

Chapter 9

Kĩsêdjê

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1 Introduction

In this narrative, an ancestor of the Kĩsêdjê goes hunting and kills a monkey up in a tree. He climbs up the tree to fetch it and when he comes down, the monster *Khátpy* is already waiting for him. *Khátpy* hits him unconscious and puts him in a basket to carry home and feed to his hungry children. Stopping mid-way to open a trail in the forest, *Khátpy* leaves the basket on the ground unattended. When he finishes cutting part of the trail open, he comes back, fetches the basket and carries it up to the end of the trail. He repeats this process a few times until the Kĩsêdjê ancestor wakes up and realizes what is happening. The ancestor quietly waits for the monster to leave the basket unattended again and counts the time it takes for the monster to come back. *Khátpy* comes back, fetches the basket and carries it up to the end of the trail. He then leaves the basket unattended once more to continue opening the trail. The ancestor then comes out of the basket but, before running away, he fills it with rocks so the monster won't realize he has escaped. Though *Khátpy* feels that the basket has become heavier, he still carries it home without checking its contents. When he arrives home, his wives tell him there are only rocks and a few monkeys in the basket, but none of the big prey *Khátpy* claims he's killed. Enraged, *Khátpy* fetches his club and goes



back into the forest after the Kîsêdjê ancestor. That is when the story ends, with the narrator excusing himself for only knowing what happened up to that point. That is how his father told him this story, how his people tell it. The title of the story, the expression the Kîsêdjê use to refer to it, is basically a summary of how it begins, turned into a headless relative clause:

- (1) *Khátpy re wapãmjê thõ thurun tho thēm nda*

[*Khátpy=re wa-pãm-jê=thõ* *thu-ru=n* *t(h)o*
K.=ERG 1INCL-father-PL=one load.on.back-NMLZ=&.ss (3)with
Ø-thē-m]=*nda*
3-go-NMLZ =DEF

‘The one (story) in which the *Khátpy* monster loads a forefather of ours onto his back and carries him away’

1.1 The circumstances of the narration

This story was narrated by Kuiussi Suyá, the chief of the Kîsêdjê. He is recognized in the community as a great storyteller and knower of their traditions. He told it from his hammock, in his house at the *Ngôjhwêrê* village, on December 5th 2009. It was recorded by Rafael Nonato as part of PRODOCLIN–Kîsêdjê,¹ a documentation project for the Kîsêdjê language sponsored by the Museu do Índio.² This narrative was transcribed and translated by Jamthô Suyá, and was interlinearized by Rafael Nonato with assistance from Jamthô Suyá and Kawiri Suyá. It had also been previously adapted into a short film.³

1.2 The Kîsêdjê people

The Kîsêdjê are roughly 450 people, most of whom live in the Wawi Indigenous Land, in the State of Mato Grosso, Brazil. The largest Kîsêdjê village, named *Ngôjhwêrê*, ‘the origin of the water’, is located near the southern borders of this land at 11°51’53” S; 52°54’02” W.⁴ The Wawi Indigenous Land is situated in the southern fringes of the Amazon forest, encompassing most of the basin of the Suyá river, a western tributary of the Xingu river, itself a southeast tributary of the Amazon.

¹<http://prodoclin.museudoindio.gov.br/index.php/etnias/kisedje>

²The “Museum of Indigenous Peoples”, located in Rio de Janeiro is an organ of FUNAI, the Brazilian Bureau of Indigenous Affairs.

³At the time of writing, the short could be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wmtwNxYCUvo>.



Figure 1: The Wawi Indigenous Land.

The Wawi Indigenous Land is contiguous to and located to the east of the Xingu Indigenous Park, where the *Kīsêdjê* used to live until the recent official recognition of their own land. They arrived in the region of the Xingu basin in the latter part of the 19th century and have since forged an intricate history of alliances, wars, and exchanges of technology with the peoples that inhabited the region prior to their arrival.

The *Kīsêdjê* used to be known by the exonym “Suyá”, after the river whose basin they inhabit. This name was given to the river by another people, possibly the Trumai, and the *Kīsêdjê* dislike the term, and ask the researchers that work with them to avoid using it. Their autodenomination, “*Kīsêdjê*” (2), makes reference to the traditional technique they employ to create village sites, namely, burning a patch of forest into a circular clearing, on the rims of which they then proceed to build their houses.

(2) *Kīsêdjê*

kī sêt-∅ jê
village burn-NMLZ PL

‘The ones who burn villages’

⁴<https://goo.gl/maps/i7kyoGZAb6L2>

1.3 The Kîsêdjê language

The Kîsêdjê speak a Northern Jê language (Jê family, Macro-Jê stock). Similar to other Northern Jê languages, Kîsêdjê is strictly head-final, with the exception of a single head, to be mentioned below.

The main verb is always clause-final. In the neutral order, verbs are immediately preceded by their direct argument, whether it be a noun phrase or a verb phrase. Any postpositional phrase that is also argumental must come immediately before the direct argument, and these are preceded by any adjunct postpositional phrases and/or adverbs.⁵ The subject comes before all the constituents mentioned above.⁶

The only exception to the pervasive head-final character of the language are the TAM particles. They are obligatory in main clauses and ungrammatical in embedded clauses. Main clauses must bear a single TAM particle, either in initial⁷ or in second position. When they appear in second position, the TAM particles must be preceded by a dislocated constituent marked for topic or focus interpretation.⁸

(3) *Word-order in the clausal domain*

(Foc/Top) [Mood/Tense [S (Adjuncts) (PP Args) [(DO) V]]]

Note that when they are in initial position, the *factual future* and the *factual non-future* TAM particles can be deleted. The contexts for their deletion are in almost perfect complementary distribution, though, and for that reason their meaning can usually be recovered. The factual future particle can be deleted when it precedes a nominative participant pronoun, whereas the factual non-future particle cannot be deleted precisely when it precedes a nominative participant pronoun. Both can be deleted when the subject is phrasal, though. In narrative style, deletion of the factual non-future particle is very pervasive, as we can notice in the narrative to be presented below.

Consistent with Kîsêdjê's head-finality, postpositions follow their arguments, possessed nouns follow their possessors and nominal determiners follow the nouns they modify.⁹ There are no nominal categories that express amount (nu-

⁵(11) exemplifies the order *adjunct PP + direct object + verb*. (26) exemplifies the order *adjunct PP + argument PP + verb*. The text doesn't contain any sentences that exemplify the order *adjunct PP + argument PP + direct object + verb*.

⁶(37) exemplifies the order *subject + adjunct PP + direct argument*.

⁷(81) and (94) exemplify TAM particles in initial position.

⁸(93) and (110) exemplify TAM particles in second position.

⁹(9) exemplifies the order *noun + determiner*.

merals) or quality (adjectives). The amount and quality of a noun are expressed verbally,¹⁰ often through relative clauses, which in *Kisêdjê* are internally headed.¹¹

(4) *Word-order in the sub-clausal domain*

[[(Possessor) Noun] (Det)] (P)

Kisêdjê is a strictly dependent-marking language, with a single phenomenon reminiscent of agreement: when a direct argument is dislocated (either to the first position, for topic/focus purposes, or to a position preceding the adjuncts it normally follows, for less clear discourse reasons), a resumptive pronoun obligatory marks its base position.¹² A nominative-accusative frame is found in main clauses and an ergative-absolutive frame in embedded clauses.¹³ Most verbs show two distinct forms: a morphologically simpler one used in main clauses and a derived (nominalized) one used in embedded clauses.¹⁴ Case on noun phrases is marked by phrasal enclitics, with distinct ergative and nominative forms. Noun phrases in the absolutive and accusative cases are unmarked. As for the pronouns, their ergative forms are free accented words, their nominative forms are phonological clitics and their accusative and absolutive forms are prefixes. Only 3rd person pronouns have distinct accusative and absolutive forms, and only in certain restricted environments. Santos (1997) and Nonato (2014) give more detailed descriptions of the language.

¹⁰(64) exemplifies the order *noun + determiner + amount-denoting verb*.

¹¹(40) and (90) exemplify internally headed relative clauses. The head of the former is *hry* ‘trail’ and the head of the latter is *khukwâj* ‘monkey’.

¹²(64) and (110) exemplify this phenomenon.

¹³(16) exemplifies an intransitive main verb with nominative subject and (38) exemplifies a transitive main verb with nominative subject and accusative object. (29) exemplifies a transitive embedded verb with ergative subject and (99) exemplifies intransitive embedded verbs with absolutive subjects, as well as the use of ergative pronouns to double the subject of intransitive embedded verbs.

¹⁴(99) exemplifies many different nominalizing suffixes.

2 Khátpy re wapãmjê thõ thurun tho thêm nda

‘When the *Khátpy* monster loaded our forefather onto his back and carried him away’

‘Quando o monstro *Khátpy* botou nosso ancestral nas costas e levou embora’¹⁵

(5) *Ne nhy ne.*

ne=nhy ne
be.so¹⁶=&.DS¹⁷ be.so

‘Then it was like this.’

‘Aí foi assim.’

(6) *Ajipãmjê thõ ra, ajipãmjê ra,*

aj-i-pãm-jê=thõ=ra aj-i-pãm-jê=ra
PL¹⁸-1-father-PL=one=NOM PL-1-father-PL=NOM

‘A forefather of ours, our forefathers,’

‘Um dos nossos antepassados, nossos antepassados,’

(7) *khajkhwa khrat mã, khajkhwa khrat mã...*

khajkhwa khrat=mã khajkhwa khrat=mã
sky beginning=to sky beginning=to

‘towards the east, towards the east ...’

‘na direção do leste, na direção do leste ...’

¹⁵Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997437>

¹⁶The verb *ne* can be translated as ‘to do so’ or as ‘to be so’. Each occurrence will be glossed in the most appropriate way.

¹⁷The form of the Kisêdjê coordinating conjunction marks a number of distinctions. The most salient is the distinction, labeled “switch-reference marking” by Jacobsen (1967), between the coordination of clauses with the same subject (ss) and that of clauses with different subjects (ds). Moreover, in certain syntactic contexts, the ds conjunction has distinct forms indicating agreement with the subject of the next clause. If that subject is of the third person, the ds conjunction also marks tense.

¹⁸Though Kisêdjê makes a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural, there is no specialized first person exclusive morphology. There is specialized morphology used to mark first person plural *inclusive* (as in (19)), while the simple pluralization of first person results in the exclusive interpretation. The latter is the form employed in this sentence, since the narrator is telling this story to a non-Kisêdjê person.

- (8)
- tê, khajkhwajndo mã khátpy ra khatxi kumên nhy ajipãmjê ra sarên ndo pa.*

tê khajkhwa=jndo=mã kátpy=ra khatxi kumên=nhy
 oops sky=end=to monster=NOM be.numerous be.intense=&.DS
aj-i-pãm-jê=ra s-arê-n=ndo pa
 PL-1-father-PL=NOM 3-talk.about-NMLZ=with stay.PL

‘I mean, towards the west there were many *khátpy* monsters and our forefathers always told us so.’

‘Quero dizer, na direção do oeste tinha muitos monstros *khátpy* e nossos antepassados sempre contavam isso.’

- (9)
- Nenhy ajipãmjê thō ra pá khôt thē.*

ne=nhy aj-i-pãm-jê=thō=ra pá khôt thē
 be.SO=&.DS PL-1-father-PL=one=NOM forest along go.SG

‘And so one of our forefathers went hunting in the forest.’

‘E então um dos nossos antepassados foi caçar na floresta.’

- (10)
- Pá khôt thē... pá khôt thēn jowi,*

pá=khôt thē...¹⁹ pá=khôt thē=n jowi
 forest=along go.SG-INTS forest=along go.SG=&.SS as.they.say

‘He was in the forest for a while, he was in the forest and then, as they say,’

‘Ele ficou na floresta bastante tempo, ele estava na floresta e dizem que.’

- (11)
- khyj wê khukwâj sak nhy jêt.*

khyj=wê khukwâj sak=nhy jêt
 above=from monkey pierce=&.DS hang.SG

‘he shot a monkey with an arrow and the monkey got stuck up there.’

‘ele flexou um macaco e o macaco ficou preso lá em cima.’

- (12)
- Khukwâj sak nhy jêt nhy*

khukwâj sak=nhy jêt=nhy
 monkey pierce=&.DS hang.SG=&.DS

‘He shot the monkey with an arrow, it got stuck and’

‘Ele flexou o macaco, ele ficou preso e’

¹⁹Suspension points are used thorough the text to indicate phonological lengthening. In English or Portuguese, lengthening doesn’t always serve the same function as it does in Kisêdjê. In particular, in Kisêdjê, verb lengthening can indicate an intensification or prolongation of the action depicted by the verb. Whenever that is the case, I add an appropriate adverbial to the free translation.

- (13) *swârâ apin, swârâ apin kukwâj me nhy thên “ty”... ne nhy*
 Ø-swârâ *api=n* Ø-swârâ *api=n* *kukwâj*
 3-towards climb.up=&.ss 3-towards climb.up=&.ss monkey
me=nhy *thên* *ty* *ne=nhy*
 throw.SG²⁰=&.DS go.SG=&.ss ONTP:falling be.so=&.DS
 ‘he climbed up after the monkey, pushed it, and then the monkey went
 and “ty”... and then’
 ‘ele subiu atrás do macaco, empurrou e aí o macaco foi e “ty”... e aí’
- (14) *arâ kátpy ra jáwi arâ sahwan tho ta.*
arâ kátpy=ra *jáwi* *arâ* *s-ahwa=n* *t<h>o ta*
 already monster=NOM as.they.say already 3-wait=&.ss <3>²¹at stand.sg
 ‘as they say, the *khátpy* monster was already waiting for him, was
 standing underneath him.’
 ‘como dizem, o monstro *khátpy* já estava esperando por ele, estava
 esperando embaixo dele.’
- (15) *Sahwan tho ta nhy*
s-ahwa=n *t<h>o ta=nhy*
 3-wait=&.ss <3>at stand.sg=&.DS
 ‘He was waiting for him, was underneath him and then’
 ‘Ele estava esperando ele, estava debaixo dele e aí’
- (16) *khukwâj me ne nen, akwyn rwâk mã thē, tên... khátpy ra arâ hwaj wê ta.*
khukwâj me=ne *ne=n* *akwyn rwâ-k=mã* *thē*
 monkey throw.SG=&.ss do.so=&.ss back climb.down-NMLZ=to go.SG
tên *khátpy=ra* *arâ* Ø-*hwaj=wê ta*
 unexpectedly monster=NOM already 3-feet=from stand.sg
 ‘he (the forefather) had thrown the monkey and so was climbing back
 down, but to his surprise the *khátpy* monster was already standing under
 him.’

²⁰Verbal number in Kisêdjê is indicated by suppletive forms. Not all verbs distinguish between a singular and a plural form, but many of the high-frequency verbs do. The plural form indicates either that the absolutive argument (intransitive subject or transitive object) is numerous (usually 3 or more) or that the event depicted by the verb is somehow extended.

²¹Many heads that begin with an unaspirated ‘t’ or ‘k’ mark agreement with third person through aspiration of their initial consonant.

‘ele (o antepassado) tinha jogado o macaco e estava descendo de volta, mas para a sua surpresa o monstro *khátpy* já estava esperando embaixo dele.’

- (17) *“Tuu... wâtân tâ khupē kasák, khupē kasák ta ikhôt thē?”*
tuu wâtâ=n tâ khupē kasák khupē kasák=ta i-ikhôt
 damn what=NFUT though foreigner be.evil foreigner be.evil=NOM 1-along
thē
 go.SG
 “Damn! Why did the evil foreigner follow me, though?”
 “Droga! Mas então por que o estrangeiro malvado me seguiu?”
- (18) *Pá txi, pá txi, wet khôt athēm wa itôra nhimbry jawê ithēm na thã!*
pá txi pá txi [22 wet khôt a-thē-m=wa
 forest be.big forest be.big other along 2-go.SG-NMLZ=&.DS.1
i-tôra nhimbry j-awê i-thē-m]=na thã
 1-differently game E-after 1-go.SG-NMLZ =NFUT INTJ:surprise
 “The forest is big, the forest is big, you should have gone to a part of it
 and I should have gone to a different part after my game!”
 “A floresta é grande, a floresta é grande, você devia ter ido para uma
 parte dela e eu devia ter ido para uma outra parte atrás da minha caça!”
- (19) *Wapãmjê thō ra swârâ rwâk mã thē.*
wa-pãm-jê=thō=ra Ø-swârâ rwâ-k=mã thē
 1INCL²³-father-PL=one=NOM 3-towards climb.down-NMLZ=to go.SG
 ‘Our forefather came climbing down.’
 ‘Nosso antepassado veio descendo.’
- (20) *Swârâ rwâk mã thēn... thât rwâk mã thē nhy khuthã khura.*
Ø-swârâ rwâ-k=mã thē=n thât rwâ-k=mã
 3-towards climb.down-NMLZ=to go.SG=&.SS though climb.down-NMLZ=to

²²When I consider it relevant for understanding the structure of the sentence, I indicate the boundaries of an embedded clause with square brackets.

²³The narrator seems to have slipped into first inclusive forms, in spite of the fact that he’s narrating this story to a non-Kísêdjê person. Since he usually tells this narrative to other Kísêdjê people, these are probably the forms he’s used to employing, and doing otherwise may require conscious effort.

thē=nhy k<h>uthā k<h>ura

go.SG=&.DS <3>before <3>hit

‘Came climbing down towards him... He was going to finish coming down, but he (the *khátpy* monster) hit him before he did so.’

‘Veio descendo para perto dele... Ele ia terminar de descer, mas ele (o monstro *khátpy*) bateu nele antes dele acabar.’

- (21) *Khuthā khura nhy thēn “ty” nen thām ne no.*

k<h>uthā k<h>ura=nhy thē=n ty ne=n

<3>before <3>hit=&.DS go.SG=&.SS ONTP:falling do.SO=&.SS

thām=ne no

fall.down.SG=&.SS lie.down.SG

‘He (the *khátpy* monster) hit him before he did so, he (the forefather) went and “ty”, and so he fell and lay there.’

‘Ele (o monstro *khátpy*) bateu nele antes dele acabar (de descer), ele (o antepassado) foi e “ty”, e assim foi que ele caiu e ficou deitado.’

- (22) *Thēn thām nhy:*

thē=n thām=nhy

go.SG=&.SS fall.down.SG=&.DS

‘He went and fell, and he (the *khátpy* monster):’

‘Ele foi e caiu, e ele (o monstro *khátpy*):’

- (23) *“Haha... hahaa hwararo ikhrajê re samdep khām sām ndo sambak nhy ire ngrytxi pīrī wyrák thā.”*

haha hahaa [hwararo i-khra-jê=re

INTJ:satisfaction INTJ:satisfaction yesterday 1-child-PL=ERG

s-amdep-∅ khām s-ã-m=ndo

3-be.hungry-NMLZ in 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ=with

s-amba-k=nhy ire ngry-txi pī-rī] wyrák thā

3-mind-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG beast-big kill.SG²⁴-NMLZ happen.indeed

‘‘That’s good, that’s good. Yesterday my children were hungry all day long and today I have killed a big beast indeed.’’

‘‘Isso é bom, isso é bom. Ontem minhas crianças ficaram com fome o dia inteiro e hoje eu matei um animal grande mesmo.’’

²⁴The verb *pī* actually means ‘to wound unconscious’. For simplicity, I gloss it as ‘kill’.

- (24)
- Nen khatyp khôsátxi nhîhwêt ne thore khâm sarôn ne khutá.*

ne=n *Ø-khatyp khôsátxi nh-ihwêt=ne thore Ø-khâm s-arôn=ne*
 do.so=&.ss 3-for basket E-make=&.ss then 3-in 3-fold=&.ss
khu-tá
 3-put.inside.sg

‘He did (said) so, made a basket for him (the ancestor), and then he (the monster) folded him and put him inside.’

‘Ele fez (disse) assim, fez um cesto para ele (o ancestral), e então ele (o monstro) dobrou e colocou ele dentro.’

- (25)
- Thore sîpy khukwâj ngrên hwan nen arêkmã khuthun tho mo.*

thore s-îpy khukwâj ngrê-n hwa=n ne=n
 then 3-on.top monkey put.inside.PL-NMLZ finish=&.ss be.so=&.ss
arêkmã khu-thu=n t<h>o mo
 soon 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL

‘Then he finished putting the monkeys inside on top of him, and this way he loaded it onto his back and carried it far away.’

‘Então ele acabou de botar os macacos em cima dele, e dessa forma ele botou nas costas e foi carregando lá para longe.’

- (26)
- Khwã hry ro thên... sîthep ne, khwã hry ro thên sîthep ne,*

kh-wã hry ro thê=n-... s-îthep=ne kh-wã hry ro thê=n
 3-to trail with go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3-stop=&.ss 3-to trail with go.SG=&.ss
s-îthep=ne
 3-stop=&.ss

‘He would be opening the trail for a while and then stop, would be opening the trail and then stop,’

‘Ele ia abrindo a trilha por um tempo e então parava, ia abrindo a trilha e então parava,’

- (27)
- khwã hwî khrahrak to thên khwã hry ro thên hwî khrahrak to thên sîthep ne,*

kh-wã hwî khrahrak to thê=n kh-wã hry ro thê=n
 3-to branch break with go.SG=&.ss 3-to trail with go.SG=&.ss
hwî khrahrak to thê=n s-îthep=ne
 branch break with go.SG=&.ss 3-stop=&.ss

‘he was breaking branches, opening a trail, breaking branches and then he stopped,’

‘ele estava quebrando galhos, abrindo uma trilha, quebrando galhos então ele parou,’

- (28) *akwyn thēn khuthun, khuthun tho mo.*

akwyn thē=n khu-thu=n khu-thu=n t<h>o
back go.SG=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with
mo
go.PL

‘came back and loaded it onto his back, loaded it onto his back and carried it far away.’

‘voltou e botou nas costas, botou nas costas e carregou para longe.’

- (29) *Tho mon... kôre hwī khrahrak ne hry nthitēp khām khutan,*

t<h>o mo=n-... [kôre hwī khrahrak-∅=ne hry nh-itēp]
<3>with go.PL=&.ss-INTS 3.ERG branch break-NMLZ=&.ss trail E-stop
khām khu-ta=n
in 3-put.standing.SG=&.ss

‘He carried it for a long time and placed it where he had stopped breaking branches, at the end of the trail, and’

‘Ele carregou muito tempo e colocou no lugar onde ele parou de quebrar galho, no fim da trilha, e’

- (30) *amu nen khwā hwī khrahrak to thēn,*

amu ne=n kh-wā hwī khrahrak-∅ to thē=n
farther do.so=&.ss 3-to branch break-NMLZ with go.SG=&.ss

‘continued breaking branches,’

‘continuou quebrando galhos,’

- (31) *hwī khrahrak to thēn sīthēp ne*

hwī khrahrak to thē=n s-īthēp=ne
branch break with go.SG=&.ss 3-stop=&.ss

‘he went breaking branches and then he stopped and’

‘ele foi quebrando galhos e então parou e’

- (32) *akwyn nen thēn khuthu nen amu tho thē.*

akwyn ne=n thē=n khu-thu ne=n amu t<h>o
back do.so=&.ss go.SG=&.ss 3-load.on.back be.so=&.ss farther <3>with

thě

go.SG

‘went back, loaded it onto his back and so carried it farther.’

‘voltou, botou nas costas e assim carregou mais além.’

- (33) *Tho thên... kôre hwī khrahrak to thēm nhitsep khām khuta.*

t<h>o thě=n... [*kôre hwī khrahrak-∅ to thě-m*
 <3>with go.SG=&.SS-INTS 3.ERG branch break-NMLZ with go.SG-NMLZ
nh-itsep] khām khu-ta

E-stop in 3-put.standing.SG

‘He carried it for a while and then placed it where he had stopped breaking branches.’

‘Carregou por um tempo e aí colocou onde ele tinha parado de quebrar galhos.’

- (34) *Amu nen tho thě.*

amu ne=n t<h>o thě
 farther do.so=&.ss <3>with go.SG

‘Doing so he continued carrying it farther.’

‘Fazendo assim ele continuou carregando.’

- (35) *Amu nen khuthun tho mon... kôre hry ro thēm ne hwī khrahrak nhitsep khām khuta.*

amu ne=n khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=n... [*kôre*
 farther do.so=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL=&.SS-INTS 3.ERG
hry ro thě-m=ne hwī khrahrak-∅ nh-itsep-∅] khām
 trail with go.SG-NMLZ=&.ss branch break-NMLZ E-stop-NMLZ in
khu-ta

3-put.standing.SG

‘He did so farther, loaded it onto his back, carried it a long time and placed it where he had stopped opening the trail and breaking branches.’

‘Ele continuou assim e botou nas costas, carregou muito tempo e colocou onde ele tinha parado de fazer trilha e quebrar galhos.’

- (36) *Khuta nhy hōnen ndo khá tha.*

khu-ta=nhy hōne=n ndo khá tha
 3-put.standing.SG=&.DS be.ready=&.ss eye skin rupture

‘He placed it on the ground and then he (the forefather) was ready and woke up.’

‘Ele colocou no chão e então ele (o antepassado) estava pronto e acordado.’

- (37) *Amtysamdep ta khambrô khôt khunta nhy nen ndo khátha.*

amty s-amdep-Ø=ta *Ø-khambrô khôt khu-nta=nhy ne=n*
wasp 3-be.hungry-NMLZ=NOM 3-blood after 3-bite=&.DS be.so=&.ss
ndo khá tha
eye skin rupture

‘A wasp of the *amtysamdep* species bit him to suck his his blood and he woke up.’

‘Uma vespa da espécie *amtysamdep* mordeu ele para sugar o sangue e assim ele acordou.’

- (38) *Tên... khátpy ra khuthun tho mo nhy ndo khá than jáwi arak anhi khãm mbaj to no.*

tên *khátpy=ra* *khu-thu=n* *t<h>o* *mo=nhy*
unexpectedly monster=NOM 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL=&.DS
ndo khá tha=n *jáwi* *arak* *anhi khãm Ø-mba-j* *to*
eye skin rupture=&.ss as.they.say already self in 3-hear-NMLZ with
no
lie.down.sg

‘Unexpectedly, the *khátpy* monster had loaded it (the basket) on his back and was carrying it, and he (the ancestor) woke up and was already lying down listening.’

‘De repente, o monstro *khátpy* tinha botado (o cesto) nas costas e estava carregando, e ele (o ancestral) acordou e já estava deitado escutando.’

- (39) “*Tu ââ... khupē kasák, khupē kasák na ithát ne itho mo,*”

tu ââ khupē *kasák khupē* *kasák=na* *i-thát=ne* *i-tho*
gosh foreigner be.evil foreigner be.evil=NFUT 1-wound=&.ss 1-with
mo
go.sg

“‘Gosh... the evil monster, it was the evil monster that wounded me and was carrying me,’”

“‘Nossa... o monstro malvado, foi o monstro malvado que me feriu e estava me carregando,’”

- (40) *nenhy kôt hwī khrahrak khôt hry ro thēm nda ro thēm hry jatuj khãm khutha.*

ne=nhy [*kôt hwĩ khrakhrak-Ø khôt hry ro thẽ-m*
 be.so=&.DS 3.ERG branch break-NMLZ along trail with go.SG-NMLZ
] =nda ro thẽ=n hry j-atu-j khãm khu-ta
 =DEF²⁵ at go.SG=&.SS trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.sg
 ‘he thought so and then he (the *khátpy* monster) finished walking the
 trail that he had built along the broken branches and placed it (the
 basket) at the end of the trail.’
 ‘ele pensou assim e então ele (o monstro *khátpy*) percorreu a trilha que
 ele tinha construindo ao longo dos galhos quebrados e colocou (o cesto)
 no fim da trilha.’

- (41) *Nenhy amu nen khwã hwĩ khrakhrak to thẽ.*

ne=nhy amu ne=n kh-wã hwĩ khrakhrak-Ø to thẽ
 be.so=&.DS farther do.so=&.SS 3-to branch break-NMLZ with go.SG
 ‘And then he (the *khátpy* monster) continued breaking branches.’
 ‘E então ele (o monstro *khátpy*) continuou quebrando galhos.’

- (42) *Hwĩ khrakhrak to thẽ nhy athũm... nhy nen akwyn nen thẽ.*

hwĩ khrakhrak-Ø to thẽ=nhy athũm-...=nhy ne=n
 branch break-NMLZ with go.SG=&.DS take.time-INTS=&.DS be.so=&.SS
akwyn ne=n thẽ
 back be.so=&.SS go.SG
 ‘He was breaking branches, it took some time and then he went back.’
 ‘Ele estava quebrando galhos, demorou um certo tempo e então ele
 voltou.’

- (43) *Akwyn nen thẽn khatho.*

akwyn ne=n thẽn=n k<h>atho
 back be.so=&.SS go.SG=&.SS <3>come.out.sg
 ‘He came back and came out (of the forest).’
 ‘Ele voltou e saiu (da floresta).’

- (44) *Khathon akhum khuthun nen tho mo.*

k<h>atho=n akhum khu-thu=n ne=n t<h>o
 <3>come.out.sg=&.SS again 3-load.on.back=&.SS be.so=&.SS <3>with

²⁵Relative clauses are internally headed. The head of this one is *hry*.

mo

go.PL

‘He came out, loaded it again on his back and so continued taking it away.’

‘Ele saiu, botou nas costas de novo e assim continuou carregando para longe.’

- (45) *Tho mon kôt hry nhitsep khâm khuthan amu thẽ nhy thore tho sujakhre ro no.*

t<h>o mo=n [kôt hry nh-itsep-∅] khâm

<3>with go.PL=&.SS 3.ERG trail E-stop-NMLZ in

khu-ta=n amu thẽ=nhy thore t<h>o s-ujakhre-∅

3-put.standing.SG=&.SS farther go.SG=&.DS then <3>with 3-count-NMLZ

ro no

with lie.down.SG

‘He took it, left it at the place where he stopped the trail and went farther and then he (the forefather) stayed lying down counting the time.’

‘Carregou, deixou no lugar onde ele tinha parado a trilha e continuou adiante e então ele (o antepassado) ficou deitado contando o tempo.’

- (46) *Tho sujakhre ro no nhy athũm nhy nen akwyn khatho.*

t<h>o s-ujakhre-∅ ro no=nhy athũm=nhy ne=n

<3>with 3-count-NMLZ with lie.down.SG=&.DS take.time=&.DS be.so=&.SS

akwyn k<h>atho

back <3>come.out.SG

‘He stayed lying counting the time, it took some time and then he (the *khátpy* monster) came back out.’

‘Ele ficou deitado contando o tempo, demorou um tempo e então ele (o monstro *khátpy*) saiu de volta.’

- (47) *Akwyn swârâ khathon akhum khuthun.*

akwyn ∅-swârâ k<h>atho=n akhum khu-thu=n

back 3-towards <3>come.out.SG=&.SS again 3-load.on.back=&.SS²⁶

‘He came back out towards him and loaded it again on his back.’

‘Ele saiu de volta pra perto dele e botou de novo nas costas.’

²⁶Here, though the coordinating conjunction marks subject maintenance, there actually is a subject switch.

- (48) “Hyhy! Athaj nhyry ri wa thê.”

hyhy Ø athaj nhy-ry ri=wa thê
 aha FUT there do.SO.NMLZ-NMLZ during=&.DS.1 go.SG

“Aha! While he is doing that over there I will go away.”

“Aha! Enquanto ele estiver fazendo isso lá eu vou embora.”

- (49)
- Arêkmã, arêkmã wi anhi khãm, anhi mã sumbaj to no jowi.*

arêkmã arêkmã wi anhi khãm anhi=mã s-umba-j to
 soon soon indeed self in self=to 3-think-NMLZ with
 no jowi
 lie.down.SG as.they.say

‘Soon, as they say, he (the forefather) stayed lying down thinking to himself.’

‘Logo, segundo dizem, ele (o antepassado) ficou deitado pensando sozinho.’

- (50)
- Tho thên... akhum khuthun tho mon khuta.*

t<h>o thê=n akhum khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=n
 <3>with go.SG=&.SS again 3-load.on.back=&.SS <3>with go.PL=&.SS
 khu-ta
 3-put.standing.SG

‘He (the *khâtpy* monster) kept taking it... loaded him on his back again, took it and put it down.’

‘Ele (o monstro *khâtpy*) foi levando... botou nas costas de novo, levou e depois colocou no chão.’

- (51)
- Kôt hry jatuj khãm khutha.*

[kôt hry j-atu-j] khãm khu-ta
 3.ERG trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG

‘He put it down where he had stopped making the trail.’

‘Colocou no chão onde ele tinha parado de fazer a trilha.’

- (52)
- Akhum thê, akhum thê nhy akhum tho sujakhre mbet to no nhy...*

akhum thê akhum thê=nhy akhum t<h>o s-ujakhre-Ø mbet
 again go.SG again go.SG=&.DS again <3>with 3-count-NMLZ be.good
 to no=nhy
 with lie.down.SG=&.DS

‘He went away again and then he (the forefather) lay down counting time with attention and...’

‘Ele foi pra longe de novo e então ele (o antepassado) ficou deitado contando o tempo com atenção e...’

- (53) *thēm nda tho athūm nhy*, “Hy! Kê nhyry ri wa ikatho ra” *nen*,
thē-m=nda t<h>o athūm=nhy hy kê nhy-ry
 go.SG-NMLZ=NOM <3>with take.time=&.DS Ha FUT do.SO.NMLZ-NMLZ
ri=wa i-katho ra ne=n
 during=&.DS.1 1-come.out.SG indeed be.so=&.ss

‘his trip took some time, then he (the forefather) said, “Ha! While he does so I will come out indeed,”’

‘a viagem dele demorou um certo tempo, aí ele (o antepassado) disse, “Ha! Enquanto ele estiver fazendo isso eu vou sair mesmo,”’

- (54) *athūm kharō nhy nen akwyn khatho*.

athūm-∅ kharō=nhy ne=n akwyn k<h>atho
 take.time-NMLZ appear=&.DS be.so=&.ss back <3>come.out.SG

‘a little more time passed and he (the *khátpy* monster) came back out.’

‘passou um pouco mais de tempo e ele (o monstro *khátpy*) saiu de volta.’

- (55) “Hyhy! Kê nhyry ri wa thē.”

hyhy kê nhy-ry ri=wa thē
 aha FUT be.so.-NMLZ during=&.DS.1 go.SG

“Aha! While he’s doing so I will go.”

“Aha! Enquanto ele estiver fazendo isso eu vou embora.”

- (56) *Khathon, akhum khuthun tho mo*.

k<h>atho=n akhum khu-thu=n t<h>o mo
 <3>come.out.SG=&.ss again 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL

‘He (the *khátpy* monster) came out, loaded it again on his back and took it away.’

‘Ele (o monstro *khátpy*) saiu de volta, botou do novo nas costas e levou embora.’

- (57) *Akhum khuthun tho mon... kôt hry jatuj khām khutha*.

akhum khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=n-... [kôt hry
 again 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL=&.SS-INTS 3.ERG trail
j-atu-j] khām khu-ta
 E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG

‘He loaded it again on his back, took it all the way and put it down where he had stopped the trail.’

‘Ele botou de novo nas costas, levou o caminho todo e colocou no chão onde ele tinha parado a trilha.’

- (58) *Hry jatuj khâm khuthan,*

hry j-atu-j khâm khu-ta=n
trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG=&.ss

‘He put it down where he had stopped the trail, and’
‘Ele botou no chão onde ele tinha parado a trilha, e’

- (59) *thât hwî khra

khak to, khwâ hry ro thê... nhy ary...re nhy.*

*thât hwî khra

khak-Ø to kh-wâ hry ro thê...=nhy*
though branch break-NMLZ with 3-to trail with go.SG-INTS=&.DS
ary...-re nhy
for.long-INTS-little be.sitting.SG

‘was uselessly breaking branches, building a long trail, and then he (the forefather) sat for a little long.’

‘estava inutilmente quebrando galhos, construindo uma longa trilha, e então ele (o antepassado) ficou um tempinho sentado.’

- (60) *Nen khatho ne... anhi ndêt khukwâj to thêk ne khathon,*

ne=n k<h>atho=ne anhi ndêt khukwâj to
do.so=&.ss <3>come.out.SG=&.ss self away.from monkey with
thêk=ne k<h>atho=n
push.out=&.ss <3>come.out.SG=&.ss

‘He did so and then came out... Pushed the monkeys out away from him, came out, and’

‘Ele fez isso e então saiu... Empurrou os macacos para fora, para longe de si, saiu, e’

- (61) *thore khên tha ro thên khuthán,*

thore khên tha ro thê=n khu-tá=n
then rock this with go.SG=&.ss 3-put.inside.SG=&.ss

‘then he brought a rock and put it inside,’
‘então ele trouxe uma pedra e botou dentro,’

- (62) *khên tha ro thên khuthán,*

khên tha ro thê=n khu-tá=n
rock this with go.SG=&.ss 3-put.inside.SG=&.ss

‘he brought another rock and put it inside,’
‘trouxe outra pedra e botou dentro,’

- (63) *khên tha ro thên khuthán, sīpy khukwâj ngrên hwan,*
khên tha ro thê=n khu-tá=n s-īpy khukwâj
 rock this with go.SG=&.ss 3-put.inside.SG=&.ss 3-on.top monkey
ngrê-n hwa=n
 put.inside.PL-NMLZ finish=&.ss
 ‘he brought another rock and put it inside, and on top of them finished
 putting all the monkeys inside,’
 ‘trouxe outra pedra e colocou dentro, e no topo delas terminou de colocar
 todos os macacos em cima,’
- (64) *hōnen arêkmā khukwâj itha wytin khupyn nen thê.*
hōne=n arêkmā khukwâj itha wyti=n khu-py=n ne=n
 be.ready=&.ss soon monkey this be.one=& 3-fetch.SG=&.ss do.so=&.ss
thê
 go.SG
 ‘he was done and then took this one monkey and so went away.’
 ‘ele acabou e logo pegou um macaco e foi embora.’
- (65) *Thên... athũm nhy akwyn khatho.*
thê=n-... athũm=nhy akwyn k<h>atho
 go.SG=&.ss-INTS take.time=&.DS back <3>come.out.SG
 ‘He went far away, it took time and he (the *khátpy* monster) came back
 out.’
 ‘Ele foi embora para longe, demorou um tempo e ele (o monstro *khátpy*)
 saiu de volta.’
- (66) *Akwyn khathon khuthun, khên mã wikamên pa.*
akwyn k<h>atho=n khu-thu=n khên mã
 back <3>come.out.SG=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss rock to
∅-wikamê=n pa
 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL
 ‘He came back out, loaded it on his back and kept being pulled down
 towards the rocks.’
 ‘Ele saiu de volta, botou nas costas e ficou sendo puxado para baixo em
 direção às pedras.’

- (67)
- Khên mã wikamên pan, “Haaa! Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”*

khên mã Ø-*wikamê*=n *pa*=n *Haaa ngry-txi thy-k*
 rock to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL=&.ss Argh beast-big die-NMLZ
mbet-Ø=ne Ø-*khajkhit-Ø=na*
 be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

‘He kept being pulled down towards the rocks and said “Argh!” A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!’

‘Ele ficou sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras e disse “Argh!” Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!’

- (68)
- “Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkit na!”*

ngry-txi thy-k *mbet-Ø=ne* Ø-*khajkhit-Ø=na*
 beast-big die-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

“A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”

“Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”

- (69)
- Nenhy tho huuuh... nen sarin tho thê.*

ne=nhy *t<h>o* *huuuh ne=n* *s-arĩ=n* *t<h>o thê*
 be.so=&.DS <3>with umpf be.so=&.ss 3-jump=&.ss <3>with go.SG

‘And then he grunted and jumped and took it away.’

‘E aí ele grunhiu e pulou e levou embora.’

- (70)
- Khuthun tho mo, tho mo... hry jatuj khâm khuta.*

khu-thu=n *t<h>o* *mo t<h>o* *mo...* *hry j-atu-j*
 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL <3>with go.PL-INTS trail E-stop-NMLZ
khâm khu-ta
 in 3-put.standing.sg

‘He loaded it on his back and took it all the way, took it all the way and put it down at the end of the trail.’

‘Ele botou nas costas e levou até o fim, levou até o fim e botou no chão no final da trilha.’

- (71)
- Amu khwā hry ro thê...*

amu kh-wā hry ro thê
 farther 3-to trail with go.SG

‘He continued opening the trail...’

‘Ele continuou abrindo a trilha...’

- (72) *Akhum hry jatuj khãm khuta.*

akhum hry j-atu-j khãm khu-ta
again trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG

‘He put it down again where he had stopped the trail.’
‘Ele deixou de novo no lugar onde ele tinha parado a trilha.’

- (73) *Hry jatuj khãm khutan, amu nen hry ro thẽ.*

hry j-atu-j khãm khu-ta=n amu ne=n hry
trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG=&.ss farther be.so=&.ss trail
ro thẽ
with go.SG

‘He put it down where he had stopped the trail and opened the trail farther.’
‘Ele botou no chão onde ele tinha parado a trilha e então continuou abrindo a trilha.’

- (74) *Hry ro thẽn... sithep ne akwyn nen khatho.*

hry ro thẽn=n... s-ithep-Ø=ne akwyn ne=n
trail with go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3-stop-NMLZ=&.ss back be.so=&.ss
k<h>atho
<3>come.out.SG

‘He opened a long trail, stopped and so came back out.’
‘Ele abriu uma trilha comprida, parou e então voltou.’

- (75) *Akwyn thẽn khathon kê khwã wikamẽn pan*

akwyn thẽn=n k<h>atho=n kê kh-wã Ø-wikamẽn=n
back go.SG=&.ss <3>come.out.SG=&.ss also 3-to 3-be.pulled=&.ss
pa=n
stay.PL=&.ss

‘He went back, came out and kept again being pulled down towards them (the rocks),’
‘Ele voltou, saiu e ficou de novo sendo puxado para baixo em direção a elas (as pedras),’

- (76) *khẽn mã wikamẽn pan, “Haaa! Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”*

khẽn mã Ø-wikamẽn=n pa=n haaa ngry-txi thy-k
rock to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL=&.ss argh beast-big die-NMLZ

mbet-∅=ne ∅-khajkhit-∅=na
 be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

‘he kept being pulled down towards the rocks and said “Arg! A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”’

‘ficou sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras e disse “Arg! Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”’

- (77) “*Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!*”

ngry-txi thy-k mbet-∅=ne ∅-khajkhit-∅=na
 beast-big die-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

“A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”

“Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”

- (78) *Khwã wikamên pa jahôt to huuuh nen sarîn amu tho thê.*

kh-wã ∅-wikamê=n pa-∅ j-ahô-t to huuuh
 3-to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL-NMLZ E-come.out.PL-NMLZ with umpf
ne=n s-arî=n amu t<h>o thê
 be.so=&.ss 3-jump=&.ss farther <3>with go.SG

‘He grunted his way out of being pulled down towards the rocks, jumped up and took it farther.’

‘Ele ficou grunhindo sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras, pulou e levou mais adiante.’

- (79) *Tho thên... tho pâj, sūrūkhwã mã tho pâj.*

t<h>o thê=n-... t<h>o pâj s-ūrūkhwã mã t<h>o pâj
 <3>with go.SG=&.ss-INTS <3>with arrive 3-house to <3>with arrive

‘He carried it all the way and arrived home with it.’

‘Ele carregou (a cesta) o resto do caminho e chegou em casa com ela.’

- (80) *Sūrūkhwã me, sūrūkhwã khâm khrajê me hrôjê swârâ tho pâj.*

s-ūrūkhwã=me,²⁷ s-ūrūkhwã khâm ∅-khra-jê=me ∅-hrô-jê swârâ
 3-house=& 3-house at 3-child-PL=& 3-wife-PL towards
t<h>o pâj
 <3>with arrive

‘At home, he brought it towards his children and wives.’

‘Em sua casa, ele levou para junto dos seus filhos e esposas.’

²⁷This was a mistake by the narrator.

- (81) *Khrajê ra khathon* “Haaa! *Waj turê ra ngrytxi pîn tho mo... Waj turê ra ngrytxi pîn tho mo.*”

Ø-*khra-jê=ra* *k<h>atho=n* *haaa waj turê=ra ngry-txi*
 3-child-PL=NOM <3>come.out.SG=&.SS ah must dad=NOM beast-big
pĩ=n t<h>o mo-... waj turê=ra ngry-txi pĩ=n
 kill.SG=&.SS <3>with go.PL-INTS must dad=NOM beast-big kill.SG=&.SS
t<h>o mo
 <3>with go.PL”

‘His children came out and (said) “Dad must have killed a big beast and brought it all the way here.”’

‘Seus filhos saíram e (disseram) “Papai deve ter matado um animal grande e trouxe até aqui.”’

- (82) *Tho thên... khikhre kape mã khên me nhy thuk nen ta nhy,*

t<h>o thên=... khikhre kape mã khên me=nhy thuk
 <3>with go.SG=&.SS-INTS house front to rock throw.SG=&.DS thud
ne=n ta=nhy
 do.so=&.SS stand.SG=&.DS

‘He carried it over, threw the rock in front of the house, it (the basket) made a ‘*thuk*’ and stood there, and’

‘Ele carregou até lá, jogou a pedra na frente da casa, ele (o cesto) fez ‘*thuk*’ e ficou lá, e’

- (83) *nenhy, “ndotê, ndotê, ndotê, ndotê” ne...*

ne=nhy ndotê ndotê ndotê ndotê ne
 be.so=&.DS be.quick be.quick be.quick be.quick do.so

‘so he said “Come here, come here, come here, come here...”’

‘então ele disse “Venham aqui, venham aqui, venham aqui, venham aqui...”’

- (84) “*Wakhrajê nho thát, ngrytxi kukhráthá thō kê khukhrê.*”

wa-khra-jê nh-o thát ngry-txi kukhráthá thō=kê
 1INCL-child-PL E-food for beast-big do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT
khu-khrê
 3-eat.PL

““For our children’s food, do something with the big beast and they will eat it.””

“Para a comida dos nossos filhos, faça alguma coisa com o animal grande e eles vão comer.”

- (85) *“Hwararo wakhrajê re hrãm khãm sãm.”*

hwararo wa-khra-jê=re Ø-hrãm-Ø khãm
 yesterday 1INCL-child-PL=ERG 3-desire-NMLZ in
s-ã-m
 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ

“Yesterday our children were hungry”

“Ontem nossos filhos estavam com fome”

- (86) *“Khwã ngrytxi pĩn tho mo...”*

kh-wã ngry-txi pĩ=n t<h>o mo...
 3-to beast-big kill.SG=&.SS <3>with go.PL-INTS

“(I) killed a big beast for them and brought it all the way”

“(Eu) matei um animal grande para eles e trouxe até aqui”

- (87) *“Ka ndotên khwã khukhrátá thõ kê rêt thõ khrê.”*

ka ndotê=n kh-wã k<h>ukhrátá thõ=kê
 2.NOM be.quick=&.SS 3-to <3>do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT
Ø-rêt=thõ khrê
 3-offal=one eat.PL

“Come quickly and do something with it and then they will eat some offal.”

“Venha logo fazer alguma coisa com ele e aí eles vão comer os miúdos.”

- (88) *Hrõ ra “Hy!” nen khatho.*

Ø-hrõ=ra hy ne=n k<h>atho
 3-wife=NOM yes do.so=&.SS <3>come.out.SG

‘His wife said “Yes!” and came out.’

‘Sua esposa disse “Sim!” e saiu.’

- (89) *Khathon, khukwâj rẽn ndo thê.*

k<h>atho=n khukwâj rê-n ndo thê
 <3>come.out.SG=&.SS monkey throw.PL-NMLZ with go.SG

‘She came out and was throwing monkeys (out of the basket).’

‘Ela saiu e ficou jogando macacos (para fora do cesto).’

- (90) *Wapãmjê thô wê sîmbry wê kôt khukwâj hwaj ta, tho hôt to thên, tho hôt to thên, “the!”*

wa-pãm-jê=thô=wê s-îmbry wê kôt khukwâj hwa-j=ta
 1INCL-father-PL=one=from 3-game COP 3.ERG monkey kill.PL-NMLZ=DET
t<h>o hô-t to thê=n t<h>o hô-t
 <3>with pull.out.PL-NMLZ with go.SG=&.SS <3>with pull.out.PL-NMLZ
to thê=n the
 with go.SG=&.SS hey!

‘The game from our forefather, the monkeys that he had killed, she kept pulling out and (said) “Hey!”

‘A caça do nosso antepassado, os macacos que ele tinha matado, ela ficou puxando para fora e (disse) “Oras!”

- (91) *Khôsátxi khre khahwã-rã ro ta.*

khôsátxi khre khahwã-rã ro ta
 basket inner.side probe-NMLZ with stand.SG

‘She kept probing the inner side of the basket.’

‘Ela ficou inspecionando o lado de dentro do cesto.’

- (92) “*Nhintã ngrytxi jarêñ nda?*”

nhintã ngry-txi j-arê-n=nda
 where beast-big E-talk.about-NMLZ=DET

“‘Where is the big beast he talked about?’”

“‘Onde está o animal grande de que ele falou?’”

- (93) “*Athaj na wa ngrytxi pîn tho mo.*”

athaj=na wa ngry-txi pĩ=n t<h>o mo
 there=NFUT 1.NOM beast-big kill.SG=&.SS <3>with go.PL

“‘I killed a big beast and brought all the way there.’”

“‘Eu matei um animal grande e trouxe até aí.’”

- (94) “*Ngry txire! Kôt ka sômun khêrê?*”

ngry txi-re kôt ka s-ômu-n khêrê
 beast big-ADJ can.FUT 2.NOM 3-see-NMLZ not.be

“‘The beast is big! Can’t you see?’”

“‘O animal é grande! Você não consegue ver?’”

- (95) “*Nhintã tôra ngrytxi jarên nda?*”
nhintã tôra ngry-txi j-arê-n=nda
 where though beast-big E-talk.about-NMLZ=DET
 “Where, though, is the big beast you talk about?”
 “Onde então é que está esse animal grande de que você fala?”
- (96) “*Ngrytxi khêrê weri!*”
ngry-txi khêrê weri
 beast-big not.be indeed
 “There is indeed no big beast!”
 “Não tem mesmo animal grande nenhum!”
- (97) “*Ngry txire! kôt ka sômum khêrê?*”
ngry txi-re kôt ka s-ômu-n khêrê
 beast big-ADJ can.FUT 2.NOM 3-see-NMLZ not.be
 “The beast is big! Can’t you see it?”
 “O animal é grande! Você não consegue ver?”
- (98) “*Rik tâ, ndotên wakhrajê nho thát khukhrátá thō kê khwê rêt thō khrê!*”
rik tâ ndotê=n wa-khra-jê nh-o thát
 quickly indeed be.quick=&.SS 1INCL-child-PL E-food for
k<h>ukhrátá thō=kê kh-wê Ø-rêt=thō khrê
 <3>do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT 3-from 3-offal=one eat.PL
 “Go quickly and do something with it for our children’s food and they’ll eat some offal!”
 “Se apresse e faça alguma coisa para a comida das nossas crianças e aí eles vão comer alguns miúdos!”
- (99) “*Hwararo, wakhrajê re hrām khām sām nhy ire ithēm ne ire ngrytxi pīri ne tho imorō wyráká.*”
hwararo [wa-khra-jê=re Ø-hrām-Ø khām
 yesterday 1INCL-child-PL=ERG 3-desire-NMLZ in
s-ā-m=nhy ire i-thē-m=ne ire ngry-txi
 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG 1-go.SG-NMLZ=&.SS 1.ERG beast-big
pī-rī=ne t<h>o i-mo-rō] wyráká
 kill.SG-NMLZ=&.SS <3>with 1-go.PL-NMLZ happen
 “It happened that yesterday our children were hungry, I went, killed this big beast and brought it all the way here.”

“Aconteceu que ontem nossos filhos estavam com fome e eu fui, matei um animal grande e trouxe até aqui.”

- (100) *“Rik athaj aj khwã khukhrátá thõ kê aj khukhrê.”*

rik athaj aj kh-wã k<h>ukhrátá thõ=kê aj khu-khrê
quickly there PL 3-to <3>do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT PL 3-eat.PL

“Quick! Go there do something with it for them and so they will eat it all”

“Rápido! Vão lá fazer alguma coisa com ele e então eles vão comer tudo”

- (101) *“Ngrytxi khêrê... Amne thên sômu.”*

ngry-txi khêrê amne thê=n s-ômu
beast-big not.be to.here go.SG=&.SS 3-see

“There is no big beast... Come here and see it.”

“Não tem animal grande nenhum... Venha aqui e veja.”

- (102) *Sãm thãnthã, tê, norõ thãnthã khatho.*

s-ã-m thãnthã tê Ø-no-rõ
3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ last.long.time oops 3-lie.down-NMLZ
thãnthã k<h>atho
last.long.time <3>come.out.SG

‘He was standing for a long time, oops, I mean, he was lying down for a long time and then came out.’

‘Ele ficou em pé muito tempo, quero dizer, ele ficou deitado muito tempo e então saiu.’

- (103) *Swârâ thên, “the!” Khôsátxi khre kahrãn tên... khên wit nhy.*

Ø-swârâ thê=n the khôsátxi khre kahrã=n tên
3-towards go.SG=&.SS hey basket inner.side probe=&.SS unexpectedly
khên wit nhy
rock only be.sitting.SG

‘He went towards her and (said) “Hey!” He had probed the inner side of the basket and there were unexpectedly only rocks.’

‘Ele foi para junto dela e (disse) “Oras!” Ele tinha vasculhado o interior do cesto e inesperadamente só tinha pedras.’

- (104) *“Mãn khẽn wit khri!”*
mãn khẽn wit khri
 here rock only be.sitting.PL
 “There are only rocks sitting here!”
 “Só tem pedras aqui!”
- (105) *Sõmun ndo tan, “Ty a... tharãm na ngrytxi thê!” nen,*
s-õmu-n ndo ta=n ty a tharãm=na ngry-txi
 3-see-NMLZ with stand.SG=&.ss goddamn.it long.ago=NFUT beast-big
thê ne=n
 go.SG do.so=&.ss
 ‘He stood there looking and said “Goddamn it! It was long ago that the
 big beast went away!”’
 ‘Ele ficou ali olhando e disse “Desgraça! Faz tempo que o animal grande
 foi embora!”’
- (106) *“Nhum nda iwê awythára mã?” nen khô pyn, akhum atán thê.*
nhum=nda i-wê a-wythá-rá mã ne=n Ø-khô
 who=NOM 1-from 2-protect-NMLZ be.forthcoming do.so=&.ss 3-club
py=n akhum atá=n thê
 fetch.SG=&.ss again enter.SG=&.ss go.SG
 “Who is going to protect you from me?” he said, fetched his club,
 entered (the forest) again and went (after the forefather).’
 “Quem que vai proteger você de mim?” ele disse, pegou sua bordina,
 entrou (na floresta) de novo e foi (atrás do antepassado).’
- (107) *Akhum atán thên... kôre pîrî tá mã khathon*
akhum atá=n thê=n... [kôre Ø-pî-rî] tá mã
 again enter.SG=&.ss go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3.ERG 3-kill.SG-NMLZ place to
k<h>atho=n
 <3>come.out.SG=&.ss
 ‘Entered again, went back all the way and came out to the place where
 he wounded him (the forefather) unconscious,’
 ‘Entrou de novo, voltou o caminho todo e saiu no lugar onde ele tinha
 machucado ele (o ancestral) mortalmente,’

- (108) “Ry...a...” *khô ro anhi kathwân sãm thãmthã.*
ry...a... Ø-khô ro anhi kathwâ=n s-ã-m
argh... 3-club with self straighten=&.ss 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ
thãmthã
last.long.time
‘Argh...’ He straightened himself with the club (against the ground) and stood there for a long time.’
‘Argh...’ Ele se endireitou com a borduna (contra o chão) e ficou lá de pé por muito tempo.’
- (109) *Jowi anhi tho? nenhy amu sarên nda mbaj khêrê, Khupyry.*
jowi anhi tho ne=nhy amu s-arê-n=nda
as.they.say self do.how be.so=&.DS farther 3-talk.about-NMLZ=DET
mba-j khêrê Khupyry
know-NMLZ not.be howler.monkey
‘How is it, as they say? It was so and I don’t know what else to say about this, Howler Monkey.’²⁸
‘Como que é, que eles dizem? Aconteceu assim e eu não sei dizer mais nada sobre isso, Guariba.’
- (110) *Itha wit mē ra, tho nen sarên wit na wa khumba.*
itha wit mē=ra t<h>o ne=n s-arê-n
this only people=NOM <3>with do.so=&.ss 3-talk.about-NMLZ
wit=na wa khu-mba
only=NFUT 1.NOM 3-know
‘I know only this, that people used to tell this way.’
‘Eu só sei isso, que o pessoal costumava contar desse jeito.’
- (111) *Ipãm nda nen tho sujarên nda ne wa khumba.*
i-pãm=nda ne=n t<h>o s-ujarê-n=nda ne=wa
1-father=NOM do.so=&.ss <3>with 3-talk-NMLZ=DET do.so=&.DS.1
khu-mba
3-know
‘My father narrated this way and I used to hear it thus.’
‘Meu pai contava assim e eu costumava escutar (a história) desse jeito.’

²⁸The narrator is talking to the linguist, whom the Kîsêdjê nicknamed *Khupyry*.

(112) *Nenhy khátpy ra nen mē thōj pĩn khuthun tho mo nhy, akhum khwê thē.*

ne=nhy khátpy=ra ne=n mē=thōj pĩ=n
 be.so=&.DS monster=NOM do.so=&.ss people=one kill.sg=&.ss
khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=nhy akhum kh-wê thē
 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL=&.DS again 3-from go.sg

‘It was so, and so the *khátpy* monster wounded one of our people unconscious, loaded him on his back and took him far away, and he (the forefather) ran away from him.’

‘Foi desse jeito, e assim que o monstro *khátpy* feriu mortalmente um de nós, botou ele nas costas, carregou ele muito longe, e ele (o ancestral) fugiu dele.’

(113) *Nenhy ne.*

ne=nhy ne
 be.so=&.DS be.so

‘Then it was like this.’

‘Aí foi assim.’

Non-standard abbreviations

&	clause coordination	INTS	intensification
DS	different subject	ONTP	onomatopoeia
E	epenthetic morpheme	SS	same subject
INTJ	interjection		

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