### **Free Translation**

The Brazilian, Tene Erebo, those people, the Banawás. They were Banawás.

"It was my cousin, whose food I used to eat. They shot them, you haven't seen it," he said, the Banawá. "They shot my cousin, don't you know? I'm going to get revenge for my cousin," he said. He came, and arrived. He arrived, and slept. "The Brazilians shot my cousin and the others," he said.

"Yes, your cousin and the others died. They said your cousin and the others died."

"We don't like them. They are all going to die," he said. "We will not have pity on them. We don't like mean people." He said this as he was going to leave.

"Come on, let's see them."

The Brazilians were tapping latex. All of them were tapping latex. Their boss went away. My father was not big. My father was small. He was with his older sister. She was there, and was going to see them fighting the Brazilians. My grandmother was there with her grandson.

They arrived. They waited for them. They came. They were going to pour out the latex. They went after them, and killed one of them. My uncle was there, too, with a shotgun. The Brazilian came back, and went up into the house. As he was standing talking to them, my uncle shot him, Firisa. Firisa shot him, and he fell. Then they killed the Brazilians with pieces of wood. They died.

There was a Brazilian in the house eating, and he heard something and came, and he pulled out a knife. He pulled out a knife, and scared them away. He scared them away, and they scattered. They came into the house after him, and when he saw them coming, he jumped out. My father used to say that he jumped out.

My father was not big, he was this big. My father was not big. He was with his older sister. He saw the Brazilian coming toward him. The Brazilian jumped out in his direction, and landed on the ground. The Brazilian was waving the knife back and forth. As he was waving the knife, Komasa hit him with an arrow on his back. When Komasa hit him with the arrow, he went off wounded. When they followed him, he gave the knife he was holding, because he was feeling the effect of the *iha* poison. He gave the knife.

My father started to run away, but there was a bent over guava tree. My father was concentrating on the Brazilian, and when he went to duck, his forehead hit on the tree, wakai, beo. My father lay on the ground, unconscious. He got up, and sat there looking around, like a brown capuchin sitting on the ground, he used to say, a capuchin whose head had been bashed. My father's forehead stuck out, he used to say, because it was swollen. He used to say it stuck out because it was swollen. He was small. His older sister laughed at him.

Then they caught the Brazilian women, to be their wives. They caught them to be their wives. "She is going to be my wife."

"Why do you want her?" The older brother of one of them attacked. His older brother killed the woman who he wanted to be his wife.

"You killed my wife, and I will kill you, too," he said. "I'm going to kill you, too," he said. After the Banawás killed people, they came back.

She had died [i.e. the cousin mentioned at the beginning].

They took away manioc meal. They carried the manioc meal and came back. He was Tene Erebo. They fought against Tene Erebo. They fought against him.

He went to the Purus and did not come back. They waited for him, but he didn't come back. He came back during the night. He came back, and arrived. He was upset, and he shot off a gun during the night. They waited for him. They stayed several days at the edge of the river waiting for him, but he didn't come. He shot off a gun. They got up early because of him. He went away. After he went away, they looked at his place. They called him, but he didn't call.

They came back, and arrived back. There was fighting on two occasions.

### **Interlinear Presentation**

1 <b>Yara</b> yara Brazilia npropm	, an	<b>Tene Erebo</b> Tene Erebo (man's name) npropm	,	<i>ee</i> ee (pause) interj	<b>ha</b> haa DEM dem	<b>ha</b> haa DEM dem	<i>mati</i> mati 3PL pron	<i>haro</i> haaro that one+F dem
<i>bato yafi</i> bato yafi Banawá npropm	<i>mati</i> mati 3PL pron , <b>Tene</b> B	Crebo, those people,	the	5			1	

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2 Bato yafi memetemoneke
bato yafi me -mete -mone -ke
Banawá 3PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
npropm pron
'They were Banawás.'
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3 Ee
               okasima
   60
               0-
                         ka
                              asima
               1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
   (pause)
   interj
               nf
okasima
               asima
         ka
\circ -
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf
okasima
                                                 tafe
                                                         okobate
0-
         ka
               asima
                                                 tafe
                                                         0-
                                                               kaba -tee
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
                                                 food+F
                                                         1SG.S eat HAB
nf
                                                 pn
                                                         vt
okasima
                                tafe
                                        okobate
                                                           me
                                                                  me
                                                                          tao
         ka
              asima
                                tafe
                                        o- kaba -tee
0-
                                                          me
                                                                  me
                                                                          tao
1SG.POSS POSS younger sister food+F
                                        1SG.S eat HAB
                                                           3PL.O
                                                                  3PL.S
                                                                          shoot
                                                                  pron
nf
                               pn
                                        vt.
                                                           pron
                                                                          vt.
nani
            awaraharo
                              ati
                                   nematamonaka
                                                                  ee
                                                               ,
na -hani
            awa -ra -haaro
                              ati
                                   na -himata -mona -ka
                                                                  ee
           see NEG IP.E+F
                              say
AUX IP.N+F
                                   AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                                   (pause)
aux
           result
                              vt
                                    aux
                                                                   interj
bato yafi
           .
bato yafi
Banawá
npropm
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"It was my cousin, whose food I used to eat. They shot them, you haven't seen it," he said, the Banawá.'

4 Okasima me tao nini na -ni 0ka asima me tao 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin shoot AUX BKG+F 3PL.S nf pron vt aux awararo awa -ra -haaro see NEG IP.E+F result "They shot my cousin, don't you know?" owaba 5 Okasima manakone -haba  $\circ$ ka asima manakone 0awa 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin revenge 1SG.S avenge FUT+F nf pn vt nematamonaka ama o ati , ama oati na -himata -mona -ka say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M SEC 1SG.S sec prt vt aux "I'm going to get revenge for my cousin," he said.' 6 Faya kobo kamaki kamaki namaki , faya -makI+M -makI+M kobo na -makI+M ka ka so go/come following go/come following arrive AUX following conj vi vi vi aux kobo namakimatamonaka

kobo na -makI -himata -mona -ka arrive AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi aux 'He came, and arrived.'

7	Kobo	nama	ıki		kobo	nama				
	kobo	na	-makI+M	,	kobo	na	-makI	-himata	-mona	-ka
	arrive	AUX	following		arrive	AUX	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	vi	aux			vi	aux				
'U/	and and	omizz	ad '							

'He came, and arrived.

<i>obo</i> obo rrive i	na AUX	-makI+I follow:		<i>amo</i> amo sleep vi	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	,				
ma										
ka	ì	asima								
POSS PC	DSS	younger	fema	le para	allel	cousin				
ma							yara	me	me	tao
ka	ì	asima					yara	me	me	tao
POSS PC	DSS	younger	fema	le para	allel	cousin	Brazilian	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot
							npropm	pron	pron	vt
neke		,	ati	nemai	tamonan	e				
-hamone	e −k		ati	. na	-himat	a -mona	-ne			
REP+F	DE	CL+F	say	v AUX	FP.N+M	I REP+M	BKG+M			
			vt	aux						
	obo rrive i POSS PC na ka POSS PC neke -hamone	obo na rrive AUX i aux ma ka POSS POSS na ka POSS POSS neke -hamone -k	bbo na -makI+H rrive AUX follow: i aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger na ka asima POSS POSS younger neke , -hamone -ke	bbo na -makI+M rrive AUX following i aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger fema na ka asima POSS POSS younger fema neke , ati -hamone -ke ati REP+F DECL+F say	bbo na -makI+M amo rrive AUX following sleep i aux vi ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female para ka asima POSS POSS younger female para neke , ati neman -hamone -ke ati na REP+F DECL+F say AUX	bbo na -makI+M amo na+M rrive AUX following sleep AUX i aux vi aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel na ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel neke , ati nematamonan -hamone -ke ati na -himat REP+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M	bbo na -makI+M amo na+M rrive AUX following sleep AUX i aux vi aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin na ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin neke , ati nematamonane -hamone -ke ati na -himata -mona REP+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M	bbo na -makI+M amo na+M rrive AUX following sleep AUX i aux vi aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin Brazilian npropm meke , ati nematamonane . -hamone -ke ati na -himata -mona -ne REP+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	bbo na -makI+M amo na+M rrive AUX following sleep AUX i aux vi aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin prop meke -hamone -ke REP+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M ma prop meke REP+M BKG+M	bbo na -makI+M amo na+M rrive AUX following sleep AUX i aux vi aux ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin ma ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin poss POSS younger female parallel cousin me ka asima POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin me me Brazilian npropm me me SPL.O SPL.S pron pron me me REP+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

'He arrived, and slept. "The Brazilians shot my cousin and the others," he said.'

9 Ee asima asima ee 2SG.POSS.younger female parallel cousin yes interj nf asima abamoneke ahi ahaba -hamone -ke asima ahi 2SG.POSS.younger female parallel cousin die REP+F DECL+F then vi dem nf "Yes, your cousin and the others died." 10 Asima abamone ati me ahaba -hamone asima me ati REP+F 2SG.POSS.younger female parallel cousin die 3PL.S say pron nf τzi vt narake na -hara -ke AUX IP.E+F DECL+F aux "They said your cousin and the others died." nofarawaro 11 Yama nofa -rawa -haaro yama thing like F.PL IP.E+F nf result "We don't like them." 12 Yama abarawaba ati awaraware nematamona ahaba -rawa -haba awa -rawa -ra+M na -himata -mona ati yama die F.PL FUT+F see F.PL NEG AUX FP.N+M REP+M thing say vi vt nf vt aux "They are all going to die," he said.' 13 Me tinofahi tinofa -hi me 2SG.S like IMP+F 3PL.O pron vt "We will not have pity on them." 14 **E** hama nofate ama ee hama+F nofa -tee ama lin.s be mean like HAB SEC pron vi result sec "We don't like mean people." 15 **E** hama nofatera aware aware ee hama+F nofa -tee -ra+F awa -ra+M awa -ra+M 1IN.S be mean like HAB NEG see NEG see NEG pron vi result vt vt "We don't like mean people." 16 *Faya* yana toneba atimatamonaka ahi faya yana to- na -hiba ati -mata -mona -ka ahi start CH AUX FUT+M voice short time REP+M DECL+M so then conj vi aux pn dem 'He said this as he was going to leave.'

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17 Hima	•	me	е	aawa	ı	nama	nta	
hima	<i></i>	me	ee	a-	awa	na	-mata	
let's go		3PL.O	1IN.S	DUP	see	AUX	short	time
interj		pron	pron	vt		aux		
"Come on, let's se	ee t	hem."'						

18	Yara	sirika	me	siri	nemetemone
	yara	sirika	me	siri	na -hemete -mone
	Brazilian	rubber tree sp	3PL.S	scrape	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
	npropm	nm	pron	vt	aux
177L	· Due -ili · · · · ·				

'The Brazilians were tapping latex.'

19 <i>Sirika</i> siril rubbe nm		me me sp 3PL.: pron	<i>siri</i> siri S scrape vt	<b>na</b> na+F AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL. pror		<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	<i>nafi</i> naf all pn		L.POSS	<i>nafi</i> nafi all pn
<i>sirika</i> sirika rubber nm	tree sp	<i>siri</i> siri scrape vt	<i>nani</i> na −hani AUX IP.N+ aux		<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	<i>ka</i> ka PO: pri		<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	
<i>bataro</i> bataro boss nm	vi	a -m b/come ba	a -hino ck IP.N+M	-ho DUP							

'All of them were tapping latex. Their boss went away.'

20	Me	ka	bataro	tokom	tokomematamonane						
	me	ka	bataro	to-	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ne		
	3pl	POSS	boss	away	go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M		
	pron	prt	nm	vi							
'Th	eir bos	s went a	way.'								

21 *Okobiteba* o- ka abi -tee -ba nafi -ra -himata -mona 1SG.POSS POSS father HAB FUT be big NEG FP.N+M REP+M nm vi

'My father was not big.'

22 <b>Okobi</b>			iisi		ne .	hinakati			ya
0-	ka	abi	i-	isi	na+M ́	hinaka	ı ati		уа
1SG.PC	OSS POS	S father	DUP	be small	AUX	3SG.PO	SS olde	r sister	ADJU
nm			vi		aux	nf			prt
fama	, n	ie me	me	yara	me	me	mowa	hinabone	
fama.LIS	т́т	e me	me	yara	me	me	mowa	hi- na	-habone
be with	3	PL 3PL	3pl	Brazilian	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	OC AUX	INT+F
vi	p	ron pro	n pron	npropm	pron	pron	vt	aux	
mera a	wabone	sav	viha	okak	i		sa	wiha	
			wi+F	, a	ka a	aki	0.0	awi+F	
mera a	.wa -hak	one sa	WTTL	0-	Kd d	aki	50	IW I I I	
-	wa -hak ee INT+		prese	-	.S POSS			e present	
3PL.O s			prese	-				e present	
3PL.O s	ee INT-	-F be	prese	nt 1SG	.S POSS o		ther be	e present	
3PL.O s pron v	ee INT-	-F be vi	prese	nt 1SG nf	.S POSS o	grandmot	ther be	e present	
3PL.O s pron v <i>hinakanoti</i>	ee INT- t noti	-F be vi <i>famu</i> fam	prese	nt 1SG nf , <i>famemeter</i>	.S POSS o none -hemete	grandmot	ther be	e present	
3PL.O s pron v <i>hinakanoti</i> hinaka	ee INT- t noti	-F be vi <i>famu</i> fam	prese ø a+F	nt 1SG nf , <i>famemeten</i> fama	.S POSS o none -hemete	grandmot -mone	ther be	e present	

'My father was small. He was with his older sister. She was there, and was going to see them fighting the Brazilians. My grandmother was there with her grandson.'

23 Faya faya so conj 'They arriv	pron	<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	3PL.S	<i>kobo</i> kobo arrive vi	<i>nemetemone</i> na -hemete AUX FP.N+F aux	e -mone		
24 <i>Me</i>	kobo	o n	a me	me	noki	hina	me	
me	kob	o n	a+F me	me	noki	hi- na+1	F me	
3PL.S	5 arr	ive A	UX 3PL	.0 3PL.S	wait for	OC AUX	3PL.S	
pron	vi	a	ux pro	n pron	vt	aux	pron	
		me	sir	ika	fehene	me	<i>so</i>	
ka	-ma+F	me	, si	rika	fehene		S00	
go/come	back	3PL.	S ru	bber tree	sp latex+M	1 3PL.S	pour out	
vi						pron		
nabone		me,	me	me h	inakamakia			me
na -hai		me		me h	ni- to- na-	ka	-makI+F	me
AUX INT	+F	3pl	3PL.O	3PL.S O	C away CAU	S go/come	e following	3PL.O
aux		pron	pron	pron v	't			pron
owa	owa	me	hinabow	ve	, owa	me		
owa	owa	me	hi- na	a- aboha+		me		
one+M	one+M	3PL.S	OC CA	AUS die	one+M	3PL.S		
adj	adj	pron	vt		adj	pron		
hinabowen	natamon	a						
hi- na-	aboh	a -him	ata -mon	.a				
OC CAU	S die	FP.N	+M REP+	М				
vt								

'They arrived. They waited for them. They came. They were going to pour out the latex. They went after them, and killed one of them.'

25 Yama	hahi		okobisebisa	!			sawihi		
yama	haah	i	0-	ka	abise	-bisa	sawi+M	,	
thing	this	one+M	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	also	be present	-	
nf	dem		nm				vi		
okobise			okobisebisa				sawihari		
0-	ka a	abise	0-	ka	abise	-bisa	sawi	-haari	
1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	also	be present	IP.E+M	
nm			nm				vi		
'My uncle w	vas also t	there.'							

26	Okobisebisa			sawihi	taokana	tama	kanahi
	0-	ka abis	e -bisa 🏾	sawi+M	taokana	tama	ka- na+M
	1SG.POSS	POSS uncl	e also	be present	shotgun	hold onto	COMIT AUX
	nm			vi	nf	vt	aux
	yara	kamemata	monaka				
,	yara	ka	-ma -hima	ita -mona -ka	L		
	Brazilian	go/come	back FP.N+	M REP+M DEC	CL+M		
	npropm	vi					

'My uncle was there, too, with a shotgun. The Brazilian came back.'

a+M
to

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hikanematamonakaFirisaFirisahi- ka- na -himata -mona -kaFirisaFirisaOC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M(man's name)(man's name)auxnpropmnpropmto- ha -haari.CH be IP.E+M.vc'The Brazilian came back, and went up into the house. As he was standing talking to them, my uncle shot
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him, Firisa.'

28 <i>Firisa</i> Firisa (man's name	tao tao ) shoot	<i>hikane</i> hi- ka- na+M OC COMIT AUX	sone , sona+M fall	<i>faya</i> faya so	<b>yara</b> yara Brazilian	<i>me</i> me 3PL
npropm	vt	aux netemone	vi	conj	npropm	pron
me me	waka na	-hemete -mone	<i>fahi awa</i> fahi awa	<i>ya</i> ya	•	
3PL.O 3PL.S	kill AUX	K FP.N+F REP+F	then wood	ADJU		
pron pron	vt au		dem nf	prt		

'Firisa shot him, and he fell. Then they killed the Brazilians with pieces of wood.'

	<b>Awa</b> awa	<b>ya</b> ya	<i>me</i> me	me me	<b>waka</b> waka	<i>hina</i> hi–	na+F	<i>me</i> me		<i>aba</i> ahaba	ı+F	<i>me</i> me	
Ţ	wood	ADJU	3PL.	O 3PL.	S kill	OC	AUX	3P1	L.S	die		3PL.	S
1	nf	prt	pron	pron	vt	aux		pro	on	vi		pror	1
yara		,	warebis	e				tafabi	se		nara	ıbo	hawino
yar	a	<i>.</i>	waa	-rI		-bis	a+M	tafa	-bi	sa+M	nar	abo	hawi -hino
Bra	zilia	an	stand	raised	surface	also		eat	als	0	ear	+M	work IP.N+M
npr	opm		vi					vi			pn		vi
kam	aki			yimawa	soba	to	witimat	tamona	ıka				
ka		-makI	+M	yimawa	soba	to	o- n	a -w	∕itI	-hima	ta -	-mona	-ka
go/	come	follo	wing	knife	pull ou	it av	vay A	UX ou	ıt	FP.N+	M F	REP+M	DECL+M
vi				nf	vt	aı	IX						
ahi													
ahi													
the	n												
dem													
'The	w kille	d them	with nie	ces of woo	d They die	d The	re was	a Braz	vilian	in the h	01166	esting	and he heard

'They killed them with pieces of wood. They died. There was a Brazilian in the house eating, and he heard something and came, and he pulled out a knife.'

30 Yim	awa	soba	towi	ti		mera	е
yin	nawa	soba	to-	na	-witI+M	mera	ee
kni	fe	pull out	t awa	y AUX	out	3PL.O	yell
nf		vt	aux			pron	vi
nimatan	nonak	a					
niha-	na	-himata	-mona	-ka			
CAUS	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+N	ľ		
aux							
111	1. 1	1 . 1 : C	3 3				

'He pulled out a knife, and scared them away.'

31	Mera	е	ni		me	tokarik	me			
	mera	ee	niha-	na+M	me	to-	ka	-ri	-kosa+F	me
	3PL.O	yell	CAUS	AUX	3PL.S	away	go/come	DISTR	middle	3PL.S
	pron	vi	aux		pron	vi				pron

,

hinakimisamaki kamaki me me awe , hi- na- ka -misa -makI+M -makI.NFIN me me ka awa+M 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come up following 3PL.S go/come following see pron vt pron vi vt towitimatamonaka yora . to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka yora jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi aux

'He scared them away, and they scattered. They came into the house after him, and when he saw them coming, he jumped out.'

32	Yora	towitin	natam	ona			okobi	aati			
	yora	to-	na	-witI	-himata	-mona	0-	ka	abi	a-	ati
	jump	away	AUX	out	FP.N+M	REP+M	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	DUP	say
	vi	aux					nm			vt	
13.0	C			1							

'My father used to say that he jumped out.

33	Okobi					okobi				nafire			
	0-	ka	ì	abi		0-	ka	abi		nafi	-ra+M		
	1SG.PO	SS PC	DSS	fathe	er	1SG.POSS	POSS	fath	er	be big	NEG		
	nm					nm				vi			
oka	obi				е		na	toem	ata		awaka		ahi
0-		ka	ab.	i	ee		na	to-	ha	-himat	a awa	-ka	ahi
1S	G.POSS	POSS	fa	ther	be	similar	AUX	CH	AUX	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M	this
nm					vi		aux	aux			sec		dem

'My father was not big, he was this big.'

34 Okobi			okobi	•			nafire			
0-	ka	abi	0-		ka	abi	nafi	-ra+№	1	
1SG.POSS	POSS	fath	er 1SG.	POSS	POSS	fathe	r be big	s NEG		
nm			nm				vi			
hinakati			fame		yara		kaki		(	ıwe
hinaka at	:i		fama+N	1	yara	à	ka	-kI.N	IFIN a	awa+M
3SG.POSS of	lder s	ister	be wit	h	Braz	zilian	go/come	comin	ig :	see
nf			vi		npro	opm	vi		•	vt
yara	yora	nake		bao		naken	natamonaka			
yara	yora	na	-kI	bao		na	-kI -	himata	-mona	-ka
Brazilian	jump	AUX	coming	come	down	AUX	coming F	P.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
npropm	vi	aux		vi		aux				
ahi .										
ahi										
then										

'My father was not big. He was with his older sister. He saw the Brazilian coming toward him. The Brazilian jumped out in his direction, and landed on the ground.'

35	Yara	yimawa	feo	tonikimematamona							
	yara	yimawa	feo	to-	niha-	na	-kima	-himata	-mona	ahi	
	Brazilian	knife	move	CH	CAUS	AUX	two	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	
	npropm	nf	vi	aux						dem	
17T1.	. D		1: C. 1.	.1	1. C 1. 1						

'The Brazilian was waving the knife back and forth.'

36	Yimawa	feo	tonik	ime				Komasa		Komasa
	yimawa	feo	to-	niha-	na	-kima+M	,	Komasa	,	Komasa
	knife	move	CH	CAUS	AUX	two		(man's name)	)	(man's name)
	nf	vi	aux					npropm		npropm

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sa	hikanematamonaka	ahi	bari .
saa	hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka	ahi	bari
shoot with arrow	OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then	back
vt	aux	dem	pn
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		

'As he was waving the knife, Komasa hit him with an arrow on his back.'

37 Komasa	sa	hikane	towake	me
Komasa	saa	hi- ka- r	na+M to- ka-	ka+M me
(man's name)	shoot with ar	row OC COMIT A	AUX away COMIT	go/come 3PL.S
npropm	vt	aux	vi	pron
hekiyo	, fara yi	imawa tama	hinaha ta	
hi- ka- kiyo+M	fara y	imawa tama	hi- na+F taa	1
OC COMIT chase	same+F k	nife hold onto	o OC AUX giv	ve
vt	dem n	f vt	aux vt	
nematamona	iha	komene awahar	i.	
na -himata -mon	a íha	komene awa	-haari	
AUX FP.N+M REP+	M plant sp	pain+M feel	IP.E+M	
aux	nm	pn vt		

'When Komasa hit him with the arrow, he went off wounded. When they followed him, he gave the knife he was holding, because he was feeling the effect of the iha poison.'

38	Faya	yimawa	ta	ne .	ok	obi				okol	bi		
	faya	yimawa	taa	na+M	0-		ka	abi	,	0-		ka	abi
	SO	knife	give	AUX	15	G.POSS	POSS	father		1SG	.POSS	POSS	father
	conj	nf	vt	aux	nm	l				nm			
kan	a ni		toke		ok	obi			kar	ıa	ni		
kai	na na	.NFIN	to- ka	+M ,	0-	-	ka	abi	ka	na	na.NF	ΊN	
ru	n AU	Х	away go	/come	15	G.POSS	POSS	father	ru	n	AUX		
vi	au	х	vi		nn	n			vi		aux		
tok	ebona			kaira		kaira	kaya	namatai	mon	a			ama
to	- ka	-h	ibona '	, kaira	,	kaira	kaya	na.NON	M+I	-ma	ita -	mona	ama
awa	ay go/	come IN	T+M	guava		guava	lie	AUX		FP.	N+M R	EP+M	be
vi				nm		nm	vi	aux					VC
ahi													
ah	i .												
the	en												
der	n												
•	-			_				_					

'He gave the knife. My father started to run away, but there was a bent over guava tree.'

39	<b>Kaira</b> kaira guava nm	<i>kaya</i> kaya lie vi	<b>ne</b> na+M AUX aux	<i>okobi</i> o- 1SG.PC nm	DSS	-	abi fath	er	,	<b>yara</b> yara Brazil npropm		<i>noko</i> noko attract pn	ion	
ton	ihe		е	1	kabo	te		nebor	ıa	1 1	habi	1	kabo	te
СН	- niha- CAUS	ha+M be	turn	back A	na AUX	-kabo quick		-		ibona T+M	÷ .	under	na AUX	-kabote quickly
vt			vi	ć	aux			aux			vi		aux	
net	ona	n	ioko	yoari		karime	metem	ione			amak	2	ahi	,
na	-hibo	na n	noko	yowahai	ri	karim	a -h	emet	е	-mone	ama	-ke	ahi	-
AU	X INT+M	f	lace+M	eyebrow	N	hit	FP	.N+F		REP+F	SEC	DECL+F	ther	l
au	x	p	n	pn		vi					sec		dem	
wal	kai		ŀ	beo										
wa	kai		k	beo										
	ound of und	hitt	2.	(sound c sound	of h	itting	g gro	ound)						

'There was a bent over guava tree. My father was concentrating on the Brazilian, and when he went to duck, his forehead hit on the tree, wakai, beo.'

40 <i>Okobi</i> o- 1SG.PC	ka abi DSS POSS father	<i>abowi</i> abohi dead body	<i>home</i> homa+M lie on grou	, und	<i>okobi</i> o- 1SG.POSS	ka POSS	abi father	
nm		pn	vi		nm			
abowi	homematamonak	1		ahi				
abohi	homa	-himata -m	10na -ka	ahi				
dead body	y lie on groun	d FP.N+M RE	CP+M DECL+M	then				
pn	vi			dem				
'My father lay on the ground, unconscious.'								

41Okobiabowihomeyananamisameo-kaabiabohihoma+Myanana-misa-ma+M 1SG.POSS POSS father dead body lie on ground get up AUX up back nm pn vi vi aux yama yama ki ne itematamonaka yowi fana yama yama kii na+M ita -himata -mona -ka yowi fana thing thing look at AUX pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M brown capuchin nf nf vt aux vt nf ita haro nariaatitoemarineyowi fanatatiita -haaro -naaria- ati to- ha -himari -neyowi fanatatisit IP.E+F ?DUP sayCHAUXFP.E+MBKG+Mbrown capuchinheadwiwiauxnfpn vi aux nf vt nareharo ha -haaro baa na -rI hit AUX raised surface IP.E+F

result aux

'My father lay on the ground unconscious. He got up, and sat there looking around, like a brown capuchin sitting on the ground, he used to say, a capuchin whose head had been bashed.'

42	2 Okobi			noko	yoari	ta	toner	tonematamona				
	0-	ka	abi	noko	yowahari	taa	to-	na	-himata	-mona		
	1SG.PC	SS POS	SS father	face+M	eyebrow	protrude	CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M		
	nm			pn	pn	vi	aux					
aat	uati toemari			ahi	fowaharo							
a-	ati	to- h	a -himar	i ahi	fowa -	-haaro						
DU	P say	CH A	UX FP.E+M	then	swell 1	IP.E+F						
vt		aux		dem	vi							

'My father's forehead stuck out, he used to say, because it was swollen.'

43 Fowaha	ta	tonemetem	one		okobi			na
fowa+F	taa	to- na	-hemet	e -mone	0-	ka	abi	ati na
swell	protrude	CH AUX	FP.N+F	' REP+F	1SG.POS	S POSS	father	say AUX
vi	vi	aux			nm			vt
hiamaro		ama 🚬	nafirari			noko		
hi- to- ha	-hamaro	ama Ó	nafi	-ra -ha	ari Ó	noko		
OC CH AUX	X FP.E+F	SEC	be big	NEG IP.	E+M	face+M		
aux		sec	vi			pn		
hinakati		haha	hikan	ebanoho				
hinaka at	ti	haaha	a hi-	ka- na	-hiba	-hino	-ho	
3SG.POSS of	lder siste	r laugh	OC	COMIT AU	X FUT+M	IP.N+M	DUP	
nf		vi	aux					
'II a wood to go						Idon ainto	n lough od	at hima !

He used to say it stuck out because it was swollen. He was small. His older sister laughed at him.

pn

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44	Faya	me	,	yara	fana	me,	yara	fana	me
	faya	me		yara	fana	me	yara	fana	me
	SO	3pl		Brazilian	female	3PL	Brazilian	female	e 3PL.S
	conj	pron		npropm	nf	pron	npropm	nf	pron
wat	tehemete	moneke			fahi ,	yara	fana	me	ka
wa	ta -h	emete	-m	one -ke	fahi Ó	yara	fana	me	ka
catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F					then	Brazilian female		3PL	POSS
vt					dem	npropm	n nf	pron	prt
yib	oteboneh	ie							
yil	oote -	bone ·	-he						
wi	fe I	NT+F I	DUP						
nf									
'Th	en they	caught	the	Brazilian wom	en, to be the	eir wives.'			
45	Me	ka	vih	otebone	me	watehemete	emoneni		

45	Me	ka	yibotebone		те	watehemetemoneni					
	me	ka	yibote	-bone	me	wata	-hemete	-mone	-ni		
	3pl	POSS	wife	INT+F	3PL.S	catch	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F		
	pron	prt	nf		pron	vi					

'They caught them to be their wives.'

46	Oko		yibote	oko		yiboteban	a	aman	ıi	
	0-	ka	yibote	0-	ka	yibote	-bana	ama	-ni	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	FUT	be	BKG+F	
	prt			prt		nf		VC		
11101		1								

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"She is going to be my wife."

47	Oko		yiboteban	a	amani		
	0-	ka	yibote	-bana	ama	-ni	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	FUT	be	BKG+F	
	prt		nf		VC		
11101	ha ia gaing ta	he more	if III				

""She is going to be my wife."

48	Oko		yiboteban	a	amar		
	0-	ka	yibote	-bana	ama	-ni	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	FUT	be	BKG+F	
	prt		nf		VC		
1110		1	·c				

"She is going to be my wife."

49	Hino	fine		hiran		
	hi- nofa		-ne	hi-	rani	
	OC	like	CONT+F	OC	?	
	vt			prt		

"Why do you want her?"<sup>32</sup>

50 <b>Owa</b>	anoti		fito	tonam	ake		
owa	anoti		fito	to-	na	-mak]	Ι
one+M	3SG.POSS of	lder brother	rush	away	AUX	follo	owing
adj	nm		vi	aux			
fatibone		anoti			hinabowa		
fati	-bone	anoti			hi-	na-	aboha+F
3SG.POSS	.wife INT+F	3SG.POSS old	ler bro	ther	OC	CAUS	die
nf		nm			vt		

<sup>32</sup> The form *hirani* appears to have feminine agreement, since the masculine would be *hira*, but beyond this I cannot offer a morphological analysis.

Oko	yibote	oko		yibote	tinabow	a		tiwa
o- ka	yibote	0-	ka	yibote	ti-	na-	aboha+F	tiwa
1SG.POSS POSS	wife	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	2SG.S	CAUS	die	2SG.O
prt	nf	prt		nf	vt			pron
onabowabisi		toe	ori			•	ati	
o- na- abol	ha -bisa	to- ha	0-	na -r	a.NOM+E	? É	ati	
1SG.S CAUS die	also	CH AUX	1SG.	S AUX NE	G		say	
vt		aux	aux				vt	
nematamonaka								
na -himata -m	ona -ka							
AUX FP.N+M RE	P+M DECL-	+M						
aux								

'The older brother of one of them attacked. His older brother killed the woman who he wanted to be his wife. "You killed my wife, and I will kill you, too," he said.'

51 Ati	ne	Tiwa	onabowabis			toe	ori	
ati	na+M	tiwa	o- na	- abol	ha -bisa	to- ha	o- na	-ra.NOM+F
say	AUX	2SG.C	) 1SG.S CA	JS die	also	CH AUX	1SG.S AUX	NEG
vt	aux	pron	vt			aux	aux	
ati 1	ne .	faya .	bato yafi	me	bato yafi	me	ihi	
ati n	na+M ́	faya	bato yafi	me	bato yaf	i me	ihi	
say A	AUX	SO	Banawá	3PL	Banawá	3PL.POS	SS victim	of+F
vt a	aux	conj	npropm	pron	npropm	pron	pn	
itiha	me	kama	me	•	abemetemo	neke		
iti+F	me	ka	-ma+F me	,	ahaba -h	lemete -moi	ne -ke	
exist	3PL.S	go/come	back 3PL	.S	die FP	.N+F REP-	+F DECL+F	
vi	pron	vi	pro	n	vi			

"I'm going to kill you, too," he said. After the Banawás killed people, they came back. She had died.'

#### 52 Abemetemoneni

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ahaba -hemete -mone -ni
die FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vi
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# 'She died.'

53 Aba	faya	farina		me	yaba	farina	me
ahaba+F	faya	farin	a	me	yaba+F	farina	me
die	SO	manio	c meal	3PL.S	pick up	manioc meal	3PL.S
vi	conj	nf		pron	vt	nf	pron
tiwari	na	me	kama		me,		
tiwa -ri	na+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me		
carry DISTR	AUX	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S		
vt	aux	pron	vi		pron		
Tene Erebomatam	onaka			Tene Ere	bo .		
Tene Erebo	-mata	-mona	-ka	Tene E	rebo		
(man's name)	FP.N+M	I REP+M	DECL+M	(man's	name)		
npropm				npropm			

'She died. They took away manioc meal. They carried the manioc meal and came back. He was Tene Erebo.'

54	Tene Erebo	Tene Erebo	ra	me	mowa	neme	etemoneni		
	Tene Erebo	Tene Erebo	ra	me	mowa	na	-hemete	-mone	-ni
	(man's name)	(man's name)	0	3PL.S	fight	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F
	npropm	npropm	prt	pron	vt	aux			

'They fought against Tene Erebo.'

55 Me me 3PL.S pron	<i>mowa</i> mowa fight vt	<i>hine</i> hi- na+ OC AUX aux		a	-ma back	-hino IP.N+M	<i>Foro</i> Foro Purus npropf	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt	
tokomeno			kamare			me	noki	hine	
to- ka	-ma	-hino	ka	-ma	-ra+M	me	noki	hi-	na+M
away go/c	ome bac	k IP.N+M	go/come	back 1	NEG	3PL.S	wait f	or OC	AUX
vi			vi			pron	vt	aux	
kamare		, ka	ıma	nab	ematam	onaka			yama
ka –	-ma -ra	+M k	a —ma	a nał	naba	-himata	-mona	-ka	yama
go/come b	ack NEG	g	o/come bad	ck at	night	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	thing
vi		v	i	auz	x				nf
<i>soki</i> soki.NOM be dark vi	<b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt								

'They fought against him. He went to the Purus and did not come back. They waited for him, but he didn't come back. He came back during the night.'

56 <b>k</b>	Kame		kobo	name		faya	yawe	yama	yama	
k	a	-ma+M	kobo	na	-ma+M	faya	yawa+M	yama	yama	
g	jo/come	back	arrive	e AUX	back	SO	be upset	thing	thing	
v	ri		vi	aux		conj	vi	nf	nf	
tao	nabe	2		yama	tao	nabemata	mona		fahi	
tao	na	nahaba	+M '	yama	tao	na nah	aba -him	nata -mona	fahi	
shoo	ot AUX	at nig	ht	thing	shoot	AUX at	night FP.N	I+M REP+M	then	
vt	aux			nf	vt	aux			dem	
'He e	ama haal	, and anni	und IIa	waa unaat	andhaa	hot off a m	n duning the	aight !		

'He came back, and arrived. He was upset, and he shot off a gun during the night.'

57 <i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron	, <i>noki</i> noki wait f vt	<i>hine</i> hi- na+M for OC AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>winabasa</i> wina -basa+F live edge vi	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>noki</i> noki wait for vt
<i>hine</i> hi- na+M	<i>kamakiram</i> ka		-mako	,	L	
OC AUX	go/come	following NEG		s reason+M		
aux <b>kamakiremat</b>	vi amonaka					
-		-ra -himata -m NEG FP.N+M RE		L+M		

'They waited for him. They stayed several days at the edge of the river waiting for him, but he didn't come.'

58 Kamakire		yama	tao	ne	me	me	bosa
ka -makI	-ra+M	yama	tao	na+M	me	me	bosa
go/come followin	g NEG	thing	shoot	AUX	3pl	3PL.S	get up early
vi		nf	vt	aux	pron	pron	vi
hikane .	tokomematamon	ane					
hi- ka- na+M '	to- ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ne		
OC COMIT AUX	away go/come	e back	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+I	M	
aux	vi						
		-					

'He didn't come. He shot off a gun. They got up early because of him. He went away.'

59	Me	bosa	hikane			tokom	taboro			
	me	bosa	hi-	ka-	na+M	to-	ka	-ma	-hino	taboro
	3PL.S	get up early	OC	COMIT	AUX	away	go/come	back	IP.N+M	place+M
	pron	vi	aux			vi				pn

mekihinamemehahinehamekiihi-to-na-ma+Mmehaahi-na+Mhaa3PL.Slook atOCaway AUX back3PL.ScallOCAUXcallpronvtauxvipronvtauxvirematamonena-ra-himata-monaAUX NEGFP.N+MREP+MREP+Maux-mona-mona-monaAUX NEGrearly berus b

call.

60	Me	kama		me	me	kama		me	me
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S
	pron	vi		pron	pron	vi		pron	pron
kan	nemetemo	neke							
ka	-:	ma -heme	ete -mon	ne -ke					
go	/come b	ack FP.N+	F REP	+F DECL-	+F				
vi									
'Th	ev came l	ack '							

'They came back.'

61	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>kama</i> ka go/c vi	<b>n</b> come	-ma- baci		L.S	,	me 3PL.S	<i>kobo</i> kobo arrive vi	<i>nama</i> na AUX aux	<b>a</b> -ma+F back	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	,	<i>faya</i> faya so conj
,	bato yafi bato ya Banawá npropm		<i>me</i> me 3PL pror	<b>,</b>	yama yama thing nf	<i>yan</i> yan thi nf	na	<i>mowa</i> mowa fight result	<i>ni</i> na.NFII AUX			<u> </u>		
fa	m <b>emetemon</b> ma −h¢ two FP	emete	e -mo REI		-ke DECL+F	,	<i>ama</i> ama SEC sec	ahi then						

'They came back, and arrived back. There was fighting on two occasions.'