

Chapter 7

Hup

Patience Epps

University of Texas Austin, USA

Isabel Salustiano

Jovino Monteiro

Pedro Pires Dias

1 Introduction

This narrative tells the story of a liaison between a deer spirit and a woman, and the troubles that came of it. The tale is one of many stories told by the Hupd'äh, who live in the Vaupés region, straddling the border of Brazil and Colombia (Figure 1). Hup, the language of the Hupd'äh (lit. 'person-PL') belongs to the small Naduhup family (formerly known as Makú; see Epps & Bolaños 2017); the speakers of the four Naduhup languages inhabit the interfluvial zones south of the Vaupés River and the middle Rio Negro. The approximately 2000 Hupd'äh live in communities ranging from a few families to several hundred people, located between the Vaupés and the Tiquié Rivers.

The version of the Deer Story narrative presented here was recorded in November 2001 in the Hup community of Taracua Igarapé, known in Hup as *Tát Dëh*, or 'Ant (sp.) Creek' (Figure 2). Taracua Igarapé is located along the large creek that bears the same name, at about an hour's walk into the forest from the banks of the Tiquié River, and is home to about 150 people. While the residents of Taracua Igarapé belong to a number of clans, the community is understood to be in the principal territory of the *Sokw'üt Nok'öd Téhd'äh*, the 'Descendents of the Toucan's Beak', and is itself the most recent of a series of communities associated with the Toucan's Beak clan, which over the past six to eight generations



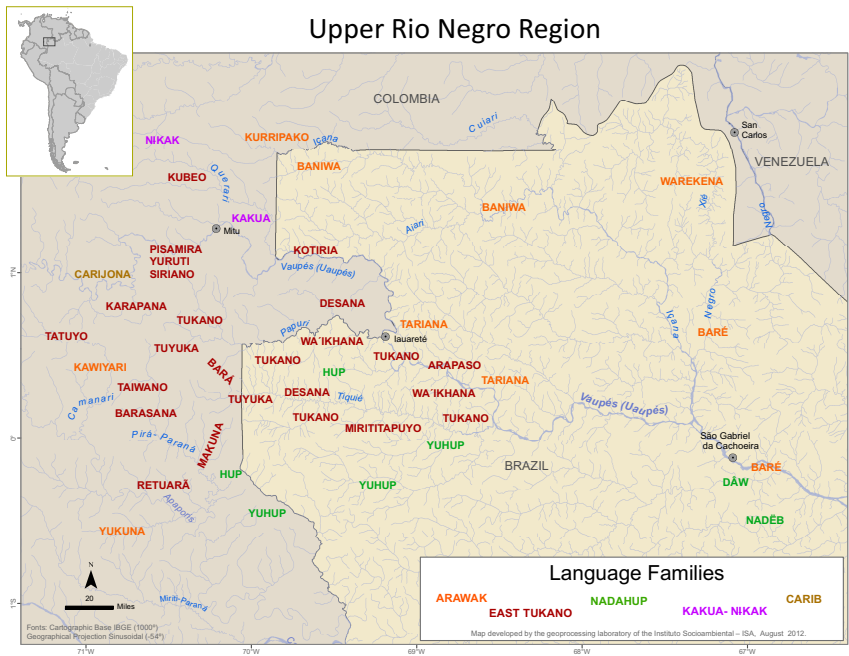


Figure 1: Map of the Upper Rio Negro Region (Epps & Stenzel 2013b)



Figure 2: Taracua Igarapé community

have relocated incrementally from the more remote interfluvial zones toward the Tiquié River.

The Deer Story was performed by Isabel Salustiano, a talented storyteller with a vast repertoire of traditional stories and a masterful delivery. She is originally from the nearby community of Cabari do Japu (*Pij Dēh*), and is married to Américo Monteiro Socot, who is himself a Toucan's Beak clansman and an influential figure in the community. The story was recorded outdoors in the community, in a central area near a cluster of houses, and in the presence of several of her children and other community members. The text was subsequently transcribed and checked over by Patience Epps, Jovino Monteiro Socot, and Pedro Pires Dias (of Barreira Alta). It appears in the book of Hup stories that was produced for the Middle Tiquié River Hup communities (ed. by Epps, 2005/2016), with illustrations drawn by Estevão Socot (Jovino's son). Several of these illustrations are included here.

As the story begins, a widow, struggling to feed herself and her children, is following a forest stream, collecting tiny freshwater shrimp. This is poor fare, but the most she can manage without a husband to hunt and fish for her. As she moves upstream, she begins to find fish, freshly caught and set out on the bank (Figures 3–4). In her desperation, she takes the fish, although she knows that by doing so she is entering into a relationship with an unknown and potentially



Figure 3: Forest creek in the region of Taracua Igarapé



Figure 4: The woman finding fish set out for her (Estevão Socot)

dangerous other. Soon after, she hears a whistle, and looks up to see a deer spirit in man's form, brilliant with red body paint, looking down at her from the bank. He tells her that he will come that evening to see her, and she agrees. The woman then returns home, feeds her children and puts them to bed, and waits for the deer spirit. He arrives, laden with game, and the two of them spend the evening eating, leaving none for the children. The deer spirit then sleeps with her, together in one hammock, and leaves just before dawn.

The deer spirit continues to visit the woman nightly, always bringing large quantities of game, which they eat together without saving any for the children. During the day, the woman prepares special *manicuera*, a drink made from boiled manioc juice mixed with tasty fruits, to offer her deer husband at night, while she gives only old sour *manicuera* to the children. Eventually the oldest boy, wondering why his mother always sends them to bed at night with such haste, resolves to stay up and watch. He hides in his hammock and peeks through the holes in the loosely woven palm-fiber mesh, and sees the deer spirit and his mother feasting on the game the spirit has brought (Figure 5). Furious with this revelation, the boy tells his siblings their mother's secret. Together they dig fish-poison root (*Lonchocarpus* sp.), beat it to extract the poison, and squeeze it into the special *manicuera* that their mother had prepared for her husband.

That night, the boy lies watching again as the deer spirit and his mother feast and go to sleep. In the morning, the mother frantically shakes her husband to



Figure 5: The boy watching his mother and the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)

waken him, but finds him dead. Sending the children out of the house to bathe, she breaks up her husband's body and squeezes it into a large burden-basket, which she carries into the sky for burial (Figure 6). The spot where she leaves him becomes a formation known as the Deer's Tomb, visible in the night sky.



Figure 6: The woman carrying the body of the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)

This formation is also recognized by the Tukano people, who call it by the same name in their own language, but its location has not yet been identified in the ethnoastronomical work carried out in the region (see Cardoso 2007; Oliveira 2010); it is probably one of the “constellations” that peoples of this region visualize in the dark spaces between clusters of stars, rather than in the stars themselves.

The mother returns, and before long she gives birth to the deer spirit’s child. She conceals the infant from her children by hanging it up in a bag of charcoal from the rafters of the house, and only takes it down twice a day to nurse it. However, her actions do not go unnoticed by her children, who become curious about the contents of the bag, and climb up one day to have a look while their mother is out in her manioc garden. They discover the baby with delight, and take it out with them into the overgrown swidden (garden areas that have been abandoned in the cycle of slash-and-burn farming) to play with it. There they feed it manioc leaves, potato leaves – all the garden plants to which deer help themselves today – and proceed to play with it by pushing it back and forth among them. As they do so, the baby deer rapidly gains strength, and suddenly it gives a snort, leaps over the children’s heads, and disappears into the forest.

The loss of the baby deer is the final step in severing the children’s relationship with their mother. Fearful of her anger, they have already begun a transformation into curassow birds (*Nothocrax urumutum*, Figure 7) by the time she discovers the missing baby. Other birds have filled the children’s skin with feathers and drawn circles around their eyes, and the children have dug holes in the ground

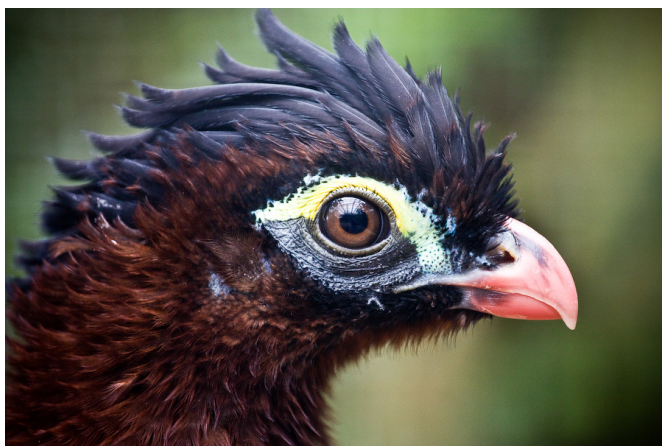


Figure 7: Nocturnal Curassow *Nothocrax urumutum* (Photo: Jelle Oostrom) <http://www.flickr.com/photos/jelle82/4823615464/>CC-BY-SA 2.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)

like those of curassows. When their mother rushes into the house to beat them, the children scatter, flying off to hide in their holes. The mother tries in vain to catch one little girl by putting a basket over her hole, but the bird-child only tunnels away, comes up in another place, and flies off. The poor mother wanders crying after her children, and thus transforms herself into a *běbē* bird – a small brown bird, probably a type of antthrush (family *Formicariidae*), that walks on the forest floor and whose call is reminiscent of crying.

A major theme of the Deer Story is one of transformation, carried out in the context of liminality of behavior and existence. Through their actions, the figures in the story occupy the zones between the human, animal, and spirit “worlds”, and their engagement with the occupants of these other worlds ultimately propels them wholly into their domains. This theme is a familiar one in verbal art and cultural practice throughout the Amazon basin: humans, animals, and spirits are understood to share a similar conception of their worlds, but with a fundamental disconnect such that, for example, what a vulture sees as grilled fish appears to a person as maggots in rotting meat (Viveiros de Castro 1998, *inter alia*). One must maintain one’s own position as the inhabitant of a particular subjective world by means of appropriate actions – in particular, appropriate social actions – while direct engagement with entities outside this domain is inherently perilous (see, e.g. Santos-Granero 2006; Londoño Sulkin 2005; Uzendoski 2005; Vilaça 2000). It is through this engagement that one may lose one’s own subjectivity and enter that of one’s interlocutor. Thus the widow, by accepting the fish presented by the deer spirit, opens herself to his “world”, and in so doing takes a step out of her own. Her deepening relationship with the spirit and ongoing mistreatment of her own children represent this liminal space that she has entered. Similarly, the children’s withdrawal from their mother ultimately propels them into the domain of the curassows. Finally, the mother’s own liminality leads her to abandon her human speech and resort only to crying, such that she transforms into the ever-crying *běbē* bird.

The Deer Story is also representative of the multilingual Vaupés region. The Hupd’äh, like the other peoples of the area, are participants in the regional melting pot of culture, discourse, and language, which has led to striking parallels in verbal art and other practices across many of the Upper Rio Negro peoples (see e.g. Epps & Stenzel 2013a). The Deer Story, like many others, is told widely in the region, and (as noted above) the Deer’s Tomb constellation is recognized among other groups as well. Like many other peoples in the region, the Hupd’äh are multilingual, but avoid overt mixing of languages; code-switching is therefore tightly constrained, but is acceptable and even preferred for certain functions –

in particular, marking the speech of entities who are treated as social “others” in narrative. Isabel’s telling of the Deer Story makes expert use of this device: when the deer spirit first comes to the woman, he inquires about the children in Tukano, the principal second language of the middle Tiquié River Hupd’äh. Here Isabel departs from her narrative momentarily to comment (perhaps for the benefit of the recording?) that the spirit apparently spoke in “River-Indian language” (Tukano). Later on, when the spirit makes the same inquiry, Isabel comments that he still is speaking in Tukano, but provides his quoted speech in Hup. Finally, at the end of the story, Isabel quotes the woman’s crying “my children! my children” – but notably this quote is given in a *mix* of Hup and Tukano (*ni pō’ra!* ‘my[Hup] children[Tukano]’). Her representation of this mixed-language cry appears to index its semi-human, transformative quality, i.e. a metaphorical use of code-switching. Moreover, the compound (serial) verb construction – which presents components of an event as a conceptually linked package – that Isabel uses to describe the event itself highlights that the transformation comes about *through* this act of speaking: *?id-ham-döhö-* [speak-go-transform-] ‘went saying and transformed’.

In Isabel’s telling of the Deer Story, she inserts a number of comments in the narrative; some of these are directly relevant to the story, while others reflect on her own narration. She observes at several points that the events she describes – which are understood to have taken place in a distant, mythic past – set a sort of precedent that shaped the world as we currently know it; for example, that women who remarry sometimes do not treat the children of their first marriage well, and that the leaves fed to the baby deer were exactly those that deer now eat from gardens, thus damaging the crop. Among her more self-reflective comments, she stumbles slightly over the first Tukano utterance of the spirit, and laughs that she did not deliver it so well; later on she hesitates momentarily and comments that she is trying to remember the story line. I have moved this second type of comments out of the main text and into the footnotes, so as not to distract from the flow of the story.

The text also makes use of a number of notable grammatical and discursive features that are characteristic of the Hup narrative genre more generally. The reported evidential (*mah*) is heavily used throughout, normally at least once per main clause, while the inferred evidential marker (*sud*) is mostly limited to quoted speech (such as, for example, the children are speculating about their mother’s actions). The nonvisual evidential (*hō*) occurs only in one of Isabel’s asides, where she is commenting on her memory of the story; her asides also include a number of instances of the inferred evidential. Hup’s second inferred or

assumed evidential (*ni*), which is restricted to past tense and is less dependent on tangible evidence, also occurs occasionally in the text. The distant past contrast marker (*s'áh*) only appears sporadically, in keeping with its generally infrequent use in Hup discourse, although some speakers use it more regularly in traditional narrative to index the distant time of the events and/or of when they themselves learned the stories (both considerations seem to be relevant). Other discursively important grammatical resources include the compound (serial) verb constructions, which offer a neat conceptual packaging of associated events or sub-events, as in the example of speaking and transforming given above. Finally, the text provides ample illustration of the head-tail linkage strategy that is common in Hup narrative, such that preceding clauses are often briefly summarized in the first part of the following sentence, marked with the sequential suffix *-yóʔ* (i.e., 'having done [verb], ...'). These characteristics of Hup grammar and discourse are generally in keeping with those found in other Vaupés languages, while also exhibiting certain differences – for example, the very sporadic use of past-tense marking contrasts with its ubiquitous use in Tukanoan languages, and Stenzel (this volume) notes that Kotiria narrative makes much lighter use of reported evidential marking. Otherwise, closely similar evidential categories, compound/serial verb constructions, and head-tail linkage strategies are widely represented in the area, and Hup's fairly rigid verb-final constituent order, sensitivity of object (non-subject) case marking to animacy and definiteness, use of nominal classifiers, and range of aspectual categories are likewise generally consistent with a wider Vaupés linguistic profile (e.g. Gomez-Imbert 1996; Aikhenvald 2002; Epps 2007; Stenzel 2013; see also Stenzel, this volume). More information on these and many other aspects of Hup grammar can be found in Epps (2008).

The transcription conventions followed here make use of the Hup practical orthography, which has been adopted by Hup teachers in the local schools (see Ramirez 2006). The majority of symbols correspond to those found in the International Phonetic Alphabet, with the following exceptions. For vowels, orthographic <ë> = IPA /e/, <ä> = /ə/, <ö> = /o/, <e> = /æ/, and <o> = /ɔ/. For consonants, <s> = /c/ (palatal voiceless stop), with a word-initial allophone [ʃ], <'> = /ʔ/, <j> = /ɟ/, and <y> = /j/. Hup's phonological inventory contains voiced, voiceless, and glottalized consonants; while glottalized consonants do not contrast underlyingly for voicing, the practical orthography distinguishes the allophones <s'/j'> and <k'/g'>, respectively (as realized in syllable onset and coda positions). Nasalization is a morpheme-level prosody in Hup, as is the case in other Vaupés languages, but nasal and oral allophones of voiced obstruents (<m/b> and <n/d>) are distinguished depending on whether the context is oral or nasal; otherwise,

a tilde on the vowel indicates that the entire syllable (in most cases, morpheme) is nasalized. Vowel-copying suffixes take their nasal/oral quality from the final element in the stem they attach to. Hup has two contrastive tones, which occur only on stressed syllables; these are marked via a diacritic on the vowel of the relevant syllable (´ = high tone [of which a falling contour is an allophone], ˊ = rising tone).

The first line of transcribed text follows the full set of conventions of word segmentation and phonemic representation current in the practical orthography. The second transcription line deviates from these conventions in several respects: it provides a morphological breakdown, and in so doing it indicates morpheme/clitic boundaries within the phonological word (via - and =, respectively), in keeping with the morphological analysis provided in Epps (2008), including where these are represented by spaces between etyma in the practical orthography. The second transcription line also includes morpheme-initial glottal stops (which are phonemic but are omitted in the practical orthography), since these help to clarify the distinction between consonant- and vowel-initial suffixes within phonological words; it also uses the IPA symbol <ʔ> for the glottal stop consonant in order to differentiate this phoneme from the glottalized consonants (represented as <C'>). The third line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, with a list of non-standard abbreviations provided at the end of the text.

The line-by-line translations attempt to maintain a relatively literal reading that closely mirrors the discourse norms of the original, while balancing this goal with readability in English. In general, I have leaned toward transparency in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses that correspond to relatively lexicalized multimorphemic constructions, while the meaning of the collocation as a whole is given in the translation line; e.g. *s'üb-te-yi'* (night-still-ADV) 'morning'.

2 Mohöy wäd nih pinìg

‘Story of the Deer Spirit’

‘História do Espírito Veadó’¹

- (1) *Să’ ségep mah tih hámáh.*
să? ség-ep=mah tih hám-áh
 shrimp net-DEP=REP 3SG go-DECL
 ‘She went netting shrimp, it’s said.’
 ‘Ela foi pegando camarão, dizem.’
- (2) *Hin’ih pããp mah, tēhíp pããp mah tih hámáh.*
hin’ih pã-ãp=mah, tēh=ʔíp pã-ãp=mah tih hám-áh
 what NEG.EX-DEP=REP child=father NEG.EX-DEP=REP 3SG go-DECL
 ‘With nothing, it’s said, with no husband, it’s said, she went.’
 ‘Sem nada, dizem, sem marido, dizem, ela foi.’
- (3) *Ham yó’, dēh-mút sá’ mah tih ségéh.*
ham-yó?, dēh=mí-it sá?=mah tih ség-éh
 go-SEQ water=course-OBL shrimp=REP 3SG net-DECL
 ‘Having gone, it’s said, she was netting shrimp in the stream.’
 ‘Tendo ido, dizem, ela estava pegando camarão no igaparé.’
- (4) *Yúp mah tih seg péét mah, d’òbn’àn tih kāk w’öb pe níh, húpup ihíh.*
yúp=mah tih seg-pé-ét=mah, d’òb=n’àn tih
 that=REP 3SG net-go.upstream-OBL=REP acará=PL.OBJ 3SG
kāk-w’öb-pe-ní-h húp-up=ʔih-íh
 pull-set-go.upstream-INFR2-DECL person-DEP=MSC-DECL
 ‘So, it’s said, as she went upstream netting, it’s said, he was (also) going upstream, fishing acará (*Pterophyllum* sp.) and setting them out (for her), a man.’
 ‘Aí, dizem, enquanto ela ia rio acima pegando camarão, dizem, ele (também) estava indo rio acima, pescando acará e deixando lá (para ela), um homem.’

¹Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/999238>

- (5) *Tế kāk w'öb pe yố', tế tih-k'etd'óhanay mah, tiyì' b'ay këy d'öb k'ët níayáh, mohòyóh.*

tế kāk-w'öb-pe-yố', tế tih=k'etd'óh-an-ay=mah, tiyì?=b'ay
 until pull-set-go.upstream-SEQ until 3SG=end-DIR-INCH=REP man=again
këy-d'öb-k'ët-ní-ay-áh, mohòy-óh.
 see-descend-stand-be-INCH-DECL deer-DECL

'Until, having gone upstream fishing and setting out (the fish), all the way to the headwaters (of the stream), it's said, the man was standing (on the bank) looking down (at her), a deer.'

'Até, tendo indo rio acima pescando e deixando (o peixe), até a cabeceira (do igarapé), dizem, o homem ficou (na beira) olhando para baixo para ela.'

- (6) *Yúp mah, "Ủy sap ừh àn hỏp kāk w'öb pée' páh?" tih nóop b'ay.*
yúp=mah, Ủy sap ừh àn hỏp kāk-w'öb-pé-e' páh?
 that=REP who INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ fish pull-set-go.upstream-Q PROX.CNTR
tih nó-op=b'ay.
 3SG say-DEP=again

'So, it's said, "Who can it be, who has been going upstream fishing and setting out (fish) for me?" she said.'

'Aí, dizem, "Quem pode ser, que estava rio acima para a cima e deixando (peixe) para mim?" ela falou.'

- (7) *Yìnih yố' mah, hỏp wed túup k'óhốy nih, tẻhíp pầãp k'óhốy nih, hỉ tih d'ö'*
pe yí'íh.

yì-nih-yố'=mah, hỏp wed-tú-up k'óh-ốy=nih,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP fish eat-want-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO
tẻh=?íp pầ-ãp k'óh-ốy=nih, hỉ tih
 child=father NEG.EX-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO only 3SG
d'ö?-pe-yí'íh.
 take-go.upstream-TEL-DYNM

'So, it's said, wanting to eat fish, being without a husband, she just went upstream taking the fish.'²

'Aí, dizem, querendo comer peixe, sem marido, ela ia para rio acima pegando o peixe.'

²Isabel uses the verb *k'óh-* 'be' throughout this text; this verb is a salient feature of the Japu dialect (whereas the middle Tiquié dialects use only the form *ni-*), and is often a source of comment among speakers regarding dialectal differences.

- (8) *D'ö' pe yó' mah, "Ya'áp yi' āh wed téh, níy," no yó' mah, tih hup käd b'ay yi' kamí mah, tíhàn tih wíçíy.*

d'ö'-pe-yó'?=mah, ya'áp=yi? ?āh wed-té-h, ní-íy,
take-go.upstream-SEQ=REP all.gone=ADV 1SG eat-FUT-DECL be-DYNM
no-yó'?=mah, tih hup-käd-b'ay-yi?-kamí=mah, tíh-àn tih
say-SEQ=REP 3SG REFL-pass-return-TEL-moment.of=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG
wíç-íy.
whistle-DYNM

'Taking (the fish) as she went upstream, it's said, saying, "Just this I'll (take to) eat," it's said, just as she turned around to go back, he whistled to her.'

'Pegando (o peixe), rio acima, dizem, falando, "Só isso vou (levar para) comer," no momento em que ela virou para voltar, ele assobiou para ela.'

- (9) *Tíhàn tih wíçíy këyó' mah, "Ûy sap ùh, àn tiyì' pãât, àn wiç k'ët k'ó'ö' páh?"³ no yó' mah.*

tíhàn tih wíç-íy këyó'?=mah, ?Ûy sap ?ùh, ?àn tiyì?
3SG.OBJ 3SG whistle-DYNM because=REP who INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ man
pã-ât, ?àn wiç-k'ët-k'ó'ö' páh? no-yó'?=mah.
NEG.EX-OBL 1SG.OBJ whistle-stand-go.around-Q PROX.CNTR say-SEQ=REP

'As he whistled, it's said, "Who could it be, (I being) without a husband, who could be going around whistling for me?" she said, it's said.'

'Como ele assobiou, dizem, "Quem pode ser, (eu) sem marido, quem está por aí assobiando para mim?" ela falou, dizem.'

- (10) *Tih këy sop k'étéh, tih këy sop k'étét mah, tih m'è sój d'öb k'ët póayáh.*

tih këy-sop-k'ët-éh, tih këy-sop-k'ët-ét=mah, tih m'è?
3SG see-ascend-stand-DECL 3SG see-go.up-stand-OBL=REP 3SG carajuru
sój d'öb-k'ët-pó-ay-áh.
brilliant descend-stand-EMPH1-INCH-DECL

'She stood looking up (toward the bank), as she stood looking up, it's said, he stood looking down, brilliant with carajuru.⁴

'Ela ficou olhando para cima (na beira), e enquanto ficava olhando, dizem, ele olhava para baixo, brilhante com carajuru.'

³The particle *páh* marks recent past, but is used primarily in a contrastive sense; it is the counterpart of the distant past contrast marker mentioned above in the Introduction.

⁴*Carajuru* is the regional term for the *Arrabidaea chica* plant and the red body paint made from its leaves.

- (11) *Yup m'é' sój d'öb k'ët yó' mah, tíhàn tih ídíh.*
yup m'é? sój d'öb-k'ët-yó?=mah, tíh-àn tih íd-íh.
 that carajuru brilliant descend-stand-SEQ=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG speak-DECL
 'Standing there looking down, brilliant with *carajuru*, it's said, he spoke to her.'
 'Ficando lá olhando para ela, brilhante com carajuru, dizem, ele falou para ela.'
- (12) *Yít páh, "Hòp àmàn āh kāk w'öb péét, d'ó'óy ám páh?" nóóy mah.*
yít páh, hòp ?ám-àn ?āh kāk-w'öb-pé-ét, d'ó?-óy
 thus PROX.CNTR fish 2SG-OBL 1SG pull-set-go.upstream-DECL take-DYNM
?ám páh? nó-óy=mah.
 2SG PROX.CNTR say-DYNM=REP
 'And then, "Where I went upstream catching fish and setting them out for you; have you taken them?" he said, it's said.'
 'Aí, "Lá onde fui rio acima, pescando e deixando peixe, você pegou?" ele falou, dizem.'
- (13) *"D'ó'óy páh áháh," nóóy mah tíhíh.*
d'ó?-óy páh ?áh-áh, nó-óy=mah tíh-íh.
 take-DYNM PROX.CNTR 1SG-DECL say-DYNM=REP 3SG-DECL
 "I have taken them," she said, it's said.'
 "Eu peguei," ela falou, dizem.'
- (14) *"D'ö' wéd, am máhan wed ay yó' páh àmàn kāk w'öb pe níy mah.*
D'ö'-wéd, ?am máh-an wed-?ay-yó? páh ?ám-àn
 take-eat.IMP 2SG near-DIR eat-VENT-SEQ PROX.CNTR 2SG-OBJ
kāk-w'öb-pe-ní-íy=mah
 pull-set-go.upstream-be-DYNM=REP
 "Take and eat them; having gone and eaten at your place I (will) be setting out fish for you," it's said.'
 "Leve-os para comer; depois de você ir e comer em casa, estarei deixando peixe para você", dizem.'

- (15) *“Tán, am máhan, d’ú’ āh yě téh,” nóóy mah.*
tán, ʔam máh-an, d’ú’ ʔāh yě-té-h, nó-óy=mah.
 later 2SG near-Dir evening 1SG enter-FUT-DECL say-DYMN=REP
 ‘“Later, in the evening I will come to you,” he said, it’s said.’
 ‘“Depois, no final do dia, chegarei até você,” ele falou, dizem.’
- (16) *“Hǎ,” nóóy mah tíhíh.*
hǎʔ, nó-óy=mah tíh-íh.
 yes say-DYMN=REP 3SG-DECL
 ‘“All right,” she said, it’s said.’
 ‘“Tá bom,” ela falou, dizem.’
- (17) *Yǐ no yó’ mah tih b’ay yí’ayáh.*
yǐ-no-yóʔ=mah tih b’ay-yíʔ-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP 3SG return-TEL-INCH-DECL
 ‘Having said that, it’s said, she went back.’
 ‘Tendo dito isso, dizem, ela voltou.’
- (18) *B’ay yó’, té widb’ay yi’ níy ni yó’ mah, tih téhn’àn.*
b’ay-yóʔ, té wid-b’ay-yi’ ní-íy ni-yóʔ=mah, tih
 return-SEQ until arrive-return-TEL be-DYMN be-SEQ=REP 3SG
téh=n’àn.
 offspring=PL.OBJ
 ‘She went back, until she had arrived to where her children were.’
 ‘Ela voltou, até chegar onde estavam as suas crianças.’
- (19) *Yúp sǎ’ mehn’àn tih k’ët hipud yó’ mah, tih k’ët wed yó’ mah, tih k’ët ôh*
yí’íh.
yúp sǎʔ=meh=n’àn tih k’ët-hipud-yóʔ=mah, tih
 DEM.ITG shrimp=DIM=PL.OBJ 3SG stand-mix.broth-SEQ=REP 3SG
k’ët-wed-yóʔ=mah, tih k’ët-ʔôh-yíʔ-íh.
 stand-eat-SEQ=REP 3SG stand-sleep-TEL-DECL
 ‘Then, having made *mojica*⁵ for them from the little shrimp, it’s said,
 having fed them, she put them to sleep.’
 ‘Aí, depois de fazer uma *mojica* de pequenos camarões para elas, dizem
 depois de tê-las alimentado, as colocou para dormir.’

⁵*Mojica* is a stew, usually made with fish, flavored with hot pepper, and thickened with tapioca.

- (20) *Yúp k'ët òh yó' mah yúp, "Nig òháy, hégyi' nig òh hégyi' áy, kayak dèh äg tu yó' nig òh hégyi' áy!" tih nóóh.*

yúp k'ët-?òh-yó'?=mah yúp, "nig ?òh-áy, hég-yi? nig
 DEM.ITG stand-sleep-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 2PL sleep-INCH.IMP quick-ADV 2PL
?òh-hég-yi?-?áy, kayak=dèh ?äg-tu-yó' nig
 sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP manioc=liquid drink-immersed-SEQ 2PL
?òh-hég-yi?-?áy! tih nó-òh.
 sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 3SG say-DECL

'Putting them to sleep, "Quick, you all go to sleep quickly, having drunk up your *manicuera*,⁶ you all go to sleep quickly!" she said.'

'Mandando eles dormir, "Rápido, durmam rápido, depois de beber toda a *manicuera* de vocês, durmam logo!" ela falou.'

- (21) *Yĩ nóóy këyó' mah yúp, yid'äh mèhd'äh, tih-dö' mèhd'äh mah, íp pà mèhd'äh, hid òh yí'íh.*

yĩ nó-óy këyó'?=mah yúp, yi-d'äh mèh=d'äh,
 DEM.ITG say-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-PL DIM=PL
ti=dö?=mèh=d'äh=mah, ?íp pà mèh=d'äh, hid ?òh-yí'-íh.
 3SG=child=DIM=PL=REP father NEG.EX DIM=PL 3PL sleep-TEL-DECL

'Upon her saying this, it's said, those little ones, those little fatherless ones, they went to sleep.'

'Com ela falando isso, dizem, esses pequenos, esses pequenos sem pai, eles dormiram.'

- (22) *Yúp mah bíg noníh mah tih yë yí'ayáh.*

yúp=mah bíg no-níh=mah tih yë-yí'-ay-áh.
 that=REP HAB say-NEG=REP 3SG enter-TEL-DYNM-DECL

'Then, it's said, it was not long before he came in.'

'Aí, dizem, não foi muito antes dele chegar.'

⁶ As noted above, *manicuera* is a drink made from boiled manioc juice, often flavored with fruits.

- (23) *Tih kètd'öh só'óy óy', hũytu só'óy óy', hakténéyd'äh óy'.*
tih kètd'öh só?-óy ?óy', hũytu só?-óy ?óy', haktén-éy=d'äh
 3SG end LOC-DYNM bunch behind LOC-DYNM bunch side-DYNM-PL
?óy'.
 bunch
 'With a bunch of game at the end (of a pole) in front, a bunch of game in
 back, bunches of game on either side.'
 'Com umas caças no extremo (de um pau) na frente, umas caças atrás,
 caças dos dois lados.'
- (24) *Mòh óy'd'äh k'öh maháh. Hisihníh mah yid'äháh. Hòpd'ähát yi',*
mòhd'ähát yi' mah tih k'öhníh.
mòh ?óy?=d'äh k'öh-mah-áh. hisihníh=mah yi-d'äh-áh.
 tinamou bunch=PL be-REP-DECL many=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL
hòp=d'äh-át=yi?, mòh=d'äh-át=yi?=mah tih k'öh-ní-h.
 fish=PL-OBL=ADV tinamou=PL-OBL=ADV=REP 3SG be-INFR2-DECL
 'They were bunches of tinamous.⁷ Lots of them. With fish, with tinamous
 he was thus (laden).'
- 'Tinham inambus. Muitos. Com peixes, com inambus, ele estava
 (carregado).'

⁷These birds of the family *Tinamidae* are a preferred type of game.

- (25) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, "Marĩ pō'ra, marĩ pō'ra karĩrã?" nóóy mah.*
yì-nih-yó'=mah yúp, marĩ pō'ra, marĩ pō'ra karĩ-rã?
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG [1PL children 1PL children sleep-PL]
nó-óy=mah
 say-DYNM=REP
 'Thus, it's said, [in Tukano] "Are our children, our children asleep?" he said, it's said.'⁸
 'Aí, dizem, [em Tukano] "Os nossos filhos, nossos filhos estão dormindo?" ele falou, dizem.'
- (26) *Wòh ìh sud ùhniy. "Marĩ pō'ra karĩrã?" nóóy mah.*
wòh=ìh=sud ùhniy. Marĩ pō'ra karĩ-rã? nó-óy=mah.
 river.indian=MSC=INFR1 maybe [1PL children sleep-PL] say-DYNM=REP
 'He was apparently a River Indian, perhaps.'⁹ [In Tukano] "Are our children asleep?" he said.'
 'Era um índio do rio, parece. [em Tukano] "Nossos filhos estão dormindo?" ele falou.'

⁸Isabel stumbled a little over the Tukano phrase, and added a further comment:

- (i) *Yúp ãh d'ãh d'ãh ham níh di' kodé, wòh id mĩ' sud ùhniy yéh yúwúh.*
Yúp ãh d'ãh-d'ãh-ham-níh di?-kodé, wòh ìd mĩ? sud-ùhniy
 DEM.ITG 1SG send-send-go-NEG remain-VDIM river.indian speech UNDER INFR-maybe
yéh yúw-úh.
 FRUST DEM.ITG-DECL
 'I didn't say that very well, even though it was supposed to be Tukano.'
 'Não falei muito bem, mesmo que deveria ter sido em Tucano.'

⁹As discussed in the Introduction, the use of Tukano marks the deer spirit as an "Other". Here Isabel's meta-comment regarding his choice of language may have been motivated by the fact that her story was being recorded.

- (27) *Yúp mah, yino yó' mah yúp, yúp hõp tih k'ët wédéh, hõp tih k'ët wèd, mòh tih k'ët wèd, níy mah.*

yúp=mah, yi-no-yó'=mah yúp, yúp hõp tih

DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG fish 3SG

k'ët-wéd-éh,¹⁰ hõp tih k'ët-wèd, mòh tih k'ët-wèd, ní-íy=mah.

stand-eat-DECL fish 3SG stand-eat tinamou 3SG stand-eat be-DYNM=REP

‘Having said that, it’s said, he gave her fish to eat; he went on giving her fish to eat, to give her tinamous to eat, it’s said.’

‘Tendo falado assim, dizem, ele deu peixe para ela comer; ele continuou dando peixe, inambu, dizem.’

- (28) *Yít tih níhít yi' tih k'ët hiwag yí'íh.*

yít tih níh-ít=yi' tih k'ët-hi-wag-yí'íh.

thus 3SG be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG stand-FACT-day-TEL-DECL

‘Doing thus, he accompanied her until dawn.’

‘Assim, ele a acompanhou até amanhecer.’

- (29) *Tě sadakà' òh säwä' tég kót'ah meh mah, tih tēh-ínít tih säk te' sak k'ä' yí'ayáh.*

tě sadakà' òh-säwä'-té g kót'ah=meh=mah, tih tēh=ín-ít

until chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=DIM=REP 3SG child=mother-OBL

ti h säk te'-sak-k'ä'-yí'-ay-áh.

3SG buttocks join.with-go.up-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL

‘Until just before the time that the rooster wakes and crows, he lay together with his wife in the hammock.’

‘Até pouco antes do tempo do galo acordar e cantar, ele ficava deitado na rede com a mulher dele.’

¹⁰Hup derives causative constructions by means of compounded verb roots. The verb *d'ö?* ‘take’ is used for direct causation; *d'äh-* for less direct causation, and *k'ët-* ‘stand’ for indirect or ‘sociative’ causation, as in this example.

- (30) *Yinih yó' mah yúp sadakà' òh säwä' kamí píd mah tih way yi'ay pidip b'ay.*
yi-nih-yó?=mah yúp sadakà? òh-säwä?-kamí píd=mah
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that chicken sleep-wake-moment.of DIST=REP
tih way-yi?-ay pid-ip=b'ay.
 3SG go.OUT-TEL-INCH DISTR-DEP=again
 'Thus, it's said, at the time when the rooster awakes and crows, it's said,
 he went out again.'
 'Assim, dizem, no momento em que o galo acorda e canta, dizem, ele foi
 embora de novo.'
- (31) *Té way yó' mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham yi' ni pídih, yup tiyi'ih.*
té way-yó?=mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham-yi?-ni-píd-ih, yup
 until go.OUT-SEQ=REP 3SG forest among go-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL that
tiyi?-ih.
 man-DECL
 'On going out, it's said, he went off into the forest, that man.'
 'Saindo, dizem, ele foi embora no mato, esse homem.'
- (32) *Yinih mǐ' mah tih, "Nig s'om áyáy, téh!" no d'äh d'öb yi' pídih.*
yi-nih mǐ?=mah tih, "Nig s'om-?áy-áy, téh!"
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP 3SG 2PL bathe-VENT-INCH.IMP offspring
no-d'äh-d'öb-yi?-píd-ih.
 say-send-descend-TEL-DISTR-DECL
 'With that, it's said, "You all go bathe, children!" she said, sending them
 down to the water.'
 'Assim, dizem, "Vão tomar banho, filhos!" ela falou, mandando eles para o
 igarapé.'
- (33) *Yinih yó', s'äbtéyi' b'öt ham yó' mah, kayak dèh tih bí'ih.*
yi-nih-yó?, s'äb-té-yi? b'öt ham-yó?=mah, kayak
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ night-still-ADV swidden go-SEQ=REP manioc
dèh tih bí?-ih.
 liquid 3SG make-DECL
 'Having done thus, having gone early in the morning to her garden, it's
 said, she prepared *manicuera*.'
 'Tendo feito assim, tendo ido de manhã cedo para a roça, dizem, ela
 preparou a manicuera.'

- (34) *Kayak dèh bi' yó' mah yúp, di' téyi' pí'd mah, tih-dèhwàh mah tih tèhn'àn tih b'äh k'ët úhúh.*

kayak dèh bi?-yó?=mah yúp, di? té-yi? pí'd=mah,
manioc liquid make-SEQ=REP that remain still-ADV DISTR=REP

tih=dèh-wàh=mah tih tèh=n'àn tih b'äh-k'ët-úh-úh.

3SG=liquid-old.food=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG pour-stand-APPL-DECL

‘Having prepared *manicuera*, it’s said, she would take a little that was left over, it’s said, the part that isn’t tasty, it’s said, and she would pour that out for her children.’

‘Tendo preparado a manicuera, dizem, ela tirou um pouco que sobrou, a parte sem gosto, e a despejou para os seus filhos’

- (35) *Yinih mi' mah yúp tih tēhípàn b'ay tih-dèh húp b'ay, tih k'äh nàw, sanàát hitú'úp nàw, hipud y'et yí'ih.*

yì-nih mi?=mah yúp tih tēh=íp-àn=b'ay tih=dèh
DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP that 3SG child=father-OBJ=again 3SG=liquid

húp=b'ay, tih=k'äh nàw, sanà-át hi-tú?úp nàw,

beautiful=again 3SG=sweet good pineapple-OBL FACT-immersed-DEP good

hipud-y'et-yí?-ih.

mix.broth-lay-TEL-DECL

‘But, it’s said, for her husband, she would mix up good *manicuera*, sweet, mixed nicely with pineapple.’

‘Mas, dizem, para o marido dela ela misturava a manicuera gostosa, doce, bem mixturada com abacaxi.’

- (36) *Pèdét tih-kúút tih hipúdup, nàw mah.*

pèd-ét tih=kú-út tih hipúd-up, nàw=mah.

cunuri-OBL 3SG-age.bury-OBL 3SG mix.broth-DEP good=REP

‘She mixed it with aged *cunuri*,¹¹ it was good, it’s said.’

‘Ela misturou com cunuri enterrado, era muito boa, dizem.’

¹¹The nuts of the *cunuri* tree (*Cunuria spruceana*) are prepared via a technique of burying them in the ground and leaving them for some time to ferment.

- (37) *Tih bi' y'et yi' pídíh, yúp tih tēhípànáh, mohòy wādànáh.*¹²
tih bi' y'et-yi' píd-íh, yúp tih tēh=íp-àn-áh,
 3SG make-lay-TEL-DIST-DECL that 3SG child=father-OBJ-DECL
mohòy=wād-àn-áh.
 deer=RESP-OBJ-DECL
 'She would make it and set it down, for her husband, the deer.'
 'Ela fazia e colocava, dizem, para o marido dela, o veado.'
- (38) *Yúp mah yúp tihpày mah yúp tih tēhn'àn tih bi' nó'op b'ay.*
yúp=mah yúp tih=pày=mah yúp tih tēh=n'àn tih
 that=REP that 3SG=bad=REP that 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG
bi' nó'op=b'ay.
 make-give-DEP=again
 'Thus, it's said, she did badly for her children.'
 'Assim, dizem, ela fez mal para seus filhos.'
- (39) *Nutèn áyd'áh, in tēhn'àn hitama' níh, in ní-tēg yi' tih níhip mah yúp hiníp.*
nutèn ?áy=d'áh, ?in tēh=n'àn hitama?-níh, ?in
 today woman=PL 1PL offspring-OBJ.PL do.well.by-NEG 1PL
ní-tēg=yi' tih níh-ip=mah yúp=hin-íp
 be-CLF:THING=ADV 3SG be.like-DEP=REP that=also-DEP
 'Women of today, (when) we (who remarry) don't treat our children well,
 our way is as she did, it's said, likewise.'
 'As mulheres de hoje, (quando casam de novo e) não tratam bem nossos
 filhos, esse jeito é como o jeito dela, dizem, assim mesmo.'
- (40) *Yúwàn úy d'áh kěy d'áh hám b'ayáh, yúpyi' tih bi' ni nih níh.*
yúw-àn=úy=d'áh kěy-d'áh-hám-b'ay-áh, yúp-yi' tih
 that-OBJ=who=PL see-send-go=again-DEP-DECL that-ADV 3SG
bi' ni-nih-ni-h.
 make-be-be.like-INFR2-DECL
 'Because that's how it is for those people, thus in this way she behaved.'
 'Por que é assim mesmo para essas pessoas, assim desse jeito ela fez.'

¹²The 'respected' marker *wād* is an honorific device used for male referents, derived from *wāhād* 'old (male)' (compare *wa*, for old/respected female referents).

- (41) *Hitama' níh nutèn áyd' äh in hiníh tíh.*
hitama?-níh nutèn ?áyd=d'äh ?in=hin-ih tíh.
 do.well.by-NEG today woman=PL 1PL=also-DECL EMPH2
 'We (women who remarry) of today likewise do not treat (our children) well.'
 'Nós (mulheres que casam outra vez) hoje em dia também não tratamos bem nossos filhos.'
- (42) *Yiníhíy mah yup d'ú' nénéy, níhíy píd mah, "in téh=d'äh öh yi' s'íwíy híd?"*
tih no widyë pídíh, yup wòh íditíh.
yi-níh-íy=mah yup d'ú? nén-éy, níh-íy
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that evening come-DYNM be.like-DYNM
píd=mah, ?in téh=d'äh ?öh-yi?-s'íw-íy híd? tih
 DISTR=REP 1PL offspring=PL sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM 3PL 3SG
no-widyë-píd-íh, yup wòh ?íd-it-íh.
 say-arrive.enter-DISTR-DECL that river.indian language-OBL-DECL
 'Then like that, it's said, the evening would arrive, it would go like this, it's said: "Are our children already asleep?" he would say as he entered, he would speak in River Indian language.'¹³
 'Assim, dizem, no final do dia, era sempre assim, dizem: "Nossos filhos já estão dormindo?" ele dizia, entrando, dizia na língua dos índios do rio.'
- (43) *Yiníh yó' píd mah yúp, di' téyi' píd, "nig öh yi', hégay!" tih no pídíh.*
yi-nih-yó? píd=mah yúp, di? té=yi? píd, nig
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ DISTR=REP that remain still=ADV DISTR 2PL
?öh-yi?, hég-ay! tih no-píd-íh.
 sleep-TEL.IMP quick-INCH 3SG say-DISTR-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, just before (he would come), "You all go to sleep, quickly!" she would say.'
 'Aí, dizem, pouco antes (dele chegar), "Vocês durmam logo!" ela falava.'

¹³Here Isabel provides the Deer Spirit's quoted speech in Hup, but comments that he actually would have spoken in Tukano.

- (44) *Yúp mah yúp, ya'ápyi' píd mah yup tih d'ö' níh, tih kètd'öh só'öy mòh öy',
hũytu só'öy mòh öy', háktenéyd'äh hũ sáp ni bahadníh píd mah tih yééh.
yúp=mah yúp, ya'áp=yi? píd=mah yup tih d'ö?-ní-h, tih
that=REP that all.that=ADV DISTR=REP that 3SG take-INFR2-DECL 3SG
kètd'öh só'öy mòh ʔöy', hũytu só'öy mòh ʔöy',
end LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch behind LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch
hákten-éy=d'äh hũ sáp ni-bahad-níh píd=mah tih yé-éh.
side-DYNM=PL animal INTS be-appear-NEG DISTR=REP 3SG enter-DECL
'So, it's said, he would take all that, it's said, a bunch of tinamou at the
end (of the pole), a bunch of tinamou behind, (with so much game) on
either side that he could hardly be seen, he would come in.'*
'Aí, dizem, ele sempre levava tudo isso, dizem, um monte de inambu no
final (de um pau), uns inambus atrás, (com tanta caça) nos dois lados que
o corpo dele quase não aparecia, ele entrava.'
- (45) *Yĩníhíy píd mah yup d'ú' tih k'ët wed widyěép, té hiwag noh yet yi' pídíh,
té sadakà' öh säwä' tég kót'ah mah píd, hid yāhā'äh, hid wédep.
yĩ-níh-íy píd=mah yup d'ú? tih
DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM DISTR=REP that evening 3SG
k'ët-wed-widyě-ëp, té hi-wag-noh-yet-yi?-píd-íh, té
stand-eat-arrive.enter-DEP until FACT-day-fall-lie-TEL-DISTR-DECL until
sadakà? ʔöh-säwä?-tég kót'ah=mah píd, hid yāhā?-äh, hid wéd-ep.
chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=REP DISTR 3PL stop-DECL 3PL eat-DEP
'Thus, it's said, he would arrive in the evening with food for her, and they
would eat, stopping only when day was breaking, just before the rooster
crows, it's said.'*
'Assim, dizem, ele chegava no final do dia com comida para ela, e eles
comiam até amanhecer, parando só pouco antes de o galo cantar, dizem.'
- (46) *Yinih yó' píd mah tih téhn'àn wèd di'níh tih ni yi' pídíh.
yi-nih-yó? píd=mah tih téh=n'àn wèd di?-níh
DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ DISTR=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG
tih ni-yi?-píd-íh.
3SG be-TEL-DISTR-DECL
'Always thus, it's said, she/they would leave nothing for her children.'
'Sempre era assim, dizem, não deixavam nada para os filhos.'*

- (47) *Tih téhn'àn wèd di'níh ni yó' píd, tih téhín máh tih sak k'á' yó' píd, hid kéyníh yi' píd, tih way yi'íh.*

tih téh=n'àn wèd di?-níh ni-yó? píd, tih téh=?ín
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG be-SEQ DISTR 3SG child=mother
máh tih sak-k'á?-yó? píd, hid kéy-níh=yi? píd, tih
 near 3SG climb-hang-SEQ DISTR 3PL see-NEG=ADV DISTR 3SG
way-yi?-íh.

go.out-TEL-DECL

‘Always leaving no food for her children, he would climb into the hammock with his wife, (and later) while they (the children) did not see, he would go out.’

‘Sem deixar nada para os filhos, ele sempre subia na rede com a mulher dele, e (depois), sem as crianças ver, ele sempre saía.’

- (48) *Téh bi' yó' píd mah yít tih way yi' ni pídíh.*

téh bi?-yó? píd=mah yít tih way-yi?-ni-píd-íh.
 offspring make-SEQ DISTR=REP thus 3SG go.out-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL

‘After producing a child,¹⁴ it’s said, he would go out.’

‘Depois de fazer um filho, dizem, ele sempre saiu.’

- (49) *Tē bígay mah yúp, “Hín'íh yó' sáp in ín, ínàn yĩ no biáh tì, yà' ínàn yĩ no biáh?” no yó' mah, hid pib sákáy nih sud ũhníy, hídíh.*

tē bíg-ay=mah yúp, hín'íh-yó? sáp ?ín ?ín, ?ín-àn
 until long.time-INCH=REP that what-SEQ INTS 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ
yĩ-no-bi-áh tì, yà? ?ín-àn yĩ-no-bi-áh?

DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC Q.EMPH mom 1PL-OBJ DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC
no-yó?=mah, hid pib sák-áy=nih=sud ?ũhníy, hídí-íh.
 say-SEQ=REP 3PL strong go.up-DYMN=EMPH.CO=INFR maybe 3PL-DECL

‘Until, after a long time, it’s said, (the children) said, “Why in the world does our mother always say this to us, does Mama always say this to us?” They were growing up, perhaps, those (children).’

‘Até, depois de muito tempo, “Por que será que a nossa mãe sempre fala assim para nós, Mamãe sempre nos fala assim?” Eles estavam crescendo, parece, essas (crianças).’

¹⁴That is, they would make love, such that after a time his wife became pregnant. The wording here may refer to the model of conception in which repeated love-making events are understood to produce a child.

- (50) *Yiníhíy mah yúp ayùp ih, tih-wàh díyi, këy k'á'ayáh.*
yì-níh-íy=mah yúp ?ayùp=ih, tih=wàh díyi?
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that one=MSC 3SG=mature CPM
këy-k'á?-ay-áh.
 see-hang-INCH-DECL
 'So, it's said, one boy, the oldest one, (stayed awake) watching from his
 hammock.'
 'Aí, dizem, um rapaz, o mais velho, (ficou acordado) olhando da rede dele.'
- (51) *Këy k'á' yó' mah yúp, "Hín'ih pöy sáp bíg yéh tíhah?! D'ú' ínàn 'hëgyi' nig
 òhyi' áy téh, nig ápyi' nig òh hëgyi' áy!' ínàn tih no bíi' s'áh?" no yó' mah,*
këy-k'á?-yó?=mah yúp, hín'ih pö-y sáp bíg yéh tíh-ah?!
 see-hang-SEQ=REP that what EMPH-DYNM INTS HAB FRUST 3SG-FOC
d'ú? ?ín-àn hëg-yi? nig ?òh-yi?-?áy téh, nig ?ápyi?
 evening 1PL-OBJ quick-ADV 2PL sleep-TEL-VENT.IMP offspring 2PL all
nig ?òh-hëg-yi?-?áy! ?ín-àn tih no-bí-i? s'áh?
 2PL sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 1PL-OBJ 3SG say-HAB-Q DST.CNTR¹⁵
no-yó?=mah,
 say-SEQ=REP
 'Watching from the hammock, saying, "What in the world is she always
 doing?! Why does she always say, in the evening, 'Go quickly to sleep,
 children, all of you go quickly to sleep!'"'
 'Olhando da rede dele, dizendo, "O que é que ela pode estar fazendo?!
 Porque ela sempre fala, no final do dia, 'Vão dormir logo, filhos, vocês
 todos durmam logo!'"'
- (52) *yúp tih wāg yād k'á'ayáh, yág seseg ë' ní-íy mah, s'ámyi' hā';*
yúp tih wāg-yād-k'á?-ay-áh, yág seseg-?ě?-ní=mah,
 that 3SG spy-hide-hang-INCH-DECL hammock perforated-PFV-INFR2=REP
s'am=yi? hā?;
 DST.CNTR=ADV TAG2
 'He hung spying, hidden; it was a net-woven hammock, it's said, (the
 kind from) the old days;'
 'Ele ficou lá espiando, escondido; era uma rede tecida (de fibra), dizem, de
 antigamente;'

¹⁵The 'distant past contrast' marker (DST.CNTR) *s'áh* in this context clarifies that the situation has been going on for a long time.

- (53) *s'ák s'ó yág ë' ní mah, s'ámyi'iy yágáh.*
s'ák s'ó yág-ʔëʔ-ní=mah, s'am=yiʔ-iy
 buriti flower hammock-PFV-INFR2=REP DST.CNTR=ADV-DYNM
yág-áh.
 hammock-DECL
 'in the old days they were buriti-fiber hammocks, those hammocks in the old days.'¹⁶
 'antigamente tinham redes de fibra de buriti, essas redes antigas.'
- (54) *Nutènep tēghóð'äh nìh yágay, nutènep, yág húpútay nìg k'á'ãhà'; páy mah*
in pem k'ö' éh, s'ámyi'ih.
nutèn-ep tēghóð=d'äh nìh yág-ay, nutèn-ep, yág
 today-DEP non.indian=PL POSS hammock-INCH today-DEP hammock
húp-út-ay nìg k'á'ãhà'; páy=mah ʔin pem-k'ö'-ʔéh,
 beautiful-OBL-INCH 2PL hang-TAG2 bad=REP 1PL sit-go.around-PFV
s'am=yiʔ-ih.
 DST.CNTR=ADV-DECL
 'Nowadays you all lie in the non-Indian people's nice hammocks; we went badly in the old days, it's said.'
 'Hoje em dia vocês deitam nas redes bonitas dos brancos; foi mal para nós antigamente.'
- (55) *Yìn'ih yág hitá'äp mah yúp tih wäg yäd k'á'áh, yup tiyi' mehéh.*
yì-n'ih yág hitá'äp=mah yúp tih wäg-yäd-k'á'áh,
 DEM.ITG-NMLZ hammock covered-DEP=REP that 3SG spy-hide-hang-DECL
yup tiyi'?=meh-éh.
 that man=DIM-DECL
 'So, covered by that hammock, it's said, he hung spying, hidden, that boy.'
 'Assim, coberto pela rede, dizem, ele ficou lá espiando, escondido, aquele rapazinho.'

¹⁶Here Isabel offers an explanatory comment; today most indigenous people of the region use manufactured cotton hammocks bought or traded for from local merchants. Buriti is the regional name for the palm *Mauritius flexuosa*.

- (56) *Yúp yinih yó' mah yúp, "hin'ih tég in yà?! ínàn yinihíy sud in íníh, páy bí'íy sud ín ín ínànáh!"*¹⁷

yúp yi-nih-yó'=mah yúp, hin'ih-tég ?in yà?! ?ín-àn
 that DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL TAG1 1PL-OBJ
yi-nih-íy=sud ?ín ?ín-ih, páy bí'íy=sud ?ín
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=INFR 1PL mother-DECL bad work-DYNM=INFR 1PL
?ín ?ín-àn-áh!
 mother 1PL-OBJ-DECL

'So, it's said, "What can we do?! Our mother has been doing thus to us, it seems, our mother has been doing badly by us, it seems!'

'Aí, dizem, "O que podemos fazer?! Parece que a nossa mãe está nos tratando assim, parece que a nossa mãe está nos fazendo mal!'

- (57) *"Ya'áp s'áh hid wed big súdúh! Kéy'éy s'áh áháh, méh!" tih nóayáh.*¹⁸
ya'áp s'áh hid wed-big-súd-úh! kéy-éy s'áh ?áh-áh,
 all.that DST.CNTR 3PL eat-HAB-INFR-DECL see-DYNM DST.CNTR 1SG-DECL
méh! tih nó-ay-áh.

younger.sister 3SG say-INCH-DECL

"They've been eating so much all this time, apparently! I've seen it, younger sister!" he said.'

'Faz tempo que eles estão comendo tanto, parece! Eu vi, minha irmã menor!" ele falou.'

¹⁷The boy's comment makes use of the inferential evidential, in contrast to the reported evidential that is used more heavily throughout the narrative text.

¹⁸In this utterance, the distant past contrast marker (together with the inferential evidential) clarifies that the event must have been going on for a long time.

- (58) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, s'äbtéyi' s'om d'òb d'äh mah hid üh ídih.*¹⁹
yì-nih-yó'=mah yúp, s'äb-té=yi? s'om-d'òb=d'äh=mah hid
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that night-still=ADV bathe-descend=PL=REP 3PL
?üh=?id-ih.
 RECP=speak-DECL
 'So, it's said, in the morning as they were going to bathe they spoke together.'
 'Aí, dizem, de manhã, quando estavam indo para tomar banho, eles falavam entre eles.'
- (59) *Yúp ësáp b'ay mah tih b'òt ham yí'ip b'ay.*
yúp ?ësáp=b'ay=mah tih b'òt ham-yí'-ip=b'ay.
 that tomorrow=again=REP 3SG swidden go-TEL-DEP=again
 'So the next day, it's said, she (their mother) went to her swidden garden.'
 'O dia depois, dizem, ela (a mãe) foi para a roça.'
- (60) *Yúp tih b'òt hámap, yítyi' píd, tih-dëhwàh yi' píd mah hídàn tih b'äh k'et käsät ühúh.*
yúp tih b'òt hámap, yít=yi? píd,
 that 3SG swidden go-DEP thus=ADV DISTR
tihi=dëh-wàh=yi? píd=mah híd-àn tih
 3SG=water-old.food=CNTR.EMPH DISTR=REP 3PL-OBJ 3SG
b'äh-k'et-käsät-?üh-úh.
 pour-stand-be.first-APPL-DECL
 'As she was going to the garden, as always, she poured out old tasteless *manicuera* for (the children), it's said.'
 'Saindo para a roça, como sempre, ela deixou a manicuera ruim para (as crianças), dizem.'

¹⁹This utterance illustrates the use of the reciprocal prefix *-?üh*, which is formally identical to several other morphemes in Hup (as evident in this text), including the applicative suffix and the epistemic modal particle. See Epps (2010) for discussion of the historical connection among these forms.

- (61) *Yúp b'ay mah, tih tēhípàn tih-dēh húp yi' píd, sanàát tih hitú'up náw píd, tih hipud y'et yí'ih, pèdét hitú'up.*
yúp=b'ay=mah, tih tēh=íp-àn tih=dēh húp=yi?
 that=again=REP 3SG child=father-OBJ 3SG=liquid beautiful=CNTR.EMPH
píd, sanà-át tih hitú'up náw píd, tih
 DISTR pineapple-OBL 3SG mix-DEP good DISTR 3SG
hipud-y'et-yí'ih, pèd-ét hitú'up.
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-DECL cunuri-OBL mix-DEP
 'And again, it's said, for her husband it was good *manicuera*, nicely mixed with pineapple, that she mixed and set out, mixed with *cunuri*.'
 'E como sempre, dizem, para o marido dela ela misturou e colocou a *manicuera* boa, bem misturada com abacaxi, misturada com *cunuri*.'
- (62) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, "hin'ih tég ín, ínàn yúpyi' bi' níhíy sud yúwúh?!" no yó' mah, hid tih-dó'd'äh hid hámayáh.*
yi-nih-yó'=mah yúp, hin'ih-tég ín, ín-àn yúp=yi?
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL 1PL-OBJ thus=ADV
bi'-nih-íy=sud yúw-úh?! no-yó'=mah, hid tih=dó'=d'äh
 make-be.like-DYNM=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ=REP 3PL 3SG=child=PL
hid hám-ay-áh.
 3PL go-INCH-DECL
 'So then, it's said, saying, "What will we do, (since) she's apparently treating us this way?!" it's said, the children went off.'
 'Assim, dizem, falando "O que vamos fazer, com ela nos tratando assim?!" dizem, as crianças foram embora.'
- (63) *Ham yó' mah, d'ùç hid hátáh.*
ham-yó'=mah, d'ùç hid hát-áh.
 go-SEQ=REP timbó 3PL dig-DECL
 'Having gone, it's said, they dug up fish-poison (root/vine).'²⁰
 'Foram, dizem, e desenterravam timbó.'

²⁰Fish-poison (regional name "timbó"; *Lonchocarpus* sp.) is used to poison sections of streams in order to kill fish, but can also be used as a means of poisoning people. The root is beaten in water to release the poison.

- (64) *D'ùç hat yó' mah, s'ómop tih käd'd'öb mî' mah, d'ùç hid tätäd d'ó'ayáh.*
d'ùç hat-yó'?=mah, s'óm-op tih käd'd'öb-mî'?=mah, d'ùç hid
 timbó dig-SEQ=REP bathe-DEP 3SG pass.descend-UNDER=REP timbó 3PL
tätäd-d'ó'-ay-áh.
 beat.timbó-take-INCH-DECL
 'Having dug fish-poison, as she (their mother) was on her way down (to the stream) to bathe, they beat the fish-poison (to release the poison).'
 'Depois de desenterrar o timbó, enquanto (a mãe) estava indo para tomar banho, eles baterem o timbó (para fazer o veneno sair).'
- (65) *Tätäd d'ö' yó', yúp tih-dēh húpút, tih hipud y'et yí'iwít hid köw'öw' tu' y'et*
yí'ayáh.
tätäd-d'ö'-yó', yúp tih=dēh húp-út, tih
 beat.timbó-take-SEQ that 3SG=liquid beautiful-OBL 3SG
hipud-y'et-yí'-iw-ít hid köw'öw'-tu'-y'et-yí'-ay-áh.
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-FLR-OBL 3PL squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Having beaten the fish-poison, they squeezed (the juice) into the tasty *manicuera*, into the *manicuera* that (their mother) had set out (for her husband).'
 'Depois de bater timbó, eles espremiavam (o líquido) na manicuera boa, na manicuera que (a mãe) tinha colocado (para o marido).'
- (66) *Köw'öw' tu' y'et yí' yó' mah, hid yin'ih noníh öh yí'ayáh.*
köw'öw'-tu'-y'et-yí'-yó'?=mah, hid yin'ih no-níh
 squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-SEQ=REP 3PL DEM.ITG-COMPL say-NEG
öh-yí'-ay-áh.
 sleep-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Having squeezed the juice into (it), it's said, they went to sleep, saying nothing about it.'
 'Depois de espremer o líquido (na manicuera), dizem, eles dormiram, sem dizer nada.'

- (67) *Yúp mah ayùp ìh, këy k'ã' bígip ìh yì' píd, këy k'á' b'ayáh.*
yúp=mah ?ayùp=?ìh, këy-k'ã'-bíg-ip=?ìh=yì? píd,
 DEM.ITG=REP one=MSC see-hang-HAB-DEP=MSC=CNTR.EMPH DISTR
këy-k'á'-b'ay-áh.
 see-hang-again-DECL
 'So, it's said, one boy, the one who had been watching from his hammock,
 watched from his hammock again.'
 'Aí, dizem, um rapaz, aquele que estava olhando da rede, ficou olhando da
 rede de novo.'
- (68) *Yúp mah tih widyë yí'ay b'ayáh.*
yúp=mah tih widyë-yí'-ay=b'ay-áh.
 that=REP 3SG arrive.enter-TEL-INCH=again-DECL
 'Then, it's said, he (the deer) came in.'
 'Aí, dizem, o veado entrou.'
- (69) *“Ōh yì' sǐwǐy híd, ín téhd'äh?” no widyééy b'ay mah.*
?ōh-yì'-sǐw-ǐy híd, ?ín téh=d'äh?
 sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM 3PL 1PL offspring=PL
no-widyé-éy=b'ay=mah.
 say-arrive.enter-DYNM=AGAIN=REP
 “Are our children asleep?” he said, entering, it's said.'
 “Nossos filhos estão dormindo?” ele falou entrando, dizem.'
- (70) *“Ōh yì' sǐwǐy yid'äháh, páhyì' híd ōh yí'ih,” nóóy mah yúp, tih tēhín waáh.*
?ōh-yì'-sǐw-ǐy yì-d'äh-áh, páh=yì? híd
 sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM DEM.ITG-PL-DECL PROX.CNTR=ADV 3PL
?ōh-yí'-ih, nó-óy=mah yúp, tih tēh=?ín=wa-áh.
 sleep-TEL-DECL say-DYNM=REP that 3SG offspring=mother=RESP-DECL
 “They're already asleep, they went to sleep a short while ago,” she said,
 his wife.'
 “Já dormiram, dormiram há pouco tempo,” ela falou, a mulher dele.'

- (71) *Yĩ no yǒ' mah yúp, tih ágayáh, yúwädáh, wed hupsĩp, yup hid kö'wöw' tu' y'et yi' pög éwànáh.*

yí-no-yǒʔ=mah yúp, tih ʔág-ay-áh, yú-wäd-áh,
DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG drink-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG-RESP-DECL

wed-hup-sĩp, yup hid

eat-REFL-COMPL that 3PL

kö'wöw'-tuʔ-y'et-yiʔ-pög-ʔé-w-àn-áh.

squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-AUG-PFV-FLR-OBJ-DECL

‘Having said that, it’s said, he drank it, that respected one, after eating, that which they had squeezed (poison) into and left there.’

‘Falando isso, dizem, ele tomou (a manicuera), esse (veado), depois de comer, aquela que eles tinham deixado com (o veneno) espremido.’

- (72) *Yúp ág yǒ' mah tih sak k'ã' yí'ayáh, hid ka'áp'd'äh.*

yúp ʔág-yǒʔ=mah tih sak-k'ãʔ-yíʔ-ay-áh, hid kaʔáp=d'äh.

DEM.ITG drink-SEQ=REP 3SG climb-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL two=PL

‘Having drunk, it’s said, he climbed into the hammock, the two of them (together).’²¹

‘Depois de tomar, ele subiu na rede, os dois juntos.’

²¹Here Isabel briefly lost her train of thought and commented:

- (i) *Hĩ no pǒy ũh mah s'áh yúw? Äh hipāhnĩh yúwàn, áháh, yúp, hây, hĩ no pǒy mah s'áh yúw? Yúwàn äh hipāhnĩh hõ.*

Hĩ no-pǒ-y ʔũh=mah s'áh yúw? ʔÄh hipāh-nĩh yúw-àn,
what say-EMPH1-DYMN EPIST=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG 1SG know-NEG DEM.ITG-OBJ
ʔäh-áh, yúp, hây, hĩ no-pǒ-y=mah s'áh yúw? Yúw-àn ʔäh
1SG-DECL DEM.ITG um what say-EMPH1-DYMN=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-OBJ 1SG
hipāh-nĩh=hõ.

know-NEG=NONVIS

‘Now how does it (the story) go? I don’t remember this part, um, how does it go? I don’t remember this part.’

‘Então, como é essa parte (da história)? Não lembro essa parte, eh, como é? Não lembro essa parte.’

- (73) *Tih äg yó' tih na' sak k'á'awayáh.*
Tih ?äg-yó? tih na?-sak-k'á?-aw-ay-áh.
 3SG drink-SEQ 3SG lose.consciousness-climb-hang-FLR-INCH-DECL
 'Having drunk, he climbed up drunkenly into the hammock.'
 'Depois de tomar, ele subiu, bêbado, na rede.'
- (74) *Yúp sak k'á' yó' mah yúp tih äg ná'awít yi' mah, tih ôh kädham yi' níayáh.*
yúp sak-k'á?-yó?=mah yúp tih
 DEM.ITG climb-hang-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG
äg-ná?-aw-ít=yi?=mah, tih
 drink-lose.consciousness-FLR-OBL=ADV=REP 3SG
?ôh-kädham-yi?-ní-ay-áh.
 sleep-pass.go-TEL-be-INCH-DECL
 'Having climbed into the hammock, it's said, in his drunken(-like) state,
 he went directly to sleep.'
 'Tendo subido na rede, dizem, bêbado, ele dormiu direto.'
- (75) *Yít mah tih na' yi' níayáh tih tēhín hupáh máh, tih tawak k'ã' pög níayáh.*
yít=mah tih na?-yi?-ní-ay-áh tih tēh=?ín
 thus=REP 3SG lose.consciousness-TEL-be-INCH-DECL 3SG child=mother
hupáh máh, tih tawak-k'ã?-pög-ní-ay-áh.
 back near 3SG stiff-hang-AUG-be-INCH-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, he died there against his wife's back, he lay there stiff.'
 'Assim, dizem, ele morreu lá contra as costas da mulher dele, ele ficou lá rígido.'
- (76) *Yúp mah yúp, "in téhd'äh säwá'ayáh!" noyó' mah, tih yüy' yéhayáh, tih*
yüy' yéhayáh, säwä'níhay mah,
yúp=mah yúp, ?ín téh=d'äh säwá?-ay-áh! no-yó?=mah,
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 1PL offspring=PL awake-INCH-DECL say-SEQ=REP
tih yüy'-yéh-ay-áh, tih yüy'-yéh-ay-áh,
 3SG shake-FRUST-INCH-DECL 3SG shake-FRUST-INCH-DECL
säwä?-níh-ay=mah,
 awake-NEG-INCH=REP
 'So, it's said, saying "Our children are waking up!" she shook him and
 shook him in vain; he did not wake up.'
 'Aí, dizem, falando, "Nossos filhos estão acordando!" dizem, ela o sacudiu,
 o sacudiu, para nada; ele não acordou.'

- (77) *Säwä' huphipāhnih, tawak d'ak póay mah, tih hupáh, tih tēhín hupáh, mohòyóh.*
säwä?-hup-hipāh-nih, tawak-d'ak-pó-ay=mah, tih hupáh, tih
 awake-REFL-know-NEG stiff-be.against-AUG-INCH=REP 3SG back 3SG
tēh=ín hupáh, mohòy-óh.
 offspring=mother back deer-DECL
 'He did not awake to consciousness, he lay there stiff against his wife's back, it's said, the deer.'
 'Ele não acordou, ficou lá rígido contra as costas da mulher dele, dizem, o veado.'
- (78) *"Níg s'ôm áy ham áy téh! Hin'ih nig k'á'áy níg?" no èy mah yúp, hid ín waáh.*
níg s'ôm-?áy ham-?áy téh! hin'ih nig k'á'áy níg?
 2PL bathe-VENT.IMP go-VENT.IMP offspring what 2PL hang-DYMN 2PL
no-?è-y=mah yúp, hid ín=wa-áh.
 say-PFV-DYMN=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=RESP-DECL
 "You all go bathe, children! What are you doing still in your hammocks?" she said, it's said, their mother.'
 "Vão embora tomar banho, filhos! Por que vocês ficam ainda nas redes?" ela falou, dizem, a mãe deles.'
- (79) *Yiníhíy këyó' sud'ũh hid d'ób yí'ay ih.*
yí-nih-íy këyó? sud'ũh hid d'ób-yí'-ay=?ih.
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYMN because INFR.EPIST 3PL descend-TEL-INCH=MSC
 'So with that, apparently, they went down to the water.'
 'Assim, parece, eles foram para o igarapé.'
- (80) *Yúp mah tih mĩ' sud'ũh tēg b'ók pòg bug' k'èt d'ö'ö'ih.*
yúp=mah tih mĩ' sud'ũh tēg=b'ók pòg bug'-k'èt-dö?-ö'ih.
 DEM.ITG=REP 3SG UNDER INFR.EPIST tree=bark big bundle-stand-take-MS
 'So, it's said, while (they were out), apparently, she gathered up a big bundle of bark.'
 'Aí, dizem, enquanto (eles estavam fora), parece, ela juntou um feixe grande de casca de árvore.'

- (81) *Yít mah yúp tih päd hiyet yi' pǎayáh, tih tēhíp pögàn, mohòy wädàn.*
yít=mah yúp tih päd-hi-yet-yi?-pǎ-ay-áh, tih
 thus=REP DEM. ITG 3SG encircle-FACT-lie-TEL-AUG-INCH-DECL 3SG
tēh=?íp=pög-àn, mohòy=wäd-àn.
 offspring=father=AUG-OBJ deer=RESP-OBJ
 'So, it's said, she laid (his body) encircled (in the bark), her husband, the deer.'
 'Aí, dizem, ela envolveu (o corpo dele na casca), o marido dela, o veado.'
- (82) *Yúp päd hiyet yi' yó' mah yúp tēg b'ók pögót yít tih m'am'an' d'ö' kädway yí'ayáh,*
yúp päd-hi-yet-yi?-yó'=mah yúp tēg=b'ók pög-ót yít
 DEM. ITG encircle-fact-lie-TEL-SEQ=REP DEM. ITG tree=bark big-OBL thus
tih m'am'an'-d'ö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh,
 3SG roll.up-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Having laid out (his body) out encircled, it's said, she rolled (it) up in the bark and took it quickly out (of the house),'
 'Depois de envolver (o corpo dele), dizem, ela o enrolou na casca e levou fora da casa.'
- (83) *täh sud d'ö' kädway yí'ayáh, tinìh māj pöót.*
täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh, tinìh
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG.POSS
māj=pö-ót.
 basket=AUG-OBL
 'She broke up (his body, to fit) inside (the basket) and took it quickly out, in her basket.'
 'Ela quebrou (o corpo para fazer entrar) dentro (de uma cesta), e levou rapidamente fora, no aturá dela.'

- (84) *Täh sud d'ö' kädway yó' mah, tih ké'ay mah s'áh tí, pǝhóy mòyan.*
täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yó?=mah, tih ké?-ay=mah s'áh
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-SEQ=REP 3SG bury-INCH=REP DST.CNTR
tí, pǝh-óy mòy-an.
 EMPH.DEP high-DYNM house-DIR
 'Having broken it up inside and gone out quickly, it's said, she buried him, it's said, in a place high up (in the sky).'
 'Depois de quebrâ-lo dentro e sair rápido, dizem, ela enterrou ele, dizem, num lugar alto (no céu).'
- (85) *Pǝhóy mòyan s'áh, yíd'ähäh, nusá'äh yíd'ähäh, mohòy höd nóop bahad*
bítíh, pǝhóy sa'ah sö'ötíh, mohòy höd híd nóowóh.
pǝh-óy mòy-an s'áh, yíd'äh-äh, nu-sá?áh
 high-DYNM house-DIR DST.CNTR DEM.ITG-PL-DECL here-side
yíd'äh-äh, mohòy höd nó-op bahad-bí-itíh, pǝh-óy
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL deer hole say-DEP appear-HAB-EMPH2 high-DYNM
sa?ah sö?-ötíh mohòy höd híd nó-ow-óh.
 side LOC-EMPH2 deer hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL
 'In a place high up (in the sky), over here, people from here (say), that which they call the Deer's Tomb always appears, up high (in the sky), they call (it) the Deer's Tomb.'²²
 'Num lugar alto (no céu); sempre aparece para cá, gente daqui (dizem), aquele que chamam de Túmulo do Veadó, bem alto, o que chamam de Túmulo do Veadó.'
- (86) *Yúp mah yúwúh, mohòy höd híd nóowóh.*
yúp=mah yúw-úh, mohòy höd híd nó-ow-óh.
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-DECL deer hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL
 'That's it, it's said, they call it the Deer's Tomb.'
 'É isso, dizem, que chamam de Túmulo do Veadó.'

²² As noted in the Introduction, the location of this formation is uncertain, but it appears to be one of the "constellations" represented by a gap among stars.

- (87) *Yinihyó' mah yúp tih widyë ni yí'ip b'ay, konníh ni yí'íy mah, tih-téhn'àn.*
yí-nih-yó?=mah yúp tih widyë-ni-yí'ip=b'ay,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG arrive.enter-be-TEL-DEP=again
kon-níh ni-yí'íy=mah, tih téh=n'àn.
 like-NEG be-TEL-DYNM=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ
 'After that she came back, and there she stayed with dislike (unhappiness)
 towards her children.'
 'Depois disso ela voltou, e ficou lá infeliz com os filhos dela.'
- (88) *Yúp konníh tih ni yí'íy këyó' mah yúp, híd b'ay hipāh yí' s'wíy b'ay.*
yúp kon-níh tih ni-yí'íy këyó?=mah yúp, híd=b'ay
 DEM.ITG like-NEG 3SG be-TEL-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG 3PL=again
hipāh-yí' s'wíy=b'ay.
 know-TEL-COMPL-DYNM=again
 'As she stayed there unhappy with them, they became aware of it.'
 'Como ela ficou lá infeliz com eles, eles já perceberam.'
- (89) *"Hĩn'ih tég ũh in in ínàn páh?" nóóy mah hídíh.*
hĩn'ih=tég ũh ĩn ĩn ĩn-àn páh?" nó-óy=mah híd-ih.
 what=FUT EPIST 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ PROX.CNTR say-DYNM=REP 3PL-DECL
 "What will our mother do to us?" they said, it's said.
 "O que é que a nossa mãe vai nos fazer?" eles falaram, dizem.'
- (90) *Yinih yó' mah, tih b'òtan ham yí'íy b'ay.*
yí-nih-yó?=mah, tih b'òt-an ham-yí'íy=b'ay.
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP 3SG swidden-DIR go-TEL-DYNM=again
 '(One day) after that, she went to her swidden garden.'
 'Aí, (un dia) ela foi para a roça.'
- (91) *Yúp tinih heyó kakah yí' b'ay mah tih-dó'àn tih su' ní b'ayáh, mohòy téhànáh.*
yúp tinih heyó kakah=yí'=b'ay=mah tih=dó'ò-àn tih
 DEM.ITG 3SG.POSS middle among=ADV=again=REP 3SG=child-OBJ 3SG
su?-ní-b'ay-áh, mohòy téh-àn-áh.
 catch-be-again-DECL deer offspring-OBJ-DECL
 'There in the middle (of the swidden) she had a child, the deer's child.'
 'Lá no meio (da roça) ela teve filho, o filho do veado.'

- (92) *Yúp mohòy téhàn sú'up mah yúp, pǒh, májât, sákuút tìhàn tìh yō k'ǎ' ni b'ayáh, yúp tìh téh mehànáh*

yúp mohòy téh-àn sú'up=mah yúp, pǒh, máj-át,
 DEM.ITG deer offspring-OBJ catch-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG high basket-OBL
sáku-út tìh-àn tìh yō-k'ǎ?-ni-b'ay-áh, yúp tìh
 bag-OBL 3SG-OBJ 3SG dangle-hang-be-again-DECL DEM.ITG 3SG
téh=meh-àn-áh.
 offspring=DIM-OBJ-DECL

‘Having given birth to the deer’s child, she put it into a basket, a sack, and she hung it up high (in the house), her little child.’

‘Depois de ter o filho do veado, ela colocou (o nenê) em um aturá, em um saco, e pendurou no alto (da casa), o filhinho dela.’

- (93) *Tëg-sàhât mone yǒ' mah, tìh d'ö' sud k'ǎ' yi' níh.*

tëg=sàh-ât mone-yǒ?=mah, tìh
 wood=charcoal-OBL mix-SEQ=REP 3SG
d'ö?-sud-k'ǎ?-yi?-ní-h.
 take-be.inside-hang-TEL-INFR2-DYNM

‘Having mixed in charcoal (in order to conceal the child in the basket), she put it in (the basket) and hung it up.’

‘Misturando com carvão (para esconder o nenê), ela colocou (no aturá) e pendurou no alto.’

- (94) *S'äbtéyi' tìh no' púdup, b'òt widyéép tìh no' púdup, ya'àp yi' mah tìh no' pud pídíh.*

s'äbtéyi' tìh no?-púd-up, b'òt widyé-ép tìh
 morning 3SG give-nurse-DEP swidden arrive.enter-DEP 3SG
no?-púd-up, ya'àp=yi?=mah tìh no?-pud-píd-íh.
 give-nurse-DEP all.that=ADV=REP 3SG give-nurse-DISTR-DECL

‘She would nurse it in the early morning, she would nurse it when she came back from her swidden garden, those were the only (times) she would nurse it.’

‘De manhã, ela dava peito, chegando da roça ela dava peito, só nessas (vezes), dizem, ela dava peito (para ele).’

- (95) “*Hin’ih bíg yéh, yà’ b’òt widyéëp yikán kākāynih yi’ kādsak wög big yéhē’ yà?*” *no yó’ mah, hid sākayáh, dó’d’áháh.*

hin’ih bíg yéh, yà? b’òt widyé-ëp yikán kākāy-nih=yi?
 what HAB FRUST mama swidden arrive.enter-DEP there gap-NEG=ADV
kādsak-wög-big-yéh-ē? yà? no-yó?=mah, hid sāk-ay-áh,
 pass.climb-AUG-HAB-FRUST-Q QTAG say-SEQ=REP 3PL climb-DYMN-DECL
dó?=d’áh-áh.

child=PL-DECL

“‘What could it be, why does Mama always climb up there when she comes back from the swidden garden?’ Saying this, it’s said, they climbed up (to see), the children.’

“‘O que será? Por que mamãe sempre sobe lá quando ela volta da roça?’
 Falando assim, dizem, eles subiram para ver, as crianças.’

- (96) *Huphipāhnih yéháh dó’d’ähätih, nutènéyd’äh hínitih!*

hup-hipāh-nih yéh-áh dó?=d’äh-ätih, nutènéy=d’äh=hín-itih
 REFL-know-NEG FRUST-FOC child=PL-EMPH2 today=PL=also-EMPH2

‘Those children did not know better,²³ just like children of today!’

‘Essas crianças não entenderam, como as crianças de hoje em dia.’

- (97) *Sak yó’ mah hid kéyayáh, pib dí’ay níy sud mah.*

sak-yó?=mah hid kéy-ay-áh, pib dí?-ay
 climb-SEQ=REP 3PL see-INCH-DECL strong remain-INCH
ní-íy=sud=mah.

be-DYMN=INFR2=REP

‘Climbing up they saw it, it apparently was already growing strong, it’s said.’

‘Subindo, eles viram, já estava crescendo forte, dizem.’

²³That is, they lacked a sense of what is right and/or socially acceptable (*hup-hipāh-nih* [REFL-know-NEG] lit. ‘did not know themselves’).

- (98) *Yít mah “Apá! in ín-téh sud yúwúh, áy!” hid ũh nóayáh, “méh!” hid ũh nóayáh.*
yít=mah ?apá! ?in ?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh, ?áy!”
 thus=REP INTERJ 1PL mother=offspring=INFR2 DEM.ITG-DECL old.sister
hid ?ũh-nó-ay-áh, “méh!” hid ?ũh=nó-ay-áh.
 3PL RECP=say-INCH-DECL younger.sister 3PL RECP=say-INCH-DECL
 ‘So, it’s said, “Ah, this must be our sibling, older sister!” they said to each other, “younger sister!” they said to each other.’²⁴
 ‘Aí, dizem, “Ô, deve ser o filho de nossa mãe, irmã maior!” eles se falavam, “irmã menor!” eles se falavam.’
- (99) *Yino yó’ mah yúp, tîhàn hid dö’ híayáh.*
yì-no-yó’=mah yúp, tîh-àn hid dö’-hí-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG-OBJ 3PL take-descend-INCH-DECL
 ‘Saying thus, it’s said, they took (the baby deer) down.’
 ‘Falando assim, dizem, eles trouxeram (o nenê veado) para baixo.’
- (100) *D’ö’ hi yó’ mah, “Máy! n’ikán, kayak tig k’et, pí’ k’et in no’ k’ó’ayáh, yí’an!” no yó’ mah,*
d’ö’-hi-yó’=mah, máy! n’ikán, kayak=tig=k’et, pí’=k’et
 take-descend-SEQ=REP let’s.go over.there manioc=stem=leaf potato=leaf
?in no’-k’ó’-ay-áh, yí’-an!” no-yó’=mah,
 1PL give-go.about-INCH-DECL capoeira-DIR say-SEQ=REP
 ‘Taking (it) down, saying, “Come on! Let’s go give it manioc and potato leaves out there in the *capoeira* (overgrown swidden)!” it’s said,’
 ‘Depois de baixá-lo, falando, “Bora! Vamos lá na capoeira para dar folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata para ele!” dizem,’
- (101) *hid ton hámayáh, hid ín b’òtan ham yí’ mî’, “in ín-téh sud yúwúh!” no yó’.*
hid ton-hám-ay-áh, hid ?ín b’òt-an ham-yí’-mî’, ?in
 3PL hold-go-INCH-DECL 3PL mother swidden-DIR go-TEL-UNDER 1PL
?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh! no-yó’.
 mother=offspring=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ
 ‘they took (it) off, while their mother was away in the garden, saying, “It must be our sibling!”’
 ‘eles levaram (o nenê), enquanto que a mãe deles estava na roça, dizendo, “Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!”’

²⁴The children are using these terms of address to each other, as is common in Hup discourse.

- (102) *Yíkán mah kayak tig k'et hid nó'óh, pí' k'et mah hid nó'óh,*
yíkán=mah kayak=tig=k'et hid nó'óh, pí'=k'et=mah hid
 out.there=REP manioc=stem=leaf 3PL give-DECL potato=leaf=REP 3PL
nó'óh,
 give-DECL
 'Out there, it's said, they gave it manioc leaves, they gave it potato
 leaves, it's said,'
 'Lá, dizem, eles deram folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata, dizem,'
- (103) *hid no' ë' àpyi' mah, nutèn hin tih wéd b'ayáh, mohòyóh.*
hid no?-ë? àpyi?=mah, nutèn=hin tih wéd-b'ay-áh, mohòy-óh.
 3PL give-PFV all=REP today=also 3SG eat-again-DECL deer-DECL
 'they gave it everything, it's said, that the deer eats today.'
 'deram tudo, dizem, que o veadado come hoje em dia.'
- (104) *Yúp mah hid nó'óh, hid kakàh d'ö' k'ët yó' mah, "in ín-téh sud yúwúh!" no*
yó' pí'd,
yúp=mah hid nó'óh, hid kakàh d'ö'-k'ët-yó'=mah, "in
 DEM.ITG=REP 3PL give-DECL 3PL middle take-stand-SEQ=REP 1PL
ín=téh=sud yúw-úh!" no-yó' pí'd,
 mother=offspring=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ DISTR
 'So they gave it (food), it's said, (the children) put (the baby deer) in the
 middle (of the circle they formed), saying "It must be our sibling!"'
 'Aí (as crianças) deram (comida), dizem, e colocaram (o nenê veadado) no
 meio deles, dizendo "Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!"'
- (105) *sá'äh mah pí'd mah hid tiy d'äh ham muhú'úh.*
sá'äh=mah pí'd=mah hid tiy-d'äh-ham-muhú'-úh.
 other.side=REP DISTR=REP 3PL push-send-go-play-DECL
 'they playfully pushed it back and forth.'
 'eles brincaram empurrando-o de um lado a outro.'

- (106) *Yít hid níhít yí', yít hid níhít yí', tih m'em'em' k'ët k'ó'ót mah yúp, tih pib yí'íh.*

yít hid níh-ít=yí', yít hid níh-ít=yí', tih
 thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG
m'em'em'-k'ët-k'ó'ót=mah yúp, tih pib-yí'íh.
 weak-stand-go.about-OBL=REP DEM.ITG 3SG strong-TEL-DECL

‘As they did thus, as they did thus, as it went wobbling about, it’s said, it grew strong.’

‘Enquanto eles foram assim, foram assim,(o nenê), balançando aqui e lá, dizem, cresceu forte.’

- (107) *Yĩ nihiy mah yúp, tih kädham yí'ayáh, tih s'äk kädham yí'ayáh, yĩ-nih-iy=mah yúp, tih kädham-yí'ay-áh, tih*
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3SG pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG
s'äk-kädham-yí'ay-áh,
 jump-pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL

‘As they (playfully pushed the deer) thus, it’s said, it took off, it leapt (over them) and took off;’

‘Fazendo assim (brincando com o veado), dizem, ele foi embora, pulou (por cima deles) e foi embora,’

- (108) *hid kakàh yí' mah yúp, s'éc no kädham yí'ay mah.*
hid kakàh=yí'=mah yúp, s'éc no-kädham-yí'ay=mah.
 3PL middle=ADV=REP DEM.ITG deer.snort say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP
 ‘it leapt out of the middle (of the circle of children) and took off, it gave a snort *s'éc!* and took off, it’s said.’
 ‘ele pulou do meio (das crianças) e foi embora, bufou *s'éc!* e foi embora, dizem.’

- (109) *Yinóoy yéh tih-ihitih, s'éc! no kädham yí'ay mah.*
yí-nó-óy yéh tih=ih-ihitih, s'éc!
 DEM.ITG-say-DYNM FRUST 3SG=MSC-EMPH2 deer.snort
no-kädham-yí'ay=mah.
 say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP

‘That’s what it said: *s'éc!* and it took off, it’s said.’

‘Assim que ele falou: *s'éc!* e foi embora, dizem.’

- (110) *Yìnih yǒ' mah yǐtyi', bahadnìh tih níayáh, yúp hid ín-téhayáh.*
yì-nìh-yǒ'?=mah yít=yi?, bahad-nìh tih ní-ay-áh,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP thus=ADV appear-NEG 3SG be-INCH-DECL
yúp hid ín=téh-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG 3PL mother=offspring-INCH-DECL
 'So with that, it's said, it disappeared, their sibling.'
 'Assim, dizem, ele desapareceu, o filho da mãe deles.'
- (111) *Yúp won d'ak k'ǒ' këy éy yéh mah yíd'ähäh, won d'ak k'ǒ' këy éy mah.*
yúp won-d'ak-k'ǒ'-këy-?é-y yéh=mah
 DEM.ITG follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM FRUST=REP
yí-d'äh-äh, won-d'ak-k'ǒ'-këy-?é-y=mah.
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM=REP
 'They went wandering around looking for it in vain, it's said, those (children), wandering around looking for it in vain, it's said.'
 'Eles andavam procurando-o em vão, dizem, essas (crianças), andavam procurando-o em vão, dizem.'
- (112) *Hid yē yǐ'ayáh, "Hìn'ih tég ín?! ín ín ínàn meh tég ínànáh!" no yǒ' mah,*
hid yē-yǐ'-ay-áh, "Hìn'ih-tég ?ín?! ?ín ?ín ?ín-àn meh-tég
 3PL enter-TEL-INCH-DECL what-FUT 1PL 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ beat-FUT
?ín-àn-áh!" no-yǒ'?=mah,
 1PL-OBJ-DECL say-SEQ=REP
 'They returned home, it's said, saying, "What shall we do?! Our mother will beat us!"'
 'Eles voltarem, dizem, falando, "Como vamos fazer?! Nossa mãe vai nos bater!"'
- (113) *tég sǎh b'íyi' mah hid mug sud hitab k'ǎ' yǐ'ayáh, yúp sákuan b'ay.*
tég=sǎh b'íyi'=mah hid
 wood=charcoal only=REP 3PL
mug-sud-hitab-k'ǎ'-yǐ'-ay-áh, yúp
 scoop.by.hand-be.inside-fill-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG
sáku-an-b'ay.
 bag-DIR-again
 'They filled that sack up with charcoal and hung it up again.'
 'Eles encherem o saco com carvão e penduraram de novo.'

- (114) *Yiníhíy mah hid s'omd'äh tu' k'ö' yí'ih, hid yinih mĩ', mòy hat hupsĩp yi' s'wĩy sud mah, hídiwíh.*
yi-níh-íy=mah hid s'om=d'äh tu?-k'ö?-yí?-ih,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP 3PL bathe=PL immerse-go.about-TEL-DECL
hid yi-nih mĩ?, mòy
 3PL DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER dwelling.hole
hat-hupsĩp-yi?-s'w-íy=sud=mah, hídi-w-ih.
 dig-finish-TEL-COMPL-DYNM=INFR=REP 3PL-FLR-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, while they were going about bathing, they had apparently already dug (dwelling-)holes, it's said.'
 'Aí, dizem, enquanto estavam indo tomar banho, eles já tinham cavado os buracos deles, dizem.'
- (115) *Yikán mah yúp, moytùd mòy hid nóowóh.*
yikán=mah yúp, moytùd mòy hid nó-ow-óh.
 there=REP DEM.ITG curassow dwelling.hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL
 'Out there, it's said, curassow (*Nothocrax urumutum*) holes, they call them.'
 'Para lá, dizem, buracos de urumutum, como chamam.'
- (116) *Yikán ũhniy yúp mòyóh.*
yikán ?ũhniy yúp mòy-óh.
 there maybe DEM.ITG dwelling.hole-DECL
 'Those holes were out there, maybe [pointing].'
 'Esses buracos estavam para lá, talvez [apontando].'
- (117) *Yiníhíy mah, widyë yi' níy ni yó', "huphipāh níh nig niníh!" no yó' mah,*
yi-níh-íy=mah, widyë-yi? ní-íy ni-yó?,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP arrive.enter-TEL be-DYNM be-SEQ
"hup-hipāh-níh nig ni-ní-h!" no-yó?=mah,
 REFL-know-NEG 2PL be-INFR-DECL say-SEQ=REP
 'So, it's said, (their mother) having come home, saying, "You all don't know what's right (acted irresponsibly)!"'
 'Aí, dizem, (a mãe), tendo voltado para a casa, ficou dizendo, "Vocês não têm inteligência!"'

- (118) *hídàn tih siwíp sij d'äh way yí'ih, hídàn tih méhéway, tih in, hid ínay.*
híd-àn tih siwíp-sij-d'äh-way-yí'ih, híd-àn tih
 3PL-OBJ 3SG whip-scatter-send-go.out-TEL-DECL 3PL-OBJ 3SG
méh-éw-ay, tih in, hid ?ín-ay.
 beat-FLR-INCH 3SG mother 3PL mother-INCH
 'She whipped them until they (fled) scattering, she beat them, their mother.'
 'Ela os bateu até que eles voaram, espalhando-se, ela os bateu, a mãe.'
- (119) *Méhéy këyó' mah yúp, moytùdd'äh, hid hidöhö ham yí'ayáh, híd b'ayáh,*
tih téhd'äh k'öh è'd'äh b'ayáh.
méh-éy këyó'=mah yúp, moytùd=d'äh, hid
 beat-DYNM CAUSE=REP DEM.ITG curassow=PL 3PL
hidöhö-ham-yí'-ay-äh, híd=b'ay-äh, tih téh=d'äh
 transform-go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL=again-DECL 3SG offspring=PL
k'öh-?è?=d'äh=b'ay-äh.
 be-PFV=PL=again-DECL
 'Because she beat them, they transformed into curassows, they did, those who had been her children.'
 'Porque ela os bateu, eles se transformaram em urumutuns, eles, os que eram os filhos dela.'
- (120) *Hídàn tih-ké sīy' hū' sīwīy sud mah híd hinih.*
híd-àn tih=ké sīy'-hū?-sīw-īy=sud=mah híd=hin-ih.
 3PL-OBJ 3SG=wing poke.in-finish-COMPL=INFR=REP 3PL=also-DECL
 'They (other birds) had already filled their wings (with feathers), apparently, it's said.'
 'Eles (outros pássaros) já tinham enchido as asas deles (com penas), parece, dizem.'
- (121) *Hūtéh'd'äh nihú' mah hídàn ké hid sīy'nih.*
hūtéh=d'äh ni-hú?=mah híd-àn ké hid sīy'-ní-h.
 bird=PL be-finish=REP 3PL-OBJ wing 3PL poke.in-INFR2-DECL
 'All the birds, it's said, filled their wings (with feathers).'
 'Todos os pássaros, dizem, encheram as asas deles (com penas).'

- (122) *Yúp tih ké sīy' hū' yí'íway k'óhóy nih mah yúp,*
yúp tih ké sīy'-hūl-yí?-iw-ay k'óh-óy=nih=mah
 DEM.ITG 3SG wing poke.in-finish-TEL-FLR-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO=REP
yúp,
 DEM.ITG
 'Thus with their wings already filled up (with feathers),'
 'Assim com as asas já preenchedas (com penas),'
- (123) *híd hin b'ay do'kéy, hid in hídàn meh widyěét, hid do'kéy, hid waydö'*
kädway yí'ayáh.
híd=hin=b'ay do'kéy, hid ?ín híd-àn meh-widyě-ét, hid
 3PL=ALSO=again correct 3PL mother 3PL-OBJ beat-arrive.enter-OBL 3PL
do'kéy, hid waydö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh.
 correct 3PL fly-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'straightaway, when their mother entered to beat them, straightaway
 they flew out (of the house).'
 'direto, quando a mãe deles entrou para bater neles, eles saíram voando
 direto (da casa).'
- (124) *Hidnih kăwăgât píd mah hid hi' popot nihih.*
hidnih kăwăg-ât píd=mah hid hi?-popot=nih-ih.
 3PL.POSS eye-OBL DISTR=REP 3PL draw-encircle=EMPH.CO-DECL
 'They (the birds) had also drawn circles around their eyes (as curassows
 have).'²⁵
 'Eles (os pássaros) também tinham desenhado círculos ao redor de seus
 olhos (como têm os urumutuns).'
- (125) *Yiníhíy mah yup do'kéy hid moytúd hid hidöhö kădsak yí'ayáh.*
yí-níh-íy=mah yúp do'kéy hid moytúd hid
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG correct 3PL curassow 3PL
hidöhö-kădsak-yí?-ay-áh.
 transform-pass.climb-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, straightaway they transformed into curassows and (flew)
 quickly up.'
 'Assim, dizem, transformaram-se imediatamente em urumutuns e
 subiram (voando).'

²⁵ The other birds assisted them in their transformation by filling their new wings with feathers and drawing circles around their eyes.

- (126) *Opíd hid mòy hat éyay k'óhóy nihíh.*
opíd hid mòy hat-?éy-ay k'óh-óy=nih-ih.
 right.away 3PL dwelling.hole dig-PFV-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO-DECL
 'They had already dug their dwelling-holes.'
 'Eles já tinham cavado os buracos deles.'
- (127) *Yiníhíy mah yúp hid ham sij yí'ayáh, waydö' ham sij yí'ay mah.*
yí-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-sij-yí?-ay-áh,
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-scatter-TEL-INCH-DECL
waydö?-ham-sij-yí?-ay=mah.
 fly-go-scatter-TEL-INCH=REP
 'So like that, it's said, they went scattering off, flew scattering off, it's said.'
 'Assim, dizem, eles foram espalhando-se, voaram dispersando-se, dizem.'
- (128) *Tā'áy mehàn mah tih woy ë' yéhhéh, tā'áyàn mah tih hituk hiyet ë' yéhhéh.*
tā'áy=meh-àn=mah tih woy-?ë?-yéhh-éh, tā'áy-àn=mah
 woman=DIM-OBJ=REP 3SG be.stingy-PFV-FRUST-DECL woman-OBJ=REP
tih hi-tuk-hi-yet-?ë?-yéhh-éh.
 3SG FACT-face.down-FACT-lie-PFV-FRUST-DECL
 'But she (the mother) tried in vain to keep one little girl, she overturned (a basket on the hole to catch) the girl, in vain.'
 'Mas ela (a mãe) tentou em vão segurar uma menina, ela virou (um aturá sobre o buraco para pegar) a menina, em vão.'
- (129) *Yiníh mî' mah, mî'ay, s'áh k'öd só', tih hupkäd kädhi níy yúwúh,*
yí-níh mî?-mah, mî?-ay, s'áh k'öd=só?, tih
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP UNDER-INCH earth inside=LOC 3SG
hupkäd-kädhi-ní-íy yúw-úh,
 turn.around-pass.descend-be-DYNM DEM.ITG-DECL
 'As she did this, it's said, underneath, inside the hole, she (the child) turned around and quickly descended (digging deeper);'
 'Assim, ela fez, dizem, para baixo, dentro do buraco, ela (a menina) virou e desceu rapidamente (cavando mais ainda);'

- (130) *tā'ây b'ay, yinîhîy mah nusô' b'ay tih bahad kädway yî'ayáh.*
tā'ây=b'ay, yi-nîh-îy=mah nu-sô'=b'ay tih
 woman=again DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP this-LOC=again 3SG
bahad-kädway-yî?-ay-áh.
 appear-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DYNM
 'then like this, it's said, the girl appeared over here (dug up to the surface in a different spot), and quickly went out (and flew away).'
 'e assim a menina, dizem, apareceu para cá (cavando para cima até a superfície em outro lugar) e saiu (voando).'
- (131) *Huphipö' níhay níy mah yíd'äháh.*
hup-hipö?-níh-ay ní-îy=mah yî-d'äh-áh.
 REFL-FACT.cover-NEG-INCH be-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL
 'They would not be caught, it's said.'
 'Eles não deixaram que fossem pegos, dizem.'
- (132) *Yin'ih hid hidöhööway k'óhöy nih.*
yi-n'ih hid hidöhö-öw-ay k'óh-öy=nih.
 DEM.ITG-NMLZ 3PL FACT.transform-FLR-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO
 'They had transformed into those (curassows).'
 'Eles tinham se transformado nesses (urumutuns).'
- (133) *Yinîhîy mah yúp hid ham yî'ayáh.*
yi-nîh-îy=mah yúp hid ham-yî?-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Thus, it's said, they went away.'
 'Assim, dizem, eles foram embora.'

- (134) *Yúp mah yúp hid ín b'ay ot d'ak k'ó'öp b'ayáh, bēbé ín notégéh, bēbé ín notégéh.*
yúp=mah yúp hid ín=b'ay
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=again
?ot-d'ak-k'ó'öp=b'ay-áh, bēbé ín no-tég-éh,
 cry-be.against-go.about-DEP=again-DECL bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL
bēbé ín no-tég-éh.
 bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL
 'Then, it's said, their mother went following after them crying, like what we call a *bēbé* bird'.
 'Aí, dizem, a mãe deles andava atrás, chorando, como o que chamamos de pássaro *bēbé*.'
- (135) *Yúp mah yúp tih téhn'àn tih ótayáh.*
yúp=mah yúp tih téh=n'àn tih ?ót-ay-áh.
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG cry-INCH-DECL
 'So it's said, she (went) crying for her children.'
 'Aí, dizem, ela foi chorando por causa dos filhos dela.'
- (136) *Tih téhn'àn tih ot é' yí, "nì pō'ra, nì pō'ra!" tih no é' yí mah, yúp id ham dōhō yí'ayáh.*
tih téh=n'àn tih ?ot-?é?=?í?, "nì pō'ra, nì
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG cry-PFV=ADV 1SG.POSS [offspring.PL] 1SG.POSS
pō'ra!" tih no-?é?=?í?=mah, yúp
 [offspring.PL] 3SG say-PFV=ADV=REP DEM.ITG
?id-ham-dōhō-yí?-ay-áh.
 say-go-transform-TEL-INCH-DECL
 'Crying for her children, saying, "My children, my children!" so saying, she transformed (into a *bēbé* bird).'²⁶
 'Chorando pelos filhos, dizendo, "Meus filhos! meus filhos!" falando assim, ela se transformou (em pássaro *bēbé*).'

²⁶This quoted speech combines two languages: the first word ('my') is in Hup, while the second word ('children') is in Tukano. As noted above, this multilingual quotation, together with the compound verb 'say-do-transform' indexes the mother's transformation via the act of crying, i.e. speaking the "language" of the *bēbé* bird.

- (137) *Ya'àpay nih s'áh yúp ídiwíh.*
yaʔàp-ay=nih s'áh yúp ʔíd-iw-íh.
 that.much-INCH=EMPH.CO DST.CNTR DEM.ITG speech-FLR-DECL
 'That's all there is to this tale.'
 'Tem só isso nessa fala.'

Acknowledgments

Epps expresses her gratitude to the Hup people of Taracua Igarapé and other communities of the Tiquié River for welcoming her into their homes and villages, and for their ongoing friendship and collaboration. This work was supported by funding from Fulbright-Hayes, National Science Foundation, and the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Epps also thanks CNPq and FUNAI for the permission to work in the Upper Rio Negro Region, and the Museo Paraense Emilio Goeldi, the Instituto Socioambiental, and FOIRN for practical support in Brazil. Thanks to Tony Woodbury for comments on the text, and to Kristine Stenzel and Bruna Franchetto for the invitation to participate in this volume.

Non-standard abbreviations

Several abbreviations in this list (EMPH, INFR, TAG) correspond to more than one morpheme; these cases are distinguished by numbers in the gloss lines (e.g. EMPH1, EMPH2)

AUG	augmentative	FRUS	frustrative
CNTR	contrast	HAB	habitual
CO	coordinator	INCH	inchoative
CPM	comparative	INFR	inferential evidential
DEP	dependent	INTERJ	interjection
DIM	diminutive	INTS	intensifier
DIR	directional	ITG	intangible
DST	distant (past)	NONVIS	nonvisual evidential
DYNM	dynamic	QTAG	question tag
EMPH	emphasis	REF	reflexive
EPIST	epistemic	REM	remote
EX	existential	REP	reported evidential
FACT	factitive	RESP	respect marker
FLR	filler	SEQ	sequential

TAG	discourse tag	VDIM	verbal diminutive
TEL	telic	VENT	venitive
UNDER	simultaneous/under		

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2002. *Language contact in Amazonia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cardoso, Walmir Thomazi. 2007. *O céu dos Tukano na Escola Yupuri: Construindo um calendário dinâmico*. PUC-SP dissertation.
- Chernela, Janet. 1993. *The Wanano Indians of the Brazilian Amazon: A sense of space*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Epps, Patience (ed.). 2005/2016. *Hupd'äh nih pinigd'äh: Stories of the Hupd'äh*. CreateSpace self-publishing.
- Epps, Patience. 2007. The Vaupés melting pot: Tukanoan influence on Hup. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Grammars in contact: A cross-linguistic typology* (Explorations in linguistic typology 4), 267–289. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Epps, Patience. 2008. *A grammar of Hup* (Mouton Grammar Library 43). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Epps, Patience. 2010. Linking valence change and modality: Diachronic evidence from Hup. *Diachronica* 76. 334–356.
- Epps, Patience & Katherine Bolaños. 2017. Reconsidering the 'Makú' family of northwest Amazonia. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 83(3). 467–507.
- Epps, Patience & Kristine Stenzel. 2013a. Introduction. In Patience Epps & Kristine Stenzel (eds.), *Upper Rio Negro: Cultural and linguistic interaction in northwestern Amazonia*, 13–50. Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional, Museu do Índio-FUNAI.
- Epps, Patience & Kristine Stenzel (eds.). 2013b. *Upper Rio Negro. Cultural and linguistic interaction in northwestern Amazonia*. Rio de Janeiro: Museu do Índio/FUNAI. http://etnolinguistica.wdfiles.com/local--files/biblio%3Aepps-stenzel-2013/epps_stenzel_2013_upper_rio_negro.pdf.
- Gomez-Imbert, Elsa. 1996. When animals become 'rounded' and 'feminine': Conceptual categories and linguistic classification in a multilingual setting. In John Gumperz & Stephen Levinson (eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity*, 438–469. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Londoño Sulkin, Carlos D. 2005. Inhuman beings: Morality and perspectivism among Muinane people (Colombian Amazon). *Ethnos* 70. 7–30.
- Oliveira, Melissa. 2010. *Astronomia Tukano*. Instituto Socioambiental (ed.). <http://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/c/nobrasil-atual/modos-de-vida/astronomia-tukano>.
- Ramirez, Henri. 2006. *A língua dos Hupd'äh do alto Rio Negro: Dicionário e guia de conversação*. São Paulo: Associação Saúde Sem Limites.
- Santos-Granero, Fernando. 2006. Vitalidades sensuais: Modos não corpóreos de sentir e conhecer na Amazônia indígena. *Revista de Antropologia, São Paulo, USP* 49. 93–131.
- Stenzel, Kristine. 2013. Contact and innovation in Vaupés possession-marking strategies. In Patience Epps & Kristine Stenzel (eds.), *Upper Rio Negro: Cultural and linguistic interaction in northwestern Amazonia*, 353–402. Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional, Museu do Índio-FUNAI.
- Uzendoski, Michael. 2005. *The Napo Runa of Amazonian Ecuador*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Vilaça, Aparecida. 2000. O que significa tornar-se outro? Xamanismo e contato interétnico na Amazônia. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 15. 56–72.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. Cosmological deixis and Amerindian perspectivism. Trans. by Elizabeth Ewart. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4. 469–488.

