Free Translation

He had just gotten married. He had two wives. Was he with his wife and her younger sister? His wife was with her sister.

He went out hunting. It was a *yoha* tree. There were ripe *yoha* fruits. "There are ripe *yoha* fruits at the juncture of the paths. There are *yoha* fruits at the place where the Apurinãs' path crosses. There are *yoha* fruits up in the tree. They are red," he said.

"Yes, let's eat yoha fruits. We will get up early. Let's get up early. You should take an ax."

"I'm not going to take an ax. It will be climbed. I will climb it, so that its branches will be cut. When I cut the branches, the fruits will fall and you will eat them."

They took an ax, but he didn't want to cut the tree down with their ax. "I will climb it," he said.

He went up. "You watch out. There are arrows there against the log. You watch out. It's the Apurinãs' trail there. The trail goes there."

He went up. He also took a machete. He went up. He cut the *yoha* branches. The *yoha* fruits were falling. He was cutting the *yoha* branches with the machete. He cut all the branches of the *yoha* tree. If the branches of the *yoha* had still had leaves, the blowgun darts wouldn't have touched him.

"I'm going to eat yoha fruits."

"You eat them."

He should have come down right away.

They ate *yoha* fruits. As they were eating *yoha* fruits, someone came to them. He came.

"Someone is coming," they said. They saw something. The women saw something. They went running away.

"Come back down. Someone is coming," they said.

He stayed up there, not listening to them. When he started to come down, they got there before he could, and he went back up. He went back up, and was standing on a limb.

They saw the blowgun and picked up the blowgun. They twirled the darts in their mouths. They shot him with darts as he stood there. The Apurinas shot him with darts. When the *iha* poison affected him, he fell out of the tree onto the ground.

The women went running back to the village.

The Apurinas picked him up, and took him away to their own people. They ate him back at their place.

"The Apurinas have attacked my brother-in-law. Give me your arrows. I will go with my younger brother. My brother and I will go, and my two brothers-in-law will go, too," he said. "We will go look at them."

They started out to go look at them. They left.

They came there running. "There, there is the place where they tied him up. Come on, let's go see them."

They went there, taking their arrows. They came upon them there. They left some arrows against a log, and took some arrows, and went there.

They were eating. There was smoke of a fire going up.

They went into the clearing. "Hiee," he said.

The Apruinas also yelled. "Hihihihi," they said.

The Apurinas had come. "You two hide. You hide, and go behind on the other side. I will make them pass by. I will make them go there. They will be hit with arrows there on the other side," he said.

Then he made the Apurinas pass there, and they shot them with arrows. They turned away the spears they were throwing at them. They shot them with arrows, and they died.

"Is that all of them?"

"Yes, that's all of them."

"Are your bunches of arrows still big?"

"Yes, our bunches of arrows are still big." Their bunches of arrows were big.

"Come on, should I go get some more of them?"

"Yes, go get others." The same one went there again. "Bring them here. The two of us will stand here, and our brother-in-law will stand over there."

He was Erima. Erima brought them out. He went after them. "Hihii, I'm still escaping," he said.

They all got up then. They came. He made them pass by. They went after them. They shot them with arrows, behind them. They shot them with arrows again. They shot them all with arrows, and they died.

"Well, are there any arrows left?"

"Yes, there are still arrows."

They died because of the *iha* poison.

"I will bring more of them out. You two move over this way."

He went there, and brought more of them out. He brought them out, and they came. He made them pass at the same place he had made the others pass, and they shot them with arrows. They died, too.

"Is that all of them? Our arrows are all gone."

"Go get the arrows that are against the log."

They went after the arrows. They picked the arrows up. They brought the arrows.

"Here, they will all be gone. Go after them."

He went after them. They called them, and they came again. He was going to make something bad happen to himself. He shot the Apurinas with arrows. He was shooting the Apurinas with arrows.

"Are our arrows all gone?" They were killing people.

"There are still many of them."

"I didn't see them. I'm going to take a look at them."

He went after them. He went there. "Hii, I escaped."

The Apurinas [in the village] were exclaiming. They killed many Apurinas.

He went after the Apurinãs, and they ran after him. He caused them to go past, and the others shot them with arrows, at their backs. On the other side he also shot them with arrows, and they died, too. They also died.

"One of them escaped, but my arrows are all gone. My arrows are all gone. There are no arrows."

One Apurina was running after him all over. He was running after him all over in order to spear him. He wanted to spear him.

His younger brother and his brothers-in-law didn't help. His younger brother and the others stayed far away.

He went off with him. There was a stream. He went running on a straight log. [He jumped] onto another log that was lying across. The Apurinã went around on the other side in order to spear him. He waited for the right moment to spear him. He jumped, but he slipped. His leg slipped, and he fell in the water. When he was going to turn, the Apurinã speared him in the chest.

"Aya."

"That must be my older brother crying out."

As they watched the Apurinã who had killed someone, he lifted him up to carry him. He was Erima. He speared Erima. He speared Erima, and took Erima home.

"Hoo, my brother got himself in trouble. My brother died. I can't go there to see them. I don't want to go there, because there aren't any arrows left. Come on, let's go home."

They went home. They arrived.

"Whew."

"Well, where is your older brother?"

"You are asking about my brother, an Apurina speared my brother," he said.

"The Apurinas killed my son."

Then the Apurinas didn't live there anymore. They disappeared.

The Jarawaras slept. But some of them got up early. They got up early because of them, but there was no smoke of their fire. They had moved away at sunset. They had moved away, and they found their village.

"They didn't wait. I wanted them all to die, but they have gone away."

Their longhouse was big and circular. They burned the house. They burned the Apurinãs' house. They called them, but they didn't answer. Their canoes were gone. They had gone away in their canoes. They went away.

They waited at their village. They called them. They didn't come back, so they went home.

They came back, and arrived.

"Erima brought it on himself. He wanted to go after the Apurinãs, and this got him in trouble. He should have run this way."

They came back and arrived, and slept.

"Come on, let's move somewhere else."

They moved away. They came and arrived on the other side. They arrived.

"Erima has died. The Apurinãs killed Erima. They ate him. It would be better if people were not eaten, so that they would rot. The Apurinãs rotted. They are going to rot, and they have started to rot."

They were piled up, because they had killed them with arrows.

"We killed many of them along with my brother. Now they have hurt my brother."

They left and came back. They moved away the next day. They came and arrived.

"Whew, we killed many of them. One of them killed someone. I didn't help him. I should have helped him." His brother-in-law was exclaiming. "I didn't go to him. I stayed standing far away. I was coming, and I heard Erima crying out. The Apurinã had already lifted Erima up to carry him. He took him away, carrying him on the end his spear on his shoulder. He took him away, and disappeared with him. They ate him. They ate Erima. We went after them the next day, but they disappeared. I wanted them to die, but they disappeared," they said.

They arrived, and talked. "There were many Apurinas, and we killed many of them. They killed Erima. Erima isn't alive anymore. He slipped. He wanted to jump away, but he slipped and fell in the water, and he speared him," they said.

They talked, remembering Erima. "They would have gone after them, but there weren't any canoes."

"They took the canoes. You didn't see their village. We killed many of them. Wow, the big village goes far. We shot many Apurinãs with arrows. They died. One chased Erima all over and speared Erima. I almost ran there. If I had run there, I could have pulled out an arrow from them and shot him with an arrow that didn't have poison. He speared him. I heard his crying out far away. I went there, and I was getting close."

"Where was your older brother?"

"My older brother was crying out there."

He should have come sooner. The Apurinã lifted Erima up to carry him, and took Erima back to his own people, for them to cut him up. They cut him up.

They didn't surprise the Apurina women [when they were attacking]. They saw them walking, through the openings in the trees.

The Apurinãs died. The Jarawaras came and arrived, and lived over this way. They lived back this way. They lived there, and they got up and went back there and saw the Apurinãs' village, to see if they were living there again. They were always going to their village, but they didn't come back. They went away, and disappeared.

The Jarawaras lived over this way, and ate them, the *aba* fish. They ate *aba* fish, my grandmother used to say. My grandmother told what my grandfather said.

"Grandma, where did they live?" They lived at the Missão, what is the name of the Missão? Biya Fa, they killed people at the Biya Fa, on the other side of the Biya Fa. The old village of the Apurinãs is there. They killed people there, my grandmother said. He was Erima. Erima, the Apurinãs shot his brother-in-law with a blowgun when he was climbing a *yoha* tree.

When they went and looked at their village, they came back and arrived. The Apurinãs never came back. Because many of them died, they did not come back. They went there after them many times, so that if they came back they would surprise them. They had gotten arrows ready. They put points on arrows. They pulverized *iha* poison. They coated the arrows with poison, as they waited for the Apurinãs. They waited a long time for the Apurinãs, my father used to say, my grandmother used to say.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Hiba	fana	ne	fati	j	famarawa	,		
	hiba	fana	na+M	fati		fama -rav	va+F ´		
	soon after	be married	AUX	3SG.POSS.	wife 1	be two F.PI	_		
	conj	vi	aux	nf		vi			
hir	akasima		ya	tabarawa		namatamon	aha		
hi	naka asima		ya	taba	-rawa	na.NOM+M	-mata	-mona	-ha
3s	G.POSS young	er sister	ADJU	be together	F.PL	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP
nf			prt	vi		aux			
?									

'He had just gotten married. He had two wives. Was he with his wife and her younger sister?'

2	Hinakas	sima			•	fati		famarav	va	, ya	ma ,
	hinaka	a a	sima		,	fati		fama	-rawa+F	Уá	ama ´
	3SG.PC	OSS y	ounger	siste	er	3SG.P	OSS.wife	be two	F.PL	th	ning
	nf					nf		vi		ni	f
yam	a ye	ete	ne	tokahi			yoa	yoamete	moneke		
<i>yam</i> yam					ka+M	,	<i>yoa</i> yoha	-	moneke -mete	-mone	-ke
2	na y	ete	na+M	to-	ka+M go/com	, ne	-	yoha			

<pre>yoha yoha tree sp nf</pre>	yoa yoha tree sy	hati hati ripe pn	,	yoa yoha tree s nf		Yoa yoha tree si	р	<pre>hati hati ripe pn</pre>	<i>ka</i> w ka- CON vi		waa+F stand	ra ra 0 prt	<pre>hawi hawi trail nf</pre>
batori	ya	hawi	batori	į	ee		,	yati		me		hawi	
batori	ya	hawi	bato	ri	ee			yati		me		hawi	-
junction	ADJU	trail	junc	tion	(pa	ause)		Apuri	lnã	3PI	L.POSS	trai	1+F
pn	prt	nf	pn		int	terj		nprop	om	pro	on	pn	
kariwai			ka	yoa		kawine	ni						
ka ·	-riwaha.	NOM+F	ka	yoha		ka-	W	aa -	-ne	-	-ni		
go/come a	across		LOC	tree	sp	COMIT	S	tand (CONTH	F E	3KG+F		
vi			prt	nf		vi							

'His wife was with her sister. He went out hunting. It was a *yoha* tree. There were ripe *yoha* fruits. "There are ripe *yoha* fruits at the juncture of the paths. There are *yoha* fruits at the place where the Apurinãs' path crosses."

3 Yoa kawine neme karo ahi yoha kawaa -ne neme karo ahi tree sp COMIT stand CONT+F up LOC there vi nf prt dem

"There are yoha fruits up in the tree."

Mawa narearake ati nematamonaka na -rI -hara -ke na -himata -mona -ka mawa ati AUX raised surface IP.E+F DECL+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M be red say aux vt aux

"They are red," he said."

5 Ati Ee nibeya ne yoamone vome ati yome na+M ee yoha na -be -mone ee -va AUX tree sp REP+F 1IN.S AUX IMMED+F now say yes swallow interj nf aux pron aux vt

"Yes, let's eat yoha fruits."

6 Yoa e yome nibeya
yoha ee yome na -be -ya
tree sp 1IN.S swallow AUX IMMED+F now
nf pron vt aux

"Let's eat yoha fruits."

7 E bosa nabanake
ee bosa na -habana -ke
1IN.S get up early AUX FUT+F DECL+F
pron vi aux

"We will get up early."

9 Bari titiwa re
bari ti- tiwa na -ra+M
ax DUP carry AUX NEG
nf vt aux

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"He isn't taking an ax."
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10 Bari tiwa onene
bari tiwa o- na -hene
ax carry 1SG.S AUX IRR+F
nf vt aux
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"I'm not going to take an ax."

11 Yama nabanake

yama na -habana -ke climb AUX FUT+F DECL+F result aux

"It will be climbed."

12 *Yama* ti onabanani ini nabana yama o- na -habana -ni ini tii na -habana 1SG.S AUX FUT+F BKG+F climb branch+F cut through AUX FUT+F aux result aux

"I will climb it, so that its branches will be cut."

13 *Ini* ti ya oni fororo kana te ini tii 0na.NOM+F foro -ro kana+F ya branch+F cut through 1SG.S AUX ADJU fall DUP COMIT AUX vi aux prt aux pron

yome nabanake
yome na -habana -ke
swallow AUX FUT+F DECL+F

aux

"When I cut the branches, the fruits will fall and you will eat them."

14 *Bari* bari me tiwa na me ka bari ka kani kabari bari me tiwa na+F me ka bari kaa na.NFIN 3PL.S 3PL chop COMIT AUX carry AUX POSS ax ax ax nf nf nf pron prt vt pron vt aux aux nofare Yama onabanake nofa -ra+M yama o- na -habana -ke 1SG.S AUX FUT+F want NEG climb DECL+F vt aux

'They took an ax, but he didn't want to cut the tree down with their ax. "I will climb it."

15 **Yama** onabanani ati tokomisawite ne yama o- na -habana -ni ati na+M to- ka -misa -witI 1SG.S AUX FUT+F BKG+F say climb AUX away go/come up aux vt aux

Yama te kakatoma
yama tee ka- katoma
thing 2PL.S COMIT look at
nf pron vt

"I will climb it," he said. He went up. "You watch out."

16 Wati kawa hari
wati ka- waa.CONT+M haari
arrow COMIT stand that one+M
nm vi dem

"There are arrows there against the log."

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17 Yama
          te
                  kakatoma
   vama
           tee
                  ka-
                        katoma
                  COMIT look at
   thing
           2PL.S
   nf
          pron
                  vt
"You watch out."
              yati
18 Ee
                                     hawi
                                               amake
                                                             haro
                          me
   ee
                yati
                          me
                                     hawi
                                               ama -ke
                                                             haaro
                Apurinã
                          3PL.POSS
                                     trail+F
                                               be DECL+F
                                                             that one+F
   (pause)
                          pron
                                     pn
   interj
                npropm
                                                             dem
                                               VC.
"It's the Apurinãs' trail there."
19 Hawi
          tokomine
                                        ha
   hawi
           to- ka
                         -ma -ne
                                        haa
   trail
           away go/come back CONT+F
                                        DEM
   nf
           νi
                                        dem
"The trail goes there."
20 Ee
             tokomisawitematamona
             to- ka -misa -witI -himata -mona
   (pause)
             away go/come up
                                 out
                                       FP.N+M REP+M
   interj
'He went up.'
21 Tokomise
                           yimawa
                                                tokomisawite
                                    tama
   to- ka
                 -misa+M
                           vimawa
                                    tama.LIST
                                                to- ka
                                                               -misa -witI
   away qo/come up
                           knife
                                    hold onto
                                                away qo/come up
                           nf
                                    vt
                                                 vi
tokomise
                                                ti
                                     ini
                           yoa
                                                               ne
                                                                         yoa
              -misa+M
                                                tii
                                                               na+M
to- ka
                           yoha
                                     ini
                                                                         yoha
                           tree sp branch+F
                                                                         tree sp
away go/come up
                                                cut through
                                                               AUX
                                                vt
                           nf
                                                                         nf
                                     pn
                                                               aux
          foro
ini
                  kanemetemoneke
                  ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
ini
           foro
                  COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
branch+F
           fall
           vi
                  aux
'He went up. He also took a machete. He went up. He cut the yoha branches. The yoha fruits were falling.'
22 Yoa
             ini
                        ti
                                      nematamonane
                                                                  vimawa
                                                                           ya
   yoha
             ini
                        tii
                                      na -himata -mona -ne
                                                                   yimawa
                                                                           va
   tree sp
            branch+F
                        cut through
                                      AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
                                                                  knife
                                                                           ADJU
             pn
                        vt
                                      aux
                                                                   nf
                                                                           prt
'He was cutting the yoha branches with the machete.'
23 Yoa
             ini
                               ti
                        nafi
                                                                 ini
                                             ne
                                                       yoa
   yoha
             ini
                        nafi
                              tii
                                             na+M
                                                       yoha
                                                                 ini
   tree sp branch+F
                        all
                               cut through
                                             AUX
                                                                 branch+F
                                                       tree sp
                                                                 pn
             pn
                        pn
                               vt
                                             aux
afe
         kiasa
                      nemenehe
                                                         bovo
                                                                 hirena
                                          sare
         kiha -saa
                      na -hemenehe
                                                                 hi- na -ra -hina
afe
                                          sarehe
                                                         boyo
                                                                 OC AUX NEG IRR+M
leaf+F
       have still
                      AUX HYPOTH+F
                                          blowgun dart
                                                         touch
                      aux
                                          nf
                                                         vt
                                                                  aux
                       hirenamataka
sare
               bovo
                       hi- na -ra -hina -mata -ka
sarehe
               boyo
               touch
                       OC AUX NEG IRR+M FP.N+M DECL+M
blowgun dart
               vt
```

'He cut all the branches of the yoha tree. If the branches of the yoha had still had leaves, the blowgun darts

wouldn't have touched him.'

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24 Fava
           Yoa
                    vome
                              omate
  faya
           yoha
                    yome
                             0-
                                   na -mate
                             1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
  SO
           tree sp
                    swallow
  conj
           nf
                    vt
```

"I'm going to eat yoha fruits."

25 Te yoyome na tee yo-yome na 2PL.S DUP swallow AUX pron vt aux

"You eat them."

26 Kisamake

kisamakekabote

ka -risa -makI ka -risa -makI -kabote go/come down following go/come down following quickly vi vi

ramata

na -ra.NOM+M -mata AUX NEG FP.N+M aux

'He should have come down right away.'

27	Faya	me,	yoa	me	yome	neme	nemetemone		fahi
	faya	me	yoha	me	yome	na	-hemete	-mone	fahi
	so	3PL	tree sp	3PL.S	swallow	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	conj	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux			dem
'Th	ey ate y	oha fruits.'							

28	Yoa	me	yome	na	me	ni	ya .	,	inamati
	yoha	me	yome	na+F	me	ni	ya		inamati
	tree sp	3PL.S	swallow	AUX	3PL	to	ADJU		someone
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	prt	prt		nm

'As they were eating yoha fruits, someone came to them.'

29 <i>Kake</i>		M	e inama	ıti k	akini			me	ati	na
ka	-kI	me	e inam	nati k	a	-kI	-ni	me	ati	na+F
go/com	ne coming	g pe	eople	g	o/come	coming	ß BKG+F	3PL.9	S say	AUX
vi		n	f	V	i			pron	vt	aux
me	noki	awa	ha	me fand	<i>awi</i>	noki	awa	kana	ni	kana
me	noki	awa+F	haa	me fa	nawi	noki	awa+F	kana	na.NFIN	kana
3PL.POSS	eye+F	see	DEM	women		eye+F	see	run	AUX	run
pron	pn	vi	dem	nf		pn	vi	vi	aux	vi
ni	tokomeme	temoneke					ahi			
na.NFIN	to- ka		ma -	hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi			
AUX	away go	/come b	ack F	P.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then			
aux	vi						dem			

'He came. "Someone is coming," they said. They saw something. The women saw something. They went running away.'

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30 Tikisamahi
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ti- ka -risa -ma -hi 2SG.S go/come down back IMP+F vi

"Come back down."

	31	Me inamati	kakini			me	ati	na	me		ati	
		me inamati	ka	-kI	-ni	me	ati	na+F	' me		ati	
		people	go/come	coming	BKG+F	3PL.S	say	AUX	3PL.	.POSS	voice	
		nf	vi			pron	vt	aux	pror	ı	pn	
1	mita	arama	ni	ware			kisa	mebon	a			ati
1	mit	ta -rama	na.NFIN	waa	-rI		ka		-risa	-ma	-hibona	ati
]	hea	ar unusual	AUX	stand	raised	surface	go/	come	down	back	INT+M	say
7	vt		aux	vi			vi					vt
1	ne	nokosi	me h	iti	hikah	e						
]	na+	-M nokosi	me h	niti	hi-	ka- ha	+M					

na+M nokosi me hiti hi-ka- ha+N AUX before 3PL.S head off OC COMIT AUX aux pn pron vt aux

tokomisamematamonaka

to- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka away go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

"Someone is coming," they said. He stayed up there, not listening to them. When he started to come down, they got there before he could, and he went back up.'

32	Tokom	isame				tokomisamematamonaka								
	to-	ka	-misa	-ma+M	,	to-	ka	-misa	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ka		
	away go/come up back					away	go/come	up	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M		
	vi					vi								

'He went back up.'

33 Tokomisame towarimisame

to- ka -misa -ma+M to- waa -rI -misa -ma+M away go/come up back away stand raised surface up back vi vi

karaboa me karaboa awahani karaboa me me karaboha me karaboha me awa -hani karaboha blowgun 3PL blowgun 3PL.S see IP.N+F blowgun 3PL.S pron nf pron pron kakitiha sare me me me sare ka- iti+F me sarehe me sarehe me COMIT take out 3PL.S blowgun dart 3PL blowgun dart 3PL.S pron nf pron nf pron

rofi nemetemoneke

rofi na -hemete -mone -ke twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vt aux

'He went back up, and was standing on a limb. They saw the blowgun and picked up the blowgun. They twirled the darts in their mouths.'

34	Sare	me	rofi	na	me ,	ware	
	sarehe	me	rofi	na+F	me	waa	-rI
	blowgun dart	3PL.S	twirl in mouth	AUX	3PL.S	stand	raised surface
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi	

fora hinematamonaka me fora hi- na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M shoot with blowgun OC 3PL.S 'They twirled the darts in their mouths. They shot him with darts as he stood there.' fora yati 35 Yati hine mρ mρ hi- na+M yati vati me fora me 3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.S Apurinã Apurinã pron npropm 77 t. aux npropm pron hinematamonane fora fora hi- na -himata -mona -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M shoot with blowgun OC aux 'The Apurinas shot him with darts.' 36 *Yati* me fora hine hiwasino ia yati me fora hi- na+M iha hi- wasi -hino Apurinã 3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX plant sp OC find IP.N+M npropm pron vt hiwasino waha bao ia ne hi- wasi -hino waha na+M bao OC find IP.N+M fall off come down plant sp AUX vt vi aux vi nisematamonaka -risa -himata -mona -ka AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M allx 'The Apurinas shot him with darts. When the *iha* poison affected him, he fell out of the tree onto the ground.' 37 *Bao* me fanawi nise me kana ni me fanawi na.NFIN hao na -risa+M me kana AUX 3PL come down AUX down women run aux pron nf vi aux tokoma tabora va to- ka -ma+Ftabora ya away go/come back village ADJU nf prt 'He fell on the ground. The women went running back to the village.' 38 *Faya* yati me hiti me faya yati me hi- iti+M me so Apurinã 3PL.S OC pick up 3PL.S conj npropm pron vt. pron hiwakamematamonaka fara me one ni ka -himata -mona -ka hi- to- ka--ma fara one пi me OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+F 3PL other+F to vt dem pron adj prt va ya ADJU

'The Apurinas picked him up, and took him away to their own people.'

prt

39 Me one ni ya me me one ni ya me 3PL other+F to ADJU 3PL.S pron adj prt prt pron me hikabamematamona me hi- to- kaba -ma -himata 3PL.S OC away eat back FP.N+M pron vt 'They took him away to their own people. They	REP+M
40 Me hikabame me hi- to- kaba -ma+M 3PL.S OC away eat back	wabori waboriOko o- lasg.POSS brother-in-lawNabori o- lasg.POSS poss poss
wabo yati me , wabo yati me , brother-in-law Apurinã 3PL.S nm npropm pron 'They ate him at their place. "The Apurinãs ha	nm prt katoma me awineke katoma+F me awine -ke attack 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F nf pron sec ve attacked my brother-in-law."
tee ka wati tee ka w 2PL POSS arrow 2PL POSS a	vati te ta nahi . vati tee taa na -hi arrow 2PL.S give AUX IMP+F nm pron vt aux
42 Wati okaniso wati o- ka niso arrow 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother."	ota famibana . otaa fama+F -bana rother 1EX.S be two FUT pron vi
43 <i>Okaniso</i> o- ka niso 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother	otafamaokootaafama+Fo-ka1EX.Sbe two1SG.POSSPOSS
wabo me fama wabo me fama.LIST brother-in-law 3PL.S be two nm pron vi nematamonane na -himata -mona -ne AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M aux	nabanake , faya ati na -habana -ke faya ati AUX FUT+F DECL+F so say aux conj vt
"'My brother and I will go, and my two brothe 44 Ati ne ya , Me ati na.NOM+M ya me say AUX ADJU 3PL.O vt aux prt pron "We will go look at them."	rs-in-law will go, too," he said.' ota towamakibeya otaa to- awa -makI -be -ya 1EX.S away see following IMMED+F now pron vt
45 Me me towamakebone me me to- awa -makI 3PL.O 3PL.S away see following pron pron vt	me yana -habone me yana ng INT+F 3PL.S start pron vi

```
tonemetemoneke
```

to- na -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'They started out to go look at them.'

```
yana
46 Me
                tona
                                           kana
                                                 ni
                                                          kamakia
                          me
                                    me
                                                 na.NFIN
                                                                  -makI+F
  me
         yana
                to- na+F
                          me
                                    me
                                           kana
                                                          ka
  3PL.S
         start
                CH AUX
                           3PL.S
                                    3PL.S
                                           run
                                                 AUX
                                                          go/come following
                          pron
  pron
         vi
                aux
                                   pron
                                           vi
                                                 aux
                                                          vi
                kana
                               kama
                                              Hari
                                                          taboro
me
         me
                      ni
                      na.NFIN
                                       -ma+F haari
me
         me
                kana
                              ka
                                                          taboro
         3PL.S
                                                          place+M
                      AUX
3PL.S
                run
                               go/come back
                                              that one+M
                                                          pn
         pron
                vi
                      aux
                               vi
                                              dem
pron
                                              hinoho
watari
                  hari
                                 me
                                        wete
wata
          -haari
                  haari
                                 me
                                        wete
                                             hi- na.NOM -no
                                                                -ho
be located look+M
                  that one+M
                                 3PL.S
                                        tie
                                              OC AUX
                                                         IP.N+M DUP
                  dem
                                 pron
                                        vt
                                              aux
```

'They left. They came there running. They came running. "There, there is the place where they tied him up."

```
47 Hima
             me
                     e
                             awibeya
  hima
                             awa -be
             me
                     ee
                                          -ya
  let's go
             3PL.O
                     1IN.S
                             see IMMED+F now
             pron
                     pron
                             vt
  interi
```

"Come on, let's go see them."

48	Me	tokom	akemetemon	ie			ahi	wati	me	ibori
	me	to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	ahi	wati	me	ibori
	3PL.S	away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	then	arrow	3PL.S	carry
	pron	vi					dem	nm	pron	vt
,										

kanamatiahika-na+FmatiahiCOMIT AUX3PL.Sthenauxprondem

'They went there, taking their arrows.'

49 <i>Me</i>	tokan	ıake		me	, me	tokomake	
me	to-	ka	-makI	me	me	to- ka	a -makI
3PL.	S away	go/come	following	3PL.S	3PL.S	away go	o/come following
pron	ı vi			pron	pron	vi	
me	me	hiwasimakid	ı	,	wati	owa	me si
me	me	hi- to-	wasi -mak		wati	owa	me sii
3PL.O	3PL.S	OC away	find foll	owing	arrow	other+M	3PL.S stand
pron	pron	vt			nm	adj	pron vi
tokani			wati	owa	ta	me	bokori
to- ka-	- niha	- ha.LIS	r wati	owa	taa	me	bokori
CH CON	MIT CAUS	S AUX	arrow	other+M	contras	t 3PL.S	hold
aux			nm	adj	prt	pron	vt
kana		, me	tokomake			me	
ka- r	na.LIST	me	to- ka	-ma	akI	me	
COMIT A	XUA	3PL.S	away go	/come fol	Llowing	3PL.S	
aux		pron	vi			pron	
tokomake	<u> </u>		me to	afehemetemo	ne		
to- ka	a -	·makI	me t	afa -hemo	ete -mone	e .	
away go	o/come f	following	3PL.S e	eat FP.N	+F REP+1	F	
vi		_	pron v	⁄i			

'They went there. They came upon them there. They left some arrows against a log, and took some arrows,

and went there. They were eating.'

```
50 Yifo hasawiri wemetemoneke
```

yifo hasawiri waa -hemete -mone -ke fire smoke stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F nf pn vi

'There was smoke of a fire going up.'

51 *Me* tokofaramake me Hiee ati to- ka -fara -makI me hiee ati me 3PL.S away go/come open space following 3PL.S say vi vt pron pron

nematamona

na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M

aux

'They went into the clearing. "Hiee," he said.'

52 Me ha kawemetemoneke

me haa ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S call COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi aux

'They also yelled.'

53 Hihihihi me ati nemetemoneke

me ati na -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vt aux

"Hihihihi," they said.'

54 *Me* Te kawahiyahi me kama me ka- wahiya -hi -ma+F me me ka me tee 2PL.S COMIT hide IMP+F 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PT pron pron vi pron pron νi

'They had come. "You two hide."'

55 *Te* kawahiya te kayoto ha *ya* ahi tee ka- wahiya+F tee kayoto haa ya ahi 2PL.S COMIT follow 2PL.S COMIT hide DEM ADJU there pron vi pron vi dem prt

"You hide, and go behind on the other side."

56 Te kayoto te kayotohi
tee ka- yoto tee ka- yoto -hi
2PL.S COMIT follow 2PL.S COMIT follow IMP+F
pron vd pron vi

"You go behind."

57 Me fiya onihamabanani

me fiya o- to- niha- na -ma -habana -ni 3PL.O pass 1SG.S away CAUS AUX back FUT+F BKG+F pron vi vt

"I will make them pass by."

58 *Me* tokabanani ahi owehene to- ka -habana -ni ahi 0ehene away go/come FUT+F 1SG.POSS because of 3PL.S BKG+F there pron vi dem "I will make them go there."

59 *Ha* tisa ni tohibe ahi ya me na.NFIN to- ha -be haa ya me tisa ahi DEM ADJU 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX CH be IMMED+F there dem prt pron result aux VC dem ati hinihawitia faya fiya faya ne me me hi- to- niha- na faya ati na+M faya me fiya -witT+Fme pass OC away CAUS AUX out say 3PL.O so AUX SO 3PL.O pron pron conj vt aux conj vi aux hinemetemoneke tisa ahi me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then aux dem

"They will be hit with arrows there on the other side," he said. Then he made them pass there, and they shot them with arrows.'

60 *Me* me tisa hina me me hi- na+F me tisa me 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.O pron pron vt aux pron pron tisa hinemetemoneke ahi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke tisa ahi OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F shoot with arrow then dem aux

'They shot them with arrows.'

61 *Me* me saka hini ka wabise me me saka hi- na.NOM+F ka wabise me OC 3PL.O 3PL.S pierce repeatedly AUX because spear 3PL.S pron pron vt aux prt nf pron tataro towitiemetemoneni ahi to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ni ahi

DUP hit away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F then vt aux dem

'They turned away the spears they were throwing at them.'

62 *Faya* faya me me tisa hina ahaba me faya faya me me tisa hi- na+F me ahaba+F so SO 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S die pron conj conj pron vt. aux pron vi amani me Fara me fara ama -ni me me 3PL.S same+F 3PL.S be BKG+F

"They shot them with arrows, and they died. "Is that all of them?"

VC

pron

63 Ee fara me amake
ee fara me ama -ke
yes same+F 3PL.S be DECL+F
interj dem pron vc

"Yes, that's all of them."

dem

64 *Te*

Erima

npropm

'He was Erima.'

(man's name)

Erima

npropm

ka

wati

tabo

fote

```
tee
        ka
                wati
                        tabo
                                  fota+M
   2PL
       POSS
                arrow
                        bunch+M
                                  be big
   pron prt
                nm
                        pn
"Are your bunches of arrows still big?"
65 Ee
              ota
                     ka
                            wati
                                    tabo
                                               fotareka
                                                                         ahi
                                               fota
                                                       -hare -ka
   ee
              otaa
                     ka
                            wati
                                    tabo
                                                                         ahi
                                              be big IP.E+M DECL+M
              1EX
                     POSS
                            arrow
                                    bunch+M
                                                                        here
   yes
              pron prt
                            nm
                                               vi
                                                                         dem
   interj
                                    pn
"Yes, our bunches of arrows are still big."
              tabo
66 Wati
                        fote
                                           Hima
                                  me
                                                          me
                         fota+M
   wati
              tabo
                                  me
                                           hima
                                                          me
              bunch+M
                        be big
                                  3PL
                                           let's go
                                                          3PL.O
   arrow
   nm
              pn
                         νi
                                  pron
                                           interj
                                                          pron
otimakibana
                                           ?
o- to-
            iti
                       -makI
                                  -bana
1SG.S away take out following FUT
"Their bunches of arrows were big. "Come on, should I go get some more of them?""
67 Ee
                   titimakehi
           me
                   ti- to- iti
                                          -makI
                                                      -hi
   ee
           me
                   2SG.S away take out following IMP+F
           3PL.O
   interj pron
                   vt
"Yes, go get others."
68 Fare
                                                                             Me
            tokomaketase
                                                 tokomake
                                                 to- ka
                                                                -makI
            to- ka
                           -makI
                                       -tasa+M
   fare
                                                                             me
            away go/come following again
                                                 away go/come following
                                                                             3PL.O
   same+M
   dem
                                                 νi
                                                                             pron
tekamiya
ti- ka-
                       -ma -yahi
             ka
                                          ahi
2SG.S COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F
                                          here
"The same one went there again. "Bring them here."
69 Ota
           yoro
                   niba
                                   ahi
   otaa
           yoro
                   na.NOM+F -ba
                                   ahi
   1EX.S
           stand
                   AUX
                             FUT
                                   here
   pron
           vi
                   aux
"The two of us will stand here."
70 Ota
           yoro
                                                                nebana
                                                                               ahi
                        ota owa
                                                     wa
   otaa
           yoro.LIST
                       ota owa
                                                    waa.LIST
                                                                na -hibana
                                                                               ahi
   1EX.S
           stand
                       1SG.POSS.brother-in-law
                                                    stand
                                                                AUX FUT+M
                                                                               there
   pron
                       nm
                                                     vi
                                                                aux
                                                                               dem
           vi
"The two of us will stand here, and our brother-in-law will stand over there."
71 Erima
                   Erimamatamonaka
                                                              Erima
```

-mata -mona -ka

(man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

Erima

npropm

(man's name)

72 Erima Erima (man's name)	mera iso mera iso 3PL.O carr	nematar na -h ry off AUX FI	nimata -mona -ne	M
npropm 'Erima brought them	pron vt	aux		
73 Mera iso mera iso 3PL.O carry pron vt hasi osa hasi o- na escape 1SG.S AU vi aux 'He brought them out	na+M roff AUX 3 aux p oni a -saa o- UX still 1S pr	3PL.O away C. pron vt i ni G.S BKG+F t	a- ka -makI AUS go/come follo	
74 Hasi osa hasi o- escape 1SG.S vi aux	na -saa AUX still	<pre>oni o- ni 1SG.S BKG+F prt</pre>	ati nematamonaka ati na -himata say AUX FP.N+M vt aux	a -mona -ka ahi
""I'm still escaping," h	e said.'			
75 Me , me me 3PL Popron pron pron They all got up then.'	nafi j OSS all g	pana nemeten yana na -h get up AUX F1 yi aux	nemete -mone tas	a ahi in then
76 Me kamakia me ka 3PL.S go/com pron vi	-makI+F e following		hinihamatasa hi- to- niha- OC away CAUS aux	
meyamemeyame3PLADJU3F	to- k	2	me no	owati ka ya owati ka ya ehind LOC ADJU n prt prt
pron pron vt	lsa noot with ar:	row OC AUX aux	-hemete -mone -ke FP.N+F REP+F DEC	
77 Me me me 3PL.0 3PL.S pron pron	tisa tisa shoot with	hitasa hi- na arrow OC AU aux	me a -tasa+F me JX again 3PL.O pron	, me me me me 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron
tisa tisa shoot with arrow vt	<i>hina</i> hi- na+F	me me me 3PL.S pron pron	tisa tisa shoot with arro	kani ka- na.NFIN ow COMIT AUX
forima hina		ahaba m	e Fera	aux wati wati

```
nasa
na -saa na -ne
exist still AUX BKG+M
vi aux
```

'They shot them with arrows again. They shot them all with arrows, and they died. "Well, are there any arrows left?"'

```
78 Ee
            wati
                   nasa
                              ka
                                          mata
  ee
            wati
                   na -saa
                              na -ka
                                          mata
            arrow AUX still AUX DECL+M
  yes
                                         for now
  interj
           nm
                   aux
                             aux
                                          prt
```

"Yes, there are still arrows."

79	Faya	iha	ene	me	ahaba	me ,	Me
	faya	iha	ehene	me	ahaba+F	me	me
	so	plant sp	because of+M	3PL.S	die	3PL.S	3PL.O
	conj	nm	post	pron	vi	pron	pron

otimakibeya

o- to- iti -makI -be -ya 1SG.S away take out following IMMED+F now

"They died because of the iha poison. "I will bring more of them out.""

80	Te	yoro	nawamakihi						
	tee	yoro	na	-waha	-makI	-hi			
	2PL.S	stay	AUX	change	following	IMP+F			
	pron	vi	aux						

"You two move over this way."

81	Faya	tokom	aketase			faya	me
	faya	to-	ka	-makI	-tasa+M	faya	
	so	away	go/come	following	again	so	3PL.0
	conj	vi				conj	pron

totimaketasematamonaka

to- iti -makI -tasa -himata -mona -ka away take out following again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt

'He went there, and brought more of them out.'

82	Me		me	totimaketase							
	me	,	me	to-	iti		-makI	-tasa+M			
	3PL		3PL.O	away	take	out	following	again			
	pron		pron	vt							

kamakitasemetemoneke											
ka	-makI	-tasa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi					
go/come	following	again	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then					
771						dem					

'He brought them out, and they came.'

83 <i>Me</i>	kamakia			me	fara	me	one	fiya
me	ka	-makI+	F	me	fara	me	one	fiya
3PL.S	go/come	follow	ving	3PL.S	same+F	3PL	other+F	pass
pron	vi			pron	dem	pron	adj	vi
hinihi			ya	me	fiya			
hi- to- r	niha- na.	NOM+F	ya	me	fiya			
OC CH C	CAUS AUX	•	ADJU	3PL.O	pass			
aux			prt	pron	vi			

hinihamakitasa me me hi- to- niha- na -makI -tasa+F me away CAUS AUX following again 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S aux pron pron tisa hinemetemoneke ahi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi tisa OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then shoot with arrow aux dem

'They came. He made them pass at the same place he had made the others pass, and they shot them with arrows.'

84 Arakawa sona nanoho ene arakawa sona.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no ehene -hoAUX IP.N+M DUP chicken result of+M fall vi aux pn

'It fell because of the chicken.'159

85 *Faya* me me tisa hinemetemone fahi faya me me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone fahi 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then pron pron aux dem

'They shot them with arrows.'

86 *Me* me tisa hina me ahabemetemone fahi me tisa hi- na+F me ahaba -hemete -mone fahi 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F then pron pron vt aux pron vi dem

'They shot them with arrows, and they died.'

87 *Me* Fara ahabatasa amani me me ahaba -tasa+F fara ama -ni me me me again 3PL.S be BKG+F 3PL.S die same+F 3PL.S pron pron pron νi dem VC

'They died, too. "Is that all of them?"'

88 E ka wati , abaka ee ka wati ahaba -ka 1IN POSS arrow end DECL+M pron prt nm vi

"Our arrows are all gone."

89 Wati si tokane tonakama hari te sii wati to- kana+M tee to- na- ka -ma haari stand СН COMIT AUX 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back arrow that one+M pron vi aux

"Go get the arrows that are against the log."

90 *Wati* tonakama kayaba wati me wati me kawati to- na- ka -ma+F wati yaba+F wati me me away CAUS go/come back COMIT pick up arrow 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S arrow pron nm vt nm pron vt

¹⁵⁹ Siko saw a chicken causing something to fall.

kakama Hiva nafi abebanaka mρ me ka- ka -ma+F me hiya nafi ahaba -hibana -ka FUT+M 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S come on all end DECL+M pron interj pn vi

'They went after the arrows. They picked the arrows up. They brought the arrows. "Here, they will all be gone."'

91 Me tinakamaki

me ti- to- na- ka -makI 3PL.O 2SG.S away CAUS go/come following pron vt

"Go after them."

92 *Faya* hinakamakitasa me me me ha hi- to- na- ka -makI -tasa+F faya me me me haa 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following again 3PL.O 3PL.S call conj pron vt pron pron

hinamakemekamakitasehemetemonenihi- to- na -makImeka -makI -tasa -hemete -mone -niOC away AUX following 3PL.Sgo/come following again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+Fauxpronvi

ahi

ahi

then

'He went after them. They called them, and they came again.'

93 *Hiwa* hiwa hiwa erebo erebo kaneba ka- na -hiba hiwa hiwa erebo hiwa erebo 3SG.REFL.M 3SG.REFL.M be bad COMIT AUX FUT+M be bad 3SG.REFL.M 77 i vi pron pron aux pron

yati kaneba yima me tisa nemata na -hiba yima me tisa na -himata yati COMIT AUX FUT+M shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M Yima 3PL.O Apurinã aux npropm pron vt aux npropm

mati

mati

3PL

'He was going to make something bad happen to himself. He shot the Apurinas with arrows.'

94 *Yati* me tisa nematamonaka yati me tisa na -himata -mona -ka Apurinã 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M npropm pron vt aux

'He shot the Apurinas with arrows.'

95 *Yati* \boldsymbol{E} me tisa namate ka ka yati me tisa na -mata+M ee ka ee ka 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX short time 1IN POSS 1IN POSS Apurinã npropm pron vt aux pron prt pron prt

wati ahabe ?
wati ahaba+M
arrow end
nm vi

'He was shooting the Apurinas with arrows. "Are our arrows all gone?"

96 Faya me ihi ahaba me ne tamasa me tama -saa so 3PL.POSS victim of+F die 3PL.POSS 3PL.S be many still conj pron pn vi pron vi na me awineke na+F me awine -ke AUX 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F aux pron sec They were killing people. "There are still many of them."
97 Me owararake me o- awa -ra -hara -ke 3PL.O 1SG.S see NEG IP.E+F DECL+F pron vt "I didn't see them."
98 Me totowamake omatibe me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F pron vt aux "I'm going to take a look at them."
99 Faya me hinakamakitasa me hi- to- na- ka -makI -tasa+F me so 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following again 3PL.O conj pron vt pron tokomaketasematamona to- ka -makI -tasa -himata -mona away go/come following again FP.N+M REP+M vi 'He went after them. He went there.'
100 Tokomake to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne away go/come following vi 'He went there.' tokomakehimatamonane to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vi
101 Tokomake to- ka -makI hii hasi o- na -ni away go/come following yoohoo vi vi interj vi aux 'He went there. "Hii, I escaped."
102 Faya me me hora kawemetemone faya me me hora ka- na -waha -hemete -mone so 3PL 3PL.S exclaim COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F conj pron pron vi aux 'They were exclaiming.'
103 Yati tamabote me me katomemetemoneni yati tama -bote me me katoma -hemete -mone -ni Apurinã be many very 3PL.O 3PL.S kill many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F npropm adj pron pron vt 'They killed many Apurinãs.'

104	Yati	me	me		hinal	kamaki	a				me	he	
	yati	me	me	,	hi-	to-	na-	ka	-mak	I+F	me	he	Э
	Apurinã	3PL	3PL.	0	OC	away	CAUS	go/co	me foll	owing	3PL.0	350	G.O
	npropm	pron	pror	1	vt						pron	pro	on
me	kiyoha	ı me	e	fiya	hika	inama				me	me		
me	kiyo	+F m∈)	fiya	hi-	to-	ka-	na	-ma+F	me	me		
3PL	.S chase	e 31	PL.O	pass	OC	away	COM	XUA TI	back	3PL.C	3PL	. S	
pro	n vt	pr	on	vi	aux					pron	pro	n	
tisa			hiner	netemo	neke				me	n	owati	ka	ya
tis	a		hi-	na -	-heme	te -m	one -	ke	me	n	owati	ka	ya
sho	ot with a	arrow	OC	AUX I	P.N+	F RE	P+F D	ECL+F	3PL.PG	DSS b	ehind	LOC	ADJU
vt			aux						pron	p:	n	prt	prt
ahi	_												
ahi	-												
the	n												
dem													
tisa tis sho vt ahi ahi the	n vt a ot with a n	pr	hiner hi- OC	vi netemo na -	aux neke -heme	te -m	one -	ke	me me 3PL.PO pron	pron no no OSS be	prom <i>owati</i> owati ehind	ka ka LOC	ya ADJU

'He went after the Apurinãs, and they ran after him. He caused them to go past, and the others shot them with arrows, at their backs.'

105	Ha	ya	me	tisa	hibisa	me					
	haa	ya	me	tisa	hi- na -bisa+F	me					
	DEM	ADJU	3PL.0	shoot with arrow	OC AUX also	3PL.S					
	dem	prt	pron	vt	aux	pron					
ahal	ahabatasemetemoneke										

ahaba -tasa -hemete -mone -ke die again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

vi

'On the other side he also shot them with arrows, and they died, too.'

106	Me	abatasa		me	ahabem	etemone		fahi
	me	ahaba	-tasa+F	me	ahaba	-hemete	-mone	fahi
	3PL.S	die	again	3PL.S	die	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	pron	vi		pron	vi			dem
'The	y also die	d.'						

107	Me	ahaba	me	Owa	hasi	neno	oko	wati
	me	ahaba+F	me	owa	hasi	na -hino	o- k	a wati
	3PL.S	die	3PL.S	one+M	escape	AUX IP.N+M	1SG.POSS P	OSS arrow
	pron	vi	pron	adi	vi	aux	prt.	nm

abe

ahaba+M end

vi

"They died. "One of them escaped, but my arrows are all gone."

108	Oko		wati	abe
	0-	ka	wati	ahaba+M
	1SG.POSS	POSS	arrow	end
	prt		nm	vi

"My arrows are all gone."

109	Oko		wati	abe
	0-	ka	wati	ahaba+M
	1SG.POSS	POSS	arrow	end
	prt		nm	vi

"My arrows are all gone."

110 Wati watakara hari wata -ka haari wati -ra exist DECL+M NEG+M that one+M arrow vi dem nm "There are no arrows." ohari 111 *Yati* ohari he kivo naware he ohari+M ohari+M vati hee kivo na -waharI hee Apurinã be one be one 3SG.0 follow AUX all over 3SG.0 pron npropm vi vi aux pron vt. kiyo he saka itebona naware he -hibona na -waharI ita hee kiyo hee saka pierce INT+M 3SG.O rub AUX all over 3SG.O pierce repeatedly pron pron vt vt aux vt nebona nisori me fito -hibona nisori me fito 3SG.POSS.younger brother AUX INT+M 3PL.S rush aux pron vi tokanamakiremetemone kana -makI -ra -hemete -mone away COMIT AUX following NEG FP.N+F REP+F 'One Apurinã was running after him all over. He was running after him all over in order to spear him. He wanted to spear him. His younger brother and his brothers-in-law didn't help.' 112 Nisori tohemetemone ike ya ahi me nisori to- ha -hemete -mone ike ahi me ya 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F far ADJU there nf prt pron allx dem 'His younger brother and the others stayed far away.' 113 *He* towakematamonaka ahi hee to- kaka -himata -mona -ka ahi 3SG.O away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then pron dem 'He went off with him.' 114 *Fa* kaya nemetemoneke fa kaya na fa faha faha faha kaya na+F kaya na -hemete -mone -ke stream stream lie AUX stream lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F nf nf vi aux nf vi aux 'There was a stream.' 115 Awa awa yai tona ya kana ni toke yai to- na+F kana na.NFIN toka+M awa awa ya tree be straight CH AUX ADJU run AUX away qo/come tree nf prt nf 77 i aux vi aux vi haha bere nabisa yati awa ya -bisa+F haaha bere na yati awa ya AUX also this+F tree be across ADJU Apurinã dem nf 77 i aux prt npropm sasaka hinebona kakakata hine sa- saka hi- na -hibona ka- kakata hi- na+M DUP COMIT arrodear OC AUX INT+M OC DUP pierce repeatedly AUX

vt

aux

aux

hitehibona	he .	ee	forima
hi- ita -hibona	hee	e- ee	forima
OC pierce INT+M	3SG.0	DUP like this	do properly
vt	pron	dem	vi
hinematamonaka		ahi .	
hi- na -himata -mo	na -ka	ahi	
OC AUX FP.N+M REP	+M DECL+M	then	
aux		dem	

'He went running on a straight log. [He jumped] onto another log that was lying across. The Apurinã went around on the other side in order to spear him. He waited for the right moment to spear him. '160

```
forima
116 Ee
                                hine
                                          yora
                  forima
      ee
                               hi- na+M
                                          yora
   DUP like this do properly OC AUX
                                          jump
   dem
                  vi
                               aux
                                          vi
towitimatamonane
                                    fare
to- na -witI -himata -mona -ne
                                    fare
away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
                                   same+M
```

'He was waiting for the right moment to spear him. He jumped.'

117	Yora	towiti	owiti			tokar		ahi			
	yora	to-	na	-witI+M	sero	to-	ka-	-na	-himata	-mona	ahi
	jump	away	AUX	out	slip	СН	COMIT	DUP	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
	vi	aux			vi	aux					dem

'He jumped, but he slipped.'

118	Iso	sero	tokane		•	bokehi		,	bok	e	behe	
	iso	sero	to- ka-	na+M		boka+M			bok	a+M	behe	9
	leg+M	slip	CH COM	XUA TI		enter	water		ent	er water	r turi	n over
	pn	vi	aux			vi			vi		vi	
nawa	ımebona			bako	y	ati	hitem	atamo	onak	a		
na	-waha	-ma	-hibona	bako	У	ati	hi-	ita		-himata	-mona	-ka
AUX	change	back	INT+M	chest+M	Α	purinã	OC	pier	cce	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
aux				pn	n	propm	vt					
ahi												
ahi												

then

dem

'His leg slipped, and he fell in the water. When he was going to turn, the Apurinã speared him in the chest.'

```
119 Aya
aya
(expression of pain)
interj
"'Aya."
```

120	Okoyo					·e	kiya	kiya kana			?
	0-	ka	ayo		ama	-ra+M	kiya	ka-	na.CONT+M	haa	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	older	brother	be	NEG	yell	COMIT	AUX	DEM	
	nm				VC		vi	aux		dem	

"That must be my older brother crying out."

¹⁶⁰ I am quite unsure of the analysis of ee forima hinematamonaka.

121 Faya yati ene iti me hi-ka-katoma+M hee so Apurinã victim of+M exist 3PL.S OC COMIT look at conj npropm pn vi pron vt pron vt tiwa namisematamonaka fahi tiwa na -misa -himata -mona -ka fahi carry AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then vt aux dem 'As they watched the Apurinã who had killed someone, he lifted him up to carry him.' 122 Erimamatamonaka Erima -mata -mona -ka (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
npropm 'He was Erima.'	
123 Erima Erima , itematamonaka . Erima ita -himata -mona -ka ita -himata -mona -ka pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt 'He speared Erima.'	
124 Erima ite Erima Erima ita+M Erima (man's name) pierce (man's name) npropm vt npropm towakamematamonaka to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt 'He speared Erima, and took Erima home.'	
125 Hiwakame hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M oof hiwa yoko+M OC away COMIT go/come back hoo 3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune of interj pron vt okoyo o- ka ayo hiwa yoko -ka 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune on DECL+M nm pron vt 'He took him home. "Hoo, my brother got himself in trouble."	on
126 Okoyo abaka . o- ka ayo ahaba -ka 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die DECL+M nm vi "'My brother died."'	
127 Me owamakene me o- to- awa -ma -ke -ne 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back DECL+F IRR+F pron vt "I can't go there to see them."	

watare

ka

128 *Wati*

watare

```
, wati
          wata -ra.NOM+M ka
                                       wati
                                               wata -ra.NOM+M
   wati
                                                                ka
                                       arrow exist NEG
   arrow exist NEG
                           because
                                                                because
   nm
          vi
                           prt
                                       nm
                                               vi
                                                                prt
                                     okere
tokomaki
                         onofa
            -makI.NFIN
                        o- nofa
                                     o- ke
                                                -re
to- ka
away go/come following
                         1SG.S want
                                     1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
                         vt
                                     prt
"I don't want to go there, because there aren't any arrows left."
                               tokomahi
129 Hima
             hima
                       e
                               to- ka
                                            -ma -hi
             hima
   hima
                       66
   let's go let's go
                       1IN.S
                               away go/come back IMP+F
   interj interj
                       pron
                               vi
"Come on, let's go home."
130 Me
          tokomemetemoneke
          to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
   3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'They went home.'
131 Me
          tokoma
                               me
                                         me
          to- ka -ma+F
                              me
                                         me
   3PL.S away go/come back
                               3PL.S
   pron
                               pron
                                         pron
tokomemetemone
to- ka -ma -hemete -mone
away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
'They went home.'
132 Me
          tokoma
                               me
                                         kobo
          to- ka -ma+F
                                                 to- na -ma+F
   me
                               me
                                         kobo
                                                                 me
          away go/come back
                                                 away AUX back
   3PL.S
                               3PL.S
                                         arrive
                                                                 3PL.S
   pron
                               pron
                                         vi
                                                 aux
                                                                 pron
Oof
oof
hoo
interj
'They went home. They arrived. "Whew."
133 Faira
             ayora
   fahi -ra
             ayo
   that NPQ 2SG.POSS.older brother NPQ
             nm
"Well, where is your older brother?"
134 Okoyora
                                     tina
                               -ra ati ti- na+F
            ka ayo
   1SG.POSS POSS older brother NPQ say 2SG.S AUX
                                      hitareka
okovo
                             vati
        ka ayo
                             yati
                                      hi- ita -hare -ka
1SG.POSS POSS older brother
                            Apurinã OC pierce IP.E+M DECL+M
                             npropm
"You are asking about my brother, an Apurinã speared my brother."
```

	Okoyo >-	ka	ayo		ya Va	<i>ti</i> nti	<i>hitare</i> hi-		-hare	-ne	, <i>ati</i> ati
1	lsg.po	SS POSS	_	r broth	_	urinã	OC	pierce	IP.E+M	BKG+M	say
n	nm					ropm	vt				vt
emat	tamonak	ka									
		ta -mon									
UX :	FP.N+1	M REP+	M DECI	L+M							
ux An A	Apurinã	speared	my brot	her," he s	aid.'						
36 (Okatao	ok	atao	vati	me	na	bowa		me	awineni	
С	okatao	, ok	atao	yati	me	na	- ab	oha+F	me	awine	-ni
m	my son	m y	son	Apurin	ã 3PI	.S CA	US di	.e	3PL.S	seem+F	BKG+F
	nm .	nm		npropm	pro	n vt			pron	sec	
Γhe.	Apurin	ãs killed r	ny son.	···							
	Faya	me		metemone			1	fahi			
	faya	me		-ra -he				fahi			
	so conj	3PL.S pron	vi	NEG FP.	TN I.E	REP+F D	/шСП+ <u>Г</u>	then dem			
		dn't live t		ymore.'				acm			
88 <i>N</i>	Ме	fawa		nemetemo	neke			fahi			
	ne	fawa				-mone -	ke	fahi	•		
3	3PL.S	disapp	pear	AUX FP.	N+F	REP+F D	ECL+F	then			
_	pron	vi		aux				dem			
hey	disapp	eared.'									
89 A	_	amo	na	me	me	amo		nemetemo			
_	ne 3PL.S	amo sleep	na+F AUX	me 3PL.S	me 3PL	amo		na -he AUX FP.	mete -m	one P+F	
	oron	vi	aux	pron	pro		-	aux	NIE KE	EIL	
-	slept.'		4411	PIOII	PIO						
10 N	Me o	ne	ta	,	me	one	ta		bosa		
n	ne c	one	taa	,	me	one	taa	ì	bosa		
		some+F	contr	ast	3PL	some+F	cor	ntrast	get up	early	
_	oron a	_	prt		pron	adj	prt		vi		
	temonek		0 - 1-0	•							
	-neme	te -mon F REP+	e -ke F DECI	T+.							
JA . JX	T T • IN]	- 1/11/1 I	د کنار ۱	J. L							
	ome of	them got	up earl	y.'							
41 <i>N</i>	Ме	me	bosa		hik	ana		me	, yi	fo asa	wiri
	ne	me	bosa			- ka-			-		awiri
	3PL.O	3PL.S		up earl		COMIT	AUX	3PL.		_	oke
p	oron	pron	vi		au			pron		-	
			hibati	. •			toke	lan NIONEL	ya	me	,
		11	hibati	-	_	bahi		ka.NOM+	-	me	
ata	-ril	TTOM	ا ما ما م	~		0115					4
ata xis	-ril t NEG		right	-	ADJU			go/come			S
ata xis	t NEG		right nf	-			away vi	go/come	prt	pron	
ata xis i inem	t NEG netemon	eke	nf	1				go/come			5
xist i unem ana	t NEG netemon		nf e -mor	1	ort			go/come			5

'They got up early because of them, but there was no smoke of their fire. They had moved away at sunset.'

142	Me me 3PL pro		<pre>bana bana+ move vi</pre>		me , me 3PL.S pron	me me 3PL.S pron	banani bana move vi		-hani IP.N+F	me me 3PL.POS pron	tabori tabori SS place+F pn
me hiwasimakia					me		me		tabori	me	
me		hi-	to-	wasi	-makI+F	me	,	me		tabori	me
3PL	.S	OC	away	find	following	3PL.PG	OSS	3PL	.POSS	place+F	3PL.S
pro	n	vt				pron		pro	n	pn	pron
hiwa	sima	kieme	etemone	ke							
hi- to- wasi -makI -hemete -m						-mone	-ke				
~ ~		_	1 1 0	7 7 '		D = D + E	DEGT I	_			

hi- to- wasi -makI -hemete -mone -ke
OC away find following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'They moved away. They had moved away, and they found their village.'

143	Me	tabori	me	hiwas	simakia	!		me	Me
	me	tabori	me	hi-	to-	wasi	-makI+F	me	me
	3PL.POSS	place+F	3PL.S	OC	away	find	following	3PL.POSS	3PL.S
	pron	pn	pron	vt				pron	pron
toko	tokoma		raba		rin	i			
+ 010	0- +0- 1	_ m =	n n n	- rah	n n n	- 20 0	-ni		

toko- to- ka -ma na -raba na -ra -ni DUP away go/come back AUX a bit AUX NEG BKG+F vi aux aux

'They found their village. "They didn't wait."'

144	Me	nafi	ababone	!	me	ona			me
	me	nafi	ahaba	-habone	me	ati	0-	na+F	me
	3PL.POSS	all	die	INT+F	3PL.O	say	1SG.S	AUX	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vi		pron	vt			pron
tokoi	mine			nini					
to-	ka	-ma	-ne	na.NOM+F	-ni				
awa	y go/come	back	CONT+F	AUX	IP.N+F				
vi				aux					

"I wanted them all to die, but they have gone away."

145 <i>Me</i>			me me l		ka	me	tabori	moto		
me		tabori	me	me	ka	me	tabori	moto		
3PI	3PL.POSS place+F		3PL	3PL	POSS	3PL.POSS	S place+F	loop		
pro	n	pn	pron	pron	prt	pron	pn	vi		
namaba			nem	etemone	2	ahi	yobe .			
na -m	a -baa	à	na	-hem	ete -m	one ahi	yobe			
AUX ba	ck at a	a distance	AUX	FP.N	+F RE	P+F ther	n house			
aux			aux			dem	nm			
'Their longhouse was big and circular.'										

146	Yobe	moto	nawahame	yobe	me	yobe	me	sari	
	yobe	moto	na -waha	-ma+M	yobe	me	yobe	me	sari
	house	loop	AUX change	back	house	3PL	house	3PL.S	burn
	nm	vi	aux		nm	pron	nm	pron	vt

nemetemone
na -hemete -mone ahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
aux dem

'The longhouse was circular. They burned the house.'

```
147 Yobe
          me
                  sari
                        na
                                         vati
                                                   me
                                                             ka
                                                                    vobe
                               me
                  sari na+F
   yobe
          me
                               me
                                         yati
                                                   me
                                                             ka
                                                                    yobe
                                                                           me
          3PL.S
                 burn AUX
                                                            POSS house
                                                  3PL.POSS
   house
                               3PL.S
                                         Apurinã
                                                                           3PL.S
           pron
                  vt
                        aux
                               pron
                                         npropm
                                                   pron
                                                             prt
                                                                           pron
   nm
                                            hina
sari
            me
                      me
                              me
                                     ha
                                                                 ati
                                                                         me
      na
                                                       me
      na+F
                                            hi- na+F
sari
            me
                      me
                              me
                                     haa
                                                      me
                                                                 ati
                                                                         me
burn
      AUX
            3PL.S
                      3PL.O
                              3PL.S
                                     call
                                           OC AUX
                                                       3PL.POSS
                                                                 voice
                                                                         3PL.S
            pron
                      pron
                                                       pron
vt
      aux
                              pron
                                     vt
                                            aux
                                                                 pn
                                                                         pron
kasawariha
                          ka
                                kanawa
                    me
                                        wataremetemone
ka- sawari+F
                          ka
                                kanawa wata -ra -hemete -mone
                    me
COMIT frustrate
                    3PL
                          POSS
                                canoe
                                         exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F
                                nf
                                        vi
vt
                    pron prt
'They burned the house. They burned the Apurinas' house. They called them, but they didn't answer. Their
```

canoes were gone.'

148 *Me* ka kanawa ya me tokomemetemone me ka kanawa ya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone 3PL POSS canoe ADJU 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F pron prt nf prt pron νi

'They had gone away in their canoes.'

3	Me ne BPL.S oron	tokom to- away vi		-ma+F back	_		.LIST opear	,	tabori tabori place+F pn	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>noki</i> noki wait vt	for
hikana	а		me		me	me	ha	kal	oote	hina		
hi- 1	ka-	na+F	me	,	me	me	haa	na	-kabote	hi-	na+F	
OC (COMIT	AUX	3PL.POS	S	3PL.0	3PL.S	call	AU	X quickly	OC	AUX	
aux			pron		pron	pron	vt	au	X	aux		
me	kam	arimak	oni				me					
me	ka		-ma -ra	-mak	oni		me					
3PL.9	S go/	come	back NEG	for	this rea	ason+F	3PL.S					
pron	vi						pron					

kamemetemoneke

-ma -hemete -mone -ke go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'They went away. They waited at their village. They called them. They didn't come back, so they went home.'

150	Me	kama		me	kamaha		me	kobo	nama	a
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me	kobo	na	-ma+F
	3PL.S	S go/come	back	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	arrive	AUX	back
	pron	vi		pron	vi		pron	vi	aux	
me	E	Erima	hiwa		yokohiba					
me	E	Crima	hiwa	ì	yoko		-	hiba		
3PL	.S ((man's name) 3SG.	REFL.M	bring m	isfortu	ne on F	UT+M		
pro	n n	npropm	pron	ì	vt					

"They came back, and arrived. "Erima brought it on himself."

151	Yati	me	ini	hiri	neno		hiwa
	yati	me	ini	hiri	na	-hino	hiwa
	Apurinã	3PL.POSS	name+F	say	AUX	IP.N+M	3SG.REFL.M
	npropm	pron	pn	vt	aux		pron
yoke)	n	atine				
yok	.0	r	a nahat	I -ne			
bri	ng misfor	tune on A	.UX dayti	me CON	T+F		
vt		ā	ıux				

"He wanted to go after the Apurinãs, and this got him in trouble." 161

```
vokana
152 Ai
                             kana
                     va
                                    ni
                                              totoka
                                                                    namata
    ahi
            yokana
                     ya
                             kana
                                    na.NFIN
                                               to- to-
                                                         ka
                                                                    na.NOM+M -mata
    there
            true
                     ADJU
                             run
                                    AUX
                                               DUP away go/come
                                                                    AUX
                                                                              ?+M
            adj
                     prt
                             vi
                                    aux
                                               vi
                                                                    aux
one
           na+M
ati o-
say 1SG.S AUX
v/t
```

"He should have run this way."

```
153 Faya
                      kama
                                                 kobo
           me
                                        me
                                                          nama
                                                                       me
                                                                               amo
                                -ma+F
    faya
           me
                      ka
                                        me
                                                 kobo
                                                          na
                                                               -ma+F
                                                                               amo
                                                                       me
    so
           3PL.S
                       go/come back
                                        3PL.S
                                                 arrive
                                                                       3PL.S
                                                                               sleep
                                                          AUX back
    conj
           pron
                       vi
                                        pron
                                                 vi
                                                          aux
                                                                       pron
                                                                               vi
               Hima
                                   bana
na
       me
                           e
na+F
       me
               hima
                           ee
                                   bana
AUX
       3PL.S
               let's go
                           1IN.S
                                   move away
       pron
               interj
                           pron
                                   vi
```

'They came back and arrived, and slept. "Come on, let's move somewhere else."

```
154 Me banemetemoneke

me bana -hemete -mone -ke

3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

pron vi

'They moved away.'
```

155 <i>Me</i>	bana	me	kamabisa		i	me ,	me
me	bana+F	me	ka	-ma -k	oisa+F :	me	me
3PL.S	move away	3PL.S	go/come	back al	lso	3PL.S	3PL.S
pron	vi	pron	vi			pron	pron
kamabisa		me	kobo	nami	imetemone		
ka -m	na -bisa+F	me	kobo	na	-ma.NOM	+F -mete	-mone
go/come ba	ick also	3PL.S	arri	ve AUX	back	FP.N+F	REP+F
vi		pron	vi	aux			
amake	kowani	ka	ya d	ihi .			
ama -ke	kowani	ka	ya a	ahi			
be DECL+E	other sid	de LOC	ADJU 1	there			
VC	nf	prt	prt o	dem			

'They moved away. They came and arrived on the other side.'

156 <i>Me</i> me				-ma+F			<i>Erima</i> Erima	<i>ahabak</i> ahaba		
3P:	L.S	arrive	AUX	back	3PL.S		(man's name)	die	DECL+M	
pro	on	vi	aux		pron		npropm	vi		
"They arrived. "Erima has died.""										

157	Erima	Erima	yati	me	hikatomareka		
	Erima	Erima	yati	me	hi- katoma	-hare	-ka
	(man's name)	(man's name)	Apurinã	3PL.S	OC attacl	IP.E+M	DECL+M
	npropm	npropm	npropm	pron	vt		
'"Th	e Apurinãs killed Erim	a.'''					

¹⁶¹ It is strange that the verb *yoko natine* contains the feminine form of the continuous morpheme -*ne*, since the subject is masculine, but this does seem to be the case. There is another similar case in sentence (167) below.

```
158 Me
            hikabenoka
            hi- kaba -hino -ka
    me
            OC eat IP.N+M DECL+M
    3PL.S
    pron
            vt
"They ate him."
159 Me
            kabara
                         me
                                 siba
                                             ra
                                                         me
            kaba -ra+F
    me
                         me
                                 siba
                                             na
                                                 -ra+F
                                                         me
    3PL.S
            eat NEG
                         3PL.S
                                 look for
                                             AUX NEG
                                                          3PL.S
                         pron
    pron
            result
                                 result
                                             aux
                                                         pron
batibanani
bata
           -bana -ni
be rotten FUT
               BKG+F
77 i
"It would be better if people were not eaten, so that they would rot."
160 Me
            batarake
    me
            bata
                       -hara -ke
    3PL.S
            be rotten IP.E+F DECL+F
    pron
            vi
"They rotted."
161 Me
                                                      yana
            batabone
                                 me
                                         bati
                                                              tonarake
                       -habone
                                         bata.NFIN
                                                              to- na
                                                                       -hara -ke
            bata
                                 me
                                                      vana
            be rotten INT+F
                                 3PL.S
                                                              CH AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
    3PL.S
                                         be rotten
                                                      start
    pron
                                 pron
                                         vi
                                                      vi
                                                              aux
"They are going to rot, and they have started to rot."
162 Me
                                                                              ahi
                          toremetemoneke
            ta
                                                    -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                              ahi
    me
            taa
                          to- na -rI
            be piled up CH AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
    3PL.S
                                                                              then
    pron
            νi
                                                                              dem
                          aux
        me
                tisa
                                    hini
                                                    karo
        me
                tisa
                                    hi- na.NOM+F
                                                    karo
3PL.O 3PL.S
               shoot with arrow
                                    OC AUX
                                                    because
        pron
                vt
                                    aux
'They were piled up, because they had killed them with arrows.'
163 Me
            ta
                          tore
                                                      me
                          to- na -rI
    3PL.S
           be piled up CH AUX raised surface
                                                      3PL.S
    pron
                                                      pron
            vi
                          aux
Okoyo
                                me
                                         ota
                                                 katoma
                                                             owatino
               ayo
                                        otaa
                                                 katoma+F
                                                             owatino
          ka
                                me
1SG.POSS POSS older brother
                                3PL.O
                                        1EX.S
                                                 kill many
                                                             exclamation
                                        pron
                                pron
                                                             interj
                                                 vt
"They were piled up. "We killed many of them along with my brother."
164 Okovo
                                     me
                                             noho
    \circ
              ka
                   ayo
                                     me
    1SG.POSS POSS older brother
                                     3PL.S
                                             be hurt
                                             vi
                                     pron
tonihawahineni
to- niha- na
               -waha -ne
```

CH CAUS AUX change CONT+F BKG+F

aux

"Now they have hurt my brother."

165 <i>Erim</i>		<i>biti</i> biti		,	faya	me	yana	tona	ma. II	me
Erim	la	DILI	-		faya	me	yana	10-	na+F	me
(man	ı's name) 3SG.	POSS.so	n	SO	3PL.S	start	СН	AUX	3PL.S
npro	pm	nm			conj	pron	vi	aux		pron
kama		me	me	bana		me	me			
ka	-ma+F	me	me	bana-	+F	me	me			
go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	move	away	3PL.S	3PL.S			
vi		pron	pron	vi		pron	pron			

banaminemetemoneke

bana -mina -hemete -mone -ke move away morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

'They left and came back. They moved away the next day.'

166	Me		banan	nina			me	kama		, me	kama	
	me		bana		-mina	+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me	ka	-ma+F
	3PL	.S	move	away	morni	ng	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	go/come	back
	pro	n	vi				pron	vi		pron	vi	
me		kobo)	nama		me		Oof ,	me	ota	katoma	
me		kob	0	na	-ma+F	me	,	oof	me	otaa	katoma+F	
3PL	.S	arr	ive	AUX	back	3PI	.S	hoo	3PL.O	1EX.S	kill many	
pro	n	vi		aux		pro	n	interj	pron	pron	vt	
	_											

owatino

owatino exclamation interj

'They moved away. They came and arrived. "Whew, we killed many of them."

167	Ohari	ene	itine				
	ohari+M	ehene	iti -ne				
	be one	victim of+M	exist CONT+F				
	vi	pn	vi				

"One of them killed someone."

168 **Onohorareka**

o- naho -ra -hare -ka 1SG.S touch NEG IP.E+M DECL+M vt

"I didn't help him."

169 **Onomana**

o- naho -himanaha 1SG.S touch HYPOTH+M

"I should have helped him."

170 Wabori hora nematamonaka
wabori hora na -himata -mona -ka
3SG.POSS brother-in-law exclaim AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm vi aux

'His brother-in-law was exclaiming.'

```
171 Wabori
                               hora
                                                  Fito
                                        ne
   wabori
                              hora
                                        na+M
                                                  fito
   3SG.POSS brother-in-law
                               exclaim
                                        AUX
                                                  rush
                                                  vi
onamakerara
                                        oke
               -makI
                           -ra -hara
o- to- na
                                        0-
                                               ke
1SG.S away AUX following NEG IP.E+F
                                        1SG.S DECL+F
'His brother-in-law exclaimed. "I didn't go to him."
172 Hike
          hike
                 waba
                                        onara
                                                            oni
   hike
          hike
                waa
                       -baa
                                        \circ
                                              na -hara
                                                            \circ
                                                                  ni
                                                           1SG.S BKG+F
   far
          far
                                       1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
                 stand at a distance
   nf
          nf
                 vi
                                        aux
                                                            prt
"I stayed standing far away."
173 Hiba
                kakamaki
                                          ona
                                                          owa
                                                               ni
   hiba
                ka- ka
                             -makI
                                          0-
                                               na+F
                                                          owa
                                                               ni
   soon after DUP go/come following
                                         1SG.S AUX
                                                          1SG
                                                               to
                                                                    ADJU
                vi
                                          aux
                                                          pron prt prt
                                      yana
Erima
               kiya
                     kani
                                              tone
                                                            hibati
                                                                      ya
                          na.NFIN yana
Erima
               kiya
                    ka-
                                              to- na+M
                                                            hibati
                                                                      va
(man's name)
              yell COMIT AUX
                                              CH AUX
                                      start
                                                            already ADJU
               vi
npropm
                     aux
                                      vi
                                              aux
                                                                     prt
Erima
               yati
                         tiwa
                                namisibote
                                                     nenoka
Erima
                                na -misa -bote
                                                     na -hino -ka
               yati
                         tiwa
(man's name) Apurinã carry AUX up
                                         quickly AUX IP.N+M DECL+M
               npropm
                         vt
                                aux
                                                     allx
npropm
"I was coming, and I heard Erima crying out. The Apurinã had already lifted Erima up to carry him."
174 Faya
          hiwakamenoka
                                                         tiwa
                                   -ma -hino -ka
          hi- to- ka-
                          ka
   faya
                                                         tiwa
          OC
              away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DECL+M
                                                         carry
   conj
hikanari
                        wabise
                                va
hi- ka-
          na -haari
                        wabise
                                ya
OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M
                        spear
                                ADJU
                        nf
                                prt
"He took him away, carrying him on the end his spear on his shoulder."
175 Faya
          hiwakameno
                                                  fawa
   faya
          hi- to- ka-
                          ka
                                   -ma -hino
                                                  fawa
    SO
          OC
              away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M
                                                 disappear
   conj
                                                  vi
hikasame
                                              hikabenoka
                                       me
hi- to- ka-
              na -kosa -ma+M
                                              hi- kaba -hino -ka
                                       me
OC away COMIT AUX middle back
                                       3PL.S
                                              OC eat IP.N+M DECL+M
                                       pron
                                               vt
"He took him away, and disappeared with him. They ate him."
176 Erima
                          kabani
                   me
                                         me
                                                 ota
   Erima
                          kaba -hani
                                                 otaa
                   me
```

3PL.S

pron

(man's name)

npropm

eat IP.N+F

vt

3PL.O

pron

1EX.S

```
tonakamakimina
                                                  fawa
                                                               nine
                                          me
to- na- ka
                    -makI
                               -mina+F
                                          me
                                                  fawa
                                                              na -ne
                                                              AUX CONT+F
away CAUS go/come following morning
                                          3PL.S
                                                  disappear
                                                               aux
                                          pron
ababone
                         ona
                                           mati
                 mρ
                         ati o-
ahaba -habone
                 me
                                    na+F
                                           mati
                         say 1SG.S AUX
      INT+F
                 3PL.O
                                           3PL.O
                 pron
vi
                         vt
                                           pron
"They ate Erima. We went after them the next day, but they disappeared. I wanted them to die."1162
177 Me
            ababone
                                                               fawa
                             me
                                     ona
                                                       me
            ahaba -habone
   me
                             me
                                     ati o-
                                                na+F
                                                       me
                                                               fawa
    3PL.S
                   INT+F
            die
                             3PL.O
                                     say 1SG.S AUX
                                                       3PL.S
                                                               disappear
   pron
            vi
                             pron
                                                       pron
                                     vt
                        me
                                ati
                                      nemetemoneke
            -ke
na -ne
                        me
                                 ati
                                      na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX CONT+F DECL+F
                        3PL.S
                                 say
                                      AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                        pron
                                vt
                                      aux
"I wanted them to die, but they disappeared," they said.'
178 Me
                                   faya
            ati
                 na
                        me
                                                   kobo
                                           me
                                                            nama
                                                                         me
                                                   kobo
   me
            ati
                 na+F
                        me
                                    faya
                                           me
                                                            na -ma+F
                                                                         me
                                           3PL.S
                                                   arrive
                                                            AUX back
            say
                AUX
                        3PL.S
                                    so
   pron
            vt
                 aux
                        pron
                                    conj
                                          pron
                                                                         pron
                                   hivaramemetemoneke
hivarama
                me
                           me
hiyara -ma+F
                                   hiyara -ma -hemete -mone -ke
               me
                           me
speak back
                           3PL.S
                                   speak back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                3PL.S
                                   vi
77 i
               pron
                           pron
'They arrived, and talked.'
179 Me
            hiyarama
                            me
                                       Yati
                                                 me
                                                         tamabote
            hiyara -ma+F
                                                                   -bote
   me
                           me
                                       yati
                                                 me
                                                         tama
                                                 3PL.S
                                                         be many very
    3PL.S
            speak back
                            3PL.S
                                       Apurinã
   pron
            vi
                            pron
                                       npropm
                                                 pron
                                                         adj
meteni
                   me
                           ota
                                   katomini
me -tee -ni
                   me
                           otaa
                                   katoma
                                               -ni
3PL HAB IP.N+F
                   3PL.O
                           1EX.S
                                   kill many BKG+F
                   pron
                           pron
"They talked. "There were many Apurinas, and we killed many of them."
180 Erima
                   me
                               katomawaharake
                                                                waha
   Erima
                   me
                               katoma -waha
                                              -hara -ke
                                                                waha
    (man's name)
                    3PL.S
                               attack change IP.E+F DECL+F
                                                                now
    npropm
                   pron
                                                                prt
"They killed Erima."
181 Erima
                   sawimakara
   Erima
                    sawi
                                     -ka
                                -ma
                                             -ra
                   be present back DECL+M NEG+M
    (man's name)
    npropm
                    vi
"Erima isn't alive anymore."
182 Sero
          tokanenoka
    sero
           to- ka-
                     na -hino -ka
          CH COMIT AUX IP.N+M DECL+M
```

¹⁶² Me is missing before ababone.

```
"He slipped."
```

```
183 Yora
       towitibona
                           ati
                                         tokane
                               ne
                                    sero
   yora to- na -witI -hibona ati na+M
                                   sero to-ka-
                                                na+M
   jump away AUX out INT+M
                           say AUX
                                    slip CH COMIT AUX
  vi aux
                           vt aux
                                    vi aux
ati
                                       ati
enter water O pierce IP.N+M DECL+M
                                 3PL.S
                                       say
     prt vt
vi
                                       vt
                                 pron
nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux
```

"He wanted to jump away, but he slipped and fell in the water, and he speared him," they said."

184 <i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron	ati say	na na+F AUX aux	iteni iteha whato nm	ani Chamacall	, it	me me 3PL pron	,	faya faya so conj	•	ma	name	•	_
<i>wati</i> wati	<i>nawaha</i> na -w	aha+F	<i>me</i> me	<i>hiyara</i> hiyara+1	me me	<i>M</i> m		-	-	-		-	
remember	AUX ch	ange	3PL.S	speak	3PI	L.S 3	PL.	S					
vt	aux		pron	vi	pro	on p	ron						
tonakamakier	ne			me	k	anawa	w	ati	toerin	i			
to- na-	ka	-mak	I -	hene me	k	anawa	W	ata	to-	ha	-ra	-ni	
away CAUS result	go/com	e foll	owing I	RR+F 3PI pro		anoe If	e. v	xist i	CH aux	AUX	NEG	BKG+	F

'They talked, remembering Erima. "They would have gone after them, but there weren't any canoes."

185	Kanawa	me	towakamanike								
	kanawa	me	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-hani	-ke			
	canoe	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	back	IP.N+F	DECL+F			
	nf	pron	vt								
'''Th	ey took the	canoes."'									

186	Yama	tabori	te	awarawene	ota	katomarawa			
	yama	tabori	tee	awa -rawa -hene	otaa	katoma -rawa+F			
	thing	place+F	2PL.S	see F.PL IRR+F	1EX.S	kill many F.PL			
	nf	pn	pron	vt	pron	vt			

"You didn't see their village. We killed many of them."

187	Aii	tabora	ebote	moto	namo	ara		ahi		
	aii	tabora	ehebote	moto	na	-ma	-hara	ahi		
	wow!	village	big	loop	AUX	back	IP.E+F	there		
	interj	nf	adj	vi	aux			dem		

"Wow, the big village goes far."

188	Yati tamabote			me	ota	tisa	narake			
	yati	tama	-bote	me	otaa	tisa	na -hara -ke			
	Apurinã	be many	very	3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot with arrow	AUX IP.E+F DECL+F			
	npropm	adj		pron	pron	vt	aux			

[&]quot;We shot many Apurinas with arrows."

	e fare PL.S same+M ron dem itawenoka ita -w name) pierce ch	ange IP.N+M	Erima Erima (man's name) npropmka DECL+M	<pre>kiyo kiyo chase vt</pre>
fito o- to-	na -makI -ra AUX following NEC	· G IRR+F		
vi aux		emenehe v POTH+F a	wati hahi wati haahi arrow this on nm dem	, me me e+M 3PL.S pron
hikarime soba hi- karima+M soba OC suffer from pull vt vt		-ma.NOM+F y back A	a , wati va wati ADJU arrow ort nm	<pre>ino ino point+M pn</pre>
korone ya sa korone ya saa naked+M ADJU shoot pn prt vt ""If I had run there, I could ha poison.""	aux	ka- na S COMIT AUX		nrow that didn't have
faya me hee so 3PL 3SG.O conj pron pron	ita -waha -l pierce change II vt	hino -ka P.N+M DECL+M	·	
193 Kiya kani kiya ka- na.NF: yell COMIT AUX vi aux	omitaba IN o- mita -k 1SG.S hear at vt		<i>hiba</i> hiba soon after conj	
<pre>kakamaki ka- ka -makI DUP go/come following vi "I heard his crying out far aw</pre>	o- na+F o- 1SG.S AUX 1S aux vi	G.S away go/	-makI come following	
194 <i>Ayo</i> ayo 2SG.POSS.older bro	e ee (question)	ra na −ra AUX CQ+M aux	?	
"Where was your older broth		aux		
195 <i>Okoyo</i> o- ka ayo 1SG.POSS POSS olde	kiya kiya er brother yell vi	kanare ka- na : COMIT AUX : aux	ahi -hare ahi IP.E+M there dem	

"My older brother was crying out there."

```
196 Hibati
                           kamakimanaha
                                                          Erima
                  va
   hibati
                  ya
                           ka
                                  -makI
                                            -himanaha
                                                          Erima
   long time ago ADJU
                           go/come following HYPOTH+M
                                                          (man's name)
   nf
                  prt
                           vi
                                                          npropm
                 Erima
tiwa
       namise
                                 towakamematamona
       na -misa+M Erima
                                 to- ka- ka
                                                    -ma -himata -mona
tiwa
                                 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
carry AUX up
                   (man's name)
vt
       aux
                   npropm
                                 vt
                  ni
                                         bobi
                                               hinebana
fara
       me
            one
                         ya
                                  me
           one
                        ya
                                         bobi
                                               hi- na
fara
       me
                     ni
                                  me
                                                       -hibana
same+F
       3PL other+F to ADJU
                                  3PL.S
                                         slit
                                               OC AUX FUT+M
                                         vt
dem
       pron adj
                  prt prt
                                  pron
                                               aux
```

'He should have come sooner. He lifted Erima up to carry him, and took Erima back to his own people, for them to cut him up.'

```
197 Me bobi hinematamonaka

me bobi hi- na -himata -mona -ka

3PL.S slit OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

pron vt aux

'They cut him up.'
```

198	Faya	me	bobi	hine	,	me	me fanawi	me	bata
	faya	me	bobi	hi- na+M		me	me fanawi	me	bata
	so	3PL.S	slit	OC AUX		3PL	women	3PL.S	surprise
	conj	pron	vt	aux		pron	nf	pron	vt

karenehe

ka- na -ra -hene -he COMIT AUX NEG IRR+F DUP

'They cut him up. They didn't surprise the women.'

199	Yama	hoti	howa	ı	ton	i		ya	me	me		
	yama	hoti	howa	a	to	- na.N	IOM+F	ya	me	me		
	thing	hole+F	be o	open	СН	AUX		ADJU	3PL.O	3PL.S		
	nf	pn	vi		nm			prt	pron	pron		
hiwe	emetemone	?		me		yaka	na	mati	ahi			
hi-	awa -h	emete -	mone	me		yaka	na+F	mati	ahi			
OC	see FF	N+F R	EP+F	3PL.	S	walk	AUX	3PL.S	then			
vt				pron		vi	aux	pron	dem			
'The	'They saw them walking, through the openings in the trees.'											

200 Aa		hiba ,	faya	me	aba	me	me	kama	
aa		hiba ´	faya	me	ahaba+F	me	me	ka	-ma+F
(p	ause)	wait	so	3PL.S	die	3PL.S	3PL.S	go/come	back
in	terj	interj	conj	pron	nm	pron	pron	vi	
me	kobo	nama	me	wiwii	nama	toemet	temone		
me	kobo	na -ma+F	me	wi-	wina -ma	to- 1	ha -hem	ete -mone	Э
3PL.S	arrive	AUX back	3PL.	S DUP	live back	CH Z	AUX FP.N	I+F REP+1	Ŧ
pron	vi	aux	pron	vi		aux			
trol 11	• 1 201	1 .	1 11.	1 .1					

'They died. They came and arrived, and lived over this way.'

201	Faya	me	winama	me ,	me	wiwinama	toa	me
	faya	me	wina -ma+F	me	me	wi- wina -ma	to- ha+F	me
	so	3PL.S	live back	3PL.S	3PL.S	DUP live back	CH AUX	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi	pron	pron	vi	aux	pron

yana	na	m	e	tokon	natasa			me	me	tabori
yana	na+	F me)	to-	ka	-ma	-tasa+F	me	me	tabori
get up	AUX	31	PL.S	away	go/come	back	again	3PL.S	3PL.POSS	place+F
vi	aux	pı	con	vi				pron	pron	pn
me	hiwan	natasa				me	winami		tabiyo	
me	hi-	to-	awa	-ma	-tasa+F	me	wina -	ma.NFIN	tabiyo	
3PL.S	OC	away	see	back	again	3PL.5	S live b	ack	absence	
pron	vt					pron	vi		pn	

'They lived back this way. They lived there, and they got up and went back there and saw their village, to see if they were living there again.'

202 Afi tibana
afi ti- na -bana
bathe 2SG.S AUX FUT
vi aux

'Are you going to bathe?'

203 *Faya* me me tabori yobi hikana faya me me tabori me yobi hi- kana+F 3PL 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S go back and forth OC COMIT AUX conj pron pron pron vi aux pn me kamaremetemoneke me -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke me ka 3PL.POSS 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'They were always going to their village, but they didn't come back.'

204 Me tokomemetemoneke

me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'They went away.'

205 *Faya* me tokoma me fawa tosama faya me to- ka -ma+F me fawa to- na -kosa -ma+F CH AUX middle back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear conj pron νi pron νi aux me me wiwinama toa me me kakaba

wi- wina -ma me to- ha+F me me ka- kaba 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live back CH AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat pron pron pron vi aux pron vt

hiemetemone aba mati haro hi- to- ha -hemete -mone aba mati haaro OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F fish sp 3PL that one+F pron aux nm dem

'They went away, and disappeared. They lived over this way, and ate them, the aba fish.'

206	Fay	a	aba		me	me		kakab	oa	tod	ı		me	•	faya	aba	
	fay	a	aba		me	me		ka-	kab	a to	—	ha+F	me			aba	
	so		fish	sp	3PL.O	3P	L.S	DUP	eat	CH	[AUX	3PL.S		so	fish	sp
	con	j	nm		pron	pr	on	vt		au	X		pron		conj	nm	
me		me	?	kaka	ba	toem	etemo	ne				okaki					
me		me		ka-	kaba	to-	ha	-heme	ete	-mone	9	0-	ka	aki			
3PL	.0	3 P	L.S	DUP	eat	СН	AUX	FP.N-	+F	REP+I	?	1SG.S	POSS	gran	dmothe	r	
pro	n	pr	on	vt		aux						nf					

amake

aati

toimaro

```
to- ha.NOM+F -maro
a- ati
                                  ama -ke
          CH AUX
                                  be DECL+F
DUP sav
                         FP.E+F
          aux
'They ate aba fish, my grandmother used to say.'
207 Okiti
                                   atimona
                                                 okaki
                                                              aki
    0-
              ka
                   iti
                                   ati -mona
                                                 0-
                                                        ka
    1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
                                   voice REP+M
                                                 1SG.S POSS grandmother
    nm
                                  pn
                                                 nf
hihiyara
             toimaro
                                      amake
                                      ama -ke
             to- ha.NOM+F -maro
hi- hiyara
             CH AUX
                            FP.E+F
                                          DECL+F
DUP tell
                                     be
77 T
              aux
                                      77.0
'My grandmother told what my grandfather said.'
208 Aki
                  hibaka
                                    aki
                                                   hibaka
                                                                          aki
                             ya
                                                             ya
    aki
                  hibaka
                             ya
                                    aki
                                                   hibaka
                                                             ya
                                                                    me
                                                                          aki
    grandmother
                  where
                             ADJU grandmother
                                                   where
                                                             ADJU
                                                                    3PL
                                                                          grandmother
                   interrog prt
                                    nf
                                                   interrog prt
                                                                    pron nf
hibaka
                         winarimetemoneya
                 me
          ya
hibaka
                         wina -ri -mete -mone -ya
          ya
                 me
          ADJU
                 3PL.S live CQ+F FP.N+F REP+F now
                         vi
interrog prt
                 pron
"Grandma, where did they live?"
209 Me
                                                     ahi
            winimetemone
                                        amani
                                                                           Mamoriya
                                                                ee
            wina.NOM+F -mete -mone
                                                                           Mamoriya
                                        ama -ni
                                                     ahi
    me
                                                                9
            live
                        FP.N+F REP+F
                                            BKG+F
    3PL.S
                                        be
                                                     there
                                                                           Mamoriá
                                                                 (pause)
    pron
                                        VC
                                                     dem
            77 i
                                                                interj
                                                                           npropf
Mamoriya
                  iteheni
                                         Siraba
                                                                           Misao
           ka
                                                             aa
Mamoriya
                  iteheni
                                         Siraba
                                                                          Misao
           ka
                                                             aa
           POSS
                  what's the name
                                         (name of stream)
                                                                          Missão
Mamoriá
                                                             (pause)
npropf
           prt
                  nm
                                         npropf
                                                             interj
                                                                           npropf
Misao
         ini
                  e
                                te
Misao
         ini
                  ee
                                na
                                     -tee
Missão
        name+F
                  (question)
                                AUX HAB
         pn
                  vi
                                aux
'They lived at the thing of the Mamoriá...Siraba...Missão...what is the name of the Missão?'
210 Bia Fa
                           Bia Fa
                                                                         ihi
                                                   00
                                                             me
    Bia Faa
                           Bia Faa
                                                   ee
                                                             me
                                                                         ihi
    (name of stream)
                           (name of stream)
                                                   (pause)
                                                             3PL.POSS
                                                                        victim of+F
                                                   interj
                                                             pron
    npropf
                           npropf
                                                                         pn
                        ama Bia Fa
itimetemone
                                                         ahi
                                                                    Bia Fa
                                                  ya
iti -hemete -mone
                        ama Bia Faa
                                                         ahi
                                                                    Bia Faa
                                                  ya
exist FP.N+F REP+F
                        SEC
                             (name of stream)
                                                  ADJU
                                                         there
                                                                    (name of stream)
77 i
                        sec npropf
                                                         dem
                                                                    npropf
                                                  prt
Bia Fa
                    kaya
                           ni
                                     kowani
                                                   ka
                                                         ya
Bia Faa
                    kaya na.NFIN
                                    kowani
                                                   ka
                                                         ya
(name of stream)
                           AUX
                                                   LOC
                    lie
                                     other side
                                                         ADJU
                    vi
                           aux
                                     nf
                                                   prt
                                                         prt
'Biya Fa, Biya Fa...they killed people at the Biya Fa, on the other side of the Biya Fa.'
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211 *Yati* me taborimetemone watine faro vati me tabori -mete -mone wata -ne faaro place+F FP.N+F REP+F Apurinã 3PL.POSS be located CONT+F that+F npropm pron vi dem pn

'The old village of the Apurinãs is there.'

212 *Fava* me me ihi itimetemone fahi ama ihi faya me me iti.NOM+F -mete -mone ama fahi so 3PL 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F REP+F be there pn vi dem pron pron VC. okaki ati nimaro ati na.NOM+F \circ ka aki -maro

o- ka aki ati na.NOM+F -maro 1SG.S POSS grandmother say AUX FP.E+F nf vt aux

'They killed people there, my grandmother said.'

213 Erimamatamonaka

Erima -mata -mona -ka (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M npropm

'He was Erima.'

214 Erima Erima , Erima wabori
Erima Erima Erima Erima wabori
(man's name) (man's name) (man's name) 3SG.POSS brother-in-law npropm npropm nm

yoha yama ne ra yati me fora fora yoha yama yati me na+M ra climb tree sp AUX 0 Apurinã 3PL.S shoot with blowgun vt prt npropm aux pron

nemetemoneni

na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'Erima...the Apurinãs shot his brother-in-law with a blowgun when he was climbing a yoha tree.'

215 *Faya* me tabori me ki me me me faya me me me me tabori me kii 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S look at conj pron pron pron pron pn pron

hinamatasi kama kobo nama me va hi- to- na -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya me ka -ma+F kobo na -ma+F away AUX back again go/come back OC ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX back prt pron vi vi aux aux

kakamaki toaremetemone amake me me ka- ka ama -ke -makI to- ha -ra -hemete -mone me me 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP go/come following СН AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F pron aux pron vi

'When they went and looked at their village, they came back and arrived. They never came back.'

216	Haha	me	ahabi	tami	ka	•	me
	haaha	me	ahaba.NFIN	tama.NOM+F	ka	,	me
	this+F	3PL.S	die	be many	because		3PL.S
	dem	pron	vi	vi	prt		pron

kamakira	me	me	yoyobi			kana	
ka -makI -ra+F	me	me	yo- yobi			ka-	na
go/come following NEG	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP go b	ack and	forth	COMI	T AUX
vi	pron	pron	vi			aux	
hiemetemoneke		me	kamaki			ya	me
hi- to- ha -hemete -mone	-ke	me	ka	-makI	.NOM	ya	me
OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	DECL+	F 3PL.	S go/com	e follo	wing	ADJU	3PL.O
aux		pron	ı vi			prt	pron
me hikahitihabone		mati	, wati	me	hawaha	awa	
me hi- kahiti -ha	bone	mati	wati	me	hawa-	hawa	
3PL.S OC take first INT	'+F	3PL.O	arrow	3PL.S	DUP	be fi	nished
pron vt		pron	nm	pron	vi		
toniha toemetemone			mati .				
to- niha- ha to- ha -h	nemete	-mone	mati				
CH CAUS AUX CH AUX FF	P.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S				
aux aux			pron				

'Because many of them died, they did not come back. They went there after them many times, so that if they came back they would surprise them. They had gotten arrows ready.'

217	217 <i>Wati</i>		me		naw	aria				iha	me		to		na	
	wati		me i		na- waa		-rI+F			iha	me		too		na+F	
	arrow		3PL.S CA		CAU	S stan	d rais	ed surf	ace	plant	sp	3PL.S		pulv	erize	AUX
	nm		pro	n	vt					nm		pron		vt		aux
me	me v		wati me		were		na	me	,	yati	m	e	me		noki	
me		wat	i	me		were	na+F	me		yati	me	9	me	<u> </u>	noki	
3PL	.S	arr	OW	3PL	.S	coat	AUX	3PL.S		Apurinã	31	PL.O	3 P	L.S	wait	for
pro	n	nm		pro	n	vt	aux	pron		npropm	pı	con	pr	on	vt	
na		mati														
na+	F	mati														
AUX		3PL.	S													
aux		pron														

'They put points on arrows. They pulverized iha poison. They coated the arrows with poison, as they waited for the Apurinãs.'

218	218 <i>Yati</i>		me m		me	n	nonoki			toime	temo	ama	ahi					
	yati		me m		me		no- no		ki		to- ha.NOM+		NOM+F	'-mete		-mone	ama	ahi
	Apurir	ıã :	3PL.O		3PL.S		DUP wa		it for		СН	CH AUX		FP.N+F		REP+F	be	then
	npropn	ı j	pron		pron		vt				aux					VC	dem	
	okobi					aati			oem	ari				amake				
	0-	k	ka abi		i a-		at	i t	0-	ha.	NOM+M -n		mari	ama	ama -ke			
	1SG.POS	SS P	POSS fa		ther D		JP say		CH AUX		K FP.		P.E+M	M SEC I		ECL+F		
	nm					vt		а	ux					sec				
okaki							aati towamaroke											
0-	ka	ak	i			a-	ati	to	–	ha	-har	marc	-ke					
1S0	G.S POS	S gr	andr	noth	ner	DUP	say	CH	I	AUX	FP.I	E+F	DECL	+F				
nf						vt		au	lX									

'They waited a long time for the Apurinãs, my father used to say, my grandmother used to say.'