Chapter 3

Kalapalo

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Ageu Kalapalo

Jeika Kalapalo

Ugise Kalapalo

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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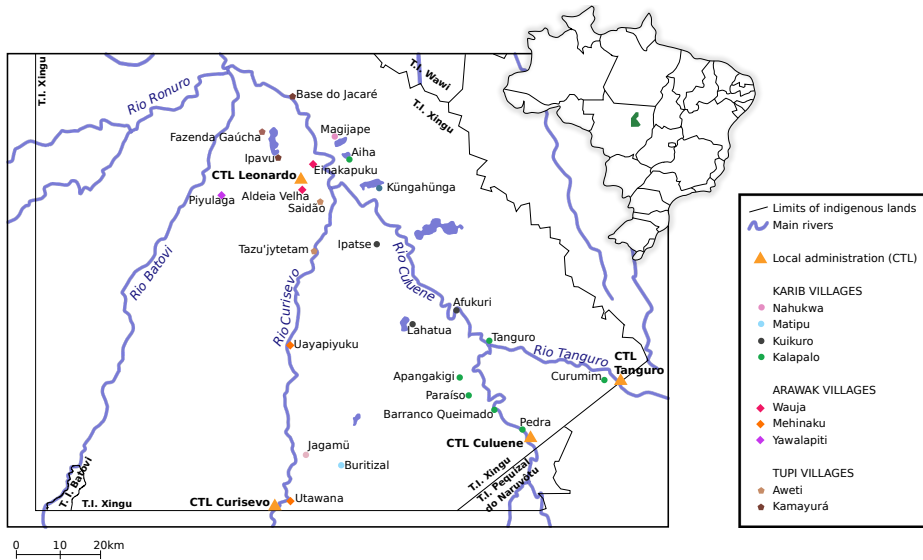

Figure 1: Upper Xingu villages, southern area of the Xingu Indigenous Land

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

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

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

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

2 *Kamagisa etsutühügü*

'*Kamagisa* sang for the first time'
'*Kamagisa* cantou pela primeira vez'[2]

(1) *ihaũ̃ heke onta*

     i-haũ̃   heke on-ta
     3-cousin ERG repudiate-DUR

     'His cousin was repudiating him.'

     'A prima dele o estava rejeitando.'

(2) *indzahatohoi indzahatohoi itsa*

     i-ndzaha-toho-i   i-ndzaha-toho-i   i-tsa
     3-fiancée-INS-COP 3-fiancée-INS-COP to.be-DUR

     'His fiancée, she was his fiancée.'

     'Sua noiva, ela era sua noiva.'

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

(3) *ah indisüi ijogu indisü*

   ah   0-indi-sü-i   i-jo-gu   0-indi-sü
   EXPL 3-daughter-POSS-COP 3-mother's.brother-POSS 3-daughter-POSS

   'Ah, she was his daughter, his mother's brother's daughter.'

   'Ah, ela era filha dele, filha do irmão de sua mãe.'

(4) *Kamagisa haũha ihaũ*

   Kamagisa haũ-ha   i-haũ
   Kamagisa cousin-HA[3] 3-cousin

   '*Kamagisa's* own cousin, his cousin.'

   'A própria prima de *Kamagisa*, sua prima.'

(5) *ülepe hale egei*

   üle-pe   hale ege-i
   LOG-NTM CNTR DIST-COP

   'Because of that …'

   'Por causa disso …'

(6) *onta leha iheke tsuẽ ekugu onta iheke*

   on-ta   leha   i-heke tsuẽ ekugu on-ta   i-heke
   repudiate-DUR COMPL 3-ERG a.lot true   repudiate-DUR 3-ERG

   'She was repudiating him, she was truely repudiating him a lot.'

   'Ela o estava rejeitando, ela o estava rejeitando demais.'

(7) *ihitsü heke*

   i-hitsü heke
   3-wife ERG

   'His wife did it.'

   'Sua esposa o fez.'

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

(8) *ihaũ hekeha*

    i-haũ   heke-ha

    3-cousin ERG-HA

    'His cousin did so.'

    'Sua prima fez assim.'

(9) *inhalü etengalü embege etengalü inhalü*

    inhalü e-te-nga-lü   embege   e-te-nga-lü   inhalü

    NEG   3-go-HAB-PNCT tentatively 3-go-HAB-PNCT NEG

    'Nothing, in vain he used to go after her; he used to go after her, and nothing.'

    'Nada, ele tentava ir atrás dela em vão; ele tentava ir atrás dela, e nada.'

(10) *onta leha iheke leha*

    on-ta   leha   i-heke leha

    repudiate-DUR COMPL 3-ERG COMPL

    'She would readily repudiate him.'

    'Ela prontamente o rejeitava.'

(11) *üle hinhe leha etijakilü leha*

    üle   hinhe leha   et-ija-ki-lü   leha

    LOG PURP   COMPL 3.DTR-hammock's.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL

    'Because of that, he untied the ropes of his hammock.'

    'Por causa disso, ele desamarrou as cordas de sua rede.'

(12) *apokinenügü iheke leha tühitsü apokinenügü*

    apoki-ne-nügü   i-heke leha   tü-hitsü   apoki-ne-nügü

    drop-VBLZ-PNCT 3-ERG COMPL REFL-wife drop-VBLZ-PNCT

    'He left her, he left his own wife.'

    'Ele a deixou, ele deixou sua própria esposa.'

(13) *apokinenügü leha iheke*

    apoki-ne-nügü   leha   i-heke

    drop-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG

    'He soon left her.'

    'Ele logo a deixou.'

(14)   *üle ineke hale egei*

    üle   ineke hale   ege-i
    LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP

    'Because that made him sad …'

    'Porque aquilo o deixou triste …'

(15)   *üle ineke hale egei tingunkgingu ineke Kakakugu heke sijatitselü eke heke beha*

    üle   ineke hale   ege-i   t-ingunkgingu ineke Kakakugu heke
    LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP REFL-thought PURP Kakakugu ERG

    s-ijati-tse-lü   eke   heke be-ha
    3-offer-VBLZ-PNCT snake ERG AUG-HA

    '… because that made him sad, because his thoughts made him sad, *Kakakugu* made him an offer, a big snake did so.'

    '… porque aquilo o deixou triste, porque seus pensamentos o deixaram triste, *Kakakugu* fez uma oferta a ele, uma grande cobra o fez.'

(16)   *eke helei Kakakugui*

    eke   h-ele-i   Kakakugu-i
    snake HA-3.DIST-COP Kakakugu-COP

    'He is a snake, *Kakakugu*.'

    'Ele é uma cobra, *Kakakugu*.'

(17)   *ahütü kuge hüngü*

    ahütü kuge   hüngü
    NEG   human NEG

    'He is not human.'

    'Ele não é humano.'

(18)   *itseke beja*

    itseke beja
    spirit EP

    'A spirit, indeed.'

    'Um espírito, de fato.'

(19) *itseke*

     itseke

     spirit

     'A spirit.'

     'Um espírito.'

(20) *itseke*

     itseke

     spirit

     'A spirit.'

     'Um espírito.'

(21) *jatsi jatsi jasu nügü iheke*

     jatsi jatsi jasu   nügü i-heke

     poor poor pitiful PNCT 3-ERG

     '"Poor me, poor me, pitiful me," he [*Kamagisa*] said.'

     '"Pobre de mim, pobre de mim, que pena de mim," ele [*Kamagisa*] disse.'

(22) *uonlü nika iheke nügü iheke*

     u-on-lü   nika i-heke nügü i-heke

     1-repudiate-PNCT EP   3-ERG PNCT 3-ERG

     '"Is it true that she rejected me?" he said.'

     '"Será verdade que ela me rejeitou?" ele disse.'

(23) *üle hinhe hale egei inhaha sinügü*

     üle   hinhe hale ege-i   0-inha-ha s-i-nügü

     LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP 3-to-HA   3-come-PNCT

     'Because of that he came to him.'

     'Por causa disso ele veio até ele.'

(24) *Kakakugu suũ enügüha*

     Kakakugu s-uũ   e-nügü-ha

     Kakakugu 3-father come-PNCT-HA

     '*Kakakugu*, her [*Kamagisa's* future wife] father, came.'

     '*Kakakugu*, o pai dela [da futura esposa de *Kamagisa*], veio.'

(25) *suũha tetinhü inha*

s-uũ-ha   t-e-ti-nhü   0-inha
3-father-ʜᴀ ʀᴇꜰʟ-come-ᴘᴛᴄᴘ-ɴᴀɴᴍʟᴢ 3-to

'Her father is the one who came to him.'

'O pai dela é quem veio até ele.'

(26) *suũ enügü*

s-uũ   e-nügü
3-father come-ᴘɴᴄᴛ

'Her father came.'

'O pai dela veio.'

(27) *ülepe*

üle-pe
ʟᴏɢ-ɴᴛᴍ

'Then ...'

'Então ...'

(28) *aiha*

aiha
done

'... done.'

'... pronto.'

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

ingila-be   lahale ingila itseke hisuũ-gü gele uk-enü-bata   ege-i
before-ᴀᴜɢ ᴄɴᴛʀ   before spirit kin-ᴘᴏꜱꜱ ᴀᴅᴠ ᴅᴜ-stay-ᴛᴇᴍᴘ ᴅɪꜱᴛ-ᴄᴏᴘ

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

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

(30) *ülepe*

üle-pe
ʟᴏɢ-ɴᴛᴍ

'Then ...'

'Então ...'

(31) *sinügü*
    s-i-nügü
    3-come-PNCT
    '... he came.'
    '... ele veio.'

(32) *Kamagisa inha etelü*
    Kamagisa inha e-te-lü
    Kamagisa to   3-go-PNCT
    'He went to *Kamagisa*.'
    'Ele foi até *Kamagisa*.'

(33) *ihumita hegei tindisü inha*
    i-humi-ta h-ege-i   t-indi-sü   inha
    3-send-DUR HA-DIST-COP REFL-daughter-POSS to
    'He was sending him to his daughter.'
    'Ele o estava enviando para sua filha.'

(34) *ẽ tindisü inha*
    ẽ   t-indi-sü   inha
    AFF REFL-daughter-POSS to
    'Yes, to his daughter.'
    'Sim, para sua filha.'

(35) *ülepe*
    üle-pe
    LOG-NTM
    'Then ...'
    'Então ...'

(36) *aiha*
    aiha
    done
    '... done.'
    '... pronto.'

(37) *igelü leha iheke leha*

    ige-lü   leha   i-heke leha
    take-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG COMPL
    'He soon took him.'
    'Ele logo o levou.'

(38) *Kamagisa hogijü iheke leha*

    Kamagisa hogi-jü   i-heke leha
    Kamagisa find-PNCT 3-ERG COMPL
    'He had already found *Kamagisa*.'
    'Ele já havia encontrado *Kamagisa*.'

(39) *kuge bejetsa atühügü leha*

    kuge   be-jetsa atühügü leha
    human AUG-EV become COMPL
    'He had already become just like a person.'
    'Ele já havia se tornado exatamente como uma pessoa.'

(40) *eke atühügü kugei leha*

    eke   atühügü kuge-i   leha
    snake become human-COP COMPL
    'The snake had already become a person.'
    'A cobra já havia se tornado uma pessoa.'

(41) *hm eingadzu inha etete nügü iheke*

    hm   e-ingadzu inha e-te-te   nügü i-heke
    EXPL 2SG-sister to   2SG-go-IMP PNCT 3-ERG
    'Hm, "Go to your sister," he said.'
    'Hm, "Vá para sua irmã," ele disse.'

(42) *eingadzu inha kete nügü iheke*

    e-ingadzu inha k-e-te   nügü i-heke
    2SG-sister to   DU-go-IMP PNCT 3-ERG
    '"Let's go to your sister," he said.'
    '"Vamos para sua irmã," ele disse.'

(43)   *üngele kilüha*
       üngele ki-lü-ha
       3.LOG   say-PNCT-HA
       'That one said so.'
       'Aquele é quem disse isso.'

(44)   *Kakakugu kilüha*
       Kakakugu ki-lü-ha
       Kakakugu say-PNCT-HA
       '*Kakakugu* said so.'
       '*Kakakugu* disse isso.'

(45)   *suũ kilüha*
       s-uũ   ki-lü-ha
       3-father say-PNCT-HA
       'Her father said so.'
       'O pai dela disse isso.'

(46)   *ēhē nügü iheke*
       ēhē nügü i-heke
       AFF PNCT 3-ERG
       '"Yes," he answered.'
       '"Sim," ele respondeu.'

(47)   *ēhē nügü iheke*
       ēhē nügü iheke
       AFF PNCT 3-ERG
       '"Yes," he answered.'
       '"Sim," ele respondeu.'

(48)   *ngukuagi tsügüha inhüngü tadüponhokokinhü igia*
       ngukuagi   tsügüha iN-üngü t-adüponhoko-ki-nhü   igia
       cerrado.palm EP   3-home REFL-small.mound-INS-NANMLZ this.way
       'It seems that his house is a small *cerrado* palm called *ngukuagi*, that
       stands on a small mound like this.'

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

(49) *uge uũpe kita ũãke*

    uge uũ-pe   ki-ta   ũãke
    1   father-NTM say-DUR EV.PST

    'My deceased father used to say:'

    'Meu finado pai costumava dizer:'

(50) *Kakakugu üngü hegei*

    Kakakugu üngü h-ege-i
    Kakakugu home HA-DIST-COP

    '"That's *Kakakugu's* house."'

    '"Aquela é a casa de *Kakakugu*."'

(51) *inhüngü hegei*

    iN-üngü h-egei-i
    3-house HA-DIST-COP

    'That's his house.'

    'Aquela é a casa dele.'

(52) *inhüngü*

    iN-üngü
    3-house

    'His house.'

    'A casa dele.'

(53) *üle hujati*

    üle huja-ti
    LOG midst-ALL

    'Into the middle of that …'

    'Para o meio daquilo …'

(54) *ah etelü leha*

    ah   e-te-lü   leha
    EXPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL
    '... ah, he readily went!'
    '... ah, ele foi prontamente!'

(55) *ngukuagi*

    ngukuagi
    cerrado.palm
    'Into the small *cerrado* palm.'
    'Para dentro da pequena palmeira do cerrado.'

(56) *ẽ inhüngü hegei Kakakugu*

    ẽ   iN-üngü h-egei-i   Kakakugu
    AFF 3-home HA-DIST-COP Kakakugu
    'Yes, that's his house, *Kakakugu's* house.'
    'Sim, aquela é a casa dele, a casa de *Kakakugu.*'

(57) *ülepe*

    üle-pe
    LOG-NTM
    'Then ...'
    'Então ...'

(58) *aiha*

    aiha
    done
    '... done'
    '... pronto'

(59) *ah tindisü tuponga leha ijatelü leha iheke*

    ah   t-indi-sü   t-upo-nga   leha
    EXPL REFL-daughter-POSS REFL-above-ALL COMPL
    ija-te-lü   leha   i-heke
    hammock's.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
    'Ah, he then tied his hammock just over his daughter's.'
    'Ah, então ele amarrou sua rede logo acima da de sua filha.'

(60) *ijatelü leha*

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

    'Tied his hammock.'

    'Amarrou sua rede.'

(61) *sangagübe teh ah sangatepügü*

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

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

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

(62) *indisüha*

    0-indi-sü-ha
    3-daughter-POSS-HA

    'His daughter was.'

    'A filha dele estava.'

(63) *indisü angatepügü*

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

    'His daughter was painted with *genipapo*.'

    'A filha dele estava pintada com jenipapo.'

(64) *ülepe leha*

    üle-pe   *leha*
    LOG-NTM COMPL

    'Just after that …'

    'Logo depois disso …'

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

(65) *ah ihitsüi leha itsa leha*

    ah   i-hitsü leha i-tsa   leha
    EXPL 3-wife COMPL to.be-DUR COMPL

    '… ah, she was already his wife.'

    '… ah, ela já era sua esposa.'

(66) *ihitsüi leha*

    i-hitsü-i   leha
    3-wife-COP COMPL

    'Already his wife.'

    'Já era sua esposa.'

(67) *ihitsüi leha itsa leha*

    i-hitsü-i   leha i-tsa   leha
    3-wife-COP COMPL to.be-DUR COMPL

    'She was already his wife.'

    'Ela já era sua esposa.'

(68) *aiha*

    aiha
    done

    'Done.'

    'Pronto.'

(69) *ingati beja inhalü ikungalü leha iheke leha*

    ingati   beja i-nha-lü   iku-nga-lü   leha i-heke
    lie.together EP   to.be-HAB-PNCT to.have.sex-HAB-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG
    leha
    COMPL

    'He always lay with her in his hammock, and he always had sex with her.'

    'Ele sempre se deitava com ela em sua rede, e ele sempre fazia sexo com ela.'

(70)   *ikungalü beja iheke leha*

    iku-nga-lü   *beja i-heke leha*

    to.have.sex-HAB-PNCT EP   3-ERG COMPL

    'He always really had sex with her.'

    'Ele realmente sempre fazia sexo com ela.'

(71)   *ah ngikona tüilü iheke*

    ah   *ngiko-na t-üi-lü*   *i-heke*

    EXPL thing-EP REFL-make-PNCT 3-ERG

    'Ah, who knows how he did it ...'

    'Ah, quem sabe como ele fazia isso ...'

(72)   *aiha*

    aiha

    done

    'Done.'

    'Pronto.'

(73)   *sakihata iheke tita gisüki*

    s-aki-ha-ta   *i-heke tita*   *gi-sü-ki*

    3-word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS

    'He was teaching him ... with songs of mortuary effigies.'

    'Ele o estava ensinando ... com cantos de efígies mortuárias.'

(74)   *tita gisüki*

    tita   *gi-sü-ki*

    mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS

    'Songs of mortuary effigies.'

    'Cantos de efígies mortuárias.'

(75)   *tita gisüki ah sakihata iheke*

    tita   *gi-sü-ki*   *ah s-aki-ha-ta*   *i-heke*

    mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS EXPL 3-word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

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

    'Com cantos de efígies mortuárias... ah, ele o estava ensinando.'

(76) *Kakakugu heke*

    Kakakugu heke

    Kakakugu ERG

    '*Kakakugu* was.'

    '*Kakakugu* estava ensinando.'

(77) *ah tindisü ngiso akihata iheke*

    ah   t-indi-sü   ngiso   aki-ha-ta   i-heke

    EXPL REFL-daughter-POSS husband word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

    'Ah, he was teaching his daughter's husband.'

    'Ah, ele estava ensinando o marido de sua filha.'

(78) *akihata iheke*

    aki-ha-ta   i-heke

    word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

    'He was teaching.'

    'Ele estava ensinando.'

(79) *akihata iheke*

    aki-ha-ta   i-heke

    word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

    'He was teaching.'

    'Ele estava ensinando.'

(80) *etelü hõhõ tüti inha*

    e-te-lü   hõhõ tü-ti   inha

    3-go-PNCT EMPH REFL-mother DAT

    'He went to visit his mother for a while.'

    'Ele foi visitar sua mãe por um tempo.'

(81) *tüti inha hõhõ sinügü Kamagisa enügü*

    tü-ti   inha hõhõ s-i-nügü   Kamagisa e-nügü

    REFL-mother DAT EMPH 3-come-PNCT Kamagisa come-PNCT

    '*Kamagisa* came to visit his mother for a while.'

    '*Kamagisa* veio visitar sua mãe por um tempo.'

(82)   *tüti inha*

      tü-ti   inha
      REFL-mother DAT

      'To his mother.'

      'Até sua mãe.'

(83)   *ihitsü ike leha*

      i-hitsü ike   leha
      3-wife with COMPL

      'With his wife.'

      'Com sua esposa.'

(84)   *ihitsü*

      i-hitsü
      3-wife

      'His wife.'

      'Sua esposa.'

(85)   *tünho akuã leha teta leha*

      tü-nho   akuã   leha   te-ta   leha
      REFL-husband shadow COMPL go-DUR COMPL

      'She was walking right behind her husband, like his shadow.'

      'Ela ia andando logo atrás de seu marido, como sua sombra.'

(86)   *inde giti atani etimbelüko*

      inde giti atani et-imbe-lü-ko
      here sun TEMP 3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL

      'When the sun was here, they arrived.'

      'Quando o sol estava nessa posição, eles chegaram.'

(87)   *etimbelüko*

      et-imbe-lü-ko
      3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL

      'They arrived.'

      'Eles chegaram.'

(88) *totomonaha*
      t-oto-mo-na-ha
      REFL-kin-PL-ALL-HA
      'To his kin.'
      'Nos seus parentes.'

(89) *totomo*
      t-oto-mo
      REFL-kin-PL
      'His kin.'
      'Seus parentes.'

(90) *tetuna beja*
      t-etu-na   beja
      REFL-village-ALL EP
      'To his own village, indeed.'
      'Para sua própria aldeia, de fato.'

(91) *Kamagisa etu leha*
      Kamagisa etu   leha
      Kamagisa village COMPL
      'They were already at *Kamagisa*'s village.'
      'Eles já estavam na aldeia de *Kamagisa*.'

(92) *Kamagisa etuna etimbelüko*
      Kamagisa etu-na   et-imbe-lü-ko
      Kamagisa village-ALL 3.DTR-come-PNCT-PL
      'They arrived at *Kamagisa*'s village.'
      'Eles chegaram na aldeia de *Kamagisa*.'

(93) *atibe Kamagisa enta nügü iheke*
      atibe Kamagisa e-nta   nügü i-heke
      ITJ   Kamagisa come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG
      '"There he comes, *Kamagisa*," they said.'
      '"Lá vem ele, *Kamagisa*," disseram.'

(94)   *inhalü ihitsü ingilüi ihametijaõ heke*

      inhalü i-hitsü ingi-lü-i   i-hameti-jaõ   heke

      NEG   3-wife see-PNCT-COP 3-sister.in.law-PL ERG

      'His wife could not be seen by her sisters-in-law.'

      'Sua esposa não podia ser vista pelas cunhadas dela.'

(95)   *inhalü ingilü ihekeni*

      inhalü ingi-lü   i-heke-ni

      NEG   see-PNCT 3-ERG-PL

      'They didn't see her.'

      'Elas não a viam.'

(96)   *uendeha ike eteta*

      uende-ha ike   e-te-ta

      there-HA 3.with 3-go-DUR

      'But she was there, she was going with him.'

      'Mas ela estava lá, ela estava andando com ele.'

(97)   *ike eteta*

      ike   e-te-ta

      3.with 3-go-DUR

      'She was going with him.'

      'Ela estava andando com ele.'

(98)   *ihitsü tetaha*

      i-hitsü te-ta-ha

      3-wife go-PNCT-HA

      'His wife was going.'

      'Sua esposa estava andando.'

(99)   *ülepe*

      üle-pe

      LOG-NTM

      'Then …'

      'Então …'

(100)   *etimbelüko*

    et-imbe-lü-ko

    3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL

    '… they arrived.'

    '… eles chegaram.'

(101)   *ahametigüko akongo aketsugei nügü iheke tingajomo heke*

    a-hameti-gü-ko   ako-ngo   akets=uge-i nügü i-heke t-ingajomo

    2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL with-NMLZ EV=1-COP   PNCT 3-ERG REFL-sisters

    heke

    ERG

    '"I'm in the company of your sister-in-law," he said to his sisters.'

    '"Eu estou acompanhado de sua cunhada," ele disse para suas irmãs.'

(102)   *ahametigüko akongo aketsugei*

    a-hameti-gü-ko   ako-ngo   akets=uge-i

    2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL with-NMLZ EV=1-COP

    '"I'm in the company of your sister-in-law."'

    '"Eu estou acompanhado de sua cunhada."'

(103)   *itaginhitüe tsüha ahametigüko nügü iheke*

    itaginhi-tüe tsüha a-hameti-gü-ko   nügü i-heke

    greet-IMP.PL EP   2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL PNCT 3-ERG

    '"You may greet your sister-in-law," he said.'

    '"Vocês podem cumprimentar sua cunhada," ele disse.'

(104)   *ẽ uhitseke geleha*

    ẽ   uhitseke gele-ha

    AFF in.vain   ADV-HA

    '"Ok," they said in vain.'

    '"Tudo bem," elas disseram à toa.'

(105)   *amago nika nügü ngapa iheke*

    amago nika nügü ngapa i-heke

    2PL   EP   PNCT EP   3-ERG

    '"Are you really here?" they may have said.'

    '"Você está mesmo aí?" talvez elas tenham dito.'

(106)   *shhh ekei bele itüinjü iheke*

      shhh eke-i   bele itüin-jü   i-heke
      IDEO snake-COP CU answer-PNCT 3-ERG
      '"*Shhh*" - she answered in the snake's language.'
      '"*Shhh*" - ela respondeu na língua das cobras.'

(107)   *üngele hekeha*

      üngele heke-ha
      3.LOG ERG-HA
      'That one did so.'
      'Ela fez isso.'

(108)   *ihametigüko heke*

      i-hameti-gü-ko   heke
      3-sister.in.law-POSS-PL ERG
      'Their sister-in-law did.'
      'A cunhada delas fez.'

(109)   *Kakakugu indisü hekeha*

      Kakakugu indi-sü   heke-ha
      Kakakugu daughter-POSS ERG-HA
      '*Kakakugu's* daughter did so.'
      'A filha de *Kakakugu* fez isso.'

(110)   *shhh ah nügü iheke*

      shhh ah   nügü i-heke
      IDEO EXPL PNCT 3-ERG
      '"*Shhh*," ah, she said!'
      '"*Shhh*," ah, ela disse!'

(111)   *aiha*

      aiha
      done
      'Done.'
      'Pronto.'

(112) *ah tihü hakilü hale iheke*

     ah   t-ihü   haki-lü   hale i-heke

     EXPL REFL-body reveal-PNCT CNTR 3-ERG

     'Ah, and then she revealed her body.'

     'Ah, e então ela revelou seu corpo.'

(113) *atsakilü lahale atütüi*

     a-tsaki-lü   lahale atütü-i

     3-appear-PNCT CNTR   beautiful-COP

     'She appeared beautiful.'

     'Ela apareceu muito bonita.'

(114) *hm atsakilü leha*

     hm a-tsaki-lü   leha

     EXPL 3-appear-PNCT COMPL

     'Hm, she appeared.'

     'Hm, ela apareceu.'

(115) *atsakilü leha*

     a-tsaki-lü   leha

     3-appear-PNCT COMPL

     'She appeared.'

     'Ela apareceu.'

(116) *kogetsi*

     kogetsi

     tomorrow

     'The next day …'

     'No dia seguinte …'

(117) *etinga inhalüko unditü ukugahipügü*

     etinga   i-nha-lü-ko   unditü   ukugahi-pügü

     lie.on.hammock be-HAB-PNCT-PL long.hair hang.dowards-PFV

     'When they lay down together, her hair was hanging downwards.'

     'Quando eles se deitaram juntos, o cabelo dela estava pendurado em direção ao chão.'

(118) *ande leha ihametijaõ heke ingingalü leha*

     ande leha   i-hameti-jaõ   heke ingi-nga-lü   leha
     now COMPL 3-sister.in.law-PL ERG see-HAB-PNCT COMPL

     'Now her sisters-in-law could already see her.'

     'Agora suas cunhadas já podiam vê-la.'

(119) *ihametijaõ*

     i-hameti-jaõ
     3-sister.in.law-PL

     'Her sisters-in-law.'

     'Suas cunhadas.'

(120) *aiha*

     aiha
     done

     'Done.'

     'Pronto.'

(121) *ülepe sinünkgo leha tetuna beha*

     üle-pe   s-i-nü-nkgo   leha   t-etu-na   beha
     LOG-NTM 3-come-PNCT-PL COMPL REFL-village-ALL EV

     'Then, they came back to their village.'

     'Então, eles voltaram para sua aldeia.'

(122) *tseta leha ihütisoho heke sakihata*

     tseta leha   i-hüti-soho   heke s-aki-ha-ta
     there COMPL 3-shame-INS ERG 3-word-VBLZ-DUR

     'There, his father-in-law was teaching him.'

     'Lá, seu sogro o estava ensinando.'

(123) *igeki beha*

     ige-ki   beha
     PROX-INS EV

     'About this.'

     'Sobre isso.'

(124)   *tita gisüki*

      tita   gi-sü-ki
      mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS
      'About the songs of mortuary effigies.'
      'Sobre os cantos de efígies mortuárias.'

(125)   *tita gisüki*

      tita   gisü-ki
      mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS
      'About the songs of mortuary effigies.'
      'Sobre os cantos de efígies mortuárias.'

(126)   *aiha etsuhukilü leha inha leha*

      aiha etsuhuki-lü leha   0-inha leha
      done finish-PNCT COMPL 3-DAT COMPL
      'Done, it was finished for him.'
      'Pronto, estava tudo concluído para ele.'

(127)   *hm untsi nügü iheke*

      hm   untsi   nügü i-heke
      EXPL uterine.nephew PNCT 3-ERG
      '"Hm, nephew," he said.'
      '"Hm, sobrinho," ele disse.'

(128)   *etsuke hetsange hõhõ ihakitomi eheke nügü iheke*

      etsu-ke   hetsange hõhõ i-haki-tomi   e-heke nügü i-heke
      debut-IMP HORT   EMPH 3-reveal-PURP 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
      '"You may sing for the first time, to reveal your songs," he said.'
      '"Você pode estrear, para revelar seus cantos," ele disse.'

(129)   *nügü iheke*

      nügü i-heke
      PNCT 3-ERG
      'He said.'
      'Ele disse.'

(130) *ihütisoho kilü*

i-hüti-soho   ki-lü
3-shame-INS say-PNCT
'His father-in-law said.'
'Seu sogro disse.'

(131) *Kakakugu kilü beha*

Kakakugu ki-lü   beha
Kakakugu say-PNCT EV
'*Kakakugu* said that.'
'*Kakakugu* disse isso.'

(132) *etsuke hetsange hõhõ ah ihakitomi eheke nügü iheke*

etsu-ke   hetsange hõhõ ah   i-haki-tomi   e-heke nügü i-heke
debut-IMP HORT   EMPH EXPL 3-reveal-PURP 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG
'"You may now sing for the first time, ah, to reveal them," he said.'
'"Você agora pode estrear, ah, para revelá-los," ele disse.'

(133) *ihakitomi nügü iheke*

i-haki-tomi   nügü i-heke
3-reveal-PURP PNCT 3-ERG
'"To reveal them," he said.'
'"Para revelá-los," ele disse.'

(134) *ah nügü iheke*

ah   nügü i-heke
EXPL PNCT 3-ERG
'"Ah," he said.'
'"Ah," ele disse.'

(135) *nügü iheke Kamagisa heke*

nügü i-heke Kamagisa heke
PNCT 3-ERG Kamagisa ERG
'He said to *Kamagisa*.'
'Ele disse para *Kamagisa*.'

(136) *atütüi beja itsalü leha iheke leha*

 atütü-i   *beja i-tsa-lü*   *leha*   *i-heke leha*
 beautiful-COP EP   3-hear-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG COMPL

 'He had already listened to it really well.'

 'Ele já os havia escutado muito bem.'

(137) *itsalü leha atütüui ekugu leha*

 i-tsa-lü   *leha*   *atütü-i*   *ekugu leha*
 3-hear-PNCT COMPL beautiful-COP true   COMPL

 'He listened to it really well.'

 'Ele os havia escutado muito bem.'

(138) *ülepe etimbelü tetuna*

 üle-pe   *et-imbe-lü*   *t-etu-na*
 LOG-NTM 2.DTR-come-PNCT REFL-village-ALL

 'Then he arrived in his village.'

 'Então ele chegou em sua aldeia.'

(139) *tikongoingo akihalü hõhõ iheke*

 t-iko-ngo-ingo   *aki-ha-lü*   *hõhõ i-heke*
 REFL-with-NMLZ-FUT word-VBLZ-PNCT EMPH 3-ERG

 'First he taught the one who was going to be his singing companion.'

 'Primeiro ele ensinou aquele que seria seu companheiro de canto.'

(140) *ah tikongoingo akihalü engü beja otohongoingo beja iginhundote*

 ah   *t-iko-ngo-ingo*   *aki-ha-lü*   *engü beja otohongo-ingo*
 EXPL REFL-with-NMLZ-FUT word-VBLZ-PNCT CON   EP   other.similar-FUT
 beja igi-nhun-dote
 EP   song-VBLZ-ADV

 'Ah, he taught the one who was going to be his companion, his other, when he was to sing.'

 'Ah, ele ensinou aquele que seria seu companheiro, seu outro, quando ele fosse cantar.'

(141) *otohongoingo tsüha*

      otohongo-ingo   tsüha
      other.similar-FUT EV.UNCR

      'That one who would be his companion.'

      'Aquele que seria seu companheiro.'

(142) *üngele akihalü hõhõ iheke*

      üngele aki-ha-lü   hõhõ i-heke
      3.LOG   word-VBLZ-PNCT EMPH 3SG-ERG

      'First he taught him.'

      'Primeiro ele o ensinou.'

(143) *üngele akihalü.*

      üngele aki-ha-lü
      3.LOG   word-VBLZ-PNCT

      'Taught him.'

      'O ensinou.'

(144) *aiha etükilü*

      aiha etüki-lü
      done complete-PNCT

      'Done, it was complete.'

      'Pronto, estava completo.'

(145) *etükilü leha inha*

      etüki-lü   leha   0-inha
      complete-PNCT COMPL 3-DAT

      'It was complete for him.'

      'Estava completo para ele.'

(146) *otohongo inha*

      otohongo   inha
      other.similar DAT

      'For his companion.'

      'Para seu companheiro.'

(147) *osiha*

   osi-ha
   HORT-HA
   '"Let's go."'
   '"Vamos lá."'

(148) *osiha ai hale tüti heke nügü iheke*

   osi-ha   ai   hale tü-ti   heke nügü i-heke
   HORT-HA PURP CNTR REFL-mother ERG PNCT 3-ERG
   '"Let's go," and then he said to his mother:'
   '"Vamos lá," e então ele disse para sua mãe:'

(149) *ama*

   ama
   mother
   '"Mother."'
   '"Mãe."'

(150) *ah kupuke hõhõ nügü iheke*

   ah   k-upu-ke   hõhõ nügü i-heke
   EXPL DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EMPH PNCT 3-ERG
   '"Ah, make our image," he said.'
   '"Ah, faça nossa imagem," ele disse.'

(151) *ah kupuke hõhõ nügü iheke*

   ah   k-upu-ke   hõhõ nügü i-heke
   EXPL DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EMPH PNCT 3-ERG
   '"Ah, make our image," he said.'
   '"Ah, faça nossa imagem," ele disse.'

(152) *kupuke ah nügü baha iheke*

   k-upu-ke   ah   nügü baha i-heke
   DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EXPL PNCT EV   3-ERG
   '"Make our image," ah, that's what he said.'
   '"Faça nossa imagem," ah, isso é o que ele disse.'

(153) *ẽhẽ nügü iheke*

      ẽhẽ nügü i-heke

      AFF PNCT 3-ERG

      '"Yes," she said.'

      '"Sim," ela disse.'

(154) *isi heke tsüle togokige ihenügü togokibe bahale*

      isi   heke tsüle togokige ihe-nügü   togoki-be   bahale

      mother ERG EP   cotton   spin-PNCT cotton-AUG ADV

      'Then his mother spun cotton, a lot of cotton.'

      'Então sua mãe fiou algodão, muito algodão.'

(155) *igia kugube sueletu sagagebe otohongo*

      igia   kugu-be s-uele-tu   s-agage-be otohongo

      this.way true-AUG 3-girth-POSS 3-alike-AUG other.similar

      'A roll was this big, and another one also had the same size.'

      'Um rolo era grande desse jeito, e um outro tinha o mesmo tamanho.'

(156) *tita etikoguingo hegei*

      tita   etiko-gu-ingo h-ege-i

      mortuary.effigy belt-POSS-FUT HA-DIST-COP

      'This is what would become the effigy's belt.'

      'Isso é o que se tornaria o cinto da efígie.'

(157) *ege hungu jetsa inke tsapa akago heke tüita*

      ege hungu jetsa in-ke   tsapa akago heke t-üi-ta

      DIST similar EV   see-IMP EP   3PL   ERG REFL-make-DUR

      'Like those, look those they are making.'[5]

      'Como aqueles, veja aqueles que eles estão fazendo.'

(158) *üle hunguingo hegei*

      üle hungu-ingo h-ege-i

      LOG similar-FUT HA-DIST-COP

      'It was meant to be like those.'

      'Era pra ser como aqueles.'

---

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

(159)   *üle hunguingo hegei*
        üle   hungu-ingo h-ege-i
        LOG similar-FUT HA-DIST-COP
        'It was meant to be like those.'
        'Era pra ser como aqueles.'

(160)   *isi ngihetanümi*
        isi   ng-ihe-ta-nümi
        mother LOG-spin-DUR-PNCT.COP
        'What his mother was spinning.'
        'O que sua mãe estava fiando.'

(161)   *isi ngihetanümi togokigeha*
        isi   ng-ihe-ta-nümi   togokige-ha
        mother LOG-spin-DUR-PNCT.COP cotton-HA
        'The cotton his mother was spinning.'
        'O algodão que sua mãe estava fiando.'

(162)   *aiha*
        aiha
        done
        'Done.'
        'Pronto.'

(163)   *togokige etükilü*
        togokige etüki-lü
        cotton   complete-PNCT
        'The cotton was ready.'
        'O algodão estava pronto.'

(164)   *osiha*
        osi-ha
        HORT-HA
        '"Let's go."'
        '"Vamos lá."'

(165) *aibeha*
       aibeha
       done
       'Done.'
       'Pronto.'

(166) *tita ikenügü ihekeni*
       tita   ike-nügü   i-heke-ni
       mortuary.effigy to.cut-PNCT 3-ERG-PL
       'They cut down a log for an effigy.'
       'Eles derrubaram uma tora para fazer uma efígie.'

(167) *tita ikenügü leha ihekeni*
       tita   ike-nügü   leha   i-heke-ni
       mortuary.effigy to.cut-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL
       'They had already cut down a log for an effigy.'
       'Eles já tinham derrubado uma tora para fazer uma efígie.'

(168) *ületoho*
       üle-toho
       LOG-INS
       'To do that.'
       'Para fazer isso.'

(169) *tühutoho hegei*
       tü-hu-toho   h-ege-i
       REFL-imitation-INS HA-DIST-COP
       'That was his image.'
       'Aquela era sua imagem.'

(170) *agetsiha agetsi tita*
       agetsi-ha agetsi tita
       one-HA   one   mortuary.effigy
       'There was only one, one effigy.'
       'Havia apenas uma, uma única efígie.'

(171) *ülepea higei ah titabe ige tüingalü higei*

      üle-pe-a   *h-ige-i*   *ah* *tita-be*   *ige*
      LOG-NTM-CAUS HA-PROX-COP EXPL mortuary.effigy-AUG PROX

      t-üi-nga-lü   *h-ege-i*
      REFL-make-HAB-PNCT HA-DIST-COP

      'It's since this that we have been making effigies.'

      'É desde então que nós temos feito efígies.'

(172) *ülepeaha*

      üle-pe-a=ha
      LOG-NTM-as=HA

      'Since this.'

      'Desde então.'

(173) *aiha*

      aiha
      done

      'Done.'

      'Pronto.'

(174) *ülepebe*

      üle-pe-be
      LOG-NTM-AUG

      'Then.'

      'Então.'

(175) *ah inhegikaginenügü bele iheke*

      ah *inh-egikagi-ne-nügü*   *bele i-heke*
      EXPL 3-sing.closely-VBLZ-PNCT CU 3-ERG

      'Ah, he sang behind the effigy.'

      'Ah, ele cantou atrás da efígie.'

(176) *angi taka kangaki etelüko inhalü hungube*

      angi taka kanga-ki e-te-lü-ko   *inhalü hungu-be*
      INT ADV fish-INS 3-go-PNCT-PL NEG   similar-AUG

      'Did they go fishing? It doesn't seem so …'

      'Será que eles foram pescar? Não parece que foram …'

(177) *ẽ kangaki muke etelüko*

      ẽ   kanga-ki muke e-te-lü-ko

      AFF fish-INS ADV 3-go-PNCT-PL

      'Yes, they must have gone fishing.'

      'Sim, eles devem ter ido pescar.'

(178) *kangaki hõhõ etelüko*

      kanga-ki hõhõ e-te-lü-ko

      fish-INS   EMPH 2-go-PNCT-PL

      'First they went fishing.'

      'Primeiro eles foram pescar.'

(179) *ah ületohokibe*

      ah   üle-toho-ki-be

      EXPL LOG-INS-INS-AUG

      'Ah, to do so.'

      'Ah, para fazer isso.'

(180) *inhalü ihagitoguiha inhalü*

      inhalü i-hagito-gu-i-ha   inhalü

      NEG   3-guest-POSS-COP-HA NEG

      'He didn't have guests, no.'

      'Ele não tinha convidados, não.'

(181) *etsuta hale egea hale egei*

      etsu-ta   hale egea   hale ege-i

      debut-DUR CNTR like.that CNTR DIST-COP

      'He was just singing for the first time.'

      'Ele estava apenas estreando.'

(182) *hm etsuta*

      hm etsu-ta

      EXPL debut-DUR

      'Hm, he was singing for the first time.'

      'Hm, ele estava estreando.'

(183) *aiha*

    aiha
    done
    'Done.'
    'Pronto.'

(184) *ah iginhun leha*

    ah   igi-nhun   leha
    EXPL song-VBLZ COMPL
    'Ah, he started to sing!'
    'Ah, ele começou a cantar!'

(185) *nhagati bele ekü telü tita telü leha egea*

    nhaga-ti bele ekü te-lü   tita   te-lü   leha   egea
    hole-ALL EV   CON go-PNCT mortuary.effigy go-PNCT COMPL like.that
    'The effigy was put standing straight in a hole.'
    'A efígie foi colocada de pé em um buraco.'

(186) *üle egikagineta bele ihekeni*

    üle   egikagi-ne-ta   bele i-heke-ni
    LOG sing.closely-VBLZ-DUR EV   3-ERG-PL
    'This is what they were siging about behind it.'
    'Era sobre isso que eles estavam cantando atrás dela.'

(187) *ah totohongo ake leha*

    ah   t-otohongo   ake leha
    EXPL REFL-other.similar COM COMPL
    'Ah, together with his companion.'
    'Ah, junto com seu companheiro.'

(188) *tüngakihapügü ake tsüha*

    tüng-aki-ha-pügü   ake tsüha
    REFL-word-VBLZ-PFV COM EV.UNCR
    'With the one he taught.'
    'Com aquele que ele ensinou.'

(189) *tüngakihapügü ake*

     tüng-aki-ha-pügü   ake

     REFL-word-VBLZ-PFV COM

     'With the one he taught.'

     'Com aquele que ele ensinou.'

(190) *ah iginhundako leha*

     ah   igi-nhu-nda-ko   leha

     EXPL song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL

     'Ah, they were singing.'

     'Ah, eles estavam cantando.'

(191) *aiha akinügü leha*

     aiha aki-nügü   leha

     done finish-PNCT COMPL

     'Done, it was finished.'

     'Pronto, estava terminado.'

(192) *akinügü*

     aki-nügü

     finish-PNCT

     'It was finished.'

     'Estava terminado.'

(193) *ülepe*

     üle-pe

     LOG-NTM

     'Then …'

     'Então …'

(194) *kohotsi inhügü iginhuko leha*

     kohotsi inhügü igi-nhu-ko   leha

     at.dusk become song-NMLZ-PL COMPL

     'When dusk came, they were singing again.'

     'Quando chegou o entardecer, eles estavam cantando novamente.'

(195)   *ah iginhundako leha*

      ah   igi-nhuN-da-ko   leha
      EXPL song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL

      'Ah, they were singing again.'

      'Ah, eles estavam cantando novamente.'

(196)   *kohotsi*

      kohotsi
      at.dusk

      'At dusk.'

      'Ao entardecer.'

(197)   *ülepe mitote*

      üle-pe   mitote
      LOG-NTM at.dawn

      'And then at dawn …'

      'E depois ao amanhecer …'

(198)   *aibeha inhügü gehale*

      ai-be-ha   inhügü gehale
      HORT-AUG-HA become ADV

      '… ready, one more time.'

      '… pronto, mais uma vez.'

(199)   *inhügü gehale*

      inhügü gehale
      become ADV

      'One more time.'

      'Mais uma vez.'

(200)   *ah ta beja iheke*

      ah   ta   beja i-heke
      EXPL DUR EP   3-ERG

      'Ah, his words!'

      'Ah, suas palavras!'

(201) *Kamagisa kita leha*

    Kamagisa ki-ta   leha

    Kamagisa say-DUR COMPL

    'What *Kamagisa* was saying.'

    'O que *Kamagisa* estava dizendo.'

(202) *iginhundako leha*

    igi-nhun-da-ko   leha

    song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL

    'They were singing.'

    'Eles estavam cantando.'

(203) *aiha*

    aiha

    done

    'Done.'

    'Pronto.'

(204) *aiha mitote*

    aiha mitote

    done at.dawn

    'Done, at dawn …'

    'Pronto, ao amanhecer …'

(205) *ah sitogupe onginügübe*

    ah   s-ito-gu-pe   ongi-nügü-be

    EXPL 3-fire-POSS-NTM bury-PNCT-AUG

    '… Ah, his fire was buried.'[6]

    '… Ah, seu fogo foi enterrado.'

---

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

(206) *engü bejaha sitogupeha onginügü leha mitote*

engü beja-ha s-ito-gu-pe-ha   ongi-nügü leha   mitote
CON EP-HA   3-fire-POSS-NTM-HA bury-PNCT COMPL at.dawn

'Yes, his fire was buried at dawn.'

'Sim, seu fogo foi enterrado ao amanhecer.'

(207) *apungu baha egei leha*

apungu baha ege-i   leha
end   EV   DIST-COP COMPL

'That was the end.'

'Aquilo foi o fim.'

(208) *apungu leha egei inhalü hale ikinduko*

apungu leha ege-i   inhalü hale ikindu-ko
end   COMPL DIST-COP NEG   CNTR wrestling-PL

'That was the end, they didn't wrestle *ikindene*.'[7]

'Aquilo foi o fim, eles não lutaram *ikindene*.'

(209) *inhalü hale ikinduko egea gele hegei gele*

inhalü hale ikindu-ko   egea   gele h-ege-i   gele
NEG   CNTR wrestling-PL like.that ADV HA-DIST-COP ADV

'They didn't wrestle *ikindene*, it was just like that.'

'Eles não lutaram *ikindene*, foi só daquele jeito.'

(210) *tuhunügü gele*

tu-hu-nügü   gele
REFL-make.an.image-PNCT ADV

'Just his image was made.'

'Só sua imagem foi feita.'

---

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

(211) *etsunügü gele Kamagisa etsunügü*

   etsu-nügü   gele Kamagisa etsu-nügü
   debut-PNCT ADV Kamagisa debut-PNCT

   'Just *Kamagisa*'s debut and self-image-making.'

   'Só a estreia e feitura da própria imagem de *Kamagisa*.'

(212) *ama*

   ama
   mother

   '"Mother."'

   '"Mãe."'

(213) *jeugagi je jeuga jeuga jeuga*

   [*Kamagisa* was singing in Kamayurá, a Tupi-Guarani language][8]

   [*Kamagisa* estava cantanto em Kamayurá, uma língua Tupi-Guarani]

(214) *ama jeuga ipugu inkgete umbüngaitsü tühügü hegei iheke*

   ama   jeuga ipu-gu   i-nkgete   u-mbüngai-tsü tühügü
   mother macaw feather-POSS bring-IMP 1-armlet-POSS PFV

   h-egei   i-heke
   HA-DIST-COP 3-ERG

   '"Mother, bring my macaw feathers armlets," that's what he said.'

   '"Mãe, traga meus braceletes de pena de arara," é o que ele disse.'

(215) *hm Kamagisa kilü*

   hm   Kamagisa ki-lü
   EXPL Kamagisa say-PNCT

   'Hm, *Kamagisa* said.'

   'Hm, *Kamagisa* disse.'

(216) *ületse ingugiha isi heke indzüngaitsü inginügü*

   üle-tse   ingugi-ha   isi   heke i-ndzüngai-tsü ingi-nügü
   LOG-DIM decision.solution-HA mother ERG 3-armlet-POSS bring-PNCT

   'It was soon solved, and his mother brought his armlets.'

   'Isso logo se resolveu, e sua mãe trouxe seus braceletes.'

---

[8]Multilinguism in ritual language is discussed in the final section.

(217)   *jahu ehe jahu e*

[*Kamagisa* was still singing in Kamayurá]

[*Kamagisa* ainda estava cantando em Kamayurá]

(218)   *ama jahu puguha ulekugu inkgete*

ama	*jahu*	*pugu-ha*	*u-leku-gu*	*i-nkgete*
mother	oropendola	feather-HA	1-headdress-POSS	bring-IMP

'"Mother, bring my oropendola [*Psarocolius sp.*] feathers headdress."'[9]

'"Mãe, traga minha plumária de penas de xexéu [*Psarocolius sp.*]."'

(219)   *leku heke ẽ ẽ hügeku heke*

leku	*heke*	*ẽ*	*ẽ*	*hügeku*	*heke*
headdress	ERG	AFF	AFF	headdress	ERG

'He was talking about a headdress called *leku*, yes, yes, about a headdress also called *hügeku*.'

'Ele estava falando de uma plumária chamada *leku*, sim, sim, sobre uma plumária também chamada de *hügeku*.'

(220)   *Kamajula hegei*

Kamajula	*h-ege-i*
kamayurá	HA-DIST-COP

'That is in the Kamayurá language.'

'Aquilo está na língua Kamayurá.'

(221)   *egea ta iheke kamajulai*

egea	*ta*	*i-heke*	*kamajula-i*
like.that	DUR	3-ERG	kamayurá-COP

'He was saying that in Kamayurá.'

'Ele estava dizendo aquilo em Kamayurá.'

(222)   *kamajula*

kamajula
kamayurá

'In Kamayurá.'

'Em Kamayurá.'

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[9]The oropendolas — *xexéu*, in Portuguese, and *kui*, in Kalapalo — are birds of the *Psarocolius* genus, whose tail feathers are highly esteemed for their vivid yellow tones.

(223)   *Kamajula heke küngüa iganügü jahu nügü iheke*

       Kamajula heke küngüa   iga-nügü   jahu   nügü i-heke
       kamayurá ERG   oropendola name-PNCT oropendola PNCT 3-ERG
       'The Kamayurá call the oropendola "*jahu*," that's what they say.'
       'Os Kamayurá chamam o xexéu de "*jahu*," isso é o que eles dizem.'

(224)   *aiha*

       aiha
       done
       'Done.'
       'Pronto.'

(225)   *apungu leha*

       apungu leha
       end   COMPL
       'That was the end.'
       'Aquele foi o fim.'

(226)   *etsuhukilü leha*

       etsuhu-ki-lü   leha
       end-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL
       'It was over.'
       'Tinha acabado.'

(227)   *etsuhukilü*

       etsuhu-ki-lü
       end-VBLZ-PNCT
       'Over.'
       'Acabado.'

(228)   *ama nügü iheke*

       ama   nügü i-heke
       mother PNCT 3-ERG
       '"Mother," he said.'
       '"Mãe," ele disse.'

(229)   *ama*

       ama
       mother
       '"Mother."'
       '"Mãe."'

(230)   *uentomila aketsange uteta leha igei leha*

       u-en-tomi-la   *aketsange u-te-ta* *leha* *ige-i*   *leha*
       1-wait-PURP-NEG INT   1-go-DUR COMPL PROX-COP COMPL
       '"This is so that I'm never coming back, I am leaving."'
       '"Isso é para que eu nunca mais volte, eu estou partindo."'

(231)   *üle igakaho hegei etsuta*

       üle *igakaho h-ege-i*   *etsu-ta*
       LOG ahead   HA-DIST-COP debut-DUR
       'Before that he sang for the first time.'
       'Antes disso ele estreou.'

(232)   *etsuta hegei*

       etsu-ta   *h-ege-i*
       debut-DUR HA-DIST-COP
       'That was his first time singing.'
       'Aquela foi a primeira vez dele cantando.'

(233)   *ama*

       ama
       mother
       '"Mother."'
       '"Mãe."'

(234)   *uenügüti hestange keiti*

       u-e-nügü-ti   *hetsange k-e-iti*
       1-come-PNCT-wish HORT   IMP.PROH-2SG-wish
       '"You shall not want me to come back."'
       '"Você não deve querer que eu volte."'

(235)   *ah ahati heke seku ũãke utihunhetatühügü ũãke*

    ah   a-hati   heke seku ũãke u-ti-hu-nhe-ta-tühügü   ũãke
    EXPL 2SG-niece ERG EP   EV.PST 1-throat-swell-VBLZ-DUR-PFV EV.PST

    '"Ah, your niece made my throat swell with sadness in the past."'

    '"Ah, sua sobrinha fez minha garganta ficar inchada de tristeza no passado."'

(236)   *ah nügü leha iheke tüti heke*

    ah   nügü leha   i-heke tü-ti   heke
    EXPL PNCT COMPL 3-SG   REFL-mother ERG

    'Ah, he said so to his mother.'

    'Ah, ele disse para sua mãe.'

(237)   *üi üi üi isi honunda leha*

    üi   üi   üi   isi   honu-nda leha
    IDEO IDEO IDEO mother cry-DUR   COMPL

    '"*Üi, üi, üi*" - his mother was crying.'

    '"*Üi, üi, üi*" - sua mãe estava chorando.'

(238)   *kogetsi kogetsi leha egei sinügü etsutühügüngine*

    kogetsi   kogetsi   leha   ege-i   s-i-nügü   etsu-tühügü-ngine
    tomorrow tomorrow COMPL DIST-COP 3-come-PNCT debut-PFV-ALL

    'On the next day, the day after he came, after he had sung for the first time.'

    'No dia seguinte, no dia após sua vinda, depois que ele havia cantado pela primeira vez.'

(239)   *etsutühügü*

    etsu-tühügü
    debut-PFV

    'He sang for the first time.'

    'Ele cantou pela primeira vez.'

(240)   *etsutühügüngine leha sinügü*

  etsu-tühügü-ngine leha s-i-nügü
  debut-PFV-ALL COMPL 3-come-PNCT

  'After he had sung for the first time, he came.'

  'Depois que ele havia cantado pela primeira vez, ele veio.'

(241)   *apungu ekugu leha inhalü leha totomona tünga tetuna etelüi leha*

  apungu ekugu leha inhalü leha t-oto-mo-na t-ünga
  end true COMPL NEG COMPL REFL-kin-PL-ALL REFL-house
  t-etu-na   e-te-lü-i   leha
  REFL-village-ALL 3-go-PNCT-COP COMPL

  'He went away for good, he didn't ever come back to his kin, to his house, to his village.'

  'Ele foi embora de vez, ele nunca mais voltou para seus parentes, para sua casa, para sua aldeia.'

(242)   *inhalü leha*

  inhalü leha
  NEG COMPL

  'Never again.'

  'Nunca mais.'

(243)   *apungui leha etelü*

  apungu-i leha e-te-lü
  end-COP COMPL 3-go-PNCT

  'He went away for good.'

  'Ele foi embora de vez.'

(244)   *tsakeha*

  tsa-ke-ha
  listen-IMP-HA

  'Listen.'

  'Ouça.'

(245)   *uitsajingugu kitseha*

       uitsajingugu ki-tse-ha
       ?   say-IMP-HA

       'Say "*uitsajingugu.*"'[10]

       'Diga "*uitsajingugu.*"'

(246)   *upügü hegei*

       upügü h-ege-i
       last   HA-DIST-COP

       'This is the end.'

       'Este é o fim.'

3 Comments: alterity and translation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgments

Non-standard abbreviations

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

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