Free Translation

My cousin worked for a Brazilian. He didn't have any children. My cousin worked for Jacó. He gathered Brazil nuts. He went around a lot. It gets dark on that trail downstream. My cousin found the Banawás. The Banawá brought them, he was Moni Misa.

They came back. They went to the Jamamadis. There were many of them. It was Kowarafo, Ete Komowi, Saraka, Howakasa, and Yakowa. Along with Moni Misa, they went to the Jamamadis' village. They went there. When they came back, they told about Mano Baka being shot.

"Someone shot Mano Baka." Kowarafo came back with the news of them having shot Mano Baka.

"Kowarafo has come back," they said. "Look, Kowarafo has come back."

"Yes."

"Yes," they said.

"Look at me. I am bringing news."

"Kowarafo, what is it?"

"I will tell you. They shot each other. Someone shot Mano Baka, Abono," he said. "They shot Abono with a rifle."

"Did he die?"

"He didn't die. They held him to cure him," he said. "He is in his hammock, sick."

"Who shot him?"

"Firi shot him. Moni Misa was going to shoot Firi, but I grabbed Moni Misa's gun. Firi jumped away and went to the others. Mano Baka was hurt badly. He was hurt badly, and they held onto him to cure him."

"I am going to go see them," he said.

"Go see them. Did he die?"

"Moni Misa is upset. I don't want Moni Misa to leave me behind. I want to go with him to Jacó, so we can gather Brazil nuts."

So Kowarafo went. After Kowarafo went, Sakobi went and saw Mano Baka. They sucked on Mano Baka to cure him. Sakobi only saw him, he said. 19

"Where did the bullet hit him?"

"The bullet him him in the cheek. He was hurt badly, and they held him to cure him," Kowarafo said.

Then his aunt cried, Mano Baka's aunt [a Jarawara woman].

Then Kowarafo and the others went to Jacó. They went and gathered Brazil nuts. My cousin came back. He came by the downstream trail. On another day, when he finished gathering Brazil nuts, he came back. He bought a pan for toasting manioc meal, and a shotgun, a new shotgun. The pan that Moni Nisa bought never wore out, and eventually they gave it back. They toasted manioc meal with it. But Tafa kept the shotgun. It wore out.

They went there. Raimundo Machado came because Jacó sent him, and he got Towisawa and took him back. Towisawa disappeared. Wabao went with his father. Yatiti and Efe went, too.

¹⁹ That is, he did not suck on him to cure him.

They went, and disappeared. They went downstream in the floodwaters, the high floodwaters. They went downstream. Raimundo Machado had gotten Towisawa so he would die. Jacó bought cachaça for Towisawa, and clothes, and many other things, for Towisawa to bring back. But Towisawa disappeared.

Towisawa lay in his hammock and slept at night. When morning came, the Brazilian got out of his hammock, and grabbed Towisawa's empty hammock.

"Towisawa, Towisawa. Towisawa has disappeared."

Towisawa had left, and he didn't come back. Wabao and the others, who were there, came back then. Domingos Rosário took Efe and Yaiti away. Babao stayed by himself with Sita [a Brazilian]. Efe and his companion came back. They looked for Towisawa.

"The bottles of cachaça that I bought are there on the ground. Towisawa has disappeared. I will hear the news about Towisawa," said Jacó.

Jacó went downstream, and spoke to a Brazilian woman, a Brazilian woman who knew about people. "Comadre, Towisawa has disappeared."

"The Indian Towisawa has disappeared. I don't think Towisawa has died. Towisawa must be in the forest," she said.

They looked for Towisawa. The sound of them could be heard as they shot off guns and played a noisemaker. As they played the noisemaker, he heard their sound, he used to say.

A Brazilian went fishing in a canoe, and he came upon him without recognizing him. He went away.

"I saw Towisawa but didn't recognize him. The Indian went there in a canoe. He went there."

Towisawa came. He came along in the canoe. He left the canoe behind, he used to say. He went on some people's trail. He found the trail and went on the trail. He didn't find anyone, so he came back, he used to say.

He came. He crossed over a stream. The flooding was in his way. He waded across the water. He swam. He came along. He didn't have any manioc meal, but he took care of himself. The manioc meal was all gone. He had a rifle, too. He came. He came along. He came along the edge of the water. He knew of a trail, and he was looking for it. "I will look for an old trail." He came. Towisawa suffered through the way, which was long.

It got dark on him. He broke off some small trees. He lashed the poles together [up in a tree]. He sat on them. He lay and slept, he used to say.

When morning came, he started out again. He waded many times, and it was hard. He came along. Finally he recognized the place, he used to say. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept, he used to say. He came on. It dawned on him, and he came on.

When he came near Raimundo Machado's place he heard the sounds of the people. Wabao's father [i.e. Towisawa] almost shot him as he was splitting firewood. He thought he was a Brazilian.

"It's not a Brazilian. I won't shoot the Brazilian. My son and the others escaped," he thought, he used to say. "I guess they will come back. I guess they didn't die."

He came on. He picked a lemon, and ate the lemon. He wrapped up some other lemons. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept in the middle of the trail. He slept on the way. Dawn came on him. He started out again, he used to say. Then he finally arrived.

We weren't there. We were fishing. Manoel Quirino had also gone to the other village. As Towisawa was coming, Manoel Quirino met up with him. We didn't see them. We were fishing. We were spearing fish.

We came back, and we met up with Manoel Quirino as he was coming. I was with Noko Mora. Noko Mora and I were coming onto the shore when Raimundo asked us right away.

"Makaoba, Towisawa said that the others died."

"Who?"

"Yose and the others are said to have died. People had thought that Towisawa had died, but Towisawa had come back. He is back here."

Then Manoel Quirino came. "Makaoba, Towisawa is back here. Towisawa said that his son and the others died, that the Brazilians shot them," Manoel Quirino said.

Then Noko Mora was upset. The sun set. Then we were ready. We gave fish to Manoel.

"Makaoba, don't go home yet. I'm going to buy some shotgun shells for you. Go see the Brazilians," he said. "I don't think they have died. I think they are alive. Towisawa came back crying. The Indians are alive. I went there [to the village], and I have come back," he said.

We came back, and arrived back. They had been crying, and we came upon them crying. Noko Mora was upset. It was scary, because of the ones who had disappeared.

We didn't stay in the village, we went fishing every day. We got up early. We went out to fish again. On the way back, we came upon them coming back, bringing cachaça. Wabao had stolen Raimundo Machado's old shotgun. Wabao had stolen, he had stolen from Raimundo Machado. They were bringing the things. We came back, and we came upon them. Their voices could be heard. We heard their voices as we came back, and we stood there.

"They are coming. It's the voices of people who have drunk cachaça," Kara Maka said. "They have been drinking cachaça. Let's see them."

We were ready. We came back. They were living in longhouses. They had come and had given cachaça to the others, and we heard their voices as we came back. Noko Mora had drunk cachaça. I didn't drink any cachaça. The others drank cachaça.

My mother gutted the fish that I had speared. They gutted the fish, and they cooked the fish. They were laughing at Noko Yawawa, who was drunk. They were holding him up as he was drunk.

"I will bite you," he said.

It got dark on them, and they ate. They ate fish. They ate fish while drunk. My father also ate fish. My father also drank some of their cachaça. They didn't give any cachaça to Sakobi, and he blew snuff into their nostrils.

Sakobi was ready. Sakobi spoke. "Boniwa, Boniwa."

"Huh?"

"I'm going to blow snuff in you. Come here."

"Yaiti, you come here. I am going to blow snuff in you, because your mothers cried because of you," he said.

It was Wabao. Sakobi sucked on his shaman's stone, and blew snuff in them. Sakobi blew snuff in them again the next day.

The day dawned. "Father, we are going fishing. We are going into the forest."

"You two are not drunk."

"Noko Mora come on, let's fish."

We went to Manoel Quirino. We went, and Manoel Quirino was home. Manoel Quirino had bought shotgun shells.

"Manoel, the Indians didn't die. The Indians came and are there," Noko Mora said.

"You didn't believe me. 'I don't think the Indians have died,' I always said. Is it all of them?" "It is all of them. They all came back."

"All right."

Manoel Quirino was afraid of them.²⁰

The two of us came back. We went and fished. We speared fish that were coming back

²⁰ That is, he was afraid of reprisals from the Jarawaras if other Brazilians killed Jarawaras.

upstream. We carried the fish on lines on our shoulders. Sakobi was there. They started to call him Wao. He used to blow snuff in us.

We brought fish, and they gutted them. It was a big flood. The fish were eating crabwood seeds, and we were spearing them all over. We were standing wherever there were crabwood seeds falling in the water. We speared fish, and came back. We gave fish to Manoel Quirino on the way back. We bought salt, and came back.

Kara Maka found some white-lipped peccaries as he came back. Tatiwi came running back. "Tatiwi has come back. Tatiwi, what is it?"

"Don't say anything. There are white-lipped peccaries coming there," Tatiwi said.

The peccaries came and did not stop. We all came back.

"The peccaries can be heard as they are coming this way. Where should we go?" We threw our fish on the ground, and went up into trees. Many peccaries came. They live here. We were all in trees. Sakobi went up a tree, and the branch he was standing on broke. He was hanging on with his legs free, and the others were laughing at him. Bato sat on top of a vine, too.

The peccaries went as we watched them. They went to the water and went away. We came down from the trees. The peccaries had gone away, and we left them behind.

We came running home. We wanted to get up early because of the peccaries.

They joked about the peccaries, Noko Wene and the others. "Mother, let's eat *aba* fish for the time being. We won't eat *aba* fish anymore. The Brazilians want to kill us, and they went that way," Noko Wene said.²¹

We took snuff, and slept. They had decided to get up early because of the peccaries, and they did. They got up early. We got up early because of the peccaries, and we went after them. It had gotten dark on the peccaries, but they slept far away from that place. When Kowarafo was looking for the trail of the peccaries, he stepped on the head of an acouchy [dead, decomposed]. Kowarafo stepped on the head of an acouchy, and the others laughed at him. They wanted to go after the peccaries, and they heard their voices in the distance. The voices of the peccaries could be heard.

"Go after the peccaries right away. Let's go back soon."²²

They took their shotguns. But I took bow and arrows. My father took his shotgun. They went after the peccaries. The sound of gunfire started. They were yelling. The peccaries came running, and they shot them. They had gone running, and Tome had circled around behind them. They came running toward us, and then went away again. We went around in front of them. Noko Mora and I came running back on the trail. We came, and we heard the noise of the peccaries. Noko Mora went after the peccaries. We rushed at the peccaries from behind, and I killed one peccary. Noko Mora killed two. They came running toward us. They crossed at the mouth of the Awi stream. They went away. I guess they live at the Curiá River again.

They roasted the peccaries on racks after they brought them home.

"I will get firewood." We both took axes, and we went for firewood. We cut off two pieces of firewood, and we brought back the firewood.

Amane was a good hunter of white-lipped peccaries. They roasted Amane's peccaries.

"Let's eat the peccaries. Let's have a festa." They planned to have a festa. They cut up the peccaries so they could cook the peccaries. They cooked the peccaries. Finally they ate them.

²¹ Noko Wene was joking, calling the peccaries Brazilians.

²² That is, they would go home early if they killed peccaries right away.

Interlinear Presentation

```
1 Okovo
                                         okovo
            ka
  \circ
                 ayo
                                         0-
                                                  ka
                                                      ayo
  1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin
                                                  nanarifa
okovo
                                      yara
         ka
             ayo
                                                  na- narifa
                                      yara
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o- ka ayo yara na- narifa 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin Brazilian DUP help nm npropm pn

hiemari

hi- to- ha -himari OC CH AUX FP.E+M aux

'My cousin worked for a Brazilian.'

2 Biti winakara
biti wina -ka -ra
3SG.POSS.son live DECL+M NEG+M
nm vi

'He didn't have any children.'

3 Yako Yako nanarifa okovo Yako Yako 0ka ayo na- narifa Jacó Jacó 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin DUP help npropm nm npropm

hiemari

hi- to- ha -himari OC CH AUX FP.E+M aux

'My cousin worked for Jacó.'

4 Yako okoyo
Yako o- ka ayo na- narifa
Jacó 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin DUP help
npropm nm pn

hiemari okoyo mowe ka hi- to- ha -himari 0ka ayo mowe kaa OC CH AUX FP.E+M 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin Brazil nut chop aux nm

nari

na -haari AUX IP.E+M

aux

'My cousin worked for Jacó. My cousin gathered Brazil nuts.'

5 Okoyo
o- ka ayo
1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin DUP go back and forth

tohemari amake
to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke
CH AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F

'My cousin went around a lot.'

6 Bato	hawi	kakayoma	kawahatasine	
bato	hawi	ka- kayoma+		-tasa -ne
downstrea		COMIT darken	COMIT dawn a	ngain CONT+F
nf	pn hat trail daym	vi	vi	
'It gets dark on t	nat tran down	stream.		
7 Bato yafi		asiwaha	bato yafi mat	i .
bato yafi	mera wa	asi -waha.LIST	bato yafi mat	i.
Banawá		ind change	Banawá 3PI	
npropm	pron v	t	npropm pro	n
'He found the Ba	anawas.			
8 Bato yafi	mera ka	ikamawaha	na	toemari
bato yafi		a- ka -m		to- ha -himari
Banawá		OMIT go/come ba	=	CH AUX FP.E+M
npropm	pron v	t	aux	aux
<i>Moni Misa</i> Moni Misa	toane	•		
(man's name)	to- ha - CH be B			
npropm	vc vc	NGTH		
	_	was Moni Misa.'		
	, ,			
9 Faya me	kama	wati	me ni ya	a me
faya me	ka ,	-ma+F wahati		
so 3PL		e back Jamama		DJU 3PL.S
conj pro	n vi	npropm		rt pron
<i>tokomakeni</i> to- ka	-makI	-hani me	<i>tokomakehani</i> to- ka	-makI -hani
away go/come				ne following IP.N+F
vi vi	. 10110W1119	pro	. = =	ie ioliowing ii • ii · ii
me tamam	aroke			
me tama	-hamaro	-ke		
	any FP.E+F	DECL+F		
pron vi	m1	ıl r l' mi	C 11	,
They came back	a. They went to	the Jamamadis. The	ere were many of the	m.'
10 Kowarafo	F.t.	e Komowi	Saraka	Howakasa
Kowarafo.	,	e Komowi.LIST	Saraka.LIST	Howakasa.LIST
(man's na	me) (m	nan's name)	(man's name)	(man's name)
npropm		ropm	npropm	npropm
Yakowa	me n	amaroni		
Yakowa.LIST		a -hamaro -ni		
(man's name)		UX FP.E+F BKG+	·F	
npropm	-	^{ux} Saraka, Howakasa,	and Valzavia !	
it was Kowaraid	o, Ete Komowi,	Saraka, Mwakasa,	aliu Takowa.	
11 Moni Misa	. <i>n</i>	ne na me	tokomake	wati
Moni Misa	,	ne na+F me	_	-makI wahati
(man's na	me) 3	SPL.S AUX 3P	L.S away go/co	me following Jamamadi
npropm	p	oron aux pr	on vi	npropm
	bori ya			
	abori ya	T T		
	ace+F ADJ	U		
pron pr	-	ent to the Jamamadi	s' village '	
THOUS WITH MION	ii iviisa, tiicy W	ciit to tiic gaillaillaul	s village.	

3PL.S away g pron vi me kaminamaba me kamina -n	ka -makI go/come followin guni ma -haba -ni ack FUT+F IP.N+	mati . mati F 3PL.S pron	Mano Baka Mano Baka (man's name) npropm Mano Baka being sh	tao tao shoot result	kani ka- na.NFIN COMIT AUX aux
Mano Baka (man's name) npropm	me tao 3PL.S shoot pron vt	hi- ka- r	na -hino -ho AUX IP.N+M DUP	•	
"Someone shot Mano	Baka."'				
14 Mano Baka Mano Baka (man's name) npropm kamamata ka -ma.NOM+ go/come back	pron vt aman -M -mata ama	OC COMIT A aux	na -hino na	moni K port (Cowarafo owarafo man's name) propm
vi 'Kowarafo came back	with the news of the	em having shot N	Aano Baka.'		
15 Kowarafo Kowarafo (man's name) npropm "Kowarafo has come	<pre>kame ka -ma+M go/come back vi</pre>	me ati me ati 3PL.S say pron vt	nemetemone na -hemete	-mone REP+F	
16 Kowarafo Kowarafo (man's name) npropm "'Look, Kowarafo has	go/come back i	ha -haari haa look+M DEM dem			
17 Ee ee yes interj ""Yes."					
18 Ee , me ee me yes 3PL interj pro ""Yes," they said."	.S say AUX F	nemete -mone	-ke DECL+F		
19 Owa te owa tee 1SG.O 2PL.S pron pron "Look at me."	<pre>awa fahi awa fahi see then vt dem</pre>				

20 Hivara owakamine hiyara o- ka- ka -ma -ne 0ni 1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F "I am bringing news." 21 Kowarafo himata amarinihi Kowarafo himata ama -ri -ni -hi be CQ+F IP.N+F DUP (man's name) what? npropm interrog vc "Kowarafo, what is it?" 22 Himata ama himata ama what? be interrog vc "I will tell you." 23 *Me* kanahara ebe tao ebe tao ka- na -hara 3PL.POSS RECIP shoot COMIT AUX IP.E+F pn aux "They shot each other." 24 Mano Baka ki Abono me tao yamani Mano Baka me tao kana.NOM+F yamani Abono COMIT AUX (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.S shoot telling pron vt aux npropm npropm "They shot Mano Baka, Abono." 25 Abono ki ati me tao yamani nemari kana.NOM+F na -himari Abono tao yamani ati me 3PL.S COMIT AUX AUX FP.E+M (man's name) shoot telling say vt npropm pron vt aux aux "They shot Abono," he said.' 26 Abono me tao hikanare rifi va hi- ka-Abono me tao na -hare rifi ya OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M (man's name) 3PL.S shoot rifle ADJU npropm pron vt aux prt "They shot Abono with a rifle." 27 *Rifi* me tao hikanareka ya ya hi- kana -hare -ka rifi me tao OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M rifle ADJU 3PL.S shoot prt pron nf vt aux "They shot him with a rifle." 28 Abare awa ahaba -ra+M awa die NEG seem+M vi sec

"Did he die?"

29 Abararene

ahaba -ra -hare -ne die NEG IP.E+M BKG+M vi

"He didn't die."

30 *Me* hikanarene ati nemari tama hi- kana -hare -ne me tama ati na -himari hold onto OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M BKG+M 3PL.S sav AUX FP.E+M vt aux vt aux pron

"They held him to cure him," he said."

31 Kawinarene

ka- wina -hare -ne COMIT lie in hammock IP.E+M BKG+M vi

"He is in his hammock, sick."

32 Hibake tao hikaranoho
hibake tao hi- ka- na -ra -no -ho
who+M shoot OC COMIT AUX CQ+M IP.N+M DUP
interrog vt aux

"Who shot him?"

33 Firi Firi hikanareka tao hi- ka-Firi Firi na -hare -ka tao (man's name) (man's name) OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M shoot npropm npropm vt aux

"Firi shot him."

34 *Firi* Moni Misa tao hikanena Moni Misa na -hina Moni Misa Moni Misa hi- ka-Firi tao OC COMIT AUX IRR+M (man's name) (man's name) shoot (man's name) npropm vt aux npropm npropm

ka taokana wara okana yora towiti to- ka- na+F taokana wara 0yora to- na -witI+M grab 1SG.S away COMIT AUX POSS shotgun jump away AUX out nf vt aux vi aux

fara tokomakehare me one ni ya to- ka -makI -hare fara me one ni ya 3PL other+F to away go/come following IP.E+M same+F ADJU dem pron adj prt prt

"'Moni Misa was going to shoot Firi, but I grabbed Moni Misa's gun. He jumped away and went to the others."'

35 Mano Baka abareka

Mano Baka ahaba -hare -ka (man's name) die IP.E+M DECL+M npropm vi

"Mano Baka was hurt badly."

me hikanareka tama ahaba+M me tama hi- kana -hare -ka 3PL.S OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M die hold onto vi pron vt aux

"He was hurt badly, and they held onto him to cure him."

-be

ati

ati

say

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

37 *Me*

3PL.O

owamamatibe

o- to- awa -ma -mata

1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F

```
vt
                                                              aux
"I am going to go see them," he said.'
38 Me
          totowama
                                tiva
           to- to- awa -ma
   me
                                ti-
                                       na -vahi
   3PL.O
          DUP away see back
                                2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
   pron
          vt
                                aux
"Go see them."
39 Abe
             awa
   ahaba+M
             awa
   die
             seem+M
   77 i
             sec
"Did he die?"
40 Moni Misa
                  yawahare
   Moni Misa
                  yawa
                            -hare
   (man's name)
                  be upset IP.E+M
   npropm
                  vi
"Moni Misa is upset."
41 Moni Misa
                          kakosarava
                                                                     ota
                  owa
                          ka- kana -kosa -ra -vaho
  Moni Misa
                                                                     otaa
                  owa
                          COMIT leave middle NEG DIST.IMP+M
   (man's name)
                  1SG.O
                                                                     1EX.S
                  pron
   npropm
                          v/t
                                                                     pron
tokomabone
                                      Yako
                                              ni
                                                                                  ka
                              ota
                                                   ya
                                                             mowe
                                                                          ota
              -ma -habone
to- ka
                                      Yako
                                              ni
                                                   ya
                                                             mowe
                                                                          otaa
                                                                                  kaa
                              otaa
away go/come back INT+F
                                                                                  chop
                              1EX.S
                                      Jacó
                                              to
                                                   ADJU
                                                             Brazil nut
                                                                          1EX.S
                                      npropm prt prt
                                                                                  vt
                              pron
                                                             nm
                                                                          pron
tonamabone
                          ota
to- na -ma -habone
                          otaa
away AUX back INT+F
                          1EX.S
                          pron
"I don't want Moni Misa to leave me behind. I want to go with him to Jacó, so we can gather Brazil nuts."
42 Faya
          me
                  Kowarafo
                                  tokomemarika
                                                                         fahi
                                  to- ka
   faya
         me
                  Kowarafo
                                                 -ma -himari -ka
                                                                         fahi
   so
          3PL
                   (man's name)
                                  away go/come back FP.E+M DECL+M
                                                                         then
   conj
         pron
                  npropm
'So Kowarafo went.'
43 Kowarafo
                  tokome
                                         nowati
                                                            Sakobi
                                                  ya
   Kowarafo
                  to- ka
                                 -ma+M
                                         nowati
                                                            Sakobi
                                                  ya
   (man's name)
                  away go/come back
                                         after
                                                  ADJU
                                                            (man's name)
                  τzi
                                                            npropm
   npropm
                                         pn
                                                  prt
tokomake
                           Mano Baka
                                          towamakemata
                                                                              ama
                                          to- awa -makI
to- ka
              -makI
                          Mano Baka
                                                              -mata
                                                                              ama
away go/come following
                          (man's name) away see following short time
                                                                              SEC
                           npropm
                                          vt
'After Kowarafo went, Sakobi went and saw Mano Baka.'
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44 <i>Mano</i> Mano (man'		me me 3PL.S	toma toma suck	hine hi- no			,	<i>hine ya</i> hine ya only ADJU
nprop		pron	vt	aux	npr			pron prt
hiwematan		F	hinemari			- 1		r
hi- awa OC see	-himata	-mona REP+M	ati hi say OC	- na	-himari FP.E+M	-ka DECL+M	•	
vt 'They suck	ed on Mano	Baka to o	vt cure him.	Sakobi (only saw hi	m, he said.'		
45 <i>Hibaka</i> hibak	ta ya	<i>bara</i> bara bulle	kobo kobo t arri	o n	<i>niya</i> a -ri	-ni - <u>y</u> IP.N+F no	?	
inter	rog prt id the bullet	nf	vi		ux	IF.N'F II	JW	
46 <i>Bara</i> bara	<i>kobo</i> kobo	<i>narak</i> na	e -hara	-ke	<i>Mano B</i> Mano 1		<i>noko</i> noko	<i>bako</i> bako
bulle nf	et arrive vi	aux	IP.E+F	DECL+1	F (man': npropi	s name) m	face+ pn	M inner surface+M pn
<i>ya</i> . ya ADJU								
prt	et him him i	n the chee	ek.'''					
47 <i>Ahabe</i> ahaba die	<i>me</i> 1+M me 3PL.9	tama tama	onto	hikanar hi- ka	a- na	-hare -	-ka	, <i>Kowarafo</i> Kowarafo (man's name)
vi	pron nari	vt ama		aux	OMII AUX	TE.EIM I		npropm
ati na say AUX	-himari X FP.E+M	ama SEC	•					
vt au: '''He was h	x iurt badly, ai	sec nd they h	eld him t	o cure hi	m," Kowara	afo said.'		
48 <i>Faya</i> faya	<i>matise</i> matise			namaron na -h	<i>i</i> amaro −n:	. ,	<i>Mano Ba</i> Mano Ba	
so conj	3SG.POSS	S.aunt		AUX FP aux	.E+F BK		(man's npropm	name)
<i>matise</i> matise								
	.aunt		a's aunt.'					
3SG.POSS	aunt cried. M	Iano Baka						
3SG.POSS nf 'Then his a	aunt cried, M		tokome		1	me		
3SG.POSS nf 'Then his a	Kowarafo Kowarafo (man's n	D.			-ma+M r	me me 3PL.S		
3SG.POSS nf 'Then his a 49 <i>Faya</i> faya	Kowarafo Kowarafo	o name)	<i>tokome</i> to- ka		-ma+M m	me		
3SG.POSS nf 'Then his a 49 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj	Kowarafo Kowarafo (man's n	o name)	<i>tokome</i> to- ka away go	o/come	-ma+M m	me 3PL.S		
3SG.POSS nf 'Then his a 49 Faya faya so conj tokomemet to- ka	Kowarafo Kowarafo (man's n	o name) -heme	tokome to- ka away go vi te -ke	o/come Y Y	-ma+M nback 3	me 3PL.S pron <i>ya</i> ya		

50 Me tokomani mowe ka me me -ma -hani to- ka me mowe me kaa away go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.S Brazil nut 3PL.S chop pron pron pron tonamani okovo -ma -hani to- na 0ka avo away AUX back IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS older parallel cousin aux nm kamatasemata amake ha va -ma -tasa.NOM+M -mata ama -ke haa ya FP.N+M be DECL+F DEM go/come back again ADJU vi VC dem prt 'They went and gathered Brazil nuts. My cousin came back.' 51 *Bato* ka hawi va kamawemataka bato hawi ka ya ka -ma -waha -himata -ka downstream trail+F LOC ADJU go/come back change FP.N+M DECL+M pn prt prt vi 'He came by the downstream trail.' 52 Kamaweno ka ni abe mowe -ma -waha -hino na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M mowe kaa go/come back change IP.N+M Brazil nut AUX chop end vi vt aux kamematane ya -ma -himata -ne ya ka ADJU go/come back FP.N+M BKG+M vi 'On another day, when he finished gathering Brazil nuts, he came back.' 53 *Fono* taokana kanika kanika nematamona kakanika.LIST nika.LIST na -himata -mona taokana fono COMIT buy COMIT buy AUX FP.N+M REP+M shotgun pan aux nf nf vt. taokana vati taokana yati shotgun new adj 'He bought a pan for toasting manioc meal, and a shotgun, a new shotgun.' 54 Fono Moni Misa hikanikani aaba na fono Moni Misa hi- kanika -hani a- ahaba na (man's name) OC COMIT buy IP.N+F pan DUP end nf npropm vt vi toharamaro hinamemete me ta amake to- ha -ra -hamaro me hi- to- na -ma -hemete ama -ke taa give CH AUX NEG FP.E+F 3PL.S OC away AUX back FP.N+F SEC DECL+F pron vt aux sec 'The pan that Moni Nisa bought never wore out, and they gave it back.' 55 *Me* kakarawa hiamaro me ka- karawa hi- to- ha -hamaro OC CH AUX FP.E+F DUP COMIT toast 3PL.S vt aux 'They toasted manioc meal with it.'

56 Taokana ta Tafa	tatama	hiamaro .
taokana taa Tafa shotgun contrast (man's	ta- tama name) DUP hold onto	hi- to- ha -hamaro OC CH AUX FP.E+F
nf prt npropm	vt	aux
'But Tafa kept the shotgun.'		
57 Abayyahayyata ayiin	a Gana	
57 Abawahemete awindahaba -waha -hemete awin	•	
end change FP.N+F seen	_	
vi sec	dem	
'It wore out.'		
58 Faya , me tokomakebisa		me , Haimoto Masato
faya me to-ka	-makI -bisa+F	me Haimoto Masato
so 3PL.S away go/co	ome following also	3PL.S Raimundo Machado pron npropm
	moto Masato kakehin	no Yako
,	moto Masato ka	-kI -hino Yako
go/come coming IP.N+M Rai	lmundo Machado go/com	me coming IP.N+M Jacó
<u>-</u>	ropm vi	npropm
ati enemona , ati ehene -mona	<i>Towisawa itiki</i> Towisawa iti	<i>Towisawa</i> -kI+M Towisawa
atı ehene -mona voice because of+M REP+M		out coming (man's name)
pn pn	npropm vt	npropm
towakamemari	amake	ahi Towisawa
to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+M		ahi Towisawa
away COMIT go/come back	FP.E+M be DECL+F	,
vt	VC	dem npropm
fava tohana	-	1 1
fawa tebana fawa na -tee -hibana		
•		
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux		
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado o		and he got Towisawa and took him back.
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux		
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado o		
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati Wabao bati	came because Jacó sent him,	and he got Towisawa and took him back.
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat	. came because Jacó sent him, famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado (Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fatanpropm nm	came because Jacó sent him, <i>famemari</i> fama –himari	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat	. came because Jacó sent him, famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.'	. came because Jacó sent him, famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fate npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado (Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatit Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name)	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado (Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatit Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name)	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fate npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm 'Yatiti and Efe went, too.' 61 Me tokoma me to- ka -ma+F	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F pron aux me fawafawa me fawa- fawa	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec -ke DECL+F toa me to- ha+F me
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fat npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm 'Yatiti and Efe went, too.' 61 Me tokoma me to- ka -ma+F 3PL.S away go/come back	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F pron aux me fawafawa me fawa- fawa 3PL.S DUP disapp	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC SEC SEC -ke DECL+F toa me to- ha+F me ear CH AUX 3PL.S
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fate npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm 'Yatiti and Efe went, too.' 61 Me tokoma me to- ka -ma+F 3PL.S away go/come back pron vi	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F pron aux me fawafawa me fawa- fawa 3PL.S DUP disapp pron vi	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC sec -ke DECL+F toa me to- ha+F me ear CH AUX 3PL.S aux pron
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fate npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm 'Yatiti and Efe went, too.' 61 Me tokoma me to- ka -ma+F 3PL.S away go/come back pron vi tokisamemete	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F pron aux me fawafawa me fawa- fawa 3PL.S DUP disapp pron vi amake fa for	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama SEC SEC SEC -ke DECL+F toa me to- ha+F me ear CH AUX 3PL.S aux pron we ya , fa fowe
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fate npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatiti Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm 'Yatiti and Efe went, too.' 61 Me tokoma me to- ka -ma+F 3PL.S away go/come back pron vi	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F pron aux me fawafawa me fawa- fawa 3PL.S DUP disapp pron vi amake fafor	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama sec sec -ke DECL+F toa me to- ha+F me ear CH AUX 3PL.S aux pron we ya , fa fowe a fowe ya , faha fowe
fawa na -tee -hibana disappear AUX HAB FUT+M vi aux 'They went there. Raimundo Machado of Towisawa disappeared.' 59 Wabao bati (man's name) 3SG.POSS.fate npropm nm 'Wabao went with his father.' 60 Yatit Efe Yatiti.LIST Efe.LIST (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm 'Yatiti and Efe went, too.' 61 Me tokoma me to- ka -ma+F 3PL.S away go/come back pron vi tokisamemete to- ka -risa -ma -heme	famemari fama -himari ther be with FP.E+M vi me namaroke me na -hamaro 3PL.S AUX FP.E+F pron aux me fawafawa me fawa- fawa 3PL.S DUP disapp pron vi amake fafor	and he got Towisawa and took him back. ama ama sec sec -ke DECL+F toa me to- ha+F me ear CH AUX 3PL.S aux pron we ya , fa fowe a fowe ya , faha fowe

webote va webote ya bia ADJU adi

They went, and disappeared. They went downstream in the floodwaters, the high floodwaters.

tokisama Towisawa abebona mρ -risa -ma+F ahaba -hibona me tome Towisawa away go/come down back 3PL.S 3PL.S (man's name) die INT+M pron vi pron npropm vi Haimoto Masato itikimataka me

iti me Haimoto Masato -kT-himata -ka pick up coming FP.N+M DECL+M Raimundo Machado 3PT.

pron npropm vt.

'They went downstream. Raimundo Machado had gotten Towisawa so he would die.'

63 Faya **Towisawa** ka **Towisawa** ka Yako faya Towisawa ka Towisawa ka kasasa -bone Yako so (man's name) POSS (man's name) POSS cachaça INT+F Jacó conj npropm npropm nf npropm prt prt

yama hikanika makari tamemetemoneni hi- kanika.LIST makari.LIST -hemete -mone -ni yama tama OC COMIT buy be many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F clothes thing vt. nf nf vi

yama Towisawa ka hekamabonehe Towisawa ka hi- ka--ma -habone -he vama (man's name) POSS thing OC COMIT go/come back INT+F nf 77 t npropm prt

Towisawa fawa nebanoho Towisawa na -hiba -no -ho fawa (man's name) AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP disappear 77 i aux npropm

'Jacó bought cachaça for Towisawa, and clothes, and many other things, for Towisawa to bring back. But Towisawa disappeared.'

64 Towisawa wine amo ne yama soki va yama Towisawa wina+M amo na+M yama soki.NOM ya yama (man's name) lie in hammock sleep AUX thing be dark ADJU thing npropm aux nf prt kamaki yara kise Towisawa we. va wehe ka -makI.NOM ya yara ka -risa+M Towisawa light+F go/come following ADJU Brazilian go/come down (man's name) npropm vi prt npropm vi pn

borone tokanematamonaka wara to- kaborone wara na -himata -mona -ka container+M grab СН COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

pn vt aux

Towisawa lay in his hammock and slept at night. When morning came, the Brazilian got out of his hammock, and grabbed Towisawa's empty hammock.'

65 Towisawa Towisawa Towisawa Towisawa (man's name) (man's name) npropm npropm

"Towisawa, Towisawa."

```
66 Towisawa
                   borone
                                      Towisawa
                                                      fawa
                                                                   ka
   Towisawa
                   borone
                                      Towisawa
                                                      fawa
                                                                   na
                                                                        -ka
                                      (man's name)
   (man's name)
                   container+M
                                                      disappear
                                                                   AUX DECL+M
   npropm
                                      npropm
                                                      vi
                   pn
                                                                   aux
Towisawa
                tokehinoho
                                                kamaterebana
Towisawa
                to- ka
                               -hino
                                       -ho
                                                ka
                                                          -ma
                                                                -tee -ra -hibana
(man's name)
                away go/come IP.N+M DUP
                                                go/come back HAB NEG FUT+M
npropm
                vi
                                                 77 i
"Towisawa has disappeared." Towisawa had left, and he didn't come back."
67 Fava
          Wabao
                                  sasawi
                          me
                                                     toemete
                                                                         me
   faya
          Wabao
                          me
                                   sa- sawi
                                                     to- ha
                                                               -hemete
                                                                         me
          (man's name)
                                                          AUX FP.N+F
   SO
                          3PL.S
                                  DUP be present
                                                     CH
                                                                         3PL.S
   conj
          npropm
                          pron
                                   vi
                                                      allx
                                                                         pron
kamakiwamaro
                                       me
                                                amake
                                                              fahi
         -makI
                     -waha
                             -hamaro
                                       me
                                                ama -ke
                                                              fahi
go/come following change FP.E+F
                                       3PL.S
                                                SEC DECL+F
                                                              then
vi
                                       pron
                                                sec
                                                              dem
'Wabao and the others, who were there, came back then.'
                   Yaiti
                                       Efe
68 Efe
                                                       ya
                                                                 Efe
                                                                                  me
   Efe
                   Yaiti
                                       Efe
                                                                 Efe
                                                       ya
   (man's name)
                   (man's name)
                                       (man's name)
                                                       ADJU
                                                                  (man's name)
                                                                                  3PL.S
   npropm
                   npropm
                                       npropm
                                                       prt
                                                                 npropm
                                                                                  pron
                 Tomiko Nasara
                                      me
fama
         mera
fama+F
                 Tomiko Nasara
         mera
                                      me
be two
         3PL.O
                 Domingos Rosário
                                      3PL.O
         pron
                 npropm
                                      pron
hekamabisemetemone
                                                         me
                                                                 ama
                                                                       fa
                                -bisa -hemete -mone
                                                                       faa
hi- to- ka-
                           -ma
                 kа
                                                         me
                                                                 ama
OC away COMIT go/come back also FP.N+F
                                                 REP+F
                                                         3PL.O
                                                                 SEC
                                                                       that
                                                                       dem
                                                         pron
                                                                  sec
'Domingos Rosário took Efe and Yaiti away.'
69 Wabao
                   ohari
                               sasawi
                                                  toabisamatamona
   Wabao
                   ohari+M
                               sa- sawi
                                                  to- ha -bisa.NOM+M -mata
                                                  CH AUX also
   (man's name)
                   be alone
                               DUP be present
                                                                         FP.N+M REP+M
   npropm
                   vi
                               vi
                                                  aux
                                     famahi
amake
              ahi
                     Sita
ama -ke
              ahi
                     Sita
                                     fama+M
    DECL+F
              then
                     (man's name)
                                     be with
              dem
                     npropm
                                     vi
'Babao stayed by himself with Sita.'
70 Faya
          Efe
                                   kakama
                                                               Towisawa
                          me
                                                                               me
          Efe
                                                   -ma+F
                                                               Towisawa
   faya
                          me
                                   ka-
                                         ka
                                                                               me
          (man's name)
                          3PL.S
                                  COMIT go/come back
                                                               (man's name)
                                                                               3PL.S
                                   vi
                                                               npropm
   conj
          npropm
                          pron
                                                                               pron
                                              ka
siba
                              Towisawa
                                                      kasasabone
           na
                  me
siba
           na+F
                  me
                              Towisawa
                                              ka
                                                      kasasa
                                                               -bone
           AUX
                  3PL.S
look for
                              (man's name)
                                              POSS
                                                      cachaça INT+F
                                              prt
           aux
                  pron
                              npropm
                                                      nf
okanika
                       kawabasara
                                                      fahi
              nika+F
                                     -basa -hara
                                                      fahi
                       ka-
                              waa
                       COMIT stand edge IP.E+F
1SG.S COMIT buy
                                                      there
                       vi
                                                      dem
'Efe and his companion came back. They looked for Towisawa. "The bottles of cachaça that I bought are there
```

on the ground."

71 Towisawa fawa nahare
Towisawa fawa na -hare
(man's name) disappear AUX IP.E+M
npropm vi aux

"Towisawa has disappeared."

72 Towisawa tamine omitamatibe

Towisawa tamine o- mita -mata -be

(man's name) news about 1SG.S hear short time IMMED+F

npropm pn vt

"I will hear the news about Towisawa."

73 *Yako* tokisawiti yara fana Yako to- ka -risa -witI+M yara fana Jacó away go/come down out Brazilian female npropm vi npropm nf

hiyarematamona yara fana era -himata -mona yara fana wa- wato era speak to FP.N+M REP+M Brazilian female 1IN.O DUP know npropm nf pron pn

'Jacó went downstream, and spoke to a Brazilian woman, a Brazilian woman who knew about people.'

74 Komati Towisawa fawa ne yama komati Towisawa fawa na.NOM+M vama (man's name) comadre disappear AUX thing npropm vi nf aux

"Comadre, Towisawa has disappeared."

75 Towisawa kaboko fawa nahare
Towisawa kaboko fawa na -hare
(man's name) Indian disappear AUX IP.E+M
npropm npropm vi aux

"The Indian Towisawa has disappeared."

76 Towisawa abare awane
Towisawa ahaba -ra+M awa -ne
(man's name) die NEG seem+M BKG+M
npropm vi sec

"I don't think Towisawa has died."

77 Towisawa yama ati nemetemonehe toe awa ya yama Towisawa to- ha+M awa ya ati na -hemete -mone -he (man's name) СН be seem+M forest ADJU say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP npropm VC sec nf prt vt. aux

""Towisawa must be in the forest," she said.'

78 Towisawa tabiyo siba yama me na me Towisawa tabiyo siba na+F yama me me yama (man's name) 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S absence thing thing nf nf npropm pn pron vt aux pron

tao na moni saiemetemone me yama tao na+F me moni sai -hemete -mone yama 3PL.S shoot AUX 3PL.POSS sound be heard FP.N+F REP+F thing 3PL.S pron vt aux pron pn vi nf

horinawarematihorina -waharImatiplay by blowingAUX all over3PL.Svtauxpron

'They looked for Towisawa. The sound of them could be heard as they shot off guns and played a noisemaker.'

79 **Yama** hori ka ati me na me vama yama me hori ka yama ati na+F me 3PL.S play by blowing AUX 3PL POSS thing thing voice nf pron v/ † aux pron prt pn

kamitematamonaaatitoemarineka-mita -himata -monaa-atito-ha-himari -neCOMIT hear FP.N+MREP+MDUP sayCHAUX FP.E+MBKG+Mvtvtaux

'As they played the noisemaker, he heard their sound, he used to say.'

80 *Faya* yara ki nebona towakamaki fa faya yara faha kii na -hibona to- kaka Brazilian water look at AUX INT+M away COMIT go/come following nf vi conj npropm vt aux hiwasimakino towakamematamona hi- to- wasi -makI -hino -ma -himata -mona to- kaka OC away find following IP.N+M away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M vt

'A Brazilian went fishing in a canoe, and he came upon him without recognizing him. He went away.'

81 Towisawano oware ahi
Towisawa -no o- awa -hare ahi
(man's name) IP.N+M 1SG.S see IP.E+M there
npropm vt dem

"I saw Towisawa but didn't recognize him."

82 Kaboko towakare ahi
kaboko to- ka- ka -hare ahi
Indian away COMIT go/come IP.E+M there
npropm vi dem

"The Indian went there in a canoe."

83 Towakamare to- ka- ka -ma -hare ahi away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M there

"He went there."

84 *Faya* Towisawa kamahi kamahi kame Towisawa faya ka -ma+M ka -ma+Mka -ma+M(man's name) go/come back go/come back go/come back so npropm 77 i vi conj νi namahite kanawa -hitI -ma na -ma kanawa ya AUX back along the way go/come back canoe ADJU νi aux nf prt kakamamate kanawa koro tosematamona -ma -mata+M to- na -kosa -himata -mona ka kanawa koro COMIT go/come back short time throw CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M canoe vt aux

aatitoemarinea-atito-ha-himari-neDUPsayCHAUXFP.E+MBKG+M

'Towisawa came. He came along in the canoe. He left the canoe behind, he used to say.'

koro hawi 85 Kanawa tose mе *ya* -kosa+M kanawa koro to- na me hawi va canoe throw СН AUX middle 3PL.POSS trail+F ADJU nf vt aux pron pn prt tokomake hawi hawi tokomake wasi ya -makI to- ka hawi wasi+M hawi ya to- ka -makT away go/come following trail find trail ADJU away go/come following nf vi nf 77+ prt vi towasimakiramako mera to- wasi -makI -ra -mako wete 3PL.O away find following NEG for this reason+M return pron vt. namatasematamona hiyari aati toemarine -ma -tasa -himata -mona hiyara.NFIN ati to- ha -himari -ne a-AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M speak vi vt aux

'He left the canoe behind. He went on some people's trail. He found the trail and went on the trail. He didn't find anyone, so he came back, he used to say.'

86 *Faya* kariwame fa fowe kame kame -ma+M kafaha fowe faya ka -ma+Mka na -riwaha -ma+M go/come back COMIT AUX across back flood SO go/come back conj vi νi aux bari hikane kakame *yo* kariwame bari hi- kana+M -riwaha -ma+M ka kaka--ma+Myoo na wade OC COMIT AUX COMIT AUX across back COMIT go/come back impede aux vi aux kama namahite farina tatama faya faya -ma na -ma -hitI farina ta- tama DUP hold onto go/come back AUX back along the way manioc meal aux conj kakatoma re hiwa toemata ino amaka -ra+M hiwa kato- ha -himata katoma ino ama -ka COMIT look at СН AUX FP.N+M AUX NEG 3SG.REFL.M name+M be DECL+M aux pn

'He came. He crossed over a stream. The flooding was in his way. He waded across the water. He swam. He came along. He didn't have any manioc meal, but he took care of himself.'

87	7 Farina		Tarina , farina		farina		abemetemoneke				
	farina		farina		farina		ahaba	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi
	manioc meal		manioc mea	1	manioc m	neal	end	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	nf		nf		nf		vi				dem

'The manioc meal was all gone.'

88 *Rifi* tama na toemarine rifi to- ha tama na -himari -ne AUX rifle СН AUX FP.E+M BKG+M hold onto nf vt aux aux 'He had a rifle, too.'

89 *Fava* kama namahite faya ka -ma+M ka -ma na -ma -hitI go/come back AUX back along the way go/come back vi vi aux kabasawamahi kabasawame hawi ka -basa -waha -ma+M ka -basa -waha -ma+M hawi go/come edge change back go/come edge change back trail vi vi nf sisiba toaramaro amakene si- siba to- ha -ra -hamaro ama -ke -ne DUP look for CH AUX NEG FP.E+F SEC DECL+F IRR+F aux sec

'He came. He came along. He came along the edge of the water. He knew of a trail, and he was looking for it.'

90 Hawi bote owaba awine
hawi bote o- awa -haba awine
trail old 1SG.S see FUT+F seem+F
nf adj vt sec

"I will look for an old trail."

91 Kamahi torotoro **Towisawa** yama ra toro- toro -ma+M yama na -ra+F Towisawa thing DUP be short AUX NEG (man's name) go/come back vi nf vi aux npropm kakarima toemata ka- karima to- ha -himata DUP suffer from CH AUX FP.N+M aux

'He came. Towisawa suffered through the way, which was long.'

vi

92 *Fava* kakayome awa baka ne awa karabe ka- kayoma+M faya awa baka na+M awa karaba+M COMIT lash together COMIT darken tree break AUX tree conj vi nf vt aux nf vt forematamona itari amo ni ita -rI+M amo na.NFIN forI -himata -mona asit raised surface sleep AUX lie on top FP.N+M REP+M DUP say

aux

toemari

to- ha -himari CH AUX FP.E+M

'It got dark on him. He broke off some small trees. He lashed the poles together. He sat on them. He lay and slept, he used to say.'

vi

93 *Amo* kamaki ni fore yama we *ya* na.NFIN forI -makI.NOM amo yama wehe ka ya thing light+F ADJU sleep AUX lie on top go/come following vi nf aux vi pn tase ni nanawaraba yana yama vo na -tasa+M na.NFIN na- nawaha yama уоо -raba start AUX again AUX DUP take a long time a bit thing wade aux nf vi aux vi

fahi

```
toemata
                                           ino
                                                    amane
ra
            vovo
                        to- ha
na
    -ra+F
            yo- yoo
                                 -himata
                                           ino
                                                    ama -ne
                            AUX FP.N+M
AUX NEG
            DUP wade
                        СН
                                           name+M
                                                    be BKG+M
            vi
                        aux
                                           pn
```

'He lay and slept. When morning came, he started out again. He waded many times, and it was hard.'

```
namahite
                                                         yama
94 Fava
          kama
                          na -ma
                                     -hitI
   faya
          ka
                   -ma
                                                         yama
          go/come back
                          AUX back along the way
   so
                                                         thing
   conj
          vi
                                                         nf
                          aux
wasimematamona
                                       toemarika
                             aati
```

wasi -ma -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ka fahi find back FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then vt vt aux dem

'He came along. Finally he recognized the place, he used to say.'

95 Yama wasime kamawahi kame yama wasi -ma+M ka -ma -waha+M ka -ma+Mthing find back go/come back change go/come back nf vi vi nematamona kakayomame aati amo kayoma -ma+M aati amo na -himata -mona

ka- kayoma -ma+M amo na -himata -mona a- ati COMIT darken back sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP say vi aux vt

toemarine

to- ha -himari -ne CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M aux

'He recognized the place. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept, he used to say.'

96 <i>Amo</i>	6 Amo ne , kamawe				ka	wahe				
amo	na+M ´	ka	-ma	-waha+M	ka	<u> </u>	na	-waha+M	I	
sleep	AUX	go/come	back	change	CC	TIM	AUX	change		
vi	aux	vi			au	lX				
kamawe		Haim	oto Mas	ato	win	i		yaborano		
ka ·	-ma -waha	+M Haim	oto Ma	asato	wir	na.N	FIN	yabo	-ra.NOM+M	-no
go/come l	oack chang	e Raim	undo I	Machado	liv	<i>т</i> е		be far	NEG	IP.N+M
vi		npro	pm		vi			vi		
ya .	faya kam	e		me		moni	į			
ya	faya ka	-ma	+M ´	me		mon	i			
ADJU	so go/	come bac	k	3PL.POS	SS	sour	nd			
prt	conj vi			pron		pn				
wasimemata	monaka			fahi .						
wasi -ma	-himata	-mona -k	a	fahi						
find bac	k FP.N+M	REP+M DE	CL+M	then						
vt				dem						

'He slept. He came on. It dawned on him, and he came on. When he came near Raimundo Machado's place he heard the sounds of the people.'

97 Wabao	bati	tao	hikanenamatamona					
Wabao	bati	tao	hi- ka-	na -hina	-mata -mona			
(man's na	ame) 3SG.POSS.fathe	r shoot	OC COMIT	' AUX IRR+M	FP.N+M REP+M			
npropm	nm	vt	aux					
amaka	yaramona ,	yifo	tafa 1	ıari				
ama -ka	yara -mona	yifo	tafa r	na -haari				
SEC DECL+M	Brazilian REP+M	firewood	split A	AUX IP.E+M				
sec	nm	nf	vt a	aux				

'Wabao's father almost shot him as he was splitting firewood. He thought he was a Brazilian.'

```
yara
                ama -ra -hare
   Brazilian
               be
                   NEG IP.E+M
   npropm
                VC
"It's not a Brazilian."
99 Yara
                        okana
               tao
   yara
                tao
                        0-
                               ka-
                                      na+F
   Brazilian
                shoot
                        1SG.S COMIT AUX
   npropm
                vt
                        aux
"I won't shoot the Brazilian."
100 Okatao
             me
                     hasi
                               na
                                              awineke
                                                                ati
                                                                     nematamona
    okatao
             me
                     hasi
                               na+F
                                      me
                                              awine -ke
                                                                ati
                                                                     na -himata -mona
    my son
             3PL.S
                     escape
                               AUX
                                      3PL.S
                                              seem+F DECL+F
                                                                say
                                                                     AUX FP.N+M REP+M
    nm
             pron
                     vi
                               aux
                                      pron
                                              sec
                                                                vt
                                                                      aux
          toemarine
aati
a-
          to- ha
                    -himari -ne
DUP say
          CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
          aux
"My son and the others escaped," he thought, he used to say.'
101 Me
            kamakiaba
                                                 awineni
                                         me
    me
            ka
                     -makI
                                 -haba
                                         me
                                                 awine
                                                         -ni
            go/come following FUT+F
    3PL.S
                                         3PL.S
                                                 seem+F BKG+F
    pron
            vi
                                         pron
                                                 sec
"I guess they will come back."
```

102	Me	abara		me	awineke	
:	me	ahaba	-hara	me	awine	-ke
	3PL.S	die	IP.E+F	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F
	pron	vi		pron	sec	
'''I gu	ess they o	didn't die				

98 *Yara*

amarahare

103 Faya kamawa faya ka - so go/come b conj vi		a.LIST ge	,	<i>irimao</i> irimac lemon nf	bata bat pic vt	a na+M	<pre>irimao irimao lemon nf</pre>	yome yome swallow vt
neirimaoonena+MirimaooneAUXlemonotheauxnfadjkakayomameka-kayoma-ma+MCOMITdarkenbackvinakosamematamonakana -kosa -ma -h	vt hawi hawi trail nf	•	ya ya ya ADo	T an an am	no Leep	<pre>kame ka go/come vi</pre>	-ma+M hack	

na -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi
AUX middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'He came on. He picked a lemon, and ate the lemon. He wrapped up some other lemons. He came on, and it got dark on him. He slept in the middle of the trail.'

	osa -ma+M , ka			
CH AUX again FP aux	.N+M REP+M DUP vt	ati to- ha -him say CH AUX FP.E aux started out again, he used	+M	
105 Faya kobo faya kobo so arrive conj vi 'Then he finally arrived	namemataka na -ma -himata AUX back FP.N+M aux L'			
106 Ota nahoran	naro otake era -hamaro otaa	-ke S DECL+F		
Mane Kirino to Manoel Quirino to mpropm to mpr	vt <i>okomakebisenoho</i> to- ka -mak	aux I -bisa -hino owing also IP.N+M	otani otaa -ni 1EX.S BKG+F pron , me -ho me 3PL.POSS pron	<i>tabori</i> tabori place+F pn
108 <i>Towisawa</i> Towisawa (man's name)	kameno ka -ma -hi go/come back IP.		<i>kobo</i> kobo no meet	
npropm	vi	npropm	vt	
aux	vi	npropm		
hinematamona hi- na -himata o OC AUX FP.N+M I aux	vi -mona REP+M	npropm	vt	

aba me

fish 3PL.O 1EX.S

nm pron pron

otaa

na+F

aux

water 1EX.S throw something on AUX

faha otaa koro

nf pron vt

<i>tisa</i> tisa	<i>na</i> , na+F	<i>aba</i> aba	<i>me</i> me	<i>ota</i> otaa	<i>tisa</i> tisa		na na	a+F otaa
shoot with arrow	AUX	fish		1EX.S		with ar		JX 1EX.S
vt	aux	nm	pron	pron	vt		aı	ıx pron
kama Ma	ine Kirino		kakebiseno	•			ota	kobo
ka -ma+F Ma	ne Kirino		ka	-kI	-bisa	-hino	otaa	kobo
go/come back Ma	noel Quir	ino	go/come	coming	also	IP.N+M	1EX.S	meet
vi np	ropm		vi				pron	vt
kanemari	amaka		. Noko l	Mora	ya	ota	famama	iro
ka- na -himari	ama -ka		Noko	Mora	ya	otaa	fama	-hamaro
COMIT AUX FP.E+M	SEC DEC	L+M	(man	's name)	ADJU	1EX.S	be two	o FP.E+F
aux	sec		nprop	om	prt	pron	vi	
ota .								
otaa								
1EX.S								
pron								
'We were fishing We we	ara engaring	fich W	la cama ha	ck and we	met iin i	with Mano	al Onirina	ac ha wac

'We were fishing. We were spearing fish. We came back, and we met up with Manoel Quirino as he was coming. I was with Noko Mora.'

111 Noko Mora		ota	fama		ota	ota kakin		kakimisama			
Noko M	lora	otaa	fa	ma+F	otaa	ka-	ka		-misa	-ma+F	
(man's	name)	1EX.S	be	two	1EX.	S COM	IT go/c	ome	up	back	
npropm	l	pron	vi		pron	vi					
Haimoto	otara	wara	tomis	emari			amai	ka			
Haimoto	otara	wara	to-	na	-misa	-himar	i ama	-ka	l		
Raimundo	1EX.O	grab	СН	AUX	up	FP.E+M	SEC	DEC	CL+M		
npropm	pron	vt	aux				sec				

'Noko Mora and I were coming onto the shore when Raimundo asked us right away.'

112 N	<i>Iakaoba</i>		Makaoba	me	abamon	ehe		Towisawa
M	lakaoba	,	Makaoba	me	ahaba	-hamone	-he	Towisawa
(man's name)		(man's name)	3PL.S	die	REP+F	DUP	(man's name)
n	propm		npropm	pron	vi			npropm
ati	nahare							
ati	na -hare							
say	AUX IP.E+M							
vt	aux							
!!! N /[a]	acha Tarriagarira a	.:.	that tha athona diad	111				

"Makaoba, Towisawa said that the others died."

```
113 Hibake mati
hibake mati
who+M 3PL
interrog pron
"Who?"
```

114 Yose me abamonehe
Yose me ahaba -hamone -he
(man's name) 3PL.S die REP+F DUP
npropm pron vi

"Yose and the others are said to have died."

115	Towisawa	abemona	Towisawa	kamenoho				
	Towisawa	ahaba -himona ´	Towisawa	ka	-ma	-hino	-ho	
	(man's name)	die REP+M	(man's name)	go/come	back	IP.N+M	DUP	
	npropm	vi	npropm	vi				

[&]quot;People had thought that Towisawa had died, but Towisawa had come back."

116 Sawimare ahi -ma -hare sawi ahi be present back IP.E+M here vi dem "He is back here." 117 *Fava* Mane Kirino kamakimari amaka ka -makI -himari Mane Kirino ama -ka fava so Manoel Quirino go/come following FP.E+M SEC DECL+M npropm vi sec conj 'Then Manoel Quirino came.' Towisawa 118 Makaoba sawime ahi yama sawi -ma.NOM+M Towisawa Makaoba yama ahi (man's name) (man's name) be present back thing here npropm npropm vi nf dem "Makaoba, Towisawa is back here." 119 Towisawa abamonehe me yara Towisawa biti ahaba -hamone -he me (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S die REP+F DUP Brazilian npropm pron vi npropm ati me hinamonehe nahare me tao hi- na -hamone -he me tao ati na -hare 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX REP+F DUP AUX IP.E+M say pron pron vt aux vt aux Mane Kirino ati nemari amake Mane Kirino ati na.NOM+M -mari ama -ke Manoel Quirino say AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F vt aux 77.0 "Towisawa said that his son and the others died, that the Brazilians shot them," Manoel Quirino said.' Noko Mora 120 *Faya* yawemari amane faya Noko Mora -himari ama -ne yawa SEC BKG+M (man's name) be upset FP.E+M SO conj npropm vi sec 'Then Noko Mora was upset.' 121 *Bai* tokemari amaka bahi to- ka -himari ama -ka away go/come FP.E+M SEC DECL+M nm vi 'The sun set.' 122 *Faya* otani ota yana tonamaro faya otaa yana to- na -hamaro otaa -ni so 1EX.S start CH AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S BKG+F conj pron vi aux pron 'Then we were ready.' 123 *Mane* ka aba mebone ota Makaoba me ta na Mane ka aba me -bone me otaa taa na+F Makaoba fish 3PL INT+F 3PL.O 1EX.S give Manoel POSS AUX (man's name)

npropm prt

nm

pron

pron pron

vt

aux

npropm

```
te tokomariya
tee to- ka
                -ma -ra -yahi
      to- ka
                                         mata
2PL.S away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F
                                        for now
'We gave fish to Manoel. "Makaoba, don't go home yet."'
124 Te
          tokomariya
                    -ma -ra -yahi
          to- ka
   tee
          away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F
   2PL.S
   pron
"Don't go."
             , katosoba
125 Te
        ka
                                    okanikamatabana
                 katosoba okanikamatabana
katoso -ba o- ka- nika -mata -habana
   tee ka
                 shotgun shell FUT 1SG.S COMIT buy short time FUT+F
   2PL POSS
   pron prt
                 nf
                                    v/t
0-
1SG.S
"I'm going to buy some shotgun shells for you."
126 Karivo
              me
                     te
                            towamibe
                                                   ati
                            to- awa -ma -be ati na -himari
              me
   kario
                     tee
   Brazilian 3PL.O 2PL.S away see back IMMED+F say AUX FP.E+M
   npropm pron pron
                            vt
                                                   vt
                                                         aux
"Go see the Brazilians," he said.'
127 Me
          abara
                              awineke
                       me
                              awine -ke
          ahaba -ra+F me
   me
   3PL.S die NEG 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
   pron
          vi
                       pron
                               sec
"I don't think they have died."
                             awine -ke
128 Me
          sawiha
                     me
                                               Towisawa
                                                             oi
                                                                   ni
          sawi+F
   me
   me sawi+F me awine RC 3PL.S be present 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
                      me
                                               Towisawa
                                                             ohi
                                                                   na.NFIN
                                               (man's name)
                                                             cry
                                                                  AUX
   pron vi
                     pron
                              sec
                                               npropm
                                                             vi
                                                                   aux
kamenoho
ka -ma -hino -ho
go/come back IP.N+M DUP
"I think they are alive. Towisawa came back crying."
129 Koromi
          me
                  winara
                               fahi
   koromi me
                  wina -hara
                                fahi
   Indian 3PL.S live IP.E+F there
   npropm pron vi
"The Indians are alive."
130 Okomake
                                 okomara
                                                             oke
   o- to- ka -makI o- ka -ma -hara
                                                             0-
                                                             1SG.S DECL+F
```

1SG.S away go/come following 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F

77 i

prt

atinemariamakaatina-himariama-kasayAUXFP.E+MSECDECL+Mvtauxsec

"I went there, and I have come back," he said."

131 *Fava* ota kama kobo nama me ohi ota -ma+F kobo na -ma+F faya otaa ka otaa me ohi so 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S crv pron conj vi pron vi aux vi pron ohi ota wasima faya Noko Mora nani me ni na.NFIN wasi -ma+F faya na -hani me ohi otaa Noko Mora AUX IP.N+F 1EX.S find back 3PL.S cry AUX SO (man's name) pron aux vi aux pron vt conj npropm fahi vawemata awaka yawa -himata awa -ka fahi seem+M DECL+M then be upset FP.N+M sec dem

'We came back, and arrived back. They had been crying, and we came upon them crying. Noko Mora was upset.'

132 *Yama* vovofina toamaro amake fawa me yo- yofina to- ha -hamaro ama -ke me DUP cause fear CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.S disappear nf vi aux sec pron namakia ihi me na -makI+F ihi me 3PL.POSS because of+F AUX following pron post

'It was scary, because of the ones who had disappeared.'

133 *Ota* nanaho toharamaro ota amake fa ota ama -ke to- ha -ra -hamaro na- naho otaa faha ot.aa CH AUX NEG FP.E+F DUP stay SEC DECL+F 1EX.S 1EX.S 1EX.S water pron vi aux pron sec nf pron

koronaotakorona+Fotaathrow something onAUX1EX.Svtauxpron

'We didn't stay in the village, we went fishing every day.'

134 *Fava* ota bosa katasa ota bosa faya otaa bosa kana -tasa+F otaa bosa SO 1EX.S get up early COMIT AUX again 1EX.S get up early pron pron conj vi aux vi koro nabone tasa fa ota ota na -tasa+F faha otaa koro na -habone otaa AUX again water 1EX.S throw something on AUX INT+F 1EX.S nf pron aux vt aux tokatasimaro kamakiani me me -tasa.NOM+F -maro me ka -makI -hani go/come following IP.N+F FP.E+F 3PL.S away go/come again 3PL.O νi pron νi pron wasimabani ota kasasa me wasi -ma -haba -ni otaa kasasa me 1EX.S find back FUT+F IP.N+F 1EX.S 3PL.S cachaça pron vt pron nf pron

kakamakenimatika-ka-makI-hanimatiCOMITgo/comefollowingIP.N+F3PL.Svtpron

'We got up early. We went out to fish again. On the way back, we came upon them coming back, bringing cachaca.'

135 Haimoto Masato taokana Wabao ka bote boti Haimoto Masato ka taokana bote Wabao boti.LIST Raimundo Machado POSS shotqun old (man's name) steal npropm adj npropm vt prt nf

nemataamakana-himataama-kaAUXFP.N+MSECDECL+Mauxsec

'Wabao had stolen Raimundo Machado's old shotgun.'

136 Wabao yama botimata amane Haimoto Masato ka Wabao yama boti -himata ama -ne Haimoto Masato ka (man's name) thing steal FP.N+M SEC BKG+M Raimundo Machado POSS npropm nf sec npropm prt

yama
yama
thing

thin

'Wabao had stolen, he had stolen from Raimundo Machado.'

137 Yama kakamakemete mρ me amani -makI kaka -mete ama -ni yama me me COMIT go/come following FP.N+F SEC BKG+F thing 3PL S 3PL.S pron pron sec

'They were bringing the things.'

138 *Faya* ota kama ota kama ota faya otaa ka -ma+Fotaa ka -ma+F me otaa 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S go/come back 3PL.O 1EX.S conj pron vi pron vi pron

wasimamaro
wasi -ma -hamaro me amake
find back FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
vt pron sec

'We came back, and we came upon them.'

139 *Me* ati saihamaro ahi ati sai -hamaro ahi me 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.E+F then pron pn vi dem

'Their voices could be heard.'

140 *Me* ati ota kamitama ota naomamaro me ati otaa ka- mita -ma+F otaa naho -ma -hamaro 3PL.POSS 1EX.S COMIT hear back 1EX.S stand back FP.E+F voice pron pn pron vt pron vi

otani

otaa -ni 1EX.S BKG+F pron

'We heard their voices as we came back, and we stood there.'

141	Me	kamakia		me	awineke	
	me	ka	-makI+F	me	awine	-ke
	3PL.S	go/come	following	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F
	pron	vi		pron	sec	
HIERT						

"They are coming."

142	Kasasa	me	fawani	me	ati	ama ,	Kara Maka	ati
	kasasa	me	fawa -hani	me	ati	ama	Kara Maka	ati
	cachaça	3PL.S	drink IP.N+F	3PL.POSS	voice	be	(man's name)	say
	nf	pron	vt	pron	pn	VC	npropm	vt

"It's the voices of people who have drunk cachaça," Kara Maka said.'

143	Kasasa	me	fawa	me	awineke	
	kasasa	me	fawa+F	me	awine	-ke
	cachaça	3PL.S	drink	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F
	nf	pron	vi	pron	sec	

"They have been drinking cachaça."

144	Me	e	awibe	гуа	
	me	ee	awa	-be	-уа
	3PL.O	1IN.S	see	IMMED+F	now
	pron	pron	vt		

"Let's see them."

145	Ota	yana	tonai	naro		ota	ahi
	otaa	yana	to-	na	-hamaro	otaa	ahi
	1EX.S	start	СН	AUX	FP.E+F	1EX.S	then
	pron	vi	aux			pron	dem
17.47							

'We were ready.'

146	Ota	kamamaro			otake		ahi
	otaa	ka	-ma	-hamaro	otaa	-ke	ahi
	1EX.S	go/come	back	FP.E+F	1EX.S	DECL+F	then
	pron	vi			pron		dem

'We came back.'

147	Yobe wahi	toro	ya	me	wiwina	tohamaroke
	yobe wahi	toro	ya	me	wi- wina	to- ha -hamaro -ke
	longhouse	inside+M	ADJU	3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F
	nm	pn	prt	pron	vi	aux

'They were living in longhouses.'

148	Me	kamakia	ıni		me	me	hinafawa	ni		
	me	ka	-makI	-hani	me	me	hi- na-	- fawa	-hani	
	3PL.S	go/com	ne followi	ng IP.N+	F 3PL.O	3PL.S	OC CAU	JS drin	ık IP.N+F	
	pron	vi			pron	pron	vt			
me		ati	saihani		me	ati	ota	kamitan	na	
me		ati	sai	-hani	me	ati	otaa	ka-	mita -ma+F	
3PL	.POSS	voice	be heard	IP.N+F	3PL.POSS	voice	1EX.S	COMIT	hear back	
pro	n	pn	vi		pron	pn	pron	vt		

Noko Mora	Noko Mora	kasasa	fawemata	amaka
Noko Mora	Noko Mora	kasasa	fawa -himata	ama -ka
(man's name)	(man's name)	cachaça	drink FP.N+M	SEC DECL+M
npropm	npropm	nf	vt	sec

'They had come and had given cachaça to the others, and we heard their voices as we came back. Noko Mora had drunk cachaça.'

```
149 Kasasa
              ofaramaro
                                          oke
                                                          ha
                                                               owa
   kasasa
             0-
                    fawa
                           -ra -hamaro
                                          0-
                                                          haa
                                                 ke
                                                               owa
    cachaça
             1SG.S drink NEG FP.E+F
                                          1SG.S DECL+F
                                                          DEM
                                                               1SG
   nf
                                          prt
                                                          dem
                                                               pron
```

'I didn't drink any cachaça.'

150 Kasasa me fawamaro me amake fawa -hamaro ama -ke kasasa me me cachaça 3PL.S drink FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F nf pron pron sec

'The others drank cachaça.'

151 *Aba* okomi me sa ona me 0na+F saa me 3PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS mother pron vt aux pron nf

bobinamaroamanibobina -hamaroama -nislitAUX FP.E+FSEC BKG+Fvtauxsec

'My mother gutted the fish that I had speared.'

152 *Aba* bobi aba me me na me me me bobi aha me me na+F me aba me me 3PL.0 slit fish 3PL.S fish 3PL.O AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron ware me Noko Yawawa hano me -rIme Noko Yawawa hano+M me haahaa stand raised surface 3PL.S (man's name) be drunk 3PL.S laugh pron npropm vi pron vi

kimaroamakefahika-na.NOM+F-maroama -kefahiCOMITAUXFP.E+FbeDECL+Fthenauxvcdem

'They gutted the fish, and they cooked the fish. They were laughing at Noko Yawawa, who was drunk.'

Noko Yaw Noko Ya (man's npropm	wawa	hano hano+M be drum vi	-	ha	ugh	hikar hi- OC aux	_	na+M AUX	,	<pre>hano hano+M be drunk vi</pre>	me me 3PL.S pron
tama tama hold onto	hikane hi- ka OC CC aux	a- na+ MIT AUX	Te tee 2PL. pron		<pre>kose kose bite vt</pre>	many	times				

oriyahi ati nemari o- na -ra -yahi ati na -h

o- na -ra -yahi ati na -himari 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F say AUX FP.E+M aux vt aux

'They were laughing at Noko Yawawa, who was drunk. They were holding him up as he was drunk. "I will bite you," he said.'

154	Faya faya so conj	me me 3PL.S pron		a kayoma+F darken	me me 3PL.S pron		e PL.S	<i>tafamard</i> tafa - eat E vi		o -ke DECL+	fahi fahi F then dem
'It g	ot dark o	on them, a	nd they a	te.'							
	Aba aba fish nm y ate fisl	me me 3PL.0 pron h.'	me me 3PL.S pron	kabamaro kaba -han eat FP.E vt							
	Aba aba fish nm ey ate fish	me me 3PL.0 pron while dru	me me 3PL.S pron ink.'	kabamaro kaba -han eat FP.E vt		<pre>kasasa kasasa cachaç nf</pre>		•			
	Aba aba fish nm abisemari	me me 3PL.S pron	<pre>kaba kaba+F eat vt ama</pre>	3PL.S pron	aba aba fis nm	me me	.0 18	G.POSS	ka S POSS	abi father	:
eat vt	also	a -hima: FP.E+I n. My fatho	M SEC								
158	Okobi o- 1SG.PC	ka DSS POSS	abi fathe	kasasa kasasa r cachaça nf	faw	a bisemata ya -bis nk alse	sa -hi	mata N+M	amaka ama -1 SEC DE sec		me ka me ka 3PL POSS pron prt
cac nf	asa haça	isi ni isi ni little l pn so drank s		heir cachaça.'							
159 nem	npropn	s name)	me me 3PL.S pron	hinafaware hi- na- OC CAUS vt hari	fawa	-ra k NEG		mera mera 3PL. pror	a afo		ff into
na AUX aux	-hima FP.E+	ri ama M SEC sec	-ka DECL+M	haari		snuff int	o their 1	nostrils.'			
	Sakobi Sakobi (man's nproph obi was i	s name) n	ati say	kamitaremata ka- mita COMIT hear vt		-himata		-ne BKG+N			

vana

tonemari

ati

161 Sakobi

Sakobi

```
yana to- na -himari
start CH AUX FP.E+M
   Sakobi
                  Sakobi
                                 ati
                                                         -himari
   (man's name)
                  (man's name)
                                 voice
   npropm
                  npropm
                                 pn
                                         vi
                                                 aux
'Sakobi spoke.'
162 Boniwa
                     Boniwa
   Boniwa
                     Boniwa
                     (man's name)
   (man's name)
   npropm
                     npropm
"Boniwa, Boniwa."
163 Haa
   haa
   huh?
   interj
"Huh?"
164 Te
           afo
                             obe
           afo
                             0-
                                   na -be
   2PL.O blow snuff into
                             1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
   pron vt
"I'm going to blow snuff in you."
165 Te
           kama
           ka
                    -ma
   tee
   2PL.S go/come back
   pron vi
"Come here."
166 Yaiti
                  te
                          kamahi
                                  -ma -hi
   Yaiti
                  tee
                          ka
   (man's name) 2PL.S go/come back IMP+F
                  pron
   npropm
                          νi
"Yaiti, you come here."
167 Te
           afo
                             obe
                                                     te
                                                                ene
                                                                            oi
                                   na -be
   tee
           afo
                             0-
                                                     tee
                                                                ehene
                                                                            ohi
   2PL.O blow snuff into
                            1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
                                                     2PL.POSS
                                                                result of
                                                                            cry
                             aux
                                                     pron
nofa
                         ati
                              nemari
               te
na nofa+F
               tee
                         ati
                               na -himari
               2PL.POSS
                         say AUX FP.E+M
AUX recently
               pron
                         vt
                               aux
"I am going to blow snuff in you, because your mothers cried because of you," he said."
168 Wabaomari
                                      Wabao
                          amane
   Wabao
                 -mari
                          ama -ne
                                      Wabao
    (man's name) FP.E+M be BKG+M (man's name)
   npropm
                          VC
                                      npropm
'It was Wabao.'
169 Himata
                    baro
                           nineri
                                              ahi
             me
                          na -ne -ri
   himata
             me
                    baro
                                              ahi
             3PL.S beat AUX CONT+F CQ+F
                                              there
   interrog pron vt
                           aux
'What are they beating over there?'
```

170	<i>Wabao</i> Wabao	•	<i>yama</i> yama	, Sakol Sako	bi	<i>yama</i> yama		<i>ne</i> na+M	me me	,
	(man's na		thing	(man	's name)	_	suck	AUX	3PL	
	npropm		nf	npro		nf	vt	aux	pror	ì
Sako		yama				ahi	mera	afo		
Sak		yama			-himari	ahi	mera	afo		
	n's name)	thir		: AUX	FP.E+M	then	3PL.O	blow s	nuff	into
npr	=	nf	vt	aux		dem	pron	vt		
nari										
na	-haari									
	IP.E+M									
aux		, hia ah	omon'a ata	no and l	alouz anuff	in thom !				
Sak	obi sucked or	ı ms sn	aman s sto	me, and i	olew siluii .	ın tnem.				
171	Sakobi		mera	afo		ne	Sak	ahi		mera
1/1	Sakobi			afo		ne na+M	,	obi sobi		mera
	(man's na				uff into			an's na	me)	3PL.0
	npropm			vt	iall life	aux		copm		pron
afo	11P = 0P III		ie	mera	afo	0.011		inatase		P 2 011
afo			na+M	mera	afo		na	-mina	-t.a	asa.NOM+M
	w snuff ir		AUX	3PL.O		nuff in		mornir		
vt	0110111 11		aux	pron	vt		aux		19 49	
ya	yama	wamai		amak						
ya	yama		-hamarc			•				
ADJ	-		FP.E+F		DECL+F					
prt	-	vi		sec						
'Sak	obi blew snuf	f in the	m. Sakobi	blew snu	ıff in them	again the	next day.	The day	dawne	d.'
						U	•	•		
172	Abi fo	a	koro	fa	ota	koro			nibe	
	abi f	aha	koro	faha	otaa	koro			na	-be
	father w	ater	throw	water	1EX.S	throw	somethi	ng on	AUX	IMMED+F
		f	vt	nf	pron	vt			aux	
'''Fat	ther, we are g	oing fis	shing."'							
173		aiba								
	otaa to			baha+F						
			/come b	eiore						
!!! T A7.	pron vi		·							
WE	e are going in	to tne i	orest.							
174	Ta ha	a :	kana		ta	toakeni				
1/4	-	sı .si	kana	na+F			_lro	_n i	•	
			ka- COMIT	-		to- ha CH be	-ke DECL+F			
	pron vi		aux	AUA		vc be	DECTit	IF.NTE		
"Vo	u two are not				pron	VC				
10	u two are not	ui uiik.	i							
175	Noko Mora		hima	fa	e	koro			nibe	o
1/3	Noko Mora		<i>numu</i> hima	<i>ju</i> faha		koro			na	-be
	(man's na		-				w sometl	nina on		K IMMED+F
	npropm		interj	nf	pron			9 0	aux	
"No	ko Mora com		_		P-011				442	=
110	no mora com	011, 10	, U 11011,							
176	Ota tok	imaro			amake	M	ane Kirin	9	ni	ya .
- 10			.NOM+F	-maro	ama -k		ane Kir		ni	ya .
				FP.E+F			anoel Q		to	ADJU
	pron vi				VC		propm			prt
							-		-	

'We went to Manoel Quirino.'

177	Ota	toka	,	Mane Kirino	itemate	a	ama
	otaa	to-	ka+F	Mane Kirino	ita	-himata	ama
	1EX.S	away	go/come	Manoel Quirino	stay	FP.N+M	SEC
	pron	vi		npropm	vi		sec

'We went, and Manoel Quirino was home.'

178	Katoso		Mane Kir	rino	kaniken	10			Mane	koromi
	katoso		Mane K	irino	ka-	nika	-hino	,	Mane	koromi
	shotgun	shell	Manoel	Quirino	COMIT	buy	IP.N+M		Manoel	Indian
	nf		npropm		vt				npropm	npropm
me	abi	nofai	ranike							

me ahaba nofa -ra -hani -ke
3PL.S die recently NEG IP.N+F DECL+F
pron vi prt

'Manoel Quirino had bought shotgun shells. "Manoel, the Indians didn't die."

179	Koromi	me	sawimakehara			Noko Mora	ati
	koromi	me	sawi	-makI	-hara	Noko Mora	ati
	Indian	3PL.S	be present	following	IP.E+F	(man's name)	say
	npropm	pron	vi			npropm	vt

nemari

na -himari AUX FP.E+M aux

"The Indians came and are there," Noko Mora said.'

180	Owati		te	kasawai	riha	teke			
	0-	ati	tee	ka-	sawari+F	tee	-ke		
	1SG.POSS	voice	2PL.S	COMIT	frustrate	2PL.S	DECL+F		
	pn		pron	vt		pron			

"You didn't believe me."

181	Koromi	me	abara		me	awine	onofe	ara			
	koromi	me	ahaba	-ra+F	me	awine	ati	0-	na	nofa	-hara
	Indian	3PL.S	die	NEG	3PL.S	seem+F	say	1SG.S	AUX	recently	IP.E+F
	npropm	pron	vi		pron	sec	vt				

o-1SG.S

prt

""I don't think the Indians have died,' I always said."

182	Koromi	me	?	abara			me	awineke	?
	koromi	me		ahab	a -ra+I	F	me	awine	-ke
	Indian	3P	L.S	die	NEG		3PL.S	seem+I	F DECL+F
	npropm	pr	on	vi			pron	sec	
onof	ara						oke		
ati	0-	na	nofa		-hara		0-	ke	
say	1SG.S	AUX	rece	ntly	IP.E+F		1SG.S	DECL+F	
vt							prt		
_							_		

""I don't think the Indians have died,' I always said."

```
nafi
na f
183 Me
                  toha
                            me
                  to- ha+F me
            nafi
   me
                                     awine
   3PL.POSS all
                  CH be
                                     seem+F
                            3PL.POSS
   pron
            pn
                  VC
                            pron
"Is it all of them?"
184 Me
                  toharake
            nafi
                  to- ha -hara -ke
            nafi
   me
                  CH be IP.E+F DECL+F
   3PL.POSS all
VC
                  kamakianihi
185 Me
            nafi
                  ka -makI -hani -hi
   me
            nafi
   3PL.POSS all
                  go/come following IP.N+F DUP
   pron pn
                  vi
"They all came back."
186 Ee
   ee
   yes
   interj
"All right."
         yofinaMane Kirinokakarimayofina+FMane Kirinoka- karim
         yofina
187 Yama
                                   ka- karima
                                                    tohabisemata
                                                    to- ha -bisa -himata
   vama
   thing cause fear Manoel Quirino DUP suffer from CH AUX also FP.N+M
   nf vi
                    npropm
                                    vt
                                                    aux
                    yofinari
          me
amaka
ama -ka
                              -ri
          me
                    yofina
SEC DECL+M 3PL.POSS cause fear PN
sec pron
                    pn
'Manoel Quirino was afraid of them.'
                                  , faya
                                           fa
188 Faya
         ota
               kakama
               kakama
ka- ka -ma+F
                                      faya faha
   faya otaa
                                                  otaa
         1EX.S COMIT go/come back
                                            water 1EX.S
                                      so
                                      conj nf pron
   conj pron
               vi
                                                        fa
koro
                  nabone
                              ota
                                     towaka
                                                               ota
                  na -habone otaa
                                     to- ka- ka+F
koro
                                                        faha
                              1EX.S away COMIT go/come water 1EX.S
throw something on AUX INT+F
                              pron
                  aux
                                     vi
                                                        nf
                                                               pron
koro
                  towitia
                                   aba me
                                                ota
                                                       sa
koro
                  to- na -witI+F aba
                                         me
                                                otaa
                                                      saa
throw something on away AUX out fish 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow
                  aux
                                   nm pron pron
                  kama
na
     aba
           me
                                mati
na+F
     aba
           me
                  ka -ma+F mati
AUX
     fish 3PL.S go/come back
                                3PL.S
           pron
                 vi
                                pron
'The two of us came back. We went and fished. We speared fish that were coming back upstream.'
189 Aba
         me
               ota
                      tisa
                                       na
                                             aba
                                                   me
                                                         kama
   aba
               otaa
                      tisa
                                       na+F
                                             aba
                                                   me
                                                         ka
   fish 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow AUX
                                             fish 3PL.S go/come back
   nm pron pron vt
                                       aux
                                                  pron
                                                         vi
                                             nm
```

ota tisa aba ota titiwa na me otaa tisa na+F aba me otaa ti- tiwa shoot with arrow 3PL.O 1EX.S AUX fish 3PL.O 1EX.S DUP carry pron pron pron pron v/t aux kanikimimaro amake ahi ama -ke na -kima.NOM+F -maro ahi FP.E+F be DECL+F then COMIT AUX two VC dem

'We speared fish. We speared fish that were coming back upstream. We carried the fish on lines on our shoulders.'

190 Sakobi nana tohemari
Sakobi na- na to- ha -himari
(man's name) DUP exist CH AUX FP.E+M
npropm vi aux

'Sakobi was there.'

191 *Wao* totonihawa hiemari me Waho me to- to- niha- ha -waha hi- to- ha -himari ama (man's name) 3PL.S DUP CH CAUS be change OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC npropm pron aux vt otara afo nari

otara afo nan otara afo na -haari
1EX.O blow snuff into AUX IP.E+M pron vt aux

'They started to call him Wao. He used to blow snuff in us.'

192 *Aba bobi* ota kakama me me me ka- ka -ma+F hohi aha me otaa me me COMIT go/come back 1EX.S slit fish 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S pron vt nm pron pron vt pron fa fowe tasimaro amake webote va na -tasa.NOM+F -maro ama -ke faha fowe webote va DECL+F flood AUX again FP.E+F be big ADJU VC adj prt

'We brought fish, and they gutted them. It was a big flood.'

193 Wakana noki aba me katoma me ota tisa noki aba me katoma+F me otaa crabwood seed+F fish 3PL.S attack 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow pron pn nm vt pron pron vt nikima amake ahi nimaro na -kima.LIST na.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi AUX spread out AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F then aux VC

'The fish were eating crabwood seeds, and we were spearing them all over.'

prt

194 *Ota* narikima voro rama fara wakana noki -kima+F otaa yoro na -ri rama fara wakana noki stand AUX DISTR two 1EX.S same+F crabwood seed+F unusual dem nf pron vi aux prt pn kakaboki уa boka.NOM+F ka- kaya DUP COMIT enter water ADJU

'The two of us were standing wherever there were crabwood seeds falling in the water.'

195 <i>Aba</i> aba fis	a me	.0	<i>ota</i> otaa 1EX.S pron	sa saa shoot vt	with arrow	na na+F w AUX aux	<pre>ota otaa 1EX.S pron</pre>	<i>kama</i> ka go/c vi	-ma+F ome back	,
<i>ota</i> otaa	kamawa ka		_	,	<i>Mane Kiri</i> Mane Ki	no	<i>ka</i> ka	<i>aba</i> aba	<i>mebone</i> me -bone	<i>me</i> me
1EX.S pron	go/com vi	ne ba	ick char		Manoel npropm		POSS prt	fish nm	3PL INT+F pron	3PL.C
ota	ta	nakos			, sa	ota	nika	ota		
otaa 1EX.S	taa	na Muv	-kosa middle	-ma+F	saha salt	otaa 1EX.S	nika+F	otaa 1EX.		
pron	give vt	vi	штаате	Dack	nf	pron	buy vt	pron		
kamimar	ro			amak	e .	-		-		
ka		IOM+F	-maro	ama						
go/com vi	e back		FP.E+F	' be vc	DECL+F					
'We spea back.'	ared fish,	and ca	ame back	. We gave	e fish to Man	oel Quirin	o on the w	ay back	t. We bought sa	alt, and ca
196 <i>Ota</i>				, ,	yama		me		ara Maka	
ota 1 m			-ma+F		iyama hito-lippo	nd negga	me me		ara Maka	
1EX pro			e back	wı nı	hite-lippe m	eu pecca:	ry 3PL pro		man's name) propm	
wasimab		meno			mabano		PIO	ye.	=	
		i -m	a -hin			.NOM+M -	-ba -no	У.	•	
	fin	d ba	ck IP.N	+M go	/come bac	k E	FUT IP.N	1+M A	DJU	
									and the second s	
'We cam	e back. K	ara M	aka found	vi l some w		oeccaries a	s he came		rt Ie came back.'	
197 <i>Tat</i> Tat (ma	e back. K	me)	kana kana run vi		rhite-lipped p kamemar N ka	ri	-himari	back. H	le came back.' .	
197 Tata Tat (ma npi 'Tatiwi c	e back. K iwi tiwi an's nam copm ame runn iwi tiwi	me)	kana kana run vi ack.' kamari ka	ni na.NFII AUX aux -ma	kameman N ka go/come vi	ri -ma - e back F faa . faa	-himari	back. H amaka ama SEC	le came back.' n -ka	
197 Tati Tati (manp) Tatiwi c 198 Tati (manp)	e back. K iwi iwi an's nar copm ame runr iwi	me) ning b	kana kana run vi ack.' kamari ka go/com vi	ni na.NFII AUX aux -ma	kameman N ka go/come vi	·i -ma- e back F	-himari	back. H amaka ama SEC	le came back.' n -ka	
197 Tati (manp) 'Tatiwi c 198 Tati (manp) '''Tatiwi 199 Tati (manp)	e back. K iwi ciwi an's nan copm ame runn iwi ciwi an's nan copm has come	me) me) me) e back.	kana kana run vi ack.' kamari ka go/com vi	ni na.NFII AUX aux -ma e back amai ama be	kamemar N ka go/come vi -haari	-ma - e back E fa faa that	-himari	back. H amaka ama SEC	le came back.' n -ka	
197 Tati (ma np) 'Tatiwi c 198 Tati (ma np) ''''Tatiwi 199 Tati (ma np)	e back. K iwi ciwi an's nan copm ame runn iwi ciwi copm has come iwi ciwi ciwi copm	me) me) back.	kana kana run vi ack.' kamari ka go/com vi "" himata himata what?	ni na.NFII AUX aux -ma e back amai ama be	kamemar N ka go/come vi -haari look+M	-ma - e back E fa faa that	-himari	back. H amaka ama SEC	le came back.' n -ka	
Tatiwi con the second s	e back. K iwi ciwi an's nan copm ame runn iwi ciwi an's nan copm has come iwi ciwi an's nan copm what is i	me) me) back. me) t?"' ati ati	kana kana run vi ack.' kamari ka go/com vi "' himata himata what? interr	ni na.NFII AUX aux -ma e back amai ama be og vc	kamemar N ka go/come vi -haari look+M ;	-ma - e back F fa faa that dem	-himari	back. H amaka ama SEC	le came back.' n -ka	
197 Tati (manp) Tatiwi c 198 Tati (manp) ""Tatiwi 199 Tati (manp) ""Tatiwi, 200 Te tee 2PI pro	e back. K iwi ciwi an's nan copm ame runn iwi ciwi an's nan copm has come iwi ciwi an's nan copm what is i	me) me) me) back. me) t?"' ati voic pn	kana kana run vi ack.' kamari ka go/com vi "' himata himata what? interr	ni na.NFII AUX aux -ma e back amai ama be og vc	kamemar N ka go/come vi -haari look+M ? -ri CQ+F	-ma - e back F fa faa that dem	-himari	back. H amaka ama SEC	le came back.' n -ka	

nemari amake ama -ke na.NOM+M -mari FP.E+M be DECL+F AUX "There are white-lipped peccaries coming there," Tatiwi said." 202 Hiyama me kamakia mρ ma hiyama -makI+F me ka me maa white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S stop vi vi pron pron namakiramaro me ama na -makI -ra -hamaro me ama AUX following NEG FP.E+F SEC 3PL.S pron sec 'The peccaries came and did not stop.' 203 *Ota* nafi kama ahi rama otaa nafi ka -ma+F rama ahi 1EX.POSS all go/come back unusual then vi dem pn 'We all came back.' 204 Hiyama me hiyama ati me hivama hivama me me ati white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary 3PL 3PL.POSS voice pron nm pron pn kamakini -makT -ni go/come following BKG+F "The peccaries can be heard as they are coming this way." 205 Hiyama Hibaka e tohaba hiyama hibaka ee to- ha.NOM+M -ba CH be white-lipped peccary where 1IN.S FUT interrog pron "Where should we go?" 206 *Ota* ka aba me ota were tosi ota otaa ka aba me otaa were to- na -kosa.NFIN otaa POSS fish 3PL.O 1EX.S throw СН AUX middle 1EX.S pron pron prt nm pron vt aux pron tokomisimaro amake ahi to- ka -misa.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi away go/come up FP.E+F be DECL+F then 'We threw our fish on the ground, and went up into trees.' 207 Hiyama hiyama me kamaki -makI hiyama hiyama me ka white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come following white-lipped peccary pron vi tamabote ati kamakiamaro me me -bote -makI -hamaro ati me

go/come following FP.E+F

3PL.POSS

pron

voice

pn

3PL.S

pron

be many very

adj

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saineti
```

sai -ne -tee.NOM

be heard CONT+F HAB

vi

'Many peccaries came. They live here.'

208	Ota	kawa		kanil	kima	nam	aro	ama	ahi
	otaa	ka-	waa	na	-kanikima	na	-hamaro	ama	ahi
	1EX.S	COMIT	stand	AUX	scattered	AUX	FP.E+F	SEC	then
	pron	vi		aux		aux		sec	dem

'We were all in trees.'

209	Baro		bite	Sakobi		tokomi	iseno				bakaka	
	baro		bite	Sakobi		to-	ka	-misa	a –h	ino	baka	-ka
	tree	sp	small+F	(man's	name)	away	go/come	e up	ΙP	N+M.	break	DUP
	nf		adj	npropm		vi					vi	
waha	ıha		kane	_	iso	sohi		kanisi				wine
waha	Э	-ha	ka-	na+M '	iso	sohi		ka-	na	-risa	.NFIN	wina+M
fali	l off	DUP	COMIT	AUX	leg+M	hang	down	COMIT	AUX	down		hang
vi			aux		pn	vi		aux				vi
me	Ì	haha	kimare	9		am	ea .					
me]	naahaa	a ka-	na.NOM+	F -maro	am	a					
3PL	.S	laugh	COMIT	r AUX	FP.E+	F be						
proi	1	7 i	allx			77.0						

'Sakobi went up a tree, and the branch he was standing on broke. He was hanging on with his legs free, and the others were laughing at him.'

210	Bato	nema	ırihine		mato	ya			
	Bato	ka-	wina.LIST	na	-himari	-hi	-ne	mato	ya
	(man's name)	COMIT	hang	AUX	FP.E+M	DUP	BKG+M	vine	ADJU
	npropm	vi		aux				nf	prt
'Bat	o sat on top of a vin	e, too.'							

211	Faya	,	hiyama	•			me	tokam		me	
	faya		hiyama	a			me	to-	ka	-hamaro	me
	so		white-	-lipped	peccar	Э	3PL.S	away	go/come	FP.E+F	3PL.S
	conj		nm				pron	vi			pron
ama	ni	ľ	ne	ota	kakatom	ıa		mati			
$\sim m \sim$	-ni	n	10	0+22	lc つ _	12-5+	- om o + F	$m \circ + i$			

ama -ni me otaa ka- katoma+F mati SEC BKG+F 3PL.O 1EX.S COMIT look at 3PL.O sec pron pron vt pron

'The peccaries went as we watched them.'

212	Me	tokifiw	me					
	me	to-	ka	-fI	-waha	-witI+F	me	,
	3PL.S	away	go/come	water	change	out	3PL.S	
	pron	vi					pron	

tokamarokeahito-ka-hamaro -keahiawaygo/comeFP.E+FDECL+Fthenvidem

'They went to the water and went away.'

213	Faya	ota	kisama			hiyama	me
	faya	otaa	ka	-risa	-ma+F	hiyama	me
	so	1EX.S	go/come	down	back	white-lipped peccary	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi			nm	pron

toka to- ka+F away go/come vi kamimaro ka -ma.No go/come back vi 'We came down fro home.'	me, me 3PL.O pron DM+F -maro FP.E+; om the trees.	pron vt amake ama -ke be DECL- vc	kana IT leave +F	-kosa+F comiddle 1	otaa ka EX.S ru oron vi		
214	na na.NFIi n AUX aux <i>kai</i> ka	go/come k vi nabone - na -hal MIT AUX INT	bone ,	hiyama hiyama white-lipp nm hiyama hiyama white-lipp nm me me		pron me me ry 3PL.0 pron	<i>me</i> me
deceive 3PL vt pror amake fa ama -ke fa SEC DECL+F tl sec da 'We came running Noko Wene and th	.S white- n nm ro Nok aaro Nok hat+F (ma em npr home. We wa	o Wene : n's name) opm nted to get up e	prom mati mati 3PL.S pron arly becaus	n pron	deceive vt ries. They jo	FP.E+F	3PL.S pron ne peccaries,
215 Ami , ami mother nf mata . mata for now prt ""Mother, let's eat of the seat of the sea	ami a mother f nf r	ba me lba me lish 3PL.O lm pron te time being."	e ee 1IN.S pron	<pre>kabakaba kaba- kaba DUP eat vt</pre>		na -waha AUX chang	
aba m fish sp 3	ne e ne ee BPL.O 1IN pron pron n fish anymore	.S eat bac n result	oa a -ra -h ck NEG FU		ama . ama SEC sec		
217 <i>Yara</i> yara Brazilian npropm		e wati PL.S plan a con vt	ngainst	kana ka- na+F COMIT AUX aux	3PL.S pron	_	
tokomi to- ka away go/come k	-ma.NOM+F back	yama ahi yama ahi thing the nf dem	, No re (r	oko Wene oko Wene man's name) oropm	ati r say <i>P</i>	nemari na -himar AUX FP.E+M aux	

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amaka
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ama -ka SEC DECL+M

sec

"The Brazilians want to kill us, and they went that way," Noko Wene said."

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218 Fava
           ota
                    kana
                              sina
                                       ota
                                                hisi
                                                                ota
                                                                        amo
                                                        ทก
    faya
           otaa
                    kana
                              sina
                                       otaa
                                                hisi
                                                        na+F
                                                                otaa
                                                                        amo
    so
                                                                        sleep
           1EX.S
                    run
                              snuff
                                       1EX.S
                                                sniff
                                                        AUX
                                                                1EX.S
           pron
    conj
                                       pron
                              nf
                                                vt
                                                        aux
                                                                        vi
                    νi
                                                               pron
nawahimaro
```

nawahimaroamakefahina -waha.NOM+F -maroama -kefahiAUX changeFP.E+FbeDECL+Fthenauxvcdem

'We took snuff, and slept.'

219 *Ota* amo hiyama hiyama me otaa amo na+F hiyama me hiyama 1EX.S sleep AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary vi aux pron nm me bosa kanabone rama me ka--habone me me bosa na rama 3PL.O 3PL.S get up early COMIT AUX INT+F unusual vi pron pron aux prt

'We slept. They had decided to get up early because of the peccaries, and they did.'

220 *Me* ahi hosa nimaro ama na.NOM+F hosa ama ahi me -maro FP.E+F 3PL.S get up early then XIIX be vi dem pron 77.0 aux

'They got up early.'

221 *Me* ota bosa kana me ota kiyomaro me otaa bosa kana+F me otaa kiyo.NOM -maro 1EX.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O get up early 3PL.O 1EX.S chase pron pron vi aux pron pron

ama ahi
ama ahi
be then

dem

VC

'We got up early because of them, and we went after them.'

222	Hiyama	me	kakakayoma	raba	ra		
	hiyama	me	ka- ka- ka	ayoma na -raba	na -ra+F		
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	DUP COMIT da	arken AUX a bit	AUX NEG		
	nm	pron	vi	aux	aux		

hiyama naba me amo nemete me hiyama na nahaba.LIST na -hemete amo me me white-lipped peccary AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S sleep AUX at night 3PL.S vi pron aux aux pron

amake
ama -ke
SEC DECL+F far ADJU
sec
nf prt

'It had gotten dark on the peccaries, but they slept far away from that place.'

223	<i>Faya</i> faya	<i>Kowaraf</i> Kowara		<i>hiyan</i> hiya				<i>me</i> me		<i>nowati</i> nowati	<i>siba</i> siba	
	so	(man's		_		ped pe	ccarv	3PL.E	POSS	behind		for
	conj	npropm		nm	1	1 1 -	1	pron		pn	vt	
ne	_	mako	tati	tai	n	isemari		F	amaka	_	fahi	
na+l		amako	tati	tai			sa -him	nari	ama -		fahi	•
AUX		uchy	head	step			n FP.E			DECL+M	then	
aux		aciij	pn	vt		ux			sec	2001.11	dem	
		rafo was	-				ries, he st	tepped		head of a	n acouchy	y.'
224	<i>Kowaraj</i> Kowara		<i>sinam</i> sina	<i>nako</i> mako	<i>tati</i> tati	<i>tai</i> tai	<i>nise</i> na		sa+M	me me	<i>haha</i> haahaa	9
		name)		chy	head	step		X dow		3PL.S	laugh	-
	npropm		nm	CITY	pn	vt	aux			pron	vi	
hika		ı		40	komake		auz	Λ.		PLOII	V⊥	
		$n \circ \perp M$, me				_m = le T		hahan			
	ka-	na+M	me		-	-	-makI		habon	е		
OC	COMIT	AUX				o/come	follow	ing I	N.T. + F.			
aux			pro	on v	1							
hiya				me	•	ati	me	tomita	ımakim			
hiy				me		ati	me	to-			.NOM -ma	
whi	te-lipp	ped pec	cary	3PL.P	OSS 7	voice	3PL.S	away	hear	follow	wing FP.	.E+F
nm				pron	1	pn	pron	vt				
amai	ni	_										
ama	-ni	•										
be	BKG+F											
VC												
and	they hea	rd the vo		he pecca	ries in	the dista	nce.'		at min	-		o after them,
225	Hiyama			me		ati		naro			iake	ahi
	hiyama			me		ati		L.NOM	-mai		a -ke	ahi
	white-	·lipped	pecca	ry 3E	PL.POS	S voi		heard	d FP.E	E+F be	DECL+	
	nm			pr	ron	pn	vi			VC		dem
'The	voices o	f the pec	caries co	ould be h	neard.'							
226	Hiyama			me	ę	te	kerewe	ka	ırima			
_	hiyama	L		me	9	tee	kerewe	e ka	a – 1	na -ri	.ma	
		·lipped	pecca		PL.O		be slo			AUX NEG	G.IMP+F	
	nm	TIPPOG	pooda		con	pron	vi		JX		• ==== • =	
				Pı	. 011	PLOII	V⊥	aı	JA.			
nahi		•										
na	-hi											
	IMP+F											
aux		_										
		e peccarie	es right a	away."'								
227	\boldsymbol{E}	tokomil	beya									
	ee	to-	ka	-ma	-be	-7	a.					
	1IN.S	away	go/com	ne bacl	< IMME	ED+F no	W					
	pron	vi										
'''Let	pron	vi k soon.'''										
	pron t' s go ba o	k soon.'''		,			,	,				
	pron t's go bac <i>Taokana</i>	ek soon."' a me	•	aokana	me			kanama			me	ama .
	pron ' <mark>s go bac</mark> <i>Taokana</i> taokan	ek soon."' me a me	, t	aokana	n me	bo	kori 1	ka-	na	-hamaro	me me	ama .
	pron t's go bac <i>Taokana</i>	ek soon."' me a me	, t		n me	bo	kori 1	ka-	na	-hamarc FP.E+F		ama .
	pron ' <mark>s go bac</mark> <i>Taokana</i> taokan	ek soon."' me a me	, t	aokana	n me	bc L.S hc	kori l	ka-	na		me me	ama .
228	pron 's go bac Taokana taokan shotgu nf	ek soon."' n me na me na me nn 3PL	, t s n n	aokana hotgur	n me n 3PI	bc L.S hc	kori l	ka- COMIT	na		me 3PL.S	ama S SEC

229 Wati tama okana oke onamaro wati tama 0kana.LIST o- na -hamaro 0ke hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F vt aux aux prt 'But I took bow and arrows.' 230 *Okobi* taokana tama kana nemari ama ka abi taokana tama kana.LIST na -himari ama 1SG.POSS POSS father shotqun hold onto COMIT AUX AUX FP.E+M SEC nf vt aux sec aux fari faari that one+M dem 'My father took his shotgun.' 231 Hiyama hiyama me me me hiyama me hiyama me me white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O pron pron hinakani tai moni vana na me hi- to- na- ka -hani tahi me moni yana na+F OC away CAUS go/come IP.N+F 3PL.POSS weapon against AUX sound start vt vi aux pron pn pn ye me kimaro amani me na.NOM+F -maro kaama -ni me yee yell COMIT AUX FP.E+F be 3PL.S pron vi aux 'They went after the peccaries. The sound of gunfire started. They were yelling.' 232 Hiyama me kana ni kama me me na.NFIN hiyama me kana ka -ma+Fme me white-lipped peccary 3PL.S run AUX go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S nm pron vi aux vi pron pron tao namaro me amake faro ama -ke na -hamaro me faaro AUX FP.E+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that+F aux pron sec 'The peccaries came running, and they shot them.' 233 *Me* kana ni tokomani Tome me moto kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hani Tome me moto 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back IP.N+F (man's name) 3PL.O loop pron vi aux vi npropm pron vi hikawamemeteke fara me nowati hi- ka- na -waha -ma -hemete -ke fara me nowati ya OC COMIT AUX change back FP.N+F DECL+F same+F 3PL.POSS behind ADJU dem pron pn prt 'They had gone running, and Tome had circled around behind them.' 234 *Me* kana ni kama na.NFIN me kana ka -ma+F 3PL.S run AUX go/come back 3PL.S

pron

vi

aux

pron

vi

tokomawamaroke ahi ahi to- ka -ma -waha -hamaro -ke away go/come back change FP.E+F DECL+F then 'They came running toward us, and then went away again.' 235 *Me* nokosi kahitia Noko Mora ota mρ kahiti+F Noko Mora me nokosi otaa me in front of 3PL.POSS 1EX.S take first 3PL.POSS (man's name) pron pron npropm pron pn v/t ni kana kakamimaro ota fama ota fama+F ka- ka -ma.NOM+F -maro otaa otaa kana na.NFIN COMIT go/come back 1EX.S be two 1EX.S run AUX FP.E+F pron 77 i 77 i aux vt. pron hawi ka ya ama -ke hawi ka ya be DECL+F trail LOC ADJU nf prt prt 'We went around in front of them. Noko Mora and I came running back on the trail.' 236 *Ota* kakama hiyama me ka- ka hiyama otaa -ma+F me 1EX.S COMIT go/come back white-lipped peccary 3PL pron nm pron hivama me moni mitamimaro ota hiyama moni otaa mita -ma.NOM+F -maro me 3PL.POSS 1EX.S hear back FP.E+F white-lipped peccary sound pron pron 77 t pn 'We came, and we heard the noise of the peccaries.' 237 Noko Mora hiyama me tonakemari Noko Mora hiyama -himari to- name ka white-lipped peccary 3PL.0 (man's name) away CAUS go/come FP.E+M npropm nm pron amaka ama -ka SEC DECL+M 'Noko Mora went after the peccaries.' 238 Hiyama nowati hiyama ota me hiyama me nowati hiyama otaa white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS behind 1EX pron nm pron pn fito okowite hiyama fito me ota fito na -witI hiyama fito to- kame otaa 0-1SG.S away COMIT AUX out rush white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S rush nm pron pron tokowite hiyama to- kana -witI hiyama white-lipped peccary away COMIT AUX out onaharibisehimarika fari na- ohari -bisa -himari -ka faari 1SG.S CAUS be one also FP.E+M DECL+M that one+M

'We rushed at the peccaries from behind, and I killed one peccary.'

239 Noko Mora me hinafama Noko Mora fama.LIST me hi- na-OC CAUS be two (man's name) 3PL.O npropm pron vt 'Noko Mora killed two.' 240 *Me* kana ni kamimaro amake ahi me kana na.NFIN ka -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi 3PL.S run AUX go/come back FP.E+F be DECL+F then pron vi aux vi dem VC. 'They came running toward us.' 241 *Me* kariwahimaro Awi batori ama -riwaha.NOM+F -maro Awi batori me ka ama 3PL.S junction go/come across FP.E+F (name of stream) he pron 77 i npropm pn VC ahi ahi then dem 'They crossed at the mouth of the Awi stream.' 242 *Me* tokomimaro amake ahi -ma.NOM+F -maro ama -ke to- ka ahi FP.E+F away qo/come back be DECL+F then pron VC dem 'They went away.' 243 *Me* towinamate Koriwa me awine уa to- wina -ma -tee Koriwa me awine me ya away live back HAB 3PL.S 3PL.S Curiá seem+F ADJU pron vi npropf prt pron sec 'I guess they live at the Curiá River again.' 244 Hiyama me tabasi nimaro me me tabasi na.NOM+F -maro white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.E+F pron pron vt. amake hiyama me me kakamake ama -ke hiyama me me kaka -makI white-lipped peccary be DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come following VC pron pron vi mati mati 3PL.S 'They roasted the peccaries on racks after they brought the peccaries home.' 245 Hiyama tabasi **Yifo** me me na tabasi yifo hiyama me me na+F white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX firewood pron pron vt aux nf owamatibe yifo 0awa -mata -be yifo

firewood 1SG.S see short time IMMED+F

'They roasted the peccaries on racks. "I will get firewood."

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246 Bari
          ota
                   tiwa
                           nikima
                                                     ota
                                                             tonakama
                                         vifo
   bari
          otaa
                   tiwa
                           na
                               -kima+F
                                         yifo
                                                     otaa
                                                             to- na-
                                                                        ka
                                                                                  -ma+F
    ax
           1EX.S
                   carry
                          AUX two
                                          firewood
                                                     1EX.S
                                                             away CAUS go/come back
   nf
          pron
                                          nf
                                                     pron
                                                             vt
                   vt
  yifo
                                     nakosikima
              ota
                      ti
                                                            yifo
                                                                       ota
                      tii
                                         -kosa
                                                 -kima+F
                                                            yifo
   vifo
              otaa
                                     na
                                                                       otaa
   firewood
              1EX.S
                      cut through
                                     AUX middle two
                                                            firewood
                                                                       1EX.S
              pron
                                                                       pron
   nf
                                                            nf
                      77
                                     aux
kakama
                           hiyama
                                                                        Amane
                                                   me
                                                               tai
                                                                        Amane
               -ma+F
                          hiyama
ka-
      ka
                                                   me
                                                               tahi
                          white-lipped peccary
COMIT go/come back
                                                   3PL.POSS
                                                               killer
                                                                        (man's name)
vt.
                                                   pron
                                                               pn
                                                                        npropm
towetowe
             na
                   toaremari
towe- towe
             na
                   to- ha -ra -himari
DUP
      bad
             AUX
                   CH be NEG FP.E+M
adj
             aux
                   VC
```

'We both took axes, and we went for firewood. We cut off two pieces of firewood, and we brought back the firewood. Amane is a good hunter of white-lipped peccaries.'

```
247 Amane
                          hiyama
                                                                    tabasi
                    ka
                                                           me
                                                   me
    Amane
                          hiyama
                                                                    tabasi
                    ka
                                                   me
                                                           me
    (man's name)
                    POSS
                          white-lipped peccary
                                                    3PL.O
                                                            3PL.S
                                                                    roast on grill
                                                            pron
   npropm
                          nm
                                                   pron
                   prt
                   amani
nimaro
na.NOM+F -maro
                   ama -ni
          FP.E+F
                       BKG+F
XIIA
                   he
```

'They roasted Amane's peccaries.'

```
248 Hiyama
                            me
                                     me
                                             me
                                                     tabasi
                                                                       hina
   hiyama
                            me
                                     me
                                             me
                                                     tabasi
                                                                       hi- na+F
                                                                          AUX
    white-lipped peccary
                            3PL
                                                                       OC
                                     3PL.O
                                             3PL.S
                                                     roast on grill
    nm
                            pron
                                     pron
                                             pron
                                                     vt
                                                                       aux
me
           Hiyama
                                   me
                                                   kababanake
                                           e
me
           hiyama
                                   me
                                           ee
                                                   kaba -habana -ke
3PL.O
           white-lipped peccary
                                   3PL.O
                                           1IN.S
                                                   eat FUT+F
                                                                  DECL+F
pron
                                   pron
                                           pron
```

'They roasted the peccaries. "Let's eat the peccaries."

249	Ayaka	e	hiri	nibe							
	ayaka	ee	hiri	na	-be						
	festa	1IN.S	make	AUX	IMMED+F						
	nf	pron	vt	aux							
"Let's have a festa."											

250	Faya	ı	ayak	<i>xa</i>	me	wati		kana		hiyama		me
	fay	a	aya	ka	me	wati		ka-	na+F	hiyama		me
	so		fes	ta	3PL.S	think a	about	COMIT	AUX	white-lipped p	eccary	3PL.O
	con	j	nf		pron	vt		vi		nm		pron
me		ka	waria	bone					hiyama		me	me
me		ka	_	waa	-rI		-h	nabone	hiyama		me	me
3PL	.S	СО	TIM	COO	k raise	d surfac	ce IN	NT+F	white-	lipped peccary	3PL.0	3PL.S
pro	n	vt							nm		pron	pron

bobi	na	me	hiyama			n	ne	me
bobi	na+F	me	hiyama			n	ne	me
slit	AUX	3PL.S	white-	lipped	peccai	су З	BPL.O	3PL.S
vt	aux	pron	nm			P	oron	pron
kawarin	naro				aman	ıi		
ka-	waa	-rI.NOM		-maro	ama	-ni		
COMIT	cook	raised	surface	FP.E+F	' be	BKG+	F	
vt					VC			

'They planned to have a festa. They cut up the peccaries so they could cook the peccaries. They cooked the peccaries.'

251	Hiye	ama		me	me		hika	ware				me
	hiy	ama		me	me		hi-	ka-	waa	-rI		me
	white-lipped peccary			3PL.O	3PL	.S	OC	COMIT	cook	raised	surface	3PL.O
	nm			pron	pro	n	vt					pron
me	kabawaimaro				amak	ke						
me		kaba	-waha.NOM+F	-maro	ama	-ke	9					
3PL	.S	eat	change	FP.E+F	be	DEC	L+F					
pro	ron vt				VC							

'They cooked the peccaries. Finally they ate them.'

252	Hiyama	me	me	
	hiyama	me	me	
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S	
	nm	pron	pron	