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 Khâtpy is already waiting for him. Khâtpy 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, Khâtpy 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. Khâtpy comes back, fetches the basket and carries it up to the end of the trail. He then leaves the basked 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 Khâtpy 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 Khâtpy claims he’s killed. Enraged, Khâtpy fetches his club and goes
back into the forest after the Kĩsêdjê 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 Kĩsêdjê 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 thẽm nda*  

\[
\text{Khátpy}=\text{re} \quad \text{wa-pãm-jê}=\text{thõ} \quad \text{thu-ru}=n \quad t\langle h \rangle o \\
\text{K.}=\text{erg} \quad \text{1INCL-father-PL}=\text{one} \quad \text{load.on.back-NMLZ}=\&.\text{ss} \quad \langle 3 \rangle \text{with} \\
\text{∅-thẽ-m} \quad ]=\text{nda} \\
\text{3-go-NMLZ}=\text{DEF} \\
\text{‘The one (story) in which the Khátpy monster loads a forefather of ours onto his back and carries him away’}
\]

1.1 The circumstances of the narration

This story was narrated by Kuiussi Suyá, the chief of the Kĩsêdjê. 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–Kĩsêdjê,\(^1\) a documentation project for the Kĩsêdjê 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 Kĩsêdjê people

The Kĩsêdjê are roughly 450 people, most of whom live in the Wawi Indigenous Land, in the State of Mato Grosso, Brazil. The largest Kĩsêdjê 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  
\(^2\)The “Museum of Indigenous Peoples”, located in Rio de Janeiro is an organ of FUNAI, the Brazilian Bureau of Indigenous Affairs.  
\(^3\)At 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 Kĩsêdjê 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 Kĩsêdjê 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 Kĩsêdjê dislike the term, and ask the researchers that work with them to avoid using it. Their autodenomination, “Kĩsêdjê” (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) Kĩsêdjê

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kī} & \quad \text{sêt-∅} & \quad \text{jē} \\
\text{village} & \quad \text{burn-NMLZ PL} \\
\text{‘The ones who burn villages’}
\end{align*}
\]
1.3 The Kĩsêdjê language

The Kĩsêdjê speak a Northern Jê language (Jê family, Macro-Jê stock). Similar to other Northern Jê languages, Kĩsêdjê 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. The subject comes before all the constituents mentioned above.

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 initial 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.

\[(3) \quad \text{Word-order in the clausal domain} \]
\[
(Foc/Top) [ \text{Mood/Tense} [ S (Adjuncts) (PP Args) [ (DO) V ] ] ]
\]

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 Kĩsêdjê’s head-finality, postpositions follow their arguments, possessed nouns follow their possessors and nominal determiners follow the nouns they modify. There are no nominal categories that express amount (nu-
merals) or quality (adjectives). The amount and quality of a noun are expressed verbally,\(^\text{10}\) often through relative clauses, which in Kisèdjè are internally headed.\(^\text{11}\)

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

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

Kisèdjè 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.\(^\text{12}\) A nominative-accusative frame is found in main clauses and an ergative-absolutive frame in embedded clauses.\(^\text{13}\) Most verbs show two distinct forms: a morphologically simpler one used in main clauses and a derived (nominalized) one used in embedded clauses.\(^\text{14}\) 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 3\(^\text{rd}\) 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 rewapâmjê thõ thurun tho thẽm 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.
\[\text{ne=nhy } \text{ ne}\]
\[\text{be.so}^{16}=\&.\text{ds}^{17} \text{ be.so}\]

‘Then it was like this.’

‘Aí foi assim.’

(6) Ajipãmjê thõ ra, ajipãmjê ra,
\[\text{aj-i-pãm-jê=thõ=ra} \quad \text{aj-i-pãm-jê=ra}\]
\[\text{pl}^{18}-1\text{-father-pl}=\text{one=NOM} \quad \text{pl}^{-1\text{-father-pl}=\text{NOM}}\]

‘A forefather of ours, our forefathers,’

‘Um dos nossos antepassados, nossos antepassados,’

(7) khajkhwa khrat mã, khajkhwa khrat mã...
\[\text{khajkhwa khrat=mã} \quad \text{khajkhwa khrat=mã}\]
\[\text{sky} \quad \text{beginning}=\text{to sky} \quad \text{beginning}=\text{to}\]

‘towards the east, towards the east …’

‘na direção do leste, na direção do leste …’

---

\(^{15}\)Recordings of this story are available from https://zenodo.org/record/997437

\(^{16}\)The verb ne can be translated as ‘to do so’ or as ‘to be so’. Each occurrence will be glossed in the most appropriate way.

\(^{17}\)The form of the Kĩsêdjê 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.

\(^{18}\)Though Kĩsêdjê 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-Kĩsêdjê person.
I mean, towards the west there were many monsters and our forefathers always told us so.
'Quero dizer, na direção do oeste tinha muitos monstros e nossos antepassados sempre contavam isso.'

And so one of our forefathers went hunting in the forest.
'E então um dos nossos antepassados foi caçar na floresta.'

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.'

‘He shot the monkey with an arrow, it got stuck and’
‘Ele flexou o macaco, ele ficou preso e’

Suspension 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 Kĩsèdjê. In particular, in Kĩsèdjê, 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.
R. Nonato, Kujusi Suyá, Jamthô Suyá & Kawiri Suyá

(13) swârâ apin, swârâ apin kukwâj me nhy thẽn “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 thẽ=n 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 kâtpy ra jáwi arâ sahwan tho ta.
arâ kâtpy=ra jáwi arâ s-ahwa=n t<h>o ta
already monster=nom as.they.say already 3-wait=& ss <3>& at stand.sg
‘as they say, the kâtpy monster was already waiting for him, was standing underneath him.’
‘como dizem, o monstro kâtpy 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 mā thē, tên... kâtpy ra arâ hwaj wê ta.
khukwâj me=ne ne=n akwyn rwâ-k=mā thē
monkey throw.sg=& ss do.so=& ss back climb.down-nmlz=to go.sg
tên kâtpy=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 kâtpy monster was already standing under him.’

20 Verbal number in Kĩsêdjê 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.
21 Many 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 tã khupê kasák, khupê kasák ta ikhôt thê?"

`Tuu wâtâ=n tã khupê kasák khupê kasák=ta i-khôt damn what=NFUT though foreigner be.evil foreigner be.evil=NOM 1-along thê 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 athêm wa i tôra nhimbry jawê ithêm na thê!

`Pá txi pá txi [22 wet khôt a-thê=m=wa forest be.big forest be.big other along 2-go.sg-NMLZ=&.DS.1 i-tôra nhimbry j-awê i-thê=m ]=na thê 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) Wapâmjê thô ra swârâ rwâk mã thê.

`Wa-pãm-jê=thô=ra 0-swârâ rwâ-k=mâ thê 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 thên... thât rwâk mã thê nhy khuthâ khura.

`0-swârâ rwâ-k=mâ thê=n thât rwâ-k=mâ 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.
thẽ=nhy  k<h>uthã  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) Khuthã khura nhy thẽn “ty” nen thãm ne no.

k<h>uthã  k<h>ura=nhy thẽ=n  ty  ne=n <3>before <3>hit=&.DS go.sg=&.SS ONTP:failing do.so=&.SS
thãm=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) Then thãm nhy:

thẽ=n  thãm=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 khãm sãm ndo sambak nhy ire
ngrytxi pĩrĩ wyrãk thã.”

haha  hahaa [ hwararo i-khra-jê=re INTJ:satisfaction INTJ:satisfaction yesterday 1-child-PL=ERG
s-amdep-∅  khãm s-ã-m=ndo 3-be.hungry-NMLZ in 3-be.standing.sg=NMLZ=with
s-amba-k=nhy  ire  ngry-txi pĩ-rĩ  ] wyrãk thã 3-mind-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG beast-big kill.sg24-NMLZ happen.inded

“‘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 pĩ actually means ‘to wound unconscious’. For simplicity, I gloss it as ‘kill’.
(24) *Nen khatyp khôsâtxi nihwêt ne thore khâm sarõn ne khutá.*

`ne=n`  ∅-khatyp khôsâtxi nihwêt=ne  thore ∅-khâm sarõn=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 arêkmâ 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
arêkmâ  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) *Khwâ hry ro thẽn... sîthep ne, khwâ hry ro thẽn sîthep ne,*

`kh-wâ`  hry  ro  thê=n-...  s-îthep=ne  kh-wâ`  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) *khwâ hwi khrakhrak to thẽn khwâ hry ro thẽn hwi khrakhrak to thẽn sîthep ne,*

`kh-wâ`  hwi  khrakhrak  to  thê=n  kh-wâ`  hry  ro  thê=n
3-to  branch  break  with  go.sg=&.ss  3-to  trail  with  go.sg=&.ss
hwi  khrakhrak  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,’
R. Nonato, Kujusi Suyá, Jamthô Suyá & Kawiri Suyá

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

(28) akwyn thẽn khuthun, khuthun tho mo.

‘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 hwĩ khrakhrak ne hry nhithep khâm khutan,

‘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 khwã hwĩ khrakhrak to thẽn,

‘continued breaking branches,’

‘continuou quebrando galhos,’

(31) hwĩ khrakhrak to thẽn sîthep ne

‘he went breaking branches and then he stopped and’

‘ele foi quebrando galhos e então parou e’

(32) akwyn nen thẽn khuthu nen amu tho thẽ.

‘ele estava quebrando galhos, abrindo uma trilha, quebrando galhos então ele parou,’
‘went back, loaded it onto his back and so carried it farther.’
‘voltou, botou nas costas e assim carregou mais além.’

(33)  *Tho thẽn... kôre hwĩ khrakhrak to thẽm nhithep khãm khuta.*

t<3>with go.sg=&.ss-ints  3.erg branch break-nmlz with go.sg-nmlz

‘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 thẽ.*

amu  ne=n  t<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 thẽm ne hwĩ khrakhrak nhithep khãm khuta.*

amu  ne=n  khu-thu=n  t<3>with go.pl=&.ss-ints  3.erg

‘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 hõnen ndo khá tha.*

khu-ta=nhy  hõne=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.’
R. Nonato, Kujusi Suyá, Jamthô Suyá & Kawiri Suyá

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

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

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

(38) Tên... khâtpy ra khuthun tho mo nhy ndo khá than jáwi arak anhi khâm mbaj to no.

‘Unexpectedly, the khâtpy 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.’

(39) “Tu âââ... khupê kasák, khupê kasák na ithát ne itho mo,”

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

(40) nenhy kót hwî khrakhrak khôt hry ro thêm nda ro thên hry jatuj khâm khutha.
'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-∅ 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-∅ 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 thẽ=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  
<3>come.out.sg=&.ss again 3-load.on.back=&.ss be.so=&.ss <3>with

25 Relative 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 nhithep khâm khuthan amu thê nhy thore tho sujakhre ro no.
t<h>o  mo=n  [ kôt  hry nh-ithep-∅  ] khâm
<3>with go.PL=&.ss 3.ERG trail e-stop-NMLZ in
khu-ta=n  amu thê=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 athûm nhy nen akwyn khatho.
t<h>o  s-ujakhre-∅  ro  no=nhy  athûm=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=&.ss

‘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 thẽ.”

hyhy Ø  athaj nhy-ry  ri=wa  thẽ
aha  FUT there do.so.NMLZ-NMLZ during=&.DS.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 mâ sumbaj to no jowi.

arêkmã  arêkmã  wi  anhi khãm  anhi=mâ  s-umba-j  to
soon  soon  indeed  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 thẽn... akhum khuthun tho mon khuta.

<3>with go.sg=&.ss  again  3-load.on.back=&.ss  <3>with go.pl=&.ss
khu-ta
3-put.standing.sg
‘He (the khátpy monster) kept taking it... loaded him on his back again,
took it and put it down.’
‘Ele (o monstro khátpy) 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 thẽ, akhum thẽ nhy akhum tho sujakhre mbet to no nhy...

akhum thẽ  akhum thẽ=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) *them nda tho athũm nhy, “Hy! Kê nhyry ri wa ikatho ra” nen,*  
  *thẽ-m=nda  t<h>o  athũm=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) *athũm kharõ nhy nen akwyn khatho.*  
  *athũm-∅  kharõ=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 thẽ.”*  
  *hyhy kê  nhy-ry  ri=wa  thẽ*  
  *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 khâm 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  khâm 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 jatu khãm khuthan,*

_ hry j-atu- khãm 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 hwĩ khrakhrak to, khwã hry ro thẽ... nhy ary...re nhy.*

_ thât hwĩ khrakhrak-∅ to kh-wã hry ro thẽ-...=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 thẽk 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 thẽk=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 khẽn tha ro thẽn khuthân,*

_ thore khẽn tha ro thẽ=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) *khẽn tha ro thẽn khuthân,*

_ khẽn tha ro thẽ=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) *khẽn tha ro thẽn khuthán, sipy khukwâj ngrê-n hwan,*

*khẽn tha ro thẽ=n khu-tâ=n sipy 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) *hõnen arêkmã khukwâj itha wytin khupyn nen thẽ.*

*hõne=n arêkmã khukwâj itha wytî=n khu-py=n ne=n*

be.ready=&.ss soon monkey this be.one=& 3-fetch.sg=&.ss do.so=&.ss the

*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) *Thẽn... athũm nhy akwyn kthatho.*

*thẽ=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 khâtpy monster) came back out.’

‘Ele foi embora para longe, demorou um tempo e ele (o monstro khâtpy) saiu de volta.’

(66) *Akwyn kthonth khuthun, khẽn mā wikamën pa.*

*akwyn k<h>atho=n khu-thu=n khẽn mā back 3<come.out.sg=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss rock to*

*Ø-wikamë=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.’
Khën mä wikamën pan, “Haaa! Ngurytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”

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!”

“Ngurytxi thyk mbet ne khajkit na”

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

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

And then he grunted and jumped and took it away.

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

He loaded it on his back and took it all the way, 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.’

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 thã.
    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 thã 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... sîthep ne akwyn nen khatho.
    hry ro thẽ=n-... sîthep-∅=ne akwyn ne=n
trail with go.sg=&.ss-INTS 3-stop-NMLZ=&.ss back be.so=&.ss
k<3>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 pań
    akwyn thẽ=n k<3>atho=n kê kh-wã 0-wikamẽ=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 pań, “Haaa! Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”
    khẽn mã 0-wikamẽ=n pa=n haaa ngry-txi thy-k
rock to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.pl=&.ss argh beast-big die-NMLZ
'he kept being pulled down towards the rocks and said “Argh! A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”'

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

"Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!"

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

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

‘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.’

‘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.’

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

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

---

27 This was a mistake by the narrator.
(81) *Khrajê ra khathon “Haaa! Waj turê ra ngrytxi pĩn tho mo... Waj turê ra ngrytxi pĩn tho mo.”*

∅-khra-jê=ra 3-child-pl=nom haaa waj turê=ra ngry-txi kill.sg=&.ss t<h>o mo... waj turê=ra ngry-txi pi=n go.pl-nts must dad=nom beast-big kill.sg=&.ss t<h>o mo...

‘His childen 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 thẽn... khikhre kape mã khẽn me nhy thuk nen ta nhy,*

<3>with go.sg=&.ss-ints house front to rock throw.sg=&.ds thud ne=n ta=nhy do.so=&.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 thät, ngrytxi kukhráthá thō kê kukuhrê.”*  

wa-khra-jê 1incl-child-pl 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 thô kêt rêt thô khrê.”

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

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

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

(88) Hrõ ra “Hy!” nen khatho.

Ø-hrö=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 rèn ndo thê.

k<h>atho=n  khukwâj  rè-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).’
‘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!”

‘She kept probing the inner side of the basket.’
‘Ela ficou inspecionando o lado de dentro do cesto.’

“Where is the big beast he talked about?”
“Onde está o animal grande de que ele falou?”

“I killed a big beast and brought all the way there.”
“Eu matei um animal grande e trouxe até aí.”

“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 sõmun khêrê?”

ngry  txi-re  kôt  ka  s-õmu-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 tã, ndotên wakhrajê nho thát khukhrâtá thô=kê khwê rêt thô khrê!”

rik  tã  ndotê=n  wa-khra=jê  nh-o  thát
quickly indeed be.quick=&.ss 1INCL-child-PL E-food for
<k<h>ukhrâtá thô=kê  kh-wê  O-rêt=thô  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 offall!”

“Se apresse e faça alguma coisa para a comida das nossas crianças e aí
eles vão comer alguns miúdos!”

(99) “Hwararo, wakhrajê re hrâm khâm sâm nhy ire ithêm ne ire ngrytxi piri ne
tho imorô wyráká.”

hwararo  [  wa-khra-jê=re  Ø-hrâm-Ø  khâm
yesterday 1INCL-child-PL=ERG 3-desire-NMLZ in
s-â-m=nhy  i-re  i-thêm=ne  ire  ngry-txi
3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG 1-go.SG-NMLZ=&.SS 1.ERG beast-big
pî-rî=ne  t<h=o  i-mo-rô  ]  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 khwä khukhrátá thõ ê aj khukhrẽ.”
rik athaj aj kh-wä k<h>ukhrátá thõ=kê aj khu-khrẽ
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 thẽn sõmu.”
ngry-txi khêrê amne thẽ=n s-õmu
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 thãmthã, tê, norõ thãmthã khatho.
s-ã-m thãmthã tê Ø-no-rô
3-be.standing.sg-NMLZ last.long.time oops 3-lie.down-NMLZ
thãmthã 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) Swârã thẽn, “the!” Khôsátxi khre kahrã=n tên... khẽn wit nhỹ.
Ø-swârã thẽ=n the khôsátxi khre kahrã=n tên
3-towards go.sg=&.ss hey basket inner.side probe=&.ss unexpectedly
khẽn wit nhỹ
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.’
“Mân khẽn wit khrĩ!”

Here rock only be.sitting.pl.

“‘There are only rocks sitting here!’”

“‘Só tem pedras aqui!’”

Sõmun ndo tan, “Ty a... tharãm na ngrytxi thẽ!” nen,

‘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!”’

“Nhum nda iwê awythárá mã?” nen khô pyn, akhum atân thẽ.

‘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).’

Akhum atân thẽ... kôre pîrî tá mã khasil

‘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,’
“Ry…a...” khô ro anhi kathwân sãm thãmthã.
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.’

Jowi anhi tho? nenhy amu sarẽn nda mbaj khêrê, Khupyry.
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.’
‘Como que é, que eles dizem? Aconteceu assim e eu não sei dizer mais nada sobre isso, Guariba.’

Itha wit mê ra, tho nen sarẽn wit na wa khumba.
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.’

Ipâm nda nen tho sujarẽn nda ne wa khumba.
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 Kĩsêdjê nicknamed Khupyry.
(112) Nenhy khátpy ra nen mě thôj pîn khuthun tho mo nhy, akhum khwê thê.
\( ne=nhy \) \( \overline{khátpy=ra} \) \( ne=n \) \( mě=thôj \) \( pî=n \)
be.so=&.ds monster=NOM do.so=&.ss people=one kill.sg=&.ss
\( khu-thu=n \) \( t<3>ho \) \( mo=nhy \) \( akhum \) \( kh-wê \) \( thê \)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>clause coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>different subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>epenthetic morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTS</td>
<td>intensification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONTP</td>
<td>onomatopoeia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>same subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
