Chapter 6

Kotiria

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1 Introduction

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

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

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

2These are the Kotiria, Bará (Waimajá), Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Kubeo, Makuna, Pisamira, Siriano, Taiwano (Eduuria), Tanimuka (Retuará), Tatuyo, Tukano, Tuyuka, Wa’ikhana (Pirata-puyo), and Yuruti.

3According to information from the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA)-PIB online <http://pib.socioambiental.org/en>, and the Colombian 2005 and Brazilian 2010 national censuses.
Kotiria villages, who gathered together in Koama Phoaye (Carurú Cachoeira), the largest Kotiria community on the Brazilian side of the Vaupés (see Figure 2). Several non-indigenous outsiders were also present, including the organizer of this chapter, linguist Kristine Stenzel, and two pedagogical consultants, Dr. Marta Maria Azevedo and Lucia Alberta Andrade de Oliveira. At the time, Azevedo was one of the coordinators of the Educational Program of the Instituto Socioambiental, and Andrade had been working as a pedagogical aid on-site with the Kotiria school for many months (for more on the history of the school, see de Oliveira, Trindade & Stenzel (2012)). Workshop activities included map-making, text-writing, research on the history of individual villages, and visits to important regional landmarks. Many of the written materials and illustrations produced during the workshop were later gathered in a book entitled Phanopʉ, Mipʉ Mahka Bu’erithu ‘Past and Present, Studies of our Origins’, from which the illustration at the end of the narrative was taken. There were also a number of talks on different historical topics proffered by invited elders, one of whom was the much-respected author of our narrative, Teresinha Marques.

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

The knowledge Teresinha shares was passed down from her own father and was not widely known; indeed, many participants in the workshop were learning about this important episode in Kotiria history for the first time. Teresinha’s fifteen-minute narrative was filmed and later integrated into the Kotiria Linguistic and Cultural Archive. Co-author José Galvez Trindade introduces her to the audience at the beginning of the recording and interacts with her at several points

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4 All materials in this archive have been deposited at the Endangered Languages Archive, SOAS, University of London https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPi32528 and at the PRODOCLIN Archive at the Muséu do Índio/FUNAI, Brazil, with open access granted by the community.
The series of dramatic and tragic events leading to the origin of the Kotiria sacred cemeteries unfold against a backdrop of significant features of Kotiria cosmology and social organization.\(^5\) Like all Tukanoan groups, the Kotiria have an origin myth in which pre-human beings, still in a state of “transformation”, travel underwater upriver in an anaconda canoe from the Milk Lake to their territory on the Vaupés. Stopping at many places along the way (“houses of transformation”), they slowly acquire knowledge, techniques, instruments, encantations or “blessings”, dances, and adornments — essential elements that contribute to their transformation into a fully human state.\(^6\) Once reaching the headwaters of the Vaupés, their anaconda canoe turns around, and the mythical ancestors of the different Kotiria kin groups emerge at the places where parts of its body surface.

\(^5\)Comprehensive ethnographic analysis of the Kotiria can be found in works by Chernela (1983; 1993; 2004; 2013), among others. For an overview of aspects of shared regional culture, see Epps & Stenzel (2013) and the references cited there.

\(^6\)For similar accounts for other groups, see also Cabalzar (2008: 165) and Andrello (2012).
Those emerging closer to the anaconda’s head are considered the higher ranked “older” brothers, those closer to the tail are “younger” brothers. A third, “servant” group, the Wiroa, originated separately from birds. Thus, the twenty-five or so Kotiria sibs are organized into three larger groupings with the symbolic roles of “chiefs”, “dancers/masters of ceremonies”, and “servants/cigar holders” (Chernela 1983, Chernela 1993: 5-15, 51-59; Waltz & Waltz 1997 offers slightly different sib names, numbers and relative rankings). Each individual in Kotiria society inherits a fixed rank in the social hierarchy as a descendant from an ancestral sibling and is highly aware of the roles and responsibilities associated with that rank.

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

Diani returns home and tells Dianumia Yairo what has transpired. He ignores Dianumia Yairo’s plea for the dispute not to escalate any further, and begins preparations to avenge Ñahori’s death. Dianumia Yairo reluctantly blesses Diani and his warriers, embuing them with valor and violent spirit to ensure their victory in battle. They travel downstream and wage a furious attack on Yuhpi Diani and his men in Khãnuhko. Diani’s men prevail, forcing Yuhpi Diani to escape inland to Khãphotai, where he and his men build a fortress with a high lookout platform from which Yuhpi Diani hopes to be able to see his attackers approach. In the meantime, Dianumia Yairo has come downriver and tries one last time to convince Diani to call off the war, but to no avail. In the middle of the night, Diani’s men transform themselves into worms and tunnel into the fortress. They trick Yuhpi Diani into coming down from the platform, and subsequently capture and dismember him.
Diani and his warriors go back to Buhka Khopa to report their success and celebrate the victory. However, Dianumia Yairo is saddened and disheartened by the terrible consequences of his sons’ failure to obey social norms — breaking promises and warring against each other — and so announces that he will remove himself to another world, taking with him sacred instruments, adornments, and knowledge. He gathers his sacred objects and together with his two jaguar-dogs, goes up a hill called Kharê Khutu where he sits and slowly enters the ground alive. After a few days, tremendous thunder announces that he has entered completely, establishing Bu’i Kho’to, the burial site for his own Biari descendants. Teresinha explains that three other cemeteries were later established for the descendants of the other brothers, each group having its own proper burial place, as divided in death as their ancestors had become in life.

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

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

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

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7 Interesting examples and details of particular structures will be noted throughout the text; see Stenzel 2013 for a comprehensive descriptive grammatical analysis.
reference marking system operating within the resulting complex sentences. Subordinate clauses with the same subject as the main clause are nominalized by cross-referencing noun class markers. If there is a change to a new subject accompanied by a shift in focus, the ‘different-subject’ suffix -chu is used (Stenzel 2015; 2016). Teresinha’s discourse moreover shows that a specific nominalizer is used for broader “event” or “locational/situational” subordinate clauses.

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

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

(1) vinte hira, à yoaro 20 ti khu’ma 2005 hichū.
   twenty cop-vis.ipfv.2/3 so=do-sg anph=year 2005 temp
   'It’s the twentieth (of September) in the year 2005.'
   'É dia vinte (de setembro) do ano 2005.'

(2) sā a’ríkoro wamañokoro me’ne to durukuare thu’o yoana tana niha.
   1pl.excl.poss=dem.prox-f.rsp father’s.sister-f.rsp=com
   to=dú-ruk-a-re thu’ó yoá--dá tá--dá ~dí-ha
   speak-stand-pl-obj hear do-pl come-pl prog-vis.ipfv.1
   'We’ve come with our aunt\(^8\) (Teresinha) to listen to her stories (about our
   ancestors).'
   'Estamos com nossa tia (Teresinha) para ouvir suas histórias (dos
   ancestrais).'

(3) õi Carurui hiha.
   deic.prox-loc.vis caruru-loc.vis cop-vis.ipfv.1
   'We’re here in Carurú Cachoeira.'
   'Estamos aqui em Carurú Cachoeira.'

2 Mahsa khō’akho’topori
   'Kotiria sacred cemeteries'
   'Cemitérios sagrados dos Kotiria’\(^9\)

(4) mahsa khō’akho’topori
   people bone-proper.place-pl.place
   'Sacred burial places/cemeteries'
   'Cemitérios sagrados'

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\(^8\) José uses the kinship term specifically for one’s father’s sister (a paternal aunt, real or
classificatory).
\(^9\) Recordings of this story are available from https://zenodo.org/record/997439
a’rina ñarananumia wi’i, yu durukuare thu’oduayu’ka.

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

Chegaram nossas assessoras brancas querendo ouvir minhas histórias.’

(yu’u tire michare ya’uko tako niha.

‘(So) today I’m coming to tell (them).’

I’m a descendant of wãri khutiro biari.

I’m a descendant of wãri khutiro biari.

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

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

12 The root pho’na literally means ‘children’ or ‘offspring’ (e.g. in lines 75, 95, 97, and 117), but is used metaphorically here to refer to the descendants of a specific mythical ancestor, and in lines 52, 58 (and others) to refer to people over whom one has control, such as servants or warriers.
(8) yʉ wama Maria Teresinha Marques.
   yʉ=~wabá Maria Teresinha Marques
   1SG.POSS=name Maria Teresinha Marques
   ‘My name (is) Maria Teresinha Marques.’
   ‘Meu nome (é) Maria Teresinha Marques.’

(9) yʉ wama so’toai hira yu’űre bu’رعا phoko wamatiha yu’ű.
   yʉ=~wabá so’tóá-i hi-ra yu’ű-re bu’رعا phoko
   1SG.POSS=name end-LOC.VIS COP-VIS.IPVF.2/3 1SG-OBJ bu’رعا phoko
   name-VBZ-VIS.IPVF.1 1SG
   ‘(And) this is my last (traditional) name, what I’m called is bu’رعا phoko.’
   ‘(E) meu sobrenome (nome tradicional), me chamam de bu’رعا phoko.’

(10) wãri khutiro biarihipho’nakoro.
    ~wãri khútíró biări--pho’da-ko-ro
    wãri khutiro biari-descendants-F-SG
    ‘I’m a woman of the wãri khutiro biari group.’
    ‘Sou mulher do grupo wãri khutiro biari.’

(11) yʉ phûku yu’űre hire wihoia.
    yʉ=phûká yu’ű-re hi-re ~wihoá
    1SG.POSS=father 1SG-OBJ COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 wihoa
    ‘For me, my father was wihoia.’ (I knew him as wihoia, his traditional name.)
    ‘Para mim, meu pai era wihoia.’ (Eu o conheci como wihoia, seu nome tradicional.)

(12) tire a’rina thu’oduayu’ka.
    tî-re a’ri--da thu’ó-dua-yu’ka
    ANPH-OBJ DEM.PROX-PL hear-DES-REP.QUOT
    ‘These (visitors) want to hear (stories).’ (I’m told)
    ‘Esses (visitantes) querem ouvir (histórias).’ (Me disseram)

13There are no overt conjunctions in Kotiria, so these and other elements understood from context are given in parentheses in the translation lines.
(13)  å yoako, yu’u tire michadahchore noano me’ne a’rinakinare, yu mahsiapokane yu thu’otuare yu’u durukukota.
   ~a=yóá-kò yu’ú tí-re ~bichá-dáchó-ré ~dóá-ro=~be’re
   so=do-F 1SG ANPH-OBJ today-day-OBJ good-SG=COM
   a’ri~da~kida-re yu=~basí-a-poka-re
   DEM.PROX-PL-PL.RSP-OBJ 1SG.POSS=know-PL-little-OBJ
   yu=thu’ó-tu-a-re yu’ú dú-ruku14-ko-ta
   1SG.POSS=hear-think-PL-OBJ 1SG speak-stand-F-INTENT
   ‘So, today with pleasure I’m going to tell them a little of what I know, what I understand.’
   ‘Por isso vou contar hoje com prazer um pouco do que eu sei, do que entendo.’

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

(15)  pha’muri mahsa öre pha’muyohataa.
   ~pha’bú-ri   ~basá  ~ó-re
   originate-NMLZ people DEIC.PROX-OBJ

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

15 All “adjectival” notions in Kotiria are expressed by stative verbs, e.g. wa’ma ‘to be young’ or ‘to be new’. To simplify the glosses, only the qualitative semantics, e.g. young/new/good/evil are given in the gloss line.
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~pha’bú-yóhá-tá-á
 originate-go.upriver-come-ASSERT.PFV
 ‘The origin beings appeared coming upriver here.’
 ‘Os seres de transformação apareceram subindo pelo rio aqui.’

(16) duhkusū yu ſuühchusūmha wu’usekho’toporí khuaa ōre matapi.
 dukú--sv16 yu--yuochū--sūbā
 stand-arrive.TRNS 1SG.POSS=grandfather-PL:kin
 wu’ú-sé(ri)-kho’topori khúa-a ~ó-ré
 house-PL:row-proper.place-PL:place have-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-OBJ
 matapi
 matapi.village
 ‘Arriving, my ancestors established their houses (their rightful place)
 here in Matapi.’
 ‘Chegando, meus antepassados estabeleceram suas casas (seu lugar
 pródigo) aqui em Matapi.’

(17) to hira, buhkakhopa wamatira.
 tó hí-ra buhkákhópá ~wabá-tí-rá
 DEF COP-VIS.IPVF.2/3 buhka.khopa name-VBZ-VIS.IPVF.2/3
 ‘That place is called buhkakhopa.’
 ‘Esse lugar se chama buhkakhopa.’

(18) ſára na ... matapi nina ti mahkare.
 ~yará--dá ~dîa matapi ~dî-ra
 white.people-PL say-ASSERT.PFV matapi.village say-VIS.IPVF.2/3
 ti=~baká-re
 ANPH=village17-OBJ
 ‘White people say ... (they) call that village Matapi.’
 ‘Os brancos dizem ... chamam essa aldeia de Matapi.’

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

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

(19) tina a’rina hiphitina, a’rina ñahoriapho’na wa’i hapea ñahoria hia sā ba’ana waro.

‘All of these, descendants (children), are our true younger brothers.’

‘Todos esses, descendentes (filhos), são nossos irmãos menores verdadeiros.’

(20) biari, yabaina, ñahoripho’na hiyu’ka.

‘(Younger brothers of the) biari (Teresinha’s group), the ñahori descendants are.’ (they’re saying)

‘(Irmãos menores dos) biari (grupo da Teresinha), os ñahori são.’ (estão dizendo)

(21) tina sā dohka mahkarikurua hiyu’ka a’rina.

‘They are the younger second group.’ (they’re saying)

‘Eles são irmãos menores.’ (estão dizendo)

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

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

He (Ñahori) had his houses here in Muku Dùhpuri (and) these ones here (Carurú villagers are) our younger brothers. (they’re saying).

Ele (Ñahori) tinha suas casas aqui em Muku Dùhpuri (e) esses aqui (moradores de Carurú são) nossos irmãos menores. (estão dizendo)

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

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

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

The old one, our grandfather (ancestor) Dianumia Yairo, was married (and) he had houses there in Matapi. (they’re saying)

‘O velho, nosso avô (ancestral) Dianumia Yairo, era casado (e) tinha casas ali em Matapi.’ (estão dizendo)

(25) phayʉ mahsa hia niatia.

There were lots of people living there.

‘Havia muita gente vivendo ali.’

(26) ã yoa õre hiyu’ka tiro ſahori, a’riro yuhpi dianine:

So (they’re saying) that ſahori lived just there (in Muku Dhupuri and said to) Yuhpi Diani:

‘Então (estão dizendo que) ſahori vivia logo ali (em Muku Dhupuri e disse ao) Yuhpi Diani:

(27) “numia yu’ú nai wa’ai niha, yu buhibo.”

“I’m going to get women, my sisters-in-law.”

“Estou indo pegar mulheres, minhas cunhadas.”

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(28) nichʉ, tirota sinikaatia:
~dí-chʉ tí-ró-ta ~sidí-ka’a-ati-a
say-SW.REF ANPH-SG-EMPH ask.for-do.immediately-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
‘When (Ñahori) said that, (Yuhpi Diani) asked:’
‘Quando (Ñahori) falou isso, (Yuhpi Diani) pediu:’

(29) “yu’ukhure kükoro natanamoa” niatia a’rina ñahoriapho’na.
yʉ’ʉ́-khʉ́-ré ~kʉ́-kó-ró ~dá-ta--dabo-a ~dí-ati-a
ISG-ADD-OBJ one/a-F-SG get-come-wife-PL say-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
a’rí--da ñahóri-a--pho’da
DEM.PROX-PL Ñahóri-PL-descendants
“Bring one more wife for me too,” (he asked to Ñahori, the father) of all these Ñahoria descendants here.’
“‘Traga mais uma para mim também,’ (pediu ao Ñahori, pai) desses descendentes de Ñahoria aqui.’

(30) ñariro tuakaro kha’mapha, hum ... hum.
~yá-rí-ró túa-ká-ró ~kha’bá-pha hum...hum
bad-NMLZ-SG strong-INTENS-SG want-SPEC (laughs)
‘I guess the rascal (Yuhpi Diani) really liked/needed (women), hum ... hum.’ [Teresinha chuckles]
‘Parece que o danado (Yuhpi Diani) gostava/precisava mesmo (de mulher), hum ... hum.’ [risos da Teresinha]

(31) á yoa tiro nano wa’a, nawi’i, wehse wa’a te õpʉ.
~a=yóá ti-ró ~dá-ro wa’a ~dá-wi’i wesé wa’á té
so=do ANPH-SG get-SG go get-arrive.CIS garden go until
~ó-pù
DEIC.PROX-LOC
‘So, he (Ñahori) went to get them, brought (them) back, and went off to the gardens over there (in Muku Duhpuri).’
‘Então ele (Ñahori) foi pegar, trouxe de volta (e) foram lá para a roça (em Muku Duhpuri).’
(32) a’rina ñahoria yaro wu’ukho’to hira õ muku dʉhpuri.

a’rî-da ñáhórí-á yá-ro wu’ú-khó’tó hí-ra
DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL POSS-SG house-proper.place COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3

~ó mukú.dʉhpuri
DEIC.PROX muku.dʉhpuri

‘Muku Dʉhpuri is the rightful place of these ñahoria.’
‘Muku Dʉhpuri é o lugar desses ñahoria.’

(33) sekhoa ti yadi’ta te hiro nina to khũre.

(bu’)sé-khoa ti=yá-dí’tá té hí-ro ~dí-ra òó
ti=yá-dí’tá 3.PL.POSS=POSS=GROUND until COP-SG PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEF
~khú-re
place-OBJ

‘Their place is on the other side of the river, and that place is still theirs.’
‘O lugar deles fica no outro lado do rio (e) esse lugar ainda é deles.’

(34) no'o ti tachu khũre, noa a’rinare ñahoriapho’nare “do’se yoa ta hihari?”

~do’ó ti=tá-chu ~khú-re ~doá a’rió--da-re
Q:WHERE 3.PL.POSS=COME-SW.REF place-OBJ Q:WHO DEM.PROX-PL-OBJ
ñáhórí-a--pho’dá-re do’sé yoa ta hí-hari
ñahori-PL-descendants-OBJ Q:HOW do come COP-Q.IPFV

‘If they were to come back there, no one could ask Ñahori’s descendants
“Why do you come (what are you doing) here?”’
‘Se um dia voltassem ao lugar, ninguém podia perguntar aos
descendentes de Ñahori “Porque vieram (o que fazem) aqui?”’

(35) ne nito bahsioerara.

~dé ~dí-to basio-éra-ra
NEG say-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT correct-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3

‘No one could say that.’
‘Ninguem poderia dizer isso.’

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

\[ \text{do’pó-to} \quad \text{to}=\text{hí-ro} \quad \text{hí-a} \]

origin/roots-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT 3SG.POSS=COP-SG COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘It’s his (Ñahori)’s origin site.’

‘É o lugar de origem dele (Ñahori).’

(37) *ā yoa mahaa.*

\[ \sim a=\text{yóá} \quad \sim \text{bahá-a} \]

so=do go.uphill-ASSERT.PFV

‘So, (Ñahori and the woman) came up (towards Yuhpi Diani).’

‘Então (eles, Ñahori e a mulher) vinham subindo (na direção ao Yuhpi Diani).’

(38) “*a’rikoro yu’ure numia na, yu’ú duhtirikoro tire a’rikoro” nia tiro.*

\[ \text{a’rí-kó-ró} \quad \text{yu’ú-ré} \quad \sim \text{dúbí-á} \quad \sim \text{dá yu’ú dutí-ri-ko-ro} \quad \text{tí-re} \]

DEM.PROX-F-SG 1SG-OBJ WOMAN-PL get 1SG ORDER-NMLZ-F-SG ANPH-OBJ

\[ \text{a’rí-kó-ró} \quad \sim \text{dí-a} \quad \text{tí-ró} \]

DEM.PROX-F-SG SAY-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG

“‘This woman’s for me, the one I asked you to get,” he (Yuhpi Diani) said.’

“Essa mulher é minha, a que mandei pegar,” dizia ele (Yuhpi Diani).’

(39) *a’riro ñahori: “hierare. soropʉ diani yakoro hira” nia.*

\[ \text{a’rí-ro} \quad \text{ñáhórí} \quad \text{hi-éra-re} \quad \text{sóró-pú} \quad \text{diáni} \]

DEM.PROX-SG Ñahori COP-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 different.one-LOC diani

\[ \text{yá-kó-ró} \quad \text{hí-ra} \quad \sim \text{dí-a} \quad \text{possum.F-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV} \]

‘Ñahori (speaking): “Not so, this one is promised to Diani,” he said.’

‘O Ñahori (falando): “Não, essa ficou prometida para Diani,” respondeu.’

(40) “*hierare. yu’ú duhtii” nia.*

\[ \text{hi-éra-re} \quad \text{yu’ú dutí-i} \quad \sim \text{dí-a} \quad \text{COP-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 1SG ORDER-VIS.PFV.1 SAY ASSERT.PFV} \]

“‘Not so! I ordered (her),’ (Yuhpi Diani) said.’

“Nada disso! Eu mandei pegar,” respondeu (Yuhpi Diani).’
“yu’u duhiti. yu yakoro hika” nia.

yu’ú dútí-i yu=yá-kó-ró hí-ka
1SG order-VIS.PFV.1 1SG.POSS=POSS-F-SG COP-ASSERT.IPVF
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV

“I ordered (her). She’s mine!” (Yuhpi Diani) said.’

“Eu mandei (pegar). É minha mulher!” disse (Yuhpi Diani).’

“hierara” nia.

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

“No (she’s) not,” (Ñahori) said.’

“Não é,” disse (Ñahori).’

ni, wehse wa’a, thuatarikorore ña’atia.

~dí wesé wa’á thuá-ta-ri-ko-ro-re ~ya’á-ti-a
say garden go return-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ grab-ATTRIB-ASSERT.PFV

‘That said, (she) went to the garden (and) returning, was grabbed.’

‘Ditto isso, (ela) foi para a roça (e) voltando, foi agarrada.’

“thuaga yu’u me’ne” nia.

thúá-gá yu’ú=be’re ~dí-a
stay-IMP 1SG=COM say-ASSERT.PFV

“(You) stay with me,” said (Diani).’

“Fica comigo,” disse (Diani).’

“hierara. khá’i nire. pakoro nabosaita.”

hi-éra-ra ~kha’í ~dí-re pá-ko-ro
COP-NEG-VIS.IPVF.2/3 desire/love PROG-VIS.IPVF.2/3 ALT-F-SG
~dá-bosa-i-ta
get-BEN-M-INTENT

“(She) isn’t (yours). You want (her but) I’ll get another one for you,” (said Ñahori).’
“(Essa) não é (sua). Você quer ficar (com ela mas) vou trazer outra para você,” (disse Ñahori).”

(46) “hierara” nia.
hi-éra-ra  ~dí-a
COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“No,” said (Diani).”

“Não,” respondia (Diani).”

(47) ni, tikorore thũkukaa.
~dí  tí-kó-ró-re  ~thũkuka-a
say ANPH-F-SG-OBJ force-ASSERT.PFV

‘Saying that, (Diani) grabbed her.’

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

(48) de tikoro buhkoro kãkorotha thuaa.
dé  tí-kó-ró  bukó-ro  ~kú-ko-ro-ta  thúa-a
INTJ:poor.one! ANPH-F-SG ancestor.F-SG alone-F-SG-EMPH stay-ASSERT.PFV

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

‘Coitada da velha, estava sozinha.’

(49) sù to manunore yabare, khanuhkore hiphato tiro Yuhpi Diani:
~stè  to=~badú-ro-re  yabá-re  khá--dúkó-re
arrive.TRNS 3SG.POSS=husband-SG-OBJ Q:what-OBJ hawk-island-OBJ
hí-pha-to  tí-ró  yuhpi.diani
cop-time-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG yuhpi.diani

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

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

(50) “mu namore yoatapu mu mahsawamino ña’a thũkukare” nia.
~bu=--dabó-re  yoá-tá-pù  ~bu=--basá--wabi-ro  ~ya’á
2SG.POSS=wife-OBJ far-EMPH-LOC 2SG.POSS=people-older.brother-SG grab
~thũkuka-re  ~dí-a
force-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“Your (intended) wife’s gone, your older brother’s people captured her,” said (Ñahori).’
“Sua esposa (prometida) já foi, o povo do seu irmão maior pegou,” disse (Nahori).

(51) “kue! do’se yu’u tiore à yoa duhtierai yu’u” nia.

\[\text{INTJ: surprise Q:how 1SG ANPH-SG-OBJ so=do order-NEG-VIS.PFV.1 1SG ~di-a} \]

say-ASSERT.PFV

“'What? How? I forbade him do that!” (Yuhpi Diani) said.’

“O que? Como? Eu o proibi a fazer isso!” (Yuhpi Diani) falou.’

(52) ni to phosapho’nakâre, kûnumu ba’aro wa’arokaa, phosa pho’nakâ phuaro.

\[\text{say 3SG.Poss=maku.people-descendants-DIM-OBJ one/a-day=after-SG} \]

\[\text{go-DIST-ASSERT.PFV maku.people-descendants-DIM two-SG} \]

'Saying that to his servants, the next day two of them went (to check).'

'Falando disso aos seus criados, no dia seguinte, os dois foram (verificar).'

(53) tikoro kowaro bu’atarikorore pharitaro-pu, tikorore ña’aa tina.

\[\text{ANPH-F-SG fetch.water go.downhill-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ} \]

\[\text{form-CLF:lake-LOC ANPH-F-SG-OBJ grab-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL} \]

'When the woman came down to fetch water from the pond, they grabbed her.'

'Quando a mulher desceu para pegar água no poço, eles a agarraram.'

(54) thunua tikorokhu, “yu’ure ñaenatiga! soro mahsawa’mino yakoropu hiha” nia.

\[\text{resist-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-F-SG-ADD 1SG-OBJ grab-NEG-NEG.IMP} \]

The “servants” referred to here are identified as people of one of the Makú ethnic groups, reflecting the unequal social relations between dominant riverine Tukano and Arawak groups and the forest-dwelling peoples, speakers of what are now referred to as languages of the Nadahup and Kákua-Nukak families (Epps 2008; Bolaños 2016). Use of the diminutive suffix --ka highlights their smaller physical stature when compared to the riverine peoples (see lines 58-59), but is also used metaphorically to indicate diminished social status.
She resisted them: “Let me go! I’m reserved for one from the higher clan,” she said.

‘Ela resistiu: “Solta-me! Estou prometida para um do clã maior,” disse.’

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

‘O seu marido (verdadeiro) está chamando rápido,” disseram (em vão, os criados).’

[(She) didn’t want (to go)!]

‘(Ela) não queria (ir)!’

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

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

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

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24 [ ] indicates a personal comment or observation by Teresinha or Joselito.
25 The suffix -ro derives a nominal count noun from a verbal root; here, the noun ‘embrace’ is derived from the verb for ‘grab’.
‘His (Yuhpi Diani’s) servants, [the future Ŋahoria] were just this tall.’

‘Os criados dele (Yuhpi Diani) [os Ŋahoria do futuro] eram deste tamanhinho.’

(59) phuarokā hia.

phuā-ro--ka hí-a

two-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘There were two little guys.’

‘Eram dois pequenos.’

(60) mumu muhawa’aa tinakā:

~bůbů ~buhá-wa’-a-a tī--da--ka

run MOV.UPWARD-GO-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM

‘They ran up (to tell Yuhpi Diani):’

‘Foram correndo para cima (para avisar ao Yuhpi Diani):’

(61) “de yoatapʉ mu namore ŋa’a tu’sure.”

dé yoá-ta-pʉ ~bu=~=dabó-re ~ya’á-tu’su-re

INTJ:POOR.ONE! FAR-EMPH-LOC 2SG.POSS=WIFE-OBJ GRAB-FINISH-VIS.PFV.2/3

“‘It’s too late, your wife’s already taken.’”

“Já era, pegaram sua mulher.”

(62) ti ŋari, tiro hi’na ta bűea me’ne buepati hi’na.

tī--ya-ri ti-ró ~hí’da tá bué-a=~=be’re bué-(pa)ti26 ~hí’da

ANPH-BAD-NMLZ ANPH-SG EMPH COME ARROW-PL=COM ARROW-VBZ EMPH

‘Those servants (and) he (Yuhpi Diani) himself came back with arrows and started shooting.’

‘Os criados (e) ele (Yuhpi Diani) mesmo vieram de volta com flechas e começaram a flechar.’

26The verbalizing suffix -pati may be an older, longer form of the now more commonly used verbalizer -ti, seen in lines 9, 17, 23, 24, and 140, among others.
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(63) mari ŋuhchʉsʉmʉa buerina phanamana himahana mari.
~bari=~yuchʉ--sʉ́bʉ́á bué-ri--da ~phadába--da
1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather-PL.kin arrow.shoot-NMLZ-PL grandchild-PL
hí--ba-ha-(~hi’)da ~bari27
COP-RSP-VIS.IPVF.1-EMPH 1PL.INCL

‘[We’re grandchildren (descendants) of grandparents (ancestors) who used arrows.]’
‘[Nós somos descendentes dos nossos avôs (ancestrais) que usavam flechas.]’

(64) bʉeato óbaroi, to pharokāre sâ’aphaato.
bué-a-to ~ó-bar’o-i
arrow.shoot-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT DEIC.PROX-CLF:kind-LOCVIS

to=phá-ro--ka28-re ~sa’á-phä-to
3SG.POSS=stomach-SG-DIM-OBJ MOV.inside-stomach-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT

‘(Diani’s people) shot (Yuhpi Diani’s servant) right here in the stomach.’
‘(O pessoal do Diani) flecharam (o criado do Yuhpi Diani) bem aqui na barriga.’

(65) tîna bʉathuataa.
tí--da buá-thua-ta-a
ANPH-PL crawl/crouch-return-come-ASSERT.PFV

‘They came crawling back.’
‘Eles vinham se arrastando.’

(66) mahkarokahore tirore duhte koāa.
~baká-dökâ29-hó-ré tí-ró-ré duté koá-a
forest-DIST-banana-OBJ ANPH-SG-OBJ chop cure-ASSERT.PFV

‘(They) found wild bananas (and) chopped (them to extract the liquid) to make a cure for him (the wounded guy).’

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

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

29 The second root in the compound is underlyingly doka ‘throw’, grammaticalized as a marker of “distal” spatial relations: that the object is related to distant place (the case here), that the movement is toward the distance or that the action is occurring at a far off location. See also lines 52, 106, 138, and 153.
'Encontraram banana-do-mato, cortaram (para tirar o líquido e) fizeram curativo para ele (o ferido).'

(67) nathua te ti phʉ’toro yuhpi diani ka’apu.
~dá-thúá-a té ti=phʉ’tó-ro yuhpi.diáni ka’á-pu
get-return-ASSERT.PFV until 3PL.POSS=master-SG yuhpi.diani beside-LOC
'(They) took (him) right up to their leader Yuhpi Diani.'

‘Levaram até o chefe deles Yuhpi Diani.’

(68) “mu’u sãre à wa’achʉ yoara” nia.
~bu’ú ~sá-re ~a=wa’á-chuí yoá-ra ~dí-a
2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ so=go-SW.REF do-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV
‘You made this happen to us,” they said.’

‘Você fez isso acontecer conosco,” disseram.’

(69) “mu’ure wãhakãnata” nia.
~bu’ú-re ~wahá-ka’a--da-ta ~dí-a
2SG-OBJ kill-do.immediately-PL.INTENT say-ASSERT.PFV
‘Now we’re going to kill you!” (they) said.’

‘Agora vamos matar você!” disseram.’

(70) “hierara, yʉ kasero. yʉ’ure yoenatiga.
hi-éra-ra yu=kaséro30 yu’ú-re yoa-éra-tiga
COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG.POSS=servant 1SG-OBJ do-NEG-NEG.IMP
‘No you won’t, my servants. Don’t do that to me.”

‘Nada disso, meus criados. Não façam nada a mim.”

(71) muhsa phu’toro hiha. yu’ubahsi mahnita” nia tiro.
~busa=phu’tó-ro hi-ha yu’ú-basi ~basi31-ta
2PL.POSS=master-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG-EMPH KNow-INTENT
~dí-a tí-ró
say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG
‘I’m your leader. I myself can resolve things,” he (Yuhpi Diani) said.’

‘Sou o chefe. Eu mesmo posso resolver isso,” disse ele (Yuhpi Diani).’

30 The word kasero is a borrowing from Portuguese “caseiro”, a housekeeper or servant.
31 The verb mahsi ‘know’ is also used to indicate ability, to ‘know how’ to do something.
ni, ñaina hi’na buea kha’noari tì(ña).

~dí ~yá--ida ~hí’da bué-a ~kha’dó-wa’-ri tì--da
say bad-NMLZ.PL EMPH arrow-PL prepare/organize-go-NMLZ ANPH-PL

‘Saying that, the servants started making arrows (preparing for war).’

‘Falando isso, os criados foram preparar (armas).’

(73) tiro a’rina ñuhchuno khi’to hìa.

tí-ró a’ri--da ~yuchú-ro khi’to hí-a
ANPH-SG DEM.PROX-PL grandfather-SG become COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘[He (Yuhpi Diani) and] the ones who would become (your) grandfathers.]’

‘[Ele (Yuhpi Diani e) os que seriam os avôs (de vocês).]’

(74) sä ba’ü, tiro ñahori kūīrota hìa, to namosānumia, phuarò numia ...

~sa=ba’ú tí-ró ñähori ~kū-iro-ta
1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother ANPH-SG ñahori alone-NMLZ.SG-EMPH
hí-a to=–dabó– sadubia phuá-ro--dubia
COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F two-SG-PL.F

‘Our younger brother, Ñahori, lived alone with his wives, two women ...’

‘Nosso irmão menor, Ñahori, vivia sozinho com as mulheres, duas esposas ...

(75) to pho’nakā phuarokā, to phayoa phuarokā, seista hìa tìna öre muku duhpurire.

to=–phó’dá--ka phuá-ro--ka to=phayó-a phuá-ro--ka
3SG.POSS=children-DIM two-SG-DIM 3SG.POSS=servant-PL two-SG-DIM
seis32=ta hí-a tì--da ~ó-ré muku.duhpuri-re
six=EMPH COP-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL DEIC.PROX-OBJ muku.duhpuri-OBJ

‘two children and two servants, they were exactly six here in Muku Duhpuri.’

‘dois filhos e dois criados, no total eram seis aqui em Muku Duhpuri.’

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32 Although there are frequently used Kotiria terms for numbers one through five, nowadays it is quite common for both numbers and time expressions, such as semana ‘week’ in line 76, to be borrowed from Portuguese. See also line 264.
Three weeks later, the warrior (Yuhpi Diani) came upstream with his servants, to the sound of piriaka flutes.

‘Três semanas depois, o guerreiro (Yuhpi Diani) vinha subindo com seus criados, ao som da flauta piriaka.’

In those times, it wasn’t the custom to make war silently (but to play flutes) tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu ...

‘Naqueles tempos, não era costume guerrear em silêncio, (vinham tocando flautas) tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu ...’

They arrived here in Wãhsipiria Nũhko (island, and) the warriors came up the path until they arrived (at Nhori’s house).

‘Chegaram aqui em Wãhsipiria Nũhko (ilha, e) os guerreiros foram subindo pelo caminho até chegarem (na casa do Nhori).’

Piriaka are small wooden flutes held horizontally and played through a single blow hole.

The root khábá ‘bring or do X together’ (see also Footnote 51), when used in a serialization can indicate reflexive action, as in line 162.
khatá-ró-sópáká-í  duhí-a  tí-ró  bukú-ro
flatbread.oven-sg-opening-LOC.VIS sit-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG ancestor-SG

'He (Nhahori) barred (the entrance, in vain, and), the old guy sat next to the opening to the flatbread oven.'

'Ele (Nhahori) se-fechou dentro (em vão, e) o velho ficou sentado na boca do forno.'

(80) ñahori to wa’masitia me’neta, a’ri wuhunihti, a’ri noano hiphitiro to dohkaa me’ne.

ñáhórí to=~wa’básítía=~be’re35-ta  a’rí  wuhuí~dítí
Nhahori 3SG.POSS=adornments=COM-EMPH DEM.PROX ceremonial.perfume
a’rí  ~dóá-ró  híphiti-ro  to=doká-a=~be’re
DEM.PROX good-SG everything-SG 3SG.POSS=spear-PL=COM

‘Nhahori with all his adornments, the ceremonial perfume (and) all of his weapons.’

‘Nhahori com todos os enfeites do corpo, perfume ceremonial (e) com todas as sua armas.’

(81) tatu’sua tina. kūpho’na mahataa
tá-thu’su-a  tí~da  ~kū~pho’da
come-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL one/a-CLF:line
~bahá-ta-a
go.uphill-come-ASSERT.PFV

‘They (Yuhpi Diani and warriors) arrived. (They) were coming up in a line.’

‘Eles (Yuhpi Diani e guerreiros) já estavam vindo numa fila.’

(82) yabá? um ... hum, bo’teapũ, do’se nihari?
yabá36  hum...hum bo’teá~pu  do’sé  ~dí-háří
Q:what/how hum...hum embaúba.tree(sp) Q:how say-Q.IPVF

‘[What? um, um ... Embaúba tree, [is that what it’s called?]’

‘[Como? um, um ... Embaúba, [é assim que chama?]’

35 Use of the comitative clitic me’ne causes tonal downstep on the tonal element immediately before; the same phenomenon occurs in the second occurrence in this example.
36 The question word yabá ‘what/how’ is used as a filler in discourse, when the speaker has a doubt about something or needs a moment to think or reformulate.
‘They had a lot of strips of molongó wood that they had sharpened ...’
‘Eles tinham um monte de ripas de molongó que estavam bem afiados ...’

‘[That (I suppose) were like a shield for them.]’
‘[Que (suponho) era como se fosse escudo para eles.]’

‘(Eles) já vem, chefe!’ disseram (os servos do Ñahori).

‘Os dois criados coitados (de Ñahori) gritavam xingando: “To ... to ... tooooooo, malditos filhos do inimigo!”’

‘We’re going to mow you down!” the poor terrified ones yelled.’
‘Vamos derrubar vocês!” gritavam os pobres apavorados.’
ne bioera, tinase phayubia hia.
~dé bio-éra tí--da-se phayú-bia hí-a
NEG defend/resist-NEG ANPH-PL-CONTR many-AUM COP-ASSERT.PFV
'(But) they (Ñahori’s servants) were overwhelmed, there were too many
of the others.’
'(Mas) não aguentaram (os criados de Ñahori), os outros eram uma
multidão.’

tinakã, a’rí tho’ori khuamaati pakhuioina, ñahori yainakã …
tí--da--ka a’rí thó’ó-ri khuá--ba-ati
ANPH-PL-DIM DEM.PROX spear-PL have-FRUS-IPFV
pá-khui-o--ida ñáhórí yá--ida--ka
ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL ñahori POSS-NMLZ.PL-DIM
'Those poor guys who just had spears, were terrified, Ñahori’s servants …'
'Os coitadinhos que só tinham lanças, ficaram com medo, os criados do
Ñahori …'

duhia tina kho’taphisaa bahtirodita.
duhí-a tí--da kho’tá-phisá37-á batí-ro-dita
sit-PL ANPH-PL wait-be.on-ASSERT.PFV shield-CLF:concave-SOL
‘they sat up there waiting with their shields.’
‘ficaram em cima sentados só com escudos.’

buemati ne bioera: “phayubia hira. sã phũ’toro, wihaga” nimaa.
bué--ba-ati ~dé bio-éra phayú-bia
arrow.shoot-FRUS-IPFV NEG defend/resist-NEG many-AUM
hí-ra ~sa=phũ’tó-ro wihá-ga
COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG MOV.outward-IMP
~dí--ba-a
say-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV
‘Shooting but unable to resist, (the servants) cried (in vain): “There are
too many of them, master. Run away!”
‘Flechando mas não resistindo, gritaram (os criados em vão): “São muitos,
chefe. Fuja!”’

37 Many verb serializations contain stative positional roots such as phisa ‘be on’, which contribute
detailed perspective of the action. Here, we understand that the servants are cowering on
higher ground, observing and dreading the arrival of the enemy approaching from below.
“I’m not going! I’m going to defeat them all!” he (Ñahori) said.
“Não vou! Eu mesmo vou acabar com eles,” disse ele (Ñahori).

“Master, run away, run away, master! (They) will kill you. (They’re) ready to kill us too.”
“Chefe, fuja, fuja, chefe! Vão matar você. Nós também, já vão nos matar.”

‘Saying that, Ñahori ordered his wives: “Take the children away!” he said.’
‘Falando disso, Ñahori mandou as esposas: “Levem as crianças embora!” disse.’

---

38 The expression *ta hita*, here in reduced form, shows the speaker’s intent to do something ‘by myself.’
39 The morpheme -hã is analyzed as a shortened form of *phã’yo* (see line 105), which in a serial verb construction adds a ‘completive’ aspectual reading.
“haï” ni. tinakãre na, ti yaipiripure naa.

\[
\text{hai} \quad \text{~dî} \quad \text{tí~da~ka~re} \quad \text{~dá}
\]

INTJ:agree say ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get

\[
ti=yáí-pírí-pu-re \quad \text{~dá-a}
\]

3PL.POSS=jaguar-teeth-CLF:basket-OBJ get-ASSERT.PFV

“Yes!” (they) said. They got the children (and) put them in (their basket with) jaguar-teeth necklaces (and other sacred objects).’

“Sim!” disseram. Pegaram os filhos (e) colocaram no (cesto) de colares de dente-de-onça (e outros objetos sagrados).’

(97) to namosânunia pho’nakã phuaro.

\[
to=\text{~dabó~sadubia} \quad \text{~phó’da~ka} \quad \text{phuá~ro}
\]

3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F children-DIM two-SG

‘[His wives’ two children.]’

‘[Os dois filhos das esposas dele.]’

(98) “toi, sã bioera. mu’ubahi sawisa sa phutoro. mu’ure khá’imaha sà,” nia.

\[
tó-i \quad \text{~sá} \quad \text{bio-éra-ka} \quad \text{~bu’ú-basi} \quad \text{~basí-gá}
\]

DEF-LOC.VIS 1PL.EXCL defend/resist-NEG-ASSERT.IPV 2SG-EMPH know-IMP

\[
~sa=phutó-ru \quad \text{~bu’ú-ré~kha’i~ba~ha} \quad \text{~sá}
\]

1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG 2SG-OBJ love-RSP-VIS.IPV.1 1PL.EXCL

\[
~dí-a
\]

SAY-ASSERT.PFV

“We can’t resist anymore! You take over, master. We love you,” (Ñahori’s servants) said.’

“Não aguentamos mais. Você pode resistir, chefe. Nós amamos você,” disseram (os criados do Ñahori).’

(99) tiro tobahsi buawihatamaa buerotaro.

\[
tí-ró \quad to-basí \quad buá-wiha-ta~ba-a
\]

ANPH-SG DEF-EMPH crawl/crouch-MOV[outward-come-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV

\[
bué-ro-ta-ro
\]

arrow.shoot-SG-come-SG

‘He (Ñahori) himself came out crouching down (and) shooting arrows.’

‘Ele (Ñahori) mesmo veio saindo agachado (e) flechando.’
(100) tiata, quatrotari, tirore ò waroi buetu’sua tina, chuuu! tu ... tu ...
tiá-ta quatro-ta-ri ti-ró-ré ò wáró-i
three-EMPH four-EMPH-PL ANPH-SG-OBJ DEIC.PROX EMPH-LOC.VIS
bué-thu’su-a tí~da chuuu!
arrows.shoot-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL ONTP:arrows.being.shot
tu...tu...t巨人巨人巨人 phuhu!
ONTP:arrows.flying ONTP:falling.on.ground
‘After three (or) four rounds, an arrow hit him (Ñahori). Chuuu! tu ... tu ...
tuuu! phuhu!’ (sounds of arrows flying, striking Ñahori and his falling down.)
‘Depois de três (ou) quatro vezes, acertaram nele (Ñahori). Chuuu! tu ... tu ...
tuuu! phuhu!’ (som das flechas, do acerto nele e Ñahori caindo.)

(101) thetereka khataro du’tuka’apu.
thetéré-ká khatá-ró du’túka’a-putremble-ASSERT.IPfv flatbread.oven-CLF:concave edge-LOC
‘He collapsed trembling right next to the oven.’
‘Caiu tremendo bem do lado do forno.’

(102) kha’asüa.
kha’á-su-a
fall-arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV
‘He fell over.’
‘Ficou caido.’

(103) to kha’asüchü, “noana mari wahpakuro ñakäre” ni.
to=kha’á-su-chü ~dóádá ~b˘ari=wapá-kuru-ro
3SG.POSS=fall-arrive.TRNS-SW.REF that’s.good 1PL.INCL.POSS=enemy-M-SG
~yá--ka-re ~dí
bad-DIM-OBJ say
‘After his fall40 (Diani’s warriors cried): “You deserved it, evil enemy!”’
‘Depois que caiu, (os guerreiros do Diani gritaram): “Bem feito, inimigo malvado!”’

40These sentences contain a typical “tail-head” linking sequence, in which the finite predicate (or part of it) of one sentence is repeated in the following sentence, usually as an initial subordinate adverbial clause (though the subordinate clauses can occur at the end of the sentence, as in line 195). When the action involves a shift in subject between the subordinate and main clause, the subordinate clause is marked with the switch-reference suffix -chu (see Stenzel 2016).
(104) doa, ni “hʉʉʉʉ … bi’óha mari tirore,” ni thumaharekũa.

dõa ~dí hʉʉʉʉ bi’ó-há ~barí tí-ró-ré
shout say INTJ:victory.cry successful-IPfv.1 1PL.INCL ANPH-SG-OBJ
~dí thú--baha-re--kua
say push-MOV.upward-OBj-leave.on.ground
‘(They) shouted: “Hʉʉʉʉ! ... We got (killed) him!” (and then) rolled his
body over.’
‘Gritaram: “Hʉʉʉʉ! ... Nós conseguimos (matar) ele!” (e depois) viraram
(o corpo dele) de costas.’

(105) wʉ’ʉ hʉ̃pha’yohã’a.

wʉ’ʉ́ house ~hʉ́-pha’yo-~ha-a
house burn-COMPL-COMPL-ASSERT.PFV
‘(They) burned down all the houses.’
‘(Eles) tocaram fogo em todas as casas.’

(106) ã yoa tina duhsetire ñʉrokaa nia.

~a=yóá tí~da dusé-ti41-re ~yʉ́-dóká-a ~dí-a
SO=do ANPH-PL mouth-ATTRIB-OBj see/look-DIST-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV
‘So, the others (from Matapi) were watching the confusion from afar.’
‘Então, os outros (de Matapi) ficaram observando a confusão de longe.’

(107) a’ri ora hiro hiarito?42

a’ri hóra hí-ro hí-a-rito
DEM.PROX hour COP-SG COP-go-or.not
‘[Was that when it was?]’
‘[Era nessa hora ou não?]’

(108) ni ora hiro hiarito to phichanihti muhaa tiñuchu.

~dí hóra hí-ro hí-a-rito to=phichá--diti
Q:which hour COP-SG COP-go-or.not REM=fire-ash
~buhá-a
ti~yʉ́-chù
MOV.upward-ASSERT.PFV 3PL.POSS=see/look-SW.REF
‘[Was at this time or not when (the women in Matapi) saw the smoke
rising?]’

41The notion of “confusion” is derived from the root for ‘mouth’ marked by the attributive suffix
-ti, something akin to ‘be mouthy’. It can also be used to refer to a discussion.
42The expression hiro hiarito is used to express doubt: ‘Was that the way it went/was or not?’
The verb wa’a ‘go’ is often shortened to -a when it occurs in serializations (see also line 292).
‘[Era essa hora ou não quando (as mulheres de Matapi) viram a fumaça subir?]’

(109) a youa ti manusumuare ... sã numia khitiphayu nimahana.
~a=yóá ti=badú–subua-re ~sá ~dubía khití-phayu
so=do 3PL.POSS=husband-PL.kin-OBJ 1PL.EXCL women story-many
~dí--bá-há=~(hi’)da
say-FRUS-VIS.IPFW.1=EMPH
‘So (they commented to) their husbands ... [we women are such gossips! (story-tellers)]’
‘Então (falaram) aos seus maridos ... [como nós mulheres somos fofoqueiras (contadoras de histórias)!]’

(110) “nhuhú! do’se mari ŋahori wāhahāpha sina.”
~yu–hu43 do’sé ~bari=ŋahorí-ré ~wahá--ha-pha
see/look-IMP.DEIC Q:what 1PL.INCL.POSS=ŋahori-OBJ kill-COMPL-SPEC
ši--da
DEM.DIST-PL
“Look there! Have those people killed our Ŋahori?” (they speculated).’
“Olha lá! Será que aqueles mataram nosso Ŋahori? (especularam).’

(111) “yoatapʉ wu’uma’chu hūmuhana” nia.
yoá-tá-pú wu’ú--ba’chu ~hú--buha-ra
long-EMPH-LOC house-ADD burn-MOV.upward-VIS.IPFW.2/3
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV
“The smoke from the houses has been rising for a long time!” (they) said.’
“Faz tempo que sobe fumaça das casas!” disseram.

(112) “pa! ā thiharide ni ŋurokaa.
pá ~á thi-hari-de ~dí ~yu-dóká-á
INTJ:neg.surprise so true-Q.IPFW.EMPH say see/look-DIST-ASSERT.PFV
“Oh no! Is it true?” (they wondered) looking from afar.’
“Puxa! Será verdade?” (especularam) olhando de longe.’

43The imperative suffix -hu has inherent distal deictic semantics.
“bahsañʉna!”
basá-~yu- (~hí’) da
“Let’s go see!”
“Vamos ver!”

(ti phare ma’ari hiatiri himarebu taati phaati ... pʉʉ ... a’ri muku duhpuripu.

dí-phá-re ~ba’á-ri hi-ati-ri hi-~bare-bu tá-átí
‘In those days it seems there were already paths coming all the way to Mukʉ Dʉhpʉri (Ñahori’s place).’

‘Naqueles tempos parece que já existiam as trilhas vindo até ao Mukʉ Duhpuri (lugar do Ñahori).’

(de ti wi’ichʉ wʉ’ʉ borawa’aa ... karaa!

dé ti=wi’í-chʉ wu’ú
‘Poor folks! When they got there, the houses were already collapsing … Karaa!’ (sound of houses falling down)

‘Coitados! Quando chegaram, as casas já estavam caindo … Karaa!’ (som das casas caindo)

“kue! do’se wa’airide” ni, phisumahkamaa tina ñahorire.
kue do’sé wa’ári-de ~dí
‘What in the world happened?” (they thought) calling out, looking (in vain) for Ñahori (and his family).’

44The exhortative is composed of elements bracketing the verb: initial (ba)sa and final (hí’)na, both of which are frequently shortened as indicated.

45The morpheme -de seems to be a negative mirative, indicating both unexpected information and fear.
“O que será que aconteceu?” (pensaram) chamando e procurando (em vão) Ñahori (e a família).

“ñahoriii, Ñahori pho’nakāāāā, m[uhsare wāhapha’ñonohkaka,” nia tina biarise.
ñahōri Ñahori ~pho’dá--kā ~bʉsā-re ~wahā--pha’yo--doka-ka
ñahori Ñahori children-DIM 2PL-OBJ kill-complete-together-ASSERT.IPVF
~dí-a ti~da biāri-se
say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL biari-CONTR
“Ñahori ... Ñahori children ... (they’ve) killed all of you together!” the Biari cried.’
“Ñahori ... Ñahori filhos ... mataram todos vocês juntos!” gritaram eles, os Biari.

They (the ones who had escaped) didn’t answer, fearful of being slaughtered.’

Não respondiam (os que tinham escapado), com pavor de serem mortos.’

“(They’re) coming back to kill us!” (they) thought.’

Vão vir de novo para nos matar!” pensaram.’

Later, (the Biari) cried out, “Where have you gone, Ñahori children?”

Mais tarde, (os Biari) gritaram, “Onde foram vocês, filhos do Ñahori?”

Relative temporal reference is accomplished by stative roots ‘do/be after’ (also in line 76) or ‘do/be before’ (as in line 282), glossed with their basic semantics.
(121) “mʉhsare wãhapha’ñoboari chẽ” nia.
~busá-re ~wahá--pha’yo-bo-ari ~ché ~dí-a
2PL-OBJ kill-complete-DUB-AFFECT-Q.PFV INTJ:doubt say-ASSERT.PFV
“Could they have killed all of you?”
“Será que mataram todos vocês?”

(122) tina a’rina yuhpi diani tinakãre wãhapha’ñochure, a’rina ne ñahoria maniaboka.
tí--da a’rí--da yuhpi.diáni tí--da--ka-re
ANPH-PL DEM.PROX-PL yuhpi.diani ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ
~wahá--pha’yo-chu-re a’rí--da ~dé ~yáhóri-á
kill-complete-SW.REF-OBJ DEM.PROX-PL NEG ñahori-PL
~badía-bo-ka
not.exist-DUB-ASSERT.IPFV
‘[If Yuhpi Diani had killed off the little ones, there wouldn’t be all these Ñahoria.]’ (referring to the audience)
‘[Se Yuhpi Diani tivesse matado os pequenos, não existiriam esses Ñahoria.]’ (falando da plateia assistindo)

(123) tinakã phuaro muakã hia.
tí--da--ka phuá--ro ~bú--a--ka hí-a
ANPH-PL-DIM two-SG man/person-PL-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV
‘There were two little boys.’
‘Havia dois meninos.’

(124) ã yoa mahkaphome yu’tia. “ининининининий” ння.
~a=yóá ~baká--phóbé yu’tí-a инининининий ~dí-a
so=do look.for-give.up answer-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:here! say-ASSERT.PFV
‘When (the Biari) were about to give up looking, (the boys) answered: “ининининий.” (We’re here!)’
‘Então quando (os Biari) já estavam cansandos de procurar, (os meninos) responderam: “инининий.” (Estamos aqui!)’
“Come on out! We’re looking for you,” (the Biari) cried.

“Venham! Estamos procurando vocês,” (os Biari) gritaram.

‘When the poor little ones and Ñahori’s wives arrived, (they asked) them: “What happened to you?”’

‘Quando os pequenos coitados (e) as esposas (do Ñahori) chegaram, perguntaram a eles: “O que aconteceu com vocês?”’

‘(They) all came to kill our husband,” (the women) said.’

‘Vieram matar nosso marido,” disseram (as mulheres).’

“It was us, we took the little ones away.”’

“It was us, nós levamos esses pequenos.”’
“Good thing!” (the Biari) answered.

“Que bom!” responderam (os Biari).

“We will care for the two little ones (and) the jaguar-teeth basket (and other sacred objects),” his older brothers (the Biari) said.

“Nós cuidamos desses dois pequenos (e) o cesto de dentes-de-onça (e outros objetos sagrados),” diziam os irmão maiores dele (os Biari).

'Taking the little ones (they) went looking around where the fire was going out, (and saw) the poor guy fallen at the edge of the oven, his big skull lying on the ground.'
‘Levando os pequenos, indo olhando onde o fogo estava acabando, (viram) o pobre corpo queimado do lado do forno, a caveira grande deitada no chão.’

(132)  

ñahorikiro hʉ̃ khõano.

ñáhôrî-kírô  ~hʉ̃  ~khoá-ro
ñahori-M.RSP burn lie-SG

‘It was Ñahori lying there all burned up.’

‘Era Ñahori deitado queimado.’

(133)  

sua yu’dua muawa’a ñaina.

súá  yu’dú-á  ~bí-a-wa’a  ~yá--ida
angry INTENS-ASSERT.PFV man/person-PL-go bad-NMLZ.PL

‘They became furious.’

‘Ficaram enfurecidos.’

(134)  

“noana, sã ba’ure yoaka” nia.

~dóádá  ~sa=ba’ú-re  yoá-ka49
very.well 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ do-ASSERT.IPFV
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘Very well, (they’ve) done this to our younger brother (killed him),” (the Biari) said.’

“‘Tudo bem, já fizeram isso (mataram) nosso irmão,” disseram (os Biari).’

(135)  

thua wa’aa.

thúa-wa’a-a
return-go-ASSERT.PFV

‘They returned home.’

‘Voltaram.’

(136)  

hia ti phukuro a’riro dianumia, mari ŋuhchu.

hí-a  ti=phukú-ró  a’rí-ro  diánúmiá
COP-ASSERT.PFV 3PL.POSS=father-SG DEM.PROX-SG dianumia

49Use of the imperfective assertion marker –ka (rather than the perfective –a) suggests a shared conclusion based on evidence they can all see.
Their father, Dianumia (Yairo), our grandfather was there.'

'Lá estava o pai deles, Dianumia (Yairo), nosso avô.'

"Well, what happened, sons?" (Dianumia Yairo asked).

"Então, o que aconteceu, filhos?" (Dianumia Yairo perguntou).

"Over there they burned our younger brother. (They) killed (him)!

"Lá longe queimaram nosso irmão. Mataram!" relataram.

"I warned him, but he ignored (it)," he (Dianumia Yairo) retorted [disgusted]."

Teresinha uses the expression tota (a short form of tiro-ta 'he there') for emphasis; indicating that Dianumia Yairo was expecting this to happen and is angered and disgusted by the situation. See the plural form of the expression, tita shortened from tina-ta in line 142.
“Eu aconselhei, mas ele ignorou,” ele (Dianumia Yairo) respondeu [desapontado].”

(141) “hierara, kha’maerahaa, sa phuku, (waha)kha’makasininatha tirore.”

“No, we won’t leave it at that, father. We’re still going to avenge him.”

(142) “bu’irimaniano tiro buhtibokari” nia tita tikhure.

“How could he just disappear without being avenged?” (they) added that too.

(143) ‘[Yes, you men sometimes like to say things like that.]’

(144) ‘[Sim, vocês homens às vezes gostam de falar essas coisas.]’

51The form kha’maka is a shortened form of wakahama ‘kill together’, meaning ‘to avenge’ (also in line 192).
'[Quando um de nós é morto, (vocês) falam ao nosso irmão assim mesmo (para brigar, vingar), (ou) algum outro que fala muito, que se acha valente.]

(145) “hai, ya’umai, ya’ukuse, noana.”

hái ya’ú--ba-i ya’ú-ku-se ~dóádá
INTJ:agree warn-FRUS-VIS.PFV.1 tell-M-CONTR very.well

“Well then, I warned (you, in vain), I told (you) otherwise, (but) so be it.” (Dianumia Yairo speaking)

“Então tá, eu avisei (em vão), aconselhei diferente, (mas) que seja assim.” (Dianumia Yairo falando)

(146) “muhsabahsi mahsia, yu pho’na.”

~busá-bási ~basí-á yu=~pho’dá
2PL-EMPH know-ASSERT.PFV.1SG.POSS=children

“You take care of it yourselves, my sons.”

“Vocês mesmo resolvem, meus filhos.”

(147) “muhsa padahchopu muhsa õse ya’uchu, thu’oduerana nina.”

~busá pá-dacho-pu ~busá ~óse ya’ú-chu thu’ó-dua-era--da
2PL ALT-day-LOC 2PL like.this warn-SW.REF hear-DES-NEG-PL
~dí-ra
PROG-VIS.IPFW.2/3

“(I’m) warning you like this, (you) of this next (younger) generation, (but you) aren’t listening.”

“(Eu estou aconselhando vocês assim, (vocês) dessa outra geração (mais nova), (mas vocês) não estão querendo ouvir.”

(148) nisua, bu’sa wâ’koa.

~dí-súá bu’sá ~wa’kó-a
say-angry adornment prepare-ASSERT.PFV

‘Saying that angrily, (Dianumia Yairo) prepared adornments.’

‘Dizendo assim chateado, (Dianumia Yairo) preparou enfeites.’

(149) tiro buhkuro, mu’noku phuadu noano ſário phutis’aa.

tí-ró bukú-ro ~bu’dó-kú phuá-dü
~dóá-ró  ~yá-ri-ro   phuti-su’a-a
good-sg bad-NMLZ-sg blow-penetrate-ASSERT.PFV

‘The old guy made two cigars, blowing smoke on them (to bless, or imbue them with violence for success in battle).’

‘O velho fez dois bons cigarros e soprou neles (fez benzimento de força e violência para vencer na guerra).’

(150)  tina, ā yoata ni, wamoare kha’notu’swa.
tí--da  ~a=yóá-ta  ~dí  ~wabóá-rí
ANPH-PL so=do-EMPH say weapons-PL
~kha’dó-tu’ su-a
prepare/organize-finish-ASSERT.PFV

‘They (the Biari), as soon as he said that, set straight away to preparing their weapons.’

‘Eles (os Biari), assim que ele (Dianumia Yairo) falou isso, já começaram a preparar as armas.’

(151)  sō’o sā mipu hirore, bueakhanu peri hiatimare, buea, bueakhanu ōmahadohtori waro.
~so’ó  ~sa=–bí-pu hí-ro-re bué-a--khadu péri
DEIC.DIST 1PL.EXCL.POSS=now-LOC COP-SG-OBJ arrow-PL-cane many
hi-ati--bare bué-a bué-a--khadu
COP-IPFV-REM.IPFW arrow-PL arrow-PL-cane
~ó--báhá-dótó-ri wáró
DEIC.PROX-MOV.upward-bundle-PL EMPH

‘[There, in the place we live now (Matapi), there used to be a lot of arrow-cane, arrows, arrow-cane, big bundles this tall.]

‘[Ali, no lugar onde moramos agora (Matapi), havia muita cana-de-flecha, flechas, cana-de-flecha, montes de feixes altos assim.]’

(152)  seis dohtori noano yoaa.
seis dotó-ri  ~dóá-ró  yoá-a
six bundle-PL good-sg do-ASSERT.PFV

‘(Each warrier) made six good bundles (of arrows).’

‘(Cada guerreiro fez seis feixes (de flechas).’
“Tell our younger brother Yuhpi Diani to be expecting us,” they sent off a message.

“Avisa ao nosso irmão menor Yuhpi Diani que vamos chegar,” mandaram recado.

[(But) if it were you, better to attack without letting them know!] (Teresinha jokes with Joselito)

“The warriors came down right over here, on the river, coming right up to the Wãhsipiria pond (river port).’

‘Os guerreiros vinham descendo bem aqui, no caminho (pelo rio), vindo até o poço de Wãhsipiria (porto no rio).’

‘Their canoes were huge bark canoes.’

‘Suas canoas enormes eram feitas com casca de árvores.’

52 The expression di’tamania ‘no dirt’ means to ‘do something in silence’.
(157) do’se ka’saribuhsokare yoari hi’na ñaina.
   do’sé ka’sá-ri-búsó-ká-ré yoá53-ri ~hí’da
q:how bark-NMLZ-canoe-CLF:round-OBJ do/make-Q.PFV EMPH
   ~yá–ida
bad-NMLZ.PL
’[How did the warriors make those bark canoes?]’
’[Como os guerreiros faziam essas canoas de casca?]’

(158) òna burutaa.
   ~ó-(-hí’)da burá-ta-a
DEIC.PROX-EMPH go.downriver-come-ASSERT.PFV
’Right down here (they) came.’
’Desceram bem para cá.’

(159) òre wa’aa, òre yu’dopo’o.
   ~ó-ré wa’á-a ~ó-ré yu’dó-po’o
DEIC.PROX-OBJ go-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-OBJ drag.canoe-place.floating
’They went (through the rapids), dragging the canoes (on the rocks) over here.’54
’Passaram (a cachoeira), arrastando as canoas (pelas pedras) aqui.’

(160) ñaina phiriaka bihsiburuaduhkua noano me’neta pu ... pu .. .puuuuuuuu,
   ~yá–ida phíríá-ká bisí-búrú-á-dúkú-a
bad-NMLZ.PL flute-CLF:round sound-go.downriver-go-stand-ASSERT.PFV
   ~dóá-ró=—be’re-ta pu...pu...puuuuuuu
good-SG=COM-EMPH ONTP:flute.playing
’The warriors came down to the constant sound of phiriaka flutes: pu ... pu ... puuuuuuu!’
’Os guerreiros vinham descendo sempre ao som das flautas phiriaka: pu ... pu ... puuuuuuu!’

53The root yoá means ‘do’ or ‘make’, and is glossed with the meaning appropriate to the context.
54Teresinha gestures to the locations she is referring to, all near the village where the narrative was recorded.
'Yuhpi Diani’s men) were already there ready waiting, (and) when (the Biari) landed, they starting right in firing arrows at them.‘

'Ost (guerreiros de Yuhpi Diani) também já estavam esperando de prontidão (e) quando (os Biari) encostaram, já começaram a flechá-los.'

'They too (Yuhpi Diani’s men) returned fire, (but the Biari) weren’t hit.'

'Ost (guerreiros do Yuhpi Diani) também começaram a flechar de volta, (mas os Biari) não morriam.'

'After three rounds (of arrows) had arrived, with the next round, the poor guy (Yuhpi Diani) ran off, the arrows running out on them.'

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55 Use of the objective case suffix -re on the pronoun tina and the marker -a on the verb emphasize how the subject is being negatively affected by the situation.
'Depois de chegarem três levas (de flechas), na outra o coitado (Yuhpi Diani) acabou fugindo, as flechas deles acabando.'

siesere à yoa duhkuhãa nia painase.

front-side-OBJ SO=DO stand-COMPL-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV

'(While) from the opposite side the others (Biari) continued on (shooting).'

phome, ba’aro utimu, ti sùchu, tinare tãa dohkare.

give.up after-SG last.one 3PL.POSS=ARRIVE.TRNS-SW.REF ANPH-PL-OBJ

'Already exhausted, after their (the Biari’s) last (arrow) arrived, (Yuhpi Diani’s servants) threw rocks (at the Biari).'

toi ni à yoori himarebʉ sô’o khã nuhkore …

REM-LOC.VIS SAY SO=DO-NMLZ COP-REM.IPVF-EPIS DEIC.DIST

hawk-island-OBJ

'There, it’s said (that), in the old times, there in Khã Nuhko …'

Thu’sù, pitiasama sa’ari himarebọta.

finish war.trench dig-NMLZ COP-REM.IPVF-EPIS-EMPH

'in the end, (Yuhpi Diani’s men) dug trenches, it seems that’s just how it was.'
“ã hiro to pitiasama to di khoarinunhko hira, yu mahko.”

~a=hi-ro to=pitia~saba to=dií ~khoá-ri~duko
so=COP-SG 3SG.POSS=war.trench 3SG.POSS=blood lie-NMLZ-island
hi-ra yu=~bakó
COP-VIS.IPfv.2/3 1SG.POSS=daughter

’[“That why it’s an island (that has) trenches with their spilled blood, my daughter,” (my father said).]

’[“Por isso, é uma ilha (que tem) buracos com sangue deles derramado, minha filha,” (dizia meu pai).]’

“patere buhkuthuru so’toapure kha’mawâha buhtiaka a’ri nükore.”
pâtere bukú-thúrú so’tóa-pu-re ~kha’bá~waha
maybe old-times end-LOC-OBJ do/bring.together-kill
buti-a-ka a’rí ~dukó-re
disappear-PL-PREDICT DEM.PROX island-OBJ

’[“Maybe, in the future they’re all going to kill each other and disappear from the island.”]’

’[“Talvez, no futuro vão se-matar e sumir todos dessa ilha.”]’

niatire mai, yu ŋuhchumunano.
~dí-átí-ré ~bai yu=~yuchi~bûdá-ró
say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father 1SG.POSS=grandfather-deceased-SG

’[My dad (and) my late grandfather used to say that.]’

’[Assim papai (e) meu avô finado contavam.]’

yu phuku niya’ure, niya’utire.
yu=phukû ~dí-yâ’ú-ré ~dí-yâ’ú-áti-ré
1SG.POSS=father say-tell-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3

’[My father told (me), used to tell (me).]’

’[Meu pai contou, contava.]’

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56Teresinha explicitly attributes this negative assessment of the neighboring island and its inhabitants to her father, perhaps as a way to sidestep responsibility for it. Her use of the epistemic expression himarebûta just two lines earlier may also signal that she is aware she is entering into delicate politico-narrative territory.
(173) à to dikhôano hiro niyu’ka to. à hia tina kha’machua phayu nika tore.
~a=tó dii−~khoa-ro hí-ro ~dí-yu’ka\(^{57}\) tó ~a=hí-a
so=REM blood-lie-sg COP-sg say−REP.QUOT REM so=COP-ASSERT.PFV
tí−~da ~kha’báchu-a phayú ~dí-ka tó-re
ANPH-PL fight-PL many PROG-ASSERT.IPfv REM-OBJ

’Soy they say it’s a place that has spilled bood. That’s why they’re always fighting there.’

‘Dizem que é um lugar de sangue derramado. É por isso que estão sempre brigando lá.’

(174) ti(na) pimu’nonore bahsama’noeina, ôse ti(na) bihsiawe boowema’noeno.
ťí ńi−bu’dor-o-re basá\(^{58}\)−ba’doé−ida ~ôse
ANPH war-tobacco-sg-OBJ bless-not.do-NMLZ.PL like-this
ti=bisi-a-we
3PL.POSS=sweet-AFFECT-MOV.through
bó-o-we−ba’doé-ro
descend-CAUS-MOV.through-not.do-sg

‘They’re ones who never received the (anti-)war blessing, to make them sweet (calm, non-violent).’

‘Eles que são não benzidos (contra) guerra, que os tornariam doces (calmos, não-violentos).’

(175) bahsama’noeri nuhko hikano nika, yo’o ti nuhko.
basá−ba’doé–ri ~dukó hi-ka-ro ~dí-ka yo’ó
bless-not.do-NMLZ island COP-PREDICT-sg PROG-ASSERT.IPfv slaughter
ťí ~dukó
ANPH island

‘It will always be an unblessed island, a violent island.’

‘Será sempre uma ilha que não foi benzida, uma ilha de violência.’

\(^{57}\)Use of the quotative evidential in these statements is another strategy by which Teresinha can attribute a negative opinion to others.

\(^{58}\)The root bahsa is used with a range of meanings, including ‘dance/sing’ (see lines 235, 237 and ‘bless’).
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(176) óse wamoa ti da’rasuariro.
~óse ~wabóá tí da’rā-sua59-rī-ro
like.this violence ANPH work-angry-NMLZ-SG
’[So everyone is violent.]’
’[Assim todos são violentos.]’

(177) ā yoa phomea.
~a=yóá ~phobē-a
so=do give.up-ASSERT.PFV
’Soo, (they, Yuhpi Diani’s servants) gave up.’
’Então, (elas, os criados de Yuhpi Diani) desistiram.’

(178) “marire phi’tiera a’ri marire” ni tinakā du’tika’aa te khā pho’tai.
~barī-re phi’ti-éra a’ri ~barī-re ~dī tī~da--ka
1PL.INCL-OBJ end-NEG DEM.PROX 1PL.INCL-OBJ say ANPH-PL-DIM
du’ti-ka’a-a té ~khā-pho’ta-i
escape-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV until hawk-headwater-LOC.VIS
’“This (attack) against us never ends!” (they) said (and escaped off to the
headwaters of the Inambú stream (Khā Pho’tai).’
’“Esse (ataque) não acaba!” disseram (e) fugiram até a cabeceira do
igarapé Inambú (Khā Pho’tai).’

(179) no’oi hiharita baraphoa? no’oi hikarita ti phoayeri?
~do’ó-i hi-hari-ta barā-phoa
Q:where-LOC.VIS COP-Q.IPVF-EMPH potato.sp-falls/rapids
~do’ó-i hi-kari-ta tí phoā-yeri
Q:where-LOC.VIS COP-Q.SPEC-EMPH ANPH falls/rapids-PL
’[Where are those ‘potato’ rapids?60 I wonder where those rapids are.]’
’[Onde fica essa cachoeira de ‘batata’? Não sei onde fica essa cachoeira.]’

59The expression da’ra-sua indicates it’s as if they always had weapons in their hands (instead of tools or other normal work instruments), see line 150.
60Teresinha uses the name by which the rapids are currently known.
(180) *kha pho’tai, toi hia.*

khá-phó’ta-i    tó-i    hí-a
hawk-headwater-LOC.VIS REM-LOC.VIS COP-ASSERT.PFV

(Joselito responds) ‘[The Inambú (hawk) headwaters are over there.]’

(Joselito responde) ‘[A cabeçeara do Inambú (gavião) é para lá.]’

(181) “ne,” nimato, de ne mania.

~dé    ~dí--ba-to    dé    ~dé ~badía
INTJ:hello say-FRUS-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT INTJ:poor.one(s)! NEG not.exist

“Hello?” (Diani’s warriors, the Biari) called out (in vain), but poor guys, there was no one.’

“Alô?” (os guerreiros do Diani, os Biari) chamaram (em vão), mas coitados, não havia ninguém.’

(182) *mahka tini manieno: “no’oi wa’ari” ni.*

~baká--tidi    ~badié-ro    ~do’ó-i    wa’á-ri    ~dí
look.for-wander.around not.have-SG Q:where-LOC.VIS go-Q.PFV say

‘Looking all over (the island): “Where have they gone?” (they) wondered.’

‘Procurando por toda parte (da ilha): “Onde foram?” se perguntaram.’

(183) *tia numu hi, panumu ñami buruta ñaina.*

tíá    ~dubú hí    pá--dubu    ~yabí burú-ta    ~yá--ida
three day    COP ALT-day    night go.downriver-come bad-NMLZ.PL

‘Three days passed (and) the next night (Dianumia Yairo and his warriors from Matapi) came downriver.’

‘Passaram três dias (e) no dia seguinte de noite (Dianumia Yairo e os guerreiros de Matapi) vinham descendo.’

(184) *de thu’boropu tho! tho! tho!*

dé    thu’ó-boro-pu    tho!...tho!...tho!
INTJ:poor.one(s)! hear-separate.into.pieces-LOC ONTP:chopping

‘Poor guys (Yuhpi Diani’s servants). (The Biari) could hear from afar the sound of chopping: Tho! Tho! Tho!’

‘Coitados (os criados de Yuhpi Diani). (Os Biari) ouviram de longe o som de batidas: Tho! Tho! Tho!’
Some verbs in Kotiria have causative forms derived from the root+causative suffix -o, as we see here in the nominalized form pakhuoina ‘other frightened/terrified ones’.

Here Teresinha uses a borrowed word from Portuguese cerca ‘fence’ to refer to the barricade.
‘That night, hearing the noise from up there (Dianumia Yairo) said:
“Don’t (attack), let (Yuhpi Diani) survive.”’

‘Naquela noite, ouvindo o som vindo de lá (Dianumia Yairo) disse: “Não (ataca), deixa (Yuhpi Diani) sobreviver.”’

(189) “to yabu’iri, muhsa koiro thu’erare.”

to=yá-bu’i-ri ~busa=kó-iro
3SG.POSS=POSS-cause-NMLZ 2PL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG
thu’oéra-te hear-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3

“‘He’s at fault, your brother wouldn’t listen.’”

“Ele é culpado, seu irmão não ouvia (meus conselhos).’”

(190) “hira to pho’nakā ŋahoriakā, tina mahsaphutiaka” nimaati.

hí-ra to=∼pho’dá--ka ŋáhóri-á--ká tí--da
COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 3SG.POSS=children-DIM ŋahori-PL-DIM ANPH-PL
~basá-phú-tí-á-ká ~dí--ba-ati
people-expand-VBZ-PL-PREDICT say-FRUS-IPFV

“‘(But) there are two Ŋahori children, they will multiply (reproduce),”
(Yuhpi Diani) said (in vain, still trying to convince them).’

“‘(Mas) há dois pequenos filhos do Ŋahori, eles se multiplicarão,” disse
(Yuhpi Diani em vão, tentando convencê-los).’

(191) “kha’maeraha, kha’maeraha, kha’maeraha, kha’maerakāha” nia.

~kha’baéra-ha ~kha’baéra-ha ~kha’baéra-ha
want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1
~kha’baéra--ka-ha ~dí-a
want-NEG-DIM-VIS.IPFV.1 say-ASSERT.PFV

“‘We refuse! We refuse! We refuse! We absolutely refuse!’ (they)
insisted.’

“‘Não queremos! Não queremos! Não queremos! Não queremos mesmo!”
insistiram.’

63The suffix -haro is a third-person imperative ‘allow him to be one who lives’. See another
instance of the same morpheme in line 234.
“(wãha)kha’makasinathathā ēntiāro yōari hire,” niatia.

“We’re still going to avenge (our brother) for the evil done to him,” they kept saying.’

“Ainda vemos vingá-lo (nosso irmão) pelo mal feito a ele,” ficavam dizendo.’

“All right” (Dianumia Yairo) said.’

‘‘Está bom,” falou (Dianumia Yairo).’

‘Hearing (the sounds from the barricade), at night … [how many warriors were there – four or six of them maybe?]’

‘Ouvindo (os barulhos da barricada), de noite … [quantos guerreiros eram – quatro ou seis talvez?]’

‘(They) went right up to the barricade.’

‘Foram indo até perto da barricada.’

Here we see an example of the suffixes -na-ta marking 1PL intent (see also lines 69 and 87) in contrast to 1SG intent (in lines 13, 45, and others). We also find a good example of inference evidential marking, used because the speakers only saw the result of what was done to their brother, but not the actual actions. The expression (wãha)kha’maka is understood to mean ‘kill as was done to them’, in other words, to avenge.
6 Kotiria

(196) noano ôsekã yoamaati tinakã, cerca ne suhsueraro.
~dóa-ró ~ôse--ka yoá--ba-ati tí--da--ka cerca ~dé
good-SG like.this-DIM do-FRUS-IPFV ANPH-PL-DIM fence NEG
susu-éra-ro
have.holes-NEG-SG
‘They (Yuhpi Diani’s servants) were making a good barricade, like this with no open spaces (to get through).’
‘Eles (os criados do Yuhpi Diani) estavam fazendo a barricada bem feita assim, sem frestas (para alguem passar).’

(197) ñariro hũiro dohomʉaa.
~yá-ri-ro ~hú-iro dohó--bu65-(wa’)a-a
bad-NMLZ-SG worm-NMLZ-SG transform-run-go-ASSERT.PFV
‘Dianumia Yairo (and his men) quickly transformed into worms.’
‘Dianumia Yairo (e os guerreiros) rapidamente se transformaram em minhocas.’

(198) buhkuthurupʉ hiri himareroro, doho sä’a phitiawa’aa.
bukú-thúrú-pú hí-ri hí--bare-ro dohó ~sa’á
ancestor-times-LOC COP-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-SG transform MOV.inside
phíti-a-wa’a-a
accompany-PL-GO-ASSERT.PFV
‘[That’s the way it was in ancient times, (they) transformed (and) all of them went (into the ground).]’
‘[Era assim nos tempos antigos, se transformavam (e) entraram todos (na terra).]’

(199) ti sãsʉrʉka’achʉwaro, nia to kaseroa:
ti=~sá(’a)-suru-ka’a-chu-waro ~dí-a
3PL.POSS=MOV.inside-pause-beside-SW.REF-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV
to=kaséro-a
3SG.POSS=servant-PL
‘When they came out right beside (Yuhpi Diani’s) servants, they cried out.’
‘Quando eles sairam bem perto dos criados (do Yuhpi Diani), eles gritaram:’

65When the root mu ‘run’ occurs in a serial verb construction it adds the adverbial notion to ‘do X quickly’. 
(200) "sã phʉ’toro duhitaga mu’u."

~sa=phʉ’tó-ro  
duhí-ta-ga  
~bu’ú  
1PL.EXCL.Poss=master-SG descend-come-IMP 2SG  
"Come down, master!"

"Desça, chefe!"

(201) “mu’u ‘duhkaboha nimeheta’, mu’u säre tire wã’kore.”

~bu’ú  
duka-bo-ha  
~dí--beheta  
~bu’ú -sá-re  
2SG begin-DUB-VIS.IPfv.1 say-NEG.INTENS 2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ  
tí-re  
~wa’kó-re  
ANPH-OBJ cause.to.happen-VIS.PFV.2/3  
"You (decided) ‘I’m going to start (this war)’, it’s your fault this is happening to us!"

"Você (resolveu) ‘Eu vou começar (essa guerra)’, é sua culpa o que está acontecendo conosco!"

(202) taga mu’ukhu sà da’rana yoakha’maha sã,” nia.

tá-gá  
~bu’ú-khu  
~sa=da’rá--da  
yoá--kha’ba-ha  
~sá  
come-IMP 2SG-ADD 1PL.EXCL.Poss=work-PL do-RECP-VIS.IPfv.1 1PL.EXCL  
~dí-a  
say-ASSERT.PFV  
"You come too, to help with our work,” (the servants) said.’

"Venha você também ajudar o nosso trabalho,” falaram.’

(203) “hai” ni.

hái  
~dí  
INTJ:agree say  
"All right,” said (Yuhpi Diani).’

"Está bom,” disse (Yuhpi Diani).’

(204) ñaina dohamuua ti(na)tha tirore.

~yá--ida  
dohá--buá-a  
tí-ta  
tí-ró-ré  
bad-NMLZ.PL neg.curse-high-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-EMPH ANPH-SG-OBJ  
'(The servants) sent up a curse on him (Yuhpi Diani).’

'(Os criados) amaldiçoaram o (Yuhpi Diani).’
“hai” ni tirore si’arihī si’a.

hái ~dí tí-ró-ré ~si’á-ri~phi

INTJ:agree say ANPH-SG-OBJ set.fire.to-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike

~si’á-a
set.fire.to-ASSERT.PFV

“All right,” he said (and they) lit up a torch (to light the way) for him.’

“Está bom,” ele disse (e) acenderam uma tocha para (clarear o caminho) para ele.’

si’a duhiato pakhuoriro ...

~si’á duhí-(wa’)a-to pá-khui-o-ri-ro

set.fire.to descend-go-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ-SG

‘With the light, the poor terrified guy (Yuhpi Diani) started down …’

‘Com a luz, o coitadinho assustado foi descendo …’

pu! “mu’u … yabari … dahchomahkamahkari tañore duhte taga mu’ubahsi” nia.

pú ~bu’ú yabá-ri dachó~baka–baka-ri ~tayó-re

DIST 2SG Q:what/how-Q.PFV middle/center-origin-NMLZ beam-OBJ

dute-ta-ga ~bu’ú-básí ~dí-a

chop-come-IMP 2SG-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV

‘Coming way down! “You [how was it?] you yourself cut the central beam (of the barricade),” (the servants) said.’

‘Descendo tudo! “Você [como foi?] você mesmo venha cortar o travessão do meio (da barricada),” disseram (os criados).’

“hai” ni. si’aborataa.

hái ~dí ~si’á-bora-ta-a

INTJ:agree say set.fire.to-slide/fall-come-ASSERT.PFV

“OK” (Yuhpi Diani) said (and) came sliding down.’

“Está bom,” respondeu (Yuhpi Diani), e veio descendo escorregando.’

to si’aphīri si’a, yoariphī ņa’a, to duhteka’achuwaro, ņaina ņa’atu’sua tirore.

to~si’á~phi-ri ~si’á yoá-ri~phi

3SG.POSS=set.fire.to-CLF:bladelike-PL set.fire.to long-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike
'With his torch burning, he grabbed his machete (and) when he started
to chop (the beam), the warriors (Biari) captured him.'

'Com a tocha acesa, pegou o terçado (e) quando começou a cortar (o
travessão), os guerreiros (Biari) o capturaram.'

(210) “kueeee! yʉ kha’makã, yʉ’ʉ́re ña’atu’sʉra ñaina.”

‘No! Servants, the warriors have captured me!’

(211) “khero, muhsakhʉ bʉea nataga” nia.

‘Quickly, you get your arrows too!’ (Yuhpi Diani) cried.’

(212) tina, ñamire, yo’o da’ramahkatinikaa.

‘(But) in the dark, they just ran around like this looking for (things).’

(213) tirose ña’atu’surasi, ña’adi’okãhãa.

‘(Mas), no escuro, eles só andaram assim para lá e para cá procurando.’
‘(The warriors) had already captured him (Yuhpi Diani), (and he) couldn’t move.’

‘(Os guerreiros) já tinham capturado Yuhpi Diani, (e ele) não conseguia se mexer.’

(214) nə’amahare kāku ōi su’su.

~ya’á--báhá-ré ~kákú ~ó-i
grab-MOV.upward-VIS.PFV.2/3 throw.on.ground DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS su’sú
embrace

‘(They) threw him down on the ground, holding him here.’
‘Derrubaram jogando no chão, segurando aqui assim.’

(215) ti(na) to a’rī tañobaro toputa du’upayoa to duhsore.

tí to a’rī ~tayó=ba’ro tó-pu-ta
ANPH DEF DEM.PROX beam=CLF:kind DEF-LOC-EMPH
du’ú-páyó-á to=dúsó-re
leave-put.on.top-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=thigh-OBJ

‘On a beam just like this one here, they (Diani’s warriors) left his (Yuhpi Diani’s) leg.’
‘Eles (os guerreiros do Diani), num travessão tipo esse mesmo, deixaram a coxa dele (do Yuhpi Diani) bem em cima.’

(216) yo’o tinapu (hi’)na khomakhʉ, yaba hiri himarero?

yo’ó tí--da-pu ~(hi’)da ~khobá-khu yabá hi-ri
in.contrast ANPH-PL-LOC EMPH ax-ADD Q:what/how COP-NMLZ
hi--bare-ro
COP-IPFV.EPIVS-GS

‘[But those guys then had axes too — what were they?]’
‘[Mas naquela época eles também tinham machado — como é que era?]’

(217) bookhoma! ûhu, ti khoma sioripha tinapure?

bóó--khómá ûhu tí ~khobá sió-ri-pṣa tí--da-pu-re
stone-axe INTJ:YES ANPH ax sharp-NMLZ-SPEC ANPH-PL-LOC-OBJ

‘[Bookhoma! Yes ... do you suppose to them that (kind of) axe\(^{66}\) was sharp?]’

\(^{66}\)Teresinha is referring to axes with stone heads, still used in the region in the early twentieth century (Koch-Grünberg 1995 [1909]: 171-172).
'[Bookhoma! Sim ... será que para eles aquele (tipo de) machado era afiado?]'

(218) mari (hi’)na khoma hieramarero, tāphī, tā hia nimarero.
~barī ~(hi’)da ~khobā hi-éra~bare-ro ~tá~phi ~tá
1PL.INCL EMPH ax COP-NEG-REM.IPfv-SG rock-CLF.bladelike rock
hí-a ~dí~bare-ro
COP-ASSERT.IPfv COP-REM.IPfv-SG

'[(For) us (that old kind) aren’t axes, (just) rocks, they were rocks.]'
'[(Para) nós mesmo (aquele tipo) não seria machado, (só) pedra, era pedra.]'

(219) ʉ̃hʉ.
ʉ̃hʉ
INTJ:yes
(Joselito) '[Yes.]
(Joselito) '[Sim.]

(220) duhtetaroka, dohkpayoa te to ka’apʉ khakhasario ti ninopʉ.

duté-tá-dóká doká-pay-o-a té to ka’á-pu
chop-separate-DIST throw-put.on.top-ASSERT.IPfv until REM beside-LOC
khá-khásá-rió ti=~dí-ro-pu
hawk-platform-CLF:flat 3PL.POSS=say-SG-LOC

'(They) chopped off (his leg and) threw it all the way up near that (thing) they call the hawk’s nest platform.'
'Cortaram fora (a perna) e jogaram lá em cima perto (daquilo) que chamavam de ninho de gavião.'

(221) dohkpayoroka, “maa! bi’oha hi’na ʉʉʉʉʉʉ ... wiiiii!”
doká-pay-o-doka67 ~báa bi’ó-há ~hí’da
throw-put.on.top-DIST INTJ:done/ready! successful-VIS.IPfv.1 EMPH
“ʉʉʉʉʉʉ ... wiiiii!”
ONT:cries...whistles

‘Throwing his leg way up there (they cried) “There! We’ve done it! ʉʉʉʉʉ ... wiiiii”’ (cries and whistles)

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67Note the two instances of the root doka ‘throw’, the first meaning literally ‘to throw’, and the second indicating “distal” motion.
‘Jogando lá em cima (gritaram) “Acabou! Conseguimos mesmo! uuuuu... wiiiiii” ‘(gritos e assobios)

(222) “wahpuro, mahkunoñakãre, tirobahsitha, så ba’ure to å yoari bu’iri!”

wapú-ro ~bakú-ro--ya--ka-re tí-ró-basi-ta
enemy-sg son-sg-bad-dim-obj anph-sg-empf-empf
~sa=ba’ʉ-re to=~a=yóá-ri bu’í-ri
1pl.excl.poss=younger.brother-obj 3sg.poss=so-do-nmlz cause-nmlz

“Enemy, evil son, (we got) him for what he himself did to our brother!”

“‘Inimigo, filho malvado, (pegamos) ele mesmo pelo o que fez ao nosso irmão!”

(223) “bu’iriti wāhanona mu’u ñaka si’ro.”

bu’í-ri-tí ~wahá-ro-(~hi’a)da ~bu’ú ~yá-ká si’ro
cause-nmlz-attrib kill-sg-empf 2sg bad-assert.ipfv bastard

“Guilty one! Murderer! You evil bastard!”

“Culpado! Assassino! Você malvado!”

(224) samu te yohaa te õpʉ mahasʉ, sʉa.

~sabú té yohá-a té ~ó-pú
embark.in.canoe until go.upriver-assert.pfv until diec.prox-loc
~bahá--sʉ ~sʉ-a
go.uphill-arrive.trns arrive.trns-assert.pfv

‘(They) got into their canoes (and) came upriver here, went up (the hill and) arrived home.’

‘Embarcaram nas canoas (e) subiram para cá, subiram até em cima (e) chegaram em casa.’

(225) “ne, yu pho’ná bi’ori.”

~dé yu=–pho’dá bi’ó-ri
so 1sg.poss=children be.successful-q.pfv

‘(Their father Dianumia Yairo asked): “Were you successful, sons?”

‘(O pai deles Dianumia Yairo perguntou): “Conseguiram, meus filhos?”

251
“bi’oi yu phuku,” nia.

“bi’ó-i  yu=phukú  ~dí-a

successful-vis.pfv.1 1sg.poss=father say-assert.pfv

“We were, father,” (Diani) responded.

“Conseguimos, pai,” falou (Diani).”

“bi’oi, to yabu’iri sã koirore to ñano yoari bu’iri,” nia.

“bi’ó-i  to=yá=bu’i-ri

successful-vis.pfv.1 3sg.poss=poss=cause-nmlz

~sa=ko-iro-re  to=~yáró  yoá-rí

1pl.excl.poss=relative-nmlz.sg-obj 3sg.poss=bad-sg do-nmlz

bu’í-ri  ~dí-a
cause-nmlz say-assert.pfv

“We did it, (killed) the one responsible for the evil he did to our relative,” (Diani) said.

“Conseguimos (matar) o culpado, aquele que fez tanto mal ao nosso parente,” disse (Diani).”

“tina ti ñano sã koirore yoare.”

“tí~da  ti=~yáró  ~sa=kó-iro-re

anph-pl anph=bad-sg 1pl.excl.poss=relative-nmlz.sg-obj

yoá-re

do-vis.pfv.2/3

“These evil ones who did that to our brother.”

“Aqueles malvados que fizeram mal ao nosso irmão.””

“tiro yoerarirota noano yu’dubahkari,” nia.

“tí-ró  yoa-éra-ri-ro-ta  ~dóá-ró  yu’dú-boka-ri

anph-sg do-NEG-nmlz-sg-emph good-sg intens-find-nmlz

~dí-a
say-assert.pfv

“He couldn’t expect anything good to happen,” (Diani) said.

“Ele não podia esperar coisa boa,” disse (Diani).”
“Very well, you, my children who come after me (of the next generation) just won’t listen/obey,” (Dianumia Yairo) said.’

“Bem, vocês, meus filhos que vem depois de mim (da outra geração) não querem mais ouvir/obedecer,” disse (Dianumia Yairo).’

“Just like now, you ignore (me, you aren’t ones who listen),” said (Dianumia Yairo).’

“Como agora, vocês ignoram (não são gente que escuta),” disse (Dianumia Yairo).’

“So be it,” he said (and) took back his war adornments (and) his blessing for courage.’

“Bem,” disse (e) tirou deles os adornos de bravura e benzimento de coragem.’
'Blowing smoke on them, they became the way they are now (peaceful), no longer in that violent state.'

'Soprando fumaça neles, se tornaram como hoje (calmos), não mais naquele estado de violência.'

'So, the day after tomorrow, send your wives to get manioc,' he ordered.'

"Então, depois de amanhã, mande as suas esposas tirarem maniva," ele disse.'

'For the last ceremony (celebrating their victory in war), they got manioc (and) prepared (caxiri).'
(236) pharinumu tina bagapo durukua, nahubahsapore.
pha-ri--dubu ti~da bagápó
time-NMLZ-day ANPH-PL ceremonial.dance/chant
dú-rúkú-á ~dahú-básá-pó-re
speak-stand-ASSERT.PFV flatbread-dance-OBJ

‘[On those celebration days, they chanted ceremonial dances (like) the flatbread dance.]’
‘[Nesses dias de festa, eles cantavam as danças (como) a dança do beijú.]’

(237) ti hika bahsabułu nañubahsa, sa’waroa, [yaba] miniawahku, wamo thi’biri.
tí hi-ka basá-búkú ~dahú-básá
ANPH COP-ASSERT.IPFV sing/dance-ancestor flatbread-sing/dance
sa’wáró-á yabá ~bidiawaku ~wabó-thi’bi-ri
brown.lizard-PL Q:what/how fruit.dance arm/hand-intertwine-NMLZ

‘[These are traditional (origin) dances: flatbread dance, lizard dance — what else? — fruit dance, peace (holding hands) dance.]’
‘[As danças originais são a dança do beijú, dança do calango marrom — que mais? — dança dos frutos, dança da paz (mãos dadas).]’

(238) tina bahsañoph’a no phukanumutha, hi(’na):
ti--da basá--yo--pha’yo phuá--dubu-ta ~hi(’da)
ANPH-PL sing/dance-show-complete two-day-EMPH EMPH

‘They performed all the dances for two days (and then Dianumia Yairo said):’
‘Eles apresentaram todas as danças durante dois dias (e então Dianumia Yairo disse):’

(239) “yu’ú wa’a’wa’a’ika hi’na” nia, mipu to duhitore.
yu’ú wa’a- wa’a-i-ka ~hi’dá ~di-a ~bi-pá
1SG go-go-M-PREDICT EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV now-LOC
to=duhi’1-a-to-re
3SG.POSS=sit-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT-OBJ

“‘I’m going away now.” [To the place he still is sitting.]’
“‘Agora eu vou indo.” [Ao lugar onde ele ainda está sentado.]’

71 The verb duhi ‘sit’ is used in the sense of ‘being’. This root is analyzed as a possible lexical origin of the Kotiria copula verb hi in Stenzel (forthcoming).
“wa’aika yʉ’u, yu pho’na, muhsare ne khūsi” nia.
wa’a-i-ka yu’u yu=pho’dá ~busá-ré ~dé ~khú-sí
go-M-predict 1sg 1sg.poss=children 2pl-obj neg leave/place-neg.irr ~dí-a
say-assert pfv
“I’m going (and) I’m not leaving you anything, my children,” Dianumia Yairo said.’
“Vou mesmo (e) não vou deixar nada para vocês, meus filhos,” disse (Dianumia Yairo).’

“ne a’ri wiho yaichʉawiho, warimahsawiho, khu’mawiho, huka phiri ne muhsare khūsi” nia.
~dé a’ri ~wihó72 yai-chū-á=wiho
NEG dem.prox halluc.powder jaguar-eat-pl-halluc.powder
wāri--basa--wiho ~khu’bá--wiho huká phi-ri
kidnap-people-halluc.powder summer-halluc.powder hungry big-nmlz
~dé ~busá-ré ~khú-sí ~dí-a
NEG 2pl-obj leave/place-neg.irr say-assert pfv
“Not my hallucinogenic powder, nor the one that can transform you into jaguars to eat people, nor the one to kidnap people (to become invisible), nor the one that brings on summer, nor will I leave the one that causes hunger,” (Dianumia Yairo) said.’
“Nem meu paricá, meu paricá de virar onça e comer gente, paricá de roubar gente (de ficar invisível), paricá de verão, nem vou deixar o de causar fome,” dizia (Dianumia Yairo).’

“hiphiti a’ri phinitare naita yu’u” nia.
hiphiti a’rí ~phídi-ta-re ~dá-i-ta yu’ú
everything dem.prox right.here-emph-obj get-m-intent 1sg
~dí-a
say-assert pfv
“All of these things here I’m taking away,” (Dianumia Yairo) said.’
“Vou levar todas essas coisas aqui,” disse (Dianumia Yairo).’

72Note the various tones on the nominal root wiho ’hallucinogenic powder’. As an independent root, it has a LH melody, but when incorporated into compound words, it receives the final tone of the root to its left through processes of tonal spread.
“musa th’u’omasiduerara pa thurupure.”

“In the future, you won’t want (you won’t know how) to use them appropriately.”

“Vocês no futuro não vão querer (não vão saber como) usar bem.”

“(Because) you will always just do what you want.”

“(Porque) vocês sempre fazem como querem.”

‘[When we get angry, we sniff powder to turn into a jaguar and devour (fight with, or kill) the one who has offended us.]’

‘[Quando ficamos com raiva, cheiramos paricá para nós nos transformar em onça e devorar (brigar, ser capaz de matar) aquele que nos ofendeu.]’

‘[That’s how our powder used to be, Kotiria powder.]’

‘[Assim era o nosso paricá, dos Kotiria.]’

‘[Quando ficamos com raiva, cheiramos paricá para nós nos transformar em onça e devorar (brigar, ser capaz de matar) aquele que nos ofendeu.]’

‘[Quando ficamos com raiva, cheiramos paricá para nós nos transformar em onça e devorar (brigar, ser capaz de matar) aquele que nos ofendeu.]’
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hi-ée-a   a’rì  
cop-NEG-ASSERT.PFV DEM.PROX

‘[But people weren’t supposed to keep sniffing it all the time.]’
‘[Mas não era para ficar cheirando muito isso.]’

(248) a’rì do’beba’roñoa.

a’rì   do’bē-ba’ro--yo-a  
DEM.PROX paint.with.finger-CLF:kind-show-ASSERT.PFV

‘[It was just the kind for face-painting (which already has an effect).]’
‘[Era só para usar pintando (que já fazia efeito).]’

(249) tì-rō pharipʉta, tipʉre khʉaa.

tí-rō   pharí-pu-ta   tí-pu-re   khuá-a  
anphsg form-CLF:basket-EMPH anph-CLF:basket-OBJ have-ASSERT.PFV

‘The whole basket (with all the materials), (he) had that basket.’
‘O aturá inteiro (com todo o material), (ele) tinha aquele cesto.’

(250) to yaichʉre thuaka’a, to bahtichʉre síosuahã.

to=yaíchʉ-re   thuá-ka’a-a  
3SG.POSS=shaman.staff-OBJ lean.on-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV

to=batichʉ-re   ~siósua--ha  
3SG.POSS=shield-OBJ place.around.arm-compl

‘(He) took up his staff (and) put his shield on his arm.’
‘Segurou no bastão (e) enfiou o escudo no braço.’

(251) to diero muta, toi hia to diero.

to=dié-ró   ~bútā   tó-i   hí-a   to=dié-ró  
3SG.POSS=dog-SG advance rem-loc.vis COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=dog-SG

‘His dog went up ahead, up there.’
‘O cachorrro ia lá, na frente.’

(252) tì-da   hí-a   yai-yā   wu’ú

ANPH-PL COP-ASSERT.PFV jaguar-PL casa

‘[They were the house jaguars (guards).]’
‘[Eles eram as onças da casa (guardiões).]’

258
(253) **tîná híra mipüre tore khuaina, sâ hiromahanone.**

`tî--da hí-ra ~bì-pù-ré tó-re khuá--ida` ANPH-PL COP-VIS.IPfv.2/3 now-LOC-OBJ REM-OBJ dangerous-NMLZ.PL

`~sa=hi-ro--baha-ro-re` 1PL.EXCL.POSS=COP-SG-go.uphill-SG-OBJ

’[They’re the ones (jaguars) that nowadays are a danger to us, there where we live (in Matapi).]’

’[São esses (as onças) que hoje são perigosos, perto de onde nós moramos (em Matapi).]’

(254) **wa’ató pûûû, to namonokoro nûnûti.**

`wa’á-to go-nmlz.loc/evnt pû to=-dabó-ro-koro ~dudû-atí` go-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT DIST 3SG.POSS=wife-SG-F.RSP follow-IPfv

’He went way off (to the place he had selected), and his wife was following behind.’

’Foi longe (até o lugar escolhido por ele), e a mulher foi indo atrás dele.’

(255) **sâ hiromahanota himanaro to dûruwero.**


`durú-we-ro` thunder-MOV.through-SG

’It was our place up there where it thunders, the sacred place (called) *Dûruwero.*’

’É nosso lugar bem lá em cima, lugar sagrado (chamado de) *Dûruwero.*’

(256) **toi tikorokoro tûkuñua òse thu! thu! thu!**

`tó-i tí-kó-ró-kóró ~tûku--yu-a ~òse` REM-LOC.Vis ANPH-F-SG-F.RSP stomp-try-ASSERT.PFV like.this

`thu!...thu!...thu!` ONTP:thundering

’There she stomped on the ground like this: *Thu! Thu! Thu!*’ (making a thundering sound)

’Alí ela bateu com o pé assim: *Thu! Thu! Thu!*’ ( fazendo ruído de trovão)

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73 The placename *Dûruwero* means ‘where you can feel the thunder’.
“What’s that?” she wondered (but Dianumia Yairo) didn’t even turn around.

“O que é isso?” ficou pensando (mas Dianumia Yairo) nem olhou para trás.

(addressing Joselito) ‘[Because, nephew, (for him) it was just as it will be for us in the future (our disappearance, death, burial) — the old ancestor ... didn’t even look back, off he went.]’

(falando com Joselito) ‘[Porque, sobrinho, (para ele) era como vai ser para nós no futuro (nosso sumiço, morte, enterro) — o velho ... nem olhou para trás, foi embora.]’

Until he (got to the place) now called Kha’re Khu’tu (and) made himself comfortable.

‘Até chegar (no lugar) que hoje chamam de Kha’re Khu’tu (e) se acomodou.’

74 The form maháré is used for the actions of ‘turning around’ or ‘going back and forth/going and returning’, as in line 288.
(260) *to phosapho’nakã phuarokã hia.*

\[
\text{to=} \text{phosá---pho’da--ka} \quad \text{phuá--ro--ka} \text{ hi-a}
\]

3SG.POSS=maku.people-children-DIM two-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘He had his two servants.’

‘Havia os seus dois criados.’

(261) *khumuno naa, to muyaichʉ to bahtichʉ.*

\[
\text{~khubú-ro} \text{ --dá-a} \quad \text{to=} \text{búyaichu} \quad \text{to=} \text{batíchu}
\]

bench-SG get-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=shaman.staff 3SG.POSS=shield

‘(They) carried his bench, his shaman staff (and) shield.’

‘(Eles) carregaram seu banco do pajê, seu bastão de pajê (e) escudo.’

(262) *a’riase to diero, ba’arose to diero, sieseŋuroka yoaa.*

\[
\text{a’ría-(bʉ’)se} \quad \text{to=díé-ro} \quad \text{ba’á-ro-(bʉ’)se} \text{ to=díé-ro}
\]

dem.prox-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG after-SG-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG

\[
\text{sié-(bʉ’)sé--yà-dóká} \quad \text{yoá-a}
\]

front-side-see/look-dist far-ASSERT.PFV

‘Here (in front was) his dog/jaguar and behind his (other) dog/jaguar (and he sat) looking off straight ahead into the distance.’

‘Aqui (na frente ficou) um cachorro/onça e atrás seu (outro) cachorro/onça (e ele sentou) olhando para frente bem longe.’

(263) *duhia phuanumu, tia numu, õpu hitu’suua.*

\[
\text{duhí-a} \quad \text{phuá--dubu tiá--dubu} \quad \text{~ó-pu}
\]

sit-ASSERT.PFV two-day three-day DEIC.PROX-LOC

\[
\text{hi-thu’su-a}
\]

COP-finish-ASSERT.PFV

‘(He) sat for two days (and) on the third day, it was already up to here (his body entering into the ground).’

‘Sentou dois dias e no terceiro dia já estava até aqui (o corpo entrando dentro da terra).’

(264) ‘*quatro, cinco, kʉ̃ somana ba’aro taga,*’ nia.

\[
\text{quatro cinco} \quad \text{~kʉ̃-sómáná=ba’a-ro} \quad \text{tá-gá} \quad \text{~dí-a}
\]

four five one/a-semana=after-SG come-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV

‘Come back in four, five (days), a week,’ (Dianumia Yairo) said.’

‘Daqui a quatro, cinco (dias), uma semana, venham,’ (Dianumia Yairo) disse.’
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(265) “yʉ’ʉ, muhsa phụkụ, yu ŋuto bahsíoro, ŋamidahchromahka waroi sãika.”

\[\text{yu’ú } \sim \text{busa}=\text{phụkú} \quad \text{yu}=\sim \text{yu'-tò} \quad \text{bahsí-o-ro}\]

1SG 2PL.poss=father 1SG.POSS=try-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT true-CAUS-SG

-\text{yabí-dáchó-báká} \quad \text{wáró-i} \quad \sim \text{sá-i-ka}\]

night-middle/center EMPH-LOC.VIS inside-M-PREDICT

“I, your father, will truly be going (to another world), right in the middle of the night.”

“Eu, o pai de vocês, estarei indo de verdade (ao outro mundo), bem no meio da noite.”

(266) “yʉ’ure bihsiroka, yu’ure thʉ’onaka muhsa yu pho’na” nia.

\[\text{yu’ú-re} \quad \text{bisí-doka} \quad \text{yu’ú-re} \quad \text{thʉ’ó~da-ka} \quad \sim \text{busá} \quad \text{yu}=\sim \text{pho’dá}\]

1SG-OBJ sound-DIST 1SG-OBJ hear-PL-PREDICT 2PL 1SG.POSS=children

\sim\text{dí-a}\]

say-ASSERT.PFV

“I’ll be going in (to the ground and) there will be a thunderous sound for me (and) you, my children will hear,” (Dianumia Yairo) said.’

“Entrarei (na terra e) fará trovão bem forte para mim (e) todos vocês, meus filhos, vão ouvir,” disse (Dianumia Yairo).’

(267) “hai” nia, dee ... topuro to niriba’ro bihsia thʉʉʉʉ ...”

\[\text{hái} \quad \sim\text{dí-a} \quad \text{dé} \quad \text{tó-puro}\]

INTJ:agree say-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:poor.one! DEF-QUANT.MS

\text{to=\sim\text{dí-rí-ba’ro}} \quad \text{bisí-a} \quad \text{thʉʉʉʉ}\]

3SG.POSS=say-NMLZ-CLF:kind sound-go ONTP:thunder

“All right,” (they) answered (and) poor guy ... just at the time he indicated, there was a sound: \text{Thʉʉʉʉ }...’ (thunder)

“Está bom,” responderam (e) coitado... bem na hora que ele indicou, deu ruído: \text{Thʉʉʉʉ} ’ (trovoada)

(268) “de mari phụkụ wa’awa’aka” nia.

\[\text{dé} \quad \sim\text{bəri}=\text{phụkụ} \quad \text{wa’á-wa’á-ka} \quad \sim\text{dí-a}\]

INTJ:poor.one! 1PL.INCL.POSS=father go-go-ASSERT.IPFV say-ASSERT.PFV

“Poor guy! Our father’s gone,” (they) said.’

“Coitado! Nosso pai foi embora,” falaram.’
“Go there and see,” (they) said. (But) there was nothing there.’

‘Vão lá ver,” disseram. (Mas) lá não havia nada.’

‘Because (Dianumia Yairo) had disappeared into (the ground, alive).’

‘Porque (Dianumia Yairo) havia sumiu entrando (na terra, vivo).’

‘That’s why, because of women, (that cemetery) is called Bu’i Kho’to (place of guilt/problem), it seems so.’

‘Por isso, por causa de mulher, que (o cemetério) lá é chamado de Bu’i Kho’to (lugar de culpa/problema), parece que é.’

‘It was because of women that he angrily went into that ground, the cemetery for our own bodies.’

263

Footnote: From this point on in the narrative, Teresinha switches to the form khu’tu, which literally means ‘clearing’, to refer to actual cemeteries. This term is phonologically similar to kho’to, ‘proper place’ (see lines 16, 22, and 24), which is also used in the narrative in the names of specific cemeteries (e.g. line 271) and to refer to these as the ‘proper places’ for burial, as in the title (line 4). It is likely the terms are etymologically related.
‘Foi por causa das mulheres que ele foi com raiva dentro da terra, no cemitério para nossos corpos.’

(273) \textit{bu’ikho’to hia. to se’reta sãse’ bohkaerati, “do’se yoa bu’ikho’to niari” ni wàhkui.}

\textit{bu’i-kho’to} \textit{hí-a} \textit{tò=se’e-re-ta}
\text{cause-proper.place COP-ASSERT.PFV DEF=CONTR-OBJ-EMPH}
\textit{~sá-se’e} \textit{boka-éra-ti} \textit{do’sé} \textit{yoá bu’i-kho’to}
\text{1PL.EXCL-CONTR find-NEG-ATTRIB Q:how do cause-proper.place}
\textit{~dí-á-ri} \textit{~dí} \textit{~wakú-i}
\text{say-PL-NMLZ say wonder-VIS.PFV.1}

(Joselito speaking) ‘[(Yes) it’s \textit{Bu’i Kho’to}. So that’s it … we didn’t know why (people) called it that …’

(Joselito falando) ‘[(Sim) é \textit{Bu’i Kho’to}. Então, é por isso … não sabíamos por que (as pessoas) chamavam assim …’

(274) \textit{āni ya’uatire maikiro.}

\textit{~a=~dí ya’ú-áti-ré} \textit{baí-kiró}
\text{so-say tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father-M.RSP}

(Teresinha responding) ‘[That’s the way my father used to tell it.]’

(Teresinha respondendo) ‘[Assim contava meu pai.]’

(275) \textit{yu’u ninose’ta muno hiko, noano sinitu thu’otuboa.}

\textit{yu’ú} \textit{~dí-ro-se’e-ta} \textit{~bú-ro} \textit{hí-ko} \textit{~dóá-ró} \textit{sinitu}
\text{1SG say-SG-CONTR-EMPH man-SG COP-F good-SG ask}
\textit{thu’ó-tu-bo-a}
\text{hear-think-DUB-ASSERT.PFV}

‘[Like I said, if I were a man, I would have asked (and) understood more.]’

‘[Como disse, se fosse homem, teria perguntado (e) entendido mais.]’

(276) \textit{öse ni to ya’uakáre thu’oatikuru, mahsihari?}

\textit{~öse} \textit{~dí to=yá’ú-a--ka-re} \textit{thu’ó-ati-kuru} \textit{~basí-hári}
\text{like.this 3SG.POSS=tell-PL-DIM-OBJ hear-IPFV-ADVERB know-Q.IPFV}

‘[(But) I unfortunately wasn’t paying enough attention to what little he said, you know?]’

\textsuperscript{76}The composition of the conditional sentence is worth noting: the protasis is a nominalization with person marking \textit{-ko ‘feminine’}, and the apodosis contains the dubitative marker \textit{-bo}, showing that the result was not forthcoming.
‘[(Mas) eu infelizmente não prestava atenção ao pouco que ele contava, sabe?]’

(277) õse hiatia mahko,” niatire.
~õse ~hí-atí-a ~bakó ~dí-ati-re
like.this COP-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV daughter say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3
‘“That’s what happened, daughter,” (father) used to say.’

‘Era assim, filha” contava (meu pai).’

(278) “ãhia mahsapekururi yaaka” nia.
~a=hi-a ~basà-pé-kúrú-ri ~yá-a-ka
so=COP-PL people-QUANT.C-GROUP-NMLZ bury-PL-PREDICT
~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV
‘“So that all the (Kotiria) groups would have (a place) to be buried.”’

‘Para que todos os grupos kotiria tivessem (o seu lugar) de ser enterrado.”’

(279) “a’rí-á nari siria, nari ya’saria, nari ñiria, nari ye’seria khõaroka” nia.
~a’rí-á ~dá-rí ~sí-ria ~dá-rí
DEM.PROX-PL small.stone-PL shiny-CLF:round small.stone-PL
~ya’sá-ria ~dá-rí ~yí-ria ~dá-rí
green/blue-CLF:round small.stone-PL black-CLF:round small.stone-PL
~ye’sé-ria ~khoá-ro-ka ~dí-a
white-CLF:round lie-SG-PREDICT say-ASSERT.PFV
‘“There will be the place of Shiny Stones, the place of Green Stones, the place of Black Stones (and) the place of White Stones,” (father) said.’

‘“O lugar de Pedra Luminosa, lugar de Pedra Verde, lugar de Pedra Preta (e) lugar de Pedra Branca, esses vão ficar,” dizia (papai).’

(280) mari mipʉ hi ti kururire, õse nahu tha’rose.
~barí ~bí-pu hi ti=kurú-ri-re ~õse ~dahú
1PL.INCL now-LOC COP ANPH=GROUP-NMLZ-OBJ like.this flatbread
tha’ró-sé
cut.in.quarters-CLF:similar
‘(And) now we’re divided into groups, like a flatbread cut into fourths.’
‘(E) nós agora ficamos dividos em grupos, como beijú cortado em quatro.’
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(281) "ã hiro òba’roi wa’masurore nari phichasiria khōaa, sā yaku‘tu.
~a=hi-ro ~ó=ba’ro-i ~wa’básu-ro-re ~dá-ri
so=cop-sg DEIC.PROX=CLF:kind-LOC.VIS entrance-sg-obj small.stone-pl
phichá-si-riá ~khoá ~sa=yá-khu‘tu
fire-shiny-CLF:round lie 1PL.EXCL.POSS=POSS-cemetery

‘So, the entrance (first part) is for Shiny Stone burials, our grounds (for
the highest clan).’
‘Então na primeira parte (na entrada), é lugar para Pedra Luminosa se
enterrar, nosso lugar (do clã maior).’

(282) "ã hiro mahsawa’mino yariato, phano ŋamidahchomahka bihsipakato
nariwu‘u.
~a=hi-ro ~basá--wa’bi-ro yariá-tó ~phádó
so=cop-sg people-older.brother-sg die-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT before
~yabí-dáchó-báká bisí-pá-ká-tó
night-middle/center sound-ALT-do.moving-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT
~dá-ri-wu‘u
get-NMLZ-house

‘That’s why, before an older brother dies, in the middle of the night, a
loud noise comes from the house/cemetery (where the person will be)
taken.’
‘Por isso, antes de morrer um irmão maior, no meio da noite soa da
casa/cemitério (para onde a pessoa vai ser) levada.’

(283) thʉʉʉʉʉ! patere khaaaa! bihsimarero.
tʉʉʉʉʉ pā-tere khaaaa bisí∼bare-ro
ONTP:thunder ALT-time ONTP:thunder sound-REM.IPFW-SG

‘Thʉʉʉʉ! (or) sometimes Khaaaa! is always the sound.’
‘Thʉʉʉʉ! (ou) às vezes Khaaaa! sempre soa assim.’

(284) a’riase khure åta muhsa yaku‘tu a’riase nari ye’seria, ŋahori yaro
ya’saria.
a’rí-a-se khú-re ~átá ~busá yá-khu‘tu
DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar ADD-OBJ also 2PL POSS-cemetery
a’rí-a-se ~dá-ri ye’sé-ria ŋahóri yá-ró
DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar get-NMLZ white-CLF:round ŋahori POSS-SG
‘It’s the same in other places, your place, White Stones (for the Diani and) for the Ñahori, Green Stones.’

‘É assim no outro lado também, o lugar de vocês, Pedra Branca (dos Diani e), o lugar dos Ñahori, Pedra Verde.’

(285) sõ’o ñahoriphło’na yaro ñiria khõaa.
~so’ó ñáhõrí--phó’da yá-ró ~yí-ria ~khoá-a
deic.dist ñahori-descendants poss-sg black-clf:round lie-assert.pfv

‘Over there in Black Stones is where Ñahori children lie.’

‘Lá na Pedra Preta enterra-se os filhos de Ñahori.’

(286) “ã hiro nahu tha’rose hira” niatire.
~a=hí-ró ~dahú tha’ró-se hí-ra
so=cop-sg flatbread cut.in.quarters-clf:similar cop-vis.ipfv.2/3
~dí-ati-re
say-ipfv-vis.ipfv.2/3

“So, it’s like a flatbread divided in fourths,” (my father) used to say.’

“Assim são como beijú dividido em quatro partes,” (meu pai) contava.’

(287) mahsape, tina yabaina puertu paloma, yabaro hihari?
~basá-pé tí--da yabá--ida puertu paloma,
people-quant.c anph-pl q:what/how-nmlz.pl puerto paloma,
yabá-ro hí-hari
q:what/how-sg cop-q.ipfv

‘Everyone, those ones from Puerto Paloma (the last Kotiria village) — how’s it called?’

‘Todo mundo, aqueles de Puerto Paloma (última comunidade Kotiria) — como se chama?’

(288) ye’pua phitomahkainapʉ mahsa ya mahareatia, “kue,” nia niha.
ye’pú-á phito--baka--ida-pu ~basá yá
cucura.fruit-pl mouth.of.stream-village-nmlz.pl-loc people bury
~baháré-átí-á kué ~dí-a ~dí-ha
go.and.return-ipfv-assert.ipfv intj:surprise say-pl prog-vis.ipfv.1
'Ye’pua Phito (mouth of the cucura stream) villagers went back and forth to bury people, always saying “It’s so far!”'

'Moradores de Ye’pua Phito (boca do igarapé cucura) vinham para cá e voltavam para enterrar gente, sempre dizendo “Como é longe!”'

(289) *paina ûrinapʉre namuha, ti ma’a buhkuma’a hiro nimanaro, to bu’iare ti ma’a.*

pá-~ida ~urí--da-pu-re ~dá--buha tí--ba’a
ALT-NMLZ.PL smelly-PL-LOC-OBJ carry-MOV.upward ANPH-path
bukú--ba’a hi-ro ~di--ba--da-ro to=bu’ía-re
old-path COP-SG COP-REM.IPFV-PL-SG DEF=bu’ia.stream-OBJ
tí--ba’a
ANPH-path

'They carried other rotting bodies up that old path that’s always been there, the path from the Bu’ia stream (leading to the cemetery).'

'Carregavam outros corpos podres no caminho antigo, que sempre esteve ali, o caminho do igarapé Bu’ia.'

(290) *ti ma’aïta mahareatii sã.*

tí--ba’a-i-ta ~bahârê-áti-i ~sá
ANPH-path-LOC.EMPH go.and.return-IPFV-IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL

'It’s the same path we always use to go back and forth (to our gardens).'

'Nesse mesmo caminho nós sempre vamos e voltamos (da roça).'

(291) *tina te ûrinapure ti khâ’rekho’toi nawi’ika.*

tí--da té ~urí--da-pu-re
ANPH-PL until smelly-PL-EMPATH-OBJ

ti=--kha’ré-khu’tu-i ~dá-wi’i-ka
ANPH-abiü/cucura.frut-cemetery-LOC.EMPH get-arrive.CIS-ASSERT.IPFV

'They brought the poor decomposing bodies (on that path) to Khâre Kho’ta.'

'Traziam os pobres fedendos (nesse caminho) até Khâre Kho’to.'

(292) *tina tia, tia, tara: “sã ŋułuçu, mu’u kha’mana mahsane nana sã khâ’ inare.”*

tí--da ti-a ti-a tá-rá ~sa =~yuchû
ANPH-PL cry-go cry-go come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=grandfather
They come weeping, weeping (saying): “You, our grandfather, want it, so we give you the body of the ones we love.”

‘Vêm chorando, chorando (dizendo): “A você nosso avô, que quer, estamos entregando o corpo das pessoas que amamos.”’

‘Now take good care (of this body),” (they said), and said many other things, weeping together.’

‘“Agora guarda bem (o corpo),” diziam, e falavam muitas outras coisas, chorando juntos.’

‘But (they) would only go painted, and only the women of that clan (family of that specific community) could go along.’

‘Mas iam só pintados, e só podiam ir as mulheres que faziam parte daquela clã (família da comunidade).’

‘A woman who wasn’t part of the clan had to return before getting to the cemetery.’
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'A mulher que não fazia parte do clã tinha que retornar antes de chegar no cemitério.'

(296)  
wi’i, thuawi’i ko toawe, ku’suwe, khō’aroka, mahkachu ...  
wi’i  thuawi’i  kó  toa-we  
arrive.cis  return-arrive.cis  medicine  vomit-mov.through  
ku’su-we  kho’aroka  baká-chu  
bathe-mov.through  throw-dist  look.for-eat  
'Arriving home, (they cleansed themselves with) vomit medicine, bathed to throw off (the effect of the burial), then had something to eat …'

‘Quando chegavam (do enterro) faziam limpeza de estômago (vomitando), tomavam banho para jogar fora (o efeito do enterro), depois se alimentavam …’

(297)  
“yoaro hiro nira,” niatire maimunano ti khu’ture.  
yoa-ró  hí-ro  dí-ra77  dí-áti-ré  baí--buda-ro  
do-sg  cop-sg  prog-vis.ipfv.2/3  say-ipfv-vis.pfv.2/3  father-deceased-sg  
ti-khu’tu-re  
anph-cemetary-orj  
‘“This is how it’s (always) done,” my late father used to tell (me) about the cemetery.’

‘“Assim é que se faz (sempre),” contava meu pai finado sobre o cemitério.’

(298)  
ã yoa mahariro tiro buhkuro toi duhika.  
~a=yóá  bahá-ri-ro  tí-ró  bukú-ro  tó-i  
so=do  go.uphill-nmlz-sg  anph-sg  ancestor-sg  rem-loc.vis  
duhí-ka  
sit-assert.ipfv  
‘Because our old ancestor (Dianumia Yairo) who went up there is still sitting there (still exists, lives there).’

‘Porque o velho nosso avô (Dianumia Yairo) que subiu ainda está sentado ali (ainda existe, vive ali).’

77This sentence is a good example of how the visual imperfective suffix used on the copula is understood as a statement of fact, rather than having any type of specific temporal reference (see Stenzel 2013: 281).
(299) a’ri phakui hirote nira.

a’ri phákʉ-i hi-ro-ta ~dí-ra
DEMPROX body-LOC.Vis COP-SG EMPH COP-Vis.IPFV.2/3
‘That body is there.’
‘O corpo está lá.’

(300) tiro yariariro hierare. himarero tiro, a’ri phakui tiro.

tí-ró yaríá-rí-ró hi-éra-re hi-~bare-ro tí-ró
ANPH-SG die-NMLZ-SG COP-NEG.Vis.PFV.2/3 COP-REM.IPFV-SG ANPH-SG
a’ri phákʉ-i tí-ró
DEMPROX body-LOC.Vis ANPH-SG
‘He isn’t dead, he’s there (alive), his body.’
‘Ele não está morto, está (vivo), o corpo dele.’

(301) “do’se tiro thikari khõ’amahu” ni dohoatiti patena.

do’sé tí-ró thí-kari ~khoabaku ~dí dohó-ati-ti páte-da
Q:how ANPH-SG true-Q.SPEC god say ask-IPFV-REFL sometimes
‘[Sometimes I ask myself: “Could he be God?”]’
‘[Às vezes me pergunto: “Será que é ele Deus?”]’

(302) tiro hira a’ri dahchore khuariro.

tí-ró hi-ra a’ri dachó-ré khuá-ri-ro
ANPH-SG COP-Vis.IPFV.2/3 DEMPROX day-OBJ have-NMLZ-SG
‘He’s the one who has/controls time.’
‘Ele é quem é o dono do tempo.’

(303) ni maimunano ya’uatiere ti khu’ture, āhia wa’manopure.

~dí ~bái~buda-ro ya’ú-áti-ré tí-khu’tu-re
say father-deceased-SG tell-IPFV-Vis.PFV.2/3 ANPH-cemetery-OBJ
~a=hi-a ~wa’bá-ro-pu-re
so=COP-PL young/new-SG-LOC-OBJ
‘That’s what my late father told (me) about this cemetery, about how things were back then.’
‘Assim contava meu pai a respeito desse cemitério, assim como era antigamente.’
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### Non-standard abbreviations

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