

On this and other worlds

Voices from Amazonia

Edited by

Kristine Stenzel

Bruna Franchetto

Studies in Diversity Linguistics 17



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Standard abbreviations used in this volume

1	first person	INS	instrumental
2	second person	INTJ	interjection
3	third person	INTR	intransitive
ABL	ablative	IPFV	imperfective
ABS	absolutive	IRR	irrealis
ADV	adverb(ial)	LOC	locative
ALL	allative	M/MSC	masculine
APPL	applicative	N	non-
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negation/negative
BEN	benefactive	NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
CLF	classifier	OBJ	object
COM	comitative	OBL	oblique
COMPL	completive	PFV	perfective
COND	conditional	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	PRF	perfect
DIM	diminutive	PRS	present
DECL	declarative	PROG	progressive
DEF	definite	PROH	prohibitive
DEM	demonstrative	PROX	proximal/proximate
DIST	distal	PST	past
DISTR	distributive	PTCP	participle
DU	dual	PURP	purposive
DUR	durative	Q	question particle/marker
ERG	ergative	QUOT	quotative
EXCL	exclusive	RECP	reciprocal
F/FEM	feminine	REM	remote
FOC	focus	SBJ	subject
FUT	future	SBJV	subjunctive
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
INCL	inclusive	TR	transitive
INDF	indefinite	VOC	vocative

Chapter 1

Amazonian narrative verbal arts and typological gems

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1 Origins

This volume owes its development to a confluence of circumstances, not least of which is the veritable explosion of scholarship on Amazonian languages that has taken place over the last several decades. Though the description and analysis of the 300 or so still-existing languages spoken in Amazonia¹ is still far from comprehensive, repositories of linguistic and anthropological academic references, such as the *Etnolinguistica* web site, clearly reflect exponential growth in the field since the 1990s.² This same period of expanding academic focus on Amazonian languages also saw the rise of new language documentation efforts and

¹Following Epps & Salanova 2013 “Amazonia” is understood here as comprising both the Amazon and Orinoco basins, covering parts of Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Suriname, and the Guianas. For more on the distribution and state of endangerment of Amazonian languages, see Moore 2008.

²<http://www.etnolinguistica.org/>. Of the 358 dissertations or theses on Amazonian languages on file as of May 2017, just 6 were written before 1980, the number jumping to 19 during the next decade and then to 41 during the 1990s (representing some 18 percent of the total on record). Between 2000 and 2010, contributions increased more than fourfold, to 170 (47 percent of the archive), and another 123 have been added in the last six years. We should note that researchers make their own academic works available on this site, so the numbers cited do not represent a fully comprehensive view of all scholarship.



the establishment of archives of cultural and linguistic materials in which languages of the region are well represented.³ The interdisciplinary and highly collaborative nature of most new documentation projects in Amazonia⁴ has in turn strengthened dialog between anthropologists and field linguists who recognize the narrative genre as a prime source of both cultural understanding and verbal artistry, especially when offered by knowledgeable and eloquent orators such as those whose voices are represented here. Thus, text analysis — a longstanding element of language documentation in classic Boasian terms — is itself making a welcome comeback.

Our idea to gather a set of narratives from recent documentation projects into an organized volume is a product of this renaissance.⁵ However, as word of our initiative began to circulate, the response from interested colleagues quickly threatened to swell the project to near-Amazonian proportions, and we found ourselves forced to make difficult choices. Fully recognizing that our final selection is but a sample of the rich materials available, we can only hope to see more collections of this type organized in the future.

The narratives themselves led us to organize the volume into three broad themes that are highly significant for Amazonian ethnology and its recent developments. The first theme — *Life, death, and the world beyond* — refers to crucial cosmological dimensions and forces us to rethink notions such as death, the dead, life, embodiment, the soul, the spirit, and post-mortem destiny, which are often not well translated or are cannibalized by Western/non-indigenous concepts. The second theme — *Beginnings* — includes fragments of Amerindian philosophy, in which reflection on the origin of beings does not pass through *ex-nihilo* creation, there being no “genesis” in the Judeo-Christian vein. The third theme — *Ancestors and tricksters* — introduces us to a few members of the Amerindian repertoire of comic and crafty characters, and leads us to memories of historical events and into realms of relations, whether among relatives or between enemies, that lie at the heart of societal living, with all its fluid frontiers and rituals.

³The DoBeS archive (Volkswagen Foundation, Germany) has materials from 14 Amazonian languages; ELAR (Endangered Languages Archive, University of London/SOAS) over 40; AILLA (Archive of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, University of Texas Austin) an additional 60. More than 80 languages are included in the documentation archive maintained at the Emilio Goeldi Museum (MPEG, in Pará, Brazil) and another 18 in Indigenous Languages Documentation Project (PRODOCLIN) archive at the Museum of Indigenous Peoples (Museu do Índio/FUNAI, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil).

⁴The “participatory” or “collaborative” paradigm is widely adopted in current documentation projects in Amazonia, which prioritize training of indigenous researchers and high levels of community involvement (see Franchetto & Rice 2014; Stenzel 2014).

⁵As is the *Texts in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas* series, a recently re-established yearly supplement to the *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

2 A contribution to Amazonian ethnology

Each chapter of this book presents a single narrative, an ever-present and much appreciated genre among almost all Amazonian peoples. Each embodies a unique rendition offered by a specific narrator, in circumstances and settings that vary widely: some were offered in a village, town, or intimate home setting in response to a specific request, one was recorded during a community language workshop (Kotiria), others in the course of everyday activities or within the context of a ritual.⁶ As we contemplate these diverse settings, we are reminded that the act of narration is never monologic: there is always an audience, there are always interlocutors and “what-sayers”. Narration is itself both a communicative and formative act. It not only transmits collective or individual memories, weaving the continuity of a people, clan, sib, or family, but also establishes the limits of social and antisocial behavior (and their consequences), revealing transformations, original and potential, creative or destructive.

At the same time, we can extract from these narratives mythical structures comparable to others in and beyond the Americas, following the paths of Levi Strauss’s *esprit humain*. Through narratives, thought is molded, instruction and knowledge are transmitted and refined. The Ka’apor and Kuikuro narratives, for instance, exemplify diffused bits and pieces of pan-Amazonian mythology, crossing frontiers between genres, peoples, and regions. Scatological and obscene, the Ka’apor narrative finds parallels in the oral traditions of many Amazonian groups. The Kuikuro narrative is not only an element of the Upper-Xinguan network, in which peoples of distinct origins and languages share rituals, myths, discourses and each other, but is also a unique female rendition of a narrative heard before only in masculine voices. Feminine voices resound in the Trumai, Hup, Kwaza, and Kotiria narratives as well.

A classic theme in Amazonian mythology, the origins of crucial cultural items – such as songs, rituals, and cultivated plants – are often viewed as gifts or as bounty seized in encounters involving confrontation or alliance between enemies or occupants of “other” worlds. In the Sakurabiat narrative, for example, the origin of corn involves knowledge captured by great shamans from neighboring groups.

The Kalapalo and Trumai live in the same Upper Xingu regional multilingual cultural system, occupying distinct niches due to different degrees of adaptation and incorporation into the system. A comparison of the Kalapalo and Trumai narratives is particularly interesting because both describe funerary rituals and practices, recounting the origins of the Trumai chanted lamentations and some

⁶Links to the audio or video renditions are provided in each chapter.

of the Kalapalo songs performed during the Xinguan mortuary ritual. A Kalapalo man married to a Snake-Woman acquires the songs from his father-in-law; the Trumai people receive their chanted lamentations from the Smooth-billed Ani, a bird. Likewise, the origins of places, such as the Kotiria sacred cemeteries, and elements of the natural environment, such as the Deer's Tomb Constellation of the Hup narrative, lie in similar transformational fluidity and transposition of boundaries between this and other worlds.

Metamorphosis is a pervasive and relevant theme in Amerindian shamanic thought and contemporary Lowland South American ethnology. It evidences communication and change of perspectives between humans and non-humans, between the living and the dead, between blood relatives and affines, us and "others", a challenge to the irreducible and naturalized distinctions in Western thought. Translation, understood in its most ample sense, is a necessary but not mechanical mediation, since translation itself moves, modifies, and creates. In "The death-path teachings", two Marubo spirit-shamans, able to cross the world of spirits and dead people, connect exoteric knowledge with instructive speech. Likewise, a Kuikuro woman travels, still alive, to the upside-down world of the dead and there converses with them and hears their "twisted" words.

Narrative events occur in what is for us a remote "past" or mythological *illo tempore*, or better yet, as one Kuikuro chief puts it, a time "when we were all hyper-beings" speaking the same "language" or making ourselves understood through languages. It was or still is a time, a dimension out of time, or between times, peopled by ancestors and "monstrous" beings, such as the clumsy people-eater *Khátpy* of the Kĩsêdjê narrative. Indeed, the terms "myth" or "mythological narratives", and "history" or "historical narratives" are frequently used to define or at least suggest what might be considered narrative sub-genres. However, as the Kotiria narrative shows, this is a more-than-fluid frontier where the supposedly self-evident opposition between regimes of memory crumbles.

This fluidity is nowhere clearer than in comparative analysis of evidentials and/or epistemic markers used in narratives, markers that take more into account than the mere qualification of source of information. Such elements may be manipulated by the narrator, sensitive to the occasion and audience, to mark voices of authority. Evidentials or epistemic markers — crucial and often obligatory — first of all define the epistemological status of narrative speech, as we see in the use of the Ka'apor reportative, but above all, reveal ambiguities and porous boundaries. Is the Kuikuro narrative a "myth" about the inverted life of the dead or a "memory" of a live woman's journey to another world and return to narrate what she saw to fellow members of the living world? The narrator tempers

her own assertions with markers typical of “historical” facts transmitted through collective memory and with the non-certainty of events not directly and visually witnessed, marking that is impossible in “mythical” narratives, which speak of origins, indistinctions among species, and transformations. The Suruí narrative vividly evokes episodes from a not-too-distant past — though still prior to times known by adults today — replete with battles between neighboring peoples, yet in this narrative we observe the “deletion of non-witnessed evidentiality” characteristic of “myths”.

3 Narrative verbal artistry

To narrate is not just to verbally express an account in prosaic form. As we have noted, the act of narration is a performance, whether public or private, offered to interlocutors and audiences and open for evaluation, criticism, and praise. The narrator is often a “master” in the art of oration, a specialist of “good and beautiful speech”, recognized as such and fully aware of his or her role in the chain of transmission of abilities and content. The master’s artistic skills include manipulation of distinct protagonists’ perspectives, balancing of repetitions with nuanced variation, control of the necessary detours from the advancing storyline, full command of all the varied means of capturing and holding the listeners’ attention. Such mastery is evident in the Marubo narrative genre *yoã vana*, distinct from the sung narrative genre *saiti vana*, but both highly poetic performances. Cesarino’s division of lines in the written text attempts to reproduce, if only partially, the dramatic effect produced by the rhythm of the oral performance and by thoughts-utterances whose understanding requires careful exegesis.

Similarly, the “masters” of the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives share like abilities and the narratives themselves reveal similar structures: formulaic openings and closings, scenes, blocks, parallelisms; movement verbs and logophoric connectives mark sequences and the development of events and actions. In the Hup and Kotiria narratives, skilled use of tail-head linking strategies guarantee sequential cohesion. Even more impressive is the Kwaza narrator’s domination of anticipatory switch-reference marking as she constructs the narrative, in van der Voort’s words, as “one long sentence, each chained clause being either in a subordinate mood or in a cosubordinate mood.”

The rarity, or near absence, of indirect reported speech in Amazonian narratives draws our attention to the preponderance of direct reported speech, observed throughout the volume. Our narrators are masters in performance of such speech, leading us to wonder about other possibilities of embedding and recur-

sive structures. In fact, we are dealing not only with cited dialogues, but also the expression of inner thoughts, which take the form of images, perceptions, emotions, plans. For instance, almost half of the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives is animated by dialogues between the characters, with a predominance of verbal forms inflected by performative modes (imperative, hortative, imminent future), as well as epistemic markers that modulate the attitudes and communicative intentions of the interacting characters. Cesarino mentions “the extensive use of reported speech, which allows the (Marubo) narrator to shift between voices.” Last but not least, we highlight the “embedded quotations of successive narrators of the events” in the Surui narrative, as Yvinec observes.

These are but a few of the many and varied narrative discourse structures resources present in this volume, calling our attention to the richness and diversity of narrative verbal artistry in Amazonia.

4 A host of typological gems

This volume not only introduces us to a rich panorama of narrative styles and cultural themes, it also demonstrates the astounding genetic and structural diversity of Amazonian languages. Although not all recent research on Amazonian languages has been fully explored and incorporated into typological databases,⁷ the picture that is emerging is one of much greater structural diversity within the Amazonian basin than was previously supposed. Indeed, the impetus to define a set of recognizably distinct “Lowland Amazonian” linguistic features (Payne 1990; Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999; Aikhenvald 2012) wanes in light of empirical evidence underscoring vast regional diversity (van der Voort 2000; Campbell 2012; Epps & Salanova 2013). Additionally, analyses such as Birchall’s (2014) work on argument coding patterns in South American languages suggest that broader Western/Eastern South American perspectives may actually be more significant to understanding patterns of structural similarity and difference than earlier assumptions of an Andean/Lowland Amazonian dichotomy (see also O’Connor & Muysken 2014).⁸

This debate is far from concluded, and as research continues to pour in, it is certain to bring new insights into deep genetic relationships, pre-historical movements and patterns of contact, as well as contemporary areal phenomena,

⁷Such as such as the *World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (WALS) <http://wals.info/> and its more recently organized counterpart, (SAILS) *South American Indigenous Language Structures* <http://sails.cld.org/>.

⁸Other chapters in the same volume focus on specific typological features, including OV order, nominalization as a subordination strategy, post-verbal negation, and use of desiderative morphemes, that appear to characterize South American languages as a whole.



Figure 1: Peoples and languages represented in this volume

all of which serving to refine our typological profiles. For the moment, suffice it to say that even the small selection of languages in our volume clearly shows that there is no easy answer to the question: “What does an *Amazonian language* look like?”

The twelve languages in this volume come from a variety of geographic locations within Amazonia, and include three linguistic isolates and members of the Carib, East Tukano, Nadahup, Jê, Tupi, and Pano families — only a fraction of the more than four dozen distinct genealogical units that compose the Amazonian linguistic landscape (Epps & Salanova 2013: 1). Three regions characterized by longstanding and systemic cultural and linguistic interaction are also represented by different subsets of these languages. Kotiria and Hup are spoken in the Upper Rio Negro region of northwestern Amazonia in the Brazil-Colombia borderlands (see Aikhenvald 2002, Aikhenvald 2012: 73–84, Epps & Stenzel 2013), and the Guaporé-Mamoré region of Southern Rondônia and north-eastern Bolivia is represented by Kwaza, Aikanã, and Sakurabiat (Crevels & van der Voort 2008). Indeed, the chapters by Epps and van der Voort in this volume discuss features that support characterization of these two regions as “linguistic areas” in which contact and multilingual practices have led to structural similarities among genetically unrelated languages. The third multilingual system,

represented by Kuikuro, Kalapalo, and Trumai, is the Upper Xingu in central Brazil (Franchetto 2011). The chapters by Franchetto, Guerreiro, and Guirardello-Damian, point out that, in contrast to the Upper Negro and Guaporé-Mamoré regions, in the Upper Xingu context, multilingualism emerges and is evidenced primarily as a component of Xinguan ritual arts.

Kuikuro and Kalapalo are actually variants of a single language, baptized by Franchetto as the “Upper Xingu Carib Language”. Though viewed as *dialects* for the linguist, they are *languages* for their speakers for two substantive reasons. First, because within the Upper Xingu multilingual regional system, they are diacritics of local political identities. Secondly, because attributing the status of “language” to both establishes their equal value, counterbalancing the tendency for indigenous languages labeled as “dialects” to be viewed as having an inferior or marginal existence. We have strategically opted to present the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives in sequence so that the reader can appreciate the obvious similarities between the syntax of the two languages as well as the differences – sometimes quite subtle – in morphology and lexicon. Unfortunately, the written medium masks a crucial dimension of dialectal difference occurring on the prosodic level, where Kuikuro and Kalapalo clearly exemplify the notion of words “dancing to the beats of different drummers”. Equally strategic is the sequencing of the Kwaza and Aikanã narratives, versions of the same story offered by speakers of two language isolates in the same multilingual region.

A broad overview of the twelve languages reveals a handful of common structural features, including agglutinative and preferentially suffixing morphology, as well as predominantly head-final constituent order (the exception being the relatively free word order of Kwaza). However, a closer look shows interesting variations in clausal constituent ordering, including object-initial order, which first came to light in languages of the Carib family⁹ and which can be seen in numerous lines of the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives, such as (1):

(1) *tüti ilü leha iheke*

tüti i-lü leha i-heke

REFL.mother fight-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG

‘He fought with his own mother’ [KUIKURO, line 243]

⁹Several Carib languages are analyzed as having OVS as the dominant order, and OVS is also found in some East Tukano, Tupi, Arawak languages (see Derbyshire 1999: 155; Campbell 2012: 273–275).

As a frequently occurring alternate order, OVS is found in many other Amazonian languages, including Kotiria, where known, non-focused subjects are sentence-final, as we see in (2).

- (2) “*hiphiti a’ri phinitare naita yu’u*” *nia*.
hiphiti a’ri ~phídi-ta-re ~dá-i-ta yu’ú
 everything DEM.PROX right.here-EMPH-OBJ get-M-INTENT 1SG
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV
 “All of these things here I’m taking away,” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.
 [KOTIRIA, line 242]

Another striking feature observed throughout the volume is the rampant use of derivational processes to create new lexical concepts, counterbalance parsimonious lexical class distinctions, and define contexts of complementation and subordination (van Gijn, Haude & Muysken 2011; Bruno et al. 2011). Some interesting examples of verbalizations are the derived forms for ‘teaching’ in Kalapalo (3), ‘body painting (with genipapo)’ in Kuikuro (4), and ‘marrying’ in Kotiria (5).

- (3) *akihata iheke*
aki-ha-ta i-heke
 word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG
 ‘He was teaching.’ [KALAPALO, line 78]
- (4) *engü isangatelü leha*
engü is-anga-te-lü leha
 then 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Then she was painted with genipapo’ [KUIKUIRO, line 10]
- (5) *phæaro numia, phæaro numia ti pharære namotia tire himarebæ, tiaro numiaræ bæhkæthururære*.
phæá-ro ~dúbí-á phæá-ro ~dúbí-á ti=phá-pæ-re
 two-SG woman-PL two-SG woman-PL ANPH=time-LOC-OBJ
 ~dabó-tí-á tí-re hí~bare-bæ tiá-ro
 wife-VBZ-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-OBJ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS three-SG
 ~dúbí-á-pæ bækú-thúru-pæ-ré
 woman-PL-LOC ancestor-times-LOC-OBJ
 ‘In those olden times, the custom was to marry two wives, two or even three.’ [KOTIRIA, line 23]

A far vaster set of morphemes are employed in nominalizations, a small sample being the Sakurabiat ‘hammock’ in (6), the Kwaza ‘olden times’ in (7), and in (8), the Kīsêdjê autodenomination.

- (6) *Pibot nēārā setoabō*

pibot neara se-top-ap=ō

arrive again 3COR-lying.down-NMLZ=DAT

‘He arrived again at his own hammock.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 15]

- (7) *a’ayawi cwata unītetawata txarwa hakahĩ awi*

a~a-ya-wi cwata unīteta-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,’ [KWAZA, line 55]

- (8) *Kīsêdjê*

kĩ sêt-∅ jê

village burn-NMLZ PL

‘The ones who burn villages’ [KĪSÊDJÊ, line 2]

In Kuikuro and Kalapalo, there are locative, agent, non-agent, and instrument nominalizers, the latter used with the root *hü* (Kuikuro) / *hüti* (Kalapalo) ‘to feel shy/respect/shame’, in the derivation of terms for one’s parents-in-law (9).

- (9) *ihütisoho kilü*

i-hüti-soho ki-lü

3-shame-INS say-PNCT

‘His father-in-law said.’ [KALAPALO, line 130]

Aikanã has a nominalizer for actions (10), Kotiria one for reference to events/locations (11), and Sakurabiat one exclusively used for syntactic objects, seen in (12).

- (10) *üre’apa’ine xarükanapïre’ë kukaë*

üre-apa’i-ne

xa-rüka-napa-ire-’ë

kuka-ë

hide-ACT.NMLZ-LOC 1PL-DIR:around-CLF:forest-almost-IMP tell-DECL

‘“We will sneak around them,” said Fox.’ [AIKANÃ, line 25]

- (16) *itükanhenüğü letüha iheke itükanhenüğü itükanhenüğü*
itüka-nhe-nüğü üle=tü=ha i-heke itüka-nhe-nüğü
 3.move.up-TR-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG 3.move.up-TR-PNCT
itüka-nhe-nüğü
 3.move.up-TR-PNCT
 ‘Then, she moved her up, she moved her up, she moved her up’ [KUIKURO,
 line 98]

Hup, on the other hand, has causative constructions formed with serialized roots, such as *k’ët-* ‘stand’, used repeatedly in (17) to indicate indirect or “sociative” causation.

- (17) *Yúp mah, yino yó’ mah yúp, yúp hòp tih k’ët wédéh, hòp tih k’ët wèd, mòh tih k’ët wèd, níy mah.*
 [.6em] *yúp=mah, yi-no-yó’=mah yúp, yúp hòp tih*
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG fish 3SG
k’ët-wéd-éh hòp tih k’ët-wèd, mòh tih k’ët-wèd, ní-íy=mah.
 stand-eat-DECL fish 3SG stand-eat tinamou 3SG stand-eat be-DYMN=REP
 ‘Having said that, it’s said, he gave her fish to eat; he went on giving her fish to eat, to give her tinamous to eat, it’s said.’ [HUP, line 27, see also Footnote 10 in chapter 7.]

Valence-decreasing derivational processes include morphological intransitivizers in Sakurabiat (18), and Kuikuro (19), while (20) gives an example of the productive noun incorporation found in Trumai.

- (18) *Kirit sīt jāj etsigika*
kirit sīt jāj e-sigi-ka
 child DIM tooth INTRVZ-drop-VBLZ
 ‘(That’s why) kids’ teeth drop out.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 44]
- (19) *luale utimükeítai*
luale ut-imükeiN-tai
 sorry 1.DTR-turn.face-FUT.IM
 “Sorry! I will turn my face back” [KUIKURO, line 224]
- (20) *ina hen esak ji hen mal husa husa ke ine jik, det’a hen jaw aṭu tsula nawan de.*

1 Amazonian narrative verbal arts and typological gems

ina hen esak ji hen
DISC.CON then hammock PRAG.IN then

mal husa husa ke ine ji=k
edge tie tie DISLOC.ABS 3ANAPH.MASC PRAG.IN=ERG

det'a hen jaw aṭu tsula nawan de
well then human.being dead be.lying similar already

‘Then he tied the hammock, it became very similar to a dead person lying.’ [TRUMAI, line 10, see also note 13 in chapter 5].

The languages in our collection also vary significantly in the extent to which they employ bound morphology. (18) and (20) above clearly show the more analytical profiles of Sakurabiat and Trumai, contrasting with the distinctly synthetic morphology of languages such as Kwaza (21) and Suruí (22).

(21) *tsiwidite xareredināiko adi'ata*

tsiwidite xarere-dināi-ko a-di-a-ta
girl crazy-manner-INS exist-CAUS-1PL.INCL-CSO

‘We let girls act crazy like that, in our present life.’ [KWAZA, line 59]

(22) *Omamōperedene.*

o-ma-amō-pere-de-na-e
1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘My grandfather did that again and again.’ [SURUÍ, line 47]

Highly complex verbal morphology is especially striking in Aikanã (23) and Kotiria, particularly in the latter’s productive use of verb serialization to code aspectual, modal, and adverbial spatial/manner distinctions (24). Similar constructions with serialized roots are seen in Hup verbal words (25), one of the structural features likely diffused through centuries of language contact (Epps 2007).

(23) *yāw'ē wikere xü'iaxanapetaka'iwāte kukaē*

yāw'ē wikere
let's.go.IMP peanut

xü'i-a-xa-nape-ta-ka-'iwā-te *kuka-ē*
dig-uproot-1PL-DIR:forest-REM.FUT-CLF:pieces-ADMON-PST tell-DECL

‘‘Let’s go digging up peanuts as planned,’’ he told her.’ [AIKANÃ, line 14]

- (24) *pha'muri mahsa òre pha'muyohataa.*
~pha'bú-rí ~basá ~ó-ré
 originate-NMLZ people DEIC.PROX-OBJ
~pha'bú-yóhá-tá-a
 originate-go.upriver-come-ASSERT.PFV
 'The origin beings appeared coming upriver here.' [KOTIRIA, line 15]
- (25) *Yino yó' mah yúp, tíhàn hid dö' híayáh.*
yi-no-yóʔ=mah yúp, tíh-àn hid döʔ-hí-ay-áh
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG-OBJ 3PL take-descend-INCH-DECL
 'Saying thus, it's said, they took (the baby deer) down.' [HUP, line 99]

Indeed, the narratives of this volume attest the rich means use to code movement and spatial relations in Amazonian languages (see also Bozzi 2013). A few languages employ locative postpositions or case markers with spatially specific semantics: inessive and allative markers in Kuikuro, Kalapalo and Aikanã, ablatives in Suruí and Sakurabiat, and the “provenience locative” marker in Marubo (26).

- (26) *Vei Maya vei mai nākōsh wenímarivi, shavo wetsa.*
Vei Maya vei mai nākō- sh wení-ma-rivi shavo wetsa
 death Maya death land nectar- LOC.PROV rise-NEG-EMP woman other
 'Vei Maya did not come from the Death-Land nectar; she is another woman.' [MARUBO, line 4]

Many more integrate detailed spatial or movement information in verbal morphology, through root serialization showing associated motion or direction (as seen in the Kotiria and Hup examples (24)–(25) above), or with bound directional/locational morphemes indicating notions such as ‘outside’, ‘hither’, ‘close’, etc., in Aikanã and Kwaza (27).

- (27) *watxile karēxu katsutyata xareyawata axehiko tsadwene*
watxile karēxu katsu-tya ta xareya-wa-ta axe-hĩ-tya
 finally dry.heartwood cross-CSO CSO search-ISBJ-CSO find-NMLZ-CSO
tsadwe-ne
 onto.path-**DIR:hither**
 'Later, crossing the dry log, they then searched and then got back onto the path.' [KWAZA, line 32]

Directional auxiliaries, such as ‘go uphill’ in Trumai (28), are also commonly found. Similar directional verbs occur in Kotiria, e.g. ‘go upriver’ (in lines 225 and 253 of chapter 6), and Hup ‘go upstream’ (in lines 4 and 12 of chapter 7, among others).

(28) *kaʔfi ʔaxer lahmin.*

kaʔfi ʔaxer lahmi=n
walk poorly go.uphill=3ABS

‘She left.’ [TRUMAI line 3, see also Footnote 8 in chapter 5]

Sakurabiat uses verbal auxiliaries for associated movement and to indicate the body position of subjects (29), and has positional demonstratives that code the body position of other referents (30).

(29) *Pi ke itoa eniitse*

pi ke i-to-a eni=ese
lying DEM 3SG-AUX.LIE-THV hammock=LOC

‘He (*Arik^wajō*) was there just lying in the hammock.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 3]

(30) *Tamō’ēm porētsopega petsetagiat:*

ta=bō=’ēp porēsopeg-a pe=se-tak-iat
DEM.STAND=DAT=EMPH ask-THV OBL=3COR-daughter-COL

‘He just got there and asked to his daughters.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 16]

Kuikuro, on the other hand, makes an interesting centripetal/centrifugal distinction in its imperative suffixes, the latter seen in (31).

(31) *ouūnko tuhipe kunhigake ika kigeke*

o-uūN-ko tuhi-pe ku-ng-ingi-gake ika kigeke
2-father-PL garden-NTM 1.2-OBJ-see-IMP.CTF wood let’s.go

‘‘Let’s go see your father’s old garden, let’s go to cut wood!’’ [KUIKURO, line 15]

Nearly half of the languages in the collection have switch-reference systems, with notable variation in terms of the contexts in which markers occur and the additional grammatical categories they may express. In Kotiria, overt switch-reference marking occurs only in contexts of clause subordination. In contrast, clause coordination is the relevant context in Kīsêdjê, which has some ‘different subject’ forms that further indicate anticipatory subject agreement, and if third person, tense distinctions as well. Switch-reference markers in Kwaza and

Aikanã can signal a new foregrounded topic or important turn of events in discourse. As is the case with most languages in the Pano family, Marubo has a complex system in which switch-reference markers code distinctions of same and different subjects as well as simultaneous or sequential actions (see van Gijn & Hammond 2016).¹¹

An even larger set of languages have grammaticalized markers with evidential and/or epistemic semantics. The complex systems of obligatory evidential marking in Hup and Kotiria have four or five categories that contrast hearsay/reported information with different subtypes of direct sensory (visual, non-visual) and indirect (inferred, presumed) evidential sources. Other languages, such as Suruí, have a basic witnessed/non-witnessed distinction, but can employ evidential markers pragmatically in discourse to prioritize focus on particular events over identification of source of evidence. Suruí evidential markers can also occur recursively with an utterance containing embedded quoted speech, as we see in (32), as can the Sakurabiat evidential *eba* (e.g. line 20 of chapter 8).

- (32) ““*Nem, olobaka Ğoxoriyã*” *iyã*” *de*.
nem o-sob-aka Ğoxor-ya i-ya Ø-de
 INTJ 1SG-father-kill Zoró-NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““Well, a Zoró killed my father.”” [SURUÍ, line 3]

Trumai and Ka’apor typically make use of hearsay evidentials to indicate narratives as having a non-firsthand source of information, while Kuikuro and Kalapalo have a large number of optional evidential and epistemic markers that occur primarily in the quoted speech of narrative protagonists, indicating their attitudes and intentions in interaction.

Ergativity is a well-known feature of Amazonian languages (see Gildea & Queixalós 2010) and occurs in some form in nearly half of the languages in this volume. Fully ergative systems are seen in Kuikuro and Kalapalo, in which the morpheme (-) *heke* always marks the ergative argument, as in (1), (3) and (16) above, and absolutive arguments are formally unmarked. Trumai makes use of ergative clitics and absolutive bound pronouns, while ergative marking in Marubo – in keeping with patterns found throughout Panoan languages – involves suprasegmental nasality, easily observed in pronominal forms such as *e* ‘1SG.ABS’ vs. *ẽ* ‘1SG.ERG’ and *mato* ‘2PL.ABS’ vs. *mã* ‘2PL.ERG’. Kísêdjê has a split system, with nominative-accusative alignment in main clauses and ergative-absolutive alignment in embedded clauses, as we see in (33).

¹¹Other chapters in the same volume offer case studies of switch-reference systems in diverse Amazonian languages.

(33) *Kôt hry jatuj khâm khutha.*

[*kôt hry j-atu-j*] *khâm khu-ta*
 3.ERG trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.sg

‘He put it down [where he had stopped making the trail].’ [KĪSĒDJÊ, line 51]

Finally, Galucio describes the mixed system of Sakurabiat as “nominative-absolutive”. Verbal prefixes index the subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive verbs (the absolutive argument), while transitive subjects (A) are obligatorily expressed as free pronouns. The same free pronominal forms can also be used as subjects in intransitive sentences, revealing nominative (S/A) alignment.

While on the topic of pronouns, we should note that eight of the twelve languages in this collection have an inclusive/exclusive distinction in their pronominal paradigms. In (34), we see that Trumai additionally marks a *dual* inclusive/exclusive value.

(34) *“huk’anik, huta.kaf ka a hu?tsa kawa.”*

huk’anik huta.kaf ka a hu?tsa kawa
 EXPR later 1INCL DU see go

“Wait, later we are going to see her (i.e., take care of her).” [TRUMAI, line 23]

Turning our attention very briefly to the “sounds” one hears in Amazonian voices, an overview of the phonological systems of the languages in our volume reveals the frequency of a high central vowel [i], which occurs in ten of the twelve languages as a phoneme or commonly used allophone. As for consonants, Kuikuro has a unique uvular flap and for an Amazonian language, Trumai has an whoppingly large 23-consonant inventory that includes a lateral fricative, as well as ejectives and plosives that make a distinction between alveolar and dental points of articulation. Nasality (a suprasegmental feature in Hup and Kotiria), nasal-harmony or spreading processes (in Kotiria and Sakurabiat), tone (in Kotiria, Hup, and Suruí), and glottalic sounds — full glottal stops, glottalized and aspirated consonants, and laryngealized vowels — are other prominent phonological features. In KĪsĒdjê, infix aspiration of voiceless plosives has a syntactic function, marking third person agreement, as seen in (35).

(35) *Akwyn nen thĕn khatho.*

akwyn ne=n thĕ=n k<h>atho
 back be.so=&.ss go.sg=&.ss <3>come.out.sg

‘He came back and came out (of the forest).’ [KĪSĒDJÊ, line 43]

Our tour of the fascinating structural features of Amazonian languages could go on and on, adding the noun classifiers of Kwaza and Kotiria, the “nominal tense” suffix of Kuikuro, the five-way past-tense distinction of Marubo, and the suppletive verbal forms of Kisêdjê – among others – to this initial collection of typological gems. However, we will stop here in the hope your curiosity has now been sufficiently sparked and you are ready to explore for yourself the delights, details, and discoveries our contributors have provided in the chapters that follow.

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Part I

Life, death, and the world beyond

Chapter 2

Kuikuro

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1 Introduction

Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ, ‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’, is a narrative lasting roughly twenty minutes. It was registered by Bruna Franchetto and Carlos Fausto on the 23rd of November, 2004, in both audio and video formats, in *Ipatse*, the main Kuikuro village (Southern Amazonia, State of Mato Grosso, Brazil). Bruna Franchetto began her linguistic and anthropological research on the Upper Xingu Carib languages, particularly on the Kuikuro dialect, in 1977. Carlos Fausto began his anthropological research among the Kuikuro in 1998.

The storyteller was *Ájahi*, a woman who was around 65 years old at that time, a renown ritual specialist and expert singer of the female rituals of *Jamugikumalu* and *Tolo*.

Basic annotation of the recording – orthographic transcription and translation – was done by *Jamalui*, a Kuikuro researcher, using ELAN, with the assistance of Carlos Fausto. *Asusu* Kuikuro helped with the penultimate revision, carried out in June 2016. The annotated text has been revised more than once by Franchetto, who added the interlinear analysis.





Figure 1: Bruna Franchetto and Ájahi Kuikuro (Photo: Takumã Kuikuro, 2001)

The transcription line is orthographic. Kuikuro (alphabetic) writing was developed by indigenous teachers, in collaboration with Bruna Franchetto, in the 1990s. The correspondences between “letters” or groups of letters (digraphs and trigraphs) and symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), when different, are as follows: <ü> /i/, <j> /j/, <g> /ɣ/ (uvular flap), <ng> /ŋ/, <nh> /ɲ/, <nkg> /ŋg/; N represents a subspecified fluctuating nasal.

2 Kuikuro: people and language

Kuikuro is the name by which one of the dialects of the Upper Xingu Carib Language, in the Xinguan Southern Branch of the Carib family, is known (Meira & Franchetto 2005; Meira 2006). It is spoken by approximately 600 people, distributed in six villages in the region known as “Upper Xingu”, in the headwaters of the Xingu river, Southern Amazonia, Brazil. They inhabit the southeastern region of the Xingu Indigenous Park, between the Culuene and the Buriti rivers, where they have lived since at least the second half of the 16th century. Archaeological, linguistic, and ethnological research all point to the upper Rio Buriti

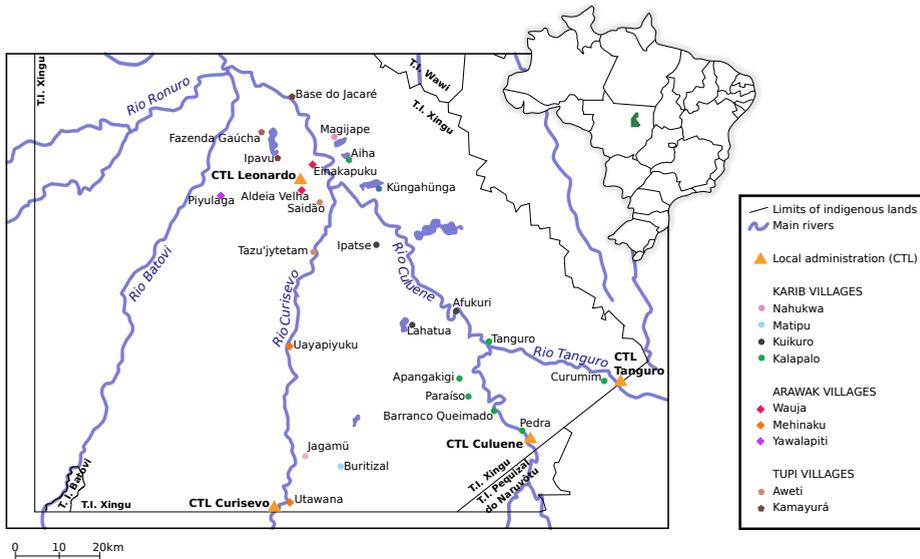


Figure 2: Villages of the Upper Xingu people, Xingu Indigenous Land.

region as the homeland of the Kuikuros' ancestors. This region was occupied by Carib groups who had travelled from the west of the Rio Culene, possibly in the 17th century. The denomination "Kuikuro" derives from the toponym for the place where, at the beginning of the 19th century, the first Kuikuro village (*Kuhi ikugu*, 'Needle Fish Creek') was erected as the residence of a recognized autonomous member of the Upper Xingu system. This toponym has been frozen as a permanent ethnonym since the first written ethnographic record by Karl von den Steinen at the end of the 19th century (von den Steinen 1894).

Upper Xingu Carib dialects are distinguished mainly by different prosodic structures (Silva & Franchetto 2011). The speakers of these varieties are part of the Upper Xingu Carib sub-system, which in turn is tied to the multilingual and multiethnic regional system known as the Upper Xingu. This comprises the drainage basin of the headwaters of the Xingu River, itself one of the largest southern tributaries of the Amazon. Thanks to the collaborative work of archaeologists, linguists, and anthropologists (Franchetto & Heckenberger 2001; Fausto, Franchetto & Heckenberger 2008; Franchetto 2011), we are beginning to understand the historical origins of this regional system. We can now confidently claim that this system was formed over the last four hundred years, incorporating people from different origins in a continuous and dynamic process. Speakers of languages belonging to the three major linguistic groupings in South America (Arawak, Carib,

and Tupi) and one linguistic isolate (Trumai) created a unique social system that remains functional today.

Kuikuro should be considered a stable, albeit vulnerable, language/variety. Its stability derives from the protection of the Kuikuro territory over the last fifty years, the gradual and late start of formal schooling in the last twenty years, and a linguistic and cultural heritage that is highly valued, both internally and externally, since the Kuikuro are part of the Upper Xingu region, which has been constructed as a Brazilian national icon of “Indianness”. Its vulnerability is due to a variety of factors including conflict between the indigenous language and the dominant language (Portuguese), schooling, the growing presence of written media and television, the increasing mobility of individuals and families between villages and towns, and prolonged stays in town. Another extremely relevant and ambiguous factor related to the preservation or weakening of the indigenous language is contact with missionaries, which has become increasingly intense. In contrast, initiatives that seek to strengthen the indigenous language have been put into effect by researchers (linguists and anthropologists) in participative documentation projects that including the production of videos via the training of indigenous filmmakers, publications and the supervision of indigenous researchers. This process needs to continue in order to effectively safeguard the indigenous language.

The morphosyntactic characteristics of Kuikuro can be summed up in the following generalizations:

- It is a highly agglutinative, head final, and ergative language.
- Any head constitutes a prosodic unit with its internal argument.
- A unique set of prefixal person markers indexes internal (absolutive) argument on verbs, nominals, and postpositions. Kuikuro, similar to many other Amerindian languages, makes a morphological distinction between first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive. The abbreviations ‘1.2’ and ‘1.3’ were chosen as glosses for first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive, respectively. The prefixed morpheme *ku-* (*kuk-* with nominal and verbal stems beginning with a vowel) is the phonological exponent of the abstract person features [ego&tu] or [actor&participant]. The prefixed morpheme *ti-* (*tis-* with vowel-initial stems) is the phonological exponent of the abstract person features [ego&alter] or [actor&non-participant].

- There are no auxiliaries and there is no explicit agreement between verbs and their arguments.
- Argument nominals are bare, underdetermined for number and definiteness.
- The aspectual inflection of the Kuikuro verb includes three main suffixes: punctual (PNCT, an event or action seen as instantaneous, without inherent temporal duration), durative (DUR) and perfect (PRF). Tense is outside the verbal word.

The ubiquity of the clitic *ha* is noteworthy, a grammatical morpheme whose function and meaning are still under investigation. We have not yet defined a specific meta-linguistic gloss for it. It certainly marks an important component of the syntactic packaging of information, acting at the interface with discourse. In fast speech, *ha* cliticizes to the following word, while in slow speech it cliticizes to the preceding word. Kalin (2014) offers an interesting formal explanation of the same particle in Hixkaryana, a Northern Carib language.

The grammatical morpheme, possible cliticizable, *leha*, interpreted as a completive aspect, also occurs in most Kuikuro sentences. It “closes” main as well as secondary predications and is possibly responsible for the finiteness of the verbal word. Like the clitic *ha*, it can occur more than once in the same utterance. It is interesting to see the complementary positioning of *ha* and *leha* in lines 4 and 5, giving a semantically differentiating nuance whose subtlety we are still unable to grasp completely.

For more information on Kuikuro grammar, see, among other publications: Franchetto (1986; 2010; 2015); dos Santos (2007); Franchetto & Santos (2009; 2010); Lima, Franchetto & Santos (2013).

3 The narrative

Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaō ‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’, offers a distinctively feminine version of the pan-xinguan and better-known narrative ‘*Agahütanga*, the trip of a living man to the village of the dead’. In the more – let us call it – “masculine” version, *Agahütanga* cries for a dead friend, who descends from the celestial world of the dead to take him on a journey of knowledge. During the journey, *Agahütanga* witnesses the fatal obstacles that can dissolve the dead into the nothingness of smoke. He manages to reach the celestial village, whose owner is a two-headed vulture, devourer of the dead, which is also where

the stars that mark the seasonal calendar reside. *Agahütanga* returns to earth but was killed by a jealous and greedy enemy (and sorcerer).

Kuikuro and Kalapalo masculine versions of this narrative were published in Carneiro (1977) and Basso (1985: 91–140), respectively. Another Kuikuro version was recorded in 2003 by Carlos Fausto, and deposited (transcribed and translated), alongside the present version by *Ájahi*, in the Kuikuro digital archives hosted by the DoBeS (Documentation of Endangered Languages, Max Pank Institute of Psycholinguistics and VolkswagenStiftung) Program and by the ProDoclin (Program for the Documentation of Indigenous Languages, Museu do Índio, FUNAI, Rio de Janeiro). Two short Kamayurá (masculine) versions, both in Portuguese, were published in Villas Boas & Villas Boas (1970: 122–130) and Agostinho (1974: 200–201).

In *Ájahi*'s version, a woman is taken, by her dead mother-in-law and by her longing (a dangerous and virtually fatal feeling) for her dead husband, through the path of the dead (*anha*) to their celestial village. “Dead” is a possible and viable translation for the word *anha*. *Akunga* or *akuã* designates an animic principle that animates living beings, a shadow of a thing or person, or a double. The *akunga* of a dead person is *akungape*, an ex-*akunga*, the word receiving the suffix *-pe* that marks the nominal past tense or, better, the nominal terminative aspect. “The *akunga* remains inside the body of the deceased until the grave begins to be filled in; but then, feeling the weight of fresh earth being heaped upon it, it slips out of the body and abandons the grave. At about this point, the soul ceases to be called *akunga* and is referred to as *añá* [*anha*], the name it will bear from here on” (Carneiro 1977: 3).

Ájahi describes the astonishing village of the dead, pointing to the three essential elements of the structure of a true Xinguan village (lines 145–148). Beside the *hugogo*, the *kuakutu* (an Arawakan word) known, in Portuguese, as “men’s house”, is a small traditional house built in the middle of the plaza and is the place where only men gather daily for pleasure, shamanistic sessions, political discussions, body painting, sharing food, and ritual concentration. *Tajúhe* is the third defining element of village architecture: the prototypical house of a big chief, much larger than the common houses, decorated internally and externally, including two “ears” (large triangular mats at the ends of the horizontal rod supporting the ceiling, twisted with moriche palm leaves (*Mauritia flexuosa*) fibers. Every house is a body, with a butt, belly, back, and earrings.

From the village of *anha*, the living visitor has to be upside down in order to see the world of the living. Hiding behind her mother-in-law, the woman sees her dead-husband’s-soul and his dead-brother’s-soul returning from a fishing



Figure 3: The Kuikuro village of *Ipatse* drawn by *Sepé* Kuikuro, 2006

trip. She sees him with another woman. In lines 81 and 171, *Ájahi* introduces this personage: *Itsangitsegu*, the wife of the dead husband in the afterworld, the celestial village of the dead. *Itsangitsegu* is an *itseke* (a hyper-being or supernatural being), not a dead person. She is the *itseke* that gets the old dead who are weak, takes care of them, puts them in seclusion, and feeds them until they are raised up again. She is an *itseke* with only one breast and one buttock, but she is very generous and all women are jealous of her. *Itsangitsegu* is the mother of the twins Sun and Moon, the ancestors who created the human species. A character of a long and founding mythical saga, *Itsangitsegu* was killed by her mother-in-law Jaguar, and, after her death, was honored by Sun and Moon in the first *egitsü*, known as “Kwaryp”, the great Xinguan intertribal ritual that marks the end of the mourning period after the deaths of chiefs and outstanding ritual specialists and singers.

In the afterworld, other words are used, referring to an inside-out world. The woman returns from this exceptional journey to the world of the living, but her fate on this side will be determined by the consequences of having dared to trans-

pose an impassable frontier. It is impossible not to note the similarities between this narrative and the Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice: Orpheus crosses through the door to the world of the dead because of his devastating desire to have Eurydice, his dead wife, back. Hades, the god of the underworld, grants him the possibility of bringing her back to the world of the living, but if he turns to see his beloved, who is following him out of the underworld, he will lose her forever. Orpheus disobeys, and Eurydice is transformed into a statue of salt.

These are the most relevant linguistic and structural characteristics of the narrative. The text recurrently makes use of the suffix *-pe*, glossed as NTM (“nominal tense marker”), as in *kakisükope* (*k-aki-sü-ko-pe*, 1.2-word-POSS-PL-NTM), which can be loosely translated as ‘our former words’ or ‘those which were our words’, referring to the words of the living that the dead seek out and transform, in their language of the dead, into other words. In lines 128-141, *Ájahi* insists on the contrast/complementarity between the language of the dead and the language of the living. The suffix *-pe* here means that the dead are trying to recover their language (that they used when they were alive), but in this effort they only find synonyms in the language of the dead. *-pe* could also be analysed as a “nominal terminative aspect” and is attested for common nouns and proper names, as well as in possessed and absolute noun phrases, conveying the death/destruction/end of the referent(s), a change of form/identity of the referent(s), or a loss of functionality of the referent(s) (Franchetto & Santos 2009; Franchetto & Thomas 2016).

Another relevant aspect is the use of specific forms and expressions during verbal interaction between affinal relatives, particularly between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. In these interactions, the use of the second person plural instead of the second person singular is obligatory, as in, for example, *emuguko* (*e-muguko*, 2-son-PL), ‘your son’ (the woman speaking to her mother-in-law about her own husband, the son of the mother-in-law). The Kuikuro kinship term for one’s parents-in-law is *hüsoho*, a nominalization (*-soho*) of the verbal stem *hü*, meaning ‘to feel shy/respect’. So, *hüsoho* means, literally, ‘made to feel shy/respect’.

Concerning the noteworthy traits of the narrative structure (see also Basso 1985; Franchetto 2003) we draw attention to the following:

- More than half of the text is a direct citation of dialogue between the characters, with a predominance of verbal forms inflected by performative modes (imperative, hortative, imminent future), interjections, as well as epistemic markers (including evidentials) that modulate the attitudes and communicative intentions of the interacting speakers. In Kuikuro there are several *verba dicendi*, such as the roots *ki* (say), *itagi* (talk), *aki* (language/word). Particularly interesting is the very frequent use of just the

aspectual morphemes *tagü* (durative) and *nügü* (punctual) immediately at the end of the directly reported speech.

- The storyteller regularly marks the progressive development of the narrative by logophoric connectives (*lepe*, *ülepe*) and by movement verbs (for instance, *te*, ‘to go’). This is how the textual units that we may equate to paragraphs are marked, grouping phrases/enunciations, the minimal textual units represented by the lines in the transcription.
- We have sought to keep most of the repetitions, which constitute the parallelistic characteristics of the narrative style, configuring its rhythm and, at times, changes of perspective before events that we would otherwise suppose to be understood as a single unit.

The narrative presented here is an example, in female voice, of the Kuikuro art of telling. Its apprehension is synergistically verbal and visual: the scenes succeed one another by movement through space-time, characters become animated one before another in their voice-bodies. Listeners are captured as if in a dream.

4 *Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ*

‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’

‘A mulher que foi para a aldeia dos mortos’¹

(1) *tüma akinha ititüi*

tü-ma akinha ititü-i

Q-DUB story name-COP

‘Which is the name of the story?’ (question by Bruna Franchetto)

‘Como é o nome da estória?’ (pergunta de Bruna Franchetto)

(2) *anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ*

anha itu-na tü-te-nhü-pe itaõ

dead place-ALL PTCP-go.PTCO-NANMLZ-NTM woman

‘The woman who went to the village of the dead, the woman’

‘A mulher que foi para a aldeia dos mortos, a mulher’

¹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997443>

- (3) *anha ituna etelü*

anha itu-na e-te-lü
dead place-ALL 3-go-PNCT

‘She went to the village of the dead’
‘Ela foi para a aldeia dos mortos’

- (4) *inhope apünguha*

i-nho-pe apünguN=ha
3-husband-NTM die.PNCT=HA

‘Her husband had died’
‘O esposo dela tinha falecido’

- (5) *inhope apüngu leha*

i-nho-pe apünguN leha
3-husband-NTM die.PNCT COMPL

‘Her husband died’
‘O esposo dela faleceu’

- (6) *lepe inhaka leha itsagü*

üle-pe i-ngaka² leha i-tsagü
LOG-NTM 3-instead.of COMPL 3.be-DUR

‘Then, she stayed in his place (she went into morning for him)’
‘Depois, ela foi ficando no lugar dele (foi ficando de luto por ele)’

- (7) *hombei leha hombei leha itsagü*

hombe-i leha hombe-i leha i-tsagü
widow-COP COMPL widow-COP COMPL 3.be-DUR

‘A widow, she was widowed’
‘Enviuvou, ficou viúva’

- (8) *ülepei leha itsagü leha hombe tamitsi*

üle-pe-i leha i-tsagü leha hombe tamitsi
LOG-NTM-COP COMPL 3.be-CONT COMPL widow longtime

‘After this, she remained widowed for a long time’
‘Depois disso, ela ficou viúva por muito tempo’

²The velar nasal palatalizes after the high front vowel, at the morphemic boundary (see Franchetto 1995).

- (9) *ülepe leha aiha*
*üle-pe leha aiha*³
 LOG-NTM COMPL done
 ‘After this, done’
 ‘Então, acabou’ (o luto)
- (10) *engü isangatelü leha*
engü is-anga-te-lü leha
 then 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Then she was painted with genipapo’
 ‘Então, ela foi pintada com jenipapo’
- (11) *isangatelü leha ihombundão⁴ heke isangatelü leha*
is-anga-te-lü leha i-hombundaõ heke is-anga-te-lü leha
 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-widow.COL ERG 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL
 ‘The brothers of her dead husband painted her’
 ‘Os irmãos do falecido esposo pintaram-na’
- (12) *lepene leha itsagü*
lepene leha i-tsagü
 then COMPL 3.be-CONT
 ‘Then, she remained’
 ‘Depois, ela ficou’
- (13) *anhü tülimo heke ijimo⁵ ijimo ijimo*
anhü tü-limo heke i-limo i-limo i-limo
 son REFL-children ERG 3-children 3-children 3-children
 ‘‘My dears!’’ (she said) to her children, children of this size, and this size,
 and this size’
 ‘‘Meus queridos!’’, (disse) para os seus filhos, filhos desse tamanho, desse
 tamanho e desse tamanho’

³The meaning of the particle *aiha* is here roughly translated as ‘done’. *aiha* has a clear discursive function when it is used to close a block or scene of a narrative.

⁴This word could be the result of: *homb(N)+(C)aõ* (widow+collective). The brothers-in-law of a woman are her potential sexual partners and potential spouses. Here, they are referred to as a group of associated ‘‘widowers’’ and they are responsible for important duties and functions towards the widow.

⁵At morphemic boundaries, the consonant /l/ palatalizes to [j] after the high front vowel /i/.

- (14) *anhü apa tuhipe kunhigake ouüngo tuhipe*
anhü apa tuhi-pe ku-ng-ingi-gake⁶ o-uüN-ko tuhi-pe
son father garden-NTM 1.2-OBJ-ver-IMP.CTF 2-father-PL garden-NTM
“My dears! Go to see the father’s old garden, your father’s old garden!”
“Meus queridos! Vamos ver a roça que era do pai, a roça que era do pai de vocês!”
- (15) *ouüngo tuhipe kunhigake ika kigeke*
o-uüN-ko tuhi-pe ku-ng⁷-ingi-gake ika kigeke
2-father-PL garden-NTM 1.2-OBJ-see-IMP.CTF wood let’s.go
“Let’s go see your father’s old garden, let’s go to cut wood!”
“Vamos lá ver a roça que era do pai de vocês, vamos catar lenha!”
- (16) *ehe ijimo telü leha*
ehe i-limo te-lü leha
ITJ 3-children go-PNCT COMPL
“Yes!” her children went away’
“Sim!”, seus filhos foram’
- (17) *etelüko leha etelüko leha*
e-te-lü-ko leha e-te-lü-ko leha
3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL
‘They went away, they went away’
‘Eles foram, eles foram’

⁶The inflectional morphemes of the imperative mood are sensitive to the directional egocentered kind of movement involved: centrifugal imperative (IMP.CTF, go to ...), centripetal imperative (IMP.CTP, come to ...), and imperative (IMP, no movement).

⁷The object marker *ng-*, prefixed to the verbal stem, is the spelled-out trace of the object (patient). Observe that the agent appears in absolutive case. See Franchetto (2010) and Franchetto & Santos (2010) for an analysis of this type of construction, which these authors called “de-ergativized”, due to a special kind of downgraded transitivity. This construction characterizes relative or focus sentences, where the relativized or the focused argument is the object, as well as some sentences with the verb inflected for imminent future, imperative mood, or hortative mood.

- (18) *eh tigati leha kuigi andati leha*
eh tigati leha kuigi anda-ti leha
 RTJ there COMPL garden LOC-ILL COMPL
 ‘Yes, right to the garden’
 ‘Sim, direto para a roça’
- (19) *inhünkgo leha itsuhipüati leha tünho tuhipüati*
i-nhüN-ko leha i-tuhi⁸-püa⁹-ti leha tü-nho
 3.be-PNCT-PL COMPL 3-garden-ex.place-ILL COMPL REFL-husband
tuhi-püa-ti
 garden-ex.place-ILL
 ‘They reached the place of the father’s old garden’
 ‘Chegaram no lugar que tinha sido a roça dele’
- (20) *jatsitsü jatsitsü*
jatsitsü jatsitsü
poor.man poor.man
 ‘“Poor man, poor man!” (the widow said)’
 ‘“Coitado, coitado!”, (a viúva disse)’
- (21) *ige inhambalüila tinika ulimo uün etsujenügü uäke nügü iheke*
ige inhamba-lü-i-la tinika u-limo uüN etsuje-nügü uäke
 PROX eat-PNCT-COP-PRIV ADV 1-children father die-PNCT PST
nügü i-heke
 say.PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘“My children’s father died without eating this (the manioc from his garden),” she said’
 ‘“O pai dos meus filhos morreu sem se alimentar disto (da roça dele)”, ela disse’

⁸The consonant /t/ palatalizes to [ts] after the high front vowel /i/ at morphemic boundaries (see Franchetto 1995)

⁹The suffix *-püa* is used to characterize a place where something was previously located (a village, a garden).

- (22) *ige inhambangatüingi hōhō ataiti uāke ulimo uün heke*
ige inhamba-nga-tüingi hōhō ataiti uāke u-limo uün heke
 DEM.PROX eat-AVD EMP IRR PST 1-children father ERG
 “My children’s father could have eaten this”
 “O pai dos meus filhos poderia ter se alimentado disto”
- (23) *iheke uāke tünhope heke*¹⁰
i-heke uāke tü-nho-pe heke
 ele-erg pst REFL-husband-NTM ERG
 “It was him,” (talking) about her dead husband’
 “Ele, faz tempo”, (falando) do seu falecido esposo’
- (24) *tita leha inilundagü inilundagü leha*
tita leha ini-luN-tagü ini-luN-tagü leha
 there COMPL cry-VBLZ-DUR cry-VBLZ-CONT COMPL
 ‘There she was crying, crying’
 ‘Ficou lá chorando, chorando’
- (25) *inhope tuhi heke isotünkitsagü*
i-nho-pe tuhi heke is-otüN-ki-tsagü
 3-husband-NTM garden ERG 3-sorrow-CAUS-DUR
 ‘The garden of her dead husband was making her deeply sorrowful’
 ‘A roça do falecido esposo fazia com que ela sentisse muita pena’
- (26) *ülepe leha etelü indeha eitsüe*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü inde=ha e-i-tsüe
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT here=HA 2-be-IMP.PL
 ‘Then she went away, “Stay here!” (she said to her own children)’
 ‘Depois ela foi, “Fiquem aqui!” (ela falou para seus filhos)’
- (27) *tülimo ngondilü leha iheke*
tü-limo ngondi-lü leha i-heke
 REFL-children leave-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘She left her children there’
 ‘Ela deixou seus filhos lá’

¹⁰See Franchetto (2010) for a description and analysis of the coexisting functions and meanings of the postposition *heke*, as a case (ergative) marker of the external argument of a “transitive verb”, and as a perspective locative.

- (28) *ilaha utetai*
ila=ha u-te-tai
 there=HA 1-go-FUT.IM
 ‘I am going that way’
 ‘Eu vou para lá’
- (29) *ilaha nhingadzetai ige nhigüintsai*
ila=ha ng-ingaNtse-tai ige ng-igüiN-tsai
 there=HA OBJ-look-FUT.IM PROX OBJ-surround-FUT.IM
 ‘I’ll have a look and take a walk (around the garden)’
 ‘You dar uma olhada nisso e vou dar uma volta nisso (na roça)’
- (30) *lepe leha etelü leha igüinjüi leha*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü leha iguiN-jü-i leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL surround-PNCT-COP COMPL
 ‘Then she went away and took a walk around (the garden)’
 ‘Depois ela foi-se e deu uma volta (na roça)’
- (31) *üle hata ah nügü iheke ukugesube ukugesube*
üle hata ah nügü i-heke ukuge=sube ukuge=sube¹¹
 LOG when ITJ PNCT 3-ERG people=EP people=EP
 ‘Meanwhile, “Ah!” she said, “Is it people? Is it people?”’
 ‘Enquanto isso, “Ah!”, ela disse, “Será que é gente? Será que é gente?”’
- (32) *tübeki ekisei nügü iheke*
tü=beki ekise-i nügü i-heke
 Q=EP 3.DIST-COP PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘“Who can that person be?” she said’
 ‘“Quem será aquela pessoa?”, ela disse’
- (33) *lepe leha isinügü leha etuhupüngenügü*
üle-pe leha is-i-nügü leha et-uhupünge-nügü
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-come-PNCT COMPL 3DTR-disguise-PNCT
 ‘Then she came back and disguised herself’
 ‘Depois ela voltou e disfarçou’

¹¹ *sube* and, in the following line, *beki* are clitic particles expressing a feeling of surprise, fear and dramatic curiosity.

- (34) *ijopenümi leha ihüsoho einhügü leha*
i-lope-nümi leha i-hüsoho ei-nhügü leha
 3-come.toward-PNCT.COP COMPL 3-mother.in.law come-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Her mother-in-law came toward her’
 ‘A sogra vinha em sua direção’
- (35) *ijopenümi leha kagahuku akata leha*
i-lope-nümi leha kagahuku akata leha
 3-come.toward-PNCT.COP COMPL fence along.inside COMPL
 ‘Toward her along on the inside of the fence’
 ‘Na direção dela acompanhando a cerca (da roça) por dentro’
- (36) *aka nügü iheke uâki eitsako nügü iheke*
aka nügü i-heke uâ-ki e-i-tsa-ko nügü i-heke
 ITJ PNCT 3-ERG Q-INS 2-be-DUR-PL PNCT 3-ERG
 “Wow!” she (the mother-in-law) said to her: “What are you doing here?”
 she said to her’
 “Nossa!”, ela disse: “O que vocês estão fazendo aqui?”, ela disse’
- (37) *eh nügü iheke inde muke utetagü emuguko tuhipe ingiale*
eh nügü i-heke inde muke u-te-tagü e-mugu-ko tuhi-pe ingi-ale
 ITJ PNCT 3-ERG here EP 1-go-DUR 2-son-PL garden-NTM see-while
 “Yeah!” she (the woman) said to her, “I’m walking here looking at your
 son’s old garden”
 “Sim!” ela disse “estou indo por aqui olhando a roça que foi do teu filho”
- (38) *uinilale nügü iheke uinilale utetagü inde*
u-inilu-ale nügü i-heke u-inilu-ale u-te-tagü inde
 1-cry-while PNCT 3-ERG 1-cry-while 1-go-DUR here
 “Crying,” she said to her, “I’m going here crying”
 “Chorando”, ela lhe disse, “estou indo por aqui chorando”
- (39) *ehē nügü iheke einilundako kahegei*
ehē nügü i-heke e-iniluN-ta-ko=kaha ege-i
 ITJ PNCT 3-ERG 2-cry-DUR-PL=EP DIST-COP
 “Yes,” she (the mother-in-law) said, “you are really crying”
 “Sim”, ela (sogra) disse, “você está chorando mesmo”

- (40) *elimo uünkoi ailene inatagü*¹²
e-limo uüN-ko-i ailene inata-gü
 2-children father-PL-COP feast nose-POSS
 “Your children’s father used to be the first of the feast”
 “O pai dos seus filhos era sempre o primeiro da festa”
- (41) *kogetsi epetsakilü kogetsi epetsakilü*
kogetsi epetsaki-lü kogetsi epetsaki-lü
 tomorrow adorn-PNCT tomorrow adorn-PNCT
 “One day he adorned himself and the other day he adorned himself
 (also)”
 “Um dia se enfeita, outro dia se enfeita (também)”
- (42) *ilango gitse elimo uünkoi*
ila-ngo gitse e-limo uüN-ko-i
 there-NMLZ EP 2-children father-PL-COP
 “Your children’s father was so”
 “O pai dos seus filhos era assim”
- (43) *tingakugui gitse etengatohokoi inhaka nügü iheke*
tingakugu-i gitse e-te-nga-toho-ko-i i-ngaka nügü i-heke
 weeping-COP EP 2-go-HAB-INSNMLZ-PL-COP 3-instead.of PNCT 3-ERG
 “You will always be weeping for him,” she (the mother-in-law) said’
 “Você ficará sempre lamentando por ele”, ela (a sogra) disse’
- (44) *ehẽ nügü iheke*
ehẽ nügü i-heke
 AFF PNCT 3-ERG
 “Yes,” she (the woman) said’
 “Sim”, ela (a mulher) disse’
- (45) *lepe inho ügühütuki leha isakihata leha iheke*
üle-pe i-nho ügühütu-ki leha is-aki-ha-ta leha
 LOG-NTM 3-husband way.being-INS COMPL 3-word-VBLZ-DUR COMPL
i-heke
 3-ERG
 ‘Then she was telling her about her husband’s way of being’
 ‘Depois ela ficou lhe contando sobre o jeito de ser do seu esposo’

¹²To be the first one is expressed as ‘to be the nose (of something)’: here, the nose of the feast.

(46) *kigekeha*

kigeke=ha

1.2.go.IMP=HA

“Let’s go!”

“Vamos!”

(47) *aminga akatsange uenhümingo eitigini einhani nügü iheke aminga*

aminga akatsange u-e-nhümingo e-itigi-ni e-inha-ni nügü i-heke

other.day INT 1-come-FUT 2-FIN-PL 2-DAT-PL PNCT 3-ERG

aminga

other.day

“The day after tomorrow I’ll come to you, to get you,” she (the mother-in-law) said to her, “the day after tomorrow”

“Depois de amanhã eu voltarei para vocês, para buscar vocês”, ela (sogra) disse para ela, “depois de amanhã”

(48) *kekeha egetüeha*

keke=ha egetüe=ha

1.2.go=HA go.IMP.PL=HA

“Let’s go,” (the woman said). “You can go!” (the mother-in-law replied)’

“Vamos!”, (disse a mulher) “Podem ir”, (respondeu a sogra)’

(49) *etelü hōhō ihüsoho telü leha anha telü leha*¹³

e-te-lü hōhō i-hüsoho te-lü leha anha te-lü leha

3-go-PNCT EMPH 3-mother.in.law go-PNCT COMPL dead go-PNCT COMPL

‘She went away, her mother-in-law went away, the dead one went away (but would be back soon)’

‘Ela foi embora, a sogra foi embora, a morta foi embora (mas iria voltar logo)’

¹³As explained by the Kuikuro speakers, when someone says “*etelü hōhō*” (she/he went away EMPHATIC), they are speaking about another person who went away with the intention of returning soon, the same day or the following day; when someone says “*etelü leha*” (she/he went away COMPLETIVE), they are speaking about someone who went away not knowing if they would come back.

- (50) *anha hekisei ihoginhi leha isipe ihüsohope*
anha=ha ekise-i i-hogi-nhi leha isi-pe
 dead=HA 3.DIST-COP 3-find-ANMLZ COMPL mother-NTM
i-hüsoho-pe
 3-mother.in.law-NTM
 ‘It was the dead one that found her, the one who had been the mother (of her husband), her deceased mother-in-law’
 ‘Era a morta aquela que a encontrou, a que tinha sido a mãe (do seu esposo), sua finada sogra’
- (51) *lepe leha umm igiataka tünkülü ihanügü iheke*¹⁴
üle-pe leha umm igia=taka t-üنگü-lü iha-nügü i-heke
 LOG-NTM COMPL ITJ SO=EP REFL-sleep-PNCT tell-PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘Then, (the woman remembered): “Umm, that was how she promised to sleep”’
 ‘Depois (a mulher lembrou): “Umm, foi assim que ela prometeu dormir”’
- (52) *lepe leha anhü ika kigeke*
üle-pe leha anhü ika kigeke
 LOG-NTM COMPL son wood 1.2.go.IMP
 ‘Then, (she said): “My dears! Let’s go collect wood!”’
 ‘Depois, (ela disse): “Queridos! Vamos buscar lenha!”’
- (53) *etelü leha*¹⁵
e-te-lü leha
 3-go-PNCT COMPL
 ‘She went away’
 ‘Ela foi embora’

¹⁴The storyteller showed the fingers of her hand counting the number three; to ‘sleep three’ means a three day period of time.

¹⁵In a narrative, the expression of movement with the verb ‘go’ (root *te*) often means the movement of the narrative itself, from one scene to the following one.

- (54) *etsutühügü ati leha inhügü*

etsu-tühügü ati leha i-nhügü
promise.return-PRF when COMPL be-PNCT

‘Then came the day she had promised to return’
‘Chegou o dia em que ela tinha prometido voltar’

- (55) *indeha eitsüe tülimo ngondingalü leha iheke inhondingalüko*

inde=ha e-i-tsüe tü-limo ngondi-nga-lü leha i-heke
here=HA 2-be-IMP.PL REFL-children leave-HAB-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
i-ngondi-nga-lü-ko
3-leave-HAB-PNCT-PL

‘‘Stay here!’’ She used to leave her children, she often leaves them’
‘‘Fiquem aqui!’’ Ela costumava deixar seus filhos, ela costumava deixá-los’

- (56) *indeha amanhetüe*

inde=ha amanhe-tüe
here=HA play-IMP.PL

‘‘Play here!’’
‘‘Brinquem por aqui!’’

- (57) *lepe leha*

üle-pe leha
LOG-NTM COMPL

‘After this’
‘Depois disso’

- (58) *etelü leha egei isinümbata gehale ihüsoho enhümbata*

e-te-lü leha ege-i is-i-nüN-hata gehale i-hüsoho
3-go-PNCT COMPL DIST-COP 3-be-PNCT-when also 3-mother.in.law
eN-nhüN-hata
come-PNCT-when

‘She went away when she (the mother-in-law) was coming back again’
‘Foi, quando ela (a sogra) estava vindo novamente’

- (59) *inhalü leha ingügiñü leha hüle iheke*
*inhalü*¹⁶ *leha ingügi-ñü-i leha hüle i-heke*
 NEG COMPL give.lap-PNCT-COP COMPL CNTR 3-ERG
 ‘However, she (the mother-in-law) did not circle around anymore’
 ‘Ela (a sogra), porém, não deu mais voltas’
- (60) *uhunüñü leha iheke*
uhu-nüñü leha i-heke
 know-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘She (the woman) already knew’
 ‘Ela (a mulher) já sabia’
- (61) *lepe leha isinüñü*
üle-pe leha is-i-nüñü
 then COMPL 3-be-PNCT
 ‘Then, she (the mother-in-law) arrived’
 ‘Então, ela (a sogra) chegou’
- (62) *ande taka uetsagü akihalükoinha*
ande taka u-e-tsagü akiha-lü-ko-inha
 here EP 1-arrive-PROG 2.tell-PNCT-PL-DAT
 ‘‘Here I come to warn you’’ (the mother-in-law said)’
 ‘‘Aqui chego para avisá-los’’ (disse a sogra)’
- (63) *aminga akatsange elimo uüñko telüingo haguna aminga*
aminga akatsange e-limo uüñ-ko te-lü-ingo hagu-na
 other.day INT 2-children father-PL go-PNCT-FUT bayou-ALL
aminga
 other.day
 ‘‘The day after tomorrow your children’s father will go on a fishing trip’’
 ‘‘Depois de amanhã o pai de seus filhos irá para a pescaria’’

¹⁶Kuikuro has two free grammatical forms to mark negation having scope on verbal or nominal phrases: *inhalü* is a kind of weak negation, and it always occurs with the non-verbal copula *-i* suffixed to the negated verb or nominal. *ahütü* is for stronger negations and it always occurs with the privative *-la* suffixed to the negated verb or nominal.

- (64) *ülegote akatsange uenhümingo akihalükoinha ülegote*
üle-gote akatsange u-e-nhümingo akiha-lü-ko-inha üle-gote
 LOG-when INT 1-arrive-PNCT.FUT tell-PNCT-PL-DAT LOG-when
 “When this happens, I’ll come to warn you”
 “Quando isso acontecer, eu virei avisá-la”
- (65) *eitigini etimbelüko ingitomi*
e-itigi-ni etimbe-lü-ko ingi-tomi
 2-FIN-PL arrive-PNCT-PL see-PURP
 “To pick you up, so you’ll see their arrival (from the fishing trip)”
 “Para buscar você, de modo que veja a chegada deles (da pescaria)”
- (66) *esepe kae akatsange uenhümingo eitigini*¹⁷
ese-pe kae akatsange u-e-nhümingo e-itigi-ni
 3.PROX-NTM LOC INT 1-arrive-PNCT.FUT 2-FIN-PL
 “After this (after four days), I’ll come back to pick you up”
 “Depois deste (depois de quatro dias), eu virei lhe buscar”
- (67) *isakihatagü gehale üleki ügühütuki hagunaha etelükoingoki*
is-akiha-tagü gehale üle-ki ügühütu-ki hagu-na=ha
 3-tell-DUR also LOG-INS custom-INS bayou-ALL=HA
e-te-lü-ko-ingo-ki
 3-go-PNCT-FUT-INS
 ‘She (the mother-in-law) was also telling about that, about their way of
 being, about how they go on fishing trips’
 ‘Ela (a sogra) também ficou contando sobre aquilo, sobre o jeito deles,
 sobre como eles vão para a pescaria’
- (68) *kekeha nügü iheke etelüko leha*
keke=ha nügü i-heke e-te-lü-ko leha
 1.2.IMP=HA PNCT 3-ERG 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL
 “Let’s go!” she said, they went away’
 “Vamos!”, ela disse e foram embora’

¹⁷ *Esepe kae* (after this one): the mother-in-law counts three fingers and indicates the fourth finger, the one after the third finger. The system of Kuikuro numerals is base 5, with counting beginning with the thumb and progressing to the little finger, thus completing a unit of 5. From 6 to 9 the numbers from 1 to 4 are repeated with the addition of the expression “made to cross to the other side”. The number 10 closes another unit of 5. The same logic operates for the numbers from 11 to 15 (on the foot) and from 16 to 20 (crossing to the other side [the other foot]).

- (69) *tetingugi leha atahaingalüko*
tetingugi leha at-ahaiN-nga-lü-ko
 each COMPL 3DTR-separate-HAB-PNCT-PL
 ‘They separated, each walking to a different side at the same time’
 ‘Separaram-se, cada uma indo para um lado ao mesmo tempo’
- (70) *lepe leha igia isüngüpügü atai*
üle-pe leha igia is-üngü-pügü atai
 LOG-NTM COMPL SO 3-sleep-PRF when
 ‘After sleeping this way’ (3)¹⁸
 ‘Depois de ter dormido assim’ (3)
- (71) *ika kigeke ailehüle üle tohoingo hüle*
ika kige-ke aileha=hüle üle-toho-ingo hüle
 wood go-IMP COMPL=CNTR LOG-INSNMLZ-FUT CNTR
 ‘‘Let’s go to collect wood!’’ It will be then that it happened’
 ‘‘Vamos buscar lenha!’’ Será naquele momento que acontecerá’
- (72) *ijopenümi gehale isinügü*
ijope-nümi gehale is-i-nügü
 come.toward-PNCT.COP also 3-be-PNCT
 ‘Once more she (the mother-in-law) came toward her’
 ‘Novamente ela (a sogra) veio em sua direção’
- (73) *andetaka uetsagü akihalükoinha*
ande=taka u-e-tsagü akiha-lü-ko-inha
 now=EP 1-come-DUR tell-PNCT-PL-DAT
 ‘‘I came here today to warn you’’
 ‘‘Eu vim lhe avisar’’
- (74) *ehe elimo uüngo akatsange leha haguna ihaki nügü iheke*
ehe e-limo uüN-ko akatsange leha hagu-na ihaki nügü i-heke
 ITJ 2-children father-PL INT COMPL bayou-ALL far PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘‘All right, your children’s father (is) really far away on the fishing trip,’’
 she said to her’
 ‘‘Certo, o pai dos seus filhos (está) mesmo longe na pescaria’’, disse para
 ela’

¹⁸ *Ájahi* indicates with the hand the number 3, meaning that three days elapsed.

- (75) *igia akatsange isüngülüko inhatüi inhatüi*
igia akatsange is-üngü-lü-ko inhatüi inhatüi
 so INT 3-sleep-PNCT-PL five five
 “They will sleep five (days), five (during the fishing trip)”
 “Eles vão dormir cinco (dias), cinco (na pescaria)”
- (76) *esepe kae akatsange uenhümingo eitigini*
ese-pe kae akatsange u-e-nhümingo e-itigi-ni
 3.PROX-NTM LOC INT 1-come-PNCT.FUT 2-FIN-PL
 “One after this, I’ll really come back to pick you up”
 “Um depois deste, eu voltarei para lhe buscar”
- (77) *ingigokomi hōhō ehekeni*
ingi-gokomi hōhō e-heke-ni
 3.see-PURP.PL EMPH 2-ERG-PL
 “For you to see them”
 “Para você vê-los”
- (78) *igiaha tingakügüi etelüko hinhe*
igia=ha tingakügü-i e-te-lü-ko=hinhe
 so=HA weeping-COP 2-go-PNCT-PL=NPURP
 “So you do not go around weeping for him”
 “Para você não mais andar pranteando por ele”
- (79) *elimo uüngo hüngüngü igelü hinhe ehekeni*
e-limo uüN-ko hüngüngü ige-lü=hinhe e-heke-ni
 2-children father-PL feeling.lack carry-PNCT=NPURP 2-ERG-PL
 “For you to no longer carry such nostalgia for your children’s father”
 “Para você não carregar mais a saudade do pai dos seus filhos”
- (80) *epetsakinge inatagü sogitse tingakügüi gitse etengatohokoi gitse elimo uüngo nügü iheke*
epetsaki-nge inata-gü sogitse tingakügü-i gitse
 adorn-NMLZ noose-POSS EM weeping-COP EM
e-te-nga-toho-ko-i gitse e-limo uüN-ko nügü i-heke
 2-go-HAB-INSNMLZ-PL-COP EM 2-children father-PL PNCT 3-ERG
 “He is the first to adorn himself; don’t go around weeping for your children’s father,” she said to her’

“Ele é o primeiro a se enfeitar; não ande sempre por aí pranteando o pai dos seus filhos”, ela lhe disse’

- (81) *tatoho ingakatalü sogitse elimo uünkoi gitse esei tingakugui eigengalüko heke*

t-atoho ingakata-lü sogitse e-limo uüN-ko-i gitse
REFL-other.wife love-PNCT em 2-children father-PL-COP em
ese-i tingakügü-i e-ige-nga-lü-ko heke
3.PROX-COP weeping-COP 2-take-HAB-PNCT-PL ERG

“He makes love with his other wife, your children’s father is like this, while you are weeping”

“Ele namora com a sua outra esposa (do outro mundo), assim é o pai dos seus filhos, enquanto você fica chorando”

- (82) *tahekasasai gele tatoho itinhündelü heke*

tahekasasa-i gele t-atoho itinhünde-lü heke
lying-COP still REFL-other.wife lie.hammock-PNCT ERG

“He is always lying down in the hammock with his other wife”

“Ele está sempre deitado na rede com a sua outra esposa”

- (83) *ilango gitse elimo uünkoi tühünitati ehekeni*

ila-ngo gitse e-limo uüN-ko-i tü-hüni-tati e-heke-ni
there-NMLZ EP 2-children father-PL-COP REFL-feel.lack-? 2-ERG-PL

“There, your children’s father is like this, the one that you are missing”

“Lá, o pai dos seus filhos é assim, aquele de quem você sente falta”

- (84) *eijatongoko itinhündelü heke gitse elimo uünko itsagü nügü iheke*

eijatongo-ko itinhünde-lü heke gitse e-limo uüN-ko i-tsagü nügü
2nd.wife-PL lie-PNCT ERG EP 2-children father-PL be-DUR PNCT
i-heke
3-ERG

“Your children’s father always lies down in the hammock with his second wife,” she said to her’

“O pai dos seus filhos fica sempre deitado na rede com a sua segunda esposa”, ela disse’

- (85) *üle heke leha ihitsü ingüngingükijü*
üle heke leha i-hi-tsü ingüN-ki-nguN-ki-jü
 LOG erg COMPL 3-wife-POSS eye-INS-VBLZ-INS-PNCT
 ‘This made his wife think’
 ‘Isso fez a esposa dele pensar’
- (86) *lepe leha etelüko leha etelü leha*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha e-te-lü leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-COMPL-PL COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL
 ‘After this, they went away, she went away’
 ‘Depois, elas foram, ela foi’
- (87) *lepe leha engü leha ijimo telü leha haguna leha*
üle-pe leha engü leha i-limo te-lü leha hagu-na leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL then COMPL 3-children go-PNCT COMPL bayou-ALL COMPL
 ‘Then, her (mother-in-law’s) children went on the fishing trip’
 ‘Então, os filhos dela (da sogra) foram para a pescaria’
- (88) *igeitaka isüngülüingo igeitaka*
ige-i=taka is-üngü-lü-ingo ige-i=taka
 PROX-COP=EP 3-sleep-PNCT-FUT PROX-COP=EP
 “‘Will she sleep so many nights?’”¹⁹
 “‘Será que ela irá dormir estas tantas noites?’”
- (89) *esepe kae itigi hüle isinügü*
ese-pe kae itigi hüle is-i-nügü
 3.PROX-NTM LOC to.seek CNTR 3-come-PNCT
 ‘But exactly on this day she (the mother-in-law) arrived to get her’
 ‘Mas exatamente neste dia ela (a sogra) veio buscá-la’
- (90) *kekegeha nügü iheke*
kekege=ha nügü i-heke
 let’s.go=HA PNCT 3-ERG
 “‘Let’s go,” she said to her’
 “‘Vamos!”, ela lhe disse’

¹⁹The widowed woman asks herself how many days will pass until her mother-in-law comes back to get her.

- (91) *ande akatsege elimo uüngo etimbelüingo nügü iheke*
ande akatsege e-limo uüN-ko etimbe-lü-ingo nügü i-heke
 now INT 2-children father-PL come-PNCT-FUT PNCT 3-ERG
 “Today your children’s father will come,” she said to her’
 “Hoje o pai dos seus filhos vai chegar”, disse a ela’
- (92) *lepe leha etelü leha*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Then she went away’
 ‘Depois disso ela foi’
- (93) *inde atsange eitsüe nügü iheke tülimo heke leha*
inde atsange e-i-tsüe nügü i-heke tü-limo heke leha
 here INT 2-be-IMP.PL say 3-ERG REFL- children ERG COMPL
 “Stay here!” she (the woman) said to her own children’
 “Fiquem aqui!”, ela (a mulher) disse para os seus filhos’
- (94) *ilá kohötsige utehesundagü ige nügü iheke*
ilá kohötsige u-tehesuN-tagü ige nügü i-heke
 there walking.little 1-walk-PROG PROX say 3-ERG
 “I’m going there walking a little,” she said to them’
 “Eu vou para lá, passear um pouco”, ela disse para eles’
- (95) *lepe leha etelüko leha*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL
 ‘Then, they went away’
 ‘Depois disso, eles foram’
- (96) *hakitsetse leha atamini ngika ngondilü ihekeni osiha ina eitsüe*
haki-tsetse leha ata-mini ngika ngondi-lü i-heke-ni osi=ha ina
 far-DIM COMPL when-PL them leave-PNCT 3-ERG-PL well=HA here
e-i-tsüe
 2-be-IMP.PL
 ‘When they were not so far from the village, they left them (the children):
 “Stay here!”’

‘Quando estavam pouco longe da aldeia, os (filhos) deixaram: “Fiquem aqui!”’

(97) *tüatsagati leha tüilü iheke*

tü-atsagati leha tüi-lü i-heke
REFL-in.front COMPL put-PNCT 3-ERG

‘She (the mother-in-law) put her in front of herself’
‘Ela (a sogra) a colocou em sua frente’

(98) *itükanhenügü letüha iheke itükanhenügü itükanhenügü*

itüka-nhe-nügü üle=tü=ha i-heke itüka-nhe-nügü
3.move.up-TR-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG 3.move.up-TR-PNCT
itüka-nhe-nügü
3.move.up-TR-PNCT

‘Then, she moved her up, she moved her up, she moved her up’
‘Ela a fez subir, fez subir, fez subir’²⁰

(99) *inegetüha ihhh kahü ijatüna tsitsi letsügüha inhünkgo leha*

inege=tü=ha ihhh kahü ijatü-na tsitsi üle=tsügü=ha
this.side=UNCR=HA ID sky armpit-AL almost LOG=UNCR=HA
i-nhüN-ko leha
3-be-PNCT-PL COMPL

‘On this side, *ihhh*, they reached almost to the limit of the sky (with the earth) and (there) they stayed’
‘Deste lado, *ihhh*, chegaram quase no limite do céu (com a terra) e (lá) ficaram’

(100) *itükainjüko leha osiha etimükeĩtüe ah etimükeĩtüe*

itükaiN-jü-ko leha osi=ha et-imükeĩ-tüe ah
3-move.up-PNCT-PL COMPL well=HA 2.DTR-turn.face-IMP.PL ITJ
et-imükeĩ-tüe
2.DTR-turn.face-IMP.PL

‘They moved up: “Well, turn your face (down), ah, turn your face (down)!”

‘Elas subiram; “Vire o rosto (para baixo), vire o rosto (para baixo)!”

²⁰ *tü(ha)* and *tsügü(ha)* are clitics, epistemic/evidentials (EM), whose meaning is approximately: ‘I, the speaker, cannot assume the truth of this information; people say it happened’.

- (101) *tetimükeĩtü eh humbungaka leha*
t-et-imükeĩ=tü eh humbungaka leha
 PTCP-DTR-turn.face.PTCP=UNCR ITJ upside.down COMPL
 ‘With the face turned down, upside down’
 ‘Com o rosto virado (para baixo), de cabeça para baixo’
- (102) *engü atühügü leha ngongoho atühügü leha*
engü a-tühügü leha ngongo-ho a-tühügü leha
 then be-PRF COMPL earth-LOC be-PRF COMPL
 ‘Then, the earth appeared (upside down)’
 ‘Então, a terra apareceu (de cabeça para baixo)’
- (103) *ama üntepügü leha kahü alüpengine ige ige ugupongaha*
ama ünte-pügü leha kahü alüpengine ige ugupo-nga=ha
 way down-PRF COMPL SKY INE PROX above-all=HA
 ‘The way down from the sky to above here’
 ‘O caminho que desce do céu até em cima daqui’
- (104) *igeha kungongogu uguponga leha*
ige=ha ku-ngongo-gu ugupo-nga leha
 PROX=HA 1.2²¹-earth-POSS above-ALL COMPL
 ‘Here above our earth’
 ‘Aqui em cima da nossa terra’
- (105) *lepe leha etelüko*
lepe leha e-te-lü-ko
 then COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL
 ‘Then, they went away’
 ‘Depois disso, elas foram’
- (106) *anha engübeha tanginhügü ěgipügati leha inhügü*
anha engübeha tanginhü-gü ěgipügati leha i-nhügü
 dead EP main.path-POSS at.top.head COMPL be-PNCT
 ‘They stayed right at the beginning of the main path of the dead’
 ‘Ficaram bem no começo do caminho principal dos mortos’

- (107) *üle ama gae geletügüha inginügi iheke*
üle ama gae geletügü=ha ingi-nügü i-heke
 LOG path on.edge ?=HA 3.bring-PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘She (the mother-in-law) brought her right to the edge of the path’
 ‘Ela (a sogra) a trouxe bem na beira do caminho’
- (108) *itsapügü itahiale leha itsapügü ingitüingiha anha heke*
i-tapü-gü itahi-ale leha i-tapü-gü ingi-tüingi=ha anha heke
 3-foot-POSS erase-SIM COMPL 3-foot-POSS see-AVD=HA dead ERG
 ‘Erasing her footprints, for the dead not to see her footprints’
 ‘Apagando as pegadas dela, para o morto não ver as pegadas dela’
- (109) *ihüsoho e-nhügü leha isingi*
i-hüsoho e-nhügü leha is-ingi
 3-mother.in.law come-PNCT COMPL 3-after
 ‘The mother-in-law was coming after her’
 ‘A sogra vinha atrás dela’
- (110) *inhalütüha tütüte isingi inginümi iheke*
inhalü=tü=ha tütüte is-ingi ingi-nümi i-heke
 NEG=UNCR=HA hidden 3-after bring-PNCT.COP 3-ERG
 ‘She (the mother-in-law) didn’t bring her (daughter-in-law) hidden after her’
 ‘Ela (a sogra) não trouxe (a nora) escondida atrás dela’
- (111) *teh titamingügi ekubetüha anha akapügüha*
teh titamingügi ekube=tü=ha anha akapügü=ha
 ITJ drawn good-UNCR=HA dead proper=HA
 ‘Wow! (The path) was really beautiful, drawn properly for the dead’
 ‘Poxa! Era bem bonito (o caminho) desenhado especialmente para os mortos’
- (112) *amaha simagüko tanginhü*
ama=ha is-ima-gü-ko tanginhü
 path=HA 3-path-POSS-PL main.path
 ‘The path, their path (of the dead), the main path’
 ‘O caminho, o caminhos deles (dos mortos), o caminho principal’

- (113) *tange itamingügüi leha teh*
tange itamingü-gü-i leha teh
 pot drawing-POSS-COP COMPL ITJ
 ‘It looked like the drawing on the small pots, beautiful!’
 ‘Parecia com a pintura da panelinha de barro, bem bonita!’
- (114) *ama tepügü*
ama te-pügü
 path go-PRF
 ‘The way of going (to the village of the dead)’
 ‘O caminho da ida (para a aldeia dos mortos)’
- (115) *anha akapügütsügü*
anha akapügü=tsügü
 dead proper=UNCR
 ‘Done especially for the dead’
 ‘Feito especialmente para os mortos’
- (116) *ingiale ekugu igia tsügü tihü heke gele ingiale isita gele*
ingi-ale ekugu igia=tsügü tihü heke gele ingi-ale is-ita gele
 see-SIM really like.this=UNCR living ERG still see-SIM 3-be-CONT still
 ‘The living one was coming like this, looking, looking’
 ‘A viva estava vindo assim olhando, olhando’²²
- (117) *anha imagü*
anha ima-gü
 dead path-POSS
 ‘The path of the dead’
 ‘O caminho dos mortos’
- (118) *lepe leha etelüko leha*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha
 log-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL
 ‘Then, they went’
 ‘Depois elas foram’

²²Only one who is dead can pass on the path of the dead, but in this case the woman was alive.

- (119) *ngikaho letüha sinünkgo*
ngikaho üle=tü=ha is-i-nüN-ko
back.door LOG=UNCR=HA 3-be-PNCT-PL
‘At the back of the houses, there they stayed’
‘Atrás das casas, lá ficaram’
- (120) *enüngo titage leha ogo²³ uguponga leha*
e-nüN-ko titage leha ogo ugupo-nga leha
enter-PNCT-PL straight COMPL platform on-ALL COMPL
‘They entered (into the house) directly, over the platform’
‘Entraram (na casa) direto, por cima do jirau’
- (121) *timbuku²⁴ tüha üle hujati leha*
timbuku=tü=ha üle huja-ti leha
cassava.piece=UNCR=HA LOG middle-ALL COMPL
‘Just in the middle of the pieces of dried cassava paste’
‘No meio dos pedaços de massa seca de mandioca’
- (122) *itsüi kuiginhu²⁵ hagatöpügü*
itsüi kuiginhu hagatöpügü
lot cassava.flour store-PRF
‘There was a lot of cassava flour stored there’
‘Tinha muito polvilho armazenado’
- (123) *anha inhangoha kaküangi tsügüha anha inhango*
anha inhango=ha kaküangi tsügü=ha anha inhango
dead food=HA much UNCR=HA dead food
‘There was a lot of the food of the dead, food of the dead’
‘Tinha muita comida dos mortos, comida dos mortos’

²³The cassava paste is placed on an *ogo* – a platform built at the back of the house – to dry in the sun.

²⁴The word *timbuku* refers to a particular form of the pieces of the dried cassava paste.

²⁵The word *kuiginhu* refers to the cassava flour, the end product of women’s long and heavy labor necessary to process the cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), which begins in the gardens with the digging up of the roots and goes through successive phases of withdrawal of the hydrocyanic acid (poisonous to humans), until the cassava paste is left to dry in the sun.

- (124) *üle hata letü ihüsoho agapagatsita leha*
üle hata üle=tü i-hüsoho agapagatsi-ta leha
 LOG while LOG=UNCR 3-mother.in.law sweep-DUR COMPL
 ‘Meanwhile her mother-in-law was sweeping’
 ‘Enquanto isso, a sogra dela varria’
- (125) *engüha egei uhupungetagü leha iheke uhutüingiha uhutüingi*
engü=ha ege-i uhu-pu-nge-tagü²⁶ leha i-heke uhu-tüingi=ha
 CON=HA DIST-COP know-NEG-TR-DUR COMPL 3-ERG know-AVD=HA
uhu-tüingi
 know-AVD
 ‘(The mother-in-law) was hiding (her daughter-in-law) so nobody knew,
 so nobody knew’
 ‘(A sogra) estava escondendo (a nora) para ninguém saber, para
 ninguém saber’
- (126) *üle hata tsügü gehale*
üle hata tsügü gehale
 LOG while UNCR again
 ‘Meanwhile, again’
 ‘Enquanto isso, novamente’
- (127) *túhagu²⁷ ingete anha kitagü üngahingo²⁸ kitagü*
túhagu iN-kete anha ki-tagü üngahi-ngo ki-tagü
 strainer bring-IMP dead say-DUR circle.houses-NMLZ say-DUR
 ‘‘Bring *túhagu* (a sieve)’’ the dead one was saying, the one of the other
 house was saying’
 ‘‘Traga *túhagu* (peneira)!’’ dizia o morto, dizia o da outra casa’
- (128) *itsatüeha itsatüeha kakisükope uhitsa leha kupeheni*
i-ta-tüe=ha i-ta-tüe=ha k-aki-sü-ko-pe
 3-hear-IMP.PL=HA 3-hear-IMP.PL=HA INCL-word-POSS-PL-NTM

²⁶Literally, ‘(she) was making (her) unknown’.

²⁷In the language of the dead, words are different (for the same referent): *túhagu* is the word of the dead for ‘strainer’, *angagi* in the language of the living.

²⁸The adverb *üngahi* means ‘along the circle of the houses’ (the Xinguan village is typically an oval circle of houses) and here it is nominalized by the suffix *-ngo*, exclusive for adverbs and numerals.

uhi-tsa leha kupehe-ni
 search-PROG COMPL 1.2.ERG-PL

“Listen! Listen! They are trying to speak our former language” (the mother-in-law was saying)

“Ouça! Ouça! Eles estão tentando falar a nossa língua (quando vivos)”
 (a sogra dizia)

- (129) *egea akatsange kakisüko anügü leha*

egea akatsange k-aki-sü-ko a-nügü leha
 like.that INT 1.2-word-POSS-PL be-PNCT COMPL

“That’s how our language is here”

“É assim que é a nossa língua aqui”

- (130) *kakisükope uhitsa leha igei kupeheni leha egea leha*

k-aki-sü-ko-pe uhi-tsa leha ige-i kupehe-ni leha
 INCL-word-POSS-PL-NTM search-DUR COMPL PROX 1.2-PL COMPL
egea leha
 so COMPL

‘They were trying to speak our language (that was their language when alive)’ (comment by *Ájahi*)

‘Eles estavam tentando falar a nossa língua (que era a língua deles quando vivos)’ (comentário de *Ájahi*)

- (131) *igiatsetse unkgu uigiholotogu²⁹ ingete*

igia-tsetse unkgu u-igiholoto-gu iN-kete
 like.this-DIM small 1-griddle-POSS bring-IMP.CNTP

‘It did not take too long, (she heard): “Bring my *igihitolo* (a clay griddle for cooking cassava bread)”’

‘Não demorou muito, (ela ouviu): “Traga meu *igihitolo* (tacho)!”’

- (132) *itsatüeha*

i-ta-tüe=ha
 3-hear-IMP.PL=HA

‘Listen to this!’ (*Ájahi* says to the researcher)

‘Ouça isto!’ (*Ájahi* diz para o pesquisador)

²⁹*Igiholoto* is the word for *alato* (the griddle pan for cooking cassava bread), in the language of the dead.

- (133) *alato heke akatsege tagü iheke*
alato heke akatsege tagü i-heke
 griddle ERG INT DUR 3-ERG
 ‘She said (referring to) *alato* (the griddle for cooking cassava bread in the language of living)’
 ‘Ela falou referindo-se a *alato*’ (tacho na língua dos vivos)
- (134) *ekü hüle egei angagi heke túhagu ingete ta iheke*
ekü hüle ege-i angagi heke túhagu iN-kete ta iheke
 CON CNTR PROX-COP strainer ERG túhagu bring-IMP.CTP
 ‘But before it was the sieve she was talking about, (when she said) “Bring *túhagu*!”’
 ‘Mas antes era da peneira que ela estava falando, (quando disse) “Traga *túhagu*!”’
- (135) *angagi heke tetunetohongi heke*
angagi heke t-et-une-toho-ngo-i heke
 strainer ERG REFL-DTR-sift-INSNMLZ-NMLZ-COP ERG
 ‘(Referring) to the sieve, that she used to sift (cassava paste) for herself’
 ‘(Referindo-se) à peneira, aquilo que serve para ela peneirar para ela mesma’
- (136) *ikine ikitsomi tsügü hüle egei iheke tük*
ikine iki-tsomi tsügü hüle ege-i i-heke
 cassava.bread make.cassava.bread-PURP UNCR CNTR DIST-COP 3-ERG
tük
 IDEO
 ‘But for her to cook cassava bread, *tük*’
 ‘Mas para para ela fazer beiju, *tük*’
- (137) *uigiholotogu ingete tatohoi iheke*
u-igiholoto-gu iN-kete ta-toho-i i-heke
 1-griddle-POS bring-IMP.CNTP say-INS.NMLZ-COP 3-ERG
 ‘“Bring my *igiholoto* (griddle),” was what she meant to say’
 ‘“Traga meu *igiholoto* (tacho)!”, era para ela dizer’

- (138) *itsatüeha nügü iheke*
i-ta-tüe=ha nügü i-heke
3-hear-IMP.PL=HA say.PNCT 3-ERG
“Listen!” she said’
““Ouça!”, ela disse’
- (139) *egea akatsange leha kakisükope leha*
egea akatsange leha k-aki-sü-ko-pe leha
like.this INT COMPL 1.2-word-POSS-PL-NTM COMPL
“This is what our language is like here” (the mother-in-law said)
“É assim que é a nossa língua aqui” (a sogra disse)
- (140) *kakisükope elükugiatühügü leha*
k-aki-sü-ko-pe elükugi-ga-tühügü leha
1.2-word-POSS-NTM reverse-DUR-PRF COMPL
“Our former language was reversed”
“A nossa língua foi sendo invertida”
- (141) *uhijüi leha kupehe ngiko itanügü kupehe*
uhijü-i leha kupehe ngiko ita-nügü kupehe
search-COP COMPL 1.2.ERG thing call-PNCT 1.2.ERG
“We try to call things”
“Nós tentamos chamar as coisas”
- (142) *ta tsügü iheke*
ta tsügü i-iheke
DUR UNCR 3-ERG
‘She was saying to her’
‘Dizia para ela’
- (143) *tumukugu hitsü akihatagü iheke*
tu-muku-gu hi-tsü aki-ha-tagü i-heke
REFL-SON-POSS wife-POSS word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG
‘She was telling her son’s wife’
‘Ela contava para a esposa do seu filho’

- (144) *ülepe igia ünkgu tinho tataheti teh*
üle-pe igia ünkgu tü-nho t-atahe-ti teh
 LOG-NTM like.this little REFL-husband PTCP-spy-PTCP ITJ
 ‘Shortly after, she spied on her husband (and said): “Wow! Beautiful!”
 ‘Pouco depois disso, ela espiou o esposo (e disse): “Nossa! Que bonito!”’
- (145) *tahisügi³⁰ ekubekuletüha anha itu hugogo³¹ teh*
tahisügi ekubeku=letü=ha anha itu hugogo teh
 red really=UNCR=HA dead village plaza ITJ
 ‘The plaza of the village of the dead was really reddish, beautiful!’
 ‘A praça da aldeia dos mortos era bem avermelhada, muito bonita!’
- (146) *tatsajo ületü tomogokombeke üne tepügü*
tatsajo üle=tü tomogokombeke üne te-pügü
 all.together LOG=UNCR stuck.in.the.other house go-PRF
 ‘The houses were one next to the other’
 ‘As casas eram coladas umas às outras’
- (147) *tepugopeti*
t-epugope-ti
 PTCP-be.circle-PTCP
 ‘In a circle’
 ‘Em círculo’
- (148) *hangakaki tajühe tsetsei kuakutu*
hanga-ka-ki tajühe tsetse-i kuakutu
 ear-big-INS chief.house almost.same-COP men.house
 ‘The *kwakutu* (men’s house) was almost as the *tajühe* (chief’s house)
 with big ears’
 ‘O *kwakutu* (casa dos homens) era quase do tamanho da *tajühe* (casa do chefe) de orelhas grandes’

³⁰The village plaza is qualified as reddish (*tahisügi*, root *hisu* ‘red’) because this is the typical color of most of the non-flood areas of central Brazil; the villages are always erected in these higher places.

³¹*Hugogo* is the village plaza, surrounded by the circle of houses.

- (149) *tihü heke tsama ingitai iheke ahütüha apünguhügüila*
tihü heke tsama ingi-tai i-heke ahütü=ha apüngu-hügü-i-la
living ERG ? see-FUT.IM 3-ERG NEG=HA die-PRF-COP-PRIV
‘The living one, it was she who could see, she was not really dead’
‘A viva, era ela quem podia ver, não estava mesmo morta’
- (150) *ülepe leha igia ungku giti ikühagatilü*
üle-pe leha igia ungku giti ikühagati-lü
LOG-NTM COMPL like.this little sun rise-PNCT
‘Shortly after, the sun came up’
‘Não demorou muito e o sol logo nasceu’
- (151) *hü hü hü³² aikobeha inhomó etimbelü*
hü hü hü ai-ko-be=ha i-nho-mo³³ etimbe-lü
hü hü hü DEM-PL-?=HA 3-husband-COLL come-PNCT
‘Hü hü hü, those, her husband and brothers-in-law, came’
‘Hü hü hü, aqueles, seu esposo e os cunhados, chegaram’
- (152) *aindeko akatsange*
ainde-ko akatsange
DEM-PL INT
‘They are coming’
‘Eles estão vindo’
- (153) *etihüitsüe etihüitsüe*
et-ihüi-tsüe et-ihüi-tsüe
2.DTR-stay.quite-IMP.PL 2.DTR-stay.quite-IMP.PL
“‘Don’t move, don’t move!’” (the mother-in-law says to her
daughter-in-law hidden among the cassava balls)
“‘Não se mexa, não se mexa!’” (a sogra fala para a nora escondida entre
as bolas de massa de mandioca)

³²The fishermen shout as they approach the village.

³³The collective of “husband” refers to the group composed by the husband and his brothers. These are a woman’s potential sexual partners and spouses. The suffix *-mo* is a cognate of a common plural/collective suffix in other Carib languages.

- (154) *elimo uünko ingilüpile atsange ketikaĩsó*
e-limo uüN-ko ingi-lü-pile atsange ket-ikaĩ-tsó
 2-children father-PL see-PNCT-CONC INT PROH-get.up-PROH
 “Even if you see the father of your children, don’t get up!”
 “Mesmo se você ver o pai dos seus filhos, não se levante!”
- (155) *ketikaĩsó atsange*
ke-tikaĩ-tsó atsange
 PROH-get.up-PROH INT
 “Don’t really get up!”
 “Não se levante mesmo!”
- (156) *kakungakitüingi atsange elimo uünko enhügü kakungakitüingi*
k-akunga-ki-tüingi atsange e-limo uüN-ko e-nhügü
 1.2-soul-VBLZ-AVD INT 2-children father-PL come-PNCT
k-akunga-ki-tüingi
 1.2-soul-VBLZ-AVD
 “Do not be alarmed by the arrival of the father of your children, do not be alarmed!”
 “Não se assuste com a chegada do pai dos seus filhos, não se assuste!”
- (157) *ülepe leha*
üle-pe leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL
 ‘After this’
 ‘Depois disso’
- (158) *ẽnünkgo leha ihinhanoko ênügü pokü*
ẽ-nüN-ko leha i-hinhano-ko ê-nügü pokü³⁴
 3.enter-PNCT-PL COMPL 3-older.brother-PL enter-PNCT IDEO
 ‘They entered (the house), their older brother entered, *pokü*’
 ‘Eles entraram, o irmão mais velho deles entrou, *pokü*’

³⁴Ideophone for the act of unloading weight from the back or from the head to the floor.

- (159) *asankgu leha inhegikini itsangagüko*
asankgu leha inhegiki-ni i-kanga-gü-ko
basket COMPL each.one-PL 3-fish-POSS-PL
'Each had a basket (full of) fish'
'Cada um tinha um cesto de peixe'
- (160) *inhakagüki³⁵ hegei ütepügüko totsonkgitohokoki*
inhakagü-ki=ha ege-i ü-te-pügü-ko t-ot-kongki-toho-ko-ki
soap-INS=HA DIST-COP 3-go-PRF-PL REFL-DTR-INSNMLZ-PL-INS
'They had already gone to look for *inhakagü* to wash themselves'
'Já tinham ido buscar *inhakagü* para se lavar'
- (161) *igia tuhugu tsügü nhakagü kamisatühügü*
igia tuhugu=tsügü inhakagü kami-sa-tühügü
like.this amount=UNCR soap tie-DUR-PRF
'That's how they had tied the bundle of *inhakagü* roots'
'Era assim que eles tinham amarrado o feixe de raízes de *inhakagü*'
- (162) *isasankguguko ugupo itsangagüko ugupo³⁶*
is-asankgu-gu-ko ugupo i-kanga-gü-ko ugupo
3-basket-POSS-PL on 3-fish-POSS-PL on
'On their baskets, on their fishes'
'Em cima do cesto deles, em cima dos peixes deles'
- (163) *ai tüha ěnünkgo*
ai=tü=ha ě-nüN-ko
then=UNCR=HA enter-PNCT-PL
'Then, they entered'
'Então, eles entraram'
- (164) *ihinhanoko hotugui tüědinhüi*
i-hinhano-ko hotugu-i tü-ě-ti-nhü-i
3-older.brother-PL first-COP PTCP-enter-PTCP-NANMLZ-COP
'It was the older brother who entered first'
'Foi o irmão mais velho que entrou primeiro'

³⁵Root of an unidentified plant that when rubbed with water produces foam; it was used before industrialized soap became available.

³⁶Ájahi remembered an old custom and showed to the listeners how old people used to manage and carry the traditional "soap".

- (165) *ülepe ihisü ülepe isingingope ülepe aküpügüko tsügü hüle ekisei ihisükoi*
üle-pe i-hi-sü üle-pe is-ingi-ngo-pe
 LOG-NTM 3-younger.brother-POSS LOG-NTM 3-behind-NMLZ-NTM
üle-pe aküpügü-ko=tsügü hüle ekise-i
 LOG-NTM 3.youngest-PL=UNCR CNTR 3.DIST-COP
i-hi-sü-ko-i
 3-younger.brother-POSS-PL-COP
 ‘Then the younger brother, then the one who comes after him, then the last one, that one, their younger brother’
 ‘Depois o irmão mais novo, depois o que vem atrás dele, depois o último, aquele, o irmão mais novo deles’
- (166) *ekiseiha ekisei ngiso*
ekise-i=ha ekise-i ngiso-i
 3.DIST-COP=HA 3.DIST-COP spouse-COP
 ‘That one was the husband of that (woman)’
 ‘Aquele era o esposo daquela (mulher)’
- (167) *üēnünkgo leha*
ü-ē-nüN-ko leha
 3-enter-PNCT-PL COMPL
 ‘They entered’
 ‘Eles entraram’
- (168) *tünho ingilütü iheke ikühagatilü ikühagatilü*
tü-nho ingi-lü=tü i-heke ikühagati-lü
 REFL-husband see-PNCT=UNCR 3-ERG 3.get.up.little-PNCT
ikühagati-lü
 3.get.up.little-PNCT
 ‘She saw her husband (and) got up a little, she got up a little’
 ‘Ela viu o esposo e se levantou um pouco, se levantou um pouco’
- (169) *tāuguila letüha titaginhü imbüa geleha ihüsoho heke apenügü*
tāuguila üle=tü=ha t-itaginhü imbua gele=ha
 speaking.high LOG-UNCR-HA REFL-converse in.middle still=HA
i-hüsoho heke ape-nügü
 3-mother-in-law ERG tell.shut.up-PNCT
 ‘While (her mother-in-law) was speaking loudly (with her son), still in the middle of the conversation, her mother-in-law told her to shut up’

‘Enquanto (a sogra) falava alto (com o filho), ainda no meio da conversa, a sogra mandou ela se calar’

- (170) *üle lopenümi ületahüle ihitsü etikainjü itsikuoinjüinha*
üle lope-nümi ületa=hüle i-hi-tsü et-ikaiN-jü
 LOG stand.direction-PNCT.COP LOG=CNTR 3-wife-POSS 3.DTR-get.up-PNCT
i-tikuoĩ-jü-inha
 3-hug-PNCT-DAT

‘Going to meet him (the dead), the wife (of the dead) got up to hug him’
 ‘Indo ao seu (do morto) encontro, a esposa (do morto) se levantou para abraçá-lo’³⁷

- (171) *ikuilisale leha ipigagü kae*
i-kuili-sale leha i-piga-gü kae
 3-kiss-SIM COMPL 3-cheek-POSS on

‘She kissed him on the cheeks’
 ‘Beijou-o nas bochechas’

- (172) *akehenügü ületüha iheke mbokü*
*akehe-nügü üle=tü=ha i-heke mbokü*³⁸
 take.house.corner-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG IDEO

‘She took him to the corner of the house (and) lay on top of him’
 ‘Ela o levou para o canto da casa (e) deitou-se em cima dele’

- (173) *itsikaĩholü itsikaĩholü*
i-tikaĩ-ho-lü i-tikaĩ-ho-lü
 3-get.up-CF-PNCT 3-get.up-CF-PNCT

‘She (the living wife) almost got up, she almost got up’
 ‘Ela (a esposa viva) quase se levantou, quase se levantou’

- (174) *itsinhulukijü tsügüha Itsangitsegu heke*
i-kinhulu-ki-jü tsügü=ha Itsangitsegu heke
 3-jealousy-VBLZ-PNCT UNCR=HA itsangitsegu ERG

‘She got jealous of *Itsangitsegu*’
 ‘Ela ficou com ciúmes de *Itsangitsegu*’

³⁷ *Ájahi* refers here to *Itangitsegu*, the wife of the dead in the village of the dead.

³⁸ Ideophone that expresses the act of lying on someone (the sexual act).

- (175) *Itsangitsegu hekisei ihitsüi Itsangitsegu atühügü*
Itsangitsegu=ha ekise-i i-hi-tsü-i Itsangitsegu a-tühügü
 itsangitsegu=HA 3.DIST-COP 3-wife-POSS-COP itsangitsegu STAY-PRF
 ‘That one was *Itsangitsegu*, *Itsangitsegu* had become his wife’
 ‘Aquele era *Itsangitsegu*, *Itsangitsegu* tinha se tornado a esposa dele’
- (176) *ülehinhe hüle egei*
üle-hinhe hüle ege-i
 LOG-NPURP CNTR DIST-COP
 ‘It was because of her (that the living wife had been jealous)’
 ‘Era por causa dela (que a esposa viva tinha ficado com ciúme)’
- (177) *ketikaĩtsó atsange ketikaĩtsó*
ke-tikaĩ-tsó atsange ke-tikaĩ-tsó
 PROH-get.up-PROH INT PROH-get.up-PROH
 ‘‘Do not get up, do not get up!’’ (the mother-in-law said)
 ‘‘Não se levante, não se levante!’’ (disse a sogra)
- (178) *hum hum uãbeki kukanünkgo*
hum hum uã-beki kuk-a-nüN-ko
 IDEO IDEO Q-EP 1.2-be-PNCT-PL
 ‘‘*Hum hum*, what’s happening to us?’’ (the dead said)
 ‘‘*Hum hum*, o que está acontecendo conosco?’’ (os mortos disseram)
- (179) *hum hum tihühokolo giketilübe nügü leha ihekeni*
hum hum³⁹ tihühokolo gike-ti-lü=be nügü leha i-heke-ni
 IDEO IDEO living smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP say COMPL 3-ERG-PL
 ‘‘*Hum*, I can smell a living person,’’ they said’
 ‘‘*Hum*, estou sentindo cheiro de pessoa viva’’ eles disseram’

³⁹At this moment, *Ájahi*, the storyteller, represents the dead character spitting on the ground, thus expressing nausea induced by the smell of the living. It is another example of inverted perspective, since the smell of the dead (rotten flesh) causes disgust in the living. In the next lines she repeats the gesture.

- (180) *tihühokolo giketilübe hum ahijunu giketilübe*
*tihühokolo gike-ti-lü=be hum ahijunu*⁴⁰ *gike-ti-lü=be*
 living smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP IDEO annatto smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP
 “A living person is giving off a smell, annatto is giving off a smell”
 “Uma pessoa viva está exalando cheiro, urucum está exalando cheiro”
- (181) *umüngi hekeha egei ta iheke umüngiha egei nhigatakoi ahijunui*
umüngi heke=ha ege-i ta i-heke umüngi=ha ege-i
 annatto ERG=HA DIST-COP DUR 3-ERG annatto=HA DIST-COP
i-ng-iga-ta-ko-i ahijunu-i
 3-OBJ-name-CONT-PL-COP annatto-COP
 ‘It was annatto he was talking about, it was annatto that they called
ahijunu’ (clarification by *Ájahi*)
 ‘Era do urucum que ele estava falando, era urucum o que eles chamavam
 de *ahijunu*’ (esclarecimento de *Ájahi*)
- (182) *hum tihühokolo giketilübe*
hum tihühokolo gike-ti-lü=be
 IDEO living smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP
 “Hum, a living person is giving off a smell”
 “Hum, uma pessoa viva está exalando cheiro”
- (183) *ülepe leha*
üle-pe leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL
 ‘After this’
 ‘Depois disso’
- (184) *tükangagüko inkgatilü leha ihekeni hugombonga*
tü-kanga-gü-ko inkgati-lü leha i-heke-ni hugombo-nga
 REFL-fish-POSS-PL go.share-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL plaza-all
 ‘They went to the middle of the plaza to share their fish’⁴¹
 ‘Eles levaram peixe para o centro da aldeia’

⁴⁰The dead smell the living, who give off the scent of annatto (*Bixa orellana*). A red pigment extracted from the seeds of this plant is used not only on ritual occasions, but almost daily, to paint the body and artifacts. In the language of the dead, however, annatto is called *ahijunu*, while in the language of the living it is called *umüngi*. Annatto is life.

- (185) *etelüko*
e-te-lü-ko
 3-go-PNCT-PL
 ‘They went’
 ‘Eles foram’
- (186) *lepe enhügü leha*
üle-pe e-nhügü leha
 LOG-NTM come-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Then they came back’
 ‘Depois voltaram’
- (187) *igia unkgu kigeke tuāka kigeke tuāka*
igia unkgu kigeke tuāka kigeke tuāka
 like.this little 1.2.go.IMP water.all 1.2.go.IMP water.ALL
 ‘It did not take long: “Let’s take a bath! Let’s take a bath!”’
 ‘Não demorou muito: “Vamos tomar banho! Vamos tomar banho!”’
- (188) *ese heke inhakagü igelü ese heke nhakagü igelü tüëgikini*
ese heke inhakagü ige-lü ese heke inhakagü ige-lü
 3.PROX ERG soap carry-PNCT 3.PROX ERG soap carry-PNCT
tü-ëgiki-ni
 REFL-each-PL
 ‘He took *inhakagü*, he took *inhakagü*, each one for himself’
 ‘Ele pegou *inhakagü*, ele pegou *inhakagü*, cada um deles para si mesmo’
- (189) *inhakagü inügü leha ihekeni*
inhakagü i-nügü leha i-heke-ni
 soap bring-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL
 ‘They brought *inhakagü*’
 ‘Eles trouxeram *inhakagü*’

⁴¹When men return from a collective fishing trip, during the performance of a ritual, they take much of what they have caught to the central plaza of the village, in front of or inside the men’s house, to be divided and distributed to all houses and to the men gathered in the center.

(190) *etelüko leha*

e-te-lü-ko leha
3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL
'They went'
'Eles foram'

(191) *totsonkgilükoinha leha tüenkügükope tijüinha tsügüha egei ütelüko*

t-o-konkgi-lü-ko-inha leha tü-enkgü-gü-ko-pe
REFL-DTR-wash-PNCT-PL-DAT COMPL REFL-bad.smell-POSS-PL-NTM
tijü-inha tsügü=ha ege-i ü-te-lü-ko
take.off-DAT UNCR=HA DIST-COP 3-go-PNCT-PL
'They went to wash themselves, to get rid of their bad smell (of fish)'
'Foram para se lavar, para tirar o seu cheiro podre de peixe'

(192) *atütüila kukugeko ai*

atütü-i-la kukuge-ko ai
good-COP-PRIV 1.2-PL IDEO
"Unfortunately, we're not well!" (the mother-in-law said)
"Hélas, nós não (estamos) bem!" (a sogra disse)

(193) *Tisuge*⁴²

Tisuge
1.3
"We"
"Nós"

(194) *igia agagenaha ketsüjenügü*

igia agage=naha k-etsüje-nügü
like.this AS=EP 1.2-DIE-PNCT
'When we die'
'Quando morremos'

⁴²The dead mother-in-law alternates between use of first-person plural inclusive free pronoun *kukugeko* (in the preceding line) and the first-person plural exclusive free pronoun *tisuge*. This is an example of the shift of perspective from inclusive to exclusive pronouns (or vice-versa): with *kukuge(ko)* the addressee is included because her body will rot inevitably when she becomes *anha*; with *tisuge*, the speaker excludes the addressee, opposing the dead to the living.

- (195) *ülepe inhalüma jahetüha kukenkgügü etijüi*
üle-pe inhalü-ma jahe=tü=ha kuk-enkgü-gü
 LOG-NTM NEG-DUB quickly=UNCR=HA 1.2-smell-POSS
et-ijü-i
 DTR-remove-PNCT-COP
 ‘Our bad smell does not come out soon’
 ‘Nosso mal cheiro não sai logo’
- (196) *itsatüe papa hōhō ugikegü*
i-ta⁴³-tüe papa hōho u-gike-gü
 3-smell-IMP.PL ITJ EMPH 1-smell-POSS
 ‘‘So, smell me!’’
 ‘‘Então, cheire-me!’’
- (197) *igia tühigüsi inatati*
igia tü-hi-gü-isi inata-ati
 like.this REFL-grandson.POSS-mother noose-ILL
 ‘Like this, (she extended her hand) to the nose of the grandchildren’s
 mother (her daughter-in-law)’
 ‘Desse jeito, (levou a mão) ao nariz da mãe dos netos (sua nora)’
- (198) *igia ige tüülü iheke*
igia ige tüi-lü i-heke
 like.this PROX do-PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘Like this, she did it’
 ‘Desse jeito ela fez’
- (199) *tühüseki isikegü*
tühüseki i-gike-gü⁴⁴
 fetid 3-smell-POSS
 ‘Quite stinky, her smell’
 ‘Bastante fétido, o cheiro dela’

⁴³The verbal root *ta* means all kind of perceptions through the senses, except for vision.

⁴⁴After the high front vowel, at morphemic boundaries, the consonant /g/ is realized as [s] (Franchetto 1995).

- (200) *etelüko kigekeha kigekeha*

e-te-lü-ko kigeke=ha kigeke=ha
 3-go-PNCT-PL let.go=HA let.go=HA
 ‘They went away, “Let’s go! Let’s go!”’
 ‘Elas foram, “Vamos! Vamos!”’

- (201) *üle hata tülimo ugutega hõhõ iheke*

üle hata tü-limo ugu-te-ga hõhõ i-heke
 LOG when REFL-children flat.bread⁴⁵-VBLZ-DUR EMPH 3-ERG
 ‘Meanwhile she was making cassava flat bread for her own children’
 ‘Enquanto isso, ela estava fazendo beiju para os seus filhos’

- (202) *ikuguko ãgiki tatute tülimo ugutelü iheke⁴⁶*

iku-gu-ko ãgiki tatute tü-limo ugu-te-lü i-heke
 3.beverage-POSS each all REFL-children flat.bread-VBLZ-PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘She made beiju for the cassava beverage of each of her own children’
 ‘Ela fez beiju para a bebida de mandioca de cada um dos seus filhos’

- (203) *üle onhati leha kanga hutita iheke ese oku uguponga ese oku uguponga tülimo ãgiki⁴⁷*

üle onhati leha kanga huti-ta i-heke ese oku ugupo-nga
 LOG inside.ILL COMPL fish take-DUR 3-ERG 3.PROX drink on-ALL
ese oku ugupo-nga tü-limo ãgiki
 3.PROX drink on-ALL REFL-children each

‘Inside this (cassava flat bread), she was putting the fish, one by one, and (she was putting beiju) on top of the beverage of one, on top of the beverage of another, (for) each one of her own children’
 ‘Ela colocou os peixes dentro do beiju, um por um, (e colocou beiju) sobre a bebida deste, sobre a bebida daquele, (para) cada um dos seus filhos’

- (204) *lepene tü hüle ütélüko*

lepene=tü hüle ü-te-lü-ko
 then=UNCR CNTR 3-go-PNCT-PL
 ‘Then, however, they went’
 ‘Depois disso, contudo, elas foram’

⁴⁵ *Ugu* refers to a specific food, the cassava flat bread, called “beiju” in Brazilian Portuguese.

⁴⁶ *Iku* refers to a beverage made with thin, dried cassava flatbread mixed with water.

⁴⁷ The root *huti* means ‘take one out of a set’.

- (205) *tülimo kangagü hutita letü iheke*
tü-limo kanga-gü huti-ta leha=tü i-heke
 REFL-children fish-POSS take-DUR COMPL=UNCR 3-ERG
 ‘She was taking the fish of her own children, one by one’
 ‘Ela foi tirando os peixes dos seus filhos, um por um’
- (206) *ese kangagü ese kangagü ese kangagü*
ese kanga-gü ese kanga-gü ese kanga-gü
 3.PROX fish-POSS 3.PROX fish-POSS 3.PROX fish-POSS
 ‘The fish of this one, the fish of this one, the fish of this one’
 ‘O peixe desse, o peixe desse, o peixe desse’
- (207) *inkgatingalü letüha iheke egena*
inkgati-nga-lü üle=tü=ha i-heke egena
 3.share-HAB-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG there.all
 ‘In this way, she used to share (food) there (in the middle of the village)’
 ‘Ela sempre compartilhava (alimentos) para lá (no meio da aldeia)’
- (208) *tühigüsi kangagüingoha egei*
tü-higü-isi kanga-gü-ingo=ha ege-i
 REFL-grandson-mother fish-POSS-FUT=HA DIST-COP
 ‘That will be the fish of the mother of her (the mother-in-law’s) own grandchildren’
 ‘Aquilo será o peixe da mãe dos seus (da sogra) netos’
- (209) *nhigelüingoha nhingütelüingoha ina*
i-ng-ige-lü-ingo=ha i-ng-ingüte-lü-ingo=ha ina
 3-OBJ-take-PNCT-FUT=HA 3-OBJ-go.down-PNCT-FUT=HA here.ALL
 ‘That she (daughter-in-law) will take, that she will bring down here’
 ‘Que ela (nora) levará, que ela trará aqui em baixo’
- (210) *kigekeha nügü iheke*
kigeke=ha nügü i-heke
let.go=HA say 3-ERG
 ‘“Let’s go!” she (the mother-in-law) said’
 ‘“Vamos!”, ela (a sogra) disse’

- (211) *opü atsange elimo otomoko einhümingo opü*
opü atsange e-limo oto-mo-ko ei-nhümingo opü
ITJ INT 2-children master-COLL-PL be-PNCT.FUT ITJ
“Pay attention! The parents of your children will stay like this”
“Preste atenção! Os pais dos seus filhos vão ficar assim”
- (212) *lepe leha etelüko leha*
üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha
LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL
‘Then, they went away’
‘Então, elas foram’
- (213) *etelüko letü*
e-te-lü-ko leha=tü
3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL=UNCR
‘They went away’
‘Elas foram’
- (214) *tüimapüani itsapügü itahiale leha*
tü-ima-püa-ni i-tapü-gü itahi-ale leha
REFL-path-NTM-PL 3-foot-POSS delete-SIM COMPL
‘Along their former way (of coming), erasing their footprints’
‘Por aquele que fora o seu caminho [de vinda], apagando as suas pegadas’
- (215) *tanginhü ěgipügati*⁴⁸
tanginhü ěgipügati
main.path on.top.head
‘On top of the head of the main path’
‘No topo da cabeça do caminho principal’
- (216) *aibeha ina ama humbugakainjü*
aibe=ha ina ama humbugakaiN-jü
CON=HA here path be.head.down-PNCT
‘Here, the path turns upside down’
‘Aqui o caminho fica de cabeça para baixo’

⁴⁸‘On top of the head of the main path’ means: ‘Just at the end of the main path’.

- (217) *osiha inaha eitsüe*
osi=ha ina=ha e-i-tsüe
 all.right=HA her=HA 2-be-IMP.PL
 “All right, stay here!” (the mother-in-law said to her daughter-in-law)
 “Certo, fique aqui!” (a sogra disse para a nora)
- (218) *tütüki letüha inginügü iheke inatsüha ina leha kungongoguhonga*
tütüki üle=tü=ha ingi-nügü i-heke ina=tsü=ha ina
 slowly LOG=UNCR=HA 3.bring-PNCT 3-ERG here=UNCR=HA here
leha ku-ngongo-gu-ho-nga
 1.2-earth-POSS-LOC-ALL
 ‘Very slowly, she was bringing her here on our land’
 ‘Bem devagar, ela a trazia aqui na nossa terra’
- (219) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘Done’
 ‘Feito’
- (220) *egetüeha egetüeha*
ege-tüe=ha ege-tüe=ha
 can.go-IMP.PL=HA can.go-IMP.PL=HA
 “You can go, you can go!” (the mother-in-law said to her daughter-in-law)
 “Você pode ir, pode ir!” (a sogra disse para a nora)
- (221) *kegetimükeitó atsange kegetimükeitó atsange*
keg-et-imükei-tó atsange keg-et-imükei-tó atsange
 PROH-DTR-turn.face-PROH INT PROH-DTR-turn.face-PROH INT
 “Do not turn your face back, do not turn your face back!”
 “Não vire o rosto para trás, não vire o rosto para trás!”
- (222) *eitsamini geleha*
e-i-tsa-mini gele=ha
 2-be-DUR-PURP.PL still=HA
 “For you to stay alive”
 “Para você permanecer viva”

- (223) *jatsitsü üngelei atsütaka atehe egei uitigi sinügü üngelei*
jatsitsü üngele-i atsütaka atehe ege-i u-itigi is-i-nügü
 poor 3. LOG-COP EP because DIST-COP 1-FIN 3-come-PNCT
üngele-i
 3.LOG-COP
 ‘Poor thing! Because she is the only one who could come and get me, only she’ (the woman, the daughter-in-law, was saying to herself)
 ‘‘Coitada! Porque só ela é quem poderia vir me buscar, só ela’’ (a mulher, a nora) falava para si mesma’
- (224) *luale utimükeïtai*
luale ut-imükeiN-tai
 sorry 1.DTR-turn.face-FUT.IM
 ‘‘Sorry! I will turn my face back’’
 ‘‘Desculpe! Eu vou virar meu rosto para trás’’
- (225) *igiagage tetimükei uãhhhh etinhapehikilü*⁴⁹
igia=agage t-et-imükeiN. uãhhhh et-inhapehiki-lü
 like.this=same PTCP-DTR-face.turn.PTCP ITJ 3.DTR-wave.hand-PNCT
 ‘When she (daughter-in-law) turned her face back, *uãhhhh*, the mother-in-law waved her open hand’
 ‘Quando ela (a nora) olhou para trás, *uãhhhh*, a sogra acenou (para ela) com a mão aberta’
- (226) *kegetimükeïtó ukita titakegei*
keg-et-imükeiN-to u-ki-ta ti=taka=ege-i
 PROH-DTR-turn.face-PROH 1-say-DUR CR=EP-DIST-COP
 ‘‘Don’t turn your face back! I really meant it’’ (the mother-in-law said)
 ‘‘Não vire seu rosto para trás! Eu estava falando a verdade mesmo’’ (a sogra disse)’

⁴⁹*Etinhapehikilü* means ‘with the open hand’; with this gesture, the mother-in-law communicates to her daughter-in-law that she (the daughter-in-law) will die in five days time, after not many days, soon.

- (227) *isüngülü aküngiduingo ale hegei*⁵⁰
is-üngü-lü aküngiN-tu-ingo ale=ha ege-i
 3.sleep-PNCT quantity-NMLZ-FUT ?=HA DIST-COP
 ‘This will be the number (of days) she was going to sleep’
 ‘Este é o número (de dias) que ela iria dormir’
- (228) *ülepeha ahütüha elimo uüngo etsote elimo uüngo itajotelüingola ehakeni*
üle-pe=ha ahütü=ha e-limo uüN-ko e-tsote e-limo
 LOG-NTM=HA NEG=HA 2-children father-PL come-when 2-children
uüN-ko itajote-lü-ingo-la e-heke-ni
 father-PL swear-PNCT-FUT-PRIV 2-ERG-PL
 ‘‘Later, when the father of your children comes, you can not swear at
 him’’ (the mother-in-law said)
 ‘‘Depois, quando o pai dos seus filhos vier, não poderá xingá-lo’’ (a sogra
 disse)’
- (229) *itaginkügükümingola nügü hōhō i-heke*
itagi-nkgügi-kü-mingo-la nügü hōhō iheke
 speech-hard-?-PNCT.FUT-PRIV PNCT EMPH 3-ERG
 ‘‘Without you talking harshly,’’ she (the mother-in-law) said to her’
 ‘‘Sem falar duro’’, (a sogra) disse a ela’
- (230) *üngele akatsange ekise tengalü heke hokugeü hokugeü hokugeü itigiha*
üngele akatsange ekise te-nga-lü heke hokugeü hokugeü
 3.LOG INT 3.DIST go-HAB-PNCT ERG pauraque pauraque
hokugeü itigi=ha
 pauraque 3.FIN=HA
 ‘‘It is he who always goes seeking (and saying): hokugeü⁵¹, hokugeü,
 hokugeü’’
 ‘‘É ele mesmo que sempre anda buscando (dizendo): ‘‘hokugeü,hokugeü,
 hokugeü’’

⁵⁰ *Ájahi*, the story-teller, showed her open hand to mean the number five: the daughter-in-law, the living one, will die in a few days: her destiny is sealed.

⁵¹ *Anha* (the dead) may return to the living, announcing himself, behind the houses, as a common pauraque bird (*Nyctidromus albicollis*). It has a brownish and greyish plumage, and its singing sounds like a piercing scream, and is repeated in regular intervals for hours after dusk. *hokugeü*, his name in Kuikuro, is an onomatopoeic noun; this is an ominous sign.

(231) *aitüha isinügü kohotsi*

ai=tü=ha is-i-nügü kohotsi
então=UNCR=HA 3-come-PNCT late.afternoon

‘So, she (the living daughter-in-law) came (to the village) in the late afternoon’

‘Então, ela (a viva) chegou (na aldeia) no final da tarde’

(232) *ingitühügüko atai leha kohotsi ko ko hokugeñ*

ingi-tühügü-ko atai leha kohotsi ko ko hokugeñ
3.bring-PRF-PL when COMPL late.afternoon ko ko pauraque

‘When it had already been brought, in the late afternoon, pauraque (sang) “ko ko”’

‘Quando ela já tinha sido trazida, no final da tarde, bacurau (cantou) “ko ko”’

(233) *eteke tingibataha uheke ehitsü anügü*

e-te-ke t-ingiN=hata=ha u-heke e-hi-tsü a-nügü
2-go-IMP PTCP-see.PTCP=HA 1-ERG 2-esposa-POSS be-PNCT

‘‘Go away! I’ve already seen how your wife is’’ (the living woman said)

‘‘Vá embora! Eu já vi como é a sua esposa’’

(234) *heinongombe ihugu ehitsü heinongombe nhangatügü ehitsü*

heinongombe i-hu-gu e-hi-tsü heinongombe inh-angatü-gü
with.half 3-ass-POSS 2-wife-POSS with.half 3-breast-POSS

e-hi-tsü

2-wife-POSS

‘‘Your wife (has) half an ass (one buttock), your wife has half (one) breast’’

‘‘A sua esposa (tem) meia (uma) nádega, sua esposa (tem) meia (uma) teta’’

- (235) *mbüu itsuhünkginügü⁵² leha etelü leha*
mbüu itsu-hüN-ki-nügü leha e-te-lü leha
 IDEO sound-emit-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL
 ‘*mbüu*, he stopped making the sound (of a pauraque) and went away’
 ‘*mbüu*, ele parou de emitir som (como bacurau) e foi embora’
- (236) *lepetü tüti ilüinha leha*
üle-pe-tü tüti i-lü-inha leha
 LOG-NTM-UNCR REFL.MOTHER fight-PNCT-DAT COMPL
 ‘Shortly after, he (the dead husband) (arrived) to fight with his own mother’
 ‘Logo depois, ele (o morto) (chegou) para brigar com a sua própria mãe’
- (237) *ehigüsi ingitühügü itsagü nika uäke⁵³ eheke egei*
e-hi-gü-isi ingi-tühügü i-tsagü nika uäke e-heke
 2-grandson-POSS-mother bring-PRF 3.be-DUR EP time.ago 2-ERG
ege-i
 DIST-COP
 ‘‘Did you really bring the mother of your grandchildren?’’ (the dead man said)’
 ‘‘Você trouxe mesmo a mãe dos seus netos?’’ (o morto disse)’
- (238) *uhupüngekela⁵⁴ hüle egei uäke tisitsagü*
uhu-püngekela hüle ege-i uäke tis-i-tsagü
 know-? ADV DIST-COP time.ago 1.3-be-DUR
 ‘‘We had realized this (the coming of the living woman)’’
 ‘‘Nós tínhamos percebido isso (a vinda da mulher viva)’’

⁵²*Mbüu* is an ideophone, whose meaning is a sudden and abrupt interruption of some event or action. The verbal stem *itsu-hüN-ki-* is formed by the roots *itsu* (sound vocalized by non-humans and some musical instruments), and *hüN* ‘emit’, and by the verbalizer *ki* ‘take off, stop’.

⁵³*Uäke*, in this line and in the following ones, is an adverb with temporal and epistemic values: it determines the interpretation of the event/action as having occurred before the speech time (past tense), and has an epistemic value of strong authority.

⁵⁴We could not segment what follows the root *uhu*.

- (239) *tütomima uãke ehigüsi itigi etepügü tütomi*
tü-tomi=ma uãke e-hi-gü-isi itigi e-te-pügü tü-tomi
 Q-PURP=DUB time.ago 2-grandson-POSS-mother 3.FIN 2-go-PRF Q-PURP
 “Why did you go to get the mother of your grandchildren? Why?”
 “Por que você foi buscar a mãe de seus netos? Por quê?”
- (240) *ehinhão ingitahüngü ekuniküle uãke eheke nügü iheke*
e-hi-nhão ingi-ta-hüngü eku=niküle uãke e-heke nügü i-heke
 2-grandson-COLL see-DUR-NEG real-EP time.ago 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
 “Do not you look after your grandchildren?” he said’
 “Você não pensa nos seus netos?”, ele disse’
- (241) *ehinhão inkgukitai atainipa hōhō ehigüsi heke*
e-hi-nhão inkguki-tai atai=nipa hōhō e-hi-gü-isi
 2-grandson-COLL raise-FUT.IM ?=EP EMPH 2-grandson-POSS-MOTHER
heke
 ERG
 “Let the mother of your grandchildren raise them!”
 “Deixe a mãe dos seus netos criá-los!”
- (242) *utelüingo akatsige itigi nügü leha iheke*
u-te-lü-ingo akatsige itigi nügü leha i-heke
 1-go-PNCT-FUT INT 3.FIN PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
 “I will really go to look for her,” he said to her’
 “Eu mesmo irei buscá-la” ele disse a ela’
- (243) *tüti ilü leha iheke*
tüti i-lü leha i-heke
 REFL.mother fight-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘He fought with his own mother’
 ‘Ele brigou com a sua própria mãe’
- (244) *ülepe leha isiko enhügü gehale*
üle-pe leha isi-ko e-nhügü gehale
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3.mother-PL come-PNCT again
 ‘After this, their mother (deceased) came again (to the village of the
 daughter-in-law)’
 ‘Depois disso, a mãe deles voltou de novo (à aldeia da nora)’

- (245) *ülepe ihatigi ngikahonga*
üle-pe iha-tigi ngikaho-nga
 LOG-NTM tell-FIN back.house-ALL
 ‘To tell her behind the house’
 ‘Para contar (a ela) atrás da casa’
- (246) *ukita heke ande akatsange uetsagü nügü iheke ande akatsange uetsagü nügü iheke*
u-ki-ta heke ande akatsange u-e-tsagü nügü i-heke ande
 1-say-DUR ERG here INT 1-come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG here
akatsange uetsagü nügü iheke
 INT 1-come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘I’m saying that I really came here’ she said to her (the daughter-in-law) ‘I came here’ she said to her’
 ‘‘Estou dizendo que eu vim mesmo aqui’’, ela disse para ela (para a nora),
 ‘‘eu vim mesmo aqui’’, ela disse para ela’
- (247) *tütomima elimo uüngo itaginkgugita ehekeni*
tü-tomi=ma e-limo uüN-ko itaginkgugi-ta e-heke-ni
 Q-PURP=DUB 2-children father-PL speak.hard-DUR 2-ERG-PL
 ‘‘Why were you speaking harshly to the father of your children?’’
 ‘‘Por que você falou duro para o pai dos seus filhos?’’
- (248) *uita takege ihekeni leha uitagü eigepügüko hinhe*
u-i-ta takege i-heke-ni leha u-i-tagü e-ige-pügü-ko=hinhe
 1-fight-DUR EP 3-ERG-PL COMPL 2-fight-DUR 2-take-PRF-PL=NPURP
 ‘‘They are fighting (with me), fighting (with me), because I took you (to the village of dead)’’
 ‘‘Eles estão brigando comigo, brigando, por que eu levei você (para a aldeia dos mortos)’’
- (249) *isakisüpeko ihataleha egea leha ihata leha iheke*
is-aki-sü-pe-ko iha-ta=leha egea leha iha-ta leha
 3-word-POSS-NTM-PL tell-DUR=COMPL like.this COMPL tell-DUR COMPL
i-heke
 3-ERG
 ‘She was reporting their words, she was telling in this way’
 ‘Ela estava relatando as palavras deles, contando assim’

- (250) *ukipügüa leha ihata leha iheke*
u-ki-pügü-a leha iha-ta leha i-heke
 2-say-PRF-like.this COMPL tell-DUR COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘The way I said it, she was telling (to the daughter-in-law)’
 ‘Do jeito que eu falei, ela estava contando (para a nora)’
- (251) *tumukugu akisüpe ihata leha iheke*
tu-muku-gu aki-sü-pe iha-ta leha i-heke
 REFL--son-POSS word-POSS-NTM tell-DUR COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘She was reporting the words of her son’
 ‘Ela estava relatando as palavras do filho’
- (252) *ami atsange isitote ketitaginkgugito*
ami atsange is-i-tote ket-itaginkgugi-tó
 other.day INT 3-come-when PROH-speak.hard-PROH
 ‘‘The next time he comes, do not talk harshly with him!’’
 ‘‘Da próxima vez que ele vier, não fale duro com ele!’’
- (253) *ami ami akatsange eitigini leha isinümingo tükotui tükotui*
ami ami akatsange e-itigi-ni leha is-i-nümi-ingo
 other.day other.day INT 2-FIN-PL COMPL 3-come-PNCT-FUT
tü-kotu-i tü-kotu-i
 REFL-angry-COP REFL-angry-COP
 ‘‘Next time, next time, he will come get you angry, angry’’
 ‘‘Na próxima vez, na próxima vez, ele virá buscar você com raiva, com raiva’’
- (254) *ehe lepei igei igei isüngülü hata isüngülü hata*
ehe üle-pe-i ige-i ige-i is-üngü-lü hata is-üngü-lü
 AFF LOG-NTM-COP PROX-COP PROX-COP 3-sleep-PNCT when 3-sleep-PNCT
hata
 when
 ‘Yes, then, she (the living woman) slept like this, she slept like this’⁵⁵
 ‘Sim, então, ela (a viva) dormiu assim, dormiu assim’

⁵⁵ *Igei* (‘it is this’): *Ájahi* is showing her open hand to mean five days (or nights).

- (255) *teti*
t-e-ti
 PTCP-come-PTCP
 ‘(The dead husband) came’
 ‘(O esposo morto) veio’
- (256) *kü kü hokugeũ etekebeha tüki nigei enhalü igei tüki nigei enhalü*
kü kü hokugeũ e-te-ke=be=ha tü-ki nile-ige-i
 ONTP ONTP pauraque 2-go-IMP=EP=HA Q-INS EP-PROX-COP
e-nha-lü igei tü-ki nige-i e-nha-lü
 arrive-HAB-PNCT PROX-COP Q-INS EP-PROX-COP arrive-HAB-PNCT
 ‘The pauraque *kü kü* (sang). “Go away! Why do you always come? Why do you always come?” (the living woman said)’
 ‘O bacurau *kü kü* (cantou). “Vá embora! Por que você sempre vem? Por que você sempre vem?” (a esposa viva disse)’
- (257) *tüki*
tü-ki
 Q-INS
 ““Why?””
 ““Por quê?””
- (258) *ehitsütsapa itinhündeta heinongo nhangatügü*
e-hi-tsü=tsapa itinhüN-te-ta heino-ngo i-ngangatü-gü
 2-wife-POSS=E lay.down-VBLZ-DUR half-NMLZ 3-breast-POSS
 ““Go to bed with your wife who only has one tit!””
 ““Vá lá deitar com a sua esposa que só tem uma teta!””
- (259) *heinongo ihugu*
heino-ngo i-hu-gu
 half-NMLZ 3-buttock-POSS
 ““(And) just one buttock””
 ““(E) só uma nádega””

- (260) *tüendi tsürürü gitsitoho*⁵⁶ *atati uētigi leha*
tü-eN-ti tsürürü gitsi-toho atati uē-tigi leha
 PTCP-enter-PTCP IDEO urinate-INSNR ILL wait-FIN COMPL
 ‘He (the dead) entered: *tsürürü!* the place where people urinate, to wait’
 ‘Ele (o morto) entrou *tsürürü!* no lugar onde se urina, para esperar’
- (261) *lepe leha itsagü leha*
üle-pe leha i-tsagü leha
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-ERG COMPL
 ‘Then, he stayed (there)’
 ‘Aí, ele ficou (lá)’
- (262) *koko bela leha kahugutilü leha koko tsitsi leha*
koko=bela leha k-ahuguti-lü leha koko tsitsi leha
 night=EP COMPL 1.2-get.dark-PNCT COMPL night DIM COMPL
 ‘Already at dusk, in the early evening’
 ‘Já de noite, anoiteceu, no começo da noite’
- (263) *tütikaĩsitü gitsitoho atati tügitsilüinha*
tü-tikaiN-si=tü gitsi-toho atati tü-gitsi-lü-inha
 PTCP-get.up-PTCP=UNCR urinate-INSNMLZ ILL REFL-urinate-PNCT-DAT
 ‘Having got up, to go to the place to urinate’
 ‘Tendo ela se levantado, para ir ao local de urinar’
- (264) *isitsilü hata tük titsimbe eke atati leha inhügü*
i-gitsi-lü hata tük t-itsi=mbe eke atati leha
 3-urinate-PNCT when IDEO PTCP-bite.PTCP=EP snake ILL COMPL
i-nhügü
 be-PNCT
 ‘While she was urinating, *tük!* he had turned into a snake and he bit her’
 ‘Enquanto ela estava urinando, *tük!* transformado em cobra ele a mordeu’

⁵⁶*Gitsi-toho*, ‘made for urinating’: in the old days, there were bits of bamboo inside the house, into which people urinated. The dead husband has already turned into a snake and hides in the old urinal.

- (265) *eke tük ige kaenga itsilü iheke*
eke tük ige kae-nga itsi-lü i-heke
 snake IDEO PROX LOC-ALL 3.bite-PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘As a snake, he bit her here’ (*Ájahi* shows the place)
 ‘Como cobra, ele a mordeu aqui’ (*Ájahi* mostra o local)
- (266) *hum pok pok pok⁵⁷ aletüha etelü leha*
hum pok pok pok ale=tü=ha e-te-lü leha
 IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO SIM=UNCR=HA 3-go-PNCT COMPL
 ‘‘Hum,’’ *pok pok pok*, she screamed and convulsed’
 ‘‘Hum’’, *pok pok pok*, ela gritou e ficou se debatendo’
- (267) *pok pok pok pok tük isotütitagü leha tütükibeletü apüngü leha apüngü*
pok pok pok pok tük is-otüti-tagü leha tütüki=bele=tü
 IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO 3-convulse-DUR COMPL slowly=EP=UNCR
apüngü leha apüngü
 3.die.PNCT COMPL 3.die.PNCT
 ‘She was convulsing, and she died, she died slowly’
 ‘Ficou tendo convulsões, aos poucos foi morrendo’
- (268) *itigi hegei inhotelü itigi*
i-tigi=ha ege-i i-nho te-lü itigi
 3-FIN=HA DIST-COP 3-husband go-PNCT 3.FIN
 ‘The husband went to get her’
 ‘O esposo foi buscá-la’
- (269) *aiha⁵⁸*
aiha
 done
 ‘Ready’
 ‘Pronto’

⁵⁷The ideophones transcribed as *hum* and as *pok* (repeated, iterative) is the cry of the woman and her spasms, respectively.

⁵⁸The last four lines contain the formulas that every good storyteller must use to close her narrative: *áiha* (‘ready/done’); *upügüha egei* (‘that was the last/the end’); *uitsojigü*, an untranslatable word that the storytellers say use to frighten away sleep, since the listener would be in a state of sleep/dreaming, from which he must awaken.

(270) *ai akatsange*

ai akatsange

ready INT

‘Truly ready’

‘Pronto mesmo’

(271) *upügü hegei*

upügü=ha ege-i

last=HA DIST-COP

‘That was the end’

‘Aquilo foi o final’

(272) *uitsojigü nika kitse*

uitsojigü nika ki-tse

uitsojigü EP say-IMP

‘Say: *uitsojigü!*’

‘Diga: *uitsojigü!*’

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Non-standard abbreviations

1.2	1st person plural inclusive	IMP.CTP.PL	plural centripetal
1.3	1st person plural exclusive	IMP.CTF	imperative centrifugal
3.DIST	3rd person distal		imperative
3.PROX	3rd person proximal	IMP.CTF.PL	plural centrifugal
AFF	affirmative		imperative
ANMLZ	agent nominalizer	INE	inessive
AVD	avoidance	INEL	inelative
CF	counterfactual	INSNMLZ	instrumental
CNTR	contrastive		nominalizer
CON	connective	ITJ	interjection
CONC	concessive	INT	intensifier
CR	certainty	LOG	logophoric
DIM	diminutive	3.LOG	3rd person logophoric
DTR	detransitivizer		
DUB	dubitative	NANMLZ	non-agent nominalizer
EMPH	emphatic		
EP	epistemic	NPURP	negative purposive
FIN	finality	NTM	nominal tense marker
FUT.IM	imminent future		
HA	ha particle	O	object
HAB	habitual	ONTP	onomatopoeia
HORT	hortative	PNCT	punctual
HORT.PL	plural hortative	PRIV	privative
ILL	illative	SIM	simultaneous
IMP.PL	imperative plural	UNCR	uncertainty
IMP.CTP	centripetal imperative	VBZL	verbalizer
IDEO	ideophone		

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Chapter 3

Kalapalo

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1 Introduction

Kalapalo is a dialectal variation of the Upper Xingu Carib Language. The narrative presented in this chapter is around 12 minutes long and was recorded in 2010, with seventy-year-old *Ageu Kalapalo*. He tells us how a man named *Kamagisa*¹ married a Snake Woman and learned from his father-in-law a suite of songs of the Xinguan mortuary ritual (*egitsü*, broadly known as “Quarup”). When *Kamagisa* decided to move permanently to his wife’s village, he performed a ritual for himself and taught the songs to another human singer. The events take place in *Hagagikugu*, an important historical site for the Kalapalo and Nahukua peoples. *Ageu* also explains how these same events are reflected in verses sung in *Kamayurá*, a Tupi-Guarani language (Tupian), an example of the inter-relatedness of history, narratives and music in the Xinguan multiethnic and multilingual network.

The Kalapalo are a Carib-speaking people who live in the southern region of the Xingu Indigenous Land, in northern Mato Grosso, Brazil. They are a population of over 700 people living in ten villages, but most of them are concentrated in

¹*Ageu* calls him *Kamagisa*, but most people insist the character’s correct name would be *Kumagisa*. We have decided to keep *Ageu*’s original pronunciation.



Aiha (their oldest and biggest village, with more than 270 people) and *Tankgugu*. Alongside the pressures they've been suffering from farming, illegal fishing and logging, as well as from the Brazilian government, the Kalapalo have been able to maintain their lifestyle, with their narratives (*akinha*) playing a very important part. As some say, *akinha* are neither “myths” nor “stories”, but actual *history*: they tell about events that made the world the way it is today.

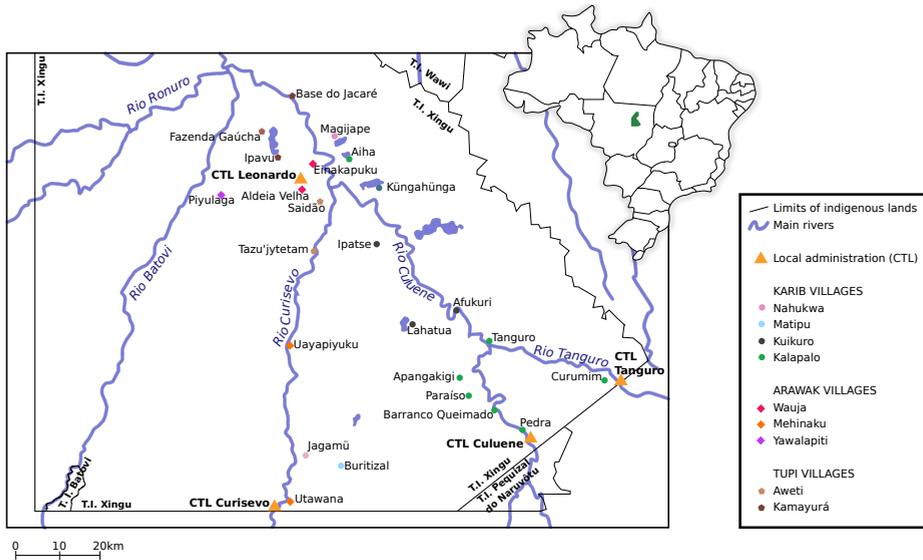


Figure 1: Upper Xingu villages, southern area of the Xingu Indigenous Land

The telling of *akinha* is a complex verbal art, and also a highly valued knowledge. Only a few people can be considered true “masters (or owners) of stories” (*akinha oto*). To be so, one must learn them from good storytellers, and tell them “beautifully” to others. A good story-telling involves several abilities, such as keeping a regular rhythm, making good use of parallelism to call the audience’s attention to events or characters (Franchetto 2003), and giving details that make the listener actually “see” what is being told. The combination of these stylistic features may induce the listeners (especially children and younger people) into an almost dreamlike state, from which they must be “awakened” after an *akinha* ends so they do not get sleepy, lazy, or — what would be even worse — they do not keep thinking about the spirit-beings of which they might have heard, since it could cause them to be attacked by these dangerous beings.

Kamagisa's narrative brings together several issues of Xinguan thought: the problem of mortality; the possibility of metamorphosis of humans into spirit-beings, and vice-versa; the details demanded by ritual communication and action; and the multilingual character intrinsic to Xinguan life. Perhaps all these issues could be thought of as versions of an all-encompassing one: the problem of communication (and, thus, of *translation*) that imposes itself on the relations between different kinds of people, such as consanguines and affines, humans and non-humans, the living and the dead, fellow villagers and foreigners, etc.

The narrative was transcribed, translated, and analyzed using ELAN, with the help of *Jeika* and *Ugise Kalapalo*. The narrative is phonetically transcribed in the first line, and morphologically segmented in the second one. The third line presents the glosses, and the last two contain free translations in English and Portuguese. The transcription, morphological segmentation, and most glosses follow the works of Bruna Franchetto (1986; 2002; 2003), Ellen Basso (2012), Mara dos Santos (2007), Mutua Mehinaku (2010), and Aline Varela Rabello (2013). We thank Bruna Franchetto for her continuous help with the Kalapalo language.

Let's now follow *Kamagisa* on his unexpected journey to the world of the spirits.

2 *Kamagisa etsutihügü*

'*Kamagisa* sang for the first time'

'*Kamagisa* cantou pela primeira vez'²

(1) *ihãũ heke onta*

i-hãũ heke on-ta

3-cousin ERG repudiate-DUR

'His cousin was repudiating him.'

'A prima dele o estava rejeitando.'

(2) *indzahatohoi indzahatohoi itsa*

i-ndzaha-toho-i i-ndzaha-toho-i i-tsa

3-fiancée-INS-COP 3-fiancée-INS-COP to.be-DUR

'His fiancée, she was his fiancée.'

'Sua noiva, ela era sua noiva.'

²Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997435>

- (3) *ah indisüi ijogu indisü*
ah 0-indi-sü-i i-jo-gu 0-indi-sü
 EXPL 3-daughter-POSS-COP 3-mother's.brother-POSS 3-daughter-POSS
 'Ah, she was his daughter, his mother's brother's daughter.'
 'Ah, ela era filha dele, filha do irmão de sua mãe.'
- (4) *Kamagisa haũha ihaũ*
Kamagisa haũ-ha i-haũ
 Kamagisa cousin-HA³ 3-cousin
 'Kamagisa's own cousin, his cousin.'
 'A própria prima de Kamagisa, sua prima.'
- (5) *ülepe hale egei*
üle-pe hale ege-i
 LOG-NTM CNTR DIST-COP
 'Because of that ...'
 'Por causa disso ...'
- (6) *onta leha iheke tsuẽ ekugu onta iheke*
on-ta leha i-heke tsuẽ ekugu on-ta i-heke
 repudiate-DUR COMPL 3-ERG a.lot true repudiate-DUR 3-ERG
 'She was repudiating him, she was truly repudiating him a lot.'
 'Ela o estava rejeitando, ela o estava rejeitando demais.'
- (7) *ihitsü heke*
i-hitsü heke
 3-wife ERG
 'His wife did it.'
 'Sua esposa o fez.'

³Please see Franchetto's introduction to chapter 2 for discussion of the HA particle, found in both Kuikuro and Kalapalo.

- (8) *ihaũ hekeha*
i-haũ heke-ha
 3-cousin ERG-HA
 ‘His cousin did so.’
 ‘Sua prima fez assim.’
- (9) *inhalü etengalü embege etengalü inhalü*
inhalü e-te-nga-lü embege e-te-nga-lü inhalü
 NEG 3-go-HAB-PNCT tentatively 3-go-HAB-PNCT NEG
 ‘Nothing, in vain he used to go after her; he used to go after her, and nothing.’
 ‘Nada, ele tentava ir atrás dela em vão; ele tentava ir atrás dela, e nada.’
- (10) *onta leha iheke leha*
on-ta leha i-heke leha
 repudiate-DUR COMPL 3-ERG COMPL
 ‘She would readily repudiate him.’
 ‘Ela prontamente o rejeitava.’
- (11) *üle hinhe leha et-ija-ki-lü leha*
üle hinhe leha et-ija-ki-lü leha
 LOG PURP COMPL 3.DTR-hammock’s.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Because of that, he untied the ropes of his hammock.’
 ‘Por causa disso, ele desamarrou as cordas de sua rede.’
- (12) *apokinenügü iheke leha tühitsü apokinenügü*
apoki-ne-nügü i-heke leha tü-hitsü apoki-ne-nügü
 drop-VBLZ-PNCT 3-ERG COMPL REFL-wife drop-VBLZ-PNCT
 ‘He left her, he left his own wife.’
 ‘Ele a deixou, ele deixou sua própria esposa.’
- (13) *apokinenügü leha iheke*
apoki-ne-nügü leha i-heke
 drop-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘He soon left her.’
 ‘Ele logo a deixou.’

- (14) *üle ineke hale egei*
üle ineke hale ege-i
 LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP
 ‘Because that made him sad ...’
 ‘Porque aquilo o deixou triste ...’
- (15) *üle ineke hale egei tingunkgingu ineke Kakakugu heke sijatitselü eke heke beha*
üle ineke hale ege-i t-ingunkgingu ineke Kakakugu heke
 LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP REFL-thought PURP Kakakugu ERG
s-ijati-tse-lü eke heke be-ha
 3-offer-VBLZ-PNCT snake ERG AUG-HA
 ‘... because that made him sad, because his thoughts made him sad, *Kakakugu* made him an offer, a big snake did so.’
 ‘... porque aquilo o deixou triste, porque seus pensamentos o deixaram triste, *Kakakugu* fez uma oferta a ele, uma grande cobra o fez.’
- (16) *eke helei Kakakugui*
eke h-ele-i Kakakugu-i
 snake HA-3.DIST-COP Kakakugu-COP
 ‘He is a snake, *Kakakugu*.’
 ‘Ele é uma cobra, *Kakakugu*.’
- (17) *ahütü kuge hüngü*
ahütü kuge hüngü
 NEG human NEG
 ‘He is not human.’
 ‘Ele não é humano.’
- (18) *itseke beja*
itseke beja
 spirit EP
 ‘A spirit, indeed.’
 ‘Um espírito, de fato.’

- (19) *itseke*
itseke
 spirit
 ‘A spirit.’
 ‘Um espírito.’
- (20) *itseke*
itseke
 spirit
 ‘A spirit.’
 ‘Um espírito.’
- (21) *jatsi jatsi jasu nügü iheke*
jatsi jatsi jasu nügü i-heke
 poor poor pitiful PNCT 3-ERG
 “Poor me, poor me, pitiful me,” he [*Kamagisa*] said.
 “Pobre de mim, pobre de mim, que pena de mim,” ele [*Kamagisa*] disse.’
- (22) *uonlü nika iheke nügü iheke*
u-on-lü nika i-heke nügü i-heke
 1-repudiate-PNCT EP 3-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
 “Is it true that she rejected me?” he said.
 “Será verdade que ela me rejeitou?” ele disse.’
- (23) *üle hinhe hale egei inhaha sinügü*
üle hinhe hale ege-i 0-inha-ha s-i-nügü
 LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP 3-to-HA 3-come-PNCT
 ‘Because of that he came to him.’
 ‘Por causa disso ele veio até ele.’
- (24) *Kakakugu suũ enügüha*
Kakakugu s-uũ e-nügü-ha
 Kakakugu 3-father come-PNCT-HA
 ‘*Kakakugu*, her [*Kamagisa*’s future wife] father, came.’
 ‘*Kakakugu*, o pai dela [da futura esposa de *Kamagisa*], veio.’

(25) *suũha tetinhü inha*

s-uũ-ha t-e-ti-nhü 0-inha

3-father-HA REFL-come-PTCP-NANMLZ 3-to

‘Her father is the one who came to him.’

‘O pai dela é quem veio até ele.’

(26) *suũ enügü*

s-uũ e-nügü

3-father come-PNCT

‘Her father came.’

‘O pai dela veio.’

(27) *ülepe*

üle-pe

LOG-NTM

‘Then ...’

‘Então ...’

(28) *aiha*

aiha

done

‘... done.’

‘... pronto.’

(29) *ingilabe lahale ingila itseke hisuũgü gele ukenübata egei*

ingila-be lahale ingila itseke hisuũ-gü gele uk-enü-bata ege-i

before-AUG CNTR before spirit kin-POSS ADV DU-stay-TEMP DIST-COP

‘This was a long time ago, when we were still kin to the spirits.’

‘Isso foi há muito tempo atrás, quando nós ainda éramos parentes dos espíritos.’

(30) *ülepe*

üle-pe

LOG-NTM

‘Then ...’

‘Então ...’

- (31) *sinügü*
s-i-nügü
 3-come-PNCT
 ‘... he came.’
 ‘... ele veio.’
- (32) *Kamagisa inha etelü*
Kamagisa inha e-te-lü
 Kamagisa to 3-go-PNCT
 ‘He went to *Kamagisa*.’
 ‘Ele foi até *Kamagisa*.’
- (33) *ihumita hegei tindisü inha*
i-humi-ta h-ege-i t-indi-sü inha
 3-send-DUR HA-DIST-COP REFL-daughter-POSS to
 ‘He was sending him to his daughter.’
 ‘Ele o estava enviando para sua filha.’
- (34) *ẽ tindisü inha*
ẽ t-indi-sü inha
 AFF REFL-daughter-POSS to
 ‘Yes, to his daughter.’
 ‘Sim, para sua filha.’
- (35) *ülepe*
üle-pe
 LOG-NTM
 ‘Then ...’
 ‘Então ...’
- (36) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘... done.’
 ‘... pronto.’

- (37) *igelü leha iheke leha*
ige-lü leha i-heke leha
 take-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG COMPL
 ‘He soon took him.’
 ‘Ele logo o levou.’
- (38) *Kamagisa hogijü iheke leha*
Kamagisa hoga-jü i-heke leha
 Kamagisa find-PNCT 3-ERG COMPL
 ‘He had already found *Kamagisa*.’
 ‘Ele já havia encontrado *Kamagisa*.’
- (39) *kuge bejetsa atühügü leha*
kuge be-jetsa atühügü leha
 human AUG-EV become COMPL
 ‘He had already become just like a person.’
 ‘Ele já havia se tornado exatamente como uma pessoa.’
- (40) *eke atühügü kugei leha*
eke atühügü kuge-i leha
 snake become human-COP COMPL
 ‘The snake had already become a person.’
 ‘A cobra já havia se tornado uma pessoa.’
- (41) *hm eingadzu inha etete nügü iheke*
hm e-ingadzu inha e-te-te nügü i-heke
 EXPL 2SG-sister to 2SG-go-IMP PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘Hm, “Go to your sister,” he said.’
 ‘Hm, “Vá para sua irmã,” ele disse.’
- (42) *eingadzu inha kete nügü iheke*
e-ingadzu inha k-e-te nügü i-heke
 2SG-sister to DU-go-IMP PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘“Let’s go to your sister,” he said.’
 ‘“Vamos para sua irmã,” ele disse.’

- (43) *üngele kilüha*
üngele ki-lü-ha
 3.LOG say-PNCT-HA
 ‘That one said so.’
 ‘Aquele é quem disse isso.’
- (44) *Kakakugu kilüha*
Kakakugu ki-lü-ha
 Kakakugu say-PNCT-HA
 ‘Kakakugu said so.’
 ‘Kakakugu disse isso.’
- (45) *suĩ kilüha*
s-uĩ ki-lü-ha
 3-father say-PNCT-HA
 ‘Her father said so.’
 ‘O pai dela disse isso.’
- (46) *ēhē nügü iheke*
ēhē nügü i-heke
 AFF PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘“Yes,” he answered.’
 ‘“Sim,” ele respondeu.’
- (47) *ēhē nügü iheke*
ēhē nügü iheke
 AFF PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘“Yes,” he answered.’
 ‘“Sim,” ele respondeu.’
- (48) *ngukuagi tsügüha inhüngü tadüponhokokinhü igia*
ngukuagi tsügüha iN-üngü t-adüponhoko-ki-nhü igia
 cerrado.palm EP 3-home REFL-small.mound-INS-NANMLZ this.way
 ‘It seems that his house is a small *cerrado* palm called *ngukuagi*, that stands on a small mound like this.’

‘Parece que a casa dele é uma pequena palmeira do cerrado chamada *ngukuagi*, que fica desse jeito em cima de um morrinho.’

(49) *uge uũpe kita uãke*

uge uũ-pe ki-ta uãke

1 father-NTM say-DUR EV.PST

‘My deceased father used to say:’

‘Meu finado pai costumava dizer:’

(50) *Kakakugu üngü hegei*

Kakakugu üngü h-ege-i

Kakakugu home HA-DIST-COP

‘‘That’s *Kakakugu*’s house.’’

‘‘Aquela é a casa de *Kakakugu*.’’

(51) *inhüngü hegei*

iN-üngü h-egei-i

3-house HA-DIST-COP

‘That’s his house.’

‘Aquela é a casa dele.’

(52) *inhüngü*

iN-üngü

3-house

‘His house.’

‘A casa dele.’

(53) *üle hujati*

üle huja-ti

LOG midst-ALL

‘Into the middle of that ...’

‘Para o meio daquilo ...’

- (54) *ah etelü leha*
ah e-te-lü leha
 EXPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL
 ‘... ah, he readily went!’
 ‘... ah, ele foi prontamente!’
- (55) *ngukuagi*
ngukuagi
 cerrado.palm
 ‘Into the small *cerrado* palm.’
 ‘Para dentro da pequena palmeira do cerrado.’
- (56) *ẽ inhüngü hegei Kakakugu*
ẽ iN-üngü h-egei-i Kakakugu
 AFF 3-home HA-DIST-COP Kakakugu
 ‘Yes, that’s his house, *Kakakugu*’s house.’
 ‘Sim, aquela é a casa dele, a casa de *Kakakugu*.’
- (57) *ülepe*
üle-pe
 LOG-NTM
 ‘Then ...’
 ‘Então ...’
- (58) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘... done’
 ‘... pronto’
- (59) *ah tindisü tuponga leha ijatelü leha iheke*
ah t-indi-sü t-upo-nga leha
 EXPL REFL-daughter-POSS REFL-above-ALL COMPL
ija-te-lü leha i-heke
 hammock’s.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
 ‘Ah, he then tied his hammock just over his daughter’s.’
 ‘Ah, então ele amarrou sua rede logo acima da de sua filha.’

(60) *ijatelü leha*

ija-te-lü leha
hammock's.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL

'Tied his hammock.'

'Amarrou sua rede.'

(61) *sangagübe teh ah sangatepügü*

s-anga-gü-be teh ah s-anga-te-pügü
3-genipapo-POSS-AUG ITJ EXPL 3-genipapo-VBLZ-PFV

'She had a great *genipapo* painting - wow! - she was painted with *genipapo*.⁴

'Ela tinha uma linda pintura de jenipapo - uau! - ela estava pintada com jenipapo.'

(62) *indisüha*

0-indi-sü-ha
3-daughter-POSS-HA

'His daughter was.'

'A filha dele estava.'

(63) *indisü angatepügü*

0-indi-sü anga-te-pügü
3-daughter-POSS genipapo-VBLZ-PFV

'His daughter was painted with *genipapo*.'

'A filha dele estava pintada com jenipapo.'

(64) *ülepe leha*

üle-pe leha
LOG-NTM COMPL

'Just after that ...'

'Logo depois disso ...'

⁴*Genipapo* is the fruit of the *Genipa americana* tree. The Kalapalo extract from it a clear liquid used for skin painting, as well as for decorating ceramics and wooden benches. After the liquid oxidizes, it turns black, and may stay on the skin for several days. The liquid may be mixed with charcoal soot to make the painting even darker.

- (65) *ah ihitsüi leha itsa leha*
ah i-hitsü leha i-tsa leha
 EXPL 3-wife COMPL to.be-DUR COMPL
 ‘... ah, she was already his wife.’
 ‘... ah, ela já era sua esposa.’
- (66) *ihitsüi leha*
i-hitsü-i leha
 3-wife-COP COMPL
 ‘Already his wife.’
 ‘Já era sua esposa.’
- (67) *ihitsüi leha itsa leha*
i-hitsü-i leha i-tsa leha
 3-wife-COP COMPL to.be-DUR COMPL
 ‘She was already his wife.’
 ‘Ela já era sua esposa.’
- (68) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘Done.’
 ‘Pronto.’
- (69) *ingati beja inhalü ikungalü leha iheke leha*
ingati beja i-nha-lü iku-nga-lü leha i-heke
 lie.together EP to.be-HAB-PNCT to.have.sex-HAB-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
leha
 COMPL
 ‘He always lay with her in his hammock, and he always had sex with her.’
 ‘Ele sempre se deitava com ela em sua rede, e ele sempre fazia sexo com ela.’

(70) *ikungalü beja iheke leha*

iku-nga-lü *beja i-heke leha*
to.have.sex-HAB-PNCT EP 3-ERG COMPL

‘He always really had sex with her.’

‘Ele realmente sempre fazia sexo com ela.’

(71) *ah ngikona tüülü iheke*

ah ngiko-na t-üi-lü *i-heke*
EXPL thing-EP REFL-make-PNCT 3-ERG

‘Ah, who knows how he did it ...’

‘Ah, quem sabe como ele fazia isso ...’

(72) *aiha*

aiha
done

‘Done.’

‘Pronto.’

(73) *sakihata iheke tita gisüki*

s-aki-ha-ta *i-heke tita* *gi-sü-ki*
3-word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS

‘He was teaching him ... with songs of mortuary effigies.’

‘Ele o estava ensinando ... com cantos de efigies mortuárias.’

(74) *tita gisüki*

tita *gi-sü-ki*
mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS

‘Songs of mortuary effigies.’

‘Cantos de efigies mortuárias.’

(75) *tita gisüki ah sakihata iheke*

tita *gi-sü-ki* *ah s-aki-ha-ta* *i-heke*
mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS EXPL 3-word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

‘With songs of mortuary effigies... ah, he was teaching him.’

‘Com cantos de efigies mortuárias... ah, ele o estava ensinando.’

- (76) *Kakakugu heke*
Kakakugu heke
 Kakakugu ERG
 ‘Kakakugu was.’
 ‘Kakakugu estava ensinando.’
- (77) *ah tindisü ngiso akihata iheke*
ah t-indi-sü ngiso aki-ha-ta i-heke
 EXPL REFL-daughter-POSS husband word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG
 ‘Ah, he was teaching his daughter’s husband.’
 ‘Ah, ele estava ensinando o marido de sua filha.’
- (78) *akihata iheke*
aki-ha-ta i-heke
 word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG
 ‘He was teaching.’
 ‘Ele estava ensinando.’
- (79) *akihata iheke*
aki-ha-ta i-heke
 word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG
 ‘He was teaching.’
 ‘Ele estava ensinando.’
- (80) *etelü hōhō tüti inha*
e-te-lü hōhō tü-ti inha
 3-go-PNCT EMPH REFL-mother DAT
 ‘He went to visit his mother for a while.’
 ‘Ele foi visitar sua mãe por um tempo.’
- (81) *tüti inha hōhō sinügü Kamagisa enügü*
tü-ti inha hōhō s-i-nügü Kamagisa e-nügü
 REFL-mother DAT EMPH 3-come-PNCT Kamagisa come-PNCT
 ‘Kamagisa came to visit his mother for a while.’
 ‘Kamagisa veio visitar sua mãe por um tempo.’

- (82) *tüti inha*
tü-ti inha
REFL-mother DAT
'To his mother.'
'Até sua mãe.'
- (83) *ihitsü ike leha*
i-hitsü ike leha
3-wife with COMPL
'With his wife.'
'Com sua esposa.'
- (84) *ihitsü*
i-hitsü
3-wife
'His wife.'
'Sua esposa.'
- (85) *tünho akuã leha teta leha*
tü-nho akuã leha te-ta leha
REFL-husband shadow COMPL go-DUR COMPL
'She was walking right behind her husband, like his shadow.'
'Ela ia andando logo atrás de seu marido, como sua sombra.'
- (86) *inde giti atani etimbelüko*
inde giti atani et-imbe-lü-ko
here sun TEMP 3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL
'When the sun was here, they arrived.'
'Quando o sol estava nessa posição, eles chegaram.'
- (87) *etimbelüko*
et-imbe-lü-ko
3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL
'They arrived.'
'Eles chegaram.'

- (88) *totomonaha*
t-oto-mo-na-ha
 REFL-kin-PL-ALL-HA
 ‘To his kin.’
 ‘Nos seus parentes.’
- (89) *totomo*
t-oto-mo
 REFL-kin-PL
 ‘His kin.’
 ‘Seus parentes.’
- (90) *tetuna beja*
t-etu-na beja
 REFL-village-ALL EP
 ‘To his own village, indeed.’
 ‘Para sua própria aldeia, de fato.’
- (91) *Kamagisa etu leha*
Kamagisa etu leha
 Kamagisa village COMPL
 ‘They were already at *Kamagisa*’s village.’
 ‘Eles já estavam na aldeia de *Kamagisa*.’
- (92) *Kamagisa etuna etimbelüko*
Kamagisa etu-na et-imbe-lü-ko
 Kamagisa village-ALL 3.DTR-come-PNCT-PL
 ‘They arrived at *Kamagisa*’s village.’
 ‘Eles chegaram na aldeia de *Kamagisa*.’
- (93) *atibe Kamagisa enta nügü iheke*
atibe Kamagisa e-nta nügü i-heke
 ITJ Kamagisa come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘“There he comes, *Kamagisa*,” they said.’
 ‘“Lá vem ele, *Kamagisa*,” disseram.’

- (94) *inhalü ihitsü ingilüi ihametijaõ heke*
inhalü i-hitsü ingi-lü-i i-hameti-jaõ heke
NEG 3-wife see-PNCT-COP 3-sister.in.law-PL ERG
'His wife could not be seen by her sisters-in-law.'
'Sua esposa não podia ser vista pelas cunhadas dela.'
- (95) *inhalü ingilü ihekeni*
inhalü ingi-lü i-heke-ni
NEG see-PNCT 3-ERG-PL
'They didn't see her.'
'Elas não a viam.'
- (96) *uendeha ike eteta*
uende-ha ike e-te-ta
there-HA 3.with 3-go-DUR
'But she was there, she was going with him.'
'Mas ela estava lá, ela estava andando com ele.'
- (97) *ike eteta*
ike e-te-ta
3.with 3-go-DUR
'She was going with him.'
'Ela estava andando com ele.'
- (98) *ihitsü tetaha*
i-hitsü te-ta-ha
3-wife go-PNCT-HA
'His wife was going.'
'Sua esposa estava andando.'
- (99) *ülepe*
üle-pe
LOG-NTM
'Then ...'
'Então ...'

- (100) *etimbelüko*
et-imbe-lü-ko
 3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL
 ‘... they arrived.’
 ‘... eles chegaram.’
- (101) *ahametigüko akongo aketsugei nügü iheke tingajomo heke*
a-hameti-gü-ko ako-ngo akets=uge-i nügü i-heke t-ingajomo
 2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL with-NMLZ EV=1-COP PNCT 3-ERG REFL-sisters
heke
 ERG
 ‘‘I’m in the company of your sister-in-law,’’ he said to his sisters.’
 ‘‘Eu estou acompanhado de sua cunhada,’’ ele disse para suas irmãs.’
- (102) *ahametigüko akongo aketsugei*
a-hameti-gü-ko ako-ngo akets=uge-i
 2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL with-NMLZ EV=1-COP
 ‘‘I’m in the company of your sister-in-law.’’
 ‘‘Eu estou acompanhado de sua cunhada.’’
- (103) *itaginhitüe tsüha ahametigüko nügü iheke*
itaginhit-tüe tsüha a-hameti-gü-ko nügü i-heke
 greet-IMP.PL EP 2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘‘You may greet your sister-in-law,’’ he said.’
 ‘‘Vocês podem cumprimentar sua cunhada,’’ ele disse.’
- (104) *ẽ uhitseke geleha*
ẽ uhitseke gele-ha
 AFF in.vain ADV-HA
 ‘‘Ok,’’ they said in vain.’
 ‘‘Tudo bem,’’ elas disseram à toa.’
- (105) *amago nika nügü ngapa iheke*
amago nika nügü ngapa i-heke
 2PL EP PNCT EP 3-ERG
 ‘‘Are you really here?’’ they may have said.’
 ‘‘Você está mesmo aí?’’ talvez elas tenham dito.’

- (106) *shhh ekei bele itüinjü iheke*
shhh eke-i bele itüin-jü i-heke
IDEO snake-COP CU answer-PNCT 3-ERG
“Shhh” - she answered in the snake’s language.
“Shhh” - ela respondeu na língua das cobras.’
- (107) *üngele hekeha*
üngele heke-ha
3.LOG ERG-HA
‘That one did so.’
‘Ela fez isso.’
- (108) *ihametigüko heke*
i-hameti-gü-ko heke
3-sister.in.law-POSS-PL ERG
‘Their sister-in-law did.’
‘A cunhada delas fez.’
- (109) *Kakakugu indisü hekeha*
Kakakugu indi-sü heke-ha
Kakakugu daughter-POSS ERG-HA
‘Kakakugu’s daughter did so.’
‘A filha de Kakakugu fez isso.’
- (110) *shhh ah nügü iheke*
shhh ah nügü i-heke
IDEO EXPL PNCT 3-ERG
“Shhh,” ah, she said!
“Shhh,” ah, ela disse!’
- (111) *aiha*
aiha
done
‘Done.’
‘Pronto.’

- (112) *ah tihü hakilü hale iheke*
ah t-ihü haki-lü hale i-heke
 EXPL REFL-body reveal-PNCT CNTR 3-ERG
 ‘Ah, and then she revealed her body.’
 ‘Ah, e então ela revelou seu corpo.’
- (113) *atsakilü lahale atütüi*
a-tsaki-lü lahale atütü-i
 3-appear-PNCT CNTR beautiful-COP
 ‘She appeared beautiful.’
 ‘Ela apareceu muito bonita.’
- (114) *hm atsakilü leha*
hm a-tsaki-lü leha
 EXPL 3-appear-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Hm, she appeared.’
 ‘Hm, ela apareceu.’
- (115) *atsakilü leha*
a-tsaki-lü leha
 3-appear-PNCT COMPL
 ‘She appeared.’
 ‘Ela apareceu.’
- (116) *kogetsi*
kogetsi
 tomorrow
 ‘The next day ...’
 ‘No dia seguinte ...’
- (117) *etinga inhalüko unditü ukugahipügü*
etinga i-nha-lü-ko unditü ukugahi-pügü
 lie.on.hammock be-HAB-PNCT-PL long.hair hang.downwards-PFV
 ‘When they lay down together, her hair was hanging downwards.’
 ‘Quando eles se deitaram juntos, o cabelo dela estava pendurado em direção ao chão.’

- (118) *ande leha ihametijaõ heke ingingalü leha*
ande leha i-hameti-jaõ heke ingi-nga-lü leha
 now COMPL 3-sister.in.law-PL ERG see-HAB-PNCT COMPL
 ‘Now her sisters-in-law could already see her.’
 ‘Agora suas cunhadas já podiam vê-la.’
- (119) *ihametijaõ*
i-hameti-jaõ
 3-sister.in.law-PL
 ‘Her sisters-in-law.’
 ‘Suas cunhadas.’
- (120) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘Done.’
 ‘Pronto.’
- (121) *ülepe sinünkgo leha tetuna beha*
üle-pe s-i-nü-nkgo leha t-etu-na beha
 LOG-NTM 3-come-PNCT-PL COMPL REFL-village-ALL EV
 ‘Then, they came back to their village.’
 ‘Então, eles voltaram para sua aldeia.’
- (122) *tseta leha ihütisoho heke sakhata*
tseta leha i-hüti-soho heke s-aki-ha-ta
 there COMPL 3-shame-INS ERG 3-word-VBLZ-DUR
 ‘There, his father-in-law was teaching him.’
 ‘Lá, seu sogro o estava ensinando.’
- (123) *igeki beha*
ige-ki beha
 PROX-INS EV
 ‘About this.’
 ‘Sobre isso.’

- (124) *tita gisüki*
tita gi-sü-ki
 mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS
 ‘About the songs of mortuary effigies.’
 ‘Sobre os cantos de efigies mortuárias.’
- (125) *tita gisüki*
tita gisü-ki
 mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS
 ‘About the songs of mortuary effigies.’
 ‘Sobre os cantos de efigies mortuárias.’
- (126) *aiha etsuhukilü leha inha leha*
aiha etsuhuki-lü leha 0-inha leha
 done finish-PNCT COMPL 3-DAT COMPL
 ‘Done, it was finished for him.’
 ‘Pronto, estava tudo concluído para ele.’
- (127) *hm untsi nügü iheke*
hm untsi nügü i-heke
 EXPL uterine.nephew PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘‘Hm, nephew,’’ he said.’
 ‘‘Hm, sobrinho,’’ ele disse.’
- (128) *etsuke hetsange hōhō ihakitomi eheke nügü iheke*
etsu-ke hetsange hōhō i-haki-tomi e-heke nügü i-heke
 debut-IMP HORT EMPH 3-reveal-PURP 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘‘You may sing for the first time, to reveal your songs,’’ he said.’
 ‘‘Você pode estrear, para revelar seus cantos,’’ ele disse.’
- (129) *nügü iheke*
nügü i-heke
 PNCT 3-ERG
 ‘He said.’
 ‘Ele disse.’

- (130) *ihütisoho kilü*
i-hüti-soho ki-lü
3-shame-INS say-PNCT
'His father-in-law said.'
'Seu sogro disse.'
- (131) *Kakakugu kilü beha*
Kakakugu ki-lü beha
Kakakugu say-PNCT EV
'Kakakugu said that.'
'Kakakugu disse isso.'
- (132) *etsuke hetsange hōhō ah ihakitomi eheke nügü iheke*
etsu-ke hetsange hōhō ah i-haki-tomi e-heke nügü i-heke
debut-IMP HORT EMPH EXPL 3-reveal-PURP 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
"You may now sing for the first time, ah, to reveal them," he said.'
"Você agora pode estrear, ah, para revelá-los," ele disse.'
- (133) *ihakitomi nügü iheke*
i-haki-tomi nügü i-heke
3-reveal-PURP PNCT 3-ERG
"To reveal them," he said.'
"Para revelá-los," ele disse.'
- (134) *ah nügü iheke*
ah nügü i-heke
EXPL PNCT 3-ERG
"Ah," he said.'
"Ah," ele disse.'
- (135) *nügü iheke Kamagisa heke*
nügü i-heke Kamagisa heke
PNCT 3-ERG Kamagisa ERG
'He said to Kamagisa.'
'Ele disse para Kamagisa.'

- (136) *atütüi beja itsalü leha iheke leha*
atütü-i beja i-tsa-lü leha i-heke leha
 beautiful-COP EP 3-hear-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG COMPL
 ‘He had already listened to it really well.’
 ‘Ele já os havia escutado muito bem.’
- (137) *itsalü leha atütüui ekugu leha*
i-tsa-lü leha atütü-i ekugu leha
 3-hear-PNCT COMPL beautiful-COP true COMPL
 ‘He listened to it really well.’
 ‘Ele os havia escutado muito bem.’
- (138) *ülepe etimbelü tetuna*
üle-pe et-imbe-lü t-etu-na
 LOG-NTM 2.DTR-come-PNCT REFL-village-ALL
 ‘Then he arrived in his village.’
 ‘Então ele chegou em sua aldeia.’
- (139) *tikongoingo akihalü hōhō iheke*
t-iko-ngo-ingo aki-ha-lü hōhō i-heke
 REFL-with-NMLZ-FUT word-VBLZ-PNCT EMPH 3-ERG
 ‘First he taught the one who was going to be his singing companion.’
 ‘Primeiro ele ensinou aquele que seria seu companheiro de canto.’
- (140) *ah tikongoingo akihalü engü beja otohongoingo beja iginhundote*
ah t-iko-ngo-ingo aki-ha-lü engü beja otohongo-ingo
 EXPL REFL-with-NMLZ-FUT word-VBLZ-PNCT CON EP other.similar-FUT
beja igi-nhun-dote
 EP song-VBLZ-ADV
 ‘Ah, he taught the one who was going to be his companion, his other,
 when he was to sing.’
 ‘Ah, ele ensinou aquele que seria seu companheiro, seu outro, quando
 ele fosse cantar.’

- (141) *otohongoingo tsüha*
otohongo-ingo tsüha
other.similar-FUT EV.UNCR
'That one who would be his companion.'
'Aquele que seria seu companheiro.'
- (142) *üngele akihalü hōhō iheke*
üngele aki-ha-lü hōhō i-heke
3.LOG word-VBLZ-PNCT EMPH 3SG-ERG
'First he taught him.'
'Primeiro ele o ensinou.'
- (143) *üngele akihalü.*
üngele aki-ha-lü
3.LOG word-VBLZ-PNCT
'Taught him.'
'O ensinou.'
- (144) *aiha etükilü*
aiha etüki-lü
done complete-PNCT
'Done, it was complete.'
'Pronto, estava completo.'
- (145) *etükilü leha inha*
etüki-lü leha 0-inha
complete-PNCT COMPL 3-DAT
'It was complete for him.'
'Estava completo para ele.'
- (146) *otohongo inha*
otohongo inha
other.similar DAT
'For his companion.'
'Para seu companheiro.'

- (147) *osiha*
osi-ha
 HORT-HA
 “Let’s go.”
 “Vamos lá.”
- (148) *osiha ai hale tüti heke nügü iheke*
osi-ha ai hale tü-ti heke nügü i-heke
 HORT-HA PURP CNTR REFL-mother ERG PNCT 3-ERG
 “Let’s go,” and then he said to his mother:
 “Vamos lá,” e então ele disse para sua mãe:’
- (149) *ama*
ama
 mother
 “Mother.”
 “Mãe.”
- (150) *ah kupuke hōhō nügü iheke*
ah k-upu-ke hōhō nügü i-heke
 EXPL DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EMPH PNCT 3-ERG
 “Ah, make our image,” he said.
 “Ah, faça nossa imagem,” ele disse.’
- (151) *ah kupuke hōhō nügü iheke*
ah k-upu-ke hōhō nügü i-heke
 EXPL DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EMPH PNCT 3-ERG
 “Ah, make our image,” he said.
 “Ah, faça nossa imagem,” ele disse.’
- (152) *kupuke ah nügü baha iheke*
k-upu-ke ah nügü baha i-heke
 DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EXPL PNCT EV 3-ERG
 “Make our image,” ah, that’s what he said.
 “Faça nossa imagem,” ah, isso é o que ele disse.’

- (153) *ēhē nügü iheke*
ēhē nügü i-heke
AFF PNCT 3-ERG
‘‘Yes,’’ she said.’
‘‘Sim,’’ ela disse.’
- (154) *isi heke tsüle togokige ihenügü togokibe bahale*
isi heke tsüle togokige ihe-nügü togoki-be bahale
mother ERG EP cotton spin-PNCT cotton-AUG ADV
‘Then his mother spun cotton, a lot of cotton.’
‘Então sua mãe fiou algodão, muito algodão.’
- (155) *igia kugube sueletu sagagebe otohongo*
igia kugu-be s-uele-tu s-agage-be otohongo
this.way true-AUG 3-girth-POSS 3-alike-AUG other.similar
‘A roll was this big, and another one also had the same size.’
‘Um rolo era grande desse jeito, e um outro tinha o mesmo tamanho.’
- (156) *tita etikoguingo hegei*
tita etiko-gu-ingo h-ege-i
mortuary.effigy belt-POSS-FUT HA-DIST-COP
‘This is what would become the effigy’s belt.’
‘Isso é o que se tornaria o cinto da efígie.’
- (157) *ege hungu jetsa inke tsapa akago heke tüita*
ege hungu jetsa in-ke tsapa akago heke t-üi-ta
DIST similar EV see-IMP EP 3PL ERG REFL-make-DUR
‘Like those, look those they are making.’⁵
‘Como aqueles, veja aqueles que eles estão fazendo.’
- (158) *üle hunguingo hegei*
üle hungu-ingo h-ege-i
LOG similar-FUT HA-DIST-COP
‘It was meant to be like those.’
‘Era pra ser como aqueles.’

⁵Ageu refers to the cotton belts some young men were making at a neighboring house.

- (159) *üle hunguingo hegei*
üle hungu-ingo h-ege-i
 LOG similar-FUT HA-DIST-COP
 ‘It was meant to be like those.’
 ‘Era pra ser como aqueles.’
- (160) *isi ngihetanümi*
isi ng-ihe-ta-nümi
 mother LOG-spin-DUR-PNCT.COP
 ‘What his mother was spinning.’
 ‘O que sua mãe estava fiando.’
- (161) *isi ngihetanümi togokigeha*
isi ng-ihe-ta-nümi togokige-ha
 mother LOG-spin-DUR-PNCT.COP cotton-HA
 ‘The cotton his mother was spinning.’
 ‘O algodão que sua mãe estava fiando.’
- (162) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘Done.’
 ‘Pronto.’
- (163) *togokige etükilü*
togokige etüki-lü
 cotton complete-PNCT
 ‘The cotton was ready.’
 ‘O algodão estava pronto.’
- (164) *osiha*
osi-ha
 HORT-HA
 ‘“Let’s go.”’
 ‘“Vamos lá.”’

- (165) *aibeha*
aibeha
done
'Done.'
'Pronto.'
- (166) *tita ikenügü ihekeni*
tita ike-nügü i-heke-ni
mortuary.effigy to.cut-PNCT 3-ERG-PL
'They cut down a log for an effigy.'
'Eles derrubaram uma tora para fazer uma efigie.'
- (167) *tita ikenügü leha ihekeni*
tita ike-nügü leha i-heke-ni
mortuary.effigy to.cut-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL
'They had already cut down a log for an effigy.'
'Eles já tinham derrubado uma tora para fazer uma efigie.'
- (168) *ületoho*
üle-toho
LOG-INS
'To do that.'
'Para fazer isso.'
- (169) *tühutoho hegei*
tü-hu-toho h-ege-i
REFL-imitation-INS HA-DIST-COP
'That was his image.'
'Aquela era sua imagem.'
- (170) *agetsiha agetsi tita*
agetsi-ha agetsi tita
one-HA one mortuary.effigy
'There was only one, one effigy.'
'Havia apenas uma, uma única efigie.'

- (171) *ülepea higei ah titabe ige tüingalü higei*
üle-pe-a h-ige-i ah tita-be ige
 LOG-NTM-CAUS HA-PROX-COP EXPL mortuary. effigy-AUG PROX
t-üi-nga-lü h-ege-i
 REFL-make-HAB-PNCT HA-DIST-COP
 ‘It’s since this that we have been making effigies.’
 ‘É desde então que nós temos feito efigies.’
- (172) *ülepeaha*
üle-pe-a=ha
 LOG-NTM-as=HA
 ‘Since this.’
 ‘Desde então.’
- (173) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘Done.’
 ‘Pronto.’
- (174) *ülepebe*
üle-pe-be
 LOG-NTM-AUG
 ‘Then.’
 ‘Então.’
- (175) *ah inhegikaginenügü bele iheke*
ah inh-egikagi-ne-nügü bele i-heke
 EXPL 3-sing.closely-VBLZ-PNCT CU 3-ERG
 ‘Ah, he sang behind the effigy.’
 ‘Ah, ele cantou atrás da efigie.’
- (176) *angi taka kangaki etelüko inhalü hungube*
angi taka kanga-ki e-te-lü-ko inhalü hungu-be
 INT ADV fish-INS 3-go-PNCT-PL NEG similar-AUG
 ‘Did they go fishing? It doesn’t seem so ...’
 ‘Será que eles foram pescar? Não parece que foram ...’

- (177) *ẽ kangaki muke etelũko*
ẽ kanga-ki muke e-te-lũ-ko
AFF fish-INS ADV 3-go-PNCT-PL
'Yes, they must have gone fishing.'
'Sim, eles devem ter ido pescar.'
- (178) *kangaki hõhõ etelũko*
kanga-ki hõhõ e-te-lũ-ko
fish-INS EMPH 2-go-PNCT-PL
'First they went fishing.'
'Primeiro eles foram pescar.'
- (179) *ah ületohokibe*
ah üle-toho-ki-be
EXPL LOG-INS-INS-AUG
'Ah, to do so.'
'Ah, para fazer isso.'
- (180) *inhalũ ihagitoguiha inhalũ*
inhalũ i-hagito-gu-i-ha inhalũ
NEG 3-guest-POSS-COP-HA NEG
'He didn't have guests, no.'
'Ele não tinha convidados, não.'
- (181) *etsuta hale egea hale egei*
etsu-ta hale egea hale ege-i
debut-DUR CNTR like.that CNTR DIST-COP
'He was just singing for the first time.'
'Ele estava apenas estreando.'
- (182) *hm etsuta*
hm etsu-ta
EXPL debut-DUR
'Hm, he was singing for the first time.'
'Hm, ele estava estreando.'

- (183) *aiha*
aiha
 done
 ‘Done.’
 ‘Pronto.’
- (184) *ah iginhun leha*
ah igi-nhun leha
 EXPL SONG-VBLZ COMPL
 ‘Ah, he started to sing!’
 ‘Ah, ele começou a cantar!’
- (185) *nhagati bele ekü telü tita telü leha egea*
nhaga-ti bele ekü te-lü tita te-lü leha egea
 hole-ALL EV CON go-PNCT mortuary.effigy go-PNCT COMPL like.that
 ‘The effigy was put standing straight in a hole.’
 ‘A efigie foi colocada de pé em um buraco.’
- (186) *üle egikagineta bele ihekeni*
üle egikagi-ne-ta bele i-heke-ni
 LOG sing.closely-VBLZ-DUR EV 3-ERG-PL
 ‘This is what they were singing about behind it.’
 ‘Era sobre isso que eles estavam cantando atrás dela.’
- (187) *ah totohongo ake leha*
ah t-otohongo ake leha
 EXPL REFL-other.similar COM COMPL
 ‘Ah, together with his companion.’
 ‘Ah, junto com seu companheiro.’
- (188) *tüngakihapügü ake tsüha*
tüng-aki-ha-pügü ake tsüha
 REFL-word-VBLZ-PFV COM EV.UNCR
 ‘With the one he taught.’
 ‘Com aquele que ele ensinou.’

- (189) *tüngakihapügü ake*
tüng-aki-ha-pügü ake
REFL-word-VBLZ-PFV COM
'With the one he taught.'
'Com aquele que ele ensinou.'
- (190) *ah iginhundako leha*
ah igi-nhu-nda-ko leha
EXPL song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL
'Ah, they were singing.'
'Ah, eles estavam cantando.'
- (191) *aiha akinügü leha*
aiha aki-nügü leha
done finish-PNCT COMPL
'Done, it was finished.'
'Pronto, estava terminado.'
- (192) *akinügü*
aki-nügü
finish-PNCT
'It was finished.'
'Estava terminado.'
- (193) *ülepe*
üle-pe
LOG-NTM
'Then ...'
'Então ...'
- (194) *kohotsi inhügü iginhuko leha*
kohotsi inhügü igi-nhu-ko leha
at.dusk become song-NMLZ-PL COMPL
'When dusk came, they were singing again.'
'Quando chegou o entardecer, eles estavam cantando novamente.'

- (195) *ah iginhundako leha*
ah igi-nhuN-da-ko leha
 EXPL song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL
 ‘Ah, they were singing again.’
 ‘Ah, eles estavam cantando novamente.’
- (196) *kohotsi*
kohotsi
 at.dusk
 ‘At dusk.’
 ‘Ao entardecer.’
- (197) *ülepe mitote*
üle-pe mitote
 LOG-NTM at.dawn
 ‘And then at dawn ...’
 ‘E depois ao amanhecer ...’
- (198) *aibeha inhüğü gehale*
ai-be-ha inhüğü gehale
 HORT-AUG-HA become ADV
 ‘... ready, one more time.’
 ‘... pronto, mais uma vez.’
- (199) *inhüğü gehale*
inhüğü gehale
 become ADV
 ‘One more time.’
 ‘Mais uma vez.’
- (200) *ah ta beja iheke*
ah ta beja i-heke
 EXPL DUR EP 3-ERG
 ‘Ah, his words!’
 ‘Ah, suas palavras!’

- (201) *Kamagisa kita leha*
Kamagisa ki-ta leha
Kamagisa say-DUR COMPL
'What *Kamagisa* was saying.'
'O que *Kamagisa* estava dizendo.'
- (202) *iginhundako leha*
igi-nhun-da-ko leha
song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL
'They were singing.'
'Eles estavam cantando.'
- (203) *aiha*
aiha
done
'Done.'
'Pronto.'
- (204) *aiha mitote*
aiha mitote
done at.dawn
'Done, at dawn ...'
'Pronto, ao amanhecer ...'
- (205) *ah sitogupe onginügübe*
ah s-ito-gu-pe ongi-nügü-be
EXPL 3-fire-POSS-NTM bury-PNCT-AUG
'... Ah, his fire was buried.'⁶
'... Ah, seu fogo foi enterrado.'

⁶During the last night of a mortuary ritual, a fire is kept in front of the deceased's effigy. While it is kept burning, the soul of the deceased is present among the living. At dawn, the fire is buried while a chief makes a speech exhorting the deceased to leave permanently to the village of the dead.

- (206) *engü bejaha sitogupeha onginügü leha mitote*
engü beja-ha s-ito-gu-pe-ha ongi-nügü leha mitote
 CON EP-HA 3-fire-POSS-NTM-HA bury-PNCT COMPL at.dawn
 ‘Yes, his fire was buried at dawn.’
 ‘Sim, seu fogo foi enterrado ao amanhecer.’
- (207) *apungu baha egei leha*
apungu baha ege-i leha
 end EV DIST-COP COMPL
 ‘That was the end.’
 ‘Aquila foi o fim.’
- (208) *apungu leha egei inhalü hale ikinduko*
apungu leha ege-i inhalü hale ikindu-ko
 end COMPL DIST-COP NEG CNTR wrestling-PL
 ‘That was the end, they didn’t wrestle *ikindene*.’⁷
 ‘Aquila foi o fim, eles não lutaram *ikindene*.’
- (209) *inhalü hale ikinduko egea gele hegei gele*
inhalü hale ikindu-ko egea gele h-ege-i gele
 NEG CNTR wrestling-PL like.that ADV HA-DIST-COP ADV
 ‘They didn’t wrestle *ikindene*, it was just like that.’
 ‘Eles não lutaram *ikindene*, foi só daquele jeito.’
- (210) *tuhunügü gele*
tu-hu-nügü gele
 REFL-make.an.image-PNCT ADV
 ‘Just his image was made.’
 ‘Só sua imagem foi feita.’

⁷*Ikindene* is a combat sport practiced by all the peoples of the Upper Xingu, and it is considered one of the most important features of their regional society. Wrestling is the *climax* of the Quarup mortuary ritual, but, since *Kamagisa* didn’t have any guests, his ritual also didn’t have *ikindene*.

- (211) *etsunügü gele Kamagisa etsunügü*
etsu-nügü gele Kamagisa etsu-nügü
debut-PNCT ADV Kamagisa debut-PNCT
'Just *Kamagisa*'s debut and self-image-making.'
'Só a estreia e feitura da própria imagem de *Kamagisa*.'
- (212) *ama*
ama
mother
"Mother."
"Mãe."
- (213) *jeugagi je jeuga jeuga jeuga*
[*Kamagisa* was singing in Kamayurá, a Tupi-Guarani language]⁸
[*Kamagisa* estava cantando em Kamayurá, uma língua Tupi-Guarani]
- (214) *ama jeuga ipugu inkgete umbüngaitsü tühügü hegei iheke*
ama jeuga ipu-gu i-nkgete u-mbüngai-tsü tühügü
mother macaw feather-POSS bring-IMP 1-armlet-POSS PFV
h-egei i-heke
HA-DIST-COP 3-ERG
"Mother, bring my macaw feathers armllets," that's what he said.
"Mãe, traga meus braceletes de pena de arara," é o que ele disse.'
- (215) *hm Kamagisa kilü*
hm Kamagisa ki-lü
EXPL Kamagisa say-PNCT
'Hm, *Kamagisa* said.'
'Hm, *Kamagisa* disse.'
- (216) *ületse ingugiha isi heke indzüngaitsü inginügü*
üle-tse ingugi-ha isi heke i-ndzüngai-tsü ingi-nügü
LOG-DIM decision.solution-HA mother ERG 3-armlet-POSS bring-PNCT
'It was soon solved, and his mother brought his armllets.'
'Isso logo se resolveu, e sua mãe trouxe seus braceletes.'

⁸Multilingualism in ritual language is discussed in the final section.

- (217) *jahu ehe jahu e*
 [Kamagisa was still singing in Kamayurá]
 [Kamagisa ainda estava cantando em Kamayurá]
- (218) *ama jahu puguha ulekugu inkgete*
ama jahu pugu-ha u-leku-gu i-nkgete
 mother oropendola feather-HA 1-headdress-POSS bring-IMP
 ‘‘Mother, bring my oropendola [*Psarocolius sp.*] feathers headdress.’’⁹
 ‘‘M e, traga minha plum ria de penas de xex u [*Psarocolius sp.*].’’
- (219) *leku heke     h geku heke*
leku heke     h geku heke
 headdress ERG AFF AFF headdress ERG
 ‘He was talking about a headdress called *leku*, yes, yes, about a headdress also called *h geku*.’
 ‘Ele estava falando de uma plum ria chamada *leku*, sim, sim, sobre uma plum ria tamb m chamada de *h geku*.’
- (220) *Kamajula hegei*
Kamajula h-ege-i
 kamayur  HA-DIST-COP
 ‘That is in the Kamayur  language.’
 ‘Aquilo est  na l ngua Kamayur .’
- (221) *egea ta iheke kamajulai*
egea ta i-heke kamajula-i
 like.that DUR 3-ERG kamayur -COP
 ‘He was saying that in Kamayur .’
 ‘Ele estava dizendo aquilo em Kamayur .’
- (222) *kamajula*
kamajula
 kamayur 
 ‘In Kamayur .’
 ‘Em Kamayur .’

⁹The oropendolas – *xex u*, in Portuguese, and *kui*, in Kalapalo – are birds of the *Psarocolius* genus, whose tail feathers are highly esteemed for their vivid yellow tones.

- (223) *Kamajula heke küngüa iganügü jahu nügü iheke*
Kamajula heke küngüa iga-nügü jahu nügü i-heke
kamayurá ERG oropendola name-PNCT oropendola PNCT 3-ERG
‘The Kamayurá call the oropendola “*jahu*,” that’s what they say.’
‘Os Kamayurá chamam o xexéu de “*jahu*,” isso é o que eles dizem.’
- (224) *aiha*
aiha
done
‘Done.’
‘Pronto.’
- (225) *apungu leha*
apungu leha
end COMPL
‘That was the end.’
‘Aquele foi o fim.’
- (226) *etsuhukilü leha*
etsuhu-ki-lü leha
end-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL
‘It was over.’
‘Tinha acabado.’
- (227) *etsuhukilü*
etsuhu-ki-lü
end-VBLZ-PNCT
‘Over.’
‘Acabado.’
- (228) *ama nügü iheke*
ama nügü i-heke
mother PNCT 3-ERG
‘“Mother,” he said.’
‘“Mãe,” ele disse.’

- (229) *ama*
ama
 mother
 “Mother.”
 “Mãe.”
- (230) *uentomila aketsange uteta leha igei leha*
u-en-tomi-la aketsange u-te-ta leha ige-i leha
 1-wait-PURP-NEG INT 1-go-DUR COMPL PROX-COP COMPL
 “This is so that I’m never coming back, I am leaving.”
 “Isso é para que eu nunca mais volte, eu estou partindo.”
- (231) *üle igakaho hegei etsuta*
üle igakaho h-ege-i etsu-ta
 LOG ahead HA-DIST-COP debut-DUR
 ‘Before that he sang for the first time.’
 ‘Antes disso ele estreou.’
- (232) *etsuta hegei*
etsu-ta h-ege-i
 debut-DUR HA-DIST-COP
 ‘That was his first time singing.’
 ‘Aquela foi a primeira vez dele cantando.’
- (233) *ama*
ama
 mother
 “Mother.”
 “Mãe.”
- (234) *uenügüti hestange keiti*
u-e-nügü-ti hetsange k-e-iti
 1-come-PNCT-wish HORT IMP.PROH-2SG-wish
 “You shall not want me to come back.”
 “Você não deve querer que eu volte.”

- (235) *ah ahati heke seku ããke utihunhetatühügü ããke*
ah a-hati heke seku ããke u-ti-hu-nhe-ta-tühügü ããke
EXPL 2SG-niece ERG EP EV.PST 1-throat-swell-VBLZ-DUR-PFV EV.PST
“Ah, your niece made my throat swell with sadness in the past.”
“Ah, sua sobrinha fez minha garganta ficar inchada de tristeza no passado.”
- (236) *ah nügü leha iheke tüti heke*
ah nügü leha i-heke tü-ti heke
EXPL PNCT COMPL 3-SG REFL-mother ERG
‘Ah, he said so to his mother.’
‘Ah, ele disse para sua mãe.’
- (237) *üi üi üi isi honunda leha*
üi üi üi isi honu-nda leha
IDEO IDEO IDEO mother cry-DUR COMPL
“Üi, üi, üi” - his mother was crying.’
“Üi, üi, üi” - sua mãe estava chorando.’
- (238) *kogetsi kogetsi leha egei sinügü etsutühügüngine*
kogetsi kogetsi leha ege-i s-i-nügü etsu-tühügü-ngine
tomorrow tomorrow COMPL DIST-COP 3-come-PNCT debut-PFV-ALL
‘On the next day, the day after he came, after he had sung for the first time.’
‘No dia seguinte, no dia após sua vinda, depois que ele havia cantado pela primeira vez.’
- (239) *etsutühügü*
etsu-tühügü
debut-PFV
‘He sang for the first time.’
‘Ele cantou pela primeira vez.’

- (240) *etsutühügüngine leha sinügü*
etsu-tühügü-ngine leha s-i-nügü
 debut-PFV-ALL COMPL 3-come-PNCT
 ‘After he had sung for the first time, he came.’
 ‘Depois que ele havia cantado pela primeira vez, ele veio.’
- (241) *apungu ekugu leha inhalü leha tomona tunga tetuna etelüi leha*
apungu ekugu leha inhalü leha t-oto-mo-na t-ünga
 end true COMPL NEG COMPL REFL-kin-PL-ALL REFL-house
t-etu-na e-te-lü-i leha
 REFL-village-ALL 3-go-PNCT-COP COMPL
 ‘He went away for good, he didn’t ever come back to his kin, to his house, to his village.’
 ‘Ele foi embora de vez, ele nunca mais voltou para seus parentes, para sua casa, para sua aldeia.’
- (242) *inhalü leha*
inhalü leha
 NEG COMPL
 ‘Never again.’
 ‘Nunca mais.’
- (243) *apungui leha etelü*
apungu-i leha e-te-lü
 end-COP COMPL 3-go-PNCT
 ‘He went away for good.’
 ‘Ele foi embora de vez.’
- (244) *tsakeha*
tse-ke-ha
 listen-IMP-HA
 ‘Listen.’
 ‘Ouça.’

- (245) *uitsajingugu kitseha*
uitsajingugu ki-tse-ha
? say-IMP-HA
‘Say “*uitsajingugu*.”’¹⁰
‘Diga “*uitsajingugu*.”’

- (246) *upügü hegei*
upügü h-ege-i
last HA-DIST-COP
‘This is the end.’
‘Este é o fim.’

3 Comments: alterity and translation

This *akinha*, ‘story, narrative’, is formally similar to all others the Kalapalo recount, and they share a narrative style with the Kuikuro, Matipu, and Nahukua, their Carib-speaking neighbors (Basso 1985; Franchetto 1986). An *akinha* stands apart from ordinary talk by means of stylistic resources that mark its “frontiers” to the listeners, usually beginning and ending with the word *tsakeha*, ‘listen’ (followed, in the end, by the expression *upügü hegei*, ‘this is the end’, when the narrator declares there’s nothing left to be told). *Ageu* usually marks these “frontiers” when telling stories, but this one is an exception, since it begins without his calling any special attention to it. *Kamagisa*’s story, like other narratives, is also internally divided into thematic blocks that may be identified by opening and closing lines, such as *ülepe*, ‘then’ and *aiha*, ‘done’.

The first block (lines 1-28) tells how a hurtful event led to *Kamagisa*’s separation from his kin, followed by his first contact with *Kakakugu*, an *itseke*, a powerful spirit-being. In the second block (lines 29-58), we are told about *Kamagisa*’s displacement to the spiritual world, resulting (block 3, lines 59-68) in his marriage with *Kakakugu*’s daughter (a Snake Woman). When, in the fourth block (lines 69-111), *Kamagisa* returns to his village accompanied by his new wife, she is still invisible to her affines, and speaks a language incomprehensible to humans. As they lie together and have frequent sexual relations, the Snake Woman’s body becomes visible to her affines (block 5, lines 112-120), and, when *Kamagisa* returns

¹⁰We could never find a proper translation of this word. A nahukua man once said it would mean ‘my little shin!’, and explained that one should say so to avoid getting lazy after listening to a narrative.

to his father-in-law's village, he finishes his learning of a special knowledge. He learns songs that will lead him to ask his mother to 'make an image' for him (block 6, lines 121-162), a request followed by the description of important steps in the preparation of the *egitsü* mortuary ritual: the cutting of a special tree from which the effigy is made (block 7, lines 163-174), the temporal sequencing of the song performances (block 8, lines 175-203), a brief explanation of the musical language (block 9, lines 204-224), and, finally, a sad farewell to the human world (block 10, lines 225-246). A similar structure can be found in other narratives, in which a deception or fight with someone's kin may lead a character away from the human world, provoking his contact with Others (spiritual beings, enemies, or non-Indians) that will become the source of some special knowledge that he or she will transmit to humans.¹¹

This narrative calls our attention to a trope, contained both in its title and its events. I've decided to translate *Kamagisa etsutühügü* as 'Kamagisa Sang for the First Time' because this is the sense in which this expression is usually understood. More specifically, the verb *etsunügü* can be translated as 'to debut', as I've done in the glosses. However, *etsunügü* has also two other meanings closely related to the final scenes of the narrative: it can also mean 'to make an image of oneself' (such as a self-portrait, a *selfie* picture with a cell phone or, in this case, a mortuary effigy), and 'to set a date for leaving'. While debuting as a singer, Kamagisa also performed the other two actions. First, he made an image of himself, a *tita*, a mortuary effigy which is also called *kuge hutoho* ('made in order to imitate a person', or 'the image of a person'). By doing so, he revealed to his mother his intention to leave his kin and his village once and for all, since his feelings were deeply hurt by his former fiancée (his mother's brother's daughter, MBD). During the *egitsü*, or *Quarup*, the production and display of mortuary effigies is done in order for the dead to depart and leave their kin behind (Guerreiro 2011; 2015). Kamagisa, in this sense, was acting like a dead person, performing his own mortuary ritual. *Etsunügü*, then, combines different actions performed by *Kamagisa* in a single word — who, by making an effigy of himself, created both the context for revealing songs learned from the spirits and for his final departure.

¹¹It is noteworthy that this narrative inverts several aspects of the myth of *Arakuni* as told by the Arawak-speaking Wauja. *Arakuni* is *loved* (not repudiated) by his *sister* (a forbidden woman, the opposite of a cross-cousin as a preferred spouse); instead of leaving of his own will, his mother is the one who *sends him away*; and finally, instead of marrying a spirit-being, *he becomes one himself* (a great snake). When leaving the human world, *Arakuni* sings until he is fully transformed into a spirit-being, and his chants are now part of the *Quarup* repertoire. I would like to thank Aristóteles Barcelos Neto for calling my attention to the relations between both narratives.



Figure 2: Kalapalo boy sitting nearby two mortuary effigies at Aiha.
Photo: Marina Pereira Novo

Kamagisa's story also introduces us to the multiethnic and multilingual composition of Xinguano rituals, and the means of translating myths into songs, songs into action, and action into creative or transformative social relations. The songs *Kamagisa* learned form a musical suite, or *gepa*, named after *Kamagisa's* village *Hagagikugu*. This village resulted from the fission of the Akuku, an ancient Carib-speaking people linguistically and sociopolitically closely related to the Kalapalo. Some say they were actual Kalapalo ancestors, as we can also see in the literature (Basso 2001). Others, however, insist the Akuku were a different people, more closely related to the Nahukua. In any case, *Kamagisa's* story tells about the origins of a suite of songs considered to be special Kalapalo knowledge, and that's why the Kalapalo are seen as their true 'owners' or 'masters' (*otomo*). However, most Kalapalo can't understand but a few words of it, since the songs are almost entirely in Kamayurá, a language of the Tupi-Guarani family. We're facing here a fairly common (and fascinating) situation in the Upper Xingu: we're talking about the origin myth of a suite of Kalapalo songs, sung

mostly in a Tupi-Guarani language, and which plays a central role in a ritual with a probable Arawakan origin.

When interacting with different forms of alterity, the problem of communication comes to the fore, and *Kamagisa*'s narrative shows how translations can be produced by several media: what one sings, even though it's not completely understood, may be translated into actions, that, in turn, can be translated into social relations. As Rafael Bastos (1983) already argued some time ago, this suggests that, if there is anything like a *lingua franca* in the Upper Xingu, it is their rituals and the communication system they compose from myths, musical and choreographic performances, and bodily decoration.

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Non-standard abbreviations

AFF	affirmative	HORT	hortative
AUG	augmentative	IDEO	ideophone
CNTR	contrastive	INT	intensifier
COM	comitative	ITJ	interjection
CON	connective	LOG	logophoric
CU	cumulative effect	NANMLZ	non-agent nominalizer
DTR	detransitivizer	NMLZ	nominalizer
EP	epistemic	NTM	nominal tense marker
EMPH	emphatic	PNCT	punctual aspect
EV	evidential	PURP	purposive
EXPL	expletive	TEMP	temporal marker
HAB	habitual aspect	UNCR	uncertainty
HA	ha particle	VBLZ	verbalizer

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Chapter 4

Marubo

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1 Introduction

The Marubo are Panoan-speakers from the Javari River Indigenous Reservation (Terra Indígena Vale do Javari, state of Amazonas, Brazil), who live along the headwaters of the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers, as well as in the cities of Cruzeiro do Sul (in the state of Acre) and Atalaia do Norte (Amazonas). Their population is currently estimated at 1,700. The Marubo were reasonably unaffected by the rubber trade that devastated vast portions of the Amazon region during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the Juruá river basin, where other Panoan-speakers still live. Far from the urban centers, their lands protected a society that was created at the turn of the twentieth century by an important chief and shaman, João Tuxáua, and his relatives (Ruedas 2001; Welper 2009). João Tuxáua was responsible for gathering a number of dispersed Panoan-speakers and creating a new society out of earlier cultural and linguistic traditions, adopting the language of one group – the Chai Nawavo – that now comprise the contemporary Marubo. In fact, earlier groups (whose names are always followed by *nawavo* or ‘people’, as in *Chai Nawavo* or ‘Bird People’ and *Vari Nawavo* or ‘Sun People’) became segments of Marubo social and kinship system. The Marubo continue to live in longhouses, which have been abandoned by other Panoan-speakers, such as the Kaxinawa, Katukina, Yaminawa, Sharanawa, and Shipibo-Conibo, but are also maintained by the Matis, Mayoruna, and Korubo: three other Panoan-speaking peoples from the Javari river basin.





Figure 1: The Javari basin and location of the Marubo.

The Marubo preserve a very active ritual life characterized by the work of prayer-shamans (*kēchĩtxo*) and spirit-shamans (*romeya*). Complex initiation and ritual knowledge transmission processes are ongoing, and involve the performance and instruction of verbal genera, such as curing songs (*shōki*), spirit songs (*iniki*), chiefly speeches (*tsāiki*), instructive speeches (*ese vana*), and mythical narratives (see Montagner 1985; 1996; Cesarino 2011; 2013, among others). The latter can be performed in two ways: narrated (*yoã vana*) with the special use of parallelism, rhythm, metaphors, and gestures, or sung (*saiti vana*), by use of constant melodic phrases (one for each story) and fixed meters. The vast *yoã vana*, a collection of mythical narratives, is the cornerstone of Marubo ritual knowledge; its episodes can be transferred to other verbal arts for ritual efficacy or counsel (see Cesarino 2011 for a detailed study). Prayer-shamans are responsible for verbal knowledge transmission and understanding, while spirit-shamans (who are also prayer-shamans) circulate through the realms of spirits and dead people that compose Marubo cosmology.

The research presented here was conducted with two spirit-shamans, Robson Dionísio Doles Marubo and Armando Mariano Marubo, as well as with other important prayer-shamans (Antonio Brasil Marubo, Lauro Brasil Marubo, and

Paulino Joaquim Marubo). The now deceased prayer-shaman, Armando, authored the narrative that follows, which connects a traditional narrative about the formation of the Death Path (*Vei Vai yoã*) with an instructive speech (*ese vana*) about eschatological conceptions. The narrative was performed and recorded at Alegria village (Upper Ituí river) in 2007, after three years of collaboration between author and researcher. The original audio digital recording was transcribed, reviewed, and translated with the help of Robson Dionísio, a shaman, bilingual researcher and schoolteacher. The complete literary translation of this narrative was published elsewhere in Portuguese (Cesarino 2012) and can be compared with a sung version of the Death Path narrative, also previously translated and published (Cesarino 2011: 303ff). The present version revises and adds details to the original narrative, including the unpublished interlinear segmentation.

The first part of Armando's narrative synthesizes the formation of the Death Path by *Vei Maya* and the tree spirits; the second part connects this narrative with the moral teachings involved in the journey along this dangerous path. This is the kind of teaching that Marubo youngsters should attend to, so as to prepare themselves for the afterlife. The lines of narrative were divided according to rhythm and parallelism, in order to reproduce the dramatic effect, a prominent characteristic of the original oral performance, in the written version. One of the central features conveying this effect (which is also didactic) is the extensive use of reported speech, which allows the narrator to shift between voices, be it the voice of an ancestor (as in line 25) or of a generic dead person (as in line 71). It is also important to note that the first Portuguese translation, from which this detailed and segmented version is derived, was actually conceived to be literary rather than completely literal.

Linguistic data on the Marubo language was first obtained through Costa's (1992, 1998, 2000) preliminary phonological and morphological research, which I later revised and expanded for my ethnographic research and verbal arts translations. My research was also based on other linguistic studies of Panoan languages (Valenzuela 2003 for Shipibo-Conibo; Fleck 2003 for Matsés; Camargo 1995; 1996a,b; 1998; 2003; 2005 for Kaxinawá, among others), as well as on a revision of the orthographic conventions used for the Marubo language by the New Tribes Mission linguists since 1950. Despite the traits that it shares with other Panoan languages – such as agglutinative morphology, easily identifiable morpheme boundaries, the presence of ergative-absolutive case marking, and a complex switch-reference system that distinguishes same/different subjects and sequential/simultaneous actions – the classification of the Marubo language within the Panoan linguistic group is still being debated (Valenzuela 2003: 55).

The Marubo phonemic system, with orthographic conventions indicated by <>, is composed of fourteen consonants (p <p>, m <m>, v <v>, w <w>, t <t>, n <ñ>, s <s>, ts <ts>, r <r>, ʃ <sh>, tʃ <tx>, ʂ <ch>, y <y>, k <k>) and four vowels (i <i>, i (e), a <a>, u <o>).

2 The teachings of the Death-Path

Ensinamentos do Caminho-Morte

I. A história de Vei Maya

- (1) *Txõttxõ Koro shavo, winin aká shavo,*
Txõttxo Koro shavo winin aká shavo
bird grey women erection AUX.TRNS women
'Bird-women, seductive women,'
'Mulheres-pássaro, as mulheres sedutoras,'
- (2) *Atisho vei ooki vei oo atisho.*
a-ti-sho vei oo-iki vei oo a-ti-sho
3DEM-NMLZ-SSSA death cry-VBLZ death cry 3DEM-NMLZ-SSSA
'women of the death-cry, of the death-cry.'
'aquelas que soltaram o grito-morte, aquelas do grito-morte.'
- (3) *Aivo askásevi Vei Maya askásevi,*
a-ivo aská-sevi Vei Maya aská-sevi
3DEM-GENR SML-CON death Maya SML-CON
'And her also, Vei Maya also,'
'e também ela, Vei Maya também,'
- (4) *Vei Maya vei mai nākōsh wenímarivi, shavo wetsa.*
Vei Maya vei mai nākō-sh wení-ma-rivi shavo wetsa
death Maya death land nectar-LOC.PROV rise-NEG-EMP woman other
'Vei Maya did not come from the Death-Land; she is another woman.'¹
'Vei Maya não surgiu do néctar da terra-morte, é outra mulher.'

¹The narrator is saying that *Vei Maya* was not born in the Death-Land that she later created. 'Nectar' (*nāko*) is a shamanic term for a special transformational substance.

- (5) *Aská akĩ, aská akĩ, isĩ akĩ,*
aská a-kĩ aská a-kĩ isĩ a-kĩ
 SML do-SSSA SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA strong AUX.TRNS-SSSA
 ‘Doing this, doing this, doing this strongly,’
 ‘Fazendo assim, fazendo assim, fazendo forte,’
- (6) *aská akĩ, isĩ akĩ rishkikinã.*
aská a-kĩ isĩ a-kĩ rishki-ki-nã
 SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA strong AUX.TRNS-SSSA beat-ASS-FOC
 ‘doing this strongly, her husband beat her.’
 ‘fazendo assim, fazendo forte, [o marido] ia mesmo espancando.’
- (7) *Awẽ amaĩnõ wetsarotsẽ a venemesh merasho rishkiti tenã.*
awẽ a-maĩnõ wetsa-ro-tsẽ a vene-mesh mera-sho rishki-ti
 what AUX.TRNS-CON other-TOP-CON 3.DEM man-? find-SSSA beat-INS
tenã-i
 DIE-PST1
 ‘And doing so, the husband killed his other wife.’
 ‘E assim fazendo, o homem matou a sua outra mulher.’
- (8) *Askámãĩ wetsarotsẽ, wetsa westí tsaopakea aivorotsẽ,*
aská-mãĩnõ wetsa-ro-tsẽ, wetsa westí tsao-pake-a
 SML-CON other-TOP-CON other alone seat-DISTR-RLZ
a-ivo-ro-tsẽ
 3.DEM-GENR-TOP-CON
 ‘But the other, the one who sat alone,’
 ‘Mas a outra, aquela que ficou sozinha sentada,’
- (9) *aro awẽ vene rishkia.*
a-ro awẽ vene rishki-a
 3.DEM-TOP POSS man beat-RLZ
 ‘the husband beat.’
 ‘o marido nela bateu.’
- (10) *Awẽ chinã naíai tsaõ,*
awẽ chinã naí-ai tsaõ
 POSS thought sad-INCP seated.LOC
 ‘There she sat with a sad thought,’
 ‘Ficou sentada com o pensamento entristecido,’

- (11) *vei ari kenai, vei ari kenai.*

vei a-ri kenai-i vei a-ri kenai-i
 death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG

‘alone, calling for death, alone, calling for death.’
 ‘pela morte sozinha chamava, pela morte sozinha chamava.’

- (12) *Vei Mayanã.*

Vei Maya-nã
 death Maya-FOC

‘This is Vei Maya.’
 ‘É Maya-Morte.’

- (13) *Aivo vei ari kenaiti.*

a-ivo vei a-ri kenai-i-ti
 3.DEM-GENR death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG-PST5

‘The one that, in the old times, called for death.’
 ‘A que há tempos pela morte chamava.’

- (14) *Aská akīserotsē ari iniki vanai.*

aská a-kī-se-ro-tsē a-ri iniki vana-i
 SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA-EXT-TOP-CON 3.DEM-REFL song speech-PROG

‘This way she called, this way she sang for herself.’
 ‘Assim mesmo chamando, ela sozinha cantofalava.’

- (15) *Ronorasī kenaiti.*

rono-rasī kenai-i-ti
 snake-COL call-PROG-PST5

‘She called for the snakes long ago.’
 ‘Chamava pelas cobras.’

- (16) *Vanavanakwāi avai kayakāisho*

vana-vana-kawā-i a-vai kaya-kāi-sho
 speak-speak-go-PROG AUX.TRNS-CON leave-INC-SSSA

‘Calling and calling she left’
 ‘falando e falando foi saindo.’

- (17) *kayã nachima.*
kayã nachi-ma
 river.LOC bathe-CAUS
 ‘to bathe in the river.’
 ‘foi banhar no rio.’
- (18) *A nachia tsaosmãis, a rono anõ rakákawãs nachai.*
a nachi-a tsaose-mãinõs a rono anõ raká-kawãs nacha-i
 3.DEM bathe-RLZ seat-EXT-CON 3.DEM snake FIN lie-go bite-PST1
 ‘While she sat to bathe, a passing snake bit her.’
 ‘Enquanto sentava-se para banhar, uma cobra que ali ficava a mordeu.’
- (19) *Tenãseiti.*
tenã-se-iti
 die-EXT-PST5
 ‘And she died a long time ago.’²
 ‘Morreu mesmo há muito tempo.’
- (20) *Aská akaivo voshõ,*
aská aka-i-vo vo-shõ
 SML AUX.TRNS-PROG-PL arrive.PL-DSSA
 ‘And then they arrived.’
 ‘E assim então eles chegaram.’
- (21) *Shono Yove Nawavo pakeivo paraiki voshõ.*
Shono Yove Nawa-vo pake-i-vo para-iki
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL fall-PROG-PL come.down-VBLZ
vo-shõ.
 arrive.PL-CON
 ‘Samaúma Spirit-People were coming down, arriving.’
 ‘O Povo-Espírito da Samaúma foi descendo, chegando.’

²There are at least three verbal forms for ‘death’ in the present text: *vopia*, ‘to die in this world’; *veia*, a ‘second possible death and/or transformation in the afterlife’; *tenãia*, ‘to be physically injured to the point of death’.

- (22) *Anosho chinãi,*
ano-sho chinã-i
there-LOC.PROV think-PROG
'And there she thought,'
'E ali ela pensou,'
- (23) *ato chinãmakĩ,*
ato chinã-ma-kĩ
3PL.DEM think-CAUS-SSSA
'about them she was thinking,'
'Sobre eles ficou pensando,'
- (24) *ato chinãmakĩ.*
ato chinã-ma-kĩ
3PL.DEM think-CAUS-SSSA
'About them she was thinking.'³
'Sobre eles pensou.'
- (25) *"Ramaro nokẽ chinã naíai, nõ neskái,*
rama-ro nokẽ chinã naí-ai nõ neská-ai
now-TOP 1PL.GEN thought sad-INCP 1PL.GEN SML-INCP
'"Now our thought saddened, so we became,'
'"Agora que ficamos com o pensamento entristecido,'
- (26) *noke neská akavo, noke.*
noke neská aka-vo noke
1PL.ABS SML AUX.TRNS-PL 1PL.ABS
'now we will do it this way.'
'agora vamos fazer assim.'

³The Samaúma Spirit-People came down from the *Tama Shavá*, a dwelling in the tree canopies, a better world to which all the deceased were destined in ancient times, regardless of their moral qualities. *Vei Maya* is outraged with this common destiny and thus provokes an eschatological transformation. Samaúma (*ceiba petandra*) is one of the tallest Amazonian trees; its spirit-people are some of the most important in Marubo shamanism. The next two trees mentioned in the narrative could not be identified in Portuguese, but the Marubo used to call the *chai* tree with the regional term "envireira".

- (27) *Txipo shavá otapa roai askátanivai ari shavámisvo.*
txipo shavá otapa roa-i aská-ta-ni-vai a-ri
 after time come sorcery-PROG SML-ASS-?-CON 3.DEM-REFL
shavá-misi-ivo
 live-POSSIB-GENR
 ‘The future we will change, so that they might suffer.’
 ‘A época que virá vamos transformar para que os outros sofram.’
- (28) *Vei Vai arina shovimaki!*
Vei Vai a-ri-na shovi-ma-ki
 death path AUX.TRNS-IMP-? make.built-CAUS-ASS
 ‘Come and make the Death-Path!’
 ‘Vamos, façam logo o Caminho-Morte!’
- (29) *Vei Vai arina shovimaki!” ikiti.*
Vei Vai a-ri-na shovi-ma-ki iki-ti
 death path AUX-IMP-? make.built-CAUS-ASS say-PST5
 ‘Come and make the Death-Path!” she commanded long ago.’
 ‘Façam logo o Caminho-Morte!”, disse ela há muito tempo.’
- (30) *Askáka akátōsh tanamakinānāi.*
aská-aka aká-tōsho tana-ma-iki-nānā-i
 SML-AUX.TRNS AUX.TRNS-CNS understand.decide-CAUS-ASS-RECP-PST1
 ‘And they arranged everything amongst themselves.’
 ‘Assim eles entre si tudo combinaram.’
- (31) *Chai Yove Nawavo,*
Chai Yove Nawa-vo
 envireira.tree spirit people-PL
 ‘Spirit People of the Envireira Tree,’
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Envireira,’
- (32) *Shono Yove Nawavo,*
Shono Yove Nawa-vo
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL
 ‘Spirit People of the Samaúma Tree,’
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Samaúma,’

- (33) *Tama Yove Nawavo,*
Tama Yove Nawa-vo
tree spirit people-PL
'Spirit People of the Tama Tree,'
'Povo-Espírito das Árvores,'
- (34) *ati tanamakinānāvaikis,*
a-ti tana-ma-iki-nānā-vaikis
3.DEM-NMLZ understand.decide-CAUS-AUX-RECP-CON
'they decided everything amongst themselves,'
'são estes os que entre si tudo combinaram,'
- (35) *awẽ vana anõkis akavo*
awẽ vana anõ-ki-se aka-vo
POSS speech FIN-ASS-EXT AUX.TRNS-PL
'and obeyed her'
'a ordem obedeceram e fizeram,'
- (36) *Vei Vai shovimakĩ.*
Vei Vai shovi-ma-kĩ
death path make-CAUS-ASS
'building the Death-Path.'
'construíram o Caminho-Morte.'
- (37) *Atiãro yora veiya roase,*
atiã-ro yora vei-ya roa-se
TEMP-TOP people die-PRF easy-EXT
'At that time people died easily,'
'Naquela época as pessoas morriam tranquilas,'
- (38) *Vopitani tachikrãse,*
vopi-ta-ni tachi-krã-se
die-ASS-? arrive-DIR.C-EXT
'died and arrived there [in the world in the tree canopies],'
'faleciam e já chegavam [na Morada Arbórea],'

- (39) *vopitani tachikrãseika.*
vopi-ta-ni tachi-krã-se-i-ka
 death-ASS-? arrive-DIR.C-EXT-PST1-?
 ‘died and really arrived there.’⁴
 ‘faleciam e já chegavam mesmo.’
- (40) *Akámēkirotsē ātō atovo,*
aká-mēkĩ-ro-tsē ātō ato-vo
 AUX.TRNS-CON-TOP-CON 3PL.DEM.ERG 3PL.ABS-PL
 ‘So it was, but then they made it,’
 ‘Assim era, mas ela ordenou e fizeram,’
- (41) *Vei Vai aská akĩ shovimai akavo.*
Vei Vai aská a-kĩ shovi-ma-i aka-vo
 death path SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA built-CAUS-PROG AUX.TRNS-PL
 ‘Death-Path they made.’
 ‘construíram o Caminho-Morte.’
- (42) *Shovo Yove Nawavo aská vei chinãya shokoma,*
Shovo Yove Nawa-vo aská vei chinã-ya shoko-ma
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL SML death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG
 ‘Samaúma Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Samaúma não vive assim com pensamento-morte,’
- (43) *Tama Yove Nawavo vei chinãya shokoma,*
Tama Yove Nawa-vo vei chinã-ya shoko-ma
 tree spirit people-PL death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG
 ‘Tama Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’
 ‘Povo-Espírito das Árvores não vive com pensamento-morte,’
- (44) *Chai Yove Nawavo vei chinãya shokoma.*
Chai Yove Nawa-vo vei chinã-ya shoko-ma
 envireira.tree spirit people-PL death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG
 ‘Chai Spirit People do not live with death-thought.’
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Envireira não vive com pensamento-morte.’

⁴In the world of the tree canopies.

- (45) *Akámēkĩtsē ātō ato vanaka,*
aká-mēki-tsē ātō ato vana aka
AUX.TRNS-CON-CON 3PL.DEM.ERG 3PL.ABS speech AUX.TRNS
'So they are, but she commanded,'
'Assim mesmo são, mas ela os ordenou,'
- (46) *chināmakinānāvaikis akavo,*
chinā-ma-ki-nānā-vaikis aka-vo
think-CAUS-ASS-RECP-CON AUX.TRNS-PL
'and they decided amongst themselves,'
'eles pensaram entre si e então fizeram,'
- (47) *a vai shovimakinā.*
a vai shovi-ma-ki-nā
3.DEM path built-CAUS-ASS-FOC
'and built that path.'
'construíram aquele caminho.'
- (48) *Atō aská ati,*
atō aská a-ti
3PL.DEM SML AUX-PST5
'Long ago they made it,'
'Assim há tempos fizeram,'
- (49) *atō aská atisho.*
atō aská a-ti-sho
3PL.DEM SML AUX.TRNS-PST5-SSSA
'Long ago they did it.'
'assim há tempos eles fizeram.'
- (50) *Akī vai roa aina, vai roakama,*
a-kī vai roa a-ina vai roaka-ma
3.DEM-SSSA path arrange AUX.TRNS-CON.FIN path good-NEG
'The path they arranged, a bad path,'
'Ajeitaram o caminho, caminho ruim,'

- (51) *anõsh txipo kaniaivo askái shavánõ,*
anõ-sh txipo kania-ivo askái shavá-nõ
 for-DAT after grow-GENR SML live-FIN
 ‘so that the youngsters might experience it,’
 ‘para que os depois nascidos padeçam,’
- (52) *txipo kaniaivo anõ yostánõ.*
txipo kania-ivo anõ yostá-nõ
 after grow-GENR for suffer-FIN
 ‘So that they suffer.’
 ‘Para que os depois nascidos sofram.’

II. A travessia

- (53) *Wetsaro vei ikitai,*
wetsa-ro vei iki-ta-i
 other-TOP death COP-ASS-PST1
 ‘This one is dead,’
 ‘Um já está morrido,’
- (54) *wetsaro vei ikitai,*
wetsa-ro vei iki-ta-i
 other-TOP death COP-ASS-PST1
 ‘this one is dead,’
 ‘outro já está morrido,’⁵
- (55) *wetsaro vei matsá pakei,*
wetsa-ro vei matsá pake-i
 other-TOP death mud fall-PST1
 ‘the other one has fallen in the death-mud,’
 ‘Outro caiu no lamaçal-morte,’

⁵The Portuguese “morrido” translates the difference between two possible deaths conceived by Marubo eschatology: the death of the carcass-body (*vopia*) and the death of the double (*veia*). The first is translated as ‘morto’ and the second one as ‘morrido’, thus mirroring a popular Brazilian expression that also distinguishes two kinds of death: “morte matada e morte morrida”.

- (56) *wetsaro vimi noiaivo,*
wetsa-ro vimi noia-ivo
other-TOP fruit like-GENR
'the other, fond of fruit,'
'outro, o fã de frutas,'
- (57) *awẽ vimi amaĩnõ anosho atxitai.*
awẽ vimi a-maĩnõ ano-sho atxi-ta-i
POSS fruit AUX.TRNS-CON there-LOC.PROV stuck-ASS-PST1
'became stuck in the fruit.'
'come a fruta e ali mesmo fica preso.'
- (58) *Akáakarasi aská atõ veikãse aya.*
aká-aká-rasi aská atõ vei-kãia-se aya
AUX.TRNS-AUX.TRNS-COL SML 3PL.DEM DIE-INC-EXT be
'Doing this and that they keep dying there.'
'Assim fazendo eles ali ficam morridos.'
- (59) *Askámãĩ yora ese vanaya,*
aská-mãinõ yora ese vana-ya
SML-CON person wisdom speech-ATR.PERM
'But the person with wise speech,'
'Mas a pessoa de fala sabida,'
- (60) *yora vanaya,*
yora vana-ya
person speech-ATR.PERM
'the talkative person,'
'a pessoa faladora,'
- (61) *vana shatesmaivo yora,*
vana shate-se-ma-ivo
speech cut-EXT-NEG-GENR
'the person of constant speech,'
'a pessoa de fala firme,'

- (62) *yora akáro aská:*
yora aká-ro aská
 person DEM.GENR-TOP SML
 ‘this person is like this:’
 ‘esta é assim.’
- (63) *aro na mai shavá-pashō nishō,*
a-ro na mai shavá-pa-shō ni-shō
 3.DEM-TOP DEM.PROX land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV live-DSSA
 ‘having lived in this land,’
 ‘Esta, tendo vivido nesta terra,’
- (64) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*
wa shavo ka-i wetsa
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another
 ‘with that woman,’
 ‘com aquela mulher,’
- (65) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*
wa shavo ka-i wetsa
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another
 ‘with that other woman,’
 ‘com aquela mulher,’
- (66) *wa shavo kai wetsa, akama.*
wa shavo ka-i wetsa aka-ma
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another AUX-NEG
 ‘with that other woman, he didn’t go.’
 ‘com aquela outra mulher não saía.’
- (67) *Mato mã aĩ viá keská,*
mato mã aĩ viá keská
 2PL.ABS 2PL.ERG woman take SML
 ‘Just like when you choose a woman,’⁶
 ‘Como vocês que escolhem as suas mulheres,’

⁶This is a reference to me (Cesarino) and monogamous white people.

- (68) *a westí verōsho oĩa akavo,*
a westí verō-sho oĩa aka-vo
 3.DEM only.one eye-CON see AUX.TRNS-PL
 ‘person who looks with only one eye’⁷
 ‘pessoas que olham com apenas um olho,’
- (69) *yoratsē Vei Maya vei akatīpa,*
yora-tsē Vei Maya vei aka-tīpa
 person-CON death Maya death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS
 ‘this kind of person, Vei Maya cannot hold,’
 ‘esse tipo de pessoa Vei Maya não consegue pegar’
- (70) *askárasī vei akatīpa.*
aská-rasī vei aka-tīpa
 SML-COL death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS
 ‘this kind of person cannot die.’
 ‘pessoas assim não podem ficar morridas.’
- (71) *Wa mai shavápashō,*
wa mai shavá-pa-shō
 DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV
 ‘‘In that land,’
 ‘‘Na morada daquela terra,’
- (72) *wa mai shavapashō,*
wa mai shavá-pa-shō
 DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV
 ‘in that land,’
 ‘na morada daquela terra,’
- (73) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*
wa shavo ka-i wetsa
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another
 ‘with that and that woman,’
 ‘com aquela mulher,’

⁷“Person who looks with only one eye” is a metaphor for those who search for only one women, as white people. The Marubo polygamy was once restricted to shamans and chiefs but nowadays is practised with more relaxed criteria, which produces this kind of criticism by elder shamans as Armando.

- (74) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*
wa shavo ka-i wetsa
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another
 ‘with that and that woman,’
 ‘com aquela mulher,’
- (75) *ẽ yora onã shavorasĩ,*
ẽ yora onã shavo-rasĩ
 1SG.GEN people know women-COL
 ‘with my relatives’ wives,’
 ‘com mulheres conhecidas,’
- (76) *akĩ ichná kawãĩ ẽ niámarvi.*
a-kĩ ichná kawã-i ẽ niá-ma-rivi
 AUX.TRNS-SSSA bad go-PROG 1SG.ERG live-NEG-EMP
 ‘I did not live by flirting.’
 ‘eu não fiquei mesmo fazendo besteira.’
- (77) *ẽ oĩtivoivo,*
ẽ oĩ-ti-vo-ivo
 1SG.GEN see.choose-NMLZ-PL-GENR
 ‘Only with my chosen one,’
 ‘Apenas com a minha escolhida,’
- (78) *shavo ninivarãsh,*
shavo ni-ni-varã-sh
 woman live-live-DIR.C-DSPA
 ‘the woman that I brought to live with me,’
 ‘A mulher que eu trouxe para viver comigo,’
- (79) *aivo shavo oĩ inishõ neskái.*
a-ivo shavo oĩ i-ni-shõ neská-i
 3.DEM-GENR woman see AUX-ASSOC-DSSA SML-PST1
 ‘only with this one I’ve lived.’
 ‘por ter vivido apenas com ela é que fiquei assim.’

- (80) *Vei kayapai ã neskámaĩnõ.*

vei kaya-pai ã neská-maĩnõ
death true.principal-COMP 1SG.GEN SML-CON

‘An honest dead I now am.’

‘Por isso agora sou morto íntegro.’

- (81) *Matõ neskánamãsh, ea vei akatĩpa ea.*

matõ neská-namã-sh ea vei aka-tĩpa ea
2PL.GEN SML-LOC-DSPA 1SG.ABS death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS 1SG.ABS

‘In this place of yours, you cannot kill me.’”

‘Por isso vocês aqui não podem, não podem me matar.’”

- (82) *Ikitõ awẽ ese vanase ainai,*

iki-tõ awẽ ese vana-se a-ina-i
say-CNS POSS wisdom speech-EXT AUX.INTR-MOV.up-PROG

‘His wise words he says ascending,’⁸

‘Assim ele vai então dizendo sua fala sabida,’

- (83) *awẽ ese vanase vevo ashõ kai,*

awẽ ese vana-se vevo a-shõ ka-i
POSS wisdom speech-EXT before AUX.TRNS-DSSA GO-PR

‘with wise words he goes,’

‘tendo dito sua fala sabida ele avança,’

- (84) *katsese vana ikitai tapi,*

katsese vana iki-ta-i tapi
everything speech say-ASS-PROG go

‘speaking with everything he continues,’⁹

‘Falando com tudo ele segue,’

⁸This refers to the speech of a deceased person, who is crossing the path.

⁹He refers to all of the path’s dangers, which the dead should know in their numerous forms (*shovia*). The person should acquire this knowledge during his/her life in order to face the challenges of the afterlife.

- (85) *awá shao tapã vana ikitase,*
awá shao tapã vana iki-ta-se
 tapir bone bridge speech say-ASS-EXT
 ‘speaking with the tapir bone bridge,’
 ‘com a ponte de osso de anta ele fala,’
- (86) *awá shao tapã masotanáiri*
awá shao tapã maso-taná-iri
 tapir bone bridge upon-arranged-DIR
 ‘with the sharp shell heap,’
 ‘coma as cortantes conchas,’
- (87) *pao shokoarasĩ vana ikitase*
pao shokoa-rasĩ vana iki-ta-se
 shell heap-COL speech say-ASS-EXT
 ‘above the tapir bridge he speaks,’¹⁰
 ‘sobre a ponte de ossos de anta ele fala,’
- (88) *vei yochĩrasĩ vanaainase*
vei yochĩ-rasĩ vana-a-ina-se
 death spirit-COL speech-REL-MOV.up-EXT
 ‘speaking with the dead spirits he goes,’
 ‘com todos os espectros-morte ele fala,’
- (89) *vimirasĩ vanaainase.*
vimi-rasĩ vana-a-ina-se
 fruit-COL speech-REL-MOV.up-EXT
 ‘speaking with the fruits he goes.’¹¹
 ‘com os frutos todos ele fala.’

¹⁰ A heap of shells that cut and kill the dead.

¹¹ Death-fruits (*vei vimi*) that he might eat instead of continuing his ascent.

- (90) *Wa mai shavápushō, vimi ichnárasi yaniakī niáma,*
wa mai shavá-pa-shō vimi ichná-rasi ōsipa yania-kī
DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV fruit bad-COL varied feed-SSSA
niá-ma
live-NEG
‘‘In that land, I didn’t live by eating bad and varied fruit.’
‘‘Naquela terra, não vivi me alimentando de ruins e fartos frutos.’
- (91) *eri píti koī meramashōrivi ea anō yanini.*
e-ri píti koī mera-ma-shō-rivi ea anō yani-ini
1SG-REFL food real.true find-CS-SSPA-EMP 1SG.ABS FIN feed-?
‘I’ve worked to have my own real food.’
‘Eu mesmo procurava comida de verdade para me alimentar.’
- (92) *Aki ea anō mato ea mǎ veikatīpa.*
a-ki ea anō mato ea mǎ vei-aka-tīpa
AUX-ASS 1SG.ABS FIN 2PL.ABS 1SG.ABS 2PL.ERG death-AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS
‘That’s how I’ve lived, so you cannot kill me.’
‘É assim que sou, vocês não podem me matar!’
- (93) *A kaisa vanania.*
a kai-sa vana-ina
3.DEM go-? speech-MOV.up
‘There he goes ascending and speaking.’
‘Assim ele sobe falando.’
- (94) *Vei shōparasī askásevi,*
Vei shōpa-rasī aská-sevi
death papaya-COL SML-CON
‘With papaya-death also,’
‘Com os mamãos-morte também,’
- (95) *askárasī awe kēvo anō inǎ askásevi,*
aská-rasī awe kē-vo anō inǎ aská-sevi
SML-COL thing desire-PL FIN offer SML-CON
‘with all the alluring things also,’
‘com todas as coisas sedutoras também,’

- (96) *askásevi askásevi vana akitase kâi,*
aská-sevi aská-sevi vana-a-ki-ta-se kâi
 SML-CON SML-CON speech-REL-SSSA-ASS-EXT go
 ‘with all the things he speaks and speaks,’
 ‘e também e também, com tudo ele vai mesmo falando.’
- (97) *vanaarasĩ nokorivi,*
vana-a-rasĩ noko-rivi
 speech-RLZ-COL arrive-EMP
 ‘speaking with everything he arrives,’
 ‘Falando com tudo ele chega mesmo,’
- (98) *ese vanase vevo oshō kâi nokorivi.*
ese vana-se vevo o-shō kâ-i noko-rivi
 wisdom speech-EXT before come-DSSA go-PROG arrive-EMP
 ‘having walked with wise words he arrives.’¹²
 ‘tendo antes falado sabiamente ele chega mesmo.’
- (99) *Askámaĩnō wetsaro, awē ese vana keyonamāsho,*
Aská-maĩnō wetsa-ro a-ivo awē ese vana keyo-namā-sho
 SML-CON other-TOP DEM-GENR POSS wisdom speech over-LOC-CON
 ‘But the other one, in that place where his speech failed,’
 ‘Mas aquele outro, naquele lugar mesmo em que sua fala sabida acabou,’
- (100) *awē keyovāianamāsho atxitase.*
awē keyo-vāia-namā-sho atxi-ta-se
 POSS over-INC-LOC-CON hold-ASS-EXT
 ‘in that place where it failed he gets stuck.’
 ‘ali mesmo onde a fala acabou ele fica preso.’
- (101) *Nokē shenirasĩ, ramama itivorasĩ,*
Nokē sheni-rasĩ rama-ma i-ti-vo-rasĩ
 1PL.GEN forbear-COL now-NEG live-PST5-PL-COL
 ‘Our forbearers, those born long ago,’
 ‘Os nossos antigos, os antepassados de outros tempos,’

¹² Arrives at the end of the Death-Path, where he/she will find the ancient people.

(102) *askásevi veikenaivorasĩ.*

askásevi vei-ke-na-ivo-rasĩ
SML death-COMPL-?-GENR-COL

‘they also used to die.’¹³
‘ficavam também morridos.’

(103) *Rave nokoma, rave noko, Vei Naí Shavaya nokoma,*

rave noko-ma rave noko-ma vei naí shavaya noko-ma
part arrive-NEG part arrive-NEG death sky dwelling arrive-NEG

‘Some didn’t arrive, some didn’t arrive, in the Death-Sky Dwelling they couldn’t arrive,’
‘Uns não chegavam, uns não chegavam, na Morada do Céu-Morte não chegavam.’

(104) *ravero nokoai, ravero nokoma, ravero nokoai.*

rave-ro noko-ai rave-ro noko-ma rave-ro noko-ai
part-TOP arrive-INCP part-TOP arrive-NEG part-TOP arrive-INCP

‘some arrived, some couldn’t arrive, some arrived.’
‘Uns chegavam, uns não chegavam, outros chegavam.’

(105) *Akarivi*

aka-rivi
AUX.TRNS-EMP

‘That’s how it happened.’¹⁴
‘Assim mesmo é.’

¹³Meaning that they also used to die or become transformed along the path, because of their lack of knowledge and/or good moral behavior.

¹⁴The narrative continues with the exposition of other dangers of the path, giving the sequence of the history of *Vei Maya*, as well as with its moral speculations (see Cesarino 2012 for the complete version).

Non-standard abbreviations

ASS	assertive	INC	inchoative
ASSOC	associative	INCP	incompletive
ATR.PERM	attributive, permanent	LOC.PROV	provenance
ATR.TRNS	attributive, transitional	MOV.UP	movement up
CNS	consecutive	POSSIB	possibility
COMP	comparative	PST1	past (immediate)
CON	connective	PST2	past (months)
CON.FIN	connective of finality	PST3	past (years, decades)
DIR	direction	PST4	past (decades, centuries)
DIR.C	direction, centripetal		
DISTR	distributive	PST5	past (remote, narrative)
DSPA	different subject, previous action	RLZ	realized action
DSSA	different subject, simultaneous action	SML	similitive
EMP	emphatic	SSPA	same subject, previous action
EXT	existential predication	SSSA	same subject, simultaneous action
FIN	finality		
FUT	future	TEMP	temporal
GENR	generic		subordination
IMPOSS	impossible	VBLZ	verbalizer

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Chapter 5

Trumai

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Kumarú Trumai

Tarukuy Trumai

1 Introduction

The story of the Smooth-billed Ani (a type of bird in the cuckoo family¹) is a myth told by the Trumai people of the central region of Brazil. It was video recorded in 2000 by the author (Raquel Guirardello-Damian) and narrated by Kumarú Trumai, a middle-aged woman who has since died. She learned it from her father, Initiari, a great and respected storyteller. The myth was later transcribed and analyzed with the assistance of a young man, Tarukuy, who is bilingual in Trumai and Portuguese. The text is presented in its phonological form with IPA symbols, followed by English glosses and free translation. When necessary, comments are added in the footnotes.

2 The Trumai people and their language

The Trumai live in the “Xingu Indigenous Land”, at the northern edge of the Upper Xingu area. The group originally came from another land, located to the southeast of the Upper Xingu (Murphy & Quain 1955), and it is assumed that they moved to the Xingu region in the first half of the 19th century due to attacks by another tribe, possibly the Xavante (Villas Boas & Villas Boas 1970). Their initial

¹The smooth-billed ani (*Crotophaga ani*) is a breeding species that lives in several regions across the Americas. It is a black bird, known in Portuguese as *anu* or *anu preto*.



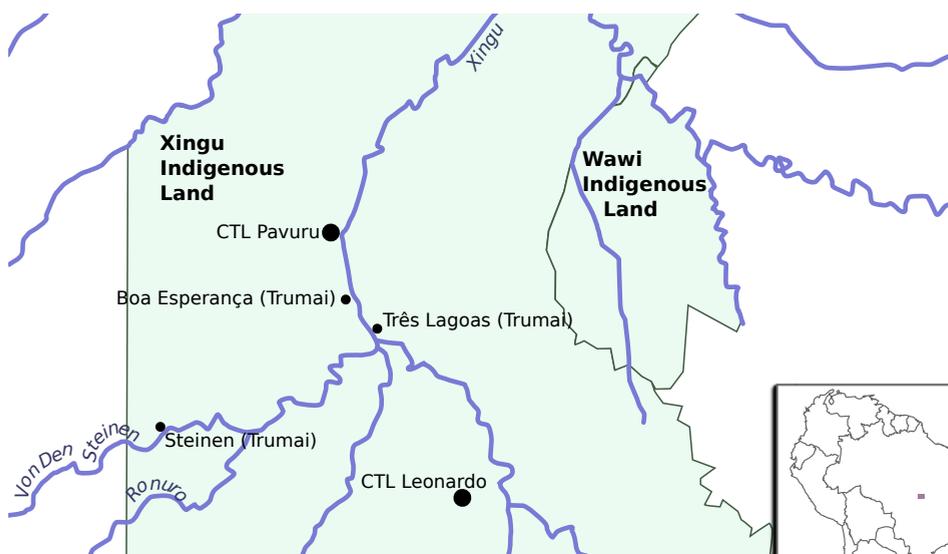


Figure 1: Trumai villages in the Xingu Indigenous Land.

contacts with the local groups were not peaceful and led to some conflicts. When von den Steinen (1940) visited the region, in the second half of the 19th century, the Trumai still did not have good relations with the Upper Xinguan tribes, but eventually became integrated to the new environment.

The Upper Xingu is a multilingual and multi-ethnic regional system. Several groups live in the area, having different languages and historical backgrounds. However, they also share many common cultural features, observed especially in the activities of daily survival, diet, mythology, and inter/intra village rituals (Galvão & Simões 1966). Such cultural homogeneity was developed through the interaction of various factors, such as the isolation of the region, physical proximity of the groups, commerce and intertribal marriages, and groups' influence on each other. The Trumai people are the least integrated into this system. Although they share several of the Upper Xingu cultural practices, they also keep some of their own original traditions – for example, they do not take part in the *Kwarup* ceremony, an important intertribal ritual, and they eat certain kinds of animals that are forbidden to other Upper Xinguan groups (Monod-Becquelin 1975; Monod-Becquelin & Guirardello 2001).

The location of the Trumai villages in the Xingu reserve changed several times after their arrival in the area. Nowadays, their population is concentrated mainly in three villages: *Boa Esperança*, *Três Lagoas* (with inhabitants from the former

village known as *Terra Preta*), and *Steinen*. There are also families living in cities close to the reserve. The community has more than 100 individuals, but the number of Trumai speakers is reduced, being approximately 50. Levels of proficiency vary among individuals, with the older speakers exhibiting broader and deeper linguistic knowledge. Children do not learn the language anymore, speaking Portuguese (the national language of Brazil) or another Xinguan language instead. Various historical factors contributed to its endangerment (cf. Guirardello 1999, preface).

With regard to genetic linguistic affiliations, Trumai is considered an isolate language (Rodrigues 1986; Kaufman 1994). In relation to the Xingu area, Trumai seems to have a unique status, not only in terms of genetic affiliation, but also with regard to typological features. For instance, it has ejective stops, sounds not observed in the other languages of the region (Seki 2000; Fargetti 1992; Dourado 2001; Emmerich 1980). It also employs positional verbs in locative and existential constructions, another fact not attested in other Xinguan languages (Guirardello-Damian 2007). It also has three dative markers, a quite interesting typological characteristic.

Trumai has four open classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) and little inflectional morphology, i.e., words usually consist of a single morpheme. For nouns, there are two important subdivisions: (i) alienably possessed versus inalienably possessed nouns, with a further subdivision between body parts and kinship terms; (ii) animate versus inanimate nouns. These distinctions are observed in various points of the grammar. Trumai has five verbal classes and the case system exhibits an ergative-absolutive alignment, manifested through markers on NPs or the use of postpositions. There are also ergative alignments in syntax (Guirardello-Damian 2010). The basic word order is SOV, but variations of order are possible depending on pragmatic factors; the variations observed in negative clauses are particularly noteworthy (Guirardello 1999).

With regard to the phonological system, Trumai has six vowels (/i/, /e/, /i/, /a/, /u/, /o/) and twenty three consonants (/p/, /t̪/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /ʔ/, /t̪ʰ/, /tʰ/, /kʰ/, /ts/, /tsʰ/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, /h/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /ʎ/, /r/, /w/, /j/). The vowels /e/ and /o/ have two allophones in free variation: [e] and [ɛ], [o] and [ɔ] respectively (cf. Guirardello 1999: 1–6).

3 The topic of the narrative

The narrative presented here is related to issues of life and death. It explains the origins of the chanted cries and lamentations that the Trumai people perform

when mourning somebody's death. The story happens in mythological times, when animals were like human beings, having their own villages, conducting daily survival activities, and being able to speak. Thus, the main character in the story, the Smooth-billed Ani, has anthropomorphic features. One day he decides to play a trick on his grandmother. While she is in the fields collecting firewood, he stages a big scene in her house, pretending that she has died. He then performs some actions and crying, showing that he is sad for her death. The crying was later imitated by others and became part of the Upper Xinguan traditions for expressing sorrow.²

Trumai funeral practices were first documented by the ethnologist Buell Quain, who lived among them in 1938, although his description is brief. Further research conducted by the anthropologist Emmanuel de Vienne obtained many more details and revealed that the practices can be quite elaborate. The next paragraphs give an overview of the information provided by Murphy & Quain (1955) and De Vienne (personal communication).

In the Trumai funerary ceremony, the classic division is between the ones who dig the hole for the grave (*owowas xoṭkenke wan* 'the hole diggers') and those who perform the crying (*watkanke wan* 'the ones who cry'). Ritual cries and lamentations begin from the moment of death. Close relatives cry by repeating the kinship term that bound them to the deceased person. The other relatives use the same formula, but also provide consolation to the close relatives by saying stereotyped expressions (e.g. "This is how it is, we cannot do anything"; "It is like this for us, humans"; "You have to be strong, because it happens to everyone"). The crying follows a particular melody and consists of the repetition of the vocative used to call the dead person (for example: *atseda* 'grandma', *ajej* 'grandpa', *atsiwe* 'mum', etc.). This vocative can be combined with expressions that convey compassion and sadness. In the myth below, we will see a concrete example of this.³

The ritual crying happens before and at the moment of burying the body. There is also the practice of "welcome in tears", which is a crying performed when relatives living far away arrive for the first time after the death, even several months later. The visitors start to cry loudly on their way to the village. The

²In a section about Trumai mythology, Murphy & Quain (1955: 73) apparently make a brief mention of this myth – although they refer to the smooth-billed ani as "crow", another black bird: "crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations."

³The tradition of executing ritual cries is also part of the death ceremonies of other Upper Xinguan tribes. For example, Guerreiro Júnior (2012: 441) describes the crying used in the funerary rituals of the Kalapalo people, which exhibits the same pattern as the Trumai one.

close relatives of the deceased person then come to welcome them in the central square of the village and they go together to the grave in order to cry. There are further ritual cries in secondary funerary rituals, such as the Javari festivity.

Burial takes place in the central area of the village, which has a circular shape. On the day of death, or the next day (if it is necessary to wait for the arrival of relatives), three or four men who are distant relatives from the deceased ask permission to dig the grave. These men must not have children under the age of two, otherwise the spirit of the deceased person may bring diseases to the child. They proceed as the crying and lamentations continue. First, they measure the body with a bamboo in order to determine the size of the grave, which is prepared in the shape of a hole. The bottom widens to form a tunnel where the corpse will be placed. Chiefs, both male and female, are given a special burial treatment, since their grave has a tunnel with two exits. Special funerary treatments for chiefs are observed in other Upper Xingu groups as well, such as the Kuikuro (Heckenberger 2003).

After finishing their job, the diggers return to the dead person's house and start the ceremonial crying, then announce that it is time to bury the body, which is painted and adorned with feathers by a distant relative. They wrap and tie a hammock around the body, starting with the feet. The face is protected by a fiber mat (*tuwawi*) to prevent it from coming into contact with the soil/earth. Personal objects are placed inside the hammock: cooking utensils for women, bows and arrows for men. The remaining possessions are broken and burned or used to "pay" visitors and diggers. Guided by a close relative, the diggers carry the body through the front door, walk around the house several times, and enter through the back door. They do the same action inside, before going to the grave. During this time, cries and demonstrations of deep sadness continue.

The corpse is "interred lying on its back in an extended position" (Murphy & Quain 1955: 90).⁴ The feet are placed towards the east, so that the soul of the deceased person faces the direction it should go. A shaman performs a ritual prayer in order to prevent it from coming back. This prayer is performed in the grave and all the places where the deceased person used to go (house, garden plot, etc.). The following day, the diggers go fishing and take the fish to the deceased person's house. A close relative takes them to the grave, where a shaman performs a prayer and blows tobacco smoke on the fish. This food is meant for spirits, which

⁴According to another text recorded with a Trumai speaker, chiefs would be buried in a different way: male chiefs (*aek*) would be buried in a standing position, while female chiefs (*aek pekts'a*) would be buried in a seated position. However, this information was not confirmed by De Vienne's consultants, thus it is not clear if it refers to a practice currently followed by the Trumai or to some older tradition.

are expected to be present in large numbers around the grave. After this, the fish are shared and distributed to the whole village. A fire is placed on the grave for the next three or four days, the time necessary for the deceased person's soul to go away to the village of the dead.



Figure 2: A Trumai village, with its central area

4 General aspects of the narrative

Some of the procedures of the Trumai funerary practices – the ritual crying, the breaking and burning of the deceased's possessions, the wrapping of the body in a hammock – are observed in the narrative presented in the next section. As already mentioned, there are two central characters, the Smooth-billed Ani and his grandmother, with a third character appearing just briefly (his aunt). Events happen in chronological order, with one pause made by the narrator to make a comment about the Upper Xingu death rituals (lines 34-37).

With regard to the linguistic characteristics of the narrative, a visible feature is the use of kinship terms (*ałahne* 'grandmother', *mako* 'aunt (mother's sister)', *doxo* 'grandchild') with their possessive marker (*tsi-* '3POSS'). The text also employs motion verbs and directional auxiliaries, such as *lahmi* 'go uphill'. The occurrence of *k(e)tsi* is particularly interesting. In daily conversations, this auxiliary is employed to describe motion towards the place where the speaker is, often generating the sense of 'come' or 'bring' (Guirardello-Damian 2012), but

in the case of this narrative, *k(e)tsi* is employed when somebody moves towards the place where the main character and key actions are (lines 29-31) – in other words, this auxiliary can also be used for a place that is the focus of the attention of the speaker and listener.

The text has various instances of hearsay particles and ideophones, which is not surprising, since they are often found in narratives. It is worth mentioning that some Trumai ideophones are similar in shape to the ones in Kamayurá, another Xinguan language (Guirardello-Damian 2014). This is the case of the ideophone for “walking” observed in the text (cf. Footnote 22).

There are occurrences of direct speech in the narrative, but they do not configure dialogues properly speaking. The main character (Smooth-billed Ani) does not talk to anyone in particular; rather, he talks in order to be heard by people in the village. The other character (his grandmother) talks to herself, wondering what is happening in her house. In her speech (lines 40 and 45), we find the particle *apa*, which indicates uncertainty by the speaker and can be broadly translated as ‘I wonder’. The aunt is the only character who talks to a specific addressee, and in her speech we can see the 2nd person pronoun (*hi* ‘you’) or the 1st person inclusive (*ka a* ‘we two (inclusive)’), which contrasts with *ha a* ‘we two (exclusive)’, *ka wan* ‘we – more than two (inclusive)’ and *ha wan* ‘we – more than two (exclusive)’).

As a final note, it is interesting to mention that all verbal classes are represented in the text, since it contains several action verbs. For example: **class 1 (intransitives)**: *kaʔfi* ‘walk’; **class 2 (transitives)**: *husa* ‘tie’, *tsisi* ‘burn’; *kiwa* ‘abandon’; **class 3 (ditransitives)**: *tsitsu* ‘put’; **class 4 (intransitives with two positions)**: *kuʔku* ‘break’, *huʔtsa* ‘see’, *faʔtsa* ‘hear’; **class 5 (verbs with varied transitivity)**: *naha* ‘cut/break’ (for more information about the verbal classes, cf. Guirardello-Damian 2010). The text also includes the verbs for crying: *watkan* ‘to weep’ (i.e. to shed tears when one is sad) and *ora* ‘to cry intensely, screaming’ (as small children do when they fall. This term can also be used for the cries of certain animals, such as monkeys). In the narrative, the occurrence of *ora* is much higher than *watkan*, which makes sense, since the main character is trying to get attention and provoke a commotion as part of his trick, thus his crying needs to be intense.

5 trumaj wankaṭe daint'a: kowow

'A Trumai narrative: the Smooth-billed Ani'

'Um mito Trumai: o Anu'⁵

- (1) *trumaj wankaṭe daint'a: kowow*

trumaj wan=kaṭe daint'a: kowow
trumai PL=GEN old.times.narrative Smooth-billed.Ani
'A Trumai narrative: the Smooth-billed Ani'
'Um mito Trumai: o Anu'⁶

- (2) *inis hen tsile hen, tsiṭahne de kaʔfi lahmi kuṭ'a=ki de,*

inis hen tsile hen tsi-aṭahne de
DISC.CON then hearsay then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful
kaʔfi lahmi kuṭ'a=ki de
walk go.uphill garden.plot=DAT already

'So, people say that his poor grandmother went walking to (her) garden plot.'

'Dizem que a coitada da avó dele foi caminhando para a roça.'⁷

- (3) *kaʔfi ṭ'axer lahmin.*

kaʔfi ṭ'axer lahmi=n
walk poorly go.uphill=3ABS
'she left.'
'foi embora.'⁸

⁵Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997451>

⁶The term *daint'a* refers to both myths and historical narratives (i.e., facts from ancient times).

⁷Two comments with regard to this sentence: (i) *inis* occurs in the first position of a clause and is often followed by the adverb *hen* 'then'. It can be analyzed internally as a combination of two morphemes (the demonstrative pronoun *in* plus the temporal marker *-is*, which would be literally translated as 'in this situation/event'), but its main role is as a discourse connector, with the sense of 'and then'. Sometimes *inis* can be replaced by *ina*, another possible connector; (ii) The adjective *de* indicates pity for the person being mentioned. The speaker talks in a touching and tender way.

⁸When Trumai speakers express motion events, they often use directional auxiliaries to further specify the type of motion: uphill, downhill, upriver, downriver, towards the village, towards the river, and so on (for more detail, cf. Guirardello-Damian 2012).

- (4) *husakwaf t'axerał tsile api piṭan, kaʔfi lahmin hen.*
husa=kwaf t'axer=a=t tsile api piṭa=n
 tie=thing.for modest/poor=EP.VW=DAT hearsay grab go.out=3ABS
kaʔfi lahmi=n hen
 walk go.uphill=3ABS then
 'She went out (of her house) taking a rope (to tie firewood), and she left.'
 'Saiu (da casa) levando uma corda (para amarrar lenha), e foi embora.'
- (5) *kaʔfi t'axer lahmin, kaʔfi den lahmin.*
kaʔfi t'axer lahmi=n kaʔfi den lahmi=n
 walk poorly go.uphill=3ABS walk AUX? go.uphill=3ABS
 'She left, she disappeared (in the distance).'
 'Foi embora andando e sumiu (na distância).'
- (6) *ina hen tsiṭahne de kaʔfi den lahmi hen.*
ina hen tsi-aṭahne de kaʔfi den lahmi hen
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful walk AUX? go.uphill then
 'His poor grandmother went walking and disappeared.'
 'A coitada da avó foi caminhando e sumiu.'⁹
- (7) *ina hen iji lat pef.kiwda=n ale de. kowow ji de.*
ina hen iji lat pef.kiwda=n ale de.
 DISC.CON then PRAG.IN lie go.running=3ABS hearsay already
kowow ji de.
 Smooth-billed.Ani PRAG.IN already
 'Then he went (to her house) and started lying. He, the Smooth-billed Ani.'
 'Então ele foi (para a casa dela) e começou a mentir. Ele, o Anu.'¹⁰

⁹Note that the speaker describes the same action several times (the grandmother left, she left). Such repetition is part of a narration strategy, in order to make the description of events more elaborate and interesting to follow.

¹⁰This sentence contains instances of the morpheme (*i*)*ji*, which occurs in NPs. This morpheme has a unique nature and its function is not entirely clear, but it seems to be linked to pragmatic information. It presents two forms: *ji*, which occurs in NPs containing an element (i.e., a noun, pronoun or pluralizer), and *iji*, which can occur by itself in a NP (but only Absolutive NPs). We could analyze *iji* as a pronominal form (i.e., a dummy pronoun) and *ji* as some sort of modifier, however this analysis has its own limitations (cf. Guirardello-Damian 2005: 281-285). For the present text, I will use 'PRAG.IN' as the gloss for this morpheme.

- (8) *ina hen tsiłahne dekṭe sopfaṭki daʔtsi.wawan ale, esak faxki de iji tsitsu de.*

ina hen tsi-ałahne de=kṭe sopfaṭ=ki
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful=GEN firewood=DAT
daʔtsi.wawa=n ale, esak fax=ki de iji
 gather=3ABS hearsay hammock interior=DAT already PRAG.IN
tsitsu de
 put already

‘He gathered his grandmother’s firewood and put it in a hammock.’
 ‘Ele juntou a lenha da avó e colocou dentro de uma rede.’¹¹

- (9) *deṭ’a deṭ’a pits tsile, jaw pits’ nawan de, esak faxki iji tsitsu le, jaw kuta nawan tsile.*

deṭ’a deṭ’a pits tsile jaw pits’ nawan de
 well well really/very hearsay human.being foot similar already
esak fax=ki iji tsitsu le jaw kuta nawan
 hammock interior=DAT PRAG.IN put hearsay human.being head similar
tsile
 hearsay

‘Very perfectly, he put in the hammock a thing imitating a human foot, and (another) thing imitating a human head.’
 ‘Bem direitinho, colocou na rede uma coisa imitando pé de gente, e (uma outra) coisa imitando uma cabeça.’

- (10) *ina hen esak ji hen mal husa husa ke ine jik, det’a hen jaw aṭu tsula nawan de.*

ina hen esak ji hen
 DISC.CON then hammock PRAG.IN then
mal¹² husa husa ke¹³ ine ji=k
 edge tie tie DISLOC.ABS 3ANAPH.MASC PRAG.IN=ERG
det’a hen jaw aṭu tsula nawan de
 well then human.being dead be.lying similar already

¹¹There are three variants of the hearsay particle: *ale* (after a verb with the 3ABS enclitic), *le* (after a verb without the 3ABS enclitic), and *tsile* (in other positions).

¹²In this example, the noun *mal* ‘edge/border’ is incorporated in the verb (‘He border-tied the hammock’). Trumai allows noun incorporation (cf. Guirardello-Damian 2005: 225-226).

¹³The particle *ke* appears when the Absolutive NP is not in its typical position, which is right before the verb. This occurs when the Absolutive NP or the verb is fronted in order to be highlighted (as in this example – the word for ‘hammock’ (*esak*) is fronted).

‘Then he tied the hammock, it became very similar to a dead person lying.’
 ‘Então ele amarrou a rede, ficou igualzinho a uma pessoa morta deitada.’

- (11) *iji late ale de.*

iji lat=e ale de
 PRAG.IN lie=3ABS hearsay already

‘He was pretending (that his grandmother had died).’
 ‘Ele estava fingindo (que a avó tinha morrido).’

- (12) *inis hen tsile iji oran ale:*

inis hen tsile iji ora=n ale
 DISC.CON then hearsay PRAG.IN cry=3ABS hearsay

‘Then he cried.’
 ‘Então chorou.’

- (13) *”hele deke atseda iṭa fakdits? atseda iṭa ...”*

hele deke atseda iṭa fakdits atseda iṭa
 why EMPH grandmother(VOC) pitiful die grandmother(VOC) pitiful

‘“Why has my poor grandma died? Poor grandma ...”’

‘“Por que a coitada da vovó morreu? Pobre vovó ...”’¹⁴

- (14) *deṭ’a deṭ’a pits tsile tsiṭahne de faṣṭaki iji ku?kukman: too!*

deṭ’a deṭ’a pits tsile tsi-aṭahne de
 well well really/very hearsay 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful

faṣṭa=ki iji ku?ku=kma=n too
 belongings=DAT PRAG.IN break=PERF=3ABS ID:BREAKING

‘Then he broke all of his grandmother’s things: *too!*’
 ‘Então ele quebrou todas as coisas da avó: *too!*’

¹⁴When the interrogative word *hele* is combined with the particle *deke*, the question has a more emphatic tone.

- (15) *ałat pates ku?kun ale, inałkaṭe murukuyu muṭ ṭ'axer, amusadipu muṭ tsile.*

ałat pat=e=s ku?ku=n ale
 clay.pan small=EP.VW=DAT break=3ABS hearsay
inał=kaṭe murukuyu muṭ
 3ANAPH.FEM=GEN red.paint wrapping/container
amusadipu muṭ tsile
 resin wrapping/container hearsay

‘He broke little clay pans, the basket with her red body paint, the basket for wax.’

‘Quebrou panelinhas de barro, o urucum dela, a cestinha para cera cheirosa.’¹⁵

- (16) *deṭ'a deṭ'a pits tsile iji mapa mapa.*

deṭ'a deṭ'a pits tsile iji mapa mapa
 well well really/very hearsay PRAG.IN break break

‘He broke (everything) very well.’

‘Quebrou (tudo) bem direitinho.’¹⁶

- (17) *i?iṃasṭame tsile hen.*

i?iṃasṭame tsile hen
 commotion hearsay then

‘It was a commotion.’

‘Foi uma agitação.’

- (18) *naha nahan ale, deṭ'a deṭ'a pits tsiłahne faṣṭa tsisi tsisikma le.*

naha naha=n ale deṭ'a deṭ'a pits
 cut/break cut/break=3ABS hearsay well well really/very
tsi-ałahne faṣṭa tsisi tsisi=kma le
 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother belongings burn burn=PERF hearsay

‘He broke and burned all of his grandmother’s things.’

‘Ele quebrou e queimou todas as coisas da avó.’

¹⁵As previously mentioned, when Trumai individuals die, their possessions are broken.

¹⁶There are various Trumai verbs that could be translated into English as ‘break’, but they have different nuances of meaning: *mapa* ‘to break’ (in general), *ku?ku* ‘to break by hitting many times’, *naha* ‘cut or break with one single stroke’.

- (19)
- ina iji ora muketsin ale hen.*

ina iji ora muketsi=n ale hen
 DISC.CON PRAG.IN cry ASP.AUX=3ABS hearsay then

‘Then, he kept crying.’

‘Então, continuou a chorar.’¹⁷

- (20)
- ”hele deke atsedak ha kiwa? adi atседа ...”*

hele deke atседа=k ha kiwa
 why EMPH grandmother(VOC)=ERG 1 leave.behind/abandon

adi atседа
 INTERJ grandmother(VOC)

“Why has grandma left me? Oh poor grandma ...”

“Por que vovó me deixou? Oh coitada da vovó ...”

- (21)
- ora muketsin,*

ora muketsi=n
 cry ASP.AUX=3ABS

‘He kept crying.’

‘Continuou chorando.’

- (22)
- aj de tsimako fa?tsa mula le de.*

aj de tsi-mako fa?tsa mula
 by.then already 3POSS(KIN)-aunt(mother’s.sister) hear be.indoors

le de
 hearsay already

‘and his aunt heard him.’

‘e a tia dele ouviu.’

- (23)
- ”huk’anik, huta.kaf ka a hu?tsa kawa.”*

huk’anik huta.kaf ka a hu?tsa kawa
 EXPR later 1INCL DU see go

“Wait, later we are going to see her (i.e., take care of her).”

“Espera, depois a gente vai vê-la (isto é, tomar conta dela).”

¹⁷ Apparently, *muketsi* is an aspectual auxiliary, but its meaning is not totally clear. It seems to indicate persistent action.

- (24) “*ka anak t’axet’axer ji hupda hupekawan,*” *kale.*
ka ana=k t’axe-t’axer ji hupda.hupekawa=n kale
 1INCL DU=ERG RD-poor PRAG.IN ritual.cry=3ABS like.this
 “‘We will cry for her, poor her,’ his aunt said like this.’
 “‘A gente vai chorar para ela, coitada,’ a tia disse assim.’¹⁸

¹⁸The morpheme *t’axer* is usually employed with the sense of ‘poor’ or ‘misfortuned’, but it can also be used with an offensive tone (wretched, bastard). When used as an adverb, it has a sense of ‘poorly’ or ‘in a modest way’. The pattern that we see in the sentence above is attested in other examples involving this morpheme: it can occur after a noun (as in (i) below), or it can occur without the noun if the verb receives the 3rd person enclitic =*n*/*e* (as in (ii)).

- (i) *hai=ts kasoro t’axer hotaka.*
 1=ERG dog wretched mislead
 ‘I misled the wretched dog.’
- (ii) *hai=ts t’axer hotaka=n.*
 1=ERG wretched mislead=3ABS
 ‘I misled it, the wretched one.’

It might be that *t’axer* is not a modifier, but rather a noun with the sense of ‘misfortune, wretched condition’ and the noun that comes before it would be its possessor (something like: the wretched condition of the dog = the wretched dog). In the case of example (ii), *t’axer* would be incorporated into the verb, a pattern attested in the language, as in example (iii.b) below:

- (iii) a. *hai=ts Makarea mut’ tuxa?tsi.*
 1=ERG Makarea clothing/wrapping pull
 ‘I pulled Makarea’s shirt.’
- b. *hai=ts mut’ tuxa?tsi=n.*
 1=ERG clothing/wrapping pull=3ABS
 ‘I pulled his shirt (lit: I shirt-pulled him).’

It is possible to propose such an analysis given that other languages exhibit constructions similar to this one. For instance, in Portuguese one can say [*cachorro desgraçado*] or [*a desgraça do cachorro*] with the sense of ‘wretched dog’. The literal translation of [*a desgraça do cachorro*] is ‘the misfortune of the dog’. Thus, it might be that Trumai has a similar pattern.

- (25) *“in ka t̚’axet̚’axer ji ora muketsin.”*
in ka.in t̚’axe-t̚’axer ji ora muketsi=n
 that(place) FOC/TENS RD-poor PRAG.IN cry ASP.AUX=3ABS
 “He is there, crying” (his aunt said).
 “Ele está lá, chorando” (disse a tia).¹⁹
- (26) *“hi t̚’axer ji hu?tsa in?!”*
hi t̚’axer ji hu?tsa in
 2 poor PRAG.IN see FOC
 “You see, you poor thing?!”
 “Tá vendo, seu infeliz?!”
- (27) *“hi aʔahneʔ ka ami ami kawala ke hi t̚’axer ji,” kale.*
hi aʔahne=ʔ ka.in ami ami kawala ke
 2 grandmother=DAT FOC/TENS talk talk HABIT DISLOC.ABS
hi t̚’axer ji kale
 2 poor PRAG.IN like.this
 “You always complain about your grandmother (but now she is gone),”
 his aunt said.
 “Você fica reclamando da sua avó (mas agora ela se foi),” disse a tia.’
- (28) *ina hen tsile ...*
ina hen tsile
 DISC.CON then hearsay
 ‘And then ...’
 ‘E então...’
- (29) *aj de... inis de tsiʔahne de wakaʔfi lakoktsi de.*
aj de inis de tsi-aʔahne de
 by.then already DISC.CON already 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful
wa-kaʔfi lako=ktsi de
 mv-walk go.downhill=go.present.place already
 ‘His grandmother was already coming back home.’
 ‘A avó dele já estava voltando para casa.’

¹⁹The particle *ka.in* indicates focus, but at the same time also conveys information about the time when the event is taking place (now or in a recent past). In fast speech, it can appear in a reduced form (*ka*), as in the example above. With regard to its internal configuration, cf. Guirardello 1999: 169–178.

- (30) *in ka tsinuk inaṯ ʔ'axerak tsile siṯṯ'a ji de etsi lakoktsi ke.*
in ka.in tsinuk inaṯ ʔ'axer=a=k tsile
 that(place) FOC/TENS then 3ANAPH.FEM poor=EP.VW=ERG hearsay
siṯṯ'a ji de etsi lako=ktsi ke
 firewood PRAG.IN already take go.downhill=go.present.place DISLOC.ABS
 'There (she was), she was bringing wood.'
 'Lá (vinha ela), estava trazendo lenha.'
- (31) *kaʔfi ʔ'axer lakoktsin ale hen.*
kaʔfi ʔ'axer lako=ktsi=n ale hen.
 walk poorly go.downhill=go.present.place=3ABS hearsay then
 'She was coming back.'
 'Estava voltando.'
- (32) *faʔtsan ale hen tsidoxo ji watkan faṯṯaʔaki de tsile:*
faʔtsa=n ale hen tsi-doxo ji watkan
 hear=3ABS hearsay then 3POSS(KIN)-grandchild PRAG.IN weep
faṯṯa=ki de tsile
 sound=DAT already hearsay
 'Then she heard her grandson (the Smooth-billed Ani) weeping.'
 'Então ela ouviu o neto (o Anu) chorando.'
- (33) *“atseda iṯa, atseda iṯa ...”*
atseda iṯa atseda iṯa
 grandmother(voc) pitiful grandmother(voc) pitiful
 “Poor grandma, poor grandma ...”
 “Pobre vovó, pobre vovó ...”²⁰
- (34) *deṯ'a deṯ'a pits tsile, oran ale.*
deṯ'a deṯ'a pits tsile ora=n ale
 well well really/very hearsay cry=3ABS hearsay
 'With great attention, he cried (and by doing so, he invented the crying for mourning someone's death).'

²⁰The Trumai ritual crying involves the repetition of a vocative (in this case, *atseda*) plus a word that conveys compassion (*iṯa*). Similarly to the adjective *de*, *iṯa* is also used to indicate pity and compassion for the person being mentioned. However, the meaning of *iṯa* is more specific - it is used for a person who is at risk of dying, or for one who has died. The term is employed to express sadness for the situation.

‘Bem direitinho, ele chorou (e ao fazer isso, inventou o choro usado para expressar tristeza pela morte de alguém).’

- (35) *adis wan oraṯkes inṯ’a nawan kadein,*

adis wan ora=ṯke=s in=ṯ’a nawan ka.de.in
Xinguan.Indian PL cry=DES=TEMP that=PST similar FOC/TENS

‘Thus when the Indians of the Upper Xingu want to cry (in a death ritual), it’s like that.’

‘Por isso, quando os povos do Alto Xingu querem chorar (em um ritual funerário), é assim.’

- (36) *ni?de adispa wan ora le de in.*

ni?de adis-pa wan ora le de in
DEM Xinguan.Indian-COLLEC PL cry hearsay already FOC

‘all these Indians cry (like that).’

‘todos esses índios choram (desse jeito).’

- (37) *wan oran, ine oraṯ’ ji letsi de wan oran ale.*

wan ora=n ine ora=ṯ’ ji letsi de
PL cry=3ABS 3ANAPH.MASC cry=result.of PRAG.IN INS already

wan ora=n ale

PL cry=3ABS hearsay

‘They cry using his way of crying.’

‘Eles choram usando o choro dele (do Anu).’²¹

- (38) *deṯ’a deṯ’a pits hen tsile.*

deṯ’a deṯ’a pits hen tsile
well well really/very then hearsay

‘(He was doing it) very well.’

‘(Ele estava fazendo) bem direitinho.’

- (39) *kaale hen tsiṯahne de ka?fi lakoktsi le: tik!*

kaale hen tsi-aṯahne de ka?fi
there(far) then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful walk

²¹The morpheme =ṯ’/=ṯ’a is a nominalizer with slightly different meanings, depending on the type of word it modifies. With nouns, it produces the sense of ‘past X’. With verbs, the sense is ‘the result of an action’.

- (45) *ʔaxeʔaxer ji lat' muketsin apa?*
ʔaxe-ʔaxer ji lat' muketsi=n apa?
 RD-bastard PRAG.IN lie ASP.AUX=3ABS PART(I.wonder)
 ‘‘Will this bastard keep lying?’’ (his grandmother said).
 ‘‘Esse desgraçado vai ficar mentindo?’’ (disse a avó).²³
- (46) *ina hen tsiʔahne dek kaʔsa ʔaxer pupen ale,*
ina hen tsi-aʔahne de=k kaʔsa ʔaxer
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful=ERG hammock poor
pupe=n ale
 untie=3ABS hearsay
 ‘Then his grandmother untied her poor hammock,’
 ‘Então a avó desamarrou a pobre rede dela,’
- (47) *inaʔkaʔe sopfaʔ ʔaxer paʔa.paʔa le hen.*
inaʔ=kaʔe sopfaʔ ʔaxer paʔa.paʔa le hen
 3ANAPH.FEM=GEN firewood poor to.place hearsay then
 ‘(took) the wood out and placed it (on the floor).’
 ‘(tirou) a lenha e colocou-a (no chão).’
- (48) *ina hen... aj de iji kuʔkuman ale.*
ina hen aj de iji kuʔku=kma=n ale
 DISC.CON then by.then already PRAG.IN break=PERF=3ABS hearsay
 ‘He had broken everything.’
 ‘Ele tinha quebrado tudo.’
- (49) *ina hen tsiʔahne de huʔtsa paʔa le faʔʔa ʔaxer mapa mapaʔʔaʔ, aʔaʔ pat ...*
ina hen tsi-aʔahne de huʔtsa paʔa le
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful see arrive hearsay
faʔʔa ʔaxer mapa mapa=ʔʔaʔ aʔaʔ pat
 belongings poor break break=result.of=DAT clay.pan small
 ‘Then his grandmother went and saw the broken pieces of her things, the little clay pans ...’
 ‘Então a avó foi e viu as coisas dela quebradas, as panelinhas de barro...’

²³In another version of this myth obtained by De Vienne (2010: 200), the grandmother tells the Smooth-billed Ani to transform itself into a spirit and stay near the water. And since then, this kind of bird can be heard crying in the low vegetation on the banks of a river.

- (50) *deṭ'a deṭ'a pits ṭ'axeṭ'axer ji ku?kukman ale.*
deṭ'a deṭ'a pits ṭ'axe-ṭ'axer ji ku?ku=kma=n ale
well well really/very RD-bastard PRAG.IN break=PERF=3ABS hearsay
'The bastard had broken everything.'
'O desgraçado tinha quebrado tudo.'
- (51) *ina hen tsile hen tsula ṭ'axere ale.*
ina hen tsile hen tsula ṭ'axer=e ale
DISC.CON then hearsay then lie poorly=3ABS hearsay
'Then she lay down, sad (thinking about her things).'
'Então ela ficou deitada, triste (pensando nas coisas dela).'
- (52) *inande.*
inande
PART.DISC
'That's it (the story is over).'
'É isso (fim).'

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Figure 3: Kumaru, the narrator of the Trumai myth



Figure 4: Kumaru in her village, with relatives

Non-standard abbreviations

ANAPH	anaphoric
ASP.AUX	aspectual auxiliary
COLLEC	collective
DISC.CON	discursive connector
DISLOC.ABS	dislocated absolutive (i.e., the absolutive is not right before the verb)
EMPH	emphatic (i.e., marker of emphatic speech)
EP.VW	epenthetic vowel
EXPR	expression (i.e., fixed expression)
FOC/TENS	focus + tense
HABIT	habitual
INTERJ	interjection
MV	middle voice
PART	particle
3POSS(KIN)	3rd person possessive marker (for kinship terms)
PRAG.IN	pragmatic information marker
RD	reduplication

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Part II

Beginnings

Chapter 6

Kotiria

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1 Introduction

This narrative recounts the origin of the sacred cemeteries of the Kotiria people.¹ The Kotiria are one of the sixteen East Tukano groups,² living in the upper Rio Negro border region between Brazil and Colombia in northwestern Amazonia and whose total population is approximately twenty-six thousand.³ There are some 2000 Kotiria, most of whom live in traditional communities located along the Vaupés river, a territory they have occupied for at least seven centuries (Stenzel 2013: 10).

The Sacred Cemeteries narrative was recorded on September 20, 2005, during a community workshop on Kotiria geography and history organized by the *Khumuno Wɨ'ɨ Kotiria* Indigenous School. Participants in this five-day workshop included students, teachers, family members, and elders from several different

¹Although they are also identified as Wanano or Guanano, the traditional, self-determined name Kotiria 'water people' is used here at the request of the speakers.

²These are the Kotiria, Bará (Waimajã), Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Kubeo, Makuna, Pisamira, Siriano, Taiwano (Eduuria), Tanimuka (Retuarã), Tatuyo, Tukano, Tuyuka, Wa'ikhana (Piratapuyo), and Yuruti.

³According to information from the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA)-PIB online <<http://pib.socioambiental.org/en>>, and the Colombian 2005 and Brazilian 2010 national censuses.



Kotiria villages, who gathered together in *Koama Phoaye* (Carurú Cachoeira), the largest Kotiria community on the Brazilian side of the Vaupés (see Figure 2). Several non-indigenous outsiders were also present, including the organizer of this chapter, linguist Kristine Stenzel, and two pedagogical consultants, Dr. Marta Maria Azevedo and Lucia Alberta Andrade de Oliveira. At the time, Azevedo was one of the coordinators of the Educational Program of the Instituto Socioambiental, and Andrade had been working as a pedagogical aid on-site with the Kotiria school for many months (for more on the history of the school, see de Oliveira, Trindade & Stenzel (2012)). Workshop activities included map-making, text-writing, research on the history of individual villages, and visits to important regional landmarks. Many of the written materials and illustrations produced during the workshop were later gathered in a book entitled *Phanopu, Mipu Mahka Bu'erithu* 'Past and Present, Studies of our Origins', from which the illustration at the end of the narrative was taken. There were also a number of talks on different historical topics proffered by invited elders, one of whom was the much-respected author of our narrative, Teresinha Marques.



Figure 1: Teresinha Marques

widely known; indeed, many participants in the workshop were learning about this important episode in Kotiria history for the first time. Teresinha's fifteen-minute narrative was filmed and later integrated into the Kotiria Linguistic and Cultural Archive.⁴ Co-author José Galvez Trindade introduces her to the audience at the beginning of the recording and interacts with her at several points

Teresinha and her family came to the workshop every day from the nearby village of *Buhka Khopa* (Matapí, Colombia, see Figure 3), which is the traditional home of one of the highest ranked Kotiria sibs, the *Biari Pho'na* (children/descendants of *Biari*, one of *Dianumia Yairo's* sons).

The knowledge Teresinha shares was passed down from her own father and was not

⁴All materials in this archive have been deposited at the Endangered Languages Archive, SOAS, University of London <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI132528> and at the PRODOCLIN Archive at the Muséu do Índio/FUNAI, Brazil, with open access granted by the community.

Those emerging closer to the anaconda's head are considered the higher ranked "older" brothers, those closer to the tail are "younger" brothers. A third, "servant" group, the *Wiroa*, originated separately from birds. Thus, the twenty-five or so Kotiria sibs are organized into three larger groupings with the symbolic roles of "chiefs", "dancers/masters of ceremonies", and "servants/cigar holders" (Chernela 1983, Chernela 1993: 5-15, 51-59; Waltz & Waltz 1997 offers slightly different sib names, numbers and relative rankings). Each individual in Kotiria society inherits a fixed rank in the social hierarchy as a descendant from an ancestral sibling and is highly aware of the roles and responsibilities associated with that rank.

The four main protagonists in Teresinha's Sacred Cemeteries narrative belong to the highest ranked, *Biari* group: they are *Ñahori*, his older brother *Diani*, and younger brother *Yuhpi Diani*, sons of the great ancestor shaman *Dianumia Yairo*. As is the case in many tales of betrayal, vengeance, and bloodshed, this one begins with a dispute over a woman. *Ñahori*, living in *Muk̄ D̄h̄p̄uri* (see Figure 3) with his own two wives and two children, has promised to capture a new bride for his younger brother *Yuhpi Diani*. However, when *Ñahori* returns with the woman, older brother *Diani* lays claim to her. *Ñahori* goes to *Yuhpi Diani* in *Kh̄n̄h̄ko* to tell him what has happened, and an indignant *Yuhpi Diani* tries to capture her back, but is unsuccessful. Angered and feeling betrayed, *Yuhpi Diani* prepares an attack on *Ñahori*, who manages to send his wives and children away to safety and bravely resists, but is eventually killed by *Yuhpi Diani's* men. They set fire to all the houses in *Muk̄ D̄h̄p̄uri*, and the smoke is seen from afar by *Diani* and the people of *B̄h̄ka Kh̄opa*. They go downriver to investigate and find the burned homes. Searching for survivors, they eventually entice the terrified wives and children out of hiding and then come across *Ñahori's* charred body.

Diani returns home and tells *Dianumia Yairo* what has transpired. He ignores *Dianumia Yairo's* plea for the dispute not to escalate any further, and begins preparations to avenge *Ñahori's* death. *Dianumia Yairo* reluctantly blesses *Diani* and his warriors, embuing them with valor and violent spirit to ensure their victory in battle. They travel downstream and wage a furious attack on *Yuhpi Diani* and his men in *Kh̄n̄h̄ko*. *Diani's* men prevail, forcing *Yuhpi Diani* to escape inland to *Kh̄aphotai*, where he and his men build a fortress with a high lookout platform from which *Yuhpi Diani* hopes to be able to see his attackers approach. In the meantime, *Dianumia Yairo* has come downriver and tries one last time to convince *Diani* to call off the war, but to no avail. In the middle of the night, *Diani's* men transform themselves into worms and tunnel into the fortress. They trick *Yuhpi Diani* into coming down from the platform, and subsequently capture and dismember him.

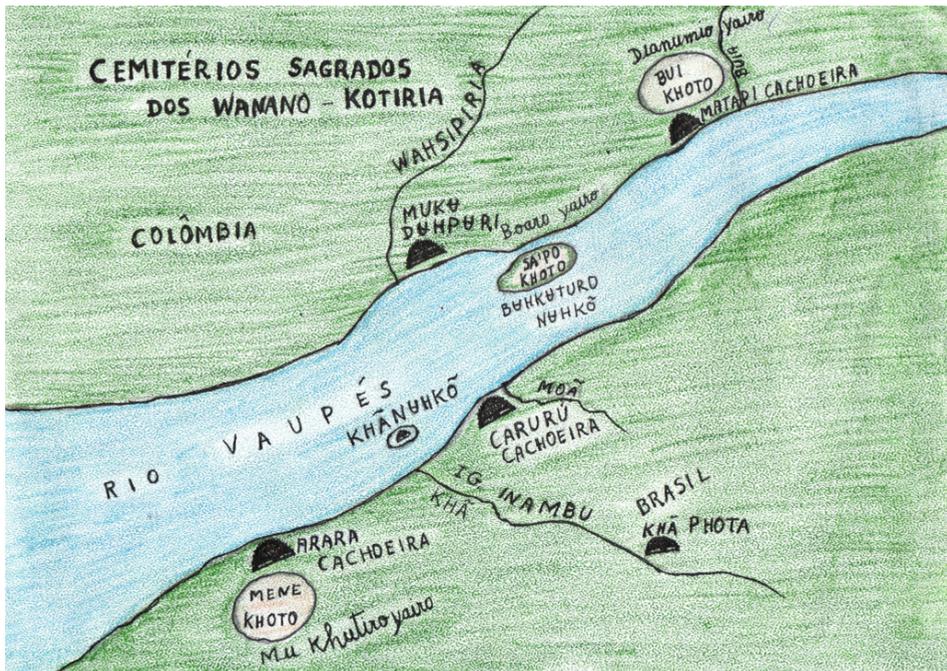


Figure 3: Sites in the Sacred Cemeteries Narrative, by Miguel Cabral Junior.

Diani and his warriors go back to *Buhka Khopa* to report their success and celebrate the victory. However, *Dianumia Yairo* is saddened and disheartened by the terrible consequences of his sons' failure to obey social norms – breaking promises and warring against each other – and so announces that he will remove himself to another world, taking with him sacred instruments, adornments, and knowledge. He gathers his sacred objects and together with his two jaguar-dogs, goes up a hill called *Kharē Khutu* where he sits and slowly enters the ground alive. After a few days, tremendous thunder announces that he has entered completely, establishing *Bu'i Kho'to*, the burial site for his own *Biari* descendants. *Teresinha* explains that three other cemeteries were later established for the descendants of the other brothers, each group having its own proper burial place, as divided in death as their ancestors had become in life.

Teresinha's narrative takes us on a journey into Kotiria culture, and at the same time allows us to observe prominent features of Kotiria narrative discourse

and grammatical structure.⁷ Like all Tukanoan languages, Kotiria is highly synthetic, agglutinative (except in certain verbal inflectional paradigms), and almost exclusively suffixing. It has nominative-accusative syntactic alignment and clear OV word order, with the position of subjects conditioned by discourse-pragmatic considerations. New, topical subjects (often full lexical noun phrases), tend to occur clause-initially, coinciding with the left-edge default focus position. Already known, continuing-topic subjects (commonly in pronominal form), tend to occur clause-finally, but any constituent whose identity is inferable from context can be a null element (Stenzel 2015). Clause-level grammatical relations are established by a combination of fairly rigid OV order, limited subject agreement morphology on verbs, and dependent-marking by means of a small case system. A single ‘objective case’ suffix *-re* (glossed as -OBJ) occurs on all indirect objects and is differentially marked on direct objects; it is also found on many temporal and locative constituents. Referential status, interacting with distinctions of animacy and definiteness, is the key to understanding ‘objective case’ marking in this system (Stenzel 2008b). The other case markers are the locative suffixes *-pɥ* or *-i* and the clitic *=~be’re*, marking NPs with commitative or instrumental semantic roles.

Kotiria has two basic word classes: nouns and verbs. Both adverbial and adjectival notions are formed from stative “quality” verbs that undergo nominalization in order to function as nominal predicates or as modifiers (Stenzel forthcoming). Kotiria’s rich system of noun classification morphology – coding distinctions of countability, animacy, shape, and utility – permeates the grammar, performing a variety of concordial, derivational, and referential functions. Root serialization is extremely productive in verbal words, and is used to express a wide range of adverbial, aspectual, modal, and spatial distinctions (Stenzel 2007a). Verbal morphology includes optional polarity, modal, and aspectual markers, as well as obligatory inflection coding person, aspect, and “clause modality” for different sentential moods. All declarative (realis) statements must be marked by one of five categories of evidentiality: visual, non-visual, inference, assertion, or reported (Stenzel 2008a; Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2018).

Prominent characteristics of discourse include several types of linking mechanisms. Generic “summary-head” expressions, such as *ãyoa* ‘so, then / doing that / because of that’ and *ãni* ‘saying that’, respectively mark the close of event and dialog paragraphs, while full tail-head adverbial clause linking strategies create cohesion between sentences. These linking structures interact with a switch-

⁷Interesting examples and details of particular structures will be noted throughout the text; see Stenzel 2013 for a comprehensive descriptive grammatical analysis.

reference marking system operating within the resulting complex sentences. Subordinate clauses with the same subject as the main clause are nominalized by cross-referencing noun class markers. If there is a change to a new subject accompanied by a shift in focus, the ‘different-subject’ suffix *-chʉ* is used (Stenzel 2015; 2016). Teresinha’s discourse moreover shows that a specific nominalizer is used for broader “event” or “locational/situational” subordinate clauses.

There are several additional features of Teresinha’s discourse that deserve special mention. One of these is how she recreates events and dramatically underscores the fact that they actually occurred *right there*, in the immediate surroundings, through her use of deictic elements (including a distal imperative (see line 110), spatial and motion expressions, onomatopoeia and gestures. It is also interesting to note how Teresinha interacts with her audience, stepping out of the role of narrator at several points to make comments, ask questions, or remind her listeners that they are themselves descendants of the story’s protagonists. The result is a mixture of epic narrative and highly personal commentary by a much esteemed and respected Kotiria elder.

Presentation of the narrative gives the Kotiria orthographic representation on the first line, and free translations in English and Portuguese on the final two lines. The second line gives the underlying, segmented representation that includes some important phonological information. Morphemic nasalization is indicated by a tilde [~] preceding an inherently [+nasal] morpheme, and an apostrophe indicates glottalization, which is perceived as a glottal stop and is often accompanied by laryngealization of vowels (see Stenzel 2007b; Stenzel & Demolin 2013). Tone is represented at the word level, with High tone indicated by the acute accent [´] and Low tone left unmarked. Phrase and sentence-level tonal phenomena, including sentence-final downstep patterns, are not represented. The third line gives corresponding glosses, with a list of non-standard abbreviations provided at the end of the text.

Introduction by José Galvez Trindade

- (1) *vinte hira, ã yoaro 20 ti khũ'ma 2005 hichũ.*
vinte hí-ra ~a=yóá-ro ti=~khũ'bá 2005 ~híchũ
twenty COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 so=do-SG ANPH=year 2005 TEMP
'It's the twentieth (of September) in the year 2005.'
'É dia vinte (de setembro) do ano 2005.'
- (2) *sã a'ríkoro wamañokoro me'ne to durukuare thũ'o yoana tana niha.*
~sa=a'rí-koro ~wabá-ro-koro=~be're
1PL.EXCL.POSS=DEM.PROX-F.RSP father's.sister-F.RSP=COM
to=dú-ruku-a-re thũ'ó yoá--dá tá--dá ~dí-ha
3SG.POSS=speak-stand-PL-OBJ hear do-PL come-PL PROG-VIS.IPFV.1
'We've come with our aunt⁸ (Teresinha) to listen to her stories (about our ancestors).'
'Estamos com nossa tia (Teresinha) para ouvir suas histórias (dos ancestrais).'
- (3) *õi Carurui hiha.*
~ó-í caruru-i hí-ha
DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS caruru-LOC.VIS COP-VIS.IPFV.1
'We're here in Carurú Cachoeira.'
'Estamos aqui em Carurú Cachoeira.'

2 Mahsa khõ'akho'topori

'Kotiria sacred cemeteries'

'Cemitérios sagrados dos Kotiria'⁹

- (4) *mahsa khõ'akho'topori*
~basá ~kho'á-kho'to-pori
people bone-proper.place-PL.place
'Sacred burial places/cemeteries'
'Cemitérios sagrados'

⁸José uses the kinship term specifically for one's father's sister (a paternal aunt, real or classificatory).

⁹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997439>

- (5)
- a'rina ñarananumia wi'i, y# durukuare th#'oduayu'ka.*

a'rí--da ~yará--da--dubia wi'í

DEM.PROX-PL white.people-PL-PL.F arrive.CIS

*y# =dú-ruku-a-re th#'ó-dua-yu'ka*1SG.POSS=speak-stand-PL-OBJ hear-DES-REP.QUOT¹⁰

'These white ladies have come wanting to hear my stories.' (I was told)

'Chegaram nossas assessoras brancas querendo ouvir minhas histórias.'
(me disseram)

- (6)
- y#'# tire michare ya'uko tako niha.*

y#'# tí-re ~bichá-ré ya'ú-ko tá-ko ~dí-ha

1SG ANPH-OBJ today-OBJ tell-F come-F PROG-VIS.IPFV.1

'(So) today I'm coming to tell (them).'¹¹

'(Então) hoje estou vindo contar.'

- (7)
- y#'# hiha wāri khutiro biari pho'nakoro.*

*y#'# hí-ha ~wāri khútiró bíari ~pho'dá-kó-ró*1SG COP-VIS.IPFV.1 wāri khutiro biari descendants¹²-F-SG'I'm a descendant of *wāri khutiro biari*.''Sou descendente de *wāri khutiro biari*.'

¹⁰Use of reported evidentials is relatively rare in narratives. Teresinha employs the quotative evidential here, and in line 12, as a polite reported speech strategy indicating, but not directly identifying, the original speaker who had invited her to tell her stories. In fact, the invitation to speak came from José Trindade (Joselito), who was present and introduced her at the beginning of the recording. See lines 20-22, 26, and 173 for additional interesting uses of the reported evidential.

¹¹This sentence contains two nominalized verbs, *ya'u* 'tell', as the complement of the purposive construction 'come to X', and *ta* 'come', as the complement of the progressive formed with the auxiliary copula *ni*. This auxiliary copula is cognate to the primary copula found in many Tukanoan languages (Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2018), while the primary copula in Kotiria is *hi*, seen in the next line. See lines 25, 289, and 299 for instances of *ni* used with copular semantics, rather than as a component of the progressive construction.

¹²The root *pho'na* literally means 'children' or 'offspring' (e.g. in lines 75, 95, 97, and 117), but is used metaphorically here to refer to the descendants of a specific mythical ancestor, and in lines 52, 58 (and others) to refer to people over whom one has control, such as servants or warriors.

- (8) *yɥ wama Maria Teresinha Marques.*

yɥ=~*wabá* *Maria Teresinha Marques*
 1SG.POSS=name Maria Teresinha Marques
 ‘My name (is) Maria Teresinha Marques.’
 ‘Meu nome (é) Maria Teresinha Marques.’

- (9) *yɥ wama so'toai hira yɥ'ɥre bu'sana phoko wamatiha yɥ'ɥ.*

yɥ=~*wabá* *so'tóá-í* *hí-ra* *yɥ'ɥ-ré bu'sáná phokó*
 1SG.POSS=name end-LOC.VIS COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG-OBJ *bu'sana phoko*
 ~*wabá-tí-há* *yɥ'ɥ*
 name-VBZ-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG

‘(And)¹³ this is my last (traditional) name, what I’m called is *bu'sana phoko*.’

‘(E) meu sobrenome (nome tradicional), me chamam de *bu'sana phoko*.’

- (10) *wāri khutiro biaripho'nakoro.*

~*wári khútíró bíari--pho'da-ko-ro*
wāri khutiro biari-descendants-F-SG

‘I’m a woman of the *wāri khutiro biari* group.’

‘Sou mulher do grupo *wāri khutiro biari*.’

- (11) *yɥ phukɥ yɥ'ɥre hire wĩhoa.*

yɥ=*phukú* *yɥ'ɥ-ré hí-re* ~*wihóá*
 1SG.POSS=father 1SG-OBJ COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 *wĩhoa*

‘For me, my father was *wĩhoa*.’ (I knew him as *wĩhoa*, his traditional name.)

‘Para mim, meu pai era *wĩhoa*.’ (Eu o conheci como *wĩhoa*, seu nome tradicional.)

- (12) *tire a'rina thɥ'oduayu'ka.*

tí-re *a'rí--da* *thɥ'ó-dua-yu'ka*
 ANPH-OBJ DEM.PROX-PL hear-DES-REP.QUOT

‘These (visitors) want to hear (stories).’ (I’m told)

‘Esses (visitantes) querem ouvir (histórias).’ (Me disseram)

¹³There are no overt conjunctions in Kotiria, so these and other elements understood from context are given in parentheses in the translation lines.

- (13) *ã yoako, yɥ'ɥ tire michadahchore noano me'ne a'rinakinare, yɥ mahsiapokane yɥ thɥ'otuare yɥ'ɥ durukukota.*
 ~a=yóá-kó yɥ'ɥ tí-re ~bichá-dáchó-ré ~dóá-ro=~be're
 so=do-F 1SG ANPH-OBJ today-day-OBJ good-SG=COM
 a'rí--da--kida-re yɥ=~basí-a-poka-re
 DEM.PROX-PL-PL.RSP-OBJ 1SG.POSS=know-PL-little-OBJ
 yɥ=thɥ'ó-tu-a-re yɥ'ɥ dú-ruku¹⁴-ko-ta
 1SG.POSS=hear-think-PL-OBJ 1SG speak-stand-F-INTENT
 'So, today with pleasure I'm going to tell them a little of what I know,
 what I understand.'

'Por isso vou contar hoje com prazer um pouco do que eu sei, do que entendo.'

- (14) *a'ri hiri hire wa'manopɥre da'poto.*
 a'rí hí-ri hí-re ~wa'bá¹⁵-ro-pɥ-re
 DEM.PROX COP-NMLZ COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 young/new-SG-LOC-OBJ
 da'pó-tó
 origin/roots-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT
 (Sigh and moment of silence). 'These are stories about what happened in
 the origin times.'
 (Suspiro e momento de silêncio). 'Essas histórias são sobre o que
 aconteceu nos tempos de origem.'

- (15) *pha'muri mahsa òre pha'muyohataa.*
 ~pha'bú-rí ~basá ~ó-ré
 originate-NMLZ people DEIC.PROX-OBJ

¹⁴The serial verb construction *du-ruku* 'speak-stand' means to talk for an extended period of time. It can be used to refer to a single speaker making a speech, bragging (see line 144), or offering a narrative, but can also indicate multiple speakers singing, chanting (see line 236), or having a conversation together. The posture verb *duku* 'stand' (here [ruku], indicating lexicalization) contributes a continuative aspectual reading, and can occur with other verbs, e.g. 'lie-stand' in line 131.

¹⁵All "adjectival" notions in Kotiria are expressed by stative verbs, e.g. *wa'ma* 'to be young' or 'to be new'. To simplify the glosses, only the qualitative semantics, e.g. young/new/good/evil are given in the gloss line.

~pha'bú-yóhá-tá-á

originate-go.upriver-come-ASSERT.PFV

'The origin beings appeared coming upriver here.'

'Os seres de transformação apareceram subindo pelo rio aqui.'

- (16) *duhkusē yu ñhchhsumma wu'uskho'topori khuaa òre matapi.*

dukú--sū¹⁶

yu=~yuchá--sábáá

stand-arrive.TRNS 1SG.POSS=grandfather-PL:kin

wu'ú-sé(ri)-kho'to-pori

khá-a

~ó-ré

house-PL:row-proper.place-PL:place have-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-OBJ

matapi

matapi.village

'Arriving, my ancestors established their houses (their rightful place) here in Matapi.'

'Chegando, meus antepassados estabeleceram suas casas (seu lugar próprio) aqui em Matapi.'

- (17) *to hira, bñkakhopa wamatira.*

tó hí-ra

bñkákákhópá ~wabá-tí-rá

DEF COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 bñka.khopa name-VBZ-VIS.IPFV.2/3

'That place is called *bñkakhopa*.'

'Esse lugar se chama *bñkakhopa*.'

- (18) *ñarana nia ... matapi nina ti mahkare.*

~yará--dá

~dí-a

matapi

~dí-ra

white.people-PL say-ASSERT.PFV matapi.village say-VIS.IPFV.2/3

ti=~baká-re

ANPH=village¹⁷-OBJ

'White people say ... (they) call that village Matapi.'

'Os brancos dizem ... chamam essa aldeia de Matapi.'

¹⁶Kotiria has a number of motion verbs with specific deictic semantics, such as two "arrive" verbs: *sū* 'to arrive there (translocative motion)', and *wi'i* 'to arrive here (cislocative motion)' (some examples are lines 5, 16, and 31, among others). The distinction is indicated in the glosses. When used in serial verb constructions, as we see here, "arrive" verbs indicate the perfectivity or completedness of an event involving motion.

¹⁷The nominal root *mahka* indicates a 'place of origin or belonging', and when used with human referents, is understood to mean a 'village'. When used with wild plants or animals, it may be understood to indicate the jungle or forest (as in line 66).

- (19) *tina a'rina hiphitina, a'rina ñahoriapho'na wa'i khapea ñahoria hia sã ba'ana waro.*
tí--da a'rí--da híphiti--da a'rí--da ñáhari-a--pho'da
 ANPH-PL DEM.PROX-PL everyone-PL DEM.PROX-PL ñahori¹⁸-PL-descendants
wa'i khapea ñáhari-a hí-a ~sa=ba'á--da
 wa'i khapea ñahori-PL COP-ASSERT.PFV 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-PL
wáró
 EMPH
 'All of these, descendants (children), *wa'i khapea ñahoria*, are our true younger brothers.'
 'Todos esses, descendentes (filhos), *wa'i khapea ñahoria*, são nossos irmãos menores verdadeiros.'
- (20) *biari, yabaina, ñahoripho'na hiyu'ka.*
biári yabá--ida ñáhari--pho'da hí-yu'ka
 biari Q:what/how-NMLZ.PL ñahori-descendants COP-REP.QUOT
 '(Younger brothers of the) *biari* (Teresinha's group), the *ñahori* descendants are.' (they're saying)
 '(Irmãos menores dos) *biari* (grupo da Teresinha), os *ñahori* são.' (estão dizendo)
- (21) *tina sã dohka mahkarikuraa hiyu'ka a'rina.*
tí--da ~sa=doká ~baká-ri-kuru-a hí-yu'ka
 ANPH-PL 1PL.EXCL.POSS=below origin-PL-group-PL COP-REP.QUOT
a'rí--da
 DEM.PROX-PL
 'They are the younger second group.' (they're saying)¹⁹
 'Eles são irmãos menores.' (estão dizendo)

¹⁸To facilitate recognition, the proper names of the main protagonists and places have the same underlying and surface representations, e.g. *ñahori* rather than *~yahori*.

¹⁹Teresinha's use of the quotative reported evidential in this sequence of sentences is another reported speech strategy, given that throughout the workshop there had been a great deal of discussion about different Kotiria groups. It is also likely a way of softening this series of statements related to group rankings, especially since the audience was mostly composed of people belonging to a group she states to be lower than her own.

- (22) *tiro òi wu'usekho'topori khayyu'ka, mukudəhpuri a'rina sã ba'ana.*

tí-ró ~ó-í wu'ú-sé(ri)-kho'to-pori
 ANPH-SG DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS house-PL.row-proper.place-PL.place
khúá-yu'ka múku.dəhpuri a'rí--da
 have-REP.QUOT mukú.dəhpuri DEM.PROX-PL
~sa=ba'á--da
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-PL

‘He (*Ñahori*) had his houses here in *Mukú Dəhpuri* (and) these ones here (Carurú villagers are) our younger brothers.’ (they’re saying).

‘Ele (*Ñahori*) tinha suas casas aqui em *Mukú Dəhpuri* (e) esses aqui (moradores de Carurú são) nossos irmãos menores.’ (estão dizendo)

- (23) *phəaro numia, phəaro numia ti phəpəre namotia tire himarebu, tiaro numiarə bəhkəthurupəre.*

phúá-ro ~dúbí-á phúá-ro ~dúbí-á tí=phá-pə-re
 two-SG woman-PL two-SG woman-PL ANPH=time-LOC-OBJ
~dabó-tí-á tí-re hí--bare-bu²⁰ tíá-ro
 wife-VBZ-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-OBJ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS three-SG
~dúbí-á-pú bəkú-thúru-pú-ré
 woman-PL-LOC ancestor-times-LOC-OBJ

‘In those olden times, the custom was to marry two wives, two or even three.’

‘Na época antiga, era costume casar com duas mulheres, duas, ou até três.’

²⁰The expression *himarebu* occurs several times in Teresinha’s narrative, indicating ways of being or events as specifically related to “origin” times. These may be customs that contrast with current social norms (e.g. having more than one wife), or capabilities that humans nowadays no longer possess, such as the ability to transform themselves into other kinds of beings (see line 197). The expression is clearly formed with the copula *hi*, followed by a morpheme *-ma* or *-mare*, which is analyzed here as ‘remote imperfective aspect’, but is possibly related to the morpheme *ma* used in conversation to show respect for one’s interlocutor. The final morpheme *-bu* is cognate to evidential markers in other Tukanoan languages (Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2018) but is not regularly found in the Kotiria evidential system. The expression as a whole seems to indicate the speaker’s authoritative knowledge about such times and customs, and thus is interpreted as having epistemic value: ‘this was how it was in those times’. In line 187 it occurs with the initial verb *ni* ‘say’, indicating ‘this was what X was called in those times’.

- (24) *namoti a'ri, òre matapi wə'əkho'tori tiro hiyu'ka bəhkəro, mari ñəhchə dianumia yairo.*
 ~dabó-tí a'rí ~ó-ré matapí wə'ə-kho'to-ri
 wife-VBZ DEM.PROX DEIC.PROX-OBJ matapi.village house-proper.place-PL
 tí-ró bəkhé-ró ~bari=~yəchə diánúmiá.yáiró
 ANPH-SG ancestor-SG 1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather dianumia.yairo
 'The old one, our grandfather (ancestor) *Dianumia Yairo*, was married
 (and) he had houses there in Matapi.' (they're saying)
 'O velho, nosso avô (ancestral) *Dianumia Yairo*, era casado (e) tinha casas
 ali em Matapi.' (estão dizendo)
- (25) *phayə mahsa hia niatia.*
 phayə ~basá hí-a ~dí-ati-a
 many people COP-PL COP-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
 'There were lots of people living there.'
 'Havia muita gente vivendo ali.'
- (26) *ā yoa òre hiyu'ka tiro ñahori, a'riro yuhpi dianine:*
 ~a=yóá ~ó-ré hí-yu'ka tí-ró ñáhórí a'rí-ro
 so=do DEIC.PROX-OBJ COP-REP.QUOT ANPH-SG ñahori DEM.PROX-SG
 yuhpi.díani-re
 yuhpi.diani-OBJ
 'So (they're saying) that *Ñahori* lived just there (in *Mukə Dəhpəri* and
 said to) *Yuhpi Diani*:
 'Então (estão dizendo que) *Ñahori* vivia logo ali (em *Mukə Dəhpəri* e disse
 ao) *Yuhpi Diani*:
- (27) "numia yə'ə nai wa'ai niha, yə buhibo."
 ~dúbí-á yə'ə ~dá-i wa'á-i ~dí-ha yə=buhíbo
 woman-PL 1SG get-M go-M PROG-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG.POSS=sister.in.law
 "I'm going to get women, my sisters-in-law."
 "Estou indo pegar mulheres, minhas cunhadas."

- (28) *nichu, tirota sinikaatia:*

~dí-chu tí-ró-ta ~sidí-ka'a-ati-a
 say-SW.REF ANPH-SG-EMPH ask.for-do.immediately-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
 'When (Ñahori) said that, (Yuhpi Diani) asked.'
 'Quando (Ñahori) falou isso, (Yuhpi Diani) pediu.'

- (29) "yuh'ukhure kãkoro natanamoa" niatia a'rina ñahoriapho'na.

yuh'ú-khú-ré ~kú-kó-ró ~dá-ta--dabo-a ~dí-ati-a
 1SG-ADD-OBJ one/a-F-SG get-come-wife-PL say-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
 a'rí--da ñahóri-a~pho'da
 DEM.PROX-PL ñáhórí-PL-descendants

'"Bring one more wife for me too," (he asked to Ñahori, the father) of all these Ñahoria descendants here.'

'"Traga mais uma para mim também," (pediu ao Ñahori, pai) desses descendentes de Ñahoria aqui.'

- (30) ñariro tuakaro kha'mapha, hum ... hum.

~yá-rí-ró túá-ká-ró ~kha'bá-pha hum...hum
 bad-NMLZ-SG strong-INTENS-SG want-SPEC (laughs)

'I guess the rascal (Yuhpi Diani) really liked/needed (women), hum ... hum.' [Teresinha chuckles]

'Parece que o danado (Yuhpi Diani) gostava/precisava mesmo (de mulher), hum ... hum.' [risos da Teresinha]

- (31) ã yoa tiro nano wa'a, nawi'i, wehse wa'a te õpũ.

~a=yóá tí-ró ~dá-ro wa'a ~dá-wi'i wesé wa'a té
 so=do ANPH-SG get-SG go get-arrive.CIS garden go until
 ~ó-pũ
 DEIC.PROX-LOC

'So, he (Ñahori) went to get them, brought (them) back, and went off to the gardens over there (in Mukũ Dũhpũri).'

'Então ele (Ñahori) foi pegar, trouxe de volta (e) foram lá para a roça (em Mukũ Dũhpũri).'

- (32) *a'rina ñahoria yaro wɛ'ɛkho'to hira õ mukɛ dɛhpɛri.*
a'rí--da ñáhórí-á yá-ro wɛ'ɛ-khó'tó hí-ra
 DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL POSS-SG house-proper.place COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3
~ó múkɛ.dɛhpɛri
 DEIC.PROX mukɛ.dɛhpɛri
 'Mukɛ Dɛhpɛri is the rightful place of these ñahoria.'
 'Mukɛ Dɛhpɛri é o lugar desses ñahoria.'
- (33) *sekhóa ti yadí'ta te hiro nina to khũre.*
(bu')sé-khoa ti=yá-dí'tá té hí-ro ~dí-ra tó
 side-half/part 3PL.POSS=POSS-ground until COP-SG PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEF
~khú-re
 place-OBJ
 'Their place is on the other side of the river, and that place is still theirs.'
 'O lugar deles fica no outro lado do rio (e) esse lugar ainda é deles.'
- (34) *no'õ ti tachɛ khũre, noa a'rinare ñahoriapho'nare "do'se yoa ta hihari?"*
~do'õ ti=tá-chɛ ~khú-re ~doá a'rí--da-re
 Q:where²¹ 3PL.POSS=COME-SW.REF place-OBJ Q:who DEM.PROX-PL-OBJ
ñáhórí-a--pho'da-re do'sé yoa ta hí-hari
 ñahori-PL-descendants-OBJ Q:how do come COP-Q.IPFV
 'If they were to come back there, no one could ask Ñahori's descendants
 "Why do you come (what are you doing) here?"'
 'Se um dia voltassem ao lugar, ninguém podia perguntar aos
 descendantes de Ñahori "Porque vieram (o que fazem) aqui?"'
- (35) *ne nito bahsioerara.*
~dé ~dí-to basio-éra-ra
 NEG say-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT correct-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 'No one could say that.'
 'Ninguém poderia dizer isso.'

²¹This sentence contains three different question words glossed with their most common semantics, although most can occur with other morphology to derive other interrogative meanings. For example *no'õ* 'where', can combine with morphemes *-pe* or *-puro*, deriving quantity question forms 'how much/many?', *do'se* 'how' also occurs in the expression *do'se hichũ* 'when?' and *do'se yoa* 'why?' (e.g. in line 273).

- (41) “y_ʰʰ duhtii. y_ʰ yakoro hika” *nia*.
 y_ʰʰ dutí-i y_ʰ=yá-kó-ró hí-ka
 1SG order-VIS.PFV.1 1SG.POSS=POSS-F-SG COP-ASSERT.IPFV
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV²²
 ‘I ordered (her). She’s mine!’ (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.
 ‘Eu mandei (pegar). É minha mulher!’ disse (*Yuhpi Diani*).’
- (42) “hierara” *nia*.
 hi-éra-ra ~dí-a
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘No (she’s) not,’ (*Ñahori*) said.
 ‘Não é,’ disse (*Ñahori*).’
- (43) *ni, wehse wa’a, thuatari korore ña’atia*.
 ~dí wesé wa’a thúá-ta-ri-ko-ro-re ~ya’á-ti-a
 say garden go return-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ grab-ATTRIB-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘That said, (she) went to the garden (and) returning, was grabbed.’
 ‘Ditto isso, (ela) foi para a roça (e) voltando, foi agarrada.’
- (44) “thuaga y_ʰʰ me’ne” *nia*.
 thúá-gá y_ʰʰ=be’re ~dí-a
 stay-IMP 1SG=COM say-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘(You) stay with me,’ said (*Diani*).
 ‘Fica comigo,’ disse (*Diani*).’
- (45) “hierara. khā’i nire. pakoro nabosaita.”
 hi-éra-ra ~kha’í ~dí-re pá-ko-ro
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 desire/love PROG-VIS.PFV.2/3 ALT-F-SG
 ~dá-bosa-i-ta
 get-BEN-M-INTENT
 ‘(She) isn’t (yours). You want (her but) I’ll get another one for you,’ (said
Ñahori).’

²²The unusual use of the assertive evidential *-a* in this sentence (rather than the expected visual form *-i*, as in the previous line) is quite interesting. It is possible that use of the assertive form gives the statement greater legitimacy, coding it as already internalized “fact” or as collectively recognized knowledge.

“(Essa) não é (sua). Você quer ficar (com ela mas) vou trazer outra para você,” (disse *Ñahori*).’

- (46) “*hierara*” *nia*.

hi-éra-ra ~*dí-a*
COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“No,” said (*Diani*).’

“Não,” respondia (*Diani*).’

- (47) *ni, tikorore thūkukaa*.

~*dí tí-kó-ró-ré* ~*thūkuka-a*
say ANPH-F-SG-OBJ force-ASSERT.PFV

‘Saying that, (*Diani*) grabbed her.’

‘Dizendo isso, (*Diani*) segurou a mulher.’

- (48) *de tikoro bñkoro kñkorotha thuaa*.

dé *tí-kó-ró* *bñkó-ro* ~*kñ-ko-ro-ta* *thúa-a*
INTJ:poor.one! ANPH-F-SG ancestor.F-SG alone-F-SG-EMPH stay-ASSERT.PFV

‘Poor thing! The old gal was all alone.’

‘Coitada da velha, estava sozinha.’

- (49) *sñ to manñnore yabare, khanñhkore hipthato Yuhpi Diani*:

~*sú* *to=~badú-ro-re* *yabá-re* *khá--dúkó-ré*
arrive.TRNS 3SG.POSS=husband-SG-OBJ Q:what-OBJ hawk-island-OBJ
hí-pha-to *tí-ró* *yuhpi.diani*
COP-time-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG yuhpi.diani

‘(*Ñahori*) went there to her intended husband in *Kha Nñhko* (Hawk Island), where *Yuhpi Diani* lived (and said):’

‘(*Ñahori*) chegou ao marido pretendido dela em *Kha Nñhko* (Ilha de Inambú), onde *Yuhpi Diani* morava (e disse):’

- (50) “*mñ namore yoatapñ mñ mahsawamino ña’a thūkukare*” *nia*.

~*bñ=~dabó-re* *yoá-tá-pé* ~*bñ=~basá--wabi-ro* ~*ya’á*
2SG.POSS=wife-OBJ far-EMPH-LOC 2SG.POSS=people-older.brother-SG grab
~*thūkuka-re* ~*dí-a*
force-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“Your (intended) wife’s gone, your older brother’s people captured her,” said (*Ñahori*).’

“Sua esposa (prometida) já foi, o povo do seu irmão maior pegou,” disse (Ñahori).²³

- (51) *“kue! do’sé yu’u tirore ã yoa duhtierai yu’u” nia.*
kúé do’sé yu’u tí-ró-ré ~a=yóá duti-éra-i yu’u
 INTJ:surprise Q:how 1SG ANPH-SG-OBJ so=do order-NEG-VIS.PFV.1 1SG
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV
 “What? How? I forbade him do that!” (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.
 “O que? Como? Eu o proibi a fazer isso!” (*Yuhpi Diani*) falou.
- (52) *ni to phosapho’nakãre, kñnɯmɯ ba’aro wa’arokaa, phosa pho’nakã phɯaro.*
 ~dí to=phosá~pho’da~ka-re ~kú~dábú=ba’a-ro
 say 3SG.POSS=maku.people-descendants-DIM-OBJ one/a-day=after-SG
 wa’á-dóká-á phosá~pho’da~ka phúá-ro
 go-DIST-ASSERT.PFV maku.people-descendants-DIM two-SG
 ‘Saying that to his servants,²³ the next day two of them went (to check).’
 ‘Falando disso aos seus criados, no dia seguinte, os dois foram (verificar).’
- (53) *tikoro kowaro bu’atarikorore pharitaropɯ, tikorore ña’aa tina.*
tí-kó-ró kówa-ro bu’á-ta-ri-ko-ro-re
 ANPH-F-SG fetch.water-SG go.downhill-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ
pharí-taro-pɯ tí-kó-ró-ré ~ya’á-a tí~da
 form-CLF:lake-LOC ANPH-F-SG-OBJ grab-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL
 ‘When the woman came down to fetch water from the pond, they
 grabbed her.’
 ‘Quando a mulher desceu para pegar água no poço, eles a agarraram.’
- (54) *thunua tikorokɯ, “yu’ure ñaenatiga! soro mahsawa’mino yakoropɯ hiha”*
nia.
 ~thudú-a tí-kó-ró-kɯ yu’u-ré ~ya’a-éra-tiga
 resist-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-F-SG-ADD 1SG-OBJ grab-NEG-NEG.IMP

²³The “servants” referred to here are identified as people of one of the Makú ethnic groups, reflecting the unequal social relations between dominant riverine Tukano and Arawak groups and the forest-dwelling peoples, speakers of what are now referred to as languages of the Nadahup and Kákua-Núkak families (Epps 2008; Bolaños 2016). Use of the diminutive suffix ~ka highlights their smaller physical stature when compared to the riverine peoples (see lines 58-59), but is also used metaphorically to indicate diminished social status.

sóro ~basá--wa'bi-ro yá-ko-ro-p# hí-ha
 different.one people-older.brother-SG POSS-F-SG-LOC COP-VIS.IPFV.1
~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV

'She resisted them: "Let me go! I'm reserved for one from the higher clan," she said.'

'Ela resistiu: "Solta-me! Estou prometida para um do clã maior," disse.'

- (55) *"m#'ure phikare khero m# man#"* nima.

~b#'á-ré phí-ka('a)-re khé-ro ~b#~badú
 2SG-OBJ call-do.immediately-VIS.PFV.2/3 fast-SG 2SG.POSS=husband
~dí~ba
 say-FRUS

'"Your (true) husband is calling you right now," said (the servants, to no avail).'

'"O seu marido (verdadeiro) está chamando rápido," disseram (em vão, os criados).'

- (56) *ne kha'maeraa.*

~dé ~kha'ba-éra-a
 NEG want-NEG-ASSERT.PFV

'[(She) didn't want (to go)!]'²⁴

'[(Ela) não queria (ir)!]'

- (57) *kha'maera, thunuwhtika'aa ña'ano.*

*~kha'ba-éra ~thudú-witi-ka'a-a ~ya'á-ro*²⁵
 want-NEG resist-escape-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV grab-SG

'(She) didn't want (to go), resisted (and) escaped (their) embrace.'

'Não queria ir, resistiu (e) escapou do agarro (deles).'

- (58) *to pho'na õ ma'ainakã hia a'rina ñahoria khi'ti.*

to~pho'dá ~ó ~ba'á~ídá~ká hí-a
 3SG.POSS=children DEIC.PROX small-NMLZ.PL-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

²⁴ [] indicates a personal comment or observation by Teresinha or Joselito.

²⁵ The suffix *-ro* derives a nominal count noun from a verbal root; here, the noun 'embrace' is derived from the verb for 'grab'.

a'rí--da ñáhóri-á khí'ti
DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL become

'His (*Yuhpi Diani*'s) servants, [the future *Ñahoria*] were just this tall.'
'Os criados dele (*Yuhpi Diani*) [os *Ñahoria* do futuro] eram deste tamanhinho.'

(59) *pḥarokã hia.*

pḥá-ro--ka hí-a
TWO-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

'There were two little guys.'
'Eram dois pequenos.'

(60) *ṃṃ ṃhawa'a tinakã:*

~ḅḅ ~ḅhá-wa'a-a tí--da--ka
run MOV.upward-go-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM

'They ran up (to tell *Yuhpi Diani*):'
'Foram correndo para cima (para avisar ao *Yuhpi Diani*):'

(61) *"de yoataṛ ṃ namore ña'a tu'ṣre."*

dé yoá-ta-p̣ ~ḅ=~dabó-re ~ya'á-tu'ṣ-re
INTJ:POOR.one! far-EMPH-LOC 2SG.POSS=wife-OBJ grab-finish-VIS.PFV.2/3

'"It's too late, your wife's already taken."
'"Já era, pegaram sua mulher."

(62) *ti ñari, tiro hi'na ta ḅea me'ne ḅepati hi'na.*

tí--ya-ri tí-ró ~hí'da tá ḅé-a=~be're ḅé-(pa)tí²⁶ ~hí'da
ANPH-bad-NMLZ ANPH-SG EMPH come arrow-PL=COM arrow-VBZ EMPH

'Those servants (and) he (*Yuhpi Diani*) himself came back with arrows and started shooting.'
'Os criados (e) ele (*Yuhpi Diani*) mesmo vieram de volta com flechas e começaram a flechar.'

²⁶The verbalizing suffix *-pati* may be an older, longer form of the now more commonly used verbalizer *-ti*, seen in lines 9, 17, 23, 24, and 140, among others.

- (63) *mari ñhchh̄s̄m̄ma b̄erina phanamana himahana mari.*
~bari=γ̄ch̄ú~s̄b̄úá b̄é-ri--da ~phadába--da
 1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather-PL.kin arrow.shoot-NMLZ-PL grandchild-PL
h̄i--ba-ha-(~h̄i')da ~bari'²⁷
 COP-RSP-VIS.IPFV.1-EMPH 1PL.INCL
 ‘[We’re grandchildren (descendants) of grandparents (ancestors) who used arrows.]’
 ‘[Nós somos descendentes dos nossos avôs (ancestrais) que usavam flechas.]’
- (64) *b̄eato òbaroi, to pharokāre sã'aphaato.*
b̄é-a-to ~ó-ba'ro-i
 arrow.shoot-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT DEIC.PROX-CLF:kind-LOC.VIS
to=phá-ro~ka²⁸-re ~sa'á-pha-to
 3SG.POSS=stomach-SG-DIM-OBJ MOV.inside-stomach-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT
 ‘(Diani’s people) shot (Yuhpi Diani’s servant) right here in the stomach.’
 ‘(O pessoal do Diani) flecharam (o criado do Yuhpi Diani) bem aqui na barriga.’
- (65) *tina b̄athuataa.*
tí--da b̄á-thua-ta-a
 ANPH-PL crawl/crouch-return-come-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘They came crawling back.’
 ‘Eles vinham se arrastando.’
- (66) *mahkarokahore tirore d̄hte koaa.*
~baká-dóká²⁹-hó-ré tí-ró-ré d̄té koá-a
 forest-DIST-banana-OBJ ANPH-SG-OBJ chop cure-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘(They) found wild bananas (and) chopped (them to extract the liquid) to make a cure for him (the wounded guy).’

²⁷Although marked tones reflect word-level patterns, there is tonal downstep on all sentence-final pronouns.

²⁸In this instance and many others, the diminutive suffix *-ká* is used for emphasis.

²⁹The second root in the compound is underlyingly *doka* ‘throw’, grammaticalized as a marker of “distal” spatial relations: that the object is related to distant place (the case here), that the movement is toward the distance or that the action is occurring at a far off location. See also lines 52, 106, 138, and 153.

‘Encontraram banana-do-mato, cortaram (para tirar o líquido e) fizeram curativo para ele (o ferido).’

- (67) *nathua te ti phu'toro yuhpi diani ka'apu.*
 ~dá-thúá-a té ti=phu'tó-ro yuhpi.diani ka'á-pu
 get-return-ASSERT.PFV until 3PL.POSS=master-SG yuhpi.diani beside-LOC
 ‘(They) took (him) right up to their leader *Yuhpi Diani*.’
 ‘Levaram até o chefe deles *Yuhpi Diani*.’
- (68) “*muh'u sare ã wa'achu yoara*” *nia.*
 ~bu'ú ~sá-re ~a=wa'á-chú yoá-ra ~dí-a
 2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ SO=go-SW.REF do-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV
 “‘You made this happen to us,’ they said.’
 “‘Você fez isso acontecer conosco,” disseram.’
- (69) “*muh'ure wãhakãnata*” *nia.*
 ~bu'ú-ré ~wahá-ka'a~da-ta ~dí-a
 2SG-OBJ kill-do.immediately-PL-INTENT say-ASSERT.PFV
 “‘Now we’re going to kill you!’ (they) said.’
 “‘Agora vamos matar você!’” disseram.’
- (70) “*hierara, yu kasero. yu'ure yoenatiga.*
hi-éra-ra yu=kaséro³⁰ yu'ú-ré yoa-éra-tiga
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG.POSS=servant 1SG-OBJ do-NEG-NEG.IMP
 “‘No you won’t, my servants. Don’t do that to me.’
 “‘Nada disso, meus criados. Não façam nada a mim.’”
- (71) *muhsa phu'toro hiha. yu'ubahsi mahsita*” *nia tiro.*
 ~busa=phu'tó-ro hí-ha yu'ú-basi ~basí³¹-ta
 2PL.POSS=master-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG-EMPH know-INTENT
 ~dí-a tí-ró
 say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG
 “‘I’m your leader. I myself can resolve things,” he (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.’
 “‘Sou o chefe. Eu mesmo posso resolver isso,” disse ele (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

³⁰The word *kasero* is a borrowing from Portuguese “caseiro”, a housekeeper or servant.

³¹The verb *mahsi* ‘know’ is also used to indicate ability, to ‘know how’ to do something.

- (72) *ni, ñaina hi'na buea kha'noari ti(na).*
 ~dí ~yá--ida ~hí'da bue-a ~kha'dó-wa'a-ri tí--da
 say bad-NMLZ.PL EMPH arrow-PL prepare/organize-go-NMLZ ANPH-PL
 'Saying that, the servants started making arrows (preparing for war).'
 'Falando isso, os criados foram preparar (armas).'
- (73) *tiro a'rina ñhchuno khi'to hia.*
 tí-ró a'rí--da ~yuchú-ro khi'to hí-a
 ANPH-SG DEM.PROX-PL grandfather-SG become COP-ASSERT.PFV
 '[He (Yuhpi Diani and) the ones who would become (your) grandfathers.]'
 '[Ele (Yuhpi Diani e) os que seriam os avôs (de vocês).]'
- (74) *sã ba'ú, tiro ñahori kũirota hia, to namosãnumia, phæaro numia ...*
 ~sa=ba'ú tí-ró ñáhórí ~kú-iro-ta
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother ANPH-SG ñahori alone-NMLZ.SG-EMPH
 hí-a to=~dabó--sadubia phúá-ro--dubia
 COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F two-SG-PL.F
 'Our younger brother, Ñahori, lived alone with his wives, two women ...'
 'Nosso irmão menor, Ñahori, vivia sozinho com as mulheres, duas esposas ...'
- (75) *to pho'nakã phæarokã, to phayoã phæarokã, seista hia tina ôre mukɛ dɛhpɛri.*
 to=~pho'dá--ka phúá-ro--ka to=phayó-a phúá-ro--ka
 3SG.POSS=children-DIM two-SG-DIM 3SG.POSS=servant-PL two-SG-DIM
 seis³²=ta hí-a tí--da ~ó-ré múkɛ.dɛhpɛri-re
 SIX=EMPH COP-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL DEIC.PROX-OBJ múkɛ.dɛhpɛri-OBJ
 'two children and two servants, they were exactly six here in Mukɛ Dɛhpɛri.'
 'dois filhos e dois criados, no total eram seis aqui em Mukɛ Dɛhpɛri.'

³² Although there are frequently used Kotiria terms for numbers one through five, nowadays it is quite common for both numbers and time expressions, such as *semana* 'week' in line 76, to be borrowed from Portuguese. See also line 264.

- (76)
- no'oi tiasomana ba'aro, ñariro phiriaka bihsi yohata to kaserua me'ne.*

~do'ó-i tíá-semana=ba'a-ro ~yá-ri-ro phiríá-ká³³
 Q:when-LOC.VIS three-weeks=after-SG bad-NMLZ-SG flute-CLF:round
 bisí yóhá-tá to=kaséro-a=~be're
 sound go.upriver-come 3SG.POSS=servant-PL=COM

'Three weeks later, the warrior (*Yuhpi Diani*) came upstream with his servants, to the sound of *piriaka* flutes.'

'Três semanas depois, o guerreiro (*Yuhpi Diani*) vinha subindo com seus criados, ao som da flauta *piriaka*.'

- (77)
- ti phap̃re, yarakã tina kha'mawãhaera himareb̃, tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu*

...
 tí phá-p̃-ré yá-ró--ká tí--da ~kha'bá--waha-éra
 ANPH time-LOC-OBJ secret-SG-DIM ANPH-PL bring/do.together³⁴-kill-NEG
 hí--bare-b̃ tutu...tutu...tutuuuuu
 COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS ONTP:flute.playing

'In those times, it wasn't the custom to make war silently (but to play flutes) *tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu ...*'

'Naqueles tempos, não era costume guerrear em silêncio, (vinham tocando flautas) *tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu ...*'

- (78)
- õ wãhsipiria ñãhkoï wa'asũ ñaina mahaa. te õi sũa.*

~ó ~wãhsipiríá ~d̃ko-i wa'á--sũ ~yá--ida
 DEIC.PROX wãhsipiria island-LOC.VIS go-arrive.TRNS bad-NMLZ.PL
 ~bahá-a té ~ó-í ~sũ-a
 go.uphill-ASSERT.PFV until DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV

'They arrived here in *Wãhsipiria Nãhko* (island, and) the warriors came up the path until they arrived (at *Ñahori*'s house).'

'Chegaram aqui em *Wãhsipiria Nãhko* (ilha, e) os guerreiros foram subindo pelo caminho até chegarem (na casa do *Ñahori*).'

- (79)
- tiro bi'asãmato tiro. khatarosohpakai duhia tiro b̃h̃k̃ro.*

tí-ró bi'á-sã'a--ba-to tí-ró
 ANPH-SG close-MOV.inside-FRUS-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG

³³*Piriaka* are small wooden flutes held horizontally and played through a single blow hole.

³⁴The root *khābā* 'bring or do X together' (see also Footnote 51), when used in a serialization can indicate reflexive action, as in line 162.

- (83) *pho'ophīni peri ti khātarire khūaa tinase'e.*
pho'o--phí-rí *péri ti--kháta-ri-re*
 molongó.tree-CLF:bladelike-PL many 3PL.POSS=cut.separate-NMLZ-OBJ
khúá-a *tí--da-se'e*
 have-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-CONTR
 'They had a lot of strips of molongó wood that they had sharpened ...'
 'Eles tinham um monte de ripas de molongó que estavam bem afiados ...'
- (84) *ti bahtichū hipa tinase're.*
tí *batíchū hí-pha* *tí--da-se'e-re*
 ANPH shield COP-SPEC ANPH-PL-CONTR-OBJ
 '[That (I suppose) were like a shield for them.]'
 '[Que (suponho) era como se fosse escudo para eles.]'
- (85) *"tara sō'o phū'toro" nia.*
tá-rá *~so'ó* *phū'tó-ró* *~dí-a*
 come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEIC.DIST master-SG say-ASSERT.PFV
 "(They're) coming, master!" (Ñahori's servants) said.'
 "(Eles) já vem, chefe!" disseram (os servos do Ñahori).'
- (86) *tinakā phūarokā nia: "to ... to ... tooooooo, ñaina wahpana pho'nañari!"*
tí--da--ka *phúá-ro--ka* *~dí-a* *to...to...tooooooo* *~yá--ida*
 ANPH-PL-DIM two-SG-DIM say-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:taunt bad-NMLZ.PL
wapá--da *~pho'dá--ya-ri*
 enemy-PL children-bad-PL
 '(Ñahori's) two poor servants taunted them: "To ... to ... tooooooo, hated sons of our enemy!"'
 'Os dois criados coitados (de Ñahori) gritavam xingando: "To ... to ... tooooooo, malditos filhos do inimigo!"'
- (87) *"thārekhānata" nimaati pakhuioina.*
~tháre--kha--da-ta *~dí--ba-ati* *pá-khui-o--ida*
 knock.down-chop-PL-INTENT say-FRUS-IPFV ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL
 "We're going to mow you down!" the poor terrified ones yelled.'
 "Vamos derrubar vocês!" gritavam os pobres apavorados.'

- (88) *ne bioera, tinase phayũbia hia.*

~dé bio-éra tí--da-se phayũ-bia hí-a
 NEG defend/resist-NEG ANPH-PL-CONTR many-AUM COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘(But) they (Ñahori’s servants) were overwhelmed, there were too many of the others.’

‘(Mas) não aguentaram (os criados de Ñahori), os outros eram uma multidão.’

- (89) *tinakã, a’rí tho’ori khũamaati pakhuioina, ñahori yainakã ...*

tí--da--ka a’rí thó’ó-rí khũá--ba-ati
 ANPH-PL-DIM DEM.PROX spear-PL have-FRUS-IPFV
 pá-khui-o--ida ñáhórí yá--ida--ka
 ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL ñahori POSS-NMLZ.PL-DIM

‘Those poor guys who just had spears, were terrified, Ñahori’s servants ...’

‘Os coitadinhos que só tinham lanças, ficaram com medo, os criados do Ñahori ...’

- (90) *duhia tina kho’taphisaa bahtirodita.*

duhí-a tí--da kho’tá-phísá³⁷-á batí-ro-dita
 sit-PL ANPH-PL wait-be.ON-ASSERT.PFV shield-CLF:concave-SOL

‘they sat up there waiting with their shields.’

‘ficaram em cima sentados só com escudos.’

- (91) *bũemati ne bioera: “phayũbia hira. sã phũ’toro, wihaga” nima.*

bũé--ba-ati ~dé bio-éra phayũ-bia
 arrow.shoot-FRUS-IPFV NEG defend/resist-NEG many-AUM

hí-ra ~sa=phũ’tó-ro wihá-ga
 COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG MOV.outward-IMP

~dí--ba-a

say-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV

‘Shooting but unable to resist, (the servants) cried (in vain): “There are too many of them, master. Run away!”’

‘Flechando mas não resistindo, gritaram (os criados em vão): “São muitos, chefe. Fuja!”’

³⁷ Many verb serializations contain stative positional roots such as *phisa* ‘be on’, which contribute detailed perspective of the action. Here, we understand that the servants are cowering on higher ground, observing and dreading the arrival of the enemy approaching from below.

- (92) “*wa’eraha yu’úse kũiro pha’ñohita tinare*” *nia tiro.*
*wa’a-éra-ha yu’ú-se ~kú-író ~pha’yó-híta*³⁸
 go-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG-CONTR alone-NMLZ.SG complete-SG.INTENT
tí~da-re ~dí-a tí-ró
 ANPH-PL-OBJ say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG
 ‘I’m not going! I’m going to defeat them all!’ he (*Ñahori*) said.
 ‘‘Não vou! Eu mesmo vou acabar com eles,’’ disse ele (*Ñahori*).
- (93) “*sã phũ’toro wa’aga, wa’aga, sã phũ’toro. mũ’ure wãhakãka. sãma’chũne noano yoahã’ka.*”
~sa=phũ’tó-ro wa’á-gá wa’á-gá ~sa=phũ’tó-ro
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG go-IMP go-IMP 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG
*~bũ’ú-ré ~wahá~ka-ka ~sá~ba’chũ-re ~dóá-ró yoá~ha*³⁹-ka
 2SG-OBJ kill-DIM-PREDICT 1PL.EXCL-ADD-OBJ good-SG do-COMPL-PREDICT
 ‘‘Master, run away, run away, master! (They) will kill you. (They’re) ready to kill us too.’’
 ‘‘Chefe, fuja, fuja, chefe! Vão matar você. Nõs tambẽm, já vão nos matar.’’
- (94) “*hierara. yu’ũbahsi mahsita,*” *nia.*
hi-éra-ra yu’ũ-basi ~basí-ta ~dí-a
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG-EMPH know-INTENT say-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘‘No! I myself can (defeat them),’’ (*Ñahori*) said.
 ‘‘Não! Eu mesmo sei (acabar com eles),’’ disse (*Ñahori*).
- (95) *ni, tina ñahori pho’nakãre, to namosãnumia “a’rínakãre naaga” nia.*
~dí tí~da ñáhórí ~pho’dá~ka-re to=~dabó~sadubia
 say ANPH-PL ñahori children-DIM-OBJ 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F
a’rí~da~ka-re ~dá-wa’a-ga ~dí-a
 DEM.PROX-PL-DIM-OBJ get-go-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘Saying that, *Ñahori* ordered his wives: ‘‘Take the children away!’’ he said.
 ‘Falando disso, *Ñahori* mandou as esposas: ‘‘Levem as crianças embora!’’ disse.’

³⁸The expression *ta hita*, here in reduced form, shows the speaker’s intent to do something ‘by myself’.

³⁹The morpheme *-hã* is analyzed as a shortened form of *phã’yo* (see line 105), which in a serial verb construction adds a ‘completive’ aspectual reading.

- (96) “hai” ni. tinakãre na, ti yaipiripure naa.

hai ~dí tí--da--ka-re ~dá

INTJ:agree say ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get

ti=yái-píri-pu-re ~dá-a

3PL.POSS=jaguar-teeth-CLF:basket-OBJ get-ASSERT.PFV

“Yes!” (they) said. They got the children (and) put them in (their basket with) jaguar-teeth necklaces (and other sacred objects).’

“Sim!” disseram. Pegaram os filhos (e) colocaram no (cesto) de colares de dente-de-onça (e outros objetos sagrados).’

- (97) to namosãnumia pho’nakã phuro.

to=~dabó--sadubia ~pho’dá--ka phúá-ro

3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F children-DIM two-SG

‘[His wives’ two children.]’

‘[Os dois filhos das esposas dele.]’

- (98) “toi, sã bioeraka. m̃h’ubahsi mahsiga sã ph̃h’toro. m̃h’ure khã’imaha sã,”
nia.

tó-i ~sá bio-éra-ka ~b̃h’ú-basi ~basí-gá

DEF-LOC.VIS 1PL.EXCL defend/resist-NEG-ASSERT.IPFV 2SG-EMPH know-IMP

~sa=ph̃h’tó-ro ~b̃h’ú-ré ~kha’í--ba-ha ~sá

1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG 2SG-OBJ love-RSP-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL

~dí-a

say-ASSERT.PFV

“We can’t resist anymore! You take over, master. We love you,” (Ñahori’s servants) said.’

“Não aguentamos mais. Você pode resistir, chefe. Nós amamos você,” disseram (os criados do Ñahori).’

- (99) tiro tobahsi b̃hawihatamaa b̃uerotaro.

tí-ró to-basí b̃há-wiha-ta--ba-a

ANPH-SG DEF-EMPH crawl/crouch-MOV.outward-come-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV

b̃hé-ro-ta-ro

arrow.shoot-SG-come-SG

‘He (Ñahori) himself came out crouching down (and) shooting arrows.’

‘Ele (Ñahori) mesmo veio saindo agachado (e) flechando.’

- (104) *doa, ni “hũũũũ ... bi’oha mari tirore,” ni thumaharekũa.*
dóa ~dí hũũũũ bi’ó-há ~barí tí-ró-ré
 shout say INTJ:victory.cry successful-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.INCL ANPH-SG-OBJ
~dí thú--baha-re--kua
 say push-MOV.upward-OBJ-leave.on.ground
 ‘(They) shouted: “Hũũũũ! ... We got (killed) him!” (and then) rolled his body over.’
 ‘Gritaram: “Hũũũũ! ... Nós conseguimos (matar) ele!” (e depois) viraram (o corpo dele) de costas.’
- (105) *wũ’ũ hũpha’yohã’a.*
wũ’ũ ~hũ-pha’yo--ha-a
 house burn-COMPL-COMPL-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘(They) burned down all the houses.’
 ‘(Eles) tocaram fogo em todas as casas.’
- (106) *ã yoa tina dũhsetire ñũrokaa nia.*
~a=yóá tí--da dũsé-ti⁴¹-re ~yũ-dóká-a ~dí-a
 so=do ANPH-PL mouth-ATTRIB-OBJ see/look-DIST-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘So, the others (from Matapi) were watching the confusion from afar.’
 ‘Então, os outros (de Matapi) ficaram observando a confusão de longe.’
- (107) *a’ri ora hiro hiarito?⁴²*
a’rí hóra hí-ro hí-a-rito
 DEM.PROX hour COP-SG COP-go-or.not
 ‘[Was that when it was?]
 ‘[Era nessa hora ou não?]
- (108) *ni ora hiro hiarito to phichanihti mũhaa tiñũchũ.*
~dí hóra hí-ro hí-a-rito to=phichá--díti
 Q:which hour COP-SG COP-go-or.not REM=fire-ash
~bũhá-a ti=~yũ-chũ
 MOV.upward-ASSERT.PFV 3PL.POSS=see/look-SW.REF
 ‘[Was at this time or not when (the women in Matapi) saw the smoke rising?]

⁴¹The notion of “confusion” is derived from the root for ‘mouth’ marked by the attributive suffix *-ti*, something akin to ‘be mouthy’. It can also be used to refer to a discussion.

⁴²The expression *hiro hiarito* is used to express doubt: ‘Was that the way it went/was or not?’ The verb *wá’a* ‘go’ is often shortened to *-a* when it occurs in serializations (see also line 292).

‘[Era essa hora ou não quando (as mulheres de Matapi) viram a fumaça subir?]’

- (109) *ã yoa ti maṃsṃtṃare ... sã numia khitiṃphayṃ nimahana.*

~a=yóá ti=~badú--sṃbṃa-re ~sá ~dubía khiti-ṃphayṃ
so=do 3PL.POSS=husband-PL.kin-OBJ 1PL.EXCL women story-many
~dí--bá-há=~(hi')da
say-FRUS-VIS.IPFV.1=EMPH

‘So (they commented to) their husbands ... [we women are such gossips! (story-tellers)]’

‘Então (falaram) aos seus maridos ... [como nós mulheres somos fofoqueiras (contadoras de histórias)!]’

- (110) “*ñṃhṃ! do'se mari ñahorire wāhahāpha sina.*”

~yṃ--hṃ⁴³ do'sé ~bari=ñáhóri-ré ~wahá--ha-pha
see/look-IMP.DEIC Q:what 1PL.INCL.POSS=ñahori-OBJ kill-COMPL-SPEC
sí--da
DEM.DIST-PL

‘“Look there! Have those people killed our Ñahori?” (they speculated).’

‘“Olha lá! Será que aqueles mataram nosso Ñahori? (especularam).’

- (111) “*yoaṃpṃ wṃ'ṃta'chṃ hṃtṃhana*” *nia.*

yóá-tá-pṃ wṃ'ṃ--ba'chṃ ~hṃ--bṃha-ra
long-EMPH-LOC house-ADD burn-MOV.upward-VIS.IPFV.2/3
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV

‘“The smoke from the houses has been rising for a long time!” (they said).’

‘“Faz tempo que sobe fumaça das casas!” disseram.’

- (112) “*pa! ã thiharide ni ñṃrokaa.*

pá ~á thí-hari-de ~dí ~yṃ--dóká-á
INTJ:neg.surprise so true-Q.IPFV-EMPH say see/look-DIST-ASSERT.PFV

‘“Oh no! Is it true?” (they wondered) looking from afar.’

‘“Puxa! Será verdade?” (especularam) olhando de longe.’

⁴³The imperative suffix *-hṃ* has inherent distal deictic semantics.

(113) “*bahsañna!*”

basá~yá(-hí)da
EXRT-see/look-EXRT⁴⁴

“Let’s go see!”

“Vamos ver!”

(114) *ti phare ma’ari hiatiri himareb# taati phaati ... p# ... a’ri muk# d#p#ri#.*

tí-phá-ré ~ba’á-ri hí-ati-ri hí~bare-b# tá-átí
ANPH-time-OBJ path-PL COP-IPFV-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS come-IPFV
phá-ati p# a’rí múk#.d#p#ri-p#
time-IPFV LOC DEM.PROX muk#.d#p#ri-LOC

‘[In those days it seems there were already paths coming all the way to *Muk# D#p#ri* (*Ñahori*’s place).]’

‘[Naqueles tempos parece que já existiam as trilhas vindo até ao *Muk# D#p#ri* (lugar do *Ñahori*).]’

(115) *de ti wi’ich# w#’# borawa’aa ... karaa!*

dé tí=wi’í-ch# w#’#
INTJ:poor.one(s)! 3PL.POSS=arrive.CIS-SW.REF house
borá-wa’a-a karaa
slide/fall-go-ASSERT.PFV ONTP:house.collapsing

‘Poor folks! When they got there, the houses were already collapsing ... *Karaa!*’ (sound of houses falling down)

‘Coitados! Quando chegaram, as casas já estavam caindo ... *Karaa!*’ (som das casas caindo)

(116) “*kue! do’sé wa’aride*” *ni, phisumahkamaa tina ñahorire.*

kué do’sé wa’á-ri-de⁴⁵ ~dí
INTJ:surprise Q:what go-NMLZ-NEG.MIR say
phisú~báká~ba-a tí~da ñáhórí-ré
call-look.for-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL ñahori-OBJ

“What in the world happened?” (they thought) calling out, looking (in vain) for *Ñahori* (and his family).’

⁴⁴The exhortative is composed of elements bracketing the verb: initial (*ba*)*sa* and final (*hí*)*na*, both of which are frequently shortened as indicated.

⁴⁵The morpheme *-de* seems to be a negative mirative, indicating both unexpected information and fear.

“O que será que aconteceu?” (pensaram) chamando e procurando (em vão) *Ñahori* (e a família).’

- (117) *“ñahoriii, ñahori pho’nakããã, m̃hsare wāhapha’ñonohkaka,” nia tina biarise.*
ñáhórí ñáhórí ~pho’dá--ká ~b̃sá-re ~wahá--pha’yo--doka-ka
 ñahori ñahori children-DIM 2PL-OBJ kill-complete-together-ASSERT.IPFV
 ~dí-a tí--da bíari-se
 say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL biari-CONTR
 “*Ñahori* ... *Ñahori* children ... (they’ve) killed all of you together!” the *Biari* cried.’
 “*Ñahori* ... *Ñahori* filhos ... mataram todos vocês juntos!” gritaram eles, os *Biari*.’

- (118) *ỹ’tiera tina, yo’o khuinohkaa.*
ỹ’ti-éra tí--da yo’ó k̃huí--doka-a
 answer-NEG ANPH-PL slaughter afraid-together-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘They (the ones who had escaped) didn’t answer, fearful of being slaughtered.’
 ‘Não respondiam (os que tinham escapado), com pavor de serem mortos.’

- (119) *“marire pharituri wāhataa nina” nia.*
~barí-re pharí-thu(a)-ri ~wahá-ta-a ~dí-ra
 1PL.INCL-OBJ time-return-NMLZ kill-come-PL PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV
 “(They’re) coming back to kill us!” (they) thought.’
 “Vão vir de novo para nos matar!” pensaram.’

- (120) *ba’aro, “no’oi wa’ari m̃hsa ñahori pho’nakã” nia.*
ba’á-ró⁴⁶ ~do’ó-i wa’á-ri ~b̃sá ñáhórí ~pho’dá--ká
 after-SG Q:where-LOC.VIS go-Q.PFV 2PL ñahori children-DIM
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV

‘Later, (the *Biari*) cried out, “Where have you gone, *Ñahori* children?”’

‘Mais tarde, (os *Biari*) gritaram, “Onde foram vocês, filhos do *Ñahori*?”’

⁴⁶Relative temporal reference is accomplished by stative roots ‘do/be after’ (also in line 76) or ‘do/be before’ (as in line 282), glossed with their basic semantics.

- (125) “*phi’atak# m#hsare, mahkaha*” *nia*.
phi’á-tá-k# ~b#sá-re ~baká-há ~dí-a
 MOV.out-come-M 2PL-OBJ look.for-VIS.IPFV.1 say-ASSERT.PFV
 “‘Come on out! We’re looking for you,” (the *Biari*) cried.’
 “‘Venham! Estamos procurando vocês,” (os *Biari*) gritaram.’
- (126) *de tinakã to namosãnumia ti wi’iphi’tich#, tinakãre* “*ne do’se wa’ari m#hsa?*” *nia*.
dé tí--da--ka to=~dabó--sadubia
 INTJ:poor.one(s)! ANPH-PL-DIM 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F
ti=wi’í-phi’ti-ch# tí--da--ka-re ~dé do’sé wa’á-ri
 3PL.POSS=arrive.CIS-end-SW.REF ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ NEG Q:what go-Q.PFV
~b#sá ~dí-a
 2PL say-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘When the poor little ones and *Ñahori*’s wives arrived, (they asked) them: “What happened to you?”’
 ‘Quando os pequenos coitados (e) as esposas (do *Ñahori*) chegaram, perguntaram a eles: “O que aconteceu com vocês?”’
- (127) “*yoatap# sã man#re wãhanohkare*” *nia*.
yoá-tá-p# ~sa=~bad#-ré ~wahá--doka-re
 do-come-LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=husband-OBJ kill-together-VIS.PFV.2/3
~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV
 “‘(They) all came to kill our husband,” (the women) said.’
 “‘Vieram matar nosso marido,” disseram (as mulheres).’
- (128) “*sãwaro a’rinakãre sã nai*.”
~sá-waró a’rí--da--ka-re ~sá ~dá-i
 1PL.EXCL-EMPH DEM.PROX-PL-DIM-OBJ 1PL.EXCL get-VIS.PFV.1
 “‘It was us, we took the little ones away.’”
 “‘Nós mesmo, nós levamos esses pequenos.’”

(129) “noana” *nia*.

~dóádá ~dí-a
that’s.good say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘Good thing!’ (the *Biari*) answered.’

“‘Que bom!’ responderam (os *Biari*).’

(130) “*a’rinakã phuaro a’ri yaipirip̄re tuaro sã khã’i*” *nia a’rina to mahsawamis̄m̄ab̄se*.

a’ri~da~ka *phuá-ro a’ri yaí-pirí-p̄re*
DEM.PROX-PL-DIM two-SG DEM.PROX jaguar-teeth-CLF:basket-OBJ

túá-ró ~sá ~kha’i ~dí-a a’ri~da
strong-SG 1PL.EXCL care.for say-ASSERT.PFV DEM.PROX-PL

to~basa~wabi~s̄ub̄ua-b̄se⁴⁷

3SG.POSS=people-older.brother-PL.kin-side

“‘We will care for the two little ones (and) the jaguar-teeth basket (and other sacred objects),” his older brothers (the *Biari*) said.’

“‘Nós cuidamos desses dois pequenos (e) o cesto de dentes-de-onça (e outros objetos sagrados),” diziam os irmão maiores dele (os *Biari*).’

(131) *tinakãre nawa’a te ti ñ̄wa’aka’aa no’oi h̄̄phi’ti, de khataro d̄̄t̄̄ka’ai, ti yir̄i-w̄̄r̄̄ kh̄̄aduhkua*.

tí~da~ka-re ~dá-wa’a té *tí*(~da)

ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get-go until ANPH

~ȳ̄-wa’a-ka’a-a ~do’ó-i ~h̄̄-phi’ti

see/look-go-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV Q:where-LOC.VIS burn-end

dé khatá-ró-d̄̄t̄̄ka’a-i

INTJ:poor.one! flatbread.oven-CLF:concave-edge-LOC.VIS

ti=yir̄i-w̄̄r̄̄ ~khoa-*duku*⁴⁸-a

3PL.POSS=skull-AUG lie-stand-ASSERT.PFV

‘Taking the little ones (they) went looking around where the fire was going out, (and saw) the poor guy fallen at the edge of the oven, his big skull lying on the ground.’

⁴⁷Teresinha’s use of the noun *b̄̄se* ‘side’ here indicates this as a possible lexical origin of the contrastive marker *-se(e)* (see lines 84, 165, 273, 275, among others), a grammaticalization path from ‘side’ to ‘contrastive other’.

⁴⁸Note the serialization of two posture verbs, in which the second root *-duku* ‘stand’ indicates durative aspect. In this case, it emphasizes the complete immobility of the burned corpse lying there.

‘Levando os pequenos, indo olhando onde o fogo estava acabando, (viram) o pobre corpo queimado do lado do forno, a caveira grande deitada no chão.’

(132) *ñahorikiro hũ khõano.*

ñáhórí-kíró ~hũ ~khoá-ro
ñahori-M.RSP burn lie-SG

‘It was Ñahori lying there all burned up.’

‘Era Ñahori deitado queimado.’

(133) *sua yũ'dũa mũawa'a ñaina.*

súá yũ'dũ-á ~bũ-a-wa'a ~yá--ida
angry INTENS-ASSERT.PFV man/person-PL-go bad-NMLZ.PL

‘They became furious.’

‘Ficaram enfurecidos.’

(134) “*noana, sã ba'ũre yoaka*” *nia.*

*~dóádá ~sa=ba'ũ-re yoá-ka*⁴⁹
very.well 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ do-ASSERT.IPFV
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV

‘“Very well, (they’ve) done this to our younger brother (killed him),” (the *Biari*) said.’

‘“Tudo bem, já fizeram isso (mataram) nosso irmão,” disseram (os *Biari*).’

(135) *thua wa'aa.*

thúa-wa'a-a
return-go-ASSERT.PFV

‘They returned home.’

‘Voltaram.’

(136) *hia ti phũkũro a'riro dianumia, mari ñũhchũ.*

hí-a ti=phũkũ-ró a'rí-ro diánúmíá
COP-ASSERT.PFV 3PL.POSS=father-SG DEM.PROX-SG dianumia

⁴⁹Use of the imperfective assertion marker *-ka* (rather than the perfective *-a*) suggests a shared conclusion based on evidence they can all see.

~bari=~yuchú

1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather

‘Their father, *Dianumia (Yairo)*, our grandfather was there.’

‘Lá estava o pai deles, *Dianumia (Yairo)*, nosso avô.’

- (137) “*ne do’sé wa’ari, pho’na.*”

~dé do’sé wa’á-ri ~pho’dá

INTJ:well Q:what go-Q.PFV children

“‘Well, what happened, sons?’ (*Dianumia Yairo* asked).”

“‘Então, o que aconteceu, filhos?’ (*Dianumia Yairo* perguntou).”

- (138) “*yoatap̃ sā ba’ure hūkhōarokare. wāhahare*” *nia.*

yoá-tá-p̃ ~sa=ba’ú-ré

do-EMPH-LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ

~hú~khōa-doka-re ~wahá~ha-re ~dí-a

burn-lie-DIST-VIS.PFV.2/3 kill-COMPL-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘Over there they burned our younger brother. (They) killed (him)!”
(they) said.’

“‘Lá longe queimaram nosso irmão. Mataram!’ relataram.’

- (139) “*noanoka ỹ pho’na, topuruta hiro, to yabu’iri hika.*”

~dóároka ỹ=~pho’dá tópuru-ta hí-ro

enough! 1SG.POSS=children that’s.all-EMPH COP-SG

to=yá-bu’i-ri hí-ka

3SG.POSS=POSS-cause-NMLZ COP-ASSERT.IPFV

“‘Enough, my sons, it’s over, it was his own fault.’”

“‘Basta, meus filhos, já chega, foi culpa dele mesmo.’”

- (140) “*ya’uch̃, th̃’o wamatierare*” *tiro nia tota ti ph̃k̃roσε dianumiase.*

ya’ú-ch̃ th̃’ó ~waba-ti-éra-re tí-ró ~dí-a

warn-SW.REF hear word-VBZ-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 ANPH-SG say-ASSERT.PFV

to-tá⁵⁰ ti=ph̃k̃ú-ro-se diánúmiá-sé

ANPH(3SG)-EMPH 3PL.POSS=father-SG-CONTR dianumia-CONTR

“‘I warned him, but he ignored (it),” he (*Dianumia Yairo*) retorted
[disgusted].”

⁵⁰Teresinha uses the expression *tota* (a short form of *tiro-ta* ‘he there’) for emphasis; indicating that *Dianumia Yairo* was expecting this to happen and is angered and disgusted by the situation. See the plural form of the expression, *tita* shortened from *tina-ta* in line 142.

“Eu aconselhei, mas ele ignorou,” ele (*Dianumia Yairo*) respondeu [desapontado].”

- (141) “*hierara, kha'maeraha, sã phukɛ, (wãha)kha'makasininatha tirore.*”

hi-éra-ra ~kha'ba-éra-ha ~sa=phukú
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL.POSS=father
 (~waha)~kha'báka⁵¹~sidi~da-ta tí-ró-ré
 (kill)RECP-do.still-PL-INTENT ANPH-SG-OBJ

“No, we won't leave it at that, father. We're still going to avenge him.”

“Não queremos deixar por isso mesmo, pai. Vamos ainda vingar ele.”

- (142) “*bu'irimaniano tiro buhtibokari*” *nia tita tikhɛre.*

bu'í-rí~badia-ro tí-ró butí-bo-kari ~dí-a
 cause-NMLZ-not.exist-SG ANPH-SG disappear-DUB-Q.SPEC say-ASSERT.PFV
tí-ta tí-khɛ-re
 ANPH(3PL)-EMPH ANPH-ADD-OBJ

“How could he just disappear without being avenged?” (they) added that too.’

“Como ele podia sumir sem ser vingado?” disseram bem assim também.’

- (143) *ã hi'na mɛhsa mɛa ã nika patere.*

~a=~hí'da ~bɛsá ~bú-a ~a=~dí-ka pá-tere
 so=EMPH 2PL man/person-PL so=say-ASSERT.IPFV ALT-time

‘[Yes, you men sometimes like to say things like that.]’

‘[Sim, vocês homens às vezes gostam de falar essas coisas.]’

- (144) *sã wãhahachɛ, sã ba'ɛre òse yoari hire nika, paio duruku tuariro thɛ'omahsiriro.*

~sá ~wahá~ha-chɛ ~sa=ba'ú-re ~óse
 1PL.EXCL kill-COMPL-SW.REF 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ like.this
yóá-rí hí-re ~dí-ka pá-író dú-rúkú
 do-NMLZ COP-OBJ say-ASSERT.IPFV ALT-NMLZ.SG speak-stand
tuá-ri-ro thɛ'ó~basi-ri-ro
 strong-NMLZ-SG hear-know-NMLZ-SG

‘[When one of us is killed, (you) tell our brother to do that (fight, seek revenge), (or) some other one who talks big, is a braggart.]’

⁵¹The form *kha'maka* is a shortened form of *wãhaka'maka* ‘kill together’, meaning ‘to avenge’ (also in line 192).

‘[Quando um de nós é morto, (vocês) falam ao nosso irmão assim mesmo (para brigar, vingar), (ou) algum outro que fala muito, que se acha valente.]’

- (145) “*hai, ya’umai, ya’ukhse, noana.*”

hái ya’ú--ba-i ya’ú-kh-se ~dóádá
INTJ:agree warn-FRUS-VIS.PFV.1 tell-M-CONTR very.well

“Well then, I warned (you, in vain), I told (you) otherwise, (but) so be it.” (*Dianumia Yairo* speaking)

“Então tá, eu avisei (em vão), aconselhei diferente, (mas) que seja assim.” (*Dianumia Yairo* falando)

- (146) “*m̄hsabahsi mahsia, ȳh pho’na.*”

~b̄hsá-básí ~basí-á ȳh~pho’dá
2PL-EMPH know-ASSERT.PFV 1SG.POSS=children

“You take care of it yourselves, my sons.”

“Vocês mesmo resolvem, meus filhos.”

- (147) “*m̄hsa padahchor̄h m̄hsa õse ya’uch̄h, th̄h’oduerana nina.*”

~b̄hsá pá-dacho-ph̄h ~b̄hsá ~õse ya’ú-ch̄h th̄h’ó-dua-era--da
2PL ALT-day-LOC 2PL like.this warn-SW.REF hear-DES-NEG-PL
~dí-ra
PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3

“(I’m) warning you like this, (you) of this next (younger) generation, (but you) aren’t listening.”

“Eu estou aconselhando vocês assim, (vocês) dessa outra geração (mais nova), (mas vocês) não estão querendo ouvir.”

- (148) *nisua, bu’sa wā’koa.*

~dí-súá bu’sá ~wa’kó-a
say-angry adornment prepare-ASSERT.PFV

‘Saying that angrily, (*Dianumia Yairo*) prepared adornments.’

‘Dizendo assim chateado, (*Dianumia Yairo*) preparou enfeites.’

- (149) *tiro b̄hkh̄ro, m̄h’nok̄h ph̄had̄h noano ñariro phutisu’aa.*

tí-ró b̄hkú-ro ~b̄h’dó-kú ph̄há-dú
ANPH-SG ancestor-SG tobacco-CLF:cylindrical two-CLF:cylindrical

~dóá-ró ~yá-ri-ro phutí-su'a-a
 good-SG bad-NMLZ-SG blow-penetrate-ASSERT.PFV

‘The old guy made two cigars, blowing smoke on them (to bless, or imbue them with violence for success in battle).’

‘O velho fez dois bons cigarros e soprou neles (fez benzimento de força e violência para vencer na guerra).’

- (150) *tina, ã yoata ni, wamoare kha'notu'sha.*

tí--da ~a=yóá-ta ~dí ~wabóá-rí
 ANPH-PL SO=do-EMPH say weapons-PL
 ~kha'dó-tu'sh-a
 prepare/organize-finish-ASSERT.PFV

‘They (the *Biari*), as soon as he said that, set straight away to preparing their weapons.’

‘Eles (os *Biari*), assim que ele (*Dianumia Yairo*) falou isso, já começaram a preparar as armas.’

- (151) *sõ'õ sã mĩp̃ hiore, b̃eakhañ peri hiatimare, b̃eã, b̃eakhañ òmahadohtori waro.*

~so'ó ~sa=~bí-p̃h̃ hí-ro-re b̃hé-a~khad̃ p̃éri
 DEIC.DIST 1PL.EXCL.POSS=NOW-LOC COP-SG-OBJ arrow-PL-cane many
 hí-ati~bare b̃hé-a b̃hé-a~khad̃
 COP-IPFV-REM.IPFV arrow-PL arrow-PL-cane
 ~ó~báhá-dótó-rí wáró
 DEIC.PROX-MOV.upward-bundle-PL EMPH

‘[There, in the place we live now (*Matapi*), there used to be a lot of arrow-cane, arrows, arrow-cane, big bundles this tall.]

‘[Ali, no lugar onde moramos agora (*Matapi*), havia muita cana-de-flecha, flechas, cana-de-flecha, montes de feixes altos assim.]’

- (152) *seis dohtori noano yoaa.*

seis dotó-rí ~dóá-ró yóá-a
 six bundle-PL good-SG do-ASSERT.PFV

‘(Each warrior) made six good bundles (of arrows).’

‘(Cada guerreiro fez seis feixes (de flechas).’

- (153) “*kho'taharo sãre sã ba'ũ yuhpi diani,*” *nirokaata.*

kho'tá-ha-ro ~sá-re ~sa=ba'ũ yuhpi.diani
 wait-COMPL-SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother yuhpi.diani
~dí-dóká-á-tá
 say-DIST-ASSERT.PFV-EMPH

‘‘Tell our younger brother *Yuhpi Diani* to be expecting us,’’ they sent off a message.’

‘‘Avisa ao nosso irmão menor *Yuhpi Diani* que vamos chegar,’’ mandaram recado.’

- (154) *mũ'ũ hii di'tamaniano wãhaboakũ.*

~bũ'ũ hí-i di'tá--badia⁵²-ro ~wahá-bo-a-kũ
 2SG COP-M dirt-not.exist-SG kill-DUB-AFFECT-M

‘[(But) if it were you, better to attack without letting them know!]
 (Teresinha jokes with Joselito)

‘[(Mas) se fosse você, melhor atacar sem avisar!]
 (Teresinha brinca com Joselito)

- (155) *ñaina bũrũta õna ma'apũ taa te wãhsipiria tũhkui.*

~yá--ida bũrũ-ta ~ó-(~hí')da ~ba'á-pũ
 bad-NMLZ.PL go.downriver-come DEIC.PROX-EMPH path-LOC
tá-á té wãhsipiria ~túkú-í
 come-ASSERT.PFV until wãhsipiria pond-LOC.viz

‘The warriors came down right over here, on the river, coming right up to the *Wãhsipiria* pond (river port).’

‘Os guerreiros vinham descendo bem aqui, no caminho (pelo rio), vindo até o poço de *Wãhsipiria* (porto no rio).’

- (156) *ti bũhsoka hia phiriaka'saribũhsoka.*

ti=bũsó-ka hí-a
 3PL.POSS=canoe-CLF:round COP-ASSERT.PFV
phí-ria-ka'sa-ri-bũso-ka
 big-CLF:round-bark-NMLZ-canoe-CLF:round

‘Their canoes were huge bark canoes.’

‘Suas canoas enormes eram feitas com casca de árvores.’

⁵²The expression *di'tamania* ‘no dirt’ means to ‘do something in silence’.

- (157) *do'se ka'saribɨhsokare yoari hi'na ñaina.*
do'sé ka'sá-rí-búsó-ká-ré yoá⁵³-ri ~hí'da
 Q:how bark-NMLZ-canoe-CLF:round-Obj do/make-Q.PFV EMPH
 ~yá--ida
 bad-NMLZ.PL
 '[How did the warriors make those bark canoes?]'
 '[Como os guerreiros faziam essas canoas de casca?]'
- (158) *ōna bɨrɨtaa.*
~ó-(~hí'da) bɨrɨ-ta-a
 DEIC.PROX-EMPH go.downriver-come-ASSERT.PFV
 'Right down here (they) came.'
 'Desceram bem para cá.'
- (159) *ōre wa'aa, ōre yɨ'dopo'o.*
~ó-ré wa'á-a ~ó-ré yɨ'dó-po'o
 DEIC.PROX-Obj go-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-Obj drag.canoe-place.floating
 'They went (through the rapids), dragging the canoes (on the rocks) over here.'⁵⁴
 'Passaram (a cachoeira), arrastando as canoas (pelas pedras) aqui.'
- (160) *ñaina phiriaka bihsibɨɨaduhkua noano me'neta pu ... pu ... puuuuuuuu,*
~yá--ida phíríá-ká bisí-bárú-á-dúkú-a
 bad-NMLZ.PL flute-CLF:round sound-go.downriver-go-stand-ASSERT.PFV
 ~dóá-ró=~be're-ta pu...pu...puuuuuuu
 good-SG=COM-EMPH ONTP:flute.playing
 'The warriors came down to the constant sound of *phiriaka* flutes: *pu ... pu ... puuuuuuuu!*'
 'Os guerreiros vinham descendo sempre ao som das flautas *phiriaka*: *pu ... pu ... puuuuuuuu!*'

⁵³The root *yoa* means 'do' or 'make', and is glossed with the meaning appropriate to the context.

⁵⁴Teresinha gestures to the locations she is referring to, all near the village where the narrative was recorded.

- (161) *kho'tathu'sūmaa, tinakākh̃. s̃pa tina b̃eri himarepha tinare.*
kho'tá-thu's̃ba-a tí--da--ka-kh̃
 wait-finish-ready-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM-ADD
~s̃pa tí--da b̃é-rí hí--bare-pha
 arrive.TRNS-bring.to.shore ANPH-PL arrow.shoot-PL COP-REM.IPFV-time
tí--da-re
 ANPH-PL-OBJ
 '(Yuhpi Diani's men) were already there ready waiting, (and) when (the Biari) landed, they starting right in firing arrows at them.'
 'Os (guerreiros de Yuhpi Diani) também já estavam esperando de prontidão (e) quando (os Biari) encostaram, já começaram a flechá-los.'
- (162) *tinakākh̃ yoakha'ma, wāhañoeraa ñaina.*
tí--da--ka-kh̃ yoá--kha'ba ~waha--yo-éra-a
 ANPH-PL-DIM-ADD do-RECP kill-do.immediately-NEG-ASSERT.PFV
~yá--ida
 bad-NMLZ.PL
 'They too (Yuhpi Diani's men) returned fire, (but the Biari) weren't hit.'
 'Os (guerreiros do Yuhpi Diani) também começaram a flechar de volta, (mas os Biari) não morriam.'
- (163) *de to kaseroakā ...*
dé to=kaséro-a--ka
 INTJ:poor.one(s)! 3SG.POSS=servant-PL-DIM
 'Poor guys, his (Yuhpi Diani's) servants ...'
 'Coitados, os criados (do Yuhpi Diani) ...'
- (164) *tiata noano wi'ich̃, de õita tiro du'tihā hi'na, b̃ea tinare phi'tiawa'aa.*
tiá-ta ~dóá-ró wi'í-ch̃ dé
 three-EMPH good-SG arrive.CIS-SW.REF INTJ:poor.one!
~ó-i-ta tí-ró du'tí--ha ~hí'da b̃é-a
 DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS-EMPH ANPH-SG escape-COMPL EMPH ARROW-PL
tí--da-re⁵⁵ phi'tí-a-wa'a-a
 ANPH-PL-OBJ end-AFFECT-go-ASSERT.PFV
 'After three rounds (of arrows) had arrived, with the next round, the poor guy (Yuhpi Diani) ran off, the arrows running out on them.'

⁵⁵Use of the objective case suffix *-re* on the pronoun *tina* and the marker *-a* on the verb emphasize how the subject is being negatively affected by the situation.

‘Depois de chegarem três levadas (de flechas), na outra o coitado (*Yuhpi Diani*) acabou fugindo, as flechas deles acabando.’

- (165) *siesere ã yoa duhkuhãa nia painase.*

sié-(bʰ)se-re ~a=yóá dukú--ha-a ~dí-a
 front-side-OBJ so=do stand-COMPL-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV
pá--ida-se
 ALT-NMLZ.PL-CONTR

‘(While) from the opposite side the others (*Biari*) continued on (shooting).’

‘(Enquanto) do outro lado os outros (os *Biari*) continuavam (a flechar).’

- (166) *phome, ba'aro utimu, ti sũchʰ, tinare tãa dohkare.*

~phobé ba'á-ró utimu ti=~sú-chú tí--da-re
 give.up after-SG last.one 3PL.POSS=arrive.TRNS-SW.REF ANPH-PL-OBJ
~tá-a doká-re
 rock-PL throw-VIS.PFV.2/3

‘Already exhausted, after their (the *Biari*’s) last (arrow) arrived, (*Yuhpi Diani*’s servants) threw rocks (at the *Biari*).’

‘Já cansados, depois que chegou a última (flecha dos *Biari*), (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) jogaram pedras (nos *Biari*).’

- (167) *toi ni ã yoari himarebʰ sô'ó khã nũhkore ...*

tó-i ~dí ~a=yóá-rí hí--bare-bʰ ~so'ó
 REM-LOC.VIS say so=do-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS DEIC.DIST
~khã--dũko-re
 hawk-island-OBJ

‘There, it’s said (that), in the old times, there in *Khã Nũhko* ...’

‘Lá, dizem então, que lá nos tempos antigos, em *Khã Nũhko* ...’

- (168) *thu'sʰ, pitiasama sa'ari himarebʰta.*

thu'sú pítia~saba sa'á-ri hí--bare-bʰ-ta
 finish war.trench dig-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS-EMPH

‘in the end, (*Yuhpi Diani*’s men) dug trenches, it seems that’s just how it was.’

‘no final (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) cavaram trincheiras, parece que foi assim mesmo.’

- (169) “ã hiro to pitiasama to di khōarin̄hko hira, ȳ mahko.”
 ~a=hí-ro to=pitia~saba to=dií ~khoá-ri~d̄ko
 so=COP-SG 3SG.POSS=war.trench 3SG.POSS=blood lie-NMLZ-island
 hí-ra ȳ~bakó
 COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG.POSS=daughter
 ‘[“That why it’s an island (that has) trenches with their spilled blood, my daughter,” (my father said).⁵⁶’
 ‘[“Por isso, é uma ilha (que tem) buracos com sangue deles derramado, minha filha,” (dizia meu pai).]’
- (170) “pátere b̄hk̄uthuru so’toap̄re kha’mawāha buhtiaka a’ri n̄hkore.”
 pátere b̄k̄ú-thúru so’tóa-p̄re ~kha’bá~waha
 maybe old-times end-LOC-OBJ do/bring.together-kill
 butí-a-ka a’rí ~d̄kó-re
 disappear-PL-PREDICT DEM.PROX island-OBJ
 ‘[“Maybe, in the future they’re all going to kill each other and disappear from the island.”]’
 ‘[“Talvez, no futuro vão se-matar e sumir todos dessa ilha.”]’
- (171) niatire mai, ȳ ñ̄hch̄m̄n̄ano.
 ~dí-átí-ré ~baí ȳ~ȳch̄ú~b̄dá-ró
 say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father 1SG.POSS=grandfather-deceased-SG
 ‘[My dad (and) my late grandfather used to say that.]’
 ‘[Assim papai (e) meu avô finado contavam.]’
- (172) ȳ ph̄uk̄ niya’ure, niya’utire.
 ȳ=ph̄uk̄ ~dí-yá’ú-ré ~dí-yá’ú-átí-ré
 1SG.POSS=father say-tell-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3
 ‘[My father told (me), used to tell (me).]’
 ‘[Meu pai contou, contava.]’

⁵⁶Teresinha explicitly attributes this negative assessment of the neighboring island and its inhabitants to her father, perhaps as a way to sidestep responsibility for it. Her use of the epistemic expression *himarebuta* just two lines earlier may also signal that she is aware she is entering into delicate politico-narrative territory.

- (173)
- ã to dikhõano hiro niyu'ka to. ã hia tina kha'machũa phayũ nika tore.*

~a=tó díí--khoa-ro hí-ro ~dí-yu'ka⁵⁷ tó ~a=hí-a
 SO=REM blood-lie-SG COP-SG say-REP.QUOT REM SO=COP-ASSERT.PFV
tí--da ~kha'báchũ-a phayũ ~dí-ka tó-re
 ANPH-PL fight-PL many PROG-ASSERT.IPFV REM-OBJ

‘[So they say it’s a place that has spilled blood. That’s why they’re always fighting there.]’

‘[Dizem que é um lugar de sangue derramado. É por isso que estão sempre brigando lá.]’

- (174)
- ti(na) pimũ'nonore bahsama'noeina, õse ti(na) bihsiawe boowema'noeno.*

tí pí--bũ'do-ro-re basá⁵⁸--ba'doé--ida ~óse
 ANPH war-tobacco-SG-OBJ bless-not.do-NMLZ.PL like.this
ti=bisí-a-we

3PL.POSS=sweet-AFFECT-MOV.through

bó-o-we--ba'doé-ro

descend-CAUS-MOV.through-not.do-SG

‘[They’re ones who never received the (anti-)war blessing, to make them sweet (calm, non-violent).]’

‘[Eles que são não benzidos (contra) guerra, que os tornariam doces (calmos, não-violentos).]’

- (175)
- bahsama'noeri nũhko hikano nika, yo'õ ti nũhko.*

basá--ba'doé-ri ~dũkó hí-ka-ro ~dí-ka yo'õ
 bless-not.do-NMLZ island COP-PREDICT-SG PROG-ASSERT.IPFV slaughter
tí ~dũkó
 ANPH island

‘[It will always be an unblessed island, a violent island.]’

‘[Será sempre uma ilha que não foi benzida, uma ilha de violência.]’

⁵⁷Use of the quotative evidential in these statements is another strategy by which Teresinha can attribute a negative opinion to others.

⁵⁸The root *bahsa* is used with a range of meanings, including ‘dance/sing’ (see lines 235, 237 and ‘bless’.

(176) *õse wamoa ti da'rasuariro.*

~óse ~wabóá tí da'rá-sua⁵⁹-ri-ro
like.this violence ANPH work-angry-NMLZ-SG

‘[So everyone is violent.]’

‘[Assim todos são violentos.]’

(177) *ã yoa phomea.*

~a=yóá ~phobé-a
so=do give.up-ASSERT.PFV

‘So, (they, *Yuhpi Diani*’s servants) gave up.’

‘Então, (eles, os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) desistiram.’

(178) “*marire phi'tiera a'ri marire*” ni tinakã du'tika'aa te khã pho'tai.

~barí-re phi'ti-éra a'rí ~barí-re ~dí tí--da--ka
1PL.INCL-OBJ end-NEG DEM.PROX 1PL.INCL-OBJ say ANPH-PL-DIM
du'tí-ka'a-a té ~khã-pho'ta-i)
escape-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV until hawk-headwater-LOC.VIS

“‘This (attack) against us never ends!’ (they) said (and escaped off to the headwaters of the Inambú stream (*Khã Pho'tai*)).’

“‘Esse (ataque) não acaba!’ disseram (e) fugiram até a cabeceira do igarapé Inambú (*Khã Pho'tai*).’

(179) *no'oi hiharita baraphoa? no'oi hiharita ti phoayeri?*

~dó'ó-i hí-hari-ta bará-phoa
Q:where-LOC.VIS COP-Q.IPFV-EMPH potato.sp-falls/rapids

~dó'ó-i hí-kari-ta tí phoá-yeri
Q:where-LOC.VIS COP-Q.SPEC-EMPH ANPH falls/rapids-PL

‘[Where are those ‘potato’ rapids?⁶⁰ I wonder where those rapids are.]’

‘[Onde fica essa cachoeira de ‘batata’? Não sei onde fica essa cachoeira.]’

⁵⁹The expression *da'ra-sua* indicates it's as if they always had weapons in their hands (instead of tools or other normal work instruments), see line 150.

⁶⁰Teresinha uses the name by which the rapids are currently known.

(180) *kha pho'tai, toi hia.*

khá-pho'ta-i *tó-i* *hí-a*
hawk-headwater-LOC.VIS REM-LOC.VIS COP-ASSERT.PFV

(Joselito responds) ‘[The Inambú (hawk) headwaters are over there.]’

(Joselito responde) ‘[A cabeçeira do Inambú (gavião) é para lá.]’

(181) “*ne,*” *nimato, de ne mania.*

~dé *~dí--ba-to* *dé* *~dé ~badía*
INTJ:hello say-FRUS-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT INTJ:poor.one(s)! NEG not.exist

“Hello?” (*Diani*’s warriors, the *Biari*) called out (in vain), but poor guys, there was no one.’

“Alô?” (os guerreiros do *Diani*, os *Biari*) chamaram (em vão), mas coitados, não havia ninguém.’

(182) *mahka tini manieno: “no’oi wa’ari” ni.*

~baká--tidi *~badié-ro* *~do’ó-i* *wa’á-ri* *~dí*
look.for-wander.around not.have-SG Q:where-LOC.VIS go-Q.PFV say

‘Looking all over (the island): “Where have they gone?” (they) wondered.’

‘Procurando por toda parte (da ilha): “Onde foram?” se perguntaram.’

(183) *tia n̄m̄ hi, pān̄m̄ ñami bur̄ta ñaina.*

tíá *~dubú hí* *pá--dub̄* *~yabí bur̄-ta* *~yá--ida*
three day COP ALT-day night go.downriver-come bad-NMLZ.PL

‘Three days passed (and) the next night (*Dianumia Yairo* and his warriors from *Matapi*) came downriver.’

‘Passaram três dias (e) no dia seguinte de noite (*Dianumia Yairo* e os guerreiros de *Matapi*) vinham descendo.’

(184) *de th̄’oborop̄ tho! tho! tho!*

dé *th̄’ó-boro-p̄* *tho!...tho!...tho!*
INTJ:poor.one(s)! hear-separate.into.pieces-LOC ONTP:chopping

‘Poor guys (*Yuhpi Diani*’s servants). (The *Biari*) could hear from afar the sound of chopping: *Tho! Tho! Tho!*’

‘Coitados (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*). (Os *Biari*) ouviram de longe o som de batidas: *Tho! Tho! Tho!*’

- (185) *yoati pakhuoina, a'ri wɛ'ɛ thu'sɛpha'yoa thu'sɛa.*

yoá-ati pá-khui-o⁶¹--ida a'rí wɛ'ɛ
do-IPFV ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL DEM.PROX house
thu'sá-phá'yó-á thu'sá-a
finish-complete-AFFECT finish-ASSERT.PFV

'The other frightened ones (*Yuhpi Diani's* servants) were finishing up (the construction) of a barricade.'

'Os outros apavorados (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) estavam acabando (de construir) uma barricada.'

- (186) *a'ri cerca thu'sɛa to mɛhapisaato.*

a'rí cerca⁶² thu'sá-a
DEM.PROX fence finish-ASSERT.PFV
to=~buhá-phísá-tó
3SG.POSS=MOV.upward-be.on-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT

'They finished the barricade, where they could be up high (on a platform).'

'Acabaram a barricada, onde subiam bem no alto (numa plataforma).'

- (187) '*khakhasario*' *nimarebɛ tokhɛre, khakhasario ti yoario.*

khá-khásá-río ~dí--bare-bɛ tó-khɛ-re
hawk-platform-CLF:flat say-REM.IPFV-EPIS DEF-ADD-OBJ
khá-khásá-río ti=yoá-rio
hawk-platform-CLF:flat 3PL.POSS=do-CLF:flat

'It was called then *khakhasario*, it was a "hawk's nest" that they built.'

'Era chamada naquele tempo de *khakhasario*, foi "ninho de gavião" que fizeram.'

- (188) *tiñami toi koatare nia, "ne hiharo khatiduaró" nika tiro.*

tí--yábí tó-i koá-ta-re ~dí-a ~dé
ANPH-night REM-LOC.VIS make.noise-come-OBJ say-ASSERT.PFV NEG

⁶¹Some verbs in Kotiria have causative forms derived from the root+causative suffix -o, as we see here in the nominalized form *pakhuoina* 'other frightened/terrified ones'.

⁶²Here Teresinha uses a borrowed word from Portuguese *cerca* 'fence' to refer to the barricade.

*hí-haro*⁶³ *khatí-dúá-ró ~dí-ka* *tí-ró*
 COP-IMP.3 live-DES-SG say-ASSERT.IPFV ANPH-SG

‘That night, hearing the noise from up there (*Dianumia Yairo*) said:
 “Don’t (attack), let (*Yuhpi Diani*) survive.”

‘Naquela noite, ouvindo o som vindo de lá (*Dianumia Yairo*) disse: “Não
 (ataca), deixa (*Yuhpi Diani*) sobreviver.”

- (189) “*to yabu’iri, m̃hsa koiro th̃’oerare.*”

to=yá-bu’i-ri *~b̃hsa=kó-iro*
 3SG.POSS=POSS-cause-NMLZ 2PL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG
th̃’o-éra-re
 hear-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3

“He’s at fault, your brother wouldn’t listen.”

“Ele é culpado, seu irmão não ouvia (meus conselhos).”

- (190) “*hira to pho’nakã ñahoriakã, tina mahsaphutiaka*” *nimaati.*

hí-ra *to=~pho’dá~ka* *ñáhórí-á~ká tí~da*
 COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 3SG.POSS=children-DIM ñahori-PL-DIM ANPH-PL
~basá-phú-tí-á-ká *~dí~ba-ati*
 people-expand-VBZ-PL-PREDICT say-FRUS-IPFV

“(But) there are two *Ñahori* children, they will multiply (reproduce),”
 (*Yuhpi Diani*) said (in vain, still trying to convince them).’

“(Mas) há dois pequenos filhos do *Ñahori*, eles se multiplicarão,” disse
 (*Yuhpi Diani* em vão, tentando convencê-los).’

- (191) “*kha’maeraha, kha’maeraha, kha’maeraha, kha’maerakãha*” *nia.*

~kha’ba-éra-ha *~kha’ba-éra-ha* *~kha’ba-éra-ha*
 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1
~kha’ba-éra~ka-ha *~dí-a*
 want-NEG-dim-VIS.IPFV.1 say-ASSERT.PFV

“We refuse! We refuse! We refuse! We absolutely refuse!” (they)
 insisted.’

“Não queremos! Não queremos! Não queremos! Não queremos mesmo!”
 insistiram.’

⁶³The suffix *-haro* is a third-person imperative ‘allow him to be one who lives’. See another instance of the same morpheme in line 234.

- (192) “(wāha)kha’makasininatha ñatiaro yoari hire,” niatia.
 (~waha)~kha’bāka~sidi~da-ta⁶⁴ ~yá-ti-a-ro
 (kill)RECP-do.still-PL-EMPH bad-ATTRIB-AFFECT-SG
 yoá-ri hí-re ~dí-ati-a
 do-NMLZ(INFER) COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘We’re still going to avenge (our brother) for the evil done to him,’ they kept saying.’
 ‘Ainda vamos vingá-lo (nosso irmão) pelo mal feito a ele,’ ficavam dizendo.’
- (193) “hai” ni.
 hái ~dí
 INTJ:agree say
 ‘“All right” (Dianumia Yairo) said.’
 ‘“Está bom,” falou (Dianumia Yairo).’
- (194) thã’oa, ñami no’opeina taa nia ñaina, quatro ou seis hiari ti(na)?
 thã’ó-a ~yabí ~do’ó-pe~ida tá-a ~dí-a
 hear-PL night Q-QUANT.C-NMLZ.PL come-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV
 ~yá~ida quatro ou seis hí-a-ri tí(~da)
 bad-NMLZ.PL four or six COP-PL-Q.PFV ANPH
 ‘Hearing (the sounds from the barricade), at night ... [how many warriors were there – four or six of them maybe?].’
 ‘Ouvindo (os barulhos da barricada), de noite ... [quantos guerreiros eram – quatro ou seis talvez?].’
- (195) wa’awa’atha ñamitha p̃ cerca.
 wa’á-wa’a-a-ta ~yabí-ta p̃ cerca
 go-go-ASSERT.PFV-EMPH night-EMPH DIST fence
 ‘(They) went right up to the barricade.’
 ‘Foram indo até perto da barricada.’

⁶⁴Here we see an example of the suffixes *-na-ta* marking 1PL intent (see also lines 69 and 87) in contrast to 1SG intent (in lines 13, 45, and others). We also find a good example of inference evidential marking, used because the speakers only saw the result of what was done to their brother, but not the actual actions. The expression *(wāha)kha’maka* is understood to mean ‘kill as was done to them’, in other words, to avenge.

- (196) *noano õsekã yoamaati tinakã, cerca ne suhsueraro.*
~dóá-ró ~óse~ka yoá~ba-ati tí~da~ka cerca ~dé
 good-SG like.this-DIM do-FRUS-IPFV ANPH-PL-DIM fence NEG
susu-éra-ro
 have.holes-NEG-SG
 ‘They (*Yuhpi Diani*’s servants) were making a good barricade, like this with no open spaces (to get through).’
 ‘Eles (os criados do *Yuhpi Diani*) estavam fazendo a barricada bem feita assim, sem frestas (para alguém passar).’
- (197) *ñariro hũiro dohomuaa.*
~yá-ri-ro ~hú-iro dohó~bũ⁶⁵-(wa’)a-a
 bad-NMLZ-SG worm-NMLZ.SG transform-run-go-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘*Dianumia Yairo* (and his men) quickly transformed into worms.’
 ‘*Dianumia Yairo* (e os guerreiros) rapidamente se transformaram em minhocas.’
- (198) *bũkũthurupũ hiri himarero, doho sã’a phitiawa’aa.*
bũkũ-thúru-pũ hí-ri hí~bare-ro dohó ~sa’á
 ancestor-times-LOC COP-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-SG transform MOV.inside
phíti-a-wa’a-a
 accompany-PL-go-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘[That’s the way it was in ancient times, (they) transformed (and) all of them went (into the ground).]’
 ‘[Era assim nos tempos antigos, se transformavam (e) entraram todos (na terra).]’
- (199) *ti sãsurũka’achũwaro, nia to kaseroa:*
ti=~sá(’a)-surũ-ka’a-chũ-waró ~dí-a
 3PL.POSS=MOV.inside-pause-beside-SW.REF-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV
to=kaséro-a
 3SG.POSS=servant-PL
 ‘When they came out right beside (*Yuhpi Diani*’s) servants, they cried out.’
 ‘Quando eles saíram bem perto dos criados (do *Yuhpi Diani*), eles gritaram.’

⁶⁵When the root *mũ* ‘run’ occurs in a serial verb construction it adds the adverbial notion to ‘do X quickly’.

(200) “*sã phũ'toro duhitaga mũ'ũ.*”

~sa=phũ'tó-ro duhí-ta-ga ~bũ'ũ
1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG descend-come-IMP 2SG

“Come down, master!”

“Desça, chefe!”

(201) “*mũ'ũ 'dũhkaboha nimeheta', mũ'ũ sãre tire wã'kore.*”

~bũ'ũ dũka-bo-ha ~dí--beheta ~bũ'ũ ~sá-re
2SG begin-DUB-VIS.IPFV.1 say-NEG.INTENS 2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ
tí-re ~wa'kó-re
ANPH-OBJ cause.to.happen-VIS.PFV.2/3

“You (decided) ‘I’m going to start (this war)’, it’s your fault this is happening to us!”

“Você (resolveu) ‘Eu vou começar (essa guerra)’, é sua culpa o que está acontecendo conosco!”

(202) *taga mũ'ũkhũ sã da'rana yoakha'maha sã,*” *nia.*

tá-gá ~bũ'ũ-khũ ~sa=da'rá--da yoá--kha'ba-ha ~sá
come-IMP 2SG-ADD 1PL.EXCL.POSS=work-PL do-RECP-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV

“You come too, to help with our work,” (the servants) said.’

“Venha você também ajudar o nosso trabalho,” falaram.’

(203) “*hai*” *ni.*

hái ~dí
INTJ:agree say

“All right,” said (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

“Está bom,” disse (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

(204) *ñaina dohamũaa ti(na)tha tirore.*

~yá--ida dohá--bũa-a tí-ta tí-ró-ré
bad-NMLZ.PL neg.curse-high-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-EMPH ANPH-SG-OBJ

‘(The servants) sent up a curse on him (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

‘(Os criados) amaldiçoaram o (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

- (205) *“hai” ni tirore sī’ariphī sī’a.*
háí ~dí tí-ró-ré ~si’á-ri-~phi
 INTJ:agree say ANPH-SG-OBJ set.fire.to-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike
~si’á-a
 set.fire.to-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘“All right,” he said (and they) lit up a torch (to light the way) for him.’
 ‘“Está bom,” ele disse (e) acenderam uma tocha para (clarear o caminho) para ele.’
- (206) *sī’a duhiato pakhuoriro ...*
~si’á duhí-(wa’)a-to pá-khui-o-ri-ro
 set.fire.to descend-go-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ-SG
 ‘With the light, the poor terrified guy (*Yuhpi Diani*) started down ...’
 ‘Com a luz, o coitadinho assustado foi descendo ...’
- (207) *pʰ! “mʰʰ ... yabari ... dahchomahkamahkari tañore dʰhte taga mʰʰbahsi” nia.*
pʰ ~bʰʰ yabá-rí dachó-baka-~baka-ri ~tayó-re
 DIST 2SG Q:what/how-Q.PFV middle/center-origin-NMLZ beam-OBJ
dʰhte-ta-ga ~bʰʰ-básí ~dí-a
 chop-come-IMP 2SG-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘Coming way down! “You [how was it?] you yourself cut the central beam (of the barricade),” (the servants) said.’
 ‘Descendo tudo! “Você [como foi?] você mesmo venha cortar o travessão do meio (da barricada),” disseram (os criados).’
- (208) *“hai” ni. sī’aborataa.*
háí ~dí ~si’á-bora-ta-a
 INTJ:agree say set.fire.to-slide/fall-come-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘“OK” (*Yuhpi Diani*) said (and) came sliding down.’
 ‘“Está bom,” respondeu (*Yuhpi Diani*), e veio descendo escorregando.’
- (209) *to sī’aphīri sī’a, yoariphī ña’a, to dʰhteka’achʰwaro, ñaina ña’atu’sʰa tirore.*
to=~si’á-~phi-ri ~si’á yoá-rí-~phí
 3SG.POSS=set.fire.to-CLF:bladelike-PL set.fire.to long-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike

~ya'á to=*dué-ká'á-chú-wáro* ~yá--ida
 grab 3SG.POSS=chop-do.moving-SW.REF-EMPH bad-NMLZ.PL
 ~ya'á-thu's#-a tí-ró-ré
 grab-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG-OBJ

'With his torch burning, he grabbed his machete (and) when he started to chop (the beam), the warriors (*Biari*) captured him.'

'Com a tocha acesa, pegou o terçado (e) quando começou a cortar (o travessão), os guerreiros (*Biari*) o capturaram.'

- (210) "kueeee! y# kha'makã, y#'úre ña'atu's#ra ñaina."

kueeee! y#~kha'bá--ka y#'ú-ré ~ya'á-thu's#-ra
 INTJ:NO! 1SG.POSS=bring.together-DIM 1SG-OBJ grab-finish-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 ~yá--ida
 bad-NMLZ.PL

"No! Servants, the warriors have captured me!"

"Não! Criados, os guerreiros me pegaram!"

- (211) "khero, m#hsakh# b#ea nataga" nia.

khé-ro ~b#sá-kh# b#é-a ~dá-ta-ga ~dí-a
 fast-SG 2PL-ADD arrow-PL get-come-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV

'Quickly, you get your arrows too!' (*Yuhpi Diani*) cried.'

'"Rápido, vocês pegam as flechas também!" disse (*Yuhpi Diani*).'

- (212) tina, ñamire, yo'o da'ramahkatinikaa.

tí--da ~yabí-ré yo'ó
 ANPH-PL night-OBJ in.contrast
 da'rá--baka--tidi-ka('a)-a
 work-look.for-wander.around-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV

'(But) in the dark, they just ran around like this looking for (things).'

'(Mas), no escuro, eles só andaram assim para lá e para cá procurando.'

- (213) tirore ña'atu's#rasi, ña'adi'okãhãa.

tí-ró-ré ~ya'á-thu's#ra--si(di)
 ANPH-SG-OBJ grab-finish-do.now
 ~ya'á-di'o--ka--ha-a
 grab-restrain-DIM-COMPL-ASSERT.PFV

‘(The warriors) had already captured him (*Yuhpi Diani*), (and he) couldn’t move.’

‘(Os guerreiros) já tinham capturado *Yuhpi Diani*, (e ele) não conseguia se mexer.’

- (214) *ñá’amahare kãku òi su’su.*

~*ya’á--báhá-ré* ~*kákú* ~*ó-i*
 grab-MOV.upward-VIS.PFV.2/3 throw.on.ground DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS
su’sú
 embrace

‘(They) threw him down on the ground, holding him here.’

‘Derrubaram jogando no chão, segurando aqui assim.’

- (215) *ti(na) to a’ri tañobaro top̄ta du’upayoa to d̄h̄sore.*

tí to a’rí ~*tayó=ba’ro* *tó-p̄ta*
 ANPH DEF DEM.PROX beam=CLF:kind DEF-LOC-EMPH
du’ú-páyó-á *to=d̄só-re*
 leave-put.on.top-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=thigh-OBJ

‘On a beam just like this one here, they (*Diani*’s warriors) left his (*Yuhpi Diani*’s) leg.’

‘Eles (os guerreiros do *Diani*), num travessão tipo esse mesmo, deixaram a coxa dele (do *Yuhpi Diani*) bem em cima.’

- (216) *yo’o tinap̄ (hi’)na khomakh̄, yaba hiri himarero?*

yo’ó *tí--da-p̄* ~(*hi’*)*da* ~*khobá-kh̄* *yabá* *hí-ri*
 in.contrast ANPH-PL-LOC EMPH ax-ADD Q:what/how COP-NMLZ
hi--bare-ro
 COP-IPFV.EPIS-SG

‘[But those guys then had axes too – what were they?]

‘[Mas naquela época eles também tinham machado – como é que era?]

- (217) *bookhoma! ēh̄, ti khoma siorip̄ha tinap̄re?*

bóó--khómá ēh̄ *tí* ~*khóbá sió-ri-pha* *tí--da-p̄-re*
 stone-axe INTJ:yes ANPH ax sharp-NMLZ-SPEC ANPH-PL-LOC-OBJ

‘[*Bookhoma!* Yes ... do you suppose to them that (kind of) axe⁶⁶ was sharp?]

⁶⁶Teresinha is referring to axes with stone heads, still used in the region in the early twentieth century (Koch-Grünberg 1995 [1909]: 171-172).

‘[Bookhoma! Sim ... será que para eles aquele (tipo de) machado era afiado?’

- (218) *mari (hi')na khoma hieramarero, tâphi, tâ hia nimarero.*
~barí ~(hi')da ~khobá hi-éra--bare-ro ~tá--phi ~tá
 1PL.INCL EMPH ax COP-NEG-REM.IPFV-SG rock-CLF.bladelike rock
hí-a ~dí--bare-ro
 COP-ASSERT.PFV COP-REM.IPFV-SG
 ‘[(For) us (that old kind) aren’t axes, (just) rocks, they were rocks.]’
 ‘[(Para) nós mesmo (aquele tipo) não seria machado, (só) pedra, era pedra.]’

- (219) *ũhũ.*
ũhũ
 INTJ:yes
 (Joselito) ‘[Yes.]’
 (Joselito) ‘[Sim.]’

- (220) *dũhtetaroka, dohkapayoa te to ka'apũ khakhasario ti ninopũ.*
dũté-tá-dóká doká-payo-a té to ka'á-pũ
 chop-separate-DIST throw-put.on.top-ASSERT.PFV until REM beside-LOC
khá-khásá-ríó ti=~dí-ro-pũ
 hawk-platform-CLF:flat 3PL.POSS=say-SG-LOC
 ‘(They) chopped off (his leg and) threw it all the way up near that (thing) they call the hawk’s nest platform.’
 ‘Cortaram fora (a perna) e jogaram lá em cima perto (daquilo) que chamavam de ninho de gavião.’

- (221) *dohkapayoroka, “maa! bi’oha hi’na          ... wiiiiii!”*
doká-payo-doká⁶⁷ ~báa bi’ó-há ~hí’da
 throw-put.on.top-DIST INTJ:done/ready! successful-VIS.IPFV.1 EMPH
 “        ...wiiiiii!”
 ONTP:cries...whistles
 ‘Throwing his leg way up there (they cried) “There! We’ve done it!        ... wiiiiii!” (cries and whistles)

⁶⁷Note the two instances of the root *doka* ‘throw’, the first meaning literally ‘to throw’, and the second indicating “distal” motion.

‘Jogando lá em cima (gritaram) “Acabou! Conseguimos mesmo! *uuuuu*
... *wiiiiii*” (gritos e assobios)

- (222) “*wahr̥ro, mahk̥noñakāre, tirobahsitha, sã ba’ure to ã yoari bu’iri!*”
wap̥ú-ro ~bak̥ú-ro~ya~ka-re tí-ró-basi-ta
 enemy-SG son-SG-bad-DIM-OBJ ANPH-SG-EMPH-EMPH
~sa=ba’ú-re to=~a=yóá-rí bu’í-ri
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ 3SG.POSS=so-do-NMLZ cause-NMLZ
 “Enemy, evil son, (we got) him for what he himself did to our brother!”
 “Inimigo, filho malvado, (pegamos) ele mesmo pelo o que fez ao nosso irmão!”

- (223) “*bu’iriti wāhanona m̥’u ñaka si’ro.*”
bu’í-rí-tí ~wahá-ro-(~hi’)da ~b̥’ú ~yá-ká si’ro
 cause-NMLZ-ATTRIB kill-SG-EMPH 2SG bad-ASSERT.IPFV bastard
 “Guilty one! Murderer! You evil bastard!”
 “Culpado! Assassino! Você malvado!”

- (224) *samu te yohaa te õp̥ mahasã, sãa.*
~sabú té yohá-a té ~ó-p̥
 embark.in.canoe until go.upriver-ASSERT.PFV until DEIC.PROX-LOC
~bahá~s̥ ~s̥-a
 go.uphill-arrive.TRNS arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘(They) got into their canoes (and) came upriver here, went up (the hill and) arrived home.’
 ‘Embarcaram nas canoas (e) subiram para cá, subiram até em cima (e) chegaram em casa.’

- (225) “*ne, y̥ pho’na bi’ori.*”
~dé y̥=~pho’dá bi’ó-ri
 so 1SG.POSS=children be.successful-Q.PFV
 ‘(Their father *Dianumia Yairo* asked): “Were you successful, sons?”’
 ‘(O pai deles *Dianumia Yairo* perguntou): “Conseguiram, meus filhos?”’

(226) “bi’oi yɥ phɥkɥ,” *nia*.

bi’ó-i yɥ=phɥkɥ ~dí-a
 successful-VIS.PFV.1 1SG.POSS=father say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘We were, father,’ (*Diani*) responded.’

“‘Conseguimos, pai,” falou (*Diani*).’

(227) “bi’oi, to yabu’iri sã koirore to ñano yoari bu’iri,” *nia*.

bi’ó-i to=yá=bu’i-ri
 successful-VIS.PFV.1 3SG.POSS=POSS=cause-NMLZ
 ~sa=ko-iro-re to=~yá-ró yoá-rí
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG-OBJ 3SG.POSS=bad-SG do-NMLZ
 bu’i-ri ~dí-a
 cause-NMLZ say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘We did it, (killed) the one responsible for the evil he did to our relative,’ (*Diani*) said.’

“‘Conseguimos (matar) o culpado, aquele que fez tanto mal ao nosso parente,” disse (*Diani*).’

(228) “tina ti ñano sã koirore yoare.”

tí--da ti=~yá-ró ~sa=kó-iro-re
 ANPH-PL ANPH=bad-SG 1PL.EXCL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG-OBJ
 yoá-re
 do-VIS.PFV.2/3

“‘Those evil ones who did that to our brother.’”

“‘Aqueles malvados que fizeram mal ao nosso irmão.’”

(229) “tiro yoerarirota noano yɥ’dɥbohkari,” *nia*.

tí-ró yoa-éra-ri-ro-ta ~dóá-ró yɥ’dá-boka-ri
 ANPH-SG do-NEG-NMLZ-SG-EMPH good-SG INTENS-find-NMLZ
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘He couldn’t expect anything good to happen,’ (*Diani*) said.’

“‘Ele não podia esperar coisa boa,” disse (*Diani*).’

- (230) “noana, y# pho’na m#hsa y#’# ba’arore, m#hsa ne th#’oduerara,” *nia*.

~dóádá y#~pho’dá ~b#sá y#’# ba’á-ró-ré ~b#sá ~dé
 very.well 1SG.POSS=children 2PL 1SG after-SG-OBJ 2PL NEG
 th#’o-dua-éra-ra ~dí-a
 hear-DES-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“Very well, you, my children who come after me (of the next generation) just won’t listen/obey,” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.’

“Bem, vocês, meus filhos que vem depois de mim (da outra geração) não querem mais ouvir/obedecer,” disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

- (231) “õse yoanakã nich#, m#hsa th#’otina hierara,” *nia*.

~óse yoá--da--ka ~dí-ché ~b#sá th#’ó-ti--da
 like.this do-PL-DIM say-SW.REF 2PL hear-ATTRIB-PL
 hi-éra-ra ~dí-a
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“Just like now, you ignore (me, you aren’t ones who listen),” said (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

“Como agora, vocês ignoram (não são gente que escuta),” disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

- (232) “noanokã” *ni*, to suabu’sa to doharire tinare phāawe.

~dóá-ró--ká ~dí to=súá-bú’sá
 good-SG-DIM say 3SG.POSS=angry-adornment
 to=dohá-ri-re tí--da-re
 3SG.POSS=neg.curse-NMLZ-OBJ ANPH-PL-OBJ
 ~phaá-wé
 remove.curse/blessing-MOV.through

“So be it,” he said (and) took back his war adornments (and) his blessing for courage.’

“Bem,” disse (e) tirou deles os adornos de bravura e benzimento de coragem.’

- (233) *tinare m̃'noꣳhuti, tina miꣳuse th̃'otua, tina ne th̃'omahsieraphati.*
tí--da-re ~b̃'dó-phútí tí--da ~bí-p̃-se
 ANPH-PL-OBJ tobacco-blow ANPH-PL now-LOC-CLF:similar
*th̃'ó-thu-a tí--da ~dé th̃'ó--basi-era-pha-ati*⁶⁸
 hear-think-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL NEG hear-know-NEG-TIME-IPFV
 'Blowing smoke on them, they became the way they are now (peaceful),
 no longer in that violent state.'
 'Soprando fumaça neles, se tornaram como hoje (calmos), não mais
 naquele estado de violência.'
- (234) “*ã yoa ñamichakã bo'rearoi, kh̃ naharo, m̃hsa namosãnumia*” *nia.*
~a=yóá ~yabíchá--ká bo're-(wa')a-ro-i kh̃⁶⁹ ~dá-haro
 so=do tomorrow-DIM lighten-go-SG-LOC.VIS manioc get-IMP.3
~b̃hsa--dabó--sadubia ~dí-a
 2PL.POSS=wife-PL.F say-ASSERT.PFV
 “So, the day after tomorrow, send your wives to get manioc,” he
 ordered.’
 “Então, depois de amanhã, mande as suas esposas tirarem maniva,” ele
 disse.’
- (235) *tina bahsabahtoa taro tina kh̃na, da're.*
tí--da basá-bátóá-ró tá-ro tí--da kh̃--da da're
 ANPH-PL sing/dance-last-SG come-SG ANPH-PL manioc.root-get prepare
 'For the last ceremony (celebrating their victory in war), they got
 manioc (and) prepared (caxiri).'⁷⁰
 'Para a última cerimonia (festejando a vitória na guerra), eles foram
 pegar maniva e prepararam (caxiri).'

⁶⁸The construction *th̃'omahsieraphaati* indicates a 'state of violence'.

⁶⁹Here we see an example of an unmarked object, *kh̃* 'maniva/manioc root', that is nonreferential and therefore does not require use of the objective case marker *-re*. In the following sentence, the same unmarked object is phonologically incorporated with the verb *na* 'get/pick'. A rare example of an unmarked pronominal object occurs in line 144, where the pronoun *sã* '1PL.EXCL' is nonreferential and thus is also unmarked by *-re*.

⁷⁰“Caxiri” (also referred to as “chicha” in some of the chapters in this volume) is a type of drink, usually made from toasted manioc flatbread diluted in water and left to ferment for a couple of days.

- (236) *pharinumtə tina bagapo durukua, nahubahsapore.*
pha-rí~dubə tí~da bagápó
 time-NMLZ-day ANPH-PL ceremonial.dance/chant
dú-rúkú-á ~dahú-básápó-ré
 speak-stand-ASSERT.PFV flatbread-dance-OBJ
 ‘[On those celebration days, they chanted ceremonial dances (like) the flatbread dance.]’
 ‘[Nesses dias de festa, eles cantavam as danças (como) a dança do beijú.]’
- (237) *ti hika bahsabəhkə nahubahsa, sa’waroa, [yaba] miniawahkə, wamo thi’biri.*
tí hí-ka basá-búkú ~dahú-básá
 ANPH COP-ASSERT.IPFV sing/dance-ancestor flatbread-sing/dance
sa’wáró-á yabá ~bidíawakə ~wabó-thi’bi-ri
 brown.lizard-PL Q:what/how fruit.dance arm/hand-intertwine-NMLZ
 ‘[These are traditional (origin) dances: flatbread dance, lizard dance — what else? — fruit dance, peace (holding hands) dance.]’
 ‘[As danças originais são a dança do beijú, dança do calango marrom — que mais? — dança dos frutos, dança da paz (mãos dadas).]’
- (238) *tina bahsañopha’ño phuanumutha, hi(’na):*
tí~da basá~yo~pha’yo phuá~dubə-ta ~hí(’da)
 ANPH-PL sing/dance-show-complete two-day-EMPH EMPH
 ‘They performed all the dances for two days (and then *Dianumia Yairo* said):’
 ‘Eles apresentaram todas as danças durante dois dias (e então *Dianumia Yairo* disse):’
- (239) “*yə’ə wa’awa’aika hi’na*” *nia, mipə to duhitore.*
yə’ə wa’á-wa’a-i-ka ~hí’da ~dí-a ~bí-pə
 1SG go-go-M-PREDICT EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV now-LOC
to=duhi⁷¹-a-to-re
 3SG.POSS=sit-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT-OBJ
 ‘‘I’m going away now.’’ [To the place he still is sitting.]’
 ‘‘Agora eu vou indo.’’ [Ao lugar onde ele ainda está sentado.]’

⁷¹The verb *duhi* ‘sit’ is used in the sense of ‘being’. This root is analyzed as a possible lexical origin of the Kotiria copula verb *hi* in Stenzel (forthcoming).

- (240) “wa’aika yɥ’ɥ, yɥ pho’na, mɥhsare ne khūsi” nia.

wa’á-i-ka yɥ’ɥ yɥ=~pho’dá ~bɥsá-ré ~dé ~khú-sí
 go-M-PREDICT 1SG 1SG.POSS=children 2PL-OBJ NEG leave/place-NEG.IRR
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV

‘‘I’m going (and) I’m not leaving you anything, my children,’’ *Dianumia Yairo* said.’

‘‘Vou mesmo (e) não vou deixar nada para vocês, meus filhos,’’ disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

- (241) “ne a’ri wího yaichɥawího, warimahsawího, khɥ’mawího, hɥka phiri ne mɥhsare khūsi” nia.

~dé a’rí ~wíhó⁷² yáí-chú-á--wíhó
 NEG DEM.PROX halluc.powder jaguar-eat-PL-halluc.powder
 wári--basa--wího ~khɥ’bá--wího húká phí-ri
 kidnap-people-halluc.powder summer-halluc.powder hungry big-NMLZ
 ~dé ~bɥsá-ré ~khú-sí ~dí-a
 NEG 2PL-OBJ leave/place-NEG.IRR say-ASSERT.PFV

‘‘Not my hallucinogenic powder, nor the one that can transform you into jaguars to eat people, nor the one to kidnap people (to become invisible), nor the one that brings on summer, nor will I leave the one that causes hunger,’’ (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.’

‘‘Nem meu paricá, meu paricá de virar onça e comer gente, paricá de roubar gente (de ficar invisível), paricá de verão, nem vou deixar o de causar fome,’’ dizia (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

- (242) “hiphiti a’ri phinitare naita yɥ’ɥ” nia.

hiphiti a’rí ~phídi-ta-re ~dá-i-ta yɥ’ɥ
 everything DEM.PROX right.here-EMPH-OBJ get-M-INTENT 1SG
 ~dí-a
 say-ASSERT.PFV

‘‘All of these things here I’m taking away,’’ (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.’

‘‘Vou levar todas essas coisas aqui,’’ disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

⁷²Note the various tones on the nominal root *wího* ‘hallucinogenic powder’. As an independent root, it has a LH melody, but when incorporated into compound words, it receives the final tone of the root to its left through processes of tonal spread.

- (243) “*m̥sa th̥’omasiduerara pa thurup̥re.*”
 ~b̥sá th̥’ó-~basi-dua-era-ra pá-thuru-p̥re
 2PL hear-know-DES-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 ALT-times-LOC-OBJ
 “In the future, you won’t want (you won’t know *how*) to use them appropriately.”
 “Vocês no futuro não vão querer (não vão saber *como*) usar bem.”
- (244) “*do’sé m̥hsa yoaro, yoakãduara.*”
 do’sé ~b̥sá yoá-ro yoá-~ka-dua-ra
 Q:how 2PL do-SG do-DIM-DES-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 “(Because) you will always just do what you want.”
 “(Porque) vocês sempre fazem como querem.”
- (245) *mari suam̥a, w̥ho w̥hi marire kh̥ārirore ʘʘʘ ... yaich̥ khoakana.*
 ~barí súá-~b̥-á ~w̥hó ~w̥hí ~bari-re
 1PL.INCL angry-man/person-PL halluc.powder sniff 1PL.INCL-OBJ
 ~kh̥āri-ro-re ʘʘʘ yaí-ch̥ khoá-ka-~(hi’)da
 offend-SG-OBJ ONTP:hurting jaguar-eat finish-ASSERT.IPFV-EMPH
 ‘[When we get angry, we sniff powder to turn into a jaguar and devour (fight with, or kill) the one who has offended us.]’
 ‘[Quando ficamos com raiva, cheiramos paricá para nós nos transformar em onça e devorar (brigar, ser capaz de matar) aquele que nos ofendeu.]’
- (246) *ã hia hima mari w̥ho, kotiria w̥ho.*
 ~a=hí-a hí-~ba ~bari=~w̥ho kótiria
 SO=COP-ASSERT.PFV COP-REM.IPFV 1PL.INCL.POSS=halluc.powder Kotiria
 ~w̥hó
 halluc.powder
 ‘[That’s how our powder used to be, Kotiria powder.]’
 ‘[Assim era o nosso paricá, dos Kotiria.]’
- (247) *yo’omeheta w̥hi wahp̥at̥ia hieraa a’ri.*
 yo’ó-~beheta ~w̥hí wap̥-ati-a
 in.contrast-NEG.INTENS sniff do.for.long.time-IPFV-PL

hi-éra-a *a'rí*
COP-NEG-ASSERT.PFV DEM.PROX

‘[But people weren’t supposed to keep sniffing it all the time.]’

‘[Mas não era para ficar cheirando muito isso.]’

(248) *a'ri do'beba'roñoa.*

a'rí *do'bé-ba'ro--yo-a*
DEM.PROX paint.with.finger-CLF:kind-show-ASSERT.PFV

‘[It was just the kind for face-painting (which already has an effect).]’

‘[Era só para usar pintando (que já fazia efeito).]’

(249) *tiro pharip̄ta, tip̄re kh̄aa.*

tí-ró *pharí-p̄ta* *tí-p̄re* *kh̄á-a*
ANPH-SG form-CLF:basket-EMPH ANPH-CLF:basket-OBJ have-ASSERT.PFV

‘The whole basket (with all the materials), (he) had that basket.’

‘O aturá inteiro (com todo o material), (ele) tinha aquele cesto.’

(250) *to yaich̄re thuaka'a, to bahtich̄re s̄iosuahã.*

to=yaich̄-re *thuá-ka'a-a*
3SG.POSS=shaman.staff-OBJ lean.on-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV

to=batich̄-re *~siósua~ha*
3SG.POSS=shield-OBJ place.around.arm-COMPL

‘(He) took up his staff (and) put his shield on his arm.’

‘Segurou no bastão (e) enfiou o escudo no braço.’

(251) *to diero m̄ta, toi hia to diero.*

to=dié-ró *~b̄tá* *tó-i* *hí-a* *to=dié-ró*
3SG.POSS=dog-SG advance REM-LOC.VIS COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=dog-SG

‘His dog went up ahead, up there.’

‘O cachorro ia lá, na frente.’

(252) *tina hia yaiya w̄'̄.*

tí~da *hí-a* *yaí-yá* *w̄'̄*
ANPH-PL COP-ASSERT.PFV jaguar-PL casa

‘[They were the house jaguars (guards).]’

‘[Eles eram as onças da casa (guardiões).]’

- (257) “yaba hihari” ni ... mahareññ thuatera.

yabá hí-hari ~dí ~baháre⁷⁴~γϣ
 Q:what/how COP-Q.IPFV say turn.around-see/look
 thuá-te-ra
 return-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3

‘“What’s that?” she wondered (but *Dianumia Yairo*) didn’t even turn around.’

‘O que é isso?’ ficou pensando (mas *Dianumia Yairo*) nem olhou para trás.’

- (258) do’sé chõa mari buhtito warore yoarota niri hireto tiro bũhkũro ... ne mahare ñũeraa, wa’awa’aa.

do’sé ~chõa ~bari=butí-to waro-re
 Q:how nephew 1PL.INCL.POSS=disappear-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT EMPH-OBJ
 yoá-ro-ta ~dí-ri hí-re-to tí-ró
 far-SG-EMPH COP-NMLZ COP-CLF:gen-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG
 bũkũ-ro ~dé ~baháre ~γϣ-éra-a wa’á-wa’a-a
 ancestor-SG NEG turn.around look-NEG-ASSERT.PFV go-go-ASSERT.PFV

(addressing Joselito) ‘[Because, nephew, (for him) it was just as it will be for us in the future (our disappearance, death, burial) – the old ancestor ... didn’t even look back, off he went.]’

(falando com Joselito) ‘[Porque, sobrinho, (para ele) era como vai ser para nós no futuro (nosso sumiço, morte, enterro) – o velho ... nem olhou para trás, foi embora.]’

- (259) te mipϣ to khã’re khu’tu to nino nuhusãa.

té ~bí-pú to ~kha’ré khu’tú to=~dí-ro
 until now-LOC DEF abiú/cucura.fruit cemetery 3SG.POSS=say-SG
 ~duhú~sϣ-a
 accomodate.oneself-arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV

‘Until he (got to the place) now called *Khãre Khu’tu* (and) made himself comfortable.’

‘Até chegar (no lugar) que hoje chamam de *Khãre Khu’tu* (e) se acomodou.’

⁷⁴The form *maháre* is used for the actions of ‘turning around’ or ‘going back and forth/going and returning’, as in line 288.

- (260) *to phosapho'nakã ph̃arokã hia.*
to=phosá--pho'da--ka ph̃á-ro--ka hí-a
 3SG.POSS=maku.people-children-DIM two-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV
 'He had his two servants.'
 'Havia os seus dois criados.'
- (261) *khumuno naa, to muyaich̃ to bahtich̃.*
~khubú-ro ~dá-a to=~búyaich̃ to=batich̃
 bench-SG get-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=shaman.staff 3SG.POSS=shield
 '(They) carried his bench, his shaman staff (and) shield.'
 '(Eles) carregaram seu banco do pajé, seu bastão de pajé (e) escudo.'
- (262) *a'riase to diero, ba'arose to diero, sieseñroka yoaa.*
a'ría-(b̃)se to=dié-ro ba'á-ro-(b̃)se to=dié-ro
 DEM.PROX-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG after-SG-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG
sié-(b̃)sé--yú-dóká yoá-a
 front-side-see/look-DIST far-ASSERT.PFV
 'Here (in front was) his dog/jaguar and behind his (other) dog/jaguar
 (and he sat) looking off straight ahead into the distance.'
 'Aqui (na frente ficou) um cachorro/onça e atrás seu (outro)
 cachorro/onça (e ele sentou) olhando para frente bem longe.'
- (263) *duhia ph̃añt̃, tia ñt̃, õp̃ hitu's̃a.*
duhí-a ph̃á--d̃b̃ tía--d̃b̃ ~ó-p̃
 sit-ASSERT.PFV two-day three-day DEIC.PROX-LOC
hí-thu's̃-a
 COP-finish-ASSERT.PFV
 '(He) sat for two days (and) on the third day, it was already up to here
 (his body entering into the ground).'
 'Sentou dois dias e no terceiro dia já estava até aqui (o corpo entrando
 dentro da terra).'
- (264) *"quatro, cinco, k̃ somana ba'aro taga," nia.*
quatro cinco ~k̃--sómáná=ba'a-ro tá-gá ~dí-a
 four five one/a-semana=after-SG come-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV
 "Come back in four, five (days), a week," (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.'
 "Daqui a quatro, cinco (dias), uma semana, venham," (*Dianumia Yairo*)
 disse.'

- (269) “ñ̃na wa’ah̃ta” nia. ne mania.
 ~yá~dá wa’á~h̃ta ~dí-a ~dé ~badía
 see/look-PL go-IMP.DEIC-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV NEG not.exist
 ‘“Go there and see,” (they) said. (But) there was nothing there.’
 ‘“Vão lá ver,” disseram. (Mas) lá não havia nada.’
- (270) ãta buhti sãwa’aa.
 ~áta butí ~sa’á-wa’a-a
 because disappear MOV.inside-go-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘Because (*Dianumia Yairo*) had disappeared into (the ground, alive).’
 ‘Porque (*Dianumia Yairo*) havia sumiu entrando (na terra, vivo).’
- (271) ã yoaroto, numia bu’iri, bu’iri nia tore, bu’ikho’to hiphakato.
 ~a=yóá-ró-tó ~dubía bu’í-ri bu’í-ri
 so=do-SG-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT women cause-NMLZ cause-NMLZ
 ~dí-a tó-ré bu’í-kho’to hí-phaka-to
 say-ASSERT.PFV DEF-OBJ cause-proper.place COP-SPEC-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT
 ‘That’s why, because of women, (that cemetery) is called *Bu’i Kho’to*
 (place of guilt/problem), it seems so.’
 ‘Por isso, por causa de mulher, que (o cemitério) lá é chamado de *Bu’i Kho’to* (lugar de culpa/problema), parece que é.’
- (272) numia bu’iri òse yoa, sua to sãnuh̃riro ti khu’tu, mahsa yarikhu’tu.
 ~dubía bu’í-ri ~òse yóá súá
 women cause-NMLZ like.this do angry
 to=~sa’á~duh̃ri-ro tí-khu’tu⁷⁵ ~basá
 3SG.POSS=MOV.inside-remain-NMLZ-SG ANPH-cemetery people
 yá-ri-khu’tu
 POSS-NMLZ-cemetery
 ‘It was because of women that he angrily went into that ground, the
 cemetery for our own bodies.’

⁷⁵From this point on in the narrative, Teresinha switches to the form *khu’tu*, which literally means ‘clearing’, to refer to actual cemeteries. This term is phonologically similar to *kho’to*, ‘proper place’ (see lines 16, 22, and 24), which is also used in the narrative in the names of specific cemeteries (e.g. line 271) and to refer to these as the ‘proper places’ for burial, as in the title (line 4). It is likely the terms are etymologically related.

‘Foi por causa das mulheres que ele foi com raiva dentro da terra, no cemitério para nossos corpos.’

- (273) *bu’ikho’to hia. to se’reta sãse’ bohkaerati, “do’se yoa bu’ikho’to niari” ni wãhkui.*

bu’i-kho’to hí-a tó=se’e-re-ta
 cause-proper.place COP-ASSERT.PFV DEF=CONTR-OBJ-EMPH
~sá-se’e boka-éra-ti do’sé yoa bu’i-kho’to
 1PL.EXCL-CONTR find-NEG-ATTRIB Q:how do cause-proper.place
~dí-á-rí ~dí ~wakú-i
 say-PL-NMLZ say wonder-VIS.PFV.1

(Joselito speaking) ‘[(Yes) it’s *Bu’i Kho’to*. So that’s it ... we didn’t know why (people) called it that ...’

(Joselito falando) ‘[(Sim) é *Bu’i Kho’to*. Então, é por isso ... não sabíamos por que (as pessoas) chamavam assim ...’

- (274) *ãni ya’uatire maikiro.*

~a=~dí ya’ú-átí-ré ~baí-kiró
 so-say tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father-M.RSP

(Teresinha responding) ‘[That’s the way my father used to tell it.]’

(Teresinha respondendo) ‘ [Assim contava meu pai.]’

- (275) *yɥ’ɥ ninose’ta mɥno hiko, noano sinitu thɥ’otuboa.*

yɥ’ɥ ~dí-ro-se’e-ta ~bú-ro hí-ko ~dóá-ró sinitu
 1SG say-SG-CONTR-EMPH man-SG COP-F good-SG ask
thɥ’ó-tu-bo-a
 hear-think-DUB-ASSERT.PFV

‘[Like I said, if I were a man, I would have asked (and) understood more.⁷⁶’

‘[Como disse, se fosse homem, teria perguntado (e) entendido mais.]’

- (276) *õse ni to ya’uakãre thɥ’oatikɥɥ, mahsihari?*

~óse ~dí to=ya’ú-a--ka-re thɥ’ó-ati-kɥɥ ~basí-hári
 like.this say 3SG.POSS=tell-PL-DIM-OBJ hear-IPFV-ADVERS know-Q.IPFV

‘[(But) I unfortunately wasn’t paying enough attention to what little he said, you know?’]

⁷⁶The composition of the conditional sentence is worth noting: the protasis is a nominalization with person marking *-ko* ‘feminine’, and the apodosis contains the dubitative marker *-bo*, showing that the result was not forthcoming.

‘[(Mas) eu infelizmente não prestava atenção ao pouco que ele contava, sabe?]

(277) *õse hiatia mahko,*” *niatire.*

~óse hí-ati-a ~bakó ~dí-ati-re
like.this COP-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV daughter say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3

‘‘That’s what happened, daughter,’’ (father) used to say.’

‘‘Era assim, filha’’ contava (meu pai).’

(278) *“ãhia mahsapetururi yaaka” nia.*

~a=hí-a ~basá-pé-kúru-rí yá-a-ka
so=COP-PL people-QUANT.C-group-NMLZ bury-PL-PREDICT

~dí-a

say-ASSERT.PFV

‘‘So that all the (Kotiria) groups would have (a place) to be buried.’’

‘‘Para que todos os grupos kotiria tivessem (o seu lugar) de ser enterrado.’’

(279) *“a’ría nari siria, nari ya’saria, nari ñiria, nari ye’seria khõaroka” nia.*

a’rí-á ~dá-rí sí-ria ~dá-rí
DEM.PROX-PL small.stone-PL shiny-CLF:round small.stone-PL
ya’sá-ria ~dá-rí ~yí-ria ~dá-rí
green/blue-CLF:round small.stone-PL black-CLF:round small.stone-PL
ye’sé-ria ~khoá-ro-ka ~dí-a
white-CLF:round lie-SG-PREDICT say-ASSERT.PFV

‘‘There will be the place of Shiny Stones, the place of Green Stones, the place of Black Stones (and) the place of White Stones,’’ (father) said.’

‘‘O lugar de Pedra Luminosa, lugar de Pedra Verde, lugar de Pedra Preta (e) lugar de Pedra Branca, esses vão ficar,’’ dizia (papai).’

(280) *mari mip̃ hi ti kururire, õse nahu tha’rose.*

~barí ~bí-p̃ hí ti=kurú-ri-re ~óse ~dahú
1PL.INCL NOW-LOC COP ANPH=group-NMLZ-OBJ like.this flatbread

tha’ró-sé

cut.in.quarters-CLF:similar

‘(And) now we’re divided into groups, like a flatbread cut into fourths.’

‘(E) nós agora ficamos divididos em grupos, como beijú cortado em quatro.’

- (281) *ã hiro õba'roi wa'masurore nari phichasiria khõaa, sã yakhu'tu.*
~a=hí-ro ~ó=ba'ro-i ~wa'básu-ro-re ~dá-rí
 so=COP-SG DEIC.PROX=CLF:kind-LOC.VIS entrance-SG-OBJ small.stone-PL
phichá-sí-riá ~khoá ~sa=yá-khu'tu
 fire-shiny-CLF:round lie 1PL.EXCL.POSS=POSS-cemetery

'So, the entrance (first part) is for Shiny Stone burials, our grounds (for the highest clan).'

'Então na primeira parte (na entrada), é lugar para Pedra Luminosa se enterrar, nosso lugar (do clã maior).'

- (282) *ã hiro mahsawa'mino yariato, phano ñamidahchomahka bihsipakato nariwũ'ũ.*

~a=hí-ro ~basá--wa'bi-ro yariá-tó ~phádó
 so=COP-SG people-older.brother-SG die-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT before
~yabí-dáchó~báká bisí-pá-ká-tó
 night-middle/center sound-ALT-do.moving-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT
~dá-ri-wũ'ũ
 get-NMLZ-house

'That's why, before an older brother dies, in the middle of the night, a loud noise comes from the house/cemetery (where the person will be) taken.'

'Por isso, antes de morrer um irmão maior, no meio da noite soa da casa/cemitério (para onde a pessoa vai ser) levada.'

- (283) *thũũũũũũ! patere khaaaa! bihsimarero.*

thũũũũũũ pá-tere khaaaa bisí--bare-ro
 ONTP:thunder ALT-time ONTP:thunder sound-REM.IPFV-SG

'*Thũũũũũũ!* (or) sometimes *Khaaaa!* is always the sound.'

'*Thũũũũũũ!* (ou) às vezes *Khaaaa!* sempre soa assim.'

- (284) *a'riase khũre ãta mũhsa yakhu'tu a'riase nari ye'seria, ñahori yaro ya'saria.*

a'rí-a-se khú-ré ~átá ~bũsá yá-khu'tu
 DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar ADD-OBJ also 2PL POSS-cemetery
a'rí-a-se ~dá-rí ye'sé-ria ñáhóri yá-ró
 DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar get-NMLZ white-CLF:round ñahori POSS-SG

ya'sá-ria

green/blue-CLF:round

'It's the same in other places, your place, White Stones (for the *Diani* and) for the *Ñahori*, Green Stones.'

'É assim no outro lado também, o lugar de vocês, Pedra Branca (dos *Diani* e), o lugar dos *Ñahori*, Pedra Verde.'

(285) *sō'o ñahoripho'na yaro ñiria khōaa.*

~so'ó ñáhórí~pho'da yá-ró ~yí-ria ~khoá-a

DEIC.DIST ñahori-descendants POSS-SG black-CLF:round lie-ASSERT.PFV

'Over there in Black Stones is where *Ñahori* children lie.'

'Lá na Pedra Preta enterra-se os filhos de *Ñahori*.'

(286) *"ã hiro nahu tha'rose hira" niatire.*

~a=hí-ró ~dahú tha'ró-se hí-ra

so=COP-SG flatbread cut.in.quarters-CLF:similar COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3

~dí-ati-re

say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3

'"So, it's like a flatbread divided in fourths," (my father) used to say.'

'"Assim são como beijú dividido em quatro partes," (meu pai) contava.'

(287) *mahsape, tina yabaina puertu paloma, yabaro hihari?*

~basá-pé tí~da yabá~ida puertu paloma,

people-QUANT.C ANPH-PL Q:what/how-NMLZ.PL puerto paloma,

yabá-ro hí-hari

Q:what/how-SG COP-Q.IPFV

'Everyone, those ones from Puerto Paloma (the last Kotiria village) – how's it called?'

'Todo mundo, aqueles de Puerto Paloma (última comunidade Kotiria) – como se chama?'

(288) *ye'pua phitomahkainapɛ mahsa ya mahareatia, "kue," nia niha.*

ye'pú-á phító~baka~ida-pɛ ~basá yá

cucura.fruit-PL mouth.of.stream-village-NMLZ.PL-LOC people bury

~bahá-ré-átí-á kué ~dí-a ~dí-ha

go.and.return-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:surprise say-PL PROG-VIS.IPFV.1

‘Ye’pua Phito (mouth of the cucura stream) villagers went back and forth to bury people, always saying “It’s so far!”

‘Moradores de Ye’pua Phito (boca do igarapé cucura) vinham para cá e voltavam para enterrar gente, sempre dizendo “Como é longe!”

- (289) *paina ĩrinapũre namũha, ti ma’a bũhkũma’a hiro nimanaro, to bu’iare ti ma’a.*

pá--ida ~ĩrí--da-pũ-re ~dá--bũha tí--ba’a
 ALT-NMLZ.PL smelly-PL-LOC-OBJ carry-MOV.upward ANPH-path
bũkũ--ba’a hí-ro ~dí--ba--da-ro to=bu’ia-re
 old-path COP-SG COP-REM.IPFV-PL-SG DEF=bu’ia.stream-OBJ
tí--ba’a
 ANPH-path

‘They carried other rotting bodies up that old path that’s always been there, the path from the Bu’ia stream (leading to the cemetery).’

‘Carregavam outros corpos podres no caminho antigo, que sempre esteve ali, o caminho do igarapé Bu’ia.’

- (290) *ti ma’aita mahareatii sã.*

tí--ba’a-i-ta ~baháre-átí-í ~sã
 ANPH-path-LOC.VIS-EMPH go.and.return-IPFV-VIS.PFV.1 1PL.EXCL

‘It’s the same path we always use to go back and forth (to our gardens).’

‘Nesse mesmo caminho nós sempre vamos e voltamos (da roça).’

- (291) *tina te ĩrinapũre ti khã’rekho’toi nawi’ika.*

tí--da té ~ĩrí--da-pũ-re
 ANPH-PL until smelly-PL-EMPATH-OBJ
ti=~kha’ré-khu’tu-i ~dá-wi’i-ka
 ANPH=abiú/cucura.fruit-cemetery-LOC.VIS get-arrive.CIS-ASSERT.IPFV

‘They brought the poor decomposing bodies (on that path) to Khãre Kho’to.’

‘Traziam os pobres fedendos (nesse caminho) até Khãre Kho’to.’

- (292) *tina tia, tia, tara: “sã ñhchũ, mũ’ũ kha’mana mahsane nana sã khã’inare.”*

tí--da tí-a tí-a tá-rá ~sa=~yũchũ
 ANPH-PL cry-go cry-go come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=grandfather

~bʰé̃ ~kha' b́a-rá ~basá-re ~dá--da
 2SG want-VIS.IPFV.2/3 people-OBJ get-PL
 ~sa=~kha'i--ida-re
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=love-NMLZ.PL-OBJ

'They come weeping, weeping (saying): "You, our grandfather, want it, so we give you the body of the ones we love."

'Vêm chorando, chorando (dizendo): "A você nosso avô, que quer, estamos entregando o corpo das pessoas que amamos."

- (293) "mip̃re wi'boga hi'na" ni, phaỹ nikh̃ kha'mach̃ tia.

~bí-p̃h̃-ré wi'bó-gá ~hí'da ~dí phaỹ ~dí-kh̃
 now-LOC-OBJ take.care-IMP EMPH say many say-ADD
 ~kha' b́a-ch̃ tí-a
 do.together-SW.REF cry-ASSERT.PFV

'"Now take good care (of this body)," (they said), and said many other things, weeping together.'

'"Agora guarda bem (o corpo)," diziam, e falavam muitas outras coisas, chorando juntos.'

- (294) yo'omeheta nu'miriinadita, ti mahkari phaakāmahkanumiadita wa'aina top̃re.

yo'ó--beheta ~du'b́i-ri--ida-dita tí--baka-ri
 in.contrast-NEG.intens body.paint-PL-NMLZ.PL-SOL ANPH-village-NMLZ
 phaá--ka--baka--dubia-dita wa'a--ida to-p̃h̃-re
 clan.members-DIM-village-PL.F-SOL go-NMLZ.PL DEF-LOC-OBJ

'But (they) would only go painted, and only the women of that clan (family of that specific community) could go along.'

'Mas iam só pintados, e só podiam ir as mulheres que faziam parte daquela clã (família da comunidade).'

- (295) mahkari phaakāmahkono hieraro ti khu'tuita thuaa.

~baká-ri phaá--ka--bako-ro hi-é-ri-ro
 origin-NMLZ clan.members-DIM-daughter-SG COP-NEG-SG
 tí-khu'tu-i-ta thú-a
 ANPH-cemetery-LOC.VIS-EMPH return-ASSERT.PFV

'A woman who wasn't part of the clan had to return before getting to the cemetery.'

‘A mulher que não fazia parte do clã tinha que retornar antes de chegar no cemitério.’

(296) *wi’i, thuawi’i ko toawe, ku’sæwe, khõ’aroka, mahkachɛ ...*

wi’i thúá-wi’i kó toá-we
arrive.CIS return-arrive.CIS medicine vomit-MOV.through
ku’sú-we ~kho’a-doka ~baká-chɛ
bathe-MOV.through throw-DIST look.for-eat

‘Arriving home, (they cleansed themselves with) vomit medicine, bathed to throw off (the effect of the burial), then had something to eat ...’

‘Quando chegavam (do enterro) faziam limpeza de estômago (vomitando), tomavam banho para jogar fora (o efeito do enterro), depois se alimentavam ...’

(297) “*yoaro hiro nira,*” *niatire maimɛnano ti khu’ture.*

yoá-ró hí-ro ~dí-ra⁷⁷ ~dí-átí-ré ~baí--bɛda-ro
do-SG COP-SG PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father-deceased-SG
tí-khu’tu-re
ANPH-cemetery-OBJ

‘“This is how it’s (always) done,” my late father used to tell (me) about the cemetery.’

‘“Assim é que se faz (sempre),” contava meu pai finado sobre o cemitério.’

(298) *ã yoa mahariro tiro bɛhkɛro toi duhika.*

~a=yóá ~bahá-ri-ro tí-ró bɛkú-ro tó-i
so=do go.uphill-NMLZ-SG ANPH-SG ancestor-SG REM-LOC.VIS
duhí-ka
sit-ASSERT.IPFV

‘Because our old ancestor (*Dianumia Yairo*) who went up there is still sitting there (still exists, lives there).’

‘Porque o velho nosso avô (*Dianumia Yairo*) que subiu ainda está sentado alí (ainda existe, vive alí).’

⁷⁷This sentence is a good example of how the visual imperfective suffix used on the copula is understood as a statement of fact, rather than having any type of specific temporal reference (see Stenzel 2013: 281).

- (299) *a'ri phakɛi hirota nira.*
a'rí phákɛ-i hí-ro-ta ~dí-ra
 DEM.PROX body-LOC.VIS COP-SG-EMPH COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 'That body is there.'
 'O corpo está lá.'
- (300) *tiro yariariro hierare. himarero tiro, a'ri phakɛi tiro.*
tí-ró yariá-rí-ró hi-éra-re hí-~bare-ro tí-ró
 ANPH-SG die-NMLZ-SG COP-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 COP-REM.IPFV-SG ANPH-SG
a'rí phákɛ-i tí-ró
 DEM.PROX body-LOC.VIS ANPH-SG
 'He isn't dead, he's there (alive), his body.'
 'Ele não está morto, está (vivo), o corpo dele.'
- (301) *"do'se tiro thíkari khõ'amahkɛ" ni dohoatiti patena.*
do'sé tí-ró thí-kari ~khoabakɛ ~dí dohó-ati-ti páte~da
 Q:how ANPH-SG true-Q.SPEC god say ask-IPFV-REFL sometimes
 '[Sometimes I ask myself: "Could he be God?"]'
 '[Às vezes me pergunto: "Será que é ele Deus?"]'
- (302) *tiro hira a'ri dahchore khɛariro.*
tí-ró hí-ra a'rí dachó-ré khɛá-ri-ro
 ANPH-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEM.PROX day-OBJ have-NMLZ-SG
 'He's the one who has/controls time.'
 'Ele é quem é o dono do tempo.'
- (303) *ni maimɛnɛno ya'uatire ti khu'ture, ãhia wa'manopɛre.*
~dí ~baí-~bɛda-ro ya'ú-átí-ré tí-khu'tu-re
 say father-deceased-SG tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 ANPH-cemetery-OBJ
~a=hí-a ~wa'bá-ro-pɛ-re
 so=COP-PL young/new-SG-LOC-OBJ
 'That's what my late father told (me) about this cemetery, about how things were back then.'
 'Assim contava meu pai a respeito desse cemitério, assim como era antigamente.'



Figure 4: *Bu'i Kho'to*. Illustration by Moisés Galvez Trindade and Auxiliadora Figueiredo

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I am deeply grateful to the Kotiria people who have welcomed me so warmly into their communities over our many years of work together.



Figure 5: Kris and Teresinha in 2017

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Non-standard abbreviations

ADD	additive	INTENT	intention
AFF	affected	INTENS	intensifier
ALT	alternate	MIR	mirative
ANPH	anaphoric	PREDICT	prediction
ASSERT	assertion	QUANT.C	quantitative for count noun
ATTRIB	attributive	QUANT.MS	quantitative for mass noun
AUM	augmentative	REFL	reflexive
CIS	cislocative	REM	remote
CONTR	contrastive	REP	reported
DEIC	deictic	RSP	respect
DES	desiderative	SPEC	speculative
DIM	diminutive	SOL	solitary
EMPATH	empathetic	SW.REF	switch reference
EMPH	emphasis	TEMP	temporal
EPIS	epistemic	TRNS	translocative
EVNT	event	VBZ	verbalizer
EXRT	exhortative	VIS	visual
FRUS	frustrative		
INFER	inference		

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Chapter 7

Hup

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1 Introduction

This narrative tells the story of a liaison between a deer spirit and a woman, and the troubles that came of it. The tale is one of many stories told by the Hupd'äh, who live in the Vaupés region, straddling the border of Brazil and Colombia (Figure 1). Hup, the language of the Hupd'äh (lit. 'person-PL') belongs to the small Naduhup family (formerly known as Makú; see Epps & Bolaños 2017); the speakers of the four Naduhup languages inhabit the interfluvial zones south of the Vaupés River and the middle Rio Negro. The approximately 2000 Hupd'äh live in communities ranging from a few families to several hundred people, located between the Vaupés and the Tiquié Rivers.

The version of the Deer Story narrative presented here was recorded in November 2001 in the Hup community of Taracua Igarapé, known in Hup as *Tát Dëh*, or 'Ant (sp.) Creek' (Figure 2). Taracua Igarapé is located along the large creek that bears the same name, at about an hour's walk into the forest from the banks of the Tiquié River, and is home to about 150 people. While the residents of Taracua Igarapé belong to a number of clans, the community is understood to be in the principal territory of the *Sokw'üt Nok'öd Téhd'äh*, the 'Descendents of the Toucan's Beak', and is itself the most recent of a series of communities associated with the Toucan's Beak clan, which over the past six to eight generations



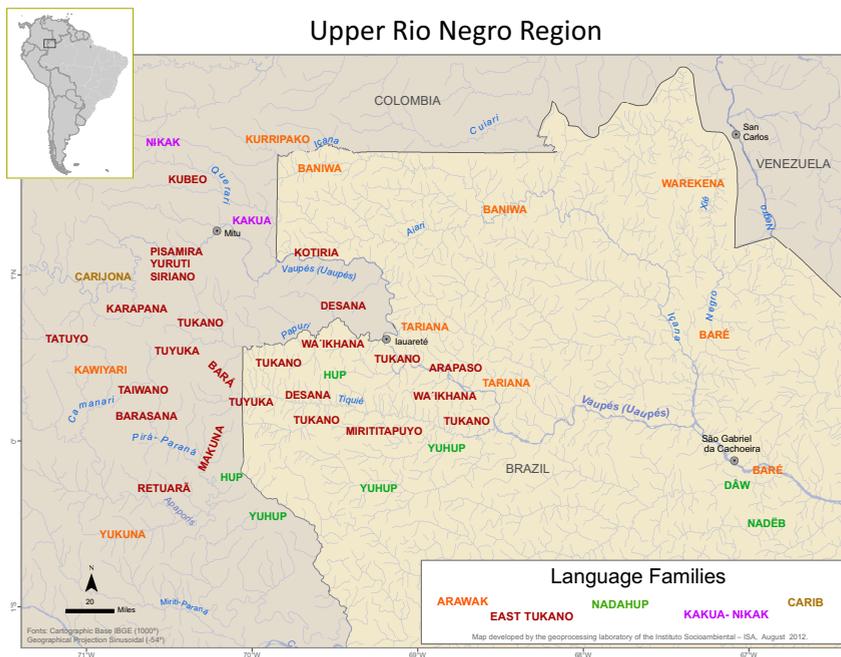


Figure 1: Map of the Upper Rio Negro Region (Epps & Stenzel 2013b)



Figure 2: Taracua Igarapé community

have relocated incrementally from the more remote interfluvial zones toward the Tiquié River.

The Deer Story was performed by Isabel Salustiano, a talented storyteller with a vast repertoire of traditional stories and a masterful delivery. She is originally from the nearby community of Cabari do Japu (*Pij Dëh*), and is married to Américo Monteiro Socot, who is himself a Toucan's Beak clansman and an influential figure in the community. The story was recorded outdoors in the community, in a central area near a cluster of houses, and in the presence of several of her children and other community members. The text was subsequently transcribed and checked over by Patience Epps, Jovino Monteiro Socot, and Pedro Pires Dias (of Barreira Alta). It appears in the book of Hup stories that was produced for the Middle Tiquié River Hup communities (ed. by Epps, 2005/2016), with illustrations drawn by Estevão Socot (Jovino's son). Several of these illustrations are included here.

As the story begins, a widow, struggling to feed herself and her children, is following a forest stream, collecting tiny freshwater shrimp. This is poor fare, but the most she can manage without a husband to hunt and fish for her. As she moves upstream, she begins to find fish, freshly caught and set out on the bank (Figures 3–4). In her desperation, she takes the fish, although she knows that by doing so she is entering into a relationship with an unknown and potentially



Figure 3: Forest creek in the region of Taracua Igarapé



Figure 4: The woman finding fish set out for her (Estevão Socot)

dangerous other. Soon after, she hears a whistle, and looks up to see a deer spirit in man's form, brilliant with red body paint, looking down at her from the bank. He tells her that he will come that evening to see her, and she agrees. The woman then returns home, feeds her children and puts them to bed, and waits for the deer spirit. He arrives, laden with game, and the two of them spend the evening eating, leaving none for the children. The deer spirit then sleeps with her, together in one hammock, and leaves just before dawn.

The deer spirit continues to visit the woman nightly, always bringing large quantities of game, which they eat together without saving any for the children. During the day, the woman prepares special *manicuera*, a drink made from boiled manioc juice mixed with tasty fruits, to offer her deer husband at night, while she gives only old sour *manicuera* to the children. Eventually the oldest boy, wondering why his mother always sends them to bed at night with such haste, resolves to stay up and watch. He hides in his hammock and peeks through the holes in the loosely woven palm-fiber mesh, and sees the deer spirit and his mother feasting on the game the spirit has brought (Figure 5). Furious with this revelation, the boy tells his siblings their mother's secret. Together they dig fish-poison root (*Lonchocarpus* sp.), beat it to extract the poison, and squeeze it into the special *manicuera* that their mother had prepared for her husband.

That night, the boy lies watching again as the deer spirit and his mother feast and go to sleep. In the morning, the mother frantically shakes her husband to



Figure 5: The boy watching his mother and the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)

waken him, but finds him dead. Sending the children out of the house to bathe, she breaks up her husband's body and squeezes it into a large burden-basket, which she carries into the sky for burial (Figure 6). The spot where she leaves him becomes a formation known as the Deer's Tomb, visible in the night sky.

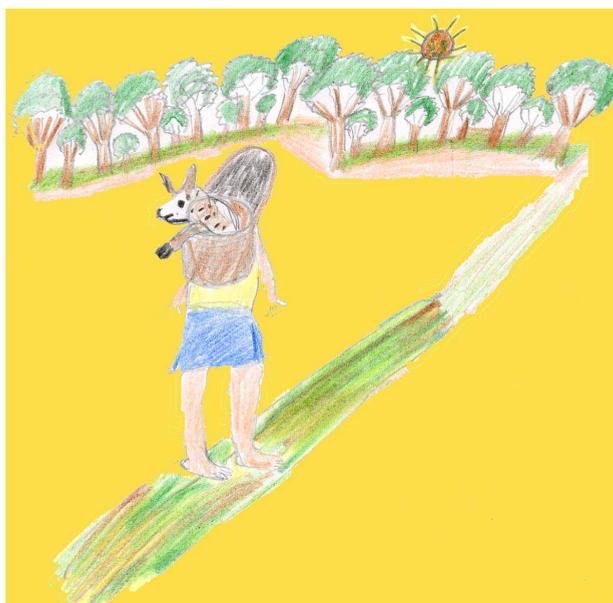


Figure 6: The woman carrying the body of the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)

This formation is also recognized by the Tukano people, who call it by the same name in their own language, but its location has not yet been identified in the ethnoastronomical work carried out in the region (see Cardoso 2007; Oliveira 2010); it is probably one of the “constellations” that peoples of this region visualize in the dark spaces between clusters of stars, rather than in the stars themselves.

The mother returns, and before long she gives birth to the deer spirit’s child. She conceals the infant from her children by hanging it up in a bag of charcoal from the rafters of the house, and only takes it down twice a day to nurse it. However, her actions do not go unnoticed by her children, who become curious about the contents of the bag, and climb up one day to have a look while their mother is out in her manioc garden. They discover the baby with delight, and take it out with them into the overgrown swidden (garden areas that have been abandoned in the cycle of slash-and-burn farming) to play with it. There they feed it manioc leaves, potato leaves – all the garden plants to which deer help themselves today – and proceed to play with it by pushing it back and forth among them. As they do so, the baby deer rapidly gains strength, and suddenly it gives a snort, leaps over the children’s heads, and disappears into the forest.

The loss of the baby deer is the final step in severing the children’s relationship with their mother. Fearful of her anger, they have already begun a transformation into curassow birds (*Nothocrax urumutum*, Figure 7) by the time she discovers the missing baby. Other birds have filled the children’s skin with feathers and drawn circles around their eyes, and the children have dug holes in the ground



Figure 7: Nocturnal Curassow *Nothocrax urumutum* (Photo: Jelle Oostrom) <http://www.flickr.com/photos/jelle82/4823615464/>;CC-BY-SA 2.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)

like those of curassows. When their mother rushes into the house to beat them, the children scatter, flying off to hide in their holes. The mother tries in vain to catch one little girl by putting a basket over her hole, but the bird-child only tunnels away, comes up in another place, and flies off. The poor mother wanders crying after her children, and thus transforms herself into a *bëbë* bird – a small brown bird, probably a type of antthrush (family *Formicariidae*), that walks on the forest floor and whose call is reminiscent of crying.

A major theme of the Deer Story is one of transformation, carried out in the context of liminality of behavior and existence. Through their actions, the figures in the story occupy the zones between the human, animal, and spirit “worlds”, and their engagement with the occupants of these other worlds ultimately propels them wholly into their domains. This theme is a familiar one in verbal art and cultural practice throughout the Amazon basin: humans, animals, and spirits are understood to share a similar conception of their worlds, but with a fundamental disconnect such that, for example, what a vulture sees as grilled fish appears to a person as maggots in rotting meat (Viveiros de Castro 1998, *inter alia*). One must maintain one’s own position as the inhabitant of a particular subjective world by means of appropriate actions – in particular, appropriate social actions – while direct engagement with entities outside this domain is inherently perilous (see, e.g. Santos-Granero 2006; Londoño Sulkin 2005; Uzendoski 2005; Vilaça 2000). It is through this engagement that one may lose one’s own subjectivity and enter that of one’s interlocutor. Thus the widow, by accepting the fish presented by the deer spirit, opens herself to his “world”, and in so doing takes a step out of her own. Her deepening relationship with the spirit and ongoing mistreatment of her own children represent this liminal space that she has entered. Similarly, the children’s withdrawal from their mother ultimately propels them into the domain of the curassows. Finally, the mother’s own liminality leads her to abandon her human speech and resort only to crying, such that she transforms into the ever-crying *bëbë* bird.

The Deer Story is also representative of the multilingual Vaupés region. The Hupd’äh, like the other peoples of the area, are participants in the regional melting pot of culture, discourse, and language, which has led to striking parallels in verbal art and other practices across many of the Upper Rio Negro peoples (see e.g. Epps & Stenzel 2013a). The Deer Story, like many others, is told widely in the region, and (as noted above) the Deer’s Tomb constellation is recognized among other groups as well. Like many other peoples in the region, the Hupd’äh are multilingual, but avoid overt mixing of languages; code-switching is therefore tightly constrained, but is acceptable and even preferred for certain functions –

in particular, marking the speech of entities who are treated as social “others” in narrative. Isabel’s telling of the Deer Story makes expert use of this device: when the deer spirit first comes to the woman, he inquires about the children in Tukano, the principal second language of the middle Tiquié River Hupd’äh. Here Isabel departs from her narrative momentarily to comment (perhaps for the benefit of the recording?) that the spirit apparently spoke in “River-Indian language” (Tukano). Later on, when the spirit makes the same inquiry, Isabel comments that he still is speaking in Tukano, but provides his quoted speech in Hup. Finally, at the end of the story, Isabel quotes the woman’s crying “my children! my children” – but notably this quote is given in a *mix* of Hup and Tukano (*ni pō’ra!* ‘my[Hup] children[Tukano]’). Her representation of this mixed-language cry appears to index its semi-human, transformative quality, i.e. a metaphorical use of code-switching. Moreover, the compound (serial) verb construction – which presents components of an event as a conceptually linked package – that Isabel uses to describe the event itself highlights that the transformation comes about *through* this act of speaking: *?id-ham-döhö-* [speak-go-transform-] ‘went saying and transformed’.

In Isabel’s telling of the Deer Story, she inserts a number of comments in the narrative; some of these are directly relevant to the story, while others reflect on her own narration. She observes at several points that the events she describes – which are understood to have taken place in a distant, mythic past – set a sort of precedent that shaped the world as we currently know it; for example, that women who remarry sometimes do not treat the children of their first marriage well, and that the leaves fed to the baby deer were exactly those that deer now eat from gardens, thus damaging the crop. Among her more self-reflective comments, she stumbles slightly over the first Tukano utterance of the spirit, and laughs that she did not deliver it so well; later on she hesitates momentarily and comments that she is trying to remember the story line. I have moved this second type of comments out of the main text and into the footnotes, so as not to distract from the flow of the story.

The text also makes use of a number of notable grammatical and discursive features that are characteristic of the Hup narrative genre more generally. The reported evidential (*mah*) is heavily used throughout, normally at least once per main clause, while the inferred evidential marker (*sud*) is mostly limited to quoted speech (such as, for example, the children are speculating about their mother’s actions). The nonvisual evidential (*hō*) occurs only in one of Isabel’s asides, where she is commenting on her memory of the story; her asides also include a number of instances of the inferred evidential. Hup’s second inferred or

assumed evidential (*ni*), which is restricted to past tense and is less dependent on tangible evidence, also occurs occasionally in the text. The distant past contrast marker (*s'áh*) only appears sporadically, in keeping with its generally infrequent use in Hup discourse, although some speakers use it more regularly in traditional narrative to index the distant time of the events and/or of when they themselves learned the stories (both considerations seem to be relevant). Other discursively important grammatical resources include the compound (serial) verb constructions, which offer a neat conceptual packaging of associated events or sub-events, as in the example of speaking and transforming given above. Finally, the text provides ample illustration of the head-tail linkage strategy that is common in Hup narrative, such that preceding clauses are often briefly summarized in the first part of the following sentence, marked with the sequential suffix *-yóʔ* (i.e., 'having done [verb], ...'). These characteristics of Hup grammar and discourse are generally in keeping with those found in other Vaupés languages, while also exhibiting certain differences – for example, the very sporadic use of past-tense marking contrasts with its ubiquitous use in Tukanoan languages, and Stenzel (this volume) notes that Kotiria narrative makes much lighter use of reported evidential marking. Otherwise, closely similar evidential categories, compound/serial verb constructions, and head-tail linkage strategies are widely represented in the area, and Hup's fairly rigid verb-final constituent order, sensitivity of object (non-subject) case marking to animacy and definiteness, use of nominal classifiers, and range of aspectual categories are likewise generally consistent with a wider Vaupés linguistic profile (e.g. Gomez-Imbert 1996; Aikhenvald 2002; Epps 2007; Stenzel 2013; see also Stenzel, this volume). More information on these and many other aspects of Hup grammar can be found in Epps (2008).

The transcription conventions followed here make use of the Hup practical orthography, which has been adopted by Hup teachers in the local schools (see Ramirez 2006). The majority of symbols correspond to those found in the International Phonetic Alphabet, with the following exceptions. For vowels, orthographic <ë> = IPA /e/, <ä> = /ə/, <ö> = /o/, <e> = /æ/, and <o> = /ɔ/. For consonants, <s> = /c/ (palatal voiceless stop), with a word-initial allophone [ʃ], <'> = /ʔ/, <j> = /ɟ/, and <y> = /j/. Hup's phonological inventory contains voiced, voiceless, and glottalized consonants; while glottalized consonants do not contrast underlyingly for voicing, the practical orthography distinguishes the allophones <s'j'> and <k'g'>, respectively (as realized in syllable onset and coda positions). Nasalization is a morpheme-level prosody in Hup, as is the case in other Vaupés languages, but nasal and oral allophones of voiced obstruents (<m/b> and <n/d>) are distinguished depending on whether the context is oral or nasal; otherwise,

a tilde on the vowel indicates that the entire syllable (in most cases, morpheme) is nasalized. Vowel-copying suffixes take their nasal/oral quality from the final element in the stem they attach to. Hup has two contrastive tones, which occur only on stressed syllables; these are marked via a diacritic on the vowel of the relevant syllable (\acute{v} = high tone [of which a falling contour is an allophone], \grave{v} = rising tone).

The first line of transcribed text follows the full set of conventions of word segmentation and phonemic representation current in the practical orthography. The second transcription line deviates from these conventions in several respects: it provides a morphological breakdown, and in so doing it indicates morpheme/clitic boundaries within the phonological word (via - and =, respectively), in keeping with the morphological analysis provided in Epps (2008), including where these are represented by spaces between etyma in the practical orthography. The second transcription line also includes morpheme-initial glottal stops (which are phonemic but are omitted in the practical orthography), since these help to clarify the distinction between consonant- and vowel-initial suffixes within phonological words; it also uses the IPA symbol <ʔ> for the glottal stop consonant in order to differentiate this phoneme from the glottalized consonants (represented as <C'>). The third line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, with a list of non-standard abbreviations provided at the end of the text.

The line-by-line translations attempt to maintain a relatively literal reading that closely mirrors the discourse norms of the original, while balancing this goal with readability in English. In general, I have leaned toward transparency in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses that correspond to relatively lexicalized multimorphemic constructions, while the meaning of the collocation as a whole is given in the translation line; e.g. *s'äb-te-yi'* (night-still-ADV) 'morning'.

2 Mohõy wäd nih pinìg

‘Story of the Deer Spirit’

‘História do Espírito Veado’¹

- (1) *Sà' ségep mah tih hámáh.*
sà? ség-ep=mah tih hám-áh
 shrimp net-DEP=REP 3SG go-DECL
 ‘She went netting shrimp, it’s said.’
 ‘Ela foi pegando camarão, dizem.’
- (2) *Hin'ih pããp mah, tēhíp pããp mah tih hámáh.*
hin'ih pã-ãp=mah, tēh=ʔíp pã-ãp=mah tih hám-áh
 what NEG.EX-DEP=REP child=father NEG.EX-DEP=REP 3SG go-DECL
 ‘With nothing, it’s said, with no husband, it’s said, she went.’
 ‘Sem nada, dizem, sem marido, dizem, ela foi.’
- (3) *Ham yó', dēh-miit sá' mah tih ségéh.*
ham-yóʔ, dēh=mí-it sáʔ=mah tih ség-éh
 go-SEQ water=course-OBL shrimp=REP 3SG net-DECL
 ‘Having gone, it’s said, she was netting shrimp in the stream.’
 ‘Tendo ido, dizem, ela estava pegando camarão no igaparé.’
- (4) *Yúp mah tih seg péét mah, d'òbn'àn tih kāk w'öb pe níh, húpup ihíh.*
yúp=mah tih seg-pé-ét=mah, d'òb=n'àn tih
 that=REP 3SG net-go.upstream-OBL=REP acará=PL.OBJ 3SG
kāk-w'öb-pe-ní-h húp-up=ʔih-íh
 pull-set-go.upstream-INFR2-DECL person-DEP=MSC-DECL
 ‘So, it’s said, as she went upstream netting, it’s said, he was (also) going upstream, fishing acará (*Pterophyllum* sp.) and setting them out (for her), a man.’
 ‘Aí, dizem, enquanto ela ia rio acima pegando camarão, dizem, ele (também) estava indo rio acima, pescando acará e deixando lá (para ela), um homem.’

¹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/999238>

- (5) *Té kāk w'öb pe yó', té tih-k'etd'óhanay mah, tiyi' b'ay këy d'öb k'ët níayáh, mohòyóh.*

té kāk-w'öb-pe-yó', té tih=k'etd'óh-an-ay=mah, tiyi?=b'ay
 until pull-set-go.upstream-SEQ until 3SG=end-DIR-INCH=REP man=again
këy-d'öb-k'ët-ní-ay-áh, mohòy-óh.
 see-descend-stand-be-INCH-DECL deer-DECL

'Until, having gone upstream fishing and setting out (the fish), all the way to the headwaters (of the stream), it's said, the man was standing (on the bank) looking down (at her), a deer.'

'Até, tendo indo rio acima pescando e deixando (o peixe), até a cabeceira (do igarapé), dizem, o homem ficou (na beira) olhando para baixo para ela.'

- (6) *Yúp mah, "Ûy sap ùh àn hòp kāk w'öb péé' páh?" tih nóop b'ay.*
yúp=mah, ùy sap ùh àn hòp kāk-w'öb-pé-e' páh?
 that=REP who INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ fish pull-set-go.upstream-Q PROX.CNTR
tih nó-op=b'ay.
 3SG say-DEP=again

'So, it's said, "Who can it be, who has been going upstream fishing and setting out (fish) for me?" she said.'

'Aí, dizem, "Quem pode ser, que estava rio acima para a cima e deixando (peixe) para mim?" ela falou.'

- (7) *Yinih yó' mah, hòp wed túup k'óhóy nih, tēhíp pããp k'óhóy nih, hí tih d'ö'*
pe yí'íh.

yi-nih-yó'=mah, hòp wed-tú-up k'óh-óy=nih,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP fish eat-want-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO
tēh=?íp pã-ãp k'óh-óy=nih, hí tih
 child=father NEG.EX-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO only 3SG
d'ö?-pe-yí'-íh.
 take-go.upstream-TEL-DYNM

'So, it's said, wanting to eat fish, being without a husband, she just went upstream taking the fish.'²

'Aí, dizem, querendo comer peixe, sem marido, ela ia para rio acima pegando o peixe.'

²Isabel uses the verb *k'öh-* 'be' throughout this text; this verb is a salient feature of the Japu dialect (whereas the middle Tiquié dialects use only the form *ni-*), and is often a source of comment among speakers regarding dialectal differences.

- (8) *D'ö' pe yó' mah, "Ya'áp yi' āh wed téh, níy," no yó' mah, tih hup käd b'ay yi' kami mah, tihàn tih wíçiy.*

d'ö'-pe-yóʔ=mah, ya'áp=yiʔ ʔāh wed-té-h, ní-iy,
take-go.upstream-SEQ=REP all.gone=ADV 1SG eat-FUT-DECL be-DYNM
no-yóʔ=mah, tih hup-käd-b'ay-yiʔ-kamí=mah, tih-àn tih
say-SEQ=REP 3SG REFL-pass-return-TEL-moment.of=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG
wíç-iy.
whistle-DYNM

‘Taking (the fish) as she went upstream, it’s said, saying, “Just this I’ll (take to) eat,” it’s said, just as she turned around to go back, he whistled to her.’

‘Pegando (o peixe), rio acima, dizem, falando, “Só isso vou (levar para) comer,” no momento em que ela virou para voltar, ele assobiou para ela.’

- (9) *Tihàn tih wíçiy këyó' mah, "Ûy sap ùh, àn tiyi' pãät, àn wiç k'ët k'ó'ö' páh?"³ no yó' mah.*

tihàn tih wíç-iy këyóʔ=mah, ʔùy sap ʔùh, ʔàn tiyiʔ
3SG.OBJ 3SG whistle-DYNM because=REP who INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ man
pã-ät, ʔàn wiç-k'ët-k'óʔ-öʔ páh? no-yóʔ=mah.
NEG.EX-OBL 1SG.OBJ whistle-stand-go.around-Q PROX.CNTR say-SEQ=REP

‘As he whistled, it’s said, “Who could it be, (I being) without a husband, who could be going around whistling for me?” she said, it’s said.’

‘Como ele assobiou, dizem, “Quem pode ser, (eu) sem marido, quem está por aí assobiando para mim?” ela falou, dizem.’

- (10) *Tih këy sop k'étéh, tih këy sop k'étét mah, tih m'è sój d'öb k'ët póayáh.*

tih këy-sop-k'ët-éh, tih këy-sop-k'ët-ét=mah, tih m'èʔ
3SG see-ascend-stand-DECL 3SG see-go.up-stand-OBL=REP 3SG carajuru
sój d'öb-k'ët-pó-ay-áh.
brilliant descend-stand-EMPH1-INCH-DECL

‘She stood looking up (toward the bank), as she stood looking up, it’s said, he stood looking down, brilliant with *carajuru*.⁴

‘Ela ficou olhando para cima (na beira), e enquanto ficava olhando, dizem, ele olhava para baixo, brilhante com *carajuru*.’

³The particle *páh* marks recent past, but is used primarily in a contrastive sense; it is the counterpart of the distant past contrast marker mentioned above in the Introduction.

⁴*Carajuru* is the regional term for the *Arrabidaea chica* plant and the red body paint made from its leaves.

- (11) *Yup m'é' sój d'öb k'ët yó' mah, tíhàn tíh ídíh.*
yup m'é? sój d'öb-k'ët-yó?=mah, tíh-àn tíh íd-íh.
 that carajuru brilliant descend-stand-SEQ=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG speak-DECL
 'Standing there looking down, brilliant with *carajuru*, it's said, he spoke to her.'
 'Ficando lá olhando para ela, brilhante com carajuru, dizem, ele falou para ela.'
- (12) *Yít páh, "Hòp àmàn àh käk w'öb péét, d'ó'óy àm páh?" nóóy mah.*
yít páh, hòp íám-àn íáh käk-w'öb-pé-ét, d'ó'óy
 thus PROX.CNTR fish 2SG-OBL 1SG pull-set-go.upstream-DECL take-DYNM
íám páh? nó-óy=mah.
 2SG PROX.CNTR say-DYNM=REP
 'And then, "Where I went upstream catching fish and setting them out for you; have you taken them?" he said, it's said.'
 'Aí, "Lá onde fui rio acima, pescando e deixando peixe, você pegou?" ele falou, dizem.'
- (13) *"D'ó'óy páh áháh," nóóy mah tíhíh.*
d'ó'óy páh íáh-áh, nó-óy=mah tíh-íh.
 take-DYNM PROX.CNTR 1SG-DECL say-DYNM=REP 3SG-DECL
 "I have taken them," she said, it's said.'
 "Eu peguei," ela falou, dizem.'
- (14) *"D'ö' wéd, am máhan wed ay yó' páh àmàn käk w'öb pe níy mah.*
D'ö'-wéd, íam máh-an wed-íay-yó? páh íám-àn
 take-eat.IMP 2SG near-DIR eat-VENT-SEQ PROX.CNTR 2SG-OBJ
käk-w'öb-pe-ní-íy=mah
 pull-set-go.upstream-be-DYNM=REP
 "Take and eat them; having gone and eaten at your place I (will) be setting out fish for you," it's said.'
 "Leve-os para comer; depois de você ir e comer em casa, estarei deixando peixe para você", dizem.'

- (15) *“Tán, am máhan, d’ú’ āh yě téh,” nóóy mah.*
tán, ʔam máh-an, d’ú’ ʔāh yě-té-h, nó-óy=mah.
 later 2SG near-DIR evening 1SG enter-FUT-DECL say-DYNM=REP
 ‘“Later, in the evening I will come to you,” he said, it’s said.’
 ‘“Depois, no final do dia, chegarei até você,” ele falou, dizem.’
- (16) *“Hã,” nóóy mah tihíh.*
hãʔ, nó-óy=mah tih-ih.
 yes say-DYNM=REP 3SG-DECL
 ‘“All right,” she said, it’s said.’
 ‘“Tá bom,” ela falou, dizem.’
- (17) *Yí no yó’ mah tih b’ay yí’ayáh.*
yí-no-yóʔ=mah tih b’ay-yíʔ-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP 3SG return-TEL-INCH-DECL
 ‘Having said that, it’s said, she went back.’
 ‘Tendo dito isso, dizem, ela voltou.’
- (18) *B’ay yó’, té widb’ay yi’ níy ni yó’ mah, tih téhn’àn.*
b’ay-yóʔ, té wid-b’ay-yi’ ní-iy ni-yóʔ=mah, tih
 return-SEQ until arrive-return-TEL be-DYNM be-SEQ=REP 3SG
téh=n’àn.
 offspring=PL.OBJ
 ‘She went back, until she had arrived to where her children were.’
 ‘Ela voltou, até chegar onde estavam as suas crianças.’
- (19) *Yúp sá’ mehn’àn tih k’èt hipud yó’ mah, tih k’èt wed yó’ mah, tih k’èt òh*
yí’ih.
yúp sáʔ=meh=n’àn tih k’èt-hipud-yóʔ=mah, tih
 DEM.ITG shrimp=DIM=PL.OBJ 3SG stand-mix.broth-SEQ=REP 3SG
k’èt-wed-yóʔ=mah, tih k’èt-ʔòh-yíʔ-ih.
 stand-eat-SEQ=REP 3SG stand-sleep-TEL-DECL
 ‘Then, having made *mojica*⁵ for them from the little shrimp, it’s said,
 having fed them, she put them to sleep.’
 ‘Aí, depois de fazer uma *mojica* de pequenos camarões para elas, dizem
 depois de tê-las alimentado, as colocou para dormir.’

⁵*Mojica* is a stew, usually made with fish, flavored with hot pepper, and thickened with tapioca.

- (20) *Yúp k'ët òh yó' mah yúp, "Nig òháy, hégyi' nig òh hégyi' áy, kayak dèh äg tu yó' nig òh hégyi' áy!" tih nóóh.*

yúp k'ët-?òh-yó'?=mah yúp, "nig ?òh-áy, hég-yi? nig
 DEM.ITG stand-sleep-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 2PL sleep-INCH.IMP quick-ADV 2PL
?òh-hég-yi?-?áy, kayak=dèh ?äg-tu-yó? nig
 sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP manioc=liquid drink-immersed-SEQ 2PL
?òh-hég-yi?-?áy! tih nó-òh.
 sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 3SG say-DECL

'Putting them to sleep, "Quick, you all go to sleep quickly, having drunk up your *manicuera*,⁶ you all go to sleep quickly!" she said.'

'Mandando eles dormir, "Rápido, durmam rápido, depois de beber toda a *manicuera* de vocês, durmam logo!" ela falou.'

- (21) *Yĩ nóóy këyó' mah yúp, yid'äh mèhd'äh, tih-dö' mèhd'äh mah, ip pã mèhd'äh, hid òh yí'ih.*

yĩ nó-óy këyó'?=mah yúp, yi-d'äh mèh=d'äh,
 DEM.ITG say-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-PL DIM=PL
tih=dö?=mèh=d'äh=mah, ?íp pã mèh=d'äh, hid ?òh-yí?-ih.
 3SG=child=DIM=PL=REP father NEG.EX DIM=PL 3PL sleep-TEL-DECL

'Upon her saying this, it's said, those little ones, those little fatherless ones, they went to sleep.'

'Com ela falando isso, dizem, esses pequenos, esses pequenos sem pai, eles dormiram.'

- (22) *Yúp mah bíg nonih mah tih yë yí'ayáh.*

yúp=mah bíg no-nih=mah tih yë-yí?-ay-áh.
 that=REP HAB say-NEG=REP 3SG enter-TEL-DYNM-DECL

'Then, it's said, it was not long before he came in.'

'Aí, dizem, não foi muito antes dele chegar.'

⁶As noted above, *manicuera* is a drink made from boiled manioc juice, often flavored with fruits.

- (23) *Tih kètd'òh só'óy óy', hùytu só'óy óy', hakténéyd'äh óy'.*
tih kètd'òh só?-óy ?óy', hùytu só?-óy ?óy', haktén-éy=d'äh
 3SG end LOC-DYNM bunch behind LOC-DYNM bunch side-DYNM-PL
?óy'.
 bunch
 'With a bunch of game at the end (of a pole) in front, a bunch of game in
 back, bunches of game on either side.'
 'Com umas caças no extremo (de um pau) na frente, umas caças atrás,
 caças dos dois lados.'
- (24) *Mòh óy'd'äh k'òh maháh. Hisihníh mah yid'àháh. Hòpd'ähát yi',*
mòhd'ähát yi' mah tih k'òhníh.
mòh ?óy?=d'äh k'òh-mah-áh. hisihníh=mah yi-d'äh-áh.
 tinamou bunch=PL be-REP-DECL many=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL
hòp=d'äh-át=yi?, mòh=d'äh-át=yi?=mah tih k'òh-ní-h.
 fish=PL-OBL=ADV tinamou=PL-OBL=ADV=REP 3SG be-INF2-DECL
 'They were bunches of tinamous.⁷ Lots of them. With fish, with tinamous
 he was thus (laden).'
- 'Tinham inambus. Muitos. Com peixes, com inambus, ele estava
 (carregado).'

⁷These birds of the family *Tinamidae* are a preferred type of game.

- (25) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, "Marĩ pō'ra, marĩ pō'ra karĩrã?" nóoy mah.*
yì-nìh-yó'=mah yúp, marĩ pō'ra, marĩ pō'ra karĩ-rã?
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG [1PL children 1PL children sleep-PL]
nó-óy=mah
 say-DYNM=REP
 'Thus, it's said, [in Tukano] "Are our children, our children asleep?" he said, it's said.'⁸
 'Aí, dizem, [em Tukano] "Os nossos filhos, nossos filhos estão dormindo?" ele falou, dizem.'
- (26) *Wòh ìh sud ùhniy. "Marĩ pō'ra karĩrã?" nóoy mah.*
wòh=ìh=sud ùhniy. Marĩ pō'ra karĩ-rã? nó-óy=mah.
 river.indian=MSC=INFR1 maybe [1PL children sleep-PL] say-DYNM=REP
 'He was apparently a River Indian, perhaps.'⁹ [In Tukano] "Are our children asleep?" he said.'
 'Era um índio do rio, parece. [em Tukano] "Nossos filhos estão dormindo?" ele falou.'

⁸Isabel stumbled a little over the Tukano phrase, and added a further comment:

- (i) *Yúp ãh d'ãh d'ãh ham níh di' kodé, wòh id mì' sud ùhniy yéh yúwúh.*
Yúp ãh d'ãh-d'ãh-ham-níh di'-kodé, wòh ìd mì' sud-ùhniy
 DEM.ITG 1SG send-send-go-NEG remain-VDIM river.indian speech UNDER INFR-maybe
yéh yúw-úh.
 FRUST DEM.ITG-DECL
 'I didn't say that very well, even though it was supposed to be Tukano.'
 'Não falei muito bem, mesmo que deveria ter sido em Tucano.'

⁹As discussed in the Introduction, the use of Tukano marks the deer spirit as an "Other". Here Isabel's meta-comment regarding his choice of language may have been motivated by the fact that her story was being recorded.

- (27) *Yúp mah, yino yó' mah yúp, yúp hòp tih k'èt wédéh, hòp tih k'èt wèd, mòh tih k'èt wèd, níy mah.*

yúp=mah, yi-no-yó'=mah yúp, yúp hòp tih
DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG fish 3SG

k'èt-wéd-éh,¹⁰ hòp tih k'èt-wèd, mòh tih k'èt-wèd, ní-íy=mah.

stand-eat-DECL fish 3SG stand-eat tinamou 3SG stand-eat be-DYNM=REP

‘Having said that, it’s said, he gave her fish to eat; he went on giving her fish to eat, to give her tinamous to eat, it’s said.’

‘Tendo falado assim, dizem, ele deu peixe para ela comer; ele continuou dando peixe, inambu, dizem.’

- (28) *Yít tih níhít yi' tih k'èt hiwag yí'íh.*

yít tih níh-ít=yi' tih k'èt-hi-wag-yí'íh.

thus 3SG be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG stand-FACT-day-TEL-DECL

‘Doing thus, he accompanied her until dawn.’

‘Assim, ele a acompanhou até amanhecer.’

- (29) *Të sadakà' òh säwä' tég kót'ah meh mah, tih tēh-ínít tih säk te' sak k'ä' yí'ayáh.*

të sadakà? òh-säwä?-té g kót'ah=meh=mah, tih tēh=?ín-ít

until chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=DIM=REP 3SG child=mother-OBL

tih säk te?-sak-k'ä?-yí'-ay-áh.

3SG buttocks join.with-go.up-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL

‘Until just before the time that the rooster wakes and crows, he lay together with his wife in the hammock.’

‘Até pouco antes do tempo do galo acordar e cantar, ele ficava deitado na rede com a mulher dele.’

¹⁰Hup derives causative constructions by means of compounded verb roots. The verb *d'ö?*- ‘take’ is used for direct causation; *d'äh-* for less direct causation, and *k'èt-* ‘stand’ for indirect or ‘sociative’ causation, as in this example.

- (30) *Yinih yó' mah yúp sadakà' òh säwä' kamí píð mah tih way yi'ay píðip b'ay.*
yi-nih-yó'?=mah yúp sadakà? òh-säwä?-kamí píð=mah
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that chicken sleep-wake-moment.of DIST=REP
tih way-yi'ay píð-ip=b'ay.
 3SG go.OUT-TEL-INCH DISTR-DEP=again
 'Thus, it's said, at the time when the rooster awakes and crows, it's said, he went out again.'
 'Assim, dizem, no momento em que o galo acorda e canta, dizem, ele foi embora de novo.'
- (31) *Té way yó' mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham yi' ni píðih, yup tiyi'ih.*
té way-yó'?=mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham-yi'-ni-píð-ih, yup
 until go.OUT-SEQ=REP 3SG forest among go-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL that
tiyi'-ih.
 man-DECL
 'On going out, it's said, he went off into the forest, that man.'
 'Saindo, dizem, ele foi embora no mato, esse homem.'
- (32) *Yinih mi' mah tih, "Nig s'om áyáy, téh!" no d'äh d'öb yi' píðih.*
yi-nih mi'?=mah tih, "Nig s'om-?áy-áy, téh!"
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP 3SG 2PL bathe-VENT-INCH.IMP offspring
no-d'äh-d'öb-yi'-píð-ih.
 say-send-descend-TEL-DISTR-DECL
 'With that, it's said, "You all go bathe, children!" she said, sending them down to the water.'
 'Assim, dizem, "Vão tomar banho, filhos!" ela falou, mandando eles para o igarapé.'
- (33) *Yinih yó', s'äbtéyi' b'öt ham yó' mah, kayak dèh tih bí'ih.*
yi-nih-yó', s'äb-té-yi? b'öt ham-yó'?=mah, kayak
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ night-still-ADV swidden go-SEQ=REP manioc
dèh tih bí'-ih.
 liquid 3SG make-DECL
 'Having done thus, having gone early in the morning to her garden, it's said, she prepared *manicuera*.'
 'Tendo feito assim, tendo ido de manhã cedo para a roça, dizem, ela preparou a manicuera.'

- (34) *Kayak dèh bi' yó' mah yúp, di' téyi' pí'd mah, tih-dèhwàh mah tih tèhn'àn tih b'áh k'èt úhúh.*

kayak dèh bi'?-yó'?=mah yúp, di' té-yi? pí'd=mah,
 manioc liquid make-SEQ=REP that remain still-ADV DISTR=REP
tih=dèh-wàh=mah tih tèh=n'àn tih b'áh-k'èt-úh-úh.
 3SG=liquid-old.food=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG pour-stand-APPL-DECL

'Having prepared *manicuera*, it's said, she would take a little that was left over, it's said, the part that isn't tasty, it's said, and she would pour that out for her children.'

'Tendo preparado a manicuera, dizem, ela tirou um pouco que sobrou, a parte sem gosto, e a despejou para os seus filhos'

- (35) *Yinih mi' mah yúp tih tēhípàn b'ay tih-dèh húp b'ay, tih k'áh náw, sanàát hitú'úp náw, hipud y'et yí'íh.*

yì-nih mi'?=mah yúp tih tēh=íp-àn=b'ay tih=dèh
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP that 3SG child=father-OBJ=again 3SG=liquid
húp=b'ay, tih=k'áh náw, sanà-át hi-tú'úp náw,
 beautiful=again 3SG=sweet good pineapple-OBL FACT-immersed-DEP good
hipud-y'et-yí'íh.

mix.broth-lay-TEL-DECL

'But, it's said, for her husband, she would mix up good *manicuera*, sweet, mixed nicely with pineapple.'

'Mas, dizem, para o marido dela ela misturava a manicuera gostosa, doce, bem mixturada com abacaxi.'

- (36) *Pèdét tih-kúút tih hipúdup, náw mah.*

pèd-ét tih=kú-út tih hipúdup, náw=mah.
 cunuri-OBL 3SG-age.bury-OBL 3SG mix.broth-DEP good=REP

'She mixed it with aged *cunuri*,¹¹ it was good, it's said.'

'Ela misturou com cunuri enterrado, era muito boa, dizem.'

¹¹The nuts of the *cunuri* tree (*Cunuria spruceana*) are prepared via a technique of burying them in the ground and leaving them for some time to ferment.

- (37) *Tih bi' y'et yi' pídíh, yúp tih tēhípànáh, mohòy wādànáh.*¹²
tih bi' y'et-yi' píd-íh, yúp tih tēh=?íp-àn-áh,
 3SG make-lay-TEL-DIST-DECL that 3SG child=father-OBJ-DECL
mohòy=wād-àn-áh.
 deer=RESP-OBJ-DECL
 'She would make it and set it down, for her husband, the deer.'
 'Ela fazia e colocava, dizem, para o marido dela, o veado.'
- (38) *Yúp mah yúp tihpày mah yúp tih tēhn'àn tih bi' nó'op b'ay.*
yúp=mah yúp tih=pày=mah yúp tih tēh=n'àn tih
 that=REP that 3SG=bad=REP that 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG
bi'?-nó'?-op=b'ay.
 make-give-DEP=again
 'Thus, it's said, she did badly for her children.'
 'Assim, dizem, ela fez mal para seus filhos.'
- (39) *Nutèn áyd'áh, in tēhn'àn hitama' níh, in ní-tēg yi' tih níhip mah yúp hiníp.*
nutèn ?áy=d'áh, ?in tēh=n'àn hitama?-níh, ?in
 today woman=PL 1PL offspring-OBJ.PL do.well.by-NEG 1PL
ní-tēg=yi' tih níh-íp=mah yúp=hin-íp
 be-CLF:THING=ADV 3SG be.like-DEP=REP that=also-DEP
 'Women of today, (when) we (who remarry) don't treat our children well,
 our way is as she did, it's said, likewise.'
 'As mulheres de hoje, (quando casam de novo e) não tratam bem nossos
 filhos, esse jeito é como o jeito dela, dizem, assim mesmo.'
- (40) *Yúwàn úy d'áh këy d'áh hám b'ayáh, yúpyi' tih bi' ni nih níh.*
yúw-àn=?úy=d'áh këy-d'áh-hám-b'ay-áh, yúp-yi' tih
 that-OBJ=who=PL see-send-go=again-DEP-DECL that-ADV 3SG
bi'?-ni-nih-ní-h.
 make-be-be.like-INFR2-DECL
 'Because that's how it is for those people, thus in this way she behaved.'
 'Por que é assim mesmo para essas pessoas, assim desse jeito ela fez.'

¹²The 'respected' marker *wād* is an honorific device used for male referents, derived from *wähäd* 'old (male)' (compare *wa*, for old/respected female referents).

- (41) *Hitama'níh nutèn áyd'äh in hiníh tíh.*
hitama?-níh nutèn ʔáy=d'äh ʔin=hin-ih tíh.
 do.well.by-NEG today woman=PL 1PL=also-DECL EMPH2
 'We (women who remarry) of today likewise do not treat (our children) well.'
 'Nós (mulheres que casam outra vez) hoje em dia também não tratamos bem nossos filhos.'
- (42) *Yiníhíy mah yup d'ú' nénéy, níhíy píd mah, "in téh=d'äh òh yi' s'íwíy híd?"*
tih no widyë pídíh, yup wòh ídítíh.
yi-níh-íy=mah yup d'ú? nén-éy, níh-íy
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that evening come-DYNM be.like-DYNM
píd=mah, ʔin téh=d'äh ʔòh-yi?-s'íw-íy híd? tih
 DISTR=REP 1PL offspring=PL sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM 3PL 3SG
no-widyë-píd-íh, yup wòh ʔíd-it-íh.
 say-arrive.enter-DISTR-DECL that river.indian language-OBL-DECL
 'Then like that, it's said, the evening would arrive, it would go like this, it's said: "Are our children already asleep?" he would say as he entered, he would speak in River Indian language.'¹³
 'Assim, dizem, no final do dia, era sempre assim, dizem: "Nossos filhos já estão dormindo?" ele dizia, entrando, dizia na língua dos índios do rio.'
- (43) *Yiníh yó' píd mah yúp, di' téyi' píd, "nig òh yi', hégay!" tih no pídíh.*
yi-nih-yó? píd=mah yúp, di? té=yi? píd, nig
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ DISTR=REP that remain still=ADV DISTR 2PL
ʔòh-yi?, hég-ay! tih no-píd-íh.
 sleep-TEL.IMP quick-INCH 3SG say-DISTR-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, just before (he would come), "You all go to sleep, quickly!" she would say.'
 'Aí, dizem, pouco antes (dele chegar), "Vocês durmam logo!" ela falava.'

¹³Here Isabel provides the Deer Spirit's quoted speech in Hup, but comments that he actually would have spoken in Tukano.

- (44) *Yúp mah yúp, ya'ápyi' píd mah yup tih d'ö' níh, tih kètd'öh só'óy mòh òy',
hũytu só'óy mòh òy', háktenéyd'äh hú sáp ni bahadnîh píd mah tih yééh.*
yúp=mah yúp, ya'áp=yi? píd=mah yup tih d'ö?-ní-h, tih
 that=REP that all.that=ADV DISTR=REP that 3SG take-INFR2-DECL 3SG
kètd'öh só'óy mòh òy', hũytu só'óy mòh òy',
 end LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch behind LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch
hákten-éy=d'äh hú sáp ni-bahad-nîh píd=mah tih yé-éh.
 side-DYMN=PL animal INTS be-appear-NEG DISTR=REP 3SG enter-DECL
 'So, it's said, he would take all that, it's said, a bunch of tinamou at the
 end (of the pole), a bunch of tinamou behind, (with so much game) on
 either side that he could hardly be seen, he would come in.'

'Aí, dizem, ele sempre levava tudo isso, dizem, um monte de inambu no
 final (de um pau), uns inambus atrás, (com tanta caça) nos dois lados que
 o corpo dele quase não aparecia, ele entrava.'

- (45) *Yĩnîhîy píd mah yup d'ú' tih k'ët wed widyéép, té hiwag noh yet yi' pídîh,
té sadakà' òh säwä' tég kót'ah mah píd, hid yāhá'áh, hid wédep.*
yĩ-nîh-îy píd=mah yup d'ú? tih
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYMN DISTR=REP that evening 3SG
k'ët-wed-widyé-ép, té hi-wag-noh-yet-yi?-píd-îh, té
 stand-eat-arrive.enter-DEP until FACT-day-fall-lie-TEL-DISTR-DECL until
sadakà? òh-säwä?-tég kót'ah=mah píd, hid yāhá?-áh, hid wéd-ep.
 chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=REP DISTR 3PL stop-DECL 3PL eat-DEP
 'Thus, it's said, he would arrive in the evening with food for her, and they
 would eat, stopping only when day was breaking, just before the rooster
 crows, it's said.'

'Assim, dizem, ele chegava no final do dia com comida para ela, e eles
 comiam até amanhecer, parando só pouco antes de o galo cantar, dizem.'

- (46) *Yinih yó' píd mah tih téhn'an wèd di'nîh tih ni yi' pídîh.*
yi-nîh-yó? píd=mah tih téh=n'an wèd di?-nîh
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ DISTR=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG
tih ni-yi?-píd-îh.
 3SG be-TEL-DISTR-DECL

'Always thus, it's said, she/they would leave nothing for her children.'
 'Sempre era assim, dizem, não deixavam nada para os filhos.'

- (47) *Tih tēhn'àn wèd di'níh ni yó' píd, tih tēhín máh tih sak k'ã' yó' píd, hid kēyníh yi' píd, tih way yi'íh.*

tih tēh=n'àn wèd di?-níh ni-yó? píd, tih tēh=?ín
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG be-SEQ DISTR 3SG child=mother
máh tih sak-k'ã?-yó? píd, hid kēy-níh=yi? píd, tih
 near 3SG climb-hang-SEQ DISTR 3PL see-NEG=ADV DISTR 3SG
way-yi?-íh.

go.out-TEL-DECL

‘Always leaving no food for her children, he would climb into the hammock with his wife, (and later) while they (the children) did not see, he would go out.’

‘Sem deixar nada para os filhos, ele sempre subia na rede com a mulher dele, e (depois), sem as crianças ver, ele sempre saía.’

- (48) *Tēh bi' yó' píd mah yít tih way yi' ni pídíh.*

tēh bi?-yó? píd=mah yít tih way-yi?-ni-píd-íh.
 offspring make-SEQ DISTR=REP thus 3SG go.out-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL

‘After producing a child,¹⁴ it's said, he would go out.’

‘Depois de fazer um filho, dizem, ele sempre saiu.’

- (49) *Tē bígay mah yúp, “Hín'íh yó' sáp in ín, ínàn yĩ no biáh tì, yã' ínàn yĩ no biáh?” no yó' mah, hid pib sákáy nih sud ūhníy, hídíh.*

tē bíg-ay=mah yúp, hín'íh-yó? sáp ?ín ?ín, ?ín-àn
 until long.time-INCH=REP that what-SEQ INTS 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ
yĩ-no-bi-áh tì, yã? ?ín-àn yĩ-no-bi-áh?

DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC Q.EMPH mom 1PL-OBJ DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC
no-yó?=mah, hid pib sák-áy=nih=sud ?ūhníy, hídí-íh.
 say-SEQ=REP 3PL strong go.up-DYMN=EMPH.CO=INFR maybe 3PL-DECL

‘Until, after a long time, it's said, (the children) said, “Why in the world does our mother always say this to us, does Mama always say this to us?” They were growing up, perhaps, those (children).’

‘Até, depois de muito tempo, “Por que será que a nossa mãe sempre fala assim para nós, Mamãe sempre nos fala assim?” Eles estavam crescendo, parece, essas (crianças).’

¹⁴That is, they would make love, such that after a time his wife became pregnant. The wording here may refer to the model of conception in which repeated love-making events are understood to produce a child.

- (50) *Yiníhíy mah yúp ayùp ih, tih-wàh díyi, këy k'á'ayáh.*
yí-níh-íy=mah yúp ?ayùp=ih, tih=wàh díyi?
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that one=MSC 3SG=mature CPM
këy-k'á?-ay-áh.
 see-hang-INCH-DECL
 'So, it's said, one boy, the oldest one, (stayed awake) watching from his hammock.'
 'Aí, dizem, um rapaz, o mais velho, (ficou acordado) olhando da rede dele.'
- (51) *Këy k'á' yó' mah yúp, "Hin'ih pöy sáp bíg yéh tíhah?! D'ú' ínàn 'hëgyi' nig òhyi' áy téh, nig ápyi' nig òh hëgyi' áy!' ínàn tih no bíi' s'áh?" no yó' mah,*
këy-k'á?-yó?=mah yúp, hin'ih pö-y sáp bíg yéh tíh-ah?!
 see-hang-SEQ=REP that what EMPH-DYNM INTS HAB FRUST 3SG-FOC
d'ú? ?ín-àn hëg-yi? nig ?òh-yi?-?áy téh, nig ?ápyi?
 evening 1PL-OBJ quick-ADV 2PL sleep-TEL-VENT.IMP offspring 2PL all
nig ?òh-hëg-yi?-?áy! ?ín-àn tih no-bí-i? s'áh?
 2PL sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 1PL-OBJ 3SG say-HAB-Q DST.CNTR¹⁵
no-yó?=mah,
 say-SEQ=REP
 'Watching from the hammock, saying, "What in the world is she always doing?! Why does she always say, in the evening, 'Go quickly to sleep, children, all of you go quickly to sleep!'"'
 'Olhando da rede dele, dizendo, "O que é que ela pode estar fazendo?! Porque ela sempre fala, no final do dia, 'Vão dormir logo, filhos, vocês todos durmam logo!'"'
- (52) *yúp tih wāg yād k'á'ayáh, yág seseg ë' ní-íy mah, s'ámyi' hä';*
yúp tih wāg-yād-k'á?-ay-áh, yág seseg-?ë?-ní=mah,
 that 3SG spy-hide-hang-INCH-DECL hammock perforated-PFV-INFR2=REP
s'am=yi? hä?;
 DST.CNTR=ADV TAG2
 'He hung spying, hidden; it was a net-woven hammock, it's said, (the kind from) the old days;'
 'Ele ficou lá espionando, escondido; era uma rede tecida (de fibra), dizem, de antigamente;'

¹⁵The 'distant past contrast' marker (DST.CNTR) *s'áh* in this context clarifies that the situation has been going on for a long time.

- (53) *s'ák s'ó yág ë' ní mah, s'ámyi'iy yágáh.*
s'ák s'ó yág-ʔëʔ-ní=mah, s'am=yiʔ-iy
 buriti flower hammock-PFV-INFR2=REP DST.CNTR=ADV-DYNM
yág-áh.
 hammock-DECL
 'in the old days they were buriti-fiber hammocks, those hammocks in the old days.'¹⁶
 'antigamente tinham redes de fibra de buriti, essas redes antigas.'
- (54) *Nutènep tēghó'd'äh nìh yágay, nutènep, yág húpútay nìg k'á'ãhà'; páy mah in pem k'ö' éh, s'ámyi'ih.*
nutèn-ep tēghó=d'äh nìh yág-ay, nutèn-ep, yág
 today-DEP non.indian=PL POSS hammock-INCH today-DEP hammock
húp-út-ay nìg k'á'ãhàʔ; páy=mah ʔin pem-k'ö'-ʔéh,
 beautiful-OBL-INCH 2PL hang-TAG2 bad=REP 1PL sit-go.around-PFV
s'am=yiʔ-ih.
 DST.CNTR=ADV-DECL
 'Nowadays you all lie in the non-Indian people's nice hammocks; we went badly in the old days, it's said.'
 'Hoje em dia vocês deitam nas redes bonitas dos brancos; foi mal para nós antigamente.'
- (55) *Yin'ih yág hitá'äp mah yúp tih wäg yäd k'á'áh, yup tiyi' mehéh.*
yi-n'ih yág hitá'äp=mah yúp tih wäg-yäd-k'á'áh,
 DEM.ITG-NMLZ hammock covered-DEP=REP that 3SG spy-hide-hang-DECL
yup tiyiʔ=meh-éh.
 that man=DIM-DECL
 'So, covered by that hammock, it's said, he hung spying, hidden, that boy.'
 'Assim, coberto pela rede, dizem, ele ficou lá espiando, escondido, aquele rapazinho.'

¹⁶Here Isabel offers an explanatory comment; today most indigenous people of the region use manufactured cotton hammocks bought or traded for from local merchants. Buriti is the regional name for the palm *Mauritius flexuosa*.

- (56) *Yúp yinih yó' mah yúp, 'hin'ih tég in yà?! ínàn yinihíy sud in ínih, páy bí'íy sud ín ín ínànáh!*¹⁷

yúp yi-nih-yó'=mah yúp, hin'ih-tég ?in yà?! ?ín-àn
 that DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL TAG1 1PL-OBJ
yi-nih-íy=sud ?ín ?ín-ih, páy bí'íy=sud ?ín
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=INFR 1PL mother-DECL bad work-DYNM=INFR 1PL
?ín ?ín-àn-áh!
 mother 1PL-OBJ-DECL

'So, it's said, "What can we do?! Our mother has been doing thus to us, it seems, our mother has been doing badly by us, it seems!'

'Aí, dizem, "O que podemos fazer?! Parece que a nossa mãe está nos tratando assim, parece que a nossa mãe está nos fazendo mal!'

- (57) *"Ya'áp s'áh hid wed big súdúh! Kéy'éy s'áh áháh, méh!" tih nóayáh.*¹⁸

ya?áp s'áh hid wed-big-súd-úh! kéy-éy s'áh ?áh-áh,
 all.that DST.CNTR 3PL eat-HAB-INFR-DECL see-DYNM DST.CNTR 1SG-DECL
méh! tih nó-ay-áh.
 younger.sister 3SG say-INCH-DECL

"They've been eating so much all this time, apparently! I've seen it, younger sister!" he said.'

'Faz tempo que eles estão comendo tanto, parece! Eu vi, minha irmã menor!" ele falou.'

¹⁷The boy's comment makes use of the inferential evidential, in contrast to the reported evidential that is used more heavily throughout the narrative text.

¹⁸In this utterance, the distant past contrast marker (together with the inferential evidential) clarifies that the event must have been going on for a long time.

- (58) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, s'äbtéyi' s'om d'òb d'äh mah hid ùh ídih.*¹⁹
yì-nih-yó'?=mah yúp, s'äb-té=yi? s'om-d'òb=d'äh=mah hid
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that night-still=ADV bathe-descend=PL=REP 3PL
?ùh=?íd-íh.
 RECP=speak-DECL
 'So, it's said, in the morning as they were going to bathe they spoke together.'
 'Aí, dizem, de manhã, quando estavam indo para tomar banho, eles falavam entre eles.'
- (59) *Yúp ësáp b'ay mah tih b'òt ham yí'ip b'ay.*
yúp ?èsáp=b'ay=mah tih b'òt ham-yí'-ip=b'ay.
 that tomorrow=again=REP 3SG swidden go-TEL-DEP=again
 'So the next day, it's said, she (their mother) went to her swidden garden.'
 'O dia depois, dizem, ela (a mãe) foi para a roça.'
- (60) *Yúp tih b'òt hámap, yítyi' píd, tih-dëhwàh yi' píd mah hídàn tih b'äh k'et*
käsät ùhúh.
yúp tih b'òt hámap, yít=yi? píd,
 that 3SG swidden go-DEP thus=ADV DISTR
tih=dëh-wàh=yi? píd=mah híd-àn tih
 3SG=water-old.food=CNTR.EMPH DISTR=REP 3PL-OBJ 3SG
b'äh-k'et-käsät-?ùh-úh.
 pour-stand-be.first-APPL-DECL
 'As she was going to the garden, as always, she poured out old tasteless *manicuera* for (the children), it's said.'
 'Saindo para a roça, como sempre, ela deixou a manicuera ruim para (as crianças), dizem.'

¹⁹This utterance illustrates the use of the reciprocal prefix *-?ùh*, which is formally identical to several other morphemes in Hup (as evident in this text), including the applicative suffix and the epistemic modal particle. See Epps (2010) for discussion of the historical connection among these forms.

- (61) *Yúp b'ay mah, tih tēhípàn tih-dēh húp yi' píd, sanàát tih hitú'up nàw píd, tih hipud y'et yí'ih, pèdét hitú'up.*
yúp=b'ay=mah, tih tēh=?íp-àn tih=dēh húp=yi?
 that=again=REP 3SG child=father-OBJ 3SG=liquid beautiful=CNTR.EMPH
píd, sanà-át tih hitú?-up nàw píd, tih
 DISTR pineapple-OBL 3SG mix-DEP good DISTR 3SG
hipud-y'et-yí?-ih, pèd-ét hitú?-up.
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-DECL cunuri-OBL mix-DEP
 'And again, it's said, for her husband it was good *manicuera*, nicely mixed with pineapple, that she mixed and set out, mixed with *cunuri*.
 'E como sempre, dizem, para o marido dela ela misturou e colocou a manicuera boa, bem misturada com abacaxi, misturada com cunuri.'
- (62) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, "hin'ih tég ín, ínàn yúpyi' bi' níhíy sud yúwúh?!" no yó' mah, hid tih-dó'd'áh hid hámayáh.*
yi-nih-yó?=mah yúp, hin'ih-tég ?ín, ?ín-àn yúp=yi?
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL 1PL-OBJ thus=ADV
bi?-níh-íy=sud yúw-úh?! no-yó?=mah, hid tih=dó?=d'áh
 make-be.like-DYNM=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ=REP 3PL 3SG=child=PL
hid há-m-ay-áh.
 3PL go-INCH-DECL
 'So then, it's said, saying, "What will we do, (since) she's apparently treating us this way?!" it's said, the children went off.
 'Assim, dizem, falando "O que vamos fazer, com ela nos tratando assim?!" dizem, as crianças foram embora.'
- (63) *Ham yó' mah, d'ùç hid hátáh.*
ham-yó?=mah, d'ùç hid hát-áh.
 go-SEQ=REP timbó 3PL dig-DECL
 'Having gone, it's said, they dug up fish-poison (root/vine).'²⁰
 'Foram, dizem, e desenterravam timbó.'

²⁰Fish-poison (regional name "timbó"; *Lonchocarpus* sp.) is used to poison sections of streams in order to kill fish, but can also be used as a means of poisoning people. The root is beaten in water to release the poison.

- (64) *D'ùç hat yó' mah, s'ómop tih kádd'öb mî' mah, d'ùç hid tätäd d'ó'ayáh.*
d'ùç hat-yó?=mah, s'óm-op tih kádd'öb-mî?=mah, d'ùç hid
 timbó dig-SEQ=REP bathe-DEP 3SG pass.descend-UNDER=REP timbó 3PL
tätäd-d'ó?-ay-áh.
 beat.timbó-take-INCH-DECL
 'Having dug fish-poison, as she (their mother) was on her way down (to the stream) to bathe, they beat the fish-poison (to release the poison).'
 'Depois de desenterrar o timbó, enquanto (a mãe) estava indo para tomar banho, eles baterem o timbó (para fazer o veneno sair).'
- (65) *Tätäd d'ö' yó', yúp tih-dēh húpút, tih hipud y'et yí'iwít hid köw'öw' tu' y'et*
yí'ayáh.
tätäd-d'ö?-yó?, yúp tih=dēh húp-út, tih
 beat.timbó-take-SEQ that 3SG=liquid beautiful-OBL 3SG
hipud-y'et-yí?-iw-ít hid köw'öw'-tu?-y'et-yí?-ay-áh.
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-FLR-OBL 3PL squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Having beaten the fish-poison, they squeezed (the juice) into the tasty *manicuera*, into the *manicuera* that (their mother) had set out (for her husband).'
 'Depois de bater timbó, eles espremiam (o líquido) na manicuera boa, na manicuera que (a mãe) tinha colocado (para o marido).'
- (66) *Köw'öw' tu' y'et yí' yó' mah, hid yin'ih nonih öh yí'ayáh.*
köw'öw'-tu?-y'et-yí?-yó?=mah, hid yi-n'ih no-nih
 squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-SEQ=REP 3PL DEM.ITG-COMPL say-NEG
?öh-yí?-ay-áh.
 sleep-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Having squeezed the juice into (it), it's said, they went to sleep, saying nothing about it.'
 'Depois de espremer o líquido (na manicuera), dizem, eles dormiram, sem dizer nada.'

- (67) *Yúp mah ayúp ìh, këy k'ã' b'ígip ìh yi' píd, këy k'á' b'ayáh.*
yúp=mah ?ayúp=?ìh, këy-k'ã?-b'íg-ip=?ìh=yi? píd,
 DEM.ITG=REP one=MSC see-hang-HAB-DEP=MSC=CNTR.EMPH DISTR
këy-k'á?-b'ay-áh.
 see-hang-again-DECL
 'So, it's said, one boy, the one who had been watching from his hammock,
 watched from his hammock again.'
 'Aí, dizem, um rapaz, aquele que estava olhando da rede, ficou olhando da
 rede de novo.'
- (68) *Yúp mah tih widyë yi'ay b'ayáh.*
yúp=mah tih widyë-yi?-ay=b'ay-áh.
 that=REP 3SG arrive.enter-TEL-INCH=again-DECL
 'Then, it's said, he (the deer) came in.'
 'Aí, dizem, o veado entrou.'
- (69) *“Õh yi' s'íwíy híd, ín téhd'áh?” no widyéy b'ay mah.*
?õh-yi?-s'íw-íy híd, ?ín téh=d'áh?
 sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM 3PL 1PL offspring=PL
no-widyé-éy=b'ay=mah.
 say-arrive.enter-DYNM=AGAIN=REP
 “‘Are our children asleep?’” he said, entering, it's said.'
 “‘Nossos filhos estão dormindo?’” ele falou entrando, dizem.'
- (70) *“Õh yi' s'íwíy yid'áháh, páhyi' hid òh yi'íh,” nóóy mah yúp, tih téhín waáh.*
?õh-yi?-s'íw-íy yi-d'áh-áh, páh=yi? hid
 sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM DEM.ITG-PL-DECL PROX.CNTR=ADV 3PL
?õh-yi?-íh, nó-óy=mah yúp, tih téh=?ín=wa-áh.
 sleep-TEL-DECL say-DYNM=REP that 3SG offspring=mother=RESP-DECL
 “‘They're already asleep, they went to sleep a short while ago,’” she said,
 his wife.'
 “‘Já dormiram, dormiram há pouco tempo,’” ela falou, a mulher dele.'

- (71) *Yĩ no yó' mah yúp, tih ágayáh, yúwädáh, wed hupsíp, yup hid kö'wöw' tu' y'et yi' pög éwànáh.*

yí-no-yóʔ=mah yúp, tih ʔág-ay-áh, yú-wäd-áh,
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG drink-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG-RESP-DECL
wed-hup-síp, yup hid
 eat-REFL-COMPL that 3PL

kö'wöw'-tuʔ-y'et-yiʔ-pög-ʔé-w-àn-áh.
 squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-AUG-PFV-FLR-OBJ-DECL

‘Having said that, it’s said, he drank it, that respected one, after eating, that which they had squeezed (poison) into and left there.’

‘Falando isso, dizem, ele tomou (a manicuera), esse (veado), depois de comer, aquela que eles tinham deixado com (o veneno) espremido.’

- (72) *Yúp äg yó' mah tih sak k'ã' yí'ayáh, hid ka'äpd'äh.*
yúp ʔäg-yóʔ=mah tih sak-k'ãʔ-yíʔ-ay-áh, hid kaʔäp=d'äh.
 DEM.ITG drink-SEQ=REP 3SG climb-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL two=PL

‘Having drunk, it’s said, he climbed into the hammock, the two of them (together).’²¹

‘Depois de tomar, ele subiu na rede, os dois juntos.’

²¹Here Isabel briefly lost her train of thought and commented:

- (i) *Hĩ no póy ũh mah s'áh yúw? Äh hipähníh yúwàn, áháh, yúp, háy, hĩ no póy mah s'áh yúw? Yúwàn äh hipähníh hõ.*
Hĩ no-pó-y ʔüh=mah s'áh yúw? ʔÄh hipäh-níh yúw-àn,
 what say-EMPH1-DYNM EPIST=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG 1SG know-NEG DEM.ITG-OBJ
ʔáh-áh, yúp, háy, hĩ no-pó-y=mah s'áh yúw? Yúw-àn ʔäh
 1SG-DECL DEM.ITG um what say-EMPH1-DYNM=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-OBJ 1SG
hipäh-níh=hõ.
 know-NEG=NONVIS

‘Now how does it (the story) go? I don’t remember this part, um, how does it go? I don’t remember this part.’

‘Então, como é essa parte (da história)? Não lembro essa parte, eh, como é? Não lembro essa parte.’

- (73) *Tih äg yó' tih na' sak k'á'awayáh.*
Tih ?äg-yó? tih na?-sak-k'á?-aw-ay-áh.
 3SG drink-SEQ 3SG lose.consciousness-climb-hang-FLR-INCH-DECL
 'Having drunk, he climbed up drunkenly into the hammock.'
 'Depois de tomar, ele subiu, bêbado, na rede.'
- (74) *Yúp sak k'á' yó' mah yúp tih äg ná'awít yi' mah, tih ôh kädham yi' níayáh.*
yúp sak-k'á?-yó?=mah yúp tih
 DEM.ITG climb-hang-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG
äg-ná?-aw-ít=yi?=mah, tih
 drink-lose.consciousness-FLR-OBL=ADV=REP 3SG
?ôh-kädham-yi?-ní-ay-áh.
 sleep-pass.go-TEL-be-INCH-DECL
 'Having climbed into the hammock, it's said, in his drunken(-like) state,
 he went directly to sleep.'
 'Tendo subido na rede, dizem, bêbado, ele dormiu direto.'
- (75) *Yít mah tih na' yi' níayáh tih tēhín hupáh máh, tih tawak k'ã' pög níayáh.*
yít=mah tih na?-yi?-ní-ay-áh tih tēh=ín
 thus=REP 3SG lose.consciousness-TEL-be-INCH-DECL 3SG child=mother
hupáh máh, tih tawak-k'ã?-pög-ní-ay-áh.
 back near 3SG stiff-hang-AUG-be-INCH-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, he died there against his wife's back, he lay there stiff.'
 'Assim, dizem, ele morreu lá contra as costas da mulher dele, ele ficou lá rígado.'
- (76) *Yúp mah yúp, "in téhd'äh säwá'ayáh!" noyó' mah, tih yüy' yéhayáh, tih*
yüy' yéhayáh, säwá'níhay mah,
yúp=mah yúp, ?in téh=d'äh säwá?-ay-áh! no-yó?=mah,
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 1PL offspring=PL awake-INCH-DECL say-SEQ=REP
tih yüy'-yéh-ay-áh, tih yüy'-yéh-ay-áh,
 3SG shake-FRUST-INCH-DECL 3SG shake-FRUST-INCH-DECL
säwá?-níh-ay=mah,
 awake-NEG-INCH=REP
 'So, it's said, saying "Our children are waking up!" she shook him and
 shook him in vain; he did not wake up.'
 'Aí, dizem, falando, "Nossos filhos estão acordando!" dizem, ela o sacudiu,
 o sacudiu, para nada; ele não acordou.'

- (77) *Säwä' huphipāhnih, tawak d'ak póay mah, tih hupáh, tih tēhín hupáh, mohòyóh.*
säwä?-hup-hipāh-nih, tawak-d'ak-pó-ay=mah, tih hupáh, tih
 awake-REFL-know-NEG stiff-be.against-AUG-INCH=REP 3SG back 3SG
tēh=ín hupáh, mohòy-óh.
 offspring=mother back deer-DECL
 'He did not awake to consciousness, he lay there stiff against his wife's back, it's said, the deer.'
 'Ele não acordou, ficou lá rígido contra as costas da mulher dele, dizem, o veado.'
- (78) *"Níg s'óm áy ham áy téh! Hin'ih nig k'á'áy níg?" no èy mah yúp, hid ín waáh.*
níg s'óm-?áy ham-?áy téh! hin'ih nig k'á?-áy níg?
 2PL bathe-VENT.IMP go-VENT.IMP offspring what 2PL hang-DYNM 2PL
no-?è-y=mah yúp, hid ín=wa-áh.
 say-PFV-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=RESP-DECL
 "You all go bathe, children! What are you doing still in your hammocks?" she said, it's said, their mother.'
 "Vão embora tomar banho, filhos! Por que vocês ficam ainda nas redes?" ela falou, dizem, a mãe deles.'
- (79) *Yiníhíy këyó' sud'ùh hid d'òb yí'ay ih.*
yì-nih-íy këyó? sud'ùh hid d'òb-yí'-ay=?ih.
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM because INFR.EPIST 3PL descend-TEL-INCH=MSC
 'So with that, apparently, they went down to the water.'
 'Assim, parece, eles foram para o igarapé.'
- (80) *Yúp mah tih mi' sud'ùh tèg b'ók pòg bug' k'èt d'ò'ò'ih.*
yúp=mah tih mi' sud'ùh tèg=b'ók pòg bug'-k'èt-dò?-ò'ih.
 DEM.ITG=REP 3SG UNDER INFR.EPIST tree=bark big bundle-stand-take-MS
 'So, it's said, while (they were out), apparently, she gathered up a big bundle of bark.'
 'Aí, dizem, enquanto (eles estavam fora), parece, ela juntou um feixe grande de casca de árvore.'

- (81) *Yít mah yúp tih päd hiyet yi' pǎayáh, tih tēhíp pögàn, mohòy wädàn.*
yít=mah yúp tih päd-hi-yet-yi?-pǎ-ay-áh, tih
 thus=REP DEM.ITG 3SG encircle-FACT-lie-TEL-AUG-INCH-DECL 3SG
tēh=?íp=pög-àn, mohòy=wäd-àn.
 offspring=father=AUG-OBJ deer=RESP-OBJ
 'So, it's said, she laid (his body) encircled (in the bark), her husband, the deer.'
 'Aí, dizem, ela envolveu (o corpo dele na casca), o marido dela, o veado.'
- (82) *Yúp päd hiyet yi' yó' mah yúp tég b'ók pögót yít tih m'am'an' d'ö' kädway yí'ayáh,*
yúp päd-hi-yet-yi?-yó?=mah yúp tég=b'ók pög-ót yít
 DEM.ITG encircle-fact-lie-TEL-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG tree=bark big-OBL thus
tih m'am'an'-d'ö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh,
 3SG roll.up-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Having laid out (his body) out encircled, it's said, she rolled (it) up in the bark and took it quickly out (of the house),'
 'Depois de envolver (o corpo dele), dizem, ela o enrolou na casca e levou fora da casa.'
- (83) *täh sud d'ö' kädway yí'ayáh, tinìh máj pöót.*
täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh, tinìh
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG.POSS
máj=pö-ót.
 basket=AUG-OBL
 'She broke up (his body, to fit) inside (the basket) and took it quickly out, in her basket.'
 'Ela quebrou (o corpo para fazer entrar) dentro (de uma cesta), e levou rapidamente fora, no aturá dela.'

- (84) *Täh sud d'ö' kädway yó' mah, tih ké'ay mah s'áh tí, póhóy mòyan.*
täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yó?=mah, tih ké?-ay=mah s'áh
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-SEQ=REP 3SG bury-INCH=REP DST.CNTR
tí, póh-óy mòy-an.
 EMPH.DEF high-DYMN house-DIR
 'Having broken it up inside and gone out quickly, it's said, she buried him, it's said, in a place high up (in the sky).'
 'Depois de quebrâ-lo dentro e sair rápido, dizem, ela enterrou ele, dizem, num lugar alto (no céu).'
- (85) *Póhóy mòyan s'áh, yíd'äháh, nusá'áh yíd'äháh, mohòy höd nóop bahad*
bíitih, póhóy sa'ah sö'ötih, mohòy höd hid nóowóh.
póh-óy mòy-an s'áh, yí-d'äh-áh, nu-sá?áh
 high-DYMN house-DIR DST.CNTR DEM.ITG-PL-DECL here-side
yí-d'äh-áh, mohòy höd nó-op bahad-bí-itih, póh-óy
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL deer hole say-DEP appear-HAB-EMPH2 high-DYMN
sa?ah sö?-ötih mohòy höd hid nó-ow-óh.
 side LOC-EMPH2 deer hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL
 'In a place high up (in the sky), over here, people from here (say), that which they call the Deer's Tomb always appears, up high (in the sky), they call (it) the Deer's Tomb.'²²
 'Num lugar alto (no céu); sempre aparece para cá, gente daqui (dizem), aquele que chamam de Túmulo do Veado, bem alto, o que chamam de Túmulo do Veado.'
- (86) *Yúp mah yúwúh, mohòy höd hid nóowóh.*
yúp=mah yúw-úh, mohòy höd hid nó-ow-óh.
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-DECL deer hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL
 'That's it, it's said, they call it the Deer's Tomb.'
 'É isso, dizem, que chamam de Túmulo do Veado.'

²²As noted in the Introduction, the location of this formation is uncertain, but it appears to be one of the "constellations" represented by a gap among stars.

- (87) *Yinihyó' mah yúp tih widyë ni yí'íp b'ay, konníh ni yí'íy mah, tih-téhn'àn.*
yí-nih-yó'?=mah yúp tih widyë-ni-yí'í-íp=b'ay,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG arrive.enter-be-TEL-DEP=again
kon-níh ni-yí'í-íy=mah, tih téh=n'àn.
 like-NEG be-TEL-DYNM=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ
 'After that she came back, and there she stayed with dislike (unhappiness)
 towards her children.'
 'Depois disso ela voltou, e ficou lá infeliz com os filhos dela.'
- (88) *Yúp konníh tih ni yí'íy këyó' mah yúp, híd b'ay hipāh yi' s'wíy b'ay.*
yúp kon-níh tih ni-yí'í-íy këyó'?=mah yúp, híd=b'ay
 DEM.ITG like-NEG 3SG be-TEL-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG 3PL=again
hipāh-yi'/?-s'w-íy=b'ay.
 know-TEL-COMPL-DYNM=again
 'As she stayed there unhappy with them, they became aware of it.'
 'Como ela ficou lá infeliz com eles, eles já perceberam.'
- (89) *"Hĩn'ih tég ùh in in ínàn páh?" nóóy mah hídíh.*
hĩn'ih=tég ?ùh ?in ?ín ?ín-àn páh?" nó-óy=mah híd-íh.
 what=FUT EPIST 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ PROX.CNTR say-DYNM=REP 3PL-DECL
 "What will our mother do to us?" they said, it's said.
 "O que é que a nossa mãe vai nos fazer?" eles falaram, dizem.'
- (90) *Yinih yó' mah, tih b'òtan ham yí'íy b'ay.*
yí-nih-yó'?=mah, tih b'òt-an ham-yí'í-íy=b'ay.
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP 3SG swidden-DIR go-TEL-DYNM=again
 '(One day) after that, she went to her swidden garden.'
 'Aí, (un dia) ela foi para a roça.'
- (91) *Yúp tinih heyó kakah yí' b'ay mah tih-dó'àn tih su' ní b'ayáh, mohòy*
téhànáh.
yúp tinih heyó kakah=yí'/?-b'ay=mah tih=dó'/?-àn tih
 DEM.ITG 3SG.POSS middle among=ADV=again=REP 3SG=child-OBJ 3SG
su'/?-ní-b'ay-áh, mohòy téh-àn-áh.
 catch-be-again-DECL deer offspring-OBJ-DECL
 'There in the middle (of the swidden) she had a child, the deer's child.'
 'Lá no meio (da roça) ela teve filho, o filho do veado.'

- (92) *Yúp mohòy téhàn sú'up mah yúp, pòh, májât, sákuút tìhàn tìh yò k'ã' ni b'ayáh, yúp tìh téh mehànáh*
yúp mohòy téh-àn sú'up=mah yúp, pòh, máj-át,
 DEM.ITG deer offspring-OBJ catch-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG high basket-OBL
sáku-út tìh-àn tìh yò-k'ã?-ni-b'ay-áh, yúp tìh
 bag-OBL 3SG-OBJ 3SG dangle-hang-be-again-DECL DEM.ITG 3SG
téh=meh-àn-áh.
 offspring=DIM-OBJ-DECL
 'Having given birth to the deer's child, she put it into a basket, a sack, and she hung it up high (in the house), her little child.'
 'Depois de ter o filho do veado, ela colocou (o nenê) em um aturá, em um saco, e pendurou no alto (da casa), o filhinho dela.'
- (93) *Tëg-sàhát mone yó' mah, tìh d'ö' sud k'ã' yi' níh.*
tëg=sàh-át mone-yó?=mah, tìh
 wood=charcoal-OBL mix-SEQ=REP 3SG
d'ö?-sud-k'ã?-yi?-ní-h.
 take-be.inside-hang-TEL-INFR2-DYNM
 'Having mixed in charcoal (in order to conceal the child in the basket), she put it in (the basket) and hung it up.'
 'Misturando com carvão (para esconder o nenê), ela colocou (no aturá) e pendurou no alto.'
- (94) *S'äbtéyi' tìh no' púdup, b'òt widyéép tìh no' púdup, ya'àp yi' mah tìh no' pud pídíh.*
s'äbtéyi' tìh no?-púd-up, b'òt widyé-ép tìh
 morning 3SG give-nurse-DEP swidden arrive.enter-DEP 3SG
no?-púd-up, ya'àp=yi?=mah tìh no?-pud-píd-íh.
 give-nurse-DEP all.that=ADV=REP 3SG give-nurse-DISTR-DECL
 'She would nurse it in the early morning, she would nurse it when she came back from her swidden garden, those were the only (times) she would nurse it.'
 'De manhã, ela dava peito, chegando da roça ela dava peito, só nessas (vezes), dizem, ela dava peito (para ele).'

- (95) “*Hin’ih bíg yéh, yà’ b’òt widyéëp yikán kākāynih yi’ kādsak wög big yéhē’ yà?*” *no yó’ mah, hid sākayáh, dó’d’áháh.*

hin’ih bíg yéh, yà? b’òt widyé-ëp yikán kākāy-nih=yi?
 what HAB FRUST mama swidden arrive.enter-DEP there gap-NEG=ADV
kādsak-wög-big-yéh-ē? yà? no-yó?=mah, hid sāk-ay-áh,
 pass.climb-AUG-HAB-FRUST-Q QTAG say-SEQ=REP 3PL climb-DYNM-DECL
dó? =d’áh-áh.

child=PL-DECL

‘‘What could it be, why does Mama always climb up there when she comes back from the swidden garden?’’ Saying this, it’s said, they climbed up (to see), the children.’

‘‘O que será? Por que mamãe sempre sobe lá quando ela volta da roça?’’
 Falando assim, dizem, eles subiram para ver, as crianças.’

- (96) *Huphipāhnih yéháh dó’d’áhätih, nutènyd’áh hinitih!*

hup-hipāh-nih yéh-áh dó? =d’áh-äh-ätih, nutèny=d’áh=hin-itih
 REFL-know-NEG FRUST-FOC child=PL-EMPH2 today=PL=also-EMPH2

‘Those children did not know better,²³ just like children of today!’

‘Essas crianças não entenderam, como as crianças de hoje em dia.’

- (97) *Sak yó’ mah hid kéyayáh, pib dí’ay níy sud mah.*

sak-yó?=mah hid kéy-ay-áh, pib dí’ay
 climb-SEQ=REP 3PL see-INCH-DECL strong remain-INCH

ní-íy=sud=mah.

be-DYNM=INFR2=REP

‘Climbing up they saw it, it apparently was already growing strong, it’s said.’

‘Subindo, eles viram, já estava crescendo forte, dizem.’

²³That is, they lacked a sense of what is right and/or socially acceptable (*hup-hipāh-nih* [REFL-know-NEG] lit. ‘did not know themselves’).

- (98) *Yít mah “Apá! in ín-téh sud yúwúh, áy!” hid ūh nóayáh, “méh!” hid ūh nóayáh.*
yít=mah ?apá! ?in ?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh, ?áy!”
 thus=REP INTERJ 1PL mother=offspring=INFR2 DEM.ITG-DECL old.sister
hid ?ũh-nó-ay-áh, “méh!” hid ?ũh=nó-ay-áh.
 3PL RECP=say-INCH-DECL younger.sister 3PL RECP=say-INCH-DECL
 ‘So, it’s said, “Ah, this must be our sibling, older sister!” they said to each other, “younger sister!” they said to each other.’²⁴
 ‘Aí, dizem, “Ô, deve ser o filho de nossa mãe, irmã maior!” eles se falavam, “irmã menor!” eles se falavam.’
- (99) *Yino yó’ mah yúp, tíhàn hid dö’ híayáh.*
yí-no-yó’?mah yúp, tíh-àn hid dö’-hí-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG-OBJ 3PL take-descend-INCH-DECL
 ‘Saying thus, it’s said, they took (the baby deer) down.’
 ‘Falando assim, dizem, eles trouxeram (o nenê veado) para baixo.’
- (100) *D’ö’ hi yó’ mah, “Máy! n’ikán, kayak tìg k’et, pí’ k’et in no’ k’ó’ayáh, yí’an!” no yó’ mah,*
d’ö’-hi-yó’?mah, máy! n’ikán, kayak=tìg=k’et, pí’=k’et
 take-descend-SEQ=REP let’s.go over.there manioc=stem=leaf potato=leaf
?in no’-k’ó’-ay-áh, yí’-an!” no-yó’?mah,
 1PL give-go.about-INCH-DECL capoeira-DIR say-SEQ=REP
 ‘Taking (it) down, saying, “Come on! Let’s go give it manioc and potato leaves out there in the *capoeira* (overgrown swidden)!” it’s said,
 ‘Depois de baixá-lo, falando, “Bora! Vamos lá na capoeira para dar folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata para ele!” dizem,’
- (101) *hid ton hámayáh, hid ín b’òtan ham yí’ mî’, “in ín-téh sud yúwúh!” no yó’.*
hid ton-hám-ay-áh, hid ?ín b’òt-an ham-yí’-mî’?, ?in
 3PL hold-go-INCH-DECL 3PL mother swidden-DIR go-TEL-UNDER 1PL
?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh! no-yó’?
 mother=offspring=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ
 ‘they took (it) off, while their mother was away in the garden, saying, “It must be our sibling!”’
 ‘eles levaram (o nenê), enquanto que a mãe deles estava na roça, dizendo, “Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!”’

²⁴The children are using these terms of address to each other, as is common in Hup discourse.

- (102) *Yíkán mah kayak tig k'et hid nó'óh, pí' k'et mah hid nó'óh,*
yíkán=mah kayak=tig=k'et hid nó?-óh, pí? =k'et=mah hid
out.there=REP manioc=stem=leaf 3PL give-DECL potato=leaf=REP 3PL
nó? -óh,
give-DECL
 'Out there, it's said, they gave it manioc leaves, they gave it potato
 leaves, it's said,'
 'Lá, dizem, eles deram folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata, dizem,'
- (103) *hid no' ë' àpyi' mah, nutèn hin tih wéd b'ayáh, mohòyóh.*
hid no?-?ë? ?àpyi?=mah, nutèn=hin tih wéd-b'ay-áh, mohòy-óh.
3PL give-PFV all=REP today=also 3SG eat-again-DECL deer-DECL
 'they gave it everything, it's said, that the deer eats today.'
 'deram tudo, dizem, que o veado come hoje em dia.'
- (104) *Yúp mah hid nó'óh, hid kakàh d'ö' k'ët yó' mah, "in ín-téh sud yúwúh!" no*
yó' píd,
yúp=mah hid nó?-óh, hid kakàh d'ö?-k'ët-yó?=mah, "in
DEM.ITG=REP 3PL give-DECL 3PL middle take-stand-SEQ=REP 1PL
?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh!" no-yó? píd,
mother=offspring=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ DISTR
 'So they gave it (food), it's said, (the children) put (the baby deer) in the
 middle (of the circle they formed), saying "It must be our sibling!"'
 'Aí (as crianças) deram (comida), dizem, e colocaram (o nenê veado) no
 meio deles, dizendo "Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!"'
- (105) *sá'áh mah píd mah hid tiy d'äh ham muhú'úh.*
sá?äh=mah píd=mah hid tiy-d'äh-ham-muhú?-úh.
other.side=REP DISTR=REP 3PL push-send-go-play-DECL
 'they playfully pushed it back and forth.'
 'eles brincaram empurrando-o de um lado a outro.'

- (106) *Yít hid níhít yi', yít hid níhít yi', tih m'em'em' k'ët k'ó'ót mah yúp, tih pib yí'íh.*
yít hid níh-ít=yi?', yít hid níh-ít=yi?', tih
 thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG
m'em'em'-k'ët-k'ó'ót=mah yúp, tih pib-yí'íh.
 weak-stand-go.about-OBL=REP DEM.ITG 3SG strong-TEL-DECL
 'As they did thus, as they did thus, as it went wobbling about, it's said, it grew strong.'
 'Enquanto eles foram assim, foram assim,(o nenê), balançando aqui e lá, dizem, cresceu forte.'
- (107) *Yĩ nihiy mah yúp, tih kädham yí'ayáh, tih s'äk kädham yí'ayáh,*
yĩ-nih-iy=mah yúp, tih kädham-yí'ay-áh, tih
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3SG pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG
s'äk-kädham-yí'ay-áh,
 jump-pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'As they (playfully pushed the deer) thus, it's said, it took off, it leapt (over them) and took off;'
 'Fazendo assim (brincando com o veado), dizem, ele foi embora, pulou (por cima deles) e foi embora.'
- (108) *hid kakàh yi' mah yúp, s'éc no kädham yí'ay mah.*
hid kakàh=yi'=mah yúp, s'éc no-kädham-yí'ay=mah.
 3PL middle=ADV=REP DEM.ITG deer.snort say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP
 'it leapt out of the middle (of the circle of children) and took off, it gave a snort *s'éc!* and took off, it's said.'
 'ele pulou do meio (das crianças) e foi embora, bufou *s'éc!* e foi embora, dizem.'
- (109) *Yinóoy yéh tíh-ihítih, s'éc! no kädham yí'ay mah.*
yĩ-nó-oy yéh tíh=ih-ítih, s'éc!
 DEM.ITG-say-DYNM FRUST 3SG=MSC-EMPH2 deer.snort
no-kädham-yí'ay=mah.
 say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP
 'That's what it said: *s'éc!* and it took off, it's said.'
 'Assim que ele falou: *s'éc!* e foi embora, dizem.'

- (110) *Yínih yó' mah yítyi', bahadníh tih níayáh, yúp hid ín-téhayáh.*
yí-nih-yó'?=mah yít=yi?, bahad-níh tih ní-ay-áh,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP thus=ADV appear-NEG 3SG be-INCH-DECL
yúp hid ín=téh-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG 3PL mother=offspring-INCH-DECL
 'So with that, it's said, it disappeared, their sibling.'
 'Assim, dizem, ele desapareceu, o filho da mãe deles.'
- (111) *Yúp won d'ak k'ö' këy éy yéh mah yíd'äháh, won d'ak k'ö' këy éy mah.*
yúp won-d'ak-k'ö?-këy-?é-y yéh=mah
 DEM.ITG follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM FRUST=REP
yí-d'äh-áh, won-d'ak-k'ö?-këy-?é-y=mah.
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM=REP
 'They went wandering around looking for it in vain, it's said, those
 (children), wandering around looking for it in vain, it's said.'
 'Eles andavam procurando-o em vão, dizem, essas (crianças), andavam
 procurando-o em vão, dizem.'
- (112) *Hid yë yí'ayáh, "Hín'ih tég ín?! ín ín ínàn meh tég ínànáh!" no yó' mah,*
hid yë-yí?-ay-áh, "Hín'ih-tég ?ín?! ?ín ?ín ?ín-àn meh-tég
 3PL enter-TEL-INCH-DECL what-FUT 1PL 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ beat-FUT
?ín-àn-áh!" no-yó'?=mah,
 1PL-OBJ-DECL say-SEQ=REP
 'They returned home, it's said, saying, "What shall we do?! Our mother
 will beat us!"'
 'Eles voltarem, dizem, falando, "Como vamos fazer?! Nossa mãe vai nos
 bater!"'
- (113) *tég sàh b'íyi' mah hid mug sud hitab k'ã' yí'ayáh, yúp sákuan b'ay.*
tég=sàh b'íyi?=mah hid
 wood=charcoal only=REP 3PL
mug-sud-hitab-k'ã?-yí?-ay-áh, yúp
 scoop.by.hand-be.inside-fill-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG
sáku-an-b'ay.
 bag-DIR-again
 'They filled that sack up with charcoal and hung it up again.'
 'Eles encherem o saco com carvão e penduraram de novo.'

- (114) *Yiníhíy mah hid s'omd'äh tu' k'ö' yí'ih, hid yinih mi', mòy hat hupsĩp yi' s'wíy sud mah, hídiwíh.*
yi-níh-íy=mah hid s'om=d'äh tu?-k'ö?-yí?-ih,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP 3PL bathe=PL immerse-go.about-TEL-DECL
hid yi-nih mi', mòy
 3PL DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER dwelling.hole
hat-hupsĩp-yi?-s'w-íy=sud=mah, híd-iw-ih.
 dig-finish-TEL-COMPL-DYNM=INFR=REP 3PL-FLR-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, while they were going about bathing, they had apparently already dug (dwelling-)holes, it's said.'
 'Aí, dizem, enquanto estavam indo tomar banho, eles já tinham cavado os buracos deles, dizem.'
- (115) *Yikán mah yúp, moytùd mòy hid nóowóh.*
yikán=mah yúp, moytùd mòy hid nó-ow-oh.
 there=REP DEM.ITG curassow dwelling.hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL
 'Out there, it's said, curassow (*Nothocrax urumutum*) holes, they call them.'
 'Para lá, dizem, buracos de urumutum, como chamam.'
- (116) *Yikán ühníy yúp mòyóh.*
yikán ?ühníy yúp mòy-oh.
 there maybe DEM.ITG dwelling.hole-DECL
 'Those holes were out there, maybe [pointing].'
 'Esses buracos estavam para lá, talvez [apontando].'
- (117) *Yiníhíy mah, widyë yi' níy ni yó', "huphipāh níh nig niníh!" no yó' mah,*
yi-níh-íy=mah, widyë-yi? ní-íy ni-yó?,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP arrive.enter-TEL be-DYNM be-SEQ
"hup-hipāh-níh nig ni-ní-h!" no-yó?=mah,
 REFL-know-NEG 2PL be-INFR-DECL say-SEQ=REP
 'So, it's said, (their mother) having come home, saying, "You all don't know what's right (acted irresponsibly)!"'
 'Aí, dizem, (a mãe), tendo voltado para a casa, ficou dizendo, "Vocês não têm inteligência!"'

- (118) *hídàn tih sīwīp sij d'äh way yí'íh, hídàn tih méhéway, tih in, hid ínay.*
híd-àn tih sīwīp-sij-d'äh-way-yí'íh, híd-àn tih
 3PL-OBJ 3SG whip-scatter-send-go.out-TEL-DECL 3PL-OBJ 3SG
méh-éw-ay, tih in, hid ín-ay.
 beat-FLR-INCH 3SG mother 3PL mother-INCH
 'She whipped them until they (fled) scattering, she beat them, their mother.'
 'Ela os bateu até que eles voaram, espalhando-se, ela os bateu, a mãe.'
- (119) *Méhéy këyó' mah yúp, moytùdd'äh, hid hidöhö ham yí'ayáh, híd b'ayáh,*
tih téhd'äh k'öh è'd'äh b'ayáh.
méh-éy këyó'=mah yúp, moytùd=d'äh, hid
 beat-DYMN CAUSE=REP DEM.ITG curassow=PL 3PL
hidöhö-ham-yí'ay-äh, híd=b'ay-äh, tih téh=d'äh
 transform-go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL=again-DECL 3SG offspring=PL
k'öh-?è?è=d'äh=b'ay-äh.
 be-PFV=PL=again-DECL
 'Because she beat them, they transformed into curassows, they did, those who had been her children.'
 'Porque ela os bateu, eles se transformaram em urumutuns, eles, os que eram os filhos dela.'
- (120) *Hídàn tih-ké sīy' hū' sīwīy sud mah híd hinih.*
híd-àn tih=ké sīy'-hū?-sīw-íy=sud=mah híd=hin-ih.
 3PL-OBJ 3SG=wing poke.in-finish-COMPL=INFR=REP 3PL=also-DECL
 'They (other birds) had already filled their wings (with feathers), apparently, it's said.'
 'Eles (outros pássaros) já tinham enchido as asas deles (com penas), parece, dizem.'
- (121) *Hütéhd'äh nihú' mah hídàn ké hid sīy'nih.*
hütéh=d'äh ni-hú?=mah híd-àn ké hid sīy'-ní-h.
 bird=PL be-finish=REP 3PL-OBJ wing 3PL poke.in-INFR2-DECL
 'All the birds, it's said, filled their wings (with feathers).'
 'Todos os pássaros, dizem, encheram as asas deles (com penas).'

- (122) *Yúp tih ké sīy' hū' yí'íway k'óhóy nih mah yúp,*
yúp tih ké sīy'-hū?-yí?-íw-ay k'óh-óy=nih=mah
 DEM.ITG 3SG wing poke.in-finish-TEL-FLR-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO=REP
yúp,
 DEM.ITG
 'Thus with their wings already filled up (with feathers),'
 'Assim com as asas já preenchidas (com penas),'
- (123) *híd hin b'ay do'kéy, hid ín hídàn meh widyéét, hid do'kéy, hid waydö'*
kädway yí'ayáh.
híd=hin=b'ay do'kéy, hid ?ín híd-àn meh-widyé-ét, hid
 3PL=ALSO=again correct 3PL mother 3PL-OBJ beat-arrive.enter-OBL 3PL
do'kéy, hid waydö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh.
 correct 3PL fly-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'straightaway, when their mother entered to beat them, straightaway
 they flew out (of the house).'
 'direto, quando a mãe deles entrou para bater neles, eles saíram voando
 direto (da casa).'
- (124) *Hidnih kãwãgât píd mah hid hi' popot nihih.*
hidnih kãwãg-át píd=mah hid hi?-popot=nih-ih.
 3PL.POSS eye-OBL DISTR=REP 3PL draw-encircle=EMPH.CO-DECL
 'They (the birds) had also drawn circles around their eyes (as curassows
 have).'²⁵
 'Eles (os pássaros) também tinham desenhado círculos ao redor de seus
 olhos (como têm os urumutuns).'
- (125) *Yiníhíy mah yup do'kéy hid moytùd hid hidöhö kãdsak yí'ayáh.*
yí-níh-íy=mah yúp do'kéy hid moytùd hid
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG correct 3PL curassow 3PL
hidöhö-kãdsak-yí?-ay-áh.
 transform-pass.climb-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, straightaway they transformed into curassows and (flew)
 quickly up.'
 'Assim, dizem, transformaram-se imediatamente em urumutuns e
 subiram (voando).'

²⁵The other birds assisted them in their transformation by filling their new wings with feathers and drawing circles around their eyes.

- (126) *Opíd hid mòy hat éyay k'óhóy nihíh.*
opíd hid mòy hat-?éy-ay k'óh-óy=nih-ih.
 right.away 3PL dwelling.hole dig-PFV-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO-DECL
 'They had already dug their dwelling-holes.'
 'Eles já tinham cavado os buracos deles.'
- (127) *Yiníhíy mah yúp hid ham sij yí'ayáh, waydö' ham sij yí'ay mah.*
yi-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-sij-yí?-ay-áh,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-scatter-TEL-INCH-DECL
waydö?-ham-sij-yí?-ay=mah.
 fly-go-scatter-TEL-INCH=REP
 'So like that, it's said, they went scattering off, flew scattering off, it's said.'
 'Assim, dizem, eles foram espalhando-se, voaram dispersando-se, dizem.'
- (128) *Tā'áy mehàn mah tih woy ë' yéhéh, tā'áyàn mah tih hituk hiyet ë' yéhéh.*
tā?áy=meh-àn=mah tih woy-?ë?-yéh-éh, tā?áy-àn=mah
 woman=DIM-OBJ=REP 3SG be.stingy-PFV-FRUST-DECL woman-OBJ=REP
tih hi-tuk-hi-yet-?ë?-yéh-éh.
 3SG FACT-face.down-FACT-lie-PFV-FRUST-DECL
 'But she (the mother) tried in vain to keep one little girl, she overturned (a basket on the hole to catch) the girl, in vain.'
 'Mas ela (a mãe) tentou em vão segurar uma menina, ela virou (um aturá sobre o buraco para pegar) a menina, em vão.'
- (129) *Yiníh mî' mah, mî'ay, s'áh k'öd só', tih hupkäd kädhi níy yúwúh,*
yi-níh mî?-mah, mî?-ay, s'áh k'öd=só?, tih
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP UNDER-INCH earth inside=LOC 3SG
hupkäd-kädhi-ní-iy yúw-úh,
 turn.around-pass.descend-be-DYNM DEM.ITG-DECL
 'As she did this, it's said, underneath, inside the hole, she (the child) turned around and quickly descended (digging deeper);'
 'Assim, ela fez, dizem, para baixo, dentro do buraco, ela (a menina) virou e desceu rapidamente (cavando mais ainda);'

- (130) *tā'áy b'ay, yiníhíy mah nusó' b'ay tih bahad kädway yí'ayáh.*
tā'áy=b'ay, yi-níh-íy=mah nu-só?=b'ay tih
 woman=again DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP this-LOC=again 3SG
bahad-kädway-yí?-ay-áh.
 appear-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DYNM
 'then like this, it's said, the girl appeared over here (dug up to the surface in a different spot), and quickly went out (and flew away).'
 'e assim a menina, dizem, apareceu para cá (cavando para cima até a superfície em outro lugar) e saiu (voando).'
- (131) *Huphipö' níhay níy mah yíd'áháh.*
hup-hipö?-níh-ay ní-íy=mah yí-d'áh-áh.
 REFL-FACT.cover-NEG-INCH be-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL
 'They would not be caught, it's said.'
 'Eles não deixaram que fossem pegos, dizem.'
- (132) *Yin'ih hid hidöhööway k'óhóy nih.*
yi-n'ih hid hidöhó-öw-ay k'óh-óy=nih.
 DEM.ITG-NMLZ 3PL FACT.transform-FLR-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO
 'They had transformed into those (curassows).'
 'Eles tinham se transformado nesses (urumutuns).'
- (133) *Yiníhíy mah yúp hid ham yí'ayáh.*
yi-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-yí?-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, they went away.'
 'Assim, dizem, eles foram embora.'

- (134) *Yúp mah yúp hid ín b'ay ot d'ak k'ó'öp b'ayáh, bēbē ín notégéh, bēbē ín notégéh.*
yúp=mah yúp hid ín=b'ay
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=again
?ot-d'ak-k'ó'öp=b'ay-áh, bēbē ín no-tég-éh,
 cry-be.against-go.about-DEP=again-DECL bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL
bēbē ín no-tég-éh.
 bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL
 'Then, it's said, their mother went following after them crying, like what we call a *bēbē* bird'.
 'Aí, dizem, a mãe deles andava atrás, chorando, como o que chamamos de pássaro *bēbē*'.
- (135) *Yúp mah yúp tih téhn'àn tih ótayáh.*
yúp=mah yúp tih téh=n'àn tih ?ót-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG cry-INCH-DECL
 'So it's said, she (went) crying for her children.'
 'Aí, dizem, ela foi chorando por causa dos filhos dela.'
- (136) *Tih téhn'àn tih ot é' yí, "nì pō'ra, nì pō'ra!" tih no é' yí mah, yúp id ham dōhō yí'ayáh.*
tih téh=n'àn tih ?ot-?é?=yí?, "nì pō'ra, nì
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG cry-PFV=ADV 1SG.POSS [offspring.PL] 1SG.POSS
pō'ra!" tih no-?é?=yí?=mah, yúp
 [offspring.PL] 3SG say-PFV=ADV=REP DEM.ITG
?id-ham-dōhō-yí?-ay-áh.
 say-go-transform-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Crying for her children, saying, "My children, my children!" so saying, she transformed (into a *bēbē* bird).'²⁶
 'Chorando pelos filhos, dizendo, "Meus filhos! meus filhos!" falando assim, ela se transformou (em pássaro *bēbē*).'

²⁶This quoted speech combines two languages: the first word ('my') is in Hup, while the second word ('children') is in Tukano. As noted above, this multilingual quotation, together with the compound verb 'say-do-transform' indexes the mother's transformation via the act of crying, i.e. speaking the "language" of the *bēbē* bird.

- (137) *Ya'ápay nih s'áh yúp ídiwíh.*
ya?áp-ay=nih s'áh yúp ?íd-íw-íh.
 that.much-INCH=EMPH.CO DST.CNTR DEM.ITG speech-FLR-DECL
 'That's all there is to this tale.'
 'Tem só isso nessa fala.'

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Non-standard abbreviations

Several abbreviations in this list (EMPH, INFR, TAG) correspond to more than one morpheme; these cases are distinguished by numbers in the gloss lines (e.g. EMPH1, EMPH2)

AUG	augmentative	FRUS	frustrative
CNTR	contrast	HAB	habitual
CO	coordinator	INCH	inchoative
CPM	comparative	INFR	inferential evidential
DEP	dependent	INTERJ	interjection
DIM	diminutive	INTS	intensifier
DIR	directional	ITG	intangible
DST	distant (past)	NONVIS	nonvisual evidential
DYNM	dynamic	QTAG	question tag
EMPH	emphasis	REF	reflexive
EPIST	epistemic	REM	remote
EX	existential	REP	reported evidential
FACT	factitive	RESP	respect marker
FLR	filler	SEQ	sequential

TAG	discourse tag	VDIM	verbal diminutive
TEL	telic	VENT	venitive
UNDER	simultaneous/under		

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Chapter 8

Sakurabiat

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Rosalina Guaratira Sakyrabiar

Olimpio Ferreira Sakyrabiar

1 Introduction

This short narrative is a fragment of a mythological tale that describes the origin of maize and other crops, such as beans and manioc (yucca), among the Sakurabiat people. Sakurabiat is pronounced [sa'kirabiat]. In the orthographic convention for the language the grapheme <u> represents the high central vowel [i]. The Sakurabiat are very reduced in number. In the last survey done in 2016, there were only 65 people living in the Rio Mekens Indigenous Land.

The *Kōtkōra asisi* story is told by Mercedes Guaratira Sakyrabiar, one of the oldest speakers of Sakurabiat at the time of the recording. Sadly, she passed away in December of 2015. Mercedes's age was not known for certain, but she was believed to be more than 75 years old when she told this story in 2006. The story was recorded in audio as part of a long term project for the documentation and study of the Sakurabiat (Mekens) language, which had partial support from the Endangered Language Documentation Program, funded by the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

Transcription and analysis was done by Galucio with the assistance of Rosalina Guaratira Sakyrabiar, Mercedes's daughter, and the two brothers who have



been Galucio's main collaborators in the study of the Sakurabiat language: Manoel Ferreira Sakyrabiar, a very talented man and an enthusiast of the study of his language, who was brutally murdered in 2016, and his younger brother Olimpio Ferreira Sakyrabiar. All three are bilingual speakers of Sakurabiat and Portuguese.

This text is one of the 25 mythological tales, recounted by some of the most distinguished Sakurabiat elders, that appear in the book *Narrativas Tradicionais SAKURABIAT mayãp ebõ* (organized by Galucio 2006). Some of the illustrations used in that book, which were drawn by two Sakurabiat children at the time of publication, Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozelio Sakyrabiar, are included here.

According to the account given in the narrative, the Sakurabiat were unfamiliar with maize and other edible crops until one day *Arik^wajõ* discovered that *Kõtõkõra*, a shaman from a neighboring group, had maize. *Arik^wajõ* then went to visit that shaman and stole the seeds.



Figure 1: *Arik^wajõ* following the black-fronted piping guan bird. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

Arik^wajõ is the great mythological figure in Sakurabiat traditional stories. He is considered to be the great shaman with vast powers and wisdom. In the mythological narratives, he appears as the creator of many aspects of nature. For instance, he created the mountains and the valleys, and he had water and fire when no one else had them. He is also portrayed as the father of the sun, named *Kiakop* 'our warmth', and the moon, named *Pakori*, and the one responsible for sending them both away from earth as punishment for inappropriate social behavior. *Kiakop*, the sun, had set his sisters on fire, and *Pakori*, the moon, had tricked his sister into having an incestuous sexual relationship with him. In the present narrative *Arik^wajõ* is married to his second wife, *Pārārēkosa*.

The other main character in the narrative, *Kōtkōra*, which means ‘cicada’, is another mythological shaman, apparently from a distinct ethnic mythological group. *Kōtkōra*’s group had edible crops that *Arik^wajō*’s people, the Sakurabiat, did not have.

The fragment of the story analyzed here focuses on how, after noticing that a black-fronted piping guan bird was defecating corn, *Arik^wajō* followed the bird to find out where it was eating corn. When he discovered that it was at *Kōtkōra*’s village, he visited the other shaman’s house with the intent to get corn for himself and his family. Thus, despite being well received by *Kōtkōra*, *Arik^wajō* used his special powers to steal the seeds from *Kōtkōra*’s house. After bringing the crops to his village, and starting to make his food from maize and yucca, he changed his children’s teeth, adapting them to their new condition of eating crops rather than stones. That is, since they no longer had to eat stones and wild seeds, they could have softer teeth, teeth that would fall out, eventually. The complete narrative recalls the first meeting of these two shamans and how both ended up having crops to eat. After *Arik^wajō* was received in *Kōtkōra*’s house, he took seeds for his village, but did not destroy *Kōtkōra*’s fields. Thus, it is a mythological tale that touches upon relationships of hospitality and rivalry among neighbors.



Figure 2: The arrival at *Kōtkōra*’s house. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

The language of the Sakurabiat people has been traditionally referred to in the literature as “Mekens”. In more recent years, it has also been referred to as Sakurabiat in an attempt to acknowledge the self denomination of the group, and we adopt this name in this work, to refer to the language, one of the five surviving languages of the Tuparian branch of the large Tupian family.

The Tupian family is composed of ten subfamilies (Rodrigues 1985), which include about 40-45 languages that are spread throughout the Amazon (Moore, Galucio & Gabas Júnior 2008). Alongside Sakurabiat, the other four languages of the Tuparian branch are: Akuntsú, Makurap, Tupari, and Wayoro. All five languages are spoken in the state of Rondônia, in the northwestern part of Brazil, near the Brazil-Bolivia border, and they are all highly endangered due to the greatly reduced number of speakers. According to information collected in 2016, from Galucio's field work and from colleagues working with these specific languages, Tupari has about 300 speakers, Makurap has about 55-60 speakers, Akuntsú only 4, and Wayoro just 3 speakers. Sakurabiat has about 16 speakers, and they are all adults.



Figure 3: The Rio Mekens Indigenous Land, where the Sakurabiat live in the Brazilian state of Rondônia, is shown in yellow.

It is noteworthy that the current state of Rondônia houses representatives of six of the ten Tupian subfamilies, including five that are spoken exclusively there: Arikém, Puruborá, Mondé, Ramarama, and Tupari. The other five subfamilies are Juruna, Munduruku, Mawé, Aweti, and Tupi-Guarani, which is the largest and most widespread of the Tupian subfamilies.

Sakurabiat is a typical Tupian language. It is a primarily suffixing language, but it also has a few prefixes, such as the pronominal person markers and valence changing morphemes (causative and intransitivizer). The language shows a head-marking profile, with locus of morphosyntactic marking on the head of the phrase. In clauses, the syntactic functions of subject and object are marked on the verb rather than on the nominal arguments. In simple transitive clauses with nominal arguments, both noun phrases tend to precede the verb, following basic SOV order. There are three types of lexical verbs: intransitive, transitive, and uninflectible or particle verbs. Transitive and intransitive verbs take person agreement and TAM inflectional markers. Only one argument is indexed on the verb by means of person prefixes. The intransitive verb indexes the subject and the transitive verb indexes the object. The particle verbs do not inflect in that way. In order to take person and TAM inflection, they undergo derivation via the verb formatives (*-ka*, *-kwa*, *e-*), which give as output transitive or intransitive verb stems.

Based on the distribution of the person markers, the morphosyntactic alignment can be described as nominative-absolutive in simple main clauses, as proposed for some Cariban and Northern Jê languages by Gildea & de Castro Alves (2010). The set of prefixes marks the absolutive argument (S/P), while the set of free pronouns expresses the nominative (A/S). In the case of transitive verbs, pronominal subjects obligatorily occur as free pronouns, except for third person, which can be left unmarked. With intransitive verbs, on the other hand, free pronouns are optionally used, co-occurring with the subject verb agreement markers. For its part, the O argument is never expressed by a free pronoun. For an overall description of Sakurabiat verb agreement and argument structure, see Galucio (2014).

Auxiliaries also show person agreement and TAM inflections. Person indexing on auxiliaries follows a nominative pattern, always indexing the clause subject (A or S). Auxiliaries and demonstratives are positional roots that indicate the body posture of the subject, in the case of auxiliaries, and of the referent, in the case of demonstratives. In addition to the positional demonstratives, there is a series of discourse anaphoric demonstratives or proforms that are used to replace a syntactic unit: they can replace a syntactic phrase, an entire clause, or even larger stretches of discourse.

Nominalization is the main strategy used to form adverbial (temporal, conditional, causal, and final) clauses in Sakurabiat (Galucio 2011). The adverbial modification is encoded by a nominalized verb form (with the nominalizer *-ap* ‘instrumental; circumstantial’) or one of the demonstrative proforms followed by a postposition. The ablative postposition *eri* is used for causal clauses, and the locative postposition *ese* for temporal/conditional and also some causal clauses.

Three dialects have been identified for Sakurabiat: Guaratira, which is the one spoken by the narrator of this story, Siokweriat, and Sakurabiat/Guarategayat. The major differences among them are phonological and lexical.

The *Kōtkōra asisi* story is transcribed phonetically in the first line, and segmented phonologically and morphologically in the second line. There is nasal harmony inside the word in Sakurabiat. Nasality spreads rightwards from a nasal consonant or vowel, and is blocked only by an obstruent in onset position. Thus, in the second line, only the underlying nasal element is indicated as being nasal. The third line gives a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. English and Portuguese free translations are given in the fourth and fifth lines. The Portuguese translation attempts to maintain in as much as possible the structure of the original Sakurabiat narrative.

2 *Kōtkōra asisi*

‘*Kōtkōra*’s corn’ or ‘The origin of maize and other crops among the Sakurabiat people’

‘O milho do *Kōtkōra*’ ou ‘A origem do milho e outras plantas entre o povo Sakurabiat’¹

- (1) *Arik*^w*ajō asisi aapi ara sekoa kōnkōrā tegeri.*
arik^w*ajō asisi aapi at-a se-ko-a kōtkōra tek=eri*
Arik^wajō corn crop.seed get-THV 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV cicada house=ABL
‘Arik^wajō got corn seed from *Kōtkōrā*’s house.’
‘Arik^wajō arrumou semente de milho na casa da Cigarra.’

¹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997447>

- (6) *Soa kot kaap⁵ te pekaat soa kot.*

so-a kot kaap te pe=kaat so-a kot
see-THV IM.FUT QUOT FOC OBL=DEM see-THV IM.FUT

“I will look to see, I will look at that.”

“Eu vou atrás pra ver.”

- (7) *Pia⁶ setoa ãem te k^wako setset nããrã.*

pia se-to-a ãẽp te k^wako
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV already FOC black-fronted.piping.guan
se-set neara
3COR-leave again

‘He (*Arik^wajõ*) stayed there waiting for the black-fronted piping guan bird to come back.’

‘Ele (*Arik^wajõ*) ficou esperando esse jacu para poder ver a hora que ele ia de novo lá (comer).’

- (8) *Ati⁷ sete sitõmnã tõpnã sekoa pibot Kõnkõrã taap.⁸*

ati sete s-itõp=na tõp=na se-ko-a pibot
INTJ 3SG 3SG-follower=VBLZ follower=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV arrive
kõtkõra taap
cicada village

‘Poor guy, he followed him all the way until he arrived at *Kõtkõrã*’s (Cicada’s) village.’ (*Arik^wajõ* followed the bird all the way to *Kõtkõra*’s house)

‘Aí ele coitado acompanhou (o jacu), acompanhou, acompanhou até que chegou na casa da Cigarra.’

⁵There are two third person quotative forms: *kaap* and *kaat*. The quotative in combination with the immediate future morpheme *kot* derives a desiderative clause. Desideratives are grammaticalizing as future. The quotative form *kaat* is also homophonous to the demonstrative *kaat*, a proform that is used anaphorically to replace a stretch of discourse.

⁶*pia* ‘wait’ is the form in the Guaratira and Siokweriat dialects. It corresponds to *pisa* in the Sakurabiat dialect.

⁷*ati* is an interjection used as a negative exclamation expressing an emotional reaction, such as negative astonishment or bewilderment. It does not form a syntactic constituent to the rest of the sentence. It can be translated sometimes as ‘pitied guy’ or ‘pitied thing’. It is used to cast doubt about the proposition that one considers to be unlikely or absurd. For instance, if someone says to you *osera kot ameko miapna* ‘I’m going over there to kill a jaguar’, you can respond with *ati nop* ‘Poor you, no (you won’t).’

⁸*taap* is a word that has several meanings, it could be translated as either ‘village’ or ‘house’, but it contrasts with the regular word for house, which is *ek*.

- (9)
- Kerep itegõ⁹ kōjẽ siko õpinã.*

kerep i-tek=õ kōjẽ s-iko õp-pit=na
 enter 3SG-house=DAT sit 3SG-food give-NMLZ=VBLZ

‘He (*Arik^wajõ*) entered the house, sat himself down, and was given food.’

‘(*Arik^wajõ*) entrou na casa, sentou, aí começaram dar comida pra ele comer.’

- (10)
- Kōjẽ poget kop.*

kōjẽ poget kop
 sit standing AUX.MOV

‘He sat down, then got up, and stayed around there.’

‘Ele sentou, depois levantou, ficou por ali.’

- (11)
- Ma te kēra eke aose setserara, ke te Kōnkōrã tagiat.*

ma te kēra eke aose se-set-a-ra ke te Kōtkōra
 when FOC NASSERT DEM.N man 3COR-leave-THV-REP DEM FOC cicada
tak-iat
 daughter-COL

‘“When is that man leaving?” said *Kōtkōrã*’s daughters.’

‘“É esse homem não vai não embora, não, será?” Assim que a filharada do *Kōtkōra* falou.’

- (12)
- Teeri ka aotse atsisi ’ara nããn kop.*

te-eri ka aose asisi ’at-a naat kop
 3SG=ABL move man corn get-THV COP AUX.MOV

‘Through his mind, the man is carrying off the corn.’ (Lit. ‘It comes from him, the man is taking the corn.’)

‘Ele no pensamento dele tá carregando milho.’

⁹The dative postposition has two allomorphs: *õ* after consonant-final stems; and *bõ* after vowel-final stems. This postposition has a meaning that is broader than the usual datives. It can express the indirect object, but also the instrumental, the general locative, and the temporal locative.

- (13) *Tapsirō i'ara atsitsibō i'ara arak^wibō i'ara komatabō i'ara kaat naat kop aose.*

tapsit=bō i-'at-a asisi=bō i-'at-a arak^wi=bō i-'at-a
yucca=DAT 3SG-get-THV corn=DAT 3SG-get-THV peanut=DAT 3SG-get-THV
komata=bō i-'at-a kaat naat kop aose
beans=DAT 3SG-get-THV DEM COP AUX.MOV man

‘He got manioc, corn, peanuts, beans, he stayed there doing that (taking everything), the man (i.e., *Arik^wajō*).’

‘Levou mandioca, milho, amendoim, feijão, ficou carregando tudo, o homem.’

- (14) *Poret ãēm 'arabetse set nããrã.*

poret ãēp 'ar-ap=ese set neara
now already get-NMLZ=LOC leave again

‘Then, when he had already got it all, he left again.’

‘Aí quando já tinha carregado tudo, ele foi embora de novo.’

- (15) *Pibot nããrã setoabō.¹⁰*

pibot neara se-top-ap=ō
arrive again 3COR-lying.down-NMLZ=DAT

‘He arrived again at his own hammock.’

‘E chegou na sua rede (na casa dele) novamente.’

- (16) *Tamō'ēm porēsopega¹¹ petsetagiat:*

ta=bō=ēp porēsopeg-a pe=se-tak-iat
DEM.STAND=DAT=EMPH ask-THV OBL=3COR-daughter-COL

‘He just got there and asked his daughters.’

‘Entrou, foi direto perguntar pra filharada dele.’

¹⁰The word *toap* ‘hammock’ is a derived noun, formed by the auxiliary root *top* ‘AUX.LIE’ plus the circumstantial nominalizer *-ap*; the final *-p* is deleted before the vowel *-a*: *top+ap* → *toap*.

¹¹We have not been able to do a morphological analysis of the word *porēsopega* ‘ask’, but it is clearly a complex word, where it is possible to identify the root *pek* ‘call’. Monomorphemic words in Sakurabiat are usually shorter than four syllables.

- (17)
- Aeke te ejatsi?*

a-eke te ejat-si
 Q-DEM.N FOC 2PL-mother

“Where is your mother?”

“Para onde foi a mãe de vocês?”

- (18)
- Osesi jāōmō ka te ikāw taaga kit ara naat te kijkona taaga kit ara.*

ose-si jāō=bō ka te ikāo taaga kit
 1PL.EXCL-mother DEM.DIST=DAT move FOC DEM.TIME walking.palm seed
at-a naat te ki-iko=na taaga kit at-a
 get-THV COP FOC 1PL.INCL-food=VBLZ walking.palm seed get-THV

“Our mother went over there at that time to get walking palm’s seed for us to eat, get walking palm’s seed,” (they replied).¹²

“Nossa mãe foi por ali, buscar caroço de paxiúba pra nós comermos.”

- (19)
- Poret ejarora¹³ ipegara taaga kit aratk^wa nōm pegat.¹⁴*

poret ejat-ot-a i-pek-a-ra taaga kit
 now 2PL-leave-THV 3SG-call--THV-REP walking.palm seed
at-a-t-k^wa nop pegat
 get-THV-PST-PL.EV NEG IRR.FUT

“Then, go call her, it is no longer necessary to bring walking palm seed” (Arik^wajō told his daughters).’

‘Aí (Arik^wajō disse:) “Vão chamar ela, não era pra trazer mais semente de paxiúba, não.”’

- (20)
- Kiopap ta eba jē ěma kaareri imāã ke te kiape, kieba mōtk^wa ke te siraamnã.¹⁵*

ki-opap ta eba jē eba kaat=eri i-ma-a
 1PL.INCL-CORN DEM.STAND EVID DEM.SIT EVID DEM=ABL 3SG-make-THV

¹²The walking palm tree (*Socratea exorrhiza*) is known as *paxiúba* in Brazil. Its seeds are not edible.

¹³Sakurabiat has two types of hortative constructions. The first type uses the special hortative verb *soga* following the lexical verb. The other type of hortative construction, illustrated in this example, uses the verb *ot* ‘leave, go’ prefixed by either first person plural or second person (plural) subject agreement, followed by the lexical verb.

¹⁴The irrealis future morpheme *pegat* seems to be a complex form that contains the morpheme *pek* ‘FUT’ plus an allomorph of the past tense morpheme *-(a)t*.

ke te ki-iape kieba mot-k^{wa} ke te siraap=na
 DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-our.beverage tuber make-PL.EV DEM FOC *massaco*=VBLZ

“Our corn is here, make our beverage from it, and prepare the manioc to make (our) *massaco*.”¹⁶

“Nosso milho tá aqui pra fazer nossa chicha, e amassar macaxeira pra fazer *massaco*.”

- (21) *Ik^{wa}aksoa te itagiat sirik=nē’ēp pibot.*

i-k^{wa}ak-so-a te i-tak-iat sirik=ne=’ēp pibot
 3SG-sound-see-THV FOC 3SG-daughter-COL go.PL.SBJ=?=EMPH arrive

‘They heard him, the daughters, then they left, went straight there and arrived (where their mother was).’

‘Escutaram o que ele falou, as filhas. Aí saíram foram até lá (onde a mãe estava).’

- (22) *Ak^{wa} kip perek piora nããn kop.*

ak^{wa} kip perek piora naat kop
*cará*¹⁷ stick long dig COP AUX.MOV

‘She was digging for wild *cará* tubers.’¹⁸

‘Ela estava cavando *cará* do mato.’

- (23) *Abitop¹⁹ epegarat, osi.*

abi-top e-pek-a-ra-t o-si
 father-father 2SG-call-THV-REP-PST 1SG-mother

“Our father called you, mother.”

“Nosso pai te chamou, mamãe.”

¹⁵Two pieces of information are necessary here. First, the words *ma* and *mot(kwa)* are synonymous, both translate as ‘make, prepare, build’. The root *mot* is generally used with the verb formative suffix *-kwa* that is also a marker of event plurality. Secondly, the noun *kieba* is a general word that can refer to any type of edible tuber, either manioc (yucca), sweet potato, *cará*, etc.

¹⁶*Massaco* is a Portuguese word used to describe a dish that is made with cooked banana or yucca, pounded with a pestle. This dish is very popular among the Sakurabiat.

¹⁷*akwa ‘cará’* is a cultivated type of tuber. The wild, uncultivated *cará* is called *akwa kup perek* because is elongated (stick-like), unlike the cultivated one, which is more round.

¹⁸This sentence is translated in the past tense, to agree with the rest of the text. However, the auxiliary form *kop* is the present tense form; the past tense form would be *koa*.

¹⁹This form is the special vocative for father for female egos. It combines the vocative *abi* ‘my father’ for male egos, and the referential stem *-top* ‘father’.

- (24)
- Kiape mā ke te kiopaberi ita kaat ikāw.*

ki-iape ma ke te ki-opap=eri i-ta
 1PL.INCL-beverage make DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-corn=ABL 3SG-AUX.STAND
kaat ikāo
 QUOT DEM.TIME

“(Call her) to make our *chicha*²⁰ from our corn here, that (is what he) said at that time.”

“(Chama ela) pra fazer chicha pra nós, do nosso milho que tá aqui.”
 Assim (ele disse) àquela hora.’

- (25)
- Kieba mōtk^wa siraapnā kaat ikāw.*

kieba mot-k^wa siraap=na kaat ikāo
 tuber make-PL.EV *massaco*=VBLZ QUOT DEM.TIME

“To prepare manioc to make *massaco*,” that (is what he) said at that time.’

“Pra amassar macaxeira pra fazer *massaco*.” Assim ele disse àquela hora.’

- (26)
- Erek tiinā sitoabip etoabip tōēn, ejattaibiat sara, aose igorerōp sete.*

erek tiinā s-itoabip e-toabip tōet ejat-taip-iat
 speak INTJ=COP 3SG-cultivated.field 2SG-cultivated.field DUB 2PL-son-COL
sara aose igot-e-rōp sete
 pitied man possessor-?-NEG 3SG

‘She said: “Poor bastard, I doubt he has a crop. You poor children, he is a man who has nothing.” (Lit. ‘She said: “Pitied one, I doubt his crop (exists). Poor people of your children, this man has nothing.”)’

‘Aí ela falou: “Esse coitado aí, plantação dele! Plantou nada! Coitados dos filhos de vocês, esse aí é homem que não tem nada.”’

- (27)
- Arēm sirik nēārā te itagiat.*

arēp sirik neara te i-tak-iat
 then go.PL.SBJ again FOC 3SG-daughter-COL

‘They went again, his daughters.’

‘Foram embora de novo, as filhas dele.’

²⁰*Chicha* is a regional word in Brazilian Portuguese to refer to a fermented beverage. This beverage, which is very popular among several indigenous groups in Amazonia, can be made out of corn, yucca or any other kind of tuber.

- (28) *Kaap tēēn te otsetsi.*

kaap tēēt te ose-si
DEM only FOC 1PL.EXCL-mother

‘‘Mom said just that.’’ (And, thus, the daughters told their father what their mother had said.)’

‘‘Mam e disse assim.’’ (Assim as filhas contaram pro pai o que a m e falara.)’

- (29) *Ke eb  te setaipk^wa paat te.*

ke eb  te se-taip-k^wa paat te
DEM really FOC 3COR-get.calm-VBLZ FUT.3 FOC

‘‘It is like that now (she is angry at me), but she’ll calm down.’’

‘‘S o agorinha que t a assim (brava comigo), vai se amansar.’’

- (30) *Setoorek^wa m j  ikoop sete.*

se-toorek^wa maj-a i-koop sete
3COR-laugh tell-THV 3SG-AUX.MOV 3SG

‘‘She is still going to laugh,’’ he (said).’ (That is what *Arik^waj * thought about his wife.)

‘‘Ela ainda vai dar risada.’’ Ele disse.’

- (31) *Pia setoa ar m te aramir  ’ibat n ar .*

pia se-to-a ar p te aramira ’ip-a-t neara
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV then FOC woman come-THV-PST again

‘He stayed there waiting, then the woman came back again.’

‘Ele ficou esperando, a  a mulher chegou de novo.’

- (32) *Taibap sek r k^wa saraka te P r r kotsa.*

taib-ap se-e-k r -k^wa sara-ka te P r r kosa
gentle-NEG 3COR-INTRVZ-angry-VBLZ pitied-VBLZ FOC P r r kosa

‘She was angry, poor *P r r kosa*.’

‘Estava brava, coitada dela, a *P r r kosa*.’

- (33) *Poget kop peropka pe ak^wa kip perek*
poget kop perop-ka pe=ak^wa kip perek
 standing AUX.MOV cooked-VBLZ OBL=*cará* stick long
 ‘She stayed there, and then went to cook wild *cará* tubers.’
 ‘Ficou por aí, e foi cozinhar *cará* do mato.’
- (34) *Kaa kaat ebō nā sekoa imē.*
ko-a kaat ebō=na se-ko-a ’ime
 ingest-THV DEM really=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV dark
 ‘She ate, and stayed there the way she was (angry), until it got dark.’
 ‘Comeu, ficou por ali assim (brava mesmo), até que escureceu.’
- (35) *Era k^wirik poret.*
et-a k^wirik poret
 sleep-THV clear now
 ‘Then it dawned.’²¹
 ‘Aí amanheceu.’
- (36) *Ejariape kaabōpk^wa²² kot.*
ejat-iape kaabōp-k^wa kot
 2PL-beverage bless;heal-PL.EV IM.FUT
 ‘(After that *Arik^wajō* came and said to his children:) “I will cure your beverage.”’
 ‘(Aí *Arik^wajō* veio e disse:) “Vou curar a chicha de vocês.”’
- (37) *Ko sogā!*
ko sogā
 ingest HORT
 “You can drink! Drink!”
 “Pode beber! Bebe!”

²¹ *era k^wirik*, which literally means ‘sleep and clear’ is the expression used to announce that the day dawned, and also to count how many nights/days have passed, in an iterative way. Thus, to say something like ‘two days after’ one would say *era k^wirik era k^wirik*.

²² The consultant that was helping with translation and morphemic analysis explained that the verb form should be *kaabōā*, not *kaabōp*, but he could not explain why. We chose to keep the form that was given by the narrator.

- (38) *Ejatjāj sigika kotke²³ òn.*

ejat-jāj sigi-ka kot=ke=òt
 2PL-tooth drop-VBLZ IM.FUT=QUOT=1SG

‘‘I am going to make your teeth fall out.’’

‘‘Eu vou fazer o dente de vocês cair tudo.’’

- (39) *Kaabò’èm sigi tejatjāj.*

kaap ò’èp sigi te-jat-jāj
 DEM already drop 3SG-COL-tooth

‘It happened really that way, their teeth fell out.’

‘Fez mesmo, caiu todos os dentes delas.’

- (40) *Pērām te otagiāt ejariko pek.*

pēt-ap te o-tak-iat e-jat-iko pek
 hard-NMLZ FOC 1SG-daughter-COL 2SG-COL-food FUT

‘‘It won’t be hard, your food, my daughters.’’ (This sentence continues the speech of *Arik*’*ajō* to his children.)

‘‘Não vai ser duro, minhas filhas, a comida de vocês.’’

- (41) *Kaanã’èp poret kap kapnã te kijāj pogeri poret.*

kaat=na=’èp poret ko-ap ko-ap=na te
 DEM=VBLZ=EMPH now ingest-NMLZ ingest-NMLZ=VBLZ FOC

ki-jāj poget=i poret
 1PL.INCL-tooth standing=AUX.PL now

‘They stayed that way, our teeth, in order for us to eat.’ (Lit. ‘They became that way in order to be (our) eating instrument, our teeth stayed that way.’)

‘Ficou assim mesmo pra ser aquilo com que se come, os nossos dentes ficaram assim.’

²³The first and second person desiderative construction is formed with a combination of the immediate future morpheme plus the quotative morpheme for first and second persons (*kot+ke* ‘IM.FUT + QUOT’ = DESIDERATIVE).

- (42) *Kaannã²⁴ te te kijāj ipěnnã kenôm.*
kaat=na te te ki-jāj i-pět=na ke nop
 DEM=VBLZ really FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth 3SG-hard=VBLZ DEM NEG
 ‘That’s why our teeth are not hard,’ (Lit. ‘In being that way really, our teeth are not hard.’)
 ‘Por isso que o nosso dente (de hoje em dia) nao é duro.’
- (43) *Sesigika k^waap tēñ.*
se-sigi-ka k^waap tēet
 3COR-drop-VBLZ HAB only
 ‘They just drop out (and grow again).’
 ‘Só cai (e nasce de novo).’
- (44) *Kirit sīt jāj etsigika.*
kirit sīt jāj e-sigi-ka
 child DIM tooth INTRVZ-drop-VBLZ
 ‘(That’s why) kids’ teeth drop out.’
 ‘(Por isso que agora) dente de criança cai tudo.’
- (45) *Kek^waap nãã²⁵ tēñ.*
Ke k^waap=na-ap tēet
 DEM HAB=VBLZ-NMLZ only
 ‘It is always just that way.’ (‘The cycle keeps repeating itself, it is always like that.’)
 ‘É todo tempo só assim.’
- (46) *ke te kijāj.*
ke te ki-jāj
 DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth
 ‘That’s how our teeth are.’
 ‘É assim nosso dente.’

²⁴One of the morphosyntactic strategies to express causal adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat is to use a derived verb phrase formed by the anaphoric demonstrative *kaat* with the verbalizer *nã* (see Galucio (2011), for a thorough discussion of adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat.)

²⁵It is possible to delete the nominalizer morpheme *-ap*, with no apparent change in meaning. The consultant said that another way of saying the same thing was *kekwaapnã tēet*.

- (47) *Kaabese nããn aapi òtsop te atsitsi.*
kaap=ese naat aapi ò-sop te asisi
 DEM=LOC COP crop.seed CAUS-see FOC corn
 ‘That is how (they) found corn seed.’
 ‘Foi assim que acharam semente de milho.’
- (48) *K^weeet piro kiiko pek kîrêp.*
k^weeet piro ki-i-ko pek kîrêp
 thing exist 1PL.INCL-OBJ.NMLZ-ingest FUT now
 ‘And that’s how it appeared the things that we eat.’
 ‘Assim que apareceram as coisas de comer.’
- (49) *Kaap te eba nããriat.*
kaap te eba naat=iat
 DEM FOC EVID COP=REM.PST
 ‘(But) that’s how it was at those times.’
 ‘Mas era assim antigamente.’
- (50) *Kõnkõrârõpnã arobõ te atsitsi nããn eteet.*
kõtkõra-rop=na arop-õ te asisi naat eteet
 cicada-NEG=VBLZ thing-NEG FOC corn COP HYP
 ‘If it were not for *Kõtkõra*, there would be nothing, no corn. (All edible things were first planted by *Kõtkõra*, who was also a shaman).’
 ‘Se não fosse *Kõtkõra*, não tinha nada, não tinha milho, não. (Tudo foi *Kõtkõra* quem plantou, ele era *kwamoa* (‘pajé’) também.)’
- (51) *Asisirõp.*
asisi-rõp
 corn-NEG
 ‘(There would be) no corn.’
 ‘Não tinha milho.’
- (52) *Arobõ te piro tapsit ak^wa k^waako piroap.*
arop-õ te piro tapsit ak^wa k^waako piro-ap
 thing-NEG FOC exist yucca cará sweet.potato exist-NEG
 ‘There wouldn’t be anything, no yucca, no *cará* tuber, no sweet potato.’
 ‘Não tinha nada, nem mandioca, nem cará, nem batata, não tinha nada.’

- (53) *Arik^wajõ ekap sigot nẽnõã.*
arik^wajõ ekap s-igot ne=no-a
 Arik^wajõ SBJV 3SG-possessor COP=NEG-THV
 ‘If it were up to Arik^wajõ, he wouldn’t own anything.’
 ‘Arik^wajõ não tinha nada.’
- (54) *Sigot tiii nẽnõã.*
s-igot tii ne=no-a
 3SG-possessor INTJ COP=NEG-THV
 ‘He possessed nothing.’
 ‘Ele não tinha nada, não.’
- (55) *K^wai mariko kipkiba ’a mariko²⁶ sete.*
k^wai mat i-ko kipkiba ’a mat i-ko sete
 stone ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest tree fruit ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest 3SG
 ‘He only eats stone and fruit (as if he were not human).’ (Lit. ‘Stone is what he eats, and fruit is what he eats.’)
 ‘Comida dele é pedra, é fruta de pau (como se não fosse gente).’
- (56) *Aose eteet.*
aose eteet
 man HYP
 ‘If it were not for this man (*Kõt^kõrã*), (there would be nothing.)’
 ‘Se não fosse esse homem (*Kõt^kõra*), (não teria nada mesmo, não.)’
- (57) *Õẽm.*
õẽp
 already
 ‘It’s finished.’
 ‘Acabei.’

²⁶The expression N *mariko* is used when you want to refer to something that is someone’s preferred choice of food. For instance, *Kwe mariko õrõn*. ‘I only like to eat game meat.’/ ‘I only eat game meat.’ (*kwe* ‘game meat’ – *mat* (?) – *i-ko* ‘OBJ.NMLZ-ingest’ – *õr-õn* 1SG-EMPH).

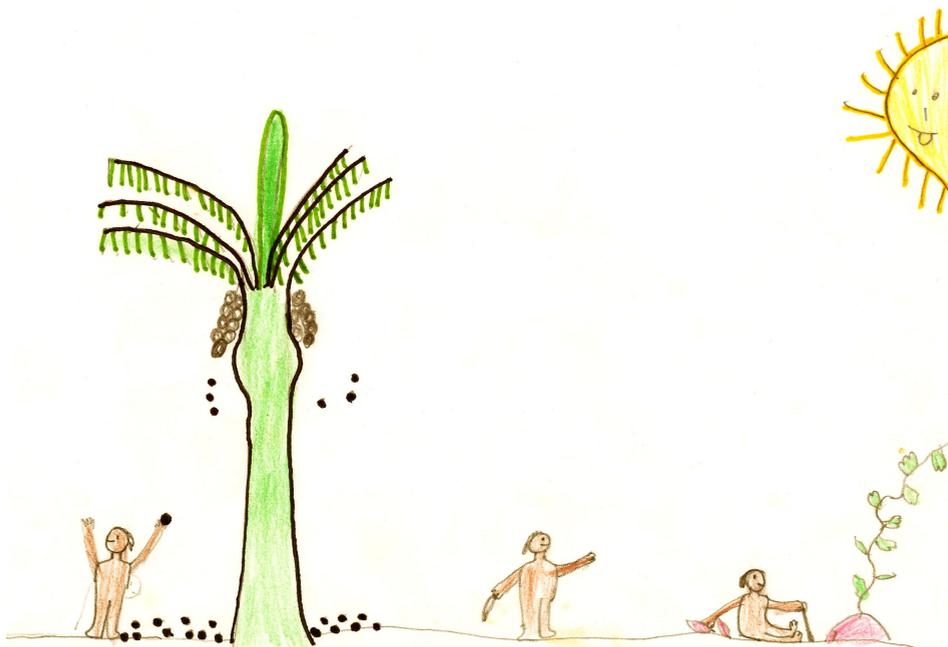


Figure 4: The old and the newly acquired crops. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

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Non-standard abbreviations

COL	collective	IM	immediate
COR	co-referential	INTRVZ	intransitivizer
DUB	dubitative	LIE	lying
DEM.TIME	temporal demonstrative	MOV	moving
EMPH	emphatic	NASSERT	non-assertive
EV	event	REP	repetitive
EVID	evidential	SIT	sitting
HAB	habitual	STAND	standing
HORT	hortative	THV	thematic vowel
HYP	hypothetical	VBZL	verbalizer

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Part III

Ancestors and tricksters

Chapter 9

Kĩsêdjê

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1 Introduction

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



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

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

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

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

1.1 The circumstances of the narration

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

1.2 The Kîsêdjê people

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

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

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

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



Figure 1: The Wawi Indigenous Land.

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

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

(2) *Kīsêdjê*

kī sêt-∅ jê
village burn-NMLZ PL

‘The ones who burn villages’

⁴<https://goo.gl/maps/i7kyoGZAb6L2>

1.3 The Kîsêdjê language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴(99) exemplifies many different nominalizing suffixes.

2 Khátpy re wapãmjê thõ thurun tho 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.*

ne=nhy ne
be.so¹⁶=&.DS¹⁷ be.so

‘Then it was like this.’

‘Aí foi assim.’

(6) *Ajipãmjê thõ ra, ajipãmjê ra,*

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

‘A forefather of ours, our forefathers,’

‘Um dos nossos antepassados, nossos antepassados,’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (12)
- Khukwâj sak nhy jêt nhy*

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

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

‘Ele flexou o macaco, ele ficou preso e’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

thē=nhy k<h>uthā k<h>ura
 go.SG=&.DS <3>before <3>hit

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

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

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

k<h>uthā k<h>ura=nhy thē=n ty ne=n
 <3>before <3>hit=&.DS go.SG=&.SS ONTP:falling do.SO=&.SS
thām=ne no
 fall.down.SG=&.SS lie.down.SG

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

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

- (22) *Thēn thām nhy:*

thē=n thām=nhy
 go.SG=&.SS fall.down.SG=&.DS

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

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

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

haha hahaa [hwararo i-khra-jê=re
 INTJ:satisfaction INTJ:satisfaction yesterday 1-child-PL=ERG
s-amdep-∅ khām s-ã-m=ndo
 3-be.hungry-NMLZ in 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ=with
s-amba-k=nhy ire ngry-txi pī-rī] wyrák thā
 3-mind-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG beast-big kill.SG²⁴-NMLZ happen.indeed

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

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

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

- (24) *Nen khatyp khôsátxi nhîhwêt ne thore khâm sarôn ne khutá.*
ne=n Ø-khatyp khôsátxi nh-ihwêt=ne thore Ø-khâm s-arôn=ne
 do.so=&.ss 3-for basket E-make=&.ss then 3-in 3-fold=&.ss
khu-tá
 3-put.inside.sg
 ‘He did (said) so, made a basket for him (the ancestor), and then he (the monster) folded him and put him inside.’
 ‘Ele fez (disse) assim, fez um cesto para ele (o ancestral), e então ele (o monstro) dobrou e colocou ele dentro.’
- (25) *Thore sîpy khukwâj ngrên hwan nen arêkmã khuthun tho mo.*
thore s-îpy khukwâj ngrê-n hwa=n ne=n
 then 3-on.top monkey put.inside.PL-NMLZ finish=&.ss be.so=&.ss
arêkmã khu-thu=n t<h>o mo
 soon 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL
 ‘Then he finished putting the monkeys inside on top of him, and this way he loaded it onto his back and carried it far away.’
 ‘Então ele acabou de botar os macacos em cima dele, e dessa forma ele botou nas costas e foi carregando lá para longe.’
- (26) *Khwã hry ro thên... sîthep ne, khwã hry ro thên sîthep ne,*
kh-wã hry ro thê=n-... s-îthep=ne kh-wã hry ro thê=n
 3-to trail with go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3-stop=&.ss 3-to trail with go.SG=&.ss
s-îthep=ne
 3-stop=&.ss
 ‘He would be opening the trail for a while and then stop, would be opening the trail and then stop,’
 ‘Ele ia abrindo a trilha por um tempo e então parava, ia abrindo a trilha e então parava,’
- (27) *khwã hwî khrahrak to thên khwã hry ro thên hwî khrahrak to thên sîthep ne,*
kh-wã hwî khrahrak to thê=n kh-wã hry ro thê=n
 3-to branch break with go.SG=&.ss 3-to trail with go.SG=&.ss
hwî khrahrak to thê=n s-îthep=ne
 branch break with go.SG=&.ss 3-stop=&.ss
 ‘he was breaking branches, opening a trail, breaking branches and then he stopped,’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘continued breaking branches,’

‘continuou quebrando galhos,’

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

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

‘he went breaking branches and then he stopped and’

‘ele foi quebrando galhos e então parou e’

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

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

thě

go.SG

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

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

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

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

E-stop in 3-put.standing.SG

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

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

- (34) *Amu nen tho thě.*

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

‘Doing so he continued carrying it farther.’

‘Fazendo assim ele continuou carregando.’

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

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

3-put.standing.SG

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

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

- (36) *Khuta nhy hōnen ndo khá tha.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (43) *Akwyn nen thẽn khatho.*

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

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

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

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

mo

go.PL

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

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

- (45) *Tho mon kôth hry nhithep khâm khuthan amu thê nhy thore tho sujakhre ro no.*

t<h>o mo=n [kôth 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 *khâtpy* monster) came back out.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (48) “Hyhy! Athaj nhyry ri wa thê.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (51)
- Kôt hry jatuj khãm khutha.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (55) “Hyhy! Kê nhyry ri wa thē.”

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

“Aha! While he’s doing so I will go.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

akhum khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=n-... [kôt hry
 again 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL=&.SS-INTS 3.ERG trail

j-atu-j] khām khu-ta

E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG

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

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

- (58) *Hry jatuj khâm khuthan,*

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

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

- (59) *thât hwĩ khra

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

*thât hwĩ khra

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (62) *khên tha ro thên khuthán,*

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

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

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

- (67) *Khên mã wikamên pan, “Haaa! Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”*
khên mã Ø-wikamê=n pa=n Haaa ngry-txi thy-k
 rock to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL=&.ss Argh beast-big die-NMLZ
mbet-Ø=ne Ø-khajkhit-Ø=na
 be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT
 ‘He kept being pulled down towards the rocks and said “Argh!” A big
 beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!’
 ‘Ele ficou sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras e disse “Argh!”
 Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!’
- (68) *“Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkit na!”*
ngry-txi thy-k mbet-Ø=ne Ø-khajkhit-Ø=na
 beast-big die-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT
 “A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”
 “Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”
- (69) *Nenhy tho huuuh... nen sarin tho thê.*
ne=nhy t<h>o huuuh ne=n s-ari=n t<h>o thê
 be.so=&.DS <3>with umpf be.so=&.ss 3-jump=&.ss <3>with go.SG
 ‘And then he grunted and jumped and took it away.’
 ‘E aí ele grunhiu e pulou e levou embora.’
- (70) *Khuthun tho mo, tho mo... hry jatuj khâm khuta.*
khu-thu=n t<h>o mo t<h>o mo... hry j-atu-j
 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL <3>with go.PL-INTS trail E-stop-NMLZ
khâm khu-ta
 in 3-put.standing.SG
 ‘He loaded it on his back and took it all the way, took it all the way and
 put it down at the end of the trail.’
 ‘Ele botou nas costas e levou até o fim, levou até o fim e botou no chão no
 final da trilha.’
- (71) *Amu khwā hry ro thê...*
amu kh-wā hry ro thê
 farther 3-to trail with go.SG
 ‘He continued opening the trail...’
 ‘Ele continuou abrindo a trilha...’

- (72) *Akhum hry jatuj khãm khuta.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁷This was a mistake by the narrator.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Yesterday our children were hungry”

“Ontem nossos filhos estavam com fome”

- (86) “*Khwã ngrytxi pĩn tho mo...*”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (88) *Hrõ ra “Hy!” nen khatho.*

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

‘His wife said “Yes!” and came out.’

‘Sua esposa disse “Sim!” e saiu.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (92) “*Nhintã ngrytxi jarêñ nda?*”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“‘The beast is big! Can’t you see?’”

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

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

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

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

rik athaj aj kh-wã 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 thên sômu.”*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(113) *Nenhy ne.*

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

‘Then it was like this.’

‘Aí foi assim.’

Non-standard abbreviations

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

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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-hĩ*⁷
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 transitivity marker (-*ta-*).

- (12) *tya tsi'ahĩte a dukĩrinitenãiko a mãtyate lehĩ*
tya tsi'a-hĩ-te a dukĩri-nite-nãiko 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-ĩta
 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=ĩta xude=oya=ĩta
 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'ita tsiraire mārēritsaxata utexaraire*
tsũhũ xude=oya=ĩ'ita-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 tsĩwiditewã*
itso’ii-ri-tatsitswa bu=aruryĩ aru-xe ai-hĩ
 liana-CLF:flat-DIR:backside put=leave place-CLF:leaf that-NMLZ
tsĩwidite-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 etsĩratihĩ 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) *tsĩwidite xareredĩnãiko adi’ata*
tsĩwidite 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

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Chapter 11

Aikanã

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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





Figure 1: 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

the constituent parts.¹ 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

¹When 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 <'> corresponds to [ʔ]. Vowels following a nasal consonant are usually nasalized, but this is not marked in the orthography used here. The central vowel [i] and its nasal counterpart [ĩ] 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 kyã'apa'i

'The story of Fox'

'A História do Raposa'²

- (1) *hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwã'ĩ kyã'arisukudiweye kyãkarekaẽ*
hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwã'ĩ
1SG 1SG.POSS grandmother Kwã'ĩ
kyã-are-isu-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'ĩ told me.'
'Eu vou contar o que minha avó Kwã'ĩ contava pra mim.'

²Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/885240>

- (2) *hena detyamii namii hiku'ete kuka'i'ete wareyũpü*
he-na detya-mii namii hiku-ete kuka-i-ete ware-yũ-pü
 then-DS woman-DIM cousin other-ALL tell-NMLZ-ALL go-DIR:close-SS
 'Once a young woman went to talk with her cousin.'
 'Daí uma moça foi falar com a prima dela.'
- (3) *derinena hikiri'ikana wikere axawapata'ẽ kukaẽ*
deri-ne-na hikiri-'ika-na wikere a-xa-wa-pa-ta-'ẽ
 light-PFV-DS dark-INTENS-DS peanut uproot-1PL-DIR:upwards-TR-FUT-IMP
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'ereĩ*
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 anapayũzadeare*
he-na he-pü ka-'ya-re-yada eruera
 then-DS say-SS 1SG-come-FUT-REAS fox
anapa-yũza-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) *anapayũzadepü kãwãyada hikiri'ikana*
anapa-yũza-de-pü kãwã-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'ikana mēyāpū tawīmeata'ē kukaē*
deri-ne-na hikiri-'ika-na mē-yā-pū tawī-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 hukadupii hepū xūnehepū*
he-pū hukadupii he-pū xūne-he-pū
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 miitū iitūderine*
deri-ka-ne-re-na miitū iitū-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.’

- (13) *namii namii kukana hãw heẽ*
namii namii kuka-na hãw he-ẽ
 cousin cousin tell-DS huh say-DECL
 “Cousin, cousin!” he called. “Yes?” she responded.
 “Prima, prima!” ele chamou. “Sim?” ela respondeu.’
- (14) *yãw’ẽ wikere xü’iaxanapetaka’iwãte kukaẽ*
yãw’ẽ wikere
 let’s.go.IMP peanut
xü’i-a-xa-nape-ta-ka-’iwã-te *kuka-ẽ*
 dig-uproot-1PL-DIR:forest-REM.FUT-CLF:pieces-ADMON-PST tell-DECL
 “Let’s go digging up peanuts as planned,” he told her.
 “Vamos arrancar amendoim como combinamos,” ele falou para ela.’
- (15) *erünuna hikiri’ika’iwã hikiri’ikaẽ*
erünuna hikiri-ika-iwã hikiri-ika-ẽ
 EXPL dark-INT-ADMON dark-INT-DECL
 “But damn, it’s still dark outside, really dark,” (she replied).
 “Mas poxa, ainda está escuro lá fora, bem escuro,” (ela respondeu).’
- (16) *tawãxapü kaxatii kukaẽ*
tawã-xa-pü ka-xa-ta-i kuka-ẽ
 what-1PL-SS do-1PL-FUT-INT tell-DECL
 “Why do we have to go now?”
 “Porque temos que fazer agora?”’
- (17) *hinaẽ derinedupa kawaẽ*
hina-ẽ deri-ne-dupa kawa-ẽ
 no-DECL light-PFV-CONC be-DECL
 “No, dawn is almost here.”
 “Não, está clareando já.”’
- (18) *kawãte izata’ẽ kapü kadiẽ iza’idepeta’ẽ kapü kadiẽ hẽ*
kawãte iza-ta-’ẽ ka-pü kadi-ẽ
 because far-REM.FUT-DECL do-SS affirm-DECL
iza-idepe-ta-’ẽ ka-pü kadi-ẽ he-ẽ
 far-DIR:garden-REM.FUT-DECL do-SS affirm-DECL say-DECL
 “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 hürü-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 tãwãmeapü kameazati*
he-na hikiri-ika-iwã tãwã-mea-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) *izaderineipita'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 tãwãxeapü warexatii kukaẽ*
he-dupana purikii-'ene-ke bubu-'he-'iwã tãwã-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?"'³
'Mas na hora que ele falou isso, a menina respondeu, "Os músicos estão dançando ainda, como é que vamos passar?"'

³At 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-napai-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).”
 “Não, vamos desviar pelo mato (atrás da casa).”
- (25) *üre'apa'ine xarükanapiire'ẽ kukaẽ*
üre-apa'i-ne xa-rüka-napa-ire-'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'erei hepü hena*
kadupii ka-xa-re-'ẽ he-pü 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 ...

- (30) *mamaderi kãwãyada tanimiiye keapa'ẽi deri zãme mama'ĩ diarekaẽ*
mama-deri kãwã-yada tanimii-ye kea-pa-'ẽ deri zãme mama'ĩ
 mother-3.POSS be.like-REAS sister-OBJ get-TR-IMP light today chicha
dia-re-ka-ẽ
 1SG-FUT-1SG-DECL
 'Her mother said, "In that case, bring your little sister. I am going to make
chicha today."^{4,5}
 'A mãe dela falou, "Então leva sua irmãzinha, vou fazer chicha hoje.'
- (31) *yoayoakuka'isuwate'ẽ*
yoa~yoa-kuka-isuwate-'ẽ
 cry~cry-CLF:body-HAB-DECL
 "She is always crying."
 "Ela fica chorando."
- (32) *deü'edika'ẽ tanimĩiye kukaẽ hukadupũ*
deü-edika-'ẽ tanimii-ye kuka-ẽ hukadupũ
 put.heavy-CLF:back-IMP sister-OBJ tell-DECL alright
 "Carry your little sister on your back," (Fox) told her. "Alright," (she
 responded).
 "Leva sua irmã nas costas," (Raposa) falou. "Tudo bem," (ela respondeu).'
- (33) *tanimiideriye de'edikapũ yãw'ẽ*
tanimii-deri-ye deü-edika-pũ yãw'ẽ
 sister-3.POSS-OBJ put.heavy-CLF:back-SS let's.go.IMP
 '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).'
- (34) *hikadepapũ. hepũ hikiri'ine*
hika-de-pa-pũ. he-pũ hikiri-'i-ne
 leave-DIR:outside-TR-SS then-SS dark-NMLZ-LOC
 'She went outside. It was dark.'
 'Ela saiu pra fora. Já escureceu.'

⁴In 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 *kashiri* or *caxiri*.

⁵The 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'.

- (35) *hikirihedupapü hidepiidukaripü*
hikiri-he-dupa-pü hidepai-dukari-pü
 dark-3-CONC-SS garden-3PL-SS
 ‘Although it was dark, they went to the garden.’
 ‘Mesmo no escuro, eles foram pra roça.’
- (36) *bate kameyē’ete’i erünuna iza’iza’iwā kukapü iza hepü*
bate ka-me-yē-’ete-’i erünuna iza~iza-iwā kuka-pü iza-he-pü
 where be-2SG-DUB-ALL-INT wow! far~far-ADMON tell-SS far-3SG-SS
 “‘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.’
- (37) *iza kukapü hete’i hūka kukaē*
iza kuka-pü he-te’i hūka kuka-ē
 far tell-SS say-EMP in.vain tell-DECL
 “‘Didn’t I tell you it was far?’ he said, fooling them.’
 “‘Já não falei que fica longe?’ falou, enganando elas.’
- (38) *zamiya wāderi’ete wareyūpapü tikiri dūrū’i’ete*
zamiya wā-deri-’ete ware-yū-pa-pü tikiri dūrū-’i-’ete
 now live-NMLZ-ALL go-CLF:close-TR-SS mound sit-NMLZ-ALL
 ‘Then they arrived at a termite mound where he lives.’
 ‘Daí chegaram numa casa de cupins de barro onde ele mora.’
- (39) *hena henudu ē perūka’i inekapü wāheyada*
he-na henu-du-pe-rūka-’i-ne ka-pü wā-he-yada
 then-DS hole-DIR:in-CLF:round-DIR:around-NMLZ-LOC do-SS live-3-REAS
 ‘It’s of course full of holes where he lives.’
 ‘Está cheio de buracos onde ele mora.’
- (40) *hena hapükemukapü waredurikapaē*
he-na hapü-ke-muka-pü ware-durika-pa-ē
 then-DS hold-3-CLF:eye-SS go-DIR:inside-TR-DECL
 ‘Then he covered their eyes and entered.’
 ‘Daí tampou os olhos delas e entrou.’

- (41) *wardurikapapü*
ware-durika-pa-pü
go-DIR:inside-TR-SS
'They went inside.'
'Entraram pra dentro.'
- (42) *hena kiinezü keza iitühene'ena*
he-na kiine-zü 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 kayaparehãypü kawãtena ãriiakukapederiame hena*
kawã ka-ya-pa-re-hãyã-pü kawãte-na
be.like 1SG-come-TR-FUT-1PL.OBJ-SS because-DS
ãryüa-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) *wãwã'ĩ'ikaderihame kapü hina'ĩ hina kukaẽ*
wãwã'ĩ-'ika-deri-hame ka-pü hina-ĩ hina kuka-ẽ
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) *tãwãxeapü kaxa'i erükazapa'ĩ kawã dukumii kawãtena*
tãwã-xea-pü ka-xa-'i erükazapa'ĩ 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 kapü ã'apakukaẽ*
he-'ẽ ka-pü ã-'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 kapü hina'ĩ'ẽ*
nake tãwã ã-a-na-ẽ ka-pü 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 hepü yoa*
hena-'ẽ zamiya hiku ise-'i-deri d-u-<ka>nu-ẽ he-pü
 quiet-IMP now other small-NMLZ-NMLZ 1SG-hungry<1SG>-DECL say-SS
yoa
 cry
 ‘The little one was crying from hunger.’
 ‘A outra pequena estava chorando de fome.’
- (50) *he'ẽ kapü kiine hiku ti'iweke ünenudupa*
he-'ẽ ka-pü 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'ãanaẽ he'ẽ yoaẽ*
tãwã-'ã-na-ẽ he-'ẽ yoa-ẽ
 what-IMPERS-NEG-DECL say-DECL cry-DECL
 “What can one do?” she said. “She is crying.”
 “O que pode fazer?” ela falou. “Ela está chorando.”

- (52) *eruerazũ mamaderi*
eruera-zũ mama-deri
 fox-POSS mother-3.POSS
 ‘Now Fox’s mother (comments):’
 ‘Agora a mãe do Raposa (comenta):’
- (53) *dukanuẽ ünenuxaẽ he’ẽ yoayoaredukari’iwã*
d-u<ka>nu-ẽ ã<ne>nu-xa-ẽ he’ẽ
 1SG-hungry<1SG>-DECL hungry<PFV>-1PL-DECL say-DECL
yoa~yoa-are-dukari-’iwã
 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.’”
- (54) *tara kawhepire’ẽ eyepü kawa’i*
tara kaw-he-pi-re-’ẽ eye-(na)-pü kawa-’i
 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).’
- (55) *kawānunu hāemepe’eyepü kawāte’i kukaẽ*
kawā-nunu hāe-me-pe-’eye-pü kawāte-’i kuka-ẽ
 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.’
- (56) *kawayada xoakarüperekaẽ urikii hepü hikade’ẽ*
kawa-yada xoa-ka-rüpe-re-ka-ẽ urikii he-pü
 be-REAS see-1SG-DIR:ground-FUT-1SG-DECL food say-SS
hika-de-’ẽ
 leave-DIR:outside-DECL
 ‘So he said “I will look for food,” and left.’
 ‘Então ele falou “Vou procurar comida,” e saiu pra fora.’

- (57) *hikadepü kapü wã'apaderi'ete yũ'eyeẽ kapü*
hika-de-pü ka-pü wã-'apaderi-'ete yũ-'eye-ẽ
 leave-DIR:outside-SS do-SS live-ACT.NMLZ-ALL DIR:close-3PL.OBJ-DECL
ka-pü
 do-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 häehäekesesa'eye*
düdü pu-'apa'i-ye kikire-ye häe-häe<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 wãderi'ete duxüpanepü hiba'eyenakedupa kapü*
na-suna-pa-ẽ wã-deri-'ete du-xü-pa-ne-pü
 bring-DIR:hither-TR-DECL live-NMLZ-ALL DIR:in-DIR:return-TR-PFV-SS
hiba-'eye-nake-dupa ka-pü
 give-3PL.OBJ-COND-CONC 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 tãwãanaẽ kapü*
hara-dukari-nake tãwã-a-na-ẽ ka-pü
 not.want-3PL-COND what-IMPERS-NEG-DECL do-SS
 “They didn’t want anything, now what can one do?”
 “Não queriam, mas fazer o quê?”
- (63) *yoahedukarina kapü kãwãẽ zamiya mamaderi*
yoa-he-dukari-na ka-pü kãwã-ẽ 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 tãwãmepü urikiiye kamezii*
tara hü’a-’i-ye xoa-we’eye-pü tãwã-me-pü urikii-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 dukumii’iye kaw’i kawã’iwãwã*
tara dukumii-’i-ye kaw-’i kawã-’iwã~wã
 what ruin-NMLZ-OBJ eat-NMLZ be.like-ADMON~RED
 “They don’t eat worthless things.”⁶
 “Elas não comem coisa que não presta.”
- (66) *kawã’i dukumii’iye kawxare’ëyaremina*
kawã-ĩ dukumii-’i-ye kaw-xa-re-’ë-are-mina
 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) *hü’anii apaduri’iwa he’ë kukana*
hü’a-na-i apa-dukari-’iwa he-’ë 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 hü’a’iye takepewe’eye’ë kukaë*
tara hü’a-’i-ye ta-ke-pe-we’eye-’ë kuka-ë
 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) *kadupii kayapitaë*
kadupii ka-ya-pita-ë
 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 wã’apa’i’ete hidüka’eye’i apa’ixüte*
hika-de-pü iza iza-pa-’a-pü wã-apa’i-ete
 leave-DIR:outside-ss far far-TR-IMPERS-SS live-ACT.NMLZ-ALL
h-idüka-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) *hidüka’eyepü tarawã pu’apaderiye kapü häekepepü*
h-idüka-’eye-pü tara-wã pu-’apaderi-ye ka-pü
 3SG-DIR:thither-3PL.OBJ-SS what-?⁷ raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ do-SS
häe<ke>pe-pü
 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.’

⁷The uninterpretable form -wã is apparently a slip of the tongue.

- (73) *kapü kērikukapeyada kēriē kukayada*
ka-pü kēri-kuka-pe-yada kēri-ē kuka-yada
do-SS linger-CLF:body-?-REAS linger-IMP tell-REAS
‘Obviously this took a while. It should take some time.’
‘Obviamente demorou um pouco. É para demorar um pouco mesmo.’
- (74) *ĩwã’arena kaxupane’eyãre’ẽ mamaderi hepü*
ĩwã-are-na ka-xü-pa-ne-’eyã-re-’ẽ mama-deri
like.that-poor-DS 1SG-DIR:return-TR-PFV-2PL.OBJ-FUT-DECL mother-3.POSS
he-pü
say-SS
‘‘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.’
- (75) *eruerazü mamaderi eyepü hina’ĩ hü’anii’apazaẽ*
eruera-zü mama-deri eye-pü hina-’ĩ hü’a-na-i
fox-POSS mother-3.POSS 3PL.OBJ-SS NO-NMLZ good-NEG-NMLZ
h-apa-za-ẽ
2-find-PL-DECL
‘Fox’s mother said to them, ‘‘You are suffering.’’
‘A mãe do Raposa falou, ‘‘Vocês estão sofrendo.’’
- (76) *tara kawxamiirumia’ẽ hü’ana’i hapazaẽ*
tara kaw-xa-miiriu-mia-’ẽ hü’a-na-i h-apa-za-ẽ
what eat-1PL-DESI-2PL-DECL good-NEG-NMLZ 2-find-PL-DECL
‘‘You want to eat and you are suffering.’’
‘‘Vocês querem comer e estão sofrendo.’’
- (77) *kaxupane’eyãre’ẽ eyepü*
ka-xü-pa-ne-’eyã-re-’ẽ eye-pü
1SG-DIR:return-TR-PFV-2PL.OBJ-FUT-DECL 3PL.OBJ-SS
‘‘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'eyã'ẽ eyepü*
ite hüri<da>wa-pe-re-ka-ẽ ite darüpa-'eyã-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 baba'i'ene yoayoahedukariẽ*
hiba mama baba-'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'ëyãpü pane'ëyãta'ë*
ware-yã-ëyã-pü pane-ëyã-ta-ë
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 hüridawaperekaë hepü*
ite hüri<da>wa-pe-re-ka-ë 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 daedaediikasa'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 yoahe'ë*
zamiya baba-deri mama-deri-'i-'ene ka-pü yoa-he-'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) *beeyü'eyena hepü xâyārehāyādukariē tāwihedukarina*
bee-yü-'eye-'ë-na he-pü xā-yā-re-hāyā-dukari-ē
 arrive-DIR:near-3PL.OBJ-well-DS say-SS 1PL-come-1PL.OBJ-3PL-DECL
tāwī-he-dukari-na
 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) *hena tawihedupana baba baba mama mama*
he-na tawī-he-dupana baba baba 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) *erüareküyēi hepü xoahenunu*
erüare-küyā-i he-pü xoa-he-nunu
 feel.sorry-1PL.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) *darüpa'aredukarina*
darüpa-are-dukari-na
 stay.PL-poor-3PL-DS
 ‘The poor kids are sitting there.’
 ‘As coitadas estão lá.’
- (95) *erüarekumiizii eyepü yoa'eyepü yoahepü*
erüare-kuma-i-za-i eye-pü yoa-'eye-pü yoa-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.’

- (96) *hepü hikuye hürükewanunu hameri*
he-pü hiku-ye hürü-ke-wa-nunu hameri
 then-SS other-OBJ rise-3-DIR:up-MIR already
 ‘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 wäeditehe hikutehe kyã’i’apa’i*
eruera urume-ka-re-pü hameri wäedi te-he hiku te-he
 fox transform-1SG-FUT-SS already tail have-3SG other have-3SG
kyã-’i-’apa’i
 speak-NMLZ-ACT.NMLZ
 ‘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) *kawādupa yāw’ē he’eyepü hapükika’eyepü*
kawā-dupa yāw’ē he-’eye-pü hapü-ke-ika-’eye-pü
 be.like-CONC let’s.go.IMP say-3PL.OBJ-SS hold-3-CLF:hand-3PL.OBJ-SS
 ‘‘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
 bring-3PL-SS
 ‘They brought them along.’
 ‘Levaram elas.’
- (100) *keza’ete wareduxüpane’eyena kapü zamiya hena*
keza-’ete ware-du-xü-pane-’eye-na ka-pü zamiya he-na
 house-ALL go-DIR:in-DIR:return-bring-3PL.OBJ-DS do-SS now then-DS
 ‘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-’i
 already fox transform-1SG-FUT-REAS do-SS no-NMLZ
 ‘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.'⁸
 '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) *wiiwii mezakukane'eta'ẽ kukaẽ*
wiiwii-meza-ku-ka-ne-'eta-'ẽ kuka-ẽ
 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'ĩ-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.

- (108) *hisa zamumuye tara ari'iyē takawaparekaẽ hadite kawhepũ*
hisa zamumu-ye tara ari'i-ye
1SG patawa.larva-OBJ what mamuí.larva-OBJ
ta<ka>wa-pa-re-ka-ẽ hadite kaw-he-pũ
break<1SG>-TR-FUT-1SG-DECL shaman eat-3-SS
“I am going to get some patawá and mamuí larvae for the shaman to eat.”⁹
“Eu vou tirar coró de patauá e de mamuí para o pajé comer.”
- (109) *ũ'ũkekukakũyare'ẽ wãwã'iyē detyaderi'ete kukapũ*
ũ'ũ-ke-kuka-kũya-re-'ẽ wãwã'i-ye detya-deri-'ete
save-3-CLF:body-1PL.BEN-FUT-IMP child-OBJ woman-3.POSS-ALL
kuka-pũ
tell-SS
“He will fix the bodies of the children for us,” he said to his wife.
“Ele vai concertar o corpo das crianças para nós,” falou para a mulher dele.
- (110) *babaderi daedaena'ĩ daedaenapũ*
baba-deri dae~dae-na-'ĩ dae~dae-na-pũ
father-3.POSS walk~walk-go-NMLZ walk~walk-go-SS
‘Her father went walking (in the forest).’
‘O pai delas foi andando (no mato).’
- (111) *zamumuye takewapũ*
zamumu-ye ta<ke>wa-pũ
patawá.larva-OBJ break<3>-SS
‘He removed patawá larvae (from the wood).’
‘Ele tirou coró de patauá.’

⁹The 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.

- (112) *ari'i-ye keapü*
ãri'i-ye kea-pü
 mamuí.larva-OBJ get-ss
 'He got mamuí larvae.'
 'Pegou coró de mamuí também.'
- (113) *nusunapapü*
nu-suna-pa-pü
 come-DIR:return-TR-SS
 'He brought them back home.'
 'Ele trouxe de volta pra casa.'
- (114) *amakea'ẽ detyaderi'ete kukapü amamakezaẽ*
ama-kea-'ẽ detya-deri-'ete kuka-pü ama~ma-keza-ẽ
 cook-3-IMP woman-3.POSS-ALL tell-ss cook~RED-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) *hikirikapedupana zamiya*
hikiri-rika-pe-dupana zamiya
 dark-CLF:floor-CLF:round-TEMP now
 'As it was getting dark inside ...'
 'Enquanto estava escurecendo lá dentro...'
- (116) *hadite tãwikukapü irüpü*
hadite tãwĩ-kuka-pü irü-pü
 shaman await-CLF:body-ss trance-ss
 'He called the shaman to enter into a trance.'¹⁰
 'Ele chamou o pajé para rezar.'

¹⁰In 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.

- (117) *wãwã'ĩ ukikekukaku'ẽ awexü urumeẽ*
wãwã'ĩ uki-ke-kuka-ku-'ẽ awexü urume-ẽ
child clean-3-CLF:body-1SG.BEN-IMP demon transform-DECL
“Cleanse the body of my daughter, who has transformed into a demon!”¹¹
“Limpa o corpo da criança que se transformou em bicho do mato!”
- (118) *kukaku'ẽ kukana*
kuka-ku-'ẽ kuka-na
tell-1SG.BEN-IMP tell-DS
“Talk to him for me!” he said.
“Fala para ele para mim!” ele falou.
- (119) *hadite wareduapü*
hadite ware-dua-pü
shaman GO-DIR:inside-SS
‘The shaman went inside.’
‘O pajé entrou para dentro.’
- (120) *wareriakapü uruhepü*
ware-riaka-pü uru-he-pü
GO-DIR:middle-SS sing-3-SS
‘He went to the middle of the house and sang.’
‘Ele chegou no meio da casa e cantou.’
- (121) *hadite kiineke wareyũpanake büxü'ẽ hepü*
hadite kiine-ke ware-yũ-pa-nake büxü-'ẽ he-pü
shaman 3SG-COM GO-DIR:near-TR-COND cure-IMP say-SS
‘As soon as the shaman brought her with him, (the father) said “Cure her!”’
‘Quando o pajé levou ela junto com ele, (o pai) falou “Cura ela!”’

¹¹The *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.

- (122) *arerekekukaxüne'ẽ*
arere-ke-kuka-xüne-'ẽ
 blow-3-CLF:body-DIR:return-IMP
 “Blow and cleanse the body again!” (the father) said.
 “Assopra e limpa o corpo de novo!” (o pai) falou.
- (123) *hibaye awexüye hukedurakaxüne'ẽ*
hiba-ye awexü-ye hu-ke-duraka-xüne-'ẽ
 this-OBJ demon-OBJ remove-3-DIR:inside-DIR:return-IMP
 “Remove this demon from inside of her!”
 “Tire esse bicho do mato que está dentro dela!”
- (124) *pawpawkezakaxüne'ẽ kyākukapü*
paw~paw-keza-ka-xüne-'ẽ kyā-kuka-pü
 run-run-3SG.CAUS-TR-DIR:return-IMP speak-tell-ss
 “Make it (the demon) run away!” he said to him.
 “Espanta o espírito para fora!” falou para ele.
- (125) *derinena zamiya deripanena*
deri-ne-na zamiya deri-pa-ne-na
 light-PFV-DS now light-TR-PFV-DS
 ‘Dawn came and then day came.’
 ‘Clareou e amanheceu o dia.’
- (126) *zamiya kapü kukapü daexünepü*
zamiya ka-pü kuka-pü dae-xüne-pü
 now do-ss tell-ss walk-DIR:return-ss
 “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.
- (127) *hena wiiwiiyeye wākanayeyepü urikiieye hürakenupapü*
he-na wiiwii-yeye wākana-yeye-pü urikii-ye hūra-ke-nupa-pü
 then-DS repeat-ITE late.morning-ITE-ss food-OBJ place-3-DIR:outside-ss
 ‘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-IMPERS-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 hü'akaxünerewaẽ wãwã'ĩ*
kapü-ne-pü zamiya ka-pü zamiya
finish-PFV-SS now do-SS now
hü'a-ka-xüne-re-wa-ẽ wãwã'ĩ
good-1SG-DIR:return-FUT-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-xüne-re-wa-ẽ
person 1SG-DIR:return-FUT-2SG.BEN-DECL
'"They will be people again for you."
'"Vão se tornar em gente de novo para você."

- (133) *kuka'i apa'ixüte kukana*
kuka-'i apa-'ixüte kuka-na
 tell-NMLZ say-REP tell-DS
 'This is how he spoke to the father.'
 'Assim que ele falou para o pai.'
- (134) *hukadup̄i hep̄ü*
hukadup̄i he-p̄ü
 alright say-ss
 "Alright," he said.'
 "Está certo," ele falou.'
- (135) *wāwā'ike hina'ĩ hūka hūka eryüanahe'ẽ hukakeaderi*
wāwā'ĩ-ke hina-'ĩ hūka hūka eryüana-he-'ẽ hūka-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.'
- (136) *zamiya zĩzĩĩ eryüaxünena zamiya*
zamiya zĩzĩĩ eryüa-xüne-na zamiya
 now correct live-DIR:return-DS now
 'But now they were behaving well again.'
 'Mas agora ficaram direitinhas de novo.'
- (137) *wāwā'ĩ hikaderike hep̄ü hü'axüneẽ*
wāwā'ĩ-ika-deri-ke he-p̄ü hü'a-xüne-ẽ
 child-INTENS-NMLZ-COM then-ss good-DIR:return-DECL
 'The youngest also got better.'
 'A criança mais nova melhorou também.'
- (138) *hiba tiwenederi hü'axüneẽ*
hiba ti'ıwe-ne-deri hü'a-xüne-ẽ
 this grow-PFV-NMLZ clean-DIR:return-DECL
 'The older one got better.'
 'Essa mais velha melhorou.'

- (139) *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)...'¹²
'Mas um pouco depois (que o Raposa sequestrou elas)...'
- (141) *hiku kapü kaxare'ë namïideri'ika kukaderiye wareyÿpü*
hiku ka-pü ka-xa-re-'ë namïi-deri-ika kuka-deri-ye
other do-SS do-1PL-FUT-IMP cousin-3.POSS-INTENS tell-NMLZ-OBJ
ware-yÿ-pü
go-DIR:close-SS
'The real cousin, the one who said to do it (to get peanuts) arrived (at the girls' house).'
'Aquele prima delas que tinha combinado com ela (arrancar amendoim) primeiro chegou (na casa das meninas).'
- (142) *kaxare'ë ka'iwâte yãw'ë deripahãyã'ë namii kukaë*
ka-xa-re-'ë ka-'iwã-te yãw'ë deri-pa-hãyã-ë namii
do-1PL-FUT-IMP do-ADMON-PST let's.go.IMP day-TR-1PL.OBJ-DECL cousin
kuka-ë
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 kerie hîzã kamezakukateare apiire'i*
mama-deri ware-hika-de-pü kerie hîzã
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.

ka-meza-kuka-te-are *apa-ire-'i*
do-2SG.CAUS-CLF:body-PST-INFR say-almost-INT

'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?"'

- (144) *hameri'ē tara kawāte'i wareyāpū namii namii kukapū*

hameri-h-ē *tara kawāte-'i* *ware-yā-pū namii namii kuka-pū*
already-3-DECL what because-INT go-come-ss cousin cousin say-ss

"Who was the one that came already and said, 'Cousin! cousin!' then?"

"Quem será que veio e chamou 'Prima! Prima!' naquela hora?"

- (145) *yāw'ē kukapū warehikadepapū hameri pa'iwāte*

yāw'ē *kuka-pū ware-hikade-pa-pū hameri*
let's.go.IMP say-ss go-DIR:outside-TR-ss already
pa-'iwā-te

unsuccessful-ADMON-PST

"Let's go!" she had said to her, but they had already left.'

"Vamos embora!" falou para ela, mas elas já tinham saido.'

- (146) *hīzā kamezīiare ka'iwāte kukaē*

hīzā ka-meza-i-are *ka-'iwā-te* *kuka-ē*
2SG do-2SG.CAUS-NMLZ-INFR do-ADMON-PST say-DECL

"I thought it was you," she said to the cousin.'

"Pensei que era você," ela falou para a prima.'

- (147) *hinaē hisa kayana'iwāte kapū derinena kayata'ē ka'iwā*

hina-ē *hisa ka-ya-na-'iwā-te* *ka-pū deri-ne-na*
no-DECL 1SG 1SG-come-NEG-ADMON-PST do-ss light-PFV-DS

ka-ya-ta-ē *ka-'iwā*

1SG-come-REM.FUT-DECL do-ADMON

"No, it wasn't me. I let it dawn first."

"Não foi eu não, deixei clarear o dia primeiro."

- (148) *ka'iwāte kawā zarena'i kawā kazapasahāyātena*

ka-'iwā-te *kawā zare-na-'i* *kawā*
do-ADMON-PST be.like person-NEG-NMLZ be.like

ka-za-pa-sa-hãyã-te-na

do-CAUS-TR-MAL-1PL.OBJ-PST-DS

“So it must not have been a person that took them from us.”

“Então não era uma pessoa que levou elas de nós.”

- (149) *babaderi mamaderi he'i he'i apïixüte*

baba-deri mama-deri he-'i he-'i apa-ixüte
father-3.POSS mother-3.POSS say-NMLZ say-NMLZ say-REP

‘Their father and mother said this. This is what was said.’

‘O pai e a mãe delas falou isso. Assim que falaram.’

- (150) *hepü hikirinena kawã kawã hikirinena*

he-pü hikiri-ne-na kawã kawã hikiri-ne-na
then-SS dark-PFV-DS be.like be.like dark-PFV-DS

‘Then it got dark.’

‘Daí escureceu, escureceu mesmo.’

- (151) *bari wareyãepü kaxata'ẽ hikiri'ikana*

bari ware-yã-e-pü ka-xa-ta-'ẽ hikiri-'ika-na
who go-come-2SG.OBJ-SS do-1PL-REM.FUT-IMP dark-INTENS-DS

“When someone comes for you, saying, ‘Let’s do it early in the morning!’” ...’

“Quando alguém vier para você falando ‘Vamos lá amanhã cedo!’” ...’

- (152) *hapa'aparete'ẽ apa'i apïixüte apa'ẽ kyãapïisuwãẽ he'ẽ xüxüe kyã'isuwãẽ xüxüe xüxü xüxüe Kwã'ĩ*

h-apa-apa-rete'ẽ apa-'i apa-ixüte apa-'ẽ
2SG-say~say-NEG.IMP say-NMLZ say-REP say-DECL

kyã-apa-isuwã-ẽ he-'ẽ xüxüe kyã-'isuwã-ẽ
speak-say-REM.PST-DECL say-DECL grandmother speak-REM.PST-DECL

xüxüe xüxü xüxüe Kwã'ĩ

grandmother 1SG.POSS grandmother Kwã'ĩ

“You can’t talk like that with people,” my grandmother used to say.¹³
Grandmother Kwã'ĩ.

“Você não pode falar assim com os outros,” assim que falava minha avó.
Vovó Kwã'ĩ.

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 ãryüaka'ïwã*
kari-ame ãryüa-ka-'ïwã
 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.'

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Non-standard abbreviations

ACT	action	INT	interrogative
ADMON	admonitory	INTENS	intensifier
AG	agent	ITE	iterative
COL	collective	MAL	malefactive
CONC	concessive	MIR	mirative
DESI	desiderative	PROC	procrastinative
DIM	diminutive	REAS	reason adverbial
DIR	directional	RED	reduplication
DS	different subject	REM	remote
DUB	dubitative	REP	reported past
HAB	habitual aspect	SS	same subject
HORT	hortative	SUP	superlative
IMPERS	impersonal	TEMP	temporal adverbial
INFR	inferential mood		

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Chapter 12

Suruí of Rondônia

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Agamenon Gamasakaka Suruí

1 Introduction

This story relates one of the numerous skirmishes in the continuously warlike relations between the Suruí of Rondônia (or, according to their autodenomination, *Paiter*) and their indigenous neighbors. It is representative of the Suruí narrative genre. Suruí is a language of the Mondé family of the Tupian stock. The Suruí live in the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Land, on the border between the Brazilian states of Rondônia and Mato Grosso, near the city of Cacoal. The speakers of Suruí now number about 1,200 individuals; this population has increased steadily since the 1970s, when measles, flu and tuberculosis epidemics broke out after their first peaceful contact with the Brazilian society in 1969, causing a demographic crisis. Although the Suruí traditionally lived in just one or two villages, they are now scattered among more than 20 settlements along the boundaries of their land, which remains an island of rainforest surrounded by cattle ranchers (see Figure 1). Slash-and-burn horticulture and hunting have been replaced by coffee farming, illegal logging, and environmentalist projects. War with neighboring Indian groups and White settlers have ceased and numerous matrimonial bonds now tie the Suruí to their former enemies. Thus, although the events narrated here evoke a world vividly experienced by the generations born before the 1960s, this past is very different from the daily life of the young adults today, who form a large part of the audience of such narratives.¹

¹For general ethnographic information on the Suruí, see Mindlin (1985; 1996) and Yvinec (2011). For information on the various ways of narrating past events among the Suruí, see Yvinec (2016).



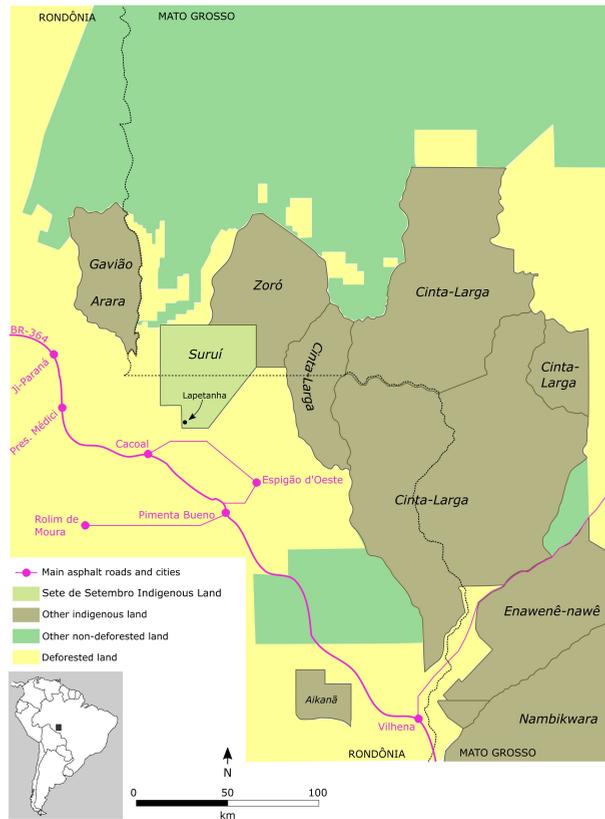


Figure 1: Present location of the Suruí (Map: C. Yvinec)

The story is 9 minutes long. It was narrated in June 2013 by Agamenon Gãmasakaka Suruí, a fifty-year-old man, one of the most powerful and respected men in the village of Lapetanha (see Figure 2). It was told to me at night, after I explicitly asked to record it. That very afternoon, Agamenon had spontaneously narrated it to his two wives, surrounded by several of his sons, daughters and nephews, while we were enjoying a break in the tedious work of picking coffee berries. The aim of the narration was both to celebrate the ancestor of his political faction and to entertain the audience, especially by singing a beautiful war song. When closely related, politically friendly adults get together, for example while sitting around a fire at night or having a rest during a collective work, they often exchange such stories among themselves. Because they are narrated over and over, their content is rarely entirely unknown to the audience.

Here, Agamenon evokes an attack on a neighboring Zoró village – a Mondé-speaking population of north-western Mato Grosso who were the Suruí's preferred enemies – that took place before the birth of all living Suruí, probably in the 1920s. The narration culminates with the song one of the warriors composed in celebration of his deeds. Indeed, it is through such songs that memory of historical events is passed down among the Suruí.

Several other stylistic features are worth noting. For the most part, the story is composed of embedded quotations of successive narrators of the event, so that it is rendered in direct first person speech, including the alleged inner discourse (thoughts) of actors. Thus, the narration paints a vivid picture of the events, intensified by the extensive use of ideophones.

The evidential status of each embedded discourse is systematically marked, either as witnessed evidence (narration heard by the speaker from his father) or as non-witnessed evidence (narration heard by the latter from his own father, the protagonist of the event). However, in a kind of introductory summary (lines 5-8), and then again in the conclusion (lines 55-69), the narrator refers to the nature and general behavior of the main character, his grandfather.² Paradoxically, these parts of the story are marked as witnessed evidence, although the narrator was born years after his grandfather's death. Such deletion of non-witnessed evidentiality marking in the course of a story is common in various narrative genres, including myths. It is often due to a prioritized focus on the sequence of events rather than on the source of information. Here, on the other hand, the contrast is between a particular event (identified by a song), which needs to have its non-witnessed evidential status restated in each sentence of the description because it is painted as if it had been lived by the speaker, and general inferences that can be construed as witnessed on the basis of the lifelike description of the event. Finally, the difference between Suruí historical and mythological narratives needs to be pointed out: whereas myths are attributed to an indeterminate group of anonymous speakers, the chain of narrators of historical events is clearly established throughout the story.



Figure 2: The narrator, Agamenon Gamasakaka Suruí (Photo C. Yvinec)

²The recording situation and the absence of a Suruí interlocutor prone to ask questions and open new stories led this narrator to develop these considerations further than most narrators would do in conversational situations, and gave the story a unity that spontaneously-occurring narrations do not often have.

The transcription convention used here is mostly similar to that developed by the SIL missionaries with a group of Suruí for textbooks and Bible translation. All orthographic symbols are to be pronounced as in Brazilian Portuguese, except for the following: \tilde{g} is a velar nasal [ŋ] ; h indicates that the preceding vowel is long; s is a voiceless velar [x] or dental fricative [θ]; and u is a closed front rounded vowel [y]. The tilde, acute accent, and circumflex denote nasalization, high tone on oral vowels, and high tone on nasalized vowels, respectively. Vowels without any diacritic mark are oral vowels with low (or undetermined) tone. Suruí consonants vary in initial and final word positions, according to the preceding or following morpheme, especially in possessive noun phrases and in the construction of the object-verb group. The most frequent variations are $p\sim m$, $k\sim g$, $s\sim l\sim x$, $t\sim tx\sim n$, $d\sim j$, $m\sim\emptyset$, and $w\sim\emptyset$. They are reproduced in the writing convention.

Suruí typological features can be summed up as follows. The basic word orders are genitive-noun; noun-adjective; and object-verb. The subject has no strictly determined position, but tends to precede the object-verb group, and is marked by aspectual and/or evidential suffixes. There are two classes of nouns: obligatorily possessed and non-obligatorily possessed; the latter can nonetheless occur in a possessive construction, marked by the possessive prefix *-ma-*, positioned between the genitive and the noun. There are two class of verbs: transitive and intransitive. The latter can have a reflexive pronoun (which only differs from the regular pronoun in the third person) in the object position, thus aligning subjects of intransitive verbs with objects of transitive verbs. Indirect objects can appear with both classes of verbs and are marked by dative, benefactive, or ablative suffixes. Evidentiality is marked by suffixes on the subject and/or by sentence-final markers.³ Evidentiality can be witnessed, non-witnessed, or non-declarative (a subclass of non-witnessed).⁴

³On some occasions (lines 8; 13; 60), sentence parsing contradicts the sentence-final markers, because prosody shows that the speaker extended and corrected his utterance after the sentence-final marker.

⁴Only preliminary studies are available on Suruí: on phonology, see Lacerda Guerra (2004); on syntax, see Bontkes (1985), and Van der Meer (1985), as well as the primary author's own work (Yvinec 2011: 679–691).

2 Ana omamõya Ñoxoraka ã

‘This is the way my grandfather killed a Zoró’

‘Foi assim que meu avô matou um Zoró’⁵

- (1) *Nem, a olobde merema oğay ma e.*

nem a o-sob-de pere-ma o-ka ma e
INTJ DEM.PROX 1SG-father-WIT ITER-do⁶ 1SG-DAT PRF.PST SFM.WIT

‘Well, here is what my father recounted to me.’

‘Meu pai me contou isso.’

- (2) *Nem, a, “ana oiyã” olobiyã,” olobesesob, denene.*

nem a a-na o-ya o-sob-ya
INTJ DEM.PROX DEM.PROX-FOC 1SG-NWIT 1SG-father-NWIT
o-sob-e-sob Ø-de-ee-na-ee-na-e⁷
1SG-father-NMLZ-father 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘He said this, about my father’s father: “I heard that my father said: “I did this, they say.””⁸

‘Ele falou assim, do pai de meu pai: “Eu ouvi que meu pai falou assim: “Eu fiz isso, pessoas falam.””

⁵Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997449>

⁶The suffix *-ma* used as a verb can have many meanings, including ‘to say’ or ‘to explain’.

⁷The combination *ee-na*, ENDO-FOC, is an adverbial locution that is pervasive in narrative speech. Its meaning is very loose and almost expletive: ‘thus’, ‘this way’, ‘like this’. It emphasizes the inner links of the speech, contrasting with *i-na*, EXO-FOC, which occurs in conversations that refer to physically present objects.

⁸From this point on, the whole narration is a quotation of Agamenon’s father quoting a narration by his own father, except for a few sentences (lines 5-9; 43-47; 49-50; 55-64). This embedding of quoted speech is marked at the end of almost every sentence. However, we do not reproduce it systematically in the free translation in order to lighten it a little; quotation marks only will indicate the levels of embedding. The evidential value of each level will not be reproduced either, since it remains unchanged throughout the narration: Agamenon’s father’s speech was witnessed (*de*, WIT), his grandfather’s was not (*ya*, NWIT).

- (3) ““Nem, olobaka *Ĝoxoriyã*” iyã” de.
nem o-sob-aka Ĝoxor⁹-ya i-ya Ø-de¹⁰
 INTJ 1SG-father-kill Zoró-NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““Well, a Zoró killed my father.””
 ““Um Zoró matou meu pai.””
- (4) ““Eebo oya *okãyna oladeka sona olobepika sona yã*” olobiyã” olobde.
ee-bo¹¹ o-ya o-kãyna o-sade-ee-ka¹² sona
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT 1SG-grow 1SG-PROG.SIM-ENDO-DAT often
o-sob-wepika sona a o-sob-ya o-sob-de
 1SG-father-avenge often SFM.NWIT 1SG-father-NWIT 1SG-father-WIT
 ““So as I grew up, I avenged my father many times.””
 ““Então, quando eu cresci, vinguei meu pai muitas vezes.””

⁹The word *Ĝoxor*, Zoró, is a lexicalization of the locution *lahdĝoesor*, *lahd-koe-sor*, Indian.enemy-language-ugly, ‘enemy whose language is difficult to understand’ – but not incomprehensible, by contrast with other neighbors, either from the Mondé family (Cinta-Larga) or not (Kawahib, Nambikwara). The Portuguese ethnonym “Zoró” is a corruption of the Suruí word. At the time of the narrated events, *Ĝoxor* referred to a single population, from which are descended the two ethnic groups nowadays called Zoró and Gavião of Rondônia, who split off in the 1940s, when the latter entered in contact with rubber tappers, while the former remained in voluntary isolation until 1977 (see Figure 3). For ethnohistorical information about the Zoró, see Brunelli (1987).

¹⁰Quotations are marked in Suruí by an isolated subject, that is, a noun or pronoun (or the absence of it, for third person singular) with an aspectual and/or evidential suffix, to which no verbal group corresponds. Moreover, an indirect object, specifying the addressee can appear after the subject. These markers usually appear after the quoted speech and can be strung together to indicate embedding of quotations, as we see here.

¹¹In Suruí narrative discourse, almost every sentence is introduced by an adverbial locution that connects it to the preceding one: *ee-bo* (ENDO-ADVERS), ‘and’, ‘so’, or ‘but’; *ee-te* (ENDO-ADV), ‘then’, ‘indeed’, ‘and’; *ee-tiga-te* (ENDO-SIM-ADV), ‘then’, ‘at that time’; *a-yab-* (DEM.PROX-ENDO), ‘and this’, ‘and the latter’. It is difficult to give a uniform translation of those discourse-linking expressions.

¹²The combination *ee-ka*, ENDO-DAT, functions as a postposition that subordinates the preceding clause as an indirect object of the verbal group of the main clause. Its meaning is either temporal or causal.

(5) *Eebo dena sona Ĝoxoraka akah sone.*

ee-bo *Ø-de-ee-na* *sona Ĝoxor-aka a-kah*
 ENDO-ADVERS 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC often Zoró-kill 3.REFL-go
sona-e.
 often-SFM.WIT

‘So he repeatedly set out to kill some Zoró.’

‘Então ele foi matar o Zoró muitas vezes.’

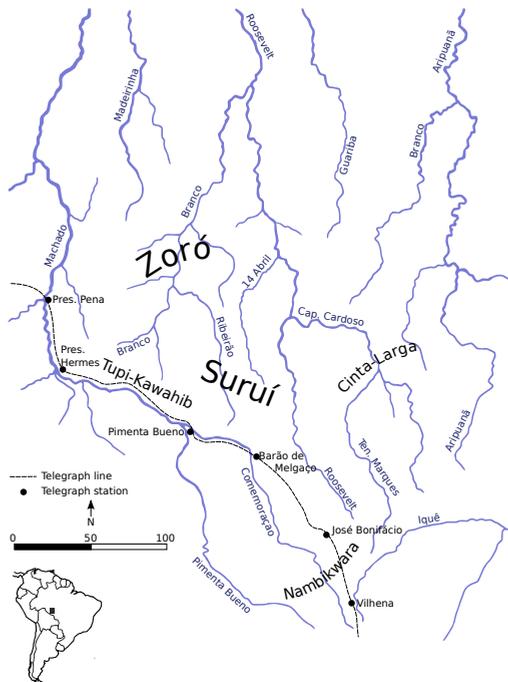


Figure 3: Approximate location of the Suruí, Zoró, and neighboring groups of the Machado-Roosevelt interfluvium in the first half of the 20th century. At that time, the stations of telegraph line built by Rondon in 1914 were the only permanent colonial presence in that region. (Map: C. Yvinec)

- (6) *Ayabğoy xibebiga, ikar iperedena, ihbahbağa iperedena, eyabğar iperedekena.*

a-yab-koy xi-ibeb-iga i-kar i-pere-de-na
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-to 3SG-track-pick 3SG-search 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC
ihbahb-mağa i-pere-de-na ee-yab-kar
 canoe-make 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC ENDO-ENDO-search
i-pere-de-kah-ee-na
 3SG-ITER-WIT-go-ENDO-FOC

‘He repeatedly searched for them and followed their tracks, he repeatedly made a canoe and set out in search of some of them.’¹³

‘Ele o procurava e seguia o rastro dele, muitas vezes ele construiu uma canoa e saiu para procura-lo.’

- (7) *Ayabmi aor te, ayabmi akah ihbahbtar ena te makaomi ikar.*

a-yab-pi a-or te¹⁴ a-yab-pi a-akah
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3.REFL-COME ADV DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3.REFL-go
ihbahb-tar ee-na te ma-kao-pi i-kar
 canoe-on ENDO-FOC ADV other-dry.season-ABL 3SG-search

‘Afterward he came back, and after that, during the next dry season, he would set out again on a canoe in search of some of them.’

‘Depois, ele voltou, e depois disso, na próxima estação seca, ele saía de novo numa canoa para procura-lo.’

- (8) *Enaitxa te iperedena sona Ğoxorkar ena sone, mater e, asobaka deke, omamõperedenene.*

ee-na-itxa te i-pere-de-na sona Ğoxor-kar ee-na
 ENDO-FOC-with ADV 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC often Zoró-search ENDO-FOC
sona-e mater e a-sob-aka
 often-SFM.WIT long.ago SFM.WIT 3.REFL-father-kill

¹³Suruí uses the third person singular pronoun (*xi-* or *i-*) to refer to the targeted enemy, but this does not mean that the Suruí warrior would have gone searching for a particular individual among the Zoró, the killer of his father. Any individual supposedly belonging to that ethnic group would be a suitable victim, and one death was still an ambitious goal for a raid. By contrast, using the third person plural pronoun (*ta-*) would have implied that the target was the whole ethnic group – but the Zoró lived in a more scattered fashion than the Suruí did. We use the plural in the free translation when it is more relevant in English.

¹⁴The adverbial particle *te* is almost an expletive. It is probably a weak form of the intensive adverbial particle *ter*, and often has only a prosodic function.

Ø-*de-ee-ka-e*

3SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT-SFM.WIT

o-ma-amõ-pere-de-na-ee-na-e

1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘Thus, my grandfather was always in search of some Zoró, long ago, because one of them had killed his father.’

‘Assim, meu avô sempre procurava o Zoró, há muito tempo, porque aquele tinha matado o pai dele.’

- (9) *Ena olobdena iwema.*

ee-na o-sob-de-ee-na iwe-ma

ENDO-FOC 1SG-father-WIT-ENDO-FOC DEM.EXO-do

‘This is what my father said.’

‘Meu pai falou assim.’

- (10) “‘*Eebo oya xikin ã*” *iyã*” *de.*

ee-bo o-ya xi-ikin a i-ya Ø-de

ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT 3SG-see SFM.WIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

‘He said: “[My father] said: “And once I saw him.”’”

‘Ele disse: “[Meu pai] disse: “Aí uma vez eu o vi.”’”

- (11) “‘*Eebo oya olobgarmeyitxa yã*” *iyã*” *de.*

ee-bo o-ya o-sob-karmey-itxa a

ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT 1SG-father-younger.sibling-with SFM.WIT

i-ya Ø-de

3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

“‘I was with my father’s younger brother.’”

“‘Eu estava com o irmão mais novo de meu pai.’”

- (12) “‘*Eebo oilud ena tar ã.*’”

ee-bo o-oilud ee-na tar ã

ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-young ENDO-FOC PRF SFM.NWIT

“‘I was already a young man.’”¹⁵

“‘Eu já estava moço.’”

¹⁵Men are *oilud* when they are young adults, still single, approximately between 17 and 25 years old.

- (13) “Ete oya *Ĝoxoribebepemaã tar ã*” iyã” de, ““*mixağataga*.””
ee-te o-ya Ĝoxor-ibeb-e-pe-maã tar a i-ya
 ENDO-ADV 1SG-NWIT Zoró-track-NMLZ-path-take PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT
Ø-de mixağ-mataga
 3SG-WIT night-go.through
 ““That time I had followed the track of a Zoró through the night.””
 ““Aquela vez, eu tinha seguido o rastro do Zoró durante a noite.””
- (14) “Oker òm a.””
o-ker òm a
 1SG-sleep NEG SFM.NWIT
 ““I had not slept at all.””
 ““Eu não tinha dormido nada.””
- (15) “Mokâyxibotorera oya xibebaã tar ã, xipemaã tar ã” iyã” de.
mokây-xibo-tor-wera o-ya xi-ibeb-maã tar a
 fire-flame-carry-walk 1SG-NWIT 3SG-track-take PRF SFM.WIT
xi-pe-maã tar a i-ya Ø-de
 3SG-path-take PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““I had followed his track carrying a torch, I had followed his path.””
 ““Eu tinha seguido o rastro dele, com uma tocha na mão, eu tinha seguido o caminho dele.””
- (16) “Ete oya paitereya adihr eka, “Ātiga meykodaatē ma”, oya takay ena yã” iyã” de.
ee-te o-ya pa-iter-ey¹⁶-ya a-dihr ee-ka
 ENDO-ADV 1SG-NWIT 1PL.INCL-very-PL-NWIT 3.REFL-exhaust ENDO-DAT
ã-tiga mey-koda-aat-tē ma o-ya ta-ka ee-na
 DEM.PROX-SIM 2PL-sit.PL-ly-INCH IMP 1SG-NWIT 3PL-DAT ENDO-FOC
a i-ya Ø-de
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““And, as our men were exhausted, I told them: “You all should sit down here.”””

¹⁶The lexicalized locution *pa-iter* (1PL.INCL-very), ‘we (inclusive of addressee) ourselves’ is the ethnic autodenomination of the Suruí. Here it obviously does not refer to the whole ethnic group, but to the younger male individuals that went with the warriors to carry their provisions of food and arrows.

““Aí, como nosso pessoal não aguentava mais, eu lhes disse: “Vocês podem sentar aqui.”””

- (17) ““*Eebo oyakah metota osahra, bobobob.*””

ee-bo o-ya-kah pe-tota o-sahr-a bobobob
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-go path-along 1SG-swift-VBLZ ID:walk.quickly

““And I trotted away swiftly along the path.””

““Aí eu me fui embora rapidinho, seguindo o caminho.””

- (18) ““*Ñokoy oyakah, nem, Ğoxormaarãyasade awaga ewepi yã” iyã*” *de.*

ano-koy o-ya-kah nem Ğoxor-ma-arãya-sade a-awaga
 DEM.DIST-to 1SG-NWIT-go INTJ Zoró-POSS-chicken-PROG.SIM 3.REFL-cry

ewe-epi a i-ya Ø-de

DEM.ENDO-hear SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““I went there, and I heard the pet cock of the Zoró singing.””¹⁷

““Eu fui lá, aí ouvi o galo do Zoró que cantava.””

- (19) ““*Bohb, oya osahrokabi ya*” *iyã*” *de.*

bobh o-ya o-sahrokabi a i-ya Ø-de

ID:run 1SG-NWIT 1SG-swift.under.cover SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““Quickly, I approached, ducking under cover.””

““Eu me aproximei rapidinho, abaixando-me para esconder-me.””

- (20) ““*Ãter oya xixababetâhikin a*” *iyã*” *de.*

ã-ter o-ya xi-sab-abe-tâh-ikin a

DEM.PROX-very 1SG-NWIT 3SG-house-outside-stand-see SFM.NWIT

i-ya Ø-de

3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““Here, I could see their house.””¹⁸

““Aí eu vi a maloca dele.””

¹⁷The Suruí and the Zoró used to raise various kinds of pets – mainly dogs, curassows and guans (turkey-like forest birds of the genera *Mitu*, *Penelope*, and *Pipile*) – and trust them to warn of approaching enemies. According to the Suruí, before contact, the Zoró already bred chickens that they had caught in rubber tapper settlements.

¹⁸The Suruí and Zoró “houses” (*lab*, non-possessed form of *-sab*) were huge, oblong, and vaulted constructions thatched with palm leaves, about 30 meters long and 5 meters high (see Figure 4). Zoró houses, in contrast to Suruí dwellings, had no bark walls but were thatched down to the ground, allowing arrows to be shot through the palm leaves.



Figure 4: A traditional Suruí house, rather small, built in 2005 near Lapetanha (Photo C. Yvinec)

- (21) ““Yeter oytxepo!””

ye-ter oytxepo
DEM.MED-very perfect

““That’s perfect!””

““Ótimo!””

- (22) ““Bohb, oya osahrokabi yã, “Ikaytxer akah ana i?”””

bohb o-ya o-sahrokabi a i-ka-ter a-kah
ID:run 1SG-NWIT 1SG-swift.under.cover SFM.NWIT 3SG-DAT-very 3.REFL-go
a-na i
DEM.PROX-FOC SFM.NDECL

““Quickly, I approached nearer, ducking under cover, and I thought: “So is he staying in this one?”””¹⁹

““Logo me aproximei, abaixado ainda, e pensei: “Será que ele fica nesta?”””

- (23) ““Etiga te tamaawuruya waohwaohwaoh awuruya tamanikesota oğay txar ã” iyã” de.

ee-tiga te ta-ma-awuru-ya waohwaohwaoh awuru-ya
ENDO-SIM ADV 3PL-POSS-dog-NWIT ID:bark dog-NWIT
ta-maniga-e-sor-ta o-ka tar a i-ya
3PL-come.near.to-NMLZ-hard-VBLZ 1SG-DAT PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT

¹⁹The Suruí, and their Indian neighbors as well, frequently left their villages for long treks in the forest, either in search of forest resources or out of fear of enemies.

Ø-*de*

3SG-WIT

““But then: *Woof! Woof! Woof!* Their dog barked and did not let me come nearer to them.””

““Aí, de repente: *Au-au! Au-au! Au-au!* O cachorro dele latiu, não deixando eu me aproximar mais.””

- (24) ““*Atâr oḡay txar ã.*””

a-târ o-ka tar a

3.REFL-fierce 1SG-DAT PRF SFM.NWIT

““It was already barking fiercely at me.””

““Ele já estava brabo comigo, estava latindo demais.””

- (25) ““*Etiga te oya, nem, awurupami tar ã*” *iyã*” *de.*

ee-tiga te o-ya nem awuru-pami tar a i-ya

ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-NWIT INTJ dog-fear PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT

Ø-*de*

3SG-WIT

““And me, well, I was scared of the dog.””

““Aí eu estava com medo do cachorro.””

- (26) ““*Eh méhk palana pagah i!*” *oya tar ã*” *iyã*” *de.*

eh méhk pa-sa-a-na pa-agah i

oh daybreak 1PL.INCL-PROG-DEM.PROX-FOC 1PL.INCL-dawn SFM.NDECL

o-ya tar a i-ya Ø-de

1SG-NWIT PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

“““Oh, I realized, daybreak is coming, isn’t it?”””

“““Oh, eu percebi, já está amanhecendo!”””

- (27) ““*Etiga te oyakah olobḡarmeyka* “*One te ana iwepi ner e, ba,*” *oya ena ikay ã*” *iyã*” *de.*

ee-tiga te o-ya-kah o-sob-karmey-ka one te

ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-NWIT-go 1SG-father-younger.sibling-DAT NEG ADV

a-na iwe-pi²⁰ ter e ba o-ya ee-na

DEM.PROX-FOC DEM.EXO-ABL very SFM.WIT father²¹ 1SG-NWIT ENDO-FOC

i-ka a i-ya Ø-de

3SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

²⁰The phrase *one te ana iwepi*, literally ‘not this way out of that’, means ‘not easy’.

²¹One’s father’s brothers are classificatory “fathers” in the Suruí kinship terminology.

““So I went straight to my father’s younger brother and said to him:
“Father, the situation is not easy.”””

““Então voltei logo para o irmão mais novo de meu pai, aí lhe disse: “Pai,
não é muito fácil.”””

- (28) ““*Iye. “Payahrxid ewaba”, te elaye, paitereykāra ejeka aye ewemiḡa
paitereyitxa iter” olobiya oḡay a” iyā” de.*

iye pa-mayahr-sid e-waba te e-sa-aye
all.right 1PL.INCL-go.away-HORT 2SG-HORT ADV 2SG-PROG-FUT
pa-iter-ey-kāra e-de-ee-ka aye
1PL.INCL-very-PL-retaliate.against 2SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT FUT
ewe-piḡa pa-iter-ey-itxa ter o-sob-ya
DEM.ENDO-seize:worry.about 1PL.INCL-very-PL-with very 1SG-father-NWIT
o-ka a i-ya Ø-de
1SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

“““All right, my father answered, you can say: “Let’s go away.” I am
worried about our people: because of what you did, there will be
retaliations against us.”””

“““Tá bom, disse meu pai, você pode falar assim: “Vamos embora.” Estou
preocupado com o nosso povo: por causa do que você fez, vai ter
represálias contra nossa gente.”””

- (29) ““*Ete awurusena aker òm a, waohwaohwaoh, awurusena atār ā.*””

ee-te awuru-sa-ee-na a-ker òm a
ENDO-ADV dog-PROG-ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-sleep NEG SFM.NWIT
waohwaohwaoh awuru-sa-ee-na a-tār a
ID:bark.in.the.distance dog-PROG-ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-fierce SFM.NWIT

“““And in the distance, the dog had not fallen asleep: *Woof! Woof!* It was
still barking fiercely.”””

“““E lá, o cachorro não adormeceu: *Au-au! Au-au!* Ele ficava brabo.”””

- (30) ““*Etiga te oya “Okahsidlii” oladeka, “Atemareh, ba,” oya olobḡarmeyka yā”
iyā” de.*

ee-tiga te o-ya o-kah-sid-sa-i
ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-NWIT 1SG-go-HORT-PROG-SFM.NDECL

o-sade-ee-ka *a-ter-ma-reh*²² *ba* *o-ya*
 1SG-PROG.SIM-ENDO-DAT DEM.PROX-very-IMP-HORT.PL father 1SG-NWIT
o-sob-karmey-ka *a* *i-ya* *Ø-de*
 1SG-father-younger.sibling-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““But I was already thinking: “I shall go,” and I said to my father’s younger brother: “Wait, father!”””

““Contudo eu já estava pensando: “Vou lá,” e falei para o irmão mais novo do meu pai: “Espere aí, pai!”””

- (31) “““Owena ite te bolakah ãsabtiga yedeiwayka mareh!” oya ikay ã” iyã” de.

o-e-na *ter te* *bo-o-sa-kah* *a-sab-tiga*²³
 1SG-NMLZ-FOC very ADV ADVERS-1SG-PROG-go DEM.PROX-house-SIM
yed-iway-ka *ma-reh* *o-ya* *i-ka* *a* *i-ya*
 REL-master-DAT IMP-HORT.PL 1SG-NWIT 3SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT
Ø-de
 3SG-WIT

“““Let me go and show the master of this house who I am!” I said to him.””²⁴

“““Vou mostrar ao dono desta maloca quem eu sou!” eu lhe disse.””

- (32) ““Bohb, osahr-or.””

bohb *o-sahr-or*
 ID:run 1SG-swift-come

““I approached it quickly.””

““Aproximei-me rapidinho.””

²²This locution is lexicalized as an interjection that means ‘Wait here for me!’ The plural aspect of the hortative suffix *-reh* refers to the multiple wills (those of the addressee and of the speaker) implicated in actions that require individuals to coordinate themselves.

²³The suffix *-tiga* can have a spatial meaning, as well as a temporal one.

²⁴The phrase *ã-sab-tiga yed-iway*, DEM.PROX-house-SIM REL-master, literally translates as ‘the master of the place where this house stands’. This periphrastic expression can be a rhetorical device. However, it is also a way to get round the ambiguity to which the simpler construction *ã-sab-iway*, DEM.PROX-house-master, ‘the master of this house,’ could have given rise: indeed the latter phrase is a lexicalized expression, *labiway*, house-master, that refers to the political status of chief.

- (33) ““Awurusade atār eamaĩ te osahrokabi.””

awuru-sade a-tār ee-amaĩ²⁵ te
 dog-PROG.SIM 3.REFL-fierce ENDO-in.front.of ADV
o-sahrokabi
 1SG-approach.under.cover

““Although the dog was still fierce, I approached under cover.””

““Embora o cachorro estivesse ainda brabo, eu me aproximei abaixado.””

- (34) ““Etiga te xiway añuma okabesahra etiga ee, mihna-ka ana mehkap, ““Nan ariwa awuru maġa?” bola awuruka yā, ya ana mehkapa yā” iyā” de.

ee-tiga te xi-iway añum o-kabe-sahr-a ee-tiga ee
 ENDO-SIM ADV 3SG-master a.little 1SG-stoop-swift-VBLZ ENDO-SIM ENDO
mihna-ka a-na mehkap nan a-ariwa awuru ma-eġa
 door-DAT DEM.PROX-FOC opening Q 3.REFL-be.noisy dog Q-PRS
bo-o-sa awuru-ka a Ø-ya a-na
 ADVERS-1SG-PROG dog-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT²⁶ DEM.PROX-FOC
mehkap-a a i-ya Ø-de
 opening-VBLZ SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““As I was running up stooping, its master half-opened the door and thought about the dog: “What is making the dog bark?”””

““Eu estava correndo curvado, o dono dele entreabriu a porta, e ele pensou sobre o cachorro: “O que está fazendo o cachorro latir?”””

- (35) ““Ah sehr awuru!” olahrikin ajeka, dik, apihnapoga.””

ah sehr awuru o-sahr-ikin a-de-ee-ka dik
 ah ID:look.and.see dog 1SG-swift-see 3.REFL-WIT-ENDO-DAT ID:close
a-mihna-poga
 3.REFL-door-close

“““Ah, I see, dog!” he said as he saw me running up, and: *Slam!* He shut the door.””

“““Ah, estou vendo, cachorro!” ele disse quando me viu correndo para ele, e aí: *Slam!* Fechou a porta.””

²⁵Here the spatial postposition *-amaĩ* has an abstract meaning of concession.

²⁶This phrase shows complex clause embedding used to express thought as inner speech: [[[*Nan ariwa awuru ma-eġa*] *bo-o-sa awuru-ka a*] Ø-ya], ‘[[[What is making the dog bark?] I am saying this (to myself) about the dog] he said this (to himself)].

- (36) ““Turuk, awuruyakahekoy iya iõmaniga ya” iyã” de.
turuk awuru-sa-kah-e-koy i-ya i-õm-a-niga a
 ID:dodge.in dog-PROG-go-NMLZ-to 3SG-NWIT 3SG-NEG-VBLZ-SIM SFM.NWIT
i-ya Ø-de
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““Whoosh! The dog dodged its way in and disappeared inside.””
 ““Whoosh! o cachorro entrou e desapareceu.””
- (37) ““Ahwob, sog, sog omador xixabapa i!””
ahwob sog sog²⁷ o-ma-de-or xi-sab-ma-apa
 ID:blow ID:set.fire ID:set.fire 1SG-PRF.PST-WIT-come 3SG-house-CAUS-burn
i
 SFM.NDECL
 ““But I had come already and: *Puff!* I blew on my torch and: *Whoosh!*
Whoosh! I set fire to his house on both sides!””
 ““Mas eu cheguei já, e: *Puff!* Soprei na minha tocha, e: *Whoosh! Whoosh!*
 Toquei fogo nos dois lados da maloca dele!””
- (38) ““Etiga te etrrrk amauraã oğay ã” iyã” de.
ee-tiga te etrrrk a-ma-ur-maã o-ka a
 ENDO-SIM ADV ID:catching.fire 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 1SG-DAT SFM.NWIT
i-ya Ø-de
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““It immediately caught fire and, inside, they picked up their bows to
 shoot at me.””
 ““A maloca pegou fogo logo, e, dentro, eles pegaram os seus arcos para
 me flechar.””
- (39) “““Oeh, amauraã doğewa i! Æ ãtigareh!” tak, tak, mãeya ñokoy, tak,
 mãeyka, eeerh mamugekoya” iyã” de.
oeh a-ma-ur-maã Ø-de-o-ka-wa i ã
 ah 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 3-WIT-1SG-DAT-HORT SFM.NDECL DEM.PROX

²⁷The repetition of the ideophone conveys the idea that the action was done twice, that is, on both sides of the house (Zoró houses had two doors).

*ã-tiga-reh*²⁸ *tak* *tak* *ma-ey-ya*
 DEM.PROX-SIM-HORT.PL ID:shoot.arrow ID:shoot.arrow other-PL-NWIT
ano-koy *tak* *ma-ey-ka* *eerh*
 DEM.DIST-to ID:shoot.arrow other-PL-DAT ID:mortally.wounded
ma-pug-e-koe-ya *i-ya* *Ø-de*
 INDF-child-NMLZ-voice-NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““““Ah, they are picking up theirs bows to shoot at me! Let’s shoot now!”
 I thought and I shot twice, the enemies moved away, I shot once again,
 and: *Arrh!* A child’s voice cried out as I mortally wounded him.”””

““““Ah, estão procurando os seus arcos para me flechar! Vamos
 flechá-los!” pensei, e flechei duas vezes, os inimigos se afastaram, flechei
 mais uma vez, e aí: *Arrh!* Uma criança gritou, mortalmente ferida.”””

- (40) ““*Maya maã, xitiya mamugpiekoy manáh atar ã*” *iyã*” *de*.

ma-ya *maã xi-ti-ya* *ma-pug-pi-ee-koy*²⁹ *manáh tar*
 other-NWIT take 3SG-mother-NWIT INDF-child-hear-ENDO-to insult PRF
a *i-ya* *Ø-de*
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““““Another had seized his bow already, and because she heard him crying,
 the child’s mother was insulting me.”””³⁰

““““Já um outro inimigo pegou o seu arco e, ao ouvir sua criança gritando,
 a mãe dela me xingou.”””

- (41) ““*Oya etiga te onepotê tedne Ñoxorka tar ã*” *iyã*” *de*.

o-ya *ee-tiga* *te* *o-tepotê* *ted-te* *Ñoxor-ka tar*
 1SG-NWIT ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-shoot.arrow only-ADV Zoró-DAT PRF
a *i-ya* *Ø-de*
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““““But I just kept on shooting arrows at the Zoró.”””

““““Eu fiquei flechando o Zoró.”””

²⁸This phrase that uses a plural hortative suffix (*-reh*) to refer to a highly individual decision and action (shooting one’s arrow at the enemy) is an idiomatic construction. The plural hortative is perhaps motivated because this action requires resoluteness and self-coordination.

²⁹The locution *ee-koy*, ENDO-to, has a causal meaning.

³⁰In combat, just as in most other contexts, insults (*manáh*) scoff at the physical appearance of the addressee, especially at his or her genitals.

- (42) “Eebo oyena *Ĝoxorsabapa yã*” iyã” de.
ee-bo o-ya-ee-na Ĝoxor-sab-ma-apa a
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC Zoró-house-CAUS-burn SFM.NWIT
i-ya Ø-de
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT
 ““Thus I burnt down the Zoró’s house.””
 ““Foi assim que eu queimei a maloca do Zoró.””
- (43) *Eebo omamõperedena ena Ĝoxorka, xameomi ter denene, asobaka dekenene.*
ee-bo o-ma-amõ-pere-de-na ee-na Ĝoxor-ka
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC ENDO-FOC Zoró-DAT
xameomi ter Ø-de-ee-na-ee-na-e a-sob-aka
 much very 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT 3.REFL-father-kill
Ø-de-ee-ka-ee-na-ee-na-e
 3SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT
 ‘My grandfather did this several times to the Zoró, he did it many times,
 because his father had been killed by one of them.’
 ‘Várias vezes meu avô fez isso ao Zoró, muitas vezes, porque aquele tinha
 matado o pai dele.’
- (44) *Oilud ena alaba dena ena maiter ikay e.*
oilud ee-na a-saba Ø-de-ee-na ee-na
 young ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-PROG.PST 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC ENDO-FOC
ma-iter³¹ i-ka e
 other-very 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT
 ‘He was young then, so he did it once again to them.’
 ‘Ele estava moço naquele tempo, aí lhes fez isso mais uma vez.’
- (45) *Ayabmi dena maiter ikay e.*
a-yab-pi Ø-de-ee-na ma-iter i-ka e
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC other-very 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT
 ‘And afterward, he did it once more to them.’
 ‘Aí depois, ele lhe fez isso mais uma vez.’

³¹The locution *ma-iter* (other-very) means ‘more’ or ‘once again’.

- (46) *Ayabmi dena maiter xixabapa, xixabapa tedne iperedena sone.*

a-yab-pi \emptyset -*de-ee-na* *ma-iter*
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC other-very
xi-sab-ma-apa *xi-sab-ma-apa* *ted-te* *i-pere-de-na*
 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3SG-house-CAUS-burn only-ADV 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC
sona-e.
 often-SFM.WIT

‘And afterward, he burnt one their houses down again, several times he just burnt a house down.’

‘Aí depois, ele queimou de novo outra maloca dele, várias vezes ele só queimou uma maloca dele.’

- (47) *Omamõperedene.*

o-ma-amõ-pere-de-na-e
 1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘My grandfather did that again and again.’

‘Meu avô fez isso várias vezes.’

- (48) *“Eebo oyena Ğoxoreaka, xixabapa, olobaka deka yã” olobiyã” olobde.*

ee-bo *o-ya-ee-na* *Ğoxor-e-aka* *xi-sab-ma-apa*
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC Zoró-NMLZ-kill 3SG-house-CAUS-burn
o-sob-aka \emptyset -*de-ee-ka* *ã* *o-sob-ya*
 1SG-father-kill 3SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT SFM.NWIT 1SG-father-NWIT
o-sob-de
 1SG-father-WIT

‘My father said this: “My father said this: “Thus I killed the Zoró, I burnt his house down, because he had killed my father.”’

‘Meu pai falou assim: “Meu pai contou isso: “Foi assim que eu matei o Zoró, queimei a maloca dele, porque ele tinha matada meu pai.”’

- (49) *Ena.*

ee-na
 ENDO-FOC

‘It happened like this.’

‘Aconteceu assim.’

- (50) *Ayabdena iwewá ikay e.*
a-yab-de-ee-na iwe-ewá³² i-ka e
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-WIT-ENDO-FOC DEM.EXO-say 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT
 ‘And he sang to celebrate this event.’
 ‘Aí ele cantou para celebrar este acontecimento.’
- (51) “““Awurutihma mamekoka oğay omamibewētig, wētiga, wētiga ya.”””³³
awuru-tih³⁴-ma ma-meko-ka o-ka o-pami-be-wētiga wētiga
 dog-big-PRF.PST INDF-jaguar-DAT 1SG-DAT 1SG-fear-NMLZ-sound sound
wētiga a³⁵
 sound SFM.NWIT
 “““The big dog sounded its fear of a jaguar, of me it sounded it, sounded
 it, they say.’
 “““O cão grande soou seu medo da onça, de mim ele o soou, o soou, ouvi
 falar isso.’
- (52) “““Awurutihma mamekoka oğay,”””
awuru-tih-ma ma-meko-ka o-ka
 dog-big-PRF.PST INDF-jaguar-DAT 1SG-DAT
 ‘The big dog, of a jaguar, of me,’
 ‘O cão grande, da onça, de mim,’
- (53) “““Oikin nedne loykubeyaawurutihma mamekoka oğay mamibewētig,
 wētiga, wētiga ya.”””
o-ikin ted-te loykub³⁶-ey-ma-awuru-tih-ma ma-meko-ka
 1SG-see only-ADV enemy-PL-POSS-dog-big-PRF.PST INDF-jaguar-DAT
o-ka pami-be-wētiga wētiga wētiga a
 1SG-DAT fear-NMLZ-sound sound sound SFM.NWIT
 ‘Just at seeing me, the big dog of the enemies sounded its fear of a jaguar,

³²Although the verb *-ewá* just means ‘to say’ or ‘to talk’ when it used intransitively (*awewá*, *a-we-ewá*, 3.REFL-REFL-say, ‘they talk to each other’), when it is used transitively, like here, it always implies that the speech is sung.

³³This and the two following lines were sung. Here Agamenon quoted only a sample of the song, which was actually far longer.

³⁴The suffix *-tih* is often used to distinguish mythological or spiritual beings from their ordinary homonyms.

³⁵Non-witnessed evidentiality is an aesthetic rule with which all Suruí sung speeches comply.

³⁶This word is only used in sung speech, instead of the word *lahd*, and always with the plural suffix *-ey*.

of me, sounded it, sounded it, they say.”

‘Ao me ver, o cão grande dos inimigos soou seu medo da onça, de mim, o soou, o soou, ouvi falar isso.’”

- (54) ““Oya iwewá ya” iyã, “ximaawurumaĩ ojehwá yã” iyã, “ena.””

o-ya iwe-ewá a i-ya

1SG-NWIT DEM.EXO-say SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT

xi-ma-awuru-ma-aĩ o-de-ee-ewá a i-ya

3SG-POSS-dog-big-CAUS-go.into 1SG-WIT-ENDO-say SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT

ee-na

ENDO-FOC

‘I sang this, I sang that I made his big dog run in, like this.’”

‘Eu cantei assim, eu cantei que eu fiz que o cão grande dele se esconder dentro da casa, assim.’”

- (55) *Ayabmi maite te.*

a-yab-pi ma-iter te

DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL other-very ADV

‘Afterward, he did it once again.’

‘Depois disso, ele fê-lo de novo.’

- (56) *Ayabmi denena te ena ikãyna alaba ena xixabapa akah Ñoxor ene.*

a-yab-pi Ø-de-ee-na-ee-na te ee-na

DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC ADV ENDO-FOC

i-kãy-na a-saba ee-na xi-sab-ma-apa a-kah

3SG-old-FOC 3.REFL-PROG.PST ENDO-FOC 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3.REFL-go

Ñoxor ee-na-e

Zoró ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘Afterward, he did it, when he grew up, he went and burnt down the Zoró’s house.’

‘Depois, ele o fez, quando ele cresceu, ele se foi queimar a maloca do Zoró.’

- (57) *Ena asobaka eka te iperedena agõarih ikay e.*

ee-na a-sob-aka ee-ka te i-pere-de-na

ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-father-kill ENDO-DAT ADV 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC

*a-agõa-arih*³⁷ *i-ka e*

3.REFL-heart-lazy 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT

‘Thus, because his father had been murdered, he remained merciless toward them.’

‘Assim, porque seu pai tinha sido morto, ele ficou implacável contra aquele.’

- (58) *Eebo dena ikâyna alaba enene, xixabapa akah e.*

ee-bo Ø-de-ee-na i-kây-na a-saba

ENDO-ADVERS 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC 3SG-old-FOC 3.REFL-PROG.PST

ee-na-ee-na-e xi-sab-ma-apa a-kah e

ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3.REFL-go SFM.WIT

‘And he did it again when he grew up, he went and burnt down one of their houses.’

‘Ele o fez de novo quando cresceu, ele foi queimar a maloca daquele.’

- (59) *Eebo dena epi xaka ene.*

ee-bo Ø-de-ee-na ee-pi xi-aka ee-na-e

ENDO-ADVERS 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC ENDO-ABL 3SG-kill ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘And afterward he killed another one.’

‘Aí depois ele matou mais um Zoró.’

- (60) *Xixabapa akah ñorĩ, ete “Xixabapa oğabi ma!” sadena mãeyka, ete epetimağa alaba.*

xi-sab-ma-apa a-kah ñorĩ ee-te xi-sab-ma-apa

3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3SG-go stealthily ENDO-ADV 3SG-house-CAUS-burn

o-kabi ma sade-ee-na ma-ey-ka ee-te ee-petimağa

1SG-BEN IMP PROG.SIM-ENDO-FOC other-PL-DAT ENDO-ADV ENDO-ambush

a-saba

3.REFL-PROG.PST

‘He went away to burn down a Zoró house, he said to a few others: “Burn down their house for me!” and he lay in ambush.’

‘Ele saiu para queimar uma maloca do Zoró, ele falou para outros seus parentes: “Queimem a maloca dele para mim!” e ele ficou emboscado.’

³⁷The word *agõa*, ‘heart’, has physical and emotional meaning. When it is ‘unresponsive’ or ‘lazy’ (*-arih*), it means that one feels no compassion for someone else – which is an attitude that is not always praised, even toward enemies.

- (61) *Eebo “Kaḡoy ena mapāri ma, palodena sona i?” xixabapa adeke, ete yakadena asabalabii soeydekena pāri amauraã yakena madane.*

ee-bo ka-koy ee-na ma-pāri ma
 ENDO-ADVERS Q-to ENDO-FOC INDF-make.noise Q
palo-de-ee-na sona i xi-sab-ma-apa
 someone-WIT-ENDO-FOC often SFM.NDECL 3SG-house-CAUS-burn
sade-ee-ka-e ee-te i-sade-ee-na
 PROG.SIM-ENDO-DAT-SFM.WIT ENDO-ADV 3SG-PROG.SIM-ENDO-FOC
a-sab-alabii so-ey-de-kah-ee-na pāri
 3.REFL-house-burning thing-PL-WIT-go-ENDO-FOC make.noise
a-ma-ur-maã i-sa-ee-na ma-de-ani-e
 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 3SG-PROG-ENDO-FOC INDF-WIT-GNO-SFM.WIT

‘And while the house was burning up, he was watching and wondering: “Where is one making noise, is there someone?” because as one’s house is in flames, one moves things about and makes noise in search of one’s bow.’

‘Aí, quando a maloca estava queimando, ele observava-a pensando: “Onde está quem está fazendo barulho? Será que tem alguém aí dentro?” porque, quando a maloca de alguém está em chamas, este alguém mexe as coisas e faz barulho, procurando seu arco.’

- (62) *“Ātigareh!”, tap, sok, ena xaka ene.*

ā-tiga-reh tap sok ee-na xi-aka
 DEM.PROX-SIM-HORT.PL ID:shoot.arrow ID:hit.target ENDO-FOC 3SG-kill
ee-na-e
 ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

“Let’s shoot now!” he thought, he fired his arrow and hit his target, that’s how he killed each one.’

“Vamos flechar agora mesmo!” ele pensava, ele flechava e atingia o seu alvo, era assim que ele matava aquele.’

- (63) *Ayabmi dena ātiga manopetimaḡa, ātiga manopetimaḡa, ātiga manopetimaḡa, ātiga manopetimaḡa.*

a-yab-pi Ø-de-ee-na ā-tiga
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC DEM.PROX-SIM
ma-ano-petimaḡa ā-tiga ma-ano-petimaḡa
 other-standing.up-ambush DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up-ambush

ã-tiga ma-ano-petimaãã ã-tiga
 DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up-ambush DEM.PROX-SIM
ma-ano-petimaãã
 other-standing.up-ambush

‘And next to him, there was another one standing in ambush, and there another one, and there another one, and there another one.’³⁸

‘E aí perto dele, outro ficava emboscado, e lá mais um, e lá mais um, e lá mais um.’

- (64) *Ete ãtiga manode mapa mokâyĩ, ãtiga mano, pãri dena amauraã yakade, masena, "Ãtigareh!", tap, enike.*

ee-te ã-tiga ma-ano-de mapa mokây-ĩ
 ENDO-ADV DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up-WIT shoot.arrow fire-inside
ã-tiga ma-ano pãri Ø-de-ee-na
 DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up noise 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC
a-ma-ur-maã i-sade ma-sa-ee-na
 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 3SG-PROG.SIM other-PROG-ENDO-FOC
ã-tiga-reh tap ee-na-i-ka-e
 DEM.PROX-SIM-HORT.PL ID:hit.target ENDO-FOC-3SG-DAT-SFM.WIT

‘Then one of them shot an arrow in the fire, and, as someone made noise in search of his bow, another one standing there thought: “Let’s shoot now,” and did it to that one.’

‘Aí um deles flechava no fogo, aí, quando alguém fazia barulho procurando seu arco, outro que ficava lá pensava: “Vamos flechar agora mesmo,” e fazia isso contra aquele.’

- (65) “‘Ete oyena ena yã” iyã” de.

ee-te o-ya-ee-na ee-na ã i-ya Ø-de
 ENDO-ADV 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC ENDO-FOC SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

‘[My father] said: “He said: “So I did it that way.”’

‘[Meu pai] contou isso: “Ele contava: “Foi assim que eu fiz.”’

³⁸Because of the size of their bows, which need to be held vertically, warriors in ambush had to wait standing upright, usually hiding themselves behind a tree trunk.

- (66) “Eebo labdena apa ya” iyã” de, “ewewewayá, Ğoxorsade ana apabiar awerkar anokoy ewenamġa enikay ā’ iyã” de, “ano agaap alap, tap”.”
ee-bo sab-de-ee-na a-apa ã i-ya
 ENDO-ADVERS house-WIT-ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-burn SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT
Ø-de ewewaya Ğoxor-sade a-na a-pabiar
 3SG-WIT ID:burning Zoró-PROG.SIM DEM.PROX-FOC 3.REFL-on.all.fours
a-werkar ano-koy ewe-nam-ka ee-na-i-ka
 3.REFL-walk DEM.DIST-to DEM.ENDO-quantity-DAT ENDO-FOC-3SG-DAT
ã i-ya Ø-de ano a-agaap
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT DEM.DIST 3.REFL-belly-hole
a-alap tap
 3.REFL-stretch.out ID:hit.target
 ““The house was burning up, the Zoró crawled on all fours and stretched out like this, and we shot at them.””³⁹

““A maloca estava queimando, o Zoró rastejando de quatro, assim, e o flechávamos.””

- (67) *Nem, “awai ikay ā’ iyã” de, “eerh!”*
nem a-waĩ i-ka ã i-ya Ø-de eerh
 INTJ 3.REFL-shoot.arrow 3SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT ID:dying
 ““One of us shot one of them, and he was dying.””
 ““Aí um de nós o flechou, e ele ficou morrendo.””

- (68) *Ena omamōdena lahdġa ena mater e.*
ee-na o-ma-amō-de-ee-na lahd-ka
 ENDO-FOC 1SG-POSS-grandfather-WIT-ENDO-FOC Indian.enemy-DAT
ee-na mater e
 ENDO-FOC long.ago SFM.WIT
 ‘That’s the way my grandfather treated the enemy long ago.’
 ‘Foi assim que meu avô tratou o inimigo há muito tempo.’

- (69) *Bo te.*
bo te
 ADVERS ADV
 ‘That’s it.’
 ‘Foi isso.’

³⁹The volume of the house, whose thatched roof burnt away very quickly, allowed the occupants to survive the fire, if they were not shot.

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Non-standard abbreviations

ADVERS	adversative	MED	medial
ENDO	endophoric	NDECL	non-declarative
EXO	exophoric	NWIT	non-witnessed
GNO	gnomic		evidentiality
HORT	hortative	SFM	sentence final marker
ID	ideophone	SIM	simultaneity
INCH	inchoative	VBLZ	verbalizer
ITER	iterative	WIT	witnessed evidentiality

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Chapter 13

Ka'apor

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Wyrapitã Ka'apor

1 Introduction

This narrative concerns an old woman who farted on a boy, making him ill. The title, a synthesis of the narrative, was proposed by Karairan (Raimundo Tembé) on the 4th of August, 2016:

- (1) *a'i ymanihar ke kurumĩ pynu ixo*

aʔi *iman-har-ke* *kurumĩ rehe Ø-pinu i-fɔ*
old.woman formerly-NMLZ-AFC boy at 3-fart 3-be

‘A long time ago, a woman farted on a boy.’

- (2) *aja me'ẽ ke kurumĩ u'ɣ sepetu ixapekwar rupi kutuk*

aja-ẽ-ke *kurumĩ uʔɣ-sepetu i-fape* *kʷar rupi Ø-kutuk*
ANA-NMLZ-AFC boy arrow-spit 3-vagina hole by 3-pierce

‘Afterwards, the boy pierced her through the anus with a wood-tipped arrow.’

The story was narrated by Wyrapitã Ka'apor, who is also known as Jamói, and recorded on the 15th of June 2014 in the village of *Xie pihun rena* (Centro Novo do Maranhão County, in the state of Maranhão). The transcription and analysis of the text were carried out by the storyteller and Gustavo Godoy, while he was conducting field research for his Master's degree in Anthropology (Godoy 2015).



2 The Ka'apor and their languages

The Ka'apor are an eastern Amazonian people who live in the western part of the state of Maranhão. In the 19th century, they lived in the state of Pará and, before 1800, further west in the Tocantins River basin (Balée 1994: 30–32). In 1911, the Brazilian government began the process of pacification of the Ka'apor, who were known for attacking local colonists (Ribeiro 1962); the Ka'apor population in 1928, when so-called pacification was concluded, has been estimated at 5,000 people. The current population in the Upper Turiaçu Indigenous Land is 2,300. Some Ka'apor also live among the Tembé (TUPIAN), in the Alto Guamá Indigenous Land.

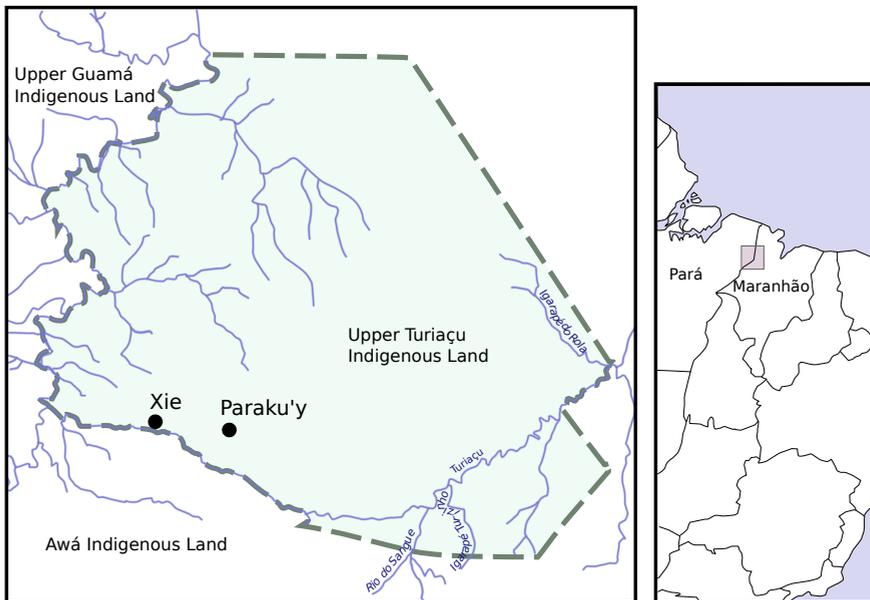


Figure 1: The Upper Turiaçu Indigenous Land and villages mentioned

The Ka'apor language is classified as belonging to the eastern branch of the Tupian family; it is part of the Tupi-Guarani set of the Maweti-Guarani sub-branch. The Ka'apor lexicon (Corrêa-da-Silva 1997; Balée 2006) shows colonial influences through the Língua Geral Amazônica (TUPIAN). Its argument marking is similar to Nheengatu (Corrêa-da-Silva 2002), which descends from Língua Geral.

Spoken Ka'apor is a vital language, actively transmitted between generations. Nonetheless, there has been a decline in the transmission of traditional genres, such as formulaic greetings and some types of songs. The Ka'apor have additionally developed a local sign language for communicating with the deaf, which has been in use since at least the 1940s (Kakumasu & Kakumasu 1988; Ferreira n.d. 1984; 2010).

3 Notes on the narrative

The theme of the narrative presented here is also found among other indigenous peoples. The Bororo (MACRO-JÊ) version tells of the origin of disease and begins with a grandmother farting on her grandson's face after he refused to submit to male initiation. The Kĩsêdjê (JÊ) version deploys a flatulent mother-in-law (Nonato 2016: 1–2). The Kuikuro (UPPER XINGUAN CARIBAN) version is very similar to that of the Kĩsêdjê (Franchetto, recordings and field notes from 1981).

While the Ka'apor and Bororo versions should be considered “serious” narratives, for the Kĩsêdjê and the Kuikuro, the theme of the flatulent mother-in-law is a feature of short and funny (“ugly”) narratives. It is interesting to note the structural correspondences of the relations between the protagonists: a grandmother and grandson for the Bororo; an older woman and young boy for the Ka'apor; a mother-in-law and son-in-law in the Upper Xingu.

In the Ka'apor narrative, the eschatological event is intimately tied to the description of the behaviour of ancient killers, who were submitted to post-homicide seclusion. When the seclusion was over, the killers had to come out during the beer drinking ceremony (a drink made from the fermentation of cashews or manioc flat bread).

The plot involves four characters: a young boy (the protagonist), an elder woman (the antagonist), the youth's brother (co-protagonist) and the war chief (auxiliary). The boy grows increasingly pale (*tawa* ‘yellow’), as the days go by, because of the intestinal gasses (*pĩmu*) that an old woman discharged on him. His brother grows suspicious and makes a small wooden-tipped arrow (*u?ĩ sepetu*) for the sick boy to kill the old woman. Feigning sleep, the boy stabs the arrow into the old woman's anus as she tries to fart on him once again. The malevolent woman soon falls ill and dies. The young boy confesses the homicide to the war chief (*tufa*), who advises him to go into post-homicide seclusion, lying down in his room (*kapi*). Finally, the young killer comes out during the beer drinking ceremony.

The narrative is, in fact, a reminder of this now defunct part of the beer ritual: the coming out of the killer. Furthermore, one of the four characters, the war chief, is a figure of the past.

The beer-drinking ceremony brings to an end the restrictions that fall on those who find themselves in states of susceptibility, such as the killer; its central moment is the naming ritual. In the narrative, the war chief tells the boy that he should come out after the “lifting of the children” (line 34) when the sponsors present the name of a baby. The beverage ritual is here called *akaju rikwer ñã ?u*, “the cashew beer drinking moment” (line 37).



Figure 2: The storyteller Jamói, at the moment when the men ask about the name of his goddaughter (*tajir-aŋa*). Her name, *Nanã akır* ‘unripe pineapple’, is then announced.

The killer would appear in the beer drinking ceremony carrying a pack of arrows. He remained at the place of the ceremony, looking east, immobile and impassive. An old man would go towards him with words of reprobation and revenge: “Hu-Hu-Hu! You attacked your comrade! Now it is you who will be (attacked)! Now I will draw your blood!”

The old man carried a tooth (from a trahira - a fish with a big mouth and sharp teeth - or from a Brazilian squirrel) which he used to scar the killer’s legs (line 42), so as to expel the morbid blood in his body (line 43). This blood contained part of the dead person. Failure to extract it would cause the killer to go mad, affected by the murdered enemy. After scarification, the killer’s vulnerability would come to an end, and he could then leave his room and wander the outside world without any danger (line 45) *pe sərɔka rɛhɛ wata atu i-fɔ tĩ*).

4 Notes on transcription and annotation

The first line of the transcription is orthographic. The Ka'apor system of alphabetic writing is based on the phonemic analysis carried out by Kakumasu (1964); Kakumasu & Kakumasu (1988). Ka'apor has 15 phonemic consonants /p, t, k, k^w, m, n, ŋ, ŋ^w, s, ʃ, j, r, w, h, ʔ/; six phonemic oral vowels /i, ɪ, ε, a, ɔ, u/ and five nasal vowels /ĩ, ê, ã, õ, û/. In the orthography, the graphemes <ng, ' , x, y, e, o> represent IPA /ŋ, ʔ, ʃ, ɪ, ε, ɔ/. The <ái, úi> sequence represent /aj, uj/.

5 A'i ymanhar ke kurumĩ rehe pynu ixo.

'A long time ago, an old woman farted on a boy'

'Muito tempo atrás, uma velha pedou em um menino'¹

- (1) *ta'yn uker ou 'y pytun rahã pame ame'ẽ a'i ai pynu oho ehe je*
taʔm u-k^wεr ʔ²-u ʔɪ pitun rahã pame ameʔẽ aʔi ai
 child 3-sleep 3-lay.down PFV night SR each DEI old.woman roguish
pɪnu³ ɔ-hɔ εhε jε⁴
 fart 3-go 3.at HSY

'Night after night, while a boy was lying (down), it is said that an old roguish woman came to fart on him.'

'Dizem que, noite após noite, quando um menino estava deitado, uma velha escrota peidava em cima dele.'

¹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997433>

²There is no number distinction in the third person prefix, glossed simply as '3'. The allomorph of this prefix in active verbs is *u-*, when the verbal root is monosyllabic and does not contain the vowel /ɔ/. If the monosyllabic root has the vowel /ɔ/, the allomorph *ɔ-* is used. The third person person prefix *ɔ-* with the auxiliary verb *-u* 'to lay down' is an exception to this rule.

³When the verbal root has more than one syllable, no third person prefix is attached to it. In other words, the person mark is a zero allomorph (∅).

⁴Ka'apor does not have a system with several morphemes indexing different sources of the information, as in the grammaticalized evidentials used in Kotiria realis statements (cf. chapter 5 in this volume) or the more complex evidentiality systems of other Tupian languages, such as Kamaurá, Tapirapé, and Karo. The reported evidential *je* 'HSY' (hearsay or reportative modality) is the only evidential morpheme in Ka'apor. *je* does not imply disbelief on the part of the speaker in relation to the content of the mythical narrative, and it occurs in almost all sentences. This contrasts with the sparse occurrence of the quotative reported evidential *-yu'ka* and its pragmatic use in the Kotiria narrative (cf. Footnote 10 of the Kotiria narrative, Chapter 5). Indeed, in Ka'apor mythological narratives, the morpheme *je* codes a diffuse source of information, more like the 'diffuse' evidential *-yu'ti* in Kotiria (cf. Stenzel 2008).

- (2) *pe pytun je tĩ pe pynu oho je tĩ*
pε pitun jε tĩ pε pɪnu ɔ-hɔ jε tĩ
 then night HSY again then fart 3-ho HSY again
 ‘Each night that came, she farted on him again.’
 ‘Outra noite chegava e ela peidava de novo.’
- (3) *taʔyn ukwer ta je tĩ, ko aʔi ihái ke pirok hũ je pe iʔar pe pynu hũ*
taʔɪm u-kʷɛr-ta jε tĩ kɔ aʔi i-haj-kε pɪrɔk-hũ jε
 child 3-sleep-FUT HSY again DEI old.woman 3-skirt-AFC strip-INTENS HSY
pε i-ʔar-pε pɪnu -hũ
 then 3-above-LOC fart -INTENS
 ‘When the boy went to sleep again, the old woman took off her skirt, it is said; then (she) farted on him a lot.’
 ‘O menino ia dormir de novo e a tal velha tirava a sua saia; então, peidava um monte nele.’
- (4) *pynupynu ate ehe je*
pɪnu~pɪnu-atε ehe jε
 fart~RED-INTENS 3.at HSY
 ‘She was really farting a lot on him.’
 ‘Ficava peidando muito mesmo nele.’
- (5) *pe oho je tĩ*
pε ɔ-hɔ jε tĩ
 then 3-go HSY again
 ‘She went again (towards the boy).’
 ‘E ela foi de novo (até o menino).’
- (6) *taʔyn ke itawa imu parahy ahy ipe je*
taʔɪm-kε i-tawa i-mu parahɪ-ahɪ i-pε jε
 child-AFC 3-yellow 3-brother angry-INTENS 3-DAT HSY
 ‘The boy was yellowish (sick), his brother was very angry with him.’
 ‘O menino estava amarelado, seu irmão ficou bravo.’
- (7) “*ne tawa te ne ke ã ne jytyʔym te amõ ʔy*”
nε-tawa-tε nε-kεã nε-jɪtɪʔɪm-tε amõ ʔɪ
 2SG-yellow-INTENS 2SG-AFC 2SG-lazy-INTENS another PFV
 “‘You are yellowish and very lazy too.’”
 “‘Você está amarelado e está preguiçoso também.’”

- (8) *pandu 'ym anu ta'yn je tĩ*
pandu-ʔim~anu taʔim je tĩ
 tell-NEG~RED child HSY again
 'The boy didn't say anything.'
 'O menino não contava.'
- (9) *pe pytun je tĩ, pe a'i [...] pytun pyter pe je*
pe pitun je tĩ pe aʔi [...] pitun piter-pe je
 so night HSY again so old.woman [...] night middle-LOC HSY
 'Another night, the old ... [hesitation] in the middle of the night.'
 'Então, de noite, novamente, então, a velha ... [hesitação] era no meio da noite.'
- (10) *pe a'i ihon ixo je 'y*
pe aʔi i-hɔn i-ʃɔ je ʔi
 then old.woman 3-go 3-AUX HSY PFV
 'Then the old woman went (towards the boy).'
 'Então a velha foi (até o menino).'
- (11) *pe ihái ke musyryk je, pe ta'yn ukwer atu je Pũũũ! japũi rehe pynu je*
pe i-haj-ke mu-sɪɪk je pe taʔim u-k^wer-atu je pũũũ
 then 3-skirt-AFC CAUS-strip HSY then child 3-sleep-INTENS HSY IDEO
i-apũi rehe pinu je
 3-nose LOC fart HSY
 'So, (she) she raised her own skirt, the child was sleeping deeply: *Puum!*
 She farted in his nose.'
 'Ela levantou a saia, o menino estava dormindo bem: *Puum!* Ela peidou no nariz dele.'
- (12) *pe ... pe wera uwyr tĩ, pe imu panu ipe "myja ne xoha tĩ"*
pe pe wera uwɪr tĩ pe i-mu panu i-pe mɪja ne-ʃɔ-ha
 then then light come again then 3-brother tell 3-DAT Q 2SG-be-NMLZ
tĩ
 again
 'So ... so the light (of the morning) came again, and his brother said:
 "What's wrong with you?"'
 'Amanheceu de novo e o irmão perguntou: "O que está errado com você?"'

- (13) “*epandu ihẽ pe rahã*”, *pe imu pandu*, “*xe amõ a’i ihẽ rehe pynu ixo tĩ*”
 “*pytun rahã pame ihẽ rehe pynu*” *je*; “*a’erehe ihẽ ke atawa tã*”
ε-pandu ihẽ-pe rahã pe i-mu panu je amõ aʔi
 2SG.IMP-tell 1SG-DAT HORT so 3-brother tell DEI another old.woman
ihẽ-rehe pinu i-ʃõ tĩ pytun rahã pame ihẽ-rehe pinu je aʔε-rehe
 1SG-LOC fart 3-be again night SR each 1SG-LOC fart HSY 3-about
ihẽ-kε a-tawa taj
 1SG-AFC 1SG-yellow INTENS
 ‘‘Talk to me!’’ and his brother said: ‘‘The old woman is farting on me;
 every night she farts on me! That’s why I’m turning yellow.’’
 ‘‘Conte para mim!’’ e o irmão respondeu: ‘‘A velha está peidando em mim;
 todas as noites! Por isso estou amarelando.’’
- (14) *pe imu ... u’y ra’yur mujã ipe je, u’y sepetu, yrapar ra’yur*
pe i-mu uʔi raʔur mujã i-pe je uʔi sepetu irapar raʔur
 so 3-brother arrow small make 3-DAT HSY arrow spit bow small
 ‘Then, his brother ... made a small arrow with a tip of wood and a small
 bow for him.’
 ‘Então, o irmão ... fez uma flechinha para ele com ponta de madeira e um
 pequeno arco.’
- (15) *pe ko[me’ẽ] ... pe “ejingo rahã kÿ” aja ipe je*
pe ko[meʔẽ] pe ε-jingõ rahã kÿ aja i-pe je
 so th(is) so 2SG.IMP-shoot HORT Kÿ⁵ ANA 3-DAT HSY
 ‘So this ... so ‘‘Shoot!’’ he said to him.’
 ‘Então ... ‘‘Flecha!’’ assim disse (o irmão) para ele.’
- (16) *pe taʔyn ukwer uwyr je tĩ, pytun rahã*
pe taʔm u-kʷεr uwır je tĩ pytun rahã
 so child 3-sleep come HSY again noite SR
 ‘The boy went to sleep again, at night.’
 ‘O menino foi dormir de novo, de noite.’
- (17) *pe a’i ai tur je tĩ*
pe aʔi ai tur je tĩ
 so old.woman rogue come HSY again
 ‘The old woman came again.’
 ‘A velha chegou novamente.’

⁵Kakumasu & Kakumasu (1988) translate the morpheme *kÿ* as ‘definitive intention’.

- (18) *pe sa'e a'i ihái, xirur ke pirok hũ je ihai ai ke*
pe saʔe aʔi i-haj firur-ke pirok-hũ je i-haj ai je
 so guy old.woman 3-skirt short-AFC strip-INTENS HSY 3-skirt bad HSY
 'So he ... the old woman raised her own old skirt, her pants.'
 'Aí ele ... a velha levantou sua saia, sua calça, levantou alto, a sua saia surrada.'
- (19) *xape ai jumupirar te'e xoty je*
i-fape ai ju-mu-pirar teʔe i-foti je
 3-anus bad REFL-CAUS-open free 3-towards HSY
 'Her disgusting asshole opened towards the boy.'
 'Seu cu nojento abriu muito na direção do menino.'
- (20) *pe sa'e u'y ke hykíi je Sõõ xape kwar rupi ate jingo mondo je a'i ai ahem*
ate oho je
pe saʔe uʔi-ke hikij je Sõõ fape kʷar rupi ate jingɔ mɔnɔ je
 so guy arrow-AFC pull HSY IDEO anus hole in INTENS shoot throw HSY
aʔi ai ahem ate ɔ-hɔ je
 old.woman roguish scream INTENS 3-go HSY
 'So, he took the arrow and Sõõ! he shot it into her asshole, the arrow was stuck in her asshole. The nasty old woman screamed a lot.'
 'Então, ele armou a flecha Sõõ! flechou bem no buraco de seu cu e a (velha) ficou com a flecha encravada. A velha foi gritando muito.'
- (21) *pe a'i ai pynu 'ym je 'y amõ ku'em rahã sa'e ... amõ wera uwyr je 'y*
pe aʔi ai pinu ʔim je ʔi amõ kuʔem rahã saʔe
 so old.woman roguish fart NEG HSY PFV another morning SR guy
amõ wera uwir je ʔi
 another light come HSY PFV
 'Then, the old woman didn't fart anymore; the next morning ... Another day came.'
 'Então a velha não peidou mais, na outra manhã ... Chegou outro dia.'
- (22) *pe pytun oho tĩ; a'i ju...ju... juwyr 'ym oho pytun rahã*
pe pitun ɔhɔ tĩ aʔi ju...ju... juwir ʔim ɔhɔ pitun rahã
 so night 3-go again old.woman [hesitation] return NEG 3-go night SR
 'So, night came again; [hesitation] the old woman didn't return.'

‘Veio a noite novamente; [hesitação] a velha não voltou, quando foi a noite novamente.’

- (23) *pe ... pe atu u'y ipi'a kwar [rupi]⁶ upen u'am 'y*
pe pe atu uʔi i-piʔa k^war [rupi] upen uʔam ʔi
 so so INTENS arrow 3-vagina hole [by] broke AUX.vertical PFV
 ‘So ... So, the arrow broke in her vagina.’
 ‘Então ... Então, a flecha quebrou no buraco da vagina dela.’
- (24) *amõ ukwer rahã a'i ame'ẽ a'i ke ma'e ahy je 'y*
amõ u-k^wer rahã aʔi ameʔẽ aʔi-ke maʔe-ahɪ je
 another 3-sleep SR old.woman ANA old.woman-AFC sickness HSY
 ʔi
 PFV
 ‘The next day, that old woman got sick.’
 ‘No outro dia, a velha, aquela velha, adoeceu.’
- (25) *pe sawa'e, ame'ẽ ta'ynuhu ukwa je*
pe sawaʔe ameʔẽ taʔin-uhu u-k^wa je
 so man ANA child-INTENS 3-know HSY
 ‘That young boy already knew.’
 ‘Aquele homem, aquele menino sabia.’
- (26) *“pe'ẽ a'i ihẽ rehe pynu ixo riki ã, ame'ẽ pytun rahã”*
peʔẽ aʔi ihẽ rehe pɪnu i-ʃo rikiã ameʔẽ pɪtun rahã
 DEI old.woman 1SG in fart 3-be emphasis ANA night SR
 ‘‘That old woman was farting on me that night.’’
 ‘‘Aquele velha estava peidando em mim aquela noite.’’
- (27) *sa'e ke pe tuiha ke*
saʔe-ke pe tuj-ha-ke
 guy-AFC DEI stay-NMLZ-AFC
 ‘There was the boy.’
 ‘Ali estava o menino.’

⁶Not performed in speech, but indicated in the analysis.

- (28) *yman te pe a'i ke manõ je 'y*
iman-te pe a?i-ke manõ je
 lately-INTENS so old.woman-AFC die HSY
 'Later, the old woman died.'
 'Passou um tempo, a velha morreu.'
- (29) *pe ame'ẽ ta'yn tuxa pe pandu je*
pe ame?ẽ ta?in tufa-pe panu je
 so ANA child chief-DAT tell HSY
 'Then, the child talked to the chief.'
 'Então aquele menino falou para o tuxaua:'
- (30) "ihẽ ame'ẽ a'i ke ajukwa"
ihẽ ame?ẽ a?i-ke a-juk^wa
 1SG ANA old.woman-AFC 1SG-kill
 "I killed that old woman."
 "Eu matei aquela velha."
- (31) *pe tuxa aja ipe je*
pe tufa aja i-pe je
 so chief DEI 3-DAT HSY
 'So, the warrior chief said to him.'
 'E o tuxaua assim falou para ele:'
- (32) "kawĩ, ta'ynta jahupir rahã, epandu kÿ hetaha pe"
kawĩ ta?in-ta ja-hupir rahã ε-panu kĩ heta-ha-pe
 beer child-PL 1PL-lift SR 2SG.IMP-tell kĩ many-NMLZ-DAT
 "Beer, when we will lift the children, talk to the people."
 "Cauim, quando levantamos as crianças, fale para o grupo."
- (33) "apo kapy pe te'e eju rĩ"
apɔ kapɪ-pe tɛ?ɛ ε-ju rĩ
 now room-LOC Tɛ?ɛ 2SG.IMP-lay.down IPFV
 "Now, go off to your room."
 "Agora, vá deitar no teu quarto."

- (34) *pe sa'e kapy pe túi je*
pe saʔε kapɪ-pe tuj jε
so guy room-LOC stay HSY
'He stayed in the room (in seclusion).'
'Ele ficou no quarto (em reclusão).'
- (35) *pe ... akaju rykwer ngã'u je 'y, pe sa'e uhem je 'y*
pe akaju ɾɪk^{wε}ɾ ηã⁷-ʔu jε ʔɪ pe saʔε u-hεm jε ʔɪ
so cashew juice 3PL-ingest HSY PFV so guy 3-exit HSY PFV
'Then ... Later, after they drank cashew beer, he came out.'
'Então ... Depois deles beberem o cauim do caju, ele saiu.'
- (36) *kapy ngi uhem*
kapɪ ĩ u-hεm
room ABL 3-exit
'He left the seclusion room.'
'Ele saiu do quarto de reclusão.'
- (37) *kujã ta ke upa mupinim*
kujã-ta-kε upa mu-pinim
mulher-PL-AFC all CAUS-painted
'All the women were painted.'
'Todas as mulheres foram pintadas.'
- (38) *aja rahã sa'e a'e uhem ta'ynuhu, ta'ynuhu je*
aja rahã saʔε aʔε u-hεm taʔɪn-uhu taʔɪnuhu jε
ANA SR guy 3 3-exit child-INTENS child-INTENS HSY
'At this moment, the young man left the room.'
'Foi neste o momento que o jovem saiu da reclusão.'
- (39) *ma'e... huwy ke*
maʔε huwɪ-kε
hesitation blood-AFC
'And ... The blood ...'
'Ee ... Sangue ...'

⁷Although there is no distinction between plural and singular in the third person prefix, Ka'apor has the free pronoun *ηã* to index third person plural.

- (40) *upa tymã mu'i huwy ke upa muhãi je*
upa tymã mu?i huwɪ-ke upa muhãj jε
 all leg scarify blood-AFC all disperse HSY
 'The lower part of his legs was scarified; the (bad) blood was totally dispersed.'
 'A parte de baixo de suas pernas foram escarificada; todo o sangue (ruim) foi retirado.'
- (41) *huwy ahyha ke, a'i ruwy ke ame'ēja saka je*
huwɪ aɦɪ-ha-ke a?i ruwɪ-ke amε?ε-ja saka je
 blood pain-NMLZ-AFC old.woman blood-AFC DEI-ANA like HSY
 'The evil and toxic blood, it was as if it were the blood of the old woman.'
 'O sangue insalubre e mórbido, era como se fosse o sangue da velha.'
- (42) *pe ... aja rahã katu je tĩ*
pε aja rahã katu je tĩ
 so ANA SR good HSY again
 'So ... In this way he became well again.'
 'Então ... deste jeito o jovem ficou bom.'
- (43) *pe soroka rehe wata atu ixo tĩ*
pε sɔɾɔka rεhε wata atu i-ʃɔ tĩ
 so outside by walk good 3-be again
 'And he was able to walk outside again.'
 'E ele pode andar de novo tranquilamente do lado de fora.'

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Non-standard abbreviations

AFC	affected	HSY	hearsay, reported evidential
ANA	anaphora or cataphora	IDEO	ideophone
DEI	deixis	INTENS	intensifier
HORT	hortative	SR	subordinator

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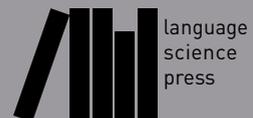
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