### Free Translation

The Brazilians also came, and my uncle fought with them. It was in Boto. It was Joaquim, whose arm they cut off.

"Domingos, Botehefo, Botehefo, the Brazilians are planning against us," they said, calling out.

The Brazilians imitated them calling. They imitated the women calling out.

Then Botehefo heard. Botehefo came running back. There were many people cutting down a *wakoya* tree, so we could eat the *wakoya* fruits. We must have been out there in the forest. They came back. There is a noise in a sandy clearing. Make many people run on the sandy clearing. The sound of them running on the sand could be heard.

"What is it?"

"The Brazilians are in the village, they came to kill us. The Brazilians want to kill us."

My uncle got the packet of arrows that was in the rafters, and Joaquim was hiding there. My uncle took the packet of arrows out of the rafters, and quickly pulled out an arrow out, but Joaquim grabbed him.

"Oo," Joaquim said, my uncle used to say.

My uncle didn't see Joaquim when he grabbed his back. Joaquim carried him.

"Domingos, Domingos, we don't want to kill you. We want to kill the Yimas," he said.

"We are the Yimas. You have decided to kill us," he said.

Joaquim didn't stop talking, and Botehefo didn't stop talking, either.

"Domingos, you won't be able to hit me with an arrow. I will shoot you in the head."

"He says I will not be able to hit him with an arrow. I will hit Joaquim in the head with an arrow."

"I will duck. I will make you run out of arrows, Domingos."

"Yes, you will make me run out of arrows. He will fall on the ground with a arrow through him."

My uncle argued with the Brazilians, and brought the Brazilians back. We were small. Like Rosiano standing there. I guess I was like that. I was like Rosiano, as I was with the others. Children that size can see people. My uncle brought the Brazilians back. Many people went behind, with arrows.

"We don't plan to kill you. We are going after the Yimas, to kill the Yimas."

"We are the Yimas." My uncle didn't stop talking.

"Where is the boss?"

"The boss is living there."

"The boss sent you here. You intended to kill us," my uncle said, complaining.

He took the Brazilians back. They went back.

"Domingos, you talk a lot. Domingos, hit the tree with an arrow."

"He thinks I will miss him."

My uncle pulled out an arrow. He used to say he wasn't afraid of ruining the arrow. My uncle hit the tree with the arrow. When the arrow hit the tree, it broke off and the piece flew off.

"Now us."

The Brazilians shot off rifles. There were branches falling from the trees because of them.

My uncle took them back. The boss Melo was looking at their path, and he saw them. "They have come back," he said.

"Whew." I don't know the name of the Brazilian.

"Well, what about them? Did the Indians die?"

"The Indians did not die. The Indians are coming there. Domingos fought with us."

"Where is he?"

"Domingos is coming there."

"You should have shot Domingos in the head," the boss Melo said.

Domingos heard in the distance. He came.

"Domingos was supposed to die, but instead they are bringin him here," the boss Melo said.

"Why did you say I should die, boss Melo?"

The boss Melo trembled with fear.

My uncle demanded an answer. He wouldn't stop talking. "You intended to kill us. You sent your clients to kill us. Boss Melo, you are going to die."

The other Jarawaras watched over my uncle, as he went up in the house by himself. The others stood outside, as he stood scolding the Brazilians.

"We will come and see you tomorrow. We will get up early, to come and see you. We are going home for now. Go ahead and come after us again. We will hide from you and shoot you with arrows."

My uncle spoke boldly. He listened as my uncle spoke boldly.

"Domigos was supposed to die, but instead he is speaking boldly."

"Go ahead and kill me. Come after us, all of you. You come along this time, boss. Go ahead and kill me," my uncle said.

His voice could be heard as he argued with the Brazilians, he used to say. His brother-in-law was waiting for him.

"You live here. We are going home, to wait for you."

So they came back. When Botehefo was small, when they fought against the group of Tene Irabo, they scared him, and when he went running away, he hit his forehead, he used to say.

### Interlinear Presentation

1	Yara me			kamakibisa	ıni	okobise				
	yara	l	me	ka	-makI	-bisa	-hani	0-	ka	abise
	Braz	ilian	3PL.S	go/come	following	also	IP.N+F	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle
	npro	pm	pron	vi				nm		
mei	ra	mono		namari						
me	ra	mono		na.NOM-	+M -mari					
3P1	L.O	strugg	le with	AUX	FP.E+M					
pro	on	vt		aux						

'The Brazilians also came, and my uncle fought with them.'

2	Boto	amake	ahi
	boto	ama -ke	ahi
	sandy clearing	be DECL+F	there
	nf	VC	dem

'It was in Boto.'

# вотенего

3 1	Efe	Yowaki	mari	mano	me	ti		
	efe	Yowak		mano	me	tii		
t	this+M	Joaqu	im FP.E+M	arm+M	3PL.S	cut through	n	
	dem	nprop	m	pn	pron	vt		
	wematamo					fari	•	
	-			nata -mo		faari		
OC		ddle c	hange FP.1	N+M REE	P+M DEC		e+M	
aux			a amma tharran	+ off!		dem		
II W	as Joaquii	iii, wiios	e arm they cu	it oii.				
4	Yowakimat	amona		Tomiko	ı	Botehefo	Botehefo	vara
7	Yowaki	-mata	-mona ,	Tomik	,	Botehefo	Botehefo	yara
Ċ	Joaquim	FP.N+	M REP+M	Domin	gos	(man's name	) (man's nam	e) Brazilian
r	npropm			nprop	m	npropm	npropm	npropm
me	, era	n	ie wati		kini		me ha	ni
me	era		e wati		ka-	na -ni	me haa	na.NFIN
3PL			=	n agains		IT AUX BKG+F	3PL.S call	
pro:	-	-	ron vt		aux	4 • •	pron vi	aux
ati	na na+E	me	<b>ha n</b> haa n		me	tomimetemone		
ati say		me 3PL.S		a.NFIN UX	me 3PL.S	tomi -he imitate FP.	emete -mone N+F REP+F	
vt	aux	pron		ux	pron	vt	NIE KELIE	
					-	-	" they said, calling	g out. They imitated
	n calling.'	01011010	, 201011010, 111	o Diamini	io are pia	aguinet ue	,,	, out many minutes
6 <i>I</i>	y <mark>imitated</mark> <i>Botehefo</i> Botehefo			ut.' <i>awiwe</i> nawi -wa		rama .		
	(man's n			nawi -wa Mork cha		rama ınusual		
	npropm	iame)		vi	=	ort		
	n Botehef	o heard.	_	_	1	9 - 0		
7 1	Botehefo		kana ni		amematai	mona	ama	ahi .
	Botehefo			NFIN k			a -mona ama	ahi
	(man's n	name)		_		back FP.N+M		then
	npropm		vi aux	v v	1		sec	dem
BOU	ehefo cam	e runnii	ig back.					
8 1	Me .	me	tama	wakoya	me	ka na	me	wakoya
	ne ,	me	tama+F			kaa na	,	wakoya
3				tree s	p 3PL.	.S chop AU	X 3PL.S	tree sp
_		pron		nf	pror	n vt au:	x pron	nf
boni				nabonehe				
bon.			yome i					
rru. pn				AUX INT- aux	+F DU	r		
_	_				oua tree	so we could eat t	the <i>wakoya</i> fruits.	,
1110	- 0 ,, CT C III	any peo	pro catting at	I a wan	oga tice,	coura cut t	wanoga maits.	
9 (		onohoko			ota	awineni		
			ho -kosa					
_	lex.s (	CH st	and middle	FP.N+F	' 1EX	.S seem+F B	KG+F	

pron sec

pron vi

'We must have been out there in the forest.'

10 *Fava* kamemetemone ahi me me ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi faya so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then pron vi dem conj

'They came back.'

11 Boto moni komehake

boto moni komeha -ke sandy clearing sound be extreme DECL+F nf pn vi

'There is a noise in a sandy clearing.'

12 **E** tamabote kana tinihawaha boto ya ee tama -bote kana ti- niha- na -waha boto ya 1IN be many very run 2SG.S CAUS AUX change sandy clearing ADJU pron adj vi aux nf prt

'Make many people run on the sandy clearing.'

tiriri moni kanemete amake ahi moni tiriri ka- na -hemete ama -ke ahi 3PL.POSS sound many fall COMIT AUX FP.N+F SEC DECL+F then vi pn aux sec dem

'The sound of them running on the sand could be heard.'

14 Me moni tiriri kanemetemone

me moni tiriri ka- na -hemete -mone 3PL.S sound many fall COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F pron pn vi aux

'The sound of them could be heard.'

15 Himata amariya

himata ama -ri -ya what? be CQ+F now

interrog vc
"What is it?"'

16 Yara era me nahabiabone

yara era me na- ahaba -habone me Brazilian 1IN.O 3PL.S CAUS die INT+F 3PL.S npropm pron vt pron

kamakiani faro naone me -makI -hani me naho -ne faaro stand CONT+F go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S that+F pron vi dem

"The Brazilians are in the village, they came to kill us."

17 **Yara** otara me wati kana me awine wati otara me kana+F awine yara me 3PL.S 1EX.O plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S seem+F Brazilian npropm pron pron vt aux pron

me

"The Brazilians want to kill us."

18 Okobise wati kafori okobise va ka abise wati kaforI.NOM ya 0ka abise COMIT lie on top 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle arrow ADJU vi nm prt nm ye kobo namari ahi Yowaki iteno va na.NOM+M -mari Yowaki ita.NOM+M -no vehe kobo ahi va AUX FP.E+M then Joaquim sit ADJU hand arrive IP.N+M prt pn vi aux dem npropm vi 'My uncle got the packet of arrows that was in the rafters, and Joaquim was hiding there.'

19 *Wati* okobise kakiti wati soba it.i+M wati wati  $\circ$ kа abise kasoba pull out arrow 1SG.POSS POSS uncle COMIT take out arrow nm nm vt. nm vt towiti kerekerewe re Yowaki watematamona na -witI+M kere- kerewe na -ra+M Yowaki wata -himata -mona away AUX out DUP be slow AUX NEG Joaquim catch FP.N+M REP+M aux vi aux npropm vt ahi amaka ama -ka ahi SEC DECL+M then

'My uncle took the packet of arrows out of the rafters, and quickly pulled out an arrow out, but Joaquim grabbed him.'

20 *Oo* ahi ati hiemari nematamona na na -himata -mona hi- to- ha ahi ati ati na -himari  $\cap$ say AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M OC CH AUX FP.E+M say then oh no interj vt aux vt aux dem

"Oo," he said, he used to say.'

21 Yowaki okobise awaawa hireno kobo Yowaki ka abise awa- awa hi- na -ra -hino kobo 1SG.POSS POSS uncle OC Joaquim DUP see AUX NEG IP.N+M arrive npropm nm vt aux vi

nematamona ahi okobise bari уa na -himata -mona ahi ka abise bari ya AUX FP.N+M REP+M then 1SG.POSS POSS uncle back ADJU aux dem nm pn prt

hekebanoho

hi- to- ka- ka -hiba -no -ho OC away COMIT go/come FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'My uncle didn't see Joaquim when he grabbed his back. He carried him.'

Tomiko Tomiko 22 Tomiko wati te ota Tomiko Tomiko Tomiko wati tee otaa Domingos Domingos Domingos 2PL.O 1EX.S plan against npropm npropm npropm pron pron vt

karini

ka- na -ra -ni COMIT AUX NEG BKG+F

"Domingos, Domingos, we don't want to kill you."

23 Yima yima yima npropm nematamona na -hima AUX FP.N+ aux "'We want to	<b>ne</b> ta -mona M REP+I	M BKG+M	<pre>wati wati plan aga vt . said.'</pre>	ka	na a- na+ DMIT AUX		amani ama -ni SEC BKG+F sec	<i>ati</i> ati say vt
24 Yima yima Yima npropm ""We are the	-	.N+F 31	_	ota otaa 1EX.S pron	amani ama -ni be BKG vc			
otara otara 1EX.O pron  nematamona na -hima AUX FP.N+ aux ""You have d	ta -mona M REP+I	M DECL+	dem		L.S say			ama ati ama ati SEC say sec vt
26 Yowaki Yowaki Joaquin npropm fawa fawa disappear vi 'Joaquim dio	pn <b>nabisar</b> na - AUX a aux	vi <b>ematamon</b> bisa -r lso NE	au a a -himata G FP.N+M	-hina X can x -mona REP+M	AUX NE aux amane ama -ne SEC BKG sec	GG (man npro <b>ahi</b> e ahi G+M then dem	ehefo 's name)	<i>ati</i> ati voice pn
27 <i>Tomiko</i> Tomiko	owa owa os 1SG. pror .	sa saa .O shoo	ot with a	tik ti rrow 2S au	araba ka- SG.S COM		a -haba a G FUT+F S	<b>ma</b> ma EC ec
28 <i>Titati</i> ti- 2SG.POS pn "'I will shoot	tati SS head you in the	tao tao shoot vt		a- na OMIT AUX	-haba K FUT+F	ama oke ama o- SEC 1SG sec prt	ke S.S DECL+F	
29 <b>Sa</b> saa shoot v vt "'He says I w	with arr	o- cow 1s0 aux		AUX NEG	-hibon G INT+M	ati a ati voice pn	ama hari ama haar be that vc dem	i one+M

30	Yowaki	tati	sa	okaneba				ati	amak	ra e
	Yowaki	tati	saa	o- k	a-	na	-hiba	ati	ama	-ka
	Joaquim	head	shoot with arrow	1SG.S C	COMIT	AUX	FUT+M	voice	be	DECL+M
	npropm	pn	vt	aux				pn	VC	

"I will hit Joaquim in the head with an arrow."

31 Itakabote onaba oke ahi ama ita -kabote 0na -haba ama 0ke ahi 1SG.S AUX FUT+F sit quickly SEC 1SG.S DECL+F then aux sec prt dem

32 *Tika* wati onafiyohaba oke ama o- to- na- fiyo 0t.ika wati -haba ama ke 1SG.S CH CAUS be all gone FUT+F 2SG.POSS POSS SEC 1SG.S DECL+F arrow nm vt. sec prt

Tomiko

Tomiko

Domingos

"I will duck."

npropm

"I will make you run out of arrows, Domingos."

33 Ee oko wati tinafiyohabana
ee o- ka wati ti- to- na- fiyo -habana
yes 1SG.POSS POSS arrow 2SG.S CH CAUS be all gone FUT+F
interj prt nm vt

tini

ti- ni

2SG.S BKG+F

prt

"Yes, you will make me run out of arrows."

34 *Bere* kasi homi tabiyo ati ama bere na -kosa.NFIN homa.NFIN ati katabiyo ama be across COMIT AUX middle lie on ground wanting voice be aux νi

"He will fall on the ground with a arrow through him."

35 Okobise yara me mono ne yara ka abise mono na+M yara me yara 1SG.POSS POSS uncle Brazilian 3PL.O struggle with AUX Brazilian npropm pron aux npropm

me kakamamatamona

me ka- ka -ma.NOM+M -mata -mona 3PL.O COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M

pron vt

'My uncle argued with the Brazilians, and brought the Brazilians back.'

36 Yara me kakamamata
yara me ka- ka -ma.NOM+M -mata
Brazilian 3PL.O COMIT go/come back FP.N+M
npropm pron vt

'He brought the Brazilians back.'

# вотенего

37 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron hari haari that one+		this+M dem	npro	ano 's name)		-rI.CONT+M	
We were sm  38 E ee be sim: vi 'I guess I wa	onemet o- ilar 1SG.S aux	no standing the  re  na -hemet  AUX FP.N+E	owa ce owa	awine awine seem+F	oke o- 1SG.S prt	ke DECL+F	
1SG.S AUX aux	aux NOM -mete FP.N+F		ya ( ADJU :	o <b>tabine</b> o- taba 1SG.S be t vi		-ne CONT+F	
40 Afa afa this+F dem 'They can see	pron	noki wat noki wat eye+F ex: pn vi	ta nofa		me F me 3PL. pron		•
41 <i>Yara</i> yara Brazil: npropm	nm	ka abi SS POSS und	me ise me cle 3PL. pror	O COMIT	ka go/come <i>wati</i>		me me 3PL.S pron
tama+F be many vi kiha m kiha+F m have 3 vt p	me yoto 3PL.S foli pron vi nati hati PL.S		me 3PL.S pron	ama ahi SEC then sec dem	wati arrow nm	me wa 3PL ai pron nr	ati me rrow 3PL.S
42 Te tee 2PL.0 pron ""We don't p	ota wate otaa wate 1EX.S pla pron vt	i n against	kari ka- na COMIT AU aux		• +F		
43 <b>Yima</b> yima	me ota me ota	<i>nakamak</i> .a na- ka		nakI	yima yima Yima	me me	, <i>ota</i> otaa 1FY S

Yima 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS go/come following

npropm pron pron vt

3PL.O

pron

1EX.S

Yima

npropm pron

nabihaboneotana-ahaba-haboneotaaCAUSdieINT+F1EX.Svtpron

"We are going after the Yimas, to kill the Yimas."

me yima ota 44 Yima meni amani me me -ni ama -ni vima me yima me otaa Yima 3PL Yima 3PL IP.N+F 3PL.COMPL 1EX.S be BKG+F npropm pron npropm pron pron pron

"We are the Yimas."

45 Okobise fare ati totoha nemari na -himari to- to- ha  $\bigcirc$  – ka abise fare ati DUP CH be AUX FP.E+M 1SG.POSS POSS uncle same+M voice dem pn VC aux

'My uncle didn't stop talking.'

46 *Ee* iteni ya Himata batoro itehani himata batoro ya (pause) whatchamacallit ADJU what? boss (question) interj prt interrog nm vi

ranohoya

na -ra -no -ho -ya AUX CQ+M IP.N+M DUP now

"Where is the boss?"14

47 Batoro winahareka

batoro wina -hare -ka
boss live IP.E+M DECL+M
nm vi

"The boss is living there."

48 Batoro batoro tera vosemakeno te amani yose -makI -hino batoro batoro tera tee ama -ni 2PL.O command following IP.N+M 2PL.O SEC BKG+F boss boss nm pron pron sec

"The boss sent you here."

49 Otara te. nabihabone te ati nani te. awine tee otara na- ahaba -habone tee ati na -hani tee awine 1EX.O 2PL.S CAUS die INT+F 2PL.S AUX IP.N+F 2PL.S say seem+F pron pron vt pron vt aux pron

okobise hora ati nemari ni ka abise hora na.NFIN ati na -himari say AUX FP.E+M 1SG.POSS POSS uncle exclaim AUX vi aux vt aux

"You intended to kill us," my uncle said, complaining.'

50Yarametowakame, yarameyarameto- ka- ka -ma+MyarameBrazilian3PL.Oaway COMIT go/come backBrazilian3PL.Onpropmpronvtnpropmpron

<sup>14</sup> *Himata* is a false start.

towakamematamona ama										
to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	ama	ahi			
away	COMIT	go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	SEC	then			
vt sec										
'He to	'He took the Brazilians back.'									

51 Me tokomemetemone ahi
me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
pron vi dem

'They went back.'

52 Tomiko tiwati watohara tini
Tomiko ti- ati wato-hara ti- ni
Domingos 2SG.POSS voice know IP.E+F 2SG.POSS BKG+F
npropm pn vt prt

"Domingos, you talk a lot."

53 Tomiko awa sasa kana tina
Tomiko awa sa- saa ka- na ti- na
Domingos tree DUP shoot with arrow COMIT AUX 2SG.S AUX
npropm nf vt aux aux

"Domingos, hit the tree with an arrow."

54 Hani onihebona ati ama hari o- to- niha- na -hibona hani ati ama haari miss 1SG.S CH CAUS AUX INT+M voice be that one+M aux VC dem pn

"He thinks I will miss him."

55 Okobise towiti wati soba wati ka to- na -witI+M wati soba wati abise 1SG.POSS POSS uncle pull out away AUX out arrow arrow vt nm aux

kayawabisarematamonaaatitoemarineka-yawa-bisa -ra -himata -monaa-atito-ha -himari -neCOMIT be upset alsoNEG FP.N+MREP+MDUP sayCHAUX FP.E+MBKG+Mvtvtaux

'My uncle pulled out an arrow. He used to say he wasn't afraid of ruining the arrow.'

56 Okobise awa sa kanematamona
o- ka abise awa saa ka- na -himata -mona
1SG.POSS POSS uncle tree shoot with arrow COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nm nf vt aux

amaka ahi
ama -ka ahi
SEC DECL+M then
sec dem

'My uncle hit the tree with the arrow.'

57 Awa tai tika towitiemetemone ahi to- na -witI -hemete -mone awa tahi tika ama ahi fly off away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F SEC then weapon against vi aux sec

'When the arrow hit the tree, it broke off and the piece flew off.'

58 *Ha* otara haa otaa -ra DEM 1EX.S NPO dem pron

59 *Rifi* tao nemetemone ahi me rifi na -hemete -mone me tao ahi rifle 3PL.S shoot AUX FP.N+F REP+F then nf pron vt aux dem

'They shot off rifles.'

60 Awa ini fororo kanemetemone ihi me awa ini foro -ro ka- na -hemete -mone me ihi tree branch+F fall DUP COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS because of+F nf pn vi aux pron post

'There were branches falling from the trees because of them.'

61 Okobise me hekamemetemone ka abise hi- to- ka--ma -hemete -mone me ka OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3PL.O pron vt

ahi

ahi then

'My uncle took them back.'

62 *Me* Mero hekama batoro batoro Mero me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F batoro Mero batoro Mero me me OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.O boss Melo boss Melo pron nm npropm nm vt. pron npropm

, mera nokomakematamona me hawi ya noko -makI -himata -mona me hawi ya mera point following FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.POSS trail+F ADJU 3PL.O vi prt pron pn pron

awebanoho

-ho awa -hiba -no see FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'He took them back. The boss Melo was looking at their path, and he saw them.'

63 Me ati kami nematamonane ka -ma.NOM+F ati na -himata -mona -ne me say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S go/come back pron vi vt aux

"They have come back," he said.'

64 *Hoo* 

hoo whew interj

"Whew."

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65 Yara
              ino
                       owatoramako
                                                            amaka
                       o- wato -ra -mako
   vara
              ino
                                                            ama -ka
                       1SG.S know NEG for this reason+M
                                                            SEC DECL+M
  Brazilian
              name+M
  npropm
              pn
                       vt
                                                            sec
'I don't know the name of the Brazilian.'
66 Fa
         mera
         me -ra
  faa
  that
         3PL NPQ
  dem
         pron
"Well, what about them?"
                   ahabini
67 Koromi
           me
  koromi
                   ahaba -ni
           me
                       BKG+F
  Indian 3PL.S
                   die
  npropm pron
                   vi
"Did the Indians die?"
68 Koromi
           me
                   abakere
  koromi
           me
                   ahaba -ke
  Indian 3PL.S
                   die
                         DECL+F NEG+F
  npropm pron
                   vi
"The Indians did not die."
69 Koromi
                                               ahi
           me
                   kamakike
                                      -ke
  koromi
                   ka
                            -makI
                                               ahi
          me
   Indian 3PL.S
                   go/come following DECL+F
                                               there
  npropm pron
                   vi
                                               dem
"The Indians are coming there."
70 Tomiko
             otara
                     katome
                    katoma+M
   Tomiko
             otara
   Domingos 1EX.O attack
                     vt
  npropm
             pron
"Domingos fought with us."
71 E
               ra
   ee
               na
   (question)
               AUX CQ+M
                aux
"Where is he?"
72 Tomiko
             kamaki
                                  ahi
   Tomiko
             ka
                      -makI+M
                                  ahi
   Domingos
             go/come following
                                  there
  npropm
             vi
"Domingos is coming there."
73 Tomiko
             tati
                    te
                            tao
                                   karanomako
  Tomiko
             tati
                   tee
                            tao
                                   ka- na -ra -no
                                                          -mako
                                   COMIT AUX NEG IP.N+M for this reason+M
   Domingos
             head 2PL.S
                           shoot
  npropm
             pn
                    pron
                            vt
                                   aux
amane
            batoro
                    Mero
                            ati
                                 nematamona
                                                      amane
ama -ne
           batoro
                    Mero
                            ati na -himata -mona
                                                      ama -ne
                            say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
SEC BKG+M boss
                                                      SEC BKG+M
```

Melo

npropm vt

"You should have shot Domingos in the head," the boss Melo said."

aux

# вотенего

74 <i>Tomiko</i>	warabo	hawiba		nema	tamona		amak	a	hike
Tomiko	warabo	hawi -ba		na	-himata		ama		hik
Domingos		work at	a dista		FP.N+M	REP+M		DECL+M	far
npropm	pn	vi		aux			sec		nf
<i>ya</i> . ya									
ADJU									
ort									
Domingos he	ard in the dis	tance.'							
75 Kamaki		, kamai	kimatamor	ıa		ah	i		
ka	-makI+M	ka	-ma		imata -m				
=	following	= .	ome fol	lowing FP	.N+M RE		en		
vi		vi				de	m		
He came.'									
76 Tomiko	abebona			kakamine					
Tomiko	ahaba -			ka-ka	-ma		_		
Domingos	s die 1 vi			COMIT go/a 7t	come bac.	K CONT+1	-		
npropm <i>ninihi</i>	VΙ	batoro	oron v <i>Mero</i>	_	atamona		amai	n a	
<i>unuu</i> na.NOM+F -	ni -hi		Mero	ati na		-mona		-ne	•
	P.N+F DUP	boss	Melo		FP.N+M	REP+M		BKG+M	
aux		nm	npropm	_			sec		
"Domingos w	as supposed	to die, but in			him here,"	the boss I	Melo s	aid.'	
7 Himatabiy	o oababo	one		tiriniya				bator	o
77 <i>Himatabiy</i> himatabi		o <b>ne</b> ahaba -h	ıabone	<i>tiriniya</i> ati ti-	na -r	i -ni	- Ā	_	
himatab: why	lyo o- 1SG.S	ahaba -h	nabone IT+F				_	a bato	oro
himatab why interro	lyo o- 1SG.S	ahaba -h		ati ti-			_	a bato	oro
himatabi why interrog Mero ?	lyo o- 1SG.S	ahaba -h		ati ti- say 2SG.S			_	va bato w boss	oro
himatab why interroo <b>Mero</b> ? Mero	lyo o- 1SG.S	ahaba -h		ati ti- say 2SG.S			_	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interrod  Mero  Mero  Mero  Melo	lyo o- 1SG.S	ahaba -h		ati ti- say 2SG.S			_	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interrod  Mero  Mero Mero  Melo npropm	iyo o- 1SG.S y vi	ahaba -h 3 die IN	IT+F	ati ti- say 2SG.S			_	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interro  Mero Mero Melo mpropm "Why did you	iyo o- 1SG.S y vi say I should	ahaba -h 5 die IN die, boss Me	IT+F lo?"'	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux	S AUX CQ	+F IP.N-	_	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interrod  Mero Mero Melo hpropm "Why did you	iyo o- 1SG.S y vi	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro	IT+F elo?''' <i>Mero</i>	ati ti- say 2SG.S	S AUX CQ-	+F IP.N-	_	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interroo Mero ? Mero Melo npropm "Why did you	iyo o- 1SG.S y vi say I should <i>Mero</i> ,	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro	elo?"'  Mero  Mero	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux	S AUX CQ- ka ra ka	HF IP.N- Ina a- na	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interrod Mero Mero Melo npropm "Why did you 78 Batoro batoro	iyo o- 1SG.S y vi say I should <i>Mero</i> ,	ahaba -h die IN  die, boss Me batoro batoro boss	elo?"'  Mero  Mero	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre	ka ra ka ramble CC	HF IP.N- Ina a- na	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interrod  Mero Mero Melo npropm "Why did you  78 Batoro batoro boss nm	say I should  Mero Mero Melo	ahaba -h die IN  die, boss Me batoro batoro boss	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre	ka ra ka ramble CC	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
why interroom  Mero ?  Mero Melo npropm  "Why did you  78 Batoro batoro boss nm  mematamona na -himat	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona	ahaba -h die IN  die, boss Me batoro batoro boss	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre	ka ra ka ramble CC	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interrod  Mero Mero Melo npropm "Why did you  78 Batoro batoro boss nm mematamona	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona	ahaba -h die IN  die, boss Me batoro batoro boss	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre	ka ra ka ramble CC	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interroo Mero ? Mero Melo npropm "Why did you 78 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre	ka ra ka ramble CC	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interror Mero  Mero Melo npropm "Why did you  78 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M aux The boss Melo	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre vi	ka ra ka mble CC au	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interror  Mero  Mero Melo npropm "Why did you  78 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+Maux	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w  yokana	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo  npropm	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre	ka ra ka ramble CC	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interror Mero Mero Melo npropm "Why did you 78 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M aux The boss Melo 79 Fe	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w  yokana yokana	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm ith fear.'	elo?"'  Mero  Mero  Melo  npropm	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre vi  rama rama	ka ra ka ramble CC au	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interror Mero ? Mero Melo npropm "Why did you "8 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M aux The boss Melo "9 Fe fee	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w  yokana true	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm ith fear.'	elo?"'  Mero Mero Melo npropm	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre vi  rama rama	ka ra ka ramble CC au	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interror Mero ? Mero Melo npropm "Why did you "8 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M aux The boss Melo "9 Fe fee that+M dem	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w  yokana true adj	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm . ith fear.'	elo?"'  Mero Mero Melo npropm	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre vi  rama rama unusual	ka ka mble CC au  ahi ahi ahi then	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interror Mero ? Mero Melo npropm "Why did you 78 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M aux The boss Melo 79 Fe fee that+M	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w  yokana true adj	ahaba -h die IN die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm . ith fear.'	elo?"'  Mero Mero Melo npropm	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre vi  rama rama unusual prt	ka ka mble CC au  ahi ahi ahi then	nna a- na OMIT AUX	+F nc	va bato w boss	oro
himatab: why interroe Mero Mero Mero Melo npropm "Why did you  78 Batoro batoro boss nm nematamona na -himat AUX FP.N+M aux The boss Melo  79 Fe fee that+M dem He demanded	say I should  Mero Mero Melo npropm  a -mona REP+M  trembled w  yokana true adj	ahaba -h die, boss Me batoro batoro boss nm  ith fear.' hihawe ni- iha - OC have or t  ati .se ati	elo?"'  Mero Mero Melo npropm  -waha+M change  fawa fawa	ati ti- say 2SG.S aux  hoyahoya hoya- hoy DUP tre vi  rama rama unusual prt  rem na	ka k	ma a- na DMIT AUX ix	+F nc	amane ama - 1	oro s

pn vi aux

nm

sec

```
ahi
```

ahi then

dem

'My uncle wouldn't stop talking.'

81	Otara	te	nabihabone		te	ati	nani	teke
	otara	tee	na- ahaba	-habone	tee	ati	na -hani	tee -ke
	1EX.O	2PL.S	CAUS die	INT+F	2PL.S	say	AUX IP.N+F	2PL.S DECL+F
	pron	pron	vt		pron	vt	aux	pron

"You intended to kill us."

82	Tika		firikesi	otara	me	nabiha	abone	me		
	ti-	ka	ferekesi	otara	me	na-	ahaba	-habone	me	
	2SG.POSS	POSS	client	1EX.O	3PL.S	CAUS	die	INT+F	3PL.O	
	prt		nm	pron	pron	vt			pron	
4:	a a a a a la ima a i			4:			** **			

tiyosemakiyani tiwati ama ti- yose -makI -hani tiati ama 2SG.S send following IP.N+F 2SG.POSS voice be

"You sent your clients to kill us."

83	Batoro	Mero	tihababa	ana		tike			
	batoro	Mero	ti-	ahaba	-habana	ti-	ke		
	boss	Melo	2SG.S	die	FUT+F	2SG.S	DECL+F		
	nm	npropm	vi			prt			

"Boss Melo, you are going to die."

84 Okobise fare ohari me abise ka fare ohari+M me  $\circ$ 1SG.POSS POSS uncle be alone 3PL.S same+M dem vi pron

hekatomematamona

amane hi- ka- katoma -himata -mona ama -ne OC COMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M

tofoyamisamakiari

to- foya -misa -makI -haari away be inside up following IP.E+M

'They watched over my uncle, as he went up in the house by himself.'

85	Me	one	nahomei	temone		bofe	ya	ahi	yara	mera
	me	one	naho	-hemete	-mone	bofe	ya	ahi	yara	mera
	3PL	other+F	stand	FP.N+F	REP+F	ground	ADJU	then	Brazilian	3PL.O
	pron	adj	vi			nf	prt	dem	npropm	pron

hora nari

hora na -haari scold AUX IP.E+M

aux

'The others stood outside, as he stood scolding the Brazilians.'

86	Tera	ota	tera	ota	awamaminaba	ota
	tera	otaa	tera	otaa	awa -ma -mina -haba	otaa
	2PL.O	1EX.S	2PL.O	1EX.S	see back morning FUT+F	1EX.S
	pron	pron	pron	pron	vt	pron

"We will come and see you tomorrow."

87 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron ota otaa 1EX.S pron ""We will get	bosa bosa get up early vi  up early, to come a	aux	otaa 1EX.S	tera c	taa EX.S	<i>awamaba</i> awa -ma see back vt	-haba FUT+F
88 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron "We are goin	tokomamatiba to- ka away go/come vi ng home for now."		.NOM+F -b time FU	_			
89 Ota otaa 1EX pron nematamona na -hima AUX FP.N+ aux	, te kama tee ka 2PL.S go/c pron vi ne ta -mona -ne			-yahi DIST.IM	<i>ati</i> at 2+F sa vt	ci ay	
90 Tera tera 2PL.O pron naba na -haba AUX FUT+F aux ""We will hid	1EX.S hide for pron vt  ota amake otaa ama	pr -ke DECL+F	t pron	ota otaa 1EX.S pron	sa saa shoot vt	with arr	OW
91 Okobise o- 1SG.POS nm ahi ahi then dem 'My uncle sp	ka abise SS POSS uncle	ati kom	nehakanikim meha fearsome	-kaniki	ma -hir	nata -mona N+M REP+l	
nm  kamitematam ka- mit COMIT hea vt	a -himata -mor	ati kon voice be pn vi na -ka M DECL+M	mehe meha+M fearsome ahi ahi then dem	<i>ati</i> ati voice pn			

93	Tomiko ,	abebona	ı	ati	komeko	meha	re	
	Tomiko	ahaba	-hibona	ati	kome-	komeha	na	-ra+M
	Domingos	die	INT+M	voice	DUP	be fearsome	AUX	NEG
	npropm	vi		pn	vi		aux	
'''D	omigos was supp	osed to d	ie, but instea	ad he is sp	eaking b	oldly."'		

94	Ee	owa	te	nabibe		
	ee	owa	tee	na-	ahaba	-be
	yes	1SG.0	2PL.S	CAUS	die	IMMED+F
		pron	pron	vt		

"Go ahead and kill me."

95	Te	kamakiyah	i			te	nafi
	tee	ka	-makI	-yahi	,	tee	nafi
	2PL.S	go/come	following	DIST.IMP+F		2PL.POSS	all
	pron	vi				pron	pn

"Come after us, all of you."

96	Tisawiw	ahiy	ahi			batoro
	ti-	sat	√i	-waha	-yahi	batoro
	2SG.S	be	present	change	DIST.IMP+F	boss
	vi					nm

"You come along this time, boss."

97	Owa		tinahabi	beya							okobise				ati	ne
	owa		ti-	na-	ahaba	a -be		-ya	a	,	<b>)</b> –		ka	abise	ati	na+M
	1SG.	0	2SG.S	CAUS	die	IMME	ED+F	nor	W	1	LSG.P	OSS	POSS	uncle	say	AUX
	pron	l	vt							r	nm				vt	aux
ati		sair	matamon	a			aati			toen	arika				ahi	
at:	i	sa	i	-him	ata -r	mona	a-	at	i	to-	ha	-hi	mari	-ka	ahi	
VO	ice	be	heard	FP.N	+M RI	EP+M	DUP	sa	У	СН	AUX	FP.	E+M	DECL+M	then	
pn		vi					vt			aux					dem	
yar	а		mera	mo	no		n	ari								
ya	ra		mera	mo	no		n	a	-ha	ari						
Bra	azili	Lan	3PL.0	) st	ruggle	e with	n A	UX	IP.	E+M						
np	ropm		pron	vt			a <sup>-</sup>	ux								

"Go ahead and kill me," my uncle said. His voice could be heard as he argued with the Brazilians, he used to say '

#### 98 Wabori hikarawatomatamonane

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wabori hi- karawato -himata -mona -ne 3SG.POSS brother-in-law OC wait for FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M nm vt
```

'His brother-in-law was waiting for him.'

99	Te	winiya	
	tee	wina	-yahi
	2PL.S	live	DIST.IMP+F
	pron	vi	
'''Y	ou live he	re.'''	

100	Ota	tokomi	ibone				te	ota	noki	naba	
	otaa	to-	ka	-ma.NOM+F	-bone	,	tee	otaa	noki	na	-haba
	1EX.S	away	go/come	back	INT+F		2PL.O	1EX.S	wait for	AUX	FUT+F
	pron	vi					pron	pron	vt	aux	

ota otaa 1EX.S pron

"We are going home, to wait for you."

101	Faya	me	kamemeter	noneke				fahi
	faya	me	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi
	so	3PL.S	go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	conj	pron	vi					dem
'So t	hey cam	e back.'						

102 Botehefo	)	nafire	,	Tene Ira	ibo	me	mowa	ni	ya
Botehe	fo	nafi	-ra+M	Tene I	Trabo	me	mowa	na.NOM+F	ya
(man's	name)	be big	NEG	(man's	name)	3PL.S	fight	AUX	ADJU
npropm		vi		npropm	n	pron	result	aux	prt
yara	me	e	hinihe		me me	e	mera	e	
yara	me	ee	hi- niha-	na+M	me me	ee	mera	ee	
Brazilian	3PL.S	yell	OC CAUS	AUX	3PL 3P	L yell	3PL.0	yell	
npropm	pron	vi	aux		pron pr	on vi	pron	vi	
					1	1	** *** *** *** **		
nihe	kana	ni	toke		noko	Karımei	natamona		
<i>nihe</i> niha- na+N		<i>ni</i> na.NFI		a+M	<i>noko</i> noko		<i>nuumonu</i> a -himat	a -mona	
						karim			
niha- na+N	1 kana	na.NFI	IN to- k		noko	karim	a -himat		
niha- na+N CAUS AUX aux	M kana run	na.NFI AUX	IN to- ka away ga vi		noko face+M	karim hit	a -himat		
niha- na+N CAUS AUX aux aati	M kana run vi	na.NFI AUX	IN to- ko away go vi j	o/come	noko face+M	karim hit	a -himat		
niha- na+N CAUS AUX aux aati ta	M kana run vi toemarika to- ha	na.NFI AUX aux	IN to- ko away go vi vi -ka	o/come fahi .	noko face+M	karim hit	a -himat		

'When Botehefo was small, when they fought against the group of Tene Irabo, they scared him, and when he went running away, he hit his forehead, he used to say.'