

Chapter 10

Kwaza

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1 Introduction

The story of Grandfather Fox represents a myth as told by the Kwaza people of the southwestern Amazon. Kwaza is a highly endangered isolate language with about 25 speakers. The speakers of Kwaza live in two different indigenous reserves and in a nearby village, in the southeastern corner of the Brazilian state of Rondônia, amidst a sea of deforested lands owned by big cattle ranchers and soy farmers. In one of the reserves, Terra Indígena Tubarão-Latundê, the Kwaza and Latundê (NORTHERN NAMBIKWARA) form minority populations among the Aikanã (ISOLATE). Several mixed Kwaza and Aikanã families live in another reserve, Terra Indígena Kwazá do Rio São Pedro. Despite having a very fragmented speaker community, Kwaza is still the first language of the youngest generation in two families.

This story was told by Edileusa Kwaza, who had learnt it from her late monolingual Kwaza father, Antonhão. As she told the story, Edileusa was accompanied by her partner Zezinho Kwaza. Most of the time, Edileusa and Zezinho live with their children and grandchildren in the little village outside the first reserve, and have very little contact with other Kwaza speakers. It should be considered admirable that, in spite of their Portuguese-only and often anti-indigenous environment, Kwaza is maintained as the family's home language. The story was





Figure 1: The indigenous reserves where the Kwaza live, shown in yellow.

recorded in audio and video formats in August 2014, as part of a documentation project funded through the DoBeS programme. The story has been transcribed and analyzed with the help of Mario Aikanã, a bilingual native speaker of Kwaza and Aikanã who, like most Indians of southeastern Rondônia, also has full command of Portuguese.

The story of Grandfather Fox takes place in mythological times. In those days, animals transformed themselves into humans at will. Grandfather Fox is a very smart animal who has many tricks up his sleeve. In this story, he takes advantage of a young woman after finding out about her plans for the next day. One of the lessons of this and several other traditional stories is that one should avoid

speaking about one's plans for the future, so as not to attract adversity. The Aikanã also tell a mythological Fox story (chapter 11 in this volume) and, although it is quite different from the Kwaza version, it has a similar edifying message on the danger of referring to future plans. In spite of the enormous cultural and ecological changes that the Kwaza and Aikanã peoples have undergone during the 20th century, this taboo is also still very much part of their present way of life.

Kwaza is a morphologically complex, polysynthetic, suffixing language. Its word order is relatively free. Its word classes are verbs, nouns, adverbs and particles. The only obligatory part of a complete sentence is a verb, which takes inflectional suffixes expressing person and mood, in that order. Person inflections do not seem to be etymologically related to personal pronouns, which are used for disambiguation or emphasis. The person marking system distinguishes inclusive and exclusive first person plural, both inflectionally and pronominally. Third person has zero expression morphologically. There are two sets of mood inflections, distinguishing matrix clause moods such as declarative and interrogative from subordinate clause moods such as conditional, concessional, and cosubordinate. The language has a very productive arsenal of derivational suffixes, which include classifiers, directionals, valency changing morphemes, and nominalizers. Even though the language's morphological complexity is mainly located in its verb forms, nouns can also be morphologically highly complex due to recursive verbalizing and nominalizing operations. A comprehensive description of the language is van der Voort (2004).

From a linguistic point of view, the Fox story largely reflects the typical grammatical structure of traditional narratives in Kwaza. In principle, the entire story is one long sentence, each chained clause being either in a subordinate mood or in a cosubordinate mood. The story then ends with a fixed formulaic expression in a matrix mood, typically the declarative. If matrix moods are encountered inside the story they usually represent quotations, and either these are followed by a verb of saying in a cosubordinative mood or a cosubordinative mood marker is attached directly to the quoted part. Another characteristic of Kwaza text grammar is anticipatory switch-reference, which indicates that the subject – or perhaps rather the topic – to be foregrounded in the following clause is different from that of the current clause. These rules of thumb also hold for the present text, although some exceptions, indicated in footnotes, can be observed. Finally, many cases of morphological ellipsis can be found in the text, where either the verb stem or the verbal inflection is omitted. Such omitted elements can often be understood from the context, but in some cases verb stem ellipsis signals a quotative construction.

The story is transcribed in the first line in accordance with a practical orthography that was developed for use and established in 2002 by the speakers of Kwaza. The transcription is then segmented morphologically in the second line and glossed in the third line, while the fourth and fifth lines contain free translations into English and Portuguese respectively. Zezinho's responses are indicated by [brackets]. The <y> corresponds to IPA [j], and the <'> corresponds to IPA [ʔ]. The only exception to the practical orthography concerns IPA [ɛ], which is spelled here as <ε> instead of <ee>.

2 Hakai dariya

'Grandfather Fox'

'Vovô Raposa'¹

(1) *hakai dariya*

hakai dariya

grandparent fox

'Grandfather Fox'

'Vovô Raposa'

(2) *etaitohoi tsiwidite huruyale arakate tya tsiwidite tya huruyaleta ta ata.*

etai-tohoi tsiwidite huruya-le arakate tya tsiwidite tya

woman-CLF:child girl like-RECP young.man CSO girl CSO

huruya-le-ta ta a-ta

like-RECP-CSO CSO exist-CSO

'An adolescent girl and a young man liked one another; they liked each other, that's how it was.'

'Uma moça e um rapaz novo se gostavam muito; eles se gostavam, assim viviam.'

(3) *hadeya hayanĩsiratiwi toma'i'ita tya anãi tyarahĩta tyarahĩta tsilehĩ*

hadeya haya-nĩ-tsi-rati-wi toma=i'ita-tya

night day-REFL-GER-FOC-time bathe=always-CSO

a-nãi-tyara-hĩ-ta² tyara-hĩ-ta tsi-le-hĩ

exist-NMLZ-PROC-NMLZ-CSO PROC-NMLZ-CSO GER-FRUST-NMLZ

'Before dawn she would usually take a bath in the river, that's how she happily lived, but ...'

¹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997445>

‘Ela costumava tomar banho no rio antes de clarear o dia, assim ela vivia feliz, porém ...’

- (4) *dariya tswa aretya orita tsiwiditewā hĩde ma’ĩte tomaya tyata*
*dariya tswa are-tya orita tsiwidite-wā hĩde ma’ĩte tomā-ya*³
 fox man turn-CSO go.there girl-AOBJ let’s.go cousin bathe-EXP
tyata
 say

‘Fox turned into a man and went up to the girl, saying “Let’s go! Cousin, let’s take a bath!”’⁴

‘Raposa se transformou em um homem, e foi falando para a moça, dizendo “Vamos, minha prima, vamos banhar!”’

- (5) *ta nāi waxonaryĩ wayata asata*
ta nāi wa=xona-ryĩ waya-ta asa-ta
 CSO like⁵ take=go.pathless-CLD:area bring-CSO leave-CSO

‘He took advantage of her and took her deep into the forest and left her there.’

‘Ele então se aproveitou dela e levou ela nas profundezas do mato e deixou ela lá.’

- (6) *haya damĩdita hariki tya tomā’etetya’ahĩ hikweta*
haya-damĩ-di-ta hariki tya tomā-ete-tya a-hĩ hi=kwe-ta
 day-want-DS-CSO now CSO bathe-COM-CSO exist-NMLZ go=enter-CSO

‘At dawn he⁶ would always bathe with her, so he entered the house, saying:’

‘Ao amanhecer o rapaz sempre ia tomar banho com ela, aí entrou na casa dizendo:’

²The combination *-tyarahĩta* gives the preceding verbal or zero-verbalized stem the connotation ‘luckily’ or ‘happily’.

³The exhortative paucal is a matrix mood. Since this is a quoted utterance, it can occur embedded in the overall cosubordinated clause chain.

⁴Background knowledge required here is that, every morning, the girl’s cousin mentioned in line (2) calls her to come out and bathe in the river (as is clear from line (6)). Fox has found out about this and takes advantage by pretending to be the girl’s cousin, while it is still dark.

⁵The verb root *nāi-* means ‘to be like, to act thus’. Here it refers to the rape of the girl.

⁶The real young man mentioned in line (2). Note also the different subject marker on the verb stem ‘to dawn’, marking discontinuity of the current topic.

- (7) *hĩde tomãya ma'ĩte cwatalehĩ*
hĩde tomã-ya ma'ĩte cwata-le-hĩ⁷
let's.go bathe-EXP cousin say-FRUST-NMLZ
'“Cousin, let's take a bath!” , but ...'
'“Prima, vamos banhar!” , mas ...'
- (8) *mãtyate o xiy mãtsasi bui'oyaheredalehĩtsi tyatata*
mã-tyate o xiy mã=tsasi
mother-3POSS oh! you call=follow
bui=o-ya-here-da-le-hĩ-tsi tyata-ta
leave=arrive-INTL-1SG-FRUST-NMLZ-RESI say-CSO
'her mother said to him: “Oh! I thought you had called her already and that's why she has gone.”'
'a mãe falou: “O! Pensei que você já chamou ela, e que por isso ela já foi.”'
- (9) *tsicwawata ahatyate tya mãtyate tya ka'awanihĩxote tsiwidite*
tsicwa-wa-ta aha-tyate tya mã-tyate tya ka'awanihĩ-xote
begin-ISBJ-CSO father-3POSS CSO mother-3POSS CSO suffer-TR
tsiuidite
girl
'Then her father and mother started to worry about the girl,'
'Aí, o pai e a mãe dela começavam ficar preocupado sobre a moça,'
- (10) *hedutihĩdwata*
hedutu-hĩ-dwa-ta
lose-NMLZ-IDS-CSO
'they understood that (she) had got lost ...'
'eles entenderam que ela sumiu ...'
- (11) *cwata tsicwawata ka'awanihĩxote tsiuidite*
cwata tsicwa-wa-ta ka'awanihĩ-xote tsiuidite
say begin-ISBJ-CSO suffer-TR girl
'it is said that they started to worry about the girl,'
'e dizem que começavam ficar realmente preocupado sobre a moça,'

⁷The combination *cwa-ta* (ISBJ-CSO) often occurs in narrations with the lexicalized meaning 'they say'/'it is said', and in some clear cases it has been glossed as such. The etymology of the verb root *tyata-* 'say to X' is not clear, but it probably contains the transitivizer (*-ta-*).

- (12) *tya tsi'ahĩte a dukĩrinitenãiko a mãtyate lehĩ*
tya tsi'a-hĩ-te a dukĩri-nite-nãi-ko a mã-tyate
 CSO silent-NMLZ-NMLZ exist long.for-INSTR-NMLZ-INS exist mother-3POSS
le-hĩ
 FRUST-NMLZ
 'and they lived in sadness; her mother lived longing for her daughter, but then ...'
 'e eles viviam na tristeza, e a mãe vivia sentindo saudades, mas aí ...'
- (13) *tinãits*
ti-nãi-tsi-re
 what-NMLZ-POT-INT
 'How is it again?'⁸
 'Como que é de novo?'
- (14) *katai towina cẽrĩ tsãrãnu'ĩta*
katai towi-na cẽrĩ tsãrãnu-ĩ'ta
 agouti clearing-LOC peanut dig-always
 'The agouti was in the garden digging for peanuts, as always'
 'A cutia estava na roça cavocando atras de amendoim, como sempre,'
- (15) *mãtyate tsiwiditedihĩ tsilehĩ*
mã-tyate tsiwidite-di-hĩ tsi-le-hĩ
 mother-3POSS girl-POSS-NMLZ GER-FRUST-NMLZ
 'the girl's mother, however ...'
 'mas a mãe da moça ...'
- (16) *tya xude'oya'ĩta xude'oya'ĩta*
tya xude=oya=ĩ'ta xude=oya=ĩ'ta
 CSO offend=run=always offend=run=always
 'said, while (the agouti was) harassing her and then running away time and again,'⁹
 'falou enquanto (a cutia estava) xingando e correndo o tempo inteiro'

⁸This is not part of the story. Here Edileusa's memory briefly fails. She turns to Zezinho, but then immediately picks up the thread of the story again.

⁹When one arrives at a swidden crop field, there may be agoutis scurrying around noisily as if intending to tease the visitor.

- (17) *tsuhũ xude'oya'i'íta tsiraire mārēritsaxata utexaraire*
tsũhũ xude=oya=ĩ'íta-tsi-rai-re mārēritsa-xa-ta
 what offend=run=always-GER-damn-INT person-2SG-CSO
ute-xa-rai-re
 tell-2SG-damn-INT
 “Why do you always harass us and run? If you were a person, I’d want you to tell us ...”
 “Para que você sempre xinga a gente e corre? Se você fosse uma pessoa, eu queria que você contasse ...”
- (18) *sidihĩ etohoi tiryĩ wayawaredata tsi'ahĩdahĩnārētsi tyatawasi*
si-di-hĩ etohoi ti-ryĩ waya-wa-re-da-ta
 I-POSS-NMLZ child what-CLD:area bring-ISBJ-INT-1SG-CSO
tsi'a-hĩ-da-hĩ-nārē-tsi tyata-wa-si¹⁰
 silent-NMLZ-1SG-NMLZ-real-RESI say-ISBJ-SWR
 “where they have taken my child; I’m really sad because of this,” it is told ...
 “para onde eles levaram a minha criança; Estou muito triste por causa disso”, se conta ...’
- (19) *yāsitya eta eta ěryāwāna eta mātīwā*
yāsi-tya ε-ta ε-ta ěryāwā-na ε-ta mātī-wā
 hear-CSO go-CSO go-CSO forest-LOC go-CSO daughter-AOBJ
 ‘He heard it and he went and went into the forest, going after the daughter.’
 ‘Ele ouviu e ele foi e foi no mato, indo atrás da filha.’
- (20) *awĩydaki mǎxahĩhesi ehetara wayetanĩ tyatata*
awĩy-da-ki mǎ-xa-hĩ-he-si ehetara waye-ta-ni
 see-1SG-DECL mother-2SG-NMLZ-NEG-SWR tell-IMP bring.back-1SGO-EXH
tyata-ta
 say-CSO
 ‘[He found her.] “Apparently you saw mother, so,¹¹ tell her to bring me back!” she said to him,’
 ‘[Achou a filha.] Ela falou: “Parece que você viu mamãe. Fala para ela que me traz de volta!”’

¹⁰The switch-reference mood indicates that there will shortly be an important turn of events.

¹¹At this stage, Agouti has found the daughter, and she speaks to him, using what is literally a quotative construction (‘Didn’t you say: “I saw mother?”’). The combination *hesi* or *hehĩsi* also means ‘well, so’ and is used for tail-head linkage.

- (21) *watxidĩnāi ta mārētata māvā*
watxi-dĩnāi ta mārē-ta-ta māvā
 true-manner say appear-TR-CSO¹² mother-AOBJ
 “Explain correctly to mother ...”
 “Explica bem para mamãe ...”
- (22) *mĩw arwenāđixale sidule waidĩnāixale*
mĩw arwenā-đi-xa-le si-du-le wai-dĩnāi-xa-le
*chicha*¹³ prepare-CAUS-2SG-PREC I-BER-only good-manner-2SG-PREC
 “when you prepare it, make proper *chicha* only for me ...”
 “quando preparar, faz *chicha* de verdade para mim ...”
- (23) *aihĩ tswa dariyaxwadule tēityadināixale tsukuxotexahĩ*
ai-hĩ tswa dariya-xwa-du-le tēitya-dĩnāi-xa-le
 that-NMLZ man fox-CLF:man-BER-only alone-manner-2SG-PREC
tsuku-xote-xa-hĩ
 chew-TR-2SG-NMLZ
 “and you mix separately for the fox-man only ...”
 “e para o homem raposa só, ...”
- (24) *yexwanũ kurakuranũ xale tsukuxale*
yexwa-nũ kurakura-nũ xa-le tsuku-xa-le
 jaguar-CLF:powder chicken-CLF:powder 2SG-PREC chew-2SG-PREC
 “you mix in dog shit and chicken poop ...”
 “você mistura bosta de cachorro e bosta de galinha ...”
- (25) *tēityadināi kudĩna dokwedĩwayanĩxale sidule*
tēitya-dĩnāi kudĩ-na do=kwe-đi
 alone-manner-2SG-PREC calabash-LOC pour=enter-CAUS
waya-nĩ-xa-le si-du-le
 bring-REFL-2SG-PREC I-BER-only
 “you put it inside a calabash by itself and bring it to me ...”
 “você mistura e coloque numa cabaça separada e traz para mim, e separado ...”

¹²The transitivizer is probably lexicalized yielding the meaning ‘to explain’.

¹³In the cultures of several indigenous peoples of Rondônia, *chicha* is a lightly alcoholic fermented beverage usually based on yam, manioc, or maize.

- (26) *těityanāi dokwexale kataidule emě tsěimě*
těitya-nāi do=kwe-xa-le katai-du-le e-mě
 alone-NMLZ pour=enter-2SG-PREC agouti-BER-only Ø-CLF:porridge
tsěi-mě
 one-CLF:porridge
 “and for Agouti you separately put in maize porridge ...”
 “para Cutia você coloque bagaço de milho,”
- (27) *těityanāile wayanĩxale wayetatsitse tyata daheretsile*
těitya-nāi-le waya-nĩ-xa-le waye-ta-tsi-tse¹⁴ tyata
 alone-NMLZ-PREC bring-REFL-2SG-PREC bring.back-1SGO-POT-DECL say
da-here-tsi-le¹⁵
 1SG-INTL-POT-PREC
 “and you bring it to me,” I think she said.
 “e você traz isso para mim,” acho que ela falou.”
- (28) *watxile hayadita tsātxa atxitxi cwata*
watxile haya-di-ta tsātxa atxitxi cwata
 finally day-DS-CSO scatter maize say
 ‘And then on the next day mother (went up onto the storage platform and) dropped maize (cobs) on the ground, so ...’
 ‘No dia seguinte a mãe (subiu no paiol e) derrubou (espigas de) milho no chão, aí ...’
- (29) *arwenāwata waya horomūtya wayata*
arwenā-wa-ta waya horo-mū-tya waya-ta
 prepare-ISBJ-CSO bring finish-CLF:liquid-CSO bring-CSO
 ‘she finished preparing the *chicha* and went to take it there.’
 ‘ela aprontou a *chicha* e levou lá.’
- (30) *karěxu katsucwata xale axehĩtse*
karěxu katsu-cwa-ta xa-le axe-hĩ-tse
 dry.heartwood cross-ISBJ-CSO 2SG-PREC find-NMLZ-DECL
 “If you go across a dry log” she would meet (her daughter),
 “Quando você travessa um pau cerno,” ela ia encontrar (a filha),

¹⁴The declarative mood is a matrix mood. Here it marks the end of a chain of quoted utterances that started with (20) and that is embedded in the general cosubordinate clause chain by *tyata*.

¹⁵This clause in the first person singular represents a metatextual remark by Edileusa.

- (31) *tsihĩkitya*
tsi-hĩ-ki-tya
 GER-NMLZ-DECL-CSO
 ‘he (Agouti) having told her thus.’
 ‘assim Cutia tinha falado.’
- (32) *watxile karẽxu katsutyata xareyawata axehĩko tsadwene*
*watxile karẽxu katsu-tya ta xareya-wa-ta axe-hĩ-tya*¹⁶
 finally dry.heartwood cross-CSO CSO search-ISBJ-CSO find-NMLZ-CSO
tsadwe-ne
 onto.path-DIR:hither
 ‘Later, crossing the dry log, they¹⁷ then searched and got back onto the path.’
 ‘Mais tarde, ela com a sua família toda travessaram o cerno, procuraram e saíram na estrada de novo.’
- (33) *itso’iri tatsitswa bu’aruryĩ aruxe aihĩ tsiwiditewã*
itso’ii-ri-tatsitswa bu=aruryĩ aru-xe ai-hĩ
 liana-CLF:flat-DIR:backside put=leave place-CLF:leaf that-NMLZ
tsiwidite-wã
 girl-AOBJ
 ‘There, under a huge vine, was that girl, where she had been left sitting (by Fox).’
 ‘Alí, em baixo de um cipozeiro (Raposa) tinha deixado a moça sentada.’
- (34) *etai etsiratihĩ kudinũwata*
etai e-tsi-rati-hĩ ku-di-nũ-wa-ta
 woman have-GER-FOC-NMLZ insert-CAUS-CLF:powder-ISBJ-CSO
 ‘The thing that a woman has¹⁸ had been stuck in the ground ...’
 ‘A coisa que a mulher tem estava fincado em baixo da terra ...’

¹⁶In the transcription, Mario replaced the instrumental marker *-ko* by the cosubordinative marker *-tya*.

¹⁷The girl’s mother and the rest of her family.

¹⁸Her clitoris. Edileusa has skipped a part mentioned by Mario where, after Fox raped the girl, her clitoris grew and became long like a penis. The girl was then fixed to the ground with her clitoris, so that she could not get up and run away.

- (35) *txe:nũ tsārānũ kudiratsanũcwasi ũryĩ ũxeryĩ*
txe-nũ tsārānũ
 close-CLF:powder soil
ku-dĩ-ratsa-nũ-cwa-si ũryĩ ũxe-ryĩ
 insert-CAUS-DIR:underneath-CLF:powder-ISBJ-SWR sit remain-CLD:area
 ‘it was secured into the ground, underneath the soil where she remained sitting.’
 ‘estava fixado no fundo da terra onde ela permaneceu sentada.’
- (36) *hariki orita watxile kuidi aihĩ dariyaxwawã cwasi isitsinãixwadita*
hariki orita watxile kui-dĩ ai-hĩ dariya-xwa-wã
 now arrive.there finally drink-CAUS that-NMLZ fox-CLF:man-AOBJ
cwa-si isi-tsi-nãixwa-dĩ-ta
 ISBJ-SWR die-GER-SIMU-DS-CSO
 ‘Now, when they arrived, they gave Fox that drink, and he seemed to get drunk.’
 ‘Aí, quando chegaram eles deram aquela bebida para Raposa, e parecia que ele ficou bêbado.’
- (37) *watxile duwata yeyedaratuwata ehĩtyatewã cwata*
watxile du-wa-ta ye~ye=daratu-wa-ta e-hĩ-tyate-wã
 finally all-ISBJ-CSO dig~dig=to.after-ISBJ-CSO have-NMLZ-3POSS-AOBJ
cwa-ta
 ISBJ-CSO
 ‘Then all (the family) got together and started digging after her thing.’
 ‘Aí, eles todos se juntaram e começavam cavocando atrás a coisa da menina.’
- (38) *yewata yewata lonã yecwata oyahairyĩle dicwasi*
ye-wa-ta ye-wa-ta lonã ye-cwa-ta oya=hai-ryĩ-le
 dig-ISBJ-CSO dig-ISBJ-CSO hole dig-ISBJ-CSO arrive=final-CLD:area-only
dĩ-cwa-si
 cut-ISBJ-SWR
 ‘They dug and dug a hole and dug and (by accident) cut it off at the very end ...’¹⁹

¹⁹ As Mario explains, the part of the girl’s clitoris that stayed in the ground turned later into a caecilian, known in Portuguese as “cobra-cega” (*Gymnophiona*), or an amphisbaenian worm lizard, known in Portuguese as “cobra-de-duas-cabeças” (*Amphisbaenidae*).

‘Cavocaram e cavocaram um buraco e no fundo eles cortaram (acidentalmente) o finalzinho da coisa ...’

- (39) *cwata waye etai cwata we’ihĩ cwasi*
cwa-ta waye etai cwa-ta we-ĩ-hĩ cwa-si
 ISBJ-CSO bring.back woman ISBJ-CSO carry-ATT-NMLZ ISBJ-SWR
 ‘then they took her and brought her back ...’
 ‘aí levaram ela e trouxeram de volta ...’

- (40) *etai dicwahĩ txuhũitsihĩle karitsuti areki cwarati*
etai di-cwa-hĩ txuhũi-tsi-hĩ-le karitsuti are-ki
 woman cut-ISBJ-NMLZ small-GER-NMLZ-only worm.lizard turn-DECL
*cwa-rati*²⁰
 ISBJ-FOC
 ‘only the woman’s small cut-off part (which stayed behind) turned into a worm lizard, that is what they say.’
 ‘somente aquele pequeno pedaço cortado ficou para trás e virou numa cobra-cega, é que dizem.’

- (41) *hm*
 [response from Zezinho:] ‘Hm.’
 [resposta do Zezinho:] ‘Hm.’

- (42) *cwata etaile we axina cwata*
cwa-ta etai-le we axi-na cwa-ta
 ISBJ-CSO woman-only carry house-LOC ISBJ-CSO
 ‘Then they carried the woman home ...’
 ‘Aí carregaram a menina para casa ...’

- (43) *dariyaxwale isi mĩw kuita ta*
dariya-xwa-le isi mĩu kui-ta ta
 fox-CLF:man-only die chicha drink-CSO CSO
 ‘Fox got completely drunk drinking *chicha* ...’
 ‘Raposa ficou completamente bêbado da chicha ...’

²⁰The story ends provisionally with the declarative matrix mood and a fixed formulaic quotative expression (‘they (say)’). However, nudged by Zezinho’s minimal responses, several concluding parts are added hereafter.

- (44) *wɛwata wasi airyĩ*
wɛ-wa-ta wa-si ai-ryĩ
 carry-ISBJ-CSO ISBJ-SWR that-CLD:area
 ‘while they were taking her there ...’
 ‘enquanto estavam levando a moça ...’
- (45) *hariki dariyaxwale turwetya isi mĩw kuita isihĩ tya*
hariki dariya-xwa-le turwe-tya isi mĩu kui-ta isi-hĩ tya
 now fox-CLF:man-only heal-CSO die chicha drink-CSO die-NMLZ CSO
 ‘Then Fox recovered from getting drunk on the *chicha*.’
 ‘Aí, Raposa sarou da bebedeira da chicha.’
- (46) *kataiwāle tiryĩ oyare etai awĩyxare etai wayeware etai tyata ta*
katai-wā-le ti-ryĩ oya-re etai awĩ-xa-re etai
 agouti-AOBJ-only what-CLD:area arrive-INT woman see-2SG-INT woman
waye-wa-re etai tya-ta ta
 bring.back-ISBJ-INT woman ISBJ-CSO CSO
 ‘Then (he asked) Agouti: “Where has the woman gone? Did you see the woman? Did they take her back?” he said.’
 ‘Aí, perguntou para Cutia: “Onde foi a mulher? Viu a mulher? Eles levaram ela de volta?”’
- (47) *kataiwāle tināi mā’are tināi tsotsotsi ticwahĩ*
katai-wā-le ti-nāi mā-a-re ti-nāi tso~tsotsi
 agouti-AOBJ-only what-NMLZ call-1PL.INCL-INT what-NMLZ RED~cotton
tĩ-cwa-hĩ
 spin-ISBJ-NMLZ
 ‘On Agouti ... What did we use to call it? What is the thing for spinning cotton?’
 ‘Na Cutia ... Como a gente costumava chamar? Qual é a coisa para fazer linha de algodão?’
- (48) *toweyasi toweyahĩ*
towɛ-ya-si towɛ-ya-hĩ
 break-IOBJ-SWR break-IOBJ-NMLZ
 [response from Zezinho:] ‘The thing to pierce and to break off?’
 [resposta do Zezinho:] ‘Aquele de furar e quebrar?’

- (49) *tsotsotsi'inyiteko tsotsotsi tīcwaratihĩkole toweyase cwasi*
tso~tsotsi-ii-nite-ko tso~tsotsi
 RED~cotton-CLF:thread-INSTR-INS RED~cotton
tī-cwa-rati-hĩ-ko-le towe-ya-se cwa-si
 spin-ISBJ-FOC-NMLZ-INS-only break-IOBJ-CLF:anus ISBJ-SWR
 'With the thing for making yarn, with that very thing for spinning yarn,
 Fox poked Agouti in his ass and it broke off.'
 'Com a coisa para tecer linha, com aquela coisa mesma, Raposa enfiou na
 bunda do Cutia e quebrou.'
- (50) *cwahĩta katai esinyũtorihĩ eki tsināi ewahĩtsi*
cwa-hĩ-ta katai esinyũ-tori-hĩ e-ki=tsi-nāi
 ISBJ-NMLZ-CSO agouti tail-CLF:tip-NMLZ have-DECL=GER-NMLZ
e-wa-hĩ-tsi
 have-ISBJ-NMLZ-RESI
 'That is why people say Agouti has a short tail like that.'
 'Pessoal conta que é por isso que a cutia tem um rabinho curto assim.'
- (51) *cwata xui wadicwahĩki cwahĩ*
cwa-ta xui wadi-cwa-hĩ-ki cwa-hĩ
 ISBJ-CSO bag give-ISBJ-NMLZ-DECL ISBJ-NMLZ
 'Then it is said he was given a crochet bag,'²¹
 'Aí a família da moça deu uma bolsa de tucum para Cutia;'
- (52) *xuinyẽ etuna exiitswa unāhĩ'e nāi e katai cwasi*
xui-nyẽ etu-na exiitswa unā-hĩ-e nāi e katai cwa-si
 bag-CLF:leaf back-LOC fur long-NMLZ-too like have agouti ISBJ-SWR
 'giving him a bag (made out of palm leaves) on his back, that is why
 Agouti also has long fur.'
 'deram a ele uma bolsa (de fibras de tucum) e assim é que a cutia tem pêlo
 comprido nas costas.'

²¹By way of thanks, the girl gave Agouti a traditional type of crochet bag (known in local Portuguese as *marico*), the yarn of which is handmade out of the fibers of the young leaves of the *wade* 'tucuma' (*Astrocaryum tucuma*) or *hakare* 'buriti' (*Mauritia flexuosa*) palm trees.

- (53) *etailetsihĩ tsi'ahĩte ata a ta tswa aure'ihĩ*
etai-le-tsi-hĩ tsi'a-hĩ-te a-ta a ta tswa
 woman-only-GER-NMLZ silent-NMLZ-NMLZ exist-CSO exist CSO man
aure-ĩ-hĩ
 marry-ATT-NMLZ
 'Only the girl remained sad (having lost a piece of herself), married to a man,'
 'Aí, somente a menina ficava na tristeza (porque perdeu um pedaço), agora casou com um homem,'
- (54) *hariki tswatete mārēritsaxwa tse cwaratihĩtsi*
*hariki tswa-tete mārēritsa-xwa tse cwa-rati-hĩ-tsi*²²
 now man-INTENS person-CLF:man yes ISBJ-FOC-NMLZ-RESI
 'now a real human man, they say, that's the way it is told.'
 'agora um homem de verdade, dizem, assim que é contado.'
- (55) *a'ayawi cwata unĩtetawata txarwa hakahĩ awi*
a~a-ya-wi cwa-ta unĩteta-wa-ta txarwa haka-hĩ
 exist-exist-IOBJ-time ISBJ-CSO converse-ISBJ-CSO first old-NMLZ
a-wi
 exist-time
 'Speaking today about our olden times,'
 'Agora, falando sobre o tempo que os velhos viviam,'
- (56) *tēitya hihirwatsi tsiwidite tyatawa mārētawata cwaki cwarati*
tēitya hihirwa-tsi tsiwidite tyata-wa mārē-ta-wa-ta cwa-ki
 alone walk-MON girl say-ISBJ explain-TR-ISBJ-CSO ISBJ-DECL
cwa-rati
 ISBJ-FOC
 'they didn't let girls walk alone; they gave them advice, this is the way it is told.'
 'eles não deixaram as meninas andar sozinho; eles deram conselho, assim que fizeram.'

²²The last word of this sentence represents a formulaic expression that terminates the traditional story. Hereafter a few other clauses are added, in (55) and (56), explaining the norms of olden times, which also end in a formulaic expression. Then in (57) and (59) these norms are contrasted with those of the present.

- (57) *txarwa txana heyahĩ*
txarwa txana he-ya-hĩ
 first we.INCL NEG-IOBJ-NMLZ
 ‘Nowadays we don’t.’²³
 ‘Hoje, a gente não faz isso.’
- (58) *hm*
 [response from Zezinho:] ‘Hm.’
 [resposta do Zezinho:] ‘Hm.’
- (59) *tsiwidite xareredinãiko adi’ata*
tsiwidite xarere-dinãi-ko a-di-a-ta
 girl crazy-manner-INS exist-CAUS-1PL.INCL-CSO
 ‘We let girls act crazy like that, in present day life.’
 ‘Hoje deixamos as moças fazer bagunça, vivendo assim.’
- (60) *só isso*
*a-a-hĩ ai-hĩ-le-tse*²⁴
 exist-1PL.INCL-NMLZ that-NMLZ-only-DECL
 ‘That’s it, just that.’
 ‘Só isso.’

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²³Lit. ‘Nowadays we aren’t (given advice).’

²⁴On the original recording Edileusa ended her narrative in Portuguese by saying: *só isso* ‘just that/that’s it’. In the transcription Mario replaced those words by their Kwaza equivalent *a’ahĩ aihĩletse*, in order to complete the sentence – as well as the entire story – in a declarative mood.

Non-standard abbreviations

AOBJ	animate object	INSTR	instrument nominalizer
ATT	attributive	INT	interrogative
BER	beneficiary (nominal case marker)	INTENS	intensivizer
CLD	classifier/directional	INTL	intentional
CSO	cosubordinative	IOBJ	indefinite object
DIR	directional	ISBJ	indefinite subject
DS	different subject	MON	monitory
EMPH	emphatic	NEI	negative imperative
EXH	exhortative	POT	potential
EXP	exhortative paucal	PREC	preconditional
FRUST	frustrative	RED	reduplication
GER	gerundi(v)al	RESI	resignation
IDS	indefinite different subject	SGO	singular object
		SIMU	simulative
		SWR	switch reference mood

References

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