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

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.

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.¹¹ 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

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

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

Interlinear Presentation

-			-							
hi OC vt	- yose send	npropm netemoneke		nm e -ke	me me 3PL.O pron					
2	Me me 3PL.S	<i>ababone</i> ahaba -habon die INT+F vi	3pl	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S	<i>ababone</i> ahaba -ha die INT vi	I+F boss				
na AU au	X FP.N+ x	ka ta -mona -ka	, ya +M Ja np	rawara rawara : rawara	mati mati 3PL pron	nm	VL			
3 '''Y	Te tee 2PL.S pron Tou go the	tokomakekabote to- ka away go/come vi re right away."'	-makI followin	-kabote g quickly						
na AU au	<pre>"You go there right away."" 4 Okisabone o- to- ka -risa -habone ama o- bataro ati bataro b</pre>									
5 '"A	Ee ee yes interj ll right."									
	faya : so	pron vi	meteke -makI e followi		te -ke F DECL+F	<i>fahi</i> . fahi then dem				
7	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>kamakiemetemon</i> ka -mak go/come foll vi	I -hei	mete -moı N+F REP	ne -he ' +F DUP	<i>anabowira</i> anabowira stout rope nf	me me 3PL.S pron			

me fanawi sanari kana mati me fanawi sana -ri kana+F mati women carry strapped on shoulder DISTR COMIT AUX 3PL.S 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				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		
'Tł	'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
kay	vabematamonak	a						
ka	– yaba	-himata	a -mona -ka					

COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'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
 vi

12 *Wati* kavabe 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 aux vt.

'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.'

14	Yose	te	kamakikab	ote	na				
	Yose	tee	ka	-makI	-kabote	na			
	José 2PL.S		go/come	following	quickly	AUX			
	npropm	pron	vi			aux			
" José vou some hare quickly "									

"José, you come here quickly."

15	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
nen	natamonaha	ine						
na	-himat	a -mona	-ha	-ne				
AU	X FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP	BKG+M				
au	X							

""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
 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
 sec
 sec

 ahi
 then
 dem
 They went running off.'
 sec
 sec
 sec
 sec

•

19 Me toka ,	<i>KawiTife</i>	<i>tosi</i>	bari	ya	<i>kobo</i>
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
<i>nemetemoneke</i> na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux	<pre>bara bara bullet nf</pre>	-	-	-	

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

20	Kaka	sawi			toem	ematamona					
	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.'

21 Abawaematamona amaka ahaba -waha -himata -mona ama -ka change FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M die vi sec 'Then he died.' 22 Me fanawi amani naoremetemone me fanawi naho -ra -hemete -mone ama -ni stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F women SEC BKG+F nf vi sec

'The women didn't stay.'

23 Haha hasi ihi me na me yara me haaha me hasi na+F me ihi me yara this+F 3PL.S escape AUX 3PL.POSS because of+F Brazilian 3PL.S dem pron vi aux pron post npropm pron naoremetemoneke 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 tokomemetemoneke me kana ni na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke vara me kana Brazilian 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F run AUX vi aux vi npropm pron ihi itiha mati me • iti+F mati ihi me 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.POSS pron vi pron pn

'The Brazilians went running away, because they had killed people.'

25	Komasa	me	hikiy	oemetem	oneni			
	Komasa	me	hi-	kiyo	-hemete	-mone	-ni	
	(man's name)	3PL.O	OC	chase	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F	
	npropm	pron	vt					
'Kc	Komasa chased them.'							

Komasa chased them.

26	26 Komasa		me	?	hikiyo	ha	!	m	е	sa	
	Komasa	1	me	:	hi-	ki	yo+F	me	9	saa	
	(man's name)		ЗF	L.O	OC	ch	ase	31	PL.O	rele	ase
	npropm	n	pr	on	vt			pı	ron	vt	
hisa	make						me		ve		
hi-	to- i	na -k	osa	-mak	I		me		yee		
OC	CH 2	AUX mi	ddle	foll	owing		3PL.O		yell		
aux	2						pron		vi		
hika	ınamaki	emetemo	ne							ahi	
hi-	· to-	ka-	na	-mak	I	-	hemete	е -	-mone	ahi	
OC	away	COMIT	AUX	foll	owing	E	TP.N+F	I	REP+F	the	en
aux	2									den	ı

'Komasa chased them, but then he left off chasing them. He yelled at them.'

27	Me	baka	tokin	tokimetemone				amake		
	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	
'Tŀ	The log broke as they were grossing '									

The log broke as they were crossing.

.

28	Batoro	Mero	winematamona			amak	ke	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
17TL	. 1	11 1 .						

'The boss Melo was living there.'

29	Ee Mabitiri			Mabitiri	amak	ke	
	ee	Mabitiri	,	Mabitiri	ama	-ke	
	(pause)	Mabideri		Mabideri	be	DECL+F	
	interj	npropf		npropf	VC		
'T+ -	was at Mahi	lori '					

'It was at Mabideri.'

30	Batoro	me	hina		•	mera				
	batoro	me	hi-	narif	a+M 🤇	mera				
	boss	3PL.S	OC	help		3PL.O				
	nm	pron	vt			pron				
kab	anawemata	ımonaka							fare	
ka-	- haba	na			-waha	-himata	-mona	-ka	fare	
CON	MIT orde	r someo	ne ag	gainst	change	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	same+M	
vt									dem	

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

31 <i>Mera</i> mera 3PL.O		.+M someone agains	7	ra	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S		
pron	vt		np	ropm	pron		
kamakiani		me	ihi	itima	ke		me
ka -	makI -har	ni me	ihi	iti	-makI	,	me
go/come f	ollowing IP.N	N+F 3PL.POSS	victim (of+F exis	st following		3PL.S
vi		pron	pn	vi			pron
tokomemeten	ıoneke						
to- ka	-ma -her	nete -mone -ke	-				
away go/c wi	ome back FP.1	1+F REP+F DEC	L+F				

'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.'

Hamekamakibisemetemonehaameka-makI-bisa-hemete-mone 33 Ha me, me me me DEM 3PL.S go/come following also FP.N+F REP+F 3pl 3PL.POSS dem pron vi pron pron hawiamakeharohawiama -kehaaro • trail+F be DECL+F that one+F dem VC pn 'That is the path that they came on.'

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

'They must have come by here.'

36	Me	tokom	akemete			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
'Th	ey must h	ave goi	ne that way	.'				

37 Matehe naoha ni *me* me ya ye wanamake naho+F ni ya matehe yehe wana -makI children stand to ADJU 3PL.POSS hand be attached following nf vi prtprtpron pn vi tiwari namisemetemoneni matehe me *tiwari namisemetemoneni* tiwa -ri na -misa -hemete -mone -ni matehe me 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 <i>Mate</i> matehe childre	me me 3PL.S	<i>tiwari</i> tiwa carry	-ri DISTR	namisa na -n AUX ug	nisa+ >		,	<i>mate</i> matehe childr		me me 3PL	ka ka POSS
nf	pron	vt		aux		pı	ron	nf		pron	prt
ami m	ie sawi	habone		me	i	те					
ami m			-habone	e me	1	me					
mother 3	PL.S be	present	INT+F	3PL	.0	3PL.S					
nf p	ron vi			pror	ן ו	pron					
towakameme	temone				, <i>n</i>	ne	me	hima		na	
to- ka-	ka	-ma -	hemete ·	-mone	-	ne	me	hima		na-	+F
away COMI	T go/come	back F	P.N+F 1	REP+F	3	BPL.O	3PL.S	call t	to go	o AUZ	Х
vi					F	oron	pron	vt		au	x
mati ,	me m	e h	inahabihal	bone			me	me	hike	yeha	
mati '	me me	e h	i- na-	ahaba	-hał	bone	me	me	hi-	keye	ha+F
3PL.S	3PL.O 31	PL.S O	C CAUS	die	INT-	+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC	dece	ive
pron	pron p	ron v	t				pron	pron	vt		
mati . mati 3PL.0 pron			11							., ,	m

'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	towaka	ıma		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

tokom	akemetemor	ne			yifo	tabo	me	kiha	mati
to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	yifo	tabo	me	kiha+F	mati
away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	hammock	bunch+M	3PL.S	have	3PL.S
vi					nm	pn	pron	vt	pron

'They took the children. They went, carrying their rolled up hammocks.'

40	Me	tokom	akimetemon	-		amal	ke	ahi	Kerebe	
	me	to-	ka	-makI.NOM	-mete	-mone	ama	-ke	ahi	Kerebe
	3PL.S	away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F	there	(lake name)
	pron	vi					VC		dem	npropm
ya										
ya										
AD	JU									
pr 'Th		o the Ke	erebe Lake.	,						

41	Me me 3PL. pron			ka	come	-makI followi	, ng	yara yara Brazilian npropm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>wini</i> wina.NOM+F live vi	ya ya ADJU prt
me		am	0	reme	temon	eke					
me		am	0	na	-ra	-hemete	-mone	-ke			
3P:	L.S	sl	eep	AUX	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			
pr	on	vi		aux							
'Th	011 11101	<u>ь+</u> Л	Chow d	id not	alaan	in the hou	and of th	o Progiliona !			

'They went. They did not sleep in the houses of the Brazilians.'

42	Yara	me	wina	me	beri	ya	me	amo
	yara	me	wina+F	me	beheri	ya	me	amo
	Brazilian	3PL.S	live	3PL.POSS	side	ADJU	3PL.S	sleep
	npropm	pron	vi	pron	pn	prt	pron	vi
namemetemoneni			•					
na	-ma -hem	ete -mo	ne -ni					
AU	X back FP.N	+F REP	+F BKG+F					
au	X							

'They slept outside of where the Brazilians were living.'

43	Faya	me	amo	nama		me	yara		me	me	
	faya	me	amo	na	-ma+F	me	yar	a	me	me	
	SO	3PL.S	sleep	AUX	back	3PL.S	Bra	zilian	3PL.O	3PL.S	
	conj	pron	vi	aux		pron	npr	opm	pron	pron	
hin	ahabiha	abone		yara		me		ati	me	mita	me
hi	- na-	ahaba	-habone	yar	a	me		ati	me	mita+F	me
OC	CAUS	S die	INT+F	Bra	zilian	3PL.PC	DSS	voice	3PL.S	hear	3PL.S
vt				npr	opm	pron		pn	pron	vt	pron
me		kama		me	kariwa	imimetem	one				
me	I	ka	-ma+F	me	ka	-ri	waha	-ma.NO	M+F -met	te -mone	9
3P:	L.S 🤉	go/come	back	3PL.S	go/co	ome acr	oss	back	FP.1	N+F REP+H	?
pr	on y	vi		pron	vi						
am	ake	ahi									
am	a -ke	ah									
be	DECI	L+F the	en								
VC		der	n								

'They slept there. They heard the Brazilians saying they were going to kill them. They came back. They crossed over.'

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44KerebeamakaKerebeama -ka(lake name)benpropmvc	<i>ahi</i> . ahi there dem				
'It was the Kerebe lake.'					
45 Me kamemete me ka -ma -heme 3PL.S go/come back FP.N- pron vi 'They came back.'		<i>awine</i> awine seem+F sec	<i>ahi</i> . ahi then dem		
46Hawiamakeahihawiama -keahitrailbeDECL+Fnfvcdem'That is the trail there.'					
faya ee Noko	Wene Wene 's name)	<i>hinakiti</i> hinaka 3SG.POSS nm	iti grandfather	<i>amo</i> amo sleep vi	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux
towinakose	<i>me</i>	tabori	katafi		wa
to- wina -kosa+M CH lie in hammock middle vi	me 3PL.PO pron	tabor SS place pn		fi+M	, waa.LIST stand vi
kise tokomakebona	-	Ĩ	ra yara	n	ne
ka -risa+M to- ka go/come down away go/com vi vi	-makI me followi	-hibon ng INT+M	a ra yara O Brazz prt nprop	ilian 3	ne 3PL.S oron
<pre>watemetemoneke wata -hemete -mone -ke catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vt</pre>	, <i>mano</i> mano arm+M pn	me s 3PL.S p pron v	<i>aka</i> aka ierce repeat t	edly	
hi- na -hiba -no -ho m	n dem hind sleeping, as going to go	one+F k and he woke			
48 Vimawa va mano me	saka		hinematam	onane	

48	Yimawa	ya	mano	те	saka	hinematar	nonane	
	yimawa	ya	mano	me	saka	hi- na	-himata	-mona -ne
	knife	ADJU	arm+M	3PL.S	pierce repeatedly	OC AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M BKG+M
	nf	prt	pn	pron	vt	aux		

. 'They stabbed him repeatedly on the arms with knives.'

49 <i>Faya</i>	me	sa	hinakose	ан	va tabiyo noko
faya	me	saa	hi- to- na -ko	sa+M í av	va tabiyo noko
SO	3PL.S	release	OC CH AUX mid	dle wo	ood wanting eye+M
conj	pron	vt	aux	nf	E pn pn
tokikimen	natamonaka	!		ahi	
to- ka	u −}	kima	-himata -mona -k	a ahi	
away go	/come sp	oread out	FP.N+M REP+M DE	CL+M then	
vi				dem	

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

50	awa	hor	nahani na e on grc	ound	-har IP.N			ci+M ck up	,	<i>awa</i> awa wood nf
toti	kosemata	imon	ane							
to	- iti		-kosa	-hi	mata	-moi	na	-ne	-	
СН	pick	up	middle	FP.	N+M	REP	+M	BKG+M		
vt 'He	e picked	up a	stick from	n the	groun	d.'				

51	Yara		me	ha	!	ya	me		fito		
	yara		me	ha	a	ya	me		fito		
	Brazilian		3pl	BPL DE		ADJU	3pl	.s	rush		
	nprop	m	pron	de	em	prt	pro	n	vi		
tosi	tosikimemetemone										
to-	- na	-kosa	-ki	ma	-he	emete	-mon	e			
СН	AUX	middle	e two		FΡ	.N+F	REP+	F			
aux	Ζ										
'Th	a Brazil	liane ran	in two	di	rocti	ione '					

'The Brazilians ran in two directions.'

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      52 Hikatabamake
      hinabowematamonaka

      hi- to- ka- taba
      -makI

      OC away COMIT be together following
      hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ka

      OC away COMIT be together following
      OC CAUS die

      yt
      yt

      fari
      .

      faari
      .

      that one+M

      dem

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

53	Owa	man	nakone	awebona		fito	name	2	
	owa	mar	nakone	awa	-hibona	fito	na	-ma+M	
	other+	M pri	ce	avenge	INT+M	rush	AUX	back	
	adj	pn		vt		vi	aux		
hin	abowatas	ematama	ona			fari			
hi	- na-	aboha	-tasa	-himata	-mona	faari			
OC	CAUS	die	again	FP.N+M	REP+M	that or	ne+M		
vt						dem			
'Th	'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							
1TT -										

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'He killed them.'
```

55 Faya	kame	kam	aki	. 1	toke		toke
faya	ka	-ma+M ka	-makI+M	· ·	to- ka+M	[,	to- ka+M
SO	go/come	back go/	come followi	ng a	away go/c	ome	away go/come
conj	vi	vi			vi		vi
yara	me .	noki	kane	mano	komene	awe	yara
yara	me	noki	ka- 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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'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	<i>Kakariw</i> ka- COMIT vi	-riwaha across	-		, ng	whe	aka re	-	L.S			
tok	vi interrog pron tokomanihi ? ati nematamona											
						:						
to	- ka		-ma	-hani	-hi		ati	na	-hima	ıta	-mona	
awa	ay go/	come	back	IP.N+F	DUP		say	AUX	FP.N+	М	REP+M	
vi	vi vt aux											
'He	'He came across. "Where did they go?" he said.'											

siba ne 57 Me hawi kakamake kanawa hawi na+M kanawa ka- ka -makI me COMIT go/come following 3PL.POSS trail+F look for AUX canoe vt aux nf vi pron pn kanawa kakariwahamaki kimisake me kanawa ka- ka -riwaha -makI+M -misa -kI ka me COMIT go/come across following go/come up coming 3PL.POSS canoe 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.'

The pigs are going.

?

59 Hika hika where interrog

'Where?'

60	Boroko	me	tokom	ineke	haro						
	boroko	me	to-	ka	-ma	-ne	-ke	haaro			
	pig	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	CONT+F	DECL+F	that one+F			
	nm	pron	vi					dem			
'Th	'The pigs are going there '										

The pigs are going there.

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61	Faya	me	hawi	wasiwe	ematamon	a					
	faya	aya me hawi		wasi	-waha	-himata	-mona				
	SO	3PL.POSS	trail+F	find	change	FP.N+M	REP+M				
	conj	pron	pn	vt							
'Th	'Then he found their trail.'										

tokomakeni 62 *Me* 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					
'''T	"'They didn't wake me up."'											

64	Yara	me	hinal	habihib	ona		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

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ka -makI
                -himata -mona -ka
go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi
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'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 <i>Yara</i> yara Brazilian npropm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>hinahabihare</i> hi- na- ahaba OC CAUS die vt	-ra+M NEG	<i>kamaki</i> ka go/come vi	-makI+M following	, g		
fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	kamam ka go/co vi	ina -ma -mina+F me back morning	<i>kobo</i> kobo meet vt	<i>hinematan</i> hi- na OC AUX aux	-himata	-mona REP+M	-ne BKG+M	,
<i>tabiyo</i> tabiyo wanting pn 'The Brazilians die	dn't kill hi	m. He came. His wife	came the	next day, a	nd met him.	She was	s 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

hine faya me	hekamematamonak	
hi- na+M faya me	hi-ka-ka	
OC AUX so 3PL.S	=	come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux conj pron	vt	dem dem
His wife got up early and cam	e 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	, <i>yara</i> yara	me me ka-kaako
Brazilian 3PL POS	-	
npropm pron prt		5 1
hira fara	me me	
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	e
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.S SEC DE	CL+F
aux	pron sec	
'They didn't hate the Brazilian	s, but they always ca	me after them.'
70 V		
	<i>ne hinakamakir</i> ne hi-to-	··· ,
7		na- ka -makI -ra+F me CAUS go/come following NEG 3PL.O
npropm pron p		pron
fara me me	momowa na	toha me me
julu me me	momova na	
fara me me	mo-mowa na	to-ha+F meme
fara me me same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S		to-ha+F me me CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
		CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winahisa me	DUP fight AUX	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron	DUP fight AUX vt aux	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron <i>Yaro kake</i> ,
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron <i>winabisa , me</i>	DUP fight AUX vt aux <i>winabisa</i> wina -bisa+F	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron <i>Yaro kake</i> ,
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron <i>winabisa</i> , <i>me</i> wina -bisa+F me	DUP fight AUX vt aux <i>winabisa</i> wina -bisa+F	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron <i>Yaro kake</i> , Yaro ka -kI
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinakati ahabani
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki -kI+M find coming	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinaka ati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinaka ati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt Ati	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi Kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt Ati b older sister b	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt Ati b older sister b	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinaka ati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi Kamo yawa to-ka-ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt
<pre>same+F 3PL.0 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa towakame</pre>	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt Ati b older sister k	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi Kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa towakame yawa to- ka- ka	DUP fight AUX vt aux wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati b older sister k	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi Kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo kobo
<pre>same+F 3PL.0 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa towakame</pre>	DUP fight AUX vt aux wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati b older sister k	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi Kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa towakame yawa to- ka- ka anger away COMIT of	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati b older sister k aa -ma+M o/come back	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi , hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo kobo arrive
same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa towakame yawa to- ka- k anger away COMIT of nf vt tonamematamonaka	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati b older sister k ati come back	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake Yaro ka -kI (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo kobo arrive vi
<pre>same+F 3PL.0 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa to- ka- k anger away COMIT of nf vt tonamematamonaka to- na -ma -himata away AUX back FP.N+M</pre>	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati b older sister k a -ma+M o/come back	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo kobo arrive vi tabora ya village ADJU
<pre>same+F 3PL.0 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa to-ka-k anger away COMIT of nf vt tonamematamonaka to- na -ma -himata away AUX back FP.N+M aux</pre>	DUP fight AUX vt aux winabisa wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati older sister k ama+M o/come back	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M pury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo arrive vi tabora ya village ADJU nf prt
<pre>same+F 3PL.0 3PL.S dem pron pron winabisa , me wina -bisa+F me live also 3PL.S vi pron me i me ihi 3PL.POSS victim of+F pron pn wasiki hinakati wasi -kI+M hinaka find coming 3SG.POSS vt nf , yawa to- ka- k anger away COMIT of nf vt tonamematamonaka to- na -ma -himata away AUX back FP.N+M aux 'They didn't go after the Brazili </pre>	DUP fight AUX vt aux wina -bisa+F live also vi wasiki wasi -kI+M find coming vt ati o older sister k ati o o/come back -mona -ka REP+M DECL+M	CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S aux pron pron Yaro kake , Yaro ka -kI , (man's name) go/come coming npropm vi hinakati ahabani hinaka ati ahaba -hani 3SG.POSS older sister die IP.N+F nf vi kamo yawa towakame kamo+M yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M oury anger away COMIT go/come back vt nf vt kobo arrive vi tabora ya village ADJU

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?"										

Older brother, what about them?

.

72 **Me** winini wina -ni me 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."

Yaramemetaohinahanihiatiyaramemetaohi-na-hani-hiati 74 Yara 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	ababana	ababanani				
	yara	me	ahaba	-habana	-ni			
	Brazilian	lian 3PL.S		FUT+F	BKG+F			
	npropm	pron	vi					
'''T	he Brazilians w	ill die.'''						

?

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76	Yara	me	е	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 towakamakiemetemoneke to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke wati me 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	towaka	ımakia					me		yara		
	wati	me	to-	ka-	ka		-makI+	-F	me	,	yara		
	arrow	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/co	ome	follow	ving	3PI	J.S	Brazili	an	
	nm	pron	vi						pro	on	npropm		
siri	ika		me	siri	na	ıni		me		me	kobo		
si	rika		me	siri	na	a -	hani	me		me	kobo		
ru	bber tr	ee sp	3PL.S	scra	pe A	JX I	P.N+F	3pl	.0	3PL.S	meet		
nm			pron	vt	a	JX		pro	n	pron	vt		
nen	netemonel	he		, si	rika			fehene	?	me	sika	nani	
na	-heme	te -mo:	ne -he	Ś	irika			feher	ne	me	sika	na	-hani
AU	X FP.N+	F REP	+F DUP	r	ubber	tre	e sp	late	к+М	3PL.S	pour	AUX	IP.N+F
au	Х			n	m			pn		pron	vt	aux	
ma	•												
ma													

3PL.S pron

'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 faya	<i>sirika</i> sirika			<i>me</i> me	,	<i>siri</i> sir		<i>nani</i> na	-hani		ne ne	<i>me</i> me		<i>kobo</i> kobo
	SO	rubber	tree	sp	3PL.S		scr	ape	AUX	IP.N+	F (3PL.O	ЗP	L.S	meet
	conj	nm			pron		vt		aux		I	pron	pr	on	vt
hin	a	me		Yara		me		kakam	aro					fa	me
hi-	- na+F	me	,	yara		me		ka-	ka		-ma	-ha	aro	faa	me
OC	AUX	3PL.O		Braz	ilian	3pl	.s	COMI	r go	/come	bac	k loc	ok+F	tha	t 3PL.S
aux	K	pron		nm		pro	n	vi						nf	pron
ati	nem	etemonehe													
at	i na	-hemete	e -mo	one -	he										
say	y AUX	FP.N+F	REI	P+F D	UP										
vt	aux														
!T]-	l J. l.		- 1-+		ب اء مدر ما ب			la a	[]		Dees	.:1:	:		

'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			
11111	71	J						

"What are we doing?"

82 Hiyam	a		me	ota	mowa	nabone	2	ota	
hiyar	na		me	otaa	mowa	na -	habone	otaa	
white	e-lipped	peccary	3PL.O	1EX.S	fight	AUX I	NT+F	1EX.S	
nm			pron	pron	vt	aux		pron	
"We are going after white-linned neccaries "									

we are going after	winte-hpped peccaries.

83 <i>Hiyama</i> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>kaki</i> ka go/come vi	-kI.NOM coming	<i>ama</i> ama SEC sec	<i>ahi</i> ahi here dem	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>ati</i> ati say vt	
nemetemonehe	yara	me	me	keyeha	ı	mati .		
na -hemete -mone -he	yara	me	me	keyeł	na+F	mati		
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP	Brazilia	n 3PL.O	3PL.S	decei	Lve	3PL.S		
aux	npropm	pron	pron	vt		pron		
"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way," they said, deceiving the Brazilians.'								

84	Yara	1	me	tam	emetem	oneke			me	me
	yara	1	me	tar	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	me	me
	Brazil	ian	3PL.S	be	many	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	3PL.O	3PL.S
	npropm	L]	pron	vi					pron	pron
hin	ahabihab	isa			mati					
hi	- na-	ahaba	-bisa	+F	mati					
OC	CAUS	die	also		3PL.0	С				
vt					pron					

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

85	<i>Faya</i> faya so conj	me, me 3PL pron	<i>Hiyama</i> hiyama white- nm		me, me 3PL pron	<i>kisata</i> kisata nm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>kaki</i> ka go/come vi	-kI.NOM coming
	CONJ	PION	11111		Prom		Pron	V T	
am	a ahi	me	ati	nemetemonehe					
am	a ahi	me	ati	na -hemete -m	one -he				
SE	C her	e 3PL.S	S say	AUX FP.N+F RE	P+F DUP				
se	c dem	pron	vt	aux					
1110	1.	. 1. 1	•	.1	• 1 •				

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

86	Hima	е	tokom	a		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
'"C	"Come on, let's go to your place."								

87 Me me hekama me sirika fehene hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me me me sirika fehene 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O rubber tree sp latex+M pron pron vt pron nm pn , *kakitibase* owa wematamonane owa waa -himata -mona -ne yara kakiiiDase ka- iti -basa+M COMIT take out edge ... yara Brazilian other+M stand FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vt adj vi npropm Yowaki . Yowaki Joaquim npropm 'They took them. The Brazilian took a cup of latex. The other one was standing there, Joaquim.'

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88 Yowaki wematamonaha
Yowaki waa -himata -mona -ha
Joaquim stand FP.N+M REP+M DUP
npropm vi
'Joaquim was standing there.'
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89 <i>Owa</i>	tokomisame		sirika	fehene
owa	to- ka	-misa -ma+M	sirika	fehene
other+	M away go/come	e up back	rubber tree	sp latex+M
adj	vi		nm	pn
kakitibase		kisame		
ka- iti	-basa+M	ka -risa	-ma+M	
COMIT tak	ke out edge	go/come down	back	
vt		vi		
kisamematan	nonaka			
ka -	risa -ma -hima	ata -mona -ka		
go/come c vi	lown back FP.N	+M REP+M DECL	+M	

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

90	Sirika	fehene	<i>so</i>	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

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ti howehowe ne tati me howe-howe na+M tati tii me DUP wipe AUX 3PL.S cut through head vt aux pn pron vt fari hisematamonaka 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	towitin	natam	ona			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	
1111	. 1	1	1 (.11	,							

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'His headless body got up and fell over.'

92	Owa	yora	nariw	nariwematamona				
	owa	yora	na	-riwaha	-himata	-mona	me	
	other+M	jump	AUX	across	FP.N+M	REP+M	3PL.S	
	adj	vi	aux				pron	
hik	iyobanoho							
hi	- kiyo	-hiba -	-no	-ho				
OC	chase	FUT+M	IP.N+M	1 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
ШТ				

"'Leave me alone."

94 <i>Koyo</i>	Koyo	owa	te	awaraba	nahi .
Коуо	Коуо	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 lea	ve 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	i.							
ah	i							
th	en							

dem

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

96 <i>Hiw</i>	<i>a</i>	ka				hiwa	bari		
hiw	ra	ka-	katc	ma.NOM+	M	ka		hiwa	bari
350	G.REFL.M	COMIT	look	at at		beca	use	3SG.REFL.M	impede
pro	on	vt				prt		pron	vt
kane		ka		mano	me	?	ti		
ka-	na.NOM+M	ka		mano	me		tii		
COMIT	AUX	becau	ise	arm+M	ЗP	L.S	cut	through	
aux		prt		pn	pr	on	vt		

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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 me 3PL.S pron	<i>hikiyo</i> hi- kiyo+ OC chase vt		<i>hikiyo</i> hi- kiyo+M G OC chase vt	awa ini awa ini tree branci nf pn	<i>boti</i> boti n+F insi pn	
tokiyomawit	е	,	tokiyomawite		me	ti
to- ka	-yoma	-witI	to- ka	-yoma -wit	:I me	tii
away go/o	come throug	h out	away go/com	e through out	3PL.S	cut through
vi			vi		pron	vt
hikane	me	hinahabi	imatamonaka		fahi	
hi- ka-	na+M me	hi- na	- ahaba -hin	mata -mona -ka	fahi	-
OC COMI	T AUX 3PI	.S OC CA	US die FP.1	N+M REP+M DEC	L+M ther	1
aux	pro	on 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	hiren	natam	ona				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	
'Th	ov out hi	ic hood on	on with	maal	hoto '							

'They cut his head open with a machete.'

99 Faya	me	tokawe	emetemone				ahi	yara	me
faya	n me	to-	ka	-waha	a -hemete	-mone	ahi	yara	me
SO	3PL.S	away	go/come	chanc	ge FP.N+F	REP+F	then	Brazilian	3PL.O
conj	pron	vi					dem	npropm	pron
me	wati		kana	1	mati .				
me	wati		ka- na	a+F 1	mati				
3PL.S	plan aga	inst	COMIT A	UX .	3PL.S				
pron	vt		aux]	pron				
'Then the	ey went on, p	olannin	g to kill the	Brazili	ans.'				

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	
wine	emari		amake	ah	i.	kitamemata .	
win	a.NOM+	M -mari	ama -ke	e ah	ni Ó	´kita -ma -himata	
liv	е	FP.E+M	be DEC	CL+F th	nen	be strong back FP.N+M	
vi			VC	de	em	vi	
tern1			1 1.			· 1 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

'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
<i>Tene Irabo</i> Tene Irabo	<i>fati</i> fati	,	<i>ha</i> haa	<i>nemetemone</i> na -hemete -mone	<i>amake</i> ama -ke	<i>me</i> me
	fati	,.wife				

kaki awaharo -kI.NFIN awa -haaro ka see IP.E+F go/come coming vi vt 'They encountered the Brazilians. Tene Irabo's wife called out when she saw them coming.' 102 **Owa** owa te nabibonemakoni himata te. na- ahaba -bone -makoni owa tee owa tee himata 1SG.O 2PL 1SG.O 2PL.S CAUS die INT+F for this reason+F what? pron pron pron pron vt interrog kanani amariya ati te wati te ama -ri tee wati ka- na -hani tee ati -va 2PL.S plan against COMIT AUX IP.N+F SEC CQ+F now 2PL.S say vt pron vt aux pron sec nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux "What do you want? Are you going to kill me?" she said.' 103 *Tiwa* ota wati kari tiwa wati -ra.NOM+F otaa kana 2SG.O 1EX.S plan against COMIT AUX NEG pron pron vt aux "We don't want to do you any harm." 104 Hiyama ota tonakabone me ota to- nahiyama ka -habone otaa me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S away CAUS go/come INT+F 1EX.S white-lipped peccary pron pron vt nm pron ati tokiba ahi me nemetemoneke , to- ka ati -baha+F na -hemete -mone -ke ahi me AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S away go/come before there say vi dem pron vt aux vara me me keyeha mati yara me me keyeha+F mati Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S deceive 3PL.S npropm pron pron vt pron "We are going there after white-lipped peccaries," they said, deceiving the Brazilians.' 105 Yara me kakariwakemetemone faro -riwaha -kI yara me ka- ka -hemete -mone faaro Brazilian 3PL.S COMIT go/come across coming FP.N+F REP+F that+F pron npropm vi dem 'The Brazilians had come across.' 106 Kowani ka kakariwahake me wina me kowani wina+F ka me me kaka -riwaha -kI other side LOC 3PL.S COMIT go/come across coming live 3PL.S nf prt pron vi pron vi kakimisakia me me -misa -kI+F kaka me me 3PL.S COMIT go/come up coming 3PL.S pron vi pron

kakimisakiemetemonehe

ka- ka -misa -kI -hemete -mone -he COMIT 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 to- ka- ka -misa+F maa to- na -misa -makI+M me owa 3PL.S away COMIT 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						tao	kana	tama			ne	itema	tamona	
	0-	ka	£	iti			ta	okana	tama			na+M	ita	-himata	-mona
	1SG.POSS	PC	DSS	gran	dfat	her	sh	otgun	hold	ont	to	AUX	sit	FP.N+M	REP+M
	nm						nf		vt			aux	vi		
ama	ka		yar	·a		me		me	katon	naba	ni			mati	
ama	-ka		ya	ra		me		me	kato	oma	-ha	ba -ni		mati	
SEC	DECL+M		Br	azili	an	3PL.C)	3PL.S	atta	ack	FUT	+F IP.	N+F	3PL.S	
sec			np	ropm		pron		pron	vt					pron	
13.6	16.1		۰.		. 1			1 1		-	- 1		n ''		

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

109	Okiti			tao	hikar	nematam	onaka			
	0-	ka	iti	tao	hi-	ka-	na	-himata	-mona	-ka
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	shoot	OC	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	nm			vt	aux					
<i>ahi</i> ahi the dem 'My		shot at	him.'							

110 Me	ati	kamite		tonokomise	ımaki		bata
me	ati	ka- mi	ta+M	to- nol	ko -misa	-makI+M	bata
3PL.POSS	voice	COMIT he	ar	away po:	int up	following	explode
pron	pn	vt		vi			vi
hikasematamonal	a				taokana	ya .	
hi- ka- na	-kosa	-himata	-mona	-ka	taokana	уа	
OC COMIT AU	X middle	e 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
mite	matamona	Į.				
mit	a -hima	ta -mona				
hea	r FP.N+	M REP+M				
vt						
'Bata	aa, the gu	n noise went	, and he heard th	e noise.'12		

¹² The word *ati* is a false start.

112	00	ati	nema	ahi				
	00	ati	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi	
	oh no	say	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then	
	interj	vt	aux				dem	
'"Oh	," he said	.'						

ta fariboti kanakabote sobo kobo 113 Mano ne , ka- na -kabote fariboti sobo kobo mano taa na+M arm+M extend COMIT AUX quickly AUX armpit lead arrive pn pn nf aux aux vi vt kimetemoneke ahi . ka- na.NOM+F -mete -mone -ke ahi COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then aux dem

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'He extended his arms. The lead hit him in the armpit.'

114	Yota nawematamona							ahi		
	yota		na	-waha	-himata	-mona	ahi			
	be	hung	up	AUX	change	FP.N+M	REP+M	then		
	vi			aux				dem		
'He	'He fell while holding onto the railing.'									

 115
 Yota
 nawe
 bao
 nisematamona

 yota
 na
 -waha+M
 bao
 na
 -risa

 be hung up
 AUX change
 come down
 AUX down
 FP.N+M
 REP+M

 vi
 aux
 vi
 aux

'He was hung up. Then he fell to the ground.'

116	Me	ye	kawaha	!		me	moni	saien	netemon	e	
	me	yee	ka-	na -	-waha+F	me	moni	sai		-hemete	-mone
	3PL.S	yell	COMIT	AUX c	change	3PL.POSS	sound	be h	neard	FP.N+F	REP+F
	pron	vi	aux			pron	pn	vi			
ama	ahi	yara		me	me	mono		na	mati		
ama	ahi	yara		me	me	mono		na+F	mati		
be	then	Brazi	lian	3PL.O	3PL.S	struggle	with	AUX	3PL.	S	
VC	dem	nprop	m	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron		
"The		ling on	+ho not	an of the	om aould h	a board on the	w fought	with th	o Drogil	iona !	

'They were yelling, and the noise of them could be heard as they fought with the Brazilians.'

117	Yara	me	tama	me	me	nabiemetemoneni				
	yara	me	tama+F	me	me	na-	ahaba	-hemete	-mone	-ni
	Brazilian	3PL.S	be many	3PL.O	3PL.S	CAUS	die	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F
	npropm	pron	vi	pron	pron	vt				

'They killed many Brazilians.'

118 Yati	manak	obisa	yati	me	me	nabiwaha		,
yati	manak	obisa	yati	me	me	na- ahaba	a -waha	+F
Apurinã	then		Apurinã	3PL.O	3PL.S	CAUS die	change	e
npropm	conj		npropm	pron	pron	vt		
yara	me	me	nabiha		me	, makari	me	
yara	me	me	na- aha	aba+F	me	makari	me	
Brazilian	3PL.O	3PL.S	CAUS die	9	3PL.S	clothes	3PL.S	
npropm	pron	pron	vt		pron	nf	pron	
kakamemetemo	one			, ma	kari	farina	saha	yama
ka- ka	-ma	-heme	te -mone	mai	kari	farina	saha	yama
COMIT go/co	ome baci	k FP.N+	F REP+F	cl	othes	manioc meal	salt	thing
vi				nf		nf	nf	nf

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	kamimeten	none	amak	ke	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	Ме	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	
trol 1	.1						

'Then they went into the forest.'

121 Me	tokom	a		me	•	me	amo	na	me
me	to-	ka	-ma+F	me	,	me	amo	na+F	me
3PL.S	S away	go/come	back	3PL.S		3PL.S	sleep	AUX	3PL.S
pron	vi			pron		pron	vi	aux	pron
bosa	п	emetemone		ahi					
bosa	r	na -heme	te -mon	e ahi					
get up e	arly A	AUX FP.N+	F REP+	F then					
vi	ê	ux		dem					

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

122	Tokim	etemone			amake				
	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			towin			me
Awi		batori	ka		faya	a me	2	to-	wina	-witI+F	me
(name of st	ream)	junctic	n LOC		SO	ЗF	ΡL.S	away	live	out	3PL.S
nm		pn	prt		con	j pr	on	vi			pron
, Tene Irabo	yama	me	one	i	totimer	no				yama	me
Tene Irabo	yama	me	one		to-	iti		-ma	-hino	yama	me
(man's name)	thing	g 3PL	other+	F	away	take	out	back	IP.N+M	M thing	3PL.S
npropm	nf	pron	adj		vt					nf	pron
tao namaki		nabimete	mone				am	a.			
tao na -ma	kΙ	nahaba	.NOM+F	-me	te -	-mone	am	a			
shoot AUX fol	lowing	at nig	ht	FP.	N+F 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

,

me .	okobise			yome	hotone	beri	ya	amo
me	0-	ka ab	ise í	yomee	hotone	beheri	ya	amo
3PL.S	1SG.POSS	POSS un	cle	jaguar	hole+M	I side	ADJU	sleep
pron	nm			nm	pn	pn	prt	vi
nemona	ati	me	haha	kana	ta	oimaro		
na -himo	na ati	me	haahaa	ka-	na t	o- ha.NOM-	+F -mai	0
AUX REP+M	voice	3PL.S	laugh	COMIT	AUX C	H AUX	FP.F	E+F
aux	pn	pron	vi	aux	a	ux		

'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	tokawa	imetemone	amak	te	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
!ml		1 C							

'They went into the forest another time.'

126 Bato yafi	me	ni	me	me	me	me	•	bato yafi	me	ni	ya	
bato ya	fi me	ni	me	me	me	me	,	bato yafi	me	ni	уа	
Banawá	3pl	to	3pl	3pl	3pl	3PL		Banawá	3pl	to	ADJU	
npropm	pror	n prt	pron	pron	pron	pron		npropm	pron	prt	prt	
me tokon	nake			,	me	tosav	wim	akia			me	
me to-	ka	-ma	kI	,	me	to-	5	sawi	-makI+	-F	me	,
3PL.S away	∕ go/com	e fol	lowin	g	3PL.S	awa	y ł	be present	follow	ring	3PL.S	
pron vi					pron	vi					pron	
yati ma	e me		hiyokoe	emetem	oneke							
yati me	e me		hi- y	roko				-hemete -m	ione -1	ce		
Apurinã 3H	PL.O 3P	L.S	OC b	ring	misfo	rtune	on	FP.N+F RE	P+F DI	ECL+F	1	
npropm pr	ron pr	on	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.'

12	yat		<i>me</i> me 3PL.O	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S	<i>hiyokoa</i> hi- yoko+F OC bring misfortune on			<i>me</i> me 3PL.O	,	<i>yati</i> yati Apurinã	<i>me</i> me 3PL.O
	-					IY MISI	Situne on			-	
	npr	copm	pron	pron	vt			pron		npropm	pron
m	е	tao	, ba	to yafi	me	me	tao				
me	e	tao	ba	ato yafi	me	me	tao				
31	3PL.S shoot Banawá			3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot					
p	ron	vt	np	propm	pron	pron	vt				
hi	biseme	temonek	е			faro					
h	i- na	-bis	a -heme	ete -mon	e -ke	faaro	1				
00	C AU	X also	FP.N-	F REP+	F DECL+F	that+	·F				
aı	лх					dem					
100	1 4	• ~	1 1	1.1	1	1 771	D / 1	1.11 1.1		•.1 1	

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

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

•

okobi	aati	toem	ari	ama b	oato yafi	me ya
o- ka a	abi a-	ati to-	ha -himari	ama b	bato yafi	me ya
1SG.POSS POSS f	Eather DUP	say CH	AUX FP.E+M	SEC E	Banawá	3pl Adju
nm	vt	aux		sec r	npropm	pron prt
me taba	mati					
me taba+F	mati	•				
3PL.S be toget	ther 3PL.S					
pron vi	pron					
They were all togeth	-	awás, my fat	ther used to say.	,		
They were an toget	for when the Dun	uttus, 1119 14	liici useu to suj.			
129 Okoyo		,	okoyo			
o- ka	ayo)	o- ka	ayo		
1SG.POSS PO	SS older bro	other	1SG.POSS PO	SS older br	other	
1SG.POSS PO nm	SS older bro	other	1SG.POSS PO nm	SS older br	rother	
	SS older bro ya	other <i>yati</i>	nm	SS older br <i>ihi</i>	other <i>itihani</i>	
nm sawitere			nm me		itihani	-hani
nm sawitere	ya	yati	nm <i>me</i> me	ihi	<i>itihani</i> iti -	-
nm <i>sawitere</i> sawi -tee	<i>ya</i> e-re ya	yati yati	nm <i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS	<i>ihi</i> ihi	<i>itihani</i> iti -	-
nm sawitere sawi -tee be present HAB vi	ya e -re ya ADJU prt	yati yati Apurinã npropm	nm <i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS	<i>ihi</i> ihi victim of+F	<i>itihani</i> iti - r exist I	-
nm <i>sawitere</i> sawi -tee be present HAB	ya e -re ya ADJU prt hihiyara	<i>yati</i> yati Apurinã npropm <i>tohine</i>	nm <i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS	<i>ihi</i> ihi victim of+F	<i>itihani</i> iti - r exist I	-
nm sawitere sawi -tee be present HAB vi hine me	ya e -re ya ADJU prt	<i>yati</i> yati Apurinã npropm <i>tohine</i>	nm me 3PL.POSS pron -ne	<i>ihi</i> ihi victim of+F	<i>itihani</i> iti - r exist I	-
nm sawitere sawi -tee be present HAB vi hine me hine me	ya e-re ya ADJU prt hihiyara hi- hiyara	<i>yati</i> yati Apurinã npropm <i>tohine</i> to- ha	nm me 3PL.POSS pron -ne	<i>ihi</i> ihi victim of+F	<i>itihani</i> iti - r exist I	-

"My older brother was always there. The Apurinãs killed him and have been telling about it."¹³

130	Maki	tina		ati	nema	tamonane				yati	me
	maki	ti-	na	ati	. na	-himata	-mona	-ne	,	yati	me
	pay	2SG.	S AUX	say	7 AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M		Apurinã	3PL.O
	vi	aux		vt	aux					npropm	pron
wati			kanaha	ri		•					
wat	i		ka-	na	-haari						
pla	n agai:	nst	COMIT	AUX	IP.E+M	1					
vt			aux								

"I will get revenge," he said, planning against the Apurinãs.'

131 Y	ati	me	te	kobo	ni	ya	yati	me	namoni
У	ati	me	tee	kobo	na.NOM+F	ya	yati	me	namoni
A	purinã	3PL.O	2PL.S	meet	AUX	ADJU	Apurinã	3PL.POSS	report
n	propm	pron	pron	vt	aux	prt	npropm	pron	pn
te	kama								
tee	ka	-ma							
2PL.S	s go/co	ome bacł	< Z						
pron	vi								

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"If you meet up with any Apurinãs, come and tell the news."

132 Te noki oba tee noki o- na.NOM -ba 2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT pron vt aux "'I will wait for you."

133 Owitiba

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o- ita.NOM+F -ba
1SG.S stay FUT
aux
"'I will stay here."'
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¹³ The *-re* in *sawitere* is not the negative suffix. This is an imitation of the speech of the Banawás, and the Jarawaras would say *sawiti*.

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134 Ota nahobana

otaa	naho.NOM	-bana
1EX.S	stay	FUT
pron	vi	
WIATA will store	hone "	

"We will stay here."

135	Те	ota	noki	niba	
	tee	otaa	noki	na.NOM+F	-ba
	2PL.O	1EX.S	wait for	AUX	FUT
	pron	pron	vt	aux	
'''We	e 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	fana	ıwi	me		bosa		na	me		me	tokom	a	
	me	far	nawi	me		bosa		na	+F me	,	me	to-	ka	-ma+F
	won	nen		3pl	.S	get up	early	AU	X 3PL.	S	3PL.S	away	go/come	back
	nf			pro	n	vi		au	x pror	1	pron	vi		
me			me	h	ne	kobo	hinen	netem	one					
me		,	me	r	ne	kobo	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone				
3PL	.s		3PL.	0 3	3PL.S	S meet	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F				
pro	n		pron	I	pron	vt	aux							

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

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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	
'''Yo	u stay far	behind."''					

140Taioamibeyaatinemetemoneketaio-to-ha-ma-be-yaatina-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 vati

141		iui	ıvum	emeie	moneni					yuu
	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		Apurinã
	npropf	vi	aux							npropm

merakobonabonehemerakobona-habone3PL.0meetAUXINT+FDUP pron vt aux 'Awa Wai Ya went ahead, to meet up with the Apurinãs.'

Yomeyomeotafamikeyomeeyomeeotaafama.NFINke habo ni miti 142 Yome te *te* tee habo na.NFIN mita.NOM+F dogdog1EX.Sbe twowhich+MbarkAUX2PL.Shearnmnmpronviprtviauxpronvi *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	tokom	iyahi			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
nem	etemone							
na	-hemet	e -mon	e					
AUX	FP.N+F	REP+	F					
aux								
110								

"Go running away," she said."

144	Faya	me	kan	a ni	,		yome	habo	ni	1	me		mita		me
	faya	me	kar	ia na	.NFIN Í		yomee	habo	na.NFIN	1	me		mita	+F	me
	SO	3PL.S	run	ı AU	Х		dog	bark	AUX		3pl	.S	hear		3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi	au	х		nm	vi	aux]	pro	n	vt		pron
kana	ı ni		tokom	emetem	oneke					fak	hi	hiy	ara	me	?
kan	a na.	NFIN	to-	ka	-ma	-	hemete	-mone	-ke	fa	hi	hi	yara	me	
run	AUX		away	go/cc	me back	F	P.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	th	en	sto	ory	ЗP	L.S
vi	aux	Z	vi							de	m	nf		pr	on
towa	kama				mati	,	me	yoro		to	okan	a			me
to-	ka-	ka	-	-ma+F	mati	,	me	yord	>	t	0-	ka-	na	+F	me
awa	y COMI	T go/c	ome k	back	3PL.S		3PL.S	be t	cogether	C	Η	COMI	T AU	Х	3PL
vi					pron		pron	vi		a	ux				pron
ni	ya	. Ro	wiso		ite	1	rama								
ni	ya	Ro	wiso		ita+M		rama								
to	ADJU	(m	an's	name)	stay	1	unusual	-							
prt	prt	np	ropm		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

nemetemone na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux "The Apurinãs almost shot us. They are there," she said.' 147 **Owa** kihe me tao na -be owa me tao ka-1SG.O 3PL.S shoot COMIT AUX IMMED+F pron pron vt vi "They will shoot me." 148 *Me* ihi itihani yobi me iti -hani me ihi 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 COMIT pick up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then shotqun nf vt aux dem 'He picked up his gun.' 150 **Te** kamaki -makI t e e ka 2PL.S go/come following pron νi "Come." 151 Yati me е towamibe yati to- awa -ma -be me ee 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 ohari me yati me me to- awa -ma -habone me ohari.NFIN away see back INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.S be one pron pron npropm 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 nafi me to- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all then

dem

pron

'It was all of them.'

pn

VC

122

Ì	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron vwent.'	to-	<i>emetemoi</i> ka go/con	-ma	-heme FP.N+		ne a +F t	uhi ahi chen dem				
l	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.S pron v went fas	to- away vi	<i>emetemon</i> ka go/com	-ma	-heme FP.N+		ne k +F s	k ita kita streng [.] vi	ya ya th ADJU prt			
2	yati Apurinã npropm		iri r sket 3 F	ne	<i>weyeri</i> weye carry vt	-ri DISTR	kawa ka- COMI aux	na	-waha+F change	<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	ka ka POSS prt	<i>isiri</i> isiri basket nf

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	Itawa	iine		nimete		isiri
	ita	-waha	-ne	na.NOM+F	-mete	isiri
	sit	change	CONT+F	AUX	FP.N+F	basket
	vi			aux		nf
tron1	• •	1	,			

'They just sat there.'

158	Yati		me		те	me	wat	i		hikar	na		rama
	yat	i	me	,	me	me	wa	ti		hi-	ka-	na+F	rama
	Apu	ırinã	3pl		3PL.O	3pl	.S pl	an again	st	OC	COMIT	AUX	unusual
	npr	opm	pron		pron	pro	n vt			aux			prt
me		me	ki		hine	metem	one						
me		me	kii		hi-	na	-hemet	e -mone					
3pl	.0	3PL.S	100	k a	t OC	AUX	FP.N+E	' REP+F					
pro	n	pron	vt		aux								

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'They planned to kill them, so they didn't just look at them.'

159 <i>Rowi</i> Rowi (mar npro	.so n's nam	<i>fare</i> far le) sam dem	e e+M	<i>owa</i> , owa other+M adj	<i>mera</i> mera 3PL.O pron	<i>komofai</i> komofai greet vt	nebona na -hibona AUX INT+M aux	,	<i>taokana</i> taokana shotgun nf
mate	ya	mera	ta	nematamona	ka		ahi .		
mate	ya	mera	taa	na -hima	ta -mona	a -ka	ahi		
base+F	ADJU	3PL.O	give	AUX FP.N+	M REP+I	M DECL+M	then		
pn	prt	pron	vt	aux			dem		
'The other	· Rowiso	gave the s	tock o	f the gun to ther	n to greet	them.'			

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.'

•

161 Mitaram	a nematam	onaka	fari	Rowiso	mera
mita -	rama na -hi	.mata -mona -ka	5	Rowiso	mera
hear u	nusual AUX FP.	N+M REP+M DEC	CL+M that one+M	(man's name)	3PL.O
antip	aux		dem	npropm	pron
wati	kanahari	·			
wati nlan agair	ka- na nst COMIT AUX	-haari TP F+M			
vt	aux				
'Rowiso was	planning against the	n, but he didn't let	on.'		
162 Te	fiya tonama				
tee	fiya to- na	-ma+F			
2PL.S	pass away AUX	K back			
pron	vi aux				
rou go on to	o the other side."'				
163 Te	fiya towiti	· ·			
tee	fiya to- na				
2PL.S pron	pass away AUX vi aux	out			
"Go on over					
164 Te	tonohowawitibe		ha .		
		ha -witI -be	haa		
	away stand cha vi	inge out IMME			
pron "You go and	stay over there."		dem		
100 go and	stay over there.				
165 Himata	te ebe	naba	te amariya	? Rowis	
	tee ebe	na -haba		-	
	2PL.S purpo og pron vt	se AUX FUT+F aux	2PL.S be CQ+ pron vc	-F now (man nprop	's name)
	amona	aux	prom ve	112101	5111
	-himata -mona	•			
say AUX	FP.N+M REP+M				
vt aux					
"What are yo	ou up to?" Rowiso sai	d.'			
166 <i>Hiyama</i>		me ota	tonakabone	ot	a .
hiyama		me otaa	to- na- ka	-habone ot	taa '
hiyama white-	lipped peccary	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c	-habone ot ome INT+F 11	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm	lipped peccary	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt	-habone ot ome INT+F 11	taa '
hiyama white- nm hiyama	lipped peccary <i>me</i>	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i>	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt <i>mati</i> .	-habone ot ome INT+F 11	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama hiyama	lipped peccary <i>me</i> me	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt mati kI mati	-habone ot ome INT+F 11	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama hiyama	lipped peccary <i>me</i> me	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -3 L.S go/come co	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt mati kI mati	-habone ot ome INT+F 11	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm	lipped peccary <i>me</i> me ped peccary 3PI	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co on vi	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron	-habone ot ome INT+F 11	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm	lipped peccary me ped peccary 3P1 pro	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -3 L.S go/come co on vi	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm "'We are goin	lipped peccary me ped peccary 3PI pro g after some white-li	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co pped peccaries that <i>ahi</i> ,	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron came here."	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm "We are goin 167 Ota	lipped peccary me me ped peccary 3PI pro g after some white-li tokiba to- ka.NOM+F away go/come	me otaa 3PL.O 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co on vi pped peccaries that <i>ahi</i> -ba ahi FUT there	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron came here." me ati ati	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm "We are goin 167 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron	lipped peccary me me ped peccary 3PI pro g after some white-li tokiba to- ka.NOM+F away go/come vi	me otaa 3PL.0 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co on vi pped peccaries that <i>ahi</i> -ba ahi FUT there dem	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron came here." me ati ati me ati ati	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm "We are goin 167 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron nematamonak	lipped peccary me me bed peccary 3P1 pro ag after some white-liv tokiba to- ka.NOM+F away go/come vi	me otaa 3PL.0 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co on vi pped peccaries that <i>ahi</i> -ba ahi FUT there dem <i>Rowiso</i>	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron came here." me ati ati 3PL.S say sa	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm "We are goin 167 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron nematamonak na -himat	ne me bed peccary 3P1 pro ag after some white-li tokiba to- ka.NOM+F away go/come vi ta ta	me otaa 3PL.0 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co pped peccaries that <i>ahi</i> -ba ahi FUT there dem <i>Rowiso</i> Rowiso	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron came here." me ati ati 3PL.S say sa	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S
hiyama white- nm hiyama white-lipp nm "We are goin 167 Ota otaa 1EX.S pron nematamonak	ne me bed peccary 3P1 pro ag after some white-li tokiba to- ka.NOM+F away go/come vi ta ta	me otaa 3PL.0 1EX.S pron pron <i>kake</i> ka -1 L.S go/come co pped peccaries that <i>ahi</i> -ba ahi FUT there dem <i>Rowiso</i> Rowiso	to- na- ka away CAUS go/c vt kI mati oming 3PL.S pron came here." me ati ati 3PL.S say sa	-habone ot ome INT+F 1F pi	iaa ' IX.S

"We are going there," Rowiso said.'

168 Rowise)	toke		me	wati	hikana	
Rowis	80	to- ka	.+M	me	wati	hi- ka- na-	+F
(man'	s name)	away go	/come	3PL.O	plan agains	st OC COMIT AUX	K
nprop	om	vi		pron	vt	aux	
rama	me	ki	hinemetem	onehe			
rama	me	kii	hi- na	-hemete	-mone -he		
unusual	3PL.O	look at	OC AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F DUP		
prt	pron	vt	aux				
Powico wort Ho was planning against thom				Ho started	shooting thom	right away '	

'Rowiso went. He was planning against them. He started shooting them right away.'

169	Wati		hikan	ie		rama	ahi	
	wati		hi-	ka-	na+M	rama	ahi	
	plan	against	OC	COMIT	AUX	unusual	then	
	vt		aux			prt	dem	
'He was planning to kill one of them.'								

170	Те	te	kerewe	rima	na	ati	nematamona	ahi
	tee	tee	kerewe	na -rima	na	ati	na -himata -mona	ahi
	2PL.S	2PL.S	be slow	AUX NEG.IMP+F	AUX	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then
	pron	pron	vi	aux	aux	vt	aux	dem

•

. '"Act fast," he said.'

171 <i>Me</i>	wati	hikan	ıe		taokana		kerekere	we
me	wati	hi-	ka-	na+M	taokana	,	kere-	kerewe
3PL.S	plan agair	nst OC	COMIT	AUX	shotgun		DUP	be slow
pron	vt	aux			nf		vi	
kana	re 1	rama	ahi					
ka- na	na -ra+M i	rama	ahi					
COMIT AUX	AUX NEG 1	unusual	then					
aux	aux y	prt	dem					
Iml 1 .		TT1 1. 1. 1		.1.1 /				

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

172 <i>Rowiso</i>	Rowiso	tiwa	wati	kane	ati
Rowiso	Rowiso	tiwa	wati	ka- na+M	ati
(man's name)	(man's name)	2SG.O	plan against	COMIT AUX	say
npropm	npropm	pron	vt	aux	vt
nemetemone	fati				
na -hemete -mone	fati				
AUX FP.N+F REP+F	3SG.POSS.wif	e			
aux	nf				
nemetemone na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux	<i>fati</i> fati 3SG.POSS.wif	•	vt	aux	vt

"Rowiso, Rowiso is going to shoot at you," she said, his wife.'

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      173
      Fito
      tonakosebona
      tao
      hikanematamonaka

      fito
      too
      na
      -kosa
      -hibona
      tao
      hi-
      ka-
      na
      -himata
      -mona
      -ka

      rush
      away
      AUX
      middle
      INT+M
      shoot
      OC
      COMIT
      AUX
      FP.N+M
      REP+M
      DECL+M

      vi
      aux
      vt
      aux
      vt
      aux

      ahi
      .
      .
      .
      .
      .
      .

      dem
      .
      .
      .
      .
      .
      .
      .

      'He wanted to run away, but he shot him.'
      .
      .
      .
      .
      .
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174 Tao hikane , me ye kawemetemone tao hi-ka- na+M me yee kawemetemone shoot OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S yell comit Aux change FP.N+F REP+F vt aux pron vi aux shoet change FP.N+F REP+F yati me me kina+F mati spron vi aux yati me me kina+F mati spron spron spron npropm pron pron vt pron spron spron spron 'He shot him. They yelled, surrounding the Apurinãs.' spron spron spron spron
175 <i>Owa me sa hikana</i> owa me saa hi-ka- na.LIST other+M 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX
adjpronvtauxhinematamonaahiauxhi-na-himata-monaahiOCAUXFP.N+MREP+Mthenauxdem'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.'
<pre>177 Yati fana kana narawa fana kana na -rawa+F Apurinã female run AUX F.PL 3PL.S pron vt ahi ahi then dem 'The Apurinã women ran, and they ran after them.'</pre>
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 <i>Owato</i> 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
IsoIaiJanaMeIsaMarawemetermoneKanayatifanametisana-rawa-hemete-monekanaApurinãfemale3PL.Sshoot with arrowAUX F.PLFP.N+FREP+Frunnpropmnfpronvtauxvinarawaro,kasaroakarawanihi.na-rawa-haarokasaroaka-rawaAUX F.PLIP.E+FbeadswearF.PLIP.N+FDUPauxnfvt'''They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They were wearing beads.'

181 Yati fa i	na taminar	awa n	ne ka	tomarawem	etemone	
yati fa	ana tamina	a -rawa+F r	ne ka	atoma	-rawa -heme	te -mone
Apurinã fe	emale be goo	od F.PL	3PL.S ki	ill many	F.PL FP.N+	F REP+F
npropm nf	f vi	l	pron vt	t		
Towisawa	aati toen	nari	a	make		
Towisawa	a- ati to-	ha.NOM+M -	mari a	ma -ke		
(man's name)	DUP say awa	y AUX F	P.E+M b	e DECL+1	F	
npropm	vt aux		v	С		
'They killed many p	oretty Apurinã wo	omen, Towisawa	always said	.'		
182 <i>Me</i> i	ihi	itiha me	kameme	etemone		ahi
me i	ihi	iti+F me	ka		hemete -mon	•
3PL.POSS v	victim of+F	exist 3PL.S	s go/com	ne back E	P.N+F REP+	F then
pron p	pn	vi pron	vi			dem
'After killing people	e, they came back	.'				
183 Me kama	~ .		hand	hemetemone		ahi
me ka		ne, me me me	bana		emete -mone	ahi .
					.N+F REP+F	then
pron vi		oron pro		e away FI	• IN F INDI F	dem
'They came back, an	-	prom pro				aciii
They came back, an	nu moveu away.					
184 Me bana	me me	tokemetemon	2			
me bana		to- ka		ete -mone	2	
	e away 3PL.S	. = =	ome FP.N4	F REP+F	1	
pron vi	pron	vi				
'They moved away. '	They went.'					
185 Awa me	ka hina	tobokav	vitiha		me,	me
awa me	kaa hi-	na+F to-	boka	-wit1		me
tree 3PL.S	S chop OC	AUX away	enter wat	ter out	3PL	3PL.S
nf pron	vt aux	vi			pron	pron
kariwehemetemone		ahi .				
	a -hemete -m					
go/come across	FP.N+F RE	P+F then				
vi Terl v l		dem	1.1			
'They cut down a tre	ee. The tree fell ii	nto the water, and	d they went	across.'		
186 Me kari w	va	me	awa n	ne ti		
me ka	-riwaha+	-F me '	awa n	ne ti	.i	
3PL.S go/c	come across	3PL.S	tree 3	BPL.S cu	t through	
pron vi		pron	nf p	oron vt		
nakosemetemone		fahi .				
na -kosa -hei	mete -mone	fahi				
AUX middle FP.1	N+F REP+F	then				
aux		dem				
aux 'They crossed. They						
'They crossed. They			aman	ıi		

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.'

188 Fava me totowinawiti toimetemone amake to- to- wina -witI to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke faya me CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S DUP away live out be DECL+F so conj pron vi aux VC ahi ahi then dem 'Then they lived far away for a time.' ahi 189 *Me* kamine nimete na.NOM+F -mete ahi me ka -ma -ne 3PL.S go/come back CONT+F AUX FP.N+F here vi pron aux dem 'They came back this way.' 190 Koriwa kaya nineni -ni Koriwa kaya na -ne Curiá lie AUX CONT+F BKG+F npropf vi aux 'The Curiá River is there.' 191 Fava hitikosamematamona kona me hi- iti -kosa -ma -himata -mona faya kona me plant sp 3PL.S OC take out middle back FP.N+M REP+M so coni nm pron vt 'They brought kona plants.' 192 *Ene* babata toematamona amake ba- bata to- ha.NOM+M -mata ama -ke ehene -mona victim of+M DUP be rotten CH AUX short time REP+M be DECL+F vi aux VC pn fahi kona habo tatama re habo famahari na -ra+M kona ta- tama fama -haari fahi habo habo 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 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP plant sp fish 3PL.O DUP CAUS die 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 m	'I guass it grows on the other side of the Curié '								

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