

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

### *Free Translation*

The boss sent Brazilians here. The boss wanted the Jarawaras to die. "You go there right away. I'm going downstream," the boss said.

"All right."

So they came. They came carrying stout rope to tie the women up with.

The women didn't stay. The women saw them coming.

One of the Brazilians came and took out some arrows. The others were behind. He took the arrows out, and carried the arrows away. He called the others. "José," he said. "José, you come here quickly. The Indians are going to go," he said.

They grabbed Hiwawi, who was sitting on the ground. They attacked, and shot off their guns.

The Jarawaras went running off. A bullet hit Kawi Tife in his lower back. He lived for a long time. Then he died.

The women didn't stay. The Brazilians didn't stay, because of the ones who had escaped. The Brazilians went running away, because they had killed people.

Komasa chased them, but then he left off chasing them. He yelled at them. The log broke as they were crossing.

The boss Melo was living there. It was at Mabideri. They worked for the boss, but he ordered people against them. The Brazilians came and killed people, and went back. They didn't do anything to them. That is the path that they came on. They came on the Kerebe lake. They must have come by here. They must have gone that way.

They started with the children who were standing around. They put the children on their shoulders. They took them away, so that their mothers would go along. They called them to go along, deceiving them, so they could kill them. They took the children. The adults went, carrying their rolled up hammocks. They went to the Kerebe Lake. They did not sleep in the houses of the Brazilians. They slept outside of where the Brazilians were living. They heard the Brazilians saying they were going to kill them. They came back. They crossed over. It was the Kerebe lake. They came back. That is the trail there.

Noko Wene's grandfather was left behind sleeping, and he woke up at their place. He got out of his hammock and stood on the ground. When he was going to go after the others, the Brazilians grabbed him and stabbed him repeatedly in the arms with knives. They let him go.

He looked around for a stick. He picked up a stick from the ground. The Brazilians ran in two directions. He went after one of them, and killed him. The other one wanted to avenge him, but when he attacked, he killed him, too. He killed them.

He came back. He went. He waited for the Brazilians. When it got dark he came back. At the place where the Brazilians lived, he stole their canoe at night, and came across.

"Where did they go?" he said. He looked for their trail.

He came in the canoe. He came across in the canoe. He came onto the shore. He looked for their trail. Then he found their trail.

"They went there. They didn't wake me up."

The Brazilians wanted to kill him, but he didn't die. He came. He escaped. The Brazilians

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didn't kill him. He came.

His wife came the next day, and met him. She was missing him. His wife got up early and came after him, because she missed him. She met him. The others came after him.

They didn't hate the Brazilians, but they always came after them. They didn't go after the Brazilians. They were always fighting with them. They were living there.

Yaro came, and came upon the one that they had killed. He came upon his older female cousin who had died. He buried his cousin. He went home angry. He arrived back at the village.

"Older brother, what about them? Are they living there?"

"They are not living there. The Brazilians shot them," he said. "The Brazilians will die. We will fight against the Brazilians, to get revenge."

They took bows and arrows. The Brazilians had been getting latex, and they met up with them when they were pouring the latex into buckets.

"There are two Brazilians coming there," they said.

"What are you doing?"

"What are we doing? We are going after white-lipped peccaries. Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said, deceiving the Brazilians. There were many Brazilians that the Jarawaras killed, too. "Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said. "Come on, let's go to your place."

They took them. The Brazilian took a cup of latex. The other one was standing there, Joaquim. Joaquim was standing there. The other one went up and got the cup of latex. He came down. He poured the latex into the bucket. As he was cleaning out the cup with his fingers, they cut off his head. His headless body got up and fell over. The other one jumped away, and they chased him.

"Leave me alone. Koyo, Koyo, you leave me alone. We have always been together," Joaquim said.

So as to protect himself he shielded himself, and they cut off his arm. They chased him. He went into the branches of a fallen tree. They cleared out the branches, and killed him. They cut his head open with a machete.

Then they went on, planning to kill the Brazilians. There was a Brazilian whose head they bashed who survived. He got well.

They encountered the Brazilians. Tene Irabo's wife called out when she saw them coming. "What do you want? Are you going to kill me?" she said.

"We don't want to do you any harm. We are going there after white-lipped peccaries," they said, deceiving the Brazilians.

The Brazilians had come across. They lived on the other side. They came across and came onto land.

They went up the steps. One of them stopped and stood there. My grandfather was sitting on the ground, holding his shotgun. He killed the Brazilians. My grandfather shot at him.

The Brazilian heard their voices, and looked up, and shot at him without any effect. Bataa, the gun noise went, and he heard the noise. "Oh," he said.

He extended his arms. The lead hit him in the armpit. He fell while holding onto the railing. He was hung up. Then he fell to the ground.

They were yelling, and the noise of them could be heard as they fought with the Brazilians. They killed many Brazilians. Then they killed Apurinãs. They killed Brazilians, and brought back clothes, manioc meal, salt, knives, axes, with other things.

They came back. Then they went into the forest. They went to another village. They slept, and got up early. They went into the forest again. They lived at the mouth of the Awi stream.

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Tene Irabo got some others, and they shot their guns in the night. They heard the sound of the Brazilians, and they went into the forest during the night. My uncle said he slept next to the hole of a jaguar, and they always laughed at this.

They went into the forest another time. They went to the Banawás, and stayed with them. The Apurinãs caused a bad thing to happen to the Brazilians.<sup>11</sup> The Banawás also killed them with guns. They were all together with the Banawás, my father used to say.

"My older brother was always there. The Apurinãs killed him and have been telling about it. I will get revenge," Rowiso Banawá said, planning against the Apurinãs. "If you meet up with any Apurinãs, come and tell the news. I will wait for you. I will stay here. We will stay here. We will wait for you."

Then the women got up early. They went. They encountered them.

"You stay behind. You stay far behind. I will go ahead," she said, Awa Wai Ya.

Awa Wai Ya went ahead, to meet up with the Apurinãs. "If you hear the dog that is with me barking, you go back. Go running away," she said.

They heard the dog barking, and they went running back, taking the news to the others, who were gathered together. Rowiso was there.

"Rowiso, the Apurinãs are there. The Apurinãs almost shot us. They are there," she said.

"They will shoot me [i.e., I will attack them]. They killed someone, and they still were coming around here." He picked up his gun. "Come. Let's go look at the Apurinãs."

They all went to see the Apurinãs. It was all of them. They went. They went fast. The Apurinãs had brought baskets, and their baskets were on the ground. They just sat there [i.e., no one ever picked them up, since the Apurinãs died]. They planned to kill them, so they didn't just look at them.

The other Rowiso [an Apurinã] gave the stock of the gun to them to greet them. They grasped the stock of the gun in greeting, because of him.

Rowiso was planning against them, but he didn't let on. "You go on to the other side. Go on over there. You go and stay over there," he said to the other Banawás and the Jarawaras.

"What are you up to?" Rowiso said.

"We are going after some white-lipped peccaries that came here. We are going there," Rowiso said.

Rowiso went. He was planning against them. He started shooting them right away. He was planning to kill one of them.

"Act fast," he said.

They were planning to kill him. He shot his gun quickly.

"Rowiso, Rowiso is going to shoot at you," the Apurinã woman said, his wife. He wanted to run away, but he shot him.

They yelled, surrounding the Apurinãs. They also shot one of them with an arrow. They killed them. The Apurinã women ran, and they ran after them. They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They were wearing beads. They killed many pretty Apurinã women, Towisawa always said.

After killing people, they came back. They came back, and moved away. They went. They cut down a tree. The tree fell into the water, and they went across. They cut the tree in two. The tree sunk.

Then they lived far away for a time. They came back this way. The Curiá River is there. They brought *kona* plants. The fish that the roots killed rotted. It was not many roots, just two. The

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<sup>11</sup> That is, some Apurinãs killed Jarawaras, and the Jarawaras killed Brazilians because they thought it had been them who had killed the Jarawaras.

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*kona* killed the fish for days. I guess it grows on the other side of the Curiá.

### *Interlinear Presentation*

1 *Faya* , *yara* *ee* *batoro* *me*  
 faya yara ee batoro me  
 so Brazilian (pause) boss 3PL.O  
 conj npropm interj nm pron

*hiyosemakiemetemoneke*

hi- yose -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 OC send following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'The boss sent Brazilians here.'

2 *Me* *ababone* *me* , *me* *ababone* *batoro* *ati*  
 me ahaba -habone me me ahaba -habone batoro ati  
 3PL.S die INT+F 3PL 3PL.S die INT+F boss say  
 pron vi pron pron vi nm vt

*nematamonaka*

na -himata -mona -ka , *yarawara* *mati*  
 na -himata -mona -ka yarawara mati  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M Jarawara 3PL  
 aux npropm pron

'The boss wanted the Jarawaras to die.'

3 *Te* *tokomakekabote* *na*  
 tee to- ka -makI -kabote na  
 2PL.S away go/come following quickly AUX  
 pron vi aux

""You go there right away.""

4 *Okisabone* *ama* *o* , *bataro* *ati*  
 o- to- ka -risa -habone ama o- bataro ati  
 1SG.S away go/come down INT+F SEC 1SG.S boss say  
 vi sec prt nm vt

*nematamonaka*

na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

""I'm going downstream," the boss said.'

5 *Ee*  
 ee  
 yes  
 interj  
 ""All right.""

6 *Faya* *me* *kamakieteteke* *fahi*  
 faya me ka -makI -hemete -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'So they came.'

7 *Me* *kamakietemetonehe* , *anabowira* *me*  
 me ka -makI -hemete -mone -he anabowira me  
 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DUP stout rope 3PL.S  
 pron vi nf pron

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**sanari**  
 sana -ri kana na+F mati , me fanawi  
 carry strapped on shoulder DISTR COMIT AUX 3PL.S women  
 vt aux pron nf

**matibonehe**  
 mati -bone -he  
 line+F INT+F DUP  
 pn

'They came carrying stout rope to tie the women up with.'

8 **Ee** , **me fanawi** **naoremtemone** **amake**  
 ee me fanawi naho -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke  
 (pause) women stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F  
 interj nf vi sec

'The women didn't stay.'

9 **Me fanawi** **noki** **awemetemoneke** **hibati** **ya**  
 me fanawi noki awa -hemete -mone -ke hibati ya  
 women eye+F see FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F already ADJU  
 nf pn vi nf prt

'The women saw them coming.'

10 **Yara** **kamaki** **yara** **kamaki** , **wati**  
 yara ka -makI+M yara ka -makI+M wati  
 Brazilian go/come following Brazilian go/come following arrow  
 npropm vi npropm vi nm

**kayabematamonaka**  
 ka- yaba -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

'One of the Brazilians came and took out some arrows.'

11 **Me one** **tonokosemetemonehe**  
 me one to- naho -kosa -hemete -mone -he  
 3PL other+F CH stand middle FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 pron adj vi

'The others were behind.'

12 **Wati** **kayabe** , **wati** **toseme** **me one**  
 wati ka- yaba+M wati to- isI -ma+M me one  
 arrow COMIT take out arrow away drop off back 3PL other+F  
 nm vt nm vt pron adj

**haha** **nematamonaka**  
 ha- haa na -himata -mona -ka  
 DUP call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt aux

'He took the arrows out, and carried the arrows away. He called the others.'

13 **Yose ati** **nematamonane**  
 Yose ati na -himata -mona -ne  
 José say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt aux

'"José," he said.'

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14 *Yose te kamakikabote na*  
 Yose tee ka -makI -kabote na  
 José 2PL.S go/come following quickly AUX  
 npropm pron vi aux

"José, you come here quickly."

15 *Koromi me tokibonehe , ati*  
 koromi me to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he , ati  
 Indian 3PL.S away go/come INT+F DUP say  
 npropm pron vi vt

*nematamonahane*

na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

aux

"The Indians are going to go," he said.'

16 *Hiwawi Hiwawi ite me watemetemoneke fahi*  
 Hiwawi Hiwawi ita+M me wata -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 (man's name) (man's name) sit 3PL.S catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 npropm npropm vi pron vt dem

'They grabbed Hiwawi, who was sitting on the ground.'

17 *Me fitori namakia yama me tao nemetemone*  
 me fito -ri na -makI+F yama me tao na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S rush DISTR AUX following thing 3PL.S shoot AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux nf pron vt aux

'They attacked, and shot off their guns.'

18 *Me kana ni tokemetemone me amake*  
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F  
 pron vi aux vi pron sec

*ahi*

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'They went running off.'

19 *Me toka , Kawi Tife tosi bari ya kobo*  
 me to- ka+F , Kawi Tife tosi bari ya kobo  
 3PL.S away go/come (man's name) waist back ADJU arrive  
 pron vi npropm pn pn prt vi

*nemetemoneke*

na -hemete -mone -ke bara  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F bullet  
 aux nf

'They went off. A bullet hit Kawi Tife in his lower back.'

20 *Kakasawi toematamona*  
 ka- ka- sawi to- ha -himata -mona  
 DUP COMIT be present CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt aux

'He lived for a long time.'

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- 21 *Abawaematamona* *amaka*  
 ahaba -waha -himata -mona ama -ka  
 die change FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M  
 vi sec  
 'Then he died.'
- 22 *Me fanawi naorememetone amani*  
 me fanawi naho -ra -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 women stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 nf vi sec  
 'The women didn't stay.'
- 23 *Haha me hasi na me ihi yara me*  
 haaha me hasi na+F me ihi yara me  
 this+F 3PL.S escape AUX 3PL.POSS because of+F Brazilian 3PL.S  
 dem pron vi aux pron post npropm pron  
*naorememetoneke*  
 naho -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi  
 'The Brazilians didn't stay, because of the ones who had escaped.'
- 24 *Yara me kana ni tokomemetemoneke*  
 yara me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 Brazilian 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm pron vi aux vi  
*me ihi itiha mati*  
 me ihi iti+F mati  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vi pron  
 'The Brazilians went running away, because they had killed people.'
- 25 *Komasa me hikiyoemetemone*  
 Komasa me hi- kiyo -hemete -mone -ni  
 (man's name) 3PL.O OC chase FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 npropm pron vt  
 'Komasa chased them.'
- 26 *Komasa me hikiyoha me sa*  
 Komasa me hi- kiyo+F me saa  
 (man's name) 3PL.O OC chase 3PL.O release  
 npropm pron vt pron vt  
*hisamake me ye*  
 hi- to- na -kosa -makI me yee  
 OC CH AUX middle following 3PL.O yell  
 aux pron vi  
*hikanamakietemone ahi*  
 hi- to- ka- na -makI -hemete -mone ahi  
 OC away COMMIT AUX following FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem  
 'Komasa chased them, but then he left off chasing them. He yelled at them.'
- 27 *Me baka tokimetemone amake ahi*  
 me baka to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.S break CH go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 pron vt aux vc dem  
 'The log broke as they were crossing.'

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28 *Batoro Mero winematamona amake ahi*  
 batoro Mero wina.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi  
 boss Melo live FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F then  
 nm npropm vi vc dem

'The boss Melo was living there.'

29 *Ee Mabitiri , Mabitiri amake*  
 ee Mabitiri Mabitiri ama -ke  
 (pause) Mabideri Mabideri be DECL+F  
 interj npropf npropf vc

'It was at Mabideri.'

30 *Batoro me hinarife , mera*  
 batoro me hi- narifa+M mera  
 boss 3PL.S OC help 3PL.O  
 nm pron vt pron

*kabanawematamonaka fare*  
 ka- habana -waha -himata -mona -ka fare  
 COMIT order someone against change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+M  
 vt dem

'They worked for the boss, but he ordered people against them.'

31 *Mera kahabane , yara me*  
 mera ka- habana+M yara me  
 3PL.O COMIT order someone against Brazilian 3PL.S  
 pron vt npropm pron

*kamakiani me ihi itimake , me*  
 ka -makI -hani me ihi iti -makI me  
 go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist following 3PL.S  
 vi pron pn vi pron

*tokometemoneke*  
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'He ordered people against them. The Brazilians came and killed people, and went back.'

32 *Me me hinohoremetemoneke*  
 me me hi- naho -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC touch NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pron vt

'They didn't do anything to them.'

33 *Ha me kamakibisemetemone me , me*  
 haa me ka -makI -bisa -hemete -mone me me  
 DEM 3PL.S go/come following also FP.N+F REP+F 3PL 3PL.POSS  
 dem pron vi pron pron

*hawi amake haro*  
 hawi ama -ke haaro  
 trail+F be DECL+F that one+F  
 pn vc dem

'That is the path that they came on.'

34 *Me kakimetemone amake ahi Kerebe*  
 me ka- ka -kI.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke ahi Kerebe  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there (lake name)  
 pron vi vc dem npropm



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*ya*  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'They came on the Kerebe lake.'

35 *Me kamakiemete me awineke ahi*  
me ka -makI -hemete me awine -ke ahi  
3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F here  
pron vi pron sec dem

'They must have come by here.'

36 *Me tokomakemete me awine ahi*  
me to- ka -makI -hemete me awine ahi  
3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F there  
pron vi pron sec dem

'They must have gone that way.'

37 *Matehe naoha ni ya me ye wanamake*  
matehe naho+F ni ya me yehe wana -makI  
children stand to ADJU 3PL.POSS hand be attached following  
nf vi prt prt pron pn vi

*matehe me tiwari namisemetemoneni*  
matehe me tiwa -ri na -misa -hemete -mone -ni  
children 3PL.S carry DISTR AUX up FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
nf pron vt aux

'They started with the children who were standing around. They put the children on their shoulders.'

38 *Mate me tiwari namisa me , mate me ka*  
matehe me tiwa -ri na -misa+F me , matehe me ka  
children 3PL.S carry DISTR AUX up 3PL.S children 3PL POSS  
nf pron vt aux pron nf pron prt

*ami me sawihabone me me*  
ami me sawi -habone me me  
mother 3PL.S be present INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
nf pron vi pron pron

*towakamemetemone me me hima na*  
to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone , me me hima na+F  
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S call to go AUX  
vi pron pron vt aux

*mati me me hinahabihabone me me hikeyeha*  
mati , me me hi- na- ahaba -habone me me hi- keyeha+F  
3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC deceive  
pron pron pron vt pron pron vt

*mati*  
mati  
3PL.O  
pron

'They put the children on their shoulders. They took them away, so that their mothers would go along. They called them to go along, deceiving them, so they could kill them.'

39 *Matehe me towakama me , me*  
matehe me to- ka- ka -ma+F me , me  
children 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
nf pron vi pron pron





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'They let him go. He looked around for a stick.'

50 *Awa homahani iti , awa*  
 awa homa -hani iti+M , awa  
 wood lie on ground IP.N+F pick up wood  
 nf vi vt nf

*totikosematamonane*

to- iti -kosa -himata -mona -ne  
 CH pick up middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vt

'He picked up a stick from the ground.'

51 *Yara me ha ya me fito*  
 yara me haa ya me fito  
 Brazilian 3PL DEM ADJU 3PL.S rush  
 npropm pron dem prt pron vi

*tosikimemetemone*

to- na -kosa -kima -hemete -mone  
 CH AUX middle two FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'The Brazilians ran in two directions.'

52 *Hikatabamake*

hi- to- ka- taba -makI  
 OC away COMIT be together following  
 vt

*hinabowematamonaka*

hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ka  
 OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt

*fari*

faari  
 that one+M  
 dem

'He went after one of them, and killed him.'

53 *Owa manakone awebona fito name*  
 owa manakone awa -hibona fito na -ma+M  
 other+M price avenge INT+M rush AUX back  
 adj pn vt vi aux

*hinabowatasematamona*

hi- na- aboha -tasa -himata -mona faari  
 OC CAUS die again FP.N+M REP+M that one+M  
 vt dem

'The other one wanted to avenge him, but when he attacked, he killed him, too.'

54 *Me fawa hikanimetemoneke*  
 me fawa hi- to- ka- niha- na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.O disappear OC CH COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi aux

'He killed them.'

55 *Faya , kame kamaki , toke , toke*  
 faya , ka -ma+M ka -makI+M , to- ka+M , to- ka+M  
 so go/come back go/come following away go/come away go/come  
 conj vi vi vi  
*yara me , noki kane mano komene awe yara*  
 yara me , noki kane na+M mano komene awa+M yara  
 Brazilian 3PL.O wait for COMIT AUX arm+M pain+M feel Brazilian  
 npropm pron vt aux pn pn vt npropm

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*me noki kane , yama kayomi ya kame*  
 me noki ka- na+M , yama kayoma+F ya ka -ma+M ,  
 3PL.O wait for COMIT AUX thing darken ADJU go/come back  
 pron vt aux nf vi prt vi

*yara me wina me ka kanawa boti nabe*  
 yara me wina+F me ka kanawa boti nahaba+M  
 Brazilian 3PL.S live 3PL POSS canoe steal at night  
 npropm pron vi pron prt nf vt prt

**kakariwamakimatamonaka**

ka- ka -riwaha -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT go/come across following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came back. He went. He waited for the Brazilians. When it got dark he came back. At the place where the Brazilians lived, he stole their canoe at night, and came across.'

56 *Kakariwamaki Hibaka me*  
 ka- ka -riwaha -makI+M , hibaka me  
 COMIT go/come across following where 3PL.S  
 vi interrog pron

*tokomanihi ? ati nematamona*  
 to- ka -ma -hani -hi ? ati na -himata -mona  
 away go/come back IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 vi vt aux

'He came across. "Where did they go?" he said.'

57 *Me hawi siba ne kanawa kakamake*  
 me hawi siba na+M kanawa ka- ka -makI ,  
 3PL.POSS trail+F look for AUX canoe COMIT go/come following  
 pron pn vt aux nf vi

*kanawa kakariwahamaki kimisake , me*  
 kanawa ka- ka -riwaha -makI+M ka -misa -kI , me  
 canoe COMIT go/come across following go/come up coming 3PL.POSS  
 nf vi vi pron

*hawi siba nematamona*  
 hawi siba na -himata -mona  
 trail+F look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vt aux

'He looked for their trail. He came in the canoe. He came across in the canoe. He came onto the shore. He looked for their trail.'

58 *Boroko me tokomake*  
 boroko me to- ka -ma -ke  
 pig 3PL.S away go/come back DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

'The pigs are going.'

59 *Hika ?*  
 hika  
 where  
 interrog

'Where?'

60 *Boroko me tokomineke haro*  
 boroko me to- ka -ma -ne -ke haro  
 pig 3PL.S away go/come back CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 nm pron vi dem

'The pigs are going there.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

61 **Faya me hawi wasiwematamona**  
 faya me hawi wasi -waha -himata -mona  
 so 3PL.POSS trail+F find change FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj pron pn vt

'Then he found their trail.'

62 **Me tokomakeni haro**  
 me to- ka -ma -ke -ni haaro  
 3PL.S away go/come back DECL+F IP.N+F that one+F  
 pron vi dem

""They went there.""

63 **Owa me mowa nani me ama**  
 owa me mowa na -hani me ama  
 1SG.O 3PL.S shake AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S SEC  
 pron pron vt aux pron sec

""They didn't wake me up.""

64 **Yara me hinahabihibona abarematamonaka**  
 yara me hi- na- ahaba -hibona ahaba -ra -himata -mona -ka  
 Brazilian 3PL.S OC CAUS die INT+M die NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 npropm pron vt vi

'The Brazilians wanted to kill him, but he didn't die.'

65 **Kamakimatamonaka**  
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'He came.'

66 **Hasi nematamonahane**  
 hasi na -himata -mona -ha -ne  
 escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M  
 vi aux

'He escaped.'

67 **Yara me hinahabihare kamaki**  
 yara me hi- na- ahaba -ra+M ka -makI+M  
 Brazilian 3PL.S OC CAUS die NEG go/come following  
 npropm pron vt vi

**fati kamamina kobo hinematamonane**  
 fati ka -ma -mina+F kobo hi- na -himata -mona -ne  
 3SG.POSS.wife go/come back morning meet OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vi vt aux

**tabiyo**  
 tabiyo  
 wanting  
 pn

'The Brazilians didn't kill him. He came. His wife came the next day, and met him. She was missing him.'

68 **Tabiyo fati bosa namamina kobo**  
 tabiyo fati bosa na -ma -mina+F kobo  
 absence 3SG.POSS.wife get up early AUX back morning meet  
 pn nf vi aux vt

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*hine faya me hekameamatamonaka fahi*  
 hi- na+M faya me hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 OC AUX so 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux conj pron vt dem  
 'His wife got up early and came after him, because she missed him. She met him. The others came after him.'

69 *Yara me ka , yara me me kakako*  
 yara me ka , yara me me ka- kaako  
 Brazilian 3PL POSS Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP be angry with  
 npropm pron prt npropm pron pron vt

*hira fara me me nanakamake na*  
 hi- na -ra+F fara me me na- na- ka -makI na  
 OC AUX NEG same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP CAUS go/come following AUX  
 aux dem pron pron vt aux

*toemetemone me amake*  
 to- ha -hemete -mone me ama -ke  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 aux pron sec

'They didn't hate the Brazilians, but they always came after them.'

70 *Yara me me hinakamakira me ,*  
 yara me me hi- to- na- ka -makI -ra+F me  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following NEG 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt pron

*fara me me momowa na toha me , me*  
 fara me me mo- mowa na to- ha+F me , me  
 same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP fight AUX CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 dem pron pron vt aux aux pron pron

*winabisa , me winabisa Yaro kake ,*  
 wina -bisa+F , me wina -bisa+F Yaro ka -kI ,  
 live also 3PL.S live also (man's name) go/come coming  
 vi pron vi npropm vi

*me i wasiki , hinakati ahabani*  
 me ihi wasi -kI+M , hinaka ati ahaba -hani  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F find coming 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F  
 pron pn vt nf vi

*wasiki hinakati kamo yawa towakame*  
 wasi -kI+M hinaka ati kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M  
 find coming 3SG.POSS older sister bury anger away COMIT go/come back  
 vt nf vt nf vt

*, yawa towakame , kobo*  
 yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M , kobo  
 anger away COMIT go/come back arrive  
 nf vt vi

*tonamematamonaka tabora ya*  
 to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka tabora ya  
 away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M village ADJU  
 aux nf prt

'They didn't go after the Brazilians. They were always fighting with them. They were living there. Yaro came, and came upon the one that they had killed. He came upon his older female cousin who had died. He buried his cousin. He went home angry. He arrived back at the village.'

71 *Yaro fa mera ?*  
 Yaro faa me -ra  
 (man's name) that 3PL.S NPQ  
 npropm nf pron

'"Older brother, what about them?"'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

72 *Me winini* ?  
 me wina -ni  
 3PL.S live BKG+F  
 pron vi

"Are they living there?"

73 *Me winahara*  
 me wina -hara  
 3PL.S live IP.E+F  
 pron vi

"They are not living there."

74 *Yara me me tao hinahanihi ati*  
 yara me me tao hi- na -hani -hi ati  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX IP.N+F DUP say  
 nm pron pron vt aux vt

*nematamona*

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

aux

"The Brazilians shot them," he said.'

75 *Yara me ababanani*  
 yara me ahaba -habana -ni  
 Brazilian 3PL.S die FUT+F BKG+F  
 npropm pron vi

"The Brazilians will die."

76 *Yara me e mowa nabanani manako*  
 yara me ee mowa na -habana -ni manako  
 Brazilian 3PL.O 1IN.S fight AUX FUT+F BKG+F revenge  
 npropm pron pron vt aux nf

"We will fight against the Brazilians, to get revenge."

77 *Wati me towakamakietemoneke*  
 wati me to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 arrow 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm pron vi

"They took bows and arrows.'

78 *Wati me towakamakia me yara*  
 wati me to- ka- ka -makI+F me yara  
 arrow 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S Brazilian  
 nm pron vi pron npropm

*sirika me siri nani me me kobo*  
 sirika me siri na -hani me me kobo  
 rubber tree sp 3PL.S scrape AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 nm pron vt aux pron pron vt

*nemetemonehe sirika fehene me sika nani*  
 na -hemete -mone -he sirika fehene me sika na -hani  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP rubber tree sp latex+M 3PL.S pour AUX IP.N+F  
 aux nm pn pron vt aux

*mati*  
 mati  
 3PL.S  
 pron



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

'They took bows and arrows. The Brazilians had been getting latex, and they met up with them when they were pouring the latex into buckets.'

79 *Faya sirika me siri nani me me kobo*  
 faya sirika me siri na -hani me me kobo  
 so rubber tree sp 3PL.S scrape AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S meet  
 conj nm pron vt aux pron pron vt

*hina me Yara me kakamaro fa me*  
 hi- na+F me yara me ka- ka -ma -haaro faa me  
 OC AUX 3PL.O Brazilian 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back look+F that 3PL.S  
 aux pron nm pron vi nf pron

*ati nemetemonehe*  
 ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vt aux

'They had been getting latex, and they met up with them. "There are two Brazilians coming there," they said.'

80 *Himata te ebe naba te amari ?*  
 himata tee ebe na -haba tee ama -ri  
 what? 2PL.S purpose AUX FUT+F 2PL.S SEC CQ+F  
 interrog pron vt aux pron sec

"What are you doing?"

81 *Yama himata ota ebe riba ?*  
 yama himata otaa ebe na -ri -ba  
 thing what? 1EX.S purpose AUX CQ+F FUT  
 nf interrog pron vt aux

"What are we doing?"

82 *Hiyama me ota mowa nabone ota*  
 hiyama me otaa mowa na -habone otaa  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S fight AUX INT+F 1EX.S  
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

"We are going after white-lipped peccaries."

83 *Hiyama me kaki ama ahi me ati*  
 hiyama me ka -kI.NOM ama ahi me ati  
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come coming SEC here 3PL.S say  
 nm pron vi sec dem pron vt

*nemetemonehe yara me me keyeha mati*  
 na -hemete -mone -he yara me me keyeha+F mati  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S deceive 3PL.S  
 aux npropm pron pron vt pron

"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said, deceiving the Brazilians.'

84 *Yara me tamemetemoneke me me*  
 yara me tama -hemete -mone -ke me me  
 Brazilian 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S  
 npropm pron vi pron pron

*hinahabihabisa mati*  
 hi- na- ahaba -bisa+F mati  
 OC CAUS die also 3PL.O  
 vt pron

'There were many Brazilians that the Jarawaras killed, too.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

85 *Faya me , Hiyama me , kisata me kaki*  
 faya me , hiyama me , kisata me ka -kI.NOM  
 so 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL nm 3PL.S go/come coming  
 conj pron nm pron pron vi

*ama ahi me ati nemetemonehe*  
 ama ahi me ati na -hemete -mone -he  
 SEC here 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 sec dem pron vt aux

"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said.'

86 *Hima e tokoma te taboro ka ya*  
 hima ee to- ka -ma tee taboro ka ya  
 let's go 1IN.S away go/come back 2PL.POSS place LOC ADJU  
 interj pron vi pron pn prt prt

"Come on, let's go to your place."

87 *Me me hekama me sirika fehene*  
 me me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me sirika fehene  
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.O rubber tree sp latex+M  
 pron pron vt pron nm pn

*yara , kakitibase , owa wematamonane*  
 yara , ka- iti -basa+M , owa waa -himata -mona -ne  
 Brazilian COMMIT take out edge other+M stand FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 npropm vt adj vi

*Yowaki*

Yowaki  
 Joaquim  
 npropm

'They took them. The Brazilian took a cup of latex. The other one was standing there, Joaquim.'

88 *Yowaki wematamonaha*  
 Yowaki waa -himata -mona -ha  
 Joaquim stand FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 npropm vi

'Joaquim was standing there.'

89 *Owa tokomisame sirika fehene*  
 owa to- ka -misa -ma+M sirika fehene  
 other+M away go/come up back rubber tree sp latex+M  
 adj vi nm pn

*kakitibase kisame*  
 ka- iti -basa+M ka -risa -ma+M  
 COMMIT take out edge go/come down back  
 vt vi

*kisamematamonaka*

ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'The other one went up and got the cup of latex. He came down.'

90 *Sirika fehene so tonihe hinaka tisera tori*  
 sirika fehene soo to- niha- na+M hinaka tisera tori  
 rubber tree sp latex+M lie CH CAUS AUX 3SG.POSS cup inside+F  
 nm pn vi aux pron nf pn

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**howehowe**    **ne**    ,    **tati**    **me**    **ti**  
 howe- howe na+M , tati me tii  
 DUP wipe AUX head 3PL.S cut through  
 vt aux pn pron vt

**hisematamonaka**    **fari**  
 hi- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka faari  
 OC AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M  
 aux dem

'He poured the latex into the bucket. As he was cleaning out the cup with his fingers, they cut off his head.'

91 **Kote**    **wamisame**    **bao**    **towitimatamona**    **ahi**  
 kote waa -misa -ma+M bao to- na -witI -himata -mona ahi  
 piece stand up back come down away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pn vi vi aux dem

'His headless body got up and fell over.'

92 **Owa**    **yora**    **nariwematamona**    **me**  
 owa yora na -riwaha -himata -mona me  
 other+M jump AUX across FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.S  
 adj vi aux pron

**hikiyobanoho**  
 hi- kiyo -hiba -no -ho  
 OC chase FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'The other one jumped away, and they chased him.'

93 **Owa**    **te**    **awaraba**    **nahi**  
 owa tee awaraba na -hi  
 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vt aux

""Leave me alone.""

94 **Koyo**    **Koyo**    **owa**    **te**    **awaraba**    **nahi**  
 Koyo Koyo owa tee awaraba na -hi  
 (man's name) (man's name) 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F  
 npropm npropm pron pron vt aux

""Koyo, Koyo, you leave me alone.""

95 **E**    **tabate**    **amani**    **Yowaki**    **ati**    **nematamona**    **ama**  
 ee taba -tee ama -ni Yowaki ati na -himata -mona ama  
 1IN.S be together HAB SEC BKG+F Joaquim say AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC  
 pron vi sec npropm vt aux sec

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

""We have always been together," Joaquim said.'

96 **Hiwa**    **kakatome**    **ka**    **hiwa**    **bari**  
 hiwa ka- katoma.NOM+M ka hiwa bari  
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT look at because 3SG.REFL.M impede  
 pron vt prt pron vt

**kane**    **ka**    **mano**    **me**    **ti**  
 ka- na.NOM+M ka mano me tii  
 COMIT AUX because arm+M 3PL.S cut through  
 aux prt pn pron vt

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**hisibematamonane**

hi- na -kosa -baha -himata -mona -ne  
 OC AUX middle before FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 aux

'So as to protect himself he shielded himself, and they cut off his arm.'

97 **Me hikiyo** , **me hikiyo** **awa ini** **boti**  
 me hi- kiyom , me hi- kiyom awa ini boti  
 3PL.S OC chase 3PL.S OC chase tree branch+F inside  
 pron vt pron vt nf pn pn

**tokiyomawite** , **tokiyomawite** **me ti**  
 to- ka -yoma -witI , to- ka -yoma -witI me tii  
 away go/come through out away go/come through out 3PL.S cut through  
 vi vi pron vt

**hikane** **me hinahimatamonaka** **fahi**  
 hi- ka- na+M me hi- na- ahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi  
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux pron vt dem

'They chased him. He went into the branches of a fallen tree. They cleared out the branches, and killed him.'

98 **Tati me ka hirematamona** **yimawa ya**  
 tati me kaa hi- na -rI -himata -mona yimawa ya  
 head 3PL.S chop OC AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M knife ADJU  
 pn pron vt aux nf prt

'They cut his head open with a machete.'

99 **Faya me tokawemetemone** **ahi yara me**  
 faya me to- ka -waha -hemete -mone ahi yara me  
 so 3PL.S away go/come change FP.N+F REP+F then Brazilian 3PL.O  
 conj pron vi dem npropm pron

**me wati kana mati**  
 me wati ka- na+F mati  
 3PL.S plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 pron vt aux pron

'Then they went on, planning to kill the Brazilians.'

100 **Faya yara tati me ba hirematamona**  
 faya yara tati me baa hi- na -rI -himata -mona  
 so Brazilian head 3PL.S hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj npropm pn pron vt aux

**winemari amake ahi kitamemata**  
 wina.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi , kita -ma -himata  
 live FP.E+M be DECL+F then be strong back FP.N+M  
 vi vc dem vi

'There was a Brazilian whose head they bashed who survived. He got well.'

101 **Faya** , **yara me me towasiwitia** **me** ,  
 faya yara me me to- wasi -witI+F me  
 so Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S away find out 3PL.S  
 conj npropm pron pron vt pron

**Tene Irabo fati** , **ha nemetemone amake me**  
 Tene Irabo fati haa na -hemete -mone ama -ke me  
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.wife call AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.S  
 npropm nf vi aux sec pron



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**kakimisakiemetemonehe**

ka- ka -misa -kI -hemete -mone -he  
 COMMIT go/come up coming FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
 vi

'They lived on the other side. They came across and came onto land.'

107 **Me towakimisa owa ma tomisamaki**  
 me to- ka- ka -misa+F owa maa to- na -misa -makI+M  
 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come up one+M stop away AUX up following  
 pron vi adj vi aux

**warematamonane**

waa -ra -himata -mona -ne  
 stand NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi

'They went up the steps. One of them stopped and stood there.'

108 **Okiti taokana tama ne itematamona**  
 o- ka iti taokana tama na+M ita -himata -mona  
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather shotgun hold onto AUX sit FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm nf vt aux vi

**amaka , yara me me katomabani mati**  
 ama -ka yara me me katoma -haba -ni mati  
 SEC DECL+M Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S attack FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S  
 sec npropm pron pron vt pron

'My grandfather was sitting on the ground, holding his shotgun. He killed the Brazilians.'

109 **Okiti tao hikanematamonaka**  
 o- ka iti tao hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather shoot OC COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vt aux

**ahi**

ahi  
 then  
 dem

'My grandfather shot at him.'

110 **Me ati kamite tonokomisamaki bata**  
 me ati ka- mita+M to- noko -misa -makI+M bata  
 3PL.POSS voice COMMIT hear away point up following explode  
 pron pn vt vi vi

**hikematamonaka taokana ya**  
 hi- ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka taokana ya  
 OC COMMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M shotgun ADJU  
 aux nf prt

'He heard their voices, and looked up, and shot at him without any effect.'

111 **Bataa taokana moni tonakosa ati moni**  
 bataa taokana moni to- na -kosa+F ati moni  
 sound shotgun make sound CH AUX middle voice sound  
 nf vt aux pn pn

**mitematamona**

mita -himata -mona  
 hear FP.N+M REP+M  
 vt

'Bataa, the gun noise went, and he heard the noise.'<sup>12</sup>

12 The word *ati* is a false start.



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**tabaharo**                      **yimawa** ,    **bari** .  
 taba                      -haaro    yimawa    ,    bari .  
 be together IP.E+F    knife                      ax  
 vi                                      nf                      nf

'Then they killed Apurinãs. They killed Brazilians, and brought back clothes, manioc meal, salt, knives, axes, with other things.'

119 **Me**            **kamimetemone**                                      **amake**            **ahi** .  
 me    ka            -ma.NOM+F    -mete    -mone    ama    -ke            ahi  
 3PL.S    go/come back                      FP.N+F    REP+F    be    DECL+F    then  
 pron    vi    vc                      dem

'They came back.'

120 **Me**            **tokemetemoneke**                                      **ahi** .  
 me    to-    ka            -hemete    -mone    -ke            ahi  
 3PL.S    away go/come    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F    then  
 pron    vi    dem

'Then they went into the forest.'

121 **Me**            **tokoma**                                      **me** ,    **me**    **amo**    **na**    **me** ,  
 me    to-    ka            -ma+F    me                      ,    me    amo    na+F    me  
 3PL.S    away go/come back    3PL.S                      3PL.S    sleep    AUX    3PL.S  
 pron    vi    pron                      pron    vi                      aux                      pron

**bosa**                      **nemetemone**                                      **ahi** .  
 bosa                      na    -hemete    -mone    ahi  
 get up early    AUX FP.N+F    REP+F    then  
 vi                                      aux    dem

'They went to another village. They slept, and got up early.'

122 **Tokimetemone**                                      **amake**            **ahi** .  
 to-    ka.NOM+F    -mete    -mone    ama    -ke            ahi  
 away go/come    FP.N+F    REP+F    be    DECL+F    then  
 vi    vc                      dem

'They went into the forest again.'

123 **Awi**                                      **batori**            **ka** ,    **faya**    **me**            **towinawitia**                                      **me**  
 Awi                                      batori            ka                      ,    faya    me            to-    wina    -witI+F    me  
 (name of stream)    junction    LOC                      so    3PL.S    away live out    3PL.S  
 nm                                      pn                      prt                      conj    pron    vi    pron

,    **Tene Irabo**            **yama**    **me**    **one**            **totimeno**                                      **yama**    **me**  
 Tene Irabo            yama    me    one            to-    iti                      -ma    -hino    yama    me  
 (man's name)    thing    3PL    other+F    away take out back IP.N+M    thing    3PL.S  
 npropm                      nf                      pron    adj                      vt    nf                      pron

**tao**            **namaki**                                      **nabimetemone**                                      **ama** .  
 tao    na    -makI                      nahaba.NOM+F    -mete    -mone    ama  
 shoot    AUX following    at night                      FP.N+F    REP+F    be  
 vt                      aux                                      prt    vc

'They lived at the mouth of the Awi stream. Tene Irabo got some others, and they shot their guns in the night.'

124 **Yara**            **me**            **moni**    **me**            **mita**    **me**            **toka**                                      **naba**  
 yara                      me                      moni    me                      mita+F    me            to-    ka                      nahaba+F  
 Brazilian    3PL.POSS    sound    3PL.S    hear                      3PL.S    away go/come    at night  
 npropm                      pron                      pn                      pron    vt                      pron    vi                                      aux



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*me* , *okobise* , *yome* *hotone* *beri* *ya* *amo*  
 me o- ka abise , yomee hotone beheri ya amo  
 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS uncle jaguar hole+M side ADJU sleep  
 pron nm nm pn pn prt vi

*nemona* *ati* *me* *haha* *kana* *toimaro*  
 na -himona ati me haahaa ka- na to- ha.NOM+F -maro  
 AUX REP+M voice 3PL.S laugh COMMIT AUX CH AUX FP.E+F  
 aux pn pron vi aux aux

'They heard the sound of the Brazilians, and they went into the forest during the night. My uncle said he slept next to the hole of a jaguar, and they always laughed at this.'

125 *Me* *tokawaimetemone* *amake* *ahi*  
 me to- ka -waha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come change FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then  
 pron vi vc dem

'They went into the forest another time.'

126 *Bato yafi* *me* *ni* *me* *me* *me* *me* , *bato yafi* *me* *ni* *ya*  
 bato yafi me ni me me me me , bato yafi me ni ya  
 Banawá 3PL to 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL Banawá 3PL to ADJU  
 npropm pron prt pron pron pron pron npropm pron prt prt

*me* *tokomake* , *me* *tosawimakia* *me* ,  
 me to- ka -makI , me to- sawi -makI+F me ,  
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S away be present following 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi pron

*yati* *me* *me* *hiyokoemetemoneke*  
 yati me me hi- yoko -hemete -mone -ke  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bring misfortune on FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 npropm pron pron vt

*yara* *mati*  
 yara mati  
 Brazilian 3PL  
 npropm pron

'They went to the Banawás, and stayed with them. The Apurinãs caused a bad thing to happen to the Brazilians.'

127 *Yati* *me* *me* *hiyokoa* *me* , *yati* *me*  
 yati me me hi- yoko+F me , yati me  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bring misfortune on 3PL.O Apurinã 3PL.O  
 npropm pron pron vt pron npropm pron

*me* *tao* , *bato yafi* *me* *me* *tao*  
 me tao , bato yafi me me tao  
 3PL.S shoot Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot  
 pron vt npropm pron pron vt

*hibisemetemoneke* *faro*  
 hi- na -bisa -hemete -mone -ke faaro  
 OC AUX also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F  
 aux dem

'The Apurinãs caused a bad thing to happen to them. The Banawás also killed them with guns.'

128 *Me* *yoro* *tokana* *me* *ohariemetemone*  
 me yoro to- ka- na+F me ohari -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S be together CH COMMIT AUX 3PL.S be one FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi aux pron vi



## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

134 *Ota nahobana*  
 otaa naho.NOM -bana  
 1EX.S stay FUT  
 pron vi

"We will stay here."

135 *Te ota noki niba*  
 tee otaa noki na.NOM+F -ba  
 2PL.O 1EX.S wait for AUX FUT  
 pron pron vt aux

"We will wait for you."

136 *Faya me me fanawi bosa nemetemone me amani*  
 faya me me fanawi bosa na -hemete -mone me ama -ni  
 so 3PL women get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F  
 conj pron nf vi aux pron sec

'Then the women got up early.'

137 *Me fanawi me bosa na me , me tokoma*  
 me fanawi me bosa na+F me , me to- ka -ma+F  
 women 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back  
 nf pron vi aux pron pron vi

*me , me me kobo hinemetemone*  
 me , me me kobo hi- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S meet OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron pron vt aux

'The women got up early. They went. They encountered them.'

138 *Te yotohi*  
 tee yoto+M  
 2PL.S follow  
 pron vi

"You stay behind."

139 *Te te yotoba nahi*  
 tee tee yoto -baa na -hi  
 2PL.S 2PL.S follow at a distance AUX IMP+F  
 pron pron vi aux

"You stay far behind."

140 *Tai oamibeya ati nemetemoneke*  
 tai o- to- ha -ma -be -ya ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
 be ahead 1SG.S CH AUX back IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi aux vt aux

*Awa Wai Ya*

Awa Wai Ya  
 (woman's name)  
 npropf

"I will go ahead," she said, Awa Wai Ya.'

141 *Awa Wai Ya tai toamemetemoneni , yati*  
 Awa Wai Ya tai to- ha -ma -hemete -mone -ni , yati  
 (woman's name) be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F yati  
 npropf vi aux Apurinã  
 npropm

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

*mera kobo nabonehe*  
 mera kobo na -habone -he  
 3PL.O meet AUX INT+F DUP  
 pron vt aux

'Awa Wai Ya went ahead, to meet up with the Apurinãs.'

142 *Yome yome ota fami ke habo ni te miti*  
 yomee yomee otaa fama.NFIN ke habo na.NFIN tee mita.NOM+F  
 dog dog 1EX.S be two which+M bark AUX 2PL.S hear  
 nm nm pron vi prt vi aux pron vi

*ya te te wete tonamiya*  
 ya tee tee wete to- na -ma -yahi  
 ADJU 2PL.S 2PL.S return away AUX back DIST.IMP+F  
 prt pron pron vi aux

'If you hear the dog that is with me barking, you go back.'

143 *Te kana ni tokomiyahi ati*  
 tee kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -yahi ati  
 2PL.S run AUX away go/come back DIST.IMP+F say  
 pron vi aux vi vt

*nemetemone*  
 na -hemete -mone  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'Go running away,' she said.'

144 *Faya me kana ni yome habo ni me mita me*  
 faya me kana na.NFIN yomee habo na.NFIN me mita+F me  
 so 3PL.S run AUX dog bark AUX 3PL.S hear 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi aux nm vi aux pron vt pron

*kana ni tokomemetemoneke fahi hiyara me*  
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi hiyara me  
 run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then story 3PL.S  
 vi aux vi dem nf pron

*towakama mati me yoro tokana me*  
 to- ka- ka -ma+F mati me yoro to- ka- na+F me  
 away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S be together CH COMMIT AUX 3PL  
 vi pron pron vi aux pron

*ni ya Rowiso ite rama*  
 ni ya Rowiso ita+M rama  
 to ADJU (man's name) stay unusual  
 prt prt npropm vi prt

'They heard the dog barking, and they went running back, taking the news to the others, who were gathered together. Rowiso was there.'

145 *Rowiso yati me nao aya*  
 Rowiso yati me naho.NOM aya  
 (man's name) Apurinã 3PL.S stand there  
 npropm npropm pron vi dem

'Rowiso, the Apurinãs are there.'

146 *Yati otara me tao nene me nao aya ati*  
 yati otara me tao na -hene me naho.NOM aya ati  
 Apurinã 1EX.O 3PL.S shoot AUX IRR+F 3PL.S stand there say  
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vi dem vt

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

**nemetemone**

na -hemete -mone  
AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
aux

"The Apurinãs almost shot us. They are there," she said.'

147 **Owa me tao kibe**  
owa me tao ka- na -be  
1SG.O 3PL.S shoot COMMIT AUX IMMED+F  
pron pron vt vi

"They will shoot me."

148 **Me ihi itihani me yobi**  
me ihi iti -hani me yobi  
3PL.POSS victim of+F exist IP.N+F 3PL.S go back and forth  
pron pn vi pron vi

**nofa me ama**  
na nofa+F me ama  
AUX recently 3PL.S SEC  
prt pron sec

"They killed someone, and they still were coming around here."

149 **Taokana kakitikabote nematamona ahi**  
taokana ka- iti -kabote na -himata -mona ahi  
shotgun COMMIT pick up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
nf vt aux dem

'He picked up his gun.'

150 **Te kamaki**  
tee ka -maki  
2PL.S go/come following  
pron vi

"Come."

151 **Yati me e towamibe**  
yati me ee to- awa -ma -be  
Apurinã 3PL.O 1IN.S away see back IMMED+F  
npropm pron pron vt

"Let's go look at the Apurinãs."

152 **Yati me me towamabone me ohari**  
yati me me to- awa -ma -habone me ohari.NFIN  
Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S away see back INT+F 3PL.S be one  
npropm pron pron vt pron vi

**tohehemetemonehe**

to- ha -hemete -mone -he  
CH be FP.N+F REP+F DUP  
vc

'They all went to see the Apurinãs.'

153 **Me nafi toemetemoneke ahi**  
me nafi to- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
3PL.POSS all CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
pron pn vc dem

'It was all of them.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

- 154 *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.'
- 155 *Me tokomemetemone kita ya*  
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone kita ya  
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F strength ADJU  
 pron vi vi prt  
 'They went fast.'
- 156 *Yati isiri me weyeri kawaha me ka isiri*  
 yati isiri me weye -ri ka- na -waha+F me ka isiri  
 Apurinã basket 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX change 3PL POSS basket  
 npropm nf pron vt aux pron prt nf  
*si tonemetemoneni*  
 sii to- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 stand CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi aux  
 'The Apurinãs had brought baskets, and their baskets were on the ground.'
- 157 *Itawaine nimete isiri*  
 ita -waha -ne na.NOM+F -mete isiri  
 sit change CONT+F AUX FP.N+F basket  
 vi aux nf  
 'They just sat there.'
- 158 *Yati me me me wati hikana rama*  
 yati me me me wati hi- ka- na+F rama  
 Apurinã 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against OC COMIT AUX unusual  
 npropm pron pron pron vt aux prt  
*me me ki hinemetemone*  
 me me kii hi- na -hemete -mone  
 3PL.O 3PL.S look at OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron vt aux  
 'They planned to kill them, so they didn't just look at them.'
- 159 *Rowiso fare owa , mera komofai nebona , taokana*  
 Rowiso fare owa , mera komofai na -hibona , taokana  
 (man's name) same+M other+M 3PL.O greet AUX INT+M shotgun  
 npropm dem adj pron vt aux nf  
*mate ya mera ta nematamonaka ahi*  
 mate ya mera taa na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 base+F ADJU 3PL.O give AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pn prt pron vt aux dem  
 'The other Rowiso gave the stock of the gun to them to greet them.'
- 160 *Taokana mate me komofai nemetemone ehene*  
 taokana mate me komofai na -hemete -mone ehene  
 shotgun base+F 3PL.S greet AUX FP.N+F REP+F because of+M  
 nf pn pron vt aux post  
 'They grasped the stock of the gun in greeting, because of him.'







## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

174 **Tao hikane me ye kawemetemone**  
 tao hi- ka- na+M , me ye ka- na -waha -hemete -mone  
 shoot OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S yell COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt aux pron vi aux

**yati me me kina mati**  
 yati me me kina+F mati  
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S hit 3PL.S  
 npropm pron pron vt pron

'He shot him. They yelled, surrounding the Apurinãs.'

175 **Owa me sa hikana**  
 owa me saa hi- ka- na.LIST  
 other+M 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX  
 adj pron vt aux

**hinematamona ahi**  
 hi- na -himata -mona ahi  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'They also shot one of them with an arrow.'

176 **Me me waka hinemetemoneni**  
 me me waka hi- na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.O 3PL.S kill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron pron vt aux

'They killed them.'

177 **Yati fana kana narawa me kiyorawemetemone**  
 yati fana kana na -rawa+F me kiyo -rawa -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã female run AUX F.PL 3PL.S chase F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm nf vi aux pron vt

**ahi**  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'The Apurinã women ran, and they ran after them.'

178 **Fa kakeraba ama ?**  
 faha ka -kI -ra -haba ama  
 water go/come coming NEG FUT+F SEC  
 nf vi sec

'Is it going to rain?'

179 **Owato okare**  
 o- wato o- ka -re  
 1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL NEG+F  
 vt prt

'I don't know.'

180 **Yati fana me tisa narawemetemone kana**  
 yati fana me tisa na -rawa -hemete -mone kana  
 Apurinã female 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F run  
 npropm nf pron vt aux vi

**narawaro kasaro akarawanihi**  
 na -rawa -haaro , kasaro aka -rawa -hani -hi  
 AUX F.PL IP.E+F beads wear F.PL IP.N+F DUP  
 aux nf vt

'They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They were wearing beads.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

181 *Yati fana taminarawa me katomarawemetemone*  
 yati fana tamina -rawa+F me katoma -rawa -hemete -mone  
 Apurinã female be good F.PL 3PL.S kill many F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 npropm nf vi pron vt

*Towisawa aati toemari amake*  
 Towisawa a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke  
 (man's name) DUP say away AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F  
 npropm vt aux vc

'They killed many pretty Apurinã women, Towisawa always said.'

182 *Me ihi itiha me kamemetemone ahi*  
 me ihi iti+F me ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron pn vi pron vi dem

'After killing people, they came back.'

183 *Me kama me me banehemetemone ahi*  
 me ka -ma+F me me bana -hemete -mone ahi  
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron vi pron pron vi dem

'They came back, and moved away.'

184 *Me bana me tokemetemone*  
 me bana+F me to- ka -hemete -mone  
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron vi pron vi

'They moved away. They went.'

185 *Awa me ka hina tobokawitiha me me*  
 awa me kaa hi- na+F to- boka -witI+F me me  
 tree 3PL.S chop OC AUX away enter water out 3PL 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux vi pron pron

*kariwehemetemone ahi*  
 ka -riwaha -hemete -mone ahi  
 go/come across FP.N+F REP+F then  
 vi dem

'They cut down a tree. The tree fell into the water, and they went across.'

186 *Me kariwa me awa me ti*  
 me ka -riwaha+F me awa me tii  
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S tree 3PL.S cut through  
 pron vi pron nf pron vt

*nakosemetemone fahi*  
 na -kosa -hemete -mone fahi  
 AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F then  
 aux dem

'They crossed. They cut the tree in two.'

187 *Awa bokarisemetemone amani*  
 awa boka -risa -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 tree enter water down FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 nf vi sec

'The tree sunk.'

## FIGHTS WITH BRAZILIANS

188 *Faya me totowinawiti toimetemone amake*  
 faya me to- to- wina -witI to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke  
 so 3PL.S DUP away live out CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F  
 conj pron vi aux vc

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'Then they lived far away for a time.'

189 *Me kamine nimete ahi*  
 me ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -mete ahi  
 3PL.S go/come back CONT+F AUX FP.N+F here  
 pron vi aux dem

'They came back this way.'

190 *Koriwa kaya nineni*  
 Koriwa kaya na -ne -ni  
 Curiá lie AUX CONT+F BKG+F  
 npropf vi aux

'The Curiá River is there.'

191 *Faya kona me hitikosamematamona*  
 faya kona me hi- iti -kosa -ma -himata -mona  
 so plant sp 3PL.S OC take out middle back FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj nm pron vt

'They brought *kona* plants.'

192 *Ene babata toematamona amake*  
 ehene ba- bata to- ha.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke  
 victim of+M DUP be rotten CH AUX short time REP+M be DECL+F  
 pn vi aux vc

*fahi kona habo tatama re habo famahari*  
 fahi kona habo ta- tama na -ra+M habo fama -haari  
 then plant sp root+M DUP be many AUX NEG root+M be two IP.E+M  
 dem nm pn vi aux pn vi

'The fish that the roots killed rotted. It was not many roots, just two.'

193 *Kona aba mera nanahabi toematamonaha*  
 kona aba mera na- na- ahaba to- ha -himata -mona -ha  
 plant sp fish 3PL.O DUP CAUS die CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP  
 nm nm pron vt aux

'The *kona* killed the fish for days.'

194 *Koriwa bari ya , watate awaka*  
 Koriwa bari ya , wata -tee awa -ka  
 Curiá other side ADJU grow HAB seem+M DECL+M  
 npropf pn prt vi sec

'I guess it grows on the other side of the Curiá.'