

THE BANAWÁS

Free Translation

He was Nayi. Nayi cast a spell on the Banawás, so they would die. They got sick, and some of them died.

They wanted to shoot some of the Jamamadis with rifles, to avenge the others. He went there. They were upset because some of their people had died. They came there, planning against the Jamamadis. They came, and they came upon the flood waters. They came to the water and they stopped. They stopped. The daylight ended before they could get to their destination, so they stripped off inner bark of *tamiyara* trees and made hammocks, so they could sleep. They made hammocks and slept, and they turned back.

They turned back. They were planning against the Jamamadis, so they would die. They turned back. The Jamamadis almost died because of them.

Then they didn't see them anymore. Then they saw them again. They almost shot them.

Two of them went into the forest to hunt. They came upon a Brazilian woman who was alone. They stayed with the Brazilian woman. The woman cooked food for them, and they ate.

Then the Brazilian man came back and he wasn't happy. He thought they had had sex with his wife. He yelled at them when he came back. He grabbed a knife. The Banawá was drunk. The other one was only tipsy. He grabbed the Banawá and knifed the Banawá. The other one jumped out of the house, after taking his shotgun off the wall. The Banawá shot the Brazilian. He died.

He went running away. He had killed someone. Then they moved away to another place. They moved away, and lived far away, at Araka Barone. They went to Araka Barone and lived out there.

They waited for the Brazilians, but the Brazilians didn't come. So they came back after their crops. They came upon some Apurinãs. The Apurinãs rejected them. The Apurinãs said they were going to shoot them. So they went back.

"The Apurinãs want crops that are not theirs. They are bad people. The Apurinãs will die. Come and tell me if you see the Apurinãs. I will wait for you. I will stay here. They killed my older brother, who was with them, and they are telling about what they did. I will wait for you. Go get crops. Awa Wai Ya, if you meet up with the Apurinãs, send them back here. I will wait for you."

"Wait. If we see the Apurinãs, we will come back," the women said.

"Right, you come back running."

They were together with the Banawás, our people, our ancestors. They went, the women. The women went. They heard a dog starting to bark.

Awa Wai Ya had gone ahead. "When you hear a dog barking, go back right away," she had said, instructing them. "Go back with the report about them. I will stay with them," she had said.

Then the dog barked, and when they heard it barking, they came running back.

Many Apurinãs came after crops, Apurinã women.

They appeared. "Rowiso," she said. "Rowiso, Rowiso."

"Huh?"

"Are you in your hammock?"

"I am in my hammock."

"The Apurinãs are there," they said. It was the women.

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"Is it them?"

"Yes, they are there. Awa Wai Ya is there with them."

"I want them to die. I will get revenge on them."

He got his gun. He called the others to go. They got their bows and arrows. They had guns and bows and arrows. They went.

"They have been telling about themselves. They will die," he said.

They went after them. There were many people who went after the Apurinãs, Towisawa used to say.

"Where are they?"

"They are there."

They greeted the Apurinãs. He extended the stock of his shotgun, greeting them, and they greeted him. He greeted them with the stock of his gun.

"What are you up to?" they said, the Apurinãs.

"We aren't up to anything. We have come after white-lipped peccaries. Some white-lipped peccaries came this way. We have come after some peccaries that came this way. We are going into the forest."

"What are you doing?"

"We came after manioc. Our food is all gone."

"Go ahead and pull up the manioc. The manioc is there in the field."

They went into the forest. As they went, Rowiso Banawá picked up his gun. "We are going." Rowiso Apurinã's wife saw that he was going to be attacked, and she spoke. "Rowiso, Rowiso is going to attack you," the Apurinã woman said.

He rushed, but he shot him. They fell on them. Someone else shot another one, too. Arrows were hitting them, too.

The Apurinã women ran. They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran. They ran with arrows, Towisawa said. They ran with arrows, and they died. Their husbands also died.

"Come on, let's go. We have killed people. Let them lie."

They took their necklaces off that they were wearing. They took the necklaces off, and they brought the necklaces back. They also brought back their guns.

They arrived back. They didn't stay living there. They moved away.

"Let's go into the forest. Other Apurinãs will come."

They moved away. They went into the forest. They cut down a tree, and made the tree fall in the water. They crossed over. After crossing, they cut the tree in half and made the tree sink in the water.

They built houses out there. They built houses, and waited for the Apurinãs. They lived there, waiting for the Apurinãs to come.

Every so often they would come back for their crops. They were transporting their crops, the crops of the Banawás. They were eating the crops of the Banawás.

Then the Jarawaras came back. They had a festa before coming back. As they were having a festa, a jaguar came to them. They were afraid because they heard the jaguar roaring near them.

They came back. "We have been with you, but now we are going back. We have been with you, so we could fight against the Brazilians," they said.

"All right, go ahead back." "I am living here."

"Right, you live here. We will come and see you again."

"Right, you come back and see me."

"We killed the Apurinãs."

"No one will avenge them," he said.

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So they set out. They set out, and they moved away. They came back over here. They came back. They crossed over, coming back. They went along the Curiá River, and they came. They slept, and got up early. They came on.

They crossed over, and came on. It was Hato Fa. They crossed at Hato Fa. They came. Soon after coming, they came upon a tapir, a tapir that a jaguar had killed.

They came on, leaving the tapir behind. They left the tapir behind, and came on. They finally came out at the Faha Biri stream. They stopped at Yome Kabe, and they slept.

They stopped. They made houses, and they lived there. They ate jaguars, two jaguars that they killed. They lived there a long time.

They came some more this way, and stopped again. They cut down trees again. At the mouth of the Anitoni Ayake stream, they stopped, and they lived there. They cleared the brush. Then they planted the crops. They burned the gardens in the dry season. They planted the crops. They lived there.

Then they came back this way. They lived there a long time. They came this way and saw the place for them to live. "We have lived here for a while. Let's move away. Let's go live at another place." So they moved away. They came some more this way, and lived over here again. They built houses again. They cleared the brush again. They carried manioc stalks, and they planted manioc again. They lived by their crops some more, and they moved away again.

They came this way and stopped, and lived there a long time. There is a sandy clearing there. They cleared the brush.

The place where we live used to be the land of the Apurinãs, the fierce Apurinãs. Yobi went to get crops, and an Apurinã met up with him. The Apurinã wanted to shoot him but his gun kept misfiring. Yobi charged him. The Apurinã was carrying a basket on his back. He hit the Apurinã on the side of his face with the broad side of his machete, and he fell down. He yanked his gun away from him, and left him behind, sitting on the ground, stunned. He carried his gun away. Towisawa used it for a long time, he used to say.

They didn't move away. They waited for the Apurinãs, but they didn't come.

They went and lived in the other direction again. As they were living there, the Apurinãs came to them again. It was Sikari, who they had never seen. Sikari came, with his son and daughter, and he stayed here. He stayed with them. Sikari stayed. The old village is there, where there is an old sandy clearing. The other Apurinãs had shot Sikari, and he had wounds from the shot. When he went back, they shot him again, when he was staying over here. He ate peach palm nuts. He was fat because of the fat of the peach palm nuts, and they shot him to eat him. He always carried peach palm nuts. Sikari ate the fat of peach palm nuts. Sikari was an Apurinã who was a friend. The other Apurinãs hated him. They attacked him.

"I'm leaving."

"All right, go ahead."

But he didn't go. He said he was going to leave but he didn't go. He turned around and came back.

Kirama asked for his daughter. Kirama wanted to marry his daughter, but his wife wouldn't let her go.

"Masima, I'm going to shoot you with an arrow, because you won't let your daughter go. You will die. I will shoot you all with arrows. I want to marry your daughter, but you won't let her go. All right. You wait here. I will shoot you with arrows."

Then Kirama came running back. The chief scolded him. The chief João scolded him, Aniya.

He took a bow and arrows and went, not listening. He wanted to shoot the Apurinãs.

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The Apurinãs went around another way, and came back. "Chief João, Kirama says he is going to kill us. He says he is going to shoot us with arrows, because he says I won't let my daughter go," she said.

"I scolded Kirama. I don't think Kirama is going to come back."

He looked for them to shoot them with arrows, but they outwitted him, so he came back.

"I almost killed you. I wanted to shoot you with arrows, but the others protected you. I wanted to kill you," he said.

"Kirama, Kirama, don't shoot the Apurinãs with arrows. Let the Apurinãs live here."

He was planning to shoot them with arrows. The others protected them and they scolded him. He was upset because he couldn't be with Akota. The others scolded him, and he went into the forest mad.

Then he got lost. The two of them got lost. They got lost, and they didn't come back. They were in the forest for many days, without manioc meal. Botehefo found them out there. Their makeshift trail went along paralleling the trail.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Nayi</i>	<i>Nayimatamonaka</i>			
	Nayi	Nayi	-mata	-mona	-ka
	(man's name)	(man's name)	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	npropm	npropm			

'He was Nayi.'

2	<i>Nayi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wiso</i>	<i>hikanemetemoneke</i>		<i>bato yafi</i>	
	Nayi	me	wiso	hi- ka- na	-hemete -mone -ke	bato yafi	
	(man's name)	3PL.O	blow	OC	COMIT AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F	Banawá
	npropm	pron	vi	aux			npropm

<i>mati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ababone</i>		<i>mati</i>
mati	me	ahaba -habone		mati
3PL	3PL.S	die INT+F		3PL.S
pron	pron	vi		pron

'Nayi cast a spell on the Banawás, so they would die.'

3	<i>Yama</i>	<i>kome</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>kome</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awa</i>
	yama	kome	me	awa+F	me	yama	kome	me	awa+F
	thing	sickness+F	3PL.S	feel	3PL.S	thing	sickness+F	3PL.S	feel
	nf	pn	pron	vt	pron	nf	pn	pron	vt

<i>me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>abemetemonehe</i>		
me	one	ahaba -hemete -mone -he		
3PL	some+F	die FP.N+F	REP+F	DUP
pron	adj	vi		

'They got sick, and some of them died.'

4	<i>Me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>manakone</i>	<i>me</i>
	me	one	ahaba+F	me	me	one	manakone	me
	3PL	some+F	die	3PL.S	3PL	other+F	price	3PL.S
	pron	adj	vi	pron	pron	adj	pn	pron

<i>awabone</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tao</i>	<i>nabone</i>	<i>mati</i>
awa -habone	me	wahati	me	me	tao	na -habone	mati
avenge INT+F	3PL	Jamamadi	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot	AUX INT+F	3PL.S
vt	pron	npropm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron

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rifi ya
 rifi ya
 rifle ADJU
 nf prt

'Some of them died. They wanted to shoot some of the Jamamadis with rifles, to avenge the others.'

5 Tokomakematamona

to- ka -makI -himata -mona
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'He went there.'

6 *Me one aba me yawa me kamakia me*
 me one ahaba+F me yawa+F me ka -makI+F me
 3PL other+F die 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S
 pron adj vi pron vi pron vi pron

me kamakietemoneke
 me ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke , *wati me me*
 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F wahati me me
 pron vi npropm pron pron

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

'They were upset because some of their people had died. They came there, planning against the Jamamadis.'

7 *Wati me me wati kana me kamakia*
 wahati me me wati ka- na+F me ka -makI+F
 Jamamadi 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against COMIT AUX 3PL.S go/come following
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vi

me fa fowe fa fowe me wasimakemetemoneke
 me faha fowe faha fowe me wasi -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S flood flood 3PL.S find following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron nf nf pron vt

'They were planning against the Jamamadis. They came, and they came upon the flood waters.'

8 *Fa me wasimake me me ma*
 faha me wasi -makI me me maa
 water 3PL.S find following 3PL.S 3PL.S stop
 nf pron vt pron pron vi

namakietemonehe

na -makI -hemete -mone -he
 AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 aux

'They came to the water and they stopped.'

9 *Me ma namakietemoneke fahi*
 me maa na -makI -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 3PL.S stop AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'They stopped.'

10 *Faya me amo nabone bai toke me bata*
 faya me amo na -habone , bahi to- ka+M me bata
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F sun away go/come 3PL.O surprise
 conj pron vi aux nm vi pron vt

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hikana **tamiyara** **me** **sa** **na** , **yifo** **me** **yama**
 hi- ka- na+F tamiyara me saa na+F , yifo me yama
 OC COMIT AUX tree sp 3PL.S strip off AUX hammock 3PL.S make
 aux nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

'The daylight ended before they could get to their destination, so they stripped off inner bark of *tamiyara* trees and made hammocks, so they could sleep.'

11 **Yifo** **me** **yama** **na** **me** , **me** **amo** **na** **me** **wete**
 yifo me yama na+F me , me amo na+F me wete
 hammock 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S return
 nm pron vt aux pron pron vi aux pron vi

tonamemetemoneke

to- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They made hammocks and slept, and they turned back.'

12 **Me** **wete** **tonama** **me** , **wati** **me** **ababone**
 me wete to- na -ma+F me , wahati me ahaba -habone
 3PL.S return away AUX back 3PL.S Jamamadi 3PL.S die INT+F
 pron vi aux pron npropm pron vi

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

'They turned back. They were planning against the Jamamadis, so they would die.'

13 **Me** **wete** **tonamemetemonehe**
 me wete to- na -ma -hemete -mone -he
 3PL.S return away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 pron vi aux

'They turned back.'

14 **Wati** **me** **ahabenemete** **me** **amake** **me**
 wahati me ahaba -hene -mete me ama -ke me
 Jamamadi 3PL.S die IRR+F FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F 3PL.POSS
 npropm pron vi pron sec pron

ihi

ihi
 because of+F
 post

'The Jamamadis almost died because of them.'

15 **Faya** **me** **me** **me** **aawama** **hiharemetemone**
 faya me me me a- awa -ma hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 so 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP see back OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron pron pron vt aux

me **ama** **fahi**
 me ama fahi
 3PL.O SEC then
 pron sec dem

'Then they didn't see them anymore.'

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16 *Me me hiwamara me , me me faya me me*
 me me hi- awa -ma -ra+F me , me me faya me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see back NEG 3PL.O 3PL 3PL so 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron pron pron conj pron pron

hiwamemetemone fahi
 hi- awa -ma -hemete -mone fahi
 OC see back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt dem

'They didn't see them anymore. Then they saw them again.'

17 *Me me hiwama me , me me tao*
 me me hi- awa -ma+F me , me me tao
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see back 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot
 pron pron vt pron pron pron vt

hinenemetemoneni
 hi- na -hene -mete -mone -ni
 OC AUX IRR+F FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'They saw them again. They almost shot them.'

18 *Faya me fama me yama me yete nabone me*
 faya me fama+F me yama me yete na -habone me
 so 3PL.S be two 3PL.S thing 3PL.S hunt AUX INT+F 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron nf pron vt aux pron

towaka me , yara fana ohariani me
 to- ka- ka+F me , yara fana ohari -hani me
 away COMMIT go/come 3PL.S Brazilian female be one IP.N+F 3PL.S
 vi pron npropm nf vi pron

towasiwitia me , yara fana ya me taba
 to- wasi -witI+F me , yara fana ya me taba+F
 away find out 3PL.S Brazilian female ADJU 3PL.S be together
 vt pron npropm nf prt pron vi

me yara fana me , tafebone yara fana
 me yara fana me tafebone yara fana
 3PL.S Brazilian female 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F Brazilian female
 pron npropm nf pron pn npropm nf

hiwasia me tafa , me tafemetemoneke yara
 hi- wasi+F me tafa+F , me tafa -hemete -mone -ke yara
 OC cook 3PL.S eat 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Brazilian
 vt pron vi pron vi npropm

ati hiyareba kamabano ya , fati
 ati hiya -ra -hiba ka -ma.NOM+M -ba -no ya , fati
 voice be bad NEG FUT+M go/come back FUT IP.N+M ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife
 pn vi vi prt nf

fati me fati me ye ai
 fati me fati me ye ahi
 3SG.POSS.wife 3PL 3SG.POSS.wife 3PL.POSS hand have sex with
 nf pron nf pron pn vt

hinamone ati nebanoho , mera
 hi- na -hamone ati na -hiba -no -ho , mera
 OC AUX REP+F say AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL.O
 aux vt aux pron

katomamebanoho
 katoma -ma -hiba -no -ho
 attack back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt

'Two of them went into the forest to hunt. They came upon a Brazilian woman who was alone. They stayed

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with the Brazilian woman. The woman cooked food for them, and they ate. Then the Brazilian man came back and he wasn't happy. He thought they had had sex with his wife. He yelled at them when he came back.'

19	Me	yimawa	totime		yimawa	totime		bato yafi
	me	yimawa	to- iti	-ma+M	yimawa	to- iti	-ma+M	bato yafi
	3PL	knife	away pick up	back	knife	away pick up	back	Banawá
	pron	nf	vt		nf	vt		npropm

hanohimatamonaka

hano -himata -mona -ka
 be drunk FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He grabbed a knife. The Banawá was drunk.'

20	Owa	hahano	rama	nemata	awane
	owa	ha- hano	na -rama	na -himata	awa -ne
	other+M	DUP be drunk	AUX not much	AUX FP.N+M	seem+M BKG+M
	adj	vi	aux	aux	sec

'The other one was only tipsy.'

21	Bato yafi	wate	bato yafi	itematamonaka	fahi
	bato yafi	wata+M	bato yafi	ita -himata -mona -ka	fahi
	Banawá	catch	Banawá	pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	npropm	vt	npropm	vt	dem

'He grabbed the Banawá and knifed the Banawá.'

22	Owa	yora	towitimatamona	taokana	sota
	owa	yora	to- na -witI -himata -mona	taokana	sota
	1SG.O	jump	away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M	shotgun	remove
	pron	vi	aux	nf	vt

tokanari

to- ka- na -haari
 CH COMIT AUX IP.E+M
 aux

'The other one jumped out of the house, after taking his shotgun off the wall.'

23	Tao	hikabisematamonaka
	tao	hi- ka- na -bisa -himata -mona -ka
	shoot	OC COMIT AUX also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vt	aux

'He shot him.'

24	Ababisematamonaka
	ahaba -bisa -himata -mona -ka
	die also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi

'He died.'

25	Kana	ni	tokomematamonaka	fari
	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka	faari
	run	AUX	away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	that one+M
	vi	aux	vi	dem

ene

itihari

ehene iti -haari
 victim of+M exist IP.E+M
 pn vi

'He went running away. He had killed someone.'

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26 *Faya me banemetemone me amake fahi* .
 faya me bana -hemete -mone me ama -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then
 conj pron vi pron sec dem

'Then they moved away to another place.'

27 *Me bana me towinawawitiemetemoneni* ,
 me bana+F me to- wina -waha -witI -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away live change out FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron vi

Araka Araka Barone ya .
 Araka Barone ya
 (name of village) ADJU
 npropm prt

'They moved away, and lived far away, at Araka Barone.'

28 *Araka Barone ya me toka me me*
 Araka Barone ya me to- ka+F me me
 (name of village) ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S
 npropm prt pron vi pron pron

towinawitia me yara me me
 to- wina -witI+F me yara me me
 away live out 3PL.S Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vi pron npropm pron pron

karawatoemetemoneni .
 karawato -hemete -mone -ni
 wait for FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vt

'They went to Araka Barone and lived out there. They waited for the Brazilians.'

29 *Yara me me karawatoa me yara me*
 yara me me karawato+F me yara me
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for 3PL.S Brazilian 3PL.S
 npropm pron pron vt pron npropm pron

kamakirimakoni me tafe me
 ka -maki -ra -makoni me tafe me
 go/come following NEG for this reason+F 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S
 vi pron pn pron

nakama me me tafe me
 na- ka -ma+F me me tafe me
 CAUS go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S
 vt pron pron pn pron

nakamemetemonehe .
 na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he
 CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 vt

'They waited for the Brazilians, but the Brazilians didn't come. So they came back after their crops.'

30 *Me tafe me nakama me yati me*
 me tafe me na- ka -ma+F me yati me
 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S CAUS go/come back 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.O
 pron pn pron vt pron npropm pron

me wasima me yati me me wasima yati
 me wasi -ma+F me yati me me wasi -ma+F yati
 3PL.S find back 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S find back Apurinã
 pron vt pron npropm pron pron vt npropm

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me me hikakoemetemonehe
 me me hi- kaako -hemete -mone -he
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC be angry with FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 pron pron vt

'They came back after their crops. They came upon some Apurinãs. The Apurinãs rejected them.'

31 *Yati me me tao hinabone me me hina*
 yati me me tao hi- na -habone me me ati hi- na+F
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S say OC AUX
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

me , faya me tokometemoneke fahi
 me , faya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 3PL.O so 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron conj pron vi dem

'The Apurinãs said they were going to shoot them. So they went back.'

32 *Yati me tafe amara me kayawa me ,*
 yati me tafe ama -ra+F me ka- yawa+F me ,
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS crops+F be NEG 3PL.S COMIT be upset 3PL.S
 npropm pron pn vc pron vt pron

me kasiro nofa me ama
 me kasiro nofa+F me ama
 3PL.S be perverse recently 3PL.S SEC
 pron vi prt pron sec

'''The Apurinãs want crops that are not theirs. They are bad people.'''

33 *Yati me abibana me ama*
 yati me ahaba -bana me ama
 Apurinã 3PL.S die FUT+F 3PL.S SEC
 npropm pron vi pron sec

'''The Apurinãs will die.'''

34 *Yati me namoni te kamiya*
 yati me namoni tee ka -ma -yahi
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS report 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 npropm pron pn pron vi

'''Come and tell me if you see the Apurinãs.'''

35 *Te noki oba*
 tee noki o- na.NOM -ba
 2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT
 pron vt aux

'''I will wait for you.'''

36 *Owitiba*
 o- ita.NOM+F -ba
 1SG.S stay FUT
 aux

'''I will stay here.'''

37 *Okoyo sawite me , nahabihani*
 o- ka ayo sawi -tee me , na- ahaba -hani
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be present HAB 3PL.S CAUS die IP.N+F
 nm vi pron vt

THE BANAWÁS

hine me hiyari nofa me ama , okoyo
hine me hiyara nofa+F me ama o- ka ayo
3.REFL 3PL.S tell recently 3PL.S SEC 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
pron pron vt prt pron sec nm

sawiti ya
sawi -tee.NOM ya
be present HAB ADJU
vi prt

"They killed my older brother, who was with them, and they are telling about what they did."

38 **Te noki oba**
tee noki o- na.NOM -ba
2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT
pron vt aux

"I will wait for you."

39 **Yama te tonakama**
yama tee to- na- ka -ma
thing 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back
nf pron vt

"Go get crops."

40 **Awa Wai Ya yara me yati me kobo tini ya**
Awa Wai Ya yara me yati me kobo ti- na.NOM+F ya
(woman's name) Brazilian 3PL Apurinã 3PL.O meet 2SG.S AUX ADJU
npropf npropm pron npropm pron vt aux prt

me tiyosemiya
me ti- yose -ma -yahi
3PL.O 2SG.S send back DIST.IMP+F
pron vt

"Awa Wai Ya, if you meet up with the Apurinãs, send them back here."

41 **Te noki obana**
tee noki o- na.NOM -bana
2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT
pron vt aux

"I will wait for you."

42 **Yama nonoki tiyahi**
yama no- noki ti- na -yahi
thing DUP wait for 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
nf vt aux

"Wait."

43 **Yati me namoni ota kamaba otani me**
yati me namoni otaa ka -ma -haba otaa -ni me
Apurinã 3PL.POSS report 1EX.S go/come back FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 3PL.S
npropm pron pn pron vi pron pron

ati nemetemone
ati na -hemete -mone
say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
vt aux

"If we see the Apurinãs, we will come back," they said.'

THE BANAWÁS

44 *Ee te kamiya te kana ni me*
 ee tee ka -ma -yahi tee kana na.NFIN , me
 yes 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F 2PL.S run AUX 3PL.S
 interj pron vi pron vi aux pron

yoro tokana mati ee ota ka one ota
 yoro to- ka- na+F mati ee otaa ka one otaa
 be together CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S (pause) 1EX POSS relative 1EX
 vi aux pron interj pron prt nf pron

ka abi mati
 ka abi mati
 POSS father 3PL
 prt nm pron

"Right, you come back running." They were together with them, our people, our ancestors.'

45 *Yati me tokometemone*
 yati me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 Apurinã 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm pron vi

'They went.'³⁰

46 *Faya me toka me me*
 faya me to- ka+F me , me
 so 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron

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

'They went, the women.'

47 *Me fanawi tokoma me fanawi tokoma me ni*
 me fanawi to- ka -ma+F , me fanawi to- ka -ma+F me ni
 women away go/come back women away go/come back 3PL to
 nf vi nf vi pron prt

ya yome habo ni yana tonematamonaha
 ya yomee habo na.NFIN yana to- na -himata -mona -ha
 ADJU dog bark AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 prt nm vi aux vi aux

'The women went. They heard a dog starting to bark.'

48 *Awa Wai Ya tai toamemetemonehe*
 Awa Wai Ya tai to- ha -ma -hemete -mone -he
 (woman's name) be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 npropf vi aux

'Awa Wai Ya went ahead.'

49 *Yome habo ni te miti ya te wete kabote*
 yomee habo na.NFIN tee mita.NOM+F ya tee wete na -kabote
 dog bark AUX 2PL.S hear ADJU 2PL.S return AUX quickly
 nm vi aux pron vt prt pron vi aux

niyahi ati nemetemoneke me warabi
 na -yahi ati na -hemete -mone -ke me warabi
 AUX DIST.IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS ear+F
 aux vt aux pron pn

30 The word *yati* is a false start.

THE BANAWÁS

nima naro
 nima na -haaro
 communicate to AUX IP.E+F
 vt aux

"When you hear a dog barking, go back right away," she said, instructing them.'

50 **Me namoni te me namoni te**
 me namoni tee me namoni tee
 3PL.POSS report 2PL 3PL.POSS report 2PL.S
 pron pn pron pron pn pron

tokomiyahi
 to- ka -ma -yahi
 away go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 vi

"Go back with the report about them."

51 **Me okowabanani ati nemetemone**
 me o- ka- waa -habana -ni ati na -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT stay FUT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt vt aux

"I will stay with them," she said.'

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

ni kamemetemonehe
 na.NFIN ka -ma -hemete -mone -he
 AUX go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 aux vi

'Then the dog barked, and when they heard it barking, they came running back.'

53 **Yati me tamemetemoneni yamata me**
 yati me tama -hemete -mone -ni yamata me
 Apurinã 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F crops 3PL.S
 npropm pron vi nf pron

nakiani mati yati fanarawaha
 na- ka -kI -hani mati yati fana -rawa -ha
 CAUS go/come coming IP.N+F 3PL.S Apurinã female F.PL DUP
 vt pron npropm nf

'Many Apurinãs came after crops, Apurinã women.'

54 **Me fotometemoneke**
 me foto -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S appear back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They appeared.'

55 **Rowiso ati nemetemone**
 Rowiso ati na -hemete -mone
 (man's name) say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm vt aux

"Rowiso," she said.'

THE BANAWÁS

- 56 **Rowiso** , **Rowiso** .
 Rowiso , Rowiso
 (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm
 "Rowiso, Rowiso."
- 57 **Hai** ?
 hai
 interj
 "Huh?"
- 58 **Tiwinini** ?
 ti- wina -ni
 2SG.S lie in hammock BKG+F
 vi
 "Are you in your hammock?"
- 59 **Owini** .
 o- wina.NOM+F
 1SG.S lie in hammock
 vi
 "I am in my hammock."
- 60 **Yati me nao aya me ati nemetemone** .
 yati me naho.NOM aya me ati na -hemete -mone
 Apurinã 3PL.S stand there 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm pron vi dem pron vt aux
 "The Apurinãs are there," they said.'
- 61 **Me fanawi amani** .
 me fanawi ama -ni
 women be BKG+F
 nf vc
 'It was the women.'
- 62 **Fa me ama** ?
 faa me ama
 that 3PL.S be
 dem pron vc
 "Is it them?"
- 63 **Ee me naoarani** .
 ee me naho -hara -ni
 yes 3PL.S stay IP.E+F BKG+F
 interj pron vi
 "Yes, they are there."
- 64 **Awa Wai Ya me hikawarani** .
 Awa Wai Ya me hi- ka- waa -hara -ni
 (woman's name) 3PL.O OC COMIT stay IP.E+F BKG+F
 npropf pron vt
 "Awa Wai Ya is there with them."
- 65 **Me ababone me ona me ama** .
 me ababa -habone me ona o- na+F me ama
 3PL.S die INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O SEC
 pron vi pron vt pron sec

THE BANAWÁS

"I want them to die."

66 *Maki tina*
 maki ti- na
 pay 2SG.S AUX
 vi aux

"I will get revenge on them."

67 *Taokana kakitimatamonahane*
 taokana ka- iti -himata -mona -ha -ne
 shotgun COMMIT pick up FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
 nf vt

'He got his gun.'

68 *Me mera hima nematamona ahi*
 me mera hima na -himata -mona ahi
 3PL 3PL.O call to go AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 pron pron vt aux dem

'He called the others to go.'

69 *Wati wati me bokori kawemetemoneni*
 wati wati me bokori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni
 arrow arrow 3PL.S hold COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nm nm pron vt aux

'They got their bows and arrows.'

70 *Taokana ya me ye hone*
 taokana ya me yehe hone
 shotgun ADJU 3PL.POSS hand weapon+F
 nf prt pron pn pn

tababisemetemoneke faro
 taba -bisa -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 be together also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 vi dem

'They had guns and bows and arrows.'

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

'They went.'

72 *Hine me hiyaraki nofa me ama*
 hine me hiyara -kI nofa+F me ama
 3.REFL 3PL.S tell coming recently 3PL.S SEC
 pron pron vt prt pron sec

"They have been telling about themselves."

73 *Me abibana me ama ati nematamonane*
 me ababa.NOM+F -bana me ama ati na -himata -mona -ne
 3PL.S die FUT 3PL.S SEC say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron vi pron sec vt aux

"They will die," he said.'

THE BANAWÁS

74 *Me me me hinakamemetemoneni*
 me me me hi- to- na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron pron pron vt
 'They went after them.'

75 *Me tamemetemone Towisawa hiyari aati*
 me tama -hemete -mone Towisawa hiyara.NFIN a- ati
 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F (man's name) speak DUP say
 pron vi npropm vi vt
toemarine yati me me wati kana
 to- ha -himari -ne yati me me wati ka- na+F
 CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against COMMIT AUX
 aux npropm pron pron vt aux
mati
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron
 'There were many people who went after the Apurinãs, Towisawa used to say.'

76 *Me e ri ?*
 me ee na -ri
 3PL.S (question) AUX CQ+F
 pron vi aux
 "'Where are they?'"

77 *Me naone haro*
 me naho -ne haaro
 3PL.S stand CONT+F that one+F
 pron vi dem
 "'They are there.'"

78 *Faya yati me me komofai nemetemone ahi*
 faya yati me me komofai na -hemete -mone ahi
 so Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S greet AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj npropm pron pron vt aux dem
 'They greeted the Apurinãs.'

79 *Taokana mate tata nakematamonane mera*
 taokana mate ta- taa na -kI -himata -mona -ne mera
 shotgun rear+F DUP extend AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.O
 nf pn vt aux pron
komofai nari me komofai hinahari
 komofai na -haari me komofai hi- na -haari
 greet AUX IP.E+M 3PL.S greet OC AUX IP.E+M
 vt aux pron vt aux
 'He extended the stock of his shotgun, greeting them, and they greeted him.'

80 *Taokana mate ya mera komofai nematamonane*
 taokana mate ya mera komofai na -himata -mona -ne
 shotgun rear+F ADJU 3PL.O greet AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nf pn prt pron vt aux
 'He greeted them with the stock of his gun.'

THE BANAWÁS

81 *Himata* *te* *ebe* *naba* *te* *amariya* ? *me* *ati*
 himata tee ebe na -haba tee ama -ri -ya ? me ati
 what? 2PL.S purpose AUX FUT+F 2PL.S be CQ+F now 3PL.S say
 interrog pron vt aux pron vc pron vt

nemetemone *yati* *mati*
 na -hemete -mone yati mati
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F Apurinã 3PL
 aux npropm pron

"What are you up to?" they said, the Apurinãs.'

82 *Himata* *ota* *ebe* *ri*
 himata otaa ebe na -ra.NOM+F
 what? 1EX.S purpose AUX NEG
 interrog pron vt aux

"We aren't up to anything."

83 *Hiyama* *me* *ota* *hiyama* *me* *ota*
 hiyama me otaa hiyama me otaa
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S
 nm pron pron nm pron pron

nakine
 na- ka -kI -ne
 CAUS go/come coming CONT+F
 vt

"We have come after white-lipped peccaries."

84 *Hiyama* *me* *kaki* *ahi*
 hiyama me ka- ka -kI.NOM ahi
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming here
 nm pron vi dem

"Some white-lipped peccaries came this way."

85 *Hiyama* *me* *kakeha* *me* *ota*
 hiyama me ka -kI+F me otaa
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come coming 3PL.O 1EX.S
 nm pron vi pron pron

nakine
 na- ka -kI -ne
 CAUS go/come coming CONT+F
 vt

"We have come after some peccaries that came this way."

86 *Hiyama* *me* *ota* *nakine* *me*
 hiyama me otaa na- ka -kI -ne me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS go/come coming CONT+F 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron

kake *mati*
 ka -kI mati
 go/come coming 3PL.S
 vi pron

"We have come after some peccaries that came this way."

87 *Ota* *tokiba* *ahi*
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -ba ahi
 1EX.S away go/come FUT there
 pron vi dem

"We are going into the forest."

THE BANAWÁS

88 *Himata te ebe nabani te amari ?*
 himata tee ebe na -haba -ni tee ama -ri
 what? 2PL.S purpose AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 2PL.S be CQ+F
 interrog pron vt aux pron vc

"What are you doing?"

89 *Fowa ota nakia ota*
 fowa otaa na- ka -kI+F otaa
 manioc 1EX.S CAUS go/come coming 1EX.S
 nm pron vt pron

"We came after manioc."

90 *Fowa ota nakia ota*
 fowa otaa na- ka -kI+F otaa
 manioc 1EX.S CAUS go/come coming 1EX.S
 nm pron vt pron

"We came after manioc."

91 *Ota tefe aba ota*
 otaa tefe ahaba+F otaa
 1EX.POSS food end 1EX.POSS
 pron pn vi pron

"Our food is all gone."

92 *Fowa te bore niya*
 fowa tee bore na -yahi
 manioc 2PL.S pull out AUX DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vt aux

"Go ahead and pull up the manioc."

93 *Fowa wata fa*
 fowa wata.CONT+M faa
 manioc grow that
 nm vi dem

"The manioc is there in the field."

94 *Me tokehemetemone*
 me to- ka -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

'They went into the forest.'

95 *Me tokahabone me Rowiso taokana*
 me to- ka -habone me Rowiso taokana
 3PL.S away go/come INT+F 3PL (man's name) shotgun
 pron vi pron npropm nf

itimatomona amaka
 iti -himata -mona ama -ka
 pick up FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 vt sec

'As they went, Rowiso picked up his gun.'

96 *Ota tokibone*
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone
 1EX.S away go/come INT+F
 pron vi

THE BANAWÁS

"We are going."

97	Rowiso	wati	kani	fati	awahani
	Rowiso	wati	ka- na.NFIN	fati	awa -hani
	(man's name)	plan against	COMIT AUX	3SG.POSS.wife	see IP.N+F
	npropm	result	aux	nf	vt
	ati yana kanemetemone				
	ati yana	ka- na	-hemete -mone		
	voice start	COMIT AUX	FP.N+F REP+F		
	pn vi	aux			

'Rowiso's wife saw that he was going to be attacked, and she spoke.'

98	Rowiso	Rowiso	tiwa	wati	kane	yati
	Rowiso	Rowiso	tiwa	wati	ka- na+M	yati
	(man's name)	(man's name)	2SG.O	plan against	COMIT AUX	Apurinã
	npropm	npropm	pron	vt	aux	npropm
	fana ati nemetemone ahi					
	fana ati	na	-hemete -mone	ahi		
	female say	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	then		
	nf vt	aux		dem		

"Rowiso, Rowiso is going to attack you," the Apurinã woman said.'

99	Fito	tonakose	tao	hikanematamonaka
	fito	to- na	-kosa+M	tao hi- ka- na
	rush CH	AUX middle	shoot	OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M
	vi aux		vt	aux
				-himata -mona -ka
				REP+M DECL+M

'He rushed, but he shot him.'

100	Tao	hikanematamona	ahi
	tao	hi- ka- na	-himata -mona ahi
	shoot	OC COMIT AUX	FP.N+M REP+M then
	vt	aux	dem

'He shot him.'

101	Me	me	me	me	hikatabemetemoneni
	me	me	me	me	hi- to- ka- taba
	3PL	3PL	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC CH COMIT be together
	pron	pron	pron	pron	vt
					-hemete -mone -ni
					FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'They fell on them.'

102	Owa	owa	tao	hikana	hinematamonaka
	owa	owa	tao	hi- ka- na	hi- na
	other+M	other+M	shoot	OC COMIT AUX	OC AUX FP.N+M
	adj	adj	vt	aux	aux
					-himata -mona -ka
					REP+M DECL+M

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'Someone else shot another one, too.'

103	Wati	kobo	nabisa	nematamona	amane
	wati	kobo	na -bisa	na -himata -mona	ama -ne
	arrow	arrive	AUX also	AUX FP.N+M	REP+M SEC BKG+M
	nm	vi	aux	aux	sec

'Arrows were hitting them, too.'

THE BANAWÁS

104 *Yati fana , yati fana kana narawemetemone*
 yati fana , yati fana kana na -rawa -hemete -mone
 Apurinã female Apurinã female run AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm nf npropm nf vi aux

amani

ama -ni
 SEC BKG+F
 sec

"The Apurinã women ran."

105 *Yati fana kana narawa , yati fana kana narawa*
 yati fana kana na -rawa+F , yati fana kana na -rawa+F
 Apurinã female run AUX F.PL Apurinã female run AUX F.PL
 npropm nf vi aux npropm nf vi aux

me tisa narawemetemone ahi , wati ya
 me tisa na -rawa -hemete -mone ahi , wati ya
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F then arrow ADJU
 pron vt aux dem nm prt

"They shot the Apurinã women with arrows as they ran."

106 *Wati kana karawemetemone Towisawa*
 wati kana ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone Towisawa
 arrow run COMMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)
 nm vi aux npropm

hirawamaroni

ati hi- na -rawa -hamaro -ni
 say OC AUX F.PL FP.E+F BKG+F
 vt

"They ran with arrows, Towisawa said."

107 *Wati kana karawa , faya ahabarawemetemoneke*
 wati kana ka- na -rawa+F , faya ahaba -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 arrow run COMMIT AUX F.PL so die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vi aux conj vi

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

"They ran with arrows, and they died."

108 *Me ka yibote me ahaba , me ka yibote me*
 me ka yibote me ahaba.LIST , me ka yibote me
 3PL POSS husband 3PL.S die 3PL POSS husband 3PL.S
 pron prt nm pron vi pron prt nm pron

ahaba nemetemone ahi
 ahaba.LIST na -hemete -mone ahi
 die AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi aux dem

"Their husbands also died."

109 *Hima hima e tokoma*
 hima hima ee to- ka -ma
 let's go let's go 1IN.S away go/come back
 interj interj pron vi

"Come on, let's go."

THE BANAWÁS

110 *E ene iti*
 ee ehene iti.NOM
 1IN.POSS victim of exist
 pron pn vi

"We have killed people."

111 *Hine me so tosi*
 hine me soo to- na -kosa.NOM+F
 only 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle
 pron pron vi aux

"Let them lie."

112 *Me ka kasaro me hitisemetemone ahi kasaro*
 me ka kasaro me hi- tisa -hemete -mone ahi kasaro
 3PL POSS beads 3PL.S OC undo FP.N+F REP+F then beads
 pron prt nf pron vt dem nf

akarawaharo

aka -rawa -haaro
 wear F.PL IP.E+F
 vt

'They took their necklaces off that they were wearing.'

113 *Kasaro me tisa kasaro me kakamemetemone*
 kasaro me tisa+F kasaro me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 beads 3PL.S undo beads 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pron vt nf pron vt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'They took the necklaces off, and they brought the necklaces back.'

114 *Me ka taokana me hekama*
 me ka taokana me hi- ka- ka -ma.LIST
 3PL POSS shotgun 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back
 pron prt nf pron vt

hinemetemoneni

hi- na -hemete -mone -ni
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'They also brought back their guns.'

115 *Taokana me hekama me kobo nama*
 taokana me hi- ka- ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F
 shotgun 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back
 nf pron vt pron vi aux

me winarabani

me wina -ra -haba -ni mati
 3PL.S live NEG FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

'They brought back the guns. They arrived back. They didn't stay living there.'

116 *Me banemetemoneke fahi*
 me bana -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi dem

'They moved away.'

THE BANAWÁS

117 *Me bana me , E e toka*
 me bana+F me , ee ee to- ka
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 1IN.S 1IN.S away go/come
 pron vi pron pron pron vi

"They moved away. "Let's go into the forest."

118 *E tokahi*
 ee to- ka -hi
 1IN.S away go/come IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go into the forest."

119 *Yati me one kamakiaba me ama*
 yati me one ka -makI -haba me ama
 Apurinā 3PL other+F go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC
 npropm pron adj vi pron sec

"Other Apurinās will come."

120 *Faya me banehemetemone fahi*
 faya me bana -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron vi dem

"They moved away."

121 *Me bana me , me bana me*
 me bana+F me , me bana+F me
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

tokemetemoneke ahi
 to- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

"They moved away. They went into the forest."

122 *Me , awa me ka na awa me tonabokawite*
 me , awa me ka na+F awa me to- na- boka -witI
 3PL tree 3PL.S chop AUX tree 3PL.S away CAUS enter water out
 pron nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

me kariwemetemoneni
 me ka -riwaha -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S go/come across FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi

"They cut down a tree, and made the tree fall in the water. They crossed over."

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

nakosa awa me nabokemetemoneke
 na -kosa+F awa me na- boka -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX middle tree 3PL.S CAUS enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nf pron vt

"They crossed over. They cut the tree in half and made the tree sink in the water."

THE BANAWÁS

124 *Awa me naboka me , yobe me yama*
 awa me na- boka+F me , yobe me yama
 tree 3PL.S CAUS enter water 3PL.S house 3PL.S make
 nf pron vt pron nm pron vt
towiti yobe me yama nawemetemoneke
 to- na -witI.LIST yobe me yama na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 away AUX out house 3PL.S make AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nm pron vt aux

fahi , yati me me karawatoha mati
 fahi , yati me me karawato+F mati
 then Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for 3PL.S
 dem npropm pron pron vt pron
 'They made the tree sink. They built houses out there. They built houses, and waited for the Apurinãs.'

125 *Yati me me karawatohabone , faya me winawina*
 yati me me karawato -habone , faya me wina- wina
 Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for INT+F so 3PL.S DUP live
 npropm pron pron vt conj pron vi
toa me yamata me nakamarima na me
 to- ha+F me yamata me na- ka -ma -rima na+F me
 CH AUX 3PL.S crops 3PL.S CAUS go/come back intermittent AUX 3PL.S
 aux pron nf pron vt aux pron
 , *yamata me iiso toemetemoneke bato yafi*
 yamata me i- iso to- ha -hemete -mone -ke bato yafi
 crops 3PL.S DUP carry off CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Banawá
 nf pron vt aux aux
me tafe
 me tafe
 3PL.POSS crops+F
 pron pn

'They lived there, waiting for the Apurinãs to come. Every so often they would come back for their crops. They were transporting their crops, the crops of the Banawás.'

126 *Yamata me me bato yafi me tafe me kaba me ,*
 yamata me me bato yafi me tafe me kaba+F me ,
 crops 3PL 3PL Banawá 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 nf pron pron npropm pron pn pron vt pron
me kamawemetemoneke
 me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They were eating the crops of the Banawás. Then they came back.'

127 *Me kamabone me , faya me*
 me ka -ma -habone me , faya me
 3PL.S go/come back INT+F 3PL so 3PL.S
 pron vi pron conj pron

ayakawahemetemone fahi
 ayaka -waha -hemete -mone fahi
 dance change FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They had a festa before coming back.'

128 *Me ayaka me ni ya yome kamakimatamona*
 me ayaka+F me ni ya yomee ka -maki -himata -mona
 3PL.S dance 3PL to ADJU jaguar go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vi pron prt prt nm vi

THE BANAWÁS

amaka

ama -ka
SEC DECL+M
sec

'As they were having a festa, a jaguar came to them.'

129 **Yome** **ati** **yana** **namaki** **ene** **me**
yomee ati yana na -makI+M ehene me
jaguar voice start AUX following because of+M 3PL.S
nm pn vi aux pn pron

kakomeha **me** **me** **kakomewahemetemoneni**
ka- komeha+F me me ka- komeha -waha -hemete -mone -ni
COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT be fearsome change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vi pron pron vi

'They were afraid because they heard the jaguar roaring near them.'

130 **Me** **kama** **me** **E** **tabi** **nofa** **ota**
me ka -ma+F me ee taba nofa+F otaa
3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 1IN.S be together recently 1EX.S
pron vi pron pron vi prt pron

tokomibone
to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone
away go/come back INT+F
vi

'They came back. "We have been with you, but now we are going back."'

131 **Ota** **tokomibone**
otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone
1EX.S away go/come back INT+F
pron vi

""We are going back.""

132 **E** **e** **tabi** **nofaha** **ere** **yara** **me**
ee ee taba nofa+F ere yara me
1IN.S 1IN.S be together recently 1IN.S Brazilian 3PL
pron pron vi prt pron npropm pron

yara **me** **ota** **mowa** **naba** **ota** **me** **ati**
yara me otaa mowa na -haba otaa me ati
Brazilian 3PL.O 1EX.S fight AUX FUT+F 1EX.S 3PL.S say
npropm pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

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

""We have been with you, so we could fight against the Brazilians," they said.'

133 **Ee** **te** **tokoma**
ee tee to- ka -ma
yes 2PL.S away go/come back
interj pron vi

""All right, go ahead back.""

134 **Owinine** **o**
o- wina -ne o-
1SG.S live CONT+F 1SG.S
vi prt

THE BANAWÁS

"I am living here."

135 *Te tokoma*
 tee to- ka -ma
 2PL.S away go/come back
 pron vi

"Go ahead back."

136 *Owinine oni*
 o- wina -ne o- ni
 1SG.S live CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

"I am living here."

137 *Ee wiwina tiya*
 ee wi- wina ti- na -yahi
 yes DUP live 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 interj vi aux

"Right, you live here."

138 *Tiwiniya*
 ti- wina -yahi
 2SG.S live DIST.IMP+F
 vi

"You live here."

139 *Tiwa ota awamateba otani me ati*
 tiwa otaa awa -ma -tee -haba otaa -ni me ati
 2SG.O 1EX.S see back HAB FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 3PL.S say
 pron pron vt pron pron vt

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

"We will come and see you again."

140 *Ee owa te awamatiya*
 ee owa tee awa -ma -tee -yahi
 yes 1SG.O 2PL.S see back HAB DIST.IMP+F
 interj pron pron vt

"Right, you come back and see me."

141 *Yati me e nabia ere*
 yati me ee na- ahaba+F ere
 Apurinã 3PL.O 1IN.S CAUS die 1IN.S
 npropm pron pron vt pron

"We killed the Apurinãs."

142 *Me manakone watateraba me awine ati*
 me manakone wata -tee -ra -haba me awine ati
 3PL.POSS revenge exist HAB NEG FUT+F 3PL.POSS seem+F say
 pron pn vi pron sec vt

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

"No one will avenge them," he said.'

THE BANAWÁS

143 *Faya me yana tonemetemoneni*
 faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ni
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 conj pron vi aux

'So they set out.'

144 *Me yana tona me banemetemone ahi*
 me yana to- na+F me bana -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi aux pron vi dem

'They set out, and they moved away.'

145 *Me bana me me bana me*
 me bana+F me me bana+F me
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

kamemetemone waha ahi
 ka -ma -hemete -mone waha ahi
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F now here
 vi prt dem

'They moved away. They came back over here.'

146 *Me kama me kariwama me Koriwa*
 me ka -ma+F me ka -riwaha -ma+F me Koriwa
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come across back 3PL.S Curiá
 pron vi pron vi pron npropf

ya me toka Koriwa ya me toka me
 ya me to- ka+F Koriwa ya me to- ka+F me
 ADJU 3PL.S away go/come Curiá ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S
 prt pron vi npropf prt pron vi pron

kake me faya me amo na me me
 ka -kI me faya me amo na+F me me
 go/come coming 3PL.S so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vi pron conj pron vi aux pron pron

bosa tasa me kakewemetemoneke
 bosa na -tasa+F me ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 get up early AUX again 3PL.S go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux pron vi

fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'They came back. They crossed over, coming back. They went along the Curiá River, and they came. They slept, and got up early. They came on.'

147 *Me kariwa me me kariwa me*
 me ka -riwaha+F me me ka -riwaha+F me
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

kakewemetemone
 ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone
 go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'They crossed over, and came on.'

THE BANAWÁS

148 *Faya* , *Hato Fa* *amani* .
 faya Hato Fa ama -ni
 so (village name) be BKG+F
 conj npropf vc

'It was Hato Fa.'

149 *Hato Fa* *ya* *me* *kariwa* *me* , *me*
 Hato Fa ya me ka -riwaha+F me , me
 (village name) ADJU 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S 3PL.S
 npropf prt pron vi pron pron

kake *hiba* *me* *kakake* *na* *awi* *me*
 ka -kI hiba me ka- ka -kI na+F awi me
 go/come coming soon after 3PL.S DUP go/come coming AUX tapir 3PL.S
 vi conj pron vi aux nm pron

wasikia *awi* *yome* *hinaboweino*
 wasi -kI+F awi yomee hi- na- aboha -hino -ho
 find coming tapir jaguar OC CAUS die IP.N+M DUP
 vt nm nm vt

'They crossed at Hato Fa. They came. Soon after coming, they came upon a tapir, a tapir that a jaguar had killed.'

150 *Awi* *me* *wasikia* *me* , *me*
 awi me wasi -kI+F me , me
 tapir 3PL.S find coming 3PL.S 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pron pron

kakewemetemonehe , *awi* *me* *kakosa*
 ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone -he , awi me ka- kana -kosa+F
 go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F DUP tapir 3PL.S COMIT leave middle
 vi nm pron vt

mati .
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron

'They came upon a tapir. They came on, leaving the tapir behind.'

151 *Awi* *me* *kakosa* *me*
 awi me ka- kana -kosa+F me
 tapir 3PL.S COMIT leave middle 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pron

kakewemetemone *ahi* .
 ka -kI -waha -hemete -mone ahi
 go/come coming change FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They left the tapir behind, and came on.'

152 *Fara* *me* , *Fa Biri* *ya* *me*
 fara me , Faha Biri ya me
 same+F 3PL (name of stream) ADJU 3PL.S
 dem pron npropf prt pron

fotometemoneke *fahi* .
 foto -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 appear back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'They finally came out at the Faha Biri stream.'

THE BANAWÁS

153 *Faya me ma namemetemone* *Yome Kabe* *ya*
 faya me maa na -ma -hemete -mone Yome Kabe ya
 so 3PL.S stop AUX back FP.N+F REP+F (name of village) ADJU
 conj pron vi aux npropm prt

'They stopped at Yome Kabe.'

154 *Yome Kabe ya me ma nama* , *me amo*
 Yome Kabe ya me maa na -ma+F , me amo
 (name of village) ADJU 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S sleep
 npropm prt pron vi aux pron vi

nemetemoneke fahi
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'They stopped at Yome Kabe, and they slept.'

155 *Me ma nama me yobe me ahi na me*
 me maa na -ma+F me yobe me ahi na+F me
 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S house 3PL.S work on AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron nm pron vt aux pron

winimetemone
 wina.NOM+F -mete -mone
 live FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'They stopped. They made houses, and they lived there.'

156 *Yome me me hikabemetemone* , *yome me me*
 yomee me me hi- kaba -hemete -mone , yomee me me
 jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron

hinahabihikima mati
 hi- na- ahaba -kima+F mati
 OC CAUS die two 3PL.O
 vt pron

'They ate jaguars, two jaguars that they killed.'

157 *Yome me me hinahabihikima* *yome me me*
 yomee me me hi- na- ahaba -kima+F yomee me me
 jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die two jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron

kabemetemonehe
 kaba -hemete -mone -he
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 vt

'They killed two jaguars, and they ate the jaguars.'

158 *Faya me wiwina toa me kama*
 faya me wi- wina to- ha+F me ka -ma
 so 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX 3PL.S go/come back
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

namahite , *me kama* , *namahiteha* ,
 na -ma -hitI , me ka -ma na -ma -hitI+F ,
 AUX back along the way 3PL.S go/come back AUX back along the way
 aux pron vi aux

THE BANAWÁS

<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nawama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ti</i>
me	maa	na -waha	-ma+F	me	awa	me	tii
3PL.S	stop	AUX change	back	3PL.S	tree	3PL.S	cut through
pron	vi	aux		pron	nf	pron	vt

<i>tasimetemone</i>	<i>amake</i>	<i>ahi</i>
na -tasa.NOM+F	-mete	-mone
AUX again	FP.N+F	REP+F
aux	vc	dem

'They lived there a long time. They came some more this way, and stopped again. They cut down trees again.'

159	<i>Anitoni Ayake</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>batori</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>me</i>
	Anitoni Ayake	ka	faha	batori		me	maa	na -ma+F	me
	(stream name)	of	stream	junction		3PL.S	stop	AUX back	3PL.S
	npropm	p	nf	pn		pron	vi	aux	pron

<i>winamimetemone</i>	<i>ama</i>
wina -ma.NOM+F	-mete
live back	FP.N+F
vi	vc

'At the mouth of the Anitoni Ayake stream, they stopped, and they lived there.'

160	<i>Awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>faya</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>koro</i>	<i>na</i>
	awa	me	tii	na+F	me	faya	yama	me	koro	na+F
	tree	3PL.S	cut through	AUX	3PL.S	so	thing	3PL.S	plant	AUX
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	conj	nf	pron	vt	aux

<i>me</i>	,	<i>awa</i>	<i>yama hiwe</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>
me		awa	yama hiwe	ya	awa	me	sari
3PL.S		tree	dry season	ADJU	tree	3PL.S	burn
pron		nf	nf	p	nf	pron	vt

<i>nemetemoneke</i>	<i>fahi</i>
na -hemete	-mone
AUX FP.N+F	REP+F
aux	dem

'They cleared the brush. Then they planted the crops. They burned the gardens in the dry season.'

161	<i>Yama hiwe</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>	<i>na</i>	,	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sari</i>	<i>na</i>
	yama hiwe	ya	awa	me	sari	na+F		awa	me	sari	na+F
	dry season	ADJU	tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX		tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX
	nf	p	nf	pron	vt	aux		nf	pron	vt	aux

<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>natafawaha</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wina</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>faya</i>	<i>me</i>
awa	me	na- tafa	-waha+F	me	wina+F	me	faya	me
tree	3PL.S	CAUS eat	change	3PL.S	live	3PL.S	so	3PL.S
nf	pron	vt		pron	vi	pron	conj	pron

<i>kamawemetemoneke</i>	<i>fahi</i>	<i>ahi</i>
ka -ma	-waha	-hemete
go/come back	change	FP.N+F
vi	vc	dem

'They burned the gardens in the dry season. They planted the crops. They lived there. Then they came back this way.'

162	<i>Me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wiwina</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>taboribone</i>	<i>me</i>
	me	me	wi- wina	to- ha+F	me		me	tabori	-bone
	3PL	3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX	3PL.S		3PL.POSS	place+F	INT+F
	pron	pron	vi	aux	pron		pron	pn	pron

<i>awama</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	,	<i>taboribone</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>awama</i>	<i>me</i>
awa -ma+F	me		me		tabori	-bone	me	awa -ma+F
see back	3PL.S		3PL.POSS		place+F	INT+F	3PL.S	see back
vt	pron		pron		pn	pron	vt	pron

THE BANAWÁS

E wini nofa ereke
 ee wina nofa+F ere -ke
 1IN.S live recently 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron vi prt pron

"They lived there a long time. They came this way and saw the place for them to live. "We have lived here for a while."

163 **E e bana**
 ee ee bana
 1IN 1IN.S move away
 pron pron vi

"Let's move away."

164 **E towinawamibe tabora one ya**
 ee to- wina -waha -ma -be tabora one ya
 1IN.S away lie in hammock change back IMMED+F village other+F ADJU
 pron vi nf adj prt

"Let's go live at another place."

165 **Faya me banemetemoneke fahi**
 faya me bana -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'So they moved away.'

166 **Me banaha me kakama kawaha me**
 me bana+F me ka- ka -ma ka- na -waha+F me
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S DUP go/come back COMIT AUX change 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

winamatasa me yobe me yama tasa awa one
 wina -ma -tasa+F me yobe me yama na -tasa+F awa one
 live back again 3PL.S house 3PL.S make AUX again tree other+F
 vi pron nm pron vt aux nf adj

me ti tasa yamata isi me fowa iso
 me tii na -tasa+F yamata isi me fowa iso
 3PL.S cut through AUX again crops stalk+F 3PL manioc stalk+M
 pron vt aux nf pn pron nm pn

me iso na fowa me koro tasa me
 me iso na+F fowa me koro na -tasa+F me
 3PL.S carry off AUX manioc 3PL.S plant AUX again 3PL.S
 pron vt aux nm pron vt aux pron

yamata me kakawina kawahi ya me
 yamata me ka- ka- wina ka- na -waha.NOM+F ya me
 crops 3PL.S DUP COMIT live COMIT AUX change ADJU 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux prt pron

banatasemetemoneni
 bana -tasa -hemete -mone -ni
 move away again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

"They moved away. They came some more this way, and lived over here again. They built houses again. They cleared the brush again. They carried manioc stalks, and they planted manioc again. They lived by their crops some more, and they moved away again."

THE BANAWÁS

167 *Me* *ma* *nama* *me* *wiwinawa* *toimetemone*
 me maa na -ma+F me wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

'They came this way and stopped, and lived there a long time.'

168 *Boto* *itineke*
 boto ita -ne -ke
 sandy clearing be located CONT+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'There is a sandy clearing there.'

169 *Me* *ma* *nama* *me* *wiwinawa* *toimetemone*
 me maa na -ma+F me wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

amake *fahi*
 ama -ke fahi
 SEC DECL+F then
 sec dem

'They came this way and stopped, and lived there a long time.'

170 *Faya* *awa* *awa* *me* *titi* *nawa*
 faya awa awa me ti- tii na -waha
 so tree tree 3PL.S DUP cut through AUX change
 conj nf nf pron vt aux

toimetemone *amani*
 to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ni
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 aux sec

'The cleared the brush.'

171 *Yati* *me* *taborimetemone* *ya* *e* *winineke*
 yati me tabori -mete -mone ya ee wina -ne -ke
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F REP+F ADJU 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F
 npropm pron pn prt pron vi

yati *me* *hahama* *toemetemone* *mati*
 yati me ha- hama to- ha -hemete -mone mati
 Apurinã 3PL.S DUP be mean CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S
 npropm pron vi aux pron

'The place where we live used to be the land of the Apurinãs, the fierce Apurinãs.'

172 *Faya* *Yobi* *tokome* *yamata*
 faya Yobi to- ka -ma+M yamata
 so (man's name) away go/come back crops
 conj npropm vi nf

tonakame *yati* *hiwasimematamona*
 to- na- ka -ma+M yati hi- to- wasi -ma -himata -mona
 away CAUS go/come back Apurinã OC away find back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt npropm vt

'Yobi went to get crops, and an Apurinã met up with him.'

173 *Fe* *tao* *kanebona* *fe* *ka*
 fee tao ka- na -hibona fee kaa
 3SG.O shoot COMIT AUX INT+M 3SG.O misfire
 pron vt aux pron vt

THE BANAWÁS

kasarima **ne** , **fito**
ka- na -kosa -rima na+M fito
COMIT AUX middle intermittent AUX rush
aux aux vi

hikanamawematamonane
hi- to- ka- na -ma -waha -himata -mona -ne
OC away COMIT AUX back change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
aux

'He wanted to shoot him but his gun kept misfiring. He charged him.'

174 **Isiri** **weye** **nemata** **awaka**
isiri weye na -himata awa -ka
basket carry AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
nf vt aux sec

'He was carrying a basket on his back.'

175 **Faya** **yati** , **noko** **bako** **ba**
faya yati noko bako baa
so Apurinā face+M inner surface+M hit
conj npropm pn pn vt

hirematamonaka **yimawa** **baki** **ya**
hi- na -rI -himata -mona -ka yimawa baki ya
OC AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M knife inside surface+F ADJU
aux nf pn prt

, **kasohibanoho**
ka- sona -hiba -no -ho
COMIT fall FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
vi

'He hit the Apurinā on the side of his face with the broad side of his machete, and he fell down.'

176 **Faya** **hinaka** **taokana** **hose** **hiwitia**
faya hinaka taokana hose hi- to- na -witI+F
so 3SG.POSS shotgun pull out OC away AUX out
conj pron nf vt aux

hekanakosehimatamonane **tokowitakosahari**
hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ne to- ka- ita -kosa -haari
OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M CH COMIT sit middle IP.E+M
vt vi

'He yanked his gun away from him, and left him behind, sitting on the ground, stunned.'

177 **Hinaka** **taokana**
hinaka taokana
3SG.POSS shotgun
pron nf

hekamawemetemoneke
hi- to- ka- ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke
OC away COMIT go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'He carried his gun away.'

178 **Towisawa** **tatama** **hiemetemone** **na**
Towisawa ta- tama hi- to- ha -hemete -mone ati na
(man's name) DUP hold onto OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F say AUX
npropm vt aux vt

THE BANAWÁS

hiamaro , **faya** **me** **bana** **me** **banara** **mati**
 hi- to- ha -hamaro , faya me bana+F me bana -ra+F mati
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F so 3PL.S move away 3PL.S move away NEG 3PL.S
 aux conj pron vi pron vi pron

'Towisawa used it for a long time, he used to say. They didn't move away.'

179 **Me** **me** **nonoki** **hiemetemoneke** , **me**
 me me no- noki hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , me
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP wait for OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron

noki **hina** **me** **kamarimakoni** , **me**
 noki hi- na+F me ka -ma -ra -makoni , me
 wait for OC AUX 3PL.S go/come back NEG for this reason+F 3PL.S
 vt aux pron vi pron

kamakirimakoni
 ka -makI -ra -makoni
 go/come following NEG for this reason+F
 vi

'They waited for them, but they didn't come.'

180 **Me** **towinawamatasemetemone**
 me to- wina -waha -ma -tasa -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away live change back again FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

'They went and lived in the other direction again.'

181 **Me** **wina** , **me** **wina** **me** **ni** **ya** , **me** **wina** **me** **ni**
 me wina+F , me wina+F me ni ya , me wina+F me ni
 3PL.S live 3PL.S live 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S live 3PL to
 pron vi pron vi pron prt prt pron vi pron prt

ya **yati** **me** **kamakitasimetemone** **amake**
 ya yati me ka -makI -tasa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 ADJU Apurinã 3PL.S go/come following again FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 prt npropm pron vi vc

fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'As they were living there, the Apurinãs came to them again.'

182 **Me** **kamakia** **me** , **Sikarino**
 me ka -makI+F me , Sikari -no -ho
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S (man's name) IP.N+M DUP
 pron vi pron npropm

Sikaritenoho **awaterari**
 Sikari -tee -no -ho awa -tee -ra -haari
 (man's name) HAB IP.N+M DUP see HAB NEG IP.E+M
 npropm result

'They came. It was Sikari, who they had never seen.'

183 **Sikari** **kamaki** , **biti** **bite** ,
 Sikari ka -makI+M , biti.LIST bite.LIST ,
 (man's name) go/come following 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.daughter
 npropm vi nm nf

THE BANAWÁS

sawimakematamona

sawi -maki -himata -mona
 be present following FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'Sikari came, with his son and daughter, and he stayed here.'

184 *Sasawiwa* *toematamona* *me ni ya*
 sa- sawi -waha to- ha -himata -mona me ni ya
 DUP be present change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3PL to ADJU
 vi aux pron prt prt

'He stayed with them.'

185 *Sikari* *sasawiwa* *toematamona*
 Sikari sa- sawi -waha to- ha.NOM+M -mata -mona
 (man's name) DUP be present change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 npropm vi aux

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'Sikari stayed.'

186 *Tabora* *bote* *itineni* *boto* *bote karo*
 tabora bote ita -ne -ni boto bote karo
 village old be located CONT+F BKG+F sandy clearing old LOC
 nf adj vi nf adj prt
me taotao hitehinoho sobo ihi kihahari
 me tao- tao hi- na -tee -hino -ho sobo ihi kiha -haari
 3PL.S DUP shoot OC AUX HAB IP.N+M DUP lead result of+F have IP.E+M
 pron vt aux nf pn vt

'The old village is there, where there is an old sandy clearing. They had shot him, and he had wounds from the shot.'

187 *Faya tokome* *me tao*
 faya to- ka -ma+M me tao
 so away go/come back 3PL.S shoot
 conj vi pron vt

hikatasematamonaka *fahi sasawi*
 hi- ka- na -tasa -himata -mona -ka fahi sa- sawi
 OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then DUP be present
 aux dem vi

toari

to- ha -haari
 CH AUX IP.E+M
 aux

'When he went back, they shot him again, when he was staying over here.'

188 *Yawita* *kakaba* *toamatamatamonane*
 yawita ka- kaba to- ha -mata -himata -mona -ne
 peach palm DUP eat CH AUX short time FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux

'He ate peach palm nuts.'

189 *Yawita* *yene weye ne ra me kabine nimete*
 yawita yehene weye na+M ra me kaba -ne na.NOM+F -mete
 peach palm fat+M carry AUX O 3PL.S eat CONT+F AUX FP.N+F
 nm pn vt aux prt pron vt aux

THE BANAWÁS

me tao hikanari
 me tao hi- ka- na -haari
 3PL.S shoot OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M
 pron vt aux

'He was fat because of the fat of the peach palm nuts, and they shot him to eat him.'

190 **Hikabemata awaka me tao hinari**
 hi- kaba -himata awa -ka me tao hi- na -haari
 OC eat FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL.S shoot OC AUX IP.E+M
 vt sec pron vt aux

'They shot him in order to eat him.'

191 **Yawita weweye toematamona ino amane**
 yawita we- weye to- ha -himata -mona ino ama -ne
 peach palm DUP carry CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M be BKG+M
 nm vt aux pn vc

Sikari yawita yene kabahari
 Sikari yawita yehene kaba -haari
 (man's name) peach palm fat+M eat IP.E+M
 npropm nm pn vt

'He always carried peach palm nuts. Sikari ate the fat of peach palm nuts.'

192 **Yati ati sosoma toematamona Sikari**
 yati ati so- soma to- ha -himata -mona Sikari
 Apurinã voice DUP be restored CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name)
 npropm pn vi aux npropm

tohaka me one hikakohari
 to- ha -ka me one hi- kaako -haari
 CH be DECL+M 3PL other+F OC be angry with IP.E+M
 vc pron adj vt

'Sikari was an Apurinã who was a friend. The others hated him.'

193 **Me one hikako me aahi**
 me one hi- kaako+M me a- ahi
 3PL other+F OC be angry with 3PL.S DUP mess with
 pron adj vt pron vt

hiwahematamonaha
 hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ha
 OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux

'The others hated him. They attacked him.'

194 **Okomibone**
 o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F
 vi

'I'm leaving.'

195 **Ee tikama faya**
 ee ti- ka -ma faya
 yes 2SG.S go/come back so
 interj vi conj

tokomarebanoho
 to- ka -ma -ra -hiba -no -ho
 away go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'All right, go ahead.' But he didn't go.'

THE BANAWÁS

196 *Tokomarebano* *tokomebona* *ati* *ne*
 to- ka -ma -ra -hiba -no to- ka -ma -hibona ati na+M
 away go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M away go/come back INT+M say AUX
 vi vi vt aux

ma *nawame* *ma* *nawahamehi* , *faya* *bite*
 maa na -waha -ma+M maa na -waha -ma+M , faya bite
 stop AUX change back stop AUX change back so 3SG.POSS.daughter
 vi aux vi aux conj nf

Kirama *hikanika* *bite* *Kirama*
 Kirama hi- ka- nika+F bite Kirama
 (man's name) OC COMIT ask for 3SG.POSS.daughter (man's name)
 npropm vt nf npropm

hitihabone , *bite* , *fati* *hikayawa*
 hi- iti -habone , bite , fati hi- ka- yawa+F
 OC marry INT+F 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.wife OC COMIT be upset
 vt vt nf nf vt

, *Masima* *tiwa* *sa* *okanabana* *o*
 Masima tiwa saa okanabana o-
 (woman's name) 2SG.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
 npropf pron vt aux prt

tikoto *tikayawa* *tiwa*
 tikoto ti- ka- yawa+F tiwa
 2SG.POSS.daughter 2SG.S COMIT be upset 2SG.S
 nf vt pron

'He said he was going to leave but he didn't go. He turned around and came back. Kirama asked for his daughter. Kirama wanted to marry his daughter, but his wife wouldn't let her go. "Masima, I'm going to shoot you with an arrow, because you won't let your daughter go."

197 *Tikoto* *tikayawa* *tiwa* *sa*
 tikoto ti- ka- yawa+F tiwa saa
 2SG.POSS.daughter 2SG.S COMIT be upset 2SG.O shoot with arrow
 nf vt pron vt

okanabana *oke* *te* *ababa* *te* *te*
 o- ka- na -habana o- ke tee ahaba -haba tee tee
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 2PL.S die FUT+F 2PL.S 2PL.O
 aux prt pron vi pron pron

sa *onaba* *te*
 saa o- na -haba tee
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 2PL.O
 vt aux pron

"I will shoot you with an arrow because you won't let your daughter go. You will die. I will shoot you all with arrows."

198 *Tikoto* *otihabone* *te* *kayawine*
 tikoto o- iti -habone tee ka- yawa -ne
 2SG.POSS.daughter 1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S COMIT be upset CONT+F
 nf vt pron vt

"I want to marry your daughter, but you won't let her go."

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

THE BANAWÁS

200 *Faya Te te nanao karama na*
 faya tee tee na- naho na -karahama na
 so 2PL 2PL.S CAUS stay AUX only do AUX
 conj pron pron vi aux aux

"You wait here."

201 *Te sa obe*
 tee saa o- na -be
 2PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 pron vt aux

"I will shoot you with arrows."

202 *Faya Kirama kana ni kamematamona*
 faya Kirama kana na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona
 so (man's name) run AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 conj npropm vi aux vi

towisawa hora hinebanoho
 towisawa hora hi- na -hiba -no -ho
 chief scold OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 nm vt aux

'Then Kirama came running back. The chief scolded him.'

203 *Towisawa Yowao hora hinematamonane Aniya*
 towisawa Yowao hora hi- na -himata -mona -ne Aniya
 chief João scold OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M (man's name)
 nm npropm vt aux npropm

'The chief João scolded him, Aniya.'

204 *Aniya hora hinehimatamonane*
 Aniya hora hi- na -himata -mona -ne
 (man's name) scold OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm vt aux

'Aniya scolded him.'

205 *Aniya hora hine wati towakame*
 Aniya hora hi- na+M wati to- ka- ka -ma+M
 (man's name) scold OC AUX arrow away COMMIT go/come back
 npropm vt aux nm vt

tokomematamona mitarama ni yati mera
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona mita -rama na.NFIN yati mera
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M hear unusual AUX Apurinã 3PL.O
 vi antip aux npropm pron

sa nebonaha
 saa na -hibona -ha
 shoot with arrow AUX INT+M DUP
 vt aux

'Aniya scolded him. He took a bow and arrows and went, not listening. He wanted to shoot the Apurinãs.'

206 *Yati me itikosawamani me ha ya*
 yati me iti -kosa -waha -ma -hani me haa ya
 Apurinã 3PL.S go around middle change back IP.N+F 3PL.S DEM ADJU
 npropm pron vi pron dem prt

me kametemone
 me ka -mete -mone
 3PL.S of FP.N+F REP+F
 pron prt

'The Apurinãs went around another way, and came back.'

THE BANAWÁS

207 *Towisawa* *Yowao* , *Kirama* *otara* *abini* *nebona* *ati*
 towisawa Yowao , Kirama otara abini na -hibona ati
 chief João (man's name) 1EX.O vt AUX INT+M say
 nm npropm npropm pron aux vt

narene *wati* *otara* *sa* *nebonaha*
 na -hare -ne wati otara saa na -hibona -ha
 AUX IP.E+M BKG+M arrow 1EX.O shoot with arrow AUX INT+M DUP
 aux nm pron vt aux

okoto *okayawamone* *ati* *nari* *ati*
 okoto o- ka- yawa -hamone ati na -haari ati
 my daughter 1SG.S COMIT be upset REP+F say AUX IP.E+M say
 nf vt vt aux vt

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

"Chief João, Kirama says he is going to kill us. He says he is going to shoot us with arrows, because he says I won't let my daughter go," she said.'

208 *Kirama* , *hora* *onareka*
 Kirama , hora o- na -hare -ka
 (man's name) scold 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 npropm vt aux

"I scolded Kirama."

209 *Kirama* *kamareba* *awa*
 Kirama ka -ma -ra -hiba awa
 (man's name) go/come back NEG FUT+M seem+M
 npropm vi sec

"I don't think Kirama is going to come back."

210 *Mera* *siba* *nematamonane* *mera* *sa*
 mera siba na -himata -mona -ne mera saa
 3PL.O look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.O shoot with arrow
 pron vt aux pron vt

nebonaha
 na -hibona -ha
 AUX INT+M DUP
 aux

'He looked for them, to shoot them with arrows.'

211 *Wati* *ya* *mera* *sa* *nebona* *mera* *siba* *ne*
 wati ya mera saa na -hibona mera siba na+M
 arrow ADJU 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX INT+M 3PL.O look for AUX
 nm prt pron vt aux pron vt aux

, *me* *hikasawari* *kamawematamona*
 me hi- ka- sawari+M ka -ma -waha -himata -mona
 3PL.S OC COMIT frustrate go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vt vi

'He looked for them to shoot them with arrows, but they outwitted him, so he came back.'

212 *Kamawematamonaka* *fahi*
 ka -ma -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi
 go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He came back.'

THE BANAWÁS

- 218 *Faya tosawarimatamonaka fahi*
 faya to- sawari -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so CH frustrate FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi dem
 'Then he got lost.'
- 219 *Faya me tokasawariemetemoneni*
 faya me to- ka- sawari -hemete -mone -ni
 so 3PL.S CH COMIT frustrate FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 conj pron vi
 'The two of them got lost.'
- 220 *Me tokasawaria me kakama*
 me to- ka- sawari+F me ka- ka- ka -ma
 3PL.S CH COMIT get lost 3PL.S DUP COMIT go/come back
 pron vi pron vi
toemetemonehe
 to- ha -hemete -mone -he
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 aux
 'They got lost, and they didn't come back.'
- 221 *Me amo ni tatama toemetemoneke*
 me amo na.NFIN ta- tama to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S sleep AUX DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux vi aux
yama kabani ya , farina me kikia ra mati
 yama kabani ya , farina me ki- kiha na -ra+F mati
 forest ADJU manioc meal 3PL.S DUP have AUX NEG 3PL.S
 nf prt nf pron vt aux pron
 'They were in the forest for many days, without manioc meal.'
- 222 *Botefo me hiwasiwitimetemone waha*
 Botehefo me hi- wasi -witI.NOM -mete -mone waha
 (man's name) 3PL.O OC find out FP.N+F REP+F now
 npropm pron vt prt
 'Botehefo found them out there.'
- 223 *Hawi beri ya me ka babaka yama towama*
 hawi beheri ya me ka ba- baka yama to- na -waha -ma
 trail side ADJU 3PL POSS DUP break turn away AUX change back
 nf pn prt pron prt nf vi aux
na toemetemoneni
 na to- ha -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux aux
 'Their makeshift trail went along paralleling the trail.'