Chapter 2

Kuikuro

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Ájahi 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> /ɨ/, <j> /j/, <g> /ʀ/ (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
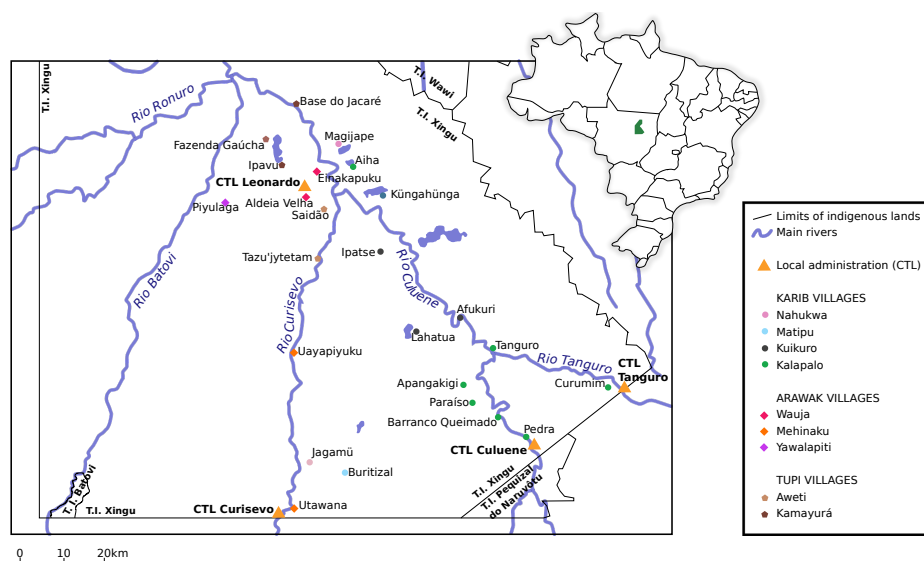
Figure 2: Villages of the Upper Xingu people, Xingu Indigenous Land.

region as the homeland of the Kuikuros' ancestors. This region was occupied by Carib groups who had travelled from the west of the Rio Culuene, 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 itaõ '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. *Tajühe* 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 personnage: *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 ɴᴛᴍ ("nominal tense marker"), as in *kakisükope* (*k-aki-sü-ko-pe*, 1.2-word-ᴘᴏss-ᴘʟ-ɴᴛᴍ), 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-mugu-ko*, 2-son-ᴘʟ), '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'

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[1]Recordings 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-ngaka[2] 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'

---

[2]The 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 ihombundão*[4] *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 ijimo*[5] *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'

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[3]The 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.

[4]This word could be the result of: *hombe(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.

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

(14) *anhü apa tuhipe kunhigake ouünko tuhipe*

    anhü apa   tuhi-pe   ku-ng-ingi-gake[6]   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) *ouünko tuhipe kunhigake ika kigeke*

    o-uüN-ko   tuhi-pe   ku-ng[7]-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'

---

[6] The 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).

[7] The 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
    ITJ 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-tuhi[8]-püa[9]-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 uãke nügü iheke*

    ige   inhamba-lü-i-la   tinika u-limo   uüN etsuje-nügü uãke
    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'

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

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

(22) *ige inhambangatüingi hõhõ ataiti uãke ulimo uün heke*

     ige   inhamba-nga-tüingi hõhõ ataiti uãke 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 uãke tünhope heke*[10]

     i-heke   uãke 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 isotünkgitsagü*

     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'

---

[10]See 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)"'
     '"Vou 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=sube[11]
     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 fense'
    'Na direção dela acompanhando a cerca (da roça) por dentro'

(36) *aka nügü iheke uãki eitsako nügü iheke*

    aka nügü i-heke uã-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) *ehẽ nügü iheke einilundako kahegei*

    ehẽ 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'

---

[12]To 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 hõhõ ihüsoho telü leha anha telü leha*[13]

    e-te-lü   hõhõ 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)'

---

[13]As explained by the Kuikuro speakers, when someone says "*etelü hõhõ*" (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 tünkgülü ihanügü iheke*[14]

    üle-pe   leha   umm igia=taka t-ünkgü-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'

---

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

[15]In 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 ingügijüi leha hüle iheke*

    inhalü[16] *leha   ingügi-jü-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) *uhunügü leha iheke*

    uhu-nügü   leha   i-heke
    know-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG

    'She (the woman) already knew'
    'Ela (a mulher) já sabia'

(61) *lepe leha isinügü*

    üle-pe leha   is-i-nügü
    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 uünko telüingo haguna aminga*

    aminga   akatsange e-limo   uüN-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"'

---

[16]Kuikuro 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 isünkgüpügü atai*

     üle-pe   leha   igia is-ünkgü-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 uünko 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 hõhõ ehekeni*

   ingi-gokomi   hõhõ 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 uünko 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 uünko 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 isünkgülüingo igeitaka*

    ige-i=taka   is-ünkgü-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'

---

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

(91) *ande akatsege elimo uünko 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 kohõtsige utehesundagü ige nügü iheke*

ilá   kohõtsige   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 1.2[21]-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 ẽgipügati leha inhügü*

    anha engübeha tanginhü-gü   ẽgipügati   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 inginügü 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'

---

[22]Only 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 ogo*[23] *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) *timbuku*[24] *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) *ĩtsüi kuiginhu*[25] *hagatepügü*

 ĩtsüi kuiginhu hagate-pügü
 lot cassava.flour store-PRF

 'There was a lot of cassava flour stored there'
 'Tinha muito polvilho armazenado'

(123) *anha inhangoha kaküngi tsügüha anha inhango*

 anha inhango=ha kaküngi 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'

---

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

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

[25]The 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-tagü[26] *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) *túhagu*[27] *ingete anha kitagü üngahingo*[28] *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

---

[26]Literally, '(she) was making (her) unknown'.

[27]In 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.

[28]The 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 uigiholotogu*[29] *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 tetunetohongoi 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 elükugigatühügü 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) *tahisügi*[30] *ekubekuletüha anha itu hugogo*[31] *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'

---

[30]The 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 hü*[32] *aikobeha inhomo etimbelü*

      hü hü hü ai-ko-be=ha   i-nho-mo[33]   *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) *etihüïtsüe etihüïtsüe*

      et-ihüĩ-tsüe   et-ihüĩ-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)

---

[32]The fishermen shout as they approach the village.

[33]The 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 ketikaĩtsó*

    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) *ketikaĩtsó 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-tüngi
    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 ẽnügü pokü*

    ẽ-nüN-ko   *leha*   *i-hinhano-ko*   *ẽ-nügü*   *pokü*[34]
    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*'

---

[34]Ideophone 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) *inhakagüki*[35] *hegei ütepügüko totsonkgitohokoki*

     inhakagü-ki=ha ege-i   ü-te-pügü-ko t-ot-konkgi-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 ugupo*[36]

     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 ẽnünkgo*

     ai=tü=ha   ẽ-nüN-ko
     then=UNCR=HA enter-PNCT-PL

     'Then, they entered'
     'Então, eles entraram'

(164) *ihinhanoko hotugui tüẽdinhüi*

     i-hinhano-ko   hotugu-i tü-ẽ-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'

---

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

[36]*Ájahi* 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 ngisoi*

    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) *üẽnünkgo leha*

    ü-ẽ-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) *tãuguila letüha titaginhu imbüa geleha ihüsoho heke apenügü*

    tãuguila   üle=tü=ha   t-itaginhu   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'

    'Aquela 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 hum[39] *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'

---

[39]At 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 annatoo   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'

---

[40]The 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 tuãka kigeke tuãka*

  igia   unkgu kigeke   tuãka   kigeke   tuãka
  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 tüẽgikini*

  ese   heke inhakagü ige-lü   ese   heke inhakagü ige-lü
  3.PROX ERG soap   carry-PNCT 3.PROX ERG soap   carry-PNCT
  tü-ẽgiki-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*'

---

[41]When 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 tüenkgügükope 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'

---

[42]The 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 hõhõ ugikegü*

  i-ta[43]*-tüe   papa hõho 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 tüilü 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-gü[44]
  fetid   3-smell-POSS

  'Quite stinky, her smell'
  'Bastante fétido, o cheiro dela'

---

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

[44]After 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.bread[45]-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 ẽgiki tatute tülimo ugutelü iheke*[46]

    iku-gu-ko   ẽgiki 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 chidren'
    '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 ẽgiki[47]

    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   ẽgiki
    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 ütelüko*

    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 ẽgipügati*[48]

      tanginhü ẽgipügati

      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)   *kegetimükeĩtó atsange kegetimükeĩtó atsange*

    keg-et-imükeĩ-tó   atsange keg-et-imükeĩ-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 utimükeītai*

   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 (daugther-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)   *kegetimükeītó 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 eastava falando a verdade mesmo" (a
   sogra disse)'

---

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

(227)   *isünkgülü aküngiduingo ale hegei*[50]

    is-ünkgü-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 uünko etsote elimo uünko itajotelüingola ehekeni*

    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)   *itaginkgügikümingola nügü hõhõ i-heke*

    itagi-nkgügi-kü-mingo-la   nügü hõhõ 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 hokugeŭ hokugeŭ hokugeŭ itigiha*

    üngele akatsange ekise   te-nga-lü   heke hokugeŭ   hokugeŭ
    3.LOG   INT   3.DIST go-HAB-PNCT ERG pauraque pauraque

    hokugeŭ   itigi=ha
    pauraque 3.FIN=HA

    '"It is he who always goes seeking (and saying): hokugeŭ[51], hokugeŭ, hokugeŭ"'
    '"É ele mesmo que sempre anda buscando (dizendo): "hokugeŭ,hokugeŭ, hokugeŭ"'

---

[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. *hokugeŭ*, 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 daugther-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 hokugeũ*

    ingi-tühügü-ko atai   leha   kohotsi   ko ko hokugeũ
    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 itsuhünkginügü*[52] *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 uãke*[53] *eheke egei*

     e-hi-gü-isi   ingi-tühügü i-tsagü   nika uãke   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) *uhupüngekela*[54] *hüle egei uãke tisitsagü*

     uhu-püngekela hüle ege-i   uãke   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] *Uãke*, 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.

[54] We 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 hõhõ ehigüsi heke*

     e-hi-nhão   inkguki-tai atai=nipa hõhõ 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 uünko 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 isünkgülü hata isünkgülü hata*

    ehe üle-pe-i   ige-i   ige-i   is-ünkgü-lü hata is-ünkgü-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 uẽtigi leha*

     tü-eN-ti   *tsürürü gitsi-toho*   *atati uẽ-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 pok*[57] *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) *aiha*[58]

    aiha
    done

    'Ready'
    'Pronto'

---

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

[58]The 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*!'

Acknowledgments

Non-standard abbreviations

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

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