Chapter 11

Aikanã

Joshua Birchall
Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi

Hein van der Voort
Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi

Luiz Aikanã

Cândida Aikanã

1 Introduction

The story of Fox is a myth told by different peoples of the southwestern Amazon, including the Aikanã. The Aikanã people speak an isolate language, which, with about 225 speakers out of an ethnic group of around 560, is to be considered seriously endangered. The speakers of Aikanã live in two different indigenous reserves and in several towns and villages in southeastern Rondônia, Brazil, surrounded by the deforested lands of big cattle ranchers and soy farmers. The Aikanã represent the majority ethnic group in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve, which is shared with two minority populations: the Kwaza (ISOLATE) and the Latundê (NORTHERN NAMBIKWARA). Several mixed Aikanã and Kwaza families live in another nearby reserve called Kwazá do Rio São Pedro. Although the Aikanã language is still passed on to members of the youngest generations in both indigenous reserves, knowledge of the oral and musical traditions is disappearing rapidly. In addition to the two reserves in southeastern Rondônia, there are two other reserves in the southwest and the north of Rondônia where Aikanã populations live together with other ethnic groups. The Aikanã language

The indigenous reserves where the Aikanã live, shown in yellow.

is neither used nor remembered in those reserves, which are located far from traditional Aikanã lands.

The Aikanã language is morphologically highly complex. Most of this complexity concerns the verb, whereas fewer morphemes are used exclusively on nouns. However, due to the availability of highly productive nominalization strategies, nouns can also be morphologically complex. Aikanã has a great number of classifier and directional-like suffixes, several valency-changing suffixes, and suffixes marking tense, modality and aspect. Frequently occurring sequences of bound morphemes may become fixed with a derived meaning that is related to that of
There is a wealth of main clause and adverbial clause mood suffixes, and extensive clause chains can be built using a switch reference marking system similar to that of Kwaza. The person marking system involves several inflectional paradigms for subject, object, beneficiary, and reflexive functions. There are different paradigms for subject marking — some of them suffixing and one prefixing — depending on verbal classes that are not yet fully understood. Third person subjects are often unmarked. Aikanã displays a basic distinction between future and unmarked non-future tense, but there are additional past and remote future tenses. Future tense and desiderative modality canonically involve double person marking: a person marker at the end of the verb stem, just before the mood inflection, and a person marker adjacent to the verb root, which is obligatorily a first person singular or plural, expressing an embedded perspective similar to that of quotation (van der Voort 2013; 2016). Although the language isolates of Rondônia, namely Aikanã, Kanoé and Kwaza, display several similar lexical and grammatical traits, there is no compelling evidence that they should be considered genealogically related (van der Voort 2005).

The following story was told by Luiz Aikanã during his visit in June 2013 to the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi in Belém. The story was recorded in audio and video formats as part of a documentation project funded through the DoBeS programme. After recording, the story was transcribed, analyzed and translated into Portuguese with Luiz’s help. Luiz was born in 1952 and learned this and various other stories from his grandmother, Kwã'ĩ. He has been living and working on the Tubarão-Latundê reserve since it was officially settled in 1973. Because of his knowledge, experience and interest, he is one of the principal sources of information on Aikanã language and culture. Additional consultation on the analysis involved Cândida Aikanã, who is a native speaker of the Aikanã language with full command of Portuguese and is also a member of the DoBeS project team.

The story of Fox takes place in mythological times, when animals transformed into humans at will. As in the Kwaza story of Grandfather Fox, Fox in the Aikanã story is very smart and knows how to trick people. Also similar to the Kwaza story, Fox leads a young woman astray (and in this case her younger sister as well) after having found out about her plans for the next day. And again, the lesson of the story is that one should avoid speaking about one’s plans for the future because that will attract adversity. The Aikanã story is quite different from the Kwaza one in several respects, but it similarly conveys this warning on the danger of talking about the future, which can be considered a taboo that still

\[1\] When verb roots and suffixes enter into such a bond, person markers sometimes may intervene and therefore occur as infixes in the morphemic analysis (e.g.: lines 49, 53, 82, 108).
forms part of the present way of life of the Aikanã people despite the enormous changes that they and the other indigenous peoples of Rondônia have undergone during the 20th century.

The story is presented with a rather broad phonetic transcription on the first line, and is then segmented phonologically and morphologically on the second line. The third line contains the glosses and the fourth and fifth lines contain free translations in English and Portuguese. It is worth pointing out that description of the Aikanã language is still ongoing and the analysis presented here will be further refined as this work continues to progress. Aikanã has had a native writing tradition since the late 1980s when an orthography was developed by missionaries. This orthography is used with varying success at the schools on the reserve, in Bible translation, in a recent dictionary by Silva et al. (2013) and in the present text. The <s> usually corresponds to IPA [ts], the <x> corresponds to [tʃ], the <y> corresponds to [j], the <z> often corresponds to [ð], and the <ʹ> corresponds to [ʔ]. Vowels following a nasal consonant are usually nasalized, but this is not marked in the orthography used here. The central vowel [ɨ] and its nasal counterpart [ɨ̃] are allophones of the phonemes /a/ and /ã/, respectively. They occur only before an [i], but since they are part of the existing orthography they are preserved here.

2 Eruerazũ kya’apa’i

‘The story of Fox’

‘A História do Raposa’

(1) hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwã’i kyã’arisukudiweye kyãkarekaẽ

hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwã’i
1SG 1SG.poss grandmother Kwã’i
kyã-are-izu-ku-diwe-ye kyã-ka-re-ka-ẽ
speak-poor-rem.pst-1sg.ben-pst.nmlz-obj speak-1sg-fut-1sg-decl

‘I am going to tell a story my grandmother Kwã’i told me.’

‘Eu vou contar o que minha avó Kwã’i contava pra mim.’

\footnote{Recordings of this story are available from https://zenodo.org/record/885240}
(2) hena detyamii namii hiku’ete kuka’i-ete wareyü̃pü
he-na detya-mii namii hiku-ete kuka-i-ete ware-yû-pû
then-DS woman-DIM cousin other-ALL tell-NMLZ-ALL go-DIR:close-SS
‘Once a young woman went to talk with her cousin.’
‘Dai uma moça foi falar com a prima dela.’

(3) derinena hikiri’ikanawikere axawapata’ẽ kukaẽ
deri-ne-na hikiri-’ika-na wikere a-xa-wa-pa-ta-’ẽ
kuka-ẽ
tell-DECL
‘“Let’s go dig up peanuts early tomorrow morning early,” the cousin said.’
‘“Vamos lá arrancar amendoim amanhã cedo,” falou a prima.’

(4) hena kadupii kaxata’erei
he-na kadupii ka-xa-ta-’ere-’ẽ
then-DS alright do-1PL-REM.FUT-HORT-IMP
‘“OK, let’s do it,” (the girl replied).’
‘“Está bem, vamos fazer,” (a moça respondeu).’

(5) hena hepü ka’yareyada eruera anapayůzadeare
he-na he-pü ka-’ya-re-yada eruera
then-DS say-SS 1SG-COME-FUT-REAS fox
anapa-yůza-de-are
listen-DIR:next-DIR:outside-INFR
‘“Then I’ll come back,” (she replied), but Fox was listening through the wall.’
‘“Então vou voltar,” (ela respondeu), mas o Raposa estava escutando elas através da parede.’

(6) anapayůzadepū kawāyada hikiri’ikanawikere
anapa-yůza-de-pū kawā-yada hikiri-ika-na
listen-DIR:next-DIR:outside-SS be.like-REAS dark-INTENS-DS
‘He was listening from behind the wall, it was very dark.’
‘Ele estava escutando atrás da parede bem de manhã cedo.’
(7) derinena hikiri’ikan a mēyāpū tawĩmeata’ē kukaē
deri-ne-na hikiri-’ika-na mē-yā-pū tawĩ-me-a-ta-’ē
light-PFV-DS dark-INTENS-DS 2SG-come-IS await-2SG-1SG-FUT-IMP
kuka-ē
tell-DECL
“So you come get me early morning tomorrow!” the girl said.
“Então você me chama amanhã cedo!” a moça falou.

(8) hepū hukadupɨi hepū xünehepū
he-pü hukadupɨi he-pü xüne-he-pü
then-SS alright then-SS return-3SG-SS
“OK,” the cousin said and left.
“OK,” a prima falou, e foi embora.

(9) hena zune iriane
he-na zune iriane
then-DS night middle
‘Then in the middle of the night …
‘Daí no meio da noite…’

(10) derikanerena mɨitü ɨitüderine
deri-ka-ne-re-na mɨitü iitü-deri-ne
day-1SG-PFV-FUT-DS only be.different-NMLZ-EMPH
‘It was going to be dawn soon.
‘Estava querendo amanhecer ainda.’

(11) yā’i eruera apa’ixüte
yā-i eruera apa-ixüte
come-NMLZ fox say-REP
‘Fox came, they say.
‘O Raposa veio, disseram.’

(12) eruera yāpū
eruera yā-pū
fox come-SS
‘Fox came.
‘O Raposa veio.’
“Cousin, cousin!” he called. “Yes?” she responded.

“Prima, prima!” ele chamou. “Sim?” ela respondeu.

“Let’s go digging up peanuts as planned,” he told her.

“Vamos arrancar amendoim como combinamos,” ele falou para ela.

“But damn, it’s still dark outside, really dark,” (she replied).

“Mas poxa, ainda está escuro lá fora, bem escuro,” (ela respondeu).

“Why do we have to go now?”

“Porque temos que fazer agora?”

“No, dawn is almost here.”

“Não, está clareando já.”

“It’s because the garden is far away, really far away,” he said.

“É porque a roça fica longe, bem longe mesmo,” ele falou.
(19) *hena mamaderi hürüwanipü*
 *he-na mama-deri ḥürü-wa-ne-pü*
 then-DS mother-3.POSS rise-DIR:up-PFV-SS
 ‘Then her mother awoke.’
 ‘Daí a mãe dela acordou.’

(20) *hena hikiri’ika’iwã tławameapü kameazati*
 *he-na hikiri-ika-iwã tlaw-me-a-pü ka-meaza-ti*
 then-DS dark-INTENS-ADMON what-2PL-SS do-2PL-FUT.INT
 ‘But it’s still dark out, why are you going?’ she said.
 ‘Mas está escuro ainda. Por que vocês vão fazer agora?’ ela falou.

(21) *izada-derineipita’ẽ eyedupa kukadupa*
 *iza-deri-ne-i-pita-’ẽ eye-dupa kuka-dupa*
 far-light-PFV-NMLZ-PROC-IMP 3PL.OBJ-CONC tell-CONC
 ‘Let the sun come up first,” she told them, but…’
 ‘Deixa clarear mais,” ela falou pra elas, mas…’

(22) *hinaẽ kapü derinedupa kawaẽ eyepü*
 *hina-ẽ ka-pü deri-ne-dupa kawa-ẽ eye-pü*
 no-DECL do-SS light-PFV-CONC be-DECL 3PL.OBJ-SS
 ‘No, it’s already dawn,” Fox said to them.”
 ‘Não, está clareando já,” Raposa falou para elas.”

(23) *hedupana purikii’eneke bubu’he’iwã tławaxeapü warexatii kukaẽ*
 *he-dupana purikii-’ene-ke bubu-’he’-iwã tlaw-xea-pü ware-xa-ti*
 say-TEMP flute-COL-ALSO dance-3-ADMON what-1PL-SS go-1PL-FUT.INT
 *kuka-ẽ*
 tell-DECL
 ‘But when he said that, the girl said, “The musicians are also dancing,
 how shall we get past?”’
 ‘Mas na hora que ele falou isso, a menina respondeu, “Os músicos estão
dançando ainda, como é que vamos passar?”’

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3 At this point, men are still playing flutes and dancing, which lasts all night. In accordance
with traditional custom, women are not allowed to witness the event and see or even hear the
flutes, which are sacred.
(24) hinaẽ kapü xarükanapiire’ẽ
hina-ẽ ka-pü xa-rüka-napa-re-’ẽ
nO-decl do-ss 1pl-dir:around-clf:forest-fut-imp
“No, we’ll go around them through the brush (behind the house).”
“No, vamos desviar pelo mato (atrás da casa).”

(25) üre’apa’ine xarükanapiire’ẽ kukaẽ
üre-apa’i-ne xa-rüka-napa-re-’ẽ kuka-ẽ
hide-ACT.NMLZ-LOC 1pl-dir:around-clf:forest-almost-imp tell-decl
“We will sneak around them,” said Fox.’
“Vamos desviar eles escondidos,” falou o Raposa.’

(26) tãwãmeapü waremea’ĩ kukaẽ
tãwã-mea-pü ware-mea-’ĩ kuka-ẽ
what-2pl-ss go-2pl-int say-decl
“How is it that you came?” the girl said.’
“Como é que você veio?” ela falou.’

(27) baba hapükemukahana kãyãpü kayaẽ
baba hapü-ke-muka-a-na ka-yã-pü ka-yã-ẽ
father hold-3-clf:eye-1sg.obj-ds 1sg-come-ss 1sg-come-decl
“Father covered my face, and then I came,” (Fox said).’
“Meu pai segurou meu rosto, daí eu vim,” (Raposa falou).’

(28) hukadupii kukaẽ
hukadupii kuka-ẽ
alright tell-decl
“Alright,” she said.’
“Tudo bem,” ela falou.’

(29) kadupii kaxare’ereĩ hepũ hena
kadupii ka-xa-re-’ẽ he-pũ he-na
alright do-1pl-fut-imp say-ss then-ds
“Alright, then let’s go,” she said, and then …’
“Tudo bem, então vamos,” ela falou, e daí …’
Her mother said, “In that case, bring your little sister. I am going to make chicha today.”

‘A mãe dela falou, “Então leva sua irmãzinha, vou fazer chicha hoje.”

“She is always crying.”

“Ela fica chorando.”

“Carry your little sister on your back,” (Fox) told her. “Alright,” (she responded).


‘She put her little sister on her back and “Let’s go!” (she said).’

‘Ela colocou a irmãzinha nas costas e “Vamos embora!” (ela falou).’

‘She went outside. It was dark.’

‘Ela saiu pra fora. Já escureceu.’

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4 In Rondônia, this is usually a lightly alcoholic drink based on boiled fermented maize, manioc or yams, which is prepared by women. Elsewhere it is also known as kashirí or caxiri.

5 The form deri is a false start: the narrator begins to say derinena ‘at daybreak’ (lit. ‘light-PFV-ds’) but then corrects himself, saying zãme ‘today’.
Although it was dark, they went to the garden.
‘Mesmo no escuro, eles foram pra roça.’

“But where is it?” asked the girl. “Wow, it's still far away. It's far,” he replied.
‘Mas onde que é?’ ela perguntou. “Nossa, está longe ainda. Fica longe.” ele respondeu.

‘Didn’t I tell you it was far?’ he said, fooling them.
‘Já não falei que fica longe?’ falou, enganando elas.

‘Then they arrived at a termite mound where he lives.’
‘Daí chegaram numa casa de cupins de barro onde ele mora.’

‘It’s of course full of holes where he lives.’
‘Está cheio de buracos onde ele mora.’

‘Then he covered their eyes and entered.’
‘Dai tampou os olhos delas e entrou.’
(41)  waredurikapapü
    ware-durika-pa-pü
  go-DIR:inside-TR-SS
  ‘They went inside.’
  ‘Entraram pra dentro.’

(42)  hena kiinezũ keza iitühene’ena
    he-na kiine-zũ keza iitü-he-ne’e-na
  then-DS 3SG-POSS house be.different-3-ITE-DS
  ‘His house was very different.’
  ‘Daí a casa dele estava diferente.’

(43)  kawã kayaparehãyãpü kawãtena ārüakukapederiame hena
    kawã ka-ya-pa-re-hãyã-pü kawãte-na
  be.like 1SG-COME-TR-FUT-1PL.OBJ-SS because-DS
    āryüa-kuka-pe-deri-ame he-na
  know-CLF:body-CLF:round-NMLZ-SUP then-DS
  “He really is leading us astray,” the older and somewhat more
  knowledgeable girl thought.’
  “Ele falou isso só para judiar de nós,” aquela que é mais sabida pensou.’

(44)  wāwā’ĩ’ikaderihame kapü hina’i hina kukaē
    wāwā’i-’ika-deri-hame ka-pü hina-i hina kuka-ē
  child-INTENS-NMLZ-SUP do-SS NO-NMLZ NO SAY-DECL
  ‘The little child didn’t worry at all, didn’t say anything.’
  ‘A criança mais nova nem se liga, não fala nada.’

(45)  tāwāxeapü kaxa’i erükazapa’i kawã dukumii kawãtena
    tāwā-xea-pü ka-xa’i erükazapa’i kawã dukumii kawãte-na
  what-1PL-SS do-1PL-INT wow! be.like ruin because-DS
  “How is it that we stopped here? Wow, it must be some spirit messing
  with us.”
  “Como é que nós paremos aqui? Poxa, é sombração que está mexendo
  com a gente.”
(46) namii kayareapiite'i
   namii  ka-ya-re-a-pa-i-te'i
cousin 1SG-COME-FUT-1SG.OBJ-TR-NMLZ-EMPH
   “I thought it was my cousin!”
   “Pensei que era minha prima!”

(47) he'ẽ kapū ā'apakukaẽ
   he-'ẽ  ka-pū ā-'a-pa-kuka-ẽ
say-DECL do-SS think-3SG.REFL-TR-CLF:BODY-DECL
   ‘She went on thinking and became sad.’
   ‘Ela foi pensando e ficou triste.’

(48) nake tãwã ãanaẽ kapū hina'ĩ'ẽ
   nake  tãwã ā-a-na-ẽ  ka-pū hina-'ĩ-'ẽ
COND what think-1SG.OBJ-NEG-DECL do-SS no-NMLZ-DECL
   “What can I do? There is nothing.”
   “Como que posso fazer? Não podemos fazer nada.”

(49) hena'ẽ zamiya hiku is'ideri dukanuẽ hepū yoa
   hena-'ẽ  zamiya hiku  ise-'i-deri  d-u<ka>nũ-ẽ  he-pū
quiet-IMP now other small-NMLZ-NMLZ 1SG-HUNGRY<1SG>-DECL say-SS
   cry
   ‘The little one was crying from hunger.’
   ‘A outra pequena estava chorando de fome.’

(50) he'ẽ kapū kiine hiku ti'iwete ũnenudupa
   he-'ẽ  ka-pū kiine hiku  ti'iwe-ke  ũ<ne>nu-dupa
say-DECL do-SS 3SG other GROW-COM hungry<PFV>-CONC
   ‘The grown one also had gotten hungry but (she held on).’
   ‘A outra grande também estava com fome mas aguentou.’

(51) tãwã'ãnaẽ he'ẽ yoaẽ
   tãwã-'ã-na-ẽ  he-'ẽ  yoa-ẽ
what-IMPERSON-NEG-DECL say-DECL CRY-DECL
   “What can one do?” she said. “She is crying.”
   “O que pode fazer?” ela falou. “Ela está chorando.”
eruerazũ mamaderi
fox-poss mother-3.poss
‘Now Fox’s mother (comments):’
‘Agora a mãe do Raposa (comenta):’

dukanuẽ ũnenuxaẽ he’ẽ yoayoaredukari’ĩwã
1sg-hungry<1sg>-DECL hungry<PFl>1PL-DECL say-DECL
cry~cry-poor-3PL-ADMON
‘The poor dears are crying ’I am hungry, we are hungry.’”
‘Os coitados estão chorando ‘Estou com fome, estamos com fome.’”

tara kawhepire’ẽ eyepü kawa’ĩ
what eat-3-PROC-FUT-IMP 3PL.OBJ-(NEG)-SS be-INT
‘Why didn’t he find something for them to eat first?” (the mother thought).’
‘Porque não procurou uma coisa pra eles comerem primeiro?” (a mãe pensou).’

kawänunu hâemepe’eyepũ kawâte’i kukaẽ
be.like MIR grab-2SG-CLF:round 3PL.OBJ-SS because-INT say-DECL
‘Why the hell did you catch them?” she said to him angrily.’
‘Então porque você pegou elas?” ela falou com raiva.’

ekawayada xoakarüperekaẽ urikii hepũ hikade’ẽ
be-REAS see-1SG-DIR:ground-FUT-1SG-DECL food say-SS
leave-DIR:outside-DECL
‘So he said “I will look for food,” and left.’
‘Então ele falou “Vou procurar comida,” e saiu pra fora.’

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(57) **hikade-pü kapü wà’apaderi’ete yũ’eyeẽ kapü**

hika-de-pü ka-pü wà’apaderi’ete yũ’eyeẽ


da-SS

‘He went outside and left for where the girls’ parents lived.’

‘Ele saiu para onde o povo morava.’

(58) **tara pu’apaderiye kuraruye kapü**

tara pu’apaderi-ye kuraru-ye ka-pü

what raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ chicken-OBJ do-SS

‘There he got things that one raises, chickens.’

‘Alí ele pegou coisas que a gente cria, galinha,’

(59) **düdü pu’apa’iye kikireye hâehâekpesa’eye**

düdü pu’apa’i-ye kikire-ye hâehâe<ke>pe-sa’eye

parrot raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ parakeet-OBJ grab-grab<3SG>-MAL-3PL.OBJ

‘Pet parrots, parakeets, he grabbed them from the residents.’

‘Papagaio, periquito, ele pegou dos moradores.’

(60) **nasunapaẽ wàderi’ete duxüpanepü hiba’eyenakedupa kapü**

na-suna-pa-ẽ wà-deri’ete du-xü-pa-ne-pü


hiba’eye-nake-dupa ka-pü

give-3PL.OBJ-COND-COND do-SS

‘He brought those home, and entering into their residence, gave (the food) to the children, however …’

‘Ele trouxe de volta pra casa e entrou dentro da residência e deu (a comida) para elas, mas...’

(61) **haradukarinake**

hara-dukari-nake

not.want-3PL-COND

‘They really didn’t want anything.’

‘Elas não queriam mesmo.’
(62) haradukarinake tāwāanaē kapū
hara-dukari-nake tāwā-a-na-ē ka-pū
not.want-3PL-COND what-IMPERSONAL-NEG-DECL do-SS
"They didn’t want anything, now what can one do?"
"Não queriam, mas fazer o quê?"

(63) yoahedukarina kapū kāwāē zamiya mamaderi
yoa-he-dukari-na ka-pū kāwā-ē zamiya mama-deri
cry-3-3PL-DS do-SS be.like-DECL now mother-3.POSS
‘They kept on crying as ever. And then his mother went:’
‘Ficaram chorando. Agora a mãe do Raposa falou:’

(64) tara hü’a’iye xoawe’epü tāwāme-pü urikīiye kamezīi
tara hü’a-‘i-ye xoa-we’eye-pü tāwā-me-pü urikīi-ye
what good-NMLZ-OBJ see-3PL.BEN-SS what-2SG-SS food-OBJ
ka-meza-i
do-2SG.CAUS-INT
"Find them something good, you only bring bad stuff.”
"Procure um coisa boa para elas, você só traz coisa ruim.”

(65) tara dukumīi’iye kaw’i kawā’iūwā
kawā-ǐ dukumī-‘i-ye kaw-’i kawā-’iūw-ā
what ruin-NMLZ-OBJ eat-NMLZ be.like-ADMON-RED
"‘They don’t eat worthless things.”’
"Elas não comem coisa que não presta.”’

(66) kawā’i dukumīi’iye kawxare’eyaremīna
kawā-ǐ dukumī-‘i-ye kaw-xa-re-’e-aremīna
be.like-NMLZ ruin-NMLZ-OBJ eat-1PL-FUT-IMP-INFR-EMP-NEG
"‘They don’t even think of eating what’s worthless.”’
"Nem pensam em comer aquilo que não presta.”’

(67) hū’aniī apaduri’iwa he’e kukana
hū’a-na-i apa-dukari’iwa he’e kuka-na
good-NEG-NMLZ find-3PL-ADMON say-DECL tell-DS
"‘They are suffering,” she said to him.
“Estão sofrendo,” ela falou para ele.’

6Domestic(ated) animals are not eaten, even if the same animals would represent game in the wild context.
(68) iza hepü iza he-pü
   far say-ss
   “Go far away,” she said.
   “Vai longe,” ela falou.

(69) tara hū’a’iye takepew’e’eye’ē kukaē
   tara hū’a’-i-ye ta-ke-pe-we’eye’-ē kuka-ē
   what good-NMLZ-OBJ shoot-3-CLF:round-3PL.BEN-IMP tell-DECL
   “Kill something good for them!” she told him.
   “Mata coisa boa pra elas!” ela falou para ele.

(70) kadupɨi kayapitaē
   kadupɨi ka-ya-pita-ê
   alright 1SG-go-PROC-DECL
   “OK, then I’ll go,” and he left.
   “Está bem, já vou então,” e ele foi.

(71) hikadepü iza izapa’apü wā’apa’i-ete hidūka’eye’i apa’ixüte
   hika-de-pü iza iza-pa’-a-pü wā-apa’i-ete
   leave-DIR:outside-ss far far-TR-IMPRS-SS live-ACT.NMLZ-ALL
   h-idūka-eye’-i apa’ixüte
   3SG-DIR:thither-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ tell-REP
   ‘He left the house and went to an inhabited place very far away, they say.’
   ‘Ele saiu de casa e foi para uma moradia que fica bem longe, eles dizem.’

(72) hidūka’eyepü tarawā pu’apaderiye kapü ħākekepēpū
   h-idūka’-eye-pü tara-wā pu’apaderi-ye ka-pū
   3SG-DIR:thither-3PL.OBJ-SS what-?7 raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ do-SS
   ħāe<ke>pe-pū
   grab<3SG>-ss
   ‘He went there far away and got what people were raising.’
   ‘Ele foi lá longe e pegou o que o pessoal estava criando.’

7 The uninterpretable form -wā is apparently a slip of the tongue.
‘Obviously this took a while. It should take some time.’
‘Obviamente demorou um pouco. É para demorar um pouco mesmo.’

‘How unfortunate, let me bring you back!’ his mother said to the girls.
‘Coitadas! Eu vou levar vocês de volta!’ a mãe dele falou para as meninas.’

‘Fox’s mother said to them, “You are suffering.”
‘A mãe do Raposa falou, “Vocês estão sofrendo.”’

‘You want to eat and you are suffering.’
‘Vocês querem comer e estão sofrendo.’

‘Let me bring you back!’ she said to them.
‘Eu vou levar vocês de volta”, falou pra elas.’
(78) hapükika’eyepü hikadepa’eyepü
 hapü-ke-ika-’eye-pü   hika-de-pa-’eye-pü
 hold-3-CLF:finger-3PL.OBJ-SS  leave-DIR:outside-TR-3PL.OBJ-SS
 ‘She took them by the hand and left.’
 ‘Ela segurou a mão delas e levou para fora.’

(79) katemii nuxupane’enunu
 kate-mii   nu-xu-pa-ne’e-nunu
 there-DIM come-DIR:return-TR-ITE-MIR
 ‘Now they were arriving close to home again.’
 ‘Estavam chegando perto de casa.’

(80) anapahidepenunu mamaderi babaderi yoahedukariẽ
 anapa-hidepe-nunu mama-deri  baba-deri  yoa-he-dukari-ẽ
 hear-DIR:garden-MIR mother-3.POSS father-3.POSS cry-3-3PL-DECL
 ‘They heard the children’s mother and father crying in the garden.’
 ‘Ouviram a mãe e o pai delas chorando na roça.’

(81) puidepena
 pu-idepe-na
 go.PL-DIR: garden-DS
 ‘“They are walking over there …”’
 ‘“Estão andando por aí …”’

(82) ite hüridawaperekaẽ ite darüpa’eyā’ẽ eyepü
 ite  hüri<da>wa-re-ka-ẽ   ite  darüpa-’eyā-ẽ
 here  return<1SG.REFL>-?-FUT-1SG-DECL here stay.PL-2PL.OBJ-DECL
 eye-pü
 3PL.OBJ-SS
 ‘“From here I will return and you stay put,” she told them.’
 ‘“Daqui eu vou voltar e vocês ficam,” ela falou pra elas.’

(83) hiba mama babā’i’ene yoayoahedukariẽ
 hiba mama  babā-’i-’ene   yoa-yoa-he-dukari-ẽ
 this mother father-NMLZ-COL cry-cry-3-3PL-DECL
 ‘Well, the mother and father were crying.’
 ‘Daí a mãe e o pai estavam chorando.’
(84) ite katemiiyana
   ite  katemii yã-na
here close  come-ds
'They were coming close.'
'A mãe e o pai estavam chegando perto delas.'

(85) mama baba memekuka’ana
   mama  baba  bee-me-kuka-a-na
mother father arrive-2SG-CLF:body-1SG.OBJ-DS
'((When you call them) "Mother, father, come to me."' (Fox’s mother explained).
'((Quando chama eles) “Mãe, pai, vem para cá.”' (a mãe do Raposa explicou).

(86) wareyã’ẽyãpü pane’ẽyãta’ẽ
   ware-yã-ẽyã-pü     pane-ẽyã-ta’ẽ
go-come-2PL.OBJ-SS bring-2PL.OBJ-REM.FUT-DECL
'And when they come to you, they will take you home.'
'Quando chegarem, vão levar vocês pra casa.'

(87) ite hüridawerekaẽ hepü
   ite  hüri<da>-pe-re-ka-ẽ  he-pü
here return<1SG.REFL>-?-FUT-1SG-DECL say-ss
'Here I will return back,” she said.’
'Daqui eu vou voltar pra trás,” ela falou.’

(88) hepü daedaeikasa’eyena
   he-pü  dae-dae-diika-sa’eye-na
say-ss walk-walk-DIR:remain-MAL-3PL.OBJ-DS
'She walked back behind them.’
'Ela voltou por trás delas.’

(89) darüpaena darüpaë
   darüpa-e-na  darüpa-ë
stay.PL-well-DS stay.PL-DECL
'They stayed there for a while.’
'Ficaram um tempo lá.'
(90) zamiya babaderi mamaderi’i’ene kapü yoahë’ë
zamiya baba-deri mama-deri’i’ene ka-pü yoah-e’ë
now father-3.poss mother-3.poss-NMLZ-COL do-ss cry-3-DECL
‘Then their father and mother were still crying.’
‘Daí o pai e a mãe delas ainda estavam chorando.’

(91) beeyû’eye’ena hepü xâyârehâyâdukarië tawihedukarinâ
beeyû’eye’ena hepü xâ-yâ-re-hâyâ-dukari-ë
arrive-DIR:NEAR-3PL.OBJ-wELL-DS say-ss 1PL-COME-IPL.OBJ-3PL-DECL
await-3-3PL-DS
‘As they were getting nearby, “They are coming close to us,” the children
said and waited for them.’
‘Estavam indo perto deles, daí, “Estão chegando perto de nós,” as crianças
falaram e esperaram eles.’

(92) hêna tawihedupana babâ babâ mama mama
hê-na tawih-HE-dupana babâ babâ mama mama
then-DS await-3-TEMp father father mother mother
‘Then they called out, “Father! Father! Mother! Mother!”’
‘Dai elas chamaram, “Papai! Papai! Mamãe! Mamãe!”’

(93) erûarekûyêi hepü xoahenunu
erûare-kûyâ-i hepü xoah-he-nunu
feel.sorry-IPL.BEN-NMLZ say-ss see-3-MIR
‘The parents said, “Our poor dears!” as they saw them.’
‘Os pais falaram, “Nossas coitadas!” quando viram elas.’

(94) darûpa’aredukarinâ
darûpa-are-dukari-na
stay.PL-poor-3PL-DS
‘The poor kids are sitting there.’
‘As coitadas estão lá.’

(95) erûarekumiizii eyepü yo’eyepü yoahepü
erûare-kuma-i-za-i eyepü yo’-eye-pü yoah-he-pü
feel.sorry-poor-NMLZ-ASSOC-NMLZ 3PL.OBJ-SS cry-3PL.OBJ-SS cry-3-SS
‘“You poor little things,” they said to them, crying.’
‘“Coitado de vocês,” falou para elas chorando.’
J. Birchall, H. van der Voort, Luiz Aikanã & Cândida Aikanã

(96) **hepù hikuye hürükewanunu hameri**
he-pù hiku-ye hürū-ke-wa-nunu hameri
‘They lifted up one of the girls and were ready to go, but now ...’
‘Dai levantou uma delas para ir embora, mas...’

(97) ** eruera urumekarepü hameri wãeditehe hikutehe kyã’i’apa’i**
eruera urume-ka-re-pü hameri wãedi te-he hiku te-he
‘One was changing into a fox and was already sprouting a tail, and the
other one as well, that’s what the story says.’
‘Uma estava se transformando em raposa e já estava nascendo rabo, e a
outra também. É assim que a história conta.’

(98) **kawãdupa yãw’ẽ he’eyepü hapükika’eyepü**
kawã-dupa yãw’ẽ he-’eye-pü hapü-ke-ika-’eye-pü
‘Even so, let’s leave,” the parents said to them, and they held hands.’
‘Mesmo assim vamos embora,” falou para elas, e segurou as mãos delas.’

(99) **pane’eyepü**
pane-’eye-pü
‘They brought them along.’
‘Levaram elas.’

(100) **keza’ete wareduxüpane’eyena kapü zamiya hena**
keza-’ete ware-du-xü-pane-’eye-na kapü zamiya he-na
‘They entered the house with them, but ...’
‘Entraram na casa com elas, mas...’

(101) **hameri eruera urumekareheyada kapü hina’i**
hameri eruera urume-ka-re-he-yada ka-pü hina-ĩ
‘Since they were already becoming foxes it was no good.’
‘Agora que já se transformaram em raposas, não foi bem.’
(102) hadite’ete büxuheku’ẽ kukana

hadite-’ete büxu-he-ku-’ẽ kuka-na
shaman-ALL cure-3-1SG.BEN-IMP tell-DS

‘Father told the shaman, “Cure them for me!”’
‘O pai pediu ao pajé, “Cura elas para mim!”’

(103) hadite wareyãpü büxühepü

hadite ware-yã-pü büxü-he-pü
shaman go-come-ss cure-3SG-ss

‘The shaman came and he cured them.’
‘O pajé veio e curou.’

(104) arerekekukahepü

arere-ke-kuka-he-pü
blow-3-CLF:body-3SG-ss

‘He blew on and cleansed the body.’
‘Ele assoprou e limpou o corpo.’

(105) keapü dupakapü

kea-pü dupa ka-pü
get-ss really do-ss

‘He did it just like this.’
‘Ele fez assim mesmo.’

(106) wɨiwɨimezakukane’eta’ẽ kukaẽ

wɨiwi-meza-ku-ka-ne-’eta-’ẽ kukaẽ
repeat-2SG.CAUS-1SG.BEN-TR-PFV-REM.FUT-IMP tell-DECL

““You must do that again for me,” (the father) said to him.’
““Repete mais uma vez para mim,” (o pai) falou pra ele.’

(107) zamiya mama’ĩ mama’ikea’ẽ detyaderi’ete kukapü

zamiya mama’ĩ mama’i-kea-’ẽ detya-deri-’ete kuka-pü
now chicha chicha-3-IMP woman-3.POSS-ALL tell-SS

““Now make chicha!” he told his wife.’
““Daí faz chicha então!” ele falou para sua esposa.’

8The process of sucking and blowing away maladies is a central part of Aikanã shamanic healing and is a common practice among many lowland South American groups.
The indigenous peoples of Rondônia cultivate the protein-rich larvae of specific beetle species by cutting down patawa (Oenocarpus bataua) or buriti (Mauritia flexuosa) palm trees and wild papaya (Jaracatia spinosa, in Portuguese mamuí) trees, leaving them to be eaten from the inside by these larvae. After about half a year the trunks can be cracked open and the delicious larvae can be harvested.

428
(112) *ari‘i-ye keapū*

`āri‘i-ye kea-pū
mamuí.larva-obj get-ss

‘He got mamuí larvae.’
‘Pegou coró de mamuí também.’

(113) *nusunapapū*
	nu-suna-pa-pū
come-DIR:return-TR-ss

‘He brought them back home.’
‘Ele trouxe de volta pra casa.’

(114) *amakea‘ẽ detyaderi‘ete kukapū amamakezaẽ*

`ama-kea‘ẽ detya-deri‘ete kuka-pū ama-ma-keza-ẽ
cook-3-IMP woman-3.POSS-ALL tell-ss cook~3SG.CAUS-DECL

‘“Cook it!” he told his wife, and she cooked it.’
‘“Cozinha aí!” ele falou para a mulher dele, e ela cozinhou.’

(115) *hikiririkapedupana zamiya*

`hikiri-rika-pe-du-pana zamiya
dark-CLF:floor-CLF:round-TEMP now

‘As it was getting dark inside …
‘Enquanto estava escurecendo lá dentro…’

(116) *hadite tāwikukapū irüpū*

`hadite tāwi-kuka-pū irū-pū
shaman await-CLF:body-ss trance-ss

‘He called the shaman to enter into a trance.’
‘Ele chamou o pajé para rezar.’

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10 In this state the shaman is sitting down on his/her bench while pulling down the invisible lines that form the net on which his/her spirit can travel, the *haditaezũ daruma* ‘shaman’s sling’. In order to heal, he/she performs acts such as sucking, blowing smoke, gestures of collecting, extracting, expelling, etc. The last Aikanã shaman passed away in 1985, but elderly people remember the tradition and are often able to interpret the work of shamans from other ethnic groups.
“Cleanse the body of my daughter, who has transformed into a demon!”

“Limpa o corpo da criança que se transformou em bicho do mato!”

“Talk to him for me!” he said.

“Fala para ele para mim!” ele falou.

The awexü is a dangerous and powerful spirit of the forest that can transform itself into any being and is able to make people lose their mind. Especially when someone is alone in the forest or on a remote cultivated plot, the awexü may trick someone and lead him/her astray or directly attack and kill a person. Unexpected death and psychotic illness are often explained as the work of the awexü. Experiences with the awexü are always traumatic and accounts of them are harrowing.
“Blow and cleanse the body again!” (the father) said. ‘“Assopra e limpa o corpo de novo!”’ (o pai) falou. 

“Remove this demon from inside of her!” ‘“Tire esse bicho do mato que está dentro dela!”’

‘Make it (the demon) run away!” he said to him. ‘“Espanta o espírito para fora!”’ falou para ele.

‘Dawn came and then day came.’ ‘Clareou e amanheceu o dia.’

‘It’s done,” he said, and (the demon) went back to where he came from.’ ‘Está pronto,” ele falou e (o bicho do mato) voltou para de onde veio.’

‘Then it had to be repeated during the day, and food was placed in the yard (for the shaman and the possessed child).’ ‘Daí ele fez outra vez de dia, e ele deixou comida no terreiro (para o pajé e a criança).’
(128) kariye kawhepü
   kari-ye  kaw-he-pü
   that-OBJ eat-3-ss
   'She ate some of that.'
   'Ela comeu aquilo.'

(129) büxühekunehe'ẽ kukapü büxühenehepü xükeakapapü
   büxü-he-ku-ne'e-'ẽ  kuka-pü büxü-he-ne'e-pü
   cure-3-1SG.BEN-ITE-IMP tell-ss  cure-3-ITE-ss
   xü-kea-ka-pa-pü
   finish-3SG-CLF:piece-TR-ss
   '"Perform the cure again for me," he said, and the shaman did so again,
   and finished (removing the demon’s spirit from the head of the child).'
   '"Cura de novo para mim," ele falou, e o pajé curou de novo, e terminou
   (tirando o espírito do bicho da cabeça da criança).'

(130) taraye kawahenake xükeakapapü
   tara-ye  kaw-a-he-nake  xü-kea-ka-pa-pü
   what-OBJ eat-IMPERSONAL-3-COND finish-3SG-CLF:piece-TR-ss
   'Through eating (the food) he could remove the demon’s spirit (from the
   bodies of the girls).'
   'Comendo as coisas ele tirou a alma do bicho (dos corpos das meninas).'

(131) kapünepü zamiya kapü zamiya hũ’akaxünerewaẽ wãwã’ĩ
   kapü-ne-pü  zamiya ka-pü zamiya
   finish-PFV-ss now  do-ss now
   hũ’-a-ka-xûne-re-wa-ẽ    wãwã’ĩ
   good-1SG-DIR:RETURN-FUTURE-2SG.BEN-DECL child
   'He finished and said, “Now that it’s done, your children will get well
   again.”'
   'Ele terminou e falou, “Agora que foi feito, suas filhas vão sarar.”'

(132) zare kaxünerewaẽ
   zare  ka-xûne-re-wa-ẽ
   person 1SG-DIR:RETURN-FUTURE-2SG.BEN-DECL
   '"They will be people again for you.”'
   '"Vão se tornar em gente de novo para você.”'
kuka’i apa’ixüte kukana
tell-NMLZ say-REP tell-DS
‘This is how he spoke to the father.’
‘Assim que ele falou para o pai.’

hukadupii hepü
alright say-ss
“Alright,” he said.’
“Está certo,” ele falou.’

wãwã’ĩke hina’ĩ hũka hũka eryüanahe’ẽ huka kea-deri
child-com no-NMLZ in.vain in.vain sick-3-DECL in.vain-3-NMLZ
‘The children used to be ill and were really going crazy.’
‘As crianças também não tinham sussego, viviam bagunçando.’

zamiya ziizii eryüa-xüne-na zamiya
now correct live-DS return-DS now
‘But now they were behaving well again.’
‘Mas agora ficaram direitinhas de novo.’

hiba tiwenederi hü’a-xüneẽ
ti grow-PFV-NMLZ clean-DS return-DECL
‘The youngest also got better.’
‘A criança mais nova melhorou também.’

hiba ti’iwe-ne-deri hü’a-xüneẽ
this grown-PFV-NMLZ clean-DS return-DECL
‘The older one got better.’
‘Essa mais velha melhorou.’
kyã’i apatena

kyã-’i apa-te-na

speak-NMLZ say-PST-DS

‘This is how they told it.’

‘Assim que contaram.’

(140)

dupana zarikapasapü zarikahedupana
dupana zarika-pa-sa-pü zarika-he-dupana

while delay-TR-MAL-SS delay-3-TEMP

‘But a while after (Fox had abducted them)...’

‘Mas um pouco depois (que o Raposa sequestrou elas)....’

(141)
hiku kapü kaxare’ẽ namiideri’ika kukaderiye wareyü̃pü

hiku ka-pü ka-xa-re-’ẽ nami-deri-ika kuka-deri-ye

other do-SS do-1PL-FUT-IMP cousin-3.POSS-INTENS tell-NMLZ-OBJ

ware-yũ-pũ
go-DIR:close-SS

‘The real cousin, the one who said to do it (to get peanuts) arrived (at the girls’ house).’

‘Aquela prima delas que tinha combinado com ela (arrancar amendoim) primeiro chegou (na casa das meninas).’

(142)
kaxare’ẽ ka’iwãte yãw’ẽ deripahãyã’ẽ namii kukaẽ

ka-xa-re-’ẽ ka-’iwã-te yãw’ẽ deri-pa-hãyã-ẽ namii
do-1PL-FUT-IMP do-ADMON-PST let’š.go.IMP day-TR-1PL.OBJ-DECL cousin

kuka-ẽ
tell-DECL

‘“We had agreed to do it, let’s go! It’s becoming day for us,” the cousin said.’

‘“Vamos lá fazer o que concordamos! O dia está amanhecendo em nós,” a prima falou.’

(143)
mamaderi warehikadepü keriẽ hĩzã kamezakukateare apiire’i

mama-deri ware-hika-de-pũ keriẽ hĩzã

mother-3.POSS go-leave-DIR:outside-SS whoa! 2SG

12Here the narrator goes back to an earlier phase in the story, adding the part concerning the real cousin after the girls had been abducted.
A mãe saiu para fora e falou, “Nossa! Não foi você que chamou elas?”

“Quem será que veio e chamou ‘Prima! Prima!’ naquela hora?”

“Let’s go!” falou para ela, mas elas já tinham saído.

Pensei que era você,” ela falou para a prima.’

“No, it wasn’t me. I let it dawn first.”

“Não foi eu não, deixei clarear o dia primeiro.”

“Her mother went outside and said: “Whoa! Aren’t you the one that was going to call them?””

‘A mãe saiu pra fora e falou, “Nossa! Não foi você que chamou elas?”’

“‘Who was the one that came already and said, ‘Cousin! cousin!’ then?’”

“Quem será que veio e chamou ‘Prima! Prima!’ naquela hora?”

“Let’s go!” she had said to her, but they had already left.’

“Vamos embora!” falou para ela, mas elas já tinham saído.’
“So it must not have been a person that took them from us.”
“Então não era uma pessoa que levou elas de nós.”

Their father and mother said this. This is what was said.
'O pai e a mãe delas falou isso. Assim que falaram.'

Then it got dark.
'Daí escureceu, escureceu mesmo.'

"When someone comes for you, saying, ‘Let’s do it early in the morning!’” …
"Quando alguém vier para você falando ‘Vamos lá amanhã cedo!’” …

"You can’t talk like that with people,” my grandmother used to say.13
"Você não pode falar assim com os outros,” assim que falava minha avó.
Vovó Kwâ’î.

13Here, reference is made to the moral of the story, also mentioned in the introduction, that one should not talk about one’s plans.
(153) *kariyame àryūaka’íwā*

*kari-ame àryūa-ka’-íwā*

this-SUP know-1SG-ADMON

‘I know just this.’

‘Só isso que eu sei.’

(154) *kawãẽ*

*kawã-ẽ*

be.like-DECL

‘That’s it.’

‘É assim.’

**Acknowledgments**

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**Non-standard abbreviations**

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INT  interrogative

INTENS  intensifier

ITE  iterative

MAL  malefactive

MIR  mirative

PROC  procrastinative

REAS  reason adverbial

RED  reduplication

REM  remote

REP  reported past

SS  same subject

SUP  superlative

TEMP  temporal adverbial
References


