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**Pervasive nominalization  
in Yukuna:**

*An Arawak language of Colombian Amazonia*

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# PERVASIVE NOMINALIZATION IN YUKUNA: AN ARAWAK LANGUAGE OF COLOMBIAN AMAZONIA

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# 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.

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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 narratives<sup>1</sup> 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).

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<sup>1</sup> <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.<sup>2</sup>

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)

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<sup>2</sup> <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 <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	
	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*

<b>1σ</b>	<b>2σ</b>	<b>3σ</b>
H	HH	* <b>HHH</b>
*L	HL	HHL
	LH	* <b>HLH</b>
	*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<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>/ 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/ [hápá] <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.<sup>3</sup> 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-ALIEN<sub>1</sub>-F-PL  
'his female otters' (elicited, GAMY).

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<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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) *Maaré pi=yá’=o nu=wajlé chú.*  
 PROX.LOC 2SG=sit=MID 1SG=back on  
 ‘Sit here on my back.’ (ycn0068,193)

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<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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

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<sup>5</sup> 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)<sup>6</sup> 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).<sup>7</sup> In terms of morphology, adjectives lack the inflectional features of finite verbs.<sup>8</sup> In terms of syntax, adjectives are negated through the same negation strategy as other non-verbal

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<sup>6</sup> “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.”

<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> 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*]<sub>o</sub>                      *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,<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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		

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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*]<sub>NP</sub>      ***jwa'té***,  
3SG=after      3SG.NF=go-PST      MED      3SG.NF      with  
[*kéelé*      *yáwi*      *i'rí*      *ri=lamáí'-chaje*]<sub>NP</sub>      ***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.<sup>11</sup>

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=ó=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.<sup>12</sup> 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

<sup>11</sup> 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.”

<sup>12</sup> 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> <sup>13</sup>		

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

<sup>13</sup> 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> <sup>14</sup> PROX	this
		<i>maáré</i>	<i>maáré</i> PROX.LOC	here
		<i>majǒ</i>	<i>ma=éjǒ</i> PROX=towards	to here
	<i>ajǐ</i>	<i>máawá</i>	<i>ma=ewá</i> PROX=around	around here
		<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'jné</i>	<i>kháa'jné</i>	<i>kháa'jné</i> DIST	that
		<i>a'jnéré</i>	<i>a'jnéré</i> DIST.LOC	there
		<i>a'jnéjé</i>	<i>a'jné=éjé</i> DIST=toward	until there
		<i>a'jnéawá</i>	<i>a'jné=ewá</i> DIST=around	around there
		<i>a'jnéño'jǒ</i>	<i>a'jnéño'=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

<sup>14</sup> 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)'.  


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gender markers (for pronominal demonstratives), or with phonologically cliticized postpositions<sup>15</sup> (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 <sup>16</sup>	<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.

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

<sup>16</sup> 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 *aji* is not used in this function, although it is found in the complex form *ajiño'jó* ‘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'jnaré</i>

(34)

- a. **Marí**    *nu=jĩ'-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'jnaré**  
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: *marí 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

<sup>17</sup> 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)<sup>18</sup>. 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)

<sup>18</sup> 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).<sup>19</sup>

- (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

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<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*ilé*]<sub>ARG</sub> ‘that is like N’).<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> 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)<sup>23</sup>

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).

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<sup>23</sup> 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 constructions<sup>24</sup>, 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.<sup>25</sup> 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)

<sup>24</sup> 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).

<sup>25</sup> 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
<b>Nouns</b>	∅	-ru -lo	-na
<b>Dem</b>	∅	-ru	-runa
<b>Adj1</b>	-ni	-ru	-runa
<b>Adj2</b>	∅	-ru	-runa
<b>Adj3</b>	-ji	-lo	-na
<b>Agentive G/N nominalizations</b>	-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) *kéelé 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).<sup>26</sup> 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

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<sup>26</sup> 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'róte</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
<b>Sortal</b>	<i>-a'jlu</i>	round recipient		
	<i>-a'ku</i>	concave		
	<i>-a'la</i>	round, whole	eggs, coconuts, seeds, fruit	<b>2</b>
	<i>-ja</i>	human		<b>3</b>
	<i>-na</i>	big		
	<i>-ta</i>	flat	smoked fish, cassava tortillas, paper, trees	<b>8</b>
	<i>-hila</i>	long	trees, forest, plantain, sugar cane	<b>2</b>
	<i>-ipi</i>	pack		
	<i>-thá</i>	basket		<b>3</b>
	<b>Mensural</b>	<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.<sup>27</sup>

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*<sup>28</sup> 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’  |                 |  |

<sup>27</sup> 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).

<sup>28</sup> 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<sub>i</sub> + Noun<sub>i</sub> 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).<sup>29</sup> 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

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<sup>29</sup> 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

<b>Within NPs</b>	Arg of N (PSSR) Adnominal mod
<b>Verbal clauses</b>	S of V

	O of V
	Arg of Postp
<b>Non-verbal clauses</b>	Arg of NV clause
	Pred of NV clause
<b>Other</b>	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 chojě́ na=motho'-chá [jĩ́na-na majá-runá]*<sub>O</sub>.  
 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]<sub>O</sub>, é ru=apíro'-chá tâ [Ø]<sub>O</sub>,*  
 then 3SG.F.=kill-PST EMPH then 3SG.F.=suck-PST EMPH  
*ru=ajĩ'-cha tâ [ru=ikhá]<sub>O</sub>.*  
 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]<sub>O</sub>.*  
 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]<sub>OBL</sub> [kujnú]<sub>O</sub>.*  
 3PL=give-PST again 3SG.NF=to cassava  
 ‘They gave cassava to him again.’ (ycn0068,53)

- (138) *[Nu=ikhá]<sub>O</sub> [pa'yú]s wakára'a majó [pi=cháje]<sub>OBL</sub>.*  
 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]<sub>OBL</sub>*  
 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]<sub>S</sub> kémí-cha [ri=jló]<sub>OBL</sub>: "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 *patá*, 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).<sup>30</sup> 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

<sup>30</sup> 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 jĩña.*  
 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 jñá'-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).<sup>31</sup>

(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.

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<sup>31</sup> 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/ [tʃi ~ 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) *jlapiyamí 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 kajírú.*  
 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'jné-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=ajná-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* *tá*.  
 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 kalapíhí-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]<sub>s</sub> *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]<sub>s</sub> *ja'pá-je*  
 now 1SG=PRO walk-FUT  
 'I am leaving now.' (ycn0108,304)

(239) *Unká* [nu=ikhá]<sub>s</sub> *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]<sub>O</sub>      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]<sub>O</sub>.  
 3PL=give-PST                      again                      3SG.NF=to                      cassava  
 'They gave cassava to him again.' (ycn0068,153)

(243) [pajlúwa yáwi i'ri]<sub>O</sub>      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 chuwa  
 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*]<sub>OBL</sub>    *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*]<sub>OBL</sub>    *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*]<sub>OBL</sub>    *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'jñá* 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'jñá 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]<sub>PRED</sub>    *tâ*        [ri=ikhá]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 food-UNPOSS    EMPH    3SG.NF=PRO  
 'It is food.' (ycn0063,144)

(263) *É*            [nu=ikhá]<sub>ARG</sub> [maáré]<sub>PRED</sub>    *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]<sub>OBL</sub>    *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*]<sub>PRED</sub> *ka'jné* [*kéelé amá-ri=o* *junápeje*]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 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*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*pi=ki'-chá-ka* *ri=ikhá*]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 INDF.manner 2SG=throw-PST-NZ 3SG.NF=PRO  
 ‘How did you throw it? (lit. How is your throwing it?)’ (ycn0058,105)

(310) [*Méré*]<sub>PRED</sub> *chí* [*nu=tajnáta-ka* *pi=éjéna*]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 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]<sub>PRED</sub>      *chí*      [kélél]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
INDF                  EMPH    MED  
‘What is that?’ (ycn0545,8)

(312) [Méké]<sub>PRED</sub>      *chí*                  [kháǎjǐ]<sub>ARG ?</sub>  
INDF.manner      EMPH                  PROX  
‘How is this?’ (ycn108,150)

(313) [Méré]<sub>PRED</sub>      [ri=ikhá]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
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
-------------	-------------------	---------



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
	Finite verbal clause	Ø
		Nominalization + Subordinate marker
		Nominalization
	Subordinate marker	-je PURP.MOT
		-chí PURP
		-ré PURP
		-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,<sup>32</sup> 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*

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<sup>32</sup> 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).<sup>33</sup>

(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

<sup>33</sup> 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.





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.<sup>34</sup>

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.”

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<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

(368) *ajem si-kjen [so fijaGawa]<sub>NP</sub> [so Ø-neta-ge da cako]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 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

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<sup>35</sup> 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).<sup>36</sup>

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.

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<sup>36</sup> 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
<b>NP uses</b>	
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
<b>Non-NP uses</b>	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

<b>Within NPs</b>	Arg of N (PSSR)
	Adnominal mod
<b>Verbal clauses</b>	S of V
	O of V
	Arg of Postp
<b>Non-verbal clauses</b>	Arg of NV clause
	Pred of NV clause
<b>Other</b>	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 <sup>*37</sup>
Arg of Postp	y	n	n <sup>*38</sup>	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

<sup>37</sup> The only exception being cases of fully finite embedded subordinate clauses as with the complement taking verbs *see* and *hear*.

<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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

<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> Table 52

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<sup>40</sup> 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”)<sup>41</sup>, 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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

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<sup>41</sup> <https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/>

<sup>42</sup> <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971099>

<sup>43</sup> 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* [*wáícha-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]<sub>NP</sub> N
  - b. As modifier: N [NMLZ]<sub>NP</sub>
- ii. NMLZ without lexical head noun, with demonstrative:
  - a. [DEM NMLZ]<sub>NP</sub>
  - b. Unless demonstrative is pronominal:
    - i. [DEM]<sub>NP</sub> [NMLZ]<sub>NP</sub>
- iii. NMLZ without DEM/N:
  - a. [NMLZ]<sub>NP</sub>

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 possessor<sup>44</sup>. 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.

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<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.

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<sup>45</sup> 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 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*.<sup>46</sup> 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

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<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> 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=ajǎ-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*      *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 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'jǎ-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.<sup>48</sup>

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

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<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> In other words, in terms of frequency, nominalization is truly pervasive in Yukuna.

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<sup>49</sup> 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
<b>Total</b>			~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
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>69</b>

#### 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				Total
	<i>-kana</i>	<i>-kaje</i>	<i>-jona</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-kare</i>	<i>-chaje</i>	<i>-ka</i>	G/N	
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
<b>Total</b>	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		NV NEG
		S/PSSR Indexes
		MID
-V -N features		PFV
		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,

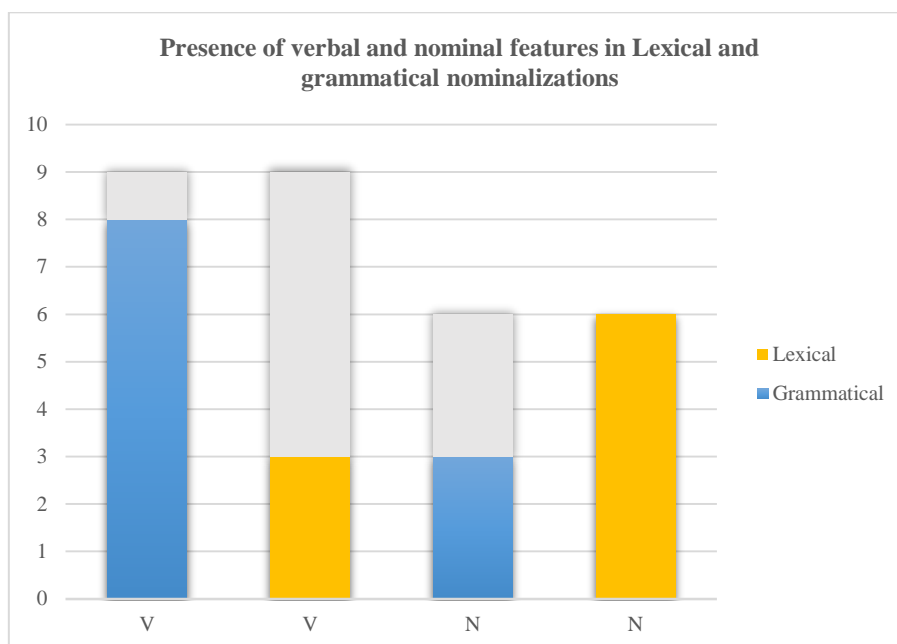
features marked with ‘y?’ are only scarcely attested in the Flex corpus, and features marked with ‘y\*’ are attested in elicited data only.

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
NP			P = Possessor	y
		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	?
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.<sup>50</sup>

(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).<sup>51</sup> 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

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

- (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

<sup>52</sup> 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'-káje=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’<sup>53</sup>, 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

<sup>53</sup> 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 kamejéří [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 (*kamejéří* ‘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 (*kamejéří* ‘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 kamejéří [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.<sup>54</sup> 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)

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<sup>54</sup> 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.NZ<sup>55</sup>, both of which encode far past habitual events, and both of which participate in the same nominalization constructions as *-ka* NZ.<sup>56</sup> 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*

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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*.<sup>57</sup> 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)

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<sup>57</sup> 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=no chí'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*]<sub>PRED</sub> *tâ [yurí-cha-ri=o ma=ijlu-rú]*<sub>ARG.</sub>  
 Y. EMPH stay-PST-NF=MID PRIV-eye-NF.  
 'The one who stayed eyeless is Yewákumi.' (ycn0041,153)

(520) *É kája [Yewákumi]<sub>s</sub> 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.<sup>58</sup>

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'jné, [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)

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<sup>58</sup> 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<sup>h</sup>éelé *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 (EV)</i>	Event	n	
<i>-ka (A)</i>	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.<sup>59</sup>

*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

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<sup>59</sup> 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*

<b>Within NPs</b>	Arg of N (PSSR)
	Adnominal mod
<b>Verbal clauses</b>	S of V
	O of V
	Arg of Postp
<b>Non-verbal clauses</b>	Arg of NV clause
	Pred of NV clause
<b>Other</b>	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
<b>Within NP</b>	Arg of N (PSSR)	y				y			y	
	Adnominal mod					y	y	y		y
<b>Verbal clauses</b>	S of V		y*							
	O of V	y	y			y	y	y	y	
	Arg of Postp	y	y		y	y	y	y	y	
<b>Non-verbal clauses</b>	Arg of NV clause	y	y			y		y	y	y
	Pred of NV clause	y	y		y	y		y	y	y
<b>Other</b>	Dislocated NPs	y		y	y	y	y	y		y
<b>Non-NP uses</b>	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>
<b>Within NP</b>	Arg of N (PSSR)	y			
	Adnominal mod				
<b>Verbal clauses</b>	S of V		y*		
	O of V	y	y		
	Arg of Postp	y	y		y
<b>Non-verbal clauses</b>	Arg of NV clause	y	y		
	Pred of NV clause	y	y		y
<b>Other</b>	Dislocated NPs	y		y	y
<b>Non-NP uses</b>	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*]<sub>PRED</sub>                      [*marí*]<sub>ARG</sub>  
           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*]<sub>PRED</sub>                    [*ri=i'ra-kána i'ma-jí-ká*]<sub>ARG</sub>  
           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 pñño [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*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*ri=jña'-kána*]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 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]<sub>PRED</sub>      [ri=i'mi-**chá-ká**]<sub>ARG.</sub>  
 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
<b>Total</b>				<b>75</b>

### 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) *aú 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’<sup>60</sup> 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*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*ri=le'jé* [*pura'-káje=o*]]<sub>ARG</sub>  
 3SG.NF=at 3SG.NF=possession speak-EV.NZ=MID

<sup>60</sup> 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
<b>Total</b>				<b>60</b>

### 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
<b>Total</b>			<b>3</b>

#### 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	<b>from</b>
<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> ] <sub>PRED</sub>	[ <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> ] <sub>ARG.</sub>
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) [*Kamejéri-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 jñá'-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 maáre*  
 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
<b>Total</b>				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.<sup>61</sup>

(566) <i>pi=ikhá</i>	<i>chí</i>	[ <i>kéelé ri=pirá</i>	<i>ajñá-káre</i> ] <sub>PSSR</sub>	[ <i>yajálo=mi</i> ] <sub>PSSD</sub>	
2SG=PRO	EMPH	MED	3SG.NF=pet	eat-ARG.NZ	wife=PFV
[ <i>na=ima-káre</i>	<i>nakú</i> ] <sub>MOD</sub> ] <sub>NP</sub> ?				
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

<sup>61</sup> 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
<b>Total</b>				<b>58</b>

### 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		<b>10</b>
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
<b>Total</b>				<b>16</b>



### 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
<b>Total</b>			<b>22</b>

### 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'jná*  
 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] éjó*  
 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] éjó.*  
 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>ějő</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 kája<sup>62</sup> 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)

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<sup>62</sup> 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<sub>i</sub>) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is correferential with NP<sub>i</sub>" (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]<sub>PRED</sub> [na=pajla-ka tá wa=jwa'té]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 casually 3PL=lie-NZ EMPH 1PL=with  
 'Just like that they are lying to us.' (ycn0108,201)

(614) [Mapéja]<sub>PRED</sub> [nu=ikhá]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 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.<sup>63</sup>

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)

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<sup>63</sup> 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*]<sub>PRED</sub>                    [*ri=kámo’-ka=o*]<sub>ARG</sub>,                    *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*]<sub>PRED</sub>                    *wáni kája*                    [*ri=ikhá*]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 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*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*ru=i'rí íi-cha-ka*]<sub>ARG</sub>  
 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'jná 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'jné 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*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*nu=ikhá yuré-jĩ-ka=o pají numaná*]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 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 in subordinate (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=éjě́*]      *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 conjunctions<sup>64</sup>. 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).<sup>65</sup>

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

<sup>64</sup> 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.

<sup>65</sup> 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.



lé<sup>66</sup> | 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

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<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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)

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<sup>67</sup> 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),<sup>68</sup> 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].*

<sup>68</sup> 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 (-khe, -jīka, i'maká)	Finiteness: Compatible with negation <i>unká</i>	285
<b>Total</b>				~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.<sup>69</sup>

#### 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’.

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<sup>69</sup> 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).<sup>70</sup>

(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

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<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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]<sub>PRED</sub>      ka'jné      [kéelé amá-ri=o      junápeje]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 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]<sub>PRED</sub>      ka'jné      [ri=ikhá]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 INDF                  DUB                  3SG.NF=PRO  
 ‘What is it?’ (ycn0068,26)

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<sup>71</sup> 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*]<sub>PRED</sub>                    [*iphí-cha-ri*]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
           deer                                arrive-PST-NF  
           ‘The deer arrived (Lit. the one who arrived is the deer).’ (ycn0041,156)

(690) *É*            [*kawayá*]<sub>S</sub>    *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).<sup>72</sup>

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

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<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> Interrogative agent pseudo-clefts often include discourse markers such as *kalé* EMPH, *pajá* EMPH, *ka'jná* 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).

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<sup>73</sup> 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]<sub>PRED</sub> pajá [iŷ-cha-ri]=o iléño'jǒ]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 INDF EMPH escape-PST-NF=MID MED.toward  
 ‘Who is it that ran away over there?’ (ycn0189,140)

(692) [Ná]<sub>PRED</sub> chí [kémá-ri ñaké]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 INDF EMPH say-NF MED.like  
 ‘Who is talking like that?’ (ycn0504,65)

(693) [Ná]<sub>PRED</sub> chí [kéelé]<sub>ARG?</sub>  
 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)<sup>74</sup>

(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].*

<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> It is absolutely clear that G/N markers agreeing with the agent participant are mutually exclusive with person indexes encoding the agent participant.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

(706) [Ri=*ikhá*]<sub>PRED</sub> *kalé* [*nó-ri* *kéelé* *to'jmá* *jló*  
 3SG.NF=PRO EMPH kill-NF MED child to  
*kéelé náke kamejé-ri-na*]<sub>ARG</sub>.  
 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.<sup>78</sup>

(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

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> 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).

<sup>77</sup> 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.

<sup>78</sup> 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
<b>Total (marker)</b>	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 clause<sup>79</sup>, 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’	<b>90</b>
	<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

<sup>79</sup> This choice is meant to avoid the use of the term ‘main clause’. See Longacre (1996).



<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>142</b>
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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	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>135</b>
<i>-yo</i> F		2		2
<i>-ño</i> PL			5	5
Total (Referents)	109	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>	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	<b>214</b>
	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	<b>142</b>
	Main clause			0
<b>Total</b>				<b>348</b>

## 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
<b>-kana</b> EV.NZ	Adv sub	temporal clauses	n	n	n	n
<b>-je</b> A.NZ	Adv sub	purpose of motion	n	y	y	y
	Main clause	future tense	y	y	y	y
<b>-kare</b> ARG.NZ	Main clause	potential mood	y	y	n	n
<b>-ka</b> 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	<b>243</b>
Arg of Postp	21	14	0	3	1	2	3	100	0	<b>144</b>
Arg of NV clause	1	2	0	0	4	0	9	880	214	<b>1110</b>
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	<b>438</b>
Cosub	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	142	<b>189</b>
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	<b>527</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1799</b>	<b>348</b>	

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	<b>30</b>
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	<b>16</b>
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	<b>10</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>14</b>	

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.<sup>80</sup> 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

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<sup>80</sup> <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.<sup>81</sup>

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

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<sup>81</sup> <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	✓	×
	Démonstratifs	✓	✓
	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 subordonnées 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
<b>Total (Référents)</b>	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	"kháajnata 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'jná 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'jné 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'jné ijwa'té riká aũ ka'jné 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 [pamákare]"	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 wejátakare 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 pú'juna nókana rijló	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
81	text	53,21	kélé yáwi i'rí rilamá'i'chaje 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 kamejéri na 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'jñañojǒ náke rójena nakú .	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
100	text	53,89	éta "méké " "aú nu'jné 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 rímícha 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 iwatóko	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'júñi,	disloc		∅	instrumental	je		
125	text	58,94	kamu'júñiñani ri'micháká makápo'jeri kélé, [makápo'jeri] ri'micháká kamu'júñi,	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) <b>n</b> ayukupéra 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		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
148	text	59,5	é kája nawajla'á kajrú nawajla'ká	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
149	text	59,51	kajú tórina ipháka, é kája na'á najló numapáji pe'yojé	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
150	text	59,58	jnácho'ko éjéchami , kája natamákata numapáji najló , phiyúké [najñáka] nanumapó	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
151	text	59,58	[jnácho'ko] éjéchami , kája natamákata numapáji najló , phiyúké najñáka nanumapó	Arg of postp	ejechami	∅	event	ka		
152	text	59,59	é kája narápa'a píño (ajná nawajla'á) , [jme'táno nawajla'ká]	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
153	text	59,61	é narápa'a jlapí kéténa narápa'ka muní ké píño	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
154	text	59,62	a'jné ritajnáko ejená , na- nañapáta riká , é kája nala'á riyálena píño	Arg of postp	ejena	∅	event	ka		
155	text	59,9	nuká i'jnári kajíru jña'jé	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
156	text	63,09	lapí riphícha, iná jme'táka chojónaja	Arg of Postp	chojona	∅	event	ka		
157	text	63,113	piwátajíkaé nujwa'té i'jnakána	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
158	text	63,144	piwátajíkaé pajñá riká , kája piwáta [ñaké i'makáje]	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
159	text	63,145	piwátajíkaé pajñá riká , kája piwáta ñaké i'makáje	Arg of Postp	e	∅	event	ka		
160	text	63,147	é kája rikeño'chá jewíña'kajo	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
161	text	63,15	kája napi'chó píño, iphíchari	nonNP-chain		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
162	text	63,168	kája nawáta piwá kana	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
163	text	63,17	nuwáta ra'ká piwemí nojló	O of V (manip)		∅	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'jná 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	rējō 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'píjí nakú , "náje ritaja'á me'píjí 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		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		no
194	text	68,12	ja'pejē i'micháyo nákei maíre'ru maína já'lo	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
195	text	68,121	é riyái'cho píño , jemi'chári píño rumejé waícha , khú , khú ké ruleícha	nonNP-chain		∅	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	∅	event	kaje		
198	text	68,129	"yéé phiwaká Kanumá kemakáje nakú , nulakélo "	Arg of Postp	naku	∅	event	kaje		
199	text	68,138	riji'chá kujnú , jretá i'michári pají numaná	ARG of NV		∅	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		∅	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 chojé kélé kujnú ra'chajé rijló	nonNP-chain		∅	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		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
206	text	68,171	"pímá nojló , inaána pamájika é , pímá nojló nuwáa'kalojé wajlúwa" ké rímícha	Arg of Postp	e	∅	event	ka		
207	text	68,179	kaápu'kú kéri i'maká jlapí , é nu'jnéno	nonNP-chain		∅	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 maíñani	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 maíñani "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'majíka 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 jrorá'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'majíka 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'jnajíka 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'jnéru 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] , "kháajíko 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'ru paláni ritu'ru 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 kuliya 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 yu'íchari 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'kájó [i'makáre] chù yáleje le'jé, pura'kájó i'makáre chù kélé	?		∅	?	kare		
368	text	91,32	pura'kájó i'makáre chù yáleje le'jé, pura'kájó [i'makáre] chù kélé	?		∅	?	kare		
369	text	91,32	pura'kájó i'makáre chù yáleje le'jé, [pura'kájó] i'makáre chù kélé	?		∅	event	kaje		
370	text	91,33	kája iká wáni yáleje wakájé natha'ká mawíru na'á upichíná pura'kájó wájā riká	Pred of NV		∅	event	kaje		
371	text	91,34	kajú napura'káro ríchu kélé	nonNP-pot		∅	pot	kare		
372	text	91,4	kajmukájó penáje , [arápa'kaje] penáje , nákJé keñóto wajló eja'wá chù i'maká	Arg of Postp	penaje	∅	event	kaje		
373	text	91,46	aú ñaké phiyúké rináku jápákana wajló	?		∅	?	kana		
374	text	91,5	kájrú kája iká pura'kájó ré ríchu	ARG of NV		∅	event	kaje		
375	text	91,5	paínéke keñótaro chi'náikaje mawíru ya'takáná napura'áta pajlokáká	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
376	text	91,51	mawíru ya'takáná napura'áta pajlokáká	?		∅	?	kana		
377	text	91,52	ré ríle'jé pura'kájó	pssd, ARG of NV		∅	event	kaje		
378	text	91,57	neká na'kapichá marí kajé aú, nawe'píka aú riyále phiyúkéja	nonNP-advsub	au	∅	event	ka		
379	text	92,1	é kája kélé jíña tá i'wá náke [ja'cháro] phiyúké ako'cháro jiyá chojé	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
380	text	92,1	é kája kélé jíña tá ((i'wá)) náke ja'cháro phiyúké [ako'cháro jiyá chojé]	ambig		∅	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 [númájīka] pijló me'tení	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
389	text	92,118	me'tení no'jīká pijló jrená pila'jīkaé [arápa'kaje]	O of V		∅	event	kaje		
390	text	92,118	pila'jīka 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'napitá (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'ri 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'jné 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 yenu	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 ij'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 wachapíla pa'táje, kélé itewí ja'pí [yuríchako]	disloc		Ø	Agent	ka	cha	
451	text	108,213	ilétá [pi'cháro] píño rile'jé wachapíla 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 núĩ 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'jno jema'llá no'piyá ké rímicha , 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 rímicha	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'michákãnotâ 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(??) nemaquíre 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) rikho 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 yálejí [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'jné nepháta méewá ka'jné peyajwéni wáni la'kerí doscientos ejená	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ka, ri/yo/ño	khe	
511	text	117,26	ne'rá iká a'jné 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'jné las nueve ewá ka'jné 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'jñá 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 junápejë	Arg of Postp	au	∅	event	ka		
542	text	118,56	kélé jítatá [chipúka'ri] patáro , rijulá chojë kélé jíta pató	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
543	text	118,56	kélé jítatá chipúka'ri [patáro] , rijulá chojë kélé jíta pató	ambig		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
544	text	118,7	e'welojína i'jnakéño kája wajwa'té réjó	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'ě kulákana	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kana		
548	text	119,11	pha'páta kémáchi wejápája reyá , apála jre'lotó ka'jno , [pipitakálojë] palá awájne'ě	nonNP-advsub	loje	∅	event	ka		
549	text	119,11	pijña'á awájne'ě , 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'ě , 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'ě , 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 , <b>[jácho'ro] pa'ú kéta káru</b> , iyamá jawakákana <b>jácho'ro</b> , mékélé ka'jnó , <b>pa'ú kéta</b> <b>cháje</b> , <b>jácho'ro káru</b>	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		Ø	event	ka		
563	text	119,26	piñapátaka kéle kajé [la'kaná] , é kája piyukupéra'a inauké	O of V (manip)		Ø	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	Ø	event	ka		
565	text	119,27	[riká pa'káchú na'jné ], patá pa'ká inauké na'jné	nonNP-advsub	chu	Ø	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		Ø	event	ka		
567	text	119,29	ükáchú wejápaja (a'jné) pa'káchú na'jné , kája iná ikhó iná matha'ká káru	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
568	text	119,3	pikeño'ó richiyá matha'kána	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
569	text	119,33	(pajl) [najña'ká] éjéja nayuí iná jló , é kája riká iná ñapáta	arg of postp	eje	Ø	event	ka		
570	text	119,35	piwátaka kéja [pila'ká riká]	ARG of NV		Ø	event	ka		
571	text	119,35	[piwátaka] kéja pila'ká riká	arg of postp	ke	Ø	event	ka		
572	text	119,36	kája listo phiyúké káru i'makáchú , é kája iná ñapátaka , kája iná yurí iná ñakaré patá	nonNP-chain		Ø	event	ka		
573	text	119,37	eyá kája kélé piñapátakachú , kája piña'á jeña	nonNP-advsub	chu	Ø	event	ka		
574	text	119,4	pikeño'ó a'waná i'kakána	O of V (manip)		Ø	event	kana		
575	text	119,41	iná la'á kája iná ñakaré ñapákalojé , kája patá wáni iná wátaka ké	arg of postp	ke	Ø	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'jné 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'réni [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'jné náke apíro'yo chuchú michólo , ké rúmichaka , méké nula'jika	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 rímícha ["piká chí kélé nemakáre nakú achiñá wáni eja'wá chú] nemakáre nakú "á'a" ké rímícha "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'ríka 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 "káĩ káĩ káĩ " 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 yuícharo pají numaná wajlé chú	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
662	text	189,125	kháãjĩ lanakíya 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 iícharo iléñojõ	ARG of NV		Ø	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
665	text	189,140	ná pajá iícharo iléñojõ	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'jñá 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'jñá 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'jñá 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 kái " ké rúmíchaka	ARG of NV		∅	event	ka		
714	text	189,59	"tun tun " ké rímíchaka , ["káĩ kái " 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	["yé " 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	"yé " 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	"yé " 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 "üká 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	pamájīkaé riká píma 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	ikejǎ'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'makána 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'jǎ 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 “ajña 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 "pajña kujnú waláko jwa'té"	Arg of postp	jló	Ø	Agent	kare		
774	elic	NB5:161	*Yuwaǵi a'kakáre i'jichá	Mod, S of V		N	patient	kare		
775	elic	NB5:161	Jiña motho'jéyo i'jicháyó 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	[Paǵi keráni kuwá'la chú i'micháje] 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 “pajña kujnú waláko jwa'té”	Arg of Postp	jló	Ø	Agent	je		
787	elic	NB5:206	Wáa'jeri yuwaló jló nómicha “pajña 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'píj nakú, é jrara'pá i'matá rijló a'jnejí	?		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		jlá
813	elic	NB5:393	Ichirí takha'rijlá me'píj 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		∅	pssr	chaje		
829	elic	NB5:450	*No'ó kujnú ipháká jló			∅	Agent	ka		
830	elic	NB5:450	No'ó kujnú waje ipháká jló			∅	Agent	ka		
831	elic	NB5:453	*Nonócha kélé ipháká			∅	Agent	ka		
832	elic	NB5:453	*nonócha ipháká			∅	Agent	ka		
833	elic	NB5:453	*Nupayákicha atiná ipháká chá			∅	Agent	ka		
834	elic	NB5:453	Nupayákicha atiná waje ipháká chá			∅	Agent	ka		
835	elic	NB5:454	Nonócha kélé iphíchari	O of V		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
836	elic	NB5:454	*nonócha atiná ipháká	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
837	elic	NB5:454	*nonócha atiná ipháká			∅	Agent	ka		
838	elic	NB5:454	nonócha kélé phá chójo ipháká			∅	Agent	ka		
839	elic	NB5:454	Nonócha kélé waje ipháká			∅	Agent	ka		
840	elic	NB5:454	Nonócha kélé waje 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		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
843	elic	NB5:455	Waje Ja'páka numá chiyá íja jácho'o	Poss, arg of postp	chiya	∅	Agent	ka		
844	elic	NB5:458	Rajná jíñana paláuna nukelo'cháje	Mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
845	elic	NB5:458	rajná jíñana nukelo'cháje palá	mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
846	elic	NB5:458	rajná jíñana palá nukelo'cháje	mod, O of V		N	patient	chaje		
847	elic	NB5:458	*rajná 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 jeíńá jló	comparison		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
869	elic	NB5:89	*Noló a'á kujnú kélé iphátaka jeíńá jló	comparison		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
870	elic	NB5:92	Ro'chá rijló keńá 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 achińá nóchari jéma jló	Mod, Arg of Postp		N	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
873	elic	NB8, vimy	ru'rí íichari	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
874	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
875	elic	NB8, vimy	ru'rí íichari kajú	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
876	elic	NB8, vimy	?unká kajú ru'rí iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
877	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí iyálacha kajú	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
878	elic	NB8, vimy	*unká ru'rí iyálachari	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
879	elic	NB8, vimy	*unká ru'rí kalé iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
880	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí iyálacha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
881	elic	NB8, vimy	*unká ru'rí kalé íicha	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
882	elic	NB8, vimy	unká ru'rí kalé kélé íichari	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
883	elic	NB8, vimy	ru'rí kélé unká iyálachari	ARG of NV		dem	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		
884	elic	NB8, vimy	*ru'rí unká iyálachari	comparison		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ńo		



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 jeí 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		∅	pssr	chaje		
906	elic	temp5-21	Nomícha rimakáre (yukúná) nojló	O of V		∅	?	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)	∅
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		∅	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)		∅	event	ka		
916	elic	temp5-33	*ratá'chajlá ara'kájó	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
917	elic	temp5-34	Rikeño'chá ara'kájó	O of V (manip)		∅	event	kaje		
918	elic	temp5-37	ratáichajlá rajñáká ra'jnewá	O of V (manip)		∅	event	ka		
919	elic	temp5-4	¿?Kátaro nunáku amáje	S of V		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
920	elic	temp5-41	amíchari jeí aphámí i'micháká rijñé e'yá	O of V (percep)		∅	event	ka		
921	elic	temp5-42	yuícharo wayú pána	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
922	elic	temp5-43	*motho'chári jnora'pá	Pred of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
923	elic	temp5-44	¿?wayú pána i'micháká yuícharo	ARG of NV		∅	Agent	ri/yo/ño		
924	elic	temp5-45	Yuícharo wayú pána i'micháká	Pred of NV		∅	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 [ajñaño] 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'michá] , 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'michá , [ripéchu iphícha] , rímícha : "chúwa nomájika ná chí la'ríno kujnúno	LEYT	story	n			
11	41,55	10	é ripéchu i'michá , 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'michá , 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 kamejéri [nonókare] pi'rí jló ."	JUMY	story	y	-kare	mod	Patient
85	53,78	2	é jlapí ra'michiyá kélé [rinóchajena] kamejérina 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 kélé ?	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

<b>Spanish</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
?	?	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	nuká	,	nuká	moto'rí	i'maká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá		nu= ikhá	motho' -rí	i'ma -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>2 Mot</b>	Réwajã		jnoló	i'má	jnora'pá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré =wa =jã		nu= jaló	i'ma	nu= jara'pá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then emph lim		1sg mother.ref	live	1sg father.ref	

**Libre** ahí estuvieron mi papá y mi mamá

<b>3 Mot</b>	Eyá	kája	nutawá'o	i'maká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája	nu= tawá' =o	i'ma -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	Aũ	kája	jnowíña'o	i'maká	,	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	kája	nu= jewíña' =o	i'ma -ka		náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	Eyá	nuñapata	jewíña'kajo	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	nu= ñapa -ta	jewíña' -kaje =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	1sg form caus	study ev.nz2 mid	

**Libre** ahí yo terminé mis estudios

<b>6 Mot</b>	Réjomi	nu'jná	náke	majó	pedrera
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= éjomi	nu= i'jná	náke	majó	Pedrera
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>13 Mot</b>	É	unká	kája	nákei	,	nákei	mená	kájé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	unká	kája	nákei		nákei	mená	kájé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	Yewákumi	yukúna	nu'majé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	Yewákumi	yukú -ná	nu= i'ma jé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	yewakumi	story alien3	1sg tell fut	

**Libre** Voy a contar un cuento de Yewákumi

<b>2 Mot</b>	É	pajlúwaja	inauké	i'michári	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	pajlúwá =ja	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ri	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	Rikója	ri'michákáno	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá =o =ja	ri= i'mi -chá -ká =no	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro mid lim	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft hab	

**Libre** él vivía solo

<b>4 Mot</b>	Unká	ná	i'malácha	rijwa'té	,	pají
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ná	i'ma -lá -cha	ri= jwa'té		pají
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	Júpi	ri'micháká	(---)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	ri= i'mi -chá -ká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft	

rikója .  
 ri= ikhá =o =ja  
 3sg.nf pro mid lim

**Libre** vivió mucho tiempo solo

<b>6 Mot</b>	Kamejérina	nójeri	ri'micháká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kamejérí -na	nó -je -ri	ri= i'mi -chá -ká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 kháãjǐ Yewákumi la'káno  
**Morphèmes** palá wáni kháãjǐ 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'jǎá richáje ."  
 ñaké nu= ímá pi= jló pi= i'jǎá 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'jǎá ijwa'té , riká aú ka'jǎá  
 nu= i'ma -ká ka'jǎá i= jwa'té ri= ikhá aú ka'jǎá  
 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 kháãjǐ chá " ké rímícha  
**Morphèmes** pi= payáka kháãjǐ 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

<b>20 Mot</b>	É	rupayáicha		richá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= payái	-cha	ri= chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f step_on	pst	3sg.nf on	

**Libre** y ella pisó

<b>21 Mot</b>	Ripatíya	...	ruká	patajnéya	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= patí	-ya	ru= ikhá	pa= tajné	=yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf grab	pst	3sg.f pro	impers leg	abl

**Libre** ahí mismo la agarró de los pies

<b>22 Mot</b>	É	kája	Yewákumi	i'michá	riñakaré	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	Yewákumi	i'mi -chá	ri= ñakaré	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	yewakumi	cop pst	3sg.nf house	in

**Libre** y luego Yewákumi seguía viviendo en su casa

<b>23 Mot</b>	" Yée "	ké	rímícha	,	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ké	ri= ímí	-cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	É	ri'jíchá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jī	-chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go	pst

**Libre** y se fue a verlo

<b>25 Mot</b>	Riphíchaka		réjé	é	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= iphí	-cha -ka	ri= eje	é	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26 Mot</b>	Éja	rojíchajló		unká	méla'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	=ja ru= ají	-cha =jló	unká	méla'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'tíya ", 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

<b>36 Mot</b>	É	kája	ri'jichá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri= i'ji -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3sg.nf go	pst

**Libre** así se fue

<b>37 Mot</b>	É	rinócha		píño	je'rúna	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= nó -cha		píño	je'rú -na	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf kill	pst	again	pig	pl

**Libre** y mató bastantes puercos (vimy: otra vez mato)

<b>38 Mot</b>	Kajú	rinótiya		kamejérina	.	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	ri= nó -ti -ya		kamejérí -na		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	3sg.nf kill	caus	pst	animal	pl

**Libre** y siempre mataba cacería

<b>39 Mot</b>	Riká	ripitíyanó		najló	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	ri= pití -ya =nó		na= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>40 Mot</b>	ká	...	é	ripéchu	i'michá	:	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ká		é	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>41 Mot</b>	amári	ré	kája	ru'michá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amá -ri	ri= é	kája	ru= i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>42 Mot</b>	É	kája	,	ñakéja	ri'michá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája		ñaké =ja	ri= i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already		dist.simil lim	3sg.nf cop	pst



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

<b>43 Mot</b>	Kája ewája	romícha		kamu'jí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ewája	ru=	amí -cha	kamu'jí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>44 Mot</b>	É	kája	wája	rímícha	rojló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	=wá =ja	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	emph lim	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	

nupirá maáréjatá pi'má , nu'jícháka ...  
 nu= pirá maáré =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"

<b>45 Mot</b>	É	ri'jíchá		yámojo	ruwitúki'cha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá		yámojo	ru= witúki' -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>46 Mot</b>	Ruwitúki'cha		ruki'yá	ro'umaká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= witúki' -cha		ru= ki' -yá	ru= a'umaká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>47 Mot</b>	Ru'michá	a'pitajě		kéchami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= i'mi -chá	a'pita jě		kéchami
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>48 Mot</b>	Ruli'chá	kujnú	rijló	ripé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= li' -chá	kujnú	ri= jló	ri= ipé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f do pst	cassava	3sg.nf for	3sg.nf for	

**Libre** preparó casave para el cuando llegara (pé beneficiary; similar to jló)

<b>49 Mot</b>	É	riphícha	jlaí'chú	, amíchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha -cha	jlaí'chú	amí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>50 Mot</b>	É	ripéchu	i'michá	: "	ná	ka'j'ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá		ná	ka'j'ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>51 Mot</b>	Unká	ná	i'malá	, inau'ké	nokhó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ná	i'ma -lá	inau'ké	nu= ikhá =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>52 Mot</b>	rímí'cha	rojló	: "	nupirá	... unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló		nu= pirá	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>53 Mot</b>	Unká	kája	unká	rupura'lá'chonó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	kája	unká	ru= pura' -lá -cha =o =nó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>54 Mot</b>	É	kája	ñakéja		ri'micháno			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ñaké	=ja	ri=	i'mi	-chá	=no
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>55 Mot</b>	É	ripéchu		i'michárí		, ripéchu		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	péchú	i'mi	-chá	-rí	ri=	péchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)"

<b>56 Mot</b>	É	rímícha		píño	rojlo		: " nupirá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí -cha	píño	ru=	jló	nu=	pirá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	say pst	again	3sg.f	for	1sg	pet

, maaré pi'má , nu'jícháká kamejérina  
 maaré 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

<b>57 Mot</b>	É	ri'jíchá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	go pst

**Libre** y se fue

<b>58 Mot</b>	A'jnaré	wajapámi	e'yajé	ritajícho		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jnaré	waja'pámi	e'yajé	ri=	tají	-cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>59 Mot</b>	É	ruwitúí'chaka		ruki'yá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= witúí'	-cha -ka	ru= ki' -yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>60 Mot</b>	Kéchami	ru'michá		a'pitajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéchami	ru= i'mi -chá		a'pita -jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	3sg.f go	pst	bathe purp.mot

**Libre** y luego se fue a bañarse

<b>61 Mot</b>	É	kája	ro'chá		po'rí	ja'pí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ru= a' -chá		po'rí	ja'pi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3sg.f give	pst	pan	under

**Libre** y metió fuego al tiesto

<b>62 Mot</b>	É	wajapómi	e'yá	ri'michá		, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	waja'pómi	e'yá	ri= i'mi -chá		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	cropland?	in	3sg.nf cop	pst	then

ramícha		amíchari	...	íja	puyúichaka
ri= amí -cha	amí -cha -ri			íja	puyúí -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)

<b>63 Mot</b>	É	rímícha	:	"	chúwatá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha			chúwa tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>64 Mot</b>	Richipúki'cha		runáku	a'jné	jmu'rú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= chipúki'	-cha	ru= náku	a'jné	jmu'rú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>70 Mot</b>	É kája	, é	ripui'chó		rujwa'té	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	é	ri= pui'	-chá =o	ru= jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>71 Mot</b>	" á'a	" ké	rúmícha	,	" nukhá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	á'a	ké	ru= ímí -cha		nu= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>72 Mot</b>	" kamu'jí	ramáka		pila'ká	aú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kamu'jí	ri= amá -ka		pi= la' -ká	aú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>73 Mot</b>	" Aú	nomá	pikhá	kamu'jí	kémáchi	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	na= amá	pi= ikhá	kamu'jí	kémáchi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>74 Mot</b>	" Jé	" ké	rúmícha	,	" paláni	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha		palá -ni	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.nf say pst		good nf	

**Libre** bueno le dijo, está bien.

<b>75 Mot</b>	É kája	ru'michá		rijwa'té		réjéchami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru= i'mi -chá		ri= jwa'té		ri= éjéchami
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f live pst		3sg.nf with		3sg.nf after

**Libre** y luego ella vivió con él mucho tiempo

<b>76 Mot</b>	Júpi	ne'michá		iyamá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	na= i'mi -chá		iyamá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	3pl live pst		two

**Libre** vimy: los dos vivieron mucho tiempo

<b>77 Mot</b>	Kája	wája		rimanaíchatá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja		ri= manaícha tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>78 Mot</b>	Rimanaícha		jáo'cho		rináku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= manaícha		jáo' -cha =o		ri= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf craziness		go_out pst mid		3sg.nf on

**Libre** le subió la locura (vimy ahí él dice rimanaíté).

<b>79 Mot</b>	kája	rijĩ'chá		Majáko'pa	a'rumaká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= jĩ' -chá		majáko'pa	a'rumaká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80 Mot</b>	É	riwái'cha		rojló	,	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= wái' -cha		ru= jló		ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf call pst		3sg.f for		3sg.nf say pst

rojló , " majõ " ké rímícha " pamícha  
 ru= jló majõ 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)

<b>81 Mot</b>	" Yée	" ké	rúmícha	,	" mére	nomá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ké	ru= ímí -cha		méré	na= amá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 rúmícha , " 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.



<b>84.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rímícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.nf say pst	

**Libre**

<b>85 Mot</b>	"	mé	jwe'chúka'lá	i'majíká	wakajé	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>		mé	jwe'chú -ka'la	i'ma -jĩ -ka	wakajé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>86 Mot</b>	"	Unká	pamálaje	o'wé	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	pi= amá -la -je	o'wé		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>87 Mot</b>	Unká	ké	rímícha	"	nomáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	nu=	amá -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>88 Mot</b>	É kája	ñakéja	ri'micháno	rujwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ñaké	=ja ri= i'mi -chá =no	ru= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	dist.simil	lim 3sg.nf live pst	hab 3sg.f with

**Libre** así él siguió viviendo con ella

<b>89 Mot</b>	É kája	jarechí	jená	chojé	iphícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	jarechí	jená	chojé	iphí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>90 Mot</b>	É	rímícha	rijwa'téjéna	jló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jwa'téje -na	jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jíchá 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'jíchá 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

<b>97 Mot</b>	Riká	ra'chá	rinakuwá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	ri= a' -chá	ri= naku =wá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>98 Mot</b>	É	wayúna	iphícha	píño	kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa'yú	-na iphí -cha	píño	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>99 Mot</b>	É	riphícha	ne'makána	,	a'waná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha -cha	na= i'makána		a'waná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>100 Mot</b>	É	mapirí	i'michá	,	kémíchari	rijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	mapirí	i'mi -chá		kémí -cha -ri	ri= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>101.1 Mot</b>	" kháa'jnáta	pile'jé	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kháa'jná tá	pi= le'jé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist	emph1	2sg poss

**Libre** ese que estaba colgado es suyo, el que está en la mitad colgado de la laguna

<b>101.2 Mot</b>	kélé	akúwa'ro	...	kaíja	pe'yó	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	akúwa' -ri =o		kaíja	pe'yó	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

nojłó	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**

<b>107 Mot</b>	É	mapirí	i'michá	riwajwé	nakiyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	mapirí	i'mi -chá	ri= wajwé	nakú =eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>108 Mot</b>	Riká	riphátiya	rináku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	ri= iphá -ti -ya	ri= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	3sg.nf arrive caus	pst 3sg.nf on

**Libre** y se lo trajeo

<b>109 Mot</b>	" Pamá	" ké	rímícha	, "	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= amá	ké	ri= ímí -cha		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg see	like	3sg.nf say pst		already

ritakha'á "

ri= takha'á
3sg.nf die

**Libre** le dijo estonces ya está muerto

<b>110 Mot</b>	Kája	wája	, kája	riwó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	kája	ri= wó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>111 Mot</b>	Ripato'chó	rináku	ri'khú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= pato' -chá =o	ri= náku	ri= i'khú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>112 Mot</b>	Riwátiya	ri'khú	chiyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wáti -ya	ri= i'khú	chiyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>113 Mot</b>	E'yó	ripatíya		rikhá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yó	ri= patí	-ya	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>114 Mot</b>	Kája	ri'wapachíya		riká	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= i'wapa	-chi -yá	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>115 Mot</b>	"	Chúwa	majó	merukájína	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		chúwa	majó	merukájí	-na	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>116 Mot</b>	"	Kháãjĩ	wayú	"	ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kháãjĩ	wa'yú		ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		prox	animal_sp		like	3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** el chulo

<b>117 Mot</b>	Kája	jreo'tíya			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= jeo'	-tí	-ya	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf pull_out	caus	pst	

jneo'tíyatá richijné phiyúké  
na= jeo' -tí -ya tá ri= chijné phiyúké  
3pl pull\_out caus pst emph1 3sg.nf hair all

jneo'tíya richijné phiyúké  
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 )

<b>118 Mot</b>	Rilajówa	i'michári		kajú	rináku	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= la'jówa	i'mi -chá	-ri	kajú	ri= náku	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf ornament	cop	pst	nf.cleft	much	3sg.nf on

riká ritamáa'tiya kupira'phána jló  
ri= ikhá ri= tamáa' -ti -ya kupira'phá -na 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)

<b>119 Mot</b>	Kája	...	napa'tíya			kécha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája		na= pa'	-tí	-ya	kécha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>120 Mot</b>	Kécha	napa'tíyaka				riká	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kécha	na= pa'	-tí	-ya	-ka	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	3pl return	caus	pst	ka.topic	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** luego lo devolvieron

<b>121 Mot</b>	a'jnájé	,	waja'pómi	e'yajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jná =eje		waja'pómi	e'yajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>122.1 Mot</b>	rímícha		rojló	:	"	marí	kéja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló			marí	ké =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.f for			prox	like lim

piká ?"

pi= ikhá  
2sg pro

**Libre** le dijo a ella cómo está?

<b>122.2 Mot</b>	,	"	marí	kéja	"	ké	rúmícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>			marí	ké =ja		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>			prox	like lim		like	3sg.f say pst	

**Libre** estoy bien dijo

<b>123 Mot</b>	"	Jé	,	júpichámi	"	ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		júpi -chá =mi		ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>124.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	apála	kháájĩ	ka'jnó	pe'wé	?"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		apála	kháájĩ	ka'jnó	pi= e'wé	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		maybe	prox	dub	2sg brother	

**Libre** éste será su hermano?

<b>124.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é	rímícha	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí	-cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say	pst

**Libre**

<b>125.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	mére	?"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		méré	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		indf.loc	

**Libre** entonces ella dijo dónde está?

<b>125.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	,	é	jrócho'cho
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí	-cha	é	ru= jácho' -cha =o
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>126.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	ái	"	ké	rúmícha	"	méla'jé
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ái		ké	ru= ímí	-cha	méla'jé
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		uy		like	3sg.f say	pst	indf.manner

o'wé kélé uwaĩtájetá 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?"

<b>126.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	ké	rúmícha	"	nátá	pajá	kélé
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ru= ímí	-cha	ná tâ	pajá	kélé
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.f say	pst	indf emph1	emph	med

?

**Libre** quién será ese?

<b>126.3</b>	<b>Mot</b>	unká	o'wé	kalé	"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	o'wé	kalé	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	brother.addr	nv.neg	

**Libre** no es mi hermano

<b>127</b>	<b>Mot</b>	É	kája	romícha	riká	,	ramícha
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ru= amí	-cha	ri= ikhá	ri= amí -cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>128.1 Mot</b>	É	rúmícha		rijló	:	"	ái	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		ri= jló			ái		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>128.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha			unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>129 Mot</b>	É	romícha	,	"	majó	piwakára'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= amí -cha			majó	pi= wakára'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>130 Mot</b>	É	kája	kupira'phána	pa'tíya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	kupira'phá -na	pa' -tí -ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'káloje ,  
wa= atáí -cha jlá ri= ikhá wa= jero' -ka loje  
1pl try pst frust 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

<b>135 Mot</b>	jé	,	é	rajmi'chátá	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé		é	ri= ajmi' -chá tâ	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>136 Mot</b>	e'yá	rinócha	riká	,	pachákájo	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yá	ri= nó -cha	ri= ikhá		pachákájo	aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>137 Mot</b>	ká	,	riká	jlapí	ro'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ká		ri= ikhá	jlapí	ru= a'a -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>138 Mot</b>	"	pipa'ó	,	yu'wí	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi=	pa' =ó		yu'wí		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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".

<b>139 Mot</b>	kája	jlapí	rupi'chó		,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	jlapí	ru= pi' -chá =o			kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>140 Mot</b>	kája	rikó		ri'michátá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= iká =ó	ri= i'mi -chá tâ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf pro mid	3sg.nf cop	pst emph1

**Libre** después quedó sólo viviendo mucho tiempo

<b>141 Mot</b>	júpi	, kája	wayú	chi'náikana
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	kája	wa'yú	chi'náikana
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>142 Mot</b>	ripuri'chónó	rijwa'téno
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= puri' -chá =o =nó	ri= jwa'té =nó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf speak pst mid hab	3sg.nf with hab

**Libre** hablaba con él

<b>143 Mot</b>	ripuri'chó	rímíchano	rijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= puri' -chá =o	ri= ímí -cha =nó	ri= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>144 Mot</b>	éta inau'ké	jema'jĩka	é ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éta inau'ké	jema' -jĩ -ka	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then person	listen fut ka.nz	in

**Libre** la gente van escuchar poque van a decir que murió Yewá'kumi

<b>145 Mot</b>	" kája ká Yewákumi takha'á "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ká Yewákumi takha'á
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already emph? yewakumi die

**Libre**

<b>146 Mot</b>	" unká " ké rímícha , " unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká ké ri= ímí -cha unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg like 3sg.nf say pst neg



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 vio que estaba acostado y profundo ahí mismo le sacó los dos lados del ojo (matámi: bien dormido) (kawíchatakaje : arrancar)

<b>153 Mot</b>	kája	ri'jǎchá		,	ripi'chó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= i'jǎ	-chá		ri= pi' -cha =ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>154 Mot</b>	ká	Yewákumitá			yuícharo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ká	Yewákumi	tâ		yuí -cha -ri =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>155 Mot</b>	unká	méke		rila'lácha		i'michá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méké		ri= la' -lá	-cha	i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner		3sg.nf do	v.neg pst	far.pst pst	

kája	wayú	jǎ'chá		rijlú
kája	wa'yú	jǎ' -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

<b>156 Mot</b>	é kája	kawayá		iphícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	kawayá		iphí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	deer		arrive pst	

**Libre** después llegó un venado

<b>157 Mot</b>	kawayá	iphíchari		,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kawayá	iphí	-cha -ri	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	deer	arrive	pst nf.cleft	

**Libre** un venado llegó

<b>158 Mot</b>	rímíchanó			rijló	:	" Yewákumi	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí	-cha =nó		ri= jló		Yewákumi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>164 Mot</b>	é	jri'má		jepo'tíyo		wená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ji'má		jepo' -tí -ya =o		wená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>165 Mot</b>	é	kája		Yewákumi		jáo'cho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája		Yewákumi		jáo' -cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 Yewákumi se levantó estando ciego tocando así no más (pijakájé : tâter )

<b>166 Mot</b>	é	ri'katíyá		jriwilátá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'ka		-tí -yá ri= jwilá tâ		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>167 Mot</b>	kája	rijí'chá		rijlú		.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= jĩ' -chá		ri= ijlú		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf take pst		3sg.nf eye		

**Libre** y le sacó los ojos

<b>168 Mot</b>	riká		ra'chá		rijlú	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá		ri= a' -chá		ri= ijlú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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



<b>169 Mot</b>	riká	aú	kája	Yewákumi	i'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	aú	kája	Yewákumi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>170 Mot</b>	rijlúwa	rijlú	apumí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jló =wá	ri= ijlú	i= apumí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>171 Mot</b>	kája	riyurícho	rikója
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= yurí -cha =o	ri= ikhá =o =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf stay pst mid	3sg.nf pro mid lim

**Libre** así quedó el solito

<b>172 Mot</b>	kája	wayú	chi'náikana	jáo'cho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	wa'yú	chi'náikana	jáo' -cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	animal_sp	owner	go_out pst mid

**Libre** ya abuelo de los chulos subió

<b>173.1 Mot</b>	( iyajá ?)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre**

<b>173.2 Mot</b>	re'weló	i'micháyo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= e'we -ló	i'mi -chá -yo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>174 Mot</b>	máarejenája	riyukúná	tajícho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	máare ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná	tají -cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jī -chá apo'jó ka'jné  
already indf.toward yewakumi go pst ?other.side dub

ri'jíchá .  
ri= i'jī -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

<b>1 Mot</b>	nu'majé	nujápákae	jwe'chúka'la
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= i'ma jé	nu= jápá -kare	jwe'chú -ka'la
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>2 Mot</b>	mékéka	wajápáka	weká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké -ka	wa= jápá -ka	wa= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner indf.sub	1pl work ka.nz	1pl pro

achiñána .  
achiñá -na  
man pl

**Libre** cómo nosotros hombres trabajamos

<b>3 Mot</b>	wajme'tá	lapiyámi	, é	we'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jme'tá	jlapiyámí	é	wa= i'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	é	kája	wajñá	wa'jnewá	ná	kujnú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	wa= ajñá	wa= a'jne =wá	ná	kujnú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	éjomi	kája	we'jné	jápáje	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	kája	wa= i'jné	jápá jen	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	1pl go	work purp.mot	

**Libre** de ahí ya vamos a trabajar

<b>6 Mot</b>	wajápá	we'jné	waména	e'yajé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jápá	wa= i'jné	wa= ména	e'yajé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl work	1pl go	1pl cropland	towards	

**Libre** trabajamos y vamos hacia la chagra

<b>7 Mot</b>	wephá	waména	e'yajé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= iphá	wa= ména	e'yajé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl arrive	1pl cropland	towards	

**Libre** llegamos a la chagra

<b>8 Mot</b>	é	( wa ---)	wamá	wanáni	nákaje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa	wa= amá	wa= nání	nákaje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>9 Mot</b>	nákaje	, nákaje	, i'makáre	waména	e'yá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákaje	nákaje	i'ma -káre	wa= ména	e'yá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	thing	thing	cop arg.nz1	1pl cropland	in	

**Libre** o algo, lo que hay en la chagra

<b>10 Mot</b>	wamákachú	palá	riká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= amá -ka	chú	palá	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl see ka.adv	cond	good	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** si lo vemos que está bien

<b>11 Mot</b>	é	kája	jwero'ó	jra'piyá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	wa= jero'ó	ri= ja'pi =eyá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	1pl pull_out	3sg.nf under from	

**Libre** después arrancamos debajo

<b>12 Mot</b>	wajña'á	ka'jnó	kajíru	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jña'á	ka'jnó	kajírú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl take	dub	manioc	

**Libre** después cogemos yuca

<b>13 Mot</b>	é	kája	wápa'o	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	wa= pa' =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	1pl return mid	

**Libre** despues regresamos

<b>14 Mot</b>	wephá	wañakaré	chojé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= iphá	wa= ñakaré	chojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl arrive	1pl house	towards_inside	

**Libre** nosotros volvemos a la casa

<b>15 Mot</b>	é	wa	---	, we'jné	we'jné	a'pitajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa		wa= i'jné	wa= i'jné	a'pita -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	***		1pl go	1pl go	bathe purp.mot

**Libre** y vamos bañarnos

<b>16 Mot</b>	wephá	piño	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= iphá	piño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl arrive	again	

**Libre** llegamos otra vez

<b>17 Mot</b>	nákaje	wajñá	é	kája	we'jñá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákaje	wa= ajñá	é	kája	wa= i'jñá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	thing	1pl eat	then	already	1pl go

jana'jé

jana' -je

fish purp.mot

**Libre** comemos algo y después vamos a pescar

<b>18 Mot</b>	we'jñá	jana'jé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'jñá	jana' -je	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl go	fish purp.mot	

**Libre** vamos a pescar

<b>19 Mot</b>	riká	nakú	we'maká	kétána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	nakú	wa= i'ma -ká	kétána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	on	1pl cop ka.nz	during

wajúwa'ka

wa= júwa' -ka

1pl get\_dark ka.cleft

**Libre** estando en eso atardecemos

<b>20 Mot</b>	é	kája	wapa'ó	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	wa= pa' =ó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	1pl return mid	

**Libre** después regresamos

<b>21 Mot</b>	wapa'ó	piño	wañakaré	chojé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= pa' =ó	piño	wa= ñakaré	chojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl return mid	again	1pl house	towards_inside	

**Libre** volvemos otra vez a la casa

<b>22 Mot</b>	kája	lapí	iphá	é	kája	wakamáto
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	lapí	iphá	é	kája	wa= kamáta =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	night	arrive	then	already	1pl sleep mid

**Libre** llega la noche y nosotros dormimos

<b>23 Mot</b>	muní	ké	piño	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	muní	ké	piño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	tomorrow	like	again	

**Libre** la mañana otra vez

<b>24 Mot</b>	kája	ũká	we'jnalá		waména	e'yajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	unká	wa= i'jna	-lá	wa= ména	e'yajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>25 Mot</b>	we'jná	jana'jé	ya'jnáje	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'jna	jana' -je	ya'jná eje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26 Mot</b>	neká	kuláje	we'jná	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ikhá	kulá jen	wa= i'jna	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl pro	search purp.mot	1pl go	

**Libre** nosotros vamos a buscar (a los pescaos)

<b>27 Mot</b>	wajña'káchú	é	kája	wapa'ó	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jña' -ká	chú	é	kája wa= pa' =ó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl take ka.adv	cond	then	already 1pl return mid	

**Libre** si cogemos entonces nos regresamos

<b>28 Mot</b>	wephá	píño	wañakaré	chojé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= iphá	píño	wa= ñakaré	chojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl arrive	again	1pl house	towards_inside	

**Libre** llegamos otra vez a la casa

<b>29 Mot</b>	é	kája	jwe'chúka'la	tajno	píño	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	jwe'chú -ka'la	tajná =o	píño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	day ?nz	finish mid	again	

**Libre** ahí otra vez termina el día

<b>30 Mot</b>	é	kája	wephá	píño	lapí	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	wa= iphá	píño	lapí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	1pl arrive	again	night	

**Libre** ahí llegamos otra vez la noche

<b>31 Mot</b>	apú	,	apú	jwe'chúka'la	keño'kó	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú		apú	jwe'chú -ka'la	keño' -ká =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	other		other	day ?nz	begin ka.nz mid	

chojě  
chojě  
towards\_inside

**Libre** otra vez comienza el día

<b>32 Mot</b>	riká	chú	weká	é	kája	we'jná			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	chú	wa=	ikhá	é	kája	wa=	i'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	in	1pl	pro	then	already	1pl	go
píño	jápáje		méño'jó	ka'jná		we'jná	apú		
píño	jápá	-je	méño'jó	ka'jná		wa= i'jná	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

<b>33 Mot</b>	é	we'jná	ká	,	we'jná	píño	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa=	i'jná	ká	wa=	i'jná	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>34 Mot</b>	riká	nakú	weká	.	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	nakú	wa=	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	on	1pl	pro

**Libre** en eso estamos

<b>35 Mot</b>	júpi	weká	rináku	.	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	wa=	ikhá	ri=	náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	1pl	pro	3sg.nf	on

**Libre** demoramos haciendo eso

<b>36 Mot</b>	réjomi	wephá	píño	.	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	éjomi	wa=	iphá	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	after	1pl	arrive	again

**Libre** después llegamos otra vez

<b>37 Mot</b>	kája	muní	ké	píño	wala'kálojé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	muní	ké	píño	wa=	la' -ká	lojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jná píño muní ké  
**Morphèmes** é kája wa= i'jná 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

<b>54 Mot</b>	we'ká	a'waná	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'ká	a'waná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl knock_down	tree	

Libre tumbamos palo

<b>55 Mot</b>	eja'wá	jená	iphakáchú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eja'wá	jená	ipha -ká	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	forest	hour	arrive ka.adv	cond

Libre cuando ya llega tiempo del mundo

<b>56 Mot</b>	kéchámi	wakára'a	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéchámi	wa= kára'a	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	1pl burn	

Libre después lo quemamos

<b>57 Mot</b>	rimakára'kochú	wakára'a	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= makára'	-ka =o chú	wa= kára'a ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf dry	ka.adv mid cond	1pl burn 3sg.nf pro

...

Libre si está seco lo quemamos

<b>58 Mot</b>	eja'wá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eja'wá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	forest	

Libre monte

<b>59 Mot</b>	kéchámi	wejátaka	richojé	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéchámi	wa= ejáta -ka	ri= chojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	1pl sow ka.topic	3sg.nf towards_inside	

kajíru ,  
kajíru  
manioc

Libre después sembramos adentro, yuca

<b>60 Mot</b>	ná	páru	ka'jnó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	páru	ka'jnó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	plantain	dub	

Libre o plátano

<b>61 Mot</b>	phiyúkéja	nákaje	ajñákáje	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké	=ja nákaje	ajñá -káje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	all	lim thing	eat ev.nz2	

Libre todo lo que es de comer

<b>62 Mot</b>	é	kája	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	





<b>76 Mot</b>	riká	tamáa'ro	píño	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	tamáa' -ri	=o píño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	spread nf.cleft	mid	again

**Libre** ese crece otra vez

<b>77 Mot</b>	eyá	we'kakáre	tajnáro	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	wa= i'ka	-káre tajná -ri	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>78 Mot</b>	riká	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre**

<b>79 Mot</b>	é	kája	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	

**Libre** después

<b>80 Mot</b>	iná	wátakachú	kajú	ná	mená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	wáta -ka	chú	kajú	ná mená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>81 Mot</b>	júpi	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	

**Libre** tiempo

<b>82 Mot</b>	eja'wá	nakú	palá	rimakáa'kolojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eja'wá	nakú	palá	ri= makára' -ka =o lojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>83 Mot</b>	kéchámi	wejáta	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéchámi	wa= ejáta	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	1pl sow	

**Libre** después sembramos

<b>84</b>	<b>Mot</b>	nákaje	richojé		ipatú	ka'jná	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákaje	ri=	chojé	ipatú	ka'jná	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	thing	3sg.nf	towards_inside	coca	dub	

**Libre** ya sea coca

<b>85</b>	<b>Mot</b>	pipirí	ka'jnó	paĩjĩ	phiyúkéja	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	pipirí	ka'jnó	paĩjĩ	phiyúké	=ja
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	palm_sp	dub	fruit	all	lim

**Libre** o chontaduro, todo lo que es fruta

<b>86</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ri'makálojé			ríchu	,	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	i'ma	-ká	lojé	rí=	chu
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	cop	ka.adv	purp3	3sg.nf	in

**Libre** para que viva ahí adentro

<b>87</b>	<b>Mot</b>	wajlúwa		penáje	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa=	jlú	=wá	penáje
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl	for	refl	for

**Libre** para nosotros

<b>88</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kája	rináku		wajápá	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri=	náku	wa=	jápá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf	on	1pl	work

**Libre** ya en eso trabajamos

<b>89</b>	<b>Mot</b>	júpi		weká	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi		wa=	ikhá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time		1pl	pro

**Libre** llevamos tiempo

<b>90</b>	<b>Mot</b>	rinákuja	.	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	náku	=ja
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	on	lim

**Libre** en eso

<b>91</b>	<b>Mot</b>	e'yá	...
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	

**Libre** ahí

<b>92</b>	<b>Mot</b>	apú	jápákaje		i'makáchú	,	kája	apú	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú	jápá	-kaje	i'ma	-ká	chú	kája	apú
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>93 Mot</b>	kája	we'jná	jana'jé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	wa= i'jná	jana' -je	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	1pl go	fish purp.mot	

**Libre** ya nos vamos a pescar

<b>94 Mot</b>	ũkáchú	ná	wajña'lá	,	we'jná	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká chú	ná	wa= jña' -lá		wa= i'jná	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>95 Mot</b>	ilé	kéja	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	ké =ja	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	like lim	

**Libre** así

<b>96 Mot</b>	kája	e'yá	júpi	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	e'yá	júpi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	in	long_time	

**Libre** de ahí uno tiempo

<b>97 Mot</b>	júpi	ri'maká	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	ri= i'ma -ká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	3sg.nf cop ka.cleft	

**Libre** ya de tiempo está

<b>98 Mot</b>	éjomi	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	

**Libre** después

<b>99 Mot</b>	we'jná	píño	waména	éjó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'jná	píño	wa= ména	=ejo	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl go	again	1pl cropland	towards	

**Libre** nos vamos otra vez a la chagra

<b>100 Mot</b>	wanáni	amáje	,	wamákalojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= náni	amá je		wa= amá -ka lojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>101 Mot</b>	é	wamá	paláni	riká	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa= amá	palá -ni	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	1pl see	good nf	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** si lo vemos que está bien

<b>102</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é	kája	wayurí	riká	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	wa= yurí	ri= ikhá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	1pl leave	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** ahí ya lo dejamos

<b>103.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kája	rináku	wajápá	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= náku	wa= jápá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf on	1pl work	

**Libre** ya trabajamos eso,

<b>103.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ũká	méla'jé	wayuríla	riká	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méla'jé	wa= yurí -la	ri= ikhá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner	1pl leave v.neg	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** no podemos dejar a ese

<b>104</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ri'maká	mapéja	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= i'ma -ká	mapéja	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf live ka.insub?	normally	

**Libre** así no más

<b>105</b>	<b>Mot</b>	rinákuja	weká	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= náku =ja	wa= ikhá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf on lim	1pl pro	

**Libre** en eso estamos

<b>106</b>	<b>Mot</b>	éjómi	we'jné	...
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	wa= i'jné	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	1pl go	

**Libre** despues de eso nos vamos

<b>107</b>	<b>Mot</b>	we'jné	píño	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'jné	píño	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl go	again	

**Libre** de nuevo

<b>108</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ja'pájo	kamejérina	nóje	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ja'pá -je	=o kamejérí -na	nó -je	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	pass purp.mot	mid animal pl	kill purp.mot	

**Libre** de cacería a matar animales

<b>109</b>	<b>Mot</b>	wenó	kamejéri	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= nó	kamejérí	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>118</b>	<b>Mot</b>	marí	ké	wajápáka	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	wa= jápá	-ka
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	1pl work	ka.cleft

**Libre** así trabajamos

<b>119</b>	<b>Mot</b>	watajnáta	phiyúké	kélé	...
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= tajnáta	phiyúké	kélé	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl finish	all	med	

**Libre** ya terminamos todo ese

<b>120</b>	<b>Mot</b>	wajápáka'la	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jápá	-ka'la
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl work	?nz

**Libre** nuestro trabajo

<b>121</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é kája	wakulá	jápákaje	ilé	ewá
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	wa= kulá	jápá -kaje	ilé	=ewá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>122</b>	<b>Mot</b>	wajña'kálojé	nákajeñáni	wajlúwa	....
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jña' -ká lojé	nákaje =ñáni	wa= jlú =wá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl take ka.adv purp3	thing dim	1pl for refl	

**Libre** pa coger alguito para nosotros

<b>123</b>	<b>Mot</b>	wawátakare	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= wáta -kare	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl want arg.nz1	

**Libre** lo que queremos

<b>124</b>	<b>Mot</b>	riká	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** ese

<b>125</b>	<b>Mot</b>	rójomi	kája	wajápáka	éjomi	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= éjomi	kája	wa= jápá -ka	éjomi	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf after	already	1pl work ka.nz	after	

**Libre** después que ya trabajamos (en lo del blanco)

<b>126</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kája	wajápá	píño	waména	nakú	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	wa= jápá	píño	wa= ména	nakú	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'michá	rí	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi	-chá	-rí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	one	person	cop	pst	nf.cleft

**Libre** había una vez una persona

<b>2 Mot</b>	ũká	ná	najñálácha	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ná	na= ajñá	-lá -cha aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>3 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rúmíchaka	aú	nákaje	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	aú	nákaje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	with	uh	

**Libre** bueno, ella le dijo a él

<b>4 Mot</b>	é kája	ké	ri'jícháka	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ké	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	like	3sg.nf go pst ka.insub?	

**Libre** ahí el se fue

<b>5 Mot</b>	ri'jícháká	ya'jnáje	eja'wá	e'yajé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka	ya'jná eje	eja'wá	e'yajé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf go pst ka.insub?	far until	forest	towards	

**Libre** se fue lejos hacia el monte

<b>6 Mot</b>	é	riphícha	, pajlúwa	a'wanámi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha -cha	pajlúwá	a'waná =mi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>11.1 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	"	mére	riká	?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		méré	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst		indf.loc	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** ella le dijo "dónde está?",

<b>11.2 Mot</b>	"	kháájí	"	"	méke	paláni	wáni	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kháájí			méké	palá -ni	wáni		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>12 Mot</b>	é	kája	nalamá'cha		riká	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= lamái' -cha		ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl	look_after pst		3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** ahí ellos lo criaron a él (lamáa'kana: criar)

<b>13 Mot</b>	ewá	kája	phíyu'kecha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ewá	kája	phíyu'ke -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	old inch

ritawáichako

ri= tawáí -cha -ka =o  
3sg.nf grow pst ka.cleft mid

**Libre** ahí iba creciendo

<b>14 Mot</b>	é	kája	phíyu'ke	ri'micháka		é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	phíyu'ke	ri= i'mi -chá -ka		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	old	3sg.nf cop pst ka.nz		in

kája

kája

already

**Libre** cuando ya era grande

<b>15 Mot</b>	rinócha	,	rikeño'chá	pú'juna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= nó -cha		ri= keño' -chá	pú'ju -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>16 Mot</b>	réjomi	ké	phichíná	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= éjomi	ké	phichí -ná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf after	like	rodent_sp alien3	

**Libre** después mató guara



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

ũkájikalé , puwa'ká ũkájikalé 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'majíkalé , iyamá  
 puwa'ká méké ri= i'ma -jĩ -ka é iyamá  
 if indf.manner 3sg.nf tell fut ka.adv cond2 two

chojíchámi kamú i'majíkaé 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** ũkájíkaé 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

<b>38 Mot</b>	kamu'júni	jo'ó	yuwají	i'micháka	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kamu'jú -ni	=jo'ó	yuwa -ji	i'mi -chá -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	small nf	still	unripe nf	cop pst ka.cleft	

ri'rí  
 ri= i'rí  
 3sg.nf son

**Libre** el niño era pequeño todavía

<b>39 Mot</b>	é	wéji	kéle	chú	kamú	jená	i'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wéji	kéle	chú	kamú	jená	i'mi -chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>40 Mot</b>	kajú	riícha	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	ri= iyá -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	3sg.nf cry pst	

**Libre** aulló demasiado

<b>41 Mot</b>	é	júpichami	romícha	rikátá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	júpichami	ru= amí -cha	ri= ikhá tâ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>42 Mot</b>	kája	ritóka'ro	na'chá	leyuná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= tóka'ro	na= a' -chá	leyuná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>43 Mot</b>	riká	chojé	riphícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chojé	ri= ipha -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	towards_inside	3sg.nf arrive pst

**Libre** ahí él llegó

<b>44 Mot</b>	pu'khúja	riphíchatá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pu'khú =ja	ri= iphí -cha tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	straight lim	3sg.nf arrive pst emph1



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)

<b>53 Mot</b>	é	ruphákicho			je'rúna	eja'wá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	iphá	-ki	-cha =o	je'rú -na eja'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>54 Mot</b>	aũ	nayái'cho			ré	, kétána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	na= yái'	-cha =o	ri=	é	kétána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'kajo pr-Naku: perseguir)

<b>55 Mot</b>	é kája	pa'ú	kélé	nákarí	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	pa'ú	kélé	nákarí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	four	med	uh	

**Libre** las cuatro este...

<b>56 Mot</b>	é	júpichami	kélé	"	méke	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	júpichami	kélé		méké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	long_time	med		indf.manner	
wala'lájika			"	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'kajo: 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 ñaó 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"

<b>64 Mot</b>	rúmícha	"	kajúni	wáni	kélé	yáwítá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru=	ímí -cha	kajú	-ni	wáni	kélé yáwi tâ		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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" (keró'kájó: tener miedo)

<b>65 Mot</b>	é	ri'michá	rinócha	kélé	náke	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'mi -chá	ri=	nó -cha	kélé náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>66 Mot</b>	riká	rímícha	nakú	rojlo	"	chúwa		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	ri=	ímí -cha	nakú	ru=	jló	chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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





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 ííchaka .  
 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

<b>83 Mot</b>	náke	"	éko	pha'pá	pímícha	péjéna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	náke		éko	pi= ja'pá	pi= ímí -cha	pi= éjéna
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>84 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	rúmíchaka	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	because

jra'pícha ,  
 ri= ja'pí -cha  
 3sg.nf pass pst

**Libre** "bueno", y él pasó

<b>85 Mot</b>	iphíchaño		a'jñañojǒ	náke	rójéna	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iphí -cha -ño		a'jñañojǒ	náke	ru= éjéna	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	arrive pst pl.ss		dist.toward	uh	3sg.f siblings	on

**Libre** llegaron allá donde los hermanos

<b>86 Mot</b>	(	némícha	rojlo	méké	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>		na= ímí -cha	ru= jló	méké	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>87 Mot</b>	rúmícha	najló	:	"	ũká	paála
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ímí -cha	na= jló			unká	paá -la
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>88 Mot</b>	"	kája	yáwítá	nóchami	kélé	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kája	yáwi tâ	nó -cha =mi	kélé	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>89 Mot</b>	éta	"	méké	" "	aũ	nu'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éta		méké		aũ	nu= i'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>90 Mot</b>	"	lálémi	nuphá	, ũká	méla'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jlálémi	nu= iphá	unká	méla'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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 nf.cleft	1sg on	person	

**Libre** ayer llegué, no podía pasar, muy bravos estaban los puercos, entonces un hombre llegó donde mi

<b>91 Mot</b>	"	riká	kalé	nóri	kélé	to'jmá	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri= ikhá	kalé	nó -ri	kélé	to'jmá	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf pro	emph5	kill nf.cleft	med	boy	for

kélé	náke	...	kamejérina	, kajú	ra'mitiyá	neká	,
kélé	náke		kamejéri -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"

<b>92</b>	<b>Mot</b>	aũ	rúmícha	najló	, aũ
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	ru= ímí -cha	na= jló	aũ
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	3sg.f say pst	3pl for	because
		ne'jĩchá	réjõ	, 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)

<b>93</b>	<b>Mot</b>	riká	napatíya	natamáka'tiya
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	na= patí -ya	na= tamáka' -ti -ya
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>19 Mot</b>	" itá	ijluwá	" ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i= itá	i= ijlu =wá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2pl close	2pl eye refl	

**Libre** cierran sus ojos

<b>20 Mot</b>	rímícha	rojló	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	

**Libre** él le dijo

<b>21 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	, aú	netíya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	aú	na= ití -ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>22 Mot</b>	é	rujme'tíya	rujlú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= jme'tí -ya	ru= ijlú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f open pst	3sg.f eye	

**Libre** y los abrieron

<b>23 Mot</b>	amíchari	apo'jǒ	, ũká	nañakaré	kalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	apo'jǒ	unká	na= ñakaré	kalé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	apo'jǒ	jna'cháko	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apo'jǒ	na= ja' -chá -ka =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	?other.side	3pl fall pst ka.cleft mid	

**Libre** habían llegado a otro lado

<b>25 Mot</b>	é kája	, é kája	jna'chó	iyáje	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	é kája	na= ja' -cha =o	iyá -je	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	then	3pl fall pst mid	cry purp.mot	

kajú rúchaka , ro'wéñáni íichari  
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"

<b>36 Mot</b>	aú	kélé	...	wátaño	ruká			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	kélé		wáta -ño	ru=	ikhá		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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).

<b>37 Mot</b>	é	némicha	"	paláni	ka'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ímí -cha		palá -ni	ka'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>38 Mot</b>	é	kélé	inau'kéna	tá	nótiya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	inau'ké -na	tâ	nó -ti -ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>39 Mot</b>	é kája	ru'michá	rijwa'té	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru= i'mi -chá	ri= jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f live pst	3sg.nf with	

**Libre** (gemy: ella vivió con él) (payt: de ahí ella vivió con él)

<b>40 Mot</b>	kája	ruyajná	ri'micháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ru= yajná	ri= i'mi -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>41 Mot</b>	é	rujápícha	,	ne'jíchá	mená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= jápí -cha		na= i'jĩ -chá	mená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>42 Mot</b>	ne'micháká	palá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'mi -chá -ka	palá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl go pst ka.insub?	good

**Libre** (gemy: y así vivían bien) (payt: vivieron bien)

<b>43 Mot</b>	é	...	kajú	inau'ké	ne'micháka	kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é		kajú	inau'ké	na= i'mi -chá -ka	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>44 Mot</b>	kajú	nephátiyaka		jíñana	jíña	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	na= iphá -ti -ya -ka		jíña -na	jíña	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>45 Mot</b>	rúmícha	rijló	:	" náje	chí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló		náje	chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>46 Mot</b>	"	kajú	wáni	najña'ká	jíña	unkalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kajú	wáni	na= jña' -ka	jíña	unká -lé
<b>Glose lex.</b>		much	emph	3pl take ka.cleft	fish	neg ?



pi'jnalá	jíñana	jña'jé	" "	ũká	"	ké
pi= i'jna -lá	jíña -na	jña' -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")

<b>47 Mot</b>	eyonája	ké	rúmícha	píño	rijló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyonája	ké	ru= ímí -cha	píño	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>48 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	:	"	jé	,	éko'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha			jé		é =kó a'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>49 Mot</b>	é kája	ne'jĩchá	píño	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>50 Mot</b>	é kája	ne'jĩchá	píño	,	ajĩ	ne'jĩchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño		ajĩ	na= i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go pst	again		prox	3pl go pst
mená	e'yajé					.
mená	e'yajé					
cropland	towards					

**Libre** luego se fueron a la chagra

<b>51 Mot</b>	é kája	ro'wé	yuícharo	phá	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru= e'wé	yuí -cha -ri =o	phá	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f brother	stay pst nf.cleft mid	house	in

**Libre** y el hermano se quedó en la casa

<b>52 Mot</b>	kajú	na'rumaká	pitíyako	, yuwápi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	na= a'rumaká	pití -ya -ka =o	yuwápi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>53 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	rojlo	: "	pímá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	pi= ímá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	2sg say	

pe'wéjló pá rijápániña kháájí nákarí  
pi= e'wé jló 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"

<b>54 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jī -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go pst	

**Libre** y se fueron

<b>55 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	: "	ũká	paála
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	unká	paá	-la
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst	neg	bien.neg	v.neg

nuwe'íka " ké rímíchaka , " i'jñá  
nu= we'í -ka ké ri= ímí -cha -ka i'jñá  
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 =ó  
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                            ríle'jé                            kaná  
**Morphèmes**    é            ri=    jĩ' -chá            ri=    le'jé            kaná  
**Glose lex.**    then    3sg.nf take    pst    3sg.nf poss    mirror

i'michárá                            ,    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

<b>61 Mot</b>	éjõ	nákarí	kélé	ná	rií	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ejo	nákarí	kélé	ná	ri=	ií
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	med	indf	3sg.nf	name

**Libre** (vimy) allá, ese qué será cómo se llama

<b>62 Mot</b>	kélé	wa'yúná		a'rumaká	jĩ'chá	riká		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	wa'yú	-ná	a'rumaká	jĩ'	-chá	ri=	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>63 Mot</b>	é	ra'chá		ra'umaká	rinakuwá				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	a'	-chá	ri=	a'umaká	ri=	naku	=wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>64 Mot</b>	é	ripa'tíya		riká			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	pa'	-tí	-ya	ri=	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 traje 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'jĩ -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)

<b>70 Mot</b>	ne'jíchá	rějō	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl go pst	3sg.nf towards	

**Libre** se fueron para allá

<b>71 Mot</b>	é kája	némícha	"	kajú	wáni	jíñana
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= ímí -cha		kajú	wáni	jíña -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>72 Mot</b>	némícha	, aú	némícha	"	jíñana
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ímí -cha	aú	na= ímí -cha		jíña -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>73 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>74 Mot</b>	éjéechami	kája	rímícha	rijló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjéechami	kája	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>75 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	kiñája	, nephícha	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	kiñája	na= ipha -cha	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>76 Mot</b>	é	ritái'cho	nákarí	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= táí' -cha =o	nákarí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>77 Mot</b>	é	riyakái'cho	amíchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yakái' -cha =o	amí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>78 Mot</b>	amícha	kajú	wa'yúná	i'micháká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha	kajú	wa'yú -ná	i'mi -chá -ká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>79 Mot</b>	najíchaka	támijimi	inau'ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ají -cha -ka	támi -ji =mi	inau'ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80 Mot</b>	é	kélé	ripuláa'pe	witúki'cha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	ri= puláa'pe	witúki' -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>81 Mot</b>	ri'michá	rinakiyána	ajñátaje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= i'mi -chá	ri= nakiyá -ná	ajñá -ta -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>82 Mot</b>	" wapa'jikoja	" ké	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= pa' -jí -ka	=o =ja	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl return fut ka.topic	mid lim	like

**Libre** vimy: él dijo "vámonos" (vimy: wapa'jikoja mejor regresámonos. = i'jné wapa'chó)

<b>83 Mot</b>	unká	najña'lácha	jíña	kája	iká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	na= jña' -lá -cha	jíña	kája	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= chí'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= íí -cha -ka  
**Glose lex.** much 3pl cry pst ka.cleft

Libre y lloraron mucho

<b>89 Mot</b>	neíchaka	rujwa'té	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= íí -cha -ka	ru= jwa'té	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>90 Mot</b>	" piyáníña	" ké rímíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= iyá -níña	ké ri= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>91 Mot</b>	" kéchamikó	wamakápo'cha	pichi'ná	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéchámi =kó	wa= makápo' -cha	pi= chi'ná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>92 Mot</b>	é ne'michá	júpija
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é na= i'mi -chá	júpi =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>93 Mot</b>	é rímícha	" chúwatá	nákarí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é ri= ímí -cha	chúwa tâ	nákarí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jũniñani 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 pequeño 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'jĩchá  
**Morphèmes** é na= i'jĩ -chá  
**Glose lex.** then 3pl go pst

**Libre** y luego se fueron

**96 Mot** ne'jĩchá nephícha waja'pámi e'yajé  
**Morphèmes** na= i'jĩ -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

" chúwatá pi'jná réjõ , pamíchachí  
 chúwa tâ pi= i'jná 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 yuícharo 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

<b>98 Mot</b>	unká	ri'jnalácha			rujwa'té	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ri=	i'jna	-lá	-cha	ru= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	3sg.nf	go	v.neg	pst	3sg.f with

**Libre** él no fue a acompañarla

<b>99 Mot</b>	é	ruphícha		amícha	kája	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	ipha	-cha	amí -cha	kája phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>100 Mot</b>	é	kája	ruwe'pí	méewáka		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ru=	we'pí	mé	=ewá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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,

<b>101 Mot</b>	riká		ruki'chá		, rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	ru=	ki'	-chá ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	lose	caus	fut	3pl	pro	then
wejápañaani		pika'á		riká	,	é
wejápa	=ja	=ñáni	pi=	ka'á	ri=	ikhá
little	lim	dim	2sg	throw_out	3sg.nf	pro
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.

<b>102 Mot</b>	é	...	é	ruki'chá		kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é		é	ru= ki'	-chá	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then		then	3sg.f	throw_out	pst
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then		then	3sg.f	throw_out	pst

jroiláyá		michúna		apumí		chojé
ru= joilá	-yá	michú	-na	apumí		chojé
3sg.f	uncle	?	deceased	pl	?replacement	towards_inside
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)

<b>103 Mot</b>	ruki'chá			wejápanoñáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ki'		-chá	wejápa =ja =nó =ñáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f	throw_out	pst	little
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f	throw_out	pst	little

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
3sg.f	throw_out	pst	ka.cleft	then	3sg.f	father.ref
						deceased
apumí		chojé		ruki'chá		jñoope
apumí		chojé		ru= ki'	-chá	jñoope
?replacement		towards_inside		3sg.f	throw_out	pst
?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
quickly	quickly	3sg.nf	wake_up	ka.adv	purp3	for

ruki'chá		jñoope	kélé	jrora'pá		ruchi'ná
ru= ki'		-chá	jñoope	kélé	ru= jara'pá	ru= chi'ná
3sg.f	throw_out	pst	a_lot	med	3sg.f	father.ref
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	
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

<b>104 Mot</b>	kája ikája		rupi'cháko		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ikája		ru= pi'	-chá	-ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	at_that_time		3sg.f	return	pst
<b>Glose lex.</b>	at_that_time		3sg.f	return	pst

**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)

<b>107 Mot</b>	é	ruphícha	, jemi'chári	, kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ipha -cha	jemi' -chá -ri	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>108 Mot</b>	é	jro'pícha	ruphícha	réjõ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ja'pí -cha	ru= ipha -cha	ri= ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f pass pst	3sg.f arrive pst	3sg.nf towards

**Libre** y luego siguió llegó hasta allá

<b>109 Mot</b>	é	najalákícha	ruká	" nulaítu
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ajalákí -cha	ru= ikhá	nu= laítu
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>110 Mot</b>	romícha	phiyúké	jroiláyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= amí -cha	phiyúké	ru= joilá -yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>111 Mot</b>	é kája	némícha	rojlo	" ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= ímí -cha	ru= jló	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'íchiyo	mana'íchiyo	mana'íchiyo	ri'má	wachá	sují
mana'íchiyo	mana'íchiyo	mana'íchiyo	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)

<b>112 Mot</b>	aú	rúmícha	" ũká	ná	kalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ru= ímí -cha	unká	ná	kalé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

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
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)

<b>113 Mot</b>	é	ruyakái'cho			kélé	jrora'pá			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= yakái'	-cha	=o	kélé	ru= jara'pá			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>114 Mot</b>	kája	, hasta	ahí	no	más	, kája	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	hasta	ahí	no	más	kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	spa	spa	spa	spa	already	

maáre  
maáre  
prox.loc

**Libre** hasta aquí se acaba

# ycn0059

<b>1 Mot</b>	marí	ke	iné	i'maká	nákarí	pají	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	iná	i'ma -ka	nákarí	pají	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	gnr.pro	live ka.cleft	uh	maloca	in

**Libre** asi uno vive en la maloca

<b>2 Mot</b>	pají	chú	weká	, riká	aú	nákarí	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pají	chú	wa= ikhá	ikhá	aú	nákarí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	pi'jné	nákarí	a'pitajé	pa'ú	kélé	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= i'jné	nákarí	a'pita jé	pa'ú	kélé	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	iná	, iná	a'pitá	é	kája	pikuwá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	iná	a'pitá	é	kája	pi= kuwá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	gnr.pro	gnr.pro	bathe	then	already	2sg cook

kujnú  
 kujnú  
 cassava

**Libre** ya se bañó y usted hace casabe

<b>5 Mot</b>	pila'á	waláko	pu'jé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= la'á	waláko	pu'jé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg do	dish_name	hot	

**Libre** usted calienta tucupí

<b>6 Mot</b>	ré	kája	ré	i'makáño	jló	iné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	kája	ri= é	i'ma -ka -ño	jló	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>14 Mot</b>	eyá	nuká	jñá'rí	nákarí	kajíru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	nu= ikhá	jñá' -rí	nákarí	kajírú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>15 Mot</b>	nupháká	nuta'á	riká .
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= iphá -ka	nu= ta'á	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg arrive ka.when	1sg grate	pro

**Libre** cuando llego la rallo

<b>16 Mot</b>	kája	nututúwa	, kája	nuñapáta	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	nu= tutúwa'	kája	nu= ñapáta	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	1sg strain	already	1sg finish	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** yo la suelo ya terminé eso

<b>17 Mot</b>	éjomi	nomoto'ó	keñá .
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	nu= moto'ó	keñá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	1sg cook	sauce_name

**Libre** después cocino maniguera

<b>18 Mot</b>	é	kája	muní	ké	kája	nomoto'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	muní	ké	kája	nu= moto'ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	tomorrow	like	already	1sg cook

waláko  
waláko  
dish\_name

**Libre** en la mañana yo cocino tucupí

<b>19 Mot</b>	nula'á	kujnú	kájémaka	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= la'á	kujnú	kájemáka	phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg do	cassava	etcetera	all

**Libre** yo hago casabe entre otros de todo

<b>20 Mot</b>	ré	i'makáño	jló	iné	kémá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= é	i'ma -ka -ño	jló	iná	kémá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>21 Mot</b>	eyá	arápa'kaje	wakajé	ñaké	kája	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	arápa' -kaje	wakajé	ñaké	kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	dance	ev.nz2	date	dist.simil	emph?

**Libre** a partir del baile ese día lo mismo

<b>22 Mot</b>	na'á	iné	ñathé	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= a'á	iná	ñathé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl give	gnr.pro	help	

**Libre** ellos le colaboran a uno

<b>23 Mot</b>	inauké	a'ñó	iné	ñathé	kéle
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inau'ké	a' -ñó	iná	ñathé	kéle
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	ná	ka'jno	pipirí	ka'jno	ne'erá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	ka'jno	pipirí	ka'jno	na= i'irá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	dub	palm_sp	dub	3pl drink

**Libre** ya sea chontaduro u otro

<b>25 Mot</b>	wakajé	kája	rímá	najló	éko
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wakajé	kája	ri= ímá	na= jló	éko
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26 Mot</b>	é	kája	nawitúkata	rijló	pipirí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= witúka' -ta	ri= jló	pipirí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	namoto'ó	riká	napá	riká	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= moto'ó	ri= ikhá	na= apá	ri= ikhá	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>28 Mot</b>	ré	kája	inaána	iphá	phiyúké	rináku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	kája	inaána	iphá	phiyúké	ri= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>29 Mot</b>	nata'á	riká	kájémaka	( a'jná )	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ta'á	ri= ikhá	kájemáka	a'jná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30 Mot</b>	a'jná	nañapátaka	riká	ejená	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jná	na= ñapáta -ka	ri= ikhá	ejená	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist	3pl finish ka.nz	3sg.nf pro	until	

**Libre** hasta que ellas lo terminan

<b>31 Mot</b>	é	kája	nákari	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	nákari	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	uh	

**Libre** ahí

<b>32 Mot</b>	rímá	"	marí	kéchámi	ri'rakána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímá		marí	kéchámi	ri= i'ra -kána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>33 Mot</b>	é	kája	nakulá	kamejéri	nakulá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= kulá	kamejéri	na= kulá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3pl search	animal	3pl search

kamejéri ,  
 kamejéri  
 animal

**Libre** de ahí ellos van abuscar cacería, van a buscan cacería

<b>34 Mot</b>	ná	ka'jnó	jíña	ka'jnó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	ka'jnó	jíña	ka'jnó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	dub	fish	dub	

**Libre** de pronto pescado

<b>35 Mot</b>	najña'á	jíña	je'ruk	ka'jnó	nenó	jéma	ka'jnó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jña'á	jíña	je'ruk	ka'jnó	na= nó	jéma	ka'jnó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>36 Mot</b>	é	kája	rímá	kélé	nákhaúna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri= ímá	kélé	nákhaúna
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'rajé .  
 nu= paĩjĩ i'rá nu= paĩjĩ i'ra jé  
 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

<b>37 Mot</b>	marí	wakajé	ri'majé	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	wakajé	ri= i'ma jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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



<b>44 Mot</b>	pikuwá	kujnú	kájémaka	jíña	kajémaka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi=	kuwá	kujnú	kájemáka	jíña	kájemáka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>45 Mot</b>	é	kája	narápa'a	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na=	arápa'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3pl	dance

**Libre** ahí ya bailan

<b>46 Mot</b>	é	kája	nephá	( pa- )	lapiyámi	,	phá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na=	iphá	***	jlapiyámí	phá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>47 Mot</b>	narápa'a	napiyá	.	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na=	arápa'a	na=	apiyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl	dance	3pl	before

**Libre** ellos bailan antes de ellos (los muñequeros, los tori, que llegan a medio día)

<b>48 Mot</b>	kaápu'kú	ewá	kája	nákari	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kaápu'kú	ewá	kája	nákarí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	noon	around	already	uh	

**Libre** del medio dia por ahi mas o menos

<b>49 Mot</b>	tórina	ipháño	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	tóri -na	iphá -ño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	tori pl	arrive pl.cleft	

**Libre** llegan los tori

<b>50 Mot</b>	é	kája	nawajla'á	kajrú	nawajla'ká		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na=	wajla'á	kajrú	na=	wajla' -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3pl	dance	much	3pl	dance ka.cleft

é            kája            ná            ---  
é            kája            ná  
then    already    indf

**Libre** muchos disfrazados llegan

<b>51 Mot</b>	kajú	tórina	ipháká	,	é	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	tóri -na	iphá -ká		é	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>52 Mot</b>	nayá'ta	najló	kujnú	,	jíña	,	pipirála	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= yá'ta	na= jló	kujnú		jíña		pipirála	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>53 Mot</b>	kélé	..
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	

**Libre** esos

<b>54 Mot</b>	riká	nákari	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ikhá	nákari	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	pro	uh	

**Libre** esas cosas

<b>55 Mot</b>	jnácho'ta		wakapójo	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jácho' -ta		wakapójo	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>56 Mot</b>	é	kája	napa'ó		píño	,	napa'tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= pa' =ó		píño		na= pa'tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>57 Mot</b>	eyá	kája	nákari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája	nákari
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	already	uh

**Libre** ahí ya

<b>58 Mot</b>	jnácho'ko		éjéchami	, kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jácho' -ka =o		éjéchami	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>59 Mot</b>	é	kája	narápa'a	píño	( ajná	nawajla'á
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= arápa'a	píño	***	na= wajla'á
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>60 Mot</b>	é	kája	pháchúyájéna	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	phá chú e'yá -je -na	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	house in in A.nz	pl

**Libre** de ahí los que estan dentro (de la maloca)

<b>61 Mot</b>	é	narápa'a	jlapí	kétána	narápa'ka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= arápa'a	jlapí	kétána	na= arápa' -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>62 Mot</b>	a'jné	ritajnáko		ejená	, na ---
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jné	ri= tajná -ka =o		ejená	na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

# ycn0063

<b>1 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	inauké	i'michári		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ri		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	one	person	cop pst	nf.cleft	

**Libre** había una vez una persona

<b>2 Mot</b>	riká		i'michári		reje'ími	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	i'mi -chá -ri		ri=	eje'í =mi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	cop pst	nf.cleft	3sg.nf	brother_son pfv

jwa'té  
jwa'té  
with

**Libre** el estuvo con sus sobrinos

<b>3 Mot</b>	é	ne'michá		pajlúwa	pají	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'mi -chá		pajlúwá	pají	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl live	pst	one	maloca	in

ne'michá  
na= i'mi -chá  
3pl live pst

**Libre** estuvieron en una sola maloca

<b>4 Mot</b>	é	riká		, réje'ími		i'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ikhá	ri=	éje'ími	i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	***	live pst

jana'káje nakú  
jana' -káje nakú  
fish ev.nz2 on

**Libre** él, el sobrino, vivía pescando

<b>5 Mot</b>	jana'káje	nakú	ri'michá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jana' -káje	nakú	ri= i'mi -chá		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	fish ev.nz2	on	3sg.nf live	pst	

**Libre** el vivía pescando

<b>6 Mot</b>	jwe'chúka'la	kajú	rijĩ'cháka		jíñana
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jwe'chú -ka'la	kajú	ri= jĩ' -chá -ka		jíña -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	day ?nz	much	3sg.nf take	pst ka.cleft	fish pl

kajú wáni  
kajú wáni  
much emph

**Libre** durante el día cogía mucho pescao

<b>7 Mot</b>	wa'jini	rijĩ'cháka			neká	jana'káje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa'jini	ri= jĩ'	-chá	-ka	na= ikhá	jana' -káje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	always	3sg.nf take	pst	ka.cleft	3pl pro	fish ev.nz2

nakú  
nakú  
on

**Libre** todos los días sacaba los pescados pescando

<b>8 Mot</b>	lapí	riphícha				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	lapí	ri= ipha	-cha			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	night	3sg.nf arrive	pst			

**Libre** de noche llegó (él)

<b>9 Mot</b>	iná	jme'táka			chojónaja	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	jme'tá	-ka		chojóna	=ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	gnr.pro	become_light	ka.nz		towards_inside2	lim

**Libre** al amanecer

<b>10 Mot</b>	kája	wája				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá	=ja			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph	lim			

**Libre** ya después

<b>11 Mot</b>	kája	wája	jíñana	kémícha	:	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá	=ja	jíña -na	kémí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph	lim	fish pl	say	pst

méke chávani ,  
méké cháva -ni  
indf.manner pity nf

**Libre** ya después los pescaos dijeron qué lastima

<b>12 Mot</b>	ritajnáta			weká	chúwa	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= tajnáta	-ka		wa= ikhá	chúwa	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf finish	ka.topic		1pl pro	now	

**Libre** él esta acabando a nosotros ahora

<b>13 Mot</b>	" ñaké	númá	pijló	nutú		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	nu= ímá	pi= jló	nu= itú		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	1sg say	2sg for	1sg daughter		

**Libre** eso yo te digo hija

<b>14 Mot</b>	éko	pi'jné	richáje			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éko	pi= i'jné	ri= cháje			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	pol.imp	2sg go	3sg.nf at			

**Libre** vaya donde él

<b>15 Mot</b>	kája	ritajnáta			weká	chúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= tajnáta	-ka		wa= ikhá	chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf finish	ka.prog		1pl pro	now

**Libre** el ya nos está acabando

<b>16 Mot</b>	ñaké	núma	pijló	pi'makálojé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	nu= ímá	pi= jló	pi= i'ma -ká	lojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>17 Mot</b>	" jé	, pa'yú	, éko	nu'jné	richáje	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	pa'yú	éko	nu= i'jné	ri= cháje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>18 Mot</b>	riká	aú	ru'jíchá			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	aú	ru= i'jī -chá			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	because	3sg.f go pst			

**Libre** por eso ella se fue

<b>19 Mot</b>	ré	ri'jíchá	janajé			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	ri= i'jī -chá	jana' -je			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	fish purp.mot			

**Libre** él se fue a pescar

<b>20 Mot</b>	palá	kéri	patíyaka	, kaápu'kú	ja'pí	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá	kéri	patí -ya -ka	kaápu'kú	ja'pi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>21 Mot</b>	amíchari					
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri					
<b>Glose lex.</b>	see pst nf.ss					

**Libre** él miró

<b>22 Mot</b>	kajúni	iñejwíla	i'micháka	, pu'téni		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú -ni	iñejwíla	i'mi -chá -ka	pu'té -ni		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	ruñaká	amícharo	junápeje	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ñaká	amí -cha -ri =o	junápi =eje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f reflection	see pst nf.cleft mid	water2 until	

**Libre** se miraba la sombra de ella en el agua

<b>24 Mot</b>	kajú	ruwilá	i'micháka	pe'yojé	ruwajlé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	ru= jwilá	i'mi -chá -ka	pe'yó	ru= wajlé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	3sg.f hair	cop pst ka.cleft	half	3sg.f back

**Libre** ella tenía mucho cabello hasta la mitad de la espalda

<b>25 Mot</b>	ré	ripéchú	i'michá	:
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf thought	cop pst	

**Libre** ahí él pensó

<b>26 Mot</b>	" ná	ka'jná	kélé	amáro	junápeje	?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	ka'jná	kélé	amá -ri =o	junápi =eje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	dub	med	see nf.cleft mid	water2 until	

**Libre** qué será eso que se ve dentro del agua

<b>27 Mot</b>	é	riyakáicho	ají	ké	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yakái' -cha =o	ajĩ	ké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf see	pst mid prox	like	

**Libre** él miró así

<b>28 Mot</b>	amíchari	ruyáa'ko	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	ru= yáa' -ka =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	see pst nf.ss	3sg.f sit ka.nz mid	

**Libre** él miro a ella sentada

<b>29 Mot</b>	iñejwíla	chú	ruyái'cho	,	pe'yojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iñejwíla	chú	ru= yái' -cha =o		pe'yo =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30 Mot</b>	é	rímicha	rojló	:
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for	

**Libre** y él le dijo a ella

<b>31 Mot</b>	" ná	pila'á	? "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	pi= la'á	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	2sg do	

**Libre** qué haces?



<b>32 Mot</b>	aú	rúmicha	rijló	:
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for	

**Libre** ahí ella le dijo a él

<b>33 Mot</b>	" nuká	pa'yú	wakára'a	majó	picháje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	pa'yú	wakára'a	majó	pi= cháje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg pro	papá.addr	order	prox.toward	2sg at

."

**Libre** a mi, mi papá me está mandando a donde usted

<b>34 Mot</b>	" náje	chí	riwakára'a	piká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	náje	chí	ri= wakára'a	pi= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.reason	emph3	3sg.nf order	2sg pro

nucháje ?"

nu= cháje

1sg at

**Libre** para qué él te manda donde mí

<b>35 Mot</b>	" unká	" ké	rúmíchaka	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft	

**Libre** no dijo ella

<b>36 Mot</b>	" kája	chá	wáni	pitajnáta	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	chá	wáni	pi= tajnáta -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	?emph	emph	2sg finish ka.topic	

**Libre** ya usted nos está acabando

<b>37 Mot</b>	weká	nójéna	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= ikhá	nu= éjéna	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl pro	1sg siblings	

**Libre** nosotros hermanos

<b>38 Mot</b>	wa'jini	wáni	kája	chá	unká	we'malá	."
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa'jini	wáni	kája	chá	unká	wa= i'ma -lá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	always	emph	already	on	neg	1pl cop v.neg	

**Libre** ya nos estamos disminuyendo

<b>39.1 Mot</b>	" mére	chí	nutajnáta	péjéna	?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méré	chí	nu= tajnáta -ka	pi= éjéna	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.loc	emph3	1sg finish ka.cleft	2sg siblings	

**Libre** dónde yo estoy acabando a sus hermanos? dijo él

<b>39.2 Mot</b>	ké	rímichaka	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>53 Mot</b>	é	kélé	phíyu'ke	i'michári		pají	chú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	phíyu'ke	i'mi	-chá	-ri	pají	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	med	old	cop	pst	nf.nz	maloca	in

**Libre** el abuelo que estaba dentro de la maloca

<b>54 Mot</b>	riká		jwa'té	najícha		nakakúwá		,	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	jwa'té	na=	ají	-cha	na=	kakú	=wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	with	3pl	eat	pst	3pl	coca	refl

**Libre** con él ellos mambearon

<b>55 Mot</b>	jenájikéjé		jlapí	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jenájiké	=eje	jlapí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	midnight	until	night	

**Libre** hasta media noche (todos los días)

<b>56 Mot</b>	nayái'cho		nákájé	nakú	napuri'chó		,			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na=	yái'	-cha	=o	nákaje	nakú	na=	puri'	-cha	=ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>57 Mot</b>	é kája	unká	riwe'íla		ru'micháka				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	unká	ri=	we'í	-la	ru=	i'mi	-chá	-ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>58 Mot</b>	é kája	nákarí	rímicha		rijló	:	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	nákarí	ri=	ímí	-cha	ri=	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	3sg.nf	say	pst	3sg.nf	for

**Libre** entonces él le dijo

<b>59 Mot</b>	"	unká	wáni	nowilámi		, méké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	wáni	nu=	owilá	=mi	méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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.

<b>60 Mot</b>	ñaké	unká	méla'jé	wapura'ló			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	unká	méla'jé	wa=	pura'	-lá	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	neg	indf.manner	1pl	speak	v.neg	mid



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

<b>74 Mot</b>	riyakái'cho	amíchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= yakái' -cha =o	amí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>75 Mot</b>	inanáru kajúru	paláru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inanáru kajú -ru	palá -ru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	woman much f	good f

**Libre** la mujer era gorda y bonita

<b>76 Mot</b>	é ripi'chó	, riley- é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é ri= pi' -cha =ó	*** é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then 3sg.nf return pst mid	*** then

riley'cha neká , tapuipémi aú riley'cha  
 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 brujéó con sueño, los brujéó y se durmieron hasta temprano, y no se dieron cuenta que amanecieron

<b>77 Mot</b>	é ri'michá	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é ri= i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then 3sg.nf go pst	

**Libre** él fue

<b>78 Mot</b>	réjő	amári	rejo'kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ejo	amá -ri	rejo'kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>79 Mot</b>	é kája riñaki'chá	jra'piyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája ri= ñaki' -chá	ri= ja'pi =eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>86 Mot</b>	ñakéjé	penáje	iná	i'má	apú	jwa'té	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	jé	penáje	iná	i'ma	apú	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>87 Mot</b>	pamo'ó	júni	rijló	pijña'á	majó	,					
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi=	amo'ó	júni	ri=	jló	pi=	jña'á	majó			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>88 Mot</b>	é	ru'jíchá	,	é kája	rujíchá	júni			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	i'jĩ	-chá	é kája	ru=	jĩ	-chá	júni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>89 Mot</b>	é kája	rijjíchá	,	é kája	ru'michá			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri=	jĩ	-chá	é kája	ru=	i'mi	-chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>90 Mot</b>	é kája	rúmicha	rijló	:	"	chúwatá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru=	ímí	-cha	ri=	jló	chúwa	tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>91.1 Mot</b>	wajĩ'cháchi	a'wāchá	(???)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jĩ' -chá -chí	a'wanachá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl take pst purp2	tree	

**Libre**

<b>91.2 Mot</b>	, nójéna	jló	, jnora'pá	jló	."
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= éjéna	jló	nu= jara'pá	jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg siblings	for	1sg father.ref	for	

**Libre** vamos a coger frutas para mis hermanos y mi papá

<b>92 Mot</b>	pa'ú	kélé	kuwá'ta	kéléna	u'walá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pa'ú	kélé	kuwá' -ta	kélé -na	u'walá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>93 Mot</b>	é kája	, é kája	rúmícha	:	" i'jné	chúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	é kája	ru= ímí -cha		i'jné	chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>94 Mot</b>	é	kaja	ne'jíchá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	emph?	3pl go pst	

**Libre** y se fueron

<b>95 Mot</b>	é	nephícha	pajlúwaja	ripokó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ipha -cha	pajlúwá =ja	ri= pokó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

maáretá nowiláyá ."  
maáre 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),

<b>96 Mot</b>	" máarejé	pika'á	iyámethá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	máare =ejé	pi= ka'á	iyáme -ithá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 río)

**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.

<b>102 Mot</b>	é	kája	nephícha		apú	ripokó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= ipha	-cha	apú	ri= pokó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>103 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		:	"	máare	thá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí	-cha			máare	thá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>104 Mot</b>	maáre	pika'jě			pa'ú	kéthá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maáre	pi= ka'	-jé		pa'ú	ké -ithá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox.loc	2sg throw_out	fut		four	like cls:basket

pika'jě máajě "  
 pi= ka' -jé máa =eje  
 2sg throw\_out fut here until

**Libre** aquí vas a echar cuatro canastaos, vas a echar aquí

<b>105 Mot</b>	é	riki'chá			rějě	, jum
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ki'	-chá		ri= =eje	jum
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>106 Mot</b>	é kája	ne'michá		,	é kája	rúmícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= i'mi	-chá		é kája	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl cop	pst		then	3sg.f say pst

rijló : " chúwa nu'jnájíke pa'yú chájě ,  
 ri= jló chúwa nu= i'jna -jí -ka pa'yú cháje  
 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"

<b>107 Mot</b>	é	ru'jchánó			jrora'pá	chájě	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= i'jĩ -chá =nó			ru= jara'pá	chájě	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f go pst hab			3sg.f father.ref	at	

**Libre** cada rato iba a donde el papá

<b>108 Mot</b>	kája	wája		rímícha		rojló	:	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja		ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>109 Mot</b>	ñaké	nu'jnajíke			pijwa'té	chúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka			pi= jwa'té	chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>110 Mot</b>	yée	kéjo'ó	ké	rúmícha		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ké =jo'ó	ké	ru= ímí -cha		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	oh	like still	like	3sg.f say pst		

**Libre** ah, ella le dijo

<b>111 Mot</b>	unkwá	méla'jé	pi'jnalá		najwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unkwá	méla'jé	pi= i'jna -lá		na= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner	2sg go v.neg		3pl with

**Libre** usted no puede ir con ellos

<b>112 Mot</b>	unkwá	máawá	ké	kalé	,	řejó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unkwá	máa =ewá	ké	kalé		ri= ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	here around	like	nv.neg		3sg.nf towards

**Libre** allá no es como por aquí (no es lo mismo por allá)

<b>113 Mot</b>	piwátajíkaé				nujwa'té	i'jnakána	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= wáta -jĩ -ka	é			nu= jwa'té	i'jna -kána	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg wait fut ka.adv cond2				1sg with	go ev.nz1	

**Libre** si usted quiere ir conmigo

<b>114 Mot</b>	pijña'á	paljnewá		apo'jó	máayá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jña'á	pi= al'jne =wá		apo'jó	máa eyá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg take	2sg food refl		?other.side	here from	

**Libre** lleve comida de acá por aparte

<b>115 Mot</b>	kujnú	káje	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kujnú	kájé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	cassava	type	

**Libre** como casabe

<b>116 Mot</b>	unká	méla'jé	pajñála	wa'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méla'jé	pi= ajñá -la	wa= a'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>117 Mot</b>	jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good

**Libre** bueno

<b>118 Mot</b>	é kája	ri'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= i'jī -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst

**Libre** y se fue

<b>119 Mot</b>	ru'jíchá	é kája	rijī'chá	rijlúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= i'jī -chá	é kája	ri= jī' -chá	ri= jlu =wa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f go pst	then	3sg.nf take pst	3sg.nf for refl

ipatú	,	kujnú	,	ra'jnewá	rijī'chá	apo'jō
ipatú		kujnú		ri= a'jne =wá	ri= jī' -chá	apo'jō
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

<b>120 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá	rujwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jī -chá	ru= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.f with

**Libre** y se fue con ella

<b>121 Mot</b>	é	nephícha	rějō
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ipha -cha	ri= ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl arrive pst	3sg.nf towards

**Libre** y llegaron allá

<b>122 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	rijló	:	" pa'yú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló		pa'yú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst	3sg.nf for		papá.addr	

**Libre** ella le dijo "papá"

<b>123</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	majǒ	nuwaícha	kháãjǐ	pilakéjnú	"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		majǒ	nu= waícha	kháãjǐ	pi= lakéjnú	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		prox.toward	1sg bring	prox	2sg son_in_law	

**Libre** "acá yo le traje a este tu yerno"

<b>124</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	á	, ñaké	rikhá	nutú	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		á	ñaké	ri= ikhá	nu= itú	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>125</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	ri'jnaréja	majǒ	,	nulakéjnú	"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri= i'jná -ré =ja	majǒ		nu= lakéjnú	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf go jus lim	prox.toward		1sg son_in_law	

**Libre** que venga por acá mi yerno"

<b>126</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	kája	pi'má	rijwa'té	"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		kája	pi= i'má	ri= jwa'té	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		already	2sg cop	3sg.nf with	

**Libre** ya usted vivió con él

<b>127</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	apú	jlojé	penáje	i'maká	inaána	"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		apú	***	penáje	i'ma -ka	inaána	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		other	***	for	cop ka.nz	woman	

**Libre** las mujeres son para vivir con otros (no para quedarse con la familia)

<b>128</b>	<b>Mot</b>		rímícha	rijló	:	"	piká
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló			pi= ikhá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for			2sg 2pl

nulakéjnú "

nu= lakéjnú

1sg son\_in\_law

**Libre** y él le dijo "usted mi yerno"

<b>129</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	á'a	, nuká	,	nuyana'jú	,	wajé
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		á'a	nu= ikhá		nu= yana'jú		wajé
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>130</b>	<b>Mot</b>		jé	, ñaké	iká
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé	ñaké	ri= ikhá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		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                    chuwá                    a'jñáñojõ  
na= apumí                chu =ewá                a'jñáñojõ  
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'jñáchí            píño        réjõ            " , 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        réjõ  
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**            réjõ            nojñájẽ            pijwa'té            a'jné  
**Morphèmes**    ri=        ejo            nu= ajña' -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 -jǐ -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

<b>156 Mot</b>	ñaké	marí	kéja	númá	nayajná	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	marí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	na= yajná	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>157 Mot</b>	á'a	nulakéjnú	pi'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	á'a	nu= lakéjnú	pi= i'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	yes	1sg son_in_law	2sg go

**Libre** "ah bueno yerno, vaya"

<b>158 Mot</b>	é	ripi'chó	riphícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= pi' -cha =ó	ri= ipha -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf return pst mid	3sg.nf arrive pst

**Libre** ahí él llegó

<b>159 Mot</b>	"	noje'ími	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		nu= eje'í =mi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		1sg brother_son pfv	

**Libre** "sobrino"

<b>160 Mot</b>	á'a	wája	kája	nupháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	á'a	=wá =ja	kája	nu= iphá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	yes	emph lim	already	1sg arrive ka.topic

jnowilámi "  
 nu= jowilá =mi  
 1sg uncle nom.pfv

**Libre** "ajá apenas estoy llegando acá tío"

<b>161 Mot</b>	"	majó	nu'jné	pijló	nuyukúná
<b>Morphèmes</b>		majó	nu= i'jné	pi= jló	nu= yukú -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>162 Mot</b>	"	kája	nu'jnáká	chúwa	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kája	nu= i'jna -ka	chúwa	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		already	1sg go ka.topic	now	

**Libre** "ya me estoy yendo ahora sí"

<b>163 Mot</b>	ũká	kapichájo			kaé	nu'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	kapichá	-je	=o	kaé	nu= i'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	lose	purp.mot	mid	nv.neg	1sg go

**Libre** yo no voy a perderme

<b>164 Mot</b>	nuká	pája	we'péje		rináku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	pája	we'pé	-je	ri= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg pro	emph	know	***	3sg.nf on

**Libre** yo soy que me voy a acordar de usted

<b>165 Mot</b>	ñaké	kája	marí	kéja	núma	pijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	kája	marí	ké =ja	nu= íma	pi= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>166 Mot</b>	ñaké	piwe'píniña		nunáku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	pi= we'pí	-niña	nu= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	2sg know	proh	1sg on

**Libre** que no se acuerde de mi nada

<b>167 Mot</b>	"	kéjo'ó	riká	nóje'ími	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	nu= eje'rí	=mi
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like still	3sg.nf pro	1sg brother_son	pfv

**Libre** "es cierto sobrino"

<b>168 Mot</b>	kája	nawáta	piwá'kana	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= wáta	pi= wá' -kana	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3pl want	2sg take ev.nz1	

**Libre** "ya ellos quieren llevarte"

<b>169 Mot</b>	éko	pímá	kélé	piyana'jú	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éko	pi= íma	kélé	pi= yana'jú	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	pol.imp	2sg say	med	2sg father_in_law	for

**Libre** "ahora usted le dice a su suegro

<b>170 Mot</b>	nuwáta	ra'ká		piwemí	nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= wáta	ri= a'	-ká	pi= wemí	nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg want	3sg.nf give	ka.nz	2sg reward	1sg for

**Libre** "ahora yo quiero que me dé un cambio por usted"

<b>171 Mot</b>	ñaé	maí	kéja	núma	pijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaé	maí	ké =ja	nu= íma	pi= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>187 Mot</b>	é	itájikare		kélé	cha'wí	aú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	i= itá	-jĩ -kare	kélé	cha'wí	aú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'majíká
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)

<b>188 Mot</b>	puwa'ká	jwa'pájika		é	,	é	thá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	puwa'ká	wa= ja'pá	-jĩ -ka	é		é	thá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>189 Mot</b>	ñaé	kája	maí	kéja	númá	pijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaé	kája	maí	ké =ja	nu= ímá	pi= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	already	prox	like lim	1sg say	2sg for

**Libre** por eso yo te estoy diciendo

<b>190 Mot</b>	ñaké	iká		noje'ími		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	ri= ikhá		nu= eje'í		=mi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro		1sg brother_son		pfv

**Libre** ah bueno dijo el sobrino

<b>191 Mot</b>	é	rímíchaka		ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí	-cha -ka	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say	pst ka.cleft	like

**Libre** así como él lo dijo



**192 Mot**            é            inau'ké    i'jĩchá  
**Morphèmes**    é            inau'ké    i'jĩ -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                            ñañaki'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 (ñañaki'chá: sacudir)

**196 Mot**            ñañaki'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    ideo11

chí'            chí'  
chí'            chí'  
ideo11        ideo11

**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=    ějéchami  
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

<b>200</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é kája
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then

Libre ahí

<b>201</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é kája	naki'chá	kúna	nacháje
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= ki'	-chá kúna	na= cháje
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl throw_out	pst toxic_plant	3pl at

Libre y de ahí comenzaron a echarle barbasco encima de ellos

<b>202</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é	jíñana	iphícha	kélé	cha'wí	jimájě
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	jíña -na	iphí -cha	kélé	cha'wí	jimá =eje
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	fish pl	arrive pst	med	trap	face until

Libre ahí llegaron muchos pescaos encima (frente) de cha'wí (jimá+éjé)

<b>203</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kája	ũká	pamála	e'yá
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	unká	pi= amá -la	e'yá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	neg	2sg see v.neg	in

Libre vimy: usted no podía mirar a otro lado (porque estaba muy tupido, mejor (n)e'yayá)

<b>204</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kája	lupirú	jaláúna
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	***	***
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	***	***

Libre vimy: ya el agua estaba babosa (lit. caldo de ellos baboso, ~lupirúní jnalá i'micháká)

<b>205</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é	yupí	i'michárí	najwa'té
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	yupí	i'mi -chá -rí	na= jwa'té
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	fish.sp	cop pst nf.cleft	3pl with

Libre y ahí estaba anguilla con ellos (yupí: esp. calochi, pez sp)

<b>206</b>	<b>Mot</b>	riká	ũká	nawá'lacha
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	unká	na= wá' -la -cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>207</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kawale'ké	wáni	ri'maká	pachá
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kawale'ké	wáni	ri= i'ma -ká	pachá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	gluttony	emph	3sg.nf cop ka.nz	because

Libre porque era muy comelón

<b>208</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ké	némícha	rijló	"	maáréja
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	na= ímí -cha	ri= jló		maáré =ja
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	?	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)

<b>215 Mot</b>	ja'chároja					riyámojo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ja' -chá -ri =o =ja ri= yámojo					
<b>Glose lex.</b>	fall pst nf.ss mid lim 3sg.nf behind					

**Libre** vimy: caía cada nada de pa atrás

<b>216.1 Mot</b>	" méké	wala'jǐká			chúwa ?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	wa= la' -jǐ -ká			chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	1pl do fut ka.cleft now			

**Libre** cómo vamos a hacer ya la gente nos está matando

<b>216.2 Mot</b>	inau'ké	kapichátaka		weká	."
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inau'ké	kapichá -ta -ka		wa= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	person	lose caus ka.cleft 1pl pro			

**Libre**

<b>217 Mot</b>	kája	wája	... tá	jreño'chá	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	tâ	ri= jeño' -chá	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>218 Mot</b>	jrecho'óchiya			riyukúná	a'jnáñojǒ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jecho'ó -chi -ya			ri= yukú -ná	a'jnáñojǒ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>219 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	" jnewaká	chúwatá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	nu= jiwaká	chúwa tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>220 Mot</b>	riká	aú	nu'jíchá	piwá'je
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	aú	nu= i'jĩ -chá	pi= wá' -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	cause	1sg go pst	2sg take purp.mot

**Libre** por eso yo te vine a buscar (wáa'kaje: llevar)

<b>221 Mot</b>	" aaa	" rímíchaka	, "	ilé kalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ri= ímí -cha -ka		ilé kalé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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'jñá -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"

<b>222 Mot</b>	" i'jñá	" é	napi'chó	nayámojo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i'jñá	é	na= pi' -cha =ó	na= yámojo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	go	then	3pl return pst mid	3pl behind

píño  
 píño  
 again

**Libre** vamos, ahí se fueron de nuevo de pa atrás (napi'....chó)

<b>223 Mot</b>	é kája kúna	iphícha	, kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája kúna	iphí -cha	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>224 Mot</b>	é riphícha	, riká	penáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é ri= ipha -cha	ri= ikhá	penáje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>225</b>	<b>Mot</b>	eyá	ajúpána	phiyúkéja		kapiíchaño
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	ajúpána	phiyúké =ja		kapií -cha -ño
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	other.pl	all lim	lose	pst pl.cleft

phiyúké wáni  
phiyúké wáni  
all emph

**Libre** vimy: y los otros se murieron todos

<b>226</b>	<b>Mot</b>	máarejená	jíña	yukúná		tajno
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	máare ejená	jíña	yukú -ná		tajná =o
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= íí  
**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



<b>14 Mot</b>	kája	júpi	ri'michá	najwa'té	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	júpi	ri= i'mi -chá	na= jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	long_time	3sg.nf cop pst	3pl with	

**Libre** él vivía mucho tiempo con ellas

<b>15 Mot</b>	kája wájata	rímicha	:	" méké	páni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ewája tá	ri= ímí -cha		méké	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>16 Mot</b>	némano	nojló	" pi'jnanña
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ímá =no	nu= jló	pi= i'jna -níña
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>17 Mot</b>	" chúwa	nomájika	" ké	rímicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu= amá -jĩ -ka	ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>18 Mot</b>	kája	ne'jichá	piño	wajájo	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño	wajá je	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3pl go pst	again	punish	purp.mot mid

**Libre** se fueron otra vez a ver yuruparí

<b>19 Mot</b>	kája	ri'jichá	nápumi	chú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= i'jĩ -chá	na= ápu =mi	chú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 nawajichako , é  
 mana'í =ja na= wají -cha -ka =o é  
 calm lim 3pl punish pst ka.cleft mid then



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'jné  
Kanumá tâ káta -ri =o wa= náku i'jné  
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                    wapirá                    "    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**            "    maaré                    nuká                    pají                    chú        ,    unká  
**Morphèmes**    maaré                    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

<b>40 Mot</b>	"	unká	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	piká
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			pi= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>41 Mot</b>	"	é	palá	wemaká	pijló	,	pipa'tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>		é	palá	wa= ima -ká	pi= jló		pi= pa'tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>42 Mot</b>	"	unká	nuwe'íla	kélé	(--)"	,	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	nu= we'í -la	kélé			ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		neg	1sg know v.neg	med			like

rímícha .  
 ri= ímí -cha  
 3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** yo no sé nada de eso, él dijo

<b>43 Mot</b>	"	unká	méréwá	kalé	nota'á	ipirá	."
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	méré =ewá	kalé	nu= ata'á	i= pirá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		neg	indf.loc around	nv.neg	1sg steal	2pl pet	

**Libre** no yo no robé su yuruparí

<b>44 Mot</b>		némíchajlá		rijló	aú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>		na= ímí -cha	jlá	ri= jló	aú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		3pl say pst	frust	3sg.nf for	because	

**Libre** ellas le estaban insistiendo

<b>45 Mot</b>		kéjo'ó	riká	ké	rúmíchaka	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>46 Mot</b>	é	kaja	"	o'weló	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája		o'we	-ló	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>47 Mot</b>	kája	unká	paála	,	unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	unká	paá	-la	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>48 Mot</b>	"	kéjo'ó	riká	,	yu'í	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri=	ikhá	yu'í		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>49 Mot</b>	"	unká	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká		ké	ri= ímí -cha			unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>		neg		like	3sg.nf say pst			neg
mérewá		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

<b>50 Mot</b>	"	í'teta	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	kéjo'ó	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		í'teta		ké	ru= ímí -cha			ké =jo'ó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		idiot		like	3sg.f say pst			like still	

**Libre** "porquería", ella dijo, "está bien"

<b>51 Mot</b>	mapéja	kalé		numaká			pijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mapéja	kalé		nu= ima -ká			pi= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>52 Mot</b>	kája	piwáta		pikó		i'makána	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pi= wáta		pi= ikhá =o		i'ma -kána	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>53 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		ro'weló		jló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		ru= o'we		-ló jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>66 Mot</b>	riká	chú	nawitúki'cha	jípa	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chú	na= witúki' -cha	jípa	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	in	3pl go_down pst	stone	in

**Libre** en él ellas se bajaron al chorro

<b>67 Mot</b>	kája	rijĩ'chó	píño	nanáku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= jĩ'	-chá =o	píño na= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf take	pst mid	again 3pl on

**Libre** ahí él les persiguió otra vez a ellas

<b>68 Mot</b>	najĩ'chá	kujnú	i'micháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jĩ' -chá	kujnú	i'mi -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>69 Mot</b>	kélé	jípa	" kujnú	" néma	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	jípa	kujnú	na= íma	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	stone	cassava	3pl say	on

**Libre** a ese chorro le dicen casabe

<b>70 Mot</b>	réjé	kujnú	anó'ñacha	ne'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= eje	kujnú	anó' -ña -cha	na= i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf until	cassava	wet appl pst	3pl far.pst pst

**Libre** ahí se mojó el casabe

<b>71 Mot</b>	aũ	kája	rúmícha	" o'weló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	kája	ru= ímí -cha	o'we	-ló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>72 Mot</b>	" kéjo'ó	riká	" ké	rúmícha	, "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>73 Mot</b>	yuwaná	penájemi	amákalojé	penáje	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yuwaná	penáje =mi	amá -ka lojé	penáje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>74 Mot</b>	aú	nayurícha	kujnú	i'micháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	na= yurí -cha	kujnú	i'mi -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	3pl stay pst	cassava	far.pst pst ka.pst

réjé  
ri= eje  
3sg.nf until

**Libre** por eso ellos dejaron casabe ahí

<b>75 Mot</b>	kája	jna'pícha	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= ja'pí -cha	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3pl pass pst	again

**Libre** ahí ya siguieron

<b>76 Mot</b>	nephíchaño	máarejé	, é	nákéi	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= iphí -cha -ño	máare =eje	, é	nákei	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>77 Mot</b>	kája	riki'chá	neká	apa'má
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= ki' -chá	na= ikhá	apa'má
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf throw_out pst	3pl pro	other.world

chojé  
chojé  
towards\_inside

**Libre** él ya lo mandó en otro mundo (planeta)

<b>78 Mot</b>	éjé	( te- )	nayurícho	i'micháka	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	=eje	***	na= yurí -cha =o	i'mi -chá -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>79 Mot</b>	eyá	kája	Kanumá	pi'chó		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája	Kanumá	pi'	-chá	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80 Mot</b>	ripi'chó				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	pi'	-cha	=ó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	return	pst	mid	

**Libre** regresó

<b>81 Mot</b>	iphíchari		a'jná	riñakaréjǒ	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iphí	-cha	-ri	a'jná	ri= ñakaré ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	arrive	pst	nf.ss	dist	3sg.nf house towards

**Libre** el llegó hasta su casa

<b>82 Mot</b>	é kája	ri'michá		rikó	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri=	i'mi -chá	ri= ikhá	=ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	cop pst	3sg.nf pro	mid

**Libre** ya él vivía solo

<b>83 Mot</b>	kája	rijǐ'chá		ná	kaóna	, mapéja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri=	jǐ'	-chá	ná	*** mapéja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>84 Mot</b>	najwa'té	ri'michá		, i'michári	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jwa'té	ri=	i'mi -chá	i'mi -chá -ri	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>91 Mot</b>	yenójo	ne'jícháno	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yenú =ejo	na= i'jĩ -chá =no	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	up towards	3pl go pst hab	

**Libre** hacia arriba subían

<b>92 Mot</b>	jíta	chú	ne'jícháno	jwe'chí	aũ	, kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jíta	chú	na= i'jĩ -chá =no	jwe'chí	aũ	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>93 Mot</b>	a'jnejí	, kujnú	, ña'kú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jne -jí	kujnú	ña'kú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	food unposs	cassava	yam	

**Libre** comida, casabe, ñame

<b>94 Mot</b>	waléjari	réwajã	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	waléjari	ré =wa =jã	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	manioc_dough	then emph lim	

**Libre** hasta (even) almidón

<b>95 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go pst	

**Libre** se fueron

<b>96 Mot</b>	é	riwái'cha	, jremi'cháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= wái' -cha	ri= jemi' -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>97 Mot</b>	" úu "	" ké	ro'jipichaka	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	úu	ké	ru= a'jipi -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	hey	like	3sg.f answer pst ka.cleft	

**Libre** "úu" ella le contestó

<b>98.1 Mot</b>	" ná	wái	?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	wáa' -i	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	call nf.cleft	

**Libre** "quién es que está llamando?" ella dijo, "no, yo (soy el que está llamando)" él dijo

<b>98.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unkwá	,	nuká	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha			unkwá		nu= ikhá		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst			neg		1sg pro		like

rímícha  
ri= ímí -cha  
3sg.nf say pst

**Libre**

<b>99.1 Mot</b>	"	ná	chí	piká	?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ná	chí	pi= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		indf	emph3	2sg pro	

**Libre** "quien es usted?" ella le dijo

<b>99.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst	

**Libre**

<b>100 Mot</b>	"	Chu'rúmi	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		Chu'rúmi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		Chu'rúmi	

**Libre** "Chu'rúmi"

<b>101 Mot</b>	"	chuchú	Chu'rúmi	"	ké	rúmícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		chuchú	Chu'rúmi		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		grandparent	Chu'rúmi		like	3sg.f say pst	

piká  
pi= ikhá  
2sg pro

**Libre** ella le dijo, es usted abuelo Chu'rúmi

<b>102.1 Mot</b>	"	á'a	nulakélo	"	ké	rúmícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>		á'a	nu= laké -lo		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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?"

<b>102.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rúmícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.f say pst	

**Libre**

<b>103 Mot</b>	"	unká	ná	nula'lá	maaré	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	ná	nu= la' -lá	maaré		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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".

<b>104 Mot</b>	"	akuwāná	nu'jīchá	júni	i'rajē	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		akuwāná	nu= ijī -chá	júni	i'ra jē	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>105 Mot</b>	"	jái	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	náje
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jái		ké	ru= ímí -cha			náje
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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?"

<b>106 Mot</b>	unká	pirá'-	,	pajñála	phiwaká	Kanumá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	***		pi= ajñá -la	pi= jiwaká	Kanumá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?

<b>107.1 Mot</b>	á	,	"	phiwakátá	Kanumá	kemakána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***			pi= jiwaká tâ	Kanumá	kema -kána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***			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

<b>107.2 Mot</b>	"	,	ké	rúmíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>			ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>			like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

**Libre**



<b>108 Mot</b>	ilé	kalé	( náke-)	inaána	i'michámí	( riná-
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	kalé	***	inaána	i'mi -chá	=mi ***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	emph5	***	woman	live pst	pfv ***

) rijwa'té , jra'píchakamítá 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)

<b>109 Mot</b>	majó	, jé	éko	chuchú	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	majó	jé	éko	chuchú	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>110 Mot</b>	ro'chá	rijló	kujnú	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= a'a -chá	ri= jló	kujnú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f give pst	3sg.nf for	cassava	

**Libre** ella le dio casabe

<b>111 Mot</b>	" ajá'a	, chuchú	" ké	rúmícha	, "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	chuchú	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>112 Mot</b>	pajñáchí	ké	rúmícha	, pá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= ajñá -chí	ké	ru= ímí -cha	pá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>113 Mot</b>	phiwakáta	Kanumá	jló	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jiwaká tâ	Kanumá	jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg boss emph1	Kanumá	for	

**Libre** a la porquería de su jefe Kanumá

<b>114.1 Mot</b>	jée	nulakélo		ké	rúmícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	nu= laké	-lo	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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,

<b>114.2 Mot</b>	, ñaké	palá	pa'chá		nojló	kujnú	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	palá	pi= a' -chá		nu= jló	kujnú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	good	2sg give	pst	1sg for	cassava	

**Libre** si usted me dio bien casabe

<b>115 Mot</b>	" kéjo'ó	riká		chuchú	Chu'rúmi	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		chuchú	Chu'rúmi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>116 Mot</b>	" ruliyá	pikejá'a		kujnú	pijlúwa	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= liyá	pi= kejáa'		kujnú	pi= jlu =wa	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>117 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rúmícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.nf say	pst

**Libre** bueno, él dijo

<b>118 Mot</b>	é	jro'pícha		yenójó	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ja'pí -cha		yenú =ejo	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f pass	pst	up towards	

**Libre** ella pasó hacia arriba

<b>119 Mot</b>	kalapíchina	já'lo		ru'michá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kalapíchí -na	já' -lo		ru= i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	capuchin pl	tribe f		3sg.f live	pst

**Libre** ella era gente de mico maicero

<b>120 Mot</b>	ká-	ja'pejé	i'micháyo	nákei	, maíre'ru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ja'pi =eje	i'mi -chá -yo	nákei	maíre'ru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>121 Mot</b>	é	riyái'cho	píño	, jemi'chári
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yái' -cha =o	píño	jemi' -chá -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>122 Mot</b>	riwáicha	rojlo	" úu "	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wái' -cha	ru= jló	úu	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf call pst	3sg.f for	hey	like

rímícha .  
 ri= ímí -cha  
 3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** el le llamó "úu"

<b>123.1 Mot</b>	" úu "	" ké	rúmícha	, " ná	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	úu	ké	ru= ímí -cha	ná	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>123.2 Mot</b>	" , ké	rúmícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha	.
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst	.

**Libre**

<b>124.1 Mot</b>	" nuká	" ké	rúmícha	, " ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>124.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	, unká	Chu'rúmi	ké	rímícha	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	Chu'rúmi	ké	ri= ímí	-cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	Chu'rúmi	like	3sg.nf say	pst

**Libre**

<b>125.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	" ná	pila'á	chuchú	?"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	pi= la'á	chuchú	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	2sg do	grandparent	

**Libre** "qué hace, abuelito" ella dijo

<b>125.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí	-cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say	pst

**Libre**

<b>126.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	" yée	, " ná	pila'á	?"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ná	pi= la'á	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	oh	indf	2sg do	

**Libre** "uy, por qué me dice qué es lo que estoy haciendo, nieta" él dijo, "me estoy muriendo de hambre"

<b>126.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	" kemakáje	nakú	, nulakélo	" ké
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kema -káje	nakú	nu= laké	-lo ké
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>127</b>	<b>Mot</b>	akuwāná	nu'jíchá	majǒ	júni	i'rajé
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	akuwāná	nu= i'jī	-chá	majǒ	júni i'ra -jé
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>128</b>	<b>Mot</b>	" ái	" ké	rúmícha	, " náje
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ái	ké	ru= ímí	-cha náje
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>129 Mot</b>	" yée	phiwaká	Kanumá	kemakáje	nakú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	pi= jiwaká	Kanumá	kema -káje	nakú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>130 Mot</b>	" rila'taré		jrenakúwa	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= la' -ta -ré	ri= jenakú =wa		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>131 Mot</b>	" kéjo'ó	riká	,	chuchú	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	chuchú		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>132 Mot</b>	maí kujnú	ké	( rímícha	-)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maí kujnú	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>133 Mot</b>	éko náke	,	pá	pi'maníña
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éko náke	pá	pi= i'ma -níña	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>134.1 Mot</b>	" ée	nulakélo	" ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	nu= laké	-lo	ké ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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,

<b>134.2 Mot</b>	ñaké	palá	a'ká	nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	palá	i= a' -ka	nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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).

<b>135 Mot</b>	kája	jro'pícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ru= ja'pí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.f pass	pst

**Libre** de ahí siguió

<b>136 Mot</b>	éjomi	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	already

**Libre** ya después

<b>137 Mot</b>	kája	jráo'cho	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= jáo' -cha =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf go_out	pst mid

**Libre** él se salió

<b>138 Mot</b>	riji'chá	kujnú	, jretá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ji' -chá	kujnú	ri= jetá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>139 Mot</b>	( riká	chú	pai'lá	e'yajé	) , pai'lá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chú	pai'lá	e'yajé	pai'lá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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- ) pajná  
 Chu'rúmi ké ri= ímí -cha chúwa \*\*\* pi= ajná  
 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 , pajná riká ké  
 méla'jé nu= ajná -la pi= ajná 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= ajná 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

rijĩ'chá píño .  
 ri= jĩ' -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

<b>155 Mot</b>	é kája	Kanumátá	i'jíchá	, amíchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	Kanumá tâ	i'jĩ -chá	amí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>156 Mot</b>	raú	ripéchu	i'michá	, " méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= aú	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>157 Mot</b>	chúwa	nomájĩka	apála	ná	ka'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu= amá -jĩ -ka	apála	ná	ka'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>158 Mot</b>	é kája	( ri- )	, ( mun- )	, jlapiyáĩ	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	***	***	jlapiyáĩ	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>159 Mot</b>	amíchari	kujnú	mujúmiñáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	kujnú	mujúmi =ñáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	rijĩ'chá	, 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

<b>160 Mot</b>	amíchari	itu'ru	ri'micháká	, "	yée
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	itu'ru	ri= i'mi -chá -ká		yée
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	rajñálanó	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

<b>161 Mot</b>	" apála	ná	ka'jné	ramá	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apála	ná	ka'jné	ri= amá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>162 Mot</b>	" chúwa	númájika		chuchú	Chu'rúmi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu= ímá -jĩ -ka		chuchú	Chu'rúmi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>163 Mot</b>	kája	muní ké	najme'tíya	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	muní ké	na= jme'tí	-ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	next_day	3pl become_light	pst

**Libre** ya al otro día amaneció

<b>164 Mot</b>	" chuchú	, chuchú	Chu'rúmi	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chuchú	chuchú	Chu'rúmi	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	grandparent	grandparent	Chu'rúmi	like

rímícha

ri= ímí -cha

3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** "abuelo chu'rúmi" él dijo

<b>165.1 Mot</b>	" píma	nojlo	" ké	rímícha	, "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= íma	nu= jló	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg say	1sg for	like	3sg.nf say pst	

ná pamáno ?

ná pi= amá =no

indf 2sg see hab

**Libre**

<b>165.2 Mot</b>	, é	ka'jna	pamáka	inaána	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ka'jna	pi= amá -ka	inaána	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	Q	dub	2sg see ka.int	woman	

**Libre** "dígame" él dijo, "ha visto a alguien, o de pronto ha visto mujeres, o qué será"

<b>165.3 Mot</b>	, mé	ka'jno	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mé	ka'jno	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	dub	

**Libre**

<b>166 Mot</b>	" unká	newaká	" ké	rímícha	, unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	nu= jiwaká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>167 Mot</b>	" unká	" ké	rímícha	, "	pi'má
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha		pi= i'má
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jné " ké rímícha , jlálémi  
**Morphèmes** pá a'jné ké ri= ímí -cha jlálémi  
**Glose lex.** look then like 3sg.nf say pst yesterday

pi'jné  
 pi= i'jné  
 2sg go

**Libre** laym: "mire ese de allá" él dijo, "ayer usted fue"

**169 Mot** " é nu'jné phetá chú noto'ó  
**Morphèmes** é nu= i'jné pi= jetá chú nu= to'ó  
**Glose lex.** then 1sg go 2sg hammoc in 1sg lie

phetá 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 phetá 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'jné pamá  
**Morphèmes** aú nu= ímá apála ná ka'jné 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"

<b>172 Mot</b>	"	kapí	,	nulaké	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kapí		nu= laké		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>173 Mot</b>	kája ewáta	rímícha	rijló	"	kéjo'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ewáta	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló		ké =jo'ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>174 Mot</b>	"	nomájo'o	inaána	"	ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>		nu= amá =jo'ó	inaána		ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		1sg see still	woman		like	3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** "sí es cierto yo vi las mujeres" dijo

<b>175 Mot</b>	"	marí	ké	nemaká	nojló	,	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>		marí	ké	na= ima -ká	nu= jló		aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>176 Mot</b>	"	kéjo'o	riká	chuchú	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	chuchú		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>177.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	méké	pamákanó		neká	?"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		méké	pi= amá -ka	=no	na= ikhá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		indf.manner	2sg see	ka.cleft hab	3pl pro	

**Libre** "cómo usted los miró a ellos?" él dijo

<b>177.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ké	rímícha	.
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.nf say	pst

**Libre**

<b>178</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	marí	ké	".
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		marí	ké	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		prox	like	

**Libre** "así" dijo él

<b>179</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kaápu'kú	kéri	i'maká	jlapí	, é
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kaápu'kú	kéri	i'ma -ka	jlapí	é
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	noon	moon	cop ka.when	night	then

nu'jnáno  
 nu= i'jná =no  
 1sg go hab

**Libre** cuando la luna está bien derecho de noche, ahí siempre voy

<b>180</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	nuyá'onó	júni	turená	, é
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		nu= yáa' =o	=no júni	turená	é
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>181</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	na'áno	nojló	kujnú	".
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		na= a'á =no	nu= jló	kujnú	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		3pl give hab	1sg for	cassava	

**Libre** siempre me dan casabe

<b>182</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	riká	nupatáno	majó	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri= ikhá	nu= patá =no	majó	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf pro	1sg grab hab	prox.toward	

nojñáano " 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'jné 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'jī -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'jné "  
 ri= ímí -cha chúwa tâ i'jné  
 3sg.nf say pst now emph1 let's\_go

**Libre** bueno abuelo, ahora sí nos vamos

<b>188 Mot</b>	é kája	ne'jĩchá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= ijĩ -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go pst	

**Libre** de ahí ya se fueron

<b>189 Mot</b>	" yéee "	ne'jĩchá	,	kaápu'kú	kéri
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yéee	na= ijĩ -chá		kaápu'kú	kéri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>190 Mot</b>	kája	nayái'cho		júni	turená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= yái' -cha =o		júni	turená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3pl sit pst	mid	water1	board

**Libre** ahí se sentaron a la orilla del río

<b>191 Mot</b>	é kája	jnemi'chá		rumejé	waícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= jemi' -chá		ru= mejé	waícha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl listen pst		3sg.f sound	return

**Libre** escucharon que ella venía

<b>192 Mot</b>	phe'rúji		jlo	ne'weló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phe' -rú -ji		jlo	na= e'we -ló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	eldest f	unposs	?	3pl brother f

**Libre** la hermana mayor

<b>193 Mot</b>	" kélerútá		waíchayo	,	chuchú	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéle -rú tâ		waícha -yo		chuchú	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>194 Mot</b>	ikája	kanumá	yái'cho		riwajlé	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ikája	Kanumá	yái' -cha =o		ri= wajlé	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>202 Mot</b>	é	rukuwáĩ'cha	riloko'páni	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= kuwáĩ' -cha	ri= loko'páni	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f cross pst	3sg.nf side	

**Libre** ahí ella cruzó donde él

<b>203 Mot</b>	" méké	chuchú	" ké	rúmícha	,	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	chuchú	ké	ru= ímí -cha		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>204 Mot</b>	" unká	nulakélo	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	nu= laké -lo	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>205 Mot</b>	" mére	, pitára'kojlo	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méré	pi= tára' -ka =o =jló	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.loc	2sg stand_up ka.topic mid frust	like

rúmícha  
ru= ímí -cha  
3sg.f say pst



<b>212 Mot</b>	yée	ké	rúmícha		chúwa	nuwái'cha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ké	ri=	ímí	-cha	chúwa nu= wái' -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	oh	like	3sg.nf	say	pst	now 1sg call pst

piká

pi= ikhá

2sg pro

**Libre** ahora sí yo te voy a coger

<b>213 Mot</b>	"	ái	"	ké	rúmícha		"	nuwái'cha
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ái		ké	ru=	ímí	-cha	nu= wái' -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>214.1 Mot</b>	"	ná	penáje	pika'á		phanajútá
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ná	penáje	pi=	ka'á	pi= janajú tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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?,"

<b>214.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha		,	"	unká	nuwátala	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru=	ímí	-cha		unká	nu= wáta -la	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>215 Mot</b>	inaána	i'máñó		pijwa'té		i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inaána	i'má	-ñó	pi=	jwa'té	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>216 Mot</b>	ñaké	unká	nuwátala		.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	unká	nu= wáta -la		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>222 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	rímícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	3sg.nf say pst	

**Libre** bueno" dijo él

<b>223 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	rúmícha	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	3sg.f say pst	

**Libre** bueno" dijo ella

<b>224.1 Mot</b>	ikája	rúmícha	Chu'rúmi	jló	"	chuchú	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ikája	ru= ímí -cha	Chu'rúmi	jló		chuchú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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,

<b>224.2 Mot</b>	pi'má	wayukúná	méka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= i'má	wa= yukú -ná	mé -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>225 Mot</b>	náke	wemaká	pijló	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	náke	wa= ima -ká	pi= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh	1pl say ka.cleft	2sg for	

**Libre** nosotros te dijimos

<b>226 Mot</b>	"	unká	chuchú	"	ké	rímíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	chuchú		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		neg	grandparent		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	

kája	riwicho'chá		jranajǔ		jruwilá	chiyá	"
kája	ri= wicho'	-chá	ri= janajǔ		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)

<b>227 Mot</b>	é kája	ru'jrichá		píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru= i'jri	-chá	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f	go_up	pst

**Libre** ahí se subió de nuevo

<b>228 Mot</b>	é	kája	apa'wélo	i'micháyó		maíre'ru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	apa'wélo	i'mi -chá	-yó	maíre'ru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	other.f	cop	pst	f.nz

**Libre** y ya estaba la otra Maíre'ru

<b>229 Mot</b>	rujmerélómi				ru'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= jmeré		-ló =mi	ru= i'mi	-chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f	younger_brother	f	pfv	3sg.f

**Libre** ella era la menor

<b>230 Mot</b>	é kája	ru'jrichá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru= i'jri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f

**Libre** ahí (despacio) ella subió

<b>231 Mot</b>	é	riwái'cha		" newaká	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= wái'	-cha	nu= jiwaká	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	call	pst	1sg

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"

<b>232 Mot</b>	é kája	é	riwái'cha		rojló	" óo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	é	ri= wái'	-cha	ru= jló	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	say

**Libre** después él la llamó "oo nieta" él dijo

<b>233 Mot</b>	"	chuchú	Chu'rúmi	"	ké	rúmíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>		chuchú	Chu'rúmi		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>249.1 Mot</b>	ilé	kalé	inaána	i'má	pijwa'té				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	kalé	inaána	i'ma	pi= jwa'té				
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>249.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmíchaka			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			

**Libre**

<b>250 Mot</b>	é kája	" unká	" ké	rímícha	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	neg	like	3sg.nf say pst	

**Libre** "no" él dijo

<b>251 Mot</b>	kéjo'ó	riká	Kanumá	ké	rúmícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	Kanumá	ké	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>252 Mot</b>	pipuráka'lo		i'maká	nujwa'té	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= puráka'la =o		i'ma -ka	nu= jwa'té	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>253 Mot</b>	" jé	, kéjo'ó	riká	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>271 Mot</b>	takhi'chári	kamu'júniñani
<b>Morphèmes</b>	takhi' -chá -ri	kamu'jú -ni =ñáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>272 Mot</b>	" unká "	" ké rímícha , kajúphí wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká ké ri= ímí -cha kajúphí wáni	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>273 Mot</b>	" unká kanumá "	" ké rúmícha " kéwáka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká Kanumá ké ru= ímí -cha kéwaka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>274 Mot</b>	" jé "	" éta jra'chó runakojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé éta ri= ja' -cha =ó ru= nakú =eje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good then 3sg.nf fall pst mid 3sg.f on until	

**Libre** "bueno" ahí él cayó hacia ella

<b>275 Mot</b>	wáje wáni riki'cháka jlá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wáje wáni ri= ki' -chá -ka jlá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>276.1 Mot</b>	"	yúka'a	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>		yúka'a		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			é
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>276.2 Mot</b>	ilé	kajé	piwó	jña'ó	nunáku	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	kájé	pi= wó	jña' =o	nu= náku	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	type	2sg stomach	take mid	1sg on	

ké rúmícha  
 ké ru= ímí -cha  
 like 3sg.f say pst

**Libre**

<b>277 Mot</b>	kája	nawejícha	píño	ruká	é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= wejí -cha	píño	ru= ikhá	é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>278 Mot</b>	chúwatá	é kája	majó	pi'jná	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa tâ	é kája	majó	pi= i'jná	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	now	emph1	then	prox.toward	2sg go like

rúmícha  
 ru= ímí -cha  
 3sg.f say pst

**Libre** ahora sí, ella dijo, venga para acá

<b>279 Mot</b>	kája	romotho'chá	ña'kú	, riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ru= motho' -chá	ña'kú	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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



<b>280 Mot</b>	éjéchami	ne'micháká		júpími
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjéchami	na= i'mi -chá -ka		júpími
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl cop pst ka.topic		long_time

**Libre** después vivieron tiempo

<b>281.1 Mot</b>	" é	kanumá	" ké	rúmíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	Kanumá	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>281.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst

**Libre**

<b>282 Mot</b>	" á'a	" ké	rímícha	" ré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	á'a	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri= é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>283 Mot</b>	é	kája	ne'jíchá	, rijwa'téjena
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= i'jĩ -chá	ri= jwa'téje -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>284.1 Mot</b>	" ái	" ké	rúmícha	; "	náje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ái	ké	ru= ímí -cha		náje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>284.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rúmícha	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ru= ímí -cha	phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.f say pst	all

**Libre**

<b>285 Mot</b>	"	i'jná	"	ké	rúmícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		i'jná		ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>286 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá		i'micháká		, é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá		i'mi -chá -ka		é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>287 Mot</b>	riká		chojé		ruki'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá		chojé		ru= ki' -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>288 Mot</b>	"	é	kanumá	"	ké	rúmíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		é	Kanumá		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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        nákájé        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

<b>294 Mot</b>	aú	rijwa'téjena	i'jíchá	mawíru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= jwa'téje	-na i'jĩ -chá	mawíru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>295 Mot</b>	mawíru	jená	chojé	wephícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mawíru	jená	chojé	wa= iphí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>296 Mot</b>	riká	nati'yá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	na= ti' -yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	3pl grate pst

**Libre** ese ellos rallaron

<b>297 Mot</b>	é	nayuwéri'cho	rináku	,	"	kanumá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= yuwéri'	-cha =o ri= náku			Kanumá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>298 Mot</b>	" marí	ké	riká	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ri= ikhá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	3sg.nf pro	like

rímíchaka  
 ri= ímí -cha -ka  
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "aquí está" dijo él

<b>299 Mot</b>	é	romícha		amíchari		pupúyo	ícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	amí	-cha	amí	-cha	-ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>300.1 Mot</b>	"	ái	"	ké	rúmíchaka	"	méla'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ái		ké	ru=	ímí	-cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>300.2 Mot</b>	pupúyo	íchatá		pa'yú	kemakáre	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pupúyo	ícha	tá	pa'yú	kema	-káre
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>301 Mot</b>	"	jái	"	ké	rímíchaka	"	mékajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jái		ké	ri=	ímí	-cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>308 Mot</b>	"	unká	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>309 Mot</b>	aú	númá	rijló	"	unká	ají	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	nu= ímá	ri= jló		unká	ají	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>310 Mot</b>	"	kajú	paláni	ké	pa'yú	mawirúné	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kajú	palá -ni	ké	pa'yú	mawirú -ne	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>311 Mot</b>	"	kéjo'ó	riká	"	ké	rímícha	,	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha		
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like still	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"

<b>312 Mot</b>	riká	phara'pá	mawirúné	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	pi= jara'pá	mawirú -ne	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>313 Mot</b>	kéjo'ó	riká	ké	rúmícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>314 Mot</b>	ñaké	iká	nutú	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	ri= ikhá	nu= itú	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>315 Mot</b>	éko	pímá	Kanumá	jló	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éko	pi= ímá	Kanumá	jló	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 rímíchaka " 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

<b>344 Mot</b>	"	Chu'rúmi	nókicharo				
<b>Morphèmes</b>		Chu'rúmi	nó -ki -cha -ri	=o			
<b>Glose lex.</b>		Chu'rúmi	kill ass pst	nf.cleft	mid		

**Libre** el viejo chu'rúmi también peleó (MLS: noka-kajo: lucharse, pelearse uno con otro)

<b>345 Mot</b>	kája	muní ké	kája	napúchaka			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	muní ké	kája	na= apú -cha -ka			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	next_day	already	3pl wake_up pst	ka.cleft		

**Libre** al otro día ya se despertaron

<b>346 Mot</b>	"	Kanumá	" ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	chúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>		Kanumá	ké ru= ímí -cha -ka				chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>347 Mot</b>	"	kéjo'ó	riká	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like still	3sg.nf pro		like

rímíchaka  
ri= ímí -cha -ka  
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "así es" dijo

<b>348 Mot</b>	é kája	ne'michá	júpi	,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= i'mi -chá	júpi		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>349 Mot</b>	pipirí	jená	chojé	riphícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pipirí	jená	chojé	ri= ipha -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>350 Mot</b>	" ijña'á	pipirí	" ké	rímícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i= jña'á	pipirí	ké	ri= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>351 Mot</b>	jé	é	ne'michá	pipirí	jña'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	é	na= i'mi -chá	pipirí	jña' -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	then	3pl cop pst	palm_sp	take purp.mot

**Libre** bueno ahí se fueron a coger chontaduro.

<b>352 Mot</b>	amíchari	najĩ'cháka	kélé	kanumá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	na= jĩ' -chá -ka	kélé	Kanumá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	see pst nf.ss	3pl take pst	ka.nz	med Kanumá
	pipirí			
	pipirí			
	palm_sp			

**Libre** ellos miraron que cogieron chontaduro de Kanumá

<b>353 Mot</b>	nephátiya	jláichú	riká	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= iphá -ti -ya	jláichú	ri= ikhá	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl arrive caus pst	afternoon	3sg.nf pro	then
	ru'jichá			
	ru= i'jĩ -chá			
	3sg.f go pst			

**Libre** lo trajeron por la tarde, ahí ella fue

<b>354.1 Mot</b>	rúmícha	, "	kanumá	" rúmícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ímí -cha		Kanumá	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f say pst		Kanumá	3sg.f say pst	



méré	kélé	pipirí	pijwa'téjena	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"

<b>354.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rúmícha	,	"	unká	,	marí	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ru= ímí -cha			unká		marí		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.f say pst			neg		prox		like

rímícha  
ri= ímí -cha  
3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** "no, este"

<b>355 Mot</b>	amíchari	luirí	ícha	ri'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	luirí	ícha	ri= i'mi -chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>356 Mot</b>	"	ái	"	ké	rúmíchaka	,	"	Kanumá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ái		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			Kanumá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>357 Mot</b>	"	kháájĩ	,	unká	pipirí	kalé	kháájítá
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kháájĩ		unká	pipirí	kalé	kháájĩ tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>358 Mot</b>	apú	kájé	kélé	pipirí	ké	rúmícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú	kájé	kélé	pipirí	ké	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>359 Mot</b>	yée	ké	rímíchaka	,	méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>360 Mot</b>	paláni	kélé	pa'yú	pipiré		ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá -ni	kélé	pa'yú	pipi	-re	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>361 Mot</b>	kája ewája	ne'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ewája	na= i'mi -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	at last	3pl live pst ka.insub?

**Libre** ahí estuvieron tiempo

<b>362 Mot</b>	aú	ru'micháká		eyája	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ru= i'mi -chá -ka		eyá =ja	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 " méréchí 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** aũ númá rijló " unká ajíké  
**Morphèmes** aũ nu= ímá ri= jló unká ajĩ 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)

<b>368 Mot</b>	aú	rímá	nojló	jlálémi	"	méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímá	nu= jló	jlálémi		méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>369 Mot</b>	aú	nu'jíchá	majó	pa'yú	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	nu= i'jĩ -chá	majó	pa'yú	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>370 Mot</b>	"	kéjo'ó	riká	nutú	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	nu= itú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>371 Mot</b>	puwa'ká	jewání	ri'majíkáé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	puwa'ká	jewá -ní	ri= i'ma -jĩ -ká é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	if	yellow nf	3sg.nf tell fut ka.nz in

nuwakára'a	rijló	pura'kájo		ri'jnakálojé
nu= wakára'a	ri= jló	pura' -káje	=o	ri= i'jna -ká lojé
1sg order	3sg.nf for	speak ev.nz2	mid	3sg.nf go ka.adv purp3
nojló	riwítúka'taje		ké	rímícha
nu= jló	ri= wítúka'	-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= jĩ' -chá ri= é =wǎ =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 -jĩ -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)

<b>376 Mot</b>	" kéjo'ó	riká		" ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like still	3sg.nf pro		like	3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** está bien dijo él

<b>377 Mot</b>	marí	nujĩ'chá		ké	rúmíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	nu= jĩ' -chá		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>378 Mot</b>	é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then

**Libre** ahí ya

<b>379 Mot</b>	" méré	nomáijlá		" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méré	nu= amá ijlá		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>380 Mot</b>	" kéjo'ó	riká		" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like still	3sg.nf pro		like

rúmíchaka
ru= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "está bien" dijo ella

<b>381 Mot</b>	é	kaja	ne'michá		júpi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= i'mi -chá		júpi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'kájo  
 majó nu= i'jĩ -chá pi= wakára' -ka pura' -káje =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

<b>395 Mot</b>	palánojé		ri'micháká		pipirí	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá -nojé		ri= i'mi -chá -ká		pipirí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>396 Mot</b>	é kája	ripéchú		i'michá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= péchú		i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>397 Mot</b>	kája	riwitúka'tiya		riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= witúka' -ti -ya		ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3sg.nf go_down caus pst		3sg.nf pro

**Libre** "ahí ya lo bajó"

<b>398 Mot</b>	júpi	riwitúka'tiya		riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	ri= witúka' -ti -ya		ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	3sg.nf go_down caus pst		3sg.nf pro

phiyúké	,	kája	i'michárí		pajlúwa	i'michárí
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 frustr 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 , " kékáka  
**Morphèmes** unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka kékaka  
**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 jĩ'chári riká  
 ké ri= ímí -cha pi= ikhá jĩ' -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 majó nomáijlá ké  
**Morphèmes** méré majó 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 ijí i'micháká , marí  
 ri= ki' -chá kélé pipirí ijí 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

<b>413 Mot</b>	é	jrewĩ'cho		tu'jrí	penáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= jewí'	-cha =o	tu'jrí	penáje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	me'té	númájika		, nu'majiká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	me'té	nu= ímá -jĩ -ka		nu= i'ma -jĩ -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>2 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'micháří		riya'jnéru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -rí		ri= ya'jnéru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	one	person	cop pst nf.cleft		3sg.nf mother_in_law

jwa'té  
 jwa'té  
 with

**Libre** había una persona vivía con la suegra

<b>3 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		riyajálo	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= yajálo	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst		3sg.nf wife	for

**Libre** le dijo a la esposa

<b>4 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		riya'jnéru	jló "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= ya'jnéru	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	é	nanúkicho			riyajálo	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= núki	-cha	=o	ri= yajálo	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl move	pst	mid	3sg.nf wife	with

**Libre** así se fueron con la mujer

<b>6 Mot</b>	nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh

**Libre**

<b>7 Mot</b>	náke	júkája	ne'micháká	nákai
<b>Morphèmes</b>	náke	júk'ká =ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká	nákai
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh	far lim	3pl go pst ka.cleft	uh

riya'jnéru                      awa'yá                      , máayá                      a'j'ná                      ná kai                      jú'kája  
ri= ya'jnéru                      awa' =eyá                      máa eyá                      a'j'ná                      ná kai                      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),

<b>8 Mot</b>	eyá	nákei	...	yuíchami	náke	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	nákei		yuí -cha =mi	náke	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>9 Mot</b>	é kája	ne'michá	júpichami	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= i'mi	chá júpichami	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl live	on long_time	uh

**Libre** ahí estuvieron mucho tiempo

<b>10 Mot</b>	júpicha	ru'michá	rokója	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpicha	ru= i'mi -chá	ru= ikhá =o =ja	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>11 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst	uh

**Libre** ella dijo

<b>12 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchátá	riphíchatá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= íjĩ -chá tá	ri= iphí -cha tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>13 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	" ũká	ná	nula'lá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	unká	ná	nu= la' -lá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>14 Mot</b>	é	rímíchatá	rojló	nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha tá	ru= jló	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst emph1	3sg.f for	uh

**Libre** y luego le dijo

<b>15 Mot</b>	é	nákei	rímíchatá	"	parápa'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákei	ri= ímí -cha tá		pi= arápa'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 ná kai , june'é  
**Morphèmes** ri= ipha -cha iñepú ná kai 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 ná kai pají chojé ,  
 i= apumí i'mi -chá -ká ná kai 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,

<b>18.2 Mot</b>		, réjō		nomíchajláko	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ejo		nu= amí -cha jlá	=kó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	towards		1sg see prs	frust emph4

**Libre** voy a ver hasta allá"

<b>19 Mot</b>	é	riphícha		pají	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha -cha		pají	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf arrive	pst	maloca	towards_inside
rímícha		nákai	rímícha	nákai	rímícha
ri= ímí -cha	nákai	ri= ímí -cha	nákai	ri= ímí -cha	
3sg.nf say pst	uh	3sg.nf say pst	uh	3sg.nf say pst	
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"

<b>20 Mot</b>	é	nákei	" ũká	ná	inau'ké	pamála
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákei	unká	ná	inau'ké	pi= amá -la
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	neg	indf	person	2sg see v.neg
máawá	? "					
máa	=ewá					
here	around					

**Libre** "entonces no has visto por aquí alguna persona"

<b>21 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		rijló	" ũká	, náke	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		ri= jló	unká	náke	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>22 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha		rojlo	" ùká	ná	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló	unká	ná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>23 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		rojlo	" chúwa	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló	chúwa	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	nákei	, pa'á	piyaró		phi'rí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákei	pi= a'á	pi= yaré =o		phi'rí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh	2sg give	2sg paint mid		shrub

**Libre** y píntese con achiote (yaré-o: painting)

<b>25 Mot</b>	é	náke	ru'jíchá	, é	" jée	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	ru= i'jĩ -chá	é	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	3sg.f go pst	then	good	like
rúmícha						
ru= ímí -cha						
3sg.f say pst						

**Libre** ella le dijo "está bien"

<b>26 Mot</b>	é	náke	júpicha	méjěchá		chí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	júpicha	mé	ějěcha	chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	aú	rúmícha		" kaápu'kú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ru= ímí -cha		kaápu'kú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>28 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rímícha		" me'tení
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha		me'tení
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>29 Mot</b>	nákai	yéwíchaja	riphíchaka		jrená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákai	yéwícha =ja	ri= iphí -cha -ka		ri= jená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30 Mot</b>	nákei	rímícha	rojlo		" nuyajnéru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákei	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló		nu= ya'jnéru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>40 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rúmícha	," jé	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>41 Mot</b>	é	rutái'cho	,	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= táí'	-cha =o	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>42 Mot</b>	é	rataíchatá	:
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ataí -cha tá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf sing pst emph1	

**Libre** y cantaba así

<b>43 Mot</b>	" pajítá	petána	pajítá	wayána	pakiakó	riaro'má	riaro'má	síru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

síru	,	síru	síru"
***		***	***
***		***	***

**Libre** "pajítá petána pajítá wayána pakiakó riaro'má riaro'má síru síru, síru síru"

<b>44 Mot</b>	é kája	píyu'keru	wó	i'jīchá	de tanto
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	phíyu'ke -ru	wó	i'jī -chá	de tanto
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>45 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	,	é kája	ruwái'cha	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		é kája	ru= wái' -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>46 Mot</b>	" faki faki	,	majabui majabui"	ké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	*** ***		*** ***	ké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	*** ***		*** ***	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)

<b>47 Mot</b>	" kája	pinó	rikátá	,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pi= nó	ri= ikhá tâ		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>48 Mot</b>	rímíchakatá		rojlo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha -ka	tá	ru= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	emph1	3sg.f for

**Libre** él le dijo a ella

<b>49 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	" á'a "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	á'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst	yes



**Libre** entonces dijo "sí"

<b>50 Mot</b>	é	riwái'cha	puerta	numanáje	ukéna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= wái' -cha	puerta	numaná =eje	ukéna
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>51 Mot</b>	ré	náke	réjé	rulakéjnú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	náke	ri= =eje	ru= lakéjnú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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  
 nákai iphári pýu'keru jló jra'piwá marí  
 nákai 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"

<b>52 Mot</b>	rijĩ'chá	a'waná	riká	aũ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jĩ' -chá	a'waná	ri= ikhá	aũ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>53 Mot</b>	aũ	ũká	kája	ritáchiya	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	unká	kája	ri= itá -chi -ya	phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>59 Mot</b>	rimatha'chíya			rojló		phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= matha' -chi -ya			ru= jló		phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>60 Mot</b>	kécha	ripitíya		kuwelá		chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kécha	ri= pití -ya		kuwelá		chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	3sg.nf pile_up	pst	grill		towards_inside

riká  
 ri= ikhá  
 3sg.nf pro

**Libre** y lo puso en la pasera

<b>61 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		náke	rojló		, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		náke	ru= jló		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>62 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha		rojló		" ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímí -cha		ru= jló		unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>63 Mot</b>	maáre	pa'mitá		pajñáchí		nákai	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maáre	pi= a'mitá		pi= ajña' -chí		nákai	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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              kétána =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)

<b>68 Mot</b>	kája	ejenája	riyukúná	tajno	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná	tajná =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	until lim	3sg.nf story alien3	finish mid	

rejenája	kawayá	yukúná	tajno
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

<b>8 Mot</b>	pu'jí	ripéchu	i'michá	rítu	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pu'jí	ri= péchú	i'mi -chá	ri= ítu	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	happy	3sg.nf thought	cop pst	3sg.nf daughter	with

**Libre** él estaba muy contento con la hija

<b>9 Mot</b>	kajú	wani	rili'cháka	rojló	lawichú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	wáni	ri= li' -chá -ka	ru= jló	lawichú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 muucha curación para ella para que ella viva bien

<b>10 Mot</b>	é	kaja	júpi	ne'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	júpi	na= i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	emph?	long_time	3pl live pst

**Libre** vivieron mucho tiempo

<b>11 Mot</b>	romi'chá	kája	jrora'pá	ja'piyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= jema' -chá	kája	ru= jara'pá	ja'pi =eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f listen pst	already	3sg.f father.ref	under from

**Libre** ella le hacía caso a su papá

<b>12 Mot</b>	rímíchaka	rojló	kéja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha -ka	ru= jló	ké =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>13 Mot</b>	é	ri'rí	i'micháí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'rí	i'mi -chá -rí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf son	cop pst nf.cleft

**Libre** y él tenía un hijo

<b>14 Mot</b>	ré	kája	riyajálo	i'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= é	kája	ri= yajálo	i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf in	emph?	3sg.nf wife	cop pst

**Libre** y él también tenía su mujer

<b>15 Mot</b>	ne'rí	i'micháí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'rí	i'mi -chá -rí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl son	cop pst nf.cleft

**Libre** tenía hijo (de ellos)

<b>16 Mot</b>	yuwají
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yuwa -ji
<b>Glose lex.</b>	unripe nf

**Libre** menor

<b>17 Mot</b>	to'jmá	jo'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	to'jmá	=jo'ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	boy	still

**Libre** niño casi adolescente (entre la niñez y la adolescencia)

<b>18 Mot</b>	é kája	jraló		i'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri=	aló	i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	mother.ref	go pst

**Libre** de ahí la mamá se fue

<b>19 Mot</b>	rupulá'peru			i'jícháyó		mená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru=	puláa'pe	-ru	i'jĩ -chá	-yo	mená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f	brother_in_law	f	go pst	f.cleft	cropland

e'yajé  
e'yajé  
towards

**Libre** la cuñada se fue a la chagra

<b>20 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		rojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	ímí -cha	ru= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f	say pst	3sg.f for

**Libre** ella le dijo a ella

<b>21 Mot</b>	maáre	piyoró		to'jmá	jwa'té	kája	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maáre	pi=	yori =o	to'jmá	jwa'té	kája	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>22 Mot</b>	pamá	nojló	riká		, nuji'cháchí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi=	amá	nu= jló	ri= ikhá	nu= jĩ' -chá -chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg	see	1sg for	3sg.nf pro	1sg take prs hort

kajírú  
kajírú  
manioc

**Libre** cuide al niño para yo coger yuca

<b>23 Mot</b>	jé	ké	rúmícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.f say pst

**Libre** bueno ella dijo

<b>24 Mot</b>	é kája	ru'jíchá		mená	e'yajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ru=	i'jĩ -chá	mená	e'yajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f	go pst	cropland	towards



**Libre** de ahí ella se fue a la chagra (la madrastra)

<b>25 Mot</b>	júpi	nayurícho	kéelé	yuwají	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	na= yurí -cha =o	kéelé	yuwa -ji	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	3pl stay pst mid	med	unripe nf	with

**Libre** se quedaron buen rato con ese niño

<b>26 Mot</b>	kája ewája	rikamátiyo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ewája	ri= kamáti -ya =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	at last	3sg.nf sleep pst mid

**Libre** por fin él durmió

<b>27 Mot</b>	é	rapócha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= apó -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf wake_up pst

**Libre** él se levantó

<b>28 Mot</b>	kajrú	riíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajrú	ri= íí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	3sg.nf cry pst ka.cleft

**Libre** el lloró mucho

<b>29 Mot</b>	rumanúma'chiyajló	, unká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ma- núma -' -chi -ya =jló	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	rijló	" piyániña	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	ri= jló	pi= íí -niña	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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,

<b>31 Mot</b>	" kaja	paló	i'jíchá	kajírú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pi= aló	i'jĩ -chá	kajírú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>32 Mot</b>	eyowáke	jraló		ja'píchaka		pají
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyowáke	ri=	aló	ja'pá -cha -ka		pají
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>33 Mot</b>	ro'pícha		rupícha		kajírú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ja'pá -cha		ru= ipá -cha		kajírú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f pass pst		3sg.f wash pst		manioc

**Libre** ella pasó y lavó la yuca

<b>34 Mot</b>	é	jrócho'cho			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= jácho' -cha	=o		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f go_out pst	mid		

**Libre** ella salió

<b>35 Mot</b>	ruphícha		ũká	méké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ipha -cha		unká	méké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f arrive pst		neg	indf.manner	

rumalácha  
 ru= ima -lá -cha  
 3sg.f say v.neg pst

**Libre** llegó y no dijo nada

<b>36 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		"( to'jmá )	pa'á	nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		to'jmá	pi= a'á	nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst		boy	2sg give	1sg for

to'jmá "  
 to'jmá  
 boy

**Libre** ella dijo "deme al niño"

<b>37 Mot</b>	" jé "	ke			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like			

**Libre** bueno

<b>38 Mot</b>	é	ro'chá		rinúma	chu'chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= a'a -chá		ri= núma	chu'chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 númícha "  
**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)

<b>63 Mot</b>	jé	ké	rúmicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.f say pst

**Libre** bueno dijo ella

<b>64 Mot</b>	é	rujĩ'chá	aka'ró	romo'kálojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= jĩ' -chá	aka'ró	ru= amo' -ká lojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f take pst	vase	3sg.f take ka.adv purp3

richáya	rupéchú	i'michá	" ùká	ka'jno	ritu'ró
ri= cháya	ru= péchú	i'mi -chá	unká	ka'jno	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

<b>65 Mot</b>	romo'chaka	richáya	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= amo' -cha -ka	ri= cháya	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f take pst ka.nz	3sg.nf on	in

**Libre** cuando ella sacó el agua del encima

<b>66 Mot</b>	wejápaja	ñáni	jralá	i'micháká	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wejápa	=ñáni	ri= jalá	i'mi -chá -ká	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>67 Mot</b>	yée	ké	rúmicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yée	ké	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	oh	like	3sg.f say pst

**Libre** uy dijo ella

<b>68 Mot</b>	ilé	kalé	ka'jno	pipura'ó	kajrú	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	kalé	ka'jno	pi= pura' =ó	kajrú	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>69 Mot</b>	méké	palá	wani
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	palá	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	good	emph

**Libre** cómo tan bueno

<b>70 Mot</b>	"	kajrú	wáni	pijña'ká		itu'ró	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kajrú	wáni	pi= jña'	-ka	itu'ró	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>71 Mot</b>	e	júpija	ne'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	júpi	=ja na= i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	long_time	lim 3pl live pst

**Libre** duraron tiempo

<b>72 Mot</b>	rúmicha	rojlo	méke	kamu'jí	wani
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ímí -cha	ru= jló	méké	kamu'jí	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f say pst	3sg.f for	indf.manner	poor	emph

nuyakáa'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

<b>73 Mot</b>	piwilá	jitaká	pijimá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jwilá	jita -ka	pi= jimá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg hair	close ka.prog	2sg face

**Libre** que su cabello le está tapando su cara

<b>74 Mot</b>	majó	numatha'chí	piwilá	ke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	majó	nu= matha' -chí	pi= jwilá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>75 Mot</b>	jupejé	na'mitakhé	ná	karí	piñe	paná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	na= a'mita -khé	ná	***	***	paná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	3pl smoke far.pst	indf	***	***	leave

**Libre** antiguamente ahumaba hoja cortadera

<b>76 Mot</b>	jiyá	chá	nakúwa'takhe	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jiyá	chá	na= akúwa'ta	-khé ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	fire	on	3pl hang	far.pst 3sg.nf pro

**Libre** lo colgaba encima del fogón

<b>77 Mot</b>	riká		i'makhéri	nale'jé	piréña
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	i'ma -khé	-ri na= le'jé	piréña
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>78 Mot</b>	palá	ro'páchiyaka	runakojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá	ru= ja'pá -chi -ya -ka	ru= naku =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>79 Mot</b>	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg

**Libre**

<b>80 Mot</b>	kajrú	jrúra	i'jícháká	kajrú	wani
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajrú	ru= júra	i'jĩ -chá -ká	kajrú	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>81 Mot</b>	ũká	rora'pá	i'malácha	júpichami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ru= ara'pá	i'ma -lá -cha	júpichami
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>82 Mot</b>	ramícha	rutára'ko	, kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= amí -cha	ru= tára' -ka =o	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 , j'rorá'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 riyúi'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

<b>96 Mot</b>	jéko	pi'má	nútu	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jéko	pi= i'má	nu= ítu	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	pol.imp	2sg cop	1sg daughter	

**Libre** esté hija

<b>97 Mot</b>	jrewíña'chiya		ruká	popóminarú	penáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jewíña'	-chi -ya	ru= ikhá	***	penáje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>98 Mot</b>	ilé	kéja	pi'má	nútu	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	ké =ja	pi= i'má	nu= ítu	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>99 Mot</b>	é	kája	marí	kétána	nu'majé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	marí	kétána	nu= i'ma jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>100 Mot</b>	ũká	wáni	paála	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	wáni	paá -la	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	emph	bien.neg v.neg	

**Libre** no está bien

<b>101 Mot</b>	nu'rinú	tá	la'ká	nuká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= i'rinú	tâ	la' -ka	nu= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>102 Mot</b>	é	ri'irí	iphícha	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'rí	iphí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf son	arrive pst	

**Libre** ahí llegó el hijo

<b>103 Mot</b>	ri'irí	iphícha	,	rímicha	rijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= i'rí	iphí -cha		ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>104 Mot</b>	ũká	wáni	paála		piyajálo	wejána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	wáni	paá -la		pi= yajálo	wejána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>105 Mot</b>	marí	kajé	aú	kajú	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	kájé	aú	kajú	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>106 Mot</b>	ñaké	kája	marí	kétána	ja	nu'má
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	kája	marí	kétána	=ja	nu= i'má
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>107 Mot</b>	kája	nu'jnajíkája		chúwa	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	nu= i'jna	-jǐ -ka	=ja	chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>108 Mot</b>	ũká	méké	ri'rí		kemalácha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méké	ri= i'rí		kema -lá -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner	3sg.nf son		say v.neg pst

**Libre** el hijo de él no dijo nada

<b>109 Mot</b>	é kája	jrácho'cho		je'chú	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= jácho'	-cha =o	je'chú	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>115 Mot</b>	ne'kichá	a'waná	nejátiyajlá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'ki -chá	a'waná	na= ejáti -ya jlá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>116 Mot</b>	nejátiyajlá	nákájé	taka'tíyaro
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ejáti -ya jlá	nákaje	takha' -tí -ya -ri =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl sow pst frust	thing	die caus pst nf.cleft mid

**Libre** sembraron cosas todo se murieron

<b>117 Mot</b>	é	ne'michá	nákájé	kulákana	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'mi -chá	nákaje	kulá -kana	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>118 Mot</b>	kája	yéwíchaja	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	yéwícha =ja	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>119 Mot</b>	cháwani	nula'ká	nu'rí	, riyajálo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	cháwa -ni	nu= la' -ká	nu= i'rí	ri= yajálo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>120 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá	namáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jī -chá	na= amá -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3pl see purp.mot

**Libre** él se fue a ver a ellos

<b>121 Mot</b>	riphícha		meñáru	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ipha -cha	***	***	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf arrive	pst	***	in

**Libre** él llegó no había nadie (laym: chojé mejor que chú, o meñáru i'micháká)

<b>122 Mot</b>	jwe'chúka'laja		ne'micháká		eja'wá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jwe'chúka'la	=ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká		eja'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>123 Mot</b>	ũká	nephátalacha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	na= iphá -ta -la -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	3pl arrive caus v.neg pst

**Libre** no encontraban nada

<b>124 Mot</b>	é	riphícha		rilakéna		nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha -cha	ri= laké	-na	nakú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>125 Mot</b>	" chuchú	piphícha	" , "	á'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chuchú	pi= iphí -cha		á'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>126 Mot</b>	méké	iká	máawá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	ri= ikhá	máa =ewá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	3sg.nf pro	here around

**Libre** cómo están ustedes por acá

<b>127 Mot</b>	"	ũká	palá	,	ũká	palá	kalé	weká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	palá		unká	palá	kalé	wa=	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>128 Mot</b>	"	náje	cháwani	ila'á	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		náje	cháwa -ni	i= la'á		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>129.1 Mot</b>	"	aaa	"	rímícha	"	náje	itakha'á
<b>Morphèmes</b>		***		ri= ímí -cha		náje	i= takha'á
<b>Glose lex.</b>		***		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?"

<b>129.2 Mot</b>	ké	rímíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre**

<b>130 Mot</b>	"	kajú	máawá	a'jnejí	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kajú	máa =ewá	a'jne -jí		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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" "

<b>131 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá	riya'táje	najló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'ji -chá	ri= ya'tá -je	na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf show purp.mot	3pl for

**Libre** él se fue a mostrarle a ellos

<b>132 Mot</b>	kailá	ri'micháká	,	"	kháãjiko
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kailá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká			kháãjí =kó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'pijí	nakú	"					
i= takha'á	awa'á	me'pijí	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)

<b>133 Mot</b>	"	ají	ké	iná	la'ká	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ají	ké	iná	la' -ká	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>134 Mot</b>	é	rijĩ'chá	ríli
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= jĩ' -chá	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf take pst	***

**Libre** él sacó la semilla

<b>135 Mot</b>	riwapa'tíya	riká	, é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wapa' -tí -ya	ri= ikhá	é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

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**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)

<b>136 Mot</b>	riká	chú	nati'yá	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chú	na= ti' -yá	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	in	3pl grate pst	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** en eso lo rallaron

<b>137 Mot</b>	jrewíña'chiya	neká	mékéka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jewíña' -chi -ya	na= ikhá	méké -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>138 Mot</b>	é kája	natutúwi'cha	riká	,	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= tutúwi' -cha	ri= ikhá		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>139 Mot</b>	itu'rú	paláni	ritu'rú	ja'kó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	itu'rú	palá -ni	ri= itu'rú	ja' -ká =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	starch	good nf	3sg.nf starch	fall ka.cleft mid

**Libre** almidón caía puro almidón

<b>140 Mot</b>	é kája	jnamo'tá	richáya	puíní	kééchí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= amo' -ta	ri= cháya	puí -ní	kééchí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>141 Mot</b>	iñaá pé	nepaká	re'yayá	paláni	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iñaá -pé	na= ipa -ká	ri= e'yayá	palá -ni	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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; )

<b>142 Mot</b>	eyá	pipá	píño	re'yayá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	pi= ipá	píño	ri= e'yá =eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>143 Mot</b>	é kája	pila'á	kujnú	,	pikuwá	,	paláni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	pi= la'á	kujnú		pi= kuwá		palá -ni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>144 Mot</b>	nali'chá	é	rikuícha		najló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= li' -chá	é	ri= kuí -cha		na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>145 Mot</b>	é kája	rímícha	"	chúwa	tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= ímí -cha		chúwa	tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 ajñá  
ri= ímí -cha -ka kajú a'jne -jí éko i= ajñá  
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"

<b>146 Mot</b>	" jée	" ké	némícha	,	é	jnara'pá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	na= ímí -cha		é	na= ara'pá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>147 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	"	pu'jí	napéchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		pu'jí	na= péchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>148 Mot</b>	"	aaa	"	marí	ké	rímíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		***		marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		***		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"?

<b>149 Mot</b>	pá	mékéka		rikuwíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pá	méké	-ka	ri= kuwí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= ajǐ -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

<b>150 Mot</b>	riká		najǐ'cháno		rili'cháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	na= jǐ' -chá =no	ri= li' -chá -ka		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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
najǐ'chaja						
na= ajǐ -cha =ja						
3pl eat pst		lim				

**Libre** eso ellos seguían cogiendo, así como él hizo ellos rallaron para ellos y eso iban comiendo

<b>151 Mot</b>	é	kajú	inau'ké	i'micháká		riwakajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kajú	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ká		ri= wakajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>152 Mot</b>	jemi'cháño		riyukúná		é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jemi' -chá -ño		ri= yukú -ná		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>153 Mot</b>	ñaké	palá	ramíchaka		neká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	palá	ri= amí -cha -ka		na= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>154 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		" ũká	phiyúkéja	kalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		unká	phiyúké =ja	kalé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>155 Mot</b>	ewáka	kajúke	inau'ké	iphíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	kajú -ke	inau'ké	iphí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>162 Mot</b>	nakulíchaka		na'jnewá	eja'wá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= kulí	-cha -ka	na= a'jne =wá	eja'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl	search	pst	ka.prog
			3pl	food refl
				forest

e'yowá

e'yá ewá

in around

**Libre** estaban buscando comida en el monte

<b>163 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	najló	"	ila'níña
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí	-cha	na= jló	i= la' -níña
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>164 Mot</b>	"	ajnáré	apú	a'jnejí	kajú	kuwáni	mare'pé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ajnáré	apú	a'jne -jí	kajú	kuwáni	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>165 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	némíchaka	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	na= ímí -cha -ka	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>166 Mot</b>	amíchari		ña'kú	eja'wá	e'yajé	wajña'ku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha	-ri	ña'kú	eja'wá	e'yajé	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	see	pst	nf.ss	yam	forest	towards
						***

rií

ri= íí  
3sg.nf name

**Libre** ahí miraron que ahí había ñame del monte

<b>167 Mot</b>	kajú	pajlúwela		eja'wá	ri'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	pajlúwá	-ela	eja'wá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	one	cls:long	forest	3sg.nf
				cop	pst
					ka.cleft

**Libre** ese era un monte grande

<b>168 Mot</b>	riká	najĩ'chá	píño	na'jnewá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	na= jĩ' -chá	píño	na= a'jne =wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>169 Mot</b>	é	ajápána	we'píchaño	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ajápána	we'pí -cha -ño	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	other.pl	know pst pl.cleft	again

**Libre** y otros también sabían ya

<b>170 Mot</b>	phiyúké	ne'jĩcháka	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké	na= i'jĩ -chá -ka	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>171 Mot</b>	riwe'íka	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= we'í -ka	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf know ka.topic	again

**Libre** y él supo otra vez

<b>172 Mot</b>	é kája	rikapicháchiya	naliyá	píño	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= kapichá -chi -ya	na= liyá	píño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf lose caus pst	3pl from	again	

phiyúké  
phiyúké  
all

**Libre** ahí otra vez él lo desapareció todo

<b>173 Mot</b>	nayuícha	píño	ñakéjaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= yuí -cha	píño	ñaké -ja =ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>181 Mot</b>	é	phiyúké	inau'ké	jawakíchako				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	phiyúké	inau'ké	jawakí	-cha	-ka	=o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>182 Mot</b>	é	kája	rikapichátiya		naliyá	riká	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri= kapichá	-ti	-ya	na= liyá	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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,

<b>183 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	píño	eja'wá	e'yajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	píño	eja'wá	e'yajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>184 Mot</b>	kája	ũká	rijña'lácha		me'pijí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	unká	ri= jña' -lá	-cha	me'pijí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

amíchari                    itu'ró      ri'micháká    rami'chá  
 amí -cha -ri      itu'ró      ri=      i'mi -chá -ká      ri=      ami' -chá  
 see pst nf.ss      starch      3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft      3sg.nf smell pst

jráma amíchari    kamání      ri'micháká  
 \*\*\* amí -cha -ri      kamá -ní      ri=      i'mi -chá -ká  
 \*\*\* see pst nf.ss      \*\*\* nf      3sg.nf cop pst ka.cleft

**Libre** pa él mirar qué era y era almidón el lo olió y era puro almidón fuerte

**192 Mot**                    é                    ripinátiya    neká                    amíchari  
**Morphèmes**      é                    ri=      pináti -ya      na= ikhá      amí -cha -ri  
**Glose lex.**      then      3sg.nf search pst      3pl pro      see pst nf.ss

napú                    mujlúki'chaka    te'rí      e'yajé  
 na= aphú      mujlúki' -cha -ka      te'rí      e'yajé  
 3pl hole      enter      pst ka.nz      ground      towards

**Libre** y él lo estuvo mirando hasta que él miró que ellos tenían un hueco en la tierra

**193 Mot**                    é                    richícha  
**Morphèmes**      é                    ri=      ichí -cha  
**Glose lex.**      then      3sg.nf dig pst

**Libre** ahí él escarbó

**194 Mot**                    amíchari    itu'ró      i'micháká    jrara'pá  
**Morphèmes**      amí -cha -ri      itu'ró      i'mi -chá -ká      ri=      ara'pá  
**Glose lex.**      see pst nf.ss      starch      cop pst ka.nz      3sg.nf father.ref

yuíchari    piño      itu'ró      rijló    yéwícha      wáni  
 yuí -cha -ri    piño      itu'ró      ri=      jló      yéwícha      wáni  
 stay pst nf.cleft      again      starch      3sg.nf for      almost      emph

ritaja'ká  
 ri=      taja' -ká  
 3sg.nf die ka.cleft

**Libre** ahí él miró que era almidón que el papá de él había dejado

**195 Mot**                    é                    pu'jí      napéchú    i'micháká  
**Morphèmes**      é                    pu'jí      na= péchú      i'mi -chá -ká  
**Glose lex.**      then      happy      3pl thought      cop pst ka.cleft

ri'michá    rikoná      ramákalojé    méké  
 ri=      i'mi -chá      \*\*\*      ri=      amá -ka      lojé      méké  
 3sg.nf cop pst      \*\*\*      3sg.nf see ka.adv purp3      indf.manner

jñó'peka                    ,      amíchari    pajlúéla    eja'wá      itu'ró  
 jñó'pe -ka                    amí -cha -ri    pajlúwá -ela    eja'wá      itu'ró  
 big com      see pst nf.ss      one      cls:long      forest      starch

i'micháká  
 i'mi -chá -ká  
 cop pst ka.nz

**Libre** ahí ellos se pusieron contentos, se fue a mirar pa ver cómo de mucho había, había una hectárea de puro almidón (rikoná: ensayo, tantearlo)

**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'ru    te'rí  
ri= iphá -ta -ka    a'jne -jí    chúwa    itu'ru    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)

<b>205 Mot</b>	é kája	ripatíya		phiyúkéja	a'jnejí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= patí	-ya	phiyúké =ja	a'jne -jí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>206 Mot</b>	a'jnejí	phiyúké	ripatíya	péchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jne -jí	phiyúké	ri= patí -ya	péchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	food unposs	all	3sg.nf grab pst	thought

réjõ  
ri= ejo  
3sg.nf towards

**Libre** vimy: él devolvió todo pensamiento de comida allá

<b>207 Mot</b>	é kája	riwái'cha		ri'rí	...	jló	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= wái'	-cha	ri= i'rí		jló	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf call	pst	3sg.nf son		for	again

**Libre** él volvió a llamar nuevamente al hijo

<b>208 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá		richáje	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jī	-chá	ri= cháje	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>209 Mot</b>	"	nuwe'pí	ináku	kamu'jí	ila'ká
<b>Morphèmes</b>		nu= we'pí	ri= nakú	kamu'jí	i= la' -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>210 Mot</b>	"	ñaké kája	nupa'tá	pijló	chúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>		***	nu= pa'	-ta pi= jló	chúwa
<b>Glose lex.</b>		***	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"

<b>211 Mot</b>	nupa'chíya		píño	majó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= pa'	-chi -ya	píño	majó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>212 Mot</b>	jé	ké	rímíchaka		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	

**Libre** "bueno" él dijo

<b>213 Mot</b>	é	najĩ'chá		i'ratáké	,	waléjari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= jĩ'	-chá	***		waléjari
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>214 Mot</b>	najĩ'chá		pají	chojé	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jĩ'	-chá	pají	chojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl take	pst	maloca	towards_inside	

**Libre** lo llevaron a la maloca

<b>215 Mot</b>	ka'chí		kájémaka	kajú	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ka'chí		kájemáka	kajú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>216 Mot</b>	eyá	kája	ne'michá	palá	,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája	na= i'mi -chá	palá		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>217 Mot</b>	ka'chí	kájémaka	mená	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ka'chí	kájemáka	mená	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	ré	náke	weká	yúku	, ré			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	é	náke	wa=	ikhá	yúku	ri=	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>2 Mot</b>	phiyúké	mékéka		weká	eja'wá	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké	méké	-ka	wa=	ikhá	eja'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	ná	keño'taro		wajló	i'maká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	keño'	-ta -ri	=o	wa= jló	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>4 Mot</b>	kajmo'kájó		penáje	,	arápa'kaje	penáje	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajmo'	-káje	=o	penáje	arápa'	-kaje	penáje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>5 Mot</b>	painéko	keño'taro				chi'náikaje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	painéko	keño' -ta	-ri	=o		chi'náikaje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	first	begin	caus	nf.cleft	mid	owner

**Libre** primero comenzó yuruparí (painéke ~painéko) (vimy: es chi'náikana)

<b>6 Mot</b>	je'chú	keño'ótari			i'maká	mawíru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	je'chú	keño'ó -ta	-ri		i'ma -ka	mawíru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>7 Mot</b>	ná	aú	rikeño'ta		riká	i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	aú	ri= keño' -ta		ri= ikhá	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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...)

<b>8 Mot</b>	marí	jrená		chú	ripháká	wakajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ri= jená		chú	ri= iphá -ká	wakajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	3sg.nf	hour	in	3sg.nf	arrive

**Libre** este, tiempo cuando llega la fecha de él (de piña) (vimy: marí sobra)

<b>9 Mot</b>	mawíru	jená	chú	ripháká		wakajé	é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mawíru	jená	chú	ri= iphá -ká		wakajé	é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>10 Mot</b>	nayukupéra'a	phiyúkéja		inau'kéna		, ne'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= yukupéra'a	phiyúké	=ja	inau'ké -na		na= i'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl	invite	all	lim	person	pl

nacháje

na= cháje

3pl at

**Libre** ellos invitan toda la gente; ellos van donde ellos

<b>11 Mot</b>	nephá	nanáku		, kája	...	nawakára'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= iphá	na= náku		kája		na= wakára'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>12 Mot</b>	maaré	kája	najñá	iká	ipatú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maaré	kája	na= ajñá	ri= ikhá	ipatú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>13 Mot</b>	é	kája	nayáa'ta	riká	najló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= yá'ta	ri= ikhá	na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3pl put	3sg.nf pro	3pl for

nawakáa'kalojé 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)

<b>14 Mot</b>	kája	nawakára'a	narápa'ka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= wakára'a	na= arápa' -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	3pl order	3pl dance ka.nz

**Libre** ahí ya lo mandan bailar

<b>15 Mot</b>	ipenáje	kélé	mawíru	yoró	júpimi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= penáje	kélé	mawíru	yorí =o	júpi =mi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>16 Mot</b>	maaré	kéelé	,	ré	riká	yáleji
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maaré	kéelé		ri=	é	ri= ikhá yále -ji
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox.loc	med		3sg.nf in	3sg.nf pro	dance unposs

**Libre** aquí es, ahí hay baile

<b>17 Mot</b>	riká	mawíru	yále	e'yá	kéelé	( nákei ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	mawíru	yále	e'yá	kéelé nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	pineapple	dance	in	med	uh

mmm ,) luma'ála

\*\*\* \*\*\*

\*\*\* \*\*\*

**Libre** entre medio de ese baile está el luma'ála

<b>18 Mot</b>	re'yá	,	ré	iká	yáleje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	e'yá	ri=	é	ri= ikhá yále -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>19 Mot</b>	riká	wáni	riká	,	raú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	wáni	ri=	ikhá ri= aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	emph	3sg.nf pro		3sg.nf cause
narápa'khe	...	íjo	,	íjo'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

<b>20 Mot</b>	iká	wáni	e'yá	kéelé...	pajlúwája	mawíru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	wáni	e'yá	***	pajlúwá =ja mawíru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	emph	in	***	***	lim pineapple
yále	e'yá	kéelé	,	riká	wáni	íju , rikája
yále	e'yá	kéelé	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)

<b>21 Mot</b>	yuwaná	kajwákálojé		ne'yajéná	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yuwaná	kajwá	-ká	lojé	na= e'yajé -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>22 Mot</b>	narápa'a	nalujméta	yuwaná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= arápa'a	na= lujmé -ta	yuwaná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl dance	3pl dance caus	kids

**Libre** ellos hacen bailar a los niños (nu-lujméta: en mi espalda, syn. norápa'takó yuwají).

<b>23 Mot</b>	riká	penáje	kélé	pajlúwaja	yalejí	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	penáje	kélé	pajlúwá =ja	yale -jí	(
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	máarejé	kélé	penáje	yuró	i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	máare =eje	kélé	penáje	yurí =o	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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;

<b>25 Mot</b>	aa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre**

<b>26 Mot</b>	phiyúkéja	jló	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké =ja	jló	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	all lim	for	med

**Libre** ese es para todos

<b>27 Mot</b>	ũká	mawíru	yá'jõ	penáje	kalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	mawíru	yáa' -je	=o	penáje kalé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>28 Mot</b>	phiyúkéja		iká		wáni	yáleje		pupu'rá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké =ja		ri=	ikhá	wáni	yále -je		***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>29 Mot</b>	jwáke'na		jló	riyuró		i'maká		kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jwáke' -na		jló	ri=	yurí =o	i'ma -ka		kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>30 Mot</b>	natha'kalójé			phiyúkéja		riká		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ta' -ká		lojé	phiyúké =ja		ri=	ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>31 Mot</b>	kajúní		ikéelé	mawíru		,	napura'atakare	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú -ní		***	mawíru		na=	pura'á -ta -kare	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>32 Mot</b>	pura'kájó			i'makáre		chú	yáleje	le'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pura' -káje =o			i'ma -kare		chú	yále -je	le'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>33 Mot</b>	kája	iká	wáni	yáleje	wakajé	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri=	ikhá	wáni	yále -je	wakajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>34 Mot</b>	kajú	napura'káro	ríchu	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	na= pura' -kare =o	rí= chu	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	3pl speak pot	mid	3sg.nf in med

**Libre** ellos hablan mucho sobre ese (vimy: prefiere napura'káro cha)

<b>35 Mot</b>	marí	yáleje	, kélé	yuréo	eja'wá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	yále -je	kélé	yurí -ri =o	eja'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>36 Mot</b>	ikéelé	mawíru	, marí	kajé	aú	ũká	inaána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	mawíru	marí	kájé	aú	unká	inaána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>37 Mot</b>	ũká	inaána	le'jé	kalé	kélé	mawíru	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	inaána	le'jé	kalé	kélé	mawíru	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>38 Mot</b>	wajápáka'la
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= jápá -ka'la
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl work ?nz

**Libre** nuestro trabajo



<b>39 Mot</b>	marí	weká		achiñáná		jápáka'la		kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	wa=	ikhá	achiñá	-na	jápá	-ka'la	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	1pl	pro	man	pl	work	?nz	med

mawíru  
mawíru  
pineapple

**Libre** ese nuestro trabajo de nosotros los hombres piña

<b>40 Mot</b>	ipatú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ipatú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	coca

**Libre** coca

<b>41 Mot</b>	líchi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	líchi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	tobacco

**Libre** tabaco

<b>42 Mot</b>	marí	ké	iká		achiñáná		jápáka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ri=	ikhá	achiñá	-na	jápá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>43 Mot</b>	marí	kajé	i'makálé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	kájé	i'ma -ká =lé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	type	cop ka.adv reason

**Libre** por eso es así

<b>44 Mot</b>	ilé	kajé	penáje	rikeñó'tako
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	kájé	penáje	ri= keñó'ta -ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>45 Mot</b>	kája	jarechí	eja'wá	jená	kéja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	jarechí	eja'wá	jená	ké =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	year	forest	hour	like lim

ne'kaká a'waná , wejátakalojé 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)

<b>46 Mot</b>	phiyúké	a'jné	kájé	penáje	i'maká		, a'jné	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké	a'jné	kájé	penáje	i'ma	-ka	a'jné	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	all	dist	type	for	far.pst	ka.pst	dist	
ké	i'maká		, a'jné	ké	i'maká		, aú	ñaké
ké	i'ma	-ka	, a'jné	ké	i'ma	-ka	, aú	ñaké
like	far.pst	ka.pst	dist	like	far.pst	ka.pst	because	dist.simil
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'jné kajé: todo eso)

<b>47 Mot</b>	marí	kájé	penáje	mawíru	yuró		wajló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	kájé	penáje	mawíru	yurí	=o	wa= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>48 Mot</b>	iká		chi'náikana	tá	iká		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	chi'náikana	tâ	ri=	ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	owner	emph1	3sg.nf	pro	

**Libre** ese es poderoso

<b>49 Mot</b>	ré	kélé	mawíru	phiyúké	yáleje		,	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	kélé	mawíru	phiyúké	yále	-je		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	med	pineapple	all	dance	purp.mot		
jrená	chú	ripháká		wakajé		, maaré	naya'tá	
ri=	jená	chú	ri=	iphá	-ká	wakajé	maaré	na= ya'tá
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)

<b>50 Mot</b>	kájrú	kája	iká		pura'kájó		ré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kájrú	kája	ri=	ikhá	pura'	-kájé	=o ré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	already	3sg.nf	pro	speak	ev.nz2	mid then

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

<b>57 Mot</b>	nawe'píka	aú	riyále	phiyúkéja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= we'pí -ka	aú	ri= yále	phiyúké =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl know ka.nz	because	3sg.nf dance	all lim

**Libre** porque ellos saben baile de él todo (riyále: canción)

<b>58 Mot</b>	nanúma	chú	nawe'pí	rile'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= núma	chú	na= we'pí	ri= le'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl mouth	in	3pl know	3sg.nf poss

pura'kájó  
 pura' -kájé =o  
 speak ev.nz2 mid

**Libre** adentro de la boca tienen dialogación

<b>59 Mot</b>	marí	kájé	aú	jupejé	na'kapichakhé	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	kájé	aú	***	na= a'kapicha -khé	phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>60 Mot</b>	naka'picháno	neká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= aka'pichá =no	na= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>61 Mot</b>	iká	wáni	yáleje	kélé	narápa'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	wáni	yále -je	kélé	na= arápa'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	emph	dance unposs	med	3pl dance

**Libre** ese es el propio baile que ellos bailan

<b>62 Mot</b>	ũká	mapéja	kalé	, nala'jówa	ja'piyá	yáleja'ona
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	mapéja	kalé	***	ja'pi =eyá	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>63 Mot</b>	riká	jwáke'e	kélé	marí	ká	mawíru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	jwáke'e	kélé	marí	ká	mawíru
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>64</b>	<b>Mot</b>	bueno	,	primer	punto	,	hasta	ahí
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	***		***	***		hasta	ahí
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	***		***	***		spa	spa

**Libre**

# ycn0092

<b>1 Mot</b>	chúwa	nu'majíká				Ta'piku'wére	,	él	se
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu= i'ma	-jǐ	-ka		***		***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	now	1sg	tell	fut	ka.cleft	***		***	***

llamaba Tapíkuwére

\*\*\* \*\*\*

\*\*\* \*\*\*

**Libre** ahora voy a contar cuento de Ta'piku'were, él se llamaba Ta'píku'wére

<b>2 Mot</b>	chúwa	nu'majé				Ta'píku'wére	yukúná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu= i'ma	-jé			***	yukú -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	now	1sg	tell	fut		***	story alien3

**Libre** ahora voy contar cuento de Ta'píku'were

<b>3 Mot</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké	...	i'jǐchárí		ja'pájo		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké		i'jǐ -chá	-rí	ja'pá -je	=o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	é	riwi'chó				júkáyá	iñepú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= wi'	-cha	=o		júká =eyá	iñepú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>5 Mot</b>	é	riphícha				amíchari	kajú	íja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha	-cha	amí -cha	-ri	kajú	íja	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>6 Mot</b>	é	ri'jĩchá			réjǒ		amíchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'jĩ	-chá	ri=	ejo	amí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>7 Mot</b>	é	ripéchú			i'michá	"	ná	ka'jná	kháãjĩ	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	péchú		i'mi	-chá	ná	ka'jná	kháãjĩ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	thought		cop	pst	indf	dub	prox	

"

**Libre** él pensó quién será éste?

<b>8 Mot</b>	é	ri'jĩchá			náke	júpi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'jĩ	-chá	náke	júpi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>9 Mot</b>	kája	paminá			i'jĩchárí	wechála	jakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pa=	miná		i'jĩ -chá -rí	***	jakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>10 Mot</b>	é	rijĩ'chátá				riwapa'náre
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	jĩ'	-chá	tá	ri= wapa'ná -re
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'kájjo: chorrear/diarrea, sobra 2do i'wá)

<b>11 Mot</b>	é	a'jná	eyá	ké	riwi'cháko				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	a'jná	eyá	ké	ri=	wi'	-chá	-ka	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>12 Mot</b>	júpichami	a'jná	eyá	ké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpichami	a'jná	eyá	ké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>13.1 Mot</b>	nuñámire	é	pimotho'cháka	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ñámire	é	pi= motho'	-chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg ***	Q	2sg cook	pst ka.int

**Libre** "mi ollita, ya se cocinó?" nadie le contestó

<b>13.2 Mot</b>	, ũká	ná	ajipalácha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ná	a'jipa -lá -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf	answer v.neg pst

**Libre**

<b>14 Mot</b>	é	riphícha	é	rímícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha	-cha	é	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>15 Mot</b>	" kewí	nojló	me'pijí	eyá	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kewí	nu= jló	me'pijí	eyá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>16 Mot</b>	nátáká	li'charí	nuká	cháwani
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná tâ =ka	li' -cha -rí	nu= ikhá	cháwa -ni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>17 Mot</b>	ké	rimakó	ri'jĩcháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ri= ima -kó	ri= i'jĩ -chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>18 Mot</b>	eo'kája	kajú	kélé	kerápila	i'micháká	,	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	kajú	kélé	***	i'mi -chá -ká		kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>19 Mot</b>	é	ra'chiyá	jiyá	pô	réjéchami	"	tho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= a' -chi -yá	jiyá	pô	***		***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>20 Mot</b>	jiyá	tá	lukúnicho	kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jiyá	tâ	***	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	fire	emph1	***	much

**Libre** prendió mucho candela

<b>21 Mot</b>	é	riyuícha	richô
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yuí -cha	ri= chá =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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' "thêjé: onom.sonido de algo que se cae"

<b>22 Mot</b>	inau'kétá	amánoja	,	máawá	a'nakhopére
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inau'ké tâ	amá -noja		máa =ewá	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>23 Mot</b>	é kája	jíyá	tá	yakícha	é	ri'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	jíyá	tâ	yakí -cha	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>24 Mot</b>	palánojé	raí	i'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá -nojé	ri= aí	i'mi -chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good com2	3sg.nf tooth	cop pst ka.cleft

**Libre** bonitos estaban los dientes de él (tenía bonitos dientes)

<b>25 Mot</b>	riwakajé	najña'khétá	inau'ké	aí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wakajé	na= jña' -khé	tâ	inau'ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf date	3pl take far.pst	emph1	person tooth

palánojé	namájikarenó	, 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?)

<b>26 Mot</b>	é	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh

**Libre** de ahí

<b>27 Mot</b>	kája ikája	ripi'cháko
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ikája	ri= pi' -chá -ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>28 Mot</b>	iphíchari	a'jnáñojō	riñakaré	éjō
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iphí -cha -ri	***	ri= ñakaré	ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	arrive pst nf.ss	***	3sg.nf house	towards

**Libre** él llegó allá a la casa de él

<b>29.1 Mot</b>	é	riyajálo	kémícha	rijló	"	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yajálo	kémí -cha	ri= jló		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf wife	say pst	3sg.nf for		Q

pi'micháká ?  
 pi= i'mí -chá -ka  
 2sg cop pst ka.int

**Libre** la mujer le dijo "usted ya fue/cómo le fue", él dijo "no"

<b>29.2 Mot</b>	" "	ũká	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		neg	

**Libre**

<b>30.1 Mot</b>	a'jná	awája	nu'michá	,	ná	pajá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jná	***	nu= i'mí -chá		ná	pajá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30.2 Mot</b>	,	marí	ké	nomíchaka		riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>		marí	ké	nu= amí -cha -ka		ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		prox	like	1sg see pst ka.cleft		3sg.nf pro

**Libre**

<b>31 Mot</b>	rimotho'cháka	jíña	i'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= motho' -chá -ka	jíña	i'mí -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf cook	pst ka.when	fish far.pst pst ka.pst

nákei  
 nákei  
 uh

**Libre** estaba cocinando pescao

<b>32 Mot</b>	i'chijawé	chú	jiyá	chá	riyái'cho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	chú	jiyá	chá	ri= yái' -cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	in	fire	on	3sg.nf sit pst mid

**Libre** la ollita estaba puesto en el fogón

<b>33 Mot</b>	é	náke	júpija	nuwáchiyaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	júpi =ja	nu= wáchi -ya -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'chijawé 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'píj , e'yá , aú  
**Morphèmes** kewí nu= jló me'píj 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'kájé: 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'jícháká 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"

<b>55 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst	uh

**Libre** ella dijo

<b>56 Mot</b>	náje	pikátotá	phiyúké	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	náje	pi= káta =o tá	phiyúké	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>57 Mot</b>	ũká	ké	rímícha	júpimi	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	júpi =mi	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>58 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá	rějõ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf towards

**Libre** ahí él se fue allá

<b>59 Mot</b>	iphíchari	rějõ	amíchari	wajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iphí -cha -ri	ri= ejo	amí -cha -ri	wajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	kejiláphí	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)

<b>60 Mot</b>	é	i'jnachíyatá "	méké	chí	kháájí	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	méké	chí	kháájí	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>61 Mot</b>	jú'káya	ri'jǐchá	ritujlichá				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jú'ká =eyá	ri=	i'jǐ -chá	ri=	tujli	-chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	far from	3sg.nf	go pst	3sg.nf	***	pst	
riwapa'náre		nujme'láre	aǔ	raǐ		" khá "	
ri= wapa'ná -re		***	aǔ	ri= aǐ		***	
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"

<b>62 Mot</b>	pǐj
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre** (pijǐ: brincar onom.)

<b>63 Mot</b>	a'jnájé	ké	jreño'cháka			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jná =eje	ké	ri= jeño' -chá -ka			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist until	like	3sg.nf jump	pst	ka.cleft	

**Libre** el brincó hacia allá

<b>64 Mot</b>	yé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre** uy

<b>65 Mot</b>	náñani	kélé	we'íchari	numu'jí	palá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná =ñáni	kélé	we'í -cha -ri	nu= mu'jí	palá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'pǐ pr-mu'jí: tener lástima)

<b>66 Mot</b>	" kája	nukapicháko	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	nu= kapichá -ka	=o ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>67 Mot</b>	penáje	kélé	náñáni	ka'jná	we'píchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	penáje	kélé	ná =ñáni	ka'jná	we'pí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>68 Mot</b>	nuká	ké	rímíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg pro	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** él dijo "yo"

<b>69 Mot</b>	" yéj	nulaké	" ké	rímíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	nu= laké	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	1sg grandchild	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "uy nieto" dijo

<b>70 Mot</b>	náje	paláwáni	pili'chá	nunáku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	náje	palá wáni	pi= li' -chá	nu= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.reason	good emph	2sg do prs	1sg on

**Libre** "por qué usted hizo muy bien de mi? "

<b>71 Mot</b>	ná	ina-	, ná	wejátanamitá	pajá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	***	ná	wejátana =mi tá	pajá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>72 Mot</b>	kewí	nojló	me'pijí	... nomotho'ó	jíña
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kewí	nu= jló	me'pijí	nu= motho'ó	jíña
<b>Glose lex.</b>	painful	1sg for	hunger	1sg cook	fish

nojlu'wa 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)

<b>73 Mot</b>	penáje	ná	wejánátá	kélé	... ka'á	nuchiyajwé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	penáje	ná	wejáná tá	kélé	ka'á	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>74 Mot</b>	aú	kaja	náke	nukapicháta	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	kája	náke	nu= kapichá	-ta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>75 Mot</b>	ri=	la'	-ká	nu'maká	marí	ké	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	la'	-ká	nu= i'ma	-ka	marí	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>76 Mot</b>	"	ñaké	kája	...	pimakápo'cha	nuká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	"	ñaké	kája		pi= makápo'	-cha	nu= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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'píku'wére

<b>77 Mot</b>	é	ri'jǐchá	rijwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jǐ -chá	ri= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf with

**Libre** él se fue con él

<b>78 Mot</b>	ajíké	iphíchari	a'jná	riñakaré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ají ké	iphí -cha -ri	a'jná	ri= ñakaré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox like	arrive pst nf.ss	dist	3sg.nf house

éjō  
ejo  
towards

Libre y llegaron a la casa de él

<b>79 Mot</b>	riñakaréjō	riphíchaka	, ré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ñakaré =ejo	ri= iphí -cha -ka	ré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80 Mot</b>	kélé	ta'píku'wére	yajálo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	***	yajálo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	***	wife

Libre la mujer de ese ta'píku'were

<b>81 Mot</b>	aa	" rúmícha	méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ru= ímí -cha	méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>82 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	rojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	ru= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.f for

Libre él le dijo

<b>83 Mot</b>	marí	ké	ná	wejáãtá	pajá	la'rí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ná	wejáã tâ	pajá	la' -rí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	indf	idiot emph1	emph	do nf.cleft

nu'maká chapúwani  
nu= i'ma -ka chapú wáni  
1sg far.pst ka.pst \*\*\* emph

Libre "quién será porquería me hizo muy mal"

<b>84 Mot</b>	kewí	nojló	me'píj	i'maká	nomotho'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kewí	nu= jló	me'píj	i'ma -ká	nu= motho'ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>85 Mot</b>	penáje	,	ũká	inau'kélaritá				,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	penáje		unká	inau'ké	-la	-ri	tá		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>86 Mot</b>	aú	nukapicháta		nokó				i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	nu= kapichá	-ta	nu= ikhá	=o			i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	1sg lose	caus	1sg pro	mid			far.pst ka.pst

**Libre** por eso yo me maté solo

<b>87 Mot</b>	penáje	kháãjĩ	nulakéñáni			we'í	mu'jí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	penáje	kháãjĩ	nu= laké	=ñáni		we'í	mu'jí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

majõ	nujwa'tó		no'kálojé			rijló
majõ	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

<b>88 Mot</b>	" jé	" riyajálo	kémícha	rijló	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ri= yajálo	kémí -cha	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>89 Mot</b>	ñaké	riká	nulaké	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	ri= ikhá	nu= laké	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	dist.simil	3sg.nf pro	1sg grandchild	like

rímíchaka
ri= ímí -cha -ka
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** bueno nieto

<b>90 Mot</b>	chúwajá	maaré	pikamátajo			nujwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwajá	maaré	pi= kamáta	-je =o		nu= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>91 Mot</b>	muníko		pipa'ó		,	" jé	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	muní	=kó	pi= pa'	=ó		jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	tomorrow	emph4	2sg return	mid		good	like

**Libre** mañana se regresa, "bueno"

<b>92 Mot</b>	é	rikamáchiyo			rijwa'té	pajlúwája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= kamáchi	-ya =o		ri= jwa'té	pajlúwá =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf sleep	pst mid		3sg.nf with	one lim

jlapí  
jlapí  
night

**Libre** ahí él durmió con él una noche

<b>93 Mot</b>	muní ké	jlapiyamí	rímícha		" nulaké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	muní ké	lapiyamí	ri= ímí -cha		nu= laké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>94 Mot</b>	ijíílá	ri'micháká			kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ijíílá	ri= i'mi -chá -ká			kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	arrow	3sg.nf cop	pst ka.cleft		med

**Libre** era flecha (ijíílá : flecha i.jí.í.lá; guache (esp regional)

<b>95 Mot</b>	napura'kó		chú	kalé	rií
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= pura'	-ká =o	chú	kalé	ri= íí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>96 Mot</b>	ra'chá		rijló		kélé	rimakápo'ka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= a' -chá		ri= jló		kélé	ri= makápo' -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>97 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		rijló	"	nulaké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló		nu= laké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>98 Mot</b>	marí	ta'píku'wére
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	***

**Libre** tenga este ta'píku'were

<b>99 Mot</b>	nákáje	iná	jña'káre	aú	iná	jlúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákaje	iná	jña' -káre	aú	iná	jló =wa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>100 Mot</b>	ñaké	númá	pijló	nulaké	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	nu= ímá	pi= jló	nu= laké	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>101 Mot</b>	pá	piyuríníña	inau'ké	ajúpána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pá	pi= yurí -níña	inau'ké	ajúpána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>102 Mot</b>	ne'jnajíká	é	piliyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jna -jí -ká	é	pi= liyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>103 Mot</b>	eyá	piya'tájika		rikájlá		ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	pi= ya'tá -jĩ -ka		ri= ikhá jlá		unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>104 Mot</b>	palá	numaká		pijló		nulaké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá	nu= ima -ká		pi= jló nu= laké		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 nieto, escuchelo

<b>105 Mot</b>	kaminaíní	kája	kélé	kajé	, aũ	núamá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	kája	kélé	kajé	aũ	nu= ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>106 Mot</b>	kája ikája	ripi'cháko				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ikája	ri= pi' -chá -ka	=o			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	at_that_time	3sg.nf return pst ka.topic	mid			

**Libre** así se fue

<b>107 Mot</b>	iphíchari		a'jñáñojõ	riñakaré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iphí -cha -ri	a'jñáñojõ	ri= ñakaré	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	arrive pst nf.ss	dist.toward	3sg.nf	house

chojé

chojé

towards\_inside

**Libre** él llegó allá donde la casa

<b>108 Mot</b>	riyajálo	kémá	rijló	" méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= yajálo	kémá	ri= jló	méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>115 Mot</b>	nákájé	iná	jña'káre	iná	jlúwa	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákaje	iná	jña' -káre	iná	jló =wa	aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>116 Mot</b>	marí	ké	rímíchaka		nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	nu=	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	1sg	for

**Libre** así él me dijo

<b>117 Mot</b>	marí	ké	rímícha		nojló	ũká	ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha	nu=	jló	unká	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>118 Mot</b>	phema'á	númájíka		pijló	me'tení
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jema'á	nu= ímá -jĩ -ka		pi= jló	me'tení
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'káloje		inau'ké	jló	, rejenája	
pi= a' -ka loje		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)

<b>119 Mot</b>	áú	ñaké	rili'chá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	áú	ñaké	ri=	li'	-chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>120 Mot</b>	ré	rímícha	júpija		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	ri=	ímí	-cha	júpi =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>121 Mot</b>	nule'jé	náke	ta'píku'wére	atáã'je	marí	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu=	le'jé	náke	***	atáã'	-je marí ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>122 Mot</b>	ũká	júkála	ri'jīcháká		, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	júká	-la	ri=	i'jī -chá -ká é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	far	v.neg	3sg.nf	go pst ka.cleft then

riphícha je'rúna apumí chojé  
 ri= ipha -cha je'rú -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

<b>123 Mot</b>	é	ripináchiya	neká		, ajéréké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	pináchi	-ya	na= ikhá ajéré ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)



<b>132 Mot</b>	apú	píño	"	wó'wo	"	pajéthé	kélécha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú	píño		***		pajéthé	kélé -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	other	again		***		?cinco	med inch

**Libre** otro otra vez "wo'wo" ya para cinco

<b>133 Mot</b>	apú	píño	"	wó'o	"	pajlúwa	kuwá'ta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú	píño		***		pajlúwá	kuwá' -ta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	other	again		***		one	cross caus

kélécha

kélé -cha

med inch

**Libre** otro otra vez ya para seis

<b>134 Mot</b>	apú	píño	"	wó'o	"	siete	rímíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú	píño		***		***	ri= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	other	again		***		***	3sg.nf say pst obl.nz

éjê

=eje

until

**Libre** otro otra vez "wo'wo" para siete así como él le dijo

<b>135 Mot</b>	iyamá	kuwá'taka				kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iyamá	kuwá' -ta	-ka			kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	two	cross	caus	ka.nz		med

**Libre** siete

<b>136 Mot</b>	é	júpíchami	ri'jíchá			réjō
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	ri= i'jĩ	-chá		ri= ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	***	3sg.nf go	pst		3sg.nf towards

**Libre** al rato él se fue donde él

<b>137 Mot</b>	amíchari		je'rúna	támi		pitakó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha	-ri	je'rú -na	támi		pita -ka =ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	see	pst	nf.ss	pig	pl	sickness

nawíyo'chaka

na= awíyo' -cha -ka

3pl scream pst obl.nz

ewá

ewá

around

" wo'o

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

o'o

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

**Libre** y miró los puercos tiraos por donde que ellos gritaban "wo'wo"

<b>138 Mot</b>	kája penáje	náke	rinóchaje			e'yá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája penáje	náke	ri= nó	-chaje		e'yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>150 Mot</b>	kéjo'ó	riká	nujmerémi		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké =jo'ó	ri= ikhá	nu= jmeré	=mi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>151 Mot</b>	marí	ké	paminá	kemaká	nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	pa= miná	kema -ká	nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	impers owner	say ka.cleft	1sg for

**Libre** así me dijo el dueño

<b>152 Mot</b>	ũká	mékéla'jé	nuya'tála	ajúpána	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méké	la'jé	nu= ya'tá -la	ajúpána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>153 Mot</b>	nokhó	ka'jná	nu'jnajíká	pijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá =o	ka'jná	nu= i'jna -jǐ -ka	pi= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>154 Mot</b>	ilé	pímícha	nojló	ké	nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	pi= ímí -cha	nu= jló	ké	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	2sg say pst	1sg for	like	uh

**Libre** así como usted me dijo

<b>155 Mot</b>	nuwe'píjika	rinakojé	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= we'pí -jǐ -ka	ri= nakú eje	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg know fut ka.topic	3sg.nf on until	like

rímícha  
 ri= ímí -cha  
 3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** así lo voy a manejar



<b>156 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		rijló	yukúná	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	jló	yukú -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>157 Mot</b>	pila'jíka	é	kélé	kajúni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= la' -jí -ka	é	kélé	kajú -ní
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>158 Mot</b>	marí	ké	rímícha	rijló	, jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri=	jló jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>159 Mot</b>	eyá	rili'chá	píño	arápa'kaje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	ri= li' -chá	píño	arápa' -kaje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>160 Mot</b>	é kája	náke	rějómi		píño	apú	jemi'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	náke	ri=	éjomi	píño	apú	jemi' -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>161 Mot</b>	ilé	i'michá			apú	kája	riteló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	i'mi -chá	-rí		apú	kája	ri= teló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	cop	pst	nf.cleft	other	already	3sg.nf ***

**Libre** ese era otro paisano de él

<b>162 Mot</b>	i'jíchá		iphíchari			rináku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i'jĩ -chá	-rí	iphí -cha	-ri	ri=	náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	go	pst	nf.ss	arrive	pst	nf.ss 3sg.nf on

**Libre** él se fue y llegó donde él

<b>163 Mot</b>	nuteló	marí	kéja	piká	,	" á'a	nuteló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nuteló	marí	ké =ja	pi= ikhá		á'a	nuteló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>164 Mot</b>	é kája	náke	rímícha		rijló	"	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	náke	ri= ímí	-cha	ri=	jló	marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	3sg.nf	say	pst	3sg.nf	for prox

kajé penáje nu'jíchá picháje nuteló "  
kájé penáje nu= i'jĩ -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

<b>165 Mot</b>	kélé	jnoma'á	yukúná		kélé	nákájé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	nu= jema'á	yukú -ná		kélé	nákaje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med	1sg	listen	story	alien3	med thing

jña'jóna iná la'kálojé arápa'kájé ... kamejérí  
jña' -jóna iná la' -ká lojé arápa' -kájé 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

<b>166 Mot</b>	jnoma'á	yukúná		, ta'píku'wére
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= jema'á	yukú -ná		***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**              nawátajíkaé                      ,      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'chákátá 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'ru -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'chákátá 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'ru -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'ru -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'ru -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)

<b>183 Mot</b>	kája penáje	rinóchaje	e'yá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája penáje	ri= nó -chaje	e'yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>184 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá	réjõ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf towards

**Libre** él se fue allá

<b>185 Mot</b>	yéwíchaja	ripháká	réjẽ	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yéwícha =ja	ri= iphá -ká	ri= =eje	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>186 Mot</b>	" thajjí "	rinákutá	riwajwé	lokopáni ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ri= náku tá	ri= wajwé	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>187 Mot</b>	ewá	kája	ũká	riphálácha	a'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	=ewá	kája	unká	ri= iphá -lá -cha	a'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>188 Mot</b>	é	némícha	ñakétá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ímí -cha	ñaké tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl say pst	dist.simil emph1

rili'chákatá 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 ijĩlá táí'chako kélé  
**Morphèmes** \*\*\* kélé ijĩlá 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"

<b>195 Mot</b>	é	ripi'chó				paminá		éjō
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	pi'	-cha	=ó	pa=	miná	ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	return	pst	mid	impers	owner	towards

**Libre** ahí se regresó donde el dueño

<b>196 Mot</b>	hasta	aquí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	hasta	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	spa	***

**Libre** hasta aquí



# ycn0101

<b>1 Mot</b>	maáre	nu'má	i'maká	( oya ?)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maáré	nu= i'má	i'ma -ka	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox.loc	1sg cop	far.pst ka.pst	***

**Libre** yo estaba aquí

<b>2 Mot</b>	maáre	nu'má	, no'wé	iphári
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maáré	nu= i'má	nu= e'wé	iphá -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	aú	núma	rijló	: "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	nu= íma	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	é	péke	mejé	i'maá	yenójó	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	péke	mejé	i'ma -ka	yenú =ejo	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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            ,    aú            riya'tá                    nojló            i'maká                    gasolina  
 nu=    jwa'té            aú            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            aú  
 ri=        jilá                    penáje            wa=    witúka'a            aú  
 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

<b>10 Mot</b>	é	ripuláa'pe		witúka'ri			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	puláa'pe	witúka'	-ri		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>11 Mot</b>	jipú	kélé	nuwarúwa'káre		máayá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jipú	kélé	nu= warúwa'	-káre	máa eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>12 Mot</b>	wawitúka'a	máayá	i'maká	ají	( ké)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= witúka'a	máa eyá	i'ma -ka	ají	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl go_down	here from	far.pst ka.pst	prox	***

**Libre** bajamos de aquí

<b>13 Mot</b>	kája	iphári	kélé	comunidad	kélé	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	iphá -ri	kélé	***	kélé	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>14 Mot</b>	éjé	wephákaé		, wémá	:	" maáre
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjé	wa= iphá -ka	é	wa= ímá		maáre
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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 "léva 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)

<b>19 Mot</b>	nuká	la'jerí	vuelta	kélé	marí	meta'ápuru
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	la' -je -rí	***	kélé	marí	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>20 Mot</b>	jé	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like

**Libre** bueno

<b>21 Mot</b>	jé	ké	rimaká	nojlo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ima -ká	nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.nf say ka.cleft	1sg for

**Libre** bueno él me dijo

<b>22 Mot</b>	ikája	ri'jnaká	riyajálo	jwa'té ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ikája	ri= i'jna -ka	ri= yajálo	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	nokó	jno'páatá	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá =o	nu= ja'pá -ka tá	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	bieeen	kélé	nuchipúka'tá	kélé	meta'áputá	nakojé	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	kélé	***	kélé	***	nakú =eje	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>25 Mot</b>	kajúni	kélé	jípatá	i'maká	,	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú -ni	kélé	jípa tâ	i'ma -ka		marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26 Mot</b>	kaphí	riña'kátá		iná	kélé	,	pá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kaphí	ri= ña' -ká	tâ	iná	kélé		pá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	é	nomá	kélé	timbo	kájéna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= amá	kélé	***	kájé -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	iyé'kuri	yukúná	nu'majé	me'tení
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iyé'kuri	yukú -ná	nu= i'ma jé	me'tení
<b>Glose lex.</b>	proper.n	story alien3	1sg tell fut	now

**Libre** ahora voy a contar el cuento de iyékuri

<b>2 Mot</b>	nákari	inauké	i'micháñó	pajlúwa	pají	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákari	inau'ké	i'mi -chá -ñó	pajlúwá	pají	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh	person	cop pst pl.cleft	one	maloca	in

**Libre** la gente vivía en una maloka

<b>3 Mot</b>	rile'jé	fa	- ,	rile'jé	nákari	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	le'jé	***	ri=	le'jé	nákari
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	eyá	; ré	nákari	; ne'michá	júpi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	ré	nákari	na= i'mi -chá	júpi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	júpi	ne'majíká	mapéja	nákari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpi	na= i'ma -jĩka	mapéja	nákari
<b>Glose lex.</b>	long_time	3pl live far.pst	normally	uh

**Libre** mucho tiempo ellos vivieron normalmente

<b>6 Mot</b>	ne'majíká	nañakajéla	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'ma -jĩka	na= ñakajéla	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl live far.pst	3pl homeland	on

**Libre** ellos vivían en su tierra

<b>7 Mot</b>	é	júpichami	nákari	re'wé	kémicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	júpichami	nákari	ri= e'wé	kémí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>14 Mot</b>	nañakaré	ké	nala'jīka		i'majīka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ñakaré	ké	na= la' -jīka		i'ma -jīka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl house	like	3pl do	far.pst	far.pst far.pst

**Libre** ellos hacían como una casa

<b>15 Mot</b>	riká	chú	inau'ké		i'makhé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chú	inau'ké		i'ma -khé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	in	person	tell	far.pst

**Libre** ahí vivía una persona

<b>16 Mot</b>	ne'jnajīka		najlúwa		kuláje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jna -jīka		na= jlú =wa		kulá -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl go	far.pst	3pl for refl		search purp.mot

**Libre** ellos iban a rebuscar

<b>17 Mot</b>	eyá	nákeí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	uh

**Libre** y después

<b>18 Mot</b>	( ne'- )	ne'jīchá		, nali'chá		nakakúwá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	na= i'jī -chá		na= li' -chá		na= kakú =wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>19 Mot</b>	phejí	íí	i'michárí		iyékurí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phe' -ji	íí	i'mi -chá -rí		***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	eldest unposs	name	cop pst	nf.cleft	***

**Libre** el mayor se llamaba Iyékuri

<b>20 Mot</b>	re'wé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= e'wé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf brother

**Libre** su hermano

<b>21 Mot</b>	rijmerémi		íí		i'michárí	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jmeré		=mi	íí	i'mi -chá -rí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf younger_brother		nom.pfv	name	cop pst	nf.cleft

Wíña  
Wíña  
proper.n

**Libre** el menor se llamaba Wi'ña

<b>22 Mot</b>	Wi'ña	riĩ		i'micháká		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	Wí'ña	ri=	ĩ	i'mi	-chá	-ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	proper.n	3sg.nf	name	cop	pst	ka.cleft

**Libre** se llamaba Wi'ña

<b>23 Mot</b>	neká		i'jícháñó		iyamá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ikhá	i'jĩ	-chá	-ñó	iyamá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl pro	go	pst	pl.cleft	two

**Libre** ellos se fueron los dos

<b>24 Mot</b>	nephícha		jlaíchú	nakaphéla	,	nakaphéla
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ipha	-cha	jlaíchú	***		***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl arrive	pst	afternoon	***		***

chojé

chojé

towards\_inside

**Libre** ellos llegaron en la tarde al rancho de ellos

<b>25 Mot</b>	éjómi	nákari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	nákari
<b>Glose lex.</b>	after	uh

**Libre** después

<b>26 Mot</b>	re'wé		kémícha	rijló	:	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= e'wé		kémí	-cha	ri=	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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..."

<b>27 Mot</b>	nákari	pijerú	nenócha	iñepú	chú	."	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákari	pijerú	na= nó	-cha	iñepú	chú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh	monkey_sp	3pl	kill	pst	way	in

**Libre** ellos mataron mico en el camino

<b>28 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rímíchaka			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí	-cha	-ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.nf	say	pst	ka.cleft

**Libre** bueno el dijo



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 : " ũká 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 , ũká 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

<b>40 Mot</b>	é	rimoto'chá		rijlúwa		riká	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	motho' -chá	ri=	jló =wá	ri=	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	cook	pst	3sg.nf	for refl	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** y se lo cocinó para el

<b>41 Mot</b>		rimoto'chá		rijlúwa		riká	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri=	motho' -chá	ri=	jló =wá	ri=	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>42 Mot</b>		rimoto'ó		rijlúwa		kajúni	kélé	nákarí
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri=	moto'ó	ri=	jló =wá	kajú -ni	kélé	nákarí
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>43 Mot</b>		riká		rajícha	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri=	ikhá	ri=	ají -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	eat pst

**Libre** se lo comió

<b>44 Mot</b>		kája		wája		nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kája		=wá =ja		nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>		already		emph	lim	uh

**Libre** y ahí

<b>45 Mot</b>		é		nakamáchiyo	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		é		na= kamáchi -ya =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		then		3pl sleep	pst mid

**Libre** se durmieron

<b>46 Mot</b>		iná		jme'táka		chojóna		kapére
<b>Morphèmes</b>		iná		jme'tá -ka		chojóna		kapére
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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



<b>60 Mot</b>	aú	kája	nákei	, jrewí'cho			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	kája	nákei	ri=	jewí'	-cha	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	already	uh	3sg.nf	become	pst	mid

i'michá

i'mi -chá

far.pst pst

**Libre** por eso el ya se había convertido

<b>61 Mot</b>	reyája		ripi'chó			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	eyá	=ja	ri=	pi'	-cha =ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	from	lim	3sg.nf	return	pst mid

**Libre** de ahí se regresó

<b>62 Mot</b>	é	ripi'chó		riñakajéla	éjó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	pi'	-cha =ó	ri=	ñakajéla ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>63 Mot</b>	" unká	" ké	rímichaka	,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ri= ímí	-cha -ka	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>64 Mot</b>	riká	aú	nupa'ñáatacha		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	aú	nu= pa'	-ñáa -ta -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>65 Mot</b>	aú	kaja	nupa'ñáicha		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	kája	nu= pa'	-ñái	-cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>66 Mot</b>	éjomi	nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh

**Libre** después

<b>67 Mot</b>	é	rímicha	riyajálo	jló	:	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	ri= yajálo	jló		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>68 Mot</b>	é	jna'páñacha	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ja'pí -ña -cha	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl pass appl pst	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** y se fueron (abandonandolo a él)

<b>69 Mot</b>	réjé	kélé	pají	wajé	ri'michá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= eje	kélé	pají	wajé	ri= i'mi -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jichá      ya'jné      apú  
**Morphèmes**      ri= ikhá      \*\*\*      na= i'jĩ -chá      ya'jné      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'jichá  
 na= i'jĩ -chá  
 3pl go pst

**Libre** en la chagra los antepasados hacían otro maloka, 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 réjena kájéna i'micháka  
pá ri= éjena 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)

<b>81 Mot</b>	é	náke	é	riji'chá		pajlúwaja	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	é	ri=	ji'	-chá	pajlúwá =ja náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	then	3sg.nf	bury	pst	one lim uh

**Libre** el subió en un...

<b>82 Mot</b>	(	ri-	,	ri-)	ra'chá		kélé	,	ra'umaká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	***	***	ri=	a'	-chá	kélé	ri=	a'umaká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***	***	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)

<b>83 Mot</b>	é	ra'chá		rinakuwá		kha'rá	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	a'	-chá	ri=	naku	=wá kha'rá ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>84 Mot</b>	é	ri'jīchá		ajī	ké	,	pajlúwaja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'jī	-chá	ajī	ké	pajlúwá =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>85 Mot</b>	riji'chá		pipirí	nakú	,	eyá	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ji'	-chá	pipirí	nakú	eyá	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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                      ,    pamíchajlá                      ,    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

<b>129 Mot</b>	é	rijĩ'chá		rinakiyá		iyamá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	jĩ'	-chá	ri=	nakú	=eyá iyamá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	take	pst	3sg.nf	on	from two

**Libre** el sacó de ahí dos (hojas)

<b>130 Mot</b>	rachi'yá		rinakiyá	,		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	achi'	-yá	ri=	nakú	=eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	steal	pst	3sg.nf	on	from

**Libre** se robó de ahí

<b>131 Mot</b>	(	ra'apá	le'jé	nake)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***		le'jé	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***		poss	***

**Libre** ???

<b>132 Mot</b>	jrawilá		le'jé	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	owilá	le'jé	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	uncle	poss	uh

**Libre** lo de su tío

<b>133 Mot</b>	líchi	nakiyá		rachi'yá	,	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	líchi	nakú	=eyá	ri=	achi'	-yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	tobacco	on	from	3sg.nf	steal	pst

**Libre** se robó el cigarrillo de ahí

<b>134 Mot</b>	é	nakei	riphíchaka	,	é		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	ri=	iphí	-cha	-ka	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>135 Mot</b>	rile'jé		nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	le'jé	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	poss	uh

**Libre** de él

**136 Mot** unká méla'jé ná ata'lácha  
**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

<b>141 Mot</b>	é	piyuté	penáje	jrewí'cho	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	piyuté	penáje	ri=	jewí'
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>142 Mot</b>	itewí	,	kélé	piyuté
<b>Morphèmes</b>	itewí		kélé	piyuté
<b>Glose lex.</b>	plant_sp		med	boa

**Libre** es aguaje, esa boa

<b>143 Mot</b>	ré		ritái'cho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	é	ri=
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	in	3sg.nf
			stand_up
			pst
			mid

**Libre** ahí estaba parado

<b>144 Mot</b>	reyá		kája	raúki'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	eyá	kája	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	from	already	***

**Libre** de ahí ya dio fruto (su pepita)

<b>145 Mot</b>	é	ka'jná	kélé	nákei	,	re'wé		ítu	(
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ka'jná	kélé	nákei		ri=	e'wé	ítu	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	dub	med	uh		3sg.nf	brother	daughter	

náka-	)	,	ru'chiyáko	,
***			ru=	i'chi
***			3sg.f	first_period
				-yá
				-ka
				=o
				pst
				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'jĩchá 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)

<b>152.1 Mot</b>	é	rúmicha	:	"	méké	chá	kájé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha			méké	chá	kájé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>152.2 Mot</b>	chúwa	nu'jnajíka		riká		pa'ayú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu= i'jna -jĩ -ka		ri= ikhá		pa'ayú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>153.1 Mot</b>	é	rujĩ'chá		riká	,	é	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= jĩ' -chá		ri= ikhá		é	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>153.2 Mot</b>	paláni	kuwáni	,	pamá	mékéka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá -ni	kuwáni		pi= amá	méké -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good nf	emph		2sg see	indf.manner indf.sub

riká	"
ri= ikhá	
3sg.nf pro	

**Libre**

<b>154 Mot</b>	é	náke	jrora'pá		jĩ'chá	riká	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	ru= jara'pá		jĩ' -chá	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	3sg.f father.ref		take pst	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre** y ahí el papá de ella lo cogió

<b>155.1 Mot</b>	é	riyakái'cho			richáje	patá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yakái'	-cha	=o	ri= cháje	patá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>155.2 Mot</b>	ũká	wawe'píla			náká	kháãjĩ	".
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	wa= we'pí	-la		ná -ka	kháãjĩ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	1pl know	v.neg		indf indf.sub	prox	

**Libre**

<b>156 Mot</b>	é	rímícha			ri'rí	phe'jí	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí	-cha		ri= i'rí	phe' -jí	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>157 Mot</b>	pímícha	rijló			rímáchí	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= ímí	-cha	ri= jló		ri= ímá -chí	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>158 Mot</b>	aũ	ri'jĩchá			réjō	, mana'ichiyó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	ri= i'jĩ	-chá		ri= ejo	mana'ichiyó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>159 Mot</b>	" owilá , marí kéja " ké rímícha ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	owilá marí ké =ja ké ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>160 Mot</b>	" méké yúku " ké jrailá kémícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké yúku ké ri= owilá kémí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>161 Mot</b>	aú rímícha " ũká , pa'yútá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú ri= ímí -cha unká pa'yú tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>162 Mot</b>	" pi'makálojé nojló náka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= i'ma -ká lojé nu= jló ná -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>163 Mot</b>	" ná chí riká kháájĩ ? "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná chí ri= ikhá kháájĩ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf emph3 3sg.nf pro prox

**Libre** qué es ésto

<b>164 Mot</b>	é riya'tíya rijló amári itewí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é ri= ya'tí -ya ri= jló amá -ri itewí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then 3sg.nf show pst 3sg.nf for see nf.ss plant_sp

**Libre** él le mostró, miró que era aguaje (canangucho)

<b>165.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	aa	"	ké	rímíchaka	,	"
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		***		ké	ri= ímí	-cha	-ka
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		***		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)

<b>165.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	phiyúké	,	iyamáno	,	pajñákáni	pa'yú
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké		iyamá =no		pajñákáni	pa'yú
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>166.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	éta'jné		ũká		iwe'píla		náka
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	éta 'jné		unká		i= we'pí	-la	ná -ka
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>166.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	ke	rímícha		"	itewí	kháájí	",
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ri= ímí	-cha		itewí	kháájí	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.nf say	pst		plant_sp	prox	

**Libre**

<b>167</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	a'wanachá	,	riká		wáni	",
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		a'wanachá		ri= ikhá		wáni	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		tree		3sg.nf pro		emph	

**Libre** de ese proprio palo

<b>168</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	riká		aũ	yáleje		nala'khé	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri= ikhá		aũ	yále -je		na= la' -khé	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf pro		with	*** unposs		3pl do	far.pst

nakajmo'kó raũ kháájí ."  
na= kajmo' -ka =o ri= aũ kháájí  
3pl celebrate ka.cleft mid 3sg.nf cause prox

**Libre** con eso hacían baile, bailaban con eso

<b>169 Mot</b>	ré	riyálena	riká	wáni	a'wanachá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	ri= yálena	ri= ikhá	wáni	a'wanachá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>170 Mot</b>	" aũ	riká	kélé	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	ri= ikhá	kélé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	3sg.nf pro	med	like

rímíchaka  
ri= ímí -cha -ka  
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** por eso está él dijo

<b>171 Mot</b>	" jé	palá	pili'cháka	nuká	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	je	palá	pi= li' -chá -ka	nu= ikhá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>172 Mot</b>	riphícha	jrara'pá	éjõ	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ipha -cha	ri= ara'pá	ejo	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 chù nákáje  
 unká iná we'pí -la phiyúké wáni eja'wá chù 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)

<b>177 Mot</b>	iná	la'kálojé		iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	la' -ká	lojé	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>178 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá		píño	ri'rí		i'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'jĩ -chá	píño	ri=	i'rí	i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	go pst	again	3sg.nf	son	go pst

piño .  
píño  
again

**Libre** se fue nuevamente el hijo

<b>179 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		" jowilá	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí -cha	jowilá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	say pst	uncle	like

rímícha  
ri= ímí -cha  
3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** y dijo, "tío"

<b>180 Mot</b>	marí	ké	pa'yú	wakái'chaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	pa'yú	wakái' -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

witúka'takajlá		kélé	a'waná	?"
witúka' -ta	-ka	jlá	kélé	a'waná
go_down	caus	ka.int	frust	med

**Libre** "así mi papá mandó razón, uno puede será bajar ese palo"

<b>181 Mot</b>	" méké	iná	witúka'takajlá		?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	iná	witúka' -ta	-ka	jlá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	gnr.pro	go_down	caus	ka.cleft frust

**Libre** cómo uno puede bajarlo

<b>182</b>	<b>Mot</b>	" ũká	méké	kalé	" ké	rímícha	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méké	kalé	ké	ri= ímí	-cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner	nv.neg	like	3sg.nf say	pst

náke  
náke  
uh

**Libre** no hay problema dijo él

<b>183</b>	<b>Mot</b>	pímá	nujmerémi		jló	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= ímá	nu= jmeré	=mi	jló	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg say	1sg younger_brother	nom.pfv	for	

**Libre** dígale a mi menor

<b>184</b>	<b>Mot</b>	riwakáa'chí		ri'jrakána		kécha
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wakáa' -chí		ri= i'jra -kána		kécha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>185</b>	<b>Mot</b>	rimaja'tániñatá		náke	rícha	wáni
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= maja'tá -niña	tâ	náke	ri= ícha	wáni
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf tear	proh emph1	uh	3sg.nf fruit	emph

sino que ...  
\*\*\* que  
\*\*\* conj

**Libre** que no vaya a cortar fruta de él

<b>186</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ri'la'ré	náke	... ná	rií	kélé
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= la' -ré	náke	ná	ri= íí	kélé
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf do jus	uh	indf	3sg.nf name	med

**Libre** que haga, cómo que se llama

<b>187</b>	<b>Mot</b>	rithupatájíka			, riwakára'je
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= thupatá -jí -ka			ri= wakára' -je
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>188</b>	<b>Mot</b>	riwakára'je	rithupatákana		pero
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wakára' -je	ri= thupa -ta -kana		pero
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>189 Mot</b>	é	ri'rí		pi'chó		píño	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'rí	pi'	-chá	=o	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	son	return	pst	mid	again

**Libre** ahí se regresó el hijo otra vez

<b>190 Mot</b>	rímícha			pa'yú		ají	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ímí	-cha	pa'yú		ají	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>191 Mot</b>	iná		i'jrakárejlá		riká		i'jrakéjá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná		i'jra	-kare	jlá	ri=	ikhá	i'jra	-kéja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>192 Mot</b>	eyá		imaja'tániña		kalé		rícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá		i=	maja'tá	-niña	kalé	ri=	ícha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>193 Mot</b>	"	jée	"	ké	é	rímícha		
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	é	ri=	ímí	-cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	then	3sg.nf	say	pst

rijwa'téjēna	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	phe' -jí
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 rituwájē  
**Morphèmes** kája ké =ja na= ja' -chá -ka =o \*\*\*  
**Glose lex.** already like lim 3pl fall pst ka.topic mid \*\*\*

jri'wátajē 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

<b>199</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kajú	kéwáka	ka'jnó	kélé	kajú	yá	pá	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	kéwaka	ka'jnó	kélé	kajú	yá	pá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>200</b>	<b>Mot</b>	nekátá		kélé	jaya'átiyaño
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= iká tâ		kélé	jaya'á -ti -ya -ño
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>201</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kája ewája	némícha	"	aj	mapéja
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ewája	na= ímí -cha		***	mapéja
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>202</b>	<b>Mot</b>	wamaja'tátachí		rikátá
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= maja'tá -ta -chí	ri=	ikhá tâ
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl tear caus hort	3sg.nf	pro emph1

**Libre** vamos a cortarlo

<b>203</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é	najī'chá	kélé	nale'jé	epijí ,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= jī' -chá	kélé	na= le'jé	***
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>204</b>	<b>Mot</b>	riká	ja'cháro		kawákájo	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá ja' -chá -ri	=o	kawáká	=ejo	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'pi  
 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 aguereó 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

<b>225 Mot</b>	mékéka	nala'kálojé	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	-ka	na= la' -ká lojé ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>226 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá	rějõ	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ri= ejo	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst	3sg.nf towards	3sg.nf say pst

rijló  
 ri= jló  
 3sg.nf for

**Libre** luego se fue para allá

<b>227 Mot</b>	" jowilá	marí	kéja	" "	á'a	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jowilá	marí	ké =ja		á'a	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>228 Mot</b>	" méké	yúku	" "	ũká	, ajíké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	yúku		unká	ají ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 paĩjĩ , méké iná kámo'ka ,  
 la' -ká kélé paĩjĩ 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)

<b>233.1 Mot</b>	riká	,	iná	kámo'kare	riká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá		iná	kámo' -kare	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>233.2 Mot</b>	iná	wakára'kalojé	inau'ké	i'ráká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	wakára' -ka	lojé	inau'ké	i'ra -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>234 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** "bueno" él dijo

<b>235 Mot</b>	é	ripi'chó	,	riwakái'cha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= pi' -cha =ó		ri= wakái' -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>236 Mot</b>	nakámo'cha	,	kajú	nakámo'cha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= kámo' -cha		kajú	na= kámo' -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>237 Mot</b>	nale'jé	ná	pajá	rií		kélé	( na- )
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= le'jé	ná	pajá	ri= íí		kélé	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'kájé: verter syn. nakhatíya)

<b>238 Mot</b>	rikámo'cha	,	éjómi	kája	nají'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= kámo' -cha		éjomi	kája	na= jí' -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf *** pst		after	already	3pl take pst

rií	,	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 rií: masa de aguaje)

<b>239 Mot</b>	réjómi	kája	ri'jíchá	píño	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= éjomi	kája	ri= íjí -chá	píño	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>240 Mot</b>	é	nákaí	kélé	ri'rí		phe'jí		i'jichá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákaí	kélé	ri=	i'rí	phe'	-jí	i'jǐ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>241 Mot</b>	rímícha	"	jowilá	marí	kéja	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha		jowilá	marí	ké =ja	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf say pst		uncle	prox	like lim	

**Libre** él dijo "tío así mismo está? "

<b>242 Mot</b>	"	marí	kéja	nula'rí	,	méké	yúku	" "
<b>Morphèmes</b>		marí	ké =ja	nu= la'rí		méké	yúku	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		prox	like lim	1sg ***		indf.manner	story	

ũká " ké rímíchaka nákari  
unká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka nákarí  
neg like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft uh

**Libre** "sí así mismo, sobrino, qué me cuenta" dijo, "no" dijo él,

<b>243 Mot</b>	méké	náke	,	pa'yútá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	náke		pa'yú tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>244 Mot</b>	richá	kájé	pura'kájo	kájé	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= chá	kájé	pura' -káje	=o	kájé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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
kháājĩ					
kháājĩ					
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)

<b>245 Mot</b>	" jé	" ajĩ	ké	rímícha	rijló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ajĩ	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	prox	like	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf for	
ũká	"					
unká						
neg						

**Libre** "bueno", así él le dijo "no"

<b>246 Mot</b>	panékhe
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre** primero

<b>247 Mot</b>	" pitamáa'taje	inau'ké	jló	phiyúkéja	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= tamáa' -ta -je	inau'ké	jló	phiyúké =ja	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>248 Mot</b>	pikamáa'ta	inau'ké	jló	phiyúké	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= kamáa' -ta	inau'ké	jló	phiyúké	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>254 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	"	pa'yú	ajǐ	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		pa'yú	ajǐ	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>255 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		rikeño'jǐkaé	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		ri= keño' -jǐ -ka é	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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' -ré	
3sg.nf begin fut ka.adv cond2			dance ev.nz2	3sg.nf begin jus	
riká	paminá		íí	nakiyá	, iyé'kurí íí
ri= ikhá	pa= miná		íí	nakú =eyá	*** íí
3sg.nf pro	impers owner		name	on from	*** name
nakiyá					
nakú =eyá					
on from					

**Libre** (nombre tanimuca)

<b>256 Mot</b>	eyonáje	kélé	nákai	,	kája	me'jwikájé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyonáje	kélé	nákai		kája	ma- i'jwi -kájé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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
michú -ná		keño' -rí		ma- i'jwi -kájé		i'ma -ka
deceased pl		begin nf.cleft		priv *** **		far.pst ka.pst
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 " ají  
ri= jwa'téje -na é ri= ímí -cha na= jló náke ají  
3sg.nf servants pl then 3sg.nf say pst 3pl for uh prox

ké pa'yútá kémíchaka , ají ké no'wé  
ké pa'yú tá kémí -cha -ka ají 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'takalojé phiyúkéja náke ... inau'ké jló  
wa= tamáa' -ta -ka lojé 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'kálojé rií nakiyá riká ,  
wa= keño' -ká lojé 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"

<b>260 Mot</b>	é	jlaíchú	phíyu'ke	waícha	"	jé	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	jlaíchú	phíyu'ke	waícha		jé		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	afternoon	old	return		good		like

**Libre** en la tarde viene el viejo, "bueno"

<b>261 Mot</b>	é	inau'ké	wátiya	riká			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	inau'ké	wáti	-ya	ri=	ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	person	wait	pst	3sg.nf	pro	

**Libre** ahí la gente lo esperaron

<b>262 Mot</b>	é	nawátiya		riká		,	ja'píchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na=	wáti	-ya	ri=	ikhá	ja'pá -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl	wait	pst	3sg.nf	pro	pass pst nf.ss

náke  
náke  
uh

**Libre** ahí lo esperaron pasó este..

<b>263 Mot</b>	ja'píchari		náke	...	jrená	,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ja'pá	-cha	-ri	náke	ri=	jená	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>264 Mot</b>	aaj	ũká	méké	,	kája	jrená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	unká	méké		kája	ri= jená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>265 Mot</b>	ũká	pachá	no'wétá		iphálácha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	pachá	nu= e'wé	tâ	iphá	-lá -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>266 Mot</b>	jé	piká	wakára'a	jnewaká	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	pi= ikhá	wa= kára'a	nu= jiwaká	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>267 Mot</b>	é	náke	rikeño'chá	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	ri= keño' -chá	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>268 Mot</b>	ũká	rimalácha	kélé	wé'-	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ri= ima -lá -cha	kélé	***	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>269 Mot</b>	eyonáje	jlaíchú	ké	riphícha			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyonáje	jlaíchú	ké	ri=	ipha	-cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>270 Mot</b>	"	yúkurí	kána	Wíña	kuíri	kaná	yúkurí	kaná
<b>Morphèmes</b>		***	***	Wíña	***	kaná	***	kaná
<b>Glose lex.</b>		***	***	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"

<b>271 Mot</b>	entonce	rímícha		"	méké	chí	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ri=	ímí -cha		méké	chí	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>272 Mot</b>	eyonáje	ũká	ka'jnó	jema'lá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyonáje	unká	ka'jnó	i= jema' -lá		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 ser a 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** "comiéndelo 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)

<b>278 Mot</b>	" ũká	" ké	rímícha	,	" inau'ké	nu'makhé-
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha	,	inau'ké	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>279 Mot</b>	é	riyái'cho		pajlúwája	,	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yái' -cha =o		pajlúwá =ja		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>285 Mot</b>	é	kája	júni	,	ñaké	júni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	júni		ñaké	júni
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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 "jmájmámá" llovió

<b>286 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	:	"	méké	kháãjĩ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	méké	kháãjĩ
<b>Glose lex.</b>		then	3sg.nf	say	pst	indf.manner
						prox

la'ká ? "

la' -ká

do ka.cleft

**Libre** él dijo "qué es lo que hace este? "

<b>287 Mot</b>	ũká	jrema'lá		jno'piyá	,	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ri=	jema'	-lá	nu=	ja'pi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>288 Mot</b>	ripéchú		nakú	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	péchú	nakú	ri=
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	thought	on	3sg.nf
				say
				pst

**Libre** él lo decía por dentro (el pensao de él)

<b>289 Mot</b>	é	,	ñaké	re'wé		arápi'chaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é		ñaké	ri=	e'wé	arápi'
<b>Glose lex.</b>			dist.simil	3sg.nf	brother	dance
						pst
						ka.cleft





**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)

<b>295 Mot</b>	amári	kája	kélé	júni	iphíchaka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amá -ri	kája	kélé	júni	iphí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>296 Mot</b>	kája	rikeño'chá	yamú	e'yowá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= keño' -chá	yamú	e'yá ewá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>297 Mot</b>	ñaké	kája	rili'chá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ñaké	kája	ri= li' -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>298 Mot</b>	ne'chicháká	" je je je "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'chi -chá -ká	jé jé jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jné  
 é ri= ímí -cha chúwa nu= yáni majó i= i'jné  
 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

<b>304 Mot</b>	neká	ja'píchaño	"	yéé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ikhá	ja'pí -cha	-ño	yéé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jě	nuwajlé	chúwa	
nu= ikhá	ja'pá -je		nu= ikhá	taápa' -jě	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)

<b>305 Mot</b>	"	jé	o'wé	palá	pila'ká	"	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé	o'wé	palá	pi= la' -ká		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>306 Mot</b>	é	náke	rataícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	ri= ataí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	3sg.nf sing pst

**Libre** y luego él cantó (laym: falta éjómi)

<b>307 Mot</b>	rataícha	jra'pícha	arápa'je	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ataí -cha	ri= ja'pí -cha	arápa' -je	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>308 Mot</b>	é	ripayáicha	kélé	púru	chú	,	kája	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= payái -cha	kélé	***	chú		kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>309 Mot</b>	ujwí	ké	,	reyá		riñátiya		kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ké		ri=	eyá	ri= ñáti -ya		kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>310 Mot</b>	ré	pajlúwá	jema'lá	,	kajú	pakoróna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	pajlúwá	i= jema' -lá		kajú	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>311 Mot</b>	riká	kélé	ré	jrewíña'ta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	kélé	ré	ri= jewíña' -ta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>312 Mot</b>	eyá	kélé	jreñátiya	ri'rí	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kélé	***	ri= i'rí	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>313.1 Mot</b>	eyá	ri'rí	apú	kamu'jini	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	ri= i'rí	apú	kamu'jí -ni	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>313.2 Mot</b>	nemakáre	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ima -káre	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl say arg.nz1	towards_inside

**Libre** y luego el hijo pequeño lo dejó en quebrada negra que dicen "teke?pequeño?"

<b>314 Mot</b>	aú	kélé	Quebrada Negra	piyuténá	ñakajéla	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	kélé	***	***	piyuté -ná	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	med	***	***	boa pl	med

**Libre** por eso es la casa propio de la boa Quebrada negra

<b>315 Mot</b>	riká	yuíchari	rinumáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	yuí -cha -ri	ri= numá =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	stay pst nf.cleft	3sg.nf mouth until

**Libre** Él se quedó en la bocana

<b>316 Mot</b>	rejená	kélé	piyuté	yukúná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ejená	kélé	piyuté	yukú -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf until	med	boa	story alien3

**Libre** hasta ahí se acabó cuento de la boa

<b>317 Mot</b>	aũ	kélé	wajló	itewí	,	piyuté	wajló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	kélé	wa= jló	itewí		piyuté	wa= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>318 Mot</b>	aũ	náke	,	ũká	náke	,	pá	náke	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	náke		unká	náke		pá	náke	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>319 Mot</b>	rejená	marí	nu'má	iyé'kuri	yukúná	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ejená	marí	nu= i'má	iyé'kuri	yukú -ná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>320 Mot</b>	ũká	,	ũká	paláwáni	nu'malácha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká		unká	palá wáni	nu= i'ma -lá -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>321 Mot</b>	iléjenája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé ejená =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	med until lim

**Libre** hasta ahí no más

# ycn0114

<b>1 Mot</b>	nu'majé		nu'maká		nujuwákó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= i'ma	jé	nu= i'ma	-ka	nu= jyuwákó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg tell	fut	1sg cop	ka.cleft	1sg ***
i'maká	nákarí	jnló		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

<b>2 Mot</b>	yuwaló		nu'maká		wakajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yuwa -ló		nu= i'ma -ka		wakajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	pi'má	palá	ké	ru'majíká		nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= i'ma	palá	ké	ru= i'ma -jīka		nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	eyá	nákarí	i'jnúní	iná	i'makáchú			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	nákarí	i'jnu -ní	iná	i'ma -ka	chú		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	riká	aú	jnoma'á	jro'piyá			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	aú	nu= jema'á	ru= ja'pi	=eyá		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	cause	1sg listen	3sg.f under	from		
i'maká	rumaká		nojlo	ké	jnoma'ká		
i'ma -ka	ru= ima	-ká	nu= jlo	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

<b>6 Mot</b>	é	nu'makhé	rujwa'té	ajño'jó	ké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nu= i'ma -khé	ru= jwa'té	ajño'jó	ké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= jlo 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

<b>7.1 Mot</b>	é	nutawá'o	i'maká	rujwa'té	ewá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nu= tawá' =o	i'ma -ka	ru= jwa'té	ewá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>13 Mot</b>	nuta'ó	i'maká	,	é kája	iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ta' =ó	i'ma -ka		é kája	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>14 Mot</b>	é kája	we'má	kélé	pajwa'téchaka	é kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	wa= i'má	kélé	***	é kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>15 Mot</b>	ũká	nuwe'píkhe	i'majíká	ajĩ	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	nu= we'pí -khe	i'ma -jĩka	ajĩ	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>16 Mot</b>	éjomi	apú	nu'rí	i'marí	nútu
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	apú	nu= i'rí	i'má -rí	nu= ítu
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>17 Mot</b>	ruká	ũká	nuwe'píla	ajǐ	ké	chí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ikhá	unká	nu= we'pí -la	ajǐ	ké	chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>18 Mot</b>	máarejéjapí		nu'majé	nupéchú	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maaré =eje =ja =pí		nu= i'ma -jé	nu= péchú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>19 Mot</b>	nokhó	nomájĩka	kélé	nuyáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá =o	nu= amá -jĩka	kélé	nu= yáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>20 Mot</b>	ira'jú	jilámi	kája	aú	ũká	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ira'jú	jilá =mi	kája	aú	unká	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>21 Mot</b>	é kája	namotho'ká		éjéchami	kája	iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= motho'	-ka	***	kája	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>22 Mot</b>	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	nala'á	najló	lawichú	phiyúké	nala'á	lána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= la'á	na= jló	lawichú	phiyúké	na= la'á	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	éjéchami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	iná	iphá	phá	chójō	éjéchami
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>25 Mot</b>	nala'á	najló	kerá	...	íjai	chu'chú	...	kéchami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= la'á	na= jló	kerá	...	***	chu'chú	...	kéchami
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>26 Mot</b>	riká	nala'á	kájachá	najló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	na= la'á	kája -chá	na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	3pl do	already pst	3pl for

**Libre** para ellos

<b>27 Mot</b>	kéchami	nejné	penáje	nákarí	... kapajénojéñáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kéchami	***	penáje	nákarí	kapajé -nojé =ñáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>28 Mot</b>	nejné	penáje	kapajénojéñáni	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	penáje	kapajé -nojé =ñáni	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	for	small com2 dim	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** muy pequeñitos

<b>29 Mot</b>	é	kája	nakajwáta	neká	pai'lá	kájemaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	***	na= ikhá	pai'lá	kájemáka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30 Mot</b>	ré	nákarí	iná	wáta	inau'ké	nanakiyáná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	nákarí	iná	wáta	inau'ké	na= nakiyá -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>31 Mot</b>	é kája	natáa'ta	nekáñáni	pai'lá	e'yá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= táa'	-ta	na= ikhá =ñáni	pai'lá e'yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>32 Mot</b>	é kája	iná	ja'pá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	iná	ja'pá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	gnr.pro	pass

**Libre** y uno sigue

<b>33 Mot</b>	e'yá	kája	kélé	yuwají	yoró	mana'íja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yá	kája	kélé	yuwa -ji	yorí =o	mana'í =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>34 Mot</b>	rila'jó	kájé	ritámiwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= la' -jé =o	kájé	ri= támi =wa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>35 Mot</b>	e'yá	kája	natawáa'o	kája	neká	pheñawiíchajena
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yá	kája	***	kája	na= ikhá	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>36 Mot</b>	é kája	nala'á	píño	apú	jíwi	najló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= la'á	píño	apú	jíwi	na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl do	again	other	salt	3pl for

Libre entonces aquí es que le hacen otro conjuro

<b>37 Mot</b>	ilé	tâ	kajúni	wáni	jíwi	nala'á	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	tâ	kajú -ni	wáni	jíwi	na= la'á	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>38 Mot</b>	ná	ka'jno	na'chá	neí	nákarí	ka'jno
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	ka'jno	na= a' -chá	na= ií	nákarí	ka'jno
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	dub	3pl give pst	3pl name	uh	dub

Libre MISSING TRAD

<b>39.1 Mot</b>	neíwá	kamejéya	ií	ka'jno	jupichíya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ií =wá	***	ií	ka'jno	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>39.2 Mot</b>	é kája	nala'á	yáleji	arápa'kaje	nala'á
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= la'á	yále -ji	arápa' -kaje	na= la'á
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>40 Mot</b>	éjé	kája	na'á	richá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	=eje	kája	na= a'á	ri= chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	until	already	3pl give	3sg.nf on

Libre MISSING TRAD

<b>41 Mot</b>	riká	jíwi	la'kaná	chú	kája	némá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	jíwi	la' -kaná	chú	kája	na= ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>42 Mot</b>	é kája	kélé	yuwajĩ	tawá'ro		ka'jnó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	kélé	yuwají	tawá' -ri	=o	ka'jnó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	med	young_man	***	nf.cleft	mid dub

**Libre** MISSING TRAD

<b>43 Mot</b>	ná	ka'jnó	riká	yále	ja'ó	ka'jnó	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	ka'jnó	ri=	ikhá	ja'á =o	ka'jnó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	jéchi	nakú	jápákana	yukúná	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jéchi	nakú	jápá -kana	yukú -ná	marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	rubber	on	work ev.nz1	story alien3	prox

**Libre** le voy a contar cómo se trabaja sacando caucho

<b>2 Mot</b>	upejé	karíwana	...	karíwana
<b>Morphèmes</b>	upejé	karíwa	-na	karíwa -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	kajú	inau'ké	jápáño	najwa'té	jechi	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	inau'ké	jápá -ño	na= jwa'té	jechi	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	neká	iphátakeño	majǒ	kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ikhá	iphá -ta -khe -ño	majǒ	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	pajlúwája	bote	ja'chámi	chú	pu'thé	nákájé	u'wí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá =ja	***	***	chú	***	nákaje	u'wí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	one	lim	***	in	***	thing	farina

a'umakájé , ajálo , perojló , yukíra  
 a'umaka -jé \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*  
 clothes fut \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*

**Libre** en un bote grande lleno de cosas como faraña, ropas, machetes, ollas, sal, azúcar, todo



**Libre** les contestaban "sí , nos vamos "

<b>11 Mot</b>	némá	" maí	wakajétá	we'majé	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ímá	maí	wakajé tá	wa= i'ma -jé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl say	prox	date emph1	1pl cop fut	

na'á jnenó

na= a'á \*\*\*

3pl give \*\*\*

**Libre** MISSING

<b>12 Mot</b>	maí	wakajé	we'jnajé	kélé	jéchi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maí	wakajé	wa= i'jna -jé	kélé	jéchi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	date	1pl go fut	med	rubber
witúka'taje		ná	ka'jnó	yúchi	ka'jnó ne'jnajé
witúka' -ta -je		ná	ka'jnó	yúchi	ka'jnó 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

<b>13 Mot</b>	we'jnajé	jña'jé	ké	nemaká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'jna -jé	jña' jé	ké	na= ima -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl go fut	take purp.mot	like	3pl say ka.cleft

**Libre** venimos a llevar le dijeron

<b>14 Mot</b>	jé	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like

**Libre** está bien

<b>15 Mot</b>	pu'jí	inau'ké	péchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pu'jí	inau'ké	péchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	happy	person	thought

**Libre** toda la gente estaban muy contentos

<b>16 Mot</b>	é kája	jnácho'o	eja'wá	e'yajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= jácho'o	eja'wá	e'yajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go_out	forest	towards

**Libre** y después ya van saliendo

<b>17 Mot</b>	ya'jnájě	ne'jné	eja'wá	e'yajé	ya'jnájě
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ya'jné =eje	na= i'jné	eja'wá	e'yajé	ya'jné =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	far until	3pl go	forest	towards	far until

wáni (---)

wáni

emph

**Libre** para la selva lejos muy lejos

<b>18 Mot</b>	éjǒ	nala'á	campamento	nala'á	najlúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ejo	na= la'á	***	na= la'á	na= jlú =wa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl do	***	3pl do	3pl for refl

kapejé

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

**Libre** allá hacen un campamento para ellos

<b>19 Mot</b>	nala'á	najlúwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= la'á	na= jlú =wa
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl do	3pl for refl

**Libre** para ellos

<b>20 Mot</b>	eyá	kája	nakeño'ó	iñepú	la'kaná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája	na= keño'ó	iñepú	la' -kaná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>21 Mot</b>	é	nakeño'ó	iñepú	la'kaná	ajǐ	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= keño'ó	iñepú	la' -kaná	ajǐ	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>22 Mot</b>	a'jná	nepháta	méewá	ka'jno
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jná	na= iphá -ta	mé =ewá	ka'jno
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	eyá	cháje	wáni	i'maká	le'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	cháje	wáni	i'ma -ka	le'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	é kája	jlapiwá	napóke		a'pitajé	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	jlapiwá	na= apó	-khe	a'pita	-je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>25 Mot</b>	jlapí	ne'jné	wajé	kapére	apóka	é	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jlapí	na= i'jné	wajé	kapére	apó	-ka	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26.1 Mot</b>	ne'rá	iká	a'jné	natajáta	riká	....
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ri= ikhá	a'jné	***	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	3sg.nf pro	dist	***	3sg.nf pro	

**Libre**

<b>26.2 Mot</b>	we'chú	...	we'íchami		natajátaka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***		we'í -cha =mi	na= tajá	-ta -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***		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)

<b>27 Mot</b>	é kája	riwatána'a	júpi	kája	ri'rá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= watána'a	júpi	kája	ri= i'rá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>28 Mot</b>	eyá	iná	riká	nalúna	i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	iná	ri= ikhá	na= lúna	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>29 Mot</b>	pijña'á	pikuwá'lane	pijaálune	(---)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jña'á	pi= kuwá'la -ne	pi= jaálu -ne	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30.1 Mot</b>	iná	ako'ó	rikhá	ná	choj'é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	ako'ó	ri= ikhá	ná	choj'é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30.2 Mot</b>	...	galón	choj'é	ka'j'nó	iná	ako'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	...	***	choj'é	ka'j'nó	iná	ako'ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	...	***	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**            éjéchéami        ,            é            iná            pa'ó                       pajñákáni            ,  
**Morphèmes**    éjéchéami        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

<b>35 Mot</b>	é	ná	iphá	jlaíchú	piphá	méjéchami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ná	iphá	jlaíchú	pi= iphá	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	iná
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

<b>36 Mot</b>	é kája	nataka'áta	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= taka'áta	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl ***	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** y lo echan

<b>37 Mot</b>	riláka'una	chojé	natakaáta	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	chojé	***	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>38 Mot</b>	kajúní	nala'ká	nákarí	ají	kétána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú -ní	na= la' -ká	nákarí	ají	kétána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>39 Mot</b>	riká	chojé	nako'ó	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chojé	na= ako'ó	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	towards_inside	3pl pour	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** en esta cosa lo echan

<b>40 Mot</b>	kája	ritaja'ká	patá	ritaja'ká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= taja' -ka	patá	ri= taja' -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= chú =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

<b>41 Mot</b>	é kája	ré	riláka'una	mákina	...	nepháta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ré	***	***	na= iphá -ta	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 ~)

<b>42 Mot</b>	kariwana		a'ñó		kélé	najló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kariwa	-na	a' -ñó		kélé	na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	white_person	pl	give pl.cleft		med	3pl for

**Libre** los blancos se lo dieron

<b>43 Mot</b>	é	kajá	richojé		nara'á	riká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	ri= chojé		***	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'makalé		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= chú =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

<b>44 Mot</b>	é kája	jrácho'o		, é kája	napaja'á	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ri= jácho' =o		é kája	***	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go_out mid		then	***	3sg.nf pro

ajĩ	ké	napitakáre (---)	a'waná	nakojé	napaja'á	riká	,
ajĩ	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

<b>45 Mot</b>	é	ũká	júni	ja'ló	wakajé	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	unká	júni	ja' -ló	wakajé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>46 Mot</b>	jenáji		ké	ri'jná	a'pitajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jená -ji		ké	ri= i'jná	a'pita -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	hour unposs		like	3sg.nf go	bathe purp.mot

**Libre** a la media noche y se va a bañar

<b>47 Mot</b>	ré	ri'jná		píño	, ri'jná	píño	ri'ráje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	ri=	i'jná	píño	ri= i'jná	píño	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>48 Mot</b>	é	iná	i'rá	(---) i'jnári	muní ké	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	iná	i'rá	i'jna -ri	muní ké	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>49 Mot</b>	jlapiyámí	pi'jná	rápumi	chú	ra'kojé	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	lapiyámí	pi= i'jná	ri= ápumi	chú	***	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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
píño					
píño					
again					

**Libre** (mls: se va detrás de él en la mañana), y volvemos a encontrarnos lo mismo nos regresamos

<b>50 Mot</b>	ajápána	i'jná	ajápána	i'jná	, kajú	inau'ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ajápána	i'jná	ajápána	i'jná	kajú	inau'ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>51 Mot</b>	e'yajě	ka'jná	amíchari	kamejérí	ná	ka'jnó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yajě	ka'jná	amí -cha -ri	kamejérí	ná	ka'jnó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>52 Mot</b>	jéchi	i'rakána	cháya	ramícha	ye'é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jéchi	i'ra -kána	cháya	ri= amí -cha	ye'é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	rubber	drink ev.nz1	on	3sg.nf see pst	armadillo

**Libre** donde rallan el caucho él ve el armadillo

<b>53 Mot</b>	eyá	kéle	nuyáni	jara'pá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kéle	nu= yáni	jara'pá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>54 Mot</b>	atírí	rinóke	wajló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	atírí	ri= nó -khe	wa= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	animal_sp	3sg.nf kill far.pst	1pl for

**Libre** mataba para nosotros cocunucos

<b>55 Mot</b>	eyá	apála	rila'ké	itewí	, kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	apála	ri= la' -ké	itewí	kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>56 Mot</b>	riká	chojě	nákarí	... wawáuna
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chojě	nákarí	wawáu -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jǐka		wajló	neká	maárejé
ri= jǐna' -jǐka		wa= jló	na= ikhá	maárejé
3sg.nf take far.pst		1pl for	3pl pro	***

**Libre** caían mucho en la palma eso nos traía para nosotros

<b>57 Mot</b>	maí	ké	we'majǐká	rewá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maí	ké	wa= i'ma -jǐka	ri= ewá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	1pl live far.pst	3sg.nf around

jápákaje	nakú
jápá -kaje	nakú
work ev.nz2	on

**Libre** así era que vivíamos por allá trabajando

<b>58 Mot</b>	é kája	iná	iphá	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	iná	iphá	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	gnr.pro	arrive	again

**Libre** y luego uno llega otra vez

<b>59 Mot</b>	phiyúké	iná	amáka	nákájé	a'waná	chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	phiyúké	iná	amá -ka	nákaje	a'waná	chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	ri= ewá
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

<b>60 Mot</b>	é kája	nañapáta	kája	, kajú	nala'ká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	na= ñapáta	kája	kajú	na= la' -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl finish	already	much	3pl do ka.cleft

kája	nawe'píka	yéwíchami	kélé
kája	na= we'pí -ka	yéwícha =mi	kélé
already	3pl know ka.when	almost pfv	med

nakariwáte	waíchaka	wakajé	kája
na= kariwá -te	waícha -ka	wakajé	kája
3pl white_person alien1	return ka.nz	date	already

nawitúka'ta	riká
na= witúka' -ta	ri= ikhá
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

<b>61 Mot</b>	máarejé	nepo'ó	riká	apalá	apalá	apalá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	máare	=eje	na= jepo'ó	ri= ikhá	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>62 Mot</b>	é kája	jnawaká	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	***	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	***	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** y así lo van esperando

<b>63 Mot</b>	é kája	yewíchami	jrená	é kája	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	yewícha =mi	ri= jená	é kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>64 Mot</b>	e'yá	jnácho'o	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yá	na= jácho'o	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	in	3pl go_out	again

**Libre** y después se van otra vez

<b>65 Mot</b>	ne'jné	píño	riñathé	ji'ráje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jné	píño	***	ji'rá -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl go	again	***	*** purp.mot

**Libre** se van a sacar más a rallar de nuevo

<b>66 Mot</b>	kajú	nala'ká	riká	kajú	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	na= la' -ká	ri= ikhá	kajú	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	much	3pl do ka.cleft	3sg.nf pro	much	emph

**Libre** trabajan duro para sacar bastante

<b>67 Mot</b>	é kája	iná	wátaka	chú	kája	ne'yajéna	la'ñó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	iná	wáta -ka	chú	kája	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>68 Mot</b>	yúchi	nakú	najápá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yúchi	nakú	na= jápá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	plant_sp	on	3pl work

**Libre** y trabajan así

<b>69 Mot</b>	ilé	apú	kalé	nepháta	najló	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	apú	kalé	na= iphá -ta	na= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>70 Mot</b>	kécha	wachapíláji	jna'kópiyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kécha	wa= chapíláji	na= ja' -ka =ó piyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>71 Mot</b>	ajálu	aú'tá	namatha'á	ilé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ajálu	***	na= matha'á	ilé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	machete	***	3pl cut	med

**Libre** y machete para que puedan cortar

<b>72 Mot</b>	ne'jaká	riká	kécha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jra -ká	ri= ikhá	kécha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>73 Mot</b>	riká		najña'á	túla	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	na= jña'á	***	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	3pl take	***	towards_inside

**Libre** este lo recogen en una tula

<b>74 Mot</b>	ilé	tá	kája	motho'kéja	kélé	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	tâ	kája	motho'	-kéja	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>75 Mot</b>	ilé	tá	ũká	iná	riká	inaána	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	tâ	unká	iná	ri=	ikhá	inaána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>76 Mot</b>	é	nuká	nura'ké	kája	,	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nu=	ikhá	nu= ra' -ké	kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>77 Mot</b>	eyá	apála	méké	i'majíká	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	apála	méké	i'ma -jíka	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	maybe	indf.manner	cop far.pst	in



kája	mapéja	nu'jnajĩká		chira'jó			rijwa'té
kája	mapéja	nu= i'jna	-jĩka	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

<b>78 Mot</b>	nuwejájĩka		jĩnana	,	nujña'ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= wejá	-jĩka	jĩña -na		nu= jña' -khé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg poison	far.pst	fish pl		1sg take far.pst

wejakéja  
weja -kéja  
poison ptcp

**Libre** y barbasquiaba pescado y los cogía barbasqueado

<b>79 Mot</b>	apála	nuyawiténa		nókeñonó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apála	nu= yáwi	-té -na	nó -khé -ño =nó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80 Mot</b>	nenóke		wajló	kuwajáří	,	ye'é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= nó	-khe	wa= jló	kuwajáří		ye'é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl kill	far.pst	1pl for	paca		armadillo

**Libre** mataban para nosotros borugo, armadillo

<b>81 Mot</b>	marí	kéja		we'majĩká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké =ja		wa= i'ma -jĩka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like lim		1pl live far.pst

**Libre** y así vivíamos siempre

<b>82 Mot</b>	eyá	apála	iná	amá	kajú	kája	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	apála	iná	amá	kajú	kája	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	maybe	gnr.pro	see	much	already	med

kuwa'ñá	kawílaka	rewá		eja'wá	e'yá	,	ya'jñá	kélé	,	ya'jñá
***	***	ri=	ewá	eja'wá	e'yá		ya'jñá	kélé		ya'jñá
***	***	3sg.nf	around	forest	in		far	med		far

wáni	kélé	eja'wá	i'wámi		kajú	kuwa'ñá	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

<b>83 Mot</b>	ra'ká			the'rí	a'waná	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	a'	-ká	the'rí	a'waná	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	give	ka.insub?	ground	tree	on

**Libre** y le untaba tierra en los palos

<b>84 Mot</b>	marí	ké	rikawílakatá			kajú	wáni	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	ké	ri=	kawíla	-ka	tá	kajú	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	prox	like	3sg.nf	***	ka.cleft	emph1	much	emph

**Libre** así seguía molestando mucho

<b>85 Mot</b>	riká		ũká	paála		kája	iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	unká	paá	-la	kája	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>86 Mot</b>	ũká	nuwe'píla		mékéka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	nu=	we'pí	-la	méké -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>87 Mot</b>	é	nomá	kajúní	nomáka		ná	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na=	amá	kajú -ní	na=	amá -ka	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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                            rípiyá                            ,    ùká  
**Morphèmes**    é            nu= ata' =o    rí=    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                    rí=    ikhá  
3sg.nf see v.neg    1sg pro                    1sg pro                    see nf.cleft    3sg.nf pro

riká                            ùká                            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                    ùká                    ramála                            nuká  
**Morphèmes**    kája                    =wá =ja                    unká                    rí=    amá -la                    nu= ikhá  
**Glose lex.**      already            emph lim                    neg                    3sg.nf see v.neg    1sg pro

, kája                    nukero'ó                            ... ké                    jra'pátá                            ùká  
kája                    nu= kero'ó                            ké                    rí=    ja'pá tá                            unká  
already    1sg be\_scared                            like                    3sg.nf pass emph1                    neg

ramála                            aũ                    nuká                            jra'pá  
ri=    amá -la                    \*\*\*                    nu= ikhá                    rí=    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                    ùká                    nuwátala                            jéchitá                            nakú  
la' =ó                            kája                    unká                    nu= wáta -la                    jéchi tá                            nakú  
do mid                    already            neg                    1sg want v.neg                    rubber emph1                    on

jápákana                            ,    kája                    nukero'kó                            réjéchami  
jápá -kana                    kája                    nu= kero' -ka                    =ó                    rí=    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

<b>93 Mot</b>	kája	e'yá	ijnuúnatá		ũká	la'laño	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	e'yá	ijnu -úna	tá	unká	la' -la	-ño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	in	lazy pl	emph1	neg	do v.neg	pl.cleft
méké	, wejápajañani		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

<b>94 Mot</b>	ũká	ná	aú	nala'ké		kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ná	aú	na= la' -khé		kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>95 Mot</b>	é	kélé	kajú	jña'káño		, riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	kajú	jña' -ka -ño		ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'umakájé		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

<b>96 Mot</b>	eyá	kélé	i'jnúni	ũká	jápála	, ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kélé	i'jnu -ní	unká	jápá -la	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jnúnitá	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 aũ kalé nuwe'pí  
i'ma -ka na= jwa'té ri= ikhá aũ 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 chuwa i'majíká  
 júpi =mi wa= i'ma -jika eja'wá chu =ewa i'ma -jika  
 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 mirití chú i'maká ariyé  
 \*\*\* mirití chú i'ma -ka \*\*\*  
 \*\*\* mirití\_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 wapuwa , iphári  
 na= la' -ká iñepú nákarí ejá wapu =ewa iphá -ri  
 3pl do ka.cleft way uh proper.n \*\*\* \*\*\* arrive nf.ss

ají ké jípa ja'pejé  
 ají 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?)

<b>5 Mot</b>	riká	chuwá	we'jnaké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	chu =ewá	wa= i'jna -ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	in around	1pl go far.pst

chira'jó  
 chira' -je =o  
 wander purp.mot mid

**Libre** por éste íbamos de paseo

<b>6 Mot</b>	paláni	, kajú	yuwaná	jwa'té	we'jnaké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	palá -ni	kajú	yuwaná	jwa'té	wa= i'jna -ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>7 Mot</b>	apála	kajú	wajñajĩkanó	a'jnejí	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apála	kajú	wa= ajña -jĩka =nó	a'jne -jí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>8 Mot</b>	eyá	wapa'kó	, wa'pitaké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	wa= pa' -ka =o	wa= a'pita -ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>9 Mot</b>	é kája	wephá	, kája	wája	pajlúwája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	wa= iphá	kája	=wá =ja	pajlúwá =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>14 Mot</b>	iñepúñáni	to'ró			ajǐ	ké	jípa	chó	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iñepú	=ñáni	to'	-rí	=o	ajǐ	ké	jípa	chó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>15 Mot</b>	riká	chuwá	iná	ja'pá	ajǐ	ké		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	chu	=ewá	iná	ja'pá	ajǐ	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 aũ najña'á neká  
na= kamáta -ka =o ña'rí aũ 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

<b>16 Mot</b>	é	wajña'á	neká	,	é	rúmá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa=	jña'á	na=	ikhá	é	ru=	ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>17 Mot</b>	é	wajña'ké	neká	wakuméro'o	,		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa=	jña' -ké	na=	ikhá	***	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>18 Mot</b>	é kája	pu'jí	nupéchú	i'maké	,	kája	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	pu'jí	nu=	péchú	i'ma -khé	kája	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>19 Mot</b>	apú	wakajé	we'jné	ñakéja	kája	apú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	apú	wakajé	wa= i'jné	ñaké	=ja kája	apú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>20 Mot</b>	wawáa'kako		wáni	wakajé	rímá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= wáa' -ka	-ka =o	wáni	wakajé	ri= ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>21 Mot</b>	" pijña'á	kája	jwetá	kájémáka	, muní
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jña'á	kája	wa= jítá	***	muní
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>22 Mot</b>	" jée	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like

**Libre** entonces le contesté "bueno"

<b>23 Mot</b>	é	we'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa= i'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	1pl go

**Libre** y nos fuimos

<b>24 Mot</b>	we'jné	jíta	chú	,	i'jnáñó	wajwa'té	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= i'jné	jíta	chú		i'jné -ñó	wa= jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?)

<b>25 Mot</b>	i'jnáñó	wajwa'té	kélé	no'wé	yuwakámí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i'jné -ñó	wa= jwa'té	kélé	nu= e'wé	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	go pl.nz	1pl with	med	1sg brother	***

Kujmá

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**Libre** y los que se fueron con nosotros era mi hermanito pequeño Kujmá

<b>26 Mot</b>	eyá	re'wé	yuwakámí	Pitu'wíri	i'jnári
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	ri= e'wé	***	***	i'jna -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	é	wephá	jípa	ja'pejé	jlaíchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa= iphá	jípa	ja'pi =eje	jlaíchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>28 Mot</b>	kajú	jíñana	a'jnelá	e'chaká	,	riká	ja'pí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	jíña -na	***	***		ri= ikhá	ja'pi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	"	wakuwá'jĩka	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"

<b>34 Mot</b>	ré	jípa	apú	aũ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	jípa	aphú	aũ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	stone	hole	with

**Libre** allá hay un hueco de piedra

<b>35 Mot</b>	jípa	apú	ré	richojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jípa	aphú	ri= é	ri= chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	ké
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"

<b>36 Mot</b>	é	nule'jé	náke	wakuwá'a	nuwitúka'ta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nu= le'jé	náke	wa= kuwá'a	nu= witúka' -ta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>37 Mot</b>	nule'jé	yáwiñani	i'máñó	iyamá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= le'jé	yáwi =ñáni	i'má -ñó	iyamá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg poss	tiger dim	cop pl.cleft	two

kapajaréuna  
 kapajaré -runa  
 \*\*\* pl

**Libre** y también tenía dos crías de perritos

<b>38 Mot</b>	é	wakuwá'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa= kuwá'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	1pl cross

**Libre** ibamos ya cruzando

<b>39 Mot</b>	pe'yochámi	wakuwá'ka	jwe'chí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pe'yo -chá =mi	wa= kuwá' -ka	jwe'chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	*** pst pfv	1pl cross ka.cleft	paddle

yupa'kó  
 yupa' -ka =ó  
 \*\*\* \*\* mid

**Libre** en la mitad íbamos cruzando cuando se partió el remo

<b>40 Mot</b>	é	ta'kéní	ya'ó	CHECK	jítatá	nakojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ta'ké -ni	***	***	jíta tâ	nakú =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	*** nf	***	***	canoe emph1	on until

" jújúu " CHECKKK  
 \*\*\* \*\*  
 \*\*\* \*\*

**Libre** y la corriente pegó duro contra la canoa "juuuu"

<b>41 Mot</b>	riká	pajno'tári	jwetáneta	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	***	***

**Libre** ese fue que voltio nuestra canoa

<b>42 Mot</b>	nuyawiténa	takha'táño	junápejë
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= yáwi -té -na	takha' -ta -ño	junápi =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>43 Mot</b>	é	númá	kélé	no'wé	yuwakámí	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nu= ímá	kélé	nu= e'wé	***	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	1sg say	med	1sg brother	***	for

**Libre** en este momento le dije a mi hermanito pequeño

<b>44 Mot</b>	( pi'majé ké)	CHECK	" pipatá	nuká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	*** **	***	pi= patá	nu= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	*** **	***	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)

<b>45 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	phíyu'kecháje	ri'maká		aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	***	ri=	i'ma	-ká aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>46 Mot</b>	ripatá nuká	nuwakúla'pa	nakiyá	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	*** nu= ikhá	***	nakú =eyá	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	*** 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)

<b>47 Mot</b>	eyá	kélé	Juliá	, re'wé	i'mári	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kélé	***	ri= e'wé	***	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>48 Mot</b>	kája	kélé	taja'kájlá	kája	wáni	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	kélé	taja' -ka	jlá	kája	wáni unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	med	die ka.topic frust	already	emph	neg

méño'jǒ  
méño'jǒ  
indf.toward

**Libre** casi se muere

<b>49 Mot</b>	kája	wejápaja	wáni	ripé	i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	wejápa	wáni	ri= ipé	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)



<b>50 Mot</b>	é	ta'kéní	ka'á	kéí'chí	warápojo	, é	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ta'ké	-ni	ka'á	***	***	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>51 Mot</b>	é	jwácho'o	tají	ké	pe'yó	" méké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	wa= jácho'o	tají	ké	pe'yó	méké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>52 Mot</b>	kamu'jí	wala'ká		kháãj́i	ijáni	wa'umaká			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kamu'jí	wa= la' -ká		kháãj́i	ijá -ni	wa= a'umaká			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>53 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	jlapí	kétána	we'maká	kamu'jí	ké		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	jlapí	kétána	wa= i'ma -ká	kamu'jí	ké		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>54 Mot</b>	"	méké	wala'jika	cháwani	",
<b>Morphèmes</b>		méké	wa= la' -jǐ -ka	cháwa -ni	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>55 Mot</b>	é kája	jlapiyamí	rapó	ri'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	lapiyamí	ri= apó	ri= i'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>56 Mot</b>	amári	...	kája	richiúka'kala	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amá -ri		kája	ri= chiúka' -kala	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	see nf.ss		already	3sg.nf go_round ***	like

ri'makále , 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)

<b>57 Mot</b>	é	ri'jné	náke	,	é	ri'má
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jné	náke		é	ri= i'ma
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>58 Mot</b>	é	kalé	palánija	wawitúka'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kalé	palá -ni =ja	wa= witúka'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>59 Mot</b>	wapa'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= pa' =ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1pl return mid

**Libre** regresamos

<b>60 Mot</b>	mapéja	wapa'kó		,	ũká	ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mapéja	wa= pa'	-ka	=o	unká	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	normally	1pl	return	ka.cleft	mid	neg indf

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

<b>61 Mot</b>	kája	marí	kétána
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	marí	kétána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	prox	during

**Libre** (hasta aquí)

# ycn0119

<b>1 Mot</b>	chúwa	nu'majíka			mékéka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	nu=	i'ma	-jĩ	-ka	méké -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>2 Mot</b>	painéko	iná	la'kálojé		( pila'ká- )
<b>Morphèmes</b>	painéko	iná	la' -ká	lojé	pi= la'ká-
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3.1 Mot</b>	iná	amá	mékeka	te'rí	painéko	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	amá	méké	-ka	te'rí	painéko
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3.2 Mot</b>	te'rí	i'makáchú		, ná	ka'jné	, yenúri
<b>Morphèmes</b>	te'rí	i'ma	-ka	chú	ná	ka'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>3.3 Mot</b>	méké	jñó'peka	pila'jika	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méké	jñó'pe -ka	pi= la' -jĩ -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	**** com	2sg do fut ka.cleft	

ñópo'jloka	pila'jika	piñakaró	.
ñópo'jlo -ka	pi= la' -jĩ -ka	pi= ñakaré =o	
big com	2sg do fut ka.cleft	2sg house mid	

**Libre**

<b>4 Mot</b>	eyá	nákei	eja'wá	ri'makáchú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	nákei	eja'wá	ri= i'ma -ká chú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	pimatha'á	painéko	rapukúna	,	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= matha'á	painéko	ri= apukúna		phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>6 Mot</b>	éjomi	kája	, riká	piñapátaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	éjomi	kája	ri= ikhá	pi= ñapáta -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>7 Mot</b>	a'jná	nákei	... yu'pé	kulákana	,	eyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	a'jná	nákei	***	kulá -kana		eyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>8 Mot</b>	eyá	kája	,	pichá	rapú	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája		pi= ichá	ri= aphú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	already		2sg dig	3sg.nf hole	

méké	ka'jno	,	pajlúwa	iná	a'napitá	kétána	ka'jná
méké	ka'jno		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'jno	riká
karená	ka'	-ká piyá	ka'jno	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

<b>9 Mot</b>	mé	ka'jno	rila'kópiyá	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mé	ka'jno	ri= la' -ka	=o piyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf.manner	dub	3sg.nf do	ka.adv mid purp.neg

**Libre** de pronto que no le pase nada

<b>10 Mot</b>	é	kája	nákei	pikeño'ó	awájne'é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	nákei	pi= keño'ó	awájne'é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	uh	2sg begin	stick

kulákana	.
kulá	-kana
search	ev.nz1

**Libre** ahí ya comienza a buscar vara

<b>11 Mot</b>	pijña'á	awájne'é	,	wéji	kéle	painéko	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= jña'á	awájne'é		wéji	kéle	painéko	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>12 Mot</b>	riká	piñapátaka	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ikhá	pi= ñapáta -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	pro	2sg	finish ka.when

**Libre** terminas eso

<b>13 Mot</b>	pipitá	ka'jno	,	iná	wátakachú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= pitá	ka'jno		iná	wáta -ka chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>14 Mot</b>	eyá	kája	,	piñapátaka	kéle	kajé	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	kája		pi= ñapáta -ka	kéle	kájé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>15 Mot</b>	mérejé		ka'jnó	,	pajlúwata	kéri	ejená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méré =eje		ka'jnó		pajlúwá -ta	kéri	ejená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jná pijlúwa  
ri= náku muní ké pi= i'jná 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.

<b>16 Mot</b>	é	apakála	ké	ka'jná	pikeño'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	apakála	ké	ka'jná	pi= keño'ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>17 Mot</b>	pikeño'ó	,	kája	iná	we'í	,	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= keño'ó		kája	iná	we'í		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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



<b>18 Mot</b>	piña'kálojé			káru	rinakojé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= ña' -ka	lojé		káru	ri= naku =eje		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>19 Mot</b>	eyá	pha'pá	píño	, eyá	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	pi= ja'pá	píño	eyá	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>20 Mot</b>	é	pijña'á	jrená	pamákalojé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	pi= jña'á	ri= jená	pi= amá -ka	lojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>21 Mot</b>	é	kája	pimatha'á	káru	ka'jnó	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	pi= matha'á	káru	ka'jnó	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>22 Mot</b>	iná	matha'á	káru	,	eyá	pimatha'á
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	matha'á	káru		eyá	pi= matha'á
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	pajlúwata	kélé	ka'jnó	pimatha'á	,	(
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá -ta	kélé	ka'jnó	pi= matha'á		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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,

<b>24 Mot</b>	iná	awa'ó	ka'jnó	,	iná	pímá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	awa' =ó	ka'jnó		iná	pi= ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>25 Mot</b>	nákarí	é	kája	iná	kulá	kamejéri	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákarí	é	kája	iná	kulá	kamejéri	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26 Mot</b>	eyá	pha'pá	piño	,	pi'jná	náke	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	pi= ja'pá	piño		pi= i'jná	náke	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	na'kálojé		piñathé	,	iná	kémá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= a' -ka	lojé	pi= ñathé		iná	kémá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl give ka.adv	purp3	2sg help		gnr.pro	say

najló mé ka'jno , iná wátakachú iná  
 na= jló mé ka'jno iná wáchi -ka chú iná  
 3pl for indf.manner dub gnr.pro want ka.adv cond gnr.pro

i'jná káru matha'jé ka'jno , eyá ũkáchú  
 i'jná káru matha' jé ka'jno eyá unká chú  
 go plant\_sp cut purp.mot dub since\_then neg cond

pimatha'lá ka'jno káru , paláni ra'jnená  
 pi= matha' -lá ka'jno káru palá -ni ri= a'jnená  
 2sg cut v.neg dub plant\_sp good nf 3sg.nf food2

pihátakachú , ná ka'jno ná kamejéri ka'jno  
 pi= iphá -ta -ka chú ná ka'jno ná kamejéri ka'jno  
 2sg arrive caus ka.adv cond indf dub indf animal dub

ño'po'jlo kamejéri jéma káje ka'jno  
 ño'po'jlo kamejéri jéma kájé ka'jno  
 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

<b>28 Mot</b>	riká	pa'káchú		na'jné	,	patá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	pi= a' -ka	chú	na= a'jné		patá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 jña'jé , é  
 na= i'jna -ka lojé pi= jló káru jña' -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

<b>29 Mot</b>	najña'á	riká	, eyá	kája	nepháta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= jña'á	ikhá	eyá	kája	na= iphá -ta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>30 Mot</b>	iná	yuí	riká	keña'lá	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	yuí	ri= ikhá	keña'lá	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	gnr.pro	leave	3sg.nf pro	basket	towards_inside

**Libre** uno lo deja en el catarijano

<b>31 Mot</b>	kája	ne'jnakálojé	jranapéjé	éjomi	iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	na= i'jna -ka	lojé	***	éjomi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>32 Mot</b>	eyá	namatha'á	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	na= matha'á	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then	3pl cut	med

**Libre** de ahí cortan eso,

<b>33 Mot</b>	( pajl )	najña'ká	éjéja	nayuí	iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	na= jña' -ka	=eje =ja	na= yuí	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>34 Mot</b>	yuriyú	,	yuriyú	aú	ka'jná	iná	jepo'ó	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yuriyú		yuriyú	aú	ka'jná	iná	jepo'ó	ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	trunk		trunk	because	dub	gnr.pro	tie_up	pro

**Libre** ya sea con un bejuco de yaré, uno lo amarra

<b>35 Mot</b>	o	si	no	,	kélé	kariwana		le'jé	puntilla
<b>Morphèmes</b>	o	***	no		kélé	kariwa	-na	le'jé	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***	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

<b>36 Mot</b>	kája		piphákáchú		pepo'ká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pi=	iphá -ka	chú	pi= jepo' -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>37 Mot</b>	eyá		kája	kélé	piñapátakachú		,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá		kája	kélé	pi= ñapáta -ka	chú	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	since_then		already	med	2sg finish ka.adv	cond	

kája	piña'á	jéña	,	ũkáchú	kélé	( karí-	,	ké-)	tabla
kája	pi= ña'á	***		unká	chú	kélé	***	***	***
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'))

<b>38 Mot</b>	jéña	piña'á		, pijña'á	a'waná		, ( ka- )	karupíta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	pi= ña'á		pi= jña'á	a'waná		***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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'jno	pijña'á		, ũkáchú	nákei		, jéña	káje
***	ka'jno	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

<b>39 Mot</b>	nákei	jéña	kájé	pá		piña'kálojé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákei	***	kájé	pá		pi= ña' -ka	lojé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>40 Mot</b>	raúja		kája	pila'á	nákarí	pila'á	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= aú	=ja	kája	pi= la'á	nákarí	pi= la'á	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	***	lim	already	2sg do	uh	2sg do

phiyúkéja  
phiyúké =ja  
all lim

**Libre** con eso mismo usted hace, usted hace todo,

<b>41 Mot</b>	rikáñánija		riká		, phiyúkéja	iná	i'má	...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ikhá =ñáni	=ja	ikhá		phiyúké =ja	iná	i'ma	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	pro	dim	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

<b>42 Mot</b>	é	kája	pha'pá	richojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	pi= ja'pá	ri= chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	2sg pass	3sg.nf towards_inside

**Libre** ahí ya usted se pasa a la casa

<b>43 Mot</b>	kája	iná	i'makálojé	ríchu	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	iná	i'ma -ka lojé	rí= chu	phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>44 Mot</b>	ejenája	, ñakaréji	yukúna	tajno	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ejená =ja	ñakaré -ji	yukú -ná	tajná =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	inau'ké	jewíña'ko			atírí	penáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inau'ké	jewíña'	-ka	=o	atírí	penáje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>2 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'michari		riyajálo	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -cha -ri		ri= yajálo	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	é	ne'michá	júpíja
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'mi -chá	júpi =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl cop pst	long_time lim

**Libre** vivieron mucho tiempo

<b>4 Mot</b>	kája	wája	ritakhi'chá	i'michaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	ri= takhi' -chá	i'mi -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph lim	3sg.nf die pst	far.pst pst ka.pst

**Libre** y después él se murió

<b>5 Mot</b>	júpichami	riñakámi	iphíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	júpichami	ri= ñaká =mi	iphí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>6 Mot</b>	ripháchiyanó		rojló	kajú	jeína
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= iphá -chi -ya =nó		ru= jló	kajú	jeí -na
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf arrive caus pst hab		3sg.f for	much	snake pl

**Libre** el le traía a ella muchas culebras



<b>7 Mot</b>	riká		rakúwa'chiya			kawayá	nakoje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	ri=	akúwa'chi	-ya	kawayá	nakú =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pro	3sg.nf	hang	pst	deer	on until

**Libre** eso el lo colgaba en el trípode

<b>8 Mot</b>	é	rímicha		rojlo		"	pimoto'ó	kélé	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	ru=	jló	pi=	moto'ó	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	3sg.f	for	2sg	cook	med

yuwaná jló , najñakáloje  
 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"

<b>9 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	rúmicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	3sg.f say pst

**Libre**

<b>10 Mot</b>	é	kája	romoto'chá		neká	kétána	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ru=	motho'	-chá	na= ikhá	kétána
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>11 Mot</b>	piñapátajika		riká	é	papóta				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi=	ñapáta	-jĩ	-ka	ikhá	é	pi=	apó	-ta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>12 Mot</b>	jé	ké	rúmichaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "bueno" dijo ella

<b>13 Mot</b>	é	kája	runáicha		jeíná		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ru=	náĩ	-cha	jeĩ	-ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	riká	ruñapáchiyaka	é	rúmicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá ru= ñapáchi	-ya -ka	é ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>28 Mot</b>	jé	ké	kája	ikája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	kája	ikája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	already	then

ripi'chako				muní	ke	ñaké	kája
ri= pi'	-cha	-ka	=o	muní	ké	ñaké	kája
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

<b>29 Mot</b>	lapí	kewá	riphíchano
<b>Morphèmes</b>	lapí	kewá	ri= iphí -cha =no
<b>Glose lex.</b>	night	each	3sg.nf arrive pst hab

**Libre** cada noche el llegaba

<b>30 Mot</b>	é	romotho'chá	keñá	pu'méni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= motho' -chá	keñá	pu'mé -ni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f cook	pst sauce_name	sweet nf

rijló	riká	ro'chano	rinúma
ri= jló	ri= ikhá	ru= a' -chá =no	ri= núma
3sg.nf	for 3sg.nf	pro 3sg.f give	pst hab 3sg.nf

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

<b>31 Mot</b>	kája	wája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph lim

**Libre** entonces

<b>32 Mot</b>	é	pajlúwá	yuwajĩñáni		i'jíchá	ejo'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	pajlúwá	yuwají	=ñáni	i'jĩ -chá	ejo' -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>33 Mot</b>	é	rímicha		náje	ka'jná	nu'wá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		náje	ka'jná	nu= i'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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  
 rejoy'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

<b>34 Mot</b>	é	apú	re'wé		i'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	apú	ri= e'wé		i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

# ycn0151

<b>1 Mot</b>	é	nákei
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh

**Libre**

<b>2 Mot</b>	inauké	i'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inau'ké	i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	person	cop pst

**Libre** había gente

<b>3 Mot</b>	ne'michá	pají	chú	ne'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'mi -chá	pají	chú	na= i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl *** pst	maloca	in	3pl cop pst

**Libre** vivían en una maloca

<b>4 Mot</b>	pají	chú	ne'michá	painéko	, nañakaré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pají	chú	na= i'mi -chá	painéko	na= ñakaré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	chú	ne'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chú	na= i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	in	3pl cop pst

**Libre** ahí vivían

<b>6 Mot</b>	ne'michá	ríchu
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'mi -chá	rí= chu
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl cop pst	3sg.nf in

**Libre** vivían ahí dentro

<b>7 Mot</b>	kája	júpi	mékeléka	é	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	júpi	mékélé -ka	é	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>8 Mot</b>	rikeño'chá	patákakajo	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= keño' -chá	patáka -kaje =o	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf begin pst	rot ev.nz2 mid	already

**Libre** comenzó a pudrirse ya

<b>9 Mot</b>	kája , kája	phíyu'ke	pájí	i'micháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája kája	phíyu'ke	pájí	i'mi -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already already	old	maloca	cop pst ka.cleft

**Libre** ya la maloca ya estaba muy vieja

<b>10 Mot</b>	é rímicha	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é ri= ímí -cha	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then 3sg.nf say pst	already

**Libre** y él dijo

<b>11 Mot</b>	máarejé	nuwe'pí	wajlúwa	i'maká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	máare =eje	nu= we'pí	wa= jló =wa	i'ma -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>12 Mot</b>	kája wephá	jwená	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája wa= iphá	wa= jená	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already 1pl arrive	1pl hour	towards_inside

**Libre** ya estamos en el tiempo

<b>13 Mot</b>	chúwaká	chúwaká	we'jnajíke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa ká	chúwa ká	wa= i'jna -jĩ -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	now emph?	now emph?	1pl go fut ka.cleft

nákei

nákei

uh

**Libre** ahora, ahora nos vamos

<b>14 Mot</b>	wala'jíke	wañakaró	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa= la' -jĩ -ka	wa= ñakaré =o	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>15 Mot</b>	jé ké	némicha	é	ne'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé ké	na= ímí -cha	é	na= i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good like	3pl say pst	then	3pl go pst

**Libre** ellos dijeron bueno y se fueron

<b>16 Mot</b>	ne'kichá		a'waná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'ki	-chá	a'waná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl	knock_down	pst tree

**Libre** tumbaron palo

<b>17 Mot</b>	naki'chá		rapukúna	,	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ki'	-chá	ri= apukúna		phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>18 Mot</b>	(???) lo	dejaron	limpio	,	nali'chá	apú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	lo	***	***		na= li'	-chá apú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	the	***	***		3pl do	pst other

**Libre** lo dejaron limpio e hicieron otro

<b>19 Mot</b>	é	nákei	rímícha		é	nali'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákei	ri= ímí -cha		é	na= li' -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>20 Mot</b>	nali'chá		nákei	kajúni	ñópo'jlo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= li'	-chá	nákei	kajú -ni	ñópo'jlo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl	do	pst uh	much nf	big

**Libre** hicieron muy grande

<b>21 Mot</b>	nañapáchiya		riká	,	phiyúké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ñapáchi	-ya	ri= ikhá		phiyúké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl	finish	pst 3sg.nf	pro	all

nañapáchiya
na= ñapáchi -ya
3pl finish pst

**Libre** terminaron de hacerlo todo

<b>22 Mot</b>	ne'jíchá		nañapáchiya		riká	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jĩ	-chá	na= ñapáchi	-ya	ri= ikhá	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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** chówaká 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 ríle'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'jíchá	kamejéri	nóje
na= i'mi -chá		na= ímí -cha	wa= i'jĩ -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

<b>30 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	kamejéri	nóje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	kamejéri	nó -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go pst	animal	kill purp.mot

**Libre** se fueron a matar animales

<b>31 Mot</b>	ne'jíchá	náke	eja'wá	e'yowá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jĩ -chá	náke	eja'wá	e'yá ewá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl go pst	uh	forest	in around

**Libre** se fueron por el monte

<b>32 Mot</b>	kája	apú	ja'pícha	jemi'chári
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	apú	ja'pí -cha	jemi' -chá -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	other	pass pst	listen pst nf.ss

**Libre** otro se fue de largo y él escuchó

<b>33 Mot</b>	jra'pícha	rewá	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ja'pí -cha	ri= ewá	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pass pst	3sg.nf around	3sg.nf say pst

rijló  
ri= jló  
3sg.nf for

**Libre** él pasó por ahí, le dijo

<b>34 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	ná(ke)	ké	rúmíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha	***	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>35 Mot</b>	nuká	i'jíchári	chúwaká	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	i'jĩ -chá -ri	chúwa ká	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>36 Mot</b>	chuchú	jwa'té	nákarí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chuchú	jwa'té	nákarí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>53 Mot</b>	nephícha		réjo		é	rúmícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ipha -cha		ri= ejo		é	ru= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl arrive pst		3sg.nf towards		then	3sg.f say pst

náke

náke

uh

Libre llegó allá y ella dijo,

<b>54 Mot</b>	chuchú	ké	rúmíchaka		máare
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chuchú	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		máare
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>55 Mot</b>	piwáta	nuká	ké	rúmichaka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= wáchi	nuká	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>56 Mot</b>	táapha	jñá'jé	kája	ru'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	jñá' -je	kája	ru= i'jī -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	take purp.mot	already	3sg.f go pst

Libre ella se fue a coger cascara de palo seco

<b>57 Mot</b>	ruyámejo	jiñátá	iphícha	jiñáaa ,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= yámejo	jiñá tâ	iphí -cha	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>58 Mot</b>	ruphíchatá		runáku	, rujī'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= iphí -cha tâ		ru= náku	ru= jī' -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jñá  
 ru= ímí -cha -ka i'jñá  
 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

<b>75 Mot</b>	i'j'ná	ké	rúmíchaka		tá	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i'j'ná	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		tâ	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>76 Mot</b>	kajú	kélé	pátotona		puri'cháko	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajú	kélé	pátoto -na		puri' chá -ka	=o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>77 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		rojló	pawijáta	neká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		ru= jló	pi= awijáta	na= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f say pst		3sg.f for	2sg ***	3pl pro

Libre ella le dijo, llámalos (a las ranitas)

<b>78 Mot</b>	é	kája	kélé	yuwaló	awijáchiya	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	kélé	yuwa -ló	awijáchi -ya	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>79 Mot</b>	é	ruki'chá		neká		, rupachíya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ki'		-chá	na= ikhá	ru= pachí -ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80 Mot</b>	pakóro'ó	neká	tá	a'waná	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= akóro'o	na= ikhá	tâ	a'waná	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg skewer	3pl pro	emph1	tree	on

Libre ensartelos en una ramita

<b>81 Mot</b>	pakóro'ó	neká	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= akóro'o	na= ikhá	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jná náke apíro'yo chuchú  
**Morphèmes** jiñá tâ ka'jná 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'jno méké chí  
 nu= ki' -chá -ka na= ikhá ka'jno 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'jika 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

rujĩ'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

<b>91 Mot</b>	é	rujĩ'chá	thá thá	a'waná	,	riká		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	jĩ' -chá	thá thá	a'waná	ri=	ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>92 Mot</b>	jé	nulakélo	ké	rúmíchaka					
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	nu=	laké	-lo	ké	ru=	ímí -cha	-ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>93 Mot</b>	ruyuícho	tá	ré				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru=	yuí -cha =o	tâ	ri=	é		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f	stay	pst	mid	emph1	3sg.nf	in

**Libre** ahí ella quedó

<b>94 Mot</b>	nákaí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákaí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh

**Libre**

<b>95 Mot</b>	rowijáchiyatá	neká	é				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru=	awijáchi -ya	tá	na=	ikhá	é	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>96 Mot</b>	"	pátotototo	ké	rúmichaka	tá	,	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ké	ru=	ímí -cha -ka	tâ		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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



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

<b>108 Mot</b>	é	rujĩ'chá		rule'jé	jamaká , yenu
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= jĩ' -chá		ru= le'jé	*** yenu
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>109 Mot</b>	éja	náke	rúmicha	tá	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é =ja	náke	ru= ímí -cha	tâ	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then lim	uh	3sg.f say pst	emph1	uh

**Libre** ahí mismo ella dijo

<b>110 Mot</b>	" nulakélo		" ruwái'chaka		tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= laké -lo		ru= wái' -cha -ka		tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg grandchild f		3sg.f call pst ka.cleft		emph1

**Libre** "nieeetaaa" ella llamó

<b>111 Mot</b>	" nulakélo		"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= laké -lo		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg grandchild f		

**Libre** "nieeetaaa"

<b>112 Mot</b>	" óo	" ké	rule'jé	orín	a'jipicháka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ké	ru= le'jé	***	a'jipi -chá -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	like	3sg.f poss	***	answer pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "óo" contestó la orina de ella

<b>113 Mot</b>	" nulakélo		"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= laké -lo		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg grandchild f		

**Libre** "nieeetaaa"

<b>114 Mot</b>	" óo	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	

**Libre** "óo"

<b>115 Mot</b>	" nulakélo		"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= laké -lo		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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** "nieetaaa" "uu"

118 **Mot** " nulakélo " " úu "

**Morphèmes** nu= laké -lo úu

**Glose lex.** 1sg grandchild f hey

**Libre** "nieetaaa" "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 "nieetaaa" "uu"

120 **Mot** " nulakélo " " úu "

**Morphèmes** nu= laké -lo úu

**Glose lex.** 1sg grandchild f hey

**Libre** "nieetaaa" "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, "nieetaaa", 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							
ají 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

<b>130 Mot</b>	é	romícha		ruñakó		tá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= amí -cha		ru= ña -ka	=ó	tâ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f see pst		3sg.f scape ka.nz	mid	emph1	
kúru kúru "							
***	***						
***	***						

**Libre** ella vio que ella se huyó "kúru kúru"

<b>131 Mot</b>	nákarí	ná	rií		platanito	plá-	ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nákarí	ná	ri= ií		***	***	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	uh	indf	3sg.nf name		***	***	indf
rií							
ri= ií							
3sg.nf name							

**Libre** qué será, cómo se llama, platanito

<b>132 Mot</b>	páru	,	páru	ji'lájē		ru'jīchá	tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	páru		páru	ji'lá =jé		ru= i'jī -chá	tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>133 Mot</b>	marí	kétána	i'micháka	,	éjé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	kétána	i'mi -chá -ka		=eje		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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).

<b>134 Mot</b>	é	roto'chó					
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= to' -chá	=o				
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.f lie pst	mid				

**Libre** ella estaba acostada

<b>135 Mot</b>	a'tá	jwe'chójo	roto'chó			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	***	ru= to' -chá =o			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***	3sg.f lie pst mid			

**Libre** hasta tarde se acostó

<b>136 Mot</b>	kája	ya'jicha	las	ocho	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	***	las	***	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>137 Mot</b>	ruíncho			rora'pá	éjó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ín -cha =o			ru= ara'pá	=ejo
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.f scape pst mid			3sg.f father.ref	towards

**Libre** ella se huyó donde el papá

<b>138 Mot</b>	é	namícha		ruká	waícha	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= amí -cha		ru= ikhá	waícha	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>139 Mot</b>	"	kája	jiñátá	apíro'o	jlálémi	chuchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>		kája	jiñá tâ	apíro'o	jlálémi	chuchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>140 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha	"	náje	pi'jné	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímí -cha		náje	pi= i'jné	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	because	3sg.nf say pst		indf.reason	2sg go	
chuchú	ka'jé		ka'jné	jiñátá	jló	, ilé
chuchú	ka'	-je	ka'jné	jiñá tâ	jló	ilé
grandparent	throw_out	purp.mot	dub	devil emph1	for	med
núma	pijló	"	piwá'íña	ruká	"	, unká
nu=	ímá	pi= jló	pi= wá' -íña	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"

<b>141.1 Mot</b>	rímícha	"	é	pamícha	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha		é	pi= amí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>141.2 Mot</b>	"	,	"	á'a	,	nomícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>				á'a	nu= amí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>				yes	1sg see pst	
rumujlúkakatá			ají	ké	"	, " i'jné " ké
ru= mujlúka -ka tâ			ají	ké	i'jné	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**

<b>142 Mot</b>	i'jné	,	se	fue	,	phiyúké	ne'jíchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i'jné		***	***		phiyúké	na= i'jī -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	go		***	***		all	3pl go pst

ramáje  
ri= amá je  
3sg.nf see purp.mot

**Libre** "vamos", se fue, todos se fueron a mirarlo

<b>143 Mot</b>	ne'jíchá	ramáje	,	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= i'jī -chá	ri= amá -je		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl go pst	3sg.nf see purp.mot		then



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

<b>1 Mot</b>	kamú	kéchámi	karená	yukúna	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kamú	kéchámi	karená	yukú -ná	marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	sun	after	wind	story alien3	prox

## Libre

<b>2 Mot</b>	kamú	kéchámi	karená	i'micháño
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kamú	kéchámi	karená	i'mi -chá -ño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	sun	after	wind	cop pst pl.cleft

## Libre

<b>3 Mot</b>	nawátiya	we'píkaje	mékajéka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= wáti -ya	we'pí -kaje	mékajé -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>4 Mot</b>	Marí	nakú	ne'micháka	é	, e'yá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	marí	nakú	na= i'mi -chá -ka	é	e'yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>5 Mot</b>	kajrúni	wáni	payéta	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kajrú -ni	wáni	payéta	aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>6 Mot</b>	é	némicha	pajlokáka	marí	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ímí -cha	pajlokáka	marí	aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'tíyako  
 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

<b>12 Mot</b>	aú	kamú	keño'chá	rikamaré	aú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	kamú	keño' -chá	ri= kamaré	aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>13 Mot</b>	aú	eja'wá	e'yowá	ja'pájeri
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	eja'wá	e'yá ewá	ja'pá -je -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>14 Mot</b>	é kája	karená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	karená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	wind

**Libre** ahí ya el viento,

<b>15 Mot</b>	é kája	karená	eja'wá	jilá'jo	kémíchari	kamú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	karená	eja'wá	***	kémí -cha -ri	kamú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>9 Mot</b>	kémíchari		rijló	"	oo	ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kémí	-cha	-ri	ri=	jló	*** ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>10 Mot</b>	" nuká	" ké	rímíchaka		najló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí	-cha	-ka	na= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>11 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha		nupaĩjírė		ja'pí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímí	-cha	nu= paĩjĩ	-re	ja'pi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>12.1 Mot</b>	aú	némícha		rijló	"	méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	na= ímí	-cha	ri= jló		méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 pipaijĩ 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)



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

<b>17.2 Mot</b>	"	nupajĩ	nopíro'o	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		nu= paĩjĩ	nu= apíro'o		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		1sg fruit	1sg suck		like

rímíchaka		yáwi	jló	.
ri= ímí -cha -ka		yáwi	jló	
3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft	tiger	for	

**Libre**

<b>18 Mot</b>	aũ	yáwi	kémícha	rijló	"	méla'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	yáwi	kémí -cha	ri= jló		méla'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>19 Mot</b>	aũ	iyárí	kémícha	rijló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aũ	iyárí	kémí -cha	ri= jló	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>20 Mot</b>	nomotho'ké	wakajé	noló	kémá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= motho' -ké	wakajé	nu= aló	kémá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>21 Mot</b>	aú	yáwi	kémícha	rijló	:	"	nuwáta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	yáwi	kémí -cha	ri= jló			nu= wáta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>22 Mot</b>	riwátajîkaé						ja'kó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= wáta -jî -ka	é					ri= ja' -ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	ũká	yáwi	we'íflacha				mékéka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	yáwi	we'í -la -cha				méké -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	notáã'chí		kéwáka	pimaká			nojló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= atáã' -chí		kéwaka	pi= ima -ká			nu= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 chájé "  
 pi= yaká' =o chúwa ri= ijí chájé  
 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'káloje pijló jñó'pe " ké  
**Morphèmes** nu= ka' -ká loje 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'khúni 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'khúni jiyári náni i'maká; ra'rú: casco, jipí: cola; pichóro'kajo: torcerse)

**33 Mot** é rijl'chá yáwi aphíná i'micháká  
**Morphèmes** é ri= jl' -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





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

<b>46 Mot</b>	ké	yáwi	kémíchaka		"	méké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	yáwi	kémí -cha	-ka		méké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>47 Mot</b>	é	riyuícha		e'yá	riícho
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yuí	-cha	e'yá	ri= í -cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>48 Mot</b>	rímícha		"	méké	nuyuícha	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha			méké	nu= yuí -cha	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>49 Mot</b>	eyá	ũká	riwe'íflacha		, yáwi	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyá	unká	ri= we'í -la -cha		yáwi	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>50 Mot</b>	kélé	kamujúni	raphú	chuwá						
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	kamu'jú	-ni	ri=	aphú	chu	=ewá			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>51 Mot</b>	ũká	riwe'pílacha		ajĩ	ké	raphú			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ri=	we'pí	-la	-cha	ajĩ	ké	ri=	aphú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>52 Mot</b>	mékétanajémi	ramícha		kája	yáwi					
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mékétanajemi	ri=	amí	-cha	kája	yáwi				
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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?)

<b>53 Mot</b>	kája ikája	jra'píchaka		píño		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ikája	ri=	ja'pí	-cha	-ka	píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>	at_that_time	3sg.nf	pass	pst	ka.topic	again

**Libre** y así se fue

<b>54 Mot</b>	ja'píchari	ajǐ	ké	iphákicharo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ja'pá -cha -ri	ajǐ	ké	iphá -ki -cha -ri =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>55.1 Mot</b>	kawayá	ajalákícha	riká	" éi , ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kawayá	ajalákí -cha	ri= ikhá	*** ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>55.2 Mot</b>	" , "	nuká	" ké	rímícha	," ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>		nu= ikhá	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>		1sg pro	like	3sg.nf say pst	indf

chí piká , jiyáří ?"  
chí pi= ikhá jiyáří  
emph3 2sg pro turtle\_sp

**Libre**

<b>55.3 Mot</b>	," á'a nuká "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	á'a nu= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	yes 1sg pro

**Libre**

<b>56.1 Mot</b>	" piká chí	nemakáre	nakú	achiñá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= ikhá chí	na= ima -káre	nakú	achiñá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>56.2 Mot</b>	" á'a achiñá iná	i'maká	aũ	, néma
<b>Morphèmes</b>	á'a achiñá iná	i'ma -ka	aũ	na= ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>57 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha		rijló		nuwáta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímí -cha		ri= jló		nu= wáta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>58 Mot</b>	ũká	méké	i'malá	" ké		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méké	i'ma -lá	ké		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner	cop v.neg	like		
rímíchaka		, jiyári	kémíchaka		, "	kája
ri= ímí -cha -ka		jiyári	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)

<b>59 Mot</b>	jé	ké	kawayá	kémíchaka		jiyári	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	kawayá	kémí -cha -ka		jiyári	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	deer	say pst ka.cleft		turtle_sp	for

Libre "bueno" dijo el venado al morrocoy

<b>60 Mot</b>	riká	jlapí	jiyárí	...	jiyárí	pitíya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	jlapí		jiyárí	pití -ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>61 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	najló	marí	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí -cha	na=	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	3pl

Libre él dijo a ellos así

<b>62 Mot</b>	é	muní	jwecho'jĩko	kawayá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	muní	wa= jecho'	-jĩ -ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	tomorrow	1pl	run

jwa'té	puwa'ká	riwáa'jĩka	nojló	riloko'páni
jwa'té	puwa'ká	ri= wáa'	-jĩ -ka	nu= jló
with	if	3sg.nf	call	fut

i'majéré	a'jĩpajéré	rijló
i'ma -jé -ri	a'jĩpa -jé -ri	ri= jló
tell	fut	nf.nz

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)

<b>63.1 Mot</b>	riwáa'je	piño	a'j'naré	ritukumá	kémáchí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	wáa' -je	piño	a'j'naré	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	call	fut	again	dist.loc

i'majé	a'jipajé	rijló	, a'j'ná	a'j'ná	(????)
i'ma -je	a'jipa -jé	ri=	jló	a'j'ná	a'j'ná
tell	fut	answer	fut	3sg.nf	for

Libre

<b>63.2 Mot</b>	nucháa'tajĩka	riká	éjé	, kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu=	cháa'ta -jĩ -ka	ri=	ikhá =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg	defeat	fut	ka.nz

penáje	i'majíká	a'jipajéri	rijló
penáje	i'ma -jĩ -ka	a'jipa -jé -rí	ri= jló
for	cop	fut	A.nz2

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)

<b>64 Mot</b>	ké	rímíchaka	rikáa'na	jló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ri=	ímí -cha -ka	ri=
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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** mékétanjémi kawayá kémícha , ajalákícha  
**Morphèmes** mékétanjémi 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)



<b>70 Mot</b>	"	úu	"	ké	riloko'páni	,	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>		úu		ké	ri= loko'páni		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>71 Mot</b>		rajalákícha		píño	" yawotí "	"	úu	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri= ajalákí	-cha	píño	***		úu		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>72 Mot</b>	é	ja'pícha		píño	,	kája	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ja'pí	-cha	píño		kája	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>73 Mot</b>	é	ũká	méké	kawayá	,	éjé	kawayá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	unká	méké	kawayá		=eje	kawayá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 mátámi kawayá támi  
 penáje amí -cha -ri mátámi 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 cháwani kháãjĩ  
**Morphèmes** aũ ri= ímí -cha méké cháwa -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 )... iyárí jĩ'cháka  
**Morphèmes** é kája kawayá iyárí 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**

<b>78.2 Mot</b>	"	á'a	"	ké	rímícha	,	ké	jiyáí
<b>Morphèmes</b>		á'a		ké	ri= ímí -cha		ké	jiyáí
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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?"

<b>79 Mot</b>	pá	méka		no'napitá	nakuwá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pá	mé	-ka	nu= a'napitá	naku =wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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),

<b>80 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha		nuwáta	pijwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri= ímí -cha		nu= wáta	pi= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>81 Mot</b>	náka		jña'ká	me'píjí	panáku
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	-ka	jña' -ka	me'píjí	pa= náku
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	indf.sub	take ka.nz	hunger	impers on

**Libre** "a ver quién aguanta hambre"

<b>82 Mot</b>	"	marí	( náke)	a'jeré	jrená	"	ké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		marí	***	***	ri=	jená	ké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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'
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
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)

<b>83 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	jarechí	kétána	"	ké	rímíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	jarechí	kétána		ké	ri=
<b>Glose lex.</b>	one	year	during		like	3sg.nf
						say
						pst
						ka.cleft

rijló  
ri= jló  
3sg.nf for

**Libre** un año" él le dijo

<b>84 Mot</b>	"	jée	"	ké	rímícha	"	piká	kalé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	ri=	ímí	-cha	-ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	3sg.nf	say	pst	
							pi=	ikhá
							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

<b>85 Mot</b>	kája	kéja	richíyaka		jiyáří
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ké	=ja	ri=	ichí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>86 Mot</b>	iyáří	i'michá	,	ũká	kája	jichirí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iyáří	i'mi	-chá	unká	kája	jichirí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	turtle_sp	cop	pst	neg	already	opossum

we'í	la	-cha	ajĩ	ké	ka	jiyá	raphú	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
in.from								
jiyá	mana'íta			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)

<b>87.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	ichirí		i'michá		richáje		yakáa'jo
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	ichirí		i'mi	-chá	ri=	cháje	yakáa' -je =o
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	unká
		2sg pro		good	nf	like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft	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)

<b>87.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	" ũká	,	iná-	,	nu'makhála		nuká	" ké
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká		***		nu= i'ma -khála		nu= ikhá	ké
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg		***		1sg cop ?nz2		1sg pro	like

rímícha  
ri= ímí -cha  
3sg.nf say pst

**Libre**

<b>88</b>	<b>Mot</b>	kájakó	,	númá		pijló	"	achiñá
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=kó		nu= ímá	pi= jló		achiñá
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph4		1sg say	2sg for		man
		nuká	,	ũká	phema'lá			jno'piyá " ké
		nu= ikhá		unká	pi= jema'	-lá	nu= ja'pi =eyá	ké
		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)

<b>89 Mot</b>	jra'pañacha			jrená	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ja'pá	-ña	-cha	ri= jená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	pass	appl	pst	3sg.nf hour

**Libre** él se pasó de la fecha

<b>90 Mot</b>	kája	pajlúwáta		jarechí	ja'píchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pajlúwá	-ta	jarechí	ja'pá -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	one	cls:flat	year	pass pst ka.cleft

**Libre** ya había pasado un año

<b>91 Mot</b>	ũká	rijme'tálacha			rápu
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ri=	jme'tá	-la	-cha ri= ápu
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>92 Mot</b>	kétána	ichirí		pichíyaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kétána	ichirí		pichí -ya -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>93 Mot</b>	kája ikája	iyárí		jái'chako
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ikája	iyárí		jái' -cha -ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>94 Mot</b>	é	ritíya		píño	nákari	ichirí	chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ití -ya	píño	nákari	ichirí	chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>95 Mot</b>	rímícha		rijló	"	chúwathá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	jló	chúwa thá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>96.1 Mot</b>	"	mékétana		júpika
<b>Morphèmes</b>		mé	kétána	júpi -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		indf.manner	during	long_time indf.sub

pitájíka		nuchá	?"
pi=	itá -jǐ -ka	nu=	chá
2sg	close fut ka.cleft	1sg	on

**Libre**

<b>96.2 Mot</b>	ké	ichirí	kémíchaka		rijló	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ichirí	kémí -cha -ka		ri=	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>97 Mot</b>	aú	Yawotí	itíya		richá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	Yawotí	ití -ya	ri=	chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'píjǐ nakú  
 kája ri= taji' -chá me'píjǐ 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'jǐchá ramáje ,  
**Morphèmes** é iyarí i'jǐ -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 \*\*\* ðim \*\*\* 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

<b>104 Mot</b>	ichíttétá	apicháta	nophú	ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	apichá -ta	nu= aphú	ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	break caus	1sg hole	like	3sg.nf say pst

**Libre** qué porquería ese daño mi hueco" él dijo (apicháta-kaje: dañar)

<b>105 Mot</b>	kája	númá	ilékajétá	jló	" ũká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	nu= ímá	ilé kájé tá	jló	unká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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
iyárí	ja'pícha	píño				
iyárí	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)

<b>106 Mot</b>	é	ja'pícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ja'pí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf pass pst

**Libre** ahí él siguió

<b>107 Mot</b>	iphíchari	nákarí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iphí -cha -ri	nákarí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	arrive pst nf.ss	uh

**Libre** llegó

<b>108 Mot</b>	kuwãñá	jwa'té	riphákicha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	jwa'té	ri= iphá -ki -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	with	3sg.nf arrive ass pst

**Libre** se encontró con bambero

<b>109 Mot</b>	kuwañá	ajalákícha	riká	"	nuteló	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ajalákí -cha	ri= ikhá		nuteló	marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>110.1 Mot</b>	"	piká	yukúná	chí	eja'wá	chú
<b>Morphèmes</b>		pi= ikhá	yukú -ná	chí	eja'wá	chú
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>110.2 Mot</b>	"	á'a	nuká	"	ké	rímíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>		á'a	nu= ikhá		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		yes	1sg pro		like	3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre**

<b>111 Mot</b>	nuká	nemakáre	nakú	"	atiñá	wáni	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= ikhá	na= ima -káre	nakú		atiñá	wáni	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>112 Mot</b>	iná	yaní	motho'ká	wakajé	iná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	iná	yaní	motho' -ká	wakajé	iná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>113 Mot</b>	aú	rímícha		nuwáta	pijwa'té	nákai
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	ri=	ímí -cha	nu= wáta	pi= jwa'té	nákai
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>114 Mot</b>	aú	iyárí	kémícha	rijló	"	náje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	iyárí	kémí -cha	ri= jló		náje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>115 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	nákarí	kuwãñá	kémíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	nákarí	***	kémí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	uh	***	say pst ka.cleft

rijló  
 ri= jló  
 3sg.nf for

**Libre** "bueno" dijo bambero a él

<b>116 Mot</b>	é	riká	jlapí	nákarí	iyárí...	i'michá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ikhá	jlapí	nákarí	***	i'mi -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf pro	night	uh	***	cop pst

nákhaóna ... kamárana chi'náikana chájé nákarí chuchúná  
 \*\*\* \*\*\* chi'náikana chájé nákarí chuchú -ná  
 \*\*\* \*\*\* owner more\_than uh grandparent pl

neí i'micháká , riká chájé  
 na= íí i'mi -chá -ká ri= ikhá chájé  
 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)

<b>117 Mot</b>	muní	notáã'ko	kuwañá	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	muní	nu= atáã' -ka =o	***	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	tomorrow	1sg try ka.cleft mid	***	with

**Libre** mañana voy a apostar con bambero (vimy: notáã'jïko ~ notáã'kajïko)

<b>118 Mot</b>	ná	chí	, méké	, ná	chí	piwáta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ná	chí	méké	ná	chí	pi= wáta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	indf	emph3	indf.manner	indf	emph3	2sg want

wala'ká pijló , nulaké "  
 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'káloje  
 nu= jápá -ka loje ri= náku ri= kojno' -ká loje  
 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)

<b>119 Mot</b>	jé	ñaké	iká	nulaké	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ñaké	ri=	ikhá	nu=	laké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	dist.simil	3sg.nf	pro	1sg	grandchild
						like

némíchaka  
na= ímí -cha -ka  
3pl say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** "bueno nieto" así ellos le dijeron

<b>120 Mot</b>	aú	ne'jíchá	rináneje	jlapí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	na= i'jĩ -chá	***	jlapí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>121 Mot</b>	é	muní ké	jlapiyámí	riphíchaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	muní ké	lapiyámí	ri= iphí -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>122 Mot</b>	najalákícha	pekhówáka	"	yúka'a	"	"	á'a	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ajalákí -cha	pekhówáka		yúka'a			á'a	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 jiyárí " ké rímícha , " yawotí "  
 chúwa thá pi= ikhá jiyárí 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





<b>135 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rímícha	" kája	wáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ri= ímí -cha	kája	wáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>136 Mot</b>	jé	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like

**Libre** bueno"

<b>137 Mot</b>	é	riká	jlapí	ri'michá	nákarí...
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ikhá	jlapí	ri= i'mi -chá	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>138 Mot</b>	muní	wachíra'kajĩko	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	muní	wa= chíra' -ka -jĩ -ka =o	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 madremonte 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, jálame 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

<b>143 Mot</b>	é	pá'yumi	( pa'chó )	pi'chó		junápejẽ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	***	pi'	-chá =o	junápi =eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	***	***	return	pst mid	water2 until

**Libre** ahí el dueño del agua se regresó al agua

<b>144 Mot</b>	e'yá	ra'chá		jrená		" chúwathá "
<b>Morphèmes</b>	e'yá	ri=	a'	-chá	ri= jená	chúwa thá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

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 madremente 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)

<b>145 Mot</b>	mana'íta	yawotí	yái'chako		nacháje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mana'í ta	***	yái' -cha -ka	=o	na= cháje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>146.1 Mot</b>	é	ri'michá		píño	" júp "	,	nachíri'cha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	i'mi -chá	píño	***	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>146.2 Mot</b>	chu'wí	kéchami	pá'yumi	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	kéchámi	***	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>147 Mot</b>	ré	nañaki'chá		pekhóáka	é	némícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ré	na= ñaki'	-chá	pekhóáka	é	na= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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);

<b>148 Mot</b>	rímícha		kája	atiñáwánijo'ó		piká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha		kája	atiñá wáni =jo'ó		pi= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>149 Mot</b>	ilé	númá	nakú	pijló	ké	Yawotí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ilé	nu= ímá	nakú	pi= jló	ké	Yawotí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>150 Mot</b>	kája	númá	pijló	"	atiñá	nuká	ũká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	nu= ímá	pi= jló		atiñá	nu= ikhá	unká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>151 Mot</b>	é kája	yawotí	kémícha	"	kája	noya'ó	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	***	kémí -cha		kája	***	marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jna	apú	pajímila
chira'	-je	=o	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ya'jna	apú	pajímila
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)

<b>152 Mot</b>	é	rili'chá		rijló		nákarí	jíta
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= li' -chá		ri= jló		nákarí	jíta
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf do pst		3sg.nf for		uh	canoe

**Libre** ahí él le hizo canoa (vimy: quién lo hizo? rijlúwa: para él mismo?)

<b>153 Mot</b>	púro	a'waná	ripitíya		rinakojé		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	púro	a'waná	ri= pití -ya		ri= nakú eje		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>154 Mot</b>	é	nákarí	ja'pícha		nákarí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákarí	ri= ja'pí -cha		nákarí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	uh	3sg.nf pass pst		uh

**Libre** de ahí él siguió

<b>155.1 Mot</b>	caquetá	chuwá	ja'pícha		i'michá		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	Caquetá	chu =ewá	ri= ja'pí -cha		i'mi -chá		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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'jna	?				
Yawotí	méño'jó	pi= i'jna					
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)

<b>155.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rímícha	"	éko	pijña'á
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ri= ímí -cha		éko	pi= jña'á
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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**

<b>156 Mot</b>	é	kélé	karená	i'michá	kajúní	karená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	karená	i'mi -chá	kajú -ní	karená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>1 Mot</b>	atírí	yukúna	nu'majé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	atírí	yukú -ná	nu= i'ma jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	animal_sp	story alien3	1sg tell fut

**Libre** voy a contar historia de cocunuco

<b>2 Mot</b>	pajlúwa	inau'ké	i'michari	riyajálo	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá	inau'ké	i'mi -cha -ri	ri= yajálo	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	wéji	kélé	achiñáná	i'micháká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wéji	kélé	achiñá -na	i'mi -chá -ká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	three	med	man pl	cop pst ka.cleft

**Libre** había 3 hombres

<b>4 Mot</b>	pajlúwaja	ne'welóñáni	i'micháyó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pajlúwá =ja	na= e'we -ló =ñáni	i'mi -chá -yó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	one lim	3pl brother f dim	cop pst f.cleft

**Libre** tenían una hermanita

<b>5 Mot</b>	é	júpija	jnara'pá	i'michá	najwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	júpi =ja	na= ara'pá	i'mi -chá	na= jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	long_time lim	3pl father.ref	cop pst	3pl with

**Libre** el papá vivió con ellos por mucho tiempo

<b>6 Mot</b>	kája	wája	ritaja'ñáicha	neká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	ri= taja' -ñai -cha	na= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph lim	3sg.nf die appl pst	3pl pro

**Libre** el papá de ellos se murió

<b>7 Mot</b>	é	ne'michá	júpi	jnaló	jwa'té
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'mi -chá	júpi	na= aló	jwa'té
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl live pst	long_time	3pl mother.ref	with

**Libre** y vivieron por mucho tiempo con la mamá

<b>8 Mot</b>	kája	wája	jnara'pá	ñakámi
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	na= ara'pá	ñaká =mi
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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                      "                      káĩ                      káĩ                      káĩ                      "                      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 "káĩ káĩ káĩ"

**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                      jeĩná  
 ri=                      iphá -chi -ya                      kajú                      ri=                      iphá -chi -ya -ka                      jeĩ                      -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)

<b>15 Mot</b>	riká		ra'chá		rojló	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ikhá	ri=	a'	-chá	ru= jló é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>16 Mot</b>	é	kája	rímícha		:	"	éko
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri=	ímí	-cha		éko
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3sg.nf	say	pst		pol.imp
pikelo'ó	yuwaná	jló	kélé	núj'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)

<b>17 Mot</b>	jé	ké	rúmíchaka		,	é	kája	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru=	ímí	-cha	-ka	é	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like	3sg.f say	pst	ka.cleft		then	already
piñapátajika		nakelo'kána	phiyúké		,	é		
pi= ñapáta	-jĩ	-ka	na= kelo'	-kána	phiyúké	é		
2sg finish	fut	ka.when	3pl thicken	ev.nz1	all	then		
papótaje		nukhá	nupa'kóloje					
pi= apó	-ta	-je	nu= ikhá	nu= pa'	-ka	=o	loje	
2sg wake_up	caus	fut	1sg pro	1sg return	ka.adv	mid	purp3	
pa'káloje		yuwaná	a'jne	"	ké			
pi= a'	-ka	loje	yuwa	-ná	a'jne	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.

<b>18 Mot</b>	"	jé	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good	

**Libre** "bueno"

<b>19 Mot</b>	é	kája	romotho'chá		kélé	jeí'ná	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ru= motho' -chá		kélé	jeí' -ná	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>20 Mot</b>	ruñapáchiya			namotho'kána		, é	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ñapá -chi -ya			na= motho' -kána		é	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>21 Mot</b>	" chúwa	papó		" ké	rúmíchaka	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	pi= apú		ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>22 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	, é	kája	rapócha	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	je	ke	é	kája	ri= apó -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>23 Mot</b>	ripi'cháko			yámona	é	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= pi' -chá -ka =o			yámona	é	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24 Mot</b>	rúmícha		" yuwaná	" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= ímí -cha		yuwaná	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>39 Mot</b>	"	jé	";	é	yuwaná	apócha	píño
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		é	yuwaná	apó	-cha píño
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		then	kids	wake_up	pst again

**Libre** "bueno", ahí se levantaron otra vez los niños

<b>40 Mot</b>	najícha		na'jnewá		éjomi	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ají	-cha	na= a'jne	=wá	éjomi	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl eat	pst	3pl food	refl	after	already

nakamáchiyo

na= kamáchi -ya =o

3pl sleep pst mid

**Libre** comieron después se durmieron

<b>41 Mot</b>	kája	ají	kéja		ri'jíchákáno			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ají	ké	=ja	ri= i'jĩ	-chá	-ká	=no
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>42 Mot</b>	é	kája	wája		pajlúwa	yuwajíñáni
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	=wá	=ja	pajlúwá	yuwají =ñáni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>43 Mot</b>	é	némícha		"	maka'ní	wejo'ká	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ímí	-cha		maka'ní	wa= ejo' -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>44 Mot</b>	é	kélé	yuwajíñáni		i'wá	i'cháro
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	yuwa -ji	=ñáni	i'wá	i'chá -ri =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	med	unripe nf	dim	anus	block nf.cleft mid

**Libre** ahí se tapó el culito del niño (i'rakájó: taparse, atajarse)

<b>45 Mot</b>	ũká	méla'jé	rejo'lácha			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	méla'jé	ri= ejo'	-lá	-cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	indf.manner	3sg.nf shit	v.neg	pst	

Libre no podía cagar

<b>46 Mot</b>	kája	jeí	a'phá	nákei	aú	ri'wá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	jeí	a'phá	nákei	aú	ri=	i'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>47.1 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		réjéna	jló	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí -cha	ri=	éjéna	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>47.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rímícha	"	ná	ka'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ri=	ímí -cha	ná	ka'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.nf	say pst	indf	dub

nula'kó ?"  
nu= la' -ka =ó  
1sg do ka.cleft mid

Libre

<b>48.1 Mot</b>	é	némícha	"	náje	chí	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na=	ímí -cha	náje	chí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl	say pst	indf.reason	emph3	

Libre ellos dijeron "por qué,

<b>48.2 Mot</b>	para'ójlá		kaphí	"	ké	némícha	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi=	ara' =ó	jlá	kaphí	ké	na=	ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>49 Mot</b>	é	apú	phe'jí	re'wé	kémícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	apú	phe' -jí	ri=	e'wé	kémí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>57 Mot</b>	é	kája	najúi'cha		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	na= júwi'	-cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	3pl get_dark	pst	

**Libre** ahí se atardecieron

<b>58 Mot</b>	é	kélé	apú	réjéna	kamáchiyo	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	apú	ri= éjéna	kamáchi -ya =o	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>59 Mot</b>	"	tun	tun	"	ké	rímíchaka	,	"	káĩ
<b>Morphèmes</b>		***	***		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka			***
<b>Glose lex.</b>		***	***		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

<b>60 Mot</b>	é	ru'jíchá		ruyáni	kamaré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= i'jĩ -chá		ru= yáni	kamaré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)



ka'káje: sacar + -ta (sacar todo), a'aphá: escamas; kájéma ~ kájéna)

<b>65 Mot</b>	romotho'chá		riká		ruñapáchiyaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= motho' -chá		ri= ikhá		ru= ñapáchi -ya -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>66 Mot</b>	ropóchiya		píño		ruyáni		, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= apó -chi -ya		píño		ru= yáni		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>67 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	é	napóchiyo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	é	na= apó -chi -ya =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>68 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	" ũká	nuká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	unká	nu= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>69 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	"	ũká	méla'jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		unká	méla'jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>70 Mot</b>	"	jé	"	ké	,	é	kája	muní ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké		é	kája	muní ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like		then	already	next_day

najme'chíya
na= jme'chí -ya
3pl become_light pst

**Libre** "bueno", al otro día amanecieron

<b>71 Mot</b>	é	réjéna	kémícha	rijló	"	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= éjéna	kémí -cha	ri= jló		é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>72 Mot</b>	"	á'a	"	ké	rímíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>		á'a		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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
								give
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"

<b>73 Mot</b>	"	náje		u'waréwáni		rula'á		tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>		náje		u'waré	wáni	ru=	la'á	tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>74 Mot</b>	"	marí	ké	nomíchaka		,	nákeí	ji'chí
<b>Morphèmes</b>		marí	ké	nu=	amí	-cha	-ka	nákei
<b>Glose lex.</b>		prox	like	1sg	see	pst	ka.cleft	uh
								pot

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
							sauce_name

**Libre** "así fue que yo miré, ella le dió manicuera que estaba debajo de nongo"

<b>75 Mot</b>	"	riká		ro'chá		ra'jné	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ri=	ikhá	ru=	a'a	-chá	ri=	a'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.nf	pro	3sg.f	give	pst	3sg.nf	food
								like

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	sauce_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)

<b>76 Mot</b>	jralámí		wájã		rujĩ'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	jalá	=mi	=wã	=jã
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)



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)



<b>88 Mot</b>	riká	kélé	ro'chá	rinúma
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá	kélé	ru= a'a -chá	ri= núma
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro	med	3sg.f give pst	3sg.nf mouth

**Libre** ese fue que ella le dió de tomar

<b>89 Mot</b>	é	ri'ichá	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'ri -chá	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf drink	pst 3sg.nf pro

**Libre** ahí se lo tomó (i'rakájé: tomar)

<b>90.1 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	méké	chí	kháájí	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	méké	chí	kháájí	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>90.2 Mot</b>	nuwe'íka	kejáni	wáijlé	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= we'í -ka	kejá -ni	=wáĩ =jlé		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg know	ka.insub?	venomous nf	emph	aug2 like

rímíchaka

ri= ímí -cha -ka  
3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre**

<b>91.1 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha	" méla'jé	ri'má
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha	méla'jé	ri= i'má
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>91.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmícha	, "	ñaké	palá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha		ñaké	palá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>92.1 Mot</b>	" ũká	" ké	rímíchaka	,	méké	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		méké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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** jé ké é 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** é 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** jé ké é 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** é kája ri= kamáchi -ya -ka =o cháya =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'jné ritakhi'chá kháájĩ " rúmíchaka  
 ka'jné 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      rímíchaka  
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)

<b>107.1</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	éta	kháãjĩ	jiyá	kajú	"	ké	rímícha	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		éta	kháãjĩ	jiyá	kajú		ké	ri=	ímí -cha
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		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?"

<b>107.2</b>	<b>Mot</b>	"	, é	ripayákícha		kélé	jiyá	chá	,
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		é	ri=	payákí -cha	kélé	jiyá	chá	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		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)

<b>108</b>	<b>Mot</b>		amíchari		kélé	támijimi			
	<b>Morphèmes</b>		amí -cha -ri		kélé	támi -ji		=mi	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>		see	pst	nf.ss	med	sickness	unposs	pfv
	to'cháko		ira'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
	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?"

<b>109</b>	<b>Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		"	ná	phiyúké	ilé	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru=	ímí -cha		ná	phiyúké	ilé	
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	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
	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
	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

<b>110 Mot</b>	rějěchami	kája	ruyuíchako
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= éjěchami	kája	ru= yuí -cha -ka =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>111 Mot</b>	é	kája	náke
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	náke
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	already	uh

**Libre** ahí ya

<b>112 Mot</b>	é	kája	jlapiyamíka'la
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	lapiyamí -ka'la
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>113 Mot</b>	kája	wája	kélé	yuwajĩ	motho'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	kélé	yuwají	motho' -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>114 Mot</b>	rimotho'chá	, méke	pajá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= motho' -chá	méké	pajá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>115 Mot</b>	rějěchami	kája	jro'píchaka				
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	ějěchami	kája	ru=	ja'pí	-cha	-ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>116 Mot</b>	yetú	rito'chó		akáo'pha	e'yá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	yetú	ri=	to' -chá	=o	akáo'pha	e'yá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	up	3sg.nf	lie pst	mid	cup	in

**Libre** él estaba arriba acostado entre medio de totuma (yetú ~ yenú; akaopha: totuma -dif de kúya)

<b>117 Mot</b>	kája	wája	némícha	"	náje	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá	=ja	na= ímí	-cha	náje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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?"

<b>118 Mot</b>	"	chúwa	nuká	yurějiko		pají	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		chúwa	nu=	ikhá	yurí -jĩ	-ka =o	pají
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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".

<b>119 Mot</b>	" jée "	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good	like

**Libre** "bueno"

<b>120 Mot</b>	é	muní ké	jlapiyámí	rúmícha	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	muní ké	lapiyámí	ru= ímí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>121 Mot</b>	nephícha	é	rúmícha	"	ijj'chá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ipha -cha	é	ru= ímí -cha	i= jĩ' -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>122 Mot</b>	é	kélé	phe'jí	ru'rí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kélé	phe' -jí	ru= i'rí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>123 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	"	nomá	ijlá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	na= amá	ijlá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"



<b>124 Mot</b>	romíchaka		ne'jícháká		jiyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ru= amí -cha -ka		na= i'jĩ -chá -ká		jiyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>125 Mot</b>	" áa "	ké	rímíchaka		" kháãjĩ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka		kháãjĩ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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)

<b>126 Mot</b>	é	kája	réjéna	iphícha	jiyá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri= éjéna	iphí -cha	jiyá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>127 Mot</b>	é	ne'jíchá	a'pitajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= i'jĩ -chá	a'pita -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl go pst	bathe purp.mot

**Libre** ahí se fueron bañar

<b>128 Mot</b>	é	némícha	rijló	" yúka'a	?"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= ímí -cha	ri= jló	yúka'a	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>134 Mot</b>	é	nakáchiyo			kélé	yuwajǐ	jwa'té	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= káchi	-ya	=o	kélé	yuwajǐ	jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>135 Mot</b>	kája	, é	naǐ'chá		wená	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	é	na= ĩ'	-chá	wená	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	then	3pl weave	pst	trap	

**Libre** ahí ya tejieron malla

<b>136 Mot</b>	naǐ'chá			pajǐ	numaná	nakú	apála
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ĩ'	-chá		pajǐ	nu= maná	nakú	apála
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>137 Mot</b>	eyonáje	kája	phíyu'ke	ri'micháká			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	eyonáje	kája	phíyu'ke	ri= i'mi	-chá	-ká	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>138.1 Mot</b>	é	nawái'cha	"	amí	,	amí	,	ná	pajá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= wái' -cha		amí		amí		ná	pajá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl call pst		see		see		indf	emph

ĩ́charo 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)

<b>138.2 Mot</b>	akáo'pha	e'yayá	jreño'chá	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	akáo'pha	e'yá =eyá	ri= jeño' -chá		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	cup	in from	3sg.nf jump pst		like

némíchaka  
 na= ímí -cha -ka  
 3pl say pst ka.cleft

**Libre**

<b>139 Mot</b>	é	najĩ'chó		rináku	.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	na= jĩ' -chá =o		ri= náku	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3pl take pst mid		3sg.nf on	

**Libre** ellos lo persiguieron (jña'kájó N-nakú: perseguir)

<b>140.1 Mot</b>	"	amí	"	ké	nawái'cha	,	"	náje	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>		amí		ké	na= wái' -cha			náje	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>140.2 Mot</b>	"	rúmíchaka	,	"	ná	pajá
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ru= ímí -cha -ka			ná	pajá
<b>Glose lex.</b>		3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			indf	emph

ĩ́charo iléño'jǒ ?"  
 íĩ -cha -ri =o iléño'jǒ  
 abandon pst nf.cleft mid med.toward

**Libre** ella dijo, "que será se escapó para allá",

<b>140.3 Mot</b>	ké	némícha	,	riká	nakú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	na= ímí -cha		ri= ikhá	nakú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3pl say pst		3sg.nf pro	on

wajña'ó  
 wa= jña' =ó  
 1pl take mid

**Libre** por eso lo estamos persiguiendo

<b>141 Mot</b>	é	ruyakái'cho				amíchari
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= yakái' -cha =o				amí -cha -ri
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>142.1 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		rijló	:	" náje
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha		ri= jló		náje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>142.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmíchaka			
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say	pst	ka.cleft	

**Libre** ella dijo

<b>143 Mot</b>	" pi'matá		kawayátá		" ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= i'ma -ta		kawayá tâ		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

**Libre** "esté venado, venado es que come hoja de yuca y de ñame", así ella le dijo

<b>144 Mot</b>	kája ikája		ri'jícháká		eja'wá	e'yajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája ikája		ri= i'jĩ -chá -ka		eja'wá	e'yajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 convirtió en venado

<b>145 Mot</b>	réjéchami		kája	cháapúwani	romícha	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= éjéchami		kája	cháapú wáni	ru= amí -cha	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>146 Mot</b>	kája	wája	kélé	ne'wé	phe'jí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	=wá =ja	kélé	na= e'wé	phe' -jí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	emph lim	med	3pl brother	eldest unposs

kémícha "	náje	ka'jné	waló	amá	weká
kémí -cha	náje	ka'jné	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?"

<b>147 Mot</b>	" chúwa	náke	we'jnájika	nákerí	a'waná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	chúwa	náke	wa= i'jna -jĩ -ka	nákeri	a'waná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>148 Mot</b>	rile'jé	pai'lá	e'yá	napilákíchonó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= le'jé	pai'lá	e'yá	na= pilákí -cha =o =nó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 =nó                    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'jnéawá                    " ké            némícha                    " kája  
wa= ikhá =o                    a'jné =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 =nó                    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"

<b>158 Mot</b>	"	é	weká	waícha	kája penáje	arápaje
<b>Morphèmes</b>		é	wa= ikhá	waícha	kája penáje	arápa' -je
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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

<b>159.1 Mot</b>	é	rúmícha		"	méké	chí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ru= ímí -cha			méké	chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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? ",

<b>159.2 Mot</b>	ké	rúmíchaka		.
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft		

**Libre** ella dijo

<b>159.3 Mot</b>	"	ũká	,	kája	we'maká	penáje
<b>Morphèmes</b>		unká		kája	wa= i'ma -ká	penáje
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>165 Mot</b>	éja		najícha		kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	=ja	na= ají -cha		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>166.1 Mot</b>	rêjéchami		ruíchaka		kajú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= êjéchami		ru= iyá -cha -ka		kajú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>166.2 Mot</b>	" ké	rúmíchaka		, "	ipa'ó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ru= ímí -cha -ka			i= pa' =ó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.f say pst ka.cleft			2pl return mid

majó "

majó

prox.toward

**Libre**

<b>167 Mot</b>	némícha	:	" ũká	méño'jo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= ímí -cha		unká	méño'jó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 =wá =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		, aũ		
ru= amákáje		ru= la' -khé		wa= i'ma -jĩka		aũ		
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...)

<b>171 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	"	i'maláe'jné	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha		i'maláe'jné		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>172 Mot</b>	kája	ñakéja		ne'micháká		eja'wá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ñaké	=ja	na= i'mi -chá -ká		eja'wá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>173 Mot</b>	nawái'cha	júni	, kajú	nawái'chaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= wái' -cha	júni	kajú	na= wái' -cha -ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>174.1 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	" ná	iká	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha	ná	ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>174.2 Mot</b>	" ké	rímícha	" ilé	kajé	tá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ké	ri= ímí -cha	ilé	kajé	tâ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	like	3sg.nf say pst	med	type	emph1	
ké	rímíchaka	.				
ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka					
like	3sg.nf say pst	ka.cleft				

**Libre**

<b>175 Mot</b>	wa'jini	paka'jikanó	weká	, cháapú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	wa'jini	pi= aka' -jĩka	=nó	wa= ikhá cháapú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	always	2sg scold far.pst.nz	hab	1pl pro badly
pamáke	we'majíká	, 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 nujĩ'chá  
nu= yáni ké ru= ímí -cha marí nu= jĩ' -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  
rímícha " 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 rímícha , " 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)



<b>179 Mot</b>	" jée "	" ké , é "	rujĩ'chá	kujnú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= jĩ' -chá	kujnú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>180 Mot</b>	é	kája	jrewíña'chiya
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri= jewíña' -chi -ya
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>181 Mot</b>	rejenája	riyukúná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ejená =ja	ri= yukú -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf until lim	3sg.nf story alien3

**Libre** hasta ahí se termina

# ycn0504

<b>1 Mot</b>	jlálémi	nu'má	rikuláje		jlaíchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jlálémi	nu= i'ma	ri= kulá	-je	jlaíchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>2 Mot</b>	entonces	númá	rojló	" é	maaré	kélé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	entonces	nu= ímá	ru= jló	é	maaré	kélé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	***	***	3sg.nf name	

**Libre** entonces yo le dije si llegó uno aquí que se llama Alex

<b>3 Mot</b>	entonces	rúmá	nojló	" ré		
<b>Morphèmes</b>	entonces	ru= ímá	nu= jló	ri= é		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'jnátá			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

<b>4 Mot</b>	añ		númá	rojlo	nákerí	" u'waká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	añ		nu=	ímá	ru= jló	nákeri u'waká
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	maáre	ikápi	é kája
ri=	yué	-ré	kélé	ipatú	maáre	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)

<b>5 Mot</b>	" jé	" ké	rumaká		nojlo	, é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé	ké	ru= ima	-ká	nu= jló	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>6 Mot</b>	ũká	piwe'íla		ná	número	rile'jé	(...) ?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	pi= we'í	-la	ná	número	ri= le'jé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	2sg	know	v.neg	indf	spa	3sg.nf poss

**Libre** usted no sabe qué número de él

<b>7 Mot</b>	????
<b>Morphèmes</b>	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	

**Libre**

<b>8 Mot</b>	ã	??
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ã	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	

## Libre

<b>9 Mot</b>	maaré	nu'michá	rile'jé	numeración	tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	maaré	nu= i'mi -chá	ri= le'jé	numeración	tá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	ri-la'jéta	viajar bogotá	éjō	
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

<b>10 Mot</b>	ã
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ã
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre** aah

<b>11 Mot</b>	kaápu'khú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre** medio día

<b>12 Mot</b>	aa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

**Libre** ah

<b>13 Mot</b>	pilana'átá	riká	me'tení	piwá'a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= lana'á tá	ri= ikhá	me'tení tá	pi= wá'a
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg *** emph1	3sg.nf pro	now emph1	2sg take

rijlótá  
ri= jló tá  
3sg.nf for emph1

**Libre** escríbelo y llámelo ahorita mismo

<b>14 Mot</b>	préstame tu lapicero
<b>Morphèmes</b>	*** *** ***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	*** *** ***

**Libre** préstame tu lapicero

<b>15 Mot</b>	a
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***

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 chù?

\*\*\* \*\*\*

\*\*\* \*\*\*

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	chù	?
	Morphèmes	***	***	chù	
	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 tâ
	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= íí tâ  
**Glose lex.** indf 3sg.nf name emph1

Libre cómo se llama?

56 **Mot** alex rií tá , mapéja kalé  
**Morphèmes** \*\*\* ri= íí tâ mapéja kalé  
**Glose lex.** \*\*\* 3sg.nf name emph1 normally emph5

na'ká rií tá sobrenombre Trola  
na= a' -ka ri= íí 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)

<b>59 Mot</b>	aaa	ya	,	me'tení	nuwá'a	rijlótá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	***		me'tení	nu= wáa'	ri= jló tá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***		now	1sg call	3sg.nf for emph1	

a ver ,  
 \*\*\* \*\*  
 \*\*\* \*\*

**Libre** a bueno ahorita lo llamo a ver

<b>60.1 Mot</b>	piwá'a	rijlótá		iléeyá	,	méré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= wá'a	ri= jló tá		ilé =eyá		méré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>60.2 Mot</b>	Ūká	peréjutá		i'malá	iléño'jǒ	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	peréju tá		i'ma -lá	iléño'jǒ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	*** emph1		cop v.neg	***	

**Libre** llámelo de ahí, dónde estará por ahí, cuidao él se lleva la coca. Ildonés no está por ahí?

<b>61 Mot</b>	jé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	good

**Libre** bueno

<b>62 Mot</b>	ũká	nomálacha		riká	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	nu= amá -la -cha		ri= ikhá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>63 Mot</b>	me'tení	ka'jná	kája	riphícha		ka'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	me'tení	ka'jná	kája	ri= ipha -cha		ka'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>64 Mot</b>	jlálémi	némá	nojló	ũká	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jlálémi	na= ímá	nu= jló	unká	kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>65.1 Mot</b>	mapéja	napajlákatá			, náchí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	mapéja	na= pajlá -ka	tá		ná chí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>65.2 Mot</b>		, methúké	ri'jnaká		jewíña'jo
<b>Morphèmes</b>		methú ké	ri= i'jna -ká		jewíña' -je =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>		*** like	3sg.nf go	ka.cleft	study purp.mot mid

**Libre**

<b>66 Mot</b>	ũká	méewá		nuwáa'la	rijló
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	mé =ewá		nu= wáa' -la	ri= jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>67 Mot</b>	ũká	, kájakó	rile'jé	celular	apichó
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	kája =kó	ri= le'jé	***	apichá =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>68 Mot</b>	reyá	kalé	tá	iná	wáa'a	jlá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= eyá	kalé	tâ	iná	wáa'	jlá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf	from	emph5	emph1	gnr.pro	call frust

réjō , 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'kálojé  
 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'kalojé 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

<b>74 Mot</b>	kélé	ũká	liñéru	i'malá	nuwaká'je	ka'jné
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kélé	unká	liñéru	i'ma -lá	nu= wakáa' -je	ka'jné
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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**

<b>76 Mot</b>	kája	yá	rímá	nojló	nákerí	" pímá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	yá	ri= ímá	nu= jló	nákeri	pi= ímá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>77 Mot</b>	nula'jé	ka'jné	consegui	rijló	wejápaja	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu= la' -je	ka'jné	consegui	ri= jló	wejápa	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>78 Mot</b>	mmm	ya	,	éko	núma	rijló	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	***		éko	nu= íma	ri=	jló
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***		pol.imp	1sg say	3sg.nf	for

**Libre** bueno yo le digo a él

<b>79 Mot</b>	méré	ka'jná	cura	tá	me'tení
<b>Morphèmes</b>	méré	ka'jná	***	tâ	me'tení
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>80.1 Mot</b>	aa	éta	nákerí	é	pamáka	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	éta	nákeri	é	pi= amá	-ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	then	uh	Q	2sg see	ka.int

**Libre** si Kujwá (arbey) habló con usted?

<b>80.2 Mot</b>	é	Kujwá	pura'kó		pijwa'té	?
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	pura'	-ka =o	pi= jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	Q	***	speak	ka.int mid	2sg with	

**Libre**

<b>81 Mot</b>	é	pipura'kó		Kujwá	jwa'té	??
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	pi= pura'	-ka =o	***	jwa'té	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	Q	2sg speak	ka.int mid	***	with	

**Libre** usted habló con Arbey ?

<b>82 Mot</b>	ũká	kujwátá	wátala	,	rikejǎ'tá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	kujwá	tâ	wáta -la	ri= kejǎa' tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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.

<b>83 Mot</b>	aa	ũká	riyuwéra'lo	tá	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	unká	ri= yuwéra' -la =o	tâ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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

<b>84 Mot</b>	aú	ũká	numaláje	rijló	marí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	aú	unká	nu= ima -lá -je	ri= jló	marí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>85 Mot</b>	pamá	, jum	, ái
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= amá	jum	ái
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg see	huh	uy

**Libre** aaa mire; jum; aay

<b>86 Mot</b>	pi'jíchá	Trola	tá	liyá	ipatú	o'wé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	pi= i'jĩ -chá	***	tâ	liyá	ipatú	o'wé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	2sg go prs	***	emph1	from	coca	brother.addr

jló  
 jló  
 for

**Libre** vaya busque donde trola coca para mi hermano

<b>87</b>	<b>Mot</b>	nupi'cháko				chúwa	
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	nu=	pi'	-chá	-ka	=o	chúwa
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	1sg	return	prs	ka.topic	mid	now

**Libre** me voy ya

<b>88</b>	<b>Mot</b>	a	jé	listo
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	jé	***
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	good	***

**Libre** bueno listo

<b>89</b>	<b>Mot</b>	éko	réjomi
	<b>Morphèmes</b>	éko	ri= éjomi
	<b>Glose lex.</b>	pol.imp	3sg.nf after

**Libre** hasta luego



# ycn0545

<b>1 Mot</b>	murukututú	yukúná	marí	nu'má
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	yukúná	marí	nu= i'má
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***	prox	1sg tell

**Libre** estoy contando cuento de Murukututú

<b>2 Mot</b>	inau'ké	i'michá		riyajálo	jwa'té	kéchami
<b>Morphèmes</b>	inau'ké	i'mi -chá	-rí	ri= yajálo	jwa'té	kéchami
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>3 Mot</b>	kája	ũká	ná	najñálácha	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	unká	ná	na= ajñá -lá -cha	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	already	neg	indf	3pl eat v.neg	pst then

ri'jíchá	ja'pájo	ya'jnéje	ri'jíchá
ri= i'jĩ -chá	ja'pá -je	=o ya'jné =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

<b>4 Mot</b>	jú'ká	ri'jíchá	ja'pájo
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jú'ká	ri= i'jĩ -chá	ja'pá -je =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>	far	3sg.nf go pst	pass purp.mot mid

**Libre** lejos se fue a andar (jú'ká: lejos)

<b>5 Mot</b>	é	ripi'chó	ũká	ná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= pi' -cha	=ó unká	ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>6 Mot</b>	é	ja'pícha	jlaíchú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ja'pí -cha	jlaíchú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf pass	pst afternoon

**Libre** ahí él pasó por la tarde

<b>7 Mot</b>	jemi'chári	nákarí
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jemi' -chá -ri	nákarí
<b>Glose lex.</b>	listen pst nf.ss	uh

**Libre** escuchó este

<b>8.1 Mot</b>	kája	pa'ú	kélé	chú	kamú	jená
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	pa'ú	kélé	chú	kamú	jená
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= li' -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?"

<b>8.2 Mot</b>	"	richiri'chó	rinakojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri=	chiri' -chá =o	ri= nakú eje
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>9 Mot</b>	é	riyakái'cho	ajĩ	ké	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= yakái' -cha =o	ajĩ	ké	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf see pst mid	prox	like	

amíchari	pají	púkumi	chú	pa'kú	áĩ	i'michá	,
amí -cha -ri	pají	***	chú	pa'kú	áĩ	i'mi -chá	
see pst nf.ss	maloca	***	in	pole	tooth	cop pst	

pa'kú	áĩ	chú	ri'michá	tâ	,	yenú
pa'kú	áĩ	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)

<b>10 Mot</b>	é	nákerí	ripui'chôtâ					"	murukututú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	nákeri	ri=	pui'	-chá	=o	tâ		***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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))

<b>11 Mot</b>	ũká	jú'kálaja		ja'píchaka				, ajĩ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká	jú'ká -la	=ja	ri=	ja'pí	-cha	-ka	ajĩ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	neg	far	v.neg	lim	3sg.nf	pass	pst	ka.cleft prox

ké riñakaré loko'páni ja'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

<b>12.1 Mot</b>	é	rikulícha		ajĩ	ké	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	kulí -cha	ajĩ	ké	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>12.2 Mot</b>	"	ké	rímícha		riyakái'cho
<b>Morphèmes</b>		ké	ri= ímí -cha	ri=	yakái' -cha =o
<b>Glose lex.</b>		like	3sg.nf say pst	3sg.nf	see pst mid

ajĩño'jô ké  
 ajĩño'jô ké  
 prox.toward like

**Libre**

<b>13 Mot</b>	é	rímícha		nupechúwa'jláko
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí -cha	nu= pechúwa' jlá =kó
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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= li' -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)

<b>14 Mot</b>	é	rímíchatâ	"	murukututú	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	emph1

**Libre** y él dijo "murukututú"

<b>15 Mot</b>	"	kerakanukuthú	"	ké	inau'ké	kémícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***			ké	inau'ké	kémí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***			like	person	say pst

rijlótâ

ri=	jló	tâ
3sg.nf	for	emph1

**Libre** "mi estómago está rojo" dijo la persona

<b>16 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	"	murukututú	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri=	ímí	-cha	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf	say	pst	***

**Libre** él dijo "murukututú"

<b>17 Mot</b>	"	kerakanukuthú	"	"	murukututú	"	"	kerakanukuthú	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***			***			***		
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***			***			***		

<b>éja</b>	riyuíshotâ	richá	kawákájo	<b>éja</b>
é =ja	***	ri=	chá	kawáká =ejo
then lim	***	3sg.nf	on	low towards

riíshotâ

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

<b>18 Mot</b>	jrechochótâ	<b>kélé</b>	inau'ké	<b>ja'pejé</b>	,	<b>é</b>	inau'ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	<b>kélé</b>	inau'ké	ja'pi	=eje	<b>é</b>	inau'ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	<b>med</b>	person	under	until	<b>then</b>	person

iícho

ií	-cha	=o	( iíchup )
abandon	pst	mid	***

**Libre** él se fue corriendo hacia abajo de esa persona, ahí se voló la persona

<b>19 Mot</b>	ripéchúmi		méké	ri'jĩchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= péchú =mi		méké	ri= i'jĩ -chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>20 Mot</b>	lawirí a'jlúmí	kélé jupejé pheñawilá michúná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	*** a'jlú =mi	kélé *** pheñawilá michú -ná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	*** *** 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)

<b>21 Mot</b>	riká aú nakelo'ká raú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá aú na= kelo' -ká ri= aú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf pro with 3pl thicken ka.cleft 3sg.nf cause

**Libre** con eso espesaban

<b>22 Mot</b>	narápa'kaje wakajé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= arápa' -kaje wakajé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl dance ev.nz2 date

**Libre** tiempo de baile (laym: nará'paka wakajé)

<b>23 Mot</b>	riká chojé jra'chótâ
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ikhá chojé ri= ja' -cha =o tâ
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>24.1 Mot</b>	é kélé jiñátâ ja'pícha richáwa
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kélé jiñá tâ ja'pí -cha ri= chá =ewá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>24.2 Mot</b>	, rijĩ'chátâ	marí	kéja	rawá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= jĩ' -chá tâ	marí	ké =ja	ri= awá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf take pst emph1	prox	like lim	3sg.nf ***

**Libre**

<b>25 Mot</b>	é	rika'chíyátâ		kawayá	jwilá	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ka'	-chi -yá tâ	kawayá	jwilá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>26 Mot</b>	é	inau'ké	ja'chô	kélé	ulawí	chojé
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	inau'ké	ja' -chá =o	kélé	***	chojé
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>27 Mot</b>	é	kája	ri'jichátâ	píño	pa'kú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	kája	ri= i'ji -chá tâ	píño	pa'kú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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 \*\*\* \*\* 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

kája iná ijlú itakô é jno'pícha  
 kája iná ijlú ita -ká =o é nu= ja'pí -cha  
 already gnr.pro eye close ka.nz mid in 1sg pass pst  
 i'micháká , amíchari jemi'cháre kélé murukututú  
 i'mi -chá -ka amí -cha -ri jemi' -chá -ri kélé \*\*\*  
 far.pst pst ka.pst see pst nf.ss listen pst nf.ss med \*\*\*  
 aú nuyakái'cho amíchari  
 aú nu= yakái' -cha =o amí -cha -ri  
 with 1sg see pst mid see pst nf.ss  
 riyáa'kotâ pa'kú aímí chú ,  
 ri= yáa' -ka =o tâ pa'kú aí =mi chú  
 3sg.nf sit ka.nz mid emph1 pole tooth nom.pfv in  
 jiñátâ i'micháká " ké rímíchaka "  
 jiñá tâ i'mi -chá -ká ké ri= ímí -cha -ka  
 devil emph1 cop pst ka.cleft like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft  
 murukututâ "  
 \*\*\*  
 \*\*\*

**Libre** por la tarde yo pasé ya casi cuando uno está como cerrando los ojos de uno, y escuché ese "murukututú", ahí yo miré y miré estaba sentado en la horqueta del estantillo, era diablo, ese murukututú"

**33 Mot** aú jno'chô  
**Morphèmes** aú nu= ja' -chá =o  
**Glose lex.** because 1sg fall pst mid  
 ripechúwa'jêta ké rímíchaka  
 ri= pechúwa' -je tâ ké ri= ímí -cha -ka  
 3sg.nf imitate purp.mot emph1 like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft

**Libre** por eso me puse a remedarlo (ripechúwa'-kaje: remedar)

**34 Mot** é nupechúwi'cha rikátâ , é  
**Morphèmes** é nu= pechúwi' -cha ri= ikhá tâ é  
**Glose lex.** then 1sg imitate pst 3sg.nf pro emph1 then  
 pu'warénítâ ja'chô yenúyá , riyurícho  
 pu'waré -ní tâ ja' -chá =o yenú =eyá ri= yurí -cha =o  
 ugly nf emph1 fall pst mid up from 3sg.nf stay pst mid  
 richô " ké rímíchaka , "  
 ri= chá =o ké ri= ímí -cha -ka  
 3sg.nf on mid like 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft  
 jĩ'cháro nunáku , nupéchúmi  
 jĩ' -chá -ri =o nu= náku nu= péchú =mi  
 take pst nf.ss mid 1sg on 1sg thought pfv  
 ja'cháro lawirí aphúmí chojé " ké  
 ja' -chá -ri =o \*\*\* aphú =mi chojé ké  
 fall pst nf.cleft mid \*\*\* \*\*\* pfv towards\_inside like



rímíchaka , é rijĩchá ná ka'jné  
 ri= ímí -cha -ka é ri= jĩ -chá ná ka'jné  
 3sg.nf say pst ka.cleft then 3sg.nf take pst indf dub  
 rijĩcháta rawá " ké rímíchaka  
 ri= jĩ -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'jné rikátâ " , " méla'jé  
 pi= nó -la -cha ka'jné 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"

<b>42 Mot</b>	"	jé	pinócha	riká	"	ké
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé	pi= nó -cha	ri= ikhá		ké
<b>Glose lex.</b>		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"

<b>43 Mot</b>	é kája	ajápána	kémícha	"	náje	pi'jná
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	ajápána	kémí -cha		náje	pi= i'jná
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>44 Mot</b>	ũká	"	ké	rímíchaka	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	unká		ké	ri= ímí -cha -ka	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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	jlapiyamí	ũká
nu= la' -jĩ -ka =o	é	tâ		kája	lapiyamí	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"

<b>45 Mot</b>	"	jée	"	ké	é	ri'jíchá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>		jé		ké	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>		good		like	then	3sg.nf go pst	

**Libre** "bueno" y se fue

<b>46 Mot</b>	é	ri'jíchá		amíchari		nákai
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= i'jĩ -chá		amí -cha -ri		nákai
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf go pst		see pst nf.ss		uh

<b>iphíchari</b>	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)

<b>47 Mot</b>	é	riphícha		é kája	nákai	rímícha
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ipha -cha		é kája	nákai	ri= ímí -cha
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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"

<b>48 Mot</b>	é kája	" murukututú "	é kája	ñaké kája	jra'jipichá	ñaké kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é kája	***	é kája	***	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>49 Mot</b>	amíchari	yukurúpi	i'micháká	, riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	amí -cha -ri	***	i'mi -chá -ká	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>50 Mot</b>	éja	ripechúi'cha	rikátâ	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é =ja	ri= pechúi' -cha	ri= ikhá tâ	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then lim	3sg.nf imitate pst	3sg.nf pro emph1	

murukututú "  
 \*\*\*  
 \*\*\*

**Libre** al instante lo remedó

<b>51 Mot</b>	é	rímíchatâ	rijló	" kerakanukuthú
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha tâ	ri= jló	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf say pst emph1	3sg.nf for	***

" ké rímíchakatâ  
 ké \*\*\*  
 like \*\*\*

**Libre** y entonces él dijo "rojo mi buche"

<b>52 Mot</b>	" murukututú "	" kerakanukuthú "	ñakéjaka
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	***	ñaké -ja =ka
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	***	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

<b>53 Mot</b>	é	inau'kétâ	jreño'chájla	ají	ké	kélé	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	***	ri= jeño' -chá jlá	ají	ké	kélé	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>54.1 Mot</b>	jiñátâ	iki'chári	jriwilá	"(	mariná	aphámi?)
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jiñá =tâ	***	ri= jwilá	***	***	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	devil ***	***	3sg.nf hair	***	***	***

**Libre**

<b>54.2 Mot</b>	kúna	aphámí	kúna	aphámí	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kúna	aphá =mi	kúna	aphá =mi	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	toxic_plant	*** nom.pfv	toxic_plant	*** nom.pfv	

**Libre** entonces el diablo lo iba garroteando diciendo ""bagazo de maríma, bagazo de barbasco"

<b>55 Mot</b>	ke'jiwí	riyuríchatâ	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ke'jiwí	ri= yurí -cha -ka =tâ	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	powdered	3sg.nf stay pst ka.cleft ***	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** hasta dejarlo bien molido

<b>56 Mot</b>	é	rinóchatâ	riká
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= nó -cha =tâ	ri= ikhá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	then	3sg.nf kill pst ***	3sg.nf pro

**Libre** él lo mató

<b>57 Mot</b>	kája	rikája	ripi'chôtâ	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	ri= ikhá =ja	***	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>58 Mot</b>	reyá	ripi'chótâ	riyámojō
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= eyá	***	ri= yámojō
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3sg.nf from	***	3sg.nf ***

**Libre** de ahí ya él se regresó hacia atrás

<b>59 Mot</b>	kája	jlapiyámí	najme'tíya	meñárú	,
<b>Morphèmes</b>	kája	lapiyámí	na= jme'tí	-ya	meñárú
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>60 Mot</b>	é	náke	re'wé	kémícha	náke	"	kája
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	náke	ri= e'wé	kémí -cha	náke		kája
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>61 Mot</b>	é	rímícha	:	"	maaré	jlálémi	maaré
<b>Morphèmes</b>	é	ri= ímí -cha			maaré	jlálémi	maaré
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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'j'ichá  
 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 melanánija , 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 ké  
 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

yukurúpí ja'pí , yukurúpí i'chétâ , ri'chétâ  
 \*\*\* ja'pi \*\*\* i'ché tâ ri= i'ché tâ  
 \*\*\* under \*\*\* \*\*\* emph1 3sg.nf \*\*\* emph1

yupi'chárô 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	kémáchí		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

<b>65 Mot</b>	jiñátâ	ikatíyá	jriwilá	
<b>Morphèmes</b>	jiñá =tâ	***	ri= jwilá	
<b>Glose lex.</b>	devil ***	***	3sg.nf hair	

**Libre** el diablo lo había garroteado

<b>66 Mot</b>	rímíchaka		" méké	cháwani	"
<b>Morphèmes</b>	ri= ímí -cha -ka		méké	cháwa	-ni
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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

<b>67 Mot</b>	i'jná	wamíchajlá	rikátâ	é
<b>Morphèmes</b>	i'jná	wa= amí -cha jlá	ri= ikhá tâ	é
<b>Glose lex.</b>	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)

<b>68 Mot</b>	nayakái'cho	amíchari	kujyúwa'la
<b>Morphèmes</b>	na= yakái' -cha =o	amí -cha -ri	***
<b>Glose lex.</b>	3pl see pst mid	see pst nf.ss	***

**Libre** miraron y encontraron palo con nudos (antepasados peleaban con ese tipo de palos)

<b>69 Mot</b>	kujyúwa'la	i'michá	marí	ké	, rikáchá
<b>Morphèmes</b>	***	i'mi -chá	marí	ké	ri= iká chá
<b>Glose lex.</b>	***	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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