Chapter 11

Aikanã

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1 Introduction

The story of Fox is a myth told by different peoples of the southwestern Amazon, including the Aikanã. The Aikanã people speak an isolate language, which, with about 225 speakers out of an ethnic group of around 560, is to be considered seriously endangered. The speakers of Aikanã live in two different indigenous reserves and in several towns and villages in southeastern Rondônia, Brazil, surrounded by the deforested lands of big cattle ranchers and soy farmers. The Aikanã represent the majority ethnic group in the Tubarão-Latundê reserve, which is shared with two minority populations: the Kwaza (ISOLATE) and the Latundê (NORTHERN NAMBIKWARA). Several mixed Aikanã and Kwaza families live in another nearby reserve called Kwazá do Rio São Pedro. Although the Aikanã language is still passed on to members of the youngest generations in both indigenous reserves, knowledge of the oral and musical traditions is disappearing rapidly. In addition to the two reserves in southeastern Rondônia, there are two other reserves in the southwest and the north of Rondônia where Aikanã populations live together with other ethnic groups. The Aikanã language

Figure 1: The indigenous reserves where the Aikanã live, shown in yellow.

is neither used nor remembered in those reserves, which are located far from traditional Aikanã lands.

The Aikanã language is morphologically highly complex. Most of this complexity concerns the verb, whereas fewer morphemes are used exclusively on nouns. However, due to the availability of highly productive nominalization strategies, nouns can also be morphologically complex. Aikanã has a great number of classifier and directional-like suffixes, several valency-changing suffixes, and suffixes marking tense, modality and aspect. Frequently occurring sequences of bound morphemes may become fixed with a derived meaning that is related to that of

the constituent parts.[1] There is a wealth of main clause and adverbial clause mood suffixes, and extensive clause chains can be built using a switch reference marking system similar to that of Kwaza. The person marking system involves several inflectional paradigms for subject, object, beneficiary, and reflexive functions. There are different paradigms for subject marking — some of them suffixing and one prefixing — depending on verbal classes that are not yet fully understood. Third person subjects are often unmarked. Aikanã displays a basic distinction between future and unmarked non-future tense, but there are additional past and remote future tenses. Future tense and desiderative modality canonically involve double person marking: a person marker at the end of the verb stem, just before the mood inflection, and a person marker adjacent to the verb root, which is obligatorily a first person singular or plural, expressing an embedded perspective similar to that of quotation (van der Voort 2013; 2016). Although the language isolates of Rondônia, namely Aikanã, Kanoé and Kwaza, display several similar lexical and grammatical traits, there is no compelling evidence that they should be considered genealogically related (van der Voort 2005).

The following story was told by Luiz Aikanã during his visit in June 2013 to the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi in Belém. The story was recorded in audio and video formats as part of a documentation project funded through the DoBeS programme. After recording, the story was transcribed, analyzed and translated into Portuguese with Luiz's help. Luiz was born in 1952 and learned this and various other stories from his grandmother, *Kwã'ĩ*. He has been living and working on the Tubarão-Latundê reserve since it was officially settled in 1973. Because of his knowledge, experience and interest, he is one of the principal sources of information on Aikanã language and culture. Additional consultation on the analysis involved Cândida Aikanã, who is a native speaker of the Aikanã language with full command of Portuguese and is also a member of the DoBeS project team.

The story of Fox takes place in mythological times, when animals transformed into humans at will. As in the Kwaza story of Grandfather Fox, Fox in the Aikanã story is very smart and knows how to trick people. Also similar to the Kwaza story, Fox leads a young woman astray (and in this case her younger sister as well) after having found out about her plans for the next day. And again, the lesson of the story is that one should avoid speaking about one's plans for the future because that will attract adversity. The Aikanã story is quite different from the Kwaza one in several respects, but it similarly conveys this warning on the danger of talking about the future, which can be considered a taboo that still

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[1]When verb roots and suffixes enter into such a bond, person markers sometimes may intervene and therefore occur as infixes in the morphemic analysis (e.g.: lines 49, 53, 82, 108).

forms part of the present way of life of the Aikanã people despite the enormous changes that they and the other indigenous peoples of Rondônia have undergone during the 20th century.

The story is presented with a rather broad phonetic transcription on the first line, and is then segmented phonologically and morphologically on the second line. The third line contains the glosses and the fourth and fifth lines contain free translations in English and Portuguese. It is worth pointing out that description of the Aikanã language is still ongoing and the analysis presented here will be further refined as this work continues to progress. Aikanã has had a native writing tradition since the late 1980s when an orthography was developed by missionaries. This orthography is used with varying success at the schools on the reserve, in Bible translation, in a recent dictionary by Silva et al. (2013) and in the present text. The <s> usually corresponds to IPA [ts], the <x> corresponds to [tʃ], the <y> corresponds to [j], the <z> often corresponds to [ð], and the <'> corresponds to [ʔ]. Vowels following a nasal consonant are usually nasalized, but this is not marked in the orthography used here. The central vowel [ɨ] and its nasal counterpart [ɨ̃] are allophones of the phonemes /a/ and /ã/, respectively. They occur only before an [i], but since they are part of the existing orthography they are preserved here.

2 Eruerazũ kyãʾapaʾi

'The story of Fox'

'A História do Raposa'[2]

(1) *hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwãʾĩ kyãʾarisukudiweye kyãkarekaẽ*

    hisa xüxü   xüxüwe   Kwãʾĩ
    1SG 1SG.POSS grandmother Kwãʾĩ

    kyã-are-isu-ku-diwe-ye   kyã-ka-re-ka-ẽ
    speak-poor-REM.PST-1SG.BEN-PST.NMLZ-OBJ speak-1SG-FUT-1SG-DECL

    'I am going to tell a story my grandmother *Kwãʾĩ* told me.'
    'Eu vou contar o que minha avó *Kwãʾĩ* contava pra mim.'

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[2]Recordings of this story are available from https://zenodo.org/record/885240

(2) *hena detyamɨi namɨi hiku'ete kuka'i'ete wareyũ̈pü*

   he-na   detya-mɨi   namɨi hiku-ete kuka-i-ete   ware-yũ̈-pü
   then-DS woman-DIM cousin other-ALL tell-NMLZ-ALL go-DIR:close-SS

   'Once a young woman went to talk with her cousin.'
   'Daí uma moça foi falar com a prima dela.'

(3) *derinena hikiri'ikana wikere axawapata'ẽ kukaẽ*

   deri-ne-na   hikiri-'ika-na   wikere a-xa-wa-pa-ta-'ẽ
   light-PFV-DS dark-INTENS-DS peanut uproot-1PL-DIR:upwards-TR-FUT-IMP
   kuka-ẽ
   tell-DECL

   '"Let's go dig up peanuts early tomorrow morning early," the cousin said.'
   '"Vamos lá arrancar amendoim amanhã cedo," falou a prima.'

(4) *hena kadupɨi kaxata'ereĩ*

   he-na   kadupɨi ka-xa-ta-'ere-'ẽ
   then-DS alright do-1PL-REM.FUT-HORT-IMP

   '"OK, let's do it," (the girl replied).'
   '"Está bem, vamos fazer," (a moça respondeu).'

(5) *hena hepü ka'yareyada eruera anapayũ̈zadeare*

   he-na   he-pü ka-'ya-re-yada   eruera
   then-DS say-SS 1SG-come-FUT-REAS fox
   anapa-yũ̈za-de-are
   listen-DIR:next-DIR:outside-INFR

   '"Then I'll come back," (she replied), but Fox was listening through the wall.'
   '"Então vou voltar," (ela respondeu), mas o Raposa estava escutando elas através da parede.'

(6) *anapayũ̈zadepü kãwãyada hikiri'ikana*

   anapa-yũ̈za-de-pü   kãwã-yada hikiri-ika-na
   listen-DIR:next–DIR:outside-SS be.like-REAS dark-INTENS-DS

   'He was listening from behind the wall, it was very dark.'
   'Ele estava escutando atrás da parede bem de manhã cedo.'

(7) *derinena hikiri'ikana mẽyãpü tawĩmeata'ẽ kukaẽ*

   deri-ne-na   hikiri-'ika-na   mẽ-yã-pü   tawĩ-me-a-ta-'ẽ
   light-PFV-DS dark-INTENS-DS 2SG-come-IS await-2SG-1SG-FUT-IMP
   kuka-ẽ
   tell-DECL

   '"So you come get me early morning tomorrow!" the girl said.'
   '"Então você me chama amanhã cedo!" a moça falou.'

(8) *hepü hukadupɨi hepü xünehepü*

   he-pü   hukadupɨi he-pü   xüne-he-pü
   then-SS alright   then-SS return-3SG-SS

   '"OK," the cousin said and left.'
   '"OK," a prima falou, e foi embora.'

(9) *hena zune iriane*

   he-na   zune iriane
   then-DS night middle

   'Then in the middle of the night …'
   'Daí no meio da noite…'

(10) *derikanerena mɨitü ɨitüderine*

   deri-ka-ne-re-na   mɨitü ɨitü-deri-ne
   day-1SG-PFV-FUT-DS only   be.different-NMLZ-EMPH

   'It was going to be dawn soon.'
   'Estava querendo amanhecer ainda.'

(11) *yã'i eruera apa'ixüte*

   yã-i   eruera apa-ixüte
   come-NMLZ fox   say-REP

   'Fox came, they say.'
   'O Raposa veio, disseram.'

(12) *eruera yãpü*

   eruera yã-pü
   fox   come-SS

   'Fox came.'
   'O Raposa veio.'

(13) *namɨi namɨi kukana hãw heẽ*

    namɨi namɨi kuka-na hãw   he-ẽ
    cousin cousin tell-DS   huh say-DECL

    '"Cousin, cousin!" he called. "Yes?" she responded.'
    '"Prima, prima!" ele chamou. "Sim?" ela respondeu.'

(14) *yãw'ẽ wikere xü'iaxanapetaka'ĩwãte kukaẽ*

    yãw'ẽ   wikere
    let's.go.IMP peanut

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

    '"Let's go digging up peanuts as planned," he told her.'
    '"Vamos arrancar amendoim como combinamos," ele falou para ela.'

(15) *erünuna hikiri'ika'iwã hikiri'ikaẽ*

    erünuna hikiri-ika-iwã   hikiri-ika-ẽ
    EXPL   dark-INT-ADMON dark-INT-DECL

    '"But damn, it's still dark outside, really dark," (she replied).'
    '"Mas poxa, ainda está escuro lá fora, bem escuro," (ela respondeu).'

(16) *tawãxapü kaxatɨi kukaẽ*

    tawã-xa-pü ka-xa-ta-i   kuka-ẽ
    what-1PL-SS do-1PL-FUT-INT tell-DECL

    '"Why do we have to go now?"'
    '"Porque temos que fazer agora?"'

(17) *hinaẽ derinedupa kawaẽ*

    hina-ẽ   deri-ne-dupa   kawa-ẽ
    no-DECL light-PFV-CONC be-DECL

    '"No, dawn is almost here."'
    '"Não, está clareando já."'

(18) *kawãte izata'ẽ kapü kadiẽ iza'idepeta'ẽ kapü kadiẽ hẽ*

    kawãte iza-ta-'ẽ   ka-pü kadi-ẽ
    because far-REM.FUT-DECL do-SS affirm-DECL

    iza-idepe-ta-'ẽ   ka-pü kadi-ẽ   he-ẽ
    far-DIR:garden-REM.FUT-DECL do-SS affirm-DECL say-DECL

    '"It's because the garden is far away, really far away," he said.'
    '"É porque a roça fica longe, bem longe mesmo," ele falou.'

(19) *hena mamaderi hürüwanipü*

    he-na   mama-deri   hürü-wa-ne-pü
    then-DS mother-3.POSS rise-DIR:up-PFV-SS

    'Then her mother awoke.'
    'Daí a mãe dela acordou.'

(20) *hena hikiri'ika'iwã tãwãmeapü kameazati*

    he-na   hikiri-ika-iwã   tãwã-mea-pü ka-meaza-ti
    then-DS dark-INTENS-ADMON what-2PL-SS do-2PL-FUT.INT

    '"But it's still dark out, why are you going?" she said.'
    '"Mas está escuro ainda. Por que vocês vão fazer agora?" ela falou.'

(21) *izaderineipita'ẽ eyedupa kukadupa*

    iza-deri-ne-i-pita-'ẽ   eye-dupa   kuka-dupa
    far-light-PFV-NMLZ-PROC-IMP 3PL.OBJ-CONC tell-CONC

    '"Let the sun come up first," she told them, but...'
    '"Deixa clarear mais," ela falou pra elas, mas...'

(22) *hinaẽ kapü derinedupa kawaẽ eyepü*

    hina-ẽ   ka-pü deri-ne-dupa   kawa-ẽ eye-pü
    no-DECL do-SS light-PFV-CONC be-DECL 3PL.OBJ-SS

    '"No, it's already dawn," Fox said to them."
    '"Não, está clareando já," Raposa falou para elas."

(23) *hedupana purikɨi'eneke bubu'he'ɨwã tãwãxeapü warexatɨi kukaẽ*

    he-dupana purikɨi-'ene-ke bubu-'he-'ɨwã   tãwã-xea-pü ware-xa-ti
    say-TEMP   flute-COL-ALSO dance-3-ADMON what-1PL-SS go-1PL-FUT.INT

    kuka-ẽ
    tell-DECL

    'But when he said that, the girl said, "The musicians are also dancing, how shall we get past?"'[3]
    'Mas na hora que ele falou isso, a menina respondeu, "Os músicos estão dançando ainda, como é que vamos passar?"'

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[3]At this point, men are still playing flutes and dancing, which lasts all night. In accordance with traditional custom, women are not allowed to witness the event and see or even hear the flutes, which are sacred.

(24) *hinaẽ kapü xarükanapɨire'ẽ*

    hina-ẽ   ka-pü xa-rüka-napai-re-'ẽ

    no-DECL do-ss 1PL-DIR:around-CLF:forest-FUT-IMP

    '"No, we'll go around them through the brush (behind the house)."'

    '"Não, vamos desviar pelo mato (atrás da casa)."'

(25) *üre'apa'ine xarükanapɨire'ẽ kukaẽ*

    üre-apa'i-ne   xa-rüka-napa-ire-'ẽ   kuka-ẽ

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

    '"We will sneak around them," said Fox.'

    '"Vamos desviar eles escondidos," falou o Raposa.'

(26) *tãwãmeapü waremea'ĩ kukaẽ*

    tãwã-mea-pü ware-mea-'ĩ kuka-ẽ

    what-2PL-ss   go-2PL-INT say-DECL

    '"How is it that you came?" the girl said.'

    '"Como é que você veio?" ela falou.'

(27) *baba hapükemukahana kãyãpü kayaẽ*

    baba hapü-ke-muka-a-na   ka-yã-pü   ka-yã-ẽ

    father hold-3-CLF:eye-1SG.OBJ-DS 1SG-come-ss 1SG-come-DECL

    '"Father covered my face, and then I came," (Fox said).'

    '"Meu pai segurou meu rosto, daí eu vim," (Raposa falou).'

(28) *hukadupɨi kukaẽ*

    hukadupɨi kuka-ẽ

    alright   tell-DECL

    '"Alright," she said.'

    '"Tudo bem," ela falou.'

(29) *kadupɨi kaxare'ereĩ hepü hena*

    kadupɨi ka-xa-re-'ẽ   he-pü he-na

    alright do-1PL-FUT-IMP say-ss then-DS

    '"Alright, then let's go," she said, and then …'

    '"Tudo bem, então vamos," ela falou, e daí …'

(30)　*mamaderi kãwãyada tanimɨiye keapa'ẽĩ deri zãme mama'ĩ diarekaẽ*

　　　mama-deri　　　kãwã-yada　tanimɨi-ye kea-pa-'ẽ　　deri zãme mama'ĩ
　　　mother-3.POSS be.like-REAS sister-OBJ　get-TR-IMP light today chicha

　　　dia-re-ka-ẽ
　　　1SG-FUT-1SG-DECL

　　　'Her mother said, "In that case, bring your little sister. I am going to make
　　　chicha today."'[4],[5]
　　　'A mãe dela falou, "Então leva sua irmãzinha, vou fazer chicha hoje."'

(31)　*yoayoakuka'isuwate'ẽ*

　　　yoa~yoa-kuka-isuwate-'ẽ
　　　cry~cry-CLF:body-HAB-DECL

　　　'"She is always crying."'
　　　'"Ela fica chorando."'

(32)　*deü'edika'ẽ tanimɨ̃iye kukaẽ hukadupɨi*

　　　deü-edika-'ẽ　　　　　　tanimɨi-ye kuka-ẽ　hukadupɨi
　　　put.heavy-CLF:back-IMP sister-OBJ　tell-DECL alright

　　　'"Carry your little sister on your back," (Fox) told her. "Alright," (she
　　　responded).'
　　　'"Leva sua irmã nas costas," (Raposa) falou. "Tudo bem," (ela respondeu).'

(33)　*tanimɨideriye de'edikapü yãw'ẽ*

　　　tanimɨi-deri-ye　　deü-edika-pü　　　　　yãw'ẽ
　　　sister-3.POSS-OBJ put.heavy-CLF:back-SS let's.go.IMP

　　　'She put her little sister on her back and "Let's go!" (she said).'
　　　'Ela colocou a irmãzinha nas costas e "Vamos embora!" (ela falou).'

(34)　*hikadepapü. hepü hikiri'ine*

　　　hika-de-pa-pü.　　　　　he-pü　hikiri-'i-ne
　　　leave-DIR:outside-TR-SS then-SS dark-NMLZ-LOC

　　　'She went outside. It was dark.'
　　　'Ela saiu pra fora. Já escureceu.'

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[4]In Rondônia, this is usually a lightly alcoholic drink based on boiled fermented maize, manioc
or yams, which is prepared by women. Elsewhere it is also known as *kashiri* or *caxiri*.

[5]The form *deri* is a false start: the narrator begins to say *derinena* 'at daybreak' (lit. 'light-PFV-
DS') but then corrects himself, saying *zãme* 'today'.

(35) *hikirihedupapü hidepɨidukaripü*

    hikiri-he-dupa-pü hidepai-dukari-pü

    dark-3-CONC-SS   garden-3PL-SS

    'Although it was dark, they went to the garden.'
    'Mesmo no escuro, eles foram pra roça.'

(36) *bate kameyẽ'ete'i erünuna iza'iza'ĩwã kukapü iza hepü*

    bate   ka-me-yẽ-'ete-'i   erünuna iza~iza-ĩwã   kuka-pü iza-he-pü

    where be-2SG-DUB-ALL-INT wow! far~far-ADMON tell-SS far-3SG-SS

    '"But where is it?" asked the girl. "Wow, it's still far away. It's far," he replied.'
    '"Mas onde que é?" ela perguntou. "Nossa, está longe ainda. Fica longe." ele respondeu.'

(37) *iza kukapü hete'i hũka kukaẽ*

    iza kuka-pü he-te'i   hũka   kuka-ẽ

    far tell-SS   say-EMP in.vain tell-DECL

    '"Didn't I tell you it was far?" he said, fooling them.'
    '"Já não falei que fica longe?" falou, enganando elas.'

(38) *zamiya wãderi'ete wareyũ̃papü tikiri dürü'i'ete*

    zamiya wã-deri-'ete   ware-yũ̃-pa-pü   tikiri dürü-'i-'ete

    now   live-NMLZ-ALL go-CLF:close-TR-SS mound sit-NMLZ-ALL

    'Then they arrived at a termite mound where he lives.'
    'Daí chegaram numa casa de cupins de barro onde ele mora.'

(39) *hena henudu ẽ perüka'i inekapü wãheyada*

    he-na   henu-du-pe-rüka-'i-ne   ka-pü wã-he-yada

    then-DS hole-DIR:in-CLF:round-DIR:around-NMLZ-LOC do-SS live-3-REAS

    'It's of course full of holes where he lives.'
    'Está cheio de buracos onde ele mora.'

(40) *hena hapükemukapü waredurikapaẽ*

    he-na   hapü-ke-muka-pü ware-durika-pa-ẽ

    then-DS hold-3-CLF:eye-SS go-DIR:inside-TR-DECL

    'Then he covered their eyes and entered.'
    'Daí tampou os olhos delas e entrou.'

(41) *waredurikapapü*

    ware-durika-pa-pü

    go-DIR:inside-TR-SS

    'They went inside.'

    'Entraram pra dentro.'

(42) *hena kɨinezũ keza ɨitühene'ena*

    he-na   kɨine-zũ keza ɨitü-he-ne'e-na

    then-DS 3SG-POSS house be.different-3-ITE-DS

    'His house was very different.'

    'Daí a casa dele estava diferente.'

(43) *kawã kayaparehãyãpü kawãtena ãrüakukapederiame hena*

    kawã ka-ya-pa-re-hãyã-pü   kawãte-na

    be.like 1SG-come-TR-FUT-1PL.OBJ-SS because-DS

    ãryüa-kuka-pe-deri-ame   he-na

    know-CLF:body-CLF:round-NMLZ-SUP then-DS

    '"He really is leading us astray," the older and somewhat more knowledgeable girl thought.'

    '"Ele falou isso só para judiar de nós," aquela que é mais sabida pensou.'

(44) *wãwã'ĩ'ikaderihame kapü hina'ĩ hina kukaẽ*

    wãwã'ĩ-'ika-deri-hame ka-pü hina-ĩ   hina kuka-ẽ

    child-INTENS-NMLZ-SUP do-SS no-NMLZ no   say-DECL

    'The little child didn't worry at all, didn't say anything.'

    'A criança mais nova nem se liga, não fala nada.'

(45) *tãwãxeapü kaxa'i erükazapa'ĩ kawã dukumɨi kawãtena*

    tãwã-xea-pü ka-xa-'i   erükazapa'ĩ kawã dukumɨi kawãte-na

    what-1PL-SS do-1PL-INT wow!   be.like ruin   because-DS

    '"How is it that we stopped here? Wow, it must be some spirit messing with us."'

    '"Como é que nós paremos aqui? Poxa, é sombração que está mexendo com a gente."'

(46) *namɨi kayareapɨite'i*

    namɨi ka-ya-re-a-pa-i-te'i
    cousin 1SG-come-FUT-1SG.OBJ-TR-NMLZ-EMPH

    '"I thought it was my cousin!"'
    '"Pensei que era minha prima!"'

(47) *he'ẽ kapü ã'apakukaẽ*

    he-'ẽ   ka-pü ã-'a-pa-kuka-ẽ
    say-DECL do-SS think-3SG.REFL-TR-CLF:body-DECL

    'She went on thinking and became sad.'
    'Ela foi pensando e ficou triste.'

(48) *nake tãwã ãanaẽ kapü hina'ĩ'ẽ*

    nake tãwã ã-a-na-ẽ   ka-pü hina-'ĩ-'ẽ
    COND what think-1SG.OBJ-NEG-DECL do-SS no-NMLZ-DECL

    '"What can I do? There is nothing."'
    '"Como que posso fazer? Não podemos fazer nada."'

(49) *hena'ẽ zamiya hiku is'ideri dukanuẽ hepü yoa*

    hena-'ẽ   zamiya hiku ise-'i-deri   d-u<ka>nu-ẽ   he-pü
    quiet-IMP now   other small-NMLZ-NMLZ 1SG-hungry<1SG>-DECL say-SS
    yoa
    cry

    'The little one was crying from hunger.'
    'A outra pequena estava chorando de fome.'

(50) *he'ẽ kapü kɨine hiku ti'iweke ũnenudupa*

    he-'ẽ   ka-pü kɨine hiku ti'iwe-ke   ũ<ne>nu-dupa
    say-DECL do-SS 3SG   other grow-COM hungry<PFV>-CONC

    'The grown one also had gotten hungry but (she held on).'
    'A outra grande também estava com fome mas aguentou.'

(51) *tãwã'ãnaẽ he'ẽ yoaẽ*

    tãwã-'ã-na-ẽ   he-'ẽ   yoa-ẽ
    what-IMPERS-NEG-DECL say-DECL cry-DECL

    '"What can one do?" she said. "She is crying."'
    '"O que pode fazer?" ela falou. "Ela está chorando."'

(52) *eruerazũ mamaderi*

    eruera-zũ mama-deri

    fox-POSS mother-3.POSS

    'Now Fox's mother (comments):'

    'Agora a mãe do Raposa (comenta):'

(53) *dukanuẽ ũnenuxaẽ he'ẽ yoayoaredukari'ĩwã*

    d-u<ka>nu-ẽ   *ũ<ne>nu-xa-ẽ*   *he'ẽ*

    1SG-hungry<1SG>-DECL hungry<PFV>-1PL-DECL say-DECL

    yoa~yoa-are-dukari-'ĩwã

    cry~cry-poor-3PL-ADMON

    '"The poor dears are crying 'I am hungry, we are hungry.'"'

    '"Os coitados estão chorando 'Estou com fome, estamos com fome.'"'

(54) *tara kawhepire'ẽ eyepü kawa'ĩ*

    tara kaw-he-pi-re-'ẽ   *eye-(na)-pü*   *kawa-'ĩ*

    what eat-3-PROC-FUT-IMP 3PL.OBJ-(NEG)-SS be-INT

    '"Why didn´t he find something for them to eat first?" (the mother thought).'

    '"Porque não procurou uma coisa pra eles comerem primeiro?" (a mãe pensou).'

(55) *kawãnunu hãemepe'eyepü kawãte'i kukaẽ*

    kawã-nunu hãe-me-pe-'eye-pü   *kawãte-'i*   *kuka-ẽ*

    be.like-MIR grab-2SG-CLF:round-3PL.OBJ-SS because-INT say-DECL

    '"Why the hell did you catch them?" she said to him angrily.'

    '"Então porque você pegou elas?" ela falou com raiva.'

(56) *kawayada xoakarüperekaẽ urikɨi hepü hikade'ẽ*

    kawa-yada xoa-ka-rüpe-re-ka-ẽ   *urikɨi he-pü*

    be-REAS see-1SG-DIR:ground-FUT-1SG-DECL food say-SS

    hika-de-'ẽ

    leave-DIR:outside-DECL

    'So he said "I will look for food," and left.'

    'Então ele falou "Vou procurar comida," e saiu pra fora.'

(57) *hikadepü kapü wã'apaderi'ete yü̃'eyeẽ kapü*

    hika-de-pü   ka-pü wã-'apaderi-'ete   yü̃-'eye-ẽ
    leave-DIR:outside-SS do-SS live-ACT.NMLZ-ALL DIR:close-3PL.OBJ-DECL
    ka-pü
    do-SS

    'He went outside and left for where the girls' parents lived.'
    'Ele saiu para onde o povo morava.'

(58) *tara pu'apaderiye kuraruye kapü*

    tara pu-'apaderi-ye   kuraru-ye   ka-pü
    what raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ chicken-OBJ do-SS

    'There he got things that one raises, chickens.'
    'Alí ele pegou coisas que a gente cria, galinha,'

(59) *düdü pu'apa'iye kikireye hãehãekepesa'eye*

    düdü   pu-'apa'i-ye   kikire-ye   hãe~hãe<ke>pe-sa-'eye
    parrot raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ parakeet-OBJ grab~grab<3SG>-MAL-3PL.OBJ

    'Pet parrots, parakeets, he grabbed them from the residents.'
    'Papagaio, periquito, ele pegou dos moradores.'

(60) *nasunapaẽ wãderi'ete duxüpanepü hiba'eyenakedupa kapü*

    na-suna-pa-ẽ   wã-deri-'ete   du-xü-pa-ne-pü
    bring-DIR:hither-TR-DECL live-NMLZ-ALL DIR:in-DIR:return-TR-PFV-SS
    hiba-'eye-nake-dupa   ka-pü
    give-3PL.OBJ-COND-CONC do-SS

    'He brought those home, and entering into their residence, gave (the
    food) to the children, however …'
    'Ele trouxe de volta pra casa e entrou dentro da residência e deu (a
    comida) para elas, mas…'

(61) *haradukarinake*

    hara-dukari-nake
    not.want-3PL-COND

    'They really didn't want anything.'
    'Elas não queriam mesmo.'

(62)   *haradukarinake tãwãanaẽ kapü*

    hara-dukari-nake   tãwã-a-na-ẽ   ka-pü
    not.want-3PL-COND what-IMPERS-NEG-DECL do-SS

    '"They didn't want anything, now what can one do?"'
    '"Não queriam, mas fazer o quê?"'

(63)   *yoahedukarina kapü kãwãẽ zamiya mamaderi*

    yoa-he-dukari-na ka-pü kãwã-ẽ   zamiya mama-deri
    cry-3-3PL-DS   do-SS be.like-DECL now   mother-3.POSS

    'They kept on crying as ever. And then his mother went:'
    'Ficaram chorando. Agora a mãe do Raposa falou:'

(64)   *tara hü'a'iye xoawe'epü tãwãmepü urikɨiiye kamezɨi*

    tara   hü'a-'i-ye   xoa-we'eye-pü tãwã-me-pü urikɨi-ye
    what good-NMLZ-OBJ see-3PL.BEN-SS what-2SG-SS food-OBJ
    ka-meza-i
    do-2SG.CAUS-INT

    '"Find them something good, you only bring bad stuff."'
    '"Procure um coisa boa para elas, você só traz coisa ruim."'

(65)   *tara dukumɨi'iye kaw'i kawã'ĩwãwã*

    tara   dukumɨi-'i-ye kaw-'i   kawã-'ĩwã~wã
    what ruin-NMLZ-OBJ eat-NMLZ be.like-ADMON~RED

    '"They don't eat worthless things."'[6]
    '"Elas não comem coisa que não presta."'

(66)   *kawã'ĩ dukumɨi'iye kawxare'ẽyaremina*

    kawã-ĩ   dukumɨi-'i-ye kaw-xa-re-'ẽ-are-mina
    be.like-NMLZ ruin-NMLZ-OBJ eat-1PL-FUT-IMP-INFR-EMP.NEG

    '"They don't even think of eating what's worthless."'
    '"Nem pensam em comer aquilo que não presta."'

(67)   *hü'anɨi apaduri'iwa he'ẽ kukana*

    hü'a-na-i   apa-dukari-'iwa he-'ẽ   kuka-na
    good-NEG-NMLZ find-3PL-ADMON say-DECL tell-DS

    '"They are suffering," she said to him.'
    '"Estão sofrendo," ela falou para ele.'

---

    [6]Domestic(ated) animals are not eaten, even if the same animals would represent game in the wild context.

(68) *iza hepü*

    iza he-pü
    far say-ss

    '"Go far away," she said.'
    '"Vai longe," ela falou.'

(69) *tara hü'a'iye takepewe'eye'ẽ kukaẽ*

    tara hü'a-'i-ye   ta-ke-pe-we'eye-'ẽ   kuka-ẽ
    what good-NMLZ-OBJ shoot-3-CLF:round-3PL.BEN-IMP tell-DECL

    '"Kill something good for them!" she told him.'
    '"Mata coisa boa pra elas!" ela falou para ele.'

(70) *kadupɨi kayapitaẽ*

    kadupɨi ka-ya-pita-ẽ
    alright 1SG-go-PROC-DECL

    '"OK, then I'll go," and he left.'
    '"Está bem, já vou então," e ele foi.'

(71) *hikadepü iza izapa'apü wã'apa'i'ete hidüka'eye'i apa'ixüte*

    hika-de-pü   iza iza-pa-'a-pü   wã-apa'i-ete
    leave-DIR:outside-ss far far-TR-IMPERS-ss live-ACT.NMLZ-ALL

    h-idüka-eye-'i   apa-'ixüte
    3SG-DIR:thither-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ tell-REP

    'He left the house and went to an inhabited place very far away, they say.'
    'Ele saiu de casa e foi para uma moradia que fica bem longe, eles dizem.'

(72) *hidüka'eyepü tarawã pu'apaderiye kapü hãekepepü*

    h-idüka-'eye-pü   tara-wã pu-'apaderi-ye   ka-pü
    3SG-DIR:thither-3PL.OBJ-ss what-?[7] raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ do-ss

    hãe<ke>pe-pü
    grab<3SG>-ss

    'He went there far away and got what people were raising.'
    'Ele foi lá longe e pegou o que o pessoal estava criando.'

---

[7]The uninterpretable form *-wã* is apparently a slip of the tongue.

(73) *kapü kẽrikukapeyada kẽriẽ kukayada*

    ka-pü kẽri-kuka-pe-yada   kẽri-ẽ   kuka-yada

    do-ss linger-CLF:body-?-REAS linger-IMP tell-REAS

    'Obviously this took a while. It should take some time.'

    'Obviamente demorou um pouco. É para demorar um pouco mesmo.'

(74) *ĩwã'arena kaxupane'eyãre'ẽ mamaderi hepü*

    ĩwã-are-na   ka-xü-pa-ne-'eyã-re-'ẽ   mama-deri

    like.that-poor-DS 1SG-DIR:return-TR-PFV-2PL.OBJ-FUT-DECL mother-3.POSS

    he-pü

    say-SS

    '"How unfortunate, let me bring you back!" his mother said to the girls.'

    '"Coitadas! Eu vou levar vocês de volta!" a mãe dele falou para as meninas.'

(75) *eruerazũ mamaderi eyepü hina'ĩ hü'anɨi'apazaẽ*

    eruera-zũ mama-deri   eye-pü   hina-'ĩ   hü'a-na-i

    fox-POSS   mother-3.POSS 3PL.OBJ-SS no-NMLZ good-NEG-NMLZ

    h-apa-za-ẽ

    2-find-PL-DECL

    'Fox's mother said to them, "You are suffering."'

    'A mãe do Raposa falou, "Vocês estão sofrendo."'

(76) *tara kawxamɨirumia'ẽ hü'ana'i hapazaẽ*

    tara kaw-xa-mɨiriu-mia-'ẽ hü'a-na-i   h-apa-za-ẽ

    what eat-1PL-DESI-2PL-DECL good-NEG-NMLZ 2-find-PL-DECL

    '"You want to eat and you are suffering."'

    '"Vocês querem comer e estão sofrendo."'

(77) *kaxupane'eyãre'ẽ eyepü*

    ka-xü-pa-ne-'eyã-re-'ẽ   eye-pü

    1SG-DIR:return-TR-PFV-2PL.OBJ-FUT-DECL 3PL.OBJ-SS

    '"Let me bring you back!" she said to them.'

    '"Eu vou levar vocês de volta", falou pra elas.'

(78) *hapükika'eyepü hikadepa'eyepü*

    hapü-ke-ika-'eye-pü   *hika-de-pa-'eye-pü*

    hold-3-CLF:finger-3PL.OBJ-SS leave-DIR:outside-TR-3PL.OBJ-SS

    'She took them by the hand and left.'

    'Ela segurou a mão delas e levou para fora.'

(79) *katemɨi nuxupane'enunu*

    kate-mɨi   *nu-xu-pa-ne'e-nunu*

    there-DIM come-DIR:return-TR-ITE-MIR

    'Now they were arriving close to home again.'

    'Estavam chegando perto de casa.'

(80) *anapahidepenunu mamaderi babaderi yoahedukariẽ*

    anapa-hidepe-nunu *mama-deri*   *baba-deri*   *yoa-he-dukari-ẽ*

    hear-DIR:garden-MIR mother-3.POSS father-3.POSS cry-3-3PL-DECL

    'They heard the children's mother and father crying in the garden.'

    'Ouviram a mãe e o pai delas chorando na roça.'

(81) *puidepena*

    pu-idepe-na

    go.PL-DIR:garden-DS

    '"They are walking over there …"'

    '"Estão andando por aí …"'

(82) *ite hüridawaperekaẽ ite darüpa'eyã'ẽ eyepü*

    ite   *hüri<da>wa-pe-re-ka-ẽ*   *ite*   *darüpa-'eyã-'ẽ*

    here return<1SG.REFL>-?-FUT-1SG-DECL here stay.PL-2PL.OBJ-DECL

    eye-pü

    3PL.OBJ-SS

    '"From here I will return and you stay put," she told them.'

    '"Daqui eu vou voltar e vocês ficam," ela falou pra elas.'

(83) *hiba mama baba'i'ene yoayoahedukariẽ*

    hiba mama baba-'i-'ene   *yoa~yoa-he-dukari-ẽ*

    this mother father-NMLZ-COL cry~cry-3-3PL-DECL

    'Well, the mother and father were crying.'

    'Daí a mãe e o pai estavam chorando.'

(84)   *ite katemɨiyana*

    ite   katemɨi   yã-na
    here close   come-DS

    'They were coming close.'
    'A mãe e o pai estavam chegando perto delas.'

(85)   *mama baba memekuka'ana*

    mama   baba   bee-me-kuka-a-na
    mother father arrive-2SG-CLF:body-1SG.OBJ-DS

    '"(When you call them) "Mother, father, come to me."" (Fox's mother explained).'
    '"(Quando chama eles) "Mãe, pai, vem para cá."" (a mãe do Raposa explicou).'

(86)   *wareyã'ẽyãpü pane'ẽyãta'ẽ*

    ware-yã-ẽyã-pü   pane-ẽyã-ta-'ẽ
    go-come-2PL.OBJ-SS bring-2PL.OBJ-REM.FUT-DECL

    '"And when they come to you, they will take you home."'
    '"Quando chegarem, vão levar vocês pra casa."'

(87)   *ite hüridawaperekaẽ hepü*

    ite   hüri<da>wa-pe-re-ka-ẽ   he-pü
    here return<1SG.REFL>-?-FUT-1SG-DECL say-SS

    '"Here I will return back," she said.'
    '"Daqui eu vou voltar pra trás," ela falou.'

(88)   *hepü daedaedɨikasa'eyena*

    he-pü dae~dae-dɨika-sa-'eye-na
    say-SS walk~walk-DIR:remain-MAL-3PL.OBJ-DS

    'She walked back behind them.'
    'Ela voltou por trás delas.'

(89)   *darüpaena darüpaẽ*

    darüpa-e-na   darüpa-ẽ
    stay.PL-well-DS stay.PL-DECL

    'They stayed there for a while.'
    'Ficaram um tempo lá.'

(90) *zamiya babaderi mamaderi'i'ene kapü yoahe'ẽ*

    zamiya baba-deri   mama-deri-'i-'ene   ka-pü yoa-he-'ẽ
    now   father-3.POSS mother-3.POSS-NMLZ-COL do-SS cry-3-DECL

    'Then their father and mother were still crying.'
    'Daí o pai e a mãe delas ainda estavam chorando.'

(91) *beeyũ'eyena hepü xãyãrehãyãdukariẽ tãwĩhedukarina*

    bee-yũ-'eye-'ẽ-na   he-pü xã-yã-re-hãyã-dukari-ẽ
    arrive-DIR:near-3PL.OBJ-well-DS say-SS 1PL-come-1PL.OBJ-3PL-DECL
    tãwĩ-he-dukari-na
    await-3-3PL-DS

    'As they were getting nearby, "They are coming close to us," the children
    said and waited for them.'
    'Estavam indo perto deles, daí, "Estão chegando perto de nós," as crianças
    falaram e esperaram eles.'

(92) *hena tawĩhedupana baba baba mama mama*

    he-na   tawĩ-he-dupana baba baba mama mama
    then-DS await-3-TEMP   father father mother mother

    'Then they called out, "Father! Father! Mother! Mother!"'
    'Dai elas chamaram, "Papai! Papai! Mamãe! Mamãe!"'

(93) *erüarekũyẽi hepü xoahenunu*

    erüare-kũyã-i   he-pü xoa-he-nunu
    feel.sorry-1PL.BEN-NMLZ say-SS see-3-MIR

    'The parents said, "Our poor dears!" as they saw them.'
    'Os pais falaram, "Nossas coitadas!" quando viram elas.'

(94) *darüpa'aredukarina*

    darüpa-are-dukari-na
    stay.PL-poor-3PL-DS

    'The poor kids are sitting there.'
    'As coitadas estão lá.'

(95) *erüarekumɨizɨi eyepü yoa'eyepü yoahepü*

    erüare-kuma-i-za-i   eye-pü   yoa-'eye-pü   yoa-he-pü
    feel.sorry-poor-NMLZ-ASSOC-NMLZ 3PL.OBJ-SS cry-3PL.OBJ-SS cry-3-SS

    '"You poor little things," they said to them, crying.'
    '"Coitado de vocês," falou para elas chorando.'

(96)   *hepü hikuye hürükewanunu hameri*

    he-pü   hiku-ye   hürü-ke-wa-nunu hameri
    then-ss other-OBJ rise-3-DIR:up-MIR already

    'They lifted up one of the girls and were ready to go, but now …'
    'Dai levantou uma delas para ir embora, mas…'

(97)   *eruera urumekarepü hameri wãeditehe hikutehe kyã'i'apa'i*

    eruera urume-ka-re-pü   hameri wãedi te-he   hiku te-he
    fox   transform-1SG-FUT-ss already tail   have-3SG other have-3SG
    kyã-'i-'apa'i
    speak-NMLZ-ACT.NMLZ

    'One was changing into a fox and was already sprouting a tail, and the
    other one as well, that's what the story says.'
    'Uma estava se transformando em raposa e já estava nascendo rabo, e a
    outra também. É assim que a história conta.'

(98)   *kawãdupa yãw'ẽ he'eyepü hapükika'eyepü*

    kawã-dupa   yãw'ẽ   he-'eye-pü   hapü-ke-ika-'eye-pü
    be.like-CONC let's.go.IMP say-3PL.OBJ-ss hold-3-CLF:hand-3PL.OBJ-ss

    '"Even so, let's leave," the parents said to them, and they held hands.'
    '"Mesmo assim vamos embora," falou para elas, e segurou as mãos delas.'

(99)   *pane'eyepü*

    pane-'eye-pü
    bring-3PL-ss

    'They brought them along.'
    'Levaram elas.'

(100)   *keza'ete wareduxüpane'eyena kapü zamiya hena*

    keza-'ete   ware-du-xü-pane-'eye-na   ka-pü zamiya he-na
    house-ALL go-DIR:in-DIR:return-bring-3PL.OBJ-ds do-ss now   then-ds

    'They entered the house with them, but …'
    'Entraram na casa com elas, mas…'

(101)   *hameri eruera urumekareheyada kapü hina'ĩ*

    hameri eruera urume-ka-re-he-yada   ka-pü hina-ĩ
    already fox   transform-1SG-FUT-REAS do-ss no-NMLZ

    'Since they were already becoming foxes it was no good.'
    'Agora que já se transformaram em raposas, não foi bem.'

(102) *hadite'ete büxuheku'ẽ kukana*

    hadite-'ete   büxu-he-ku-'ẽ   kuka-na
    shaman-ALL cure-3-1SG.BEN-IMP tell-DS

    'Father told the shaman, "Cure them for me!"'
    'O pai pediu ao pajé, "Cura elas para mim!"'

(103) *hadite wareyãpü büxühepü*

    hadite   ware-yã-pü büxü-he-pü
    shaman go-come-ss cure-3SG-SS

    'The shaman came and he cured them.'
    'O pajé veio e curou.'

(104) *arerekekukahepü*

    arere-ke-kuka-he-pü
    blow-3-CLF:body-3SG-SS

    'He blew on and cleansed the body.'[8]
    'Ele assoprou e limpou o corpo.'

(105) *keapü dupakapü*

    kea-pü dupa ka-pü
    get-ss   really do-ss

    'He did it just like this.'
    'Ele fez assim mesmo.'

(106) *wɨiwɨimezakukane'eta'ẽ kukaẽ*

    wɨiwɨi-meza-ku-ka-ne-'eta-'ẽ   kuka-ẽ
    repeat-2SG.CAUS-1SG.BEN-TR-PFV-REM.FUT-IMP tell-DECL

    '"You must do that again for me," (the father) said to him.'
    '"Repete mais uma vez para mim," (o pai) falou pra ele.'

(107) *zamiya mama'ĩ mama'ĩkea'ẽ detyaderi'ete kukapü*

    zamiya mama'ĩ mama'ĩ-kea-'ẽ detya-deri-'ete   kuka-pü
    now   chicha chicha-3-IMP woman-3.POSS-ALL tell-ss

    '"Now make chicha!" he told his wife.'
    '"Daí faz chicha então!" ele falou para sua esposa.'

---

[8]The process of sucking and blowing away maladies is a central part of Aikanã shamanic healing and is a common practice among many lowland South American groups.

(108) *hisa zamumuye tara ari'iye takawaparekaẽ hadite kawhepü*

      hisa zamumu-ye   tara ãri'i-ye
      1SG patawa.larva-OBJ what mamuí.larva-OBJ

      ta<ka>wa-pa-re-ka-ẽ   hadite kaw-he-pü
      break<1SG>-TR-FUT-1SG-DECL shaman eat-3-SS

      '"I am going to get some patawá and mamuí larvae for the shaman to eat."'[9]
      '"Eu vou tirar coró de patauá e de mamuí para o pajé comer."'

(109) *ü'ükekukakũyare'ẽ wãwã'iye detyaderi'ete kukapü*

      ü'ü-ke-kuka-kũya-re-'ẽ   wãwã'i-ye detya-deri-'ete
      save-3-CLF:body-1PL.BEN-FUT-IMP child-OBJ   woman-3.POSS-ALL

      kuka-pü
      tell-SS

      '"He will fix the bodies of the children for us," he said to his wife.'
      '"Ele vai concertar o corpo das crianças para nós," falou para a mulher dele.'

(110) *babaderi daedaena'ĩ daedaenapü*

      baba-deri   dae~dae-na-'ĩ   dae~dae-na-pü
      father-3.POSS walk~walk-go-NMLZ walk~walk-go-SS

      'Her father went walking (in the forest).'
      'O pai delas foi andando (no mato).'

(111) *zamumuye takewapü*

      zamumu-ye   ta<ke>wa-pü
      patawá.larva-OBJ break<3>-SS

      'He removed patawá larvae (from the wood).'
      'Ele tirou coró de patauá.'

---

[9] The indigenous peoples of Rondônia cultivate the protein-rich larvae of specific beetle species by cutting down patawa (*Oenocarpus bataua*) or buriti (*Mauritia flexuosa*) palm trees and wild papaya (*Jaracatia spinosa*, in Portuguese *mamuí*) trees, leaving them to be eaten from the inside by these larvae. After about half a year the trunks can be cracked open and the delicious larvae can be harvested.

(112) *ari'i-ye keapü*

  ãri'i-ye   kea-pü
  mamuí.larva-OBJ get-ss

  'He got mamuí larvae.'
  'Pegou coró de mamuí também.'

(113) *nusunapapü*

  nu-suna-pa-pü
  come-DIR:return-TR-ss

  'He brought them back home.'
  'Ele trouxe de volta pra casa.'

(114) *amakea'ẽ detyaderi'ete kukapü amamakezaẽ*

  ama-kea-'ẽ detya-deri~'ete   kuka-pü ama~ma-keza-ẽ
  cook-3-IMP woman-3.POSS-ALL tell-ss   cook~RED-3SG.CAUS-DECL

  '"Cook it!" he told his wife, and she cooked it.'
  '"Cozinha aí!" ele falou para a mulher dele, e ela cozinhou.'

(115) *hikiririkapedupana zamiya*

  hikiri-rika-pe-dupana   zamiya
  dark-CLF:floor-CLF:round-TEMP now

  'As it was getting dark inside …'
  'Enquanto estava escurecendo lá dentro...'

(116) *hadite tãwĩkukapü irüpü*

  hadite   tãwĩ-kuka-pü   irü-pü
  shaman await-CLF:body-ss trance-ss

  'He called the shaman to enter into a trance.'[10]
  'Ele chamou o pajé para rezar.'

---

[10]In this state the shaman is sitting down on his/her bench while pulling down the invisible lines that form the net on which his/her spirit can travel, the *haditaezũ daruma* 'shaman's sling'. In order to heal, he/she performs acts such as sucking, blowing smoke, gestures of collecting, extracting, expelling, etc. The last Aikanã shaman passed away in 1985, but elderly people remember the tradition and are often able to interpret the work of shamans from other ethnic groups.

(117) *wãwã'ĩ ukikekukaku'ẽ awexü urumeẽ*

    wãwã'ĩ uki-ke-kuka-ku-'ẽ   *awexü urume-ẽ*
    child   clean-3-CLF:body-1SG.BEN-IMP demon transform-DECL

    '"Cleanse the body of my daughter, who has transformed into a demon!"'[11]
    '"Limpa o corpo da criança que se transformou em bicho do mato!"'

(118) *kukaku'ẽ kukana*

    kuka-ku-'ẽ   *kuka-na*
    tell-1SG.BEN-IMP tell-DS

    '"Talk to him for me!" he said.'
    '"Fala para ele para mim!" ele falou.'

(119) *hadite wareduapü*

    hadite   *ware-dua-pü*
    shaman go-DIR:inside-ss

    'The shaman went inside.'
    'O pajé entrou para dentro.'

(120) *wareriakapü uruhepü*

    ware-riaka-pü   *uru-he-pü*
    go-DIR:middle-ss sing-3-ss

    'He went to the middle of the house and sang.'
    'Ele chegou no meio da casa e cantou.'

(121) *hadite kɨineke wareyũpanake büxü'ẽ hepü*

    hadite *kɨine-ke ware-yũ-pa-nake*   *büxü-'ẽ he-pü*
    shaman 3SG-COM go-DIR:near-TR-COND cure-IMP say-ss

    'As soon as the shaman brought her with him, (the father) said "Cure her!"'
    'Quando o pajé levou ela junto com ele, (o pai) falou "Cura ela!"'

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[11]The *awexü* is a dangerous and powerful spirit of the forest that can transform itself into any being and is able to make people lose their mind. Especially when someone is alone in the forest or on a remote cultivated plot, the *awexü* may trick someone and lead him/her astray or directly attack and kill a person. Unexpected death and psychotic illness are often explained as the work of the *awexü*. Experiences with the *awexü* are always traumatic and accounts of them are harrowing.

(122) *arerekekukaxüne'ẽ*

     arere-ke-kuka-xüne-'ẽ
     blow-3-CLF:body-DIR:return-IMP

     '"Blow and cleanse the body again!" (the father) said.'
     '"Assopra e limpa o corpo de novo!" (o pai) falou.'

(123) *hibaye awexüye hukedurakaxüne'ẽ*

     hiba-ye awexü-ye   hu-ke-duraka-xüne-'ẽ
     this-OBJ demon-OBJ remove-3-DIR:inside-DIR:return-IMP

     '"Remove this demon from inside of her!"'
     '"Tire esse bicho do mato que está dentro dela!"'

(124) *pawpawkezakaxüne'ẽ kyãkukapü*

     paw~paw-keza-ka-xüne-'ẽ   kyã-kuka-pü
     run~run-3SG.CAUS-TR-DIR:return-IMP speak-tell-SS

     '"Make it (the demon) run away!" he said to him.'
     '"Espanta o espírito para fora!" falou para ele.'

(125) *derinena zamiya deripanena*

     deri-ne-na   zamiya deri-pa-ne-na
     light-PFV-DS now   light-TR-PFV-DS

     'Dawn came and then day came.'
     'Clareou e amanheceu o dia.'

(126) *zamiya kapü kukapü daexünepü*

     zamiya ka-pü kuka-pü dae-xüne-pü
     now   do-SS tell-SS   walk-DIR:return-SS

     '"It's done," he said, and (the demon) went back to where he came from.'
     '"Está pronto," ele falou e (o bicho do mato) voltou para de onde veio.'

(127) *hena wïiwïiyeye wãkanayeyepü urikïieye hürakenupapü*

     he-na   wïiwïi-yeye wãkana-yeye-pü   urikïi-ye hüra-ke-nupa-pü
     then-DS repeat-ITE late.morning-ITE-SS food-OBJ place-3-DIR:outside-SS

     'Then it had to be repeated during the day, and food was placed in the yard (for the shaman and the possessed child) .'
     'Daí ele fez outra vez de dia, e ele deixou comida no terreiro (para o pajé e a criança).'

(128)   *kariye kawhepü*

       kari-ye   kaw-he-pü

       that-OBJ eat-3-SS

       'She ate some of that.'

       'Ela comeu aquilo.'

(129)   *büxühekunehe'ẽ kukapü büxühenehepü xükeakapapü*

       büxü-he-ku-ne'e-'ẽ   kuka-pü büxü-he-ne'e-pü

       cure-3-1SG.BEN-ITE-IMP tell-SS   cure-3-ITE-SS

       xü-kea-ka-pa-pü

       finish-3SG-CLF:piece-TR-SS

       '"Perform the cure again for me," he said, and the shaman did so again, and finished (removing the demon's spirit from the head of the child).'

       '"Cura de novo para mim," ele falou, e o pajé curou de novo, e terminou (tirando o espírito do bicho da cabeça da criança).'

(130)   *taraye kawahenake xükeakapapü*

       tara-ye   kaw-a-he-nake   xü-kea-ka-pa-pü

       what-OBJ eat-IMPERS-3-COND finish-3SG-CLF:piece-TR-SS

       'Through eating (the food) he could remove the demon's spirit (from the bodies of the girls).'

       'Comendo as coisas ele tirou a alma do bicho (dos corpos das meninas).'

(131)   *kapünepü zamiya kapü zamiya hü'akaxünerewaẽ wãwã'ĩ*

       kapü-ne-pü   zamiya ka-pü zamiya

       finish-PFV-SS now   do-SS   now

       hü'a-ka-xüne-re-wa-ẽ   wãwã'ĩ

       good-1SG-DIR:return-FUT-2SG.BEN-DECL child

       'He finished and said, "Now that it's done, your children will get well again."'

       'Ele terminou e falou, "Agora que foi feito, suas filhas vão sarar."'

(132)   *zare kaxünerewaẽ*

       zare   ka-xüne-re-wa-ẽ

       person 1SG-DIR:return-FUT-2SG.BEN-DECL

       '"They will be people again for you."'

       '"Vão se tornar em gente de novo para você."'

(133)   *kuka'i apa'ixüte kukana*

    kuka-'i   apa-'ixüte kuka-na

    tell-NMLZ say-REP   tell-DS

    'This is how he spoke to the father.'
    'Assim que ele falou para o pai.'

(134)   *hukadupɨi hepü*

    hukadupɨi he-pü

    alright   say-SS

    '"Alright," he said.'
    '"Está certo," ele falou.'

(135)   *wãwã'ĩke hina'ĩ hũka hũka eryüanahe'ẽ hukakeaderi*

    wãwã'ĩ-ke hina-'ĩ   hũka   hũka   eryüana-he-'ẽ   hũka-kea-deri

    child-COM no-NMLZ in.vain in.vain sick-3-DECL   in.vain-3-NMLZ

    'The children used to be ill and were really going crazy.'
    'As crianças também não tinham sussego, viviam bagunçando.'

(136)   *zamiya zɨ̃izɨ̃i eryüaxünena zamiya*

    zamiya zɨ̃izɨ̃i   eryüa-xüne-na   zamiya

    now   correct live-DIR:return-DS now

    'But now they were behaving well again.'
    'Mas agora ficaram direitinhas de novo.'

(137)   *wãwã'ĩ hikaderike hepü hü'axüneẽ*

    wãwã'ĩ-ika-deri-ke   he-pü   hü'a-xüne-ẽ

    child-INTENS-NMLZ-COM then-SS good-DIR:return-DECL

    'The youngest also got better.'
    'A criança mais nova melhorou também.'

(138)   *hiba tiwenederi hü'axüneẽ*

    hiba ti'iwe-ne-deri   hü'a-xüne-ẽ

    this grow-PFV-NMLZ clean-DIR:return-DECL

    'The older one got better.'
    'Essa mais velha melhorou.'

(139)   *kyã'i apatena*

    kyã-'i   apa-te-na
    speak-NMLZ say-PST-DS

    'This is how they told it.'
    'Assim que contaram.'

(140)   *dupana zarikapasapü zarikahedupana*

    dupana zarika-pa-sa-pü zarika-he-dupana
    while   delay-TR-MAL-SS delay-3-TEMP

    'But a while after (Fox had abducted them)…'[12]
    'Mas um pouco depois (que o Raposa sequestrou elas)…'

(141)   *hiku kapü kaxare'ẽ namɨideri'ika kukaderiye wareyũ̃pü*

    hiku ka-pü ka-xa-re-'ẽ   namɨi-deri-ika   kuka-deri-ye
    other do-SS do-1PL-FUT-IMP cousin-3.POSS-INTENS tell-NMLZ-OBJ

    ware-yũ̃-pü
    go-DIR:close-SS

    'The real cousin, the one who said to do it (to get peanuts) arrived (at the girls' house).'
    'Aquela prima delas que tinha combinado com ela (arrancar amendoim) primeiro chegou (na casa das meninas).'

(142)   *kaxare'ẽ ka'ɨwãte yãw'ẽ deripahãyã'ẽ namɨi kukaẽ*

    ka-xa-re-'ẽ   ka-'ɨwã-te   yãw'ẽ   deri-pa-hãyã-ẽ   namɨi
    do-1PL-FUT-IMP do-ADMON-PST let's.go.IMP day-TR-1PL.OBJ-DECL cousin

    kuka-ẽ
    tell-DECL

    '"We had agreed to do it, let's go! It's becoming day for us," the cousin said.'
    '"Vamos lá fazer o que concordamos! O dia está amanhecendo em nós," a prima falou.'

(143)   *mamaderi warehikadepü keriẽ hĩzã kamezakukateare apɨire'i*

    mama-deri   ware-hika-de-pü   keriẽ hĩzã
    mother-3.POSS go-leave-DIR:outside-SS whoa! 2SG

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[12]Here the narrator goes back to an earlier phase in the story, adding the part concerning the real cousin after the girls had been abducted.

ka-meza-kuka-te-are   apa-ire-'i
do-2sg.caus-clf:body-pst-infr say-almost-int
'Her mother went outside and said: "Whoa! Aren't you the one that was going to call them?"'
'A mãe saiu pra fora e falou, "Nossa! Não foi você que chamou elas?"'

(144) *hameri'ẽ tara kawãte'i wareyãpü namɨi namɨi kukapü*

    hameri-h-ẽ   tara kawãte-'i   ware-yã-pü namɨi namɨi kuka-pü
    already-3-decl what because-int go-come-ss cousin cousin say-ss
    '"Who was the one that came already and said, 'Cousin! cousin!' then?"'
    '"Quem será que veio e chamou 'Prima! Prima!' naquela hora?"'

(145) *yãw'ẽ kukapü warehikadepapü hameri pa'ĩwãte*

    yãw'ẽ   kuka-pü ware-hikade-pa-pü   hameri
    let's.go.imp say-ss   go-dir:outside-tr-ss already
    pa-'ĩwã-te
    unsuccessful-admon-pst
    '"Let's go!" she had said to her, but they had already left.'
    '"Vamos embora!" falou para ela, mas elas já tinham saido.'

(146) *hĩzã kamezɨiare ka'ĩwãte kukaẽ*

    hĩzã ka-meza-i-are   ka-'ĩwã-te   kuka-ẽ
    2sg do-2sg.caus-nmlz-infr do-admon-pst say-decl
    '"I thought it was you," she said to the cousin.'
    '"Pensei que era você," ela falou para a prima.'

(147) *hinaẽ hisa kayana'ĩwãte kapü derinena kayata'ẽ ka'ĩwã*

    hina-ẽ   hisa ka-ya-na-'ĩwã-te   ka-pü deri-ne-na
    no-decl 1sg 1sg-come-neg-admon-pst do-ss light-pfv-ds
    ka-ya-ta-'ẽ   ka-'ĩwã
    1sg-come-rem.fut-decl do-admon
    '"No, it wasn't me. I let it dawn first."'
    '"Não foi eu não, deixei clarear o dia primeiro."'

(148) *ka'ĩwãte kawã zarena'ĩ kawã kazapasahãyãtena*

    ka-'ĩwã-te   kawã zare-na-'ĩ   kawã
    do-admon-pst be.like person-neg-nmlz be.like

ka-za-pa-sa-hãyã-te-na

do-CAUS-TR-MAL-1PL.OBJ-PST-DS

'"So it must not have been a person that took them from us."'
'"Então não era uma pessoa que levou elas de nós."'

(149) *babaderi mamaderi he'i he'i apɨixüte*

baba-deri   mama-deri   he-'i   he-'i   apa-ixüte
father-3.POSS mother-3.POSS say-NMLZ say-NMLZ say-REP

'Their father and mother said this. This is what was said.'
'O pai e a mãe delas falou isso. Assim que falaram.'

(150) *hepü hikirinena kawã kawã hikirinena*

he-pü   hikiri-ne-na   kawã   kawã   hikiri-ne-na
then-SS dark-PFV-DS be.like be.like dark-PFV-DS

'Then it got dark.'
'Daí escureceu, escureceu mesmo.'

(151) *bari wareyãepü kaxata'ẽ hikiri'ikana*

bari ware-yã-e-pü   ka-xa-ta-'ẽ   hikiri-'ika-na
who go-come-2SG.OBJ-SS do-1PL-REM.FUT-IMP dark-INTENS-DS

'"When someone comes for you, saying, 'Let's do it early in the morning!'" …'
'"Quando alguém vier para você falando 'Vamos lá amanhã cedo!'" …'

(152) *hapa'aparete'ẽ apa'i apɨixüte apa'ẽ kyãapɨisuwãẽ he'ẽ xüxüe kyã'isuwãẽ xüxüe xüxü xüxüe Kwã'ĩ*

h-apa~apa-rete'ẽ   apa-'i   apa-ixüte apa-'ẽ
2SG-say~say-NEG.IMP say-NMLZ say-REP   say-DECL

kyã-apa-isuwã-ẽ   he-'ẽ   xüxüe   kyã-'isuwã-ẽ
speak-say-REM.PST-DECL say-DECL grandmother speak-REM.PST-DECL

xüxüe   xüxü   xüxüe   Kwã'ĩ
grandmother 1SG.POSS grandmother Kwã'i

'"You can't talk like that with people," my grandmother used to say.[13]
Grandmother Kwã'ĩ.'
'"Você não pode falar assim com os outros," assim que falava minha avó.
Vovó Kwã'ĩ.'

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[13]Here, reference is made to the moral of the story, also mentioned in the introduction, that one should not talk about one's plans.

(153) *kariyame ãryüaka'ĩwã*

    kari-ame ãryüa-ka-'ĩwã

    this-SUP know-1SG-ADMON

    'I know just this.'

    'Só isso que eu sei.'

(154) *kawãẽ*

    kawã-ẽ

    be.like-DECL

    'That's it.'

    'É assim.'

Acknowledgments

Non-standard abbreviations

ACT	action	INT	interrogative
ADMON	admonitory	INTENS	intensifier
AG	agent	ITE	iterative
COL	collective	MAL	malefactive
CONC	concessive	MIR	mirative
DESI	desiderative	PROC	procrastinative
DIM	diminutive	REAS	reason adverbial
DIR	directional	RED	reduplication
DS	different subject	REM	remote
DUB	dubitative	REP	reported past
HAB	habitual aspect	SS	same subject
HORT	hortative	SUP	superlative
IMPERS	impersonal	TEMP	temporal adverbial
INFR	inferential mood		

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