

AGUARUNA

SIMON E. OVERALL

UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO and JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY

Aguaruna (ISO agr) is a language of the Chicham (Jivaroan) family spoken along the western portion of the Marañón River and the Potro, Mayo, and Cahuapanas rivers. This traditional story tells about how humans didn't know how to give birth in the mythological past. Instead, when a woman's baby was ready to be born, the father would cut her open and take the baby out, leaving the mother dead. Another story tells of how men originally had breasts and women were the hunters, but Etsã, the sun, transferred the breasts (along with domestic duties) to women when they failed to prove themselves as hunters; so this story is part of a cycle that reinforces and legitimizes traditional gender roles in a male-dominated society. It can also be read as having a moral of environmental responsibility, as it emphasizes that all animals, including the insignificant rat, may be useful to humans and must be respected. The same story is told among the Kandozi-Chapra, who share much of their culture with the Chicham-speaking people but speak an unrelated language. Olawsky (2002:123–44) reports a similar story told by the Urarina, but there it is a monkey that teaches the woman.

- (1) Yáunchukuk nuwáush ihápha dúka máam asáuwai.
yaunchuku=ka nuwa-uchi ihaphu-a
long.ago=TOP woman-DIM be.pregnant-IPFV:3
nu=ka ma-a-ma asa-u=ai
ANA=TOP kill-IPFV-S>O COP:SBD-NMZ=COP:3DECL
'Long ago, women who were pregnant were killed.'
- (2) ħhapĩ huhú ahakú áinawai uchín.
ihapĩ hu-hu-u a-haku
gut.PST:3SS take-APPL-NMZ COP-REM.PST.NMZ
a-ina-wa-i uchi=na
COP-PL:IPFV-3-DECL child=ACC
'Cutting her they used to take out the child.'
- (3) Utusás imáshish díkau áhabia.
utu-sa-s imashi=sha díka-u aha-bia
how-SBD-? so.well=TOP:INT know:IPFV-NMZ COP:PL-PST:3
'How could they know any better?'

[JAL, vol. 84, Supp. 1, April 2018, pp. S55–S68]
© 2018 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.
0020-7071/2018/83S2-0006\$10.00 DOI 10.1086/695546

- (4) Uchín naháimatāī kamī
 uchi=na nahaima-tāī kamī
 child=ACC feel.pain-SBD:3DS truly
 'When the labor pain was intense,'
- (5) uchín naháima tsawán huijáhím.
 uchi=na nahaima tsawanta huija-hu-i-ma
 child=ACC feel.pain day arrive-APPL-PFV-O>S
 'when the day of labor pain arrived,'
- (6) uchí uchiḡmáktatus naháima ántāī.
 uchi uchiḡ-ma-ka-tatus nahaima antāī
 RED child.PSSD-VBZ-PFV-INTENT:3 feel.pain COP:SBD:3DS
 'when she felt the pain of having a baby,'
- (7) díkachu ahakúī uchiḡmitkatnak.
 dika-chu a-haku=i
 know-NEG.NMZ COP-REM.PST.NMZ=COP:3DECL
 uchiḡ-mitika-ta=na=ka
 child:PSSD-CAUS-ANMZ=ACC=TOP
 'they didn't know how to make her have a baby.'
- (8) Núniau ásā túki máak ihapī húhaku áinawai yáunchukuk.
 nu-ni-a-u asā tuki ma-a-kū
 ANA-VBZ.INTR-IPFV-NMZ COP:SBD:3SS always kill-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS
 ihapī hu-haku a-ina-wa-i
 open.up:PFV:3SS take.out-REM.PST.NMZ COP-PL:IPFV-3-DECL
 yaunchuku=ka
 long.ago=TOP
 'Being like that, they would always kill her, opening her up and taking it out, long ago.'
- (9) Áatus táwai.
 aatusā ta-wa-i
 thus:3 say:IPFV-3-DECL
 'So the story goes.'
- (10) Uchín naháimatāī nunú uchiḡ huijámataī
 uchi=na nahaima-tāī nunu uchi-hī
 child=ACC feel.pain-SBD:3DS ANA child-PSSD:3
 huija-hu-mataī
 arrive-APPL:PFV-3DS
 'When she felt the pain of childbirth, when her child arrived,'

- (11) titú diyá diyákuā tikíma túkí shíñ uchihí naháimak
 titu diya dii-a-kuā
 quiet RED look.at-IPFV-REPET:3SS
 tikima tuki shiiha uchi-hí
 so.much always well child-PSSD:3ACC
 nahaima-a-kū
 feel.pain-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS
 ‘Quietly watching as the labor pain got more,’
- (12) hamáin wahatáí
 ha-mai-inu waha-taí
 die-POT-NMZ stand-SBD:3DS
 ‘when she felt like she could die,’
- (13) dukuhí mántak fhapí uchí huhakúí.
 duku-hí mantu-a-kū
 mother-PSSD:3 kill.APPL-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS
 ihapí uchi hu-haku=i
 open.up:PFV:3SS child:ACC take.out-REM.PST.NMZ=COP:3DECL
 ‘they killed the mother opening her up and took the child out.’
- (14) Dútikam múuntak háu
 nu-tika-ma muunta=ka ha-a-u
 ANA-VBZ.TR-O>S adult=TOP die-IPFV-NMZ
 ‘When that happened to them, the elders died,’
- (15) wáan̄ki fhapimush utusán̄ isámati.
 waā=ki ihapi-mau=sha utu-sā=ki
 why=RHET open.up:PFV-NS.NMZ=TOP.INT how-SBD:3SS=RHET
 isama-ti
 heal.up:PFV-JUS
 ‘because, how can one who has been gutted heal up?’
- (16) Dútikā uchín̄ tsakapá ahakú táwai.
 nu-tika-ā uchi=na tsakapá a-hakú
 ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV:3SS child=ACC bring.up COP-REM.PST.NMZ
 ta-wa-i
 say:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘After doing that they would bring up the child, so the story goes.’
- (17) Núniak nuní wikáiuu táwai.
 nu-ni-a-kū nuni wikáiuu-a
 ANA-VBZ.INTR-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS thus walk:IPFV-NMZ
 ta-wa-i
 say:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘And so they went on like that, so the story goes.’

- (18) Núnia núniamunum nu dúka núwak kamĩ túki híinau abúuqu túki
 nunia nu-ni-a-mau=numa nu nu=ka
 RED ANA-VBZ.INTR-IPFV-NS.NMZ=LOC ANA ANA=TOP
 nuwa=ka kamĩ túki híina-a-u
 woman=TOP truly always die:PL-IPFV-NMZ
 abuiuqa-u túki
 run.out:PFV-NMZ always
 'At that time, those women truly always died and were dying out.'
- (19) wáŋki dútikā ihápha dúka háak ihápha nu.
 waã=ki nu-tika-ã ihaphu-a nu=ka
 why=RHET ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV:3SS give.birth-IPFV:3 ANA=TOP
 ha-a-kũ ihaphu-a nu
 die-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS give.birth-IPFV:3 ANA
 'because they gave birth that way, the ones who gave birth died.'
- (20) Utusáj, túki dútikāĩsh, naŋkánkati?
 utusã=ki túki nu-tika-taĩ=sha naŋkana-ka-ti
 how=RHET always ANA-VBZ.TR-SBD:3DS=CONCES live-PFV-JUS
 'How could she survive, when they always do that do her?'
- (21) Dútikamunum ma? ushkiúchin ukupásu ásã
 nu-tika-mau=numa ma? ushki-uchi=na
 ANA-VBZ.TR-NS.NMZ=LOC HESIT peanut-DIM=ACC
 ukupa-sa-u ásã
 sow-PFV-NMZ COP:SBD:3SS
 'While that was happening, (a woman) had sown some peanuts.'
- (22) wikaiuqás uwípak tsawánhĩ hiiuqahím
 wikaiuqa-sã uwípa-a-kũ tsawanta-hĩ
 walk-SBD:3SS uproot-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS day-PSSD:3
 hiiuqa-hu-i-ma
 arrive-APPL-PFV-NON.SUBI>SUBI
 'she went out harvesting them when the day (of her labor) arrived.'
- (23) búut wikáiuqu táwai
 buutu wikaiuqa-u ta-wa-i
 weep walk:IPFV-NMZ say:IPFV-3-DECL
 'she went weeping, so the story goes.'
- (24) wáŋki níŋka "hakáttahapi" táwa nu núnial.
 waã=ki ní=ka ha-ka-tata-ha-api ta-wa
 why=RHET 3SG=TOP die-PFV-FUT-1SG-TAG say:IPFV-3
 nu nu-ni-a-kũ
 ANA ANA-VBZ.INTR-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS
 'because she knew she was going to die.'

- (25) Búutak ma? wáitmamain wahá anintaimá wikáiuu táwai.
 buutu-a-kū ma? waitma-mai-inu waha
 weep-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS HESIT pity-POT-NMZ stand
 anintaimá wikaiu-a-u ta-wa-i
 think walk:IPFV-NMZ say:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘Weeping, pitiably she was walking around deep in thought, so the story goes.’
- (26) Núnittaman ma? katíbish, shuwín katíbish tútayama nunú
 nu-ni-tatamana ma? katipi=sha shuwín katipi=sha
 ANA-VBZ.INTR-SUBJ>O HESIT rat.SP=AD black rat.sp=AD
 tu-tayama nunú
 say-NORM ANA
 ‘As she did that, a rat, the type called “black rat” . . .’
- (27) ma? huwátkiu táwai.
 ma? huwa-tu-ki-u ta-wa-i
 HESIT approach-APPL-PFV-NMZ say:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘well it came up to her, so the story goes.’
- (28) Núnik áintsmaisaj hūūāhūā
 nu-ni-kā aints-maia-sā-ŋ
 ANA-VBZ.INTR-PFV:3SS person-VBZ.INC-PFV:3SS-?
 hūūa-hu-ā
 arrive-APPL-PFV:3SS
 ‘It approached her in human form,’
- (29) “Wáŋka búutmi?” táma.
 waŋka buutu-a-mi ta-ma
 why weep-IPFV-2 say:IPFV-O>S
 ‘it said, “Why are you crying?”’
- (30) “Wíka iháphut, ma?, ihaphúbau hūūáŋtinī.
 wi-ka ihaphu-ta ma? ihaphu-ka-mau
 1SG=TOP give.birth-ANMZ HESIT give.birth-PFV-NS.NMZ
 hūūā-hu-tu-ini-ī
 arrive-APPL-1SG.O-PFV-3DECL
 ‘(the woman said) “My giving birth, I mean, my labor has started.”’
- (31) Yabái wí uchiŋmáktin.
 yabai wii uchiŋma-ka-tinu
 today 1SG give.birth-PFV-FUT:NMZ
 ‘“Today I am going to have a baby.”’

- (32) Núnikmatāī tūki hūtikā uchín huhák,
 nu-ni-ka-mataī tuki hu-tikā
 ANA-VBZ:INTR-PFV-3DS always PROX.DEM-VBZ:TR:3SS
 uchi=na hu-hu-a-kū
 child=ACC take-APPL-IPFV:3SS
 “Because I’m doing that, as they always take the child out like this,”
- (33) ihapī mántamin asámtāī.
 ihapī mā-tama-inu asa-mataī
 cut.open:PFV:3SS kill-1PL.O-NMZ COP:SBD-3DS
 “gutting and killing us.”
- (34) “Hakáttahapi,” tusán búuthai.
 ha-ka-tata-ha-api tu-sa-nu buutu-a-hā-i
 die-PFV-FUT-1SG-TAG say-SBD-1SG:SS weep-IPFV-1SG-DECL
 “I am crying because surely I will die.”
- (35) “Wíka yamáik hatánūm puháhai.”
 wi=ka yamai=ka ha-ta=numa puhu-a-ha-i
 1SG=TOP today=TOP die-ANMZ=LOC live-IPFV-1SG-DECL
 “I’m going to die today.”
- (36) Tíuwai.
 ti-u=ai
 say:PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 ‘She said.’
- (37) Tútāī
 tu-tāī
 say-SBD:3DS
 ‘When she said that,’
- (38) “Wah, wáŋka íbauwaitkumish. . . .”
 wah waŋka íbau=aita-ku-mi=sha
 INTERJ why INTS:NMZ=COP-SIMUL-2=CONCES
 “‘Woah! Why, even though you are so big. . . .’”
- (39) “wáŋka uchísh áika huhámash puhámi.”
 waŋka uchi=sha áika
 why child=INT.TOP MNR:VBZ:TR
 hu-hu-a-ma=sha puhu-a-mi
 take-APPL-IPFV-NON.SUBJ>SUBJ=INT.TOP live-IPFV-2
 “‘Why do you have the child taken out that way?’”

- (40) “Wáŋka ahápashtami.”
 waŋka ahapi-a-cha-ta-mi
 why put.out-PFV-NEG-IFUT-2
 “‘Why won’t you give birth?’”
- (41) “Wáŋka wíi húninchinush uchín imátika puháha.”
 waŋka wíi hu-ni-inu-uchi-nu=sha
 why 1SG PROX.DEM-VBZ.INTR-NMZ-DIM-1SG:SS=CONCES
 uchi=na ima-tika-nu puhu-a-ha
 child=ACC INTS-VBZ.TR-1SG:SS live-IPFV-1SG
 “‘Why, although I am so small, do I have so many children?’”
- (42) “Díŋsakia.”
 díi-hu-sa-kia
 look.at-1SG:O-PFV-FAM:IMP
 “‘Look at me.’”
- (43) “Anú mína uchínj.”
 anu mi=na uchi-hu
 MED.DEM 1SG=ACC child-PSSD:1SG
 “‘Those are my children.’”
- (44) Táu.
 ta-u
 say:IPFV-NMZ
 ‘It said.’
- (45) Tútāi
 tu-tāi
 say-SBD:3DS
 ‘When it said that,’
- (46) diiyám, úchik tsákatush wahatāŋ wainkú.
 díi-a-ma uchi=ka tsakata-uchi waha-tāŋ
 look.at-IPFV-NON.SUBJ>SUBJ child=TOP grown-DIM stand-?
 waina-ka-u
 see-PFV-NMZ
 ‘she looked and saw the grown children standing there.’
- (47) “Utusá amísh ándaitmí?”
 utu-sa-mi ami=sha aa-ni-inu=aita-mi
 how-SBD-2 2SG=INT.TOP MED.DEM-VBZ.INTR-NMZ=COP-2
 “‘How do you do that?’”
- (48) Tútāi.
 tu-tāi
 say-SBD:3DS
 ‘She said.’

- (49) "Wíka ma? uchíjbauwaithai."
 wi=ka ma? uchiŋma-a-u=aita-ha-i
 1SG=TOP HESIT have.child-IPFV-NMZ=COP-1SG-DECL
 "I am a child-bearer."
- (50) "Húnak wí díkahai."
 hu=na=ka wii dika-a-ha-i
 PROX.DEM=ACC=TOP 1SG know-IPFV-1SG-DECL
 "I know how to do this."
- (51) "Túhã ámia íbaumia wáŋkami áan wa? áikamash áhumi."
 tuhã amia ibau-mia wáŋka-mi aani wa?
 but 2SG INTS:NMZ-2 why-2 thus INTERJ
 aika-ma-sha a-humi
 MNR:VBZ.TR-NON.SUBJ>SUBJ COP-2PL
 "But you, so big, why do you have such a thing done to you?"
- (52) Tútāi
 tu-tāi
 say-SBD:3DS
 'It said;'
- (53) "Wíshakam wahúkanuk áanin áan."
 wi=shakama wahuka-nu=ki aa-ni-inu a-ha
 1SG=AD how-1SG:SS=RHET MNR-VBZ.INTR-NMZ COP-1SG
 "How can I do that too?"
- (54) Tútāi
 tu-tāi
 say-SBD:3DS
 'She said;'
- (55) "Ayú hásta wí hintintuáthami."
 ayu hasta wii hintintu-a-ta-hami
 INTERJ wait 1SG teach-PFV-IFUT-1SG.S:2SG.O
 "Ok, hold on, I'll teach you."
- (56) Tíuwai.
 tí-u=ai
 say:PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 'It said.'
- (57) "Wí hintintuáthami" tákuŋ
 wii hintinatu-a-ta-hami ta-kū-ŋ
 1SG teach-PFV-IFUT-1SG.S:2SG.O say:IPFV-SIMUL:3SS-?
 'Saying "I will teach you,"'

- (58) “Chikasá puhustá” tus ma?
 chika-sa-mi puhu-sa-ta tus ma?
 open.legs-SBD-2SS live-PFV-IMP say:SBD:3SS INTERJ
 ‘it said, “Open your legs”’
- (59) nuwanúí nīí ma? waitús
 nuwanu=ī nīí ma? waí-tu-sā
 ANA=LOC 3SG INTERJ enter-APPL-SBD:3SS
 ‘it went in there,’
- (60) pútuṅ pútuṅ ihítuk idáiyak
 putuṅ putuṅ ihi-tu-kā
 IDE IDE CAUS:arrive-APPL-PFV:3SS
 idai-a-kū
 leave-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS
 ‘putuṅ putuṅ! It made it fit,’
- (61) “Pái yamáik húnak ma? kamí uchijmáktinak umiṅkáhami.”
 pái yamai=ka hu=na=ka ma? kamí
 INTERJ NOW=TOP PROX.DEM=ACC=TOP HESIT truly
 uchijma-ka-tinu=na=ka umi-hu-ka-hami
 have.child-PFV-FUT.NMZ=ACC=TOP prepare-APPL-PFV-1SG.S:2SG.O
 “Ok, now I have prepared you to have a child”’
- (62) Tus idáiyak
 tus idai-a-kū
 say:SBD:3SS leave-IPFV-SIMUL:3SS
 ‘Saying that, it left her,’
- (63) nūí ma? kuntuchíhī áanuchitkushkam
 nu=ī ma? kuntu-uchi=hī
 ANA=LOC INTERJ arm-DIM=PSSD:3
 aa-ni-inu-uchi=ita-kū=shakama
 MNR-VBZ.INTR-NMZ-DIM=COP-SIMUL:3SS=CONCES
 ‘then, although its arms were just little . . .’
- (64) máhūā máhūā awáhu.
 mahu-ā mahu-ā a-waha-a-u
 massage-PFV:3SS massage-PFV:3SS CAUS-stand-IPFV-NMZ
 ‘it massaged her.’
- (65) Tikíma imáatikam
 tikima ima-tika-ma
 so.much INTS-VBZ.TR-NON.SUBJ>SUBJ
 ‘As it did that so much,’

- (66) uchín itiaú.
 uchi=na iti-a-u
 child=ACC put-PFV-NMZ
 'the woman pushed the baby out.'
- (67) Núnikmatāī kakantús
 nu-ni-ka-mataī kakantu-sā
 ANA-VBZ.INTR-PFV-3DS make.effort-SBD:3SS
 'When she did that, the rat made an effort.'
- (68) Cha? máhūā máhūā uchín supút ahápmitkauwai.
 cha? mahu-ā mahu-ā uchi=na suput
 INTERJ massage-PFV:3SS massage-PFV:3SS child=ACC IDE
 ahapi-mitika-a-u=ai
 put.out-CAUS-PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 'well, by massaging it made the woman push out the baby, pop!'
- (69) Dútikā ahápmitkā níŋki diháj.
 nu-tika-ā ahapi-mitika-ā ní=ki niha-hā
 ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV:3SS put.out-CAUS-PFV:3SS 3SG=DL clean-PFV:3SS
 'After it did that, after it made the woman push out the baby, it
 cleaned her up by itself.'
- (70) úntushchihī tsupíhus, uumík.
 untuchi-uchi-hī tsupi-hu-sā uumi-kā
 umbilical.cord-DIM-PSSD:3ACC cut-APPL-SBD:3SS prepare-PFV:3SS
 'it cut the umbilical cord and got the woman ready.'
- (71) "Pái, wítá!"
 pai wi-ta
 INTERJ go:PFV-IMP
 "Ok, off you go!"
- (72) Tus akupkáuwai.
 tus akupa-ka-u=ai
 say:SBD:3SS let.go-PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 'Saying that, it let her go.'
- (73) Dútikamtāī dúshakam naáshkam núwinnushkam.
 nu-tika-a-mataī nu=shakama naa=shakama
 ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV-3DS ANA=AD INDF=AD
 nuwī-tinu=shakama
 wife:PSSD:3-ATTRIB=AD
 'After it did that, then that guy, whasisname, the husband. . . .'

- (74) “Maáthai” tus
 ma-a-ta-ha-i tus
 kill-PFV-IFUT-1SG-DECL say:SBD:3SS
 ‘saying “I’ll kill her,”’
- (75) ma? níish “ihapin hukíthai,” tus
 ma? níi=sha ihapi-nu hu-ki-ta-ha-i
 INTERJ 3SG=AD cut.open:PFV-1SG:SS take-PFV-IFUT-1SG-DECL
 tus
 say:SBD:3SS
 ‘well, he was also saying “I’ll cut her open and take it out,”’
- (76) ítsa itsakís chinqañan fhaptatus
 itsa itsaki-sā chinqana=na ihapi-tatus
 RED sharpen-SBD:3SS bamboo.sp=ACC cut.open:PFV-INTENT:3SS
 ‘sharpening a bamboo sliver to cut her open,’
- (77) uumís tipái
 uumi-sā tipi-a-í
 prepare-SBD:3SS lie.down-IPFV-3DS
 ‘he was lying there getting ready,’
- (78) uchihín takáku ma? híũám̄tái
 uchi-hí=na taka-ka-u ma? hiiq̄ā-a-mataí
 child-PSSD:3=ACC hold-PFV-NMZ HESIT arrive-PFV-3DS
 ‘when she arrived carrying her child;’
- (79) “Wahúka áankaumi aáncha amísh?”
 wahuka-mi aa-ni-ka-umi aanu=sha ami=sha
 how-2 MNR-VBZ.INTR-PFV-2 MED.DEM=INT.TOP 2SG=INT.TOP
 ‘“How did you do that?”’
- (80) Ya anásh hintinhám̄ái” tusá
 ya aanu=na=sha hintina-hama-a-i tu-sā
 who MED.DEM=ACC=INT.TOP teach-2.O-PFV-3DECL say-SBD:3SS
 ‘“Who taught you that?” he said,’
- (81) nuwín sínchi hiyakú tím̄ayi.
 nuwí=na sínchi hiya-ka-u ti-m̄ayi
 wife:PSSD:3=ACC strongly yell.at-PFV-NMZ say:PFV-PST:3
 ‘he really yelled at his wife, so the story goes.’
- (82) Wa? wahupá sínchis túki kahihín áya?
 wa? wahupa sínchi-sā tuki kahi-hu-inu
 INTERJ how.much strongly-SBD:3SS always get.angry-APPL-NMZ
 a-ya
 COP-REM.PST:3
 ‘Wow, how angry was he?’

- (83) Wáit aníntachu.
wait aníi-tu-a-chau
pity feel-APPL-IPFV-NEG.NMZ
'He didn't feel any pity for her.'
- (84) Áyatak, "Utusá áankaumi, síi kuáshat.
ayatak utusa-mi aa-ni-ka-umi sii kuashata
only how-2SS MNR-VBZ.INTR-PFV-2 thanks many
'Just, "How did you do that? Thanks so much!"'
- (85) Wíka nunakú mah "maáttahapi" tusán buutú wikáikuaŋ.
wi=ka nunaku mah ma-a-tata-ha-api tu-sa-nu
1SG=TOP opposite HESIT kill-PFV-FUT-1SG-TAG say-SBD-1SG:SS
buutu wikai-kuaŋ
weep walk-?
: "I, meanwhile, was so sad that I was going to have to kill you!"'
- (86) Túmain áí.
tu-mai-inu a-í
say-POT-NMZ COP-3DS
'That's what he could have said.'
- (87) Dútiká uchiŋmákmataĩsh kabikú táwai
nu-tika-á uchiŋma-ka-mataĩ=sha
ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV:3SS have.child-PFV-3DS=CONCES
kahi-ka-u ta-wa-i
get.angry-PFV-NMZ say:IPFV-3-DECL
'Having done that to her, when she had had a child he got angry,
so the story goes.'
- (88) nunú ma? áa áaniakua unuimáku ásampash.
nunu ma? aa aa-ni-a-kawā
ANA INTERJ RED MNR-VBZ.INTR-IPFV-REPET:3SS
unuima-ka-u asā-mp-ash
learn-PFV-NMZ COP:SBD-EP-CONCES
'although she had learned to do all that.'
- (89) Núniya áika nuwín máí máinakūā, núniku áya.
nu-ni-a aika nuwi=na mai
ANA-VBZ.INTR-IPFV MNR:VBZ.TR woman=ACC RED
ma-ina-kawā nu-ni-ka-u a-ya
kill-PL:IPFV-REPET:3SS ANA-VBZ.INTR-PFV-NMZ COP-REM.PST:3
'Doing that, they used to kill the women.'

- (90) Dutk dúka ma? naúchik, katípchik, níishkam yaimkáuwai.
 nu-tika-ã nu=ka ma?
 ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV:3SS ANA=TOP HESIT
 naa-uchi=ka katipi-uchi=ka níi=shakama
 INDF-DIM=TOP rat.SP-DIM=TOP 3SG=AD
 yaĩ-pa-ka-u=ai
 help-1PL.O-PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 ‘Then that one, the whatisname, the little rat, she also helped us.’
- (91) Ashí kúntin áina dúka wáinkar huwájchau áinawai.
 ashi kúntinu a-ina nu=ka wainaka-ŋ
 all animal COP-PL:IPFV ANA=TOP in.vain-PL
 huwa-hu-chau a-ina-wa-i
 stay-APPL-NEG:NMZ COP-PL:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘All animals are not useless.’
- (92) Túki yáimkau áinawai.
 tuki yaĩ-pa-ka-u a-ina-wa-i
 always help-1PL.O-PFV-NMZ COP-PL:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘They always help us.’
- (93) Túki áannun áatus ma? iiniá utuhfamunashkam túki yáimkauwai.
 tuki aa-ni-inu=na aatusã ma?
 always MNR-VBZ.INTR-NMZ=ACC thus:3 HESIT
 iinia utuhia-mau=na=shakama
 Aguaruna.people make.difficult-IPFV-NMZ=ACC=AD
 tuki yaĩ-pa-ka-u=ai
 always help-1PL.O-PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 ‘Being like that, they always help people who are in trouble.’
- (94) Túki píŋkíhan iwáinahu áinawai.
 tuki píŋkiha=na i-waina-ha-u
 always good=ACC CAUS-see-PFV-NMZ
 a-ina-wa-i
 COP-PL:IPFV-3-DECL
 ‘They always show their goodness.’
- (95) Aúsh katípshakam wáinak huwájchauwai.
 au=sha katipi=shakama wainakã
 DIST.DEM=AD rat.SP=AD in.vain:3SUBJ
 huwa-hu-chau=ai
 stay-APPL-NEG:NMZ=COP:3DECL
 ‘Nor is that rat useless.’

- (96) Dútikā huní yuhá átinun áatus dúshakam iwáinaku táwai.
 nu-tika-ã huni yuha a-tinu=na
 ANA-VBZ.TR-PFV:3SS thus multiply COP-FUT:NMZ=ACC
 aatusã nu=shakama i-waina-ka-u ta-wa-i
 thus:3 ANA=AD CAUS-see-PFV-NMZ say:IPFV-3-DECL
 'So like this they show their goodness to those who will multiply,
 so the story goes.'
- (97) Nuní áyamhukui.
 nuni ayamhu-ka-u=i
 thus defend-PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 'Thus (the rat) defended her.'
- (98) Nuwáush nunú wáitmamain búut wikáitatman
 nuwa-uchi nunu waitma-mai-inu buutu
 woman-DIM ANA pity-POT-NMZ weep
 wikaiya-tatamana
 walk-SUBJ>O
 'As that woman was pitifully walking weeping,'
- (99) puhúthin nuní áyamhukui.
 puhu-ta-hĩ=na nuni ayamhu-ka-u=i
 live-ANMZ-PSSD:3=ACC thus defend-PFV-NMZ=COP:3DECL
 '(the rat) defended her life.'
- (100) Núna áatus muúnchakam áuñmatin áhabi.
 nu=na aatusã muunta=shakama auhumatu-inu
 ANA=ACC thus:3 elder=AD tell-NMZ
 aha-bi
 COP:PL-PST:3DECL
 'The elders used to tell that story too.'