pherú
é kája ru= machi' -ya é ru= í -cha =o pherú
then already 3sg.f cut pst then 3sg.f scape pst mid quick

kéja rocho'chó
ké =ja ru= jecho' -chá =o
like lim 3sg.f run pst mid

Libre ella le dijo (al orín): "hay que contestarle a ella acá al espanto", ahí ella cortó (tomó un atajo) , ella se huyó y corrió de rapidez (lit. veloz corrió)

105 Mot ja'cháyo maloca jupichúmi éjó
Morphèmes ja' -chá -yo =o *** jupichúmi =ejo
Glose lex. fall pst f.ss mid *** old towards

Libre ellá cayó donde la maloca vieja

106 Mot é ruphícha jropo'chíya kháají
Morphèmes é ru= ipha -cha ru= jepo' -chi -ya kháají
Glose lex. then 3sg.f arrive pst 3sg.f tie_up caus pst prox

kajé
kájé
type

Libre llegó, amarró como éste (la puerta)

107 Mot jropo'chíya phiyúké rinumaná ,
Morphèmes ru= jepo' -chi -ya phiyúké ri= numaná
Glose lex. 3sg.f tie_up caus pst all 3sg.nf door

jropo'chíya		rinumaná		phiyúké
ru= jepo'	-chi -ya	ri= numaná		phiyúké
3sg.f	tie_up caus pst	3sg.nf	door	all

Libre ella amarró todas las puertas, amaró todas las puertas

108 Mot	é	rujĩ'chá		rule'jé	jamaká ,	yenú
Morphèmes	é	ru= jĩ'	-chá	ru= le'jé	***	yenú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f	take pst	3sg.f	poss	*** up

ru'icho		ré	roto'chó
ru= í	-cha =o	ré	ru= to' -chá =o
3sg.f	scape pst mid	then	3sg.f lie pst mid

Libre ella cogió la hamaca, ella se huyó y se acostó.

109 Mot	éja	náke	rúmicha	tá	náke
Morphèmes	é =ja	náke	ru= ímí -cha	tâ	náke
Glose lex.	then	lim	uh 3sg.f say	pst	emph1 uh

Libre ahí mismo ella dijo

110 Mot	"	nulakélo		"	ruwái'chaka	tá
Morphèmes		nu= laké	-lo		ru= wái' -cha -ka	tâ
Glose lex.		1sg	grandchild f		3sg.f call pst	ka.cleft emph1

Libre "nieeetaaa" ella llamó

111 Mot	"	nulakélo		"
Morphèmes		nu= laké	-lo	
Glose lex.		1sg	grandchild f	

Libre "nieeetaaa"

112 Mot	"	óo	"	ké	rule'jé	orín	a'jipicháka
Morphèmes		***		ké	ru= le'jé	***	a'jipi -chá -ka
Glose lex.		***		like	3sg.f poss	***	answer pst ka.cleft

Libre "óo" contestó la orina de ella

113 Mot	"	nulakélo		"
Morphèmes		nu= laké	-lo	
Glose lex.		1sg	grandchild f	

Libre "nieeetaaa"

114 Mot	"	óo	"
Morphèmes		***	
Glose lex.		***	

Libre "óo"

115 Mot	"	nulakélo		"
Morphèmes		nu= laké	-lo	
Glose lex.		1sg	grandchild f	

Libre "nieeetaaa"

116 **Mot** " óo "

Morphèmes ***

Glose lex. ***

Libre "óo"

117 **Mot** " nulakélo " " úu "

Morphèmes nu= laké -lo úu

Glose lex. 1sg grandchild f hey

Libre "nieeetaaa" "uu"

118 **Mot** " nulakélo " " úu "

Morphèmes nu= laké -lo úu

Glose lex. 1sg grandchild f hey

Libre "nieeetaaa" "uu"

119 **Mot** kája penáje " nulakélo " " úu "

Morphèmes kája penáje nu= laké -lo úu

Glose lex. last_time 1sg grandchild f hey

Libre ya última vez "nieeetaaa" "uu"

120 **Mot** " nulakélo " " úu "

Morphèmes nu= laké -lo úu

Glose lex. 1sg grandchild f hey

Libre "nieeetaaa" "uu"

121 **Mot** kája penáje " nulakélo " , unká

Morphèmes kája penáje nu= laké -lo unká

Glose lex. last_time 1sg grandchild f neg

Libre ya última vez, "nieeetaaa", nada

122 **Mot** " jái " ké rúmichaka tá ,

Morphèmes jái ké ru= ímí -cha -ka tâ

Glose lex. ah like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft emph1

ruñáicha nuká , nulakélo , náje

ru= ñái -cha nu= ikhá nu= laké -lo náje

3sg.f abandon pst 1sg pro 1sg grandchild f indf.reason

piñáa nuká ké rúmichaka tá ,

pi= ñáa nu= ikhá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka tâ

2sg abandon 1sg pro like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft emph1

nulakélo

nu= laké -lo

1sg grandchild f

Libre ay, dijo ella, ella se me escapó, mi nieta, por qué se me escapó dijo ella, nieta

123 **Mot** " aa " , nuká unká la'lachá péru

Morphèmes *** nu= ikhá unká la' -la -chá ***

Glose lex. *** 1sg pro neg do v.neg pst ***

péru pi'micháka tá , ké rúmichaka
 *** pi= i'mi -chá -ka tâ ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 *** 2sg far.pst pst ka.pst emph1 like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ah, yo por qué será no te comí a usted, dijo ella.

124 Mot nuká unká la'lachá péru péru , ée ,
Morphèmes nu= ikhá unká la' -la -chá *** *** ***
Glose lex. 1sg pro neg do v.neg pst *** *** ***

ñaké jromi'cháka
 ñaké ru= jemi' -chá -ka
 dist.simil 3sg.f listen pst ka.cleft

Libre ah por qué yo no te comí, y ella (la nieta) estaba escuchando

125 Mot é ruwái'cha tá " nulakélo ,
Morphèmes é ru= wái' -cha tâ nu= laké -lo
Glose lex. then 3sg.f call pst emph1 1sg grandchild f

nulakélo " romícha ruká tá waícha
 nu= laké -lo ru= amí -cha ru= ikhá tâ waícha
 1sg grandchild f 3sg.f see pst 3sg.f pro emph1 return
 amíchari nákeí
 amí -cha -ri nákei
 see pst nf.ss uh

Libre ella llamó "nieta, nieta", y ella vio que ella venía

126 Mot ruká tá waícha iñepú chuwá ,
Morphèmes ru= ikhá tâ waícha iñepú chu =ewá
Glose lex. 3sg.f pro emph1 return way in around

é ruchipúki'cha tá ajíño'jó (ké) pají
 é ru= chipúki' -cha tâ ajíño'jó ké pají
 then 3sg.f go_round pst emph1 prox.toward like maloca
 nakú " nulakélo "
 nakú nu= laké -lo
 on 1sg grandchild f

Libre ella venía por el camino, ella estaba dando vueltas alrededor de la maloca

127 Mot " nulakélo "
Morphèmes nu= laké -lo
Glose lex. 1sg grandchild f

Libre "nieta"

128 Mot " nulakélo " ruwái'chaka tá
Morphèmes nu= laké -lo ru= wái' -cha -ka tâ
Glose lex. 1sg grandchild f 3sg.f call pst ka.cleft emph1

Libre "nieta" ella lo llamaba

129 Mot " nulakélo " , unká , mana'íja
Morphèmes nu= laké -lo unká mana'í =ja
Glose lex. 1sg grandchild f neg calm lim

roto'cháko		é	kája	las	cinco	kája	iná
ru= to' -chá -ka	=o	é	kája	las	***	kája	iná
3sg.f lie pst ka.cleft	mid	then	already	spa	***	already	gnr.pro
jme'chíya	,	é	ruyakái'cho			amíchari	
jme'chí -ya		é	ru= yakái' -cha	=o		amí -cha -ri	
become_light pst		then	3sg.f see pst	mid		see pst nf.ss	
jro'pákatá			kamerúñáni	,		ruchipuki'cháka	
ru= ja'pá -ka tâ			kame -rú =ñáni			ru= chipuki' -chá -ka	
3sg.f pass ka.nz emph1			black f dim			3sg.f go_round pst ka.nz	
ají ké							
ajĩ ké							
prox like							

Libre ella llamó "nulakélo", y nada, ella estaba acostada tranquila, ya eran las 5 ya amanecer, ella miró y vio que ella estaba caminando negrita, dando vueltas por ahí

130 Mot	é	romícha		ruñakó		tá	"
Morphèmes	é	ru= amí -cha		ru= ña -ka	=ó	tâ	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f see pst		3sg.f scape ka.nz	mid	emph1	
kúru kúru "							
***	***						
***	***						

Libre ella vio que ella se huyó "kúru kúru"

131 Mot	nákarí	ná	riĩ		platanito	plá-	ná
Morphèmes	nákarí	ná	ri= iĩ		***	***	ná
Glose lex.	uh	indf	3sg.nf name		***	***	indf
riĩ							
ri= iĩ							
3sg.nf name							

Libre qué será, cómo se llama, platanito

132 Mot	páru	,	páru	ji'lájē		ru'jīchá	tá
Morphèmes	páru		páru	ji'lá =jé		ru= i'jī -chá	tâ
Glose lex.	plantain		plantain	***	***	3sg.f go pst	emph1

Libre ella se fue al lado de la cepa de plátano (ji'lá: base donde empieza algo, raíz)

133 Mot	marí	kétána	i'micháka	,	éjé		
Morphèmes	marí	kétána	i'mi -chá -ka		=eje		
Glose lex.	prox	during	cop pst ka.cleft		after		
romícha		rumujlúkakatá			e'yajé		
ru= amí -cha		ru= mujlúka -ka tâ			e'yajé		
3sg.f see pst		3sg.f enter obl.nz emph1			towards		

Libre así estaba, ahí ella miró que ella se metió (al lado de la cepa).

134 Mot	é	roto'chó					
Morphèmes	é	ru= to' -chá	=o				
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f lie pst	mid				

Libre ella estaba acostada

135 Mot	a'tá	jwe'chójo	roto'chó			
Morphèmes	***	***	ru= to' -chá =o			
Glose lex.	***	***	3sg.f lie pst mid			

Libre hasta tarde se acostó

136 Mot	kája	ya'jicha	las	ocho	é
Morphèmes	kája	***	las	***	é
Glose lex.	already	***	spa	***	then

jrócho'cho		é	rupi'chó		
ru= jácho' -cha =o		é	ru= pi' -chá =o		
3sg.f go_out pst mid		then	3sg.f return pst mid		

Libre ya estaba tarde como las ocho ahí ella salió y ella se fue

137 Mot	ruíncho			rora'pá	éjó
Morphèmes	ru= ín -cha =o			ru= ara'pá	=ejo
Glose lex.	3sg.f scape pst mid			3sg.f father.ref	towards

Libre ella se huyó donde el papá

138 Mot	é	namícha		ruká	waícha	é
Morphèmes	é	na= amí -cha		ru= ikhá	waícha	é
Glose lex.	then	3pl see pst		3sg.f pro	return	then

rímícha	"	méké	chuwí	"	ké
ri= ímí -cha		méké	chuwí		ké
3sg.nf say pst		indf.manner	young.sibling.addr		like

rímíchaka	,	"	aaa	unká	,	pa'yú	"	ké
ri= ímí -cha -ka			***	unká		pa'yú		ké
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft			***	neg		papá.addr		like

rúmíchaka					
ru= ímí -cha -ka					
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft					

Libre ellos miraron que ella venía, él le dijo "qué pasó hijita?", "no (nos fue mal), papi", dijo ella

139 Mot	"	kája	jiñátá	apíro'o	jlálémi	chuchú
Morphèmes		kája	jiñá tâ	apíro'o	jlálémi	chuchú
Glose lex.		already	devil emph1	suck	yesterday	grandparent

michólo	nuliyá	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	riká
michó -lo	nu= liyá		ké	ru= ímí -cha		ri= ikhá	
deceased f	1sg from		like	3sg.f say pst		3sg.nf pro	

aú	nupi'chó			,	aú	unká	nuphálacha
aú	nu= pi' -chá =o				aú	unká	nu= iphá -la -cha
because	1sg return pst mid				because	neg	1sg arrive v.neg pst

"	ké	rúmícha
	ké	ru= ímí -cha
	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre "ya la espanta se me comió a la finadita abuela", ella dijo, "por eso me regresé, por eso no llegué", ella dijo

140 Mot	aú	rímícha	"	náje	pi'jná
Morphèmes	aú	ri= ímí -cha		náje	pi= i'jná
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf say pst		indf.reason	2sg go
chuchú	ka'jé		ka'jno	jiñátá	jló , ilé
chuchú	ka'	-je	ka'jno	jiñá tâ	jló ilé
grandparent	throw_out	purp.mot	dub	devil emph1	for med
núma	pijló	"	piwá'iña	ruká	" , unká
nu=	ímá pi= jló	pi= wá' -iña	ru= ikhá		unká
1sg say	2sg for	2sg take proh	3sg.f pro		neg
phema'lá		" ké			
pi= jema' -lá		ké			
2sg listen v.neg		like			

Libre por eso él dijo "por qué usted fue tirar la abuelita al espanto, eso le dije "no la lleve, y usted no hizo caso"

141.1 Mot	rímícha	"	é	pamícha	?
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha		é	pi= amí -cha	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst		then	2sg see prs	

Libre él le dijo que si ella lo había visto, "sí, yo ví que ella se entró así", "vamos" él dijo, "vamos", a su familia

141.2 Mot	" , "	á'a	,	nomícha
Morphèmes		á'a	nu= amí -cha	
Glose lex.		yes	1sg see pst	
rumujlúkakatá		ají	ké	" , " i'jná " ké
ru= mujlúka -ka tâ		ajĩ	ké	i'jná ké
3sg.f enter ka.nz emph1		prox	like	go like
rímíchaka	,	" vamos	" ,	rile'jé familia jló
ri= ímí -cha -ka		vamos	ri= le'jé familia jló	
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		spa	3sg.nf poss spa for	

Libre

142 Mot	i'jná , se fue , phiyúké ne'jíchá
Morphèmes	i'jná *** *** phiyúké na= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	go *** *** all 3pl go pst

ramáje
ri= amá je
3sg.nf see purp.mot

Libre "vamos", se fue, todos se fueron a mirarlo

143 Mot	ne'jíchá ramáje , é
Morphèmes	na= i'jĩ -chá ri= amá -je é
Glose lex.	3pl go pst 3sg.nf see purp.mot then

nephícha		ají	ké
na= ipha	-cha	ají	ké
3pl arrive	pst	prox	like

Libre fueron a mirarlo, y llegaron hacia allá

144 Mot	nayakái'cho		amícha	marí	kétana	palo
Morphèmes	na= yakái'	-cha =o	amí -cha	marí	***	***
Glose lex.	3pl see	pst mid	see pst	prox	***	***

Libre miraron, vieron, así de largo estaba el palo

145 Mot	to'cháko		marí	kétana	kája	nákei
Morphèmes	to' -chá -ka	=o	marí	kétana	kája	nákei
Glose lex.	lie pst	*** mid	prox	during	already	uh

jirája	i'micháka		kajú	rile'jé	sangre	i'micháka
jirá =ja	i'mi -chá -ka		kajú	ri= le'jé	***	i'mi -chá -ka
blood lim	*** pst ***		much	3sg.nf poss	***	*** pst ***

rináku
ri= náku
3sg.nf on

Libre el estaba tirado así (de largo) estaba ya lleno de sangre, tenía mucha sangre untado

146 Mot	jé	ké	rímíchaka		, é	napo'chíya
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			é ***
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		then	***

jiyá	, kajú	" ju'ú "	napo'chíyatá		jiyá
jiyá	kajú	***	na= apo'chí -ya tâ		jiyá
fire	much	***	3pl *** pst emph1		fire

Libre bueno él dijo, prendieron candela, prendieron mucha candela (y botó mucha llama ju'ú)

147 Mot	é	najĩ'chá	riká	tá	, é
Morphèmes	é	na= jĩ' -chá	ri= ikhá	tâ	é
Glose lex.	then	3pl take pst	3sg.nf pro	emph1	then

naki'chá		jiyá	chojé
na= ki'	-chá	jiyá	chojé
3pl throw_out	pst	fire	towards_inside

Libre lo cogieron y lo botaron a la candela

148 Mot	é	nákei	rikára'chiyo	tá	, chíín	jralá
Morphèmes	é	nákei	***	tâ	***	ri= jalá
Glose lex.	then	uh	***	emph1	***	3sg.nf liquid

i'jĩcháka
i'jĩ -chá -ka
go pst ka.cleft

Libre él se quemó, el agua se botaba "chíín"

149 Mot	é	nakáachiya	rikátá		kája
Morphèmes	é	na= káachi -ya	ri= ikhá tâ		kája
Glose lex.	then	3pl *** pst	3sg.nf pro emph1		already

nenócha riká
na= nó -cha ri= ikhá
3pl kill pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre lo quemaron a ese, y lo mataron

150.1 Mot é kája rupi'chó é
Morphèmes é kája ru= pi' -chá =o é
Glose lex. then already 3sg.f return pst mid then

rúmícha " i'jná wapa'chó " ké rúmícha
ru= ímí -cha i'jná wa= pa' -chí =o ké ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst go 1pl return hort mid like 3sg.f say pst
- , (???)

Libre

150.2 Mot ké némícha , kája
Morphèmes ké na= ímí -cha kája
Glose lex. like 3pl say pst already

napi'cháko nañakaré chojé
na= pi' -chá -ka =o na= ñakaré chojé
3pl return pst ka.insub? mid 3pl house towards_inside

Libre de ahí ella se fue, de ahí ella dijo "vamos a regresarnos", dijeron ellos, ya ellos se fueron para la casa.

151 Mot a'jná apú nañakaré wajé chojé
Morphèmes a'jná apú na= ñakaré wajé chojé
Glose lex. dist other 3pl house new towards_inside

napi'chó
na= pi' -cha =ó
3pl return pst mid

Libre a la otra casa nueva se regresaron

152 Mot é kája ne'michá , ejenája
Morphèmes é kája na= i'mi -chá ejená =ja
Glose lex. then already 3pl cop pst until lim

riyukúná , réjé , se acabó.
ri= yukú -ná ri= =eje *** ***
3sg.nf story alien3 3sg.nf until *** ***

Libre ahí vivían, hasta ahí la historia (termina), ahí, se acabó.

ycn0169

1 Mot	kamú	kéchámi	karená	yukúna	marí
Morphèmes	kamú	kéchámi	karená	yukú -ná	marí
Glose lex.	sun	after	wind	story alien3	prox

Libre

2 Mot	kamú	kéchámi	karená	i'micháño
Morphèmes	kamú	kéchámi	karená	i'mi -chá -ño
Glose lex.	sun	after	wind	cop pst pl.cleft

Libre

3 Mot	nawátiya	we'píkaje	mékajéka
Morphèmes	na= wáti -ya	we'pí -kaje	mékajé -ka
Glose lex.	3pl *** pst	know ev.nz2	indf.pro indf.sub

i'majéri	nanaĩkiána	achiñá	wáni	.
i'ma jé -ri	na= naĩkiá -na	achiñá	wáni	
cop fut nf.cleft	3pl among pl	man	emph	

Libre

4 Mot	Marí	nakú	ne'micháka	é	, e'yá
Morphèmes	marí	nakú	na= i'mi -chá -ka	é	e'yá
Glose lex.	prox	on	3pl live pst ka.nz	in	then

pajlúwaja	eja'wá	e'yowá	ja'pájeri
pajlúwá =ja	eja'wá	e'yá ewá	ja'pá -je -ri
one lim	forest	in around	pass A.nz nf.cleft

ja'píchaka	rewá	,
ja'pá -cha -ka	ri= ewá	
pass pst ka.insub?	3sg.nf around	

Libre

5 Mot	kajrúni	wáni	payéta	aú
Morphèmes	kajrú -ni	wáni	payéta	aú
Glose lex.	much nf	emph	blanket	with

jrepo'tíyo
ri= jepo' -tí -ya =o
3sg.nf tie_up caus pst mid

Libre MLS: se acobijó mucho con la cobija

6 Mot	é	némicha	pajlokáka	marí	aú
Morphèmes	é	na= ímí -cha	pajlokáka	marí	aú
Glose lex.	then	3pl say pst	each_other	prox	cause

watáã'je :
 wa= atáã' -je
 1pl try fut

Libre

7 Mot " mékajéka wanaĩkiána ka'jéri
Morphèmes mékajé -ka wa= naĩkiána ka' jé -ri
Glose lex. indf.pro indf.sub 1pl between take_away fut nf.cleft

payéta kélé eja'wá e'yowá ja'pájeri liyá ,
 payéta kélé eja'wá e'yá ewá ja'pá -je -ri liyá
 blanket med forest in around pass A.nz nf.cleft from

riká i'majéri achiñá wáni "
 ri= ikhá i'ma jé -ri achiñá wáni
 3sg.nf pro cop fut nf.cleft man emph

Libre MLS: el que de nosotros le quite la cobija a ese viajero, ese será el más fuerte

8 Mot aú karená keño'chári apho'kaje
Morphèmes aũ karená keño' -chá -ri apho' -kaje
Glose lex. because wind begin pst nf.cleft blow ev.nz2

phiyúkéja ritejmú jwa'té ,
 phiyúké =ja ri= tejmú jwa'té
 all lim 3sg.nf strength with

Libre

9 Mot kaphí wáni rapho'cháka , jwa'té eja'wá
Morphèmes kaphí wáni ri= apho' -chá -ka jwa'té eja'wá
Glose lex. hard emph 3sg.nf blow pst ka.cleft with forest

e'yowá ja'pájeri cháje wáni
 e'yá ewá ja'pá -je -ri cháje wáni
 in around pass A.nz nf.cleft more_than emph

jrepo'tiyako
 ri= jepo' -tí -ya -ka =o
 3sg.nf tie_up caus pst ka.cleft mid

Libre él sopló muy fuerte, entonces el viajero más se acobijaba

10 Mot kája unká méké rila'lácha
Morphèmes kája unká méké ri= la' -lá -cha
Glose lex. already neg indf.manner 3sg.nf do v.neg pst

riká ,
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre ya no pudo más (hacerle a él, el viajero)

11 Mot réjé riyuícha rapho'kána
Morphèmes ri= eje ri= yuí -cha ri= apho' -kána
Glose lex. 3sg.nf until 3sg.nf stay pst 3sg.nf blow ev.nz1

Libre hasta ahí él dejó de soplar

12 Mot	aú	kamú	keño'chá	rikamaré	aú
Morphèmes	aú	kamú	keño' -chá	ri= kamaré	aú
Glose lex.	because	sun	begin pst	3sg.nf light	with

patakána , kaphí wáni ripatíyaka ,
 pata -kána kaphí wáni ri= patí -ya -ka
 shine ev.nz1 hard emph 3sg.nf shine pst ka.cleft

Libre entonces, el sol comenzó a alumbrar con su luz, alumbró muy fuerte

13 Mot	aú	eja'wá	e'yowá	ja'pájeri
Morphèmes	aú	eja'wá	e'yá ewá	ja'pá -je -ri
Glose lex.	because	forest	in around	pass A.nz nf.nz

keño'chári ripayétani wicho'kána rinaĩkiá
 keño' -chá -ri ri= payéta -ni wicho' -kána ri= naĩkiá
 begin pst nf.cleft 3sg.nf blanket alien3 release ev.nz1 3sg.nf among

Libre entonces, el viajero comenzó a quitarse la cobija de él.

14 Mot	é kája	karená
Morphèmes	é kája	karená
Glose lex.	then	wind

Libre ahí ya el viento,

15 Mot	é kája	karená	eja'wá	jilá'jo	kémíchari	kamú
Morphèmes	é kája	karená	eja'wá	***	kémí -cha -ri	kamú
Glose lex.	then	wind	forest	***	say pst nf.cleft	sun

jló : " piká i'majéri atiná wáni " .
 jló pi= ikhá i'ma jé -ri atiná wáni
 for 2sg pro cop fut nf.cleft man emph

Libre el viento del fin del mundo le dijo al sol: "tú serás el más fuerte". (eja'awá ji'ilá: oriente)

ycn0186

1 **Mot** iyárí yukúná
Morphèmes iyárí yukú -ná
Glose lex. turtle_sp story alien3

Libre cuento de morrocoy

2 **Mot** morrocoy
Morphèmes ***
Glose lex. ***

Libre morrocoy

3 **Mot** iyárí i'michárí
Morphèmes iyárí i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex. turtle_sp cop pst nf.cleft

Libre tortuga vivía

4 **Mot** achiñá wáni ri'micháká eja'wá chú
Morphèmes achiñá wáni ri= i'mi -chá -ká eja'wá chú
Glose lex. man emph 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft forest in

Libre él era muy valiente en el mundo

5 **Mot** rií i'michárí Yawotí
Morphèmes ri= íí i'mi -chá -rí Yawotí
Glose lex. 3sg.nf name cop pst nf.cleft wise_turtle

Libre él se llamaba yawotí

6 **Mot** ré ri'michá eja'wá chú
Morphèmes ri= é ri= i'mi -chá eja'wá chú
Glose lex. 3sg.nf in 3sg.nf cop pst forest in

Libre ahí vivía en el mundo

7 **Mot** riphícha wejirí ja'pí apíro'je
Morphèmes ri= ipha -cha *** ja'pi apíro' -je
Glose lex. 3sg.nf arrive pst *** under suck purp.mot

i'micháká

i'mi -chá -ká

far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre él llegó chupar debajo de wejirí (maríja)

8 **Mot** ré ri'manója wejirí ja'pí apíro'kana
Morphèmes ri= é ri= i'ma -nója *** ja'pi apíro' -kana
Glose lex. 3sg.nf in 3sg.nf cop conc *** under suck ev.nz1

nakú	e'yá	kalapíchína		iphíchaño			rináku
nakú	e'yá	kalapíchí	-na	iphí	-cha	-ño	ri= náku
on	in	capuchin	pl	arrive	pst	pl.cleft	3sg.nf on

i'micháká

i'mi -chá -ka

far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre estando ahí chupando debajo de wejirí, los maiceros llegaron donde él

9 Mot	kémíchari		rijló	"	oo	ná
Morphèmes	kémí	-cha	-ri	ri=	jló	*** ná
Glose lex.	say	pst	nf.ss	3sg.nf	for	*** indf

inau'kéka iléré ? "

inau'ké -ka iléré
person indf.sub med.loc

Libre le dijeron "oo, qué clase de gente está ahí?"

10 Mot	" nuká	" ké	rímíchaka		najló	"
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí	-cha	-ka	na= jló
Glose lex.	1sg pro	like	3sg.nf say	pst	ka.cleft	3pl for

ná pila'á " ké némíchaka rijló
ná pi= la'á ké na= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló
indf 2sg do like 3pl say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre él dijo "yo", "qué hace" le dijeron a él

11 Mot	aú	rímícha		nupaĩjírè		ja'pí
Morphèmes	aú	ri= ímí	-cha	nu= paĩjĩ	-re	ja'pi
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf say	pst	1sg fruit	alien2	under

nopíro'o " ké
nu= apíro'o ké
1sg suck like

Libre él dijo estoy chupando debajo de mis frutas

12.1 Mot	aú	némícha		rijló	"	méké
Morphèmes	aú	na= ímí	-cha	ri= jló		méké
Glose lex.	because	3pl say	pst	3sg.nf for		indf.manner

cháwani pila'lá " ké némíchaka " ũká
cháwa -ni pi= la' -lá ké na= ímí -cha -ka unká
pity nf 2sg do hort? like 3pl say pst ka.cleft neg

we'jatálajlá piká majó papíro'chí
wa= i'ja -ta -la jlá pi= ikhá majó pi= apíro' -chí
1pl go_up caus v.neg frust 2sg pro prox.toward 2sg suck purp2

palá máayá to'jómi pipaĩjĩ ja'pí ?
palá máa eyá to'jo =o =mi pi= paĩjĩ ja'pi
good here from *** mid pfv 2sg fruit under

Libre ahí le dijeron "qué pobrecito usted" ellos dijeron "será que no podemos subirte acá para que chupe bien desde acá su fruta" le dijeron (vimy: no se puede decir ja'pí; to'jómi: acostado)

12.2 Mot	ké	némíchaka
Morphèmes	ké	na= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	like	3pl say pst ka.cleft

Libre

13 Mot	ã'a	i'jratá	nuká	ké
Morphèmes	***	i= i'jra -ta	nu= ikhá	ké
Glose lex.	***	2pl go_up caus	1sg pro	like

rímíchaka najló
 ri= ímí -cha -ka na= jló
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3pl for

Libre "sí, subanme" así él dijo a ellos

14 Mot	aú	kalapíchína	i'jrachíyá	riká
Morphèmes	aú	kalapíchí -na	i'jra -chí -yá	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	because	capuchin pl	go_up purp2 pst	3sg.nf pro

to'tíya riká wejirí ko'tá chojé
 to' -tí -ya ri= ikhá *** *** chojé
 lie caus pst 3sg.nf pro *** *** towards_inside

Libre entonces los micos maiceros le subieron, lo acostaron ahí en el medio (colgajo?)del marija

15 Mot	ré	ri'michá	, a'jná	rapíro'chaka
Morphèmes	ré	ri= i'mi -chá	a'jná	ri= apíro' -cha -ka
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf cop pst	dist	3sg.nf suck pst ka.nz

wejirí tají'chako éjé , é ũká kalapíchína
 *** tají -cha -ka =o =eje é unká kalapíchí -na
 *** finish pst ka.nz mid until then neg capuchin pl

i'malácha ripa'táje
 i'ma -lá -cha ri= pa'tá -je
 go v.neg pst 3sg.nf return purp.mot

Libre ahí el vivió, hasta que chupó marija hasta que terminó, los micos maiceros no lo fueron devolverlo (vimy: mejor a'jná ritají'chako éjé, se entiende; pa'tákaje: regresar (tr))

16 Mot	ré	ri'manója	yáwi	iphíchaka
Morphèmes	ri=	é ri= i'ma -nója	yáwi	iphí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	3sg.nf in	3sg.nf cop conc	tiger	arrive pst ka.cleft

jra'pí wejirí apíro'je i'micháká
 ri= ja'pí *** apíro' -je i'mi -chá -ka
 3sg.nf pass *** suck purp.mot far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre él estando ahí llegó el tigre a chupar debajo de maríja (vimy: jra'pejé)

17.1 Mot	riyakái'cho	é	rajaláicha	" oo
Morphèmes	ri= yakái' -cha =o	é	ri= ajalái -cha	***
Glose lex.	3sg.nf see pst mid	then	3sg.nf greet pst	***

ná	inau'kéka	yenú	" "	nuká	"	ké	rímícha
ná	inau'ké -ka	yenú		nu= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha
indf	person	indf.sub	up	1sg	pro	like	3sg.nf say pst
"	ná	pila'á	?"				
	ná	pi= la'á					
	indf	2sg	do				

Libre él miró y él saludó "oo, qué clase de gente está arriba, "yo" él dijo, "qué hace?" "estoy chupando mis frutas" así él dijo al tigre

17.2 Mot	"	nupajĩ	nopíro'o	"	ké
Morphèmes		nu= paĩjĩ	nu= apíro'o		ké
Glose lex.		1sg fruit	1sg suck		like

rímíchaka		yáwi	jló	.
ri= ímí -cha -ka		yáwi	jló	
3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	tiger	for	

Libre

18 Mot	aũ	yáwi	kémícha	rijló	"	méla'jé
Morphèmes	aũ	yáwi	kémí -cha	ri= jló		méla'jé
Glose lex.	because	tiger	say pst	3sg.nf for		indf.manner

chí	pi'jrá	iléño'jǒ	?	"
chí	pi= i'jrá	iléño'jǒ		
emph3	2sg go_up	med.toward		

Libre entonces el tigre le dijo "cómo usted se subió allá arriba?"

19 Mot	aũ	iyárí	kémícha	rijló	"
Morphèmes	aũ	iyárí	kémí -cha	ri= jló	
Glose lex.	because	turtle_sp	say pst	3sg.nf for	

achiñáko	nuká	,	ũká	chí	pamála
achiñá =kó	nu= ikhá		unká	chí	pi= amá -la
man emph4	1sg pro		neg	emph3	2sg see v.neg
no'napitá	nakú	kajú	a'jí	a'pámí	pato'kó
nu= a'napitá	nakú	kajú	a'jí	a'pá =mi	pato' -ka =ó
1sg arm	on	much	pepper	root nom.pfv	perch ka.cleft mid

?"

Libre entonces morrocoy le dijo "yo soy hombre, no mira que yo tengo en mi brazo bagazo de ají (a'pámí: bagazo; pato'kájó: pegado; a'napitá: brazo)

20 Mot	nomotho'ké	wakajé	noló	kémá	"
Morphèmes	nu= motho' -ké	wakajé	nu= aló	kémá	
Glose lex.	1sg cook far.pst.nz	date	1sg mother.ref	say	

nu'ríñani	motho'chári	achiñá	,	achiñá	iná
nu= i'rí =ñáni	motho' -chá -ri	achiñá		achiñá	iná
1sg son dim	cook pst nf.cleft	man		man	gnr.pro

motho'ká	,	reyá	eo'kája	nuká	achiñá
motho' -ká		ri= eyá	***	nu= ikhá	achiñá
cook ka.cleft		3sg.nf from	***	1sg pro	man

Libre cuando yo nació mi mamá dijo "mi hijo nació varón, uno nace varón, de ahí sigo siendo varón (eo'kája: todavía)

21 Mot	aú	yáwi	kémícha	rijló	:	"	nuwáta
Morphèmes	aú	yáwi	kémí -cha	ri= jló			nu= wáta
Glose lex.	because	tiger	say pst	3sg.nf for			1sg want
wejirí	nakiyá	apíro'kana	"	aú	rímícha		rijló
***	nakú =eyá	apíro' -kana		aú	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló
***	on	suck ev.nz1		with	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf for
"	réthá	rinakojó	maáré	"			
***	***		maáré				
***	***		prox.loc				

Libre el tigre le dijo "yo quiero chupar un poquito de marija" entonces él le dijo "él tiene reglamento aquí" (ré=thá: hay; ri-nakojô: reglamento)

22 Mot	riwátajîkaé						ja'kó
Morphèmes	ri= wáta -jî -ka	é					ri= ja' -ka =o
Glose lex.	3sg.nf want fut	ka.adv	cond2				3sg.nf fall ka.nz mid
rijî	jwa'té	,	pito'ó		pa'áto		nuka'chí
ri=	ijí	jwa'té	pi= to'ó =o	***	nu= ka'		-chí
3sg.nf	seed	with	2sg lie mid	***	1sg throw_out		purp2
pi'khú	chojé		ké	rímíchaka			rijló
pi=	i'khú	chojé	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			ri= jló
2sg	***	towards_inside	like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft		3sg.nf for

Libre si usted quiere que él caiga con pepa, acuéstese cara arriba para yo tirarlo en su pecho" así él le dijo

23 Mot	ũká	yáwi	we'íflacha				mékéka
Morphèmes	unká	yáwi	we'í -la -cha				méké -ka
Glose lex.	neg	tiger	know v.neg	pst			indf.manner indf.sub
rímíchaka			rijló	,	aú		rímícha
ri=	ímí -cha -ka		ri= jló		aú		ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf	say pst	ka.cleft	3sg.nf for		because		3sg.nf say pst
rijló							
ri=	jló						
3sg.nf	for						

Libre el tigre no sabía qué es lo que le estaba diciendo a él, por eso él le dijo

24 Mot	notáã'chí		kéwáka	pimaká			nojló
Morphèmes	nu= atáã' -chí		kéwaka	pi= ima -ká			nu= jló
Glose lex.	1sg try	purp2	truth	2sg say	ka.nz		1sg for
ináku	"						
ri=	nakú						
3sg.nf	on						

Libre "voy a probar si es cierto lo que usted me está diciendo de eso

25 Mot aú jiyári ki'chá rijló mapéja
Morphèmes aú jiyári ki' -chá ri= jló mapéja
Glose lex. because turtle_sp throw_out pst 3sg.nf for normally

rijí i'micháká kawákáje , amíchari
 ri= ijí i'mi -chá -ká kawáká =eje amí -cha -ri
 3sg.nf seed far.pst pst ka.pst low until see pst nf.ss

mejirú jráo'chako , aú
 ma- iji -rú ri= jáo' -cha -ka =o aú
 priv seed sg 3sg.nf go_out pst ka.nz mid because

rito'chó pa'áto , ri'khú chojé
 ri= to' -chá =o *** ri= i'khú chojé
 3sg.nf lie pst mid *** 3sg.nf chest towards_inside

jra'chó , é rímícha rijló "
 ri= ja' -cha =ó é ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
 3sg.nf fall pst mid then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

piyaká'o chúwa rijí cháje "
 pi= yaká' =o chúwa ri= ijí cháje
 2sg see mid now 3sg.nf seed at

Libre entonces el morrocoy le tiró pepa así no más hacia abajo, y él miró que salió sin pepa (mejirú: sin pepa ma-ijí-ru) , por eso él se acostó de cara arriba, él cayó en el pecho de él, él le dijo "ahora mire a la pepa"

26 Mot ré rijí i'michá ríchu
Morphèmes ri= é ri= ijí i'mi -chá rí= chu
Glose lex. 3sg.nf in 3sg.nf seed cop pst 3sg.nf in

Libre tenía pepa adentro

27 Mot aú iyári kémícha " chúwa
Morphèmes aú iyári kémí -cha chúwa
Glose lex. because turtle_sp say pst now

pito'jiko , júpi kémáchí pitá
 pi= to' -jí -ka =o júpi kémáchi pi= itá
 2sg lie fut ka.topic mid long_time a_little 2sg close

pijluwá ké rímícha rijló
 pi= ijlu =wá ké ri= ímí -cha ri= jló
 2sg eye refl like 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre entonces el morrocoy le dijo "ahora acuestese, y cierre un buen ratico su ojo" así él le dijo

28 Mot nuka'kálojé pijló jñó'pe " ké
Morphèmes nu= ka' -ká lojé pi= jló jñó'pe ké
Glose lex. 1sg throw_out ka.adv purp3 2sg for big like

rímíchaka yáwi jló
 ri= ímí -cha -ka yáwi jló
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft tiger for

Libre para yo tirarte mucho" así él le dijo al tigre

29 Mot eyá rito'cháko kétána jiyári
Morphèmes eyá ri= to' -chá -ka =o kétána jiyári
Glose lex. since_then 3sg.nf lie pst ka.cleft mid during turtle_sp

pajno'cháko ri'wá aũ
 pajno' -chá -ka =o ri= i'wá aũ
 turn pst ka.cleft mid 3sg.nf anus with

Libre mientras que él estaba acostado el morrocoy se volteó con el rabo

30 Mot é ri'manója riyuíchaka
Morphèmes é ri= i'ma -nója ri= yuí -cha -ka
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf cop conc 3sg.nf leave pst ***

richó yenuyá i'michá , ja'cháro yáwi
 ri= chú =o yenu =eyá i'mi -chá ja' -chá -ri =o yáwi
 3sg.nf in mid up from cop pst fall pst nf.ss mid tiger

chá , mathi'yári yáwi pe'yowá
 chá mathi' -yá -ri yáwi pe'yo =ewá
 on cut pst nf.ss tiger half around

Libre estando ahí se tiró de arriba, se cayó encima del tigre y lo cortó por la mitad

31 Mot réjé rikapicháchiya yáwi
Morphèmes ri= eje ri= kapichá -chi -ya yáwi
Glose lex. 3sg.nf until 3sg.nf lose caus pst tiger

i'micháká
 i'mi -chá -ká
 far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí él mató al tigre

32 Mot júpimi jiyári pu'khúní nákarí ... (ri-)
Morphèmes júpi =mi jiyári pu'khú -ní nákarí ***
Glose lex. long_time pfv turtle_sp straight nf uh ***

rináni i'maká , chúwa , rikapichátaka
 ri= náni i'ma -ká chúwa ri= kapichá -ta -ka
 3sg.nf thing cop ka.cleft now 3sg.nf lose caus ka.nz

yáwi eyá , kája rijipí kájé náno
 yáwi eyá kája ri= jipí kájé náni =o
 tiger from already 3sg.nf tail type prepare_fish mid

i'maká , ra'rú pichóro'o richojé i'maká
 i'ma -ka *** *** ri= chojé i'ma -ka
 far.pst ka.pst *** *** 3sg.nf towards_inside far.pst ka.pst

Libre tiempo el morrocoy... coso de él era derecho, ahora, cuando el mató al tigre de ahí, ya como que cola de él se hizo, ahí se torció el casco de él hacia adentro (nan-o: nani-kaje-o, hacer; Pu'khúní jiyári náni i'maká; ra'rú: casco, jipí: cola; pichóro'kajo: torcerse)

33 Mot é rijl'chá yáwi aphíná i'micháká
Morphèmes é ri= jĩ' -chá yáwi aphíná i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf take pst tiger bone far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre él cogio hueso de tigre

34 Mot	é	rikulícha	,	náka	chí	,
Morphèmes	é	ri= kulí -cha		ná -ka	chí	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf search pst		indf indf.sub	emph3	

apála yáwi e'wé kapicháta riká aú
 apála yáwi e'wé kapichá -ta ri= ikhá aú
 maybe tiger brother lose caus 3sg.nf pro because

riphátiya rijwa'tó ja'pá
 ri= iphá -ti -ya ri= jwa'té =ó ja'pá
 3sg.nf arrive caus pst 3sg.nf with mid ***

Libre él buscó, qué será, de pronto hermano de tigre lo mata, por eso él trajo con él ja'tá (armadillo) (ja'tá: armadillo trueno (ja'pá: curare hoja sp)

35 Mot	ja'tá	jló	rímícha	"	ná	inau'kéka
Morphèmes	***	jló	ri= ímí -cha		ná	inau'ké -ka
Glose lex.	***	for	3sg.nf say pst		indf	person indf.sub

iléré " " nuká " ké rímícha " nuwáta
 iléré nu= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha nu= wáta
 med.loc 1sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst 1sg want

pila'ká nojló nákJé "
 pi= la' -ká nu= jló nákJé
 2sg do ka.nz 1sg for thing

Libre él dijo al trueno "qué clase de gente que está ahí", él dijo "yo", "yo quiero que me haga un favor"

36.1 Mot	nuwáta	pila'ká	nojluwá
Morphèmes	nu= wáta	pi= la' -ká	nu= jlu =wá
Glose lex.	1sg want	2sg do ka.nz	1sg for refl

nophuwá " ké rímíchaka ja'tá jló , aú
 nu= aphu =wá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka *** jló aú
 1sg hole refl like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft *** for because

ja'tá kémícha rijló " méké chí piwátaka
 *** kémí -cha ri= jló méké chí pi= wáta -ka
 *** say pst 3sg.nf for indf.manner emph3 2sg want ka.cleft

riká ?
 ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf pro

Libre "yo quiero que usted haga hueco para mí" así él dijo al armadillo trueno, por eso el armadillo trueno le dijo "cómo usted lo quiere?" "de dos puertas" así él le dijo, uno grande, y otro pequeño

36.2 Mot	" "	iyamá	rinumaná	"	ké
Morphèmes		iyamá	ri= numaná		ké
Glose lex.		two	3sg.nf door		like

rímíchaka , pajlúwája kajúni kéchami apú
 ri= ímí -cha -ka pajlúwá =ja kajú -ni kéchámi apú
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft one lim much nf after other

kamujúni
 kamu'jú -ni
 small nf

Libre

37 Mot " jé " ké ja'tá kémicha rijló ,
Morphèmes jé ké *** kémí -cha ri= jló
Glose lex. good like *** say pst 3sg.nf for

réjé rilichá rijló raphuwá i'michá
 ri= eje ri= li' -chá ri= jló ri= aphu =wá i'mi -chá
 3sg.nf until 3sg.nf do pst 3sg.nf for 3sg.nf hole refl far.pst pst

Libre bueno le dijo el armadillo trueno ahí mismo (en ese lugar) el hizo hueco para él

38 Mot ré rito'chó náke rinumaná
Morphèmes ri= é ri= to' -chá =o náke ri= numaná
Glose lex. 3sg.nf in 3sg.nf lie pst mid uh 3sg.nf door

chú , rapho'cháka yáwi aphínámi chojé
 chú ri= apho' -chá -ka yáwi aphíná =mi chojé
 in 3sg.nf blow pst ka.prog tiger bone nom.pfv towards_inside

i'micháká

i'mi -chá -ka

far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí estaba acostado en la puerta del hueco, estaba soplando hueso de tigre

39 Mot rapho'chá yáwi aphínámi , é
Morphèmes ri= apho' -chá yáwi aphíná =mi é
Glose lex. 3sg.nf blow pst tiger bone nom.pfv then

re'wémí jemi'chá rapho'ká re'wé
 ri= e'wé =mi jemi' -chá ri= apho' -ká ri= e'wé
 3sg.nf brother nom.pfv listen pst 3sg.nf blow ka.nz 3sg.nf brother

aphínámi chojé , é rímícha " ná
 aphíná =mi chojé é ri= ímí -cha ná
 bone nom.pfv towards_inside then 3sg.nf say pst indf

inau'ké kapichátari no'wé i'maká , chúwa
 inau'ké kapichá -ta -ri nu= e'wé i'ma -ka chúwa
 person lose caus nf.cleft 1sg brother far.pst ka.pst now

ramájika " ké rímícha , raú
 ri= amá -jĩ -ka ké ri= ímí -cha ri= aú
 3sg.nf see fut ka.topic like 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf cause

ri'jĩchá réjõ ripé ja'jõ
 ri= i'jĩ -chá ri= ejo ri= ipé ja' -je =o
 3sg.nf go pst 3sg.nf towards 3sg.nf for fall purp.mot mid

Libre él sopló el hueso del tigre, y el hermano escuchó que él estaba soplando en el hueso del hermano; él dijo "qué clase de gente será que mató a mi hermano, ahí se lo va a ver" así él dijo, por eso él se fue a postearlo (ripé ja'jõ: esperar cacería (para matar), pistear~postear)

40 Mot amíchari rito'kó mana'í tá
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri ri= to' -ka =ó mana'í tâ
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss 3sg.nf lie ka.nz mid calm emph1

raphú chú , rito'cháko i'micháká ,
 ri= aphú chú ri= to' -chá -ka =o i'mi -chá -ká
 3sg.nf hole in 3sg.nf lie pst ka.nz mid far.pst pst ka.pst

raphocháka yáwi aphínámi chojé
 ri= apho -chá -ka yáwi aphíná =mi chojé
 3sg.nf *** pst ka.nz tiger bone nom.pfv towards_inside

Libre él miró que él estaba tranquilo acostado en el hueco soplando en el hueso del tigre

41 Mot e'yá ripatíya riká " kro "
Morphèmes e'yá ri= patí -ya ri= ikhá ***
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf grab pst 3sg.nf pro ***

ripatíya riká aú rímícha " új "
 ri= patí -ya ri= ikhá aú ri= ímí -cha ***
 3sg.nf grab pst 3sg.nf pro because 3sg.nf say pst ***

Libre ahí mismo lo agarró "kró", por eso él dijo "uj"

42 Mot aú iyarí pitúka'chiya rinúupi , rímícha
Morphèmes aú iyarí *** *** ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex. because turtle_sp *** *** 3sg.nf say pst

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre por eso el morrocoy estiró el pescuezo y le dijo

43 Mot ri'chicháká rímícha " ja ja
Morphèmes ri= i'chi -chá -ká ri= ímí -cha =ja =ja
Glose lex. 3sg.nf mock pst ka.insub? 3sg.nf say pst lim lim

ja ja "
 =ja =ja
 lim lim

Libre él se rió y él dijo "jajaja" (i'chakájé: reirse)

44 Mot ná ilé mapéchúru wáni patíya léri
Morphèmes ná ilé ma- péchú -ru wáni patí -ya ***
Glose lex. indf med priv thought sg emph shine pst ***

a'páre , ñaké mana'íja nukátâ majó
 a'pá -re ñaké mana'í =ja nu= ikhá tâ majó
 root alien2 dist.simil calm lim 1sg pro emph1 prox.toward

Libre quién será ese muy bruto que agarró raíz de platanillo si yo estoy muy tranquilo acá (léri: platanillo, a'páre: raiz)

45 Mot yé
Morphèmes ***
Glose lex. ***

Libre uy

46 Mot	ké	yáwi	kémíchaka		"	méké
Morphèmes	ké	yáwi	kémí -cha	-ka		méké
Glose lex.	like	tiger	say	pst	ka.cleft	indf.manner

cháwani	u'waítá	i'michó		"	ké	rímícha
cháwa -ni	***	i'mi -cha	=ó		ké	ri= ímí -cha
pity nf	***	cop pst	mid		like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre uy dijo el tigre, qué lástima porquería se salvo" (i'makájô: salvarse)

47 Mot	é	riyuícha		e'yá	riícho
Morphèmes	é	ri= yuí -cha		e'yá	ri= í -cha =o
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf stay	pst	in	3sg.nf scape pst mid

raphú	chojé
ri= aphú	chojé
3sg.nf hole	towards_inside

Libre él lo soltó de ahí se escapó al hueco (ñakájô: escaparse)

48 Mot	rímícha		"	méké	nuyuícha	wáni
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha			méké	nu= yuí -cha	wáni
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say	pst		indf.manner	1sg stay	pst emph

u'waítâ	ñáko		"	ké	rímícha	, aú
u'wá -ĩ tâ	ñá -ka	=o		ké	ri= ímí -cha	aú
ugly nf emph1	scape ka.nz	mid		like	3sg.nf say	pst because

jra'chó	ripé		, ũká	mékéla'jé
ri= ja' -cha	=ó ri= ipé		unká	mékéla'jé
3sg.nf fall	pst mid	3sg.nf for	neg	indf.manner

ri'malájo		ké	rímíchaka		, yáwi
ri= i'ma -lá -je	=o	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		yáwi
3sg.nf tell v.neg fut	mid	like	3sg.nf say	pst ka.cleft	tiger

kémíchaka	, é	jra'chó	ripé
kémí -cha -ka	é	ri= ja' -cha	=ó ri= ipé
say pst ka.cleft	then	3sg.nf fall	pst mid 3sg.nf for

rinumanáje	i'micháká
ri= numaná =eje	i'mi -chá -ka
3sg.nf door until	far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre él dijo "cómo es posible que yo lo dejé escaparse ese porquería", por eso él ya quedó posteando, "él no se va a salvar" él dijo, el tigre dijo, él estaba ahí guardando la puerta

49 Mot	eyá	ũká	riwe'íflacha		, yáwi	ũká
Morphèmes	eyá	unká	ri= we'í -la -cha		yáwi	unká
Glose lex.	since_then	neg	3sg.nf know	v.neg	pst	tiger neg

we'íflacha	, iyárí	iyamá	kája	raphú
we'í -la -cha	iyárí	iyamá	kája	ri= aphú
know v.neg	pst turtle_sp	two	emph?	3sg.nf hole

i'micháká
 i'mi -chá -ká
 cop pst ka.cleft

Libre él no sabía, el tigre no sabía que el morrocoy tenía dos huecos (r-eyá: de ahí, r-e'yá: ahí mismo)

50 Mot	kélé	kamujúni	raphú	chuwá						
Morphèmes	kélé	kamu'jú	-ni	ri=	aphú	chu	=ewá			
Glose lex.	med	small	nf	3sg.nf	hole	in	around			
jrácho'o		ra'jnewá			ajñáje		mana'ítá			
ri=	jácho'	=o	ri=	a'jne	=wá	ajñá	-je	mana'í	tâ	
3sg.nf	go_out	mid	3sg.nf	food	refl	eat	purp.mot	calm	emph1	
a'jñañojô	,	ri'jichá		yáwi	cháje	yakáa'jo			,	
a'jñañojô		ri=	i'jĩ	-chá	yáwi	cháje	yakáa'	-je	=o	
dist.toward		3sg.nf	go	pst	tiger	more_than	see	purp.mot	mid	
amíchari		yáwi	yéwíchaja		taki'cháka		me'pijĩ	nakú		
amí	-cha	-ri	yáwi	yéwícha	=ja	takhi'	-chá	-ka	me'pijĩ	nakú
see	pst	nf.ss	tiger	almost	lim	die	pst	ka.nz	hunger	on

Libre por ese hueco pequeñito él se salía a comer tranquilito por allá, él se fue mirar donde el tigre, y miró el tigre ya se estaba muriendo de hambre

51 Mot	ũká	riwe'píacha		ajĩ	ké	raphú			
Morphèmes	unká	ri=	we'pí	-la	-cha	ajĩ	ké	ri=	aphú
Glose lex.	neg	3sg.nf	know	v.neg	pst	prox	like	3sg.nf	hole

i'micháká iyamá
 i'mi -chá -ká iyamá
 cop pst ka.nz two

Libre él no sabía que así él tenía dos huecos

52 Mot	mékétanajémi	ramícha		kája	yáwi					
Morphèmes	mékétanajemi	ri=	amí	-cha	kája	yáwi				
Glose lex.	***	3sg.nf	see	pst	already	tiger				
to'chó	mátámi	,	é	rinócha		píño	riká		,	
to'	-chá	=o	mátámi	é	ri=	nó	-cha	píño	ri=	ikhá
lie	pst	mid	deeply	then	3sg.nf	kill	pst	again	3sg.nf	pro
é	rijĩ'chá		píño	raphínámi						
é	ri=	jĩ'	-chá	píño	ri=	aphíná	=mi			
then	3sg.nf	take	pst	again	3sg.nf	bone	nom.pfv			

Libre al rato él miró el tigre ya estaba acostao muerto, ahí él lo mató otra vez a él, êl cogió otra vez hueso de él (meketanajemi: al rato, meketana: como de largo?)

53 Mot	kája ikája	jra'píchaka		píño		
Morphèmes	kája ikája	ri=	ja'pí	-cha	-ka	píño
Glose lex.	at_that_time	3sg.nf	pass	pst	ka.topic	again

Libre y así se fue

54 Mot	ja'píchari	ajǐ	ké	iphákicharo
Morphèmes	ja'pá -cha -ri	ajǐ	ké	iphá -ki -cha -ri =o
Glose lex.	pass pst nf.ss	prox	like	arrive ass pst nf.ss mid

kawayá jwa'té
kawayá jwa'té
deer with

Libre se fue y se encontró con venado (iphákakajo: encontrarse)

55.1 Mot	kawayá	ajalákícha	riká	" éi , ná
Morphèmes	kawayá	ajalákí -cha	ri= ikhá	*** ná
Glose lex.	deer	greet pst	3sg.nf pro	*** indf

inau'kéka ?
inau'ké -ka
person indf.sub

Libre el venado le saludó "uy qué gente es?" "yo" él dijo, "quién es usted, es morrocoy? "sí, yo soy"

55.2 Mot	" , "	nuká	" ké	rímícha	," ná
Morphèmes		nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ná
Glose lex.		1sg pro	like	3sg.nf say pst	indf

chí piká , jiyáí ?"
chí pi= ikhá jiyáí
emph3 2sg pro turtle_sp

Libre

55.3 Mot	," á'a nuká "
Morphèmes	á'a nu= ikhá
Glose lex.	yes 1sg pro

Libre

56.1 Mot	" piká chí	nemakáre	nakú	achiñá
Morphèmes	pi= ikhá chí	na= ima -káre	nakú	achiñá
Glose lex.	2sg pro emph3	3pl say arg.nz1	on	man

wáni ?"
wáni
emph

Libre "de usted es que dicen que dicen que es muy varón" "sí, uno es hombre por eso le dicen a uno que uno es hombre" así él le dijo, "cuando uno nace la mamá de uno dice de uno "mi hijo nació varón", de ahí uno ya es hombre, de eso todavía estoy acá" así él le dijo

56.2 Mot	" á'a achiñá iná	i'maká	aũ	, néma
Morphèmes	á'a achiñá iná	i'ma -ka	aũ	na= ímá
Glose lex.	yes man	gnr.pro cop ka.nz	cause	3pl say

iná jló achiñá " ké rímíchaka rijló ,
iná jló achiñá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló
gnr.pro for man like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

iná	motho'ká	wakajé	iná	jaló	kémá	iná
iná	motho' -ká	wakajé	iná	jaló	kémá	iná
gnr.pro	cook ka.nz	date	gnr.pro	mother.ref	say	gnr.pro
nakú	" nu'ríkhá	motho'chári		achiñá	, eyá	
nakú	nu= i'rí =khá	motho' -chá -ri		achiñá	eyá	
on	1sg son ***	cook pst	nf.cleft	man	since_then	
kája	iná i'má	achiñá penáje	, riká		penáje	
kája	iná i'ma	achiñá penáje	ri= ikhá		penáje	
already	gnr.pro live	man for	3sg.nf pro		for	
nuká	maáré	" rímíchaka		rijló		
nu= ikhá	maáré	ri= ímí -cha -ka		ri= jló		
1sg pro	prox.loc	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	3sg.nf for		

Libre

57 Mot	aú	rímícha		rijló		nuwáta
Morphèmes	aú	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló		nu= wáta
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf for		1sg want
watáã'kachó		wáijlá		náka		achiñá wáni
wa= atáã' -ka -chí =ó		wa= á ijlá		ná -ka		achiñá wáni
1pl try ass purp2 mid		1pl see frust		indf indf.sub		man emph
, chúwa	jwecho'j'íko			wáijlá		náka
chúwa	wa= jecho' -j'í -ka =o			wa= á ijlá		ná -ka
now	1pl run fut	ka.cleft mid		1pl see frust		indf indf.sub
peyajwéníwani		ké rímícha				
peyajwé -ní wáni		ké ri= ímí -cha				
healthy nf emph		like 3sg.nf say pst				

Libre el le dijo "vamos a apostar pa ver quién es hombre varón, ahora vamos correr para ver quién es más valiente" así él dijo waéchi: wamáchi ; atáãkajo: watánaka; wáijlá: wamá ijlá

58 Mot	ũká	méké	i'malá	" ké		
Morphèmes	unká	méké	i'ma -lá	ké		
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	cop v.neg	like		
rímíchaka		, jiyárí	kémíchaka	, "	kája	
ri= ímí -cha -ka		jiyárí	kémí -cha -ka		kája	
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		turtle_sp	say pst ka.cleft		already	
wáni noi'chó		muníko		watáã'ko		"
wáni nu= ai' -cha =o		muní =kó		wa= atáã' -ka =o		
emph 1sg tire pst mid		tomorrow emph4		1pl try ka.cleft mid		
ké rímíchaka						
ké ri= ímí -cha -ka						
like 3sg.nf say pst		ka.cleft				

Libre "no hay problema" dijo morrocoy, "ya estoy cansado mañana vamos a apostar" (aya'kájó: cansarse, muní-ko : muní)

59 Mot	jé	ké	kawayá	kémíchaka		jiyárí	jló
Morphèmes	jé	ké	kawayá	kémí -cha -ka		jiyárí	jló
Glose lex.	good	like	deer	say pst ka.cleft		turtle_sp	for

Libre "bueno" dijo el venado al morrocoy

60 Mot	riká	jlapí	jiyárí	...	jiyárí	pitíya
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	jlapí		jiyárí	pití -ya
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	night		turtle_sp	pile_up pst

phiyúké	rikáa'na	iñepú	kétána
phiyúké	ri=	iká'na	iñepú
all	3sg.nf	family	way

Libre esa noche morroy dejó sus familiares a la orilla del camino (kétána: a lo largo de)

61 Mot	é	rímícha	najló	marí	ké
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	na=	jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	3pl

Libre él dijo a ellos así

62 Mot	é	muní	jwecho'jĩko	kawayá
Morphèmes	é	muní	wa= jecho'	-jĩ -ka =o
Glose lex.	then	tomorrow	1pl	run fut

jwa'té	puwa'ká	riwáa'jĩka	nojló	riloko'páni
jwa'té	puwa'ká	ri= wáa' -jĩ -ka	nu= jló	ri= loko'páni
with	if	3sg.nf	call fut	ka.when

i'majéré	a'jĩpajéré	rijló
i'ma -jé -ri	a'jĩpa -jé -ri	ri= jló
tell fut	nf.nz	answer fut

Libre mañana vamos correr con venado, cuando el me llama, el que va a estar al dirección de él ese es el que le va a contestar (wáa'kaje: llamar, a'jipakájé: contestar)

63.1 Mot	riwáa'je	piño	a'jínaré	ritukumá	kémáchí
Morphèmes	ri=	wáa' -je	piño	a'jínaré	***
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	call fut	again	dist.loc	***

i'majé	a'jipajé	rijló	, a'jná	a'jná	(????)
i'ma -je	a'jipa -jé	ri= jló	a'jná	a'jná	
tell fut	answer fut	3sg.nf	for	dist	dist

Libre

63.2 Mot	nucháa'tajĩka	riká	éjé	, kája
Morphèmes	nu=	cháa'ta -jĩ -ka	ri=	ikhá =eje
Glose lex.	1sg	defeat fut	ka.nz	3sg.nf

penáje	i'majíká	a'jipajérí	rijló
penáje	i'ma -jĩ -ka	a'jipa -jé -rí	ri= jló
for	cop fut	A.nz2	answer fut

Libre él va a llamar otra vez él que va a estar más adelantico ese es el que le va a contestar, cuando yo lo gano el que va a estar de último le va a contestar (ri-tukumá: adelante de; cháatakaje: ganar)

64 Mot	ké	rímíchaka	rikáa'na	jló
Morphèmes	ké	ri=	ímí -cha -ka	ri=
Glose lex.	like	3sg.nf	say	pst

jlapí kėtána jraokáchiya ne'micháká
 jlapí kėtána ri= jaoká -chi -ya na= i'mi -chá -ká
 night during 3sg.nf pile caus pst 3pl go pst ka.cleft

Libre así él dijo a los familiares de él, toda la noche él los amontonó (jawakátakaje: amontonar
 /= jaokátakaje: avisar)

65 Mot kája ikája ne'michá muní ké jlapiyámí
Morphèmes kája ikája na= i'mi -chá muní ké lapiyámí
Glose lex. at_that_time 3pl cop pst next_day morning

nephákichako pĩño
 na= iphá -ki -cha -ka =o pĩño
 3pl arrive ass pst ka.cleft mid again

Libre así vivieron (?), de mañanita temprano ellos se encontraron (iphákakajo: encontrarse)

66 Mot wajme'tíya " jiyárí ké , "
Morphèmes wa= jme'tí -ya jiyárí ké
Glose lex. 1pl become_light pst turtle_sp like

wajme'tíya " ké kawayá kémícha rijló
 wa= jme'tí -ya ké kawayá kémí -cha ri= jló
 1pl become_light pst like deer say pst 3sg.nf for

Libre "buenos días" dijo morrocoy, "bueno días" dijo venado

67 Mot é kája piká wataá'kalojé " " jé "
Morphèmes é kája pi= ikhá wa= atáã' -ka lojé jé
Glose lex. then 2sg pro 1pl try ka.adv purp3 good

ké rímícha , " chúwa wakeño'jíka " ké
 ké ri= ímí -cha chúwa wa= keño' -j' -ka ké
 like 3sg.nf say pst now 1pl begin fut ka.topic like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre ya está listo para apostar?" "sí" "ahora vamos a empezar" (vimy: falta "listo" kája listo
 piká; atáãkaje: apostar)

68 Mot kája ikája nakeño'chá jecho'kájó
Morphèmes kája ikája na= keño' -chá jecho' -káje =o
Glose lex. at_that_time 3pl begin pst run ev.nz2 mid

Libre ahí ya empezaron a correr

69 Mot mékétanjemi kawayá kémícha , ajalákícha
Morphèmes mékétanjemi kawayá kémí -cha ajalákí -cha
Glose lex. *** deer say pst greet pst

riká " yawotí "
 ri= ikhá ***
 3sg.nf pro ***

Libre al rato el venado le dijo, le llamó "yawotí" (vimy: kémícha sobra)

70 Mot	"	úu	"	ké	riloko'páni	,	é
Morphèmes		úu		ké	ri= loko'páni		é
Glose lex.		hey		like	3sg.nf side		then

chájewani kawayá jecho'cháko i'micháká
 cháje wáni kawayá jecho' -chá -ka =o i'mi -chá -ká
 more_than emph deer run pst ka.cleft mid far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre "uu" hacia él (el del frente le dijo), ahí este venado corrió más duro todavía (loko'pani: direccion)

71 Mot		rajalákícha		píño	" yawotí "	"	úu	"	ké
Morphèmes		ri= ajalákí	-cha	píño	***		úu		ké
Glose lex.		3sg.nf greet	pst	again	***		hey		like

ritukumá i'micháká jemi'chári " ój méké
 *** i'mi -chá -ká jemi' -chá -ri *** méké
 *** far.pst pst ka.pst listen pst nf.ss *** indf.manner

ya'jicha wáni " ké rímíchaka
 ya'jicha wáni ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 far emph like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre é llamó otra vez "yawotí", el que estaba adelante escuchó "uu", "uy ya está muy lejos" dijo

72 Mot	é	ja'pícha		píño	,	kája	ũká
Morphèmes	é	ri= ja'pí	-cha	píño		kája	unká
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf pass	pst	again		already	neg

méké kawayá la'lachá , riwái'cha " Yawotí
 méké kawayá la' -la -chá ri= wái' -cha Yawotí
 indf.manner deer do v.neg pst 3sg.nf call pst wise_turtle

" , ijáma " oo " ke ra'jipicháká ritukumájó kája
 *** *** ké ri= a'jipi -chá -ká *** kája
 *** *** like 3sg.nf answer pst ka.nz *** already

Libre ahí pasó otra vez, ya venado ya no podía, él llamó "yawotí", lejos contestó "óo" más adelante (a'jipakájé: contestar; ijáma: lejos adv.) (vimy: sobra el kája, no hace nada)

73 Mot	é	ũká	méké	kawayá	,	éjé	kawayá
Morphèmes	é	unká	méké	kawayá		=eje	kawayá
Glose lex.	then	neg	indf.manner	deer		after	deer

kapiícho , riwó nakú ritaji'chá kawayá
 kapií -cha =o ri= wó nakú ri= taji' -chá kawayá
 lose pst mid 3sg.nf stomach on 3sg.nf die pst deer

kawayá , riká wáni jiyáí iphíchari kája
 kawayá ri= ikhá wáni jiyáí iphí -cha -ri kája
 deer 3sg.nf pro emph turtle_sp arrive pst nf.cleft already

penáje , amíchari mátami kawayá támi
 penáje amí -cha -ri mátami kawayá támi
 for see pst nf.ss deeply deer sickness

to'cháko
to' -chá -ka =o
lie pst ka.nz mid

Libre ahí kawayá ya no (mocho), hasta ahí murio venado, él se murió de cansancio venado venado, ahí llegó el propio morrocoy de último, él miró el venao ya estaba bien muerto

74 Mot aũ rímícha méké chávani kháãjĩ
Morphèmes aũ ri= ímí -cha méké cháva -ni kháãjĩ
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst indf.manner pity nf prox

la'ká , ũká riwe'íla ná inau'ké jwa'té
la' -ká unká ri= we'í -la ná inau'ké jwa'té
do ka.cleft neg 3sg.nf know v.neg indf person with

ri'michá kháãjĩ
ri= i'mi -chá kháãjĩ
3sg.nf cop pst prox

Libre entonces él dijo "qué lástima le pasó a este, él no sabía con qué clase de gente él estaba"

75 Mot é kája (kawayá)... iyári jĩ'cháka
Morphèmes é kája kawayá iyári jĩ' -chá -ka
Glose lex. then deer turtle_sp take pst ka.topic

píño kawayá aphínámi , jra'pícha píño
píño kawayá aphíná =mi ri= ja'pí -cha píño
again deer bone nom.pfv 3sg.nf pass pst again

Libre ahí ya morrocoy cogió otra vez hueso de venado, siguió otra vez

76 Mot iphákicharo píño ichirí jwa'té
Morphèmes iphá -ki -cha -ri =o píño ichirí jwa'té
Glose lex. arrive ass pst nf.ss mid again opossum with

Libre se encontró otra vez con chucha (micura)

77 Mot najalákícha pekhówáka " nuteló , pikhá
Morphèmes na= ajalákí -cha pekhówáka nuteló pi= ikhá
Glose lex. 3pl greet pst each_other friends 2sg pro

nuteló " " á'a " ké rímíchaka najalákícha
nuteló á'a ké ri= ímí -cha -ka na= ajalákí -cha
friends yes like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3pl greet pst

pekhówáka
pekhówáka
each_other

Libre se saludaron el uno al otro "usted es mi paisano, mi paisano?" "sí" él dijo, ellos se saludaron

78.1 Mot aũ rímícha " pikhá chí kélé
Morphèmes aũ ri= ímí -cha pi= ikhá chí kélé
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst 2sg pro emph3 med

yukúná	eja'wá	chú	kajú	wáni	atiñá	wáni	?"
yukú -ná	eja'wá	chú	kajú	wáni	atiñá	wáni	
story alien3	forest	in	much	emph	man	emph	

Libre

78.2 Mot	"	á'a	"	ké	rímícha	,	ké	jiyáí
Morphèmes		á'a		ké	ri= ímí -cha		ké	jiyáí
Glose lex.		yes		like	3sg.nf say pst		like	turtle_sp

kémícha	"	nuká	kélé	atiñá	nemakáre		nakú
kémí -cha		nu= ikhá	kélé	atiñá	na= ima -káre		nakú
say pst		1sg pro	med	man	3pl say arg.nz1		on

Libre por eso él le dijo "usted es el famoso que cuentan mucho en el mundo que es muy macho?"

79 Mot	pá	méka		no'napitá	nakuwá
Morphèmes	pá	mé	-ka	nu= a'napitá	naku =wá
Glose lex.	look	indf.manner	indf.sub	1sg arm	on refl

a'jí	a'phámí		pato'kó		,	iná	motho'ká
a'jí	a'phá =mi		pato' -ka	=ó		iná	motho' -ká
pepper	residue	nom.pfv	perch ka.cleft	mid		gnr.pro	cook ka.nz

wakajé	iná	jaló	kémá	"	nu'ríká
wakajé	iná	jaló	kémá		nu= i'rí =ká
date	gnr.pro	mother.ref	say		1sg son ***

motho'chári		atiñá	,	penáje	iná	atiñá	"	ké
motho' -chá -ri		atiñá		penáje	iná	atiñá		ké
cook pst	nf.cleft	man		for	gnr.pro	man		like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre mire como está pegao en mi brazo bagazo de ají, "el día que uno nace ahí la mamá de uno dice "mi hijo nació varón, por eso uno es macho" (a'jí: ají, aphámí: bagazo; pato'kájó: pegarse),

80 Mot	aú	rímícha		nuwáta	pijwa'té
Morphèmes	aú	ri= ímí -cha		nu= wáta	pi= jwa'té
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf say pst		1sg want	2sg with

atáã'kajo
atáã' -kaje =o
try ev.nz2 mid

Libre él dijo "yo quiero apostar contigo"

81 Mot	náka		jña'ká	me'píjí	panáku
Morphèmes	ná -ka		jña' -ka	me'píjí	pa= náku
Glose lex.	indf	indf.sub	take ka.nz	hunger	impers on

Libre "a ver quién aguanta hambre"

82 Mot	"	marí	(náke)	a'jeré	jrená	"	ké	
Morphèmes		marí	***	***	ri= jená		ké	
Glose lex.		prox	***	***	3sg.nf hour		like	
rímícha	,	marí	iyepúlá	aúka'jĩka		é	,	
ri= ímí -cha		marí	***	aúka' -jĩ -ka		é		
3sg.nf say pst		prox	***	put fut ka.nz		in		
ritajnájĩko	,			apú wakajé	raúka'jĩka			
ri= tajná -jĩ -ka	=o			apú wakajé	ri= aúka' -jĩ -ka			
3sg.nf finish fut ka.when	mid			other date	3sg.nf put fut ka.nz			
jwa'té	,	kétána	wetájĩka		wachó			
jwa'té		kétána	wa= itá -jĩ -ka		wa= chú =o			
with during		1pl close fut ka.topic	1pl in mid					
pajlúwáta		kéri	kétána					
pajlúwá -ta		kéri	kétána					
one cls:flat moon		during						

Libre "este va a ser seña", cuando este uvilla se coseche(dé fruta), cuando se va a acabar; pa la próxima que él se cosecha, ahí vamos a encerrarnos durante un mes (aúka'kaje: cosecharse, itákáje: cerrar, wa-chú-ò: ourselves, jwa'té (conj.) cuando)

83 Mot	pajlúwa	jarechí	kétána	"	ké	rímíchaka
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	jarechí	kétána		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	one	year	during		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

rijló
ri= jló
3sg.nf for

Libre un año" él le dijo

84 Mot	"	jée	"	ké	rímícha	"	piká	kalé
Morphèmes		jé		ké	ri= ímí -cha		pi= ikhá	kalé
Glose lex.		good		like	3sg.nf say pst		2sg pro	emph5

painéko " ké ichirí kémícha iyáří jló
painéko ké ichirí kémí -cha iyáří jló
first like opossum say pst turtle_sp for

Libre "bueno" él dijo, "usted primero" le dijo chucha a morrocoy

85 Mot	kája	kéja	richíyaka		jiyáří
Morphèmes	kája	ké =ja	ri= ichí -ya -ka		jiyáří
Glose lex.	already	like lim	3sg.nf close pst ka.topic		turtle_sp

chá i'micháká
chá i'mi -chá -ká
on far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre y así el cerró al morrocoy

86 Mot	iyáří	i'michá	,	ũká	kája	jichirí
Morphèmes	iyáří	i'mi -chá		unká	kája	jichirí
Glose lex.	turtle_sp	cop pst		neg	already	opossum

we'í	lacha		ajǐ	kéka		jiyá	aphú	
we'í	-la	-cha	ajǐ	ké	-ka	jiyá	aphú	
know	v.neg	pst	prox	like	indf.sub	turtle_sp	hole	
i'micháká			iyamá	,	apú	apú	raphú	chiyá
i'mi	-chá	-ká	iyamá		apú	apú	ri=	aphú
cop	pst	ka.cleft	two		other	other	3sg.nf	hole
chiyá								in.from
jiyá	mana'ítá			jráo'chako				
jiyá	mana'í	tâ		ri=	jáo'	-cha	-ka	=o
turtle_sp	calm	emph1		3sg.nf	go_out	pst	ka.nz	mid
ra'jnewá			ajñáje					i'micháká
ri=	a'jne	=wá	ajñá	-je				i'mi
3sg.nf	food	refl	eat	purp.mot	far.pst	pst	ka.pst	

Libre la chucha no sabía que el morrocoy tenía otro hueco, por el otro hueco morrocoy tranquilamente salía a comer (vimy: jiyá jáo'chako)

87.1	Mot	ichirí		i'michá		richáje		yakáa'jo	
	Morphèmes	ichirí		i'mi	-chá	ri=	cháje	yakáa'	-je =o
	Glose lex.	opossum		cop	pst	3sg.nf	at	see	purp.mot mid
		, rajalákícha		riká		"	Yawotí	"	" oo méké
		ri=	ajalákí	-cha	ri=	ikhá	Yawotí	***	méké
		3sg.nf	greet	pst	3sg.nf	pro	wise_turtle	***	indf.manner
		piká	"	"	paláni	"	ké	rímíchaka	, " ũká
		pi=	ikhá		palá	-ni	ké	ri=	ímí -cha -ka
		2sg	pro		good	nf	like	3sg.nf	say pst ka.cleft
		unká							neg
		méké		pila'ló		?"			
		méké		pi=	la'	-lá	=o		
		indf.manner		2sg	do	v.neg	mid		

Libre la chucha se fue a mirar a él, él le llamó "yawotí" "oo, cómo estás?" bien, él dijo "no te pasó nada?" "no, yo estoy igualito" (nu'makhála : igualito)

87.2	Mot	" ũká	,	iná-	,	nu'makhála		nuká	" ké
	Morphèmes	unká		***		nu=	i'ma	-khála	nu= ikhá
	Glose lex.	neg		***		1sg	cop	?nz2	1sg pro like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre

88	Mot	kájakó	,	númá		pijló	"	achiñá	
	Morphèmes	kája	=kó		nu=	ímá	pi=	jló	achiñá
	Glose lex.	already	emph4		1sg	say	2sg	for	man
		nuká	,	ũká		phema'lá		jno'piyá	" ké
		nu=	ikhá		unká	pi=	jema'	-lá	nu= ja'pi =eyá
		1sg	pro		neg	2sg	listen	v.neg	1sg under from like
		rímíchaka							
		ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka				
		3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft				

Libre yo te he dicho que yo soy hombre y usted no me hace caso" (kája=kó: vimy igual sin =kó)

89 Mot jra'pañacha jrená
Morphèmes ri= ja'pá -ña -cha ri= jená
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pass appl pst 3sg.nf hour

Libre él se pasó de la fecha

90 Mot kája pajlúwáta jarechí ja'píchaka
Morphèmes kája pajlúwá -ta jarechí ja'pá -cha -ka
Glose lex. already one cls:flat year pass pst ka.cleft

Libre ya había pasado un año

91 Mot ũká rijme'tálacha rápu
Morphèmes unká ri= jme'tá -la -cha ri= ápu
Glose lex. neg 3sg.nf become_light v.neg pst 3sg.nf path

i'micháká , iyamá jrená la'kaná nakú iyárí
i'mi -chá -ká iyamá ri= jená la' -kaná nakú iyárí
far.pst pst ka.pst two 3sg.nf hour do ev.nz1 on turtle_sp

kémícha rijló " méké chí júpi
kémí -cha ri= jló méké chí júpi
say pst 3sg.nf for indf.manner emph3 long_time

pitaláa nuchá kája nuwe'pí iyaá'pécha náke
pi= ita -láa nu= chá kája nu= we'pí iyaá -pé -cha náke
2sg close hort? 1sg on already 1sg know two time inch uh

iyapúlá aúkaka , ũká pijme'tála nucháya ké
*** *** unká pi= jme'tá -la nu= cháya ké
*** *** neg 2sg become_light v.neg 1sg on like

rímícha
ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf say pst

Libre él no le abrió la puerta, yendo pa dos años el morrocoy le dijo "por qué tanto tiempo me encierra, yo sé que ya va dos veces que ta cosechando ese uvilla, usted no me abre la puerta" (pitáká ~ pitaláa: cerrar, r-ápu: la puerta)

92 Mot kétána ichirí pichíyaka
Morphèmes kétána ichirí pichí -ya -ka
Glose lex. meanwhile opossum pile_up pst ka.topic

ra'jnewá i'micháká rapú chojé
ri= a'jne =wá i'mi -chá -ka ri= aphú chojé
3sg.nf food refl far.pst pst ka.pst 3sg.nf hole towards_inside

Libre mientras eso la chucha amontonaba para él comida al hueco (pitákaje: llevar)

93 Mot kája ikája iyárí jái'chako
Morphèmes kája ikája iyárí jái' -cha -ka =o
Glose lex. at_that_time turtle_sp go_out pst ka.topic mid

i'micháká		nákerí	raphú		chiyá	i'micháká
i'mi	-chá -ká	nákeri	ri=	aphú	chiyá	i'mi -chá -ká
far.pst	pst ka.pst	uh	3sg.nf	hole	in.from	far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre y así el morrocoy se salió del hueco

94 Mot	é	ritíya		píño	nákari	ichirí	chá
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ití -ya	píño	nákari	ichirí	chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	close pst	again	uh	opossum	on

raphú	chojé		i'micháká
ri=	aphú	chojé	i'mi -chá -ká
3sg.nf	hole	towards_inside	far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ahí él encerró a la chucha en el hueco

95 Mot	rímícha		rijló	"	chúwathá
Morphèmes	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	jló	chúwa thá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.nf	for	now ***

pi'jnajíká		píño	"
pi=	i'jna -jǐ -ka	píño	
2sg	go fut ka.topic	again	

Libre él le dijo "ahora sí te toca ir otra vez"

96.1 Mot	"	mékétana		júpika
Morphèmes		mé	kétána	júpi -ka
Glose lex.		indf.manner	during	long_time indf.sub

pitájíka		nuchá	?"
pi=	itá -jǐ -ka	nu=	chá
2sg	close fut ka.cleft	1sg	on

Libre

96.2 Mot	ké	ichirí	kémíchaka		rijló	,
Morphèmes	ké	ichirí	kémí -cha -ka		ri=	jló
Glose lex.	like	opossum	say pst ka.cleft		3sg.nf	for

kája	nuwe'í	méké		júpika		nu'maká	,
kája	nu=	we'í	méké	júpi	-ka	nu=	i'ma -ka
already	1sg	know	indf.manner	long_time	indf.sub	1sg	cop ka.nz

kétána	pi'majíká		kélé	ulawí	chú	ké
kétána	pi=	i'ma -jǐ -ka	kélé	***	chú	ké
meanwhile	2sg	tell fut ka.topic	med	***	in	like

rímíchaka		ichirí	jló
ri=	ímí -cha -ka	ichirí	jló
3sg.nf	say pst ka.cleft	opossum	for

Libre cuánto tiempo usted me va a encerrar" así le dijo la chucha, "yo sé cuánto tiempo estuve, así de mucho tiempo va a estar ahí en el hueco" así él dijo a la chucha

97 Mot	aú	Yawotí	itíya		richá
Morphèmes	aú	Yawotí	ití -ya	ri=	chá
Glose lex.	because	wise_turtle	close pst	3sg.nf	on

i'micháká , méké , ũká
 i'mi -chá -ka méké unká
 far.pst pst ka.pst indf.manner neg

Libre por eso morrocoy le encerró a él (qué??no??)

98 Mot ra'jnewá ajñákána nakúja wáni
Morphèmes ri= a'jne =wá ajñá -kána nakú =ja wáni
Glose lex. 3sg.nf food refl eat ev.nz1 on lim emph

ichirí i'micháká , méké , ná
 ichirí i'mi -chá -ká méké ná
 opossum live pst ka.cleft indf.manner indf

Libre la chucha solo vivía comiendo no más ([naója] : nakúja)

99 Mot ũká riphátalacha pajlúwa kéri ,
Morphèmes unká ri= iphá -ta -la -cha pajlúwá kéri
Glose lex. neg 3sg.nf arrive caus v.neg pst one moon

kája ritaji'chá me'pijí nakú
 kája ri= taji' -chá me'pijí nakú
 already 3sg.nf die pst hunger on

Libre no llevaba ni un mes ahí ya estaba muriendo de hambre

100 Mot é iyarí i'jíchá ramáje ,
Morphèmes é iyarí i'jĩ -chá ri= amá -je
Glose lex. then turtle_sp go pst 3sg.nf see purp.mot

rajalákícha riká
 ri= ajalákí -cha ri= ikhá
 3sg.nf greet pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí este morrocoy se fue a verlo y lo llamó

101 Mot " ichirí " ké rímícha " oo " ké
Morphèmes ichirí ké ri= ímí -cha *** ké
Glose lex. opossum like 3sg.nf say pst *** like

ra'jipicháká
 ri= a'jipi -chá -ká
 3sg.nf answer pst ka.cleft

Libre "chucha" él dijo, "oo" él le contestó

102 Mot ri'michá píño yakáa'jo
Morphèmes ri= i'mi -chá píño yakáa' je =o
Glose lex. 3sg.nf cop pst again see purp.mot mid

mékétanjemi píño " ichirí " ijámañani ijáma , ũká
 *** píño ichirí ijáma =ñáni *** unká
 *** again opossum *** ñim *** neg

Libre al rato él se fue a mirar otra vez "chucha", él le contestaba poquitico, poquito, ahí no

103 Mot ũká riphátalacha pajlúwata
Morphèmes unká ri= iphá -ta -la -cha pajlúwá -ta
Glose lex. neg 3sg.nf arrive caus v.neg pst one cls:flat

kéri	,	ri'jĩchá		yakáa'jo		amíchari
kéri	ri=	i'jĩ	-chá	yakáa' je	=o	amí -cha -ri
moon	3sg.nf	go	pst	see purp.mot	mid	see pst nf.ss
ichirí	támi	to'cháko			,	kája takhi'cháka
ichirí	támi	to' -chá	-ka	=o	kája	takhi' -chá -ka
opossum	sickness	lie	pst	ka.nz	mid	already die pst ka.nz
raphú		chojé				
ri=	aphú	chojé				
3sg.nf	hole	towards_inside				

Libre no llevaba ni un mes, él se fue a mirar y miró chucha ya muerto, ya murió en el hueco

104 Mot	ichíttétá	apicháta	nophú	ké	rímícha
Morphèmes	***	apichá -ta	nu= aphú	ké	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	***	break caus	1sg hole	like	3sg.nf say pst

Libre qué porquería ese daño mi hueco" él dijo (apicháta-kaje: dañar)

105 Mot	kája	númá	ilékajétá	jló	" ũká	,
Morphèmes	kája	nu= ímá	ilé kájé tá	jló	unká	
Glose lex.	already	1sg say	med type emph1	for	neg	
achiñá	nuká	,	ũká	ra'lá	rinakojó	,
achiñá	nu= ikhá	unká	ri= a' -lá	ri= nakú	=ejo	
man	1sg pro	neg	3sg.nf give v.neg	3sg.nf on	towards	
pá	méka		rikapiíchako		chúwa	,
pá	mé	-ka	ri= kapií -cha -ka	=o	chúwa	
look	indf.manner	indf.sub	3sg.nf lose pst ka.cleft	mid	now	
u'waikajétá		apicháta	nophú	ké	,	kája
u'wá -ĩ	kájé tá	apichá -ta	nu= aphú	ké		kája
ugly	nf type emph1	break caus	1sg hole	like		already
iyári	ja'pícha	píño				
iyári	ja'pí -cha	píño				
turtle_sp	pass pst	again				

Libre ya yo le dije a ese hijueputa porquería que yo era varón, no me hizo caso, mire cómo él se murió, ese feísimo daño mi hueco" de ahí ya morrocoy siguió otra vez (méka: mékéka)

106 Mot	é	ja'pícha
Morphèmes	é	ri= ja'pí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf pass pst

Libre ahí él siguió

107 Mot	iphíchari	nákarí
Morphèmes	iphí -cha -ri	nákarí
Glose lex.	arrive pst nf.ss	uh

Libre llegó

108 Mot	kuwãñá	jwa'té	riphákicha
Morphèmes	***	jwa'té	ri= iphá -ki -cha
Glose lex.	***	with	3sg.nf arrive ass pst

Libre se encontró con bambero

109 Mot	kuwañá	ajalákícha	riká	"	nuteló	marí
Morphèmes	***	ajalákí -cha	ri= ikhá		nuteló	marí
Glose lex.	***	greet pst	3sg.nf pro		friends	prox
kéja	" "	á'a	"	ké	rímícha	" marí kéja "
ké =ja		á'a		ké	ri= ímí -cha	marí ké =ja
like lim		yes		like	3sg.nf say pst	prox like lim
najalákícha		pekhóáka				
na= ajalákí -cha		pekhóáka				
3pl greet pst		each_other				

Libre kuwañá le saludó "paisano cómo estás?" "sí" él dijo, ahí se saludaron

110.1 Mot	"	piká	yukúná	chí	eja'wá	chú
Morphèmes		pi= ikhá	yukú -ná	chí	eja'wá	chú
Glose lex.		2sg pro	story alien3	emph3	forest	in
nemakáre		nakú	:	"	achiñá wáni	" ké eja'wá chú
na= ima -káre		nakú			achiñá wáni	ké eja'wá chú
3pl say arg.nz1		on			man emph	like forest in
nemakáre		nakú	?			
na= ima -káre		nakú				
3pl say arg.nz1		on				

Libre usted es que cuentan en el mundo que ellos dicen que es muy varón?" "sí soy yo" él dijo (es como decir piyukúná)

110.2 Mot	"	á'a	nuká	"	ké	rímíchaka
Morphèmes		á'a	nu= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.		yes	1sg pro		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre

111 Mot	nuká	nemakáre	nakú	"	atiñá	wáni	"
Morphèmes	nu= ikhá	na= ima -káre	nakú		atiñá	wáni	
Glose lex.	1sg pro	3pl say arg.nz1	on		man	emph	
pá	mékéka		a'jí	a'phámi	pato'kó		
pá	méké	-ka	a'jí	***	pato' -ka	=ó	
look	indf.manner	indf.sub	pepper	***	perch ka.cleft	mid	
no'napitá		nakú					
nu= a'napitá		nakú					
1sg arm		on					

Libre yo soy que ellos dicen que soy muy macho, mire cómo bagazo de ají está pegado en mi brazo

112 Mot	iná	yaní	motho'ká	wakajé	iná
Morphèmes	iná	yaní	motho' -ká	wakajé	iná
Glose lex.	gnr.pro	children	cook ka.nz	date	gnr.pro

jaló	kémá	nakú	nákarí	"	atiñá	kája	nu'rí
jaló	kémá	nakú	nákarí		atiñá	kája	nu= i'rí
mother.ref	say	on	uh		man	already	1sg son

motho'chá	,	riká		penáje	iná	atiñá	" ké
motho' -chá		ri=	ikhá	penáje	iná	atiñá	ké
cook pst		3sg.nf	pro	for	gnr.pro	man	like

rímíchaka

ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka
3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft

Libre cuando nace hijos de uno, la mamá de uno dice "mi hijo nació varón, por eso uno es macho" así él dijo

113 Mot	aú	rímícha		nuwáta	pijwa'té	nákai
Morphèmes	aú	ri=	ímí -cha	nu= wáta	pi= jwa'té	nákai
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf	say pst	1sg want	2sg with	uh

wamáijlá		náka		kojno'ótaka		kiñája	a'waná
wa= amá	ijlá	ná -ka		kojno'ó -ta -ka		kiñája	a'waná
1pl see	frust	indf	indf.sub	demolish caus	ka.nz	quickly	tree

ké rímíchaka

ké	ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka
like	3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft

Libre yo quiero con usted...para ver quién tumba rápido palo" así él dijo (wáika dice en vez de wamáijlá; kojno'ótakaje: tumbar)

114 Mot	aú	iyárí	kémícha	rijló	"	náje
Morphèmes	aú	iyárí	kémí -cha	ri= jló		náje
Glose lex.	because	turtle_sp	say pst	3sg.nf for		indf.reason

pikuláto		nunáu	,	kája	númá	pijló	atiñá
pi= kuláta	=o	nu= náku		kája	nu= ímá	pi= jló	atiñá
2sg ***	mid	1sg on		already	1sg say	2sg for	man

nuká	,	ũká	phema'lá		jno'piyá	,	"	jé	"
nu= ikhá		unká	pi= jema' -lá		nu= ja'pi =eyá			jé	
1sg pro		neg	2sg listen v.neg		1sg under from			good	

ké	"	kája	wáni	jnoichó	muní	ko
ké		kája	wáni	jnoichó	muní	***
like		already	emph	***	tomorrow	***

watáã'ko			ké	rímícha		rijló
wa= atáã' -ka	=o		ké	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló
1pl try	ka.cleft	mid	like	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf for

Libre por eso morrocoy le dijo "por qué se burla de mi, ya yo te he dicho que soy varón, y usted no me hace caso", "bueno, ya yo estoy cansado mañana vamos a apostar" (ayakájo: cansarse, atáã'kajo ~ *atánakajo: apostar)

115 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	nákarí	kuwãñá	kémíchaka
Morphèmes		jé		ké	nákarí	***	kémí -cha -ka
Glose lex.		good		like	uh	***	say pst ka.cleft

rijló
ri= jló
3sg.nf for

Libre "bueno" dijo bambero a él

116 Mot	é	riká	jlapí	nákarí	iyárí...	i'michá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ikhá	jlapí	nákarí	***	i'mi -chá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf pro	night	uh	***	cop pst

nákhaóna ... kamárana chi'náikana cháje nákarí chuchúná
*** *** chi'náikana cháje nákarí chuchú -ná
*** *** owner more_than uh grandparent pl

neí i'micháká , riká cháje
na= íí i'mi -chá -ká ri= ikhá cháje
3pl name cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro more_than

ri'michá nayukupéraje , é rímícha "
ri= i'mi -chá *** é ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf cop pst *** then 3sg.nf say pst

chuchúná nuwáta ila'ká nojló nákáje "
chuchú -ná nu= wáta i= la' -ká nu= jló nákáje
grandparent pl 1sg want 2pl do ka.nz 1sg for thing

Libre esa noche él morrocoy se fue donde esta gente, abuelos de comegen, se llamaban Chuchúna (vimy: ñamícho'wa), onde ellos él se fue a invitarlos, él dijo "abuelos yo quiero que ustedes me hagan favor" (kamárana ~ kamáana: ñamícho'wa: dueños de comegen

117 Mot	muní	notáã'ko	kuwañá	jwa'té
Morphèmes	muní	nu= atáã' -ka =o	***	jwa'té
Glose lex.	tomorrow	1sg try ka.cleft mid	***	with

Libre mañana voy a apostar con bambero (vimy: notáã'jïko ~ notáã'kajïko)

118 Mot	ná	chí	, méké	, ná	chí	piwáta
Morphèmes	ná	chí	méké	ná	chí	pi= wáta
Glose lex.	indf	emph3	indf.manner	indf	emph3	2sg want

wala'ká pijló , nulaké " ké
wa= la' -ká pi= jló nu= laké ké
1pl do ka.nz 2sg for 1sg grandchild like

némíchaka rijló , aú rímícha "
na= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló aú ri= ímí -cha
3pl say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for because 3sg.nf say pst

nuwáta ajñáká nojló phiyúké kélé a'waná chiyá
nu= wáta ajñá -ká nu= jló phiyúké kélé a'waná chiyá
1sg want eat ka.nz 1sg for all med tree in.from

ají ké rímamiñani iyuí nojló , wejápaja
ají ké ri= íma =mi =ñáni i= yuí nu= jló wejápa
prox like 3sg.nf bark nom.pfv dim 2pl leave 1sg for little

nujápákalojé rináku rikojno'kálojé
nu= jápá -ka lojé ri= náku ri= kojno' -ká lojé
1sg touch ka.adv purp3 3sg.nf on 3sg.nf demolish ka.adv purp3

kiñája
kiñája
quickly

Libre "qué es lo que usted quiere que hagamos para usted, nieto" así ellos le dijeron; "yo quiero que ustedes coman por dentro todo ese palo y que lo dejen puro cascarita, apenas que lo toco pa que se derribe rápido (ímaji: cáscara, cuero; kojno'káje: derribarse, caerse)

119 Mot	jé	ñaké	iká	nulaké	"	ké
Morphèmes	jé	ñaké	ri=	ikhá	nu=	laké
Glose lex.	good	dist.simil	3sg.nf	pro	1sg	grandchild

némíchaka
na= ímí -cha -ka
3pl say pst ka.cleft

Libre "bueno nieto" así ellos le dijeron

120 Mot	aú	ne'jíchá	rináneje	jlapí
Morphèmes	aú	na= i'jĩ -chá	***	jlapí
Glose lex.	because	3pl go pst	***	night

i'micháká	,	jlapí	kétána	nanáicha	iyamá
i'mi -chá -ka		jlapí	kétána	na= nái -cha	iyamá
far.pst pst ka.pst		night	during	3pl prepare_fish pst	two

a'waná i'micháká
a'waná i'mi -chá -ka
tree far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre por eso ellos se fueron en la noche a hacerlo, toda la noche hicieron dos palos (náikaje: náneje: hacer-fut)

121 Mot	é	muní ké	jlapiyámí	riphíchaka
Morphèmes	é	muní ké	lapiyámí	ri= iphí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	then	next_day	morning	3sg.nf arrive pst ka.cleft

réjō i'micháká
ri= ejo i'mi -chá -ká
3sg.nf towards far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre al otro día tempranito él llegó donde ellos

122 Mot	najalákícha	pekhówáka	" yúka'a	" " á'a "
Morphèmes	na= ajalákí -cha	pekhówáka	yúka'a	á'a
Glose lex.	3pl greet pst	each_other	already	yes

ké	rímícha	,	" jé	,	chúwathá
ké	ri= ímí -cha		jé		chúwa thá
like	3sg.nf say pst		good		now ***

wakeño'jíka		riká	"	kuwañá	kémícha	,	kuwañá
wa= keño' -jĩ -ka		ri= ikhá		***	kémí -cha		***
1pl begin fut ka.cleft		3sg.nf pro		***	say pst		***

keño'chá painéko
keño' -chá painéko
begin pst first

Libre se saludos unos al otro, "yá?" "sí" dijo, "bueno ahora sí vamos a empezar" dijo el bambero, el bambero empezó primero

123 Mot ripayáicha " jutthúk " painékho , ũká ,
Morphèmes ri= payái -cha *** *** unká
Glose lex. 3sg.nf step_on pst *** *** neg

réwája a'waná ñaki'chá i'micháká
 ri= é =wá =ja a'waná ñaki' -chá i'mi -chá -ka
 3sg.nf in emph lim tree move pst far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre primero él pisó "jutthuk", nada, solo se movía el palo no más (ña'kakáje: moverse)

124 Mot payáicha píño " jutthuk " iyamá la'ká
Morphèmes payái -cha píño *** iyamá la' -ká
Glose lex. step_on pst again *** two do ka.nz

nakú rikojno'óchiya a'waná i'micháká
 nakú ri= kojno'ó -chi -ya a'waná i'mi -chá -ka
 on 3sg.nf demolish caus pst tree far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre pisó otra vez, yendo pa dos ahí derribó el palo

125 Mot ñaé iyamá a'waná rikojno'óchiya , "
Morphèmes ñaé iyamá a'waná ri= kojno'ó -chi -ya
Glose lex. dist.simil two tree 3sg.nf demolish caus pst

chúwathá piká jiyáří " ké rímícha , " yawotí "
 chúwa thá pi= ikhá jiyáří ké ri= ímí -cha ***
 now *** 2sg pro turtle_sp like 3sg.nf say pst ***

ké rímíchaka , " piká chí chúwa " "
 ké ri= ímí -cha -ka pi= ikhá chí chúwa
 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 2sg pro emph3 now

jé "
 jé
 good

Libre ya derribó dos palos, ahora sí usted morrocoy, yawotí" así él dijo "ahora usted" "bueno" (ña'é; ya; vimy: pikáthá chúwa en vez de -chí)

126 Mot ra'chakája jrená " úmmá "
Morphèmes ri= a' -cha -ka =ja ri= jená ***
Glose lex. 3sg.nf give pst ka.topic lim 3sg.nf hour ***

a'waná ja'cháko , apú píño " úmmá "
 a'waná ja' -chá -ka =o apú píño ***
 tree fall pst ka.topic mid other again ***

Libre solo lo señaló no más y "úmmá" se derribó el palo, y otro también "úmmá" (jrená a'kajé: señalar)

127 Mot ilé númá naó " ké rímíchaka
Morphèmes ilé nu= ímá naó ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. med 1sg say on like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre eso fue lo que yo te dije" así él le dijo

128 Mot ũká phema'lá jno'piyá
Morphèmes unká pi= jema' -lá nu= ja'pi =eyá
Glose lex. neg 2sg listen v.neg 1sg under from

pikulátako wáĩ chí nunáku aú
 pi= kuláta -ka =o =wáĩ chí nu= náku aú
 2sg *** ka.prog mid emph emph3 1sg on with

Libre usted no me hace caso, usted está burlándose de mi

129 Mot aú kuwañá kémícha " ñaké iká
Morphèmes aú *** kémí -cha ñaké ri= ikhá
Glose lex. because *** say pst dist.simil 3sg.nf pro

atiñá wánijo'ó piká " aú ũká méké kuwañá
 atiñá wáni =jo'ó pi= ikhá aú unká méké ***
 man emph still 2sg pro because neg indf.manner ***

la'chá riká
 la' -chá ri= ikhá
 do pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre bueno" dijo bambero, usted es muy varón" por eso el bambero no le hizo nada (él dice la'chá y no la'lachá)

130 Mot é jra'pícha píño
Morphèmes é ri= ja'pí -cha píño
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf pass pst again

Libre ahí siguió otra vez

131 Mot ja'píchari chira'jó ají ké
Morphèmes ja'pá -cha -ri chira' -je =o ají ké
Glose lex. pass pst nf.ss wander purp.mot mid prox like

riphákichako pá'yumi jwa'é júni chi'náikana
 ri= iphá -ki -cha -ka =o *** jwa'é júni chi'náikana
 3sg.nf arrive ass pst ka.cleft mid *** with water1 owner

jwa'té
 jwa'té
 with

Libre siguio caminando se encontró con Pa'yumi, con el abuelo del agua

132 Mot ñaké kája najalákícha pekhóáka
Morphèmes ñaké kája na= ajalákí -cha pekhóáka
Glose lex. dist.simil emph? 3pl greet pst each_other

rímícha " piká chí kélé nemakáre nakú
 ri= ímí -cha pi= ikhá chí kélé na= ima -káre nakú
 3sg.nf say pst 2sg pro emph3 med 3pl say arg.nz1 on

achiñá	wáni	eja'wá	chú	nemakáre		nakú	" "	á'a	"
achiñá	wáni	eja'wá	chú	na= ima	-káre	nakú		á'a	
man	emph	forest	in	3pl	say	arg.nz1	on	yes	
ké	rímícha		"	achiñá	nuká	"	ké		
ké	ri=	ímí	-cha	achiñá	nu=	ikhá	ké		
like	3sg.nf	say	pst	man	1sg	pro	like		

Libre lo mismo ellos se saludaron; él dijo "usted es ese muy varón que ellos dicen en el mundo que ellos dicen" "sí yo soy hombre"

133 Mot	kája	iná	,	iná	jaló	kémá	,
Morphèmes	kája	iná		iná	jaló	kémá	
Glose lex.	already	gnr.pro		gnr.pro	mother.ref	say	

iná	motho'ó	wakajé	"	achiñákhá	nu'rí
iná	motho'ó	wakajé		achiñá	ká
gnr.pro	cook	date		man	emph?
				1sg	son

motho'cháka	"	,	riká	penáje	iná	atiñá	ké
motho' -chá -ka			ri=	ikhá	penáje	iná	atiñá
cook	pst	ka.cleft	3sg.nf	pro	for	gnr.pro	man
							like

rímíchaka		rijló
ri=	ímí	-cha -ka
3sg.nf	say	pst ka.cleft
		3sg.nf
		for

Libre ya mamá de uno dice cuando uno nace "mi hijo nació varón, por eso uno ya es hombre" así él le dijo

134 Mot	aú	rímícha	"	nuwáta	pijwa'té
Morphèmes	aú	ri=	ímí -cha	nu= wáta	pi= jwa'té
Glose lex.	because	3sg.nf	say pst	1sg	want
				2sg	with

atáakakajo	,	wáijlá	náka	chíra'tajika
atáa' -ka -kaje =o		wa= á	ijlá	ná -ka
try	ass	ev.nz2	mid	1pl
				see
				frust
				indf
				indf.sub
				pull
				fut
				ka.nz

pekhóaka	,	nuká	chíra'jika	piká	junápejé	,
pekhóaka		nu=	ikhá	chíra' -jĩ -ka	pi=	ikhá
each_other		1sg	pro	pull	fut	ka.when
				2sg	pro	water2
						until

é	nucháataje	piká	,	piká	chíra'jika
é	nu= cháata -je	pi=	ikhá	pi=	ikhá
then	1sg	***	fut	2sg	pro
				2sg	pro
				pull	fut
					ka.when

nuká	pe'yojé	,	é	picháataje	nuká	,	ké
nu=	ikhá	pe'yó	é	pi=	cháata -je	nu=	ikhá
1sg	pro	half	then	2sg	***	fut	1sg
				pro			like

rímícha
ri=
3sg.nf
say
pst

Libre entonces él le dijo "yo quiero apostar contigo, para ver quién se jala uno al otro, si yo te jalo al agua, ahí yo te gano, si usted me jala a la mitad, ahí usted me va a ganar" así él dijo (chíra'takaje: jalar tr;)

135 **Mot** " jé " ké rímícha " kája wáni
Morphèmes jé ké ri= ímí -cha kája wáni
Glose lex. good like 3sg.nf say pst already emph

noi'chó , muníko wachíra'ko " ké
nu= ai' -cha =o muní =kó wa= chíra' -ka =o ké
1sg tire pst mid tomorrow emph4 1pl pull ka.cleft mid like

rímíchaka rijló
ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre bueno, ya yo estoy muy cansado, mañana nos jalamos (uno al otro)

136 **Mot** jé " ké
Morphèmes jé ké
Glose lex. good like

Libre bueno"

137 **Mot** é riká jlapí ri'michá nákarí...
Morphèmes é ri= ikhá jlapí ri= i'mi -chá ***
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf pro night 3sg.nf go pst ***

chu'wí cháje ri'michá , rímícha marí ké
*** cháje ri= i'mi -chá ri= ímí -cha marí ké
*** more_than 3sg.nf go pst 3sg.nf say pst prox like

nákarí... " nuwáta nákarí , muní notáã'kako
*** nu= wáta nákarí muní nu= atáã' -ka -ka =o
*** 1sg want uh tomorrow 1sg try ass ka.nz mid

júni chi'náikana jwa'té , pá'yumi jwa'té , nuwáta
júni chi'náikana jwa'té *** jwa'té nu= wáta
water1 owner with *** with 1sg want

pa'ká nuñathé ké rímícha
pi= a' -ka nu= ñathé ké ri= ímí -cha
2sg give ka.nz 1sg help like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre esa noche él se fue donde madre monte; él dijo así "yo quiero, mañana voy a apostarme con dueño del agua, con Pá'yumi, yo quiero que usted me ayude" él dijo (atáã-ka-kajo: apostarnos recip., atáã-kaje: apostar, probar)

138 **Mot** muní wachíra'kajĩko ké
Morphèmes muní wa= chíra' -ka -jĩ -ka =o ké
Glose lex. tomorrow 1pl pull ass fut ka.cleft mid like

rímíchaka , apála richíra'ta nuká
ri= ímí -cha -ka apála ri= chíra'ta nu= ikhá
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft maybe 3sg.nf pull 1sg pro

junápejẽ , éko pa'á nuñathé ké
junápi =eje éko pi= a'á nu= ñathé ké
water2 until pol.imp 2sg give 1sg help like

rímíchaka rijló , " jé " ké chu'wí
ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló jé ké ***
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for good like ***

kémíchaka rijló
 kémí -cha -ka ri= jló
 say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre mañana nos vamos jalarnos" él dijo, "de pronto él me jala al agua, me tiene que ayudar, así él le dijo a él "bueno" dijo madremente a él (chíra'-ka-kajo, recip. jalar)

139 Mot muní ké jlapiyámí ké riphíchaka
Morphèmes muní ké lapiyámí ké ri= iphí -cha -ka
Glose lex. next_day morning like 3sg.nf arrive pst ka.cleft

piño
 piño
 again

Libre al otro día bien tempranito él llegó otra vez

140 Mot é najaláicha pekóáka pá'yumi jwa'té
Morphèmes é na= ajalái -cha *** *** jwa'té
Glose lex. then 3pl greet pst *** *** with

Libre se saludaron unos al otro con el dueño de agua

141 Mot é rímícha rijló marí ké
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ri= jló marí ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf for prox like

walajíka chúwa " ké , " jé " ké , " puwa'ká
 wa= la' -jĩ -ka chúwa ké jé ké puwa'ká
 1pl do fut ka.cleft now like good like if

no'jĩká jrená pijló , junápi
 nu= a' -jĩ -ka ri= jená pi= jló junápi
 1sg give fut ka.when 3sg.nf hour 2sg for water2

nu'majíka é , puwa'ká pichíya'taje nuká
 nu= i'ma -jĩ -ka é puwa'ká pi= chíya'ta -je nu= ikhá
 1sg cop fut ka.adv in if 2sg *** fut 1sg pro

majó , pichíya'a nuká , nuká cháataje
 majó pi= chíya'a nu= ikhá nu= ikhá cháata -je
 prox.toward 2sg *** 1sg pro 1sg pro *** fut

piká " ké rímíchaka rijló
 pi= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= jló
 2sg pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf for

Libre él le dijo "así vamos a hacer ahora" "bueno"; "cuando yo te voy a dar seña cuando voy a estar en el agua, cuando usted me jala hacia acá, jáleme a mí (??), yo te gano" (vimy: el se enreda aquí, es al contrario) (chíra'a ~ chíra'ta-kaje: jalar)

142 Mot " jé " ké Yawotí kémícha
Morphèmes jé ké Yawotí kémí -cha
Glose lex. good like wise_turtle say pst

Libre bueno dijo morrocoy

143 Mot	é	pá'yumi	(pa'chó)	pi'chó		junápejẽ
Morphèmes	é	***	***	pi'	-chá =o	junápi =eje
Glose lex.	then	***	***	return	pst mid	water2 until

Libre ahí el dueño del agua se regresó al agua

144 Mot	e'yá	ra'chá		jrená		" chúwathá "
Morphèmes	e'yá	ri=	a'	-chá	ri= jená	chúwa thá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	give	pst	3sg.nf hour	now ***

ké	,	e'yá	chu'wí	a'chá	riñathé	,	yéwichaja	richíra'chiya
ké		e'yá	***	a'	-chá	ri=	ñathé	yéwícha ***
like		then	***	give	pst	3sg.nf	help	almost ***

nákei	yawotí	junápeje		, é	kélé	pa'tíya		píño "
nákei	***	junápi	=eje	é	kélé	pa'	-tí -ya	píño
uh	***	water2	until	then	med	return	caus pst	again

jú	"	,	yéwichaja	ramíchako			píño	,	ají
jú			yéwícha	ri=	amí	-cha -ka	=o	píño	ají
jum			almost	3sg.nf	see	pst	ka.cleft	mid	again prox

kéja		ne'micháká
ké	=ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká
like	lim	3pl go pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí él le dió seña "ahora sí", ahí madremonte le ayudó a él, ya casi él estaba jalando al morrocoy al agua, ese de ahí le regresó otra vez , casi se veía, así estaban (pa'tákaje: devolver)

145 Mot	mana'íta	yawotí	yái'chako		nacháje
Morphèmes	mana'í ta	***	yái' -cha -ka	=o	na= cháje
Glose lex.	calm	***	sit pst	ka.nz mid	3pl at

yakáa'kajo		nakú	,	ũká	ra'chá
yakáa'	-kaje =o	nakú	unká	ri=	a' -chá
see	ev.nz2 mid	on	neg	3sg.nf	give pst

rinakojó		ne'micháká
ri=	nakú =ejo	na= i'mi -chá -ka
3sg.nf	on towards	3pl far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre el morrocoy estaba sentado tranquilamente mirándolos a ellos, no le paraba bolas a ellos (ra'achá ~ ra'lachá; ri-a'ká ri-nakojó piká: el te para bolas)

146.1 Mot	é	ri'michá		píño	" júp "	, nachíri'cha
Morphèmes	é	ri=	i'mi -chá	píño	***	***
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	cop pst	again	***	***

pekóáka	,	ũká	,	réjénowāja	katejmúuna	ne'micháká
***		unká	***	ka-	tejmú -una	na= i'mi -chá -ká
***		neg	***	attr	strength pl	3pl go pst ka.cleft

iyamá	kélé	??
iyamá	kélé	
two	med	

Libre

146.2 Mot	chu'wí	kéchami	pá'yumi	jwa'té
Morphèmes	***	kéchámi	***	jwa'té
Glose lex.	***	after	***	with

Libre él vivía otra vez "júp" 'mocho), se jalaban unos al otro, nada, igualito tenían fuerza los dos esos, madremente y dueño del agua

147 Mot	ré	nañaki'chá		pekhóáka	é	némícha
Morphèmes	ré	na= ñaki'	-chá	pekhóáka	é	na= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3pl move	pst	each_other	then	3pl say pst

,	é	jráo'cho		,	é	Yawotí	ako'chá
	é	ri= jáo'	-cha =o		é	Yawotí	ako' -chá
	then	3sg.nf go_out	pst mid		then	wise_turtle	pour pst
richó		júni		,	rimakálojé		kajú ka'jná
ri= chú =o		júni		ri= ima	-ká lojé		kajú ka'jná
3sg.nf in mid		water1		3sg.nf say	ka.adv purp3		much dub
riñaphíná					i'micháká		
ri= iñaphí -ná					i'mi -chá -ká		
3sg.nf bone alien3					cop pst ka.cleft		

Libre ahí se movieron, dijeron, él salió, ahí el morrocoy se echó agua encima de él, para él decir que si él tenía mucho sudor (richá: echarle agua a otro, richô: a si mismo);

148 Mot	rímícha		kája	atiñáwánijo'ó		piká
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha		kája	atiñá wáni =jo'ó		pi= ikhá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst		already	man emph still		2sg pro

ké	rímíchaka		"	ũká	méké	wala'lá
ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			unká	méké	wa= la' -lá
like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft			neg	indf.manner	1pl do v.neg

pekhóáka "
pekhóáka
each_other

Libre él dijo "es cierto que usted es muy varón, no nos podemos hacer nada unos a otros"

149 Mot	ilé	númá	nakú	pijló	ké	Yawotí
Morphèmes	ilé	nu= ímá	nakú	pi= jló	ké	Yawotí
Glose lex.	med	1sg say	on	2sg for	like	wise_turtle

kémíchaka		,	atiñá	nuká	kélé	pikuláto		nakú "
kémí -cha -ka			atiñá	nu= ikhá	kélé	pi= kuláta =o		nakú
say pst ka.cleft			man	1sg pro	med	2sg *** mid		on

Libre eso lo que yo te había dicho" así dijo el morrocoy, "yo soy hombre al que usted se está burlando"

150 Mot	kája	númá		pijló	"	atiñá	nuká	ũká
Morphèmes	kája	nu= ímá		pi= jló		atiñá	nu= ikhá	unká
Glose lex.	already	1sg say		2sg for		man	1sg pro	neg

phema'lá		jno'piyá		"	ké	rímíchaka
pi= jema' -lá		nu= ja'pi =eyá			ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
2sg listen v.neg		1sg under from			like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre ya yo te dije que yo soy varón y uste dno me hace caso" así le dijo

151 Mot	é kája	yawotí	kémícha	"	kája	noya'ó	marí
Morphèmes	é kája	***	kémí -cha		kája	***	marí
Glose lex.	then	***	say pst		already	***	prox
eja'wá	chú	chira'ó	chúwa	nu'najíka	nákarí	manáu	e'yajé
eja'wá	chú	***	chúwa	***	nákarí	***	e'yajé
forest	in	***	now	***	uh	***	towards
chira'jó		ké	rímícha		ya'jné	apú	pajímíla
chira'	-je	=o	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ya'jné	apú	pajímíla
wander	purp.mot	mid	like	3sg.nf say pst	far	other	city
e'yajé							
e'yajé							
towards							

Libre entonces el morrocoy dijo "ya estoy cansado de caminar en este mundo, ahora me voy a ir a pasear a manaus; lejos a otra ciudad (aya'kajo: cansarse; chira'kajo nakú y no chira'ó)

152 Mot	é	rili'chá		rijló		nákarí	jíta
Morphèmes	é	ri= li' -chá		ri= jló		nákarí	jíta
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf do pst		3sg.nf for		uh	canoe

Libre ahí él le hizo canoa (vimy: quién lo hizo? rijlúwa: para él mismo?)

153 Mot	púro	a'waná	ripitíya		rinakojé		
Morphèmes	púro	a'waná	ri= pití -ya		ri= nakú	eje	
Glose lex.	spa	tree	3sg.nf pile_up pst		3sg.nf on	until	
riká	aú	ri'jíchá					
ri=	ikhá	aú	ri= i'jī -chá				
3sg.nf	pro	with	3sg.nf go pst				

Libre él colocó puro palo, en eso él se fue (pitá-káje: colocar)

154 Mot	é	nákarí	ja'pícha		nákarí
Morphèmes	é	nákarí	ri= ja'pí -cha		nákarí
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf pass pst		uh

Libre de ahí él siguió

155.1 Mot	caquetá	chuwá	ja'pícha		i'michá	
Morphèmes	Caquetá	chu =ewá	ri= ja'pí -cha		i'mi -chá	
Glose lex.	***	in around	3sg.nf pass pst		far.pst pst	
é	nákhaúna	camaleóna	chi'ná	kémícha	rijló	"
é	nákhaúna	camaleó -na	chi'ná	kémí -cha	ri= jló	
then	people	*** pl	parents	say pst	3sg.nf for	
Yawotí	, méño'jó	pi'jné	?			
Yawotí	méño'jó	pi= i'jné				
wise_turtle	indf.toward	2sg go				

Libre pasó por Caquetá, de ahí esos abuelos de camaleones le dijeron "morrocoy a dónde va?" así él dijo, hay que traernos peine" así él le dijo, él se burló de ellos""por qué esos feísimos están pidiendo peine de mi?" (kamawémi~ kamawéi: rio caquetá;; ícha'tákaje: insultar ~ ícha'kaje)

155.2 Mot	"	ké	rímícha	"	éko	pijña'á
Morphèmes		ké	ri= ímí -cha		éko	pi= jña'á
Glose lex.		like	3sg.nf say pst		pol.imp	2sg take
wajló	ijña'pá	"	ké rímícha	,	rícha'chiya	
wa= jló	***	ké	ri= ímí -cha		***	
1pl for	***	like	3sg.nf say pst		***	
ne'micháká			ná pu'wareúnátâ		kejá'ã	nuliyá
na= i'mi -chá -ká			ná pu'waré -una	tâ	***	nu= liyá
3pl go pst ka.cleft		indf	ugly pl	emph1	***	1sg from
ijña'pá	"	ké	rímícha			
***	ké		ri= ímí -cha			
***	like		3sg.nf say pst			

Libre

156 Mot	é	kélé	karená	i'michá	kajúní	karená
Morphèmes	é	kélé	karená	i'mi -chá	kajú -ní	karená
Glose lex.	then	med	wind	cop pst	much nf	wind
i'micháká			riká	yokóla ... yokóla	kapicháchiya	
i'mi -chá -ká			ri= ikhá	***	***	kapichá -chi -ya
cop pst ka.cleft		3sg.nf	pro	***	***	lose caus pst
riká	atiñáwáni	i'micháká			é	junápejẽ
ri= ikhá	atiñá wáni	i'mi -chá -ká			é	junápi =eje
3sg.nf pro	man emph	cop pst ka.cleft			then	water2 until
rikapiícho			réjé	... nakapicháchiya		kélé
ri= kapií -cha =o			ri= eje	na= kapichá -chi -ya		kélé
3sg.nf lose pst mid		3sg.nf	until	3pl lose caus pst		med
atiñáwáni	i'micháká	eja'wá	chú		réjé	Yawotí
atiñá wáni	i'mi -chá -ká	eja'wá	chú		ri= eje	Yawotí
man emph	cop pst ka.nz	forest	in		3sg.nf until	wise_turtle
yukúná						
yukú -ná						
story alien3						

Libre hubo mucho ventarrón, olas de ese le mataron al que era el varón, él se murió en el agua, ahí... mataron a ese que era muy varón en el mundo, hasta ahí termina cuento de morrocoy. (yokóla: ola)

ycn0189

1 Mot	atírí	yukúna	nu'majé
Morphèmes	atírí	yukú -ná	nu= i'ma jé
Glose lex.	animal_sp	story alien3	1sg tell fut

Libre voy a contar historia de cocunuco

2 Mot	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'michari	riyajálo	jwa'té
Morphèmes	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -cha -ri	ri= yajálo	jwa'té
Glose lex.	one	person	cop pst nf.cleft	3sg.nf wife	with
	pa'ú	kélé	riyáni	i'micháká	
	pa'ú	kélé	ri= yáni	i'mi -chá -ká	
	four	med	3sg.nf children	cop pst ka.cleft	

Libre una persona estaba con la mujer, tenía 4 hijos

3 Mot	wéji	kélé	achiñáná	i'micháká
Morphèmes	wéji	kélé	achiñá -na	i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex.	three	med	man pl	cop pst ka.cleft

Libre había 3 hombres

4 Mot	pajlúwaja	ne'welóñáni	i'micháyó
Morphèmes	pajlúwá =ja	na= e'we -ló =ñáni	i'mi -chá -yó
Glose lex.	one lim	3pl brother f dim	cop pst f.cleft

Libre tenían una hermanita

5 Mot	é	júpija	jnara'pá	i'michá	najwa'té
Morphèmes	é	júpi =ja	na= ara'pá	i'mi -chá	na= jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	long_time lim	3pl father.ref	cop pst	3pl with

Libre el papá vivió con ellos por mucho tiempo

6 Mot	kája	wája	ritaja'ñáicha	neká
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	ri= taja' -ñai -cha	na= ikhá
Glose lex.	already	emph lim	3sg.nf die appl pst	3pl pro

Libre el papá de ellos se murió

7 Mot	é	ne'michá	júpi	jnaló	jwa'té
Morphèmes	é	na= i'mi -chá	júpi	na= aló	jwa'té
Glose lex.	then	3pl live pst	long_time	3pl mother.ref	with

Libre y vivieron por mucho tiempo con la mamá

8 Mot	kája	wája	jnara'pá	ñakámi
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	na= ara'pá	ñaká =mi
Glose lex.	already	emph lim	3pl father.ref	reflection pfv

ya'chiyó naló jló
ya'chi -ya =o na= aló jló
show pst mid 3pl mother.ref for

Libre después el espanto del papá apareció a la mamá (de los hijos) (ya'takájó: aparecerse)

9 Mot jlapí riphícha runáku
Morphèmes jlapí ri= ipha -cha ru= náku
Glose lex. night 3sg.nf arrive pst 3sg.f on

Libre en la noche llegó a donde ella

10 Mot é kája riwai'chá ,
Morphèmes é kája ri= wai' -chá
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf knock pst

riphíchaka é riwai'chá pají numaná ,
ri= iphí -cha -ka é ri= wai' -chá pají numaná
3sg.nf arrive pst ka.nz in 3sg.nf knock pst maloca door
nañakaré numaná
na= ñakaré numaná
3pl house door

Libre después llegó y tocó la puerta (wara'káje: tocar)

11 Mot riwai'chá " tun tun tun " ké
Morphèmes ri= wai' -chá *** *** *** ké
Glose lex. 3sg.nf knock pst *** *** *** like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre tocó "tun tun tun"

12 Mot é rúmícha " kái kái kái " ké
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha *** *** *** ké
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst *** *** *** like

rúmíchaka
ru= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre y ella respondió "kái kái kái"

13 Mot é kája náke
Morphèmes é kája náke
Glose lex. then already uh

Libre entonces

14 Mot é rujme'chíya rápu , é
Morphèmes é ru= jme'chí -ya ri= ápu é
Glose lex. then 3sg.f open pst 3sg.nf path then

ripháchiya kajú ripháchiyaka jeí'ná
ri= iphá -chi -ya kajú ri= iphá -chi -ya -ka jeí' -ná
3sg.nf arrive caus pst much 3sg.nf arrive caus pst ka.cleft snake pl

Libre y le abrió la puerta y él trajo muchas culebras (rápu: camino de él; jme'ta ápu: abrir puerta; ipháatakaje: traer)

15 Mot	riká		ra'chá		rojló	é
Morphèmes	ri=	ikhá	ri=	a'	-chá	ru= jló é
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	give	pst	3sg.f for then
rokúwa'chiya		kawayá	nakoǰé		riká	
ru= akúwa'chi	-ya	kawayá	nakú	=eje	ri= ikhá	
3sg.f	hang	pst	deer	on	until	3sg.nf pro

Libre eso le dió a ella, ella lo colgó en el trípode

16 Mot	é	kája	rímícha		:	"	éko
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri=	ímí	-cha		éko
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf	say	pst		pol.imp
pikelo'ó	yuwaná	jló	kélé	nuǰi'cháje		jíñana	"
pi= kelo'ó	yuwaná	jló	kélé	nu= jí'	-chaje	jíña	-na
2sg	thicken	kids	for	med	1sg take	arg.nz2	fish pl
rímíchaka			rojló				
ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka	ru=	jló		
3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft	3sg.f	for		

Libre después le dijo "espese para los niños los pescados que traje" (kelo'káje: hacer colada)

17 Mot	jé	ké	rúmíchaka		,	é	kája	"		
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ru=	ímí	-cha	-ka	é	kája		
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.f	say	pst	ka.cleft	then	already		
piñapátajika			nakelo'kána		phiyúké	,	é			
pi= ñapáta	-jí	-ka	na= kelo'	-kána	phiyúké		é			
2sg	finish	fut	ka.when	3pl	thicken	ev.nz1	all	then		
papótaje			nukhá	nupa'kóloǰé						
pi= apó	-ta	-je	nu= ikhá	nu= pa'	-ka	=o	loǰé			
2sg	wake_up	caus	fut	1sg	pro	1sg	return	ka.adv	mid	purp3
pa'káloǰé			yuwaná	a'ǰné	"	ké				
pi= a'	-ka	loǰé	yuwa	-ná	a'ǰné	ké				
2sg	give	ka.adv	purp3	unripe	pl	food	like			
rímíchaka										
ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka							
3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft							

Libre bueno ella dijo; cuando termine de espesarlo todo, y despiertame para regresarme, pa que le de comida a los niños.

18 Mot	"	jé	"
Morphèmes		jé	
Glose lex.		good	

Libre "bueno"

19 Mot	é	kája	romotho'chá		kélé	jeí'ná
Morphèmes	é	kája	ru= motho' -chá		kélé	jeí' -ná
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.f cook	pst	med	snake pl

rímíchaje nakú jíñana
 ri= ímí -chaje nakú jíña -na
 3sg.nf say arg.nz2 on fish pl

Libre cocinó esas culebras que él había dicho que eran pescaos

20 Mot	ruñapáchiya		namotho'kána		, é
Morphèmes	ru= ñapá -chi -ya		na= motho' -kána		é
Glose lex.	3sg.f form	caus	pst	3pl cook	ev.nz1 then

ropóchiya riká , é rúmícha "
 ru= apó -chi -ya ikhá é ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f wake_up caus pst pro then 3sg.f say pst

kájatá chúwa nuñapáchiya "
 kája tâ chúwa nu= ñapáchi -ya
 already emph1 now 1sg finish pst

Libre ella acabó de cocinarlos, ella lo despertó, ahí ella dijo "ya yo terminé"

21 Mot	" chúwa	papó		" ké	rúmíchaka
Morphèmes	chúwa	pi= apú		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	now	2sg wake_up		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

" pipa'chó "
 pi= pa' -chí =o
 2sg return purp2 mid

Libre "ahora despiértese pa que se vaya"

22 Mot	" jé	" ké	, é	kája	rapócha	
Morphèmes	je	ke	é	kája	ri= apó -cha	
Glose lex.	good	like	then	already	3sg.nf wake_up pst	

é kája ripi'chó
 é kája ri= pi' -cha =ó
 then already 3sg.nf return pst mid

Libre "bueno", ahí él se despertó, ahí él se regresó

23 Mot	ripi'cháko		yámona	é	kája
Morphèmes	ri= pi' -chá -ka =o		yámona	é	kája
Glose lex.	3sg.nf return pst	ka.nz	mid	after	then already

ropóchiya ruyáni
 ru= apó -chi -ya ru= yáni
 3sg.f wake_up caus pst 3sg.f children

Libre después que él se fue ella levantó a los hijos

24 Mot	rúmícha		" yuwaná	" ké
Morphèmes	ru= ímí -cha		yuwaná	ké
Glose lex.	3sg.f say pst		kids	like

rúmíchaka " apó "
 ru= ímí -cha -ka i= apó
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 2pl wake_up

Libre ella dijo "niños, levántesen"

25 Mot " ajñá kháãjĩ ya'káñáni , nu'michá
Morphèmes i= ajñá kháãjĩ ya'ká =ñáni nu= i'mi -chá
Glose lex. 2pl eat prox shrimp dim 1sg go pst

japa'jé , riká nukelo'chá " ké
 japa' -jé ri= ikhá nu= kelo' -chá ké
 pass purp.mot 3sg.nf pro 1sg thicken pst like

rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "coma este camaroncito, que yo fui sacar con cernidor, eso fue que hice coladita" (japa'káje: pescar con cernidor; ya'ká: camaron)

26 Mot " jé " ké , é kája yuwaná
Morphèmes jé ké é kája yuwaná
Glose lex. good like then already kids

apócha , najícha na'jnewá
 apó -cha na= ají -cha na= a'jne =wá
 wake_up pst 3pl eat pst 3pl food refl

Libre "bueno", se despertaron los niños, se pusieron a comer

27 Mot é kája nakamáchiyo píño
Morphèmes é kája na= kamáchi -ya =o píño
Glose lex. then already 3pl sleep pst mid again

Libre ahí se durmieron otra vez

28 Mot é muní ké ñakéchami kája ...
Morphèmes é muní ké ñaké -cha =mi kája
Glose lex. then next_day dist.simil pst pfv already

riphíchaka jlapí
 ri= iphí -cha -ka jlapí
 3sg.nf arrive pst ka.cleft night

Libre al otro día esa misma hora llegó de noche

29 Mot ñakéja kája riwai'cháka ...
Morphèmes ñaké =ja kája ri= wai' -chá -ka
Glose lex. dist.simil lim already 3sg.nf knock pst ka.cleft

pají numaná
 pájí numaná
 maloca door

Libre

30 Mot " tun tun tun " ké rímíchaka
Morphèmes *** *** *** ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. *** *** *** like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

é rúmícha rijló " kaĩ kaĩ kaĩ " ké
 é ru= ímí -cha ri= jló *** *** *** ké
 then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.nf for *** *** *** like

rúmícha
 ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst

Libre "tun tun tun" dijo, "kaĩ kaĩ kaĩ" (ya se durmieron) dijo ella

31 Mot é ñakéja kája
Morphèmes é ñaké =ja kája
Glose lex. then dist.simil lim already

ripháchiyaka jeĩna kajú
 ri= iphá -chi -ya -ka jeĩ -na kajú
 3sg.nf arrive caus pst ka.cleft snake pl much

Libre lo mismo él trajo mucho culebra (iphátakaje: traer)

32 Mot riká rakúwa'chiya kawayá nakoje
Morphèmes ri= ikhá ri= akúwa'chi -ya kawayá nakú =eje
Glose lex. 3sg.nf pro 3sg.nf hang pst deer on until

é kája rímícha rojló " pimotho'ó kélé
 é kája ri= ímí -cha ru= jló pi= moto'ó kélé
 then already 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for 2sg cook med

jíñana nujĩ'chájé ... " nuyáni jló " ké
 jíña -na nu= jĩ -chaje nu= yáni jló ké
 fish pl 1sg take arg.nz2 1sg children for like

rímícha " pa'chí na'jné "
 ri= ímí -cha pi= a' -chí na= a'jné
 3sg.nf say pst 2sg give purp2 3pl food

Libre él colgó eso en ese trípode, él le dije "cocine esos pescaos que yo traje" "para mis hijos, para que le dé de comer a ellos" dijo

33 Mot " jé " ké " piñapátajĩka riká
Morphèmes jé ké pi= ñapáta -jĩ -ka ri= ikhá
Glose lex. good like 2sg finish fut ka.nz 3sg.nf pro

é , papóta nuká , nupa'kóchí -
 é pi= apó -ta nu= ikhá nu= pa' -ka =o -chí
 in 2sg wake_up caus 1sg pro 1sg return ka.topic mid purp2

nupa'chó " ké rímícha " , " jé "
 nu= pa' -chí =o ké ri= ímí -cha jé
 1sg return purp2 mid like 3sg.nf say pst good

Libre "bueno", "cuando usted lo termine me levantas pa regresarme", "bueno" (vimy: *nupa'kóchí)

34 Mot é kája romoto'chá kélé jíñana ,
Morphèmes é kája ru= motho' -chá kélé jíña -na
Glose lex. then already 3sg.f cook pst med fish pl

romotho'chá , ruñapáchiya namotho'kána
ru= motho' -chá ru= ñapá -chi -ya na= motho' -kána
3sg.f cook pst 3sg.f form caus pst 3pl cook ev.nz1

Libre ella cocinó ese pescao, termino de cocinarlo

35 Mot é ropóchiya riká , é
Morphèmes é ru= apó -chi -ya ri= ikhá é
Glose lex. then 3sg.f wake_up caus pst 3sg.nf pro then

rúmícha " kája tá nuñapáchiya chúwa ,
ru= ímí -cha kája tâ nu= ñapáchi -ya chúwa
3sg.f say pst already emph1 1sg finish pst now

papó " ké rúmícha
pi= apú ké ru= ímí -cha
2sg wake_up like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella lo levantó, "ahora sí ya yo terminé, levántese" dijo

36 Mot é kája rapócha , é
Morphèmes é kája ri= apó -cha é
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf wake_up pst then

ripí'chó , é ropóchiya dizque
ri= pi' -cha =ó é ru= apó -chi -ya dizque
3sg.nf return pst mid then 3sg.f wake_up caus pst so_called

ruyáni píño
ru= yáni píño
3sg.f children again

Libre ahí él se levantó, él se fue, ahí ella levantó otra vez sus hijos

37 Mot rúmícha " yuwaná apó " ké
Morphèmes ru= ímí -cha yuwaná i= apó ké
Glose lex. 3sg.f say pst kids 2pl wake_up like

rúmícha " ajñáchí a'jnewá "
ru= ímí -cha i= ajñá -chí i= a'jne =wá
3sg.f say pst 2pl eat purp2 2pl food refl

Libre ella dijo "niños, levántese, para que coman comida"

38 Mot " jíñanañani nukelo'cháje " ké
Morphèmes jíña -na =ñáni nu= kelo' -chaje ké
Glose lex. fish pl dim 1sg thicken arg.nz2 like

rúmícha
ru= ímí -cha
3sg.f say pst

Libre "ese pescaito que yo espesé"

39 Mot	"	jé	";	é	yuwaná	apócha	píño
Morphèmes		jé		é	yuwaná	apó	-cha píño
Glose lex.		good		then	kids	wake_up	pst again

Libre "bueno", ahí se levantaron otra vez los niños

40 Mot	najícha		na'jnewá		éjomi	kája
Morphèmes	na= ají	-cha	na= a'jne	=wá	éjomi	kája
Glose lex.	3pl eat	pst	3pl food	refl	after	already

nakamáchiyo

na= kamáchi -ya =o

3pl sleep pst mid

Libre comieron después se durmieron

41 Mot	kája	ají	kéja		ri'jíchákáno		
Morphèmes	kája	ají	ké	=ja	ri= i'jĩ	-chá	-ká =no
Glose lex.	already	prox	like	lim	3sg.nf go	pst	ka.cleft hab

jlapí ruchájenó

jlapí ru= cháje =nó

night 3sg.f at hab

Libre así siempre él iba donde ella

42 Mot	é	kája	wája		pajlúwa	yuwajíñáni
Morphèmes	é	kája	=wá	=ja	pajlúwá	yuwají =ñáni
Glose lex.	then	already	emph	lim	one	young_man dim

kémícha " maka'ní nojo'táko " ké
 kémí -cha maka'ní nu= ejo' -ta -ka =o ké
 say pst eagerly 1sg shit caus ka.cleft mid like

rímícha

ri= ímí -cha

3sg.nf say pst

Libre ahí dijo un niño "tengo ganas de hacer popó" (ejo'otákajo/ejo'káje: hacer popo)

43 Mot	é	némícha		"	maka'ní	wejo'ká	,
Morphèmes	é	na= ímí	-cha		maka'ní	wa= ejo' -ka	
Glose lex.	then	3pl say	pst		eagerly	1pl shit ka.cleft	

i'jñá wejo'cháchí " , é ne'jíchá ejo'jé
 i'jñá wa= ejo' -chá -chí é na= i'jĩ -chá ejo' -jé
 go 1pl shit prs purp2 then 3pl go pst shit purp.mot

Libre ellos dijeron "tenemos ganas de cagar, vamos a cagar", y se fueron a cagar.

44 Mot	é	kélé	yuwajíñáni		i'wá	i'cháró	.
Morphèmes	é	kélé	yuwa -ji	=ñáni	i'wá	i'chá -ri =o	
Glose lex.	then	med	unripe nf	dim	anus	block nf.cleft mid	

Libre ahí se tapó el culito del niño (i'rakájó: taparse, atajarse)

45 Mot	ũká	méla'jé	rejo'lácha			
Morphèmes	unká	méla'jé	ri= ejo'	-lá	-cha	
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	3sg.nf shit	v.neg	pst	

Libre no podía cagar

46 Mot	kája	jeí	a'phá	nákei	aú	ri'wá	
Morphèmes	kája	jeí	a'phá	nákei	aú	ri=	i'wá
Glose lex.	already	snake	residue	uh	with	3sg.nf	anus

i'chó

i'chá =o
block mid

Libre ya con la escama de culebra se tapó el culito

47.1 Mot	é	rímícha		réjéna	jló	"
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	éjéna	jló
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.nf	siblings	for

náje	pajá	ũká	méla'jé	nojo'lá	?
náje	pajá	unká	méla'jé	nu= ejo' -lá	
indf.reason	emph	neg	indf.manner	1sg shit v.neg	

Libre él dijo a los hermanos "por qué será yo no puedo hacer popó", "qué será me pasó"

47.2 Mot	"	ké	rímícha	"	ná	ka'jné
Morphèmes		ké	ri=	ímí -cha	ná	ka'jné
Glose lex.		like	3sg.nf	say pst	indf	dub

nula'kó ?"
nu= la' -ka =ó
1sg do ka.cleft mid

Libre

48.1 Mot	é	némícha	"	náje	chí	?
Morphèmes	é	na=	ímí -cha	náje	chí	
Glose lex.	then	3pl	say pst	indf.reason	emph3	

Libre ellos dijeron "por qué,

48.2 Mot	para'ójlá		kaphí	"	ké	némícha	,
Morphèmes	pi=	ara' =ó	jlá	kaphí	ké	na=	ímí -cha
Glose lex.	2sg	push mid	frust	hard	like	3pl	say pst

ratáí'chajlá		rara'kó		kaphí	,	eyonáje	ũká
ri=	atáí' -cha	jlá	ri=	ara' -ka =ó	kaphí	eyonáje	unká
3sg.nf	try pst	frust	3sg.nf	push ka.nz mid	hard	however	neg

Libre puje duro", así le dijeron, él intentó pujarse duro y no le salía

49 Mot	é	apú	phe'jí	re'wé	kémícha	"
Morphèmes	é	apú	phe' -jí	ri=	e'wé	kémí -cha
Glose lex.	then	other	eldest unposs	3sg.nf	brother	say pst

mére	,	nomáchíjlá		nájeká		ũká
méré		nu= amá -chí	jlá	náje	-ka	unká
indf.loc		1sg see hort	frust	indf.reason	indf.sub	neg

pejo'lá " "
 pi= ejo' -lá
 2sg shit v.neg

Libre ahí otro hermano mayor dijo "a ver", "voy a ver por qué es que no puede cagar".

50 Mot é riyakái'cho amíchari náke
Morphèmes é ri= yakái' -cha =o amí -cha -ri náke
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf see pst mid see pst nf.ss uh

a'waná aũ rikawí'cha ri'jñé
 a'waná aũ ri= kawí' -cha ri= i'jñé
 tree with 3sg.nf remove pst 3sg.nf shit

Libre ahí él miró y miró, y sacó con palo su mierdita (kawíka'kaje/ kawíki'cha/ kawí'cha: sacar de adentro algo)

51 Mot amíchari jeí a'phámí i'micharí
Morphèmes amí -cha -ri jeí a'phá =mi i'mi -chá -rí
Glose lex. see pst nf.ss snake residue nom.pfv cop pst nf.cleft

ri'jñé e'yá
 ri= i'jñé e'yá
 3sg.nf shit in

Libre él miró escama de culebra en la mierdita

52.1 Mot é rímícha " ná pajá kháájí
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha ná pajá kháájí
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst indf emph prox

pi'jñé e'yá ?
 pi= i'jñé e'yá
 2sg shit in

Libre él dijo "qué será ésto que está entre medio de su mierda"; "se parece como escama de culebra" (ké aquí es parecido a)

52.2 Mot " ké rímícha , " pá jeí a'phá
Morphèmes ké ri= ímí -cha pá jeí a'phá
Glose lex. like 3sg.nf say pst look_out snake residue

ké "
 ké
 like

Libre

53 Mot é nayakái'cho , ajúpána yakái'cho
Morphèmes é na= yakái' -cha =o ajúpána yakái' -cha =o
Glose lex. then 3pl see pst mid other.pl see pst mid

ne'jñí e'yajé , amíchari ñaké kája ne'jñé
 na= i'jñí e'yajé amí -cha -ri ñaké kája na= i'jñé
 3pl shit towards see pst nf.ss dist.simil emph? 3pl shit

e'yá jeĩ a'phámí pichíyako
 e'yá jeĩ a'phá =mi pichí -ya -ka =o
 in snake residue nom.pfv pile_up pst ka.nz mid

Libre miraron y otros miraron entre el medio de la mierda, y miraron lo mismo en la mierda de ellos estaba ese escama de culebra (i'jñe-jí: mierda; pitakájó: estar así entre el medio, amontonado)

54.1 Mot é némícha " ná ka'jná kháãjĩ amí
Morphèmes é na= ímí -cha ná ka'jná kháãjĩ amí
Glose lex. then 3pl say pst indf dub prox see

a'á wa'jné ?"
 a'á wa= a'jné
 give 1pl food

Libre entonces ellos dijeron "qué será es esto que mi mamá nos está dando de comer"

54.2 Mot némíchaka
Morphèmes na= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. 3pl say pst ka.cleft

Libre dijeron

55 Mot é kélé phe'jí kémícha " chúwajá
Morphèmes é kélé phe' -jí kémí -cha chúwajá
Glose lex. then med eldest unposs say pst today

ropótajĩka é weká , é kája
 ru= apó -ta -jĩ -ka é wa= ikhá é kája
 3sg.f wake_up caus fut ka.adv cond2 1pl pro then already

apóje , nuká ũká kamátalajō " ké
 i= apó -je nu= ikhá unká kamáta -la -jẽ =o ké
 2pl wake_up fut 1sg pro neg sleep v.neg fut mid like

rímíchaka " kajmúnija noto'jĩko
 ri= ímí -cha -ka kajmú -ni =ja nu= to' -jĩ -ka =o
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft lively nf lim 1sg lie fut ka.cleft mid

nomákalojé náká ro'óno wa'jné
 nu= amá -ka lojé ná -ka ru= a'á =no wa= a'jné
 1sg see ka.adv purp3 indf indf.sub 3sg.f give hab 1pl food

lapí "
 lapí
 night

Libre entonces el mayor de ellos les dijo "si ella nos levanta hoy, ahí levántense, yo sí no voy a dormir' así el dijo, "yo voy a acostarme despierto para ver qué es lo que ella nos da de comer de noche".

56 Mot " jé " ké
Morphèmes jé ké
Glose lex. good like

Libre "bueno"

57 Mot	é	kája	najúi'cha		
Morphèmes	é	kája	na= júwi'	-cha	
Glose lex.	then	already	3pl get_dark	pst	

Libre ahí se atardecieron

58 Mot	é	kélé	apú	réjéna	kamáchiyo	,
Morphèmes	é	kélé	apú	ri= éjéna	kamáchi -ya =o	
Glose lex.	then	med	other	3sg.nf siblings	sleep pst mid	

neká kamáchiyaño , é riká to'chó
na= ikhá kamáchi -ya -ño é ri= ikhá to' -chá =o
3pl pro sleep pst pl.cleft then 3sg.nf pro lie pst mid

kajmúní , jlapichámí jremi'cháka kélé
kajmú -ni jlapichámí ri= jemi' -chá -ka kélé
lively nf morning 3sg.nf listen pst ka.cleft med

jrara'pá ñakámi iphíchaka
ri= ara'pá ñaká =mi iphí -cha -ka
3sg.nf father.ref reflection pfv arrive pst ka.nz

Libre los otros hermanos de él se durmieron, ellos se durmieron, él estaba acostado despierto, ya en la noche él escucho que llegó el espanto del papá (vimy: ajúpána en vez de *apu)

59 Mot	"	tun	tun	"	ké	rímíchaka	,	"	káĩ
Morphèmes		***	***		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			***
Glose lex.		***	***		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft			***

káĩ " ké rúmíchaka
*** ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
*** like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre "tun tun" dijo él, "káĩ káĩ" dijo ella

60 Mot	é	ru'jíchá		ruyáni	kamaré
Morphèmes	é	ru= i'jĩ -chá		ru= yáni	kamaré
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f go pst		3sg.f children	light

patájẽ , romákalojé kája ka'jná
patá -je ru= amá -ka lojé kája ka'jná
grab purp.mot 3sg.f see ka.adv purp3 already dub

nakamáchiyo , é rukanícha nakamaré ,
na= kamáchi -ya =o é ru= kaní -cha na= kamaré
3pl sleep pst mid then 3sg.f *** pst 3pl light

amíchari kája mátámi nakamáchiyako , é
amí -cha -ri kája mátámi na= kamáchi -ya -ka =o é
see pst nf.ss already deeply 3pl sleep pst ka.nz mid then

rujme'chíya rápu
ru= jme'chí -ya ri= ápu
3sg.f open pst 3sg.nf path

Libre ella se fue a alumbrar a los hijos pa mirar si ya están dormidos, ella alumbro a ellos y ella vio que ya estaban bien profundos, ella le abrió la puerta: (kana-kájé: alumbrar, pata-kájé: alumbrar, agarrar)

61 Mot é ñakéja kája , é ramícha
Morphèmes é ñaké =ja kája é ri= amí -cha
Glose lex. then dist.simil lim already then 3sg.nf see pst

amíchari kajú ripháchiyaka jeíná ,
amí -cha -ri kajú ri= iphá -chi -ya -ka jeĩ -ná
see pst nf.ss much 3sg.nf arrive caus pst ka.nz snake pl

rakúwa'chiya neká kawayá nakojé
ri= akúwa'chi -ya na= ikhá kawayá nakú =eje
3sg.nf hang pst 3pl pro deer on until

Libre lo mismo, él miró que él trajo mucho culebra, y eso él lo colgó en ese trípode

62 Mot " yée " ké rímíchaka , pa'yú
Morphèmes yée ké ri= ímí -cha -ka pa'yú
Glose lex. oh like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft papá.addr

michú ñakámíko kháãjĩ " ké
michú ñaká =mi =kó kháãjĩ ké
deceased reflection pfv emph4 prox like

rímíchaka , " riká ka'jné ya'taró
ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= ikhá ka'jné ya'ta -ri =ó
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro dub show nf.cleft mid

amí jló " ké rímíchaka
amí jló ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
see for like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre él dijo "uy, este es el espanto de mi finado papá, ese será que se le apareció a mi mamá" dijo.

63 Mot é kája rímícha rojló " pimotho'ó
Morphèmes é kája ri= ímí -cha ru= jló pi= moto'ó
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.f for 2sg cook

kélé jíñana nuyáni jló " ké rímícha "
kélé jíña -na nu= yáni jló ké ri= ímí -cha
med fish pl 1sg children for like 3sg.nf say pst

pa'chí na'jné "
pi= a' -chí na= a'jné
2sg give purp2 3pl food

Libre él le dijo "cocine ese pescado pa que le de de comer a mis hijos"

64 Mot " jé " ké , é kája romotho'chá
Morphèmes jé ké é kája ru= motho' -chá
Glose lex. good like then already 3sg.f cook pst

jíñana , patá ruka'chíyaka naphíná
jíña -na patá ru= ka' -chi -ya -ka na= aphíná
fish pl good 3sg.f throw_out caus pst ka.cleft 3pl bone

na'phá kájéma ne'yayá
na= a'phá kájéma na= e'yá =yá
3pl residue etcetera 3pl in abl

Libre ahí ella cocinó pescao, ella le sacó bien los huesos y las escamas de adentro (patá: bien;

ka'káje: sacar + -ta (sacar todo), a'aphá: escamas; kájéma ~ kájéna)

65 Mot	romotho'chá		riká		ruñapáchiyaka
Morphèmes	ru= motho' -chá		ri= ikhá		ru= ñapáchi -ya -ka
Glose lex.	3sg.f cook pst		3sg.nf pro		3sg.f finish pst ka.nz

é náke
 é náke
 in uh

Libre ella lo cocinó, cuando ella lo terminó

66 Mot	ropóchiya		píño		ruyáni		, é
Morphèmes	ru= apó -chi -ya		píño		ru= yáni		é
Glose lex.	3sg.f wake_up caus pst		again		3sg.f children		then

rúmícha " yuwaná , apó " ké rúmícha "
 ru= ímí -cha yuwaná i= apó ké ru= ímí -cha
 3sg.f say pst kids 2pl wake_up like 3sg.f say pst
 ajñáchí jíñañáni nujĩ'cháje " ké
 i= ajñá -chí jíña =ñáni nu= jĩ' -chaje ké
 2pl eat purp2 fish dim 1sg take arg.nz2 like
 rúmíchaka
 ru= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ella levantó otra vez a sus hijos, ella dijo "niños, levántense pa que coman pescaito que yo cogí"

67 Mot	" jé	" ké	é	napóchiyo
Morphèmes	jé	ké	é	na= apó -chi -ya =o
Glose lex.	good	like	then	3pl wake_up caus pst mid

phiyúké , riká ũká apólacha , ũká ,
 phiyúké ri= ikhá unká apó -la -cha unká
 all 3sg.nf pro neg wake_up v.neg pst neg
 kajmúni ri'micháká , mapéja rili'cháka
 kajmú -ni ri= i'mi -chá -ká mapéja ri= li' -chá -ka
 lively nf 3sg.nf go pst ka.cleft normally 3sg.nf do pst ka.cleft
 rikó kamátaro ké
 ri= iká =o kamáta -ri =o ké
 3sg.nf pro mid sleep nf.nz mid like

Libre "bueno"; ahí se levantaron todos, él (el mayor) no se levantó, no, así no más se hizo de dormido

68 Mot	é	rímícha	" ũká	nuká
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	unká	nu= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	neg	1sg pro

ajñáláje " ké rímíchaka " muní
 ajñá -lá -je ké ri= ímí -cha -ka muní
 eat v.neg fut like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft tomorrow

nojñáje	,	éko	ito'tá	nojló	"
nu= ajñá -je		éko	i= to' -ta	nu= jló	
1sg eat fut		pol.imp	2pl lie caus	1sg for	

Libre él dijo "yo sí no voy a comer, mañana voy a comer, me lo guardan" (to'tá-kaje: dejar algo)

69 Mot	é	rúmícha	"	ũká	méla'jé
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		unká	méla'jé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		neg	indf.manner
wato'tála		pijló	riká	"	ké rúmícha "
wa= to' -ta -la		pi= jló	ri= ikhá	ké	ru= ímí -cha
1pl lie caus v.neg		2sg for	3sg.nf pro	like	3sg.f say pst
kamu'júni	tá	wáni	riká	"	, é rímícha "
kamu'jú -ni	tâ	wáni	ri= ikhá	é	ri= ímí -cha
small nf emph1	emph	emph	3sg.nf pro	then	3sg.nf say pst
ajñá	a'jná	riká	"	ké	rímícha
i= ajñá	a'jná	ri= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
2pl eat then		3sg.nf pro	like	3sg.nf say pst	

Libre ella dijo "no te lo podemos guardar, muy poquito es", él dijo "entonces cómanselo" (kamu'júni: poquito)

70 Mot	"	jé	"	ké	,	é	kája	muní ké
Morphèmes		jé		ké		é	kája	muní ké
Glose lex.		good		like		then	already	next_day

najme'chíya
na= jme'chí -ya
3pl become_light pst

Libre "bueno", al otro día amanecieron

71 Mot	é	réjéna	kémícha	rijló	"	é
Morphèmes	é	ri= éjéna	kémí -cha	ri= jló		é
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf siblings	say pst	3sg.nf for		Q

pamíchaka		náka	kélé	jwaló		a'á
pi= amí -cha -ka		ná -ka	kélé	wa= aló		a'á
2sg see pst ka.int		indf indf.sub	med	1pl mother.ref		give

wa'jné	?	"
wa= a'jné		
1pl food		

Libre ahí los hermanos le dijeron "sí vio qué es ese lo que nuestra mamá nos da de comer"

72 Mot	"	á'a	"	ké	rímíchaka	"
Morphèmes		á'a		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
Glose lex.		yes		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	

noló	náke	,	jnora'pá	ñakámi
nu= aló	náke		nu= jara'pá	ñaká =mi
1sg mother.ref	uh		1sg father.ref	reflection pfv

ya'táro		noló		jló	,	riká		kélé
ya'tá	-ri	=o	nu=	aló		jló	ri=	ikhá
show	nf.cleft	mid	1sg	mother.ref	for	3sg.nf	pro	med
iphátari		jeíná		,	riká		kélé	ro'ó
iphá	-ta	-ri	jeí	-ná	ri=	ikhá	kélé	ri=
arrive	caus	nf.cleft	snake	pl	3sg.nf	pro	med	3sg.nf
wa'jné	"	ké	rímíchaka					
wa=	a'jné	ké	ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka		
1pl	food	like	3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft		

Libre "sí" él dijo, "el espanto de mi papá fue que se le apareció a mi mamá, él es el que trae esos culebra, eso es lo que ella nos da de comer"

73 Mot	"	náje		u'waréwáni		rula'á		tá
Morphèmes		náje		u'waré	wáni	ru=	la'á	tâ
Glose lex.		indf.reason		ugly	emph	3sg.f	do	emph1

weká	"	ké	némíchaka
wa=	ikhá	ké	na=
1pl	pro	like	3pl
			say
			pst
			ka.cleft

Libre "por qué ella nos hace eso cochizada" ellos dijeron

74 Mot	"	marí	ké	nomíchaka		,	nákeí	ji'chí
Morphèmes		marí	ké	nu=	amí	-cha	-ka	nákei
Glose lex.		prox	like	1sg	see	pst	ka.cleft	uh

ja'piyá	ro'chá		rijló		náke	keñá	"
ja'pi	=eyá	ru=	a'a	-chá	ri=	jló	náke
under	from	3sg.f	give	pst	3sg.nf	for	uh
			saucé_name				

Libre "así fue que yo miré, ella le dió manicuera que estaba debajo de nongo"

75 Mot	"	riká		ro'chá		ra'jné		"
Morphèmes		ri=	ikhá	ru=	a'a	-chá	ri=	a'jné
Glose lex.		3sg.nf	pro	3sg.f	give	pst	3sg.nf	food

rímíchaka		,	é	ne'jíchá		ji'chí	ja'pejé
ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka	é	na=	i'jĩ	-chá
3sg.nf	say	pst	***	then	3pl	go	pst
						pot	under
							until

yakáa'jõ		,	amíchari		keñá		yáa'ko
yakáa'	-je	=o	amí	-cha	-ri	keñá	yáa'
see	purp.mot	mid	see	pst	nf.ss	saucé_name	sit
							ka.nz
							mid

Libre "ese ella le dió de comer" así él dijo, ahí se fueron mirar debajo de nongo, miraron manicuera debajo (ji'chí: nongo; olla de barro, ja'pejé: debajo; ya'kákajo: mirar)

76 Mot	jralámí		wájã		rujĩ'chá
Morphèmes	ri=	jalá	=mi	=wã	=jã
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	liquid	nom.pfv	emph	lim
				3sg.f	take
					pst

rijló	puméni
ri=	jló
3sg.nf	for
	sweet
	nf

Libre ella le sacaba el jugo dulce a él (jalá-mi: jugo)

77 **Mot** é najló romotho'chá
Morphèmes é na= jló ru= motho' -chá
Glose lex. then 3pl for 3sg.f cook pst

ra'pichalámí ujwi'chíni
ri= a'pichalá =mi ujwi'chí -ni
3sg.nf second_hand nom.pfv bland nf

Libre ella cocinó para ellos simple de segunda (uichíni: simple; a'pichalámí: de segunda)

78 **Mot** é kája najĩ'chá tá kélé keñá
Morphèmes é kája na= jĩ' -chá tâ kélé keñá
Glose lex. then already 3pl take pst emph1 med sauce_name

, é ne'rachíya riká phiyúké ne'rachíya
é na= i'ra -chi -ya ri= ikhá phiyúké na= i'ra -chi -ya
then 3pl drink caus pst 3sg.nf pro all 3pl drink caus pst

riká
ri= ikhá
3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí ellos cogieron esa manicuera, ahí lo tomaron todito

79 **Mot** é najĩ'chá kúna rapumí
Morphèmes é na= jĩ' -chá kúna ri= apumí
Glose lex. then 3pl take pst toxic_plant 3sg.nf ?replacement

chojé , riká nathuli'chá
chojé ri= ikhá na= thuli' -chá
towards_inside 3sg.nf pro 3pl mash pst

Libre ahí cogieron para reemplazo barbasco, ese ellos machucaron (thula'káje: machucar, pilar)

80 **Mot** patá nathuli'cháka kúna
Morphèmes patá na= thuli' -chá -ka kúna
Glose lex. good 3pl mash pst ka.cleft toxic_plant

Libre lo machucaron bien bien (patá = palá)

81 **Mot** ralámí nako'chá kúya
Morphèmes ri= jalá =mi na= ako' -chá kúya
Glose lex. 3sg.nf liquid nom.pfv 3pl pour pst cup

chojé keñá apumí chojé
chojé keñá i= apumí chojé
towards_inside sauce_name 2pl ?replacement towards_inside

Libre el jugo de ese barbasco ellos lo echaron ahí en el kúya en reemplazo de manicuera (ako'káje: verter)

82 **Mot** é jlapí riphícha píño
Morphèmes é jlapí ri= ipha -cha píño
Glose lex. then night 3sg.nf arrive pst again

Libre por la noche él llegó otra vez

83 **Mot** é náke
Morphèmes é náke
Glose lex. then uh

Libre ahí

84 **Mot** " tun tun tun " ké rímícha , " káĩ
Morphèmes *** *** *** ké ri= ímí -cha ***
Glose lex. *** *** *** like 3sg.nf say pst ***

káĩ " ké rúmícha
*** ké ru= ímí -cha
*** like 3sg.f say pst

Libre "tun tun tun" él dijo, "káĩ káĩ" dijo ella

85 **Mot** é kája riphícha ,
Morphèmes é kája ri= ipha -cha
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf arrive pst

ripháchiya píño jeĩná
ri= iphá -chi -ya píño jeĩ -ná
3sg.nf arrive caus pst again snake pl

Libre ahí él llegó, él trajo otra vez culebra

86 **Mot** é ru'jĩchá rijló kélé ji'chí
Morphèmes é ru= i'jĩ -chá ri= jló kélé ji'chí
Glose lex. then 3sg.f go pst 3sg.nf for med pot

ja'piyá keñá ruyáa'chiyaje rijló
ja'pi =eyá keñá ru= yáa' -chi -yaje ri= jló
under from sauce_name 3sg.f sit caus arg.nz2 3sg.nf for

jña'jě
jña' -jé
take purp.mot

Libre ahí ella fue coger la manicuera que ella le había guardado debajo del nongo (yáa'takaje: colocar)

87 **Mot** keñá rupéchú nakú i'micháká ,
Morphèmes keñá ru= péchú nakú i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. sauce_name 3sg.f thought on cop pst ka.cleft

ñaké kája , kúna kélé ruyáni ... kojlo'chá
ñaké kája kúna kélé ru= yáni kojlo' -chá
dist.simil emph? toxic_plant med 3sg.f children melt pst

rijló i'micháká
ri= jló i'mi -chá -ka
3sg.nf for far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre ella pensó que era manicuera, y eso era barbasco que los hijos le habían machucado (kojlo'kaje: machucado hasta jugo)

88 Mot	riká	kélé	ro'chá	rinúma
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá	kélé	ru= a'a -chá	ri= núma
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro	med	3sg.f give pst	3sg.nf mouth

Libre ese fue que ella le dió de tomar

89 Mot	é	ri'ichá	riká
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'ri -chá	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf drink	pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre ahí se lo tomó (i'rakájé: tomar)

90.1 Mot	é	rímícha	méké	chí	kháájí	?
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	méké	chí	kháájí	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say	pst	indf.manner	emph3	prox

Libre él dijo "cómo es ésto, yo lo siento como que si fuera venenoso" (kejáni: venenoso)

90.2 Mot	nuwe'íka	kejáni	wáijlé	"	ké
Morphèmes	nu= we'í -ka	kejá -ni	=wáĩ =jlé		ké
Glose lex.	1sg know	ka.insub?	venomous nf	emph	aug2 like

rímíchaka

ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre

91.1 Mot	é	rúmícha	" méla'jé	ri'má
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha	méla'jé	ri= i'má
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say	pst	indf.manner 3sg.nf cop

kejáni ?"

kejá -ni
venomous nf

Libre ella dijo "cómo es posible que va a ser venenoso si yo lo cociné bien"

91.2 Mot	ké	rúmícha	, "	ñaké	palá
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha		ñaké	palá
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say	pst	dist.simil	good

nomotho'cháka riká "
nu= motho' -chá -ka ri= ikhá
1sg cook pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre

92.1 Mot	" ũká	" ké	rímíchaka	,	méké	
Morphèmes	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		méké	
Glose lex.	neg	like	3sg.nf say	pst	ka.cleft	indf.manner

pajá nuwe'íka riká ?
pajá nu= we'í -ka ri= ikhá
emph 1sg know ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro

Libre él dijo "cómo será yo lo siento como si fuera venenoso"

92.2 Mot	, kejáni	riká	"
Morphèmes	kejá -ni	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	venomous nf	3sg.nf pro	

Libre

93 Mot	" jé	" ké	, é	kája	ri'ichá
Morphèmes	je	ke	e	kája	ri= i'ri -chá
Glose lex.	good	like	then	already	3sg.nf drink pst

píño	riká	"	khu'lú	khu'lú	, é	ri'ichá
píño	ri= ikhá		khu'lú	khu'lú	é	ri= i'ri -chá
again	3sg.nf pro		ideo	ideo	then	3sg.nf drink pst

riká	, é	kája	ná
ri= ikhá	é	kája	ná
3sg.nf pro	then	already	indf

Libre "bueno" y se lo tomó glu glu glu, se lo tomó, ahí ya (vimy: é kája ná - está mochito)

94 Mot	é	rímícha	"	nuwatána'o
Morphèmes	e	ri= ímí -cha		nu= watána' =o
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		1sg rest mid

mékétanaja	, éko	piñapátajika	jíñana
mé	kétána =ja	éko	pi= ñapáta -jĩ -ka jíña -na
indf.manner	during lim	pol.imp	2sg finish fut ka.nz fish pl

motho'kána	é	papóta	nuká	"
motho' -kána	é	pi= apó -ta	nu= ikhá	
cook	ev.nz1	in	2sg wake_up caus	1sg pro

Libre él dijo "voy a descansar un rato, cuando usted termina de cocinar pescao ahí hay que levantarme" (watána'kaje: descansar, -kó hortativo)

95 Mot	" jé	" ké	é	kája	rikamáchiyo
Morphèmes	je	ke	e	kája	ri= kamáchi -ya =o
Glose lex.	good	like	then	already	3sg.nf sleep pst mid

Libre bueno, ahí él se durmió

96 Mot	é	kája	rikamáchiyako	cháyami
Morphèmes	e	kája	ri= kamáchi -ya -ka =o	cháyami =mi
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf sleep pst	ka.nz mid on pfv

ritakhi'chá
ri= takhi' -chá
3sg.nf die pst

Libre Mientras que el estaba dormido se murió (entre dormido se murió)

97 Mot	kája yá	puíní	kélé	kúna	, riká
Morphèmes	kája yá	puí -ní	kélé	kúna	ikhá
Glose lex.	as	bitter nf	med	toxic_plant	pro

ri'ichá	i'micháká	, riká	nakú
ri= i'ri -chá	i'mi -chá -ka	ri= ikhá	nakú
3sg.nf drink pst	far.pst pst ka.pst	3sg.nf pro	on

ritakhi'chá
 ri= takhi' -chá
 3sg.nf die pst

Libre como ese barbasco es venenoso, él se lo tomó y de eso él se murió (kája yá: puisque)

98 Mot é kája ruñapáchiya jíñana
Morphèmes é kája ru= ñapá -chi -ya jíña -na
Glose lex. then already 3sg.f form caus pst fish pl

náikana motho'kána , é ru'jíchá
 náĩ -kana motho' -kána é ru= i'jĩ -chá
 prepare_fish ev.nz1 cook ev.nz1 then 3sg.f go pst

rapótaje , é rúmícha " papó
 ri= apó -ta -je é ru= ímí -cha pi= apú
 3sg.nf wake_up caus purp.mot then 3sg.f say pst 2sg wake_up

, papó " ké rúmícha , " chúwa pipa'ó
 pi= apú ké ru= ímí -cha chúwa pi= pa' =ó
 2sg wake_up like 3sg.f say pst now 2sg return mid

"

Libre ella terminó de arreglar los pescaos lo cocinó, ella se fue a levantarlo, "levántese, levántese" ella le dijo, "ahora váyase" (náikaje/náne-je: arreglar pescao. irregular stem, nane ~ naĩ)

99 Mot ũká ná apólacha , é ru'jíchá
Morphèmes unká ná apó -la -cha é ru= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex. neg indf wake_up v.neg pst then 3sg.f go pst

ruñaki'chá jra'piyá , ũká , é ru'jíchá
 ru= ñaki' -chá ri= ja'pi =eyá unká é ru= i'jĩ -chá
 3sg.f move pst 3sg.nf under from neg then 3sg.f go pst

rináku jápáje , amíchari kája máapámi
 ri= náku jápá -je amí -cha -ri kája máapámi
 3sg.nf on touch purp.mot see pst nf.ss already longtime

ké ritakhi'cháka
 ké ri= takhi' -chá -ka
 like 3sg.nf die pst ka.nz

Libre nadie se levantó, ella se fue y movió hamaca, nada, ella se fue a tocarlo; y miró hace rato ya estaba muerto (ñaka'káje: mover, máapámi ké: hace rato)

100 Mot é rúmícha " méké , náje
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha méké náje
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst indf.manner indf.reason

ka'jná ritakhi'chá kháájĩ " rúmíchaka
 ka'jná ri= takhi' -chá kháájĩ ru= ímí -cha -ka
 dub 3sg.nf die pst prox 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

Libre ella dijo "qué será pasó por qué será se murio éste"

101 Mot é kélé yuwají amíchari
Morphèmes é kélé yuwa -ji amí -cha -ri
Glose lex. then med unripe nf see pst nf.cleft

ruchíya'chiya ritámi pakho'lá chojé
ru= chíya'chi -ya ri= támi pakho'lá chojé
3sg.f pull pst 3sg.nf sickness back_door towards_inside

Libre ese niño miró que ella lo arrastró lo dejó al lado de la puerta

102 Mot ropáa'chiya jiyá aú ritámi
Morphèmes ru= apáa' -chi -ya jiyá aú ri= támi
Glose lex. 3sg.f cover caus pst fire with 3sg.nf sickness

Libre ella lo tapó con leña al muerto (apáata-kaje: tapar)

103 Mot é jlapiyámí napócha
Morphèmes é lapiyámí na= apó -cha
Glose lex. then morning 3pl wake_up pst

Libre bien tempranito se levantaron

104 Mot é rúmícha ruyáni jló " yuwaná "
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha ru= yáni jló yuwaná
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst 3sg.f children for kids

ké rúmíchaka , " apó "
ké ru= ímí -cha -ka i= apó
like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft 2pl wake_up

Libre ella le dijo a los hijos "hijos, levántese"

105 Mot " ijí'chá jiyá " ké rúmíchaka
Morphèmes i= jí' -chá jiyá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex. 2pl take prs fire like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

najló
na= jló
3pl for

Libre "vayan busquen leña" ella le dijo a ellos

106 Mot é kélé ru'rí amíchari
Morphèmes é kélé ru= i'rí amí -cha -ri
Glose lex. then med 3sg.f son see pst nf.cleft

ropáa'chiyaka ri'micháká jiyá aú ,
ru= apáa' -chi -ya -ka ri= i'mi -chá -ka jiyá aú
3sg.f cover caus pst ka.nz 3sg.nf far.pst pst ka.pst fire with

rímícha " náje piwakára'a wajña'ká jiyá "
ri= ímí -cha náje pi= wakára'a wa= jña' -ká jiyá
3sg.nf say pst indf.reason 2sg order 1pl take ka.nz fire

ké rúmíchaka
ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre ese hijo de ella él miró que ella lo tapó con leña, dijo "por qué nos manda a buscar leña

habiendo tanta leña aquí" (wa-jña'ka: a coger)

107.1 Mot	"	éta	kháãjĩ	jiyá	kajú	"	ké	rímícha	
Morphèmes		éta	kháãjĩ	jiyá	kajú		ké	ri= ímí	-cha
Glose lex.		then	prox	fire	much		like	3sg.nf say	pst

" ná penáje chí riká ?
 ná penáje chí ri= ikhá
 indf for emph3 3sg.nf pro

Libre "y esta leña que hay mucho/ leña mucho, para qué es?"

107.2 Mot	"	, é	ripayákícha		kélé	jiyá	chá	,
Morphèmes		é	ri= payákí	-cha	kélé	jiyá	chá	
Glose lex.		then	3sg.nf step_on	pst	med	fire	on	

éja jiyá ja'chíyo majó
 é =ja jiyá ja' -chi -ya =o majó
 cond2 lim fire fall caus pst mid prox.toward

Libre ahí el pisó en esa leña, ahí mismo la leña se cayeron hacia acá (éja: ahí mismo; ja'kájo: caer)

108 Mot		amíchari		kélé	támijimi	
Morphèmes		amí -cha -ri		kélé	támi -ji	=mi
Glose lex.		see pst nf.ss		med	sickness unposs	pfv

to'cháko jra'pí , é rímícha "
 to' -chá -ka =o ri= ja'pí é ri= ímí -cha
 lie pst ka.nz mid 3sg.nf pass then 3sg.nf say pst
 nájle chí kháãjĩ "
 ná =jlé chí kháãjĩ
 indf aug2 emph3 prox

Libre y el miró ese muerte ahí acostado debajo de leña, y dijo "ésto que es?"

109 Mot	é	rúmícha		"	ná	phiyúké	ilé
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		"	ná	phiyúké	ilé
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst		"	indf	all	med

kajétá kulá iléewá " ké rúmíchaka , "
 kájé tá kulá ilé =ewá ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 type emph1 search med around like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft
 pijĩ'chátá jiyá kiñája ké rúmíchaka , "
 pi= jĩ' -chá tá jiyá kiñája ké ru= ímí -cha -ka
 2sg take prs emph1 fire quickly like 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft
 jée " ké , é kája ne'jíchá jiyá jña'jé
 jé ké é kája na= i'jĩ -chá jiyá jña' -je
 good like then already 3pl go pst fire take purp.mot

Libre ella dijo "qué es lo que usted busca todo por ahí porquería", "vaya busque leña rápido", "bueno"; ahí se fueron a buscar leña

110 Mot	rějěchami	kája	ruyuíchako
Morphèmes	ri= éjěchami	kája	ru= yuí -cha -ka =o
Glose lex.	3sg.nf after	already	3sg.f stay pst ka.topic mid

kanupá ruyajná ñakámi le'jé
kanupá ru= yajná ñaká =mi le'jé
pregnant 3sg.f husband reflection pfv poss

Libre ella quedó embarazada del espanto del marido (yuíkajo ~ yuríkajo: quedarse; kanupá: embarazada)

111 Mot	é	kája	náke
Morphèmes	é	kája	náke
Glose lex.	then	already	uh

Libre ahí ya

112 Mot	é	kája	jlapiyamíka'la
Morphèmes	é	kája	lapiyamí -ka'la
Glose lex.	then	already	morning ?nz

jro'píchakanó nanáku jiyá jña'jé
ru= ja'pí -cha -ka =nó na= náku jiyá jña' -je
3sg.f pass pst ka.cleft hab 3pl on fire take purp.mot
a'pitajé , rúmicha najló " éko náke
a'pita -je ru= ímí -cha na= jló éko náke
bathe purp.mot 3sg.f say pst 3pl for pol.imp uh
ijĩ'chá jiyá "
i= jĩ' -chá jiyá
2pl take prs fire

Libre todas las mañanas ella los sacaba a coger leña a bañarse, ella les dijo "hay que buscar leña" (jlapiyamíka'la: todas las mañanas; ja'pákaje N-náku: espantar)

113 Mot	kája	wája	kélé	yuwajĩ	motho'chá
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	kélé	yuwají	motho' -chá
Glose lex.	already	emph lim	med	young_man	be_born pst

i'micháká
i'mi -chá -ká
far.pst pst ka.pst

Libre y así el bebé nació

114 Mot	rimotho'chá	, méke	pajá
Morphèmes	ri= motho' -chá	méké	pajá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf cook pst	indf.manner	emph

ri'micháká , kawayá ji'má ké jri'má
ri= i'mi -chá -ká kawayá ji'má ké ri= ji'má
3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft deer foot like 3sg.nf foot
i'micháká , rinapóna kalé i'micharí inau'ké
i'mi -chá -ká ri= napóna kalé i'mi -chá -rí inau'ké
cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf body emph5 cop pst nf.cleft person

ké
ké
like

Libre nació, cómo sera era él, tenía el pie como de venado, el cuerpo era como de persona

115 Mot	rějěchami	kája	jro'píchaka				
Morphèmes	ri=	ějěchami	kája	ru=	ja'pí	-cha	-ka
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	after	already	3sg.f	pass	pst	ka.insub?
wáni	nanáku	, jlapiyámí	a'pitajě	jiyá	jña'jě		,
wáni	na= náku	lapiyámí	a'pita -je	jiyá	jña' jě		
emph	3pl on	morning	bathe	purp.mot	fire	take	purp.mot
ro'kálojé		chu'chú	kélé	yuwají	numá		
ru= a' -ká	lojé	chu'chú	kélé	yuwa -ji	numá		
3sg.f	give ka.adv	purp3	breast	med unripe	nf	mouth	

Libre ahí ya ella los mandaba demasiado ya a bañarse a coger leña, para dar de tomar a ese niño

116 Mot	yetú	rito'chó		akáo'pha	e'yá
Morphèmes	yetú	ri= to'	-chá =o	akáo'pha	e'yá
Glose lex.	up	3sg.nf	lie pst	mid cup	in

Libre él estaba arriba acostado entre medio de totuma (yetú ~ yenú; akaopha: totuma -dif de kúya)

117 Mot	kája	wája	némícha	"	náje
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	na= ímí	-cha	náje
Glose lex.	already	emph	lim 3pl	say pst	indf.reason

chí	wa'jíní	wáni	amí	ja'páno	wanáku	jlapiwá	?"
chí	wa'jíní	wáni	amí	ja'pá =no	wa= náku	jlapiwá	
emph3	always	emph	see	pass hab	1pl on	dawn	

Libre entonces dijeron "por qué será que mi mamá nos espanta cada rato muy temprano?"

118 Mot	"	chúwa	nuká	yurějiko		pají
Morphèmes		chúwa	nu= ikhá	yurí -jĩ	-ka =o	pají
Glose lex.		now	1sg pro	stay fut	ka.cleft	mid maloca

numaná	"	ké	rímíchaka	,	"	é	iká
numaná		ké	ri= ímí	-cha -ka		é	i= ikhá
door		like	3sg.nf	say pst	ka.cleft	then	2pl pro

i'jnajé	jiyá	jña'jé		nomákalojé		
i'jna -jé	jiyá	jña' -je		nu= amá	-ka	lojé
go fut	fire	take	purp.mot	1sg see	ka.adv	purp3

nájeká		jro'páno		wanáku	wa'jíní	wáni	"
náje	-ka	ru= ja'pá	=no	wa= náku	wa'jíní	wáni	
indf.reason	indf.sub	3sg.f	pass	hab	1pl on	always	emph

Libre "yo ahora voy a quedarme al lado de la puerta, ahí ustedes van a buscar leña para ver por qué es que ella nos espanta a nosotros todo el tiempo".

119 Mot	" jée "	ké
Morphèmes	jé	ké
Glose lex.	good	like

Libre "bueno"

120 Mot	é	muní ké	jlapiyámí	rúmícha	"
Morphèmes	é	muní ké	lapiyámí	ru= ímí -cha	
Glose lex.	then	next_day	morning	3sg.f say	pst
a'pichiyá		kiñája	" ké	rúmícha	, " jée " ké ,
i= a'pichi -yá		kiñája	ké	ru= ímí -cha	jé ké
2pl bathe prs		quickly	like	3sg.f say pst	good like
é	ne'jíchá		a'pitajé		, kétána
é	na= i'jĩ -chá		a'pita jé		kétána
then	3pl go pst		bathe purp.mot		meanwhile
ro'chaká			chu'chú	kélé	yuwajĩ numá
ru= a' -cha -ka			chu'chú	kélé	yuwajĩ numá
3sg.f give pst	ka.topic		breast	med	young_man mouth

Libre al otro día en la mañana ella dijo "vayan bañarse", "bueno", ahí se fueron bañar; mientras ella le dió de tomar teta a ese niño

121 Mot	nephícha	é	rúmícha	"	ijj'chá
Morphèmes	na= ipha -cha	é	ru= ímí -cha	i= jĩ' -chá	
Glose lex.	3pl arrive pst	then	3sg.f say pst	2pl take prs	
jiyá " , é	ne'jíchá		piño	jiyá jña'jé	
jiyá é	na= i'jĩ -chá		píño	jiyá jña' -je	
fire then	3pl go pst		again	fire take purp.mot	

Libre llegaron y ella les dijo "vayan busquen leña" y se fueron buscar leña

122 Mot	é	kélé	phe'jí	ru'rí
Morphèmes	é	kélé	phe' -jí	ru= i'rí
Glose lex.	then	med	eldest unposs	3sg.f son

yuícharo		pají	numaná	wajlé	chú
yuí -cha -ri =o		pají	numaná	wajlé	chú
stay pst nf.cleft mid		maloca	door	back	in

Libre ahí el hijo de ella quedó ahí detrás de la puerta (wajlé: espalda)

123 Mot	é	rímícha	"	nomá	ijlá
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		na= amá	ijlá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		3pl see	frust

nájeká		jro'páno		wanáku	wa'jini	wáni
náje -ka		ru= ja'pá =no		wa= náku	wa'jini	wáni
indf.reason indf.sub		3sg.f pass hab		1pl on	always	emph
jlapiwáno	"	ké	rímícha			
jlapiwá =no		ké	ri= ímí -cha			
dawn hab		like	3sg.nf say pst			

Libre él dijo "para yo ver por qué es que ella nos espantas todas las mañanas todo el tiempo"

124 Mot	romíchaka		ne'jícháká		jiyá
Morphèmes	ru= amí -cha -ka		na= i'jĩ -chá -ká		jiyá
Glose lex.	3sg.f see pst ka.when		3pl go pst ka.nz		fire
jñá'jé	, é	ramícha		ruwitúka'taka	
jñá' -je	é	ri= amí -cha		ru= witúka' -ta -ka	
take purp.mot	then	3sg.nf see pst		3sg.f go_down caus ka.nz	
akáo'pha	e'yayá	yuwajíñáni			
akáo'pha	e'yá =eyá	yuwají =ñáni			
cup	in from	young_man dim			

Libre ella vio que ellos se fueron a buscar leña entonces él vio que ella bajó el niño entre medio de totumo

125 Mot	" áa "	ké	rímíchaka		" kháãjĩ
Morphèmes	***	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		kháãjĩ
Glose lex.	***	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		prox
lanákíya	ka'jná	jro'páno	wanáku	wa'jini	" ké
lanákíya	ka'jná	ru= ja'pá =no	wa= náku	wa'jini	ké
because	dub	3sg.f pass hab	1pl on	always	like
rímíchaka		" ro'kálojé		rijló	chu'chú
ri= ímí -cha -ka		ru= a' -ká	lojé	ri= jló	chu'chú
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		3sg.f give ka.adv	purp3	3sg.nf for	breast
penáje	"				
penáje					
for					

Libre "aa por culpa de esto será que ella nos espanta siempre, pa ella darle teta a él" (lanákíya: es por eso)

126 Mot	é	kája	réjéna	iphícha	jiyá
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri= éjéna	iphí -cha	jiyá
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf siblings	arrive pst	fire
jñá'jémi					
jñá' -jé	=mi				
take purp.mot	pfv				

Libre ahí ya llegaron los hermanos de coger leña

127 Mot	é	ne'jíchá	a'pitajé
Morphèmes	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	a'pita -je
Glose lex.	then	3pl go pst	bathe purp.mot

Libre ahí se fueron bañar

128 Mot	é	némícha	rijló	" yúka'a	?"
Morphèmes	é	na= ímí -cha	ri= jló	yúka'a	
Glose lex.	then	3pl say pst	3sg.nf for	already	

Libre ahí le dijeron "ya?"

129 Mot " é pamíchaka náje chí
Morphèmes é pi= amí -cha -ka náje chí
Glose lex. Q 2sg see pst ka.int indf.reason emph3

jwaló ja'páno wanáku wa'jíní wáni ? "
 wa= aló ja'pá =no wa= náku wa'jíní wáni
 1pl mother.ref pass hab 1pl on always emph

Libre "ya usted vio por qué es que mi mamá nos espanta siempre?"

130 Mot é rímícha " ũká , é nomícha
Morphèmes é ri= ímí -cha unká é nu= amí -cha
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf say pst neg then 1sg see pst

náke ré pajlúwaja keráko'peñáni " ké
 náke ri= é pajlúwá =ja keráko'pe =ñáni ké
 uh 3sg.nf in one lim baby dim like

rímíchaka " riká a'jnë ro'kálojé
 ri= ímí -cha -ka ri= ikhá a'jnë ru= a' -ká lojé
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf pro food 3sg.f give ka.adv purp3

penáje jro'páno wanáku "
 penáje ru= ja'pá =no wa= náku
 for 3sg.f pass hab 1pl on

Libre "no, yo ví ahí un bebecito, para ella darle de comer a él por eso es que ella nos espanta"

131.1 Mot " kája nomícha mérejéka
Morphèmes kája nu= amí -cha méré =eje -ka
Glose lex. already 1sg see pst indf.loc until indf.sub

roto'chíya riká " , " é kéwáka ?"
 ru= to' -chi -ya ri= ikhá é kéwaka
 3sg.f lie caus pst 3sg.nf pro Q truth

Libre "ya yo miré dónde ella lo dejó a él", "es cierto?" ellos dijeron, "sí" él dijo

131.2 Mot ké némíchaka , " á'a " ké
Morphèmes ké na= ímí -cha -ka á'a ké
Glose lex. like 3pl say pst ka.cleft yes like

rímícha
 ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf say pst

Libre

132 Mot " jé " ké
Morphèmes jé ké
Glose lex. good like

Libre "bueno"

133 Mot é kája ru'jíchá mená e'yajé ,
Morphèmes é kája ru= i'jĩ -chá mená e'yajé
Glose lex. then already 3sg.f go pst cropland towards

yámona	nawitúka'chiya			kélé	yuwajǐ	...	yenúyá	...
yámona	na= witúka'	-chi	-ya	kélé	yuwajǐ		yenú	=eyá
afterward	3pl go_down	caus	pst	med	young_man		up	from
akáo'pha	e'yayá							
akáo'pha	e'yá	=eyá						
cup	in	from						

Libre ella se fue a la chagra, mientras que ella se fue bajaron ese niño que estaba arriba entre medio de totumo (yámona: mientras, syn: kétána)

134 Mot	é	nakáchiyo			kélé	yuwajǐ	jwa'té	
Morphèmes	é	na= káchi	-ya	=o	kélé	yuwajǐ	jwa'té	
Glose lex.	then	3pl play	pst	mid	med	young_man	with	
ajǐño'jǒ	ké	, riká		nakú	ne'michá		, muní ké	
ajǐño'jǒ	ké	ri= ikhá		nakú	na= i'mi	-chá	muní ké	
prox.toward	like	3sg.nf pro		on	3pl cop	pst	next_day	
ñaké	kája	, muní ké		ñaké	kája	, kája	wája	
ñaké	kája	muní ké		ñaké	kája	kája	=wá	=ja
dist.simil	emph?	next_day		dist.simil	emph?	already	emph	lim
phíyu'kecha	ri'micháká							
phíyu'ke	-cha	ri= i'mi	-chá	-ká				
old	inch	3sg.nf cop	pst	ka.cleft				

Libre jugaron con el niño pa todos lados, en eso ellos estaban, al otro día lo mismo, como ya estaba ya grandecito

135 Mot	kája	, é	naǐ'chá		wená	
Morphèmes	kája	é	na= ĩ'	-chá	wená	
Glose lex.	already	then	3pl weave	pst	trap	

Libre ahí ya tejieron malla

136 Mot	naǐ'chá			pajǐ	numaná	nakú	apála
Morphèmes	na= ĩ'	-chá		pajǐ	nu= maná	nakú	apála
Glose lex.	3pl weave	pst	maloca	1sg healing	on		maybe
riñáa	neká						
ri= ñáa	na= ikhá						
3sg.nf abandon	3pl pro						

Libre lo tejieron ahí en la puerta de la casa de pronto el venadito se vuela

137 Mot	eyonáje	kája	phíyu'ke	ri'micháká			
Morphèmes	eyonáje	kája	phíyu'ke	ri= i'mi	-chá	-ká	
Glose lex.	however	already	old	3sg.nf cop	pst	ka.cleft	
é	kája	rimathi'yá		kélé	wená	tá	, kája ikája
é	kája	ri= mathi'	-yá	kélé	wená	tâ	kája ikája
then	already	3sg.nf cut	pst	med	trap	emph1	at_that_time
riíchako				jraló		ápumi	chú
ri= iǐ	-cha	-ka	=o	ri= aló		ápumi	chú
3sg.nf abandon	pst	ka.topic	mid	3sg.nf mother.ref	behind	in	

Libre ya estaba grande, ahí el cortó la trampa, corrió atrás de la mamá (ñaa-kájó : escaparse)

138.1 Mot	é	nawái'cha	"	amí	,	amí	,	ná	pajá
Morphèmes	é	na= wái' -cha		amí		amí		ná	pajá
Glose lex.	then	3pl call pst		see		see		indf	emph

ĩicharo iléño'jǒ ?
 íĩ -cha -ri =o iléño'jǒ
 abandon pst nf.cleft mid med.toward

Libre entonces ellos llamaron "maamaaaá, maaamaaaá, quién será se voló hacia allá, brincó de bulto de totuma, dijeron (jeño'káje)

138.2 Mot	akáo'pha	e'yayá	jreño'chá	"	ké
Morphèmes	akáo'pha	e'yá =eyá	ri= jeño' -chá		ké
Glose lex.	cup	in from	3sg.nf jump pst		like

némíchaka
 na= ímí -cha -ka
 3pl say pst ka.cleft

Libre

139 Mot	é	najĩ'chó		rináku	.
Morphèmes	é	na= jĩ' -chá =o		ri= náku	
Glose lex.	then	3pl take pst mid		3sg.nf on	

Libre ellos lo persiguieron (jña'kájo N-nakú: perseguir)

140.1 Mot	"	amí	"	ké	nawái'cha	,	"	náje	kélé
Morphèmes		amí		ké	na= wái' -cha			náje	kélé
Glose lex.		see		like	3pl call pst			indf.reason	med

kájéna tá wá'a ?
 kájé -na tâ wá'a
 type pl emph1 take

Libre "maaamá" así llamaron, "por qué llaman esos porquería"

140.2 Mot	"	rúmíchaka	,	"	ná	pajá
Morphèmes		ru= ímí -cha -ka			ná	pajá
Glose lex.		3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			indf	emph

ĩicharo iléño'jǒ ?"
 íĩ -cha -ri =o iléño'jǒ
 abandon pst nf.cleft mid med.toward

Libre ella dijo, "que será se escapó para allá",

140.3 Mot	ké	némícha	,	riká	nakú
Morphèmes	ké	na= ímí -cha		ri= ikhá	nakú
Glose lex.	like	3pl say pst		3sg.nf pro	on

wajña'ó
 wa= jña' =ó
 1pl take mid

Libre por eso lo estamos persiguiendo

141 Mot	é	ruyakái'cho				amíchari
Morphèmes	é	ru= yakái' -cha =o				amí -cha -ri
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f see	pst	mid		see pst nf.ss
riká	waícha	, rináku		wája		rapíro'cha
ri=	ikhá	waícha	ri= náku	=wá =ja	ri=	apíro' -cha
3sg.nf	pro	return	3sg.nf on	emph lim	3sg.nf	suck pst
ka'chí	paná	ña'kú	paná	.		
ka'chí	paná	ña'kú	paná			
manioc_plant	leave	yam	leave			

Libre ella miró y vió que él venía, de pasada estaba comiendo hoja de yuca y de ñame (rinakuwája)

142.1 Mot	é	rúmícha		rijló	:	" náje
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha		ri= jló		náje
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say	pst	3sg.nf for		indf.reason

papíro'o	ka'chí	paná	ña'kú	paná	?"
pi= apíro'o	ka'chí	paná	ña'kú	paná	
2sg suck	manioc_plant	leave	yam	leave	

Libre ella le dijo "por qué come eso hoja de yuca y de ñame?"(apíro'káje: chupar)

142.2 Mot	ké	rúmíchaka		
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say	pst	ka.cleft

Libre ella dijo

143 Mot	"	pi'matá		kawayátá	"	ké
Morphèmes	pi=	i'ma -ta		kawayá tâ		ké
Glose lex.	2sg	cop caus		deer emph1		like

rúmícha	,	"	kawayátá	kalé	rapíro'ka
ru= ímí -cha			kawayá tâ	kalé	ri= apíro' -ka
3sg.f say pst			deer emph1	emph5	3sg.nf suck ka.cleft
ka'chí	paná	ña'kú	paná	" ké	rúmícha
ka'chí	paná	ña'kú	paná	ké	ru= ímí -cha
manioc_plant	leave	yam	leave	like	3sg.f say pst

Libre "esté venado, venado es que come hoja de yuca y de ñame", así ella le dijo

144 Mot	kája ikája	ri'jícháká		eja'wá	e'yajé	,
Morphèmes	kája ikája	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka		eja'wá	e'yajé	
Glose lex.	at_that_time	3sg.nf go	pst	ka.when	forest	towards

kája	kawayá	penáje	rikeño'chiyako		
kája	kawayá	penáje	ri= keño'chi -ya -ka	=o	
already	deer	for	3sg.nf transform	pst	ka.cleft mid

Libre entonces se fue al monte, se convrtió en venado

145 Mot	réjéchami	kája	cháapúwani	romícha
Morphèmes	ri= éjéchami	kája	cháapú wáni	ru= amí -cha
Glose lex.	3sg.nf then	already	badly emph	3sg.f see pst

ne'micháká		kája	jlapiyámí	ruwakái'cha	neká
na= i'mi -chá -ká		kája	lapiyámí	ru= wakái' -cha	na= ikhá
3pl far.pst pst ka.pst		already	morning	3sg.f order pst	3pl pro
jiyá jña'jé		kája	ajñño'jō	ké .	
jiyá jña' jé		kája	ajñño'jō	ké	
fire take purp.mot		already	prox.toward	like	

Libre de ahí ya ella le tenía más rabia a ellos, bien temprano ella les mandaba a buscar leña pa acá y pa allá

146 Mot	kája	wája	kélé	ne'wé	phe'jí
Morphèmes	kája	=wá =ja	kélé	na= e'wé	phe' -jí
Glose lex.	already	emph lim	med	3pl brother	eldest unposs

kémícha "	náje	ka'jná	waló	amá	weká
kémí -cha	náje	ka'jná	wa= aló	amá	wa= ikhá
say pst	indf.reason	dub	1pl mother.ref	see	1pl pro

cháapú ?".
cháapú
badly

Libre ahí dijo ese hermano mayor "por qué será que mi mamá nos odia tanto?"

147 Mot	" chúwa	náke	we'jnajíka	nákerí	a'waná
Morphèmes	chúwa	náke	wa= i'jna -jí -ka	nákeri	a'waná
Glose lex.	now	uh	1pl go fut ka.cleft	uh	tree

íma kawirí	íma jña'jé	" , riká
íma kawirí	íma jña' -je	ri= ikhá
bark plant_sp	bark take purp.mot	3sg.nf pro

jnawakáchiya	, kawirí	ímami	najĩ'chá	,
na= jawaká -chi -ya	kawirí	íma =mi	na= jĩ' -chá	
3pl pile caus pst	plant_sp bark	nom.pfv	3pl take pst	

kajú jnawakáchiya	, riká	nakái'cha
kajú na= jawaká -chi -ya	ri= ikhá	na= kái' -cha
much 3pl pile caus pst	3sg.nf pro	3pl burn pst

Libre "ahora vamos ir coger ese cascara de palo, cascara de kawirí (matú)", ese ellos amontonaron, cogieron ese cáscara de kawirí, lo amontonaron mucho, eso ellos quemaron (jawakáta-kaje: amontonar; kára'kaje: quemar)

148 Mot	rile'jé	pai'lá	e'yá	napilákíchonó
Morphèmes	ri= le'jé	pai'lá	e'yá	na= pilákí -cha =o =nó
Glose lex.	3sg.nf poss	ashes	in	3pl roll_around pst mid hab

, ñakéja	ñakéta	, kája	wája	nachijné
ñaké =ja	ñaké -ta	kája	=wá =ja	na= chijné
dist.simil lim	dist.simil ?	already	emph lim	3pl hair

keño'chá	iphákáje
keño' -chá	iphá -káje
begin pst	arrive ev.nz2

Libre en ceniza de ese ellos se revolcaban, todas las veces, ahí ya comenzó nacer las plumitas (piláká-kajo: revolcarse; ñaké-ja ñaké-ta)

149 Mot é nephá , apála nephíchanó
Morphèmes é na= iphá apála na= iphí -cha =nó
Glose lex. then 3pl arrive maybe 3pl arrive pst hab

runákunó , é rúmícha " méewá
ru= náku =no é ru= ímí -cha mé =ewá
3sg.f on hab then 3sg.f say pst indf.manner around

ichira'ó nuyáni " ké rúmícha
i= chira' =ó nu= yáni ké ru= ímí -cha
2pl wander mid 1sg children like 3sg.f say pst

Libre llegaban, a veces llegaban donde ella, ella les dijo "por dónde andan mis hijos"?

150 Mot é némícha " mapéja wamaláataka
Morphèmes é na= ímí -cha mapéja wa= maláata -ka
Glose lex. then 3pl say pst normally 1pl distract ka.cleft

wekó a'jnáawá " ké némícha " kája
wa= ikhá =o a'jna =ewá ké na= ímí -cha kája
1pl pro mid dist around like 3pl say pst already

we'maká penáje pijwa'té maaré cháapú
wa= i'ma -ká penáje pi= jwa'té maaré cháapú
1pl cop ka.nz for 2sg with prox.loc badly

pamáka weká , ajíño'jó ké piwakáa'ka
pi= amá -ka wa= ikhá ajíño'jó ké pi= wakáa' -ka
2sg see ka.cleft 1pl pro prox.toward like 2sg order ka.cleft

weká " némíchaka
wa= ikhá na= ímí -cha -ka
1pl pro 3pl say pst ka.cleft

Libre ellos dijeron "así no más estamos pasando tiempo por ahí, ya que cuando estamos con usted acá nos tiene rabia, nos mandaba pa todos lados" así ellos le dijeron(maláata-kaje; maláa-kaje: distraerse)

151.1 Mot " jée " ké , kája wája
Morphèmes jé ké kája =wá =ja
Glose lex. good like already emph lim

ne'jícháno , wéji kéka'lanó kája ũká
na= i'jĩ -chá =no wéji ké -ka'la =no kája unká
3pl go pst hab three like ?nz hab already neg

nephálácha , é rúmícha " ná ka'jné
na= iphá -lá -cha é ru= ímí -cha ná ka'jné
3pl arrive v.neg pst then 3sg.f say pst indf dub

nuyáni la'kó ?"
nu= yáni la' -ká =o
1sg children do ka.cleft mid

Libre "bueno" ahí ya se fueron, llevaban tres días y nada que llegaban, entonces ella dijo "que será le pasó a mis hijos?"

151.2 Mot ké rúmícha
Morphèmes ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella dijo

152 Mot ewá kájachaka nachijné iphícha
Morphèmes =ewá kája -cha -ka na= chijné iphí -cha
Glose lex. then already pst ka.insub? 3pl hair arrive pst

kajú nachijné iphícha , kája ne'micháká
kajú na= chijné iphí -cha kája na= i'mi -chá -ká
much 3pl hair arrive pst already 3pl go pst ka.cleft

atírína ne'micháká
atírí -na na= i'mi -chá -ká
animal_sp pl 3pl go pst ka.cleft

Libre ya se le estaba naciendo muchas plumas, ya estaban cocunuco

153 Mot é kája rímícha re'weló jló
Morphèmes é kája ri= ímí -cha ri= e'we -ló jló
Glose lex. then already 3sg.nf say pst 3sg.nf brother f for

" chuwí " ké rímíchaka " éko
chuwí ké ri= ímí -cha -ka éko
young.sibling.addr like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft pol.imp

pímícha jwaló jló muní wéji kélé kamú
pi= ímí -cha wa= aló jló muní wéji kélé kamú
2sg say prs 1pl mother.ref for tomorrow three med sun

chú é wephájẽ kája penáje , éko píma
chú é wa= iphá -jẽ kája penáje éko pi= íma
in then 1pl arrive fut last_time pol.imp 2sg say

rojlo marí ké nómíchaka , we'jnájíká
ru= jló marí ké nu= ímí -cha -ka wa= i'jna -jǐ -ka
3sg.f for prox like 1sg say pst ka.cleft 1pl go fut ka.topic

arápaje kája penáje ké rímíchaka
arápa' -je kája penáje ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
dance purp.mot last_time like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí él dijo a la hermanita "hermanita" él dijo, "hay que decir a nuestra mamá, mañana a las tres ahí vamos llegar última vez, hay que decirle que así yo dije, que nosotros vamos a bailar ya última vez"

154 Mot " éko iléré phá chú nujiñapáre
Morphèmes éko iléré phá chú nu= jiñapá -re
Glose lex. pol.imp med.loc house in 1sg comb alien2

kéchami nukanáre nule'jé jéwa , éko pijña'á
kéchami nu= kaná -re nu= le'jé jéwa éko pi= jña'á
after 1sg mirror alien2 1sg poss clay pol.imp 2sg take

nojlo riká ké rímíchaka rojlo , "
nu= jló ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka ru= jló
1sg for 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 3sg.f for

jée " ké
 jé ké
 good like

Libre "ahí adentro de maloca está mi peine mi espejo y mi tierra amarilla (jéwa), hay que traermelo eso" así él le dijo, "bueno"

155 Mot é kája ne'weló i'jichá ajĩ ké
Morphèmes é kája na= e'we -ló i'jĩ -chá ajĩ ké
Glose lex. then already 3pl brother f go pst prox like

jroló éjō , é ruphícha réjō ,
 ru= jaló ejo é ru= ipha -cha ri= ejo
 3sg.f mother.ref towards then 3sg.f arrive pst 3sg.nf towards

é rúmícha
 é ru= ímí -cha
 then 3sg.f say pst

Libre ahí la hermanita se fue donde la mamá, ella llegó allá, ella dijo

156.1 Mot " tójmarú " ké rúmícha , " ná
Morphèmes to'jma -rú ké ru= ímí -cha ná
Glose lex. boy f like 3sg.f say pst indf

chí ila'á ?"
 chí i= la'á
 emph3 2pl do

Libre ella le dijo "hijita, qué es lo que hacen"; "no nada no estamos haciendo nada, solamente estamos distrayéndonos no más"

156.2 Mot ké rúmícha .
Morphèmes ké ru= ímí -cha
Glose lex. like 3sg.f say pst

Libre

156.3 Mot " ũká ná wala'lá " ké
Morphèmes unká ná wa= la' -lá ké
Glose lex. neg indf 1pl do v.neg like

rúmíchaka , " mapéja weká , mapéja
 ru= ímí -cha -ka mapéja wa= ikhá mapéja
 3sg.f say pst ka.cleft normally 1pl pro normally

wamaláataka wekó " ké rúmícha .
 wa= maláata -ka wa= ikhá =o ké ru= ímí -cha
 1pl distract ka.cleft 1pl pro mid like 3sg.f say pst

Libre

157 Mot náke no'wé wakái'chari nuká
Morphèmes náke nu= e'wé wakái' -cha -ri nu= ikhá
Glose lex. uh 1sg brother order pst nf.cleft 1sg pro

rikanáre		jña'jé		,	rile'jé		jéwa
ri= kaná -re		jña' -je			ri= le'jé		jéwa
3sg.nf mirror alien2		take purp.mot			3sg.nf poss		clay
jña'jé		ké rúmícha		,	" ají ké		
jña' -je		ké ru= ímí -cha			ají ké		
take purp.mot		like 3sg.f say pst			prox like		
rímíchaka		pináku		:	éko muní piwátaje		
ri= ímí -cha -ka		pi= náku			éko muní pi= wáta -je		
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		2sg on			pol.imp tomorrow 2sg wait fut		
riká		wéji kéle kamú jená chú "					
ri= ikhá wéji kéle kamú jená chú							
3sg.nf pro three med sun hour in							

Libre "mi hermano me mandó a buscar el espejo, su tierra amarilla" así dijo, "así él mandó razón para usted: mañana hay que esperarlo a las tres de la tarde"

158 Mot	"	é	weká	waícha	kája penáje	arápaje
Morphèmes		é	wa= ikhá	waícha	kája penáje	arápa' -je
Glose lex.		then	1pl pro	return	last_time	dance purp.mot
"	ké	rímíchaka		"	kája ikája	we'jnajíká
	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			kája ikája	wa= i'jna -j' -ka
	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft			at_that_time	1pl go fut ka.topic
	"					

Libre "ahí nosotros venimos a bailar última vez" así dijo mi hermano, y ahí sí ya nos vamos

159.1 Mot	é	rúmícha		"	méké	chí
Morphèmes	é	ru= ímí -cha			méké	chí
Glose lex.	then	3sg.f say pst			indf.manner	emph3

ila'ká , kélé ?"
i= la' -ká kélé
2pl do ka.cleft med

Libre entonces ella le dijo "qué es lo que hacen ustedes? ",

159.2 Mot	ké	rúmíchaka		.
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft		

Libre ella dijo

159.3 Mot	"	ũká	,	kája	we'maká	penáje
Morphèmes		unká		kája	wa= i'ma -ká	penáje
Glose lex.		neg		already	1pl live ka.nz	for

pijwa'té , kajú paka'kéno weká cháápú
pi= jwa'té kajú pi= aka' -ké =no wa= ikhá cháápú
2sg with much 2sg scold far.pst.nz hab 1pl pro badly
pamákhe weká , aú kája wawátaka
pi= amá -khe wa= ikhá aú kája wa= wáta -ka
2sg see far.pst.nz 1pl pro because already 1pl want ka.nz

ké we'majíká ké
 ké wa= i'ma -jǐ -ká ké
 like 1pl tell fut ka.cleft like

Libre "ya que cuando estuvimos con usted usted nos regañaba nos odiaba , por eso vamos a estar como queremos (akha'káje: regañar)

160 Mot " jée " ké , é kája ruícha
Morphèmes jé ké é kája ru= íí -cha
Glose lex. good like then already 3sg.f cry pst

Libre "bueno", ella se puso a llorar (iyákáje: llorar)

161 Mot é muní ké wéji kélé kamú jená chú é
Morphèmes é muní ké wéji kélé kamú jená chú é
Glose lex. then next_day three med sun hour in in

nephícha arápa'je kajú narápichaka
 na= ipha -cha arápa' -je kajú na= arápi' -cha -ka
 3pl arrive pst dance purp.mot much 3pl dance pst ka.cleft

Libre al otro día a las tres de la tarde llegaron bailaron mucho

162 Mot jme'táno narápichaka
Morphèmes jme'táno na= arápi' -cha -ka
Glose lex. dawn 3pl dance pst ka.cleft

Libre hasta amanecer bailar

163 Mot é némícha rojló " amí " ké
Morphèmes é na= ímí -cha ru= jló amí ké
Glose lex. then 3pl say pst 3sg.f for see like

némíchaka " chúwa tá kája we'jnaáa
 na= ímí -cha -ka chúwa tâ kája wa= i'jna -ñaá
 3pl say pst ka.cleft now emph1 already 1pl go appl

piká " ké némícha , kája we'má pijwa'té
 pi= ikhá ké na= ímí -cha kája wa= i'má pi= jwa'té
 2sg pro like 3pl say pst already 1pl cop 2sg with

júpi "
 júpi
 long_time

Libre ellos le dijeron "mamá ahora sí ya nos vamos de usted" así dijeron", "ya vivimos mucho tiempo con usted"

164 Mot we'majíká pijwa'té penáje pakha'ké
Morphèmes wa= i'ma -jǐka pi= jwa'té penáje pi= akha' -ké
Glose lex. 1pl live far.pst 2sg with for 2sg *** far.pst

weká , cháápú pamákhe weká é kája
 wa= ikhá cháápú pi= amá -khe wa= ikhá é kája
 1pl pro badly 2sg see far.pst 1pl pro then already

we'majíká		kéja		we'majíká		ké
wa= i'ma -jĩ -ka		ké =ja		wa= i'ma -jĩ -ka		ké
1pl live fut ka.nz		like lim		1pl live fut ka.topic		like

némíchaka

na= ímí -cha -ka

3pl say pst ka.cleft

Libre "cuando vivíamos con usted usted nos regañaba nos tenía rabia, pase lo que pase vamos a vivir así como nosotros queramos"

165 Mot	éja		najícha		kája
Morphèmes	é	=ja	na= ají -cha		kája
Glose lex.	cond2	lim	3pl fly pst		already

jnewí'cho			atírí		penáje	najícha		ají		ké
na= jewí' -cha =o			atírí		penáje	na= ají -cha		ají		ké
3pl become pst mid			animal_sp		for	3pl fly pst		prox		like

eja'wá e'yajé

eja'wá e'yajé

forest towards

Libre ahí ya ellos se volaron, ya se convirtieron en cocunuco, volaron hacia el monte

166.1 Mot	rêjéchami		ruíchaka		kajú
Morphèmes	ri= êjéchami		ru= iyá -cha -ka		kajú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf after		3sg.f cry pst ka.cleft		much

ruíchaka		, rúmícha		" nuyáni		, náje
ru= iyá -cha -ka		ru= ímí -cha		nu= yáni		náje
3sg.f cry pst ka.cleft		3sg.f say pst		1sg children		indf.reason

ila'á iléké nuká ?

i= la'á ilé ké nu= ikhá

2pl do med like 1sg pro

Libre en ese momento ella lloró mucho, ella dijo "mis hijos, por qué hacen así, regresen acá" dijo

166.2 Mot	" ké	rúmíchaka		, "	ipa'ó
Morphèmes	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			i= pa' =ó
Glose lex.	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			2pl return mid

majó "

majó

prox.toward

Libre

167 Mot	némícha	:	" ũká	méño'jo
Morphèmes	na= ímí -cha		unká	méño'jó
Glose lex.	3pl say pst		neg	indf.toward

wapa'ló		, kája		we'jnaká		" ké
wa= pa' -lá =ó		kája		wa= i'jna -ka		ké
1pl return v.neg mid		already		1pl go ka.topic		like

némícha
na= ímí -cha
3pl say pst

Libre dijeron "no podemos regresar porque ya nos fuimos"

168.1 Mot kája ikája ne'jícháká eja'wá e'yowá
Morphèmes kája ikája na= i'jĩ -chá -ka eja'wá e'yá ewá
Glose lex. at_that_time 3pl go pst ka.topic forest in around

, ne'michá júpi é kája rukeño'chá
na= i'mi -chá júpi é kája ru= keño' -chá
3pl cop pst long_time then already 3sg.f begin pst

nakulákana ajĩño'jǒ ké , ajĩño'jǒ ké "
na= kulá -kana ajĩño'jǒ ké ajĩño'jǒ ké
3pl search ev.nz1 prox.toward like prox.toward like

nuyáni , ipa'ó majǒ , nuyáni
nu= yáni i= pa' =ó majǒ nu= yáni
1sg children 2pl return mid prox.toward 1sg children

ipa'ó majǒ !"
i= pa' =ó majǒ
2pl return mid prox.toward

Libre así se fueron por el monte, vivieron mucho tiempo, ahí ella comenzó a buscarlos por todos lados, "hijos regresen acá, hijos regresen acá" y nada

168.2 Mot , ũká .
Morphèmes unká
Glose lex. neg

Libre

169 Mot kája wája pajlúwa ne'wé kémícha "
Morphèmes kája =wǎ =ja pajlúwá na= e'wé kémí -cha
Glose lex. already emph lim one 3pl brother say pst

ái , nuká pa'jéro amí cháje " ké
ái nu= ikhá pa' -jé -ri =o amí cháje ké
uy 1sg pro return fut nf.cleft mid see more_than like

rímícha , " kamu'jí wáni noló la'ká
ri= ímí -cha kamu'jí wáni nu= aló la' -ká
3sg.nf say pst poor emph 1sg mother.ref do ka.cleft

ajĩño'jǒ ké wakulákana nakú "
ajĩño'jǒ ké wa= kulá -kana nakú
prox.toward like 1pl search ev.nz1 on

Libre "aa" dijo el otro hermano "yo sí voy a regresar donde mi mamá, pobrecita mi mamá buscandonos por todos lados"

170 Mot é phe'jí kémícha : "
Morphèmes é phe' -jí kémí -cha
Glose lex. then eldest unposs say pst

piwátajika		é	pipa'ó	"	ké	rímícha	,	"
pi= wáta -jĩ -ka		é	pi= pa' =ó		ké	ri= ímí -cha		
2sg want fut ka.nz		in	2sg return mid		like	3sg.nf say pst		
eyá	nuká	ũká	pa'lájõ			kajú wáni		
eyá	nu= ikhá	unká	pa' -lá -je =o			kajú wáni		
since_then	1sg pro	neg	return v.neg fut mid			much emph		
romákáje		rula'khé			we'majíká	,	áũ	
ru= amákáje		ru= la' -khé			wa= i'ma -jĩka		áũ	
3sg.f discomfort		3sg.f do far.pst			1pl far.pst far.pst		because	
kája	ũká	nuwátala			rucháje	pa'kájo		,
kája	unká	nu= wáta -la			ru= cháje	pa' -káje =o		
already	neg	1sg want v.neg			3sg.f at	return ev.nz2 mid		
eyá	piká		piwátajika		é	pipa'ó		
eyá	pi= ikhá		pi= wáta -jĩ -ka		é	pi= pa' =ó		
since_then	2sg pro		2sg want fut ka.nz		in	2sg return mid		
rucháje	"	ké	rímícha					
ru= cháje		ké	ri= ímí -cha					
3sg.f at		like	3sg.nf say pst					

Libre entonces el hermano mayor dijo "si usted quiere regrese yo sí no voy a regresar porque ella nos cansaba mucho, por eso yo no quiero regresar donde ella, si usted quiere, regrese donde ella" así él le dijo (pr-amákáje pr-la'kajé: molestar, cansar; eyá: bueno...)

171 Mot	é	rímícha	"	i'maláe'jné	"	ké
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha		i'maláe'jné		ké
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst		too_bad		like
rímícha	"	ũká	nupa'lájõ			" ké
ri= ímí -cha		unká	nu= pa' -lá -je =o			ké
3sg.nf say pst		neg	1sg return v.neg fut mid			like
rímícha	"	kéwakajo'ó	we'makhéchiyó			
ri= ímí -cha		kéwaka =jo'ó	wa= i'ma -khé =chiyó			
3sg.nf say pst		truth still	1pl cop far.pst.nz before			
rujwa'té	cháapú	romájika			we'majíká	"
ru= jwa'té	cháapú	ru= amá -jĩka			wa= i'ma -jĩka	
3sg.f with	badly	3sg.f see far.pst.nz			1pl far.pst far.pst	

Libre él dijo "mejor no, yo no voy a regresar, es verdad cuando vivíamos con ella ella nos odiaba"(i'maláe'jné : tant pis)

172 Mot	kája	ñakéja		ne'micháká		eja'wá
Morphèmes	kája	ñaké	=ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká		eja'wá
Glose lex.	already	dist.simil	lim	3pl go pst ka.cleft		forest
e'yá	kája	wája	náke			
e'yá	kája	=wá =ja	náke			
in	already	emph	lim	uh		

Libre todo el tiempo vivían en el monte

173 Mot	nawái'cha	júni	, kajú	nawái'chaka
Morphèmes	na= wái' -cha	júni	kajú	na= wái' -cha -ka
Glose lex.	3pl call pst	water1	much	3pl call pst ka.cleft
júni	, riká	á'pi	ru'jíchá	nakuláje
júni	ri= ikhá	á'pi	ru= i'jĩ -chá	na= kulá -je
water1	3sg.nf pro	under	3sg.f go pst	3pl search purp.mot
ru'jíchá	najló	kujnú	, itu'ru	, ruwái'cha "
ru= jĩ' -chá	na= jló	kujnú	itu'ru	ru= wái' -cha
3sg.f take pst	3pl for	cassava	starch	3sg.f call pst
nuyáni	, nuyáni	" kája	wája	ipe'ní
nu= yáni	nu= yáni	kája	=wá' =ja	ipe' -ní
1sg children	1sg children	already	emph lim	cold nf
nócha	ruká	, mapéja	rukuúkícha	,
nó -cha	ru= ikhá	mapéja	ru= kuúkí -cha	
kill pst	3sg.f pro	normally	3sg.f shake pst	
ruwái'chaka	" nuyáni	, nuyáni	"	
ru= wái' -cha -ka	nu= yáni	nu= yáni		
3sg.f call pst ka.cleft	1sg children	1sg children		

Libre ellos llamaron lluvia, llamaron mucho lluvia, debajo de lluvia ella se fue a buscarlos, ella les llevó casabe y almidón, ella llamó "hijooos, hijooos", ahí ya le dio frío, así no más estaba temblando y llamando "hijooos, hijooos" (wáa'kaje: llamar; kurúkákaje ~ kuúkákaje: temblar)

174.1 Mot	é	rímícha	" ná	iká	"
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha	ná	ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst	indf	3sg.nf pro	
nuyáni	" ké	wáa'kaje	nakú	?	
nu= yáni	ké	wáa' -kaje	nakú		
1sg children	like	call ev.nz2	on		

Libre "qué es lo que está llamando "hijos, hijos", porquería" él dijo

174.2 Mot	" ké	rímícha	" ilé	kajé	tá	"
Morphèmes	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ilé	kajé	tâ	
Glose lex.	like	3sg.nf say pst	med	type	emph1	
ké	rímíchaka	.				
ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka					
like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft				

Libre

175 Mot	wa'jini	paka'jikanó	weká	, cháapú
Morphèmes	wa'jini	pi= aka' -jĩka	=nó	wa= ikhá cháapú
Glose lex.	always	2sg scold far.pst.nz	hab	1pl pro badly
pamáke	we'majiká	, aú	we'jíchámí	
pi= amá -khe	wa= i'ma -jĩka	aú	wa= i'jĩ -chá =mi	
2sg see far.pst.nz	1pl far.pst far.pst	because	1pl go pst	pfv

i'maká , ũká pikulákalojé kalé weká
i'ma -ka unká pi= kulá -ka lojé kalé wa= ikhá
far.pst ka.pst neg 2sg search ka.adv purp3 nv.neg 1pl pro
ké rímíchaka
ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "todo el tiempo usted nos regañaba, nos odiaba mucho, por eso fue que nosotros nos fuimos, no es para que nos esté buscando

176 Mot é rúmícha " majó ipa'ó
Morphèmes é ru= ímí -cha majó i= pa' =ó
Glose lex. then 3sg.f say pst prox.toward 2pl return mid
nuyáni " ké rúmícha " marí nuj'chá
nu= yáni ké ru= ímí -cha marí nu= j' -chá
1sg children like 3sg.f say pst prox 1sg take pst
kujnú ijló itu'ru kájéma " ké rúmícha
kujnú i= jló itu'ru kájéma ké ru= ímí -cha
cassava 2pl for starch etcetera like 3sg.f say pst

Libre ella dijo "regresen acá hijos, aquí les traje casabe y almidón también" así ella les dijo

177 Mot kája kujnú anó'cha i'micháká , é
Morphèmes kája kujnú anó' -cha i'mi -chá -ka é
Glose lex. already cassava wet pst far.pst pst ka.pst then
rúmícha " ũká wawátala kélé kujnú " ké
ri= ímí -cha unká wa= wáta -la kélé kujnú ké
3sg.nf say pst neg 1pl want v.neg med cassava like
rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre el casabe ya se mojó, él dijo "nosotros no queremos ese casabe" (anó'kaje: mojarse)

178 Mot " pijña'á kélé kujnú " ké
Morphèmes pi= jña'á kélé kujnú ké
Glose lex. 2sg take med cassava like
rímíchaka " paúka'a pi'wá chuwa
ri= ímí -cha -ka pi= aúka'a pi= i'wá chu =ewá
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft 2sg put 2sg anus in around
riká " ké rúmícha , " eyá kélé itu'ru
ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha eyá kélé itu'ru
3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst since_then med starch
pimaja'á pi'khú chojé "
pi= maja'á pi= i'khú chojé
2sg stick 2sg chest towards_inside

Libre "coja ese casabe y métaselo por el culo, y ese almidón péguelo en su pecho" (maja'kaje: prensar, pegar contra algo; aúka'kaje: meter)

179 Mot	" jée "	" ké , é "	rujĩ'chá	kujnú
Morphèmes	jé	ké , é	ru= jĩ' -chá	kujnú
Glose lex.	good	like then	3sg.f take pst	cassava
rouki'cha	ru'wá	chuwá	riká	, é
ru= aúki' -cha	ri= i'wá	chu =ewá	ri= ikhá	é
3sg.f put pst	3sg.nf anus	in around	3sg.nf pro	then
rujĩ'chá	itu'ró	, riká	rumaji'chá	ru'kú
ru= jĩ' -chá	itu'ró	ri= ikhá	ru= maji' -chá	ri= i'khú
3sg.f take pst	starch	3sg.nf pro	3sg.f stick pst	3sg.nf chest
chojé				
chojé				
towards_inside				

Libre "bueno", ahí ella cogió casabe y lo metió por el culo, ahí ella cogió ese almidón, y lo pegó en su pecho"

180 Mot	é	kája	jrewíña'chiya
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri= jewíña' -chi -ya
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf study caus pst
ru'micháká		luwiluwí	penáje
ru= i'mi -chá -ka		luwiluwí	penáje
3sg.f far.pst pst	ka.pst	bird.sp	for

Libre ahí ya le transformó en un pajarito luwiluwí

181 Mot	rejenája	riyukúná
Morphèmes	ri= ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná
Glose lex.	3sg.nf until lim	3sg.nf story alien3

Libre hasta ahí se termina

ycn0504

1 Mot	jlálémi	nu'má	rikuláje		jlaíchú			
Morphèmes	jlálémi	nu= i'ma	ri= kulá	-je	jlaíchú			
Glose lex.	yesterday	1sg go	3sg.nf search	purp.mot	afternoon			
bebé	jwa'té	a'jná	Valeria	éjō	entonces	rúmá	" ũká	,
bebé	jwa'té	a'jná	***	ejo	entonces	ru= ímá	unká	
baby	with	dist	***	towards	so	3sg.f say	neg	
Valeria	ũká	i'malá	ru-	"	, méké	iná		
***	unká	i'ma -lá	***		méké	iná		
***	neg	cop v.neg	***		indf.manner	gnr.pro		
kemaká		, rule'jé	cuñadatá		i'máyó	ré		,
kema	-ká	ru= le'jé	cuñada	tá	i'má -yó	ri= é		
say	ka.cleft	3sg.f poss	in_law	emph1	cop f.cleft	3sg.nf in		
ella	me	dijo	" kája	jrócho'cho		, ũká		
ella	***	dijo	kája	ru= jácho'	-cha =o	unká		
she	***	said	already	3sg.f go_out	pst mid	neg		
ru'malá		náke	"					
ru=	i'ma -lá	náke						
3sg.f	cop v.neg	uh						

Libre ayer yo lo fui buscarlo a él con bebé (Ferley) donde Valeria entonces ella dijo que "valeria no está" cómo es que uno dice, la cuñada de ella estaba ahí, ella me dijo "ya ella salió, ella no está"

2 Mot	entonces	númá	rojló	"	é	maaré	kélé
Morphèmes	entonces	nu= ímá	ru= jló		é	maaré	kélé
Glose lex.	so	1sg say	3sg.f for	Q	prox.loc	med	
pajlúwája	iphíchari		aquí	,	ále	rií	?
pajlúwá	=ja iphí	-cha -ri	***	***	ri=	ií	
one	lim arrive	pst nf.cleft	***	***	3sg.nf	name	

Libre entonces yo le dije si llegó uno aquí que se llama Alex

3 Mot	entonces	rúmá	nojló	"	ré		
Morphèmes	entonces	ru= ímá	nu= jló	ri=	é		
Glose lex.	so	3sg.f say	1sg for	3sg.nf	in		
ri'michá		maaré	,	pero	ũká	rikamátalajo	
ri=	i'mi -chá	maaré		pero	unká	ri= kamáta	-la -je =o
3sg.nf	cop pst	prox.loc	spa	neg	3sg.nf	sleep v.neg fut mid	
maaré	,	méño'jó	kája	,	méño'jó	pája	
maaré		méño'jó	kája		méño'jó	pája	
prox.loc		indf.toward	already		indf.toward	emph	

ri'jnatá		kamátajo		, ũká
ri= i'jna tâ		kamáta je	=o	unká
3sg.nf go	emph1	sleep purp.mot	mid	neg

wephátala		riká	tá
wa= iphá -ta -la		ri= ikhá tâ	
1pl arrive caus v.neg		3sg.nf pro	emph1

Libre entonces ella me dijo "él estuvo acá, pero él no va a dormir acá, pa onde será se fue dormir esa porquería, no lo encontramos

4 Mot	añ	númá	rojlo	nákerí	" u'waká
Morphèmes	añ	nu= ímá	ru= jló	nákeri	u'waká
Glose lex.	because	1sg say	3sg.f for	uh	if

riphájikaé		píño	majó	pímá	rijló
ri= iphá -jĩ -ka	é	píño	majó	pi= ímá	ri= jló
3sg.nf arrive fut ka.nz	in	again	prox.toward	2sg say	3sg.nf for

riyuéré	kélé	ipatú	maaré	ikápi	é kája
ri= yué -ré	kélé	ipatú	maaré	i= kápi	é kája
3sg.nf *** jus	med	coca	prox.loc	2pl hand	then

nu'jnajé	jlaíchú	rijña'jé
nu= i'jna jé	jlaíchú	ri= jña' -je
1sg go fut	afternoon	3sg.nf take purp.mot

Libre por eso yo le dije "si él llega otra vez acá dígale a él que deje la coca con ustedes, en la tarde paso a buscarla" (riyuéré: que él deje, vimy: como decir riyuíchí, i-kápi: 2pl-hands)

5 Mot	" jé	" ké	rumaká	nojlo	, é
Morphèmes	jé	ké	ru= ima -ká	nu= jló	é
Glose lex.	good	like	3sg.f say ka.cleft	1sg for	then

ũká	nuwe'píla	mée-	, ũká	wephátala
unká	nu= we'pí -la	***	unká	wa= iphá -ta -la
neg	1sg know v.neg	***	neg	1pl arrive caus v.neg

rikátá	méréké	ka'jna	rikátá
ri= ikhá tâ	méré ké	ka'jna	ri= ikhá tâ
3sg.nf pro emph1	indf.loc like	dub	3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre "bueno" ella me dijo, y yo no sé dónde estará él, no lo encontramos (ejátá ~ rikátá)

6 Mot	ũká	piwe'íla	ná	número	rile'jé	(...) ?
Morphèmes	unká	pi= we'í -la	ná	número	ri= le'jé	
Glose lex.	neg	2sg know v.neg	indf	spa	3sg.nf poss	

Libre usted no sabe qué número de él

7 Mot	????
Morphèmes	
Glose lex.	

Libre

8 Mot	ã	??
Morphèmes	ã	
Glose lex.	***	

Libre

9 Mot	maaré	nu'michá	rile'jé	numeración	tá
Morphèmes	maaré	nu= i'mi -chá	ri= le'jé	numeración	tá
Glose lex.	prox.loc	1sg cop pst	3sg.nf poss	***	emph1
kuláje	kélé	i'micháká	, marí	na'chá	
kulá -je	kélé	i'mi -chá -ka	marí	na= a' -chá	
search	purp.mot	med far.pst pst ka.pst	prox	3pl give pst	
nojlo	, piwáa'chí	rijlótá	me'tení	iléeyá	,
nu= jló	pi= wáa' -chí	ri= jló tá	me'tení	ilé =eyá	
1sg for	2sg call	purp2 3sg.nf for emph1	now	med from	
porque	las dos	rila'jétá	viajar bogotá	éjõ	
porque	las ***	ri= la' -jé tá	*** ***	ejo	
spa	spa ***	3sg.nf do fut emph1	*** ***	towards	

Libre aquí yo fui buscar número de él eso fue, aquí me dieron, para que lo llame ahorita de ahí, porque a las dos él viaja para bogotá

10 Mot	ã
Morphèmes	ã
Glose lex.	***

Libre aah

11 Mot	kaápu'khú
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre medio día

12 Mot	aa
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre ah

13 Mot	pilana'átá	riká	me'tení	piwá'a
Morphèmes	pi= lana'á tá	ri= ikhá	me'tení tá	pi= wá'a
Glose lex.	2sg *** emph1	3sg.nf pro	now emph1	2sg take

rijlótá
ri= jló tá
3sg.nf for emph1

Libre escríbelo y llámelo ahorita mismo

14 Mot	préstame	tu	lapicero
Morphèmes	***	***	***
Glose lex.	***	***	***

Libre préstame tu lapicero

15 Mot	a
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre aah

16.1 Mot	ũká	chí	ri'malátá				parque	le'jé
Morphèmes	unká	chí	ri=	i'ma	-lá	tá	***	le'jé
Glose lex.	neg	emph3	3sg.nf	tell	v.neg	emph1	***	poss

oficina ch́?

*** ***

*** ***

Libre

16.2 Mot	pawa'ája		kélé	oficina;	parque	le'jé	
Morphèmes	pi=	awa'á	=ja	kélé	***	***	le'jé
Glose lex.	2sg	side	lim	med	***	***	poss

Libre él no está en la oficina del parque? queda al lado suyo la oficina del parque

17 Mot	a	parque	ch́	?
Morphèmes	***	***	ch́	
Glose lex.	***	***	in	

Libre en el parque?

18 Mot	ã'a	dos	vueltricas	dos	cuadras	, pawa'ája		
Morphèmes	***	***	***	***	***	pi=	awa'á	=ja
Glose lex.	***	***	***	***	***	2sg	side	lim

riká

ri= ikhá

3sg.nf pro

Libre sí, dos vueltricas dos cuadras, está cerca suyo

19 Mot	á	kája	nomá	riká		tá	
Morphèmes	***	kája	na=	amá	ri=	ikhá	tá
Glose lex.	***	already	3pl	see	3sg.nf	pro	emph1

Libre sí ya yo lo ví

20 Mot	aa
Morphèmes	***
Glose lex.	***

Libre aaah

21 Mot	piwá'a	rijlótá		náke		
Morphèmes	pi=	wá'a	ri=	jló	tá	náke
Glose lex.	2sg	take	3sg.nf	for	emph1	uh

Libre llámelo

22 Mot	a	listo
Morphèmes	***	***
Glose lex.	***	***

Libre a listo

23	Mot	maáré	rile'jé	númerotá	piyáa'ta	riká			
	Morphèmes	maáré	ri=	le'jé	número	tá	***	ri=	ikhá
	Glose lex.	prox.loc	3sg.nf	poss	spa	emph1	***	3sg.nf	pro

Libre aquí está el número de él, escríbelo (yáa'takaje: anotar, lana'káje: escribir)

24	Mot	pa'á	nojló		
	Morphèmes	pi=	a'á	nu=	jló
	Glose lex.	2sg	give	1sg	for

Libre

25	Mot	ajá	pa'á	nojló		
	Morphèmes	ajá	pi=	a'á	nu=	jló
	Glose lex.	***	2sg	give	1sg	for

Libre démelo

26	Mot	é kája	?
	Morphèmes	é kája	
	Glose lex.	then	

Libre ya?

27	Mot	á'a
	Morphèmes	á'a
	Glose lex.	yes

Libre sí

28	Mot	tres
	Morphèmes	***
	Glose lex.	***

Libre

29	Mot	tres
	Morphèmes	***
	Glose lex.	***

Libre

30	Mot	trece
	Morphèmes	***
	Glose lex.	***

Libre

31	Mot	tres
	Morphèmes	***
	Glose lex.	***

Libre

32	Mot	trece
	Morphèmes	***
	Glose lex.	***

Libre

33 Mot ajá
 Morphèmes ajá
 Glose lex. ***

Libre

34 Mot dieciseis
 Morphèmes ***
 Glose lex. ***

Libre

35 Mot treinta y seis
 Morphèmes *** *** ***
 Glose lex. *** *** ***

Libre

36 Mot sesenta y cuatro
 Morphèmes *** *** ***
 Glose lex. *** *** ***

Libre

37 Mot cuarenta y siete
 Morphèmes *** *** ***
 Glose lex. *** *** ***

Libre

38 Mot kája penáje siete
 Morphèmes kája penáje ***
 Glose lex. last_time ***

Libre el último es siete

39 Mot cuarenta y siete kéjo'o
 Morphèmes *** *** *** ké =jo'ó
 Glose lex. *** *** *** like ***

Libre 47 es cierto

40 Mot piwáta dos , cuatro , seis , ocho , falta un
 Morphèmes pi= wáta *** *** *** *** *** ***
 Glose lex. 2sg want *** *** *** *** *** ***

número pajlúwa número
 número pajlúwá número
 spa one spa

Libre espere, 2,4,6,8 falta un número, un número

41 Mot maáré kémáre tres , pilana'á tres
 Morphèmes maáré *** *** *** ***
 Glose lex. prox.loc *** *** *** ***

Libre aquí dice tres, escriba tres

42 Mot tres , trece
 Morphèmes *** ***
 Glose lex. *** ***

Libre

43 Mot ajá
 Morphèmes ajá
 Glose lex. ***

Libre

44 Mot kája penáje kélé siete
 Morphèmes kája penáje kélé ***
 Glose lex. last_time med ***

Libre él último es siete

45.1 Mot otro siete??
 Morphèmes *** ***
 Glose lex. *** ***

Libre

45.2 Mot aa
 Morphèmes ***
 Glose lex. ***

Libre otro siete? ahhh

46 Mot á'a
 Morphèmes á'a
 Glose lex. yes

Libre sí

47 Mot a listo
 Morphèmes *** ***
 Glose lex. *** ***

Libre a listo

48 Mot ná rií tá
 Morphèmes ná ri= ií tâ
 Glose lex. indf 3sg.nf name emph1

Libre cómo se llama?

49 Mot pila'ájlá leé rikátá
 Morphèmes pi= la'á jlá leé ikhá tâ
 Glose lex. 2sg do frust spa pro emph1

Libre a ver léalo

50 Mot tres trece tres sesenta y seis
 Morphèmes *** *** *** *** *** ***
 Glose lex. *** *** *** *** *** ***

Libre

51 **Mot** é paláni ?
Morphèmes é palá -ni
Glose lex. Q good nf

Libre está bien?

52 **Mot** á'a
Morphèmes á'a
Glose lex. yes

Libre sí

53 **Mot** cuarenta y cuatro setenta y siete
Morphèmes *** *** *** *** *** ***
Glose lex. *** *** *** *** *** ***

Libre

54 **Mot** á'a ilé ké rikátá
Morphèmes á'a ilé ké ri= ikhá tâ
Glose lex. yes med like 3sg.nf pro emph1

Libre sí así es

55 **Mot** ná rií tá ?
Morphèmes ná ri= ií tâ
Glose lex. indf 3sg.nf name emph1

Libre cómo se llama?

56 **Mot** alex rií tá , mapéja kalé
Morphèmes *** ri= ií tâ mapéja kalé
Glose lex. *** 3sg.nf name emph1 normally emph5

na'ká rií tá sobrenombre Trola
na= a' -ka ri= ií tâ *** ***
3pl give ka.cleft 3sg.nf name emph1 *** ***

Libre se llama Alex, pero aquí le dicen de sobrenombre Trola

57.1 **Mot** ná chí riká , kariwa ?
Morphèmes ná chí ri= ikhá kariwa
Glose lex. indf emph3 3sg.nf pro white_person

Libre

57.2 **Mot** tapuíya ja'á ka'jné
Morphèmes tapuíya ja'á ka'jné
Glose lex. indian fall dub

Libre él qué es? blanco o indígena?

58 **Mot** Martín i'rí tá , comeyafú e'yájétá , parque
Morphèmes *** i'rí tâ *** e'yájé tá ***
Glose lex. *** son emph1 *** *** emph1 ***

chú rijápá
chú ri= jápá
in 3sg.nf work

Libre es el hijo de Martín de comeyafú, él trabaja en el parque (ycn proposed by vimy)

59 Mot	aaa	ya	,	me'tení	nuwá'a	rijlótá	
Morphèmes	***	***		me'tení	nu= wáa'	ri= jló tá	
Glose lex.	***	***		now	1sg call	3sg.nf for emph1	

a ver ,
 *** **
 *** **

Libre a bueno ahorita lo llamo a ver

60.1 Mot	piwá'a	rijlótá		iléeyá	,	méré
Morphèmes	pi= wá'a	ri= jló tá		ilé =eyá		méré
Glose lex.	2sg take	3sg.nf for emph1		med from		indf.loc

ka'jná rikátá iléewá , pamá tá
 ka'jná ri= ikhá tâ ilé =ewá pi= amá tâ
 dub 3sg.nf pro emph1 med around 2sg see emph1
 riñátajĩkatá kélé ipatú .
 ri= ñá -ta -jĩ -ka tá kélé ipatú
 3sg.nf scape caus fut ka.topic emph1 med coca

Libre

60.2 Mot	Ūká	peréjutá		i'malá	iléño'jǒ	?
Morphèmes	unká	peréju tá		i'ma -lá	iléño'jǒ	
Glose lex.	neg	*** emph1		cop v.neg	***	

Libre llámelo de ahí, dónde estará por ahí, cuidao él se lleva la coca. Ildonés no está por ahí?

61 Mot	jé
Morphèmes	jé
Glose lex.	good

Libre bueno

62 Mot	ũká	nomálacha		riká	,
Morphèmes	unká	nu= amá -la -cha		ri= ikhá	
Glose lex.	neg	1sg see v.neg pst		3sg.nf pro	

we'michá ũká wamálacha riká
 wa= i'mi -chá unká wa= amá -la -cha ri= ikhá
 1pl cop pst neg 1pl see v.neg pst 3sg.nf pro

Libre yo no lo ví, fuimos pero no lo vimos

63 Mot	me'tení	ka'jná	kája	riphícha		ka'jná
Morphèmes	me'tení	ka'jná	kája	ri= ipha -cha		ka'jná
Glose lex.	now	dub	already	3sg.nf arrive pst		dub

jewíña'jo a'jnáñojǒ sena chojé
 jewíña' -je =o a'jnáñojǒ *** chojé
 study purp.mot mid dist.toward *** towards_inside

Libre de pronto ya será llegó allá a estudiar en el sena

64 Mot	jlálémi	némá	nojló	ũká	kája
Morphèmes	jlálémi	na= ímá	nu= jló	unká	kája
Glose lex.	yesterday	3pl say	1sg for	neg	emph?

jrewíña'lo , méké chí kélé ?
 ri= jewíña' -la =o méké chí kélé
 3sg.nf study v.neg mid indf.manner emph3 med

Libre ayer me dijeron que ya no está estudiando, cómo es eso

65.1 Mot	mapéja	napajlákatá			, náchí
Morphèmes	mapéja	na= pajlá -ka	tá		ná chí
Glose lex.	normally	3pl lie	ka.cleft	emph1	indf emph3

kémári ñaké ?
 kémá -ri ñaké
 say nf.cleft dist.simil

Libre así no más están mintiendo, quién dijo ese, si todos los días él va a estudiar (methú ké: cada rato)

65.2 Mot		, methúké	ri'jnaká		jewíña'jo
Morphèmes		methú ké	ri= i'jna -ká		jewíña' -je =o
Glose lex.		*** like	3sg.nf go	ka.cleft	study purp.mot mid

Libre

66 Mot	ũká	méewá		nuwáa'la	rijló
Morphèmes	unká	mé =ewá		nu= wáa' -la	ri= jló
Glose lex.	neg	indf.manner	around	1sg call	v.neg 3sg.nf for

kélé , ũká ka'jná señal tá i'malá réjó
 kélé unká ka'jná *** tâ i'ma -lá ri= =ejo
 med neg dub *** emph1 cop v.neg 3sg.nf towards
 tá kélé
 tâ kélé
 emph1 med

Libre no hay por donde llamarlo, será que no hay señal por allá (wáa'kaje: llamar)

67 Mot	ũká	, kájakó	rile'jé	celular	apichó
Morphèmes	unká	kája =kó	ri= le'jé	***	apichá =o
Glose lex.	neg	already	emph4	3sg.nf poss	*** break mid

ké nuwe'íka ri'maká
 ké nu= we'í -ka ri= i'ma -ka
 like 1sg know ka.cleft 3sg.nf far.pst ka.pst

Libre no, como que se dañó el celular de él, así como que así él dijo (lit. yo sé él dijo así) (apichákájo: dañarse)

68 Mot	reyá	kalé	tá	iná	wáa'a	jlá
Morphèmes	ri= eyá	kalé	tâ	iná	wáa'	jlá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf	from	emph5	emph1	gnr.pro	call frust

rějō , kélé jrewíña'ko eyá
 ri= ejo kélé ri= jewíña' -ka =o eyá
 3sg.nf towards med 3sg.nf study obl.nz mid from

Libre será de ahí se puede llamar, en ese donde que él estudia

69 Mot aa ũká , kája yá ũká kája rile'jé
Morphèmes *** unká kája yá unká kája ri= le'jé
Glose lex. *** neg already *** neg emph? 3sg.nf poss

número i'malá , ũká kája ré nuwe'íla
 número i'ma -lá unká kája ri= é nu= we'í -la
 spa cop v.neg neg emph? 3sg.nf cond2 1sg know v.neg

número de teléfono tá i'malá
 número *** *** tâ i'ma -lá
 spa *** *** emph1 cop v.neg

Libre yo creo que no, como él no tiene número, como que allá no hay número de teléfono(kája yá: puisque)

70 Mot réjomi númájlá rijló
Morphèmes ri= éjomi nu= ímá jlá ri= jló
Glose lex. 3sg.nf after 1sg say frustr 3sg.nf for

Libre después le digo a ver

71 Mot á'a
Morphèmes á'a
Glose lex. yes

Libre sí

72 Mot pamájīkaé riká pímá
Morphèmes pi= amá -jī -ka é ri= ikhá pi= ímá
Glose lex. 2sg see fut ka.adv cond2 3sg.nf pro 2sg say

rijló ra'chí pijló número
 ri= jló ri= a' -chí pi= jló número
 3sg.nf for 3sg.nf give purp2 2sg for spa

jrewíña'karo eyá , mérekéka
 ri= jewíña' -kare =o eyá méreké -ka
 3sg.nf study arg.nz1 mid since_then *** indf.sub

jrewíña'o , ná rile'jé amigo le'jé número
 ri= jewíña' =o ná ri= le'jé amigo le'jé número
 3sg.nf become mid indf 3sg.nf poss spa poss spa

ka'jná jra'pátachí pijló , pa'kálójé
 ka'jná ri= ja'pá -ta -chí pi= jló pi= a' -ka lojé
 dub 3sg.nf pass caus purp2 2sg for 2sg give ka.adv purp3

nojlo riká , nuwáa'kalójé richojé ,
 nu= jló ri= ikhá , nu= wáa' -ka lojé ri= chojé
 1sg for 3sg.nf pro 1sg call ka.adv purp3 3sg.nf towards_inside

apála	na'jipá	nojló	richojé
apála	na= a'jipá	nu= jló	ri= chojé
maybe	3pl answer	1sg for	3sg.nf towards_inside

Libre si usted lo ve a él dígale que te dé el número de donde que él estudia, donde que él estudia, de pronto número del amigo pa que te lo dé, pa que me lo pase a mi, pa llamarlo en ese, de pronto me conteste en ese (ajipákáje: contestar) (ycn proposed by vimy)

73 Mot aa
Morphèmes ***
Glose lex. ***

Libre aah

74 Mot	kélé	ũká	liñéru	i'malá	nuwaká'je	ka'jné
Morphèmes	kélé	unká	liñéru	i'ma -lá	nu= wakáa' -je	ka'jné
Glose lex.	med	neg	money	cop v.neg	1sg order fut	dub

por	ahí	...	nuwáta	rijwa'té	pura'káno
***	ahí		nu= wáta	ri= jwa'té	pura' -kána =o
***	spa		1sg want	3sg.nf with	speak ev.nz1 mid

Libre ese plata no hay, será voy a mandar por ahí...(missing how much), quiero hablar con él. (wakáa'kaje: mandar)

75 Mot aaaa
Morphèmes ***
Glose lex. ***

Libre

76 Mot	kája	yá	rímá	nojló	nákerí	" pímá
Morphèmes	kája	yá	ri= ímá	nu= jló	nákeri	pi= ímá
Glose lex.	already	***	3sg.nf say	1sg for	uh	2sg say

mamá	jló	rula're	,	éko	nupatáje	rojlo
***	jló	ru= la' -ré		éko	nu= patá -je	ru= jló
***	for	3sg.f do	jus	pol.imp	1sg grab fut	3sg.f for

rapumí		chojé	,	eyá	kélé	pamá
ri= apumí		chojé		eyá	kélé	pi= amá
3sg.nf	?replacement	towards_inside		since_then	med	2sg see

rile'jé	tanque	ka'jné	mientras	eso....
ri= le'jé	***	ka'jné	***	***
3sg.nf poss	***	dub	***	***

Libre como él me había dicho "dígame a mi mamá que me lo haga, que yo le voy a devolver (lo que ella me va a prestar), mire ese tanque (él lo va a empeñar)

77 Mot	nula'jé	ka'jné	consegui	rijló	wejápaja	,
Morphèmes	nu= la' -je	ka'jné	consegui	ri= jló	wejápa	
Glose lex.	1sg do fut	dub	get.inf	3sg.nf for	little	

ũká	nuliñéru		i'malá
unká	nu= liñéru	-te	i'ma -lá
neg	1sg money	alien1	cop v.neg

Libre será voy a conseguirle poquito, yo no tengo plata

78 Mot	mmm	ya	,	éko	núma	rijló	
Morphèmes	***	***		éko	nu= íma	ri=	jló
Glose lex.	***	***		pol.imp	1sg say	3sg.nf	for

Libre bueno yo le digo a él

79 Mot	méré	ka'jná	cura	tá	me'tení
Morphèmes	méré	ka'jná	***	tâ	me'tení
Glose lex.	indf.loc	dub	***	emph1	now

nukulájika		méré	ka'jná	riká	tá		
nu= kulá	-jĩ	-ka	méré	ka'jná	ri= ikhá	tâ	
1sg	search	fut	ka.topic	indf.loc	dub	3sg.nf pro	emph1

Libre dónde estará el padre ahora voy a buscarlo a él dónde estará

80.1 Mot	aa	éta	nákerí	é	pamáka	?
Morphèmes	***	éta	nákeri	é	pi= amá	-ka
Glose lex.	***	then	uh	Q	2sg see	ka.int

Libre si Kujwá (arbey) habló con usted?

80.2 Mot	é	Kujwá	pura'kó		pijwa'té	?
Morphèmes	é	***	pura'	-ka =o	pi= jwa'té	
Glose lex.	Q	***	speak	ka.int mid	2sg with	

Libre

81 Mot	é	pipura'kó		Kujwá	jwa'té	??
Morphèmes	é	pi= pura'	-ka =o	***	jwa'té	
Glose lex.	Q	2sg speak	ka.int mid	***	with	

Libre usted habló con Arbey ?

82 Mot	ũká	kujwátá	wátala	,	rikejá'tá
Morphèmes	unká	kujwá	tâ	wáta -la	ri= kejáa' tâ
Glose lex.	neg	***	emph1	want v.neg	3sg.nf request emph1

nuliyá	liñéru	ũká	nuwátala	rijló	tá		
nu= liyá	liñéru	unká	nu= wáta -la	ri=	jló tâ		
1sg	from	money	neg	1sg want	v.neg	3sg.nf for	emph1
a'kaná	kája	pa'ñá		rijló	tá	liñéru	
a' -kaná	kája	pi= a'	-ña	ri=	jló tâ	liñéru	
give	ev.nz1	already	2sg give	proh	3sg.nf for	emph1	money
mamá	ké	rimaká		nojló	,		
***	ké	ri=	ima -ká	nu=	jló		
***	like	3sg.nf	say	ka.cleft	1sg	for	

riyuwéra'kotálojé				riwáta	liñéru		
ri= yuwéra'	-ka	=o	tâ	lojé	ri= wáta	liñéru	
3sg.nf	drunken	ka.adv	mid	emph1	purp3	3sg.nf want	money

Libre Arbey no quiere, él dijo que el hermano le había (pedido) prestado y él no quiere darle plata a él y me dijo no le de más plata a él mamá, pa él emborracharse el quiere plata.

83 Mot	aa	ũká	riyuwéra'lo		tá	,
Morphèmes	***	unká	ri= yuwéra' -la =o		tâ	
Glose lex.	***	neg	3sg.nf drunken v.neg mid		emph1	

mapéja ripajláká , jrewíña'kotá
 mapéja ri= pajlá -ká ri= jewíña' -ka =o tâ
 normally 3sg.nf lie ka.cleft 3sg.nf study ka.insub? mid emph1
 kélé
 kélé
 med

Libre él no se emborracha, él está mintiendo, él está estudiando

84 Mot	aũ	ũká	numaláje		rijló	marí
Morphèmes	aũ	unká	nu= ima -lá -je		ri= jló	marí
Glose lex.	because	neg	1sg say v.neg fut		3sg.nf for	prox

ké nuya'tájika liñéru rijló , nuwaká'je
 ké nu= ya'tá -jĩ -ka liñéru ri= jló nu= wakáa' -je
 like 1sg show fut ka.cleft money 3sg.nf for 1sg order fut

wejápajanó , cien mil pesos nula'jé conseguí
 wejápa =ja =nó *** *** *** nu= la' -je conseguí
 little lim hab *** *** *** 1sg do purp.mot get.inf

rijló , ũká nuliñérute i'malá , ũkájóó
 ri= jló unká nu= liñéru -te i'ma -lá unká =jóó
 3sg.nf for neg 1sg money alien1 cop v.neg neg still

nula'lá vendé nule'jé u'wí , ũká paála
 nu= la' -lá vendé nu= le'jé u'wí unká paá -la
 1sg do v.neg sell.inf 1sg poss farina neg bien.neg v.neg

no'wétá la'ká nuká
 nu= e'wé tâ la' -ká nu= ikhá
 1sg brother emph1 do ka.cleft 1sg pro

Libre por eso yo no le voy a decirle (Arbey) que voy a prestar plata (a Ildonés), yo le voy a mandar de a poquitos, cien mil pesos voy a conseguir para él, yo no tengo plata, todavía yo no he vendido mi faríña, mi hermano me hizo muy mal

85 Mot	pamá	,	jum	,	ái
Morphèmes	pi= amá		jum		ái
Glose lex.	2sg see		huh		uy

Libre aaa mire; jum; aay

86 Mot	pi'jíchá	Trola	tá	liyá	ipatú	o'wé
Morphèmes	pi= i'jĩ -chá	***	tâ	liyá	ipatú	o'wé
Glose lex.	2sg go prs	***	emph1	from	coca	brother.addr

jló
 jló
 for

Libre vaya busque donde trola coca para mi hermano

87	Mot	nupi'cháko				chúwa	
	Morphèmes	nu=	pi'	-chá	-ka	=o	chúwa
	Glose lex.	1sg	return	prs	ka.topic	mid	now

Libre me voy ya

88	Mot	a	jé	listo
	Morphèmes	***	jé	***
	Glose lex.	***	good	***

Libre bueno listo

89	Mot	éko	réjomi
	Morphèmes	éko	ri= éjomi
	Glose lex.	pol.imp	3sg.nf after

Libre hasta luego

ycn0545

1 Mot	murukututú	yukúná	marí	nu'má
Morphèmes	***	yukúná	marí	nu= i'má
Glose lex.	***	***	prox	1sg tell

Libre estoy contando cuento de Murukututú

2 Mot	inau'ké	i'michá		riyajálo	jwa'té	kéchami
Morphèmes	inau'ké	i'mi -chá	-rí	ri= yajálo	jwa'té	kéchami
Glose lex.	person	cop pst	nf.cleft	3sg.nf wife	with	after

réjéna	pajlúwá	pají	chú	ne'michá
ri= éjéna	pajlúwá	pají	chú	na= i'mi -chá
3sg.nf siblings	one	maloca	in	3pl live pst

Libre vivía persona con su mujer y los hermanos en una maloca

3 Mot	kája	ũká	ná	najñálácha	é
Morphèmes	kája	unká	ná	na= ajñá -lá -cha	é
Glose lex.	already	neg	indf	3pl eat v.neg	pst then

ri'jíchá	ja'pájo	ya'jnáje	ri'jíchá
ri= i'jĩ -chá	ja'pá -je	=o ya'jná =eje	ri= i'jĩ -chá
3sg.nf go pst	pass purp.mot	mid far until	3sg.nf go pst

Libre ya que no tenían nada pa que comer él se fue de paseo lejos él se fue

4 Mot	jú'ká	ri'jíchá	ja'pájo
Morphèmes	jú'ká	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ja'pá -je =o
Glose lex.	far	3sg.nf go pst	pass purp.mot mid

Libre lejos se fue a andar (jú'ká: lejos)

5 Mot	é	ripi'chó	ũká	ná
Morphèmes	é	ri= pi' -cha	=ó unká	ná
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf return	pst mid neg	indf

ramálacha	aũ	ripi'chó
ri= amá -la -cha	aũ	ri= pi' -cha =ó
3sg.nf see v.neg	pst because	3sg.nf return pst mid

re'yája
ri= e'yá =ja
3sg.nf in lim

Libre él regresó porque él no miró nada por eso se regresó de ahí no más

6 Mot	é	ja'pícha	jlaíchú
Morphèmes	é	ri= ja'pí -cha	jlaíchú
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf pass	pst afternoon

Libre ahí él pasó por la tarde

7 Mot	jemi'chári	nákarí
Morphèmes	jemi' -chá -ri	nákarí
Glose lex.	listen pst nf.ss	uh

Libre escuchó este

8.1 Mot	kája	pa'ú	kélé	chú	kamú	jená
Morphèmes	kája	pa'ú	kélé	chú	kamú	jená
Glose lex.	already	four	med	in	sun	hour

i'micháká é jremi'chá nákerí murukututú mejé
i'mi -chá -ká é ri= jemi' -chá nákeri *** mejé
cop pst ka.nz in 3sg.nf listen pst uh *** sound

i'micháká rili'cháka " murukututú , murukututú "
i'mi -chá -ká ri= lí' -chá -ka *** ***
cop pst ka.nz 3sg.nf do pst ka.nz *** ***

é rímícha " ná chí kélé ?
é ri= ímí -cha ná chí kélé
then 3sg.nf say pst indf emph3 med

Libre ya eran las 4 él escuchó sonaba bulla de murukututú, él hizo "murukututú, murukututú" él dijo "qué es eso?"

8.2 Mot	" richiri'chó	rinakojé
Morphèmes	ri= chiri' -chá =o	ri= nakú eje
Glose lex.	3sg.nf wander pst mid	3sg.nf on until

kalajúwa'ka kachúwa richiri'cháko
kalajú -wa'ká kachúwa ri= chiri' -chá -ka =o
dark ?while slowly 3sg.nf wander pst ka.cleft mid

rinakojétâ
ri= naku =eje tâ
3sg.nf on until emph1

Libre él andó hacia él ya entre la oscuridad, él andó despacio hacia él (kalajírúwa'ka ~ kalajúwa'ka: en la oscuridad; kachúwa: despacio)

9 Mot	é riyakái'cho	ajĩ ké ,
Morphèmes	é ri= yakái' -cha =o	ajĩ ké
Glose lex.	then 3sg.nf see pst mid	prox like

amíchari pají púkumi chú pa'kú aĩ i'michá ,
amí -cha -ri pají *** chú pa'kú aĩ i'mi -chá
see pst nf.ss maloca *** in pole tooth cop pst

pa'kú aĩ chú ri'michá tâ , yenú
pa'kú aĩ chú ri= i'mi -chá tâ yenú
pole tooth in 3sg.nf cop pst emph1 up

ripato'chôtâ
ri= pato' -chá =o tâ
3sg.nf perch pst mid emph1

Libre él miró donde que era la maloca, en la horqueta del estantillo de la maloca, él estaba así encaramado en lo alto (pato'kájó: encaramado)

10 Mot	é	nákerí	ripui'chôtâ					" murukututú
Morphèmes	é	nákeri	ri=	pui'	-chá	=o	tâ	***
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf	speak	pst	mid	emph1	***

" amíchari luíchiphi , é rímícha : "
 amí -cha -ri luíchiphi é ri= ímí -cha
 see pst nf.ss dawn then 3sg.nf say pst

jiñátâkô kháãjĩ " ké rímíchaka
 jiñá tâ =kó kháãjĩ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 devil emph1 emph4 prox like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre él habló "murukututú", él vió que estaba todo gris, él dijo "éste es diablo" él dijo (luíchiphi: entre claro y oscuro, lurúchiphika (dico), lurúchi (grey))

11 Mot	ũká	jú'kálaja		jra'píchaka				, ajĩ	
Morphèmes	unká	jú'ká	-la	=ja	ri=	ja'pí	-cha	-ka	ajĩ
Glose lex.	neg	far	v.neg	lim	3sg.nf	pass	pst	ka.cleft	prox

ké riñakaré loko'páni jra'pícha iñepú chuwá
 ké ri= ñakaré loko'páni ri= ja'pí -cha iñepú chu =ewá
 like 3sg.nf house side 3sg.nf pass pst way in around

Libre no tan lejos él paso hacia la dirección de la casa pasó por el camino

12.1 Mot	é	rikulícha		ajĩ	ké	rímícha		
Morphèmes	é	ri=	kulí	-cha	ajĩ	ké	ri=	ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	search	pst	prox	like	3sg.nf	say pst

" ná chojé jno'lájo ?
 ná chojé nu= ja' -lá je =o
 indf towards_inside 1sg fall hort? purp.mot mid

Libre él buscó y él dijo "ónde me voy a caer?" él miró para acá y para allá

12.2 Mot	"	ké	rímícha		riyakái'cho			
Morphèmes		ké	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	yakái'	-cha	=o
Glose lex.		like	3sg.nf	say pst	3sg.nf	see	pst	mid

ajĩño'jô ké
 ajĩño'jô ké
 prox.toward like

Libre

13 Mot	é	rímícha		nupechúwa'jláko				
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí -cha	nu=	pechúwa'	jlá	=kó	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say pst	1sg	imitate	frust	emph4	

rikátâ " ké rímíchaka éja
 ri= ikhá tâ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka é =ja
 3sg.nf pro emph1 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft cond2 lim

ñaké rili'chákata " murukututú " , éja
 ñaké ri= lí -chá -ka tâ *** é =ja
 dist.simil 3sg.nf do pst ka.cleft emph1 *** cond2 lim

inau'ké	a'jipichá	rijlótâ	"	kerakanukuthú	"	ké
inau'ké	a'jipi	-chá	ri=	jló	tâ	***
person	answer	pst	3sg.nf	for	emph1	***

rímíchaka

ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka
3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft

Libre y él dijo voy a remedarlo, y él hizo "murukututú" , ahí mismo contestó "keraka nukuthú (mi estómago está rojo), él dijo (pechúwa'kana: remedar)

14 Mot	é	rímíchatâ	"	murukututú	"
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	tâ
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	emph1

Libre y él dijo "murukututú"

15 Mot	"	kerakanukuthú	"	ké	inau'ké	kémícha
Morphèmes	***			ké	inau'ké	kémí -cha
Glose lex.	***			like	person	say pst

rijlótâ

ri=	jló	tâ
3sg.nf	for	emph1

Libre "mi estómago está rojo" dijo la persona

16 Mot	é	rímícha	"	murukututú	"
Morphèmes	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	***
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	***

Libre él dijo "murukututú"

17 Mot	"	kerakanukuthú	"	"	murukututú	"	"	kerakanukuthú	"
Morphèmes	***			***			***		
Glose lex.	***			***			***		

éja	riyuíchotâ	richá	kawákájo	éja
é =ja	***	ri= chá	kawáká =ejo	é =ja
then lim	***	3sg.nf on	low towards	then lim

riíchotâ

ri=	í	-cha	=o	=tâ
3sg.nf	scape	pst	mid	***

Libre "kerakanukuthú" "murukututú" "kerakanukutú", de ahí ese soltó hacia abajo, ahí mismo él se huyó

18 Mot	jrechochotâ	kélé	inau'ké	ja'pejé	,	é	inau'ké
Morphèmes	***	kélé	inau'ké	ja'pi	=eje	é	inau'ké
Glose lex.	***	med	person	under	until	then	person

iícho

ií	-cha	=o	(iíchup)
abandon	pst	mid	***

Libre él se fue corriendo hacia abajo de esa persona, ahí se voló la persona

19 Mot	ripéchúmi		méké	ri'jĩchá
Morphèmes	ri= péchú =mi		méké	ri= i'jĩ -chá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf thought nom.pfv		indf.manner	3sg.nf go pst

nákerí
nákeri
uh

Libre sólo con pensamiento de él él cogió este... (ripéchúmi: en las últimas)

20 Mot	lawirí a'jlúmí	kélé jupejé pheñawilá michúná
Morphèmes	*** a'jlú =mi	kélé *** pheñawilá michú -ná
Glose lex.	*** *** nom.pfv	med *** ancestor deceased pl

ja'jĩka lawirí pá narápa'kalójé ,
ja' -jĩka *** pá na= arápa' -ka lojé
fall far.pst *** look 3pl dance ka.adv purp3

nala'kálojé kuliya kájéma raú
na= la' -ká lojé kuliya kájéma ri= aú
3pl do ka.adv purp3 drink_name etcetera 3sg.nf cause

Libre antiguamente donde que los viejos enterraban masa de umarí para ellos hacer baile y hacer caguana con eso (lawirí: masa de umarí, a'jlúmí: hueco; ja'kána: enterrar)

21 Mot	riká aú nakelo'ká raú
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá aú na= kelo' -ká ri= aú
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro with 3pl thicken ka.cleft 3sg.nf cause

Libre con eso espesaban

22 Mot	narápa'kaje wakajé
Morphèmes	na= arápa' -kaje wakajé
Glose lex.	3pl dance ev.nz2 date

Libre tiempo de baile (laym: nará'paka wakajé)

23 Mot	riká chojé jra'chótâ
Morphèmes	ri= ikhá chojé ri= ja' -cha =o tâ
Glose lex.	3sg.nf pro towards_inside 3sg.nf fall pst mid emph1

lawirí apúmí chojé kélé inau'ké ja'chô
*** *** chojé kélé inau'ké ja' -chá =o
*** *** towards_inside med person fall pst mid

Libre él cayó en el hueco del umarí ahí cayó esa persona

24.1 Mot	é kélé jiñátâ ja'pícha richáwa
Morphèmes	é kélé jiñá tâ ja'pí -cha ri= chá =ewá
Glose lex.	then med devil emph1 pass pst 3sg.nf on ***

pherú kéja , méeyá ka'jñá
pherú ké =ja mé =eyá ka'jñá
quick like lim indf.manner from dub

ripháchiyatâ kélé kawayá ?
ri= iphá -chi -ya tâ kélé kawayá
3sg.nf arrive caus pst emph1 med deer

Libre él diablo pasó por encima de eso corriendo , de dónde será que él encontró ese venado, él lo cogió de un momento (desprevenido, rawá) (phe'ru kéja: volando)

24.2 Mot	, rijĩ'chátâ	marí	kéja	rawá
Morphèmes	ri= jĩ' -chá tâ	marí	ké =ja	ri= awá
Glose lex.	3sg.nf take pst emph1	prox	like lim	3sg.nf ***

Libre

25 Mot	é	rika'chíyátâ		kawayá	jwilá	"
Morphèmes	é	ri= ka'	-chi -yá tâ	kawayá	jwilá	
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf throw_out	caus pst emph1	deer	hair	

marimá	a'phámi	marimá	a'phámi	kúna	a'phámi	kúna	a'phámi	"
***	***	***	***	kúna	***	kúna	***	
***	***	***	***	toxic_plant	***	toxic_plant	***	

, é	rika'chíyátâ		jriwilá	kája
é	ri= ka'	-chi -yá tâ	ri= jwilá	kája
then	3sg.nf throw_out	caus pst emph1	3sg.nf hair	already

ke'jiwí	"	rímíchatâ	"	marimá	a'phámi	"	ké	"
ke'jiwí		ri= ímí -cha tâ		***	***		ké	
powdered		3sg.nf say pst emph1		***	***		like	

kúna	a'phámi	"	ké	riyuíchakatâ	riká
kúna	***		ké	***	ri= ikhá
toxic_plant	***		like	***	3sg.nf pro

Libre él garrotió al venado diciendo "bagazo de maríma, bagazo de barbasco" hasta quedar bien masacrado, él dijo "bagazo de maríma, bagazo de barbasco", así lo dejó

26 Mot	é	inau'ké	ja'chô	kélé	ulawí	chojé
Morphèmes	é	inau'ké	ja' -chá =o	kélé	***	chojé
Glose lex.	then	person	fall pst mid	med	***	towards_inside

kajú	lukure'pénatâ	i'micháká	, nekátâ
kajú	***	i'mi -chá -ká	na= ikhá tá
much	***	cop pst ka.cleft	3pl pro emph1

i'rachíyári		riká	, é	rijĩ'chá
i'ra	-chi -yá -ri	ri= ikhá	é	ri= jĩ' -chá
drink	caus pst nf.cleft	3sg.nf pro	then	3sg.nf take pst

panáku	nekátâ
pa= náku	na= ikhá tá
impers on	3pl pro emph1

Libre cayó esa persona en ese hueco, había mucho de ese hormiga roja (que pica duro), ellos picaron a él, y él aguantó a ellos

27 Mot	é	kája	ri'jichátâ	píño	pa'kú
Morphèmes	é	kája	ri= i'ji -chá tâ	píño	pa'kú
Glose lex.	then	already	3sg.nf go_up pst emph1	again	pole

aĩmí	chojé	kéja	"	murukututú	"	é	inau'ké
aĩ =mi	chojé	ké =ja		***		é	inau'ké
tooth nom.pfv	towards_inside	like lim		***		then	person

jái'cho re'yá
 jái' -cha =o ri= e'yá
 go_out pst mid 3sg.nf in

Libre y luego él se subió otra vez en la horqueta del estantillo (el diablo) , de ahí salió la persona de ahí

28 Mot kajú lukure'péna i'rachíyáka riká
Morphèmes kajú *** *** ri= ikhá
Glose lex. much *** *** 3sg.nf pro

Libre demasiado le picaron hormigas

29 Mot reyája riícho pherú kéja
Morphèmes ri= eyá =ja ri= í -cha =o pherú ké =ja
Glose lex. 3sg.nf from lim 3sg.nf scape pst mid quick like lim

a'jná nákerí riñakaréjō
 a'jná nákeri ri= ñakaré =ejo
 dist uh 3sg.nf house towards

Libre de ahí él se voló ráaaapido hasta la casa de él

30.1 Mot némícha rijló " yúka'a " " já "
Morphèmes na= ímí -cha ri= jló yúka'a ***
Glose lex. 3pl say pst 3sg.nf for already ***

ké rímícha " yúka'a ?
 ké ri= ímí -cha yúka'a
 like 3sg.nf say pst already

Libre ellos le preguntaron a él "ya? cómo le fue?" "ja, diciéndo "cómo me fue" casi el diablo me mata, "cómo otra vez" le dijeron (kapicháchiyajlá: mejor que kawáchiyajlá)

30.2 Mot " ké kemakájé nakú yéwíchaja jiñá
Morphèmes ké kema -kájé nakú yéwícha =ja jiñá
Glose lex. like say ev.nz2 on almost lim devil

kawáchiyajlá nuká , " mékéja píño " némícha
 kawáchi -ya jlá nu= ikhá *** píño na= ímí -cha
 *** pst frust 1sg pro *** again 3pl say pst

rijló
 ri= jló
 3sg.nf for

Libre

31 Mot aú rímícha nákerí
Morphèmes aú ri= ímí -cha nákeri
Glose lex. because 3sg.nf say pst uh

Libre ahí él dijo

32 Mot kája jlaíchú jno'pícha i'micháká
Morphèmes kája jlaíchú nu= ja'pí -cha i'mi -chá -ka
Glose lex. already afternoon 1sg pass pst far.pst pst ka.pst

rímíchaka , é rijj'chá ná ka'j'ná
 ri= ímí -cha -ka é ri= jī' -chá ná ka'j'ná
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft then 3sg.nf take pst indf dub
 rijj'chátâ rawá " ké rímíchaka
 ri= jī' -chá tâ ri= awá ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf take pst emph1 3sg.nf *** like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft
 nákeri
 nákeri
 uh

Libre ahí yo lo remedé, y ese feo cayó de arriba él se soltó" él dijo "él me persiguió, sólo con mi pensamiento ya cayó en el hueco que era de umari" él dijo, ahí él cogió qué será que él se llevó por delante" él dijo (laym: rawô: por delante)

35 Mot é rikatíya jriwilá marimá aphámí marimá
Morphèmes é *** ri= jwilá *** aphá =mi ***
Glose lex. then *** 3sg.nf hair *** *** nom.pfv ***

naphámí , kúna aphámí kúna aphámí
 *** kúna aphá =mi kúna aphá =mi
 *** toxic_plant *** nom.pfv toxic_plant *** nom.pfv

Libre él lo garroteó diciéndo "bagazo de marima, y bagazo de barbasco"

36 Mot é kélé re'wé ré pajlúwája ,
Morphèmes é kélé ri= e'wé ré pajlúwá =ja
Glose lex. then med 3sg.nf brother then one lim

ñaké riyuíko wajló i'maká , kélé náke
 ñaké *** wa= jló i'ma -ka kélé náke
 dist.simil *** 1pl for far.pst ka.pst med uh

Libre y ese hermano de él, "así quedó para nosotros"

37 Mot pajlúwa kémíchari i'micháká ,
Morphèmes pajlúwá kémí -cha -ri i'mi -chá -ká
Glose lex. one say pst nf.ss far.pst pst ka.pst

majlepajnéni ri'micháká , rímícha "
 majlepajné -ní ri= i'mi -chá -ká ri= ímí -cha
 arrogant nf 3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft 3sg.nf say pst

náje ũká piña'tálacha ,
 náje unká pi= ña' -ta -la -cha
 indf.reason neg 2sg hit caus v.neg pst

pika'táacha kawáká rikátâ ,
 pi= ka' -ta -la -cha kawáká ri= ikhá tâ
 2sg throw_out caus v.neg pst low 3sg.nf pro emph1

pinólacha ka'j'nó rikátâ " , " méla'jé
 pi= nó -la -cha ka'j'nó ri= ikhá tâ méla'jé
 2sg kill v.neg pst dub 3sg.nf pro emph1 indf.manner

nonó , méla'jéka (naké) yurí jiñá ké
 nu= nó méla'jé -ka *** yurí jiñá ké
 1sg kill indf.manner indf.sub *** angry devil like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre uno dijo que era muy alzado, él dijo "por qué usted no le pegó, lo hubiera botado al suelo, o lo hubiera matado, "cómo lo iba a matar, cómo si el diablo es bravo" (ña'tákaje: pegar)

38 Mot " piká nócha riká " ké
Morphèmes pi= ikhá nó -cha ri= ikhá ké
Glose lex. 2sg pro kill prs 3sg.nf pro like

rimaká , " nuká i'jnajéri muní
 ri= ima -ká nu= ikhá i'jna -jé -rí muní
 3sg.nf say ka.cleft 1sg pro go fut nf.cleft tomorrow

nu'jnajíká rinójetâ pamáchí ,
 nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka ri= nó -je tâ pi= amá -chí
 1sg go fut ka.cleft 3sg.nf kill purp.mot emph1 2sg see purp2

richimírajeta ké rímíchaka
 ri= chimíra -je tâ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf *** purp.mot emph1 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "vaya mátelo usted" él dijo, "yo voy mañana, voy a matarlo para que miren; a lucharlo" él dijo

39 Mot jé ké rímícha " pinócha
Morphèmes jé ké ri= ímí -cha pi= nó -cha
Glose lex. good like 3sg.nf say pst 2sg kill prs

riká a'jné , rejo'kája riká " ké rímícha
 ri= ikhá a'jné rejo'kája ri= ikhá ké ri= ímí -cha
 3sg.nf pro dist still2 3sg.nf pro like 3sg.nf say pst

Libre "bueno vaya mátelo pues, todavía está" (laym = pichócha'jné riká)

40 Mot é ri'jíchá náke , é
Morphèmes é ri= i'jĩ -chá náke é
Glose lex. then 3sg.nf go pst uh then

najme'chíya
 na= jme'chí -ya
 3pl become_light pst

Libre él se fue, y ahí amanecieron

41.1 Mot ne'michá jlaíchú (kerákéja ???)
Morphèmes na= i'mi -chá jlaíchú ***
Glose lex. 3pl cop pst afternoon ***

Libre

41.2 Mot ri'jíchá " chúwa nu'jícháká "
Morphèmes ri= i'jĩ -chá chúwa nu= i'jĩ -chá -ka
Glose lex. 3sg.nf go pst now 1sg go prs ka.cleft

ke	rímícha	"	nu'jíchá	jiñátâ	nóje
ké	ri= ímí -cha		nu= i'jĩ -chá	jiñá tâ	nó -je
like	3sg.nf say pst		1sg go pst	devil emph1	kill purp.mot
chúwa	" ké rímíchaka				
chúwa	ké ri= ímí -cha -ka				
now	like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft				

Libre estuvieron por la tarde (???) "ahora sí me voy a matar diablo"

42 Mot	" jé pinócha riká "	ké
Morphèmes	jé pi= nó -cha ri= ikhá ké	
Glose lex.	good 2sg kill prs 3sg.nf pro	like

rímícha	" ilé riká "
ri= ímí -cha	ilé ri= ikhá
3sg.nf say pst	med 3sg.nf pro

Libre "a bueno vaya mátelo" él dijo "ahí está él"

43 Mot	é kája ajápána kémícha "	náje	pi'jná
Morphèmes	é kája ajápána kémí -cha	náje	pi= i'jná
Glose lex.	then other.pl say pst	indf.reason	2sg go

kélé apúkajé	eja'wá miná , jiñá kélé "	ké
kélé apú kajé	eja'wá miná jiñá kélé ké	
med wake_up ***	forest owner devil med	like

rímícha	" pi'jná nakú kawíla'je , mana'í
ri= ímí -cha	pi= i'jná nakú kawíla' -je mana'í
3sg.nf say pst	2sg go on annoy fut calm

riká	" ké
ri= ikhá ké	
3sg.nf pro	like

Libre otro le dijo "por qué se va es otro diferente dueño de monte diablo ese" él dijo "usted se va molestar, está tranquilo él"

44 Mot	ũká " ké rímíchaka "
Morphèmes	unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
Glose lex.	neg like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

nu'jícháká	" é kája ri'jícháká , é
nu= i'jĩ -chá -ka	é kája ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka é
1sg go prs ka.topic	then 3sg.nf go pst ka.insub? then

rímícha	riyajálo jló " puwa'ká náka
ri= ímí -cha	ri= yajálo jló puwa'ká ná -ka
3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf wife for if indf indf.sub

nula'jikoétâ	, kája jlapiyámí ũká
nu= la' -jĩ -ka =o é tâ	kája lapiyámí unká
1sg do fut ka.nz mid cond2 emph1	already morning neg

nupháláje	" ké rímíchaka
nu= iphá -lá -je	ké ri= ímí -cha -ka
1sg arrive v.neg fut	like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre "no" él dijo "me voy", y ya se fue "y él dijo para la mujer de él "si me pasa algo ya por la

mañana ya no llego"

45 Mot	"	jée	"	ké	é	ri'jíchá	
Morphèmes		jé		ké	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	
Glose lex.		good		like	then	3sg.nf go pst	

Libre "bueno" y se fue

46 Mot	é	ri'jíchá		amíchari		nákai
Morphèmes	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá		amí -cha -ri		nákai
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf go pst		see pst nf.ss		uh

iphíchari	réjé	kája	jláichú
iphí -cha -ri	ri= eje	kája	jláichú
arrive pst nf.ss	3sg.nf until	already	afternoon

riphíchaka		kája	nákerí	,	pajlúwáta	kélé
ri= iphí -cha -ka		kája	nákeri		pajlúwá -ta	kélé
3sg.nf arrive pst	ka.when	already	uh		one cls:flat	med

kamú	i'makáná	é	iná	kemaká
kamú	i'ma -kána	é	iná	kema -ká
sun	cop ev.nz1	in	gnr.pro	say ka.cleft

Libre él se fue y miró y llegó ahí, ya llegó ya por la tarde, ya cuando está la una el sol que uno dice (laym: i'maká é o i'makáná é)

47 Mot	é	riphícha		é kája	nákai	rímícha
Morphèmes	é	ri= ipha -cha		é kája	nákai	ri= ímí -cha
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf arrive pst		then	uh	3sg.nf say pst

é	náke	jremi'chá		jemi'chári	náke	,	kája
é	náke	ri= jemi' -chá		jemi' -chá -ri	náke		kája
then	uh	3sg.nf listen pst		listen pst nf.ss	uh		already

riphíchami		kélé	pa'kú	aími	chú
ri= iphí -cha =mi		kélé	pa'kú	aí =mi	chú
3sg.nf arrive pst pfv		med	pole	tooth pfv	in

ri'micháká	"	murukututú	"	é
ri= i'mi -chá -ká		***		é
3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft		***		then

riyakái'chotâ		amíchari		pa'kú	aími	chú
ri= yakái' -cha =o tâ		amí -cha -ri		pa'kú	aí =mi	chú
3sg.nf see pst mid emph1		see pst nf.ss		pole	tooth pfv	in

ripato'cháko	"	kháãjítâ		chí	rímícha
ri= pato' -chá -ka =o		kháãjĩ tâ		chí	ri= ímí -cha
3sg.nf perch pst ka.nz mid		prox emph1		emph3	3sg.nf say pst

nakú	nojló	"	ké
nakú	nu= jló		ké
on	1sg for		like

Libre él llegó y él dijo, ya había llegado estaba en la horqueta del palo, él hizo "murukututú" y él miró y ahí estaba en la horqueta del palo "éste es que él me dijo"

48 Mot	é kája	" murukututú "	é kája	ñaké kája	jra'jipichá	ñaké kája
Morphèmes	é kája	***	é kája	***	***	***
Glose lex.	then	***	then	***	***	***

rijló " kerakanukuthú " , é riyakái'cho
 ri= jló *** é ri= yakái' -cha =o
 3sg.nf for *** then 3sg.nf see pst mid

rawa'ô ramákalojé méño'jóka
 ri= awa'á =o ri= amá -ka lojé méño'jó -ka
 3sg.nf side mid 3sg.nf see ka.adv purp3 indf.toward indf.sub

ri'jrajé
 ri= i'jra -jé
 3sg.nf go_up fut

Libre entonces él lo remedó, lo mismo le contestó "kerakanukuthú", él miró alrededor de él para él mirar donde que se subía

49 Mot	amíchari	yukurúpi	i'micháká	, riká
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	***	i'mi -chá -ká	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	***	cop pst ka.nz	3sg.nf pro

i'ché " marí nakojé nu'jrajé " ké
 *** marí nakú =eje nu= i'jra -jé ké
 *** prox on until 1sg go_up purp.mot like

rímíchaka
 ri= ímí -cha -ka
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

Libre y vio la rama de la guama, la rama de eso, "por ese de aquí voy a subir" él dijo(yukurúpi: guama)

50 Mot	éja	ripechúi'cha	rikátâ	"
Morphèmes	é =ja	ri= pechúi' -cha	ri= ikhá tâ	
Glose lex.	then lim	3sg.nf imitate pst	3sg.nf pro emph1	

murukututú "

Libre al instante lo remedó

51 Mot	é	rímíchatâ	rijló	" kerakanukuthú
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha tâ	ri= jló	***
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst emph1	3sg.nf for	***

" ké rímíchakatâ
 ké ***
 like ***

Libre y entonces él dijo "rojo mi buche"

52 Mot	" murukututú "	" kerakanukuthú "	ñakéjaka
Morphèmes	***	***	ñaké -ja =ka
Glose lex.	***	***	dist.simil cls:hum ***

kiñája	rimíchaka	"	murukututú	"	"	kerakanukuthú	"
kiñája	ri= ímí -cha -ka	***	***	***	***	***	***
quickly	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	***	***	***	***	***	***
éja	riyuíchatâ	yenúyá	richô	ají	ké	,	é
é =ja	***	yenú =eyá	ri= chá =o	ají	ké		é
then lim	***	up from	3sg.nf on mid	prox	like		then
ri'jíchôtâ	rináku						
***	ri= náku						
***	3sg.nf on						

Libre entonces le dijo rapidito él iba repitiendo "kerakanukutú" "murukututú", de lo alto él se dejó caer, él lo persiguió

53 Mot	é	inau'kétâ	jreño'chájla	ají	ké	kélé	
Morphèmes	é	***	ri= jeño' -chá jlá	ají	ké	kélé	
Glose lex.	then	***	3sg.nf jump pst frust	prox	like	med	
náke	yukurupí	i'ché	,	é	yukuúpi	i'chétâ	yupa'lácho
náke	***	***	é	***	i'chá tâ		yupa'lácho
uh	***	***	then	***	***	emph1	***

jra'piyá		kawákájo	,	jiñátâ	kápejéjatâ
ri= ja'pi =eyá		kawáká =ejó		jiñá =tâ	kápi =eje =ja tâ
3sg.nf under from		low ***		devil ***	hand until lim emph1

Libre la persona iba a saltar hacia la rama del guamo, ahí se zafó la rama del guamo hacia abajo, apenas en la mano del diablo no más (él cayó, la persona) (yupa'lácho: con ganas de partirse - yupa'-kajo: partirse)

54.1 Mot	jiñátâ	iki'chári	jriwilá	"(	mariná	aphámi?)
Morphèmes	jiñá =tâ	***	ri= jwilá	***	***	***
Glose lex.	devil ***	***	3sg.nf hair	***	***	***

Libre

54.2 Mot	kúna	aphámí	kúna	aphámí	"
Morphèmes	kúna	aphá =mi	kúna	aphá =mi	
Glose lex.	toxic_plant	*** nom.pfv	toxic_plant	*** nom.pfv	

Libre entonces el diablo lo iba garroteando diciendo ""bagazo de maríma, bagazo de barbasco"

55 Mot	ke'jiwí	riyuríchakatâ	riká
Morphèmes	ke'jiwí	ri= yurí -cha -ka =tâ	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	powdered	3sg.nf stay pst ka.cleft ***	3sg.nf pro

Libre hasta dejarlo bien molido

56 Mot	é	rinóchatâ	riká
Morphèmes	é	ri= nó -cha =tâ	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf kill pst ***	3sg.nf pro

Libre él lo mató

57 Mot	kája	rikája	ripi'chôtâ	é
Morphèmes	kája	ri= ikhá =ja	***	é
Glose lex.	already	3sg.nf pro lim	***	then

rímíchatâ	"	marí	piwáta	nuliyá	,	pi'j'ná
ri= ímí -cha tâ		marí	pi= wáta	nu= liyá		pi= i'j'ná
3sg.nf say pst emph1		prox	2sg want	1sg from		2sg go
nunáku	kawíla'je	"	ké	rímícha	,	jiñátâ
nu= náku	kawíla' -je		ké	ri= ímí -cha		jiñá =tâ
1sg on	annoy fut		like	3sg.nf say pst		devil ***
kémícha	rijló					
kémí -cha	ri= jló					
say pst	3sg.nf for					

Libre de ahí se regresó el diablo él dijo "eso es que usted quería conmigo, por eso me vino a molestar" así él dijo, el diablo le dijo a él

58 Mot	reyá	ripi'chótâ	riyámojō
Morphèmes	ri= eyá	***	ri= yámojō
Glose lex.	3sg.nf from	***	3sg.nf ***

Libre de ahí ya él se regresó hacia atrás

59 Mot	kája	jlapiyámí	najme'tíya	meñárú	,
Morphèmes	kája	lapiyámí	na= jme'tí	-ya	meñárú
Glose lex.	already	morning	3pl become_light	pst	empty

ũká	riphálácha
unká	ri= iphá -lá -cha
neg	3sg.nf arrive v.neg pst

Libre ya por la mañanita amanecieron no se miraba nada, y no había llegado

60 Mot	é	náke	re'wé	kémícha	náke	"	kája
Morphèmes	é	náke	ri= e'wé	kémí -cha	náke		kája
Glose lex.	then	uh	3sg.nf brother	say pst	uh		already

jiñá	nócha	náke	,	ũká	inau'kélari	"	ké
jiñá	nó -cha	náke		unká	inau'ké -la -ri		ké
devil	kill pst	uh		neg	person v.neg nf.nz		like

rímícha	,	"	kélé	i'jnatíya	rikhójo	jiñá	jló	,	i'j'ná
ri= ímí -cha			kélé	***	***	jiñá	jló		i'j'ná
3sg.nf say pst			med	***	***	devil	for		go

wamíchaajlá	,	é	ne'jíchá
wa= amí -cha -ka	jlá	é	na= i'jĩ -chá
1pl see prs ka.nz frust		then	3pl go pst

Libre el hermano dijo "ya el diablo ya mató el loco" "solito se fue a entregarle al diablo, vamos a mirar" ellos se fueron

61 Mot	é	rímícha	:	"	maaré	jlálémi	maaré
Morphèmes	é	ri= ímí -cha			maaré	jlálémi	maaré
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf say pst			prox.loc	yesterday	prox.loc

nákarí	rika'tátâ			ná	pajá	jwilá	"	ké
nákarí	ri= ka' -ta tâ			ná	pajá	jwilá		ké
uh	3sg.nf throw_out caus emph1			indf	emph	hair		like

rímícha	"	wamá	ijlá	"	ké	é	ne'jíchá
ri= ímí -cha		wa= amá	ijlá		ké	é	na= i'jĩ -chá
3sg.nf say pst		1pl see	frust		like	then	3pl go pst
yakáa'jō	,	amícha	kawayá	támi	to'kó		
yakáa' -je	=o	amí -cha	kawayá	támi	to' -ká	=o	
see purp.mot mid		see pst	deer	sickness	lie ka.nz	mid	
kája melanáníja	,	ke'jiwí	riki'chákatâ				
kája melaná -ní =ja		ke'jiwí	ri= ki'	-chá -ka	=tâ		
already thin nf lim		powdered	3sg.nf throw_out	pst ka.cleft	***		
jriwilá							
ri= jwilá							
3sg.nf hair							

Libre él dijo "aquí ayer garroteó a quién será" vamos mirar" él dijo, ellos se fueron a mirar, ellos miraron muerto de venado ahí acostado ya bien finito, bien machucadito lo había garroteado

62 Mot	eyá	jna'pícha	,	rímícha	"	marí
Morphèmes	eyá	na= ja'pí -cha		ri= ímí -cha		marí
Glose lex.	since_then	3pl pass pst		3sg.nf say pst		prox

méké	ka'jnó	kélé	...	no'wé	"	ké
méké	ka'jnó	kélé		nu= e'wé		ké
indf.manner	dub	med		1sg brother		like

rímíchaka	,	apá	rejo'kája	ka'jnó	riká	,
ri= ímí -cha -ka		apála	rejo'kája	ka'jnó	ri= ikhá	
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		maybe	still2	dub	3sg.nf pro	

nawái'cha	,	ũká	,	nayakái'cho	ajĩ	ké
na= wái' -cha		unká		na= yakái' -cha	=o	ajĩ
3pl call pst		neg		3pl see pst	mid	prox like

Libre luego pasaron y él dijo "éste cómo será está mi hermano, de pronto está todavía, ellos llamaron, no, miraron para acá y para allá

63 Mot	amíchari	ritámi	to'kô	kélé
Morphèmes	amí -cha -ri	ri= támi	to' -ka	=o kélé
Glose lex.	see pst nf.ss	3sg.nf sickness	lie ka.nz	mid med

yukurúpi ja'pí	,	yukurúpi i'chétâ	,	ri'chétâ
*** ja'pi		*** i'ché tâ		ri= i'ché tâ
*** under		*** emph1		3sg.nf *** emph1

yupi'chârô		jra'piyá
yupi' -chá -ri	=o	ri= ja'pi =eyá
*** pst nf.cleft	mid	3sg.nf under from

Libre miró muerto el cuerpo de él debajo de la guama, se había partido la rama del guamo

64 Mot	ré	ripatíyatâ	riká
Morphèmes	ré	ri= patí -ya tâ	ri= ikhá
Glose lex.	then	3sg.nf grab pst emph1	3sg.nf pro

rika'tíyatâ				, melaná	riyuríchaka
ri= ka'	-tí	-ya	tâ	melaná	ri= yurí -cha -ka
3sg.nf	throw_out	caus	pst	emph1	thin 3sg.nf stay pst ka.cleft
riká		kája	ke'jiwí	kémáchí	... ri'micháká
ri= ikhá	kája	ke'jiwí	kémáchi	ri= i'mi -chá -ká	
3sg.nf	pro	already	powdered	a_little	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

Libre ahí lo había agarrado a él, lo garroteó, finito lo dejo bien machucado, quedó bien picado

65 Mot	jiñátâ	ikatíyá	jriwilá
Morphèmes	jiñá =tâ	***	ri= jwilá
Glose lex.	devil ***	***	3sg.nf hair

Libre el diablo lo había garroteado

66 Mot	rímíchaka		" méké	cháwani	"
Morphèmes	ri= ímí -cha -ka		méké	cháwa -ni	
Glose lex.	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		indf.manner	pity nf	
ké	rímíchaka	kája	jiñátâ	nócha	marí
ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	kája	jiñá tâ	nó -cha	marí
like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	already	devil emph1	kill pst	prox
no'wé	michú	" ké	rímíchaka		
nu= e'wé	michú	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		
1sg	brother	deceased	like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft		

Libre qué tristeza dijo, ese diablo mató al finao mi hermano" él dijo

67 Mot	i'jná	wamíchajlá	rikátâ	é
Morphèmes	i'jná	wa= amí -cha jlá	ri= ikhá tâ	é
Glose lex.	go	1pl see prs frust	3sg.nf pro emph1	then
ne'jíchá	ají	ké nákarí...pají	púku	chojé
na= i'jĩ -chá	ají	ké ***	***	chojé
3pl	go pst	prox like ***	***	towards_inside
yakáa'jo		, nakulícha		
yakáa' -je	=o	na= kulí -cha		
see	purp.mot mid	3pl search pst		

Libre vamos a mirar, ahí se fueron, a donde que había maloca, buscaron (laym: mejor púkumi, la maloca ya no estaba)

68 Mot	nayakái'cho	amíchari	kujyúwa'la
Morphèmes	na= yakái' -cha =o	amí -cha -ri	***
Glose lex.	3pl see pst mid	see pst nf.ss	***

Libre miraron y encontraron palo con nudos (antepasados peleaban con ese tipo de palos)

69 Mot	kujyúwa'la	i'michá	marí	ké	, rikáchá
Morphèmes	***	i'mi -chá	marí	ké	ri= iká chá
Glose lex.	***	cop pst	prox	like	3sg.nf pro ***
la'kejá	nala'á	, riká	nóchari	kélé	
la' -kéja	na= la'á	ri= ikhá	nó -cha -ri	kélé	
do ptcp	3pl do	3sg.nf pro	kill pst nf.cleft	med	

re'wé michú
 ri= e'wé michú
 3sg.nf brother deceased

Libre ese palo era así (de grande), ese ya estaba hecho así, ese fue que mató finado hermano de él (vimy: marí chá la'kejá maná nala'á: ese ya está curado)

70 Mot kája némícha papho'tá é
Morphèmes kája na= ímí -cha pi= apho' -ta é
Glose lex. already 3pl say pst 2sg blow caus then

napho'chíya ñakéja kája nakári'chaka
 na= apho' -chi -ya ñaké =ja kája ***
 3pl *** caus pst dist.simil lim already ***

rikátâ , kajú jralá i'micháká " chí'í "
 ri= ikhá tâ kajú ri= jalá i'mi -chá -ká ***
 3sg.nf pro emph1 much 3sg.nf liquid cop pst ka.cleft ***

majó " thu'ú " rimajáki'chako
 majó *** ***
 prox.toward *** ***

Libre ya dijeron "prendan", entonces prendieron, lo mismo lo quemaron a ese, salió mucho caldo de él "chiiii", "thuuuu" se reventó

71 Mot rejenája riyukúná
Morphèmes rejená =ja ri= yukú -ná
Glose lex. *** lim 3sg.nf story alien3

Libre hasta ahí no más se acabó cuento

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