

## Free Translation

O grand chief Undasinsee, flaunt not your wealth; must you wear fancy dress? I have seen Haspassã and company alive and they too have noticed me, even though they still hide. I had ordered the servants to serve him strong liquor at the festival [so that he can make a fool of himself]. I am worried he will murder you and hide your body.

## Side-by-side translation from Waramu

Irtaupipí unasĩsi táy!

O Grandmother Undasinsee!

Sistaysi nárhúlisitánálú.

Please hide your wealth.

Luritwáys ʃa fwĩsnitwáys.

I have seen Haspassã and company [alive] and they noticed.

Púnaytwámays.

They speak not.

Haspasas múláwípáys.

Haspassã in particular makes me angry.

“Pánunitwá táy, raswar as ʋlʋ Haspasas ʋspáqus ʦúñay ɲaw cruʦi tráwpínátáʦá” húnáypáys.

“Give Haspassã a cup of grain/corn-alcohol for the festival”, I said to the servants.

Hápu tautwáy crwíášú crwitwácá hí?

Do mothers wear fancy dress?

Sínárhúlu situnípitáni.

I think he [Haspassã] will kill and bury you.

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## Gloss

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- (1) *Irtaupi-pí*                      *Unasjsi táy!*  
 grandmother-1.POSS PN            VOC  
 O Grandmother Undasinsee!
- (2) *Sistay-si*                      *nárhúli-si-tán-álú.*  
 corpulence-2.POSS conceal-2-FUT.PERF-POT  
 You will be able to hide your corpulence.
- (3) *Luri-twá-ys*                      *şa fw-isni-twá-ys.*  
 be\_alive-(human).PL-PERF and (misc).OBJ-know-(human).PL-PERF  
 They are alive and know things.
- (4) *Pú-nay-twá-ma-ys.*  
 MID-say-(human).PL-NEG-PERF  
 They do not speak of it.
- (5) *Haspasq-s mú-láwí-pá-ys.*  
 PN-TOP CAUS-be\_angry-1-PERF  
 Haspassã makes me angry.
- (6) *“Pánuni-twá táy, raswar as ʉl-ʉ Haspasq úspáqus tũña-y*  
 servant-(human).PL VOC festival GOAL come-CONV PN grain alcohol-3.POSS  
*ṇaw crufi tráwpí-ná-tq-ṭá” hú-náy-pá-ys.*  
 COM cup give-2.PL-FUT.PERF-OPT MISC-say-1-PERF  
 “O Servants, give Hapassã a cup of grain-alcohol for the festival”, I say.
- (7) *Hápu tau-twá-y crwíášú crwi-twá-cá hĩ?*  
 who.PL mother-(human).PL-3.POSS clothing wear-(human).PL-IPFV.HAB Q  
 Do mothers wear clothing?
- (8) *Sí-nárhúl-u si-tuní-pi-tá-ni.*  
 2.OBJ-hide-CONV 2.OBJ-(human).SG-FUT.PERF-INFER  
 I think he will kill and bury you.

## Commentary

### Resolution of Waramũ Topic and Focus

Waramũ is fairly pro-drop and has a system of topic and focus which fills in the syntactic roles of the verbs, as well as an extensive noun class agreement system. However, there are still a number of sentences where the subject/objects require some puzzling out.

The first thing we see is in (3), where we are hit with the subject agreement marker *twá*. It is evident from (1) that the speaker is speaking to Undasinsee, and would be using the appropriate pronouns if that is who the speaker is referring to. It makes sense, then, that this is cataphora, and there are two possible explicit plural groups that are mentioned later in the passage: servants (from (6)), and mothers (from (7)), but I think that it is neither; instead, I posit the case that Haspassã is a member of an unspeakable group (or perhaps obvious from some other context clue that we do not have), which makes the topicalization one of specificity: we're already talking about the group, but in particular Haspassã makes the speaker angry. Resolution of topic after (5) is straightforward since we can assume it refers to the declared Haspassã without any other context.

The second thing about (3) that is not obvious is the object marker in (3) on 'know'. No noun in the entire passage has the noun class for misc (technically, "small object/misc", so I have decided to take the explicit 'and' in the sentence to mean topicalization and focusing of the 'being alive' portion. Since the language lacks a classifier specifically for abstractions, I am free to assume that the misc class can refer to the abstraction 'being alive'. By extension, this means that the object of 'say' in (4) is the same.

### Cultural Semantics of the Warapi

#### Social

There are quite a number of terms which I have decided to explore the cultural semantics and associations of the vocabulary. The first I would like to explore is the use of 'grandmother' and 'mother' in the text. While we could take this at face value, given that the Warapi are matrilineal, it is not too much of a stretch of the imagination to assume that a Waramũ speaker would address an elder female in the village they live in as 'mother/grandmother' as a mark of respect. English does not have such a nuance with its kinship terms, as it practically reserves the term 'mother' to the one person who has birthed (or raised the case of adoption) the speaker; as such, I have decided to translate with a more respectful title as opposed to the kinship term used originally.

The second word I would like to elaborate upon is *sistay*, given in the lexicon as "weight, corpulence, body fat". The Warapi people are described as semi-settled and 'rely on a combination of fishing, hunting and farming'; this is a society where food is not to be wasted as doing so will only accelerate the forced movement of the village when the land where the village is cannot support

the people any more. Thus, I feel that a polite request to ‘hide your fat’ is an indirect (and thus polite) to not flaunt the wealth excess of the person, or perhaps the gluttony and indulgence performed.

### Dress

I have decided to group (7) with (2) since they more logically follow each other in English. In (7), we have *crwíáşú*, glossed as ‘clothing’, which can be broken down into wear + leaf. The Warapi live in a mountainous forested equatorial area where the trees are very large. I think it is very unlikely that the ecology of the trees are to contain large macrophyll leaves where a single leaf is large enough to make a garment for a person; while such plants exist even in a mountainous locale, (e.g. the Brazilian giant-rhubarb) they are in shrubby thin-wooded forests and not something like the Californian redwood forest which I imagine is in mind when writing a description like ‘trees are huge’. A leaf dress would involve weaving the leaves together, and given the state of agriculture and availability of fibre crop which grow is liable to grow in these conditions (e.g. hemp, dogbane, kapok), it would make more sense to have fibre-based clothing or to sew hide from hunting together.

However, it is noted that the Warapi do trade with islanders off the coast, and island trees do tend to have large leaves for clothing purposes, or at least large and conveniently-shaped enough to be woven together to make sensible dress (e.g. Tongan Ta’ovala). Perhaps valued for its water-resistance or elegance, such clothing, requiring to be traded for, is probably prized and valuable, which agrees with the idea of opulence (2) is being interpreted as, and with the idea that mothers are respected members of a village.

### Drink

The last bit of vocabulary I would like to touch upon is the alcoholic drink. I would assume that if one just said *túña* they would have a specific, appropriate drink in mind; this is augmented by the fact that compounds without spaces are relatively common but this item is specifically two separate words, making me believe that this is not a usual alcoholic drink of the culture. This is why while *úspáqus* is given as ‘seeds, corn, grain’, I have decided to go with grain, as it is the least likely to be native (the Warapi do not farm monocultures and thus are not wholly dependent on a specific type of grain), with me postulating that the default type of alcohol would be fermented from berries.

It is unlikely that, with access to mostly iron tools and a requirement to move every so often that the Warapi would have access to distilling technology to distil what we might call grain-liquor in English. I am imagining something that would be familiar to the Warapi drinker would be something like chicha, a cloudy unfiltered cider-like drink with relatively weak alcohol content which can be easily spiced with berries and herbs similar to pre-hops beers of Europe. A dedicated grain-based alcohol would probably be stronger than expected, so I have decided to translate that by changing the word to ‘liquor’. As to why the speaker want to basically drug up Haspassã during a festival, I leave that as an exercise to the reader.